**The Importance of Africa to the World System After 9/11 Attacks:**

**War on Terrorism or Integration for Sustainable Development**

**The Case of the Security of the Gulf of Guinea Region**

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 **Acknowledgement**

I acknowledge that ‘’anything worth doing should be well done’’ for in life ‘’if we make a choice, God will make a change’’.

 Do not waste your life in the doubts and fears, spend yourself on the work before you, well assured that the right performance of this hours duties will be the best preparation for the hours or ages that follows it. Ralph Waldo Emerson 1803- 1882, American Essayist Poet and Philosopher.

 **Dedication**

 I wish to recognize the vision and enthusiasm of the Cosmopolitan Youths Service Peace Corps (CYSPCO) for the enthusiasm and zeal to carry on even in trying moments. To my beautiful daughter Augusta for burning the battle. I remain sincerely and immensely thankful to my professors, especially Mammo, Wolfgang, Li, Opoku, Johannes, and Bonn for believing in me.

 **Abstract**

We are living in very difficult times and with the system of things, nothing seems to obey to the static law. Everything seems to be in constant motion. The world is fast becoming a global village and an understanding of a given phenomenon within a local setting no longer seems to respond to the local realities but rather connects to external complexities. An understanding of our social world becomes complex without a critique of the geopolitics and geo-strategy underpinning the political and economic dynamics of the internal and external, the states and the markets, the north and south, the poor and the rich, the local and the global as well as the East from the West, connecting the economy, politics and society. All through the post World War II and a better part of the Cold War period, IR was dominated and viewed through the security lens. International economic relations and cooperation was second best. In the 1980s, with the end of the Cold War and the fall of the second world the USSR, the de-linking of the dollar from the Gold standard and the collapse of the Breton Wood system putting IR in difficulty, the political salience of the rising oil prices, the coming into being of the globalization era marked by heightened global interdependence, the integration and expansion of EU, the rise of the Asian tigers, the debate and contestations of the world order between the established power, the emerging powers and the world orders of some terrorist networks and religious fundamentalists extremist men of God and those who kill in Gods name, the rise of non state actors such as international organizations and MNCs / TNCs and the would be retreat of the state, the collapse of the Berlin wall and the release of Nelson Mandela from prison followed by the outbreak of the war in the Gulf of Persia, marked the end of the old world order and the beginning of the new world order, characterised the international scene with turbulence that marked a shift in focus of the global political economy from IR to IPE, from states to global markets, that is from Keynesianism to neo liberal market economy, with a search for collective security and global governance for bringing about better social outcome. But with the outburst of the 9/11/2001 attacks that took place in New York, nothing has ever remained the same, with the US security politics declaring a global war on terror, attacking terrorist strong holds in the Persian Gulf and manning security the world over, with direct impact on the interests of the US relations with the rest of the world and the Gulf of Guinea region in particular. This saw a shift in the US security and foreign policy on terrorism and counter terrorism and even more wars after 9/11, making the Gulf of Guinea a priority in the US national security policy. The study put to question the realist and neorealist theories of the mainstream approaches and debate of the state, making use of new critical theories, coupled with the birth of new paradigms such as the current financial and global crisis and even more crisis, climate change and global warming, production, trade, ecology, migration, new social movement, environmentalism, feminism gender, and human rights activities world wide, rapid improvement in technology, not withstanding the upsurge of energy consumption, with their complexities and connections in our contemporary world, has speed the up the race for rivalry amongst major powers and the scramble for Africa. It is in this light that the importance of the security of Africa Gulf of Guinea after 9/11 attacks emerged, that has projected this region to the world system. With geopolitical and geo strategic rivalry of balance of power between the major powers but also between and within countries of the sub region over market and trade conflicts, political and economic manipulation, cultural and material values , states and non states actors, north south divide, ideology and decisions and other dramatic developments such as the emergence of security challenges, environmental and ecological degradation, resource depletion and scarcity, instability and mass human migration within and without the countries of the region. This has not gone unnoticed without an impact on the politics and economic in the countries of the sub region. This has opened the territorial space of the Gulf of Guinea as a theatre for hegemonic rivalry between the present world order the emerging states and the world orders and their multinationals. This has had profound implications on the lives of peoples and countries of the Gulf of Guinea. The region is fast transforming into a terrorist hot spot as evidenced by oil bunkering, piracy at sea, mafia business, trans-national criminal organisations and internal insecurity, social movements, civil strife leading to instability and fears, turbulence in the international system like the current financial crisis and climatic hazards that is no mercy for the region, a displacement of the war in the Gulf of Persia to the Gulf of Guinea is inevitable that is the countries risk becoming terrorist targets, the countries weak governing apparatus risk being further weakened, the resources of the region that would have been used to improve on better social outcomes, has become a curse. There is the risk of developing an Afro-centric bias of anti-Americanism, anti-Europeanism and anti-Asiatic feeling in the Gulf in particular and Africa in general. These issues make it interesting for investigation.

This paper support the hypothesis that, it is due to turbulence in the world system that has led to a shift from Keynesianism to neo-liberal global market economic integration and heightened global interdependence of the production, finance and knowledge structures interacting with the security structure that has led to the regain of importance of Africa Gulf of Guinea to the world system.

 This makes it interesting to investigate the research question **;**

***Why the regain of importance of Africa Gulf of Guinea after 9/11 attacks to the world system, what impact may this have on the security realities in the countries of the sub region?***

The paper concludes by identifying research findings and putting forth suitable recommendations.

 **Acronyms**

AU African Union

CEMAC Economic Community of Central African States

EU European Union

ECOWAS Economic Community of West African States

GG Gulf of Guinea

FDI Foreign Direct Investment

IMF International Monetary Fund

NIEO New International Economic Order

OPEC Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries

OECD Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

WB World Bank

WTO World Trade Organization

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 **Chapter One**

**1. Introduction:**

We are living in difficult times with huge changes in the world system, changes with sufficient magnitude to suggest the emergence of new global structures, processes and patterns with numerous uncertainties in the globalize world such as the emergence of IPE as a new field of enquiry focusing the interests and policies of states, determined by the governing political elite, the pressures of powerful groups within a national society, and the nature of the political system of political economy. According to (Glipin 2001:18), the elite definition of national interests is subjective but objective factors of geographic location and physical requirement of the economy are of great importance in determining national interests such as national security is and always will be the principal concern of states in an international system, as Waltz in Gilpin put it ‘’state must constantly guard against actual and potential threats to their political, economic, independence’’ (ibid 2001:19). Since the Second World War and throughout the Cold War period, IR was mostly viewed through the security lens; there was neglect of the role of economic integration and the role played by non state actors in IR (Keohane and Nye 2004). Security concerns here refer to military, economic and psychological power important in IR. It is important to recognize that successful development since 1945 has been made possible by the security system provided by the alliances between the US and its allies in Europe and Asia. According to Wendt, international politics is socially constructed rather than constituting an objective reality, defining constructivism, he identify two basic tenets[[1]](#footnote-1); human structures identified mainly by shared ideas rather than material forces, and the identities and interests of human beings are constructed or are the product of these shared ideas rather than being product of nature.

The importance of Africa Gulf of Guinea to the world system after 9/11 attacks, could be traced looking at the changes of the security doctrine of the US and its allies after the 9/11 attacks. With its roots traceable with the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union, where the enemy was known, challenges clear and responses readily calculated such as the sweet moments when the wall came down in Berlin, apartheid ended in South Africa and Nelson Mandela was released from prison and an aggression was set back in Kuwait had marked the end of the Cold War old world order and the beginning of a new post Cold War world order[[2]](#footnote-2) , that led to the era of globalization and heightened global interdependence with profound political impact in the world economic system(Rosenau 1999), of multiple contradictions, ambiguity and uncertainties, where the international system is less dominant but it is still powerful, states are changing but they are not disappearing, state sovereignty has eroded but they still throw their weight around, borders still keeps out intruders but they are also more porous. The political space is continuously shifting, widening and narrowing simultaneously, minor incidents mushroom into major outcomes and that the complexities of modern life are so deeply rooted as to infuse ordinariness into the surprising development and the anxieties attached to it. Where the order that sustain families, communities, countries, and the world rest on contradictions, ambiguity and uncertainties

Uncertainty intensify while the end of the Cold War has been accompanied by pervasive instability, super power rivalry complexity, technological dynamics stimulants, breakdown of trust, the shrinking of distance, globalization of economics, the explosive proliferation of organizations, information revolution, regional integration, the surge of democratic practices, the spread of fundamentalism men of God and men who kill in God’s name, the revival of historic animosities provoking reactions that heightens complexity and uncertainty has become an enduring way of life .

The high degrees of complexity and dynamism on the global stage is now occupied by numerous independent and volatile actors, moving world politics into highly turbulent state in three primary areas; the distribution of power in world politics to which states, international organization and other key actors responds to each other(macro parameter); Authority relationships through which governments, multinational corporations, ethnic groups, and other large entities are linked to individual citizens; (macro-micro parameter); And the analytical and emotional skills citizens possess(micro parameter). These changes in world politics can be traced to the way changes in each parameter stimulate the other two (ibid:21-6) with extensive and enduring consequences, producing salient dynamics both internal and external that drives the turbulence that led to a shift from Keynesianism to neo-liberal global market economic integration and heightened global interdependence of the production, finance and knowledge structures interacting with the security structure that has led to the regain of importance of Africa Gulf of Guinea to the world system.

The linkage of the bourgeoisie of the periphery to the bourgeoisie of the centre to further exploit the masses, the issue of brain drain with the phenomenon of national lottery visas, the rise of the Asian tigers, the expansion of the EU, the current financial crisis and even more crisis now, the shift of the locus of policy issues of containment with the fall of the USSR to resource accumulation and keeping the military involve in state diplomacy, the flux of migration, the wave of democracy flow, the clash of civilizations, a political salience of rising oil prices and the free floating of the dollar, not withstanding the upsurge of terrorist activities and the launching of 9/11 and 7/7 attacks and counter attacks and more, marked the height of turbulence in world politics, has led to the regain of importance of Africa to the world system. But the background to this could be traced with the new scramble for Africa.

**1.1 Background:** The scramble for Africa also known as the ‘race for Africa’ (1800-1900) through expeditions, lead to the occupation, annexation and imperialism of African territory by European token powers of Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Spain and Portugal. A desire justified to end slavery by the white man from the Dark Continent, was fuelled by Otto Von Bismarck encouragement and the Berlin conference of (1881-1885), dividing Africa on a table in his Berlin residence. According to Lewis, some 150 years ago, “Africa was called the Dark Continent’’[[3]](#footnote-3) because so much of it was still unexploited and undiscovered. Expeditions into Africa offered plenty of land for settlement. In addition, after the end of the slave trade in 1807, Europeans were anxious to established new kinds of commerce, in ivory, animal hides and minerals she argued.

With the outbreak of the First and Second World Wars, and the active participation of the Africans alongside their colonial masters, enduring misery and burning the battles and in an attempt to uphold Wilson 14 points , (a fundamental doctrine that summarily called for the creation of an international organisation for the establishment of world peace, the promotion of self autonomy of nation state and democracy, the reject of war and the search of the wellbeing of the population as the cement of international politics) (Miller 1986; Watson 1984). Convinced of proper exploitation and what remain of Africa was a wasteland, the colonial powers began giving independence to their colonies. The scramble was not and is not about Africa than it speaks to the interest of the contenders and contending social forces. Europeans were slow to seize black Africa, ruthless in doing so, harsh when they had done it, but by no means doers only of harm. The scramble was a series of conflicts among European colonial powers for the industrial revolution, market, colonies for prestige, for imperialism in pretext to end slavery and savages

The scramble for Africa oil reserves and its rich mineral soil, with brute as aiming to offset western dependence on the Middle East. More to improve on the disastrous conditions of hunger, poverty, misery, education and other Millennium Development Goals[[4]](#footnote-4), bridging the gap between the rich and the poor, north and south, according to the UN report 1949 as stated by a panel of expert in 1948, ‘’genuine world prosperity is indivisible’’ and that, ‘’it cannot last in one part of the world if the other parts lives under conditions of poverty and ill health’’[[5]](#footnote-5) . The new scramble for Africa sparks off the even greater concerns to question the very heart of the problem; Why the regain of importance and the emergence of the security of Africa Gulf of Guinea after 9/11 attacks. What impact may this have on the security realities of the countries of the sub-region?

The new scramble geared by political and economic interests and fuelled by rivalry for hegemony in the international system, stretches some five hundred years with the economic law of value in the accumulation of capital, against the world-system itself of empires and kingdoms where politics and ideology were in command, what Amin called ‘’tributary’’ or Wallerstein ‘’world empires’’ in existence and development, that stretches back at least five thousand years Frank emphasised[[6]](#footnote-6), where the state since Westphalia 1648 was the principal actor in international relations. Since then other actors have emerged and progressively attaining their prerogative such as representative of nations, cultural organiser of the society, principal dispenser of news, thinker of war. The effect of the first and second world wars, and recently the effect and end of the cold war precipitated the state to submit to a withdrawer as principal actor on the world scene, this let to the lost of monopoly of the state as the only actor on the international scene. The obligation to compose with new international governmental authorities like the IMF, WB, WTO, UN, ILO, FAO, Greenpeace, and other non state actors such as multinationals and trans-national corporations, made the state to conserve an undistorted role as the interlocutor, and the former as the partners notably to maintain international order and to assure defence of their security, to define the principles and norms of international laws, to promote their economic and social development, to manage specific projects and extend their network of communication and cultural heritage. The realists to this effect have a tendency of their diverse statute of international actor as instrument of the state.

This has given rise to the increasing need to underpin the core historical relations of how the politics is international and the economics is local and how the international interplays in the local and vice versa, in understanding the security realities of the social world. It was the terrorist attack of 11th September 2001 that escalated global insecurity and consequently lead to the American declaration of global war on terrorism, with the renew of attack on Iraq, Saudi Arabia an Arab nation in the Middle East as principal source of the US energy consumption, became questionable. The US in search of alternative source for energy market, the importance and advantage of the quality of oil from the Gulf of Guinea, and the importance of the Gulf of Guinea to the national security priority of the US, all precipitated the regain of importance of the Gulf of Guinea to the world system.

The approach is inline with Susan Strange questioning the separation of the dominant model theorizing neo realism and criticizing politics as the primary area for understanding the social world[[7]](#footnote-7). Inline with Cox critique of economics as the primary reason for understanding the social world, with the normative remark ‘’theory is always for someone for some purpose’’[[8]](#footnote-8).

It is necessary at this stage as we get into the field of politics to understand that in IR, state do not make friendship, what prevails is interest. It is worth noting that the reconnection of Africa gulf of guinea to the world system is a social construction with the bias of participation and interconnection of the society state relations for security, power, peace and development. This has incidentally or accidentally open up the Gulf of Guinea and its rich energy resources to economic, diplomatic, military, strategic, market, ideological rivalry and conflicts of the industrial powers and their multinationals but also within and between countries of the GG region with far reaching consequences.

**1.2 Problem Formulation and Hypothesis:**

The realist’s tradition of Morgenthau, state self interests in economic negotiations, and state avoid triggering retaliation actions from other states to avoid harming domestic producers, consumers and national economic interests. Norms inscribed and defended by international institutions for global governance, such as the respect for the right of others to engage in free trade enshrine in the operating credo of the WTO, and a commitment to liberalizing financial flows and open capital account of the IMF, and WB inline with the provision of the Convention 102 of the ILO, a specialize organ of the UNO, basic ‘’minimum norm’’ for social security, as defined by the ILO and enshrine in the framework of the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights and the African Charter of Peoples and Human Rights, ratified by members countries and to which all countries in the Gulf of Guinea are signatory, is a way by which social inclusion and economic development can take place.

Capitalism assumes a system in which markets for goods and services allow the forces of demand to influence what is produced, so that innovation in products and processes and the application of capital to the means by which they are produced is rewarded (strange 1994: 64). The shift from state to market trend of management strategies, changing technology, political decision making in national economies, multilateral agreement on trade and money by industrializing countries, the role played by the US, leading to an increasingly open world market economy, the growing importance of Diplomacy between states and Transnational Corporations for the future of peoples and their government for world peace and market economy to effectively continue to function because of structural changes, the wish to make the world economy safe and welcoming to American capital, political and economic liberalism to build free trade and movement of capital, the desire to build a free world and the search for a global governing structure amobg others (Block 1977; Diebold 1980; Maddison 1982; Kindleberger 1987; in strange 1994: 78-80)

 But looking at the security reality of the Gulf of Guinea after 9/11, the political, economical, social, conflicts and wars, situations between states and markets, hegemonic influence, while civil strife and social unrests, hunger misery and poverty, diseases and pest, inaccessible road networks, the lack of free movement of goods and persons within this region, out migration, lack of capital to exploit resources, and the regional geo strategic rivalry for hegemony , within and between countries of the region (problems within Africa) and externally the interests of the great power countries and their multinationals of the north to contain terrorism and beyond terrorism, the interests for energy resources, trade, welfare, and transport, the US eager to build a geopolitical zone of influence in this region, the search for a global institution and governance for a better world, globalization, the fall of the second world USSR, the rise of the Asian tigers, the desire to get the states and market right, the break down of the Breton wood institutions, the rise of international organisations and multinational corporation and the retreat of the state as actor in IR, global financial crisis and more crisis now, climate change, rising oil prices and the free floating of the dollar, the war in the gulf of Persia and the expansion of Europe,( the assertion that Europe exist a problem for Africa). Yet internal or external factor not withstanding, the geo strategic aspect of the size and weakness of Africa, climate change and ecology, environmental hazards, depletion and extinction of natural resources (blaming nature).

This paper support the hypothesis that, it is due to turbulence in the world system that has led to a shift from Keynesianism to neo-liberal global market economic integration and heightened global interdependence of the production, finance and knowledge structures interacting with the security structure that has led to the regain of importance of Africa Gulf of Guinea to the world system.

Whether this has made Africa an object in IR and its resource security a curse or a blessing, further extend the argument into North-South relations in areas of politics as well as economics issues, through the security lens, making it interesting for investigation and the main research question is;

***Why the regain of importance of Africa Gulf of Guinea after 9/11 attacks to the world system, what impact may this have on the security realities in the countries of the sub region?***

Beside the main research question, the study also seeks to answer the following sub questions;

***What factors explain to the regain of importance of Africa Gulf of Guinea to the world system?***

***What impact may this have on the security realities in the countries of the sub regions? That is, is it a curse or a blessing? A) As a curse to the countries of the GG sub region, B) As a blessing to the countries of the GG sub region, C) The 9/11 impact on the security realities of other regions as a curse D) as a blessing E) A comparison of the 9/11 impact on the security of other regions to the security of countries of the Gulf of Guinea sub region?***

***What institutional mechanisms in terms of governance are put in place that explains the reconnection of the security of the Gulf of Guinea to the world system?***

***How has the security realities of the 9/11 impact in the Gulf of Guinea influence politics, that is what are the political implications locally and internationally?***

 ***What have we learnt and which way forward?***

**1.3 Presentation of the case study:**

The Gulf of Guinea region is the part of Africa stretching from the coastal waters of Liberia to the shores of Angola. Its particularity spins from the fact that it brings together countries from three distinct regional groupings in Africa the ECOWAS from the west headed by Nigeria, CEMAC in the centre headed by Cameroon and SADC from the south headed by South Africa to form what this paper call the Gulf of Guinea region, and contains close to half of the continent population. What is more, it is located at the intersection of the Equator and prime meridian zero latitude and longitude, situated south west of the African continent and bounded south west by the Atlantic ocean. The gulf of guinea sits between latitude 20 degree north and south of the equator and longitude 20 degree east and west of the green which meridian line[[9]](#footnote-9).

According to the International Hydrographic Organisation, the oceanic border of the gulf is the rhumb line that runs from Cape Palmas in Liberia to Cape Lopez in Gabon (IHO Special Publication 23, Limits of Oceans and Seas, 3rd ed.(1953),n0 34)[[10]](#footnote-10). The Gulf derives it name from the former names of the coasts of Africa, the south coast of west Africa, north of the gulf of guinea was historically called ‘’Upper Guinea’’, the west coast of Southern Africa to the east, was historically called ‘’Lower Guinea’’, the name Guinea is still attached to the names of three countries in Africa (Guinea Bissau, Equatorial Guinea, and Guinea Conakry as well as new Guinea of Melanasia)[[11]](#footnote-11). The countries of this region with oil resources include Liberia, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Benin, Nigeria, Cameroon, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Sao Tome and Principe, Chad, RDC, Congo Brazzaville, Central African Republic, and Angola. This region situated between North Africa and West Africa and the Atlantic Ocean and 7 billion tons of brute and crude oil reserve is located here. As an object of rivalry and geo strategy in international relations, it has projected the Gulf of Guinea to the US in search of oil reserves to compensate for the lost in the Arab world where they are in war.

According to (Ghazvinian 2007) petroleum industry has invested more than $20 billion and a further $50 billion before the end of the decade will be spent on exploration and production activities in Africa and the largest in the continent history. He pointed three of the world’s largest oil companies; the British-Dutch consortium Shell, France’s ELF that became Total-Fina, and America’s Chevron, spending 15%, 30% and 35% of their global exploration and production in Africa with the overwhelming majority of the drilling occurring in the deep and ultra deep waters in the Gulf of Guinea described as the 90 degree bend along the west coast of Africa down to Angola in the south, calling it the continent ‘’armpit’’. He describe Nigeria and Angola as prolific producers in the gulf with the semi desert of southern Chad and Sudan adding hundreds of thousands of barrels a day to the global market.

 This region could conveniently be described as the French overseas reserve “pre carre francais’’ what is more, non state actors such as multinational companies, international organisations, and the financial institutions of the world bank, IMF, and the ADB. The entrance of the Chinese oil company into this region heightens the risk of the Gulf of Guinea as a potential region for crisis. This study questions why the regain of importance of the Gulf of Guinea to the world system after 9/11, what impact may this have on the security of the countries of the sub region?

An understanding of the geopolitical situation of the gulf of guinea maybe necessary to fully reflect on the research question.

The Gulf of Guinea is a region rich in natural and energy resources. For several years ‘’the poor have been sitting on riches’’ resources have been quietly boiling and the discovery of oil wells did not help to calm the situation.

A group of congressmen, Lobbyist and defence strategists came together under the umbrella of the African Oil Policy Initiative Group[[12]](#footnote-12), and preached the Gulf of Guinea region was the ‘’new Persian gulf’’[[13]](#footnote-13) , that it should become a strategic priority for the US even to the point of requiring an expanded military presence. Thanks to its immense wealth of natural and energy resources, ranging from (forests, gas, to crude, brute, and oil).

Taken a synoptic look at the Gulf of guinea since 9/11, the observation is one characterized by a series of conflicts and instability in the countries of this sub region. One putting the security of the region to question. Prominent among these conflicts is 1) the interstate conflicts between Nigeria and Cameroon over the border stretch of the Bakassi peninsular said to be rich in energy resources, the conflict between Nigeria and Equatorial Guinea, Gabon and Equatorial Guinea over a border island ,Cameroon and Equatorial Guinea, Ghana and Ivory Coast over the Jubilee oil fields, 2) conflict within state over the distribution of oil resources with the example of the delta region of Nigeria, political shake up in Congo Brazzaville, Angola, and military coup in Chad, Equatorial Guinea. 3) Multinational oil Companies rivalry and influence to the local population e.g. in Angola, Congo Brazzaville, and Nigeria, and terrorist threats in Chad, Angola and Equatorial Guinea.

The view reveals there are over a dozen countries and oil producers in the Gulf of Guinea with Angola and Nigeria as major players in supply to the volatile world oil market. It is the Gulf of Guinea that represents the new frontiers of US energy policy and the transnational oil companies. Transnational oil companies with interests in this region include; France TotalFinaElf, the Chinese National Oil Company, Canada’s Talisman, Swedish Lundin Oil, Qatar’s Gulf Oil, Nederland Shell, American Exxon Mobile, Oxy, among others. Where the oil companies goes, the politicians and the economists and lobby strategists follows. There has been a growing attention to human rights violation like in Chad, and its Darfur neighbours, and rivalry between major foreign powers and their multinationals has intensified such as the French and British colonial claims against the US against the US drive for a zone of influence in this region. With troubles in the Middle East, the Gulf of Guinea is seen as the new Gulf of Persia and has since 9/11 attack known an increase in foreign direct investments and could receives $40 billion in investments by 2012.

 According to zalik Anne et al 2006, on the petroleum industry and the National Intelligence Council, the significance of the Gulf of Guinea to the US may rise from 16 percent to 25 percent by 2015. The US council of Foreign relations approach to the Africa Gulf of Guinea strategic importance for US policy focus beyond humanitarianism to source of US oil and Gas imports, the increasing role of China in the African Gulf of Guinea oil and gas industry, Africa as the new frontier for the fight against terrorism and Islamist extremists, and former colonial power claims, has intensify the rivalry over African resources and this has not gone unnoticed as it has fuelled local communities to engage in violence. The delta state in Nigeria, with the MEND youths activities, of violence and oil bunkering in protest calling for what (Ghazvinian 2007 p.68)[[14]](#footnote-14), observed as equitable distribution of resource revenues, where today 80 percent of oil and gas revenues belong to 1 percent of the population. The story is not different from Cameroon where the account for oil revenue is a close secret between a hand full of the executive. It is this internal instability resulting from the discontent of oil multinationals of French totalFinaElf supporting General Sassou Nguesso to topple a democratically elected government of Pascal Lusuba backed by American Oxy in Congo Brazzaville. This was the case of the Dalmant cartel supporting l’UNITA of Jonas Savimbi against President Dos Santos of NFPLA backed by the Angolan oil companies in a civil war that protracted over 16 years. It accounts for the failed coup in Equatorial Guinea, Tchad to topple the government. It is the source of increasing tension between African State Corporation and foreign multinationals as we recently observe between Exxon mobile and the Ghanian government over the jubilee oil field.

**1.4 Research objectives:**

To understand the behavioural meaning of government and the state in international system why they behave in the way they do and what motivate them to behave in the way they do relate with other states and non state actors, and how can it be best understood and explained and analysed. More to understand the survival of the state system management with the consequences of economic interdependence of how they succeed or fail to manage their conflicts and what determines whether they cooperate or not to achieve common objectives.

To build a hand on geopolitical intelligence and add to knowledge, that provide individuals, communities, institutional investors, and governments with the current picture of security in the Gulf of Guinea as a hot spot and emerging market, created by the political forces and regulatory decisions of international organisations, foreign governments and their consensus, that is how the international politics interplays and influence the local economy to understand the social world. That is tying with the argument that the problem of Africa is the idea that Europe and its allies exist a problem for Africa.

There has been a shift of the source of power in IR from military to market and now to resources. The security of the Gulf of Guinea provides Africa with an opportunity for integration with free movement of good and persons, communities and states within the sub region as it regroups countries of three regional groupings of ECOWAS, CEMAC, SADC for a common identity, market, money, and government within Africa, but also reconnecting Africa to the world system with their oneness and common ideology (the African consensus) in presenting their demands for example vying for a permanent seat at the security council at the UN.

To underpin Africa’s vulnerability as the world soft under belly to the culture of violence of global war on terror, where the elephants are fighting it is the grass that suffers. Learn from history and past experience and adopt an African geo strategy, mending hardships, culture of violence and cultural diversity into a culture of non violence and cultural diversity in unity, and sell as information. Fundamental to empower the dismember and suffering communities to achieve sustainable livelihood characteristics of human dignity and respect.

In order to be able to change the world from all its turbulence and inequalities, we must first with ambition, understand the hierarchy of orders inherent in the world we live in, gain knowledge with which to construct a better world.

**1.5 Methodology:**

**1.5.1 Theoretical and Empirical Design;**

This study adopt a critique of the neo-realist approach of empirical analysis, in an IPE perspective, that is looking the world the way it is, but also the way it is suppose to be with future outcome, by looking at the relationship of the structural and relational process and origin of power in core areas of security, production, finance and knowledge structures. Examining issues, constraints and opportunities through the security lens both internally and externally inline with Cohen, Gilpin, Tooze and Morphy perception of Susan Strange IPE approach of questioning the separation of dominant model, by theorizing neo realism, neo realism assuming a world made up of states, motivated by self interests, with no overriding state authority to control them, concentrating on the agent and not the structure, she did this through thinking of ‘’international economy and IR; A Case of Mutual Neglect’’[[15]](#footnote-15) . looking for the weakness of both and used IPE as a means of overcoming their weakness. The structural and relational power and global view of power shift factors between the states and non actors, of power, and market mechanisms of control for efficiency, bringing out the implications of what this means locally that is how the state and non state actors influence stability or instability of rivalry within and between countries locally and internationally, how this power shift influence north south relation, especially rivalry among the great powers, by looking at the relationship of the structural and relational power of the impact of 9/11 attacks on the security realities (politics and economics )of the Gulf of Guinea.

 To strange, neo realism focus on state power relationship ignores the processes of particular powerful agent structures such as multinational corporations and international organizations and their influential role in bringing about social change, that might challenge the power of particular state structures, she criticizes neo realism as displaying a limited view of power concentrating on the state as power religion, she argues IR registers the role of the growing importance of global institutions, international organisation and non states actors and their influence in the global economy for getting better social outcome, she identifies four areas as source of power in the world system; security, production, finance, knowledge as core areas of analysing IPE issues that goes beyond the power of the state. Strange argues the global market had gain significant power relatively to that of the state, against the Westphalia system that had the state as the only actor in IR (Strange 1994:24-26).

Strange criticize politics on account that economic and technology do not capture all the other areas of change. She criticize politics on the assumptions that the political reasons are the primary area for understanding the social world, identifying power with tangible resources of one or another; territory, population, armed forces, with the political nexus of the market and state authority in a balance of power, the structural power hegemony, and a gap between nation state and international governmental organisation in which a free market hand could be constructive or destructive. In economic matter, Strange perceptively argued, what matters was not physical endowment but rather structures and relationships, of who depends on whom, and for what, operating in two levels; structural and relational power. Relational power echoing the ‘’power of A to get B to do what they would not otherwise do’’, and structural power ’’the power to shape and determine the structures of the global political economy, how things will be done, to shape frameworks within which states relate with each other (Strange 1998a in Cohen 2008:49-63).

 Inline with Timothy Sinclair, Bieler and Morton approach of Robert Cox neo granscian IPE approach of Marxist historical materialistic problematic of social transformation with emphasis on hegemony construction first within the state and is then projected to the world scale. With the origin situated in IR with the de-linking of the dollar, the end of the post war regime of embedded liberalism, and a world of sustained structural change, IR in difficulties in understanding this development, and the challenges posed by new critical theories of feminism, historical sociology, and post structuralism, rejecting the positivist assumption of the aim of social science of identifying causal relationship in an objective world. Rejecting the mainstream positive IR approaches assuming that it is neither possible to separate the object from the subject or distinguish between normative enquiry and empirical scientific research. This is where Robert Cox critique with respect for institutions, social and power relations, calls them the mainstream theories, in this case neo-realism, by concerning itself with their origins and if they bring about change of world order, dominant norms, institutions and practices ( hegemonic forces, and counter hegemonic structures of their social origins and the historical context perspective of private power, in their social interactions, comprising set of material capabilities, ideas and institutions into spheres or levels of production, forms of state, and world orders). He criticize economics as the primary reasons for understanding the social world, with the normative remark ‘’theory is always for someone for some purpose’’[[16]](#footnote-16). Cox sees production as the basis of social and political power in the society. The state is the embodiment in political term with authority of the class in control of the production structure in an anarchical world order. (ibid 1996:11)

Another way I would have like to realise the research investigation is the classical approach of Schumpeter through the development theory of economic growth and development as a structural transformation process, emphasizing industrialization, process in developing countries, assuming that the developed and industrialized countries were rich primarily because of their industrial development. With characteristics stressing productivity differences in various economic sectors and of a high degree of state intervention in economic development process, to bring about economic development and modernization. But the theory of modernization has the tendency to alienate African countries as it prunes Rowstow stages of economic development and believes Africa should copy from the west. What is more this theory has been by pass with the advent of technological innovations such as the internet, modern machineries, fast means of communication, globalization and the shift in focus of the unit of analysis from states to markets in IR to IPE.

**1.5.2 Method of Data Collection and Plan Framework;**

The data collection technique is both qualitative and quantitative techniques of research in social science[[17]](#footnote-17). The empirical analysis will depend on secondary data, research studies, intelligence reports, official statistics, paper of the world bank, IMF, news, journals, previous write ups, text books from the libraries, desktop electronic and online materials, and other authentic relevant materials. The research design is a case study of a holistic qualitative and quantitative data and statistics methods of approach of the Gulf of Guinea as a region but draws examples by country specifics within the sub region in an IPE perspective and make use of comparative politics, to ensure quality and relevance in view of rivalry of hegemony and conflicts within and without the sub region, to understand, interpret and add to knowledge of the universal or ethnocentric conceptions of the unit of analysis that is the state and non state actors in IPE, politically realising their interests.

The reconnection of Africa to the world system after 9/11 attacks: war on terrorism or integration for sustainable development, is an attempt to address the case of the security of the gulf of guinea and the notion of terrorism, a relatively new and on going phenomenon in the gulf of guinea in particular and Africa in general and not too many literature has been written on it, hence limiting the scope of the study. More the region is made up of smaller state units with different interest and objectives, from language to politics and in relation with the outside world, hence it becomes complex. The lack of the usage of primary data in the study, again that the investigator spent too much time consulting documents written in other languages and at one point almost abandon the investigation and it has not been easy making up my mind to bring the project to completion, reflect some of the difficulties encountered that limits the scope of the study. I recognize the fact that I have not been able to cover everything and I am conscious of the fact that specialists will feel that I have been neglectful.

The research is divided into three main parts, the theory section, the analyses and the syntheses, and styled up of five chapters. The content of chapters serves as the summary of the project as it gives us a brief insight of what each chapter is about and the structure of the work.

**Chapter I**

Chapter one handles the introduction and brings out the background of the study, it gives leadings how we are going to carry out the investigation, that is the ontology, epistemology and methodology (nature, structure, method and design) of the study, stating the main research question, describing the study area and the objectives of the study. The study is structured into five chapters.

**Chapter II**

Chapter two talks of the definition, conceptualization and how we are going to put in operation the concepts of the world system and security. It also carries the debate of the mainstream dominant models and announces the realist’s theory in use.

 **Chapter III**

Chapter three talks of the context, content and critique of the realist and neo realist theory in use in this study, in it application evaluation and assessment of the security in the Gulf of Guinea in their connection, complexity and the critique to the world system(IPE approach), bringing out the implications of what this means locally and internationally.

**Chapter IV**

Chapter four is the analysis, in analysing the findings of the investigation, it deals with leadings of structured questions of the reasons why…,what factors explains…, what mechanisms are put in place…,what impact this might have…,how has this influence…,what have we learnt and which way forward etc.

**Chapter V**

Chapter five is the conclusion. It carries the significance of the study and our opinions based on our findings and a discussion is presented in relation to the findings of other studies carried out on similar topics in different areas of Latin America, Middle East, South East Asia, and India and recommending options.

But what do we mean by reconnecting to the world system? What is the meaning of security? What is terrorism? What is sustainable development?

**Chapter Two**

**2. Definition of Concepts and Debate:**

This chapter defines and conceptualize the terms in operation and make a presentation of the debate and evolution of the mainstream dominant models of realists, liberalists and Marxists school of thoughts. Other issues are highlighted in passing to guard against myself.

**2.1 Definition of Concepts and Terms;**

The World System; By world system we refer to the international system where long and short alternating economic cycles of ups and downturns, characterised by the processes of capital accumulation, changes in centre semi-periphery and the periphery positions within it, with world system hegemony and rivalry. As inline with the conceptualization of Susan Strange and Robert Cox of the present system of things with the shift in focus in the IR and international economy to the IPE where they question the separation of the dominant models and how they bring about changes in the real world. Strange arguing political reasons are the primary areas of understanding the social world while Cox on his part argues the economic reasons are the primary areas of understanding the social world. This study therefore understands the world system as the international system. In what concerns this paper, the focus is on the approaches understood as global or international political economy which look at the relationships between the two segregated streams of politics and economics. Understood by proponent of the world system as an intellectual movement, capable of transforming social science into a vehicle for world wide social change. That is distinguished from the world-system of Wallerstein, a position taken by Amin or the’’ modern’’ world system of Frank that began some five hundred years ago as against the world-system conception of Frank that stretches five thousand years ago before 1492 (Frank and Gills 1992, 1993). Where the process of capital accumulation is the motor force that differentiate the present world system from previous world-system, what Amin calls ‘’tributary’’ or Wallerstein “world empires’’ (op cit). Where the centre semi-periphery and the periphery structures include the transfer of surplus to zones of the world system (frank 1969). With the alternation between hegemony and rivalry, regional hegemonies and rivalries and hegemonic leadership and rivalry in international relations since 1492.(Wallerstein 1984) (Modelski 1987)

**Security**; providence created man with life existence in bio diversity system, but man develop life existentialism of survival of the fit. This brought social inequality with disastrous consequences of selfishness, egocentrism, power struggle, totalitarian and multi-polarization for hegemony, leading to wars as experienced during WW I and II. This ushered man the necessity for a social equilibrium through social security regimes. By definition, security is a situation in which somebody or something is not exposed to danger. There are many types of security among which is social security, military security, public security, civil security, economic security and more, which is generally an assemble of preventive measures and safety interventions required and created to protect goods and persons against invasion and attacks. Strange sees the security structure in IPE, as a framework of power, created by the provision of security by some human beings for others most basic of basic human needs. Addressing questions like who provides security to whom? Against what threats? On what price or terms? Or from the consumers view point as, to whom does the state, corporation, social group or individual look for security? How much security is provided? On what terms? (Strange 1994: 46). Security in IPE comprises the state, enterprises, individuals, and the factors affecting their survival, caused by natural or human agency locally or globally, for example the Japanese builds earthquake resistant buildings, the Americans develop an elaborate hurricane warning system, they may be tigers still in India, but no more wolves in Europe, while threats from human agency to individuals include, criminals, lunatics, or carriers of serious diseases, to threats of organized crime, civil wars, revolutions[[18]](#footnote-18), regional wars, and threats of major nuclear war(ibid: 47). Other includes the conflict of authority between or within states in disagreement of their respective authority such as (crime and terrorism, war, strategic embargoes or blockades). Thus the paradox of coexistence of authorities that is the balance of power can be a power for peace or a cause for war.

 Security dilemma refers to a situation wherein two or more states are drawn into conflict, possibly even war or over security concerns, even though none of the states actually desire conflict. Essentially, security dilemma occurs when two or more states each feels insecure in relation to the other states. None of the states involved want security to deteriorate, let alone for war to be declared, but as each state act militarily or diplomatically to make itself more secure, the other states interpret its actions as threatening. An ironic cycle of unintended provocations emerges, resulting in an escalation of the conflict which may eventually lead to open warfare (Kanji O. 2003, Security in Burgess G and H. Burgess (eds), Beyond Intractability. Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado).

 **Global Integration;** it is a set of processes(widening, intensifying, speeding up and growing impact)[[19]](#footnote-19) involve in the bringing together the interconnectedness of transcontinental flows and networks of activity, interactions and power characterised by the stretching of the social, political, and economic activities across frontiers, regions and continent, leading to the development of a world wide system of global governance, such that an event in one corner of the globe affects another with significant consequences and vice versa. It is better understood by the debate of the shift from state to market, between the hyperglobalists, the sceptics and the transformalists. The hyperglobalist in the likes of ( Albrow1997; Cox 1997; Guehanenno 1995; Luard 1990; Ohmae 1995; Wriston 1992, in Strange 1996) argue that globalization represent a new epoch in human history in which nations states have become impossible business unit in the new global economy. They based on economic globalization, stressing denationalization of national economics by the powerful transnational network of production trade and finance. The sceptics like (Hall 1996; Hirst 1997; Hirst and Thompson 1996; Weiss 1998 in Ersel and Rosenau 2005, p. 100), argue that globalization is not new base on statistical findings on world trade and the level of economic interdependence in the 19th Century. They implied that state capacity survived those periods and was strengthened. They see intensification of interconnectedness as heightened levels of internationalization that emphasize the key role of national capacities. (Krasner 1993, 1995 in Ersel and Rosenau 2005). While the transformalists on their part argues the new epoch of globalization is a central driving force behind the rapid social political and economic changes, reshaping states, societies and the world order. They see globalization as creating a world of affairs with no distinct line between the international and domestic affairs to which actors adjust (Giddens 1990; Cammilleri & Falk 1992; Rosenau 1990; Ruggie 1993; Sassen 1996 in Ersel & Rosenau 2005, p. 101)

**Sustainable development**; This refers to the changes and the evolutions taking place within thesociety from bad to good to say the least. Development is best understood when employed in Rowstow 1960 approach of the stages of economic growth, in which he identifies five distinct stages of economic development, from the pre industrial, take off, maturity, mastery of our development, distribution stages. Development refers to the evolution of the processes and reforms which facilitates development within the community society and the state at large. As a process, development is the transformation, or shift politically, economically socio-culturally from one stage of development to the other. Development has been confined to economic progress that is limiting the term to economic development but it also applies to progress made in the security, education, environment, human interactions as quoted in the work of (shrum 2001 in Andin and Sih 2008)

**Terrorism**; Terrorism has been described variously as both a tactic and strategy; a crime and a holy duty; a justified reaction to oppression and an inexcusable abomination. Terrorism has often been used offensively as an effective tactic for the weaker side in a conflict. As an asymmetric form of organization, they often offer opponents no clear organization to defend against or to deter. The US Department of Defence defines terrorism as ‘’the calculated use of threats of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuits of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological’’. The US Department of State defines terrorism to be ‘’premeditated politically-motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience. The UN in 1992 definition terrorism as ‘’An anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi) clandestine individual, group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or reasons, where by in contrast to assassination, the direct targets of violence are not the main targets’’.

The State and politics; Max Weber define the state as a political enterprise of a social character that reclaim with success the monopoly of force over all the other entity in the society. The sociologists define the state as a government, territory and a population that is distinct from the realist conception as a monolithic homogenous and coherent actor. On his part Harold D. Lasswell sees politics as the study of changes in the shape and composition of the value pattern of society. (Lasswell 1936: in Ravenhill 2008:19) defines politics as the study of ‘’who gets what when and how’’ [[20]](#footnote-20)

**The concept of shift;** is understood as the unstable and critical times in which we live in, characterize by changes from unipolar pax Britannica to pax Americana through bi-polar hegemonic world order to what we are experiencing as a multi-polar world order, with a shift in focus from the state and market, to a search for a global governance, depicting a shift from IR to IPE, marked by expansion from deterrence to hegemonic war, rise of the global market economy, and the emergence of the nation state, where being a realist means to be a neo mercantilist, and an IR scholar an IPE scholar, where power and security are the permanent motivation of agents. Where power cannot be understood independently from the economic base ( Guzzini 1994:6-11)

**2.2 The Debate and assumptions:**

**The debate;**

Therealist and neo realist: They argue the state motivated by self interest are the only important actors, realism is a theory assuming a particular view of the world, or a paradigm of state power politics relations, defined by the following assumptions; the international realm is anarchic and consists of independent political units called states; Concerned with balance power equilibrium, making war inevitable due to power shifts; International organizations are tools of the state for national interests and affects international relations stability; States are sacrosanct and are the major players in global governance and rivalry relations to offset one another such as US and USSR in Cold War, as such security is competition where the powerful states influence institutions in their interests; States are the primary actors and inherently possess some offensive military capability or power which makes them potentially dangerous to each other; states can never be sure about the intentions of other states; the basic motive driving states is survival or the maintenance of sovereignty that must not be violated by interference from outside a state; states are instrumentally rational and think strategically about how to survive that is state primary duty is its own interest of developing a strong economy which can support a strong military to ensure the security of the state; Economic realism mercantilism involves protectionism on a zero sum basis; Political disagreement is different from intellectual disagreement and view politics as not an exchange of opinion, rather a contest for power hegemony; endorse liberal democracy but reject the view that human beings are all equal, that is view inequalities among individuals with moral and civic equality;

The realist want to think narrowly about the means and ends of national policy at home and abroad, that is they see the world the way it is or it was affected by political, economic and social circumstances, they seek a framework of analysis, a method of diagnosis of the human conditions as it is or it was according (Strange 1994, p.16). While Neo-realism is a theory developed by Hans Maugenthau’s Politics Among Nations 1948 and Kenneth Waltz 1959, in which states seek to survive within an anarchical system. Although states may seek survival through power balancing, balancing is a product with the aim to survive and because the international system is regarded as anarchic and base on self help, the most powerful units set the scene of action for others as well as themselves. These major powers are referred to as poles; hence the international system or regional subsystem, at a particular point in time, maybe characterised as unipolar, bipolar, or multipolar (Katzenstein et al 1999, p. 18; Ravenhill 2008, p. 33). Use collective security to keep the power of the state and will use its own force outside collective security if necessary; Environment is seen as low priority and minor issues due to the problems of costs, free riders and tragedy of the commons where states do not contribute such as third world countries, use their resources which becomes threat to power.

while the liberalists and the neo liberalists sees the state as most important actors using regimes in order to further their interests, liberalism and neo liberalism covers a fairly broad perspective ranging from Wilson’s idealism through to contemporary neo liberalism theories and the democratic peace thesis. Here states are but one actor in world politics, and even states can cooperate together through institutional mechanisms and bargaining that undermine the propensity to base interests simply in military terms. States are interdependent and other actors such as Transnational Corporations, the IMF, WB, UN plays a role. Liberalism is a paradigm based on cooperation, interdependence, free trade, democracy and globalization. The liberalist argues that the states are most important actors using regimes to further their interests, that the state is not sacrosanct, and that international intervention into the internal affairs of another state is permissible if a state violate the human rights of its own citizens such as the Rwandan genocide. They assume open economy with institutional mechanisms base on free market relations, regional trading blocks second best. Neo liberal institutionalism argues that international institutions play an important role in coordinating international cooperation. Proponents begin with the same assumptions used by realists, except for the following; where realists assumes that states focus on relative gains and the potential for conflict, neo liberal institutionalists assume that states concentrate on absolute gains and the prospects for cooperation. Neo liberal institutionalists believe that the potential for conflict is overstated by realists and suggest that there are countervailing forces, such as repeated interactions, that propel states toward cooperation. They regard cheating as the greatest threat to cooperation and anarchy as the lack of organisation to enforce rules against cheating. Institutions are described by neo liberals as persistent and connected sets of rules (formal or informal) that prescribe behavioural roles, constrain activity and shape expectations Keohane.

On their part, the Marxist sees an uneven development and construction of global capitalism leading to imperialism, and the concentration and mobilization of capital. They define the world as the centre, semi periphery and the periphery. Marxism; may be understood as a body of thought inspired by Karl Marx. It emphasises the dialectical unfolding of historical stages, the importance of economic and material forces and class analysis. It predicts that contradictions inherent in each historical epoch eventually lead to the rise of a new dominant class. The era of capitalism, according to Marx, is dominated by the bourgeoisie and will give way to a proletarian, or working class, revolution and an era of socialism in which workers own the means of production and move toward a classless, communist society in which the state, historically a tool of the dominant class, will wither away. A number of contemporary theorists have drawn on Marxian insights and categories of analysis, most evident on dependency and the world capitalist system (Viotti et al 1987. Idem) it is necessary at this point to establish the linkage between security and economics so we can better understand the pattern of the security in the Gulf of Guinea.

 **The relationship between security, economics and politics in the international system;**

An IPE problematic is to question the relationship between politics and economics at the international level and about the link between the domestic policies and processes. Concepts such as hegemony and imperialism link politics and economics and require and require an examination of the precise nature of the relationship (Hirsch et al 1977 in strange 1984, p. 7). Mastanduno (1999, p. 185) explains the classical essay of Edward Mead Earle on the works of Adam Smith, Alexander Hamilton and Friedrich List, asserting that economics and security “is one of the most critical and absorbing problems of statesmanship’’, Hirschman on Machiviavelli’s classics the modern prince argues should contain “extensive new sections on the most efficient use of quotas, exchange controls, capital investment and other instrument of economic warfare’’. The suggestion of Hirschman and Earle for economic and security to be understood in an integrated fashion became prominent among scholars Jacob Viner 1948, Frederick Dunn 1949. Mastanduno explains according to these early scholars. Baldwin refers statecraft to the use of policy instruments to satisfy the core objectives of nation-states in the international system, involving the application and interplay of multiple instruments from military, economic, diplomatic, and informational to achieve the multiple objectives of states including national security, economic prosperity and political prestige and influence[[21]](#footnote-21). Successor generation as Klaus Knorr and Frank Trager1977, found that the relationship between economic and national security issues has been a ‘’neglected area of study’’ in IR and subsequently observed in IPE.

During the Cold War era, the US foreign policy integrated economic and security concerns, and relationships critical of launching the grand strategy of containing the expansion of the soviet power. The Clinton administration integrated security and economics in relations with other major powers who followed by reinforcing and complementing both concerns. The reintegration of IR security studies and IPE in issues and problems that lie at the intersection of economics and security and research has been revitalised on the link between international trade and peace, between security relations and international economic cooperation and between economics and security in the grand strategies of powerful states (Op.cit, p. 186-7)

Mastanduno in addressing the evolution of the relationship between economics and security, the case of the US argues around three factors to help us understand their variations in the extent of their integration. They include international structure of power hegemony with which he explains Multi-polar world politics create incentives for integration as great powers tend to be economically interdependent and rely heavily on allies for their security, Bipolar world politics encourage separation as they tend to be economically independent and defection from fixed to fluid alliance system is low. Where as, Uni-polarity motivates the dominant state to motivate economic and security. Secondly the specific features of the strategic environment could weaken or strengthen incentives to integrate economics and security and thirdly the position of the country (US) in international competition. The more the US dominate that competition, the easier foreign economic policies complement to national security policies, that is the more international competition faced, the greater the domestic pressure on policy makers to use foreign policy in pursuit of national economic interests. Mastanduno conception incorporates both material and non material factors of material capabilities emphasized by structural realists such as Cox, and ideas as sociology of knowledge such as Friedberg 1988, Walt 1987 (p.88). To avoid a betrayal of academic responsibility that seems particularly shameful, is to return to the antidote of open minded classics in the likes of Malthus, Lists, J. S. Mills, Marx, Weber, Lenin, Luxemburg, Schumpeter, all enrich present analysis with insights of serious speculations about man’s economic life. That is they connect the economy society and poverty very well. This leads us to make assumptions.

**Assumptions;**

That international relations designates the relationship between states and their interactions with foreign policies no longer the only actor but also non state actors in pursuing their interests , in a more larger perspective with a political dimension that marks the characteristics phenomenon and processes of their evolution.

The assumption that the world is made up of upon the state units as actors and non state actors in relations and interactions with each other in IR and IPE and believing that all other features of the dominant model remain constant in the world with their inherent inequalities. The importance of the Gulf of Guinea to the world system will enhance the political, economic, social, regional and partly geo-strategic integration and stability of the countries of the sub region, thereby improving quality standards of living and sustainable development.

That the richness in energy resources (oil, brute, fossils, natural gas, and forests) is a source of power and to speak power in the IPE and in relations among states. That such power relation is best acquired in a supportive and joyful environment of peace and security where diverse interests are respected. This assumption underpins the belief of the beneficial effects of the relations and interactions of goods, individuals, society and their states and other state and non state actors at the local national and international levels.

The relationship existing between actors is exemplary from confrontation to cooperation with frontiers transcended by flux of migration and network of actors of a transnational scope. Mixing the national, regional and global and the laws that bind the nation lost it pertinence as delimitation of the internal and international boundary, politics and economics becomes difficult.

That there has been a paradigm shift in power relations in IR to IPE and from the states to the markets and that the states that prevail is seen as one getting both the states and market right. The politics and economics are the primary areas of focus in understanding our social world.

That globalization influences development and social change, the global economy and world order, and world economy and world order affects development and social change. Development permits a better understanding of the geopolitical, geo strategic and economic influences of the socio political forces at the local, regional and global levels.

**Chapter Three**

**3. The Theory Framework:**

Chapter three talks of the context, content and critique of the realist and neo realist theory in use in this study, looking at the reconnection of Africa Gulf of Guinea through the security lens, in it application evaluation and assessment of realists traditions of states struggles for power, prestige, and influence in the high political arena of diplomacy and warfare but also the realists IPE conception of security, production, finance, knowledge, ideas, and commercial pre eminence issues of contemporary concern in world economic affairs into problems of international economic diplomacy and trade wars described by (R. B. J. Walker 1993 in Ravenhill 2008:33) of structural, historical, political and economic realism following the pioneering of Maugenthau and Carr of state interests and behaviour in international economic negotiations and norms as inscribed and defended by the actions of international institutions of global governance in contemporary times such as the WB, IMF, WTO, UN and so on,

 But what do we mean by realism and neo realism? My attempt is not to deconstruct but to identify point of disagreement between Realism, neo Realism and their adversaries of Liberalism and Marxism which include variants ideologies as Economic Nationalism, Hegemonic Stability theory, Mercantilism, Imperialism, Regimes theory, Dependency theory, Complex Interdependence, neo Classical Economy, Constructivism, among others, as they engage in IPE parallel play.

 This research contends that they are exclusive approaches to IPE with different assumptions and conclusions with regard to the nature and consequences of security in a world system of IPE. Like a public pot of stew where everyone comes and pour its own ingredients, like the father the son and the holy ghost, like the appetizers the main course and the dessert, like three toy trains travelling from three different starting point and ending at different predetermined destinations never crossing each other path according to Mammo’s perception of Strange conception of the mainstream approaches which Nye likened as a brush lump of billiard balls heating against one another.

Realists argue the state motivated by self interests are the only important actors, sees the world as it is, affected by social, economic and political circumstances, sees the state as the key actor pursuing national interests in the global economy; On their part the liberalists sees the state as the most important actors using regimes to further their interests, they see the world as it is suppose to be, they want to think how the world economy could be most efficiently organized ; while the Marxist sees an uneven development and construction of global capitalism leading to imperialism, they see the primacy of the state and national security but belief the state as a servant to the dominant social class, they say the world is divided into the centre semi periphery and the periphery.

Whether or not economic interdependence leads to political conflicts or harmony, remains a continuous debate among realists, liberalists and Marxists. Despite their variability they all contend the primacy of the state and national security and the necessity to avoid conflict to the interest of economic development. (Gilpin 2001; strange 1994,p. 16)

**3.1 The Context and Content (connections and the complexity):**

 Realism is a theory assuming a particular view of the world, or a paradigm of state power politics relations, security is the key assumption with states making the Russian calculation to maximize their security interests and power. As a basic neo classical theory, it is define by the following assumptions; the international realm is anarchic and consists of independent political units called states; Concerned with balance power equilibrium, making war inevitable due to power shifts; That states are the key actors in world politics that is the injunction of taking politics seriously as a particular field of human endeavour ; that states can be treated as homogenous units acting on the basis of self interests that is the proposition that civil order is the sine qua non for every other political good; that analysis can proceed on the assumptions that states acts as if they were rational, that is the evaluations and comparisons of institutions and regime types not only principles; that international anarchy, is the absence of any legitimate authority in the international system means that, conflicts between self interested states entails the danger of war and the possibility of coercion, that is the call for a more complex moral and political psychology. Assuming to view the world as it is and not as it is supposed to be.

Therefore the principal authors of this theory are enrolled in the school of thinkers who develop a unique pessimistic vision of human relations. The origin of this classical theory could be traced to (Thucydide 471-400 BC) who in his works, stress the importance of forceful rivalry relations in negotiation between Athens and the little island of Melas, during the Peloponnesian war. As such is considered as one of the basic text which have inspired and summarized the realist thoughts. This period correspond to the politics of the world imperial system in which one government controls most of the world. This period was followed by the feudal system of international politics. The book entitled ‘’prince’’ of Machiavelli (1469-1527) stressed the importance of the security of the state. The ‘’Leviathans’’ of Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) develop the vision of the ‘’state of nature’’[[22]](#footnote-22) characterized by anarchy of man by man and necessitating the imposition of an order through a supreme sovereign political authority unit, of state centric realism in international affairs (Gilpin 2001:16). To Clausewitz (1780-1831) his works on war insist that war was another means to play politics, thus included among the sources of the 20th century.

 A third form of world politics in an anarchical system composed of state that are relatively coercive but with no higher government, for the modern scholars, such as (Hans Maugenthau 1904-1980) and author of politics among the nations. Structural realism or neo realism also known as systemic realism is a recent version of realist thought and is associated with (Kenneth Waltz 1924) innovative and influential Theory of International Politics 1979, (ibid 2001:16)(Henry Kissinger born 1923), (Raymond Aron1905-1983) all held eminent position under realism theory trying to understand the preoccupation of leaders of foreign policy culminated to what became known as neo-realism (Katzenstein et al, 1999). These authors have always preferred lucidity of action to a speculation judged to be idealist. The failure of Wilson’s ideas, the constraints of the Cold War, has essentially made realism a pragmatic theory of conflict rather than to be part of dissuasion, a characteristic reality of the classical theory or human realism associated with Maugenthau exposition in which the power pursuit propensity of states is derived from the basic nature of human beings as power maximise. This perspective holds that ideological as well as material factors, may constitute power for example power of public opinion with some social underpinnings. But who wants peace must make war (Caesarism)[[23]](#footnote-23). The permanent risks of conflicts between states and the search for balance of power equilibrium, constitutes the central hypothesis of the realist theory that is made up of several contested standard variants. All realist share few fundamental ideas such as, the anarchic nature of the international system and the primacy of the state in international affairs. (ibid 2001:16).

**Realism as a theory of balance of power equilibrium in the heart of IR. The question is why and for what reasons?**

The international system as envisaged by the realist is characterised the principles of power equilibrium and power rivalry relations between states or poles composed of states. The states are in quest of power and the balance of power equilibrium as the central hypothesis of the realists’ theory remains the best means of avoiding conflict between states on the world scale. States do not make friendship in international relations, what prevail is interest, interest is define in terms of power as a rationality principle of state action Max Weber. International politics is anarchic in the sense that there is no higher government (Waltz 1979 in Keohane 1984, p. 7). The realist therefore prefers the ethics of responsibility rather than the ethics of conviction (moral), it is better for a state to count on its personal capacity to defend itself than to rely on allies or international judicial system modelled in relation to the interest of the state. Keohane explains, where this world politics correct any cooperation as a result of overall patterns of conflict, alliance cooperation would be easily explained as a result of the operation of the balance of power. The British historian A.J.P Taylor defined a great power as one able to prevail in war. By implication, what this means is that, if international politics were a state of war, state would obviously use military force, and institutionalised patterns of cooperation would not exist as part of a larger struggle for power. Therefore, international agreement as we observe them on issues as trade, financial relations health, telecommunications, and environmental protection and so on would not be there.

The liberals accused the realist’s data of power equilibrium as a very static vision considered on military dimension and it renders the comprehension of evolution difficult in the international scene. The realist’s perception of relations between states is only conflicts and antagonism. They place more importance on the military whereas other factors could as well intervene in power rivalry relations between states.

The opponent to this realist view holds that, cooperation is essential in a world of economic interdependence. As professor Stanley Hoffmann of Harvard University has put it the link between positive strength and positive achievements have loosened. He explain with the example of accumulation of arm race since 1945, the devastation nuclear weapon can inflict, and the cost make nationalist leaders not to use them (Nye 2007, p. 10) They argue that shared economic interests create a demand for international institutions and rules (Mitrany 1975 in Keohane 1984, p.7), Keohane likened this to an institutionalist approach and explain by emphasizing on the functions performed by international institutions that, they run the risk of being naïve about power and conflict. He justifies his claim with the argument that proponent of institutionalist are excessively optimistic of the roles of ideals in world politics. (Young 1980, 337) claims sophisticated students of institutions and rules have a great deal to teach us. He explains they view institutions not simply as formal organizations with headquarters buildings and specialized staffs, but more broadly as recognize patterns of practice around which expectations converge. He explains why they regard this pattern as significant because they affect state behaviour and he justifies his claims that sophisticated institutionalists do not expect cooperation always to prevail, but are aware of the malleability of interests with the example of interdependence that create interests in cooperation during the post World War II predicted the world political economy with profound implications on human society. The institutionalists expected successful cooperation in one field to ‘’spill over’’ into other fields (Haas 1958, 1964). Institutionalists interpret the liberal international arrangement of trade, and international finance created by interdependence, called ‘’international regimes’’ (Keohane 1984, p.8) contained rules, norms, principles, and decision making procedures, as responses to policy coordination of institutions in the international system.

While the Marxists in the likes of Boukharine, R. Luxemburg, H.J.L Ferding, Lenin sees an uneven development and the construction of global capitalism leading to imperialism (capitalist domination in an economic world system); like realism and liberalism Marxism has the ambition of a global analysis and attempt to determine the general explicative variables to IR which place focus on the economy. Marxism viewed liberal economy as capitalism and build on the rejection of liberal economy, it deny the ability of the capitalist economy to balance itself based on the supply and demand laws (Gilpin 2004)The Marxist claim international relations can only be understood as an effect of dominant economic structure of the world capitalist system ,they seek to uncover exploitative dynamics in modern processes of international production, and argue it present such dynamics as infringements in global justice(Lenin 1917/1996; Van der Pijl 1998; Sklair 2001inRavenhill 2008, p.38) This shows the existence of antagonism inherent in the structure of capitalism. The rivalry between the proletariats urban workers and the bourgeoisie, has its origin in the mode of production, based on private ownership of the means of production and payment, they justify with evidence of multinational companies facilities of the centre and rich north, making huge profits by concentrating on labour power to command in different countries, and the difference of labour wage that functions on the principles of greater value, with exploitation and inequality in terms of exchange deterioration, exploitation of workers of the south poor periphery, and also by teaming up with the bourgeoisies of the centre and the bourgeoisies of the periphery to exploit the common man who form the majority in the south poor countries.(Caporazo 1978a; Wallerstein 1979; Cardoso and Falleto 1979; Cox1981,1987 in Katzenstein et al 1999). In other words, the dramatic situation of the countries of the south is explained by the exploitation of the periphery countries by the capitalistic imperialistic centre. Thus explains the unequal development of the African Gulf of Guinea countries in the international system in opposition to the realist and liberal views of mutual existence of riches.

The liberals complain that the realists portray the states as ‘’hard billiard balls careening off one another in an attempt to balance power. Again that the realist picture of a Hobbesian ‘’state of war’’ misses the growth of economic interdependence and the evolution of a transnational global society. But this is not enough because people do have contacts across borders and because there is an international society (Nye 2007, p. 5)

The realist responds to the institutionalists claim that these regimes were social constructions on the basis of the principles espoused by the US and that American power was essential for their construction and maintenance. In other words, the early post cold war regimes rested on the political hegemony of the united states (keohane, p. 9), the realist respond to the liberal claims that the liberals overstated the differences between domestic and international politics. That the international system is characterised by power rivalry relations between hegemonic powers, and responded by quoting Hobbes, ‘’just as stormy weather does not mean perpetual rain, so a state of war does not mean constant war’’

**Realism as a theory of conflict inherent in IR. The question is why and for what reasons?**

Conflict is inherent in IR. Every state is in pursuit of its proper national interests by the use of force. No leviathan or friendship in IR between states. No leviathan interferes with international anarchy where an ethics of responsibility (Max Weber). Rivalry is understood by power and the unique action of the state. Peace requires huge means and highlights following. Better to count on your proper capacity to defend yourself, than on eventual support from allies (the principle of collective security and security dilemma),a case in point is historic France under Degaulle who wanted a strong presidency. These principles when applied always create a suspicious climate in reinforcing inquiry of the other and heighten the possibility of conflict.

Conflict is inherent in IR and the states are the principal actors. Political philosophy emphasize how harsh the state of nature need be, in Hobbes works of 17th century England wracked by civil war, emphasized insecurity, force, survival and describing humanity as being in a constant state of war. John Locke writing on a more stable England argued that although a state of nature lacked a common sovereign, people could develop ties and make contracts, and thereby anarchy could be less threatening. According to Nye, these two views are the philosophical precursors of two currents in international politics. One more pessimistic and the other more optimistic corresponding to the realist and the liberal approaches to international politics. He claims realism has been the dominant tradition in thinking about international politics with the central problem of international politics being war and the use of force with the state as central actors. He justify his claim with the example of the US under president Nixon and his secretary of state Kissinger seeking to maximize the power of the US by minimizing the ability of other states to jeopardize US security (Nye 2007, p. 4-5).

 The liberals criticize the realists view of anarchy in the international scene, as showing the absence of any legitimate authority in the international system based on rules or capable of enforcing rules in the world politics. This means that conflicts between self interested states entails the danger of war and the possibility of coercion, that is the call for a more complex moral and political psychology with international regimes. It shows also that the realists are obsessed with power in conflict prevention and fail to take into consideration several mechanisms of existing cooperation. (Katzenstein et al 1999, pp.18-22).

Realist response to the liberal complain; The realist claim the liberals overstate the difference between domestic and international politics, they argue by explaining the picture of anarchy as a Hobbesian ‘’state of war’’, focuses on extreme situations, quoting Hobbes ‘’Just as stormy weather does not mean perpetual rain, so a state of war does not means constant war’’, like Londoners carrying umbrella on sunny April days, the prospect of war on an anarchic system make states keep armies even in time of peace. States prefer to have self aid concerning security as evidenced by the outbreak of the WW I and II which neither history nor the relative level of economic interdependence ties of labour unions, intellectual movements, and flow of capital, could made impossible.

On the other hand, liberalism traceable in western political philosophy to Baron de Montesquieu and Immanuel Kant in 18TH Century France and Germany respectively and such 19th Century British think tanks as Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill, and a modern American example found in the works of political scientist and President Woodrow Wilson. According to Nye claims, The liberals see a global society that functions alongside the state and sets part of the context of the states, he argues countries often care about their military but care much more about their economic wealth, about social issues such as stopping drug traffic and the spread of AIDS. He argues trade crosses borders, peoples having contacts with each other for example student studying in foreign countries, and international institutions such as the UN (Nye 2007, p. 9) and recently the rise of multinational corporations, and international financial institutions shows that the realist view of pure anarchy is insufficient. While (Strange 1984,p15)claims of liberals views of a prime value of efficiency above all other social values, a concept of world economy based on equilibrium processes, a goal of global welfare and a focus on the state which she argues provide secure political frameworks for the markets shows that the realist view of pure anarchy inherent in the international system is insufficient. Thus the reinforcement of the security of state, though necessary only increases the possibility of conflict between states where the concept of security dilemma.

Whereas the Marxism traceable to Karl Marx and Lenin sees a violent revolution in Western Europe by the masses (class fight); the history of all societies even till date is that of class fight. History of Marxism only follows a continues fight between the antagonistic class to the world of successive production. In other word and according to Karl Marx, the history of humanity is that of fight between the oppressed and their oppressors, slaves and masters, proletariats and bourgeoisies. This duality of internal society inspires IPE, a vision of the divided world, made up of centre industrial countries, and a periphery made up of weak and scattered states. This vision developed by the dependency and world system theory prolonged the class fight into a world wide standard. Marxism predicted that the wage disparity among domestic classes within a given society and the inequality of wealth that prevailed among states, this not withstanding the competition between capitalist states over market and capital flows, will lead to a revolution within capitalist states and ultimate destruction

Realist response to the liberal complain; The realist claim the liberals overstate the difference between domestic and international politics, they argue by explaining the picture of anarchy as a Hobbesian “state of war’’, focuses on extreme situations, quoting Hobbes ‘’Just as stormy weather does not mean perpetual rain, so a state of war does not means constant war’’, like Londoners carrying umbrella on sunny April days, the prospect of war on an anarchic system make states keep armies even in time of peace. States prefer to have self aid concerning security as evidenced by the outbreak of the WW I and II which neither history nor the relative level of economic interdependence ties of labour unions, intellectual movements, and flow of capital, could made impossible.

**The realist view that the states are the key central actors in world politics;**

The key concept in IPE is the nature of political and economic relations which is derived from the nature of politics itself. The picture of the Middle East without warring states and the outside powers would make no sense. In non Marxist perspective, politics is conceptualised in a particular way in a Weberian sense. The state is define as ’’a political enterprise of an institutional social character, that is an organization, with a bureaucratic administrative department that is a government, which claims a monopoly on the legitimate use of force, physically constraining all the other actors and sectors within the state’’[[24]](#footnote-24), With a judicial and sociological identity (my emphasis). According to Sylvan realist argue that, theoretically, economic activities are linked to politics since they involve government actions, and from a methodology stand point, the way to study political-economic relations is by looking at actions. The realist further argues that the other non state actors do not have the military, political, economic, and social capability as the state. Further more the international organizations are an extension of the state apparatus, which look up to the state for legitimacy. Put differently political economy is defined as government economic activities and international political economy as the attempt by governments to regulate and manage international economic relations. (Spero 1977 in strange 1984, p.12).

The liberals complain the realist assumption of actors’ accord much place and role to the state, whereas in the truth of the matter, the state is neither completely monopolistic nor rational. The realist claim that the states are the central actors does not tell us which interests and policies they pursue.

In response to these criticisms, the realists say their choices are first of all methodological and only propose a framework of analysis to the vision of power and play very important role in the competition and interdependence between states. However, realism has evolved and an approach said to be neo-realism animated by authors such as Susa S, Keohane R, are making much efforts in incorporating the economic and commercial dimensions of competition between states.

 The liberals argue the picture of the Middle East would be woefully inadequate if it did not include a variety of non state actors. They argued for example in the security field that, even though it maybe true that all states want a high measure of security, some strive for other goals especially expansion of various kinds, a case in point is the expansion of the EU, and US in the gulf of guinea tied around security but need oil resources to sustain her economic needs of keeping their industries running at the expense of security. Furthermore, even if security is the prime objective, this does not tell us or the statesmen what behaviour will reach it. For example belligerent policies are likely to decrease rather than increase the states security, when other states are satisfied with their status quo; realism is seen as offering insufficient guidelines here because other actors may build and expand (Robert Jervis 1999, p.342), Multinational companies such as shell, British Petroleum, and Exxon Mobile and their roles are one type of state actors, other such as the UN, Arab league, OPEC, NGOs such as the Red Cross and Amnesty International in addition to the variety of transnational ethnic groups, terrorists groups, drug cartels, and mafia organizations not withstanding international religious movements, are all ranges of non state that add a further dimension to the works of transnational relations that challenged the state centric assumptions. (Nye 2007, p.9) Furthermore in that politics as an action inherent in liberal, transnational, mercantilist and some other non structural perspective (Katzenstein et al, p.18). furthermore the rise of non state actors and their increasing role in international relations to bring about a better social world. International organizations such as the United Nations and its specialize agencies with material capability in some instance richer than the state. Multinational corporations and their role in war. A case in point is the conflict for power in Congo Brazzaville, pitching democratically elected president Pascal Lisuba backed by American Oxy Oil Company against general and formal president Denis Sassou Nguesso supported by French TotalFinaElf, through military coup took over the government…,

Contrary to the realist view of the state as key central actor in international politics that favours open competing markets and economic nationalism of relative gains in domestic industrial development and although the Marxists emphasize the primacy and national security of the state, they sees the state as the servant to the dominant social and economic class( the over determination of the economic factors); The Marxist believe that the economics drives Politics and that political struggles arises from the conflict between different classes in the society over the distribution of wealth. The Marxist argue that the state is simply a construction of leading capitalist, structural Marxist argued that capitalist states acts in the interest of preserving capitalism as a whole based on dependency theory, they further argue that the world economy enmeshed poorer countries exporting raw materials in relationship of unequal exchange, (Prebisch 1959 in Katzenstein 2008, p. 24). They defended their argument with evidence of the provision of public policy initiative such as social security and the recognition of labour unions, social forces and production relations. Their arguments and others about imperialism when developed explained the poverty of the countries of the south in terms of their position on the world economy, That dependency embedded a hidden form of nationalism in which the role of the state in the periphery south and its polity was not just weak but were in a relationship that undermined their autonomy, exploited their wealth and made their state an object in international relations (P.25). further more Cox argues politics as action is inherent in liberal, mercantilist and non structural perspective, he explains action is never absolutely free but takes place within a framework with form of an historical structure, thought patterns, material conditions and human institutions, constitutes the context within which action takes place (Cox 1981, p. 135,in Strange 1984)

**That states can be treated as homogenous units acting on the basis of self interests, that is analysis can proceed on the assumption that state acts as if they were rational;**

Transnational relations present a world composed of many different actors with different interests and capabilities yet no institutional hierarchy capable of enforcing rules exists in world politics. The realist argue bureaucratic politics captured the complexity involve d in policy formulation, with clear interests such as the maximization of the state budget and well articulated explanatory project based on interests, power and anarchy. Realism claim consistency with the hegemonic stability theory in that it maintained that an open international system was most likely to occur when there was a single dominant power in the international economic system. According to Kindleberger the great depression, a market failure of monumental proportions was caused by the absence of a lender of last resort in the international financial system, in which there could only be a lender of last resort if there were a single

dominant power in the international system. Using a realist ontology ‘’actors were states’’ to solve a liberal problem ‘’the provision of public goods to the international system (Katzenstein 1999, p. 20), furthermore, the realist ontological causality of actors were states in the distribution of power among state as a fundamental problem, explained that state were interested in maximizing their own interests, and that the promotion of these interests could involved relative gains and distributional conflicts. The realist distribution of power was the key explanatory variable, accounting for the rules governing multinational corporations and trade openness or closure.[[25]](#footnote-25) All states have a few simple goals they pursue in the international economic system because it provides economic utility, growth, social stability, and political leverage. Open system was most attractive to hegemonic states for the relationship of the distribution of power and the characteristics of international economic behaviour measure in terms of GNP and the dependent variable, international economic behaviour in terms of openness to the world economy as indicated by rules and pattern of exchange.

The liberals complain the realist belief of the homogeneity and rationality of the state is confusing in that, international politics in relation to domestic politics is decayed, since the international and domestic dimensions are more and more difficult to be distinguished.

The rationality assumption of the realists maybe challenged by analysts of cognitive psychology and group decision making. This is true of neo-functionalism, bureaucratic politics, and transnational relations and linkages politics as claimed by (Ersnt B Haas 1858; 1964a,b; Allison 1971; Keohane and Nye1972; Rosenau 1969a in Katzenstein et al, 1999, p.18). All three were grounded in a pluralist conception of civil society and the state. Public policy they argued was the result of clashes among different group with conflicting interests. Groups could often only succeed by building coalitions, which would vary from one issue area to another. Robert Alan Dahl in 1961, the most influential American exponent of pluralism, emphasized that these cross cutting cleavages would preclude the dominance of any one specific group, an observation design to rebut Marxist arguments about the ability of major capitalists to dominate the formulation of public policy. Neo-functionalism stipulated that institutional change would alter the incentives of groups in civil society, leading them to support policies that would promote still more integration in a process that would spill over from one issue area to another. But as we have seen, this argument apparently failed to predict or explain the direction taken by the European Community after 1966, bureaucratic politics extended pluralists interests group arguments into the government itself as argued by (Burley and Mattli in Katzenstein et al: 19), according to (Nye and Keohane 2004) as alternative to the behaviour of states, they developed a political frame work for the analysis of interdependence, arguing that global integration and economic interdependence based on mutual trade benefits will foster peaceful relations among states and consequently a liberal international economy will influence flobal politics (Gilpin 2001).

One major criticism to liberalism is that they over depend on the market forces to correct and balance itself, and the short sightedness in the rationality of the market to ensure stability rather than the state (ibid), the mainstay of the liberals is the provision of collective public good in the international system, according to (Kindleberger in Katzenstein 1999: 20), therefore judging liberalism by its performance, the current global economic crisis is an example of unregulated liberal economies . the Marxists complain the inequality and self interest profit motive created by capitalism is the very destructive force of the liberal market economy (wolf 2003: 2) .

The Marxist believe that the economics drive politics and there is conflict between different classes in society over the distribution of wealth, For the Marxist the organization of capitalism determine political and economic and social outcomes at both the domestic and international levels. It accounts for the historical evolution of forms of social organizations. The Marxist claim the regime of production (structural institutions) determines the mechanism of political domination (superstructure), as well as the judicial, ideological, or philosophical institutions, are all instrument through which the dominant class issues and perpetuates their dominations over the dominated. Thus only this alone can put an end to proletarian revolution which modifies the means of production contrary to the actor oriented argument, providing an integrated picture of both domestic and international politics.

 Marxism rupture with liberalism and realism is profound with the unit of analysis shifting from the state to economic forces with the focus on social classes in the heart of the centre semi periphery and the periphery. Classical Marxist theory maintains that a global free market cannot exist under imperialism, explaining the world capitalist economy is divided up into competing spheres of influence. Every nation looks after it own interest protecting its own economy while opening other nation’s economy, in a kind of a monopolistic laissez faire competition. This is evident in the agricultural sector where the countries of Africa Gulf of Guinea has an advantage of production over their American counterpart and it is where protectionist impulses are strongest in the US and also in EU countries. This is clear example of the practices of monopoly described by the classical Marxist.

The Marxist criticize capitalism for its tendency to accumulate capitals for profit motives in total disregards of the laws governing demand and supply, arguing this will lead to slowing down investments and consequently diminishing returns will set in. to this effect, the Marxists explain that capitalism will eventually cause its own destruction through capital accumulation hence diminishing return . Furthermore, Marx failed prediction coupled with the dilemma created by the collapse of communism in USSR, gramscianism blamed the failure on the political socio-cultural and the legal superstructures hegemony over the socio-economic base of production, which occurred in the form of civil society allowing individuals some autonomy (Cox 1981; 1984). The study questions the failure of communism in USSR, where according to Watson, communism in Russia belonged to the proletariats and why it has lasted in china where communism belonged to the masses? (Jack watson1981; Gilpin 2001)

In response to the Marxist critique, the realist argues capitalism was able to reform itself by adjusting to Marx rightful critique. But the law of uneven development as predicted by Lenin is still a preoccupation between welfare and non welfare internationalist capitalist states inter depending and relating with each other (ibid).

The vulnerability of the realist theory lies in its problematic assumptions and lack of compelling empirical validations, that is four main blocks that makes of realism a political theory; that states are the key actors in world politics that is the injunction of taking politics seriously as a particular field of human endeavour; that states can be treated as homogenous units acting on the basis of self interests that is the proposition that civil order is the sine qua non for every other political good; that analysis can proceed on the assumptions that states acts as if they were rational, that is the evaluations and comparisons of institutions and regime types not only principles; Therefore it may be concluded that, the true power of the state is no more the ‘’hard power’’ but the ‘’soft power’’, if not for anything, the example of the failure and collapse of the formal USSR, though with a strong military capability (hard power) collapsed because of economic problems (soft power)(Gilpin 2001; Strange 1994, 1996, ravenhill 2008).

IPE as a field of theorizing is evolving and realist, liberalists and the Marxists approaches to IPE is based on different assumptions and derives different conclusions. A critique of Political factors as the primary area for understanding the social world is the realists view, whereas a critique of economic forces imposed by the capitalist logic of exploitation is the primary area of understanding the Marxists world. The liberals believe the economy should be free from the influence and interests of politics. On their part Marxism believes the economy drives politics. All three currents stress the importance of the primacy of the state and national security and the necessity to avoid conflicts within the system. It is not clear if realism is essentially critical and cautionary, a warning against liberal utopianism as opposed to a coherent affirmative alternative. Marx failed prediction of how a revolution will lead capitalism to destruction in favour of socialism and later communism, created a dilemma for Marxism as an ideology is a dead blow to the proponent of this school of thought.

Equally the future of the open market economy lies in jeopardy except the conflict between domestic autonomy and the international norms is resolved. The Marxist argued that without cooperation and coordination of the domestic policies among capitalist countries, to ensure the integrity of the market, and avoid an imminent breakdown as Marx predicted. The absence of a global governing hegemonic liberal power to control the international trading system, account for the level of economic interdependence among competing welfare capitalist states and the same power that hegemony rely on to induce power into the system could be manipulated and exploited and foiled international trade and finance given that hegemons are free riders.

**Realism as a pluralist theory that is with diverse approach why and what?**

Within the realist school many variants are observed such as nationalism, interdependence, world system, hegemonic stability and security dilemma, mercantilism or structuralism, new critical theory or constructivism, is equilibrium of power a gift or is it constructed? Why is conflict inherent in international relations? What type of international system is most appropriate for peace?

**What type of international system is most appropriate for peace? Hegemonic Stability Theory;**

 The realists all contend that peace and stability is necessary in the international system to enhance economic development and wellbeing. They assume that the stability of the system varies in the number of states. The more the number of states increases, the more the risks of instability increases. To Waltz, an increase in the number of actors increases the risks of seeing the states committing errors of judgment. On the contrary, other authors like David Singer , Karl Kautsky claim uncertainty urges actors to be careful and the best system of maintaining peace is a multipolar system. On their part Kindleberger and Keohane approach estimated that security is best assured in a unique system under the respect of unique dominant power (unipolar hegemonic world order). The loss of productive capacity of the US and the rise of new economic rivals have not by themselves put an end to American hegemony. Hegemonic decline is a process in which the reduction of production power precedes the economic and military down fall, for example the hegemonic decline of the British Empire around 1880.

Hegemony is understood in this paper as the expression of broadly based consent, manifested in the acceptance of ideas and supported by material resources and institutions. As a social construction, neo-realist HST argues that international order may exist provided it rest on one powerful state, which dominates all other states through its military and economic capabilities (Gilpin 1981; Bieler 2000; Morton 2001; Bieler & Morton 2001). In contrast to the neo-realist (Cox 1981: 139) broadens the domain of hegemony and argues it goes beyond the state dominance and may prevail within a world order as a coherent conjunction(configuration) of material power, norms, and a set of institutions which administer the order universally. Explaining therefore, Cox assumes hegemony is a form of dominance of consensual order by a powerful state (idem.: 139).

the central idea of this theory is that, the historical structure of hegemonic stability of the international system requires a single dominant state to enforce the rules of interaction among the most important members of the system, It must have three spheres of attributes; the capability to enforce the rules of the system(the social relations of production), the will to do so(forms of state), and a commitment to a system which is perceived as mutually beneficial to the major states(the world orders)(Cox 1987:1-9; 1989: 39).

The capability to enforce the rule of the system or social relations of production refers to the production and reproduction of knowledge and of social relations, morals and institutions that leads to the production of physical goods (idem.: 39), these patterns are referred to as modes of social relations of production that sees social forces as the most important collective actors. The different modes of social relations of production gives rise to particular social forces that becomes the bases of power within and across states and within a specific world order.(idem 1987:4). This ensures that social forces are not reduce to material aspects but also include non class issues of peace, ecology, and feminism of the social realities shaped through the production process[[26]](#footnote-26) .

A hegemon’s capability rests upon the likes of a large growing economy dominance in a leading technological or economic sector, and political power backed up by projective military power. An unstable system will result if economic, technological and other changes erode the international hierarchy and undermine the position of the dominant state, pretender to hegemonic control will emerge if the benefits of the system are viewed as unacceptably unfair. (Ferraro & Lawson).

 The basic problem of the HST is the fight for control between the forms of states and the market, the state power rests on the underlying configurations of social forces, of historical constructions of forms of state and the social context of political struggle of historical blocs of states and civil society. Historical blocks refer to the different forms of states that is leading social forces within specific national context overriding other social forces. More than a political alliance, it shows an integration of a variety of different class interests that are propagated throughout society to bring about a unison of economic, political, intellectual and moral unity on a world scale (gramsci 1971:181-2 in Bieler and Morton 2001). This relationship is referred to as the state-civil society complex, owes it origin to gramsci. According to Gramsci, the state is not just the apparatus of the government operating within the public sphere(government, political parties, military) it also include private sphere of civil society( churches, media, education) through which hegemony functions(idem 1971: 261). Viewing the state through gramsci lens, it could be argued that, the state is not a distinct institutional category in itself but a conceived form of social relations through which capitalism and hegemony are expressed.

A world order is understood to mean an enlarged conception of global society including economic and social forces with institutionalization and regulation, and interactions cutting across state boundaries. It does not only represent phases of stability and conflict, but also scope of thinking how alternative forms of world order might emerge. Cox argued the construction of historical social bloc cannot exist without the hegemonic social class, explaining it to be a national phenomenon (Cox 1981: 135-8; 1983: 168-74 in Bieler & Morton). Examples of negotiating for the biosphere which humanity shares interdependently with other forms of life, international production and finance which operate with great autonomy outside of state regulation, and others concerned with ecology, peace, gender, ethnicities, human rights, the defence of the dispossessed and disadvantaged that all act independently of the state, as it is interrelated and shaped by the multilateralism (Cox 1996, p.494-6)

Yet once hegemony has been consolidated, it may expand beyond a particular social order through the expansion of particular mode of social relations of production and can be supported by international organization. It can be deduced that, each of this three main spheres are further influenced by three element of ideas of the (world order), material capability referring to (accumulated resources or social forces of production), and institutions (means of stabilizing order or forms of state). With the intention of overriding the historical structures of social relations of production, forms of state and world order existing within the capitalist mode of production. Social forces as the collective actors, influenced by social relations of production operate within and across all sphere of activity through the rise of contending social forces linked in changes in production, mutually reinforcing the forms of state and world order (Op.cit 396-8 in Bieler & Morton)

**Criticism;**

the main concern of the HST were about the stability of the liberal international economic orders, it did not really consider balance of power issues, emphasizing instead on the role of a hegemonic leader in the world economy, which combine power and elements of consent. (Gilpin 1981, 1987 in (Ersel & Rosenau, p. 181)

Hegemons are usually free riders and may loose their hegemony, this is the situation of the United States, the more a state project power the more likely it is for the power to fade off. This is the argument of the Marxist with the auto destriction of capitalism and the disparity among class in the society and inequality among states.

**Realists question why is conflict inherent in the international system?** **The concept of neo mercantilism or economic nationalism and political realism;**

Economic nationalism and political realism form the basis of this theory in IR, while political realism favours open market competition, liberal governance and industrial development, economic nationalism sees relative gains as more important than mutual gains between states(Gilpin 2001; Guzzini 1994:8-9) Most realist considers the tendency of conflict as structural in IR, but structural in what? According to structural realists like Maugenthau , he consider conflicts in the international system as inherentto the human nature of man fundamentally born wicked and egocentric on the other hand, Waltz contend that conflict is inherent in the international system because of anarchy in the system. The structuralist and mercantilist approach. Liberalists like Nye and (Keohane 2004), put forth the political theory of complex interdependence as the best alternative way for states behaviour and cooperation interaction in the international system. They argue global integration and economic interdependence based on mutual benefit of trade will enhance peaceful and mutual relations among nations. As a result, a free market economic cooperation will have a moderate influence on international politics.(Gilpin 2001).

The concept of neo mercantilism**;** the seventeenth century mercantilism viewed trade surplus as important to the state, it holds that the prosperity of a nation is dependent upon its supply of capital and sees global trade as unchangeable. it is a response to the declining ability of the liberal perspective to provide explanation and basis for policies. (Gilpin 1975b in strange 1994, p.16) define the contemporary mercantilist as the subordinate to the economy of the state and its interest that range from matter of domestic warfare to those of international security. The assumption is that, economic relations are inherently conflictual and dominated by national self interests and extensive governmental involvement. Economics is determined by politics and only makes sense in the context of the state according to ( Gilpin 1975b; Block 1977; Krasner 1978; Viner 1948 in Strange 1994, p. 16)

Nationalist like Fredrick List, Sir James Stouart sees economic nationalism as the primacy of the state and industrialization, by which means states maintain their autonomy and military power and strength through the imposition of protectionist measures between states. list belief infant industries need to be protected from foreign giant multinationals with monopoly power over market, for example domestic oil companies in Cameroon, Nigeria, Angola, Equatorial Guinea, and Ghana, will find it very hard and difficult to compete with giants like Exxon Mobile, Shell, TotalFinaElf, if they were to trade in a free market, without trade barriers and tariffs, they will be wine off, this is particularly true of the agricultural sector where countries of the gulf of guinea have advantage over their American and EU counterpart but where the EU and American market are highly protected from receiving agricultural product from Africa even though cheaper and more natural .

Strange assume that, what decides the nature of the mix is fundamentally a question of power (ibid p.23), economic nationalism believes that the tendency of states competition among each other, in the international system, either for the obtaining of scarce resources or prestige, is inherent in the international system. as a result of fierce competition at the international level, nationalist considers relative gains to be very important than mutual gain, therefore state practice protectionism, to protect their home industry, and the primary concern and attention is focused on national security and the protection of the state. The realists believes that the process of uneven growth generates conflicts between rising and declining states as they rival to maintain their relative position in the international political structure. if this rivalry between state for major resources is not resolved, it may lead to hegemonic war. (Gilpin 2001). Mercantilism remain very attractive to policy makers under pressure from their constituent for protection, it encourages exports and discourages imports with trade barriers for home industry protection. it is also a source of government revenue from taxes imposed on export and import goods. It helps the government to control the flow of money and in decision making over fiscal monetary policy.

**The Criticism ;**

Mercantilism incorporate a narrow static view of IPE that is capable of registering any major changes presently occurring in the world economy. it is also made less useful because of it narrow conception of political economy based on a particular definition of the state(Sylvain 1981 in Strange 1984). Over tariff may lead to the end of trade between states as it discourages import.

Mercantilism has been criticize for short sightedness, in 1690 John Locke’s made it clear that prizes vary in proportion to the quantity of money, but in general, the mercantilists did not put this together as indicated in Locke’s Second Treatise also Locke brings out that the wealth of the world is not fixed but created by human labour represented in Locke’s labour theory of value.

The tax-cum-subsidy interventions of neo mercantilist objectives faces hurdle with multilateral agreements, such as those governing the WTO, reduces the ability of countries to deploy sector specific taxes and subsidies. According to (Charlton and Stiglitz 2006; UNCTAD 2006)[[27]](#footnote-27)any such actions that directly or indirectly lead to expanding exports are by design subject to multilateral restrictions on trade-distorting interventions.

**The liberal perspective or sovereignty at bay model;**

This approach drew largely from the works of Erasmus Kant thoughts of peace and his postulates of ‘’war does not pay’’, defining conditions of peace to be; the existence of a republican regime, the creation of a federation of states and the prohibition of wars among its members, the installation of a cosmopolitan law where an attack on the rights of one provoke reaction from all the others. Followed by Jeremy Bentham and Richard Cobden who in the 19th Century took back the hypothesis of Adam Smith to defend the liberty of commerce as a pacificator mechanism of relations between states. There are several important new development of neo-gramscian perspectives.(Strange 1984: 15)discus the liberal perspectives as the basis for conventional mainstream approaches and as a problem solving theory of a recent kind, like on the nature of political regime, the role of the market, the role of international institutions.

 On his part Stephen Gill expanded on the above framework through the introduction of the concepts of new constitutionalism and disciplinary neo-liberalism. According to (Gill 1992:165 in bieler & Morton 2003), it involves the narrowing of the social basis of popular participation within the world order of disciplinary neo-liberalism. That is asking questions like how to reconcile order on the one hand and what is just on the other hand? It is the move towards construction of legal or constitutional framework to remove substantially the new economic institutions from popular scrutiny or democratic accountability. It results in an attempt to discipline states along neo-liberal restructuring policy by disseminating the notion of market civilisation based on an ideology of capitalist progress and exclusionary patterns of social relations (Gill 1995). It basic assumptions include the essentially harmonious nature of economic relations which are still analytically separated from politics. A prime value of efficiency above all other social values; a concept of the world economy based on equilibrium processes; a goal of global welfare and a focus on the state, which provides secure political framework for markets (Op.cit 15).

The IPE critique of state-centric international politics and neo-classical theory of international economics, based on notion of Ricardo’s comparative advantage, has produced two distinct approaches; The weakness of international economics as criticised by political scientist gave birth to the politics of international economic relations, which attempted to marry politics and international economics.(ibid). According to Stanley Hoffman the essence of liberalism is to favour certain principles related to government than the individuals of compromise and peace. Therefore the liberal project appears as a negation of between the internal order and international anarchy.

To Andrew Moravcsik, there exist transitivity between the nature of individual state micro internal relations, and the nature of relations between states on the international scale, based on the configuration of ethics of the state. That is, the determinant of state society relations is more important than the configuration of the distribution of power on which realist insist.

The liberal project desires the satisfaction of the citizens and social action purely on national interest. The state determine their international behaviour from the interest of societies that they represent, and foreign policy is explained not by the logic of power but by ethnic arbitration which permit to understand various actions and their consequences whether it is politically costly or not. The liberal form of state was slowly replaced by the welfare nationalist form of state (Cox 1996:106)

It is made up of three main variants seeking to know what the conditions and cooperation between nation-states would be. They include the republican liberalism; it is a political regime, which explains the international behaviour within states and their choice for war or cooperation, with the existence of a critical civil society that help to sanction the government and to dissuade the state power to make war, different from a democratic regime that uphold the notion of democratic peace (that democrats do not fight against themselves). Commercial liberalism; is a theory of free play in the market economy through cooperation. The market is a mode of exchange whose development perpetuate peace and cooperation as inspired by the theory of ‘’Adam Smith the invisible hand’’. It assumes that interests of the state and IR can converge. Free exchange permit to establish the principle that ‘’war does not pay’’ and is a condition for state interdependence on a world market where state do not function by anarchy of other states. In the most complex form of commercial liberalism, most commercial links are diversified and production is specialised thus establishing monopoly and war envisaged. And institutional liberalism; basically a theory of international institutions with stabilizing power and consolidation of institutional cooperation among states. Function by mechanism of sanctions to seek unilateral gains. It develops communication between states and reduces the risk of misunderstanding. Two main proposal; conflict between states can be resolve by judicial procedures put in place by international organizations like the UNO. For example the conflict between Nigeria and Cameroon over Bakassi submitted to the ICJ by Cameroon for a ruling. And secondly conflict between states can be resolved by putting in place the principles of collective security opposing aggression or conflicts. Here we have authors like David Mitrany, pluralist like Keohane , Nye who insisted on the capacity of various institutional actors to manage the effects of complex interdependence, partisans of collective security like Ines Claude who insisted on the need for international organizations to be endowed with coercive power.

**Criticism;**

It sees politics as a separate field and is analytically separated from politics. It is essentially very limited by its conceptualization which is based on an analysis of the politics of economic interactions between national economies. That is, the perspective is limited by the assumptions of state centricity which gives it, its political content.

Seen by the realists as a dangerous practice in a world dominated by anarchy and forceful rivalry relations. Since the end of the cold war, there is a net regain of interests in liberal publications than in the discussions on foreign politics. More the realist sees liberal project as utopian and ideology of Wilson. The Marxist view of commercial liberalism as imperialism of the stronger state over the weaker ones with enmity of laissez fair interdependence and peace.

**IPE as the politics of Interdependence and transnational relations;**

According to (Gilpin 1975 in Strange 1984: 15) the politics of interdependence and transnational relations is a sovereignty at bay model. Transnationalism assumes a decline of the state and sees an image of the IPE consisting of the multiplicity of actors, the most important of all being the multinational corporation. This is seen as a web of state boundary crossing transnational processes which leads to the interdependence of trade and finance. It is simply the coordination of national policies, to find an agreed and efficient way of managing the world economy Miriam (Camps 1974 in Strange 1994, p. 20). When the rules to the game eroded, it gave way to international regimes. According to (Krasner 1983), international regimes were the dominant problematic of IPE, he define international regimes as a set of explicit or implicit principles or norms, rules and decision making procedures, around which actors expectations converge. He argued regimes were intervening variables between structural powers and outcome.

 In a study between US and Canada and US Australian relations, in the issues areas, the management of money and ocean called Power and Interdependence, listed the change in state relative political power that is the political structure to explain regime change that is distinct from economic power and structures, taking into considerations the economic processes (Keohane and Nye 1977 in strange 1994, p. 21). Focus on international organization and the politics of international economic relations give international governmental relations to overshadowed transnational relations between cooperation, banks, religious leaders, universities and scientific communities are all in transnational relations. The principles, norms, rules and decision making processes of any regimes are better than none. Regimes focuses on the market authority nexus and vice versa, in basic value areas of security, wealth, freedom, and justice, affects the outcome of non regime non decision making outcomes. In IPE there are three main approaches to regime theory; the dominant liberal interests based approach, the realist critique of interest based approach and the knowledge based cognitive school of thought approach. The liberal approach to regime theory state that cooperation in anarchy is possible without a hegemon, because there exist a convergence of expectations. Regimes facilitate cooperation by establishing standard behaviour and sustain the probability of cooperation between states.

 The liberals believe realist neglect the degree to which countries share interests and the nature of state relations, by implicitly modelling the world using the prisoner‘s dilemma classic play, in which the pay off structure makes defection a dominant strategy for both players. The sum of relatively small cooperative payoffs over time can be greater than the gain from a single attempt to exploit your opponent, followed by endless series of defection or tit for tat strategy (Axelrod 1984). In the prisoner’s dilemma, actors behaviour is determine by the assumptions that states are rational unitary gain maximizing actors living in anarchy and ridden by the security dilemma, that there is future consequences for present action, it is in the interests of states to cooperate in the present because in the future other states will defect on them, that states are concern with absolute gains and do not considers gains or loses of other states in their utility analysis. In contrast the realist argue states are concern with relative gains (Keohane 1984), he argued that international regimes can increase probability of cooperation by providing information, monitoring and reporting about the behaviour of others compliance. By reducing transaction costs, and generating the prospection of cooperation among members. Realist like Grieco proposes power based regime theories using hegemonic stability theory.

They argue, the presence of a strong hegemon is what makes a successful regime. Within regime theory, the liberals believe in cooperation through convergence of state interests through international institutions, while realists believe regimes simply reflect the distribution of power in the international system to serve the security and economic interests of powerful states. Susan Strange in the retreat of state for example argues that the post WW II international organizations such as the WB, GATT, IMF, WTO, are simply instrument of the American grand strategy(Strange 1996) While the cognitive knowledge based approach of regime theory in IPE is basically a critique of the rationalist liberals and realist of the usage of flawed assumptions such as that, nation states are always and forever rational actors, that interests remain static, that different interpretation of interest and power are not possible. They argue that when the rationalist game theory affects present decisions, they ignore a major implication of learning. The cognitivist uses a post positivist methodology which does not believes that social institutions or actors can be separated out of their surrounding socio-political context.

**Criticism;**

One of its limits is its assumptions of the potency of economic forces. According to (Waltz 1979 in Strange 1984:16), it severely undermines the importance and the power of the state, and overestimates the degree of the ideological neutrality of economic processes and institutions. By implication, it takes little or no account of its historical context (Cooper 1968; Morse 1976; Keohane and Nye 1977; Michalak 1979 in Strange 1984).

**The Marxist Perspectives or dependency;**

The Marxist theory decline round three main standards, Leninism, dependence, and world system. Lenin in ‘’Imperialism the supreme stage of capitalism’’ 1917, borrowed Marx’s theory of class fight but distinguished it in two part; Capitalist economy must unceasingly find new financial and commercial markets to absorbs its surplus. This manifested with market conquest with industrial production profit followed by economy of scale. Imperialism the supreme stage of capitalism outlined inevitable conflicts in view of the constitution of vast empires such as the capitalist world where the natural limits of colonial expansion was attached and secondly the impossibility to dispose of the concentration of the industrial production will lead to antagonism complicating interest that will appeal to the use of force. The inevitability of war inscribed in the capitalist logic will sign its own death. Whereas Marx postulated vision of union of the proletariats, Lenin estimated that capitalism created structures which harmonizes the proletariats of the centre and those of the periphery is impossible. The bourgeoisie of the centre in effect utilizes the proletariats of the periphery so as to ameliorate the situation of its own proletariats.

The theory of dependence is link to the works of authors like Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Paletto, assuming the major cause of underdevelopment as the absence of economic take off. The theory had the ambition to explain the causes of underdevelopment, that is inequality to world scale and not the same as internal force that late Samir Amin supported in ‘’Accumulation to world Standard’’ and ‘’unequal development’’, by developing the idea that it was the expansion of capitalist mode of production to the detriment of local equilibrium which generates the phenomenon of exploitation and of accumulation. Integration of the economy of the south countries in the world market is translated in effect by the development of exploitation activities, forcefully having an economic and social disarticulation of peripheric notions. In addition the weak elasticity of products exported by the south generates a dialectic mechanism of exploitation of accumulation, exclusively profitable to developed economies. Underdevelopment is therefore understood as the eruption of market mechanisms to the interior even to the economy of third world countries.

The theory of world system in ‘’ Politics of World-Nations economy’’ by Immanuel Wallerstien , was against the theme of unequal exchange following the state market. The central idea is that weaknesses of peripheral states is necessary in the process of exploitation and of accumulation of capitalist centre states. Wallerstein rewind renaissance history with present reforms to explain how the crisis of feudalism was modified and the supremacy of politics in imperial countries from the 16th Century which had been transformed to a simple instruction aimed to extract surplus. The world system perspective also analysis the development of the world political economy as a whole. But takes as it major unit of analysis the world system of capitalism itself rather than notions within the system as do the structuralists. It basis is found in the critique of the developmentalist view of liberal political economy (Frank 1979; Baran 1957; Cardoso 1977 in Strange 1984). It however demonstrates to explain how the theory of comparative advantage cannot function since international trade was above all a process of exploitation of very poor countries by very rich ones. This seems to simplify braudel Fernand binary vision of dependence. The new type of world system of the capitalist economic world, shared the world into three zones or blocks; the centre, the semi periphery and the periphery.

**Criticism;**

The world system takes a holistic view of the world and therefore can be very superficial; it focuses on the exchange of relations as distinct from the production relations of the structure of the world economy (Strange 1984: 17)

The world system theory exude a bias tendency of undervaluing the state, by considering it as a merely derivative from its position in the world system.(strong states in the centre core, weak states in the periphery)(Cox 1996: 86-7)

**Is equilibrium of power a gift or is it constructed (Constructivism)?**

This is traceable to the works of the voluntarist Henry Kissinger who shaped the Congress of Vienna in 1815. To him the balance of power equilibrium is constructed and is preserved through the voluntary efforts of the actors. This attempt is qualified as practical historical realism. As Strange put it, Kissinger role of the US, did not just require that it had sufficient military capability, to prevent invasion of its territory or attack by other states. It was threatened in a new way; energy insecurity could undermine both its defence policies and its foreign policies. Therefore against this new threat, defence, foreign policies and domestic energy policies had to be mobilised for reasons of state security (Strange 1994, p. 205) by implication, a deficiency or weakness in a tripartite security strategy, would have to be compensated by strengthening and sustaining strategies. While according to Kennet Waltz the balance of power equilibrium emerge naturally within the system that is it constructs itself independently of foreign politics of the states. The liberalist perspective.

 **Constructivism;** Social construction is a human consciousness and its role in international life. As such, constructivism rest on irreducibly inter-subjective dimension of human action; The capacity and will of people to take deliberate attitude towards the world and to lend it significance. This capacity gives rise to social facts or facts that depend on human agreement that they exist and typically require human institutions for their existence(money, property rights, sovereignty, democracy, marriages and valentine’s day for example which is different from nature like night and day). Constructivists contend that not only are identities and interests of actors socially constructed, but also that they must share the stage with a whole host of other ideational factors emanating from people as cultural beings. Constructivism emphasizes the role of ideas, social structures, and belief people can construct a better political humane universe than that described by realists. One constructivist realism in international affairs is the idea of identity with which a society or individual defines itself. No general theory of the social construction of reality is available to be borrowed from other fields and international relations constructivists have not as yet managed to formulate a fully fledged theory of their own. As a result, constructivism remains more of a philosophically and theoretically informed perspective on approach to the empirical study of international relations[[28]](#footnote-28). (Gilpin 2001: 19), Emile Duckheim and Max Weber are considered among precursors of this theory. The constructivist approach insist on characters and concepts socially constructed and in analysing them, it interpret the principal concept of power from a critical methodology. It sees no distinction between the external and the internal systems. Constructivism spurs up two approaches, the neo utilitarian who want increase power and the constructivist who want a pro theoretical base. The privilege approach is the interpretative analysis that is one that seeks to find the sense that actors give to their actions, to understand why and by who a violent action is qualified war of liberation or as a terrorist act.

**Criticism;**

According to (ibid 2001:19-20), although constructivism is an important corrective to some strand of realism and the individual rational choice methodology of neo classical economics, it calls for the abandonment of our knowledge of international politics and start fresh on a constructive base is not compelling and as such it lacks a pro theoretical base.

It criticize realism as purely materialistic, and analyzed the world in terms of technological forces, physical circumstances and other objective factors, stressing over determinism of political world over which human beings have no control, for example where is the logic of power in the American foreign policy.

The constructivist share ideas of how to socially construct the world but which they themselves are unable to use. Ideas are important but the world is made up of many economic, technological and other powerful constraints that limit wisdom and practicality of certain ideas, it lacks such as where is the logic of power in the Rwandan genocide.

The constructivist accused the realist of neglecting the importance of identity and focuses only on material interests and power considerations (ibid 2001:20) validate this accusation of realist stressing interests over identity emphasizing the importance of the national system of political economy in determining the economic behaviour of individual state example of stakeholder society as Germany and Japan as oppose to Britain and US or political and economic ideologies opposing US to USSR.

In response the realist disagree with the constructivist position of identity as the most important determinant of a nation’s foreign policy. The state centric interpretation of IPE reject acknowledgement of a belief that economic and technological forces have eclipsed the nation state, leading to the end of state in favour of a global world economy to which political boundaries and national government are not important. The argue that though economic and technological forces are profoundly reshaping IR and influencing the behaviour of states, however in a highly integrated global economy, states continue to use their powers to implement policies to channel economic forces in ways favourable to their own national interests and that of their citizenry, such as states acquiring a favourable share of gains from IE activities, or preserving national autonomy. The EU and NAFTA are examples of collective national efforts to reach these goals.

**3.2The critical IPE Analysis;**

To begin with we take a look at the Gramscian critical Marxist perspective of the historical neo-realist conception to understand the concept of how power works in the international system, what strange called the relationship of power in the production structure and Cox production power and world order, to understand the way the world works is done (Strange 1996:23; Cox 1987:5) to answer our research question.

***Why the regain of importance of Africa Gulf of Guinea after 9/11 attacks to the world system, what impact may this have on the security realities in the countries of the sub region?***

 Following World War II, international relations was mostly viewed through the security lens, the growing importance of economic integration, the increasing role played by the non state actors in IR, the end of the cold war and the collapse of the USSR, the increasing impact of globalization and global interdependence, among others, are marked political changes that took place in the world. These changes had profound impact on the international economic geopolitical landscape in the world that led to a shift in the type of governance first from collective security management by the US, USSR and Japan, into a more global economic governance that included more newly emerging states such as China, India and Brazil (Keohahe 1984; Rosenau 1998; Keohane and Nye 2004; Nye 2007). That is a shift from Keynesianism to neo-liberal economics at the ideological level define as the transnationalization of production (Cox 1993; Bieler 2000).

The context of neo gramscian approach with regards to the neo classical conception of the world were all derived from his reflection of political and social historical periods, that throw lights to the present. Precisely more from his criticisms of Groce’s neglect of the Weltanschuung of the masses, his ignoring of the state and the ’’moment of coercion’’[[29]](#footnote-29) The concept of culture of hegemony to gramsci is loose and elastic, make sense when develop in it historical contex such as Culture like civilization began to be used in defining human development. Gramsci geared his thought to the practical purpose of political action, ‘’the philosophy of praxis’’[[30]](#footnote-30) . In the 19th Century, civilization and culture began to be used interchangeably linked to the European history. This is a historical period when enlightenment thinking was moving through Europe, where the French revolution was over turning old hierarchies and napoleon was ruling and marching through Europe and remaking national boundaries. Since the end of the French war, the world has known a concrete and simultaneous disturbance within the international system in governance of the international system. As a response to the enlightenment ideas, a different line of thought emerged, called the Romantic Movement. The romantic thinkers celebrated the emotions with irrationality and authentic thinking relating to nationalism and local territories. In this process, culture was understood as a people‘s way of life (Grehan 2002: 38).

The enlightenment legacy is a discourse of universal human rights and romanticism connected in a complex historical context in the understanding of a people’s way of life. (Baileys and peoples 1999) provides a useful way to define culture; As a group consists of shared, socially learned knowledge and pattern of behaviour. what is important about cultural knowledge is not its true values, but that the knowledge lead people to behave in ways that work at least well enough to allow them to survive and reproduce themselves and transmit their culture(strange 1994:124-5). In the 19th Century as capitalism was remaking the world, modernity came to mean transformation to western culture if tradition stands for continuity, modernity means change. (Cox 1996:126-7) provides a leading idea of Gramsci conception and account of hegemony; on the one hand the debate with the third international strategy of the Bolshevik Revolution and the creation of the Soviet socialist state and on the hand, the writings of Machiavelli.

As (Maclean 1998 in Budd 2007) points out the gap of mutual neglect of Marxism and IR, in the better half of the 20th Century, failed to underpin the rise and fall of production or class dynamics. Cox rejection of the mainstream with ideas of the prison notebooks on hegemony enlarged enlarge Marxist understanding in IR, though fragmented(Cox 1983), Gramsci usage of the concept of passive revolution, shows knowledge of interpretation of the national and international. Such as his analysis of the Italian unification( the Risorgimento) in the 1860s and the 20th century European history describes a top down process in which a narrow modernizing elite brings about transformational social relations reforms, unlike the Jacobins elites in the French Revolution who failed to mobilise mass activity behind its revolutionary project. The pressure of this process is not from domestic economic development but the international development of the advanced centre that transmit their ideological currents to the periphery (Gransci 1971).

In the 20th Century culture and identities interfere with both local and transnational power to a considerable degree. Becoming the product of intellectual and artistic activities and today many people sees culture to mean writing, music, literature, painting, sculpture, theatre, films, both as works and practices of arts and intelligence which gramsci conclude as ‘’philosophy of praxis.’’ (Op.cit) indeed the currency of culture and identity can be traced to their original homelands, where traffic across borders can be controlled. Cultural actions the making and remaking of identities, takes place in the contact zones of trans intercultural frontiers of nations, peoples locales. Where status and purity are asserted creatively and violently, against historical forces of movement and contamination. According to (Clifford 1997) this has resulted in a new theoretical paradigm. The new paradigm, begin with entanglement at interesting regional, national and trans-national levels. Contacts are made with new relationships, with system already established entering new relations with historical processes of displacement. The term hybrids and hybridist have become popular ways of referring to the fact that many people no longer seem to belong to a single country, producing a cross breed melange.

The important point of interest to gramsci was how to address the progressive cultural shifts and how the reactionary social forces identified could be solved to bring about a more equitable and just order, how people live and imagine their lives in particular times and places that advances or stop progress of this equitable and just order. Gramsci sees culture as something continuously generated through the course of history. Every social stratum has its own common sense and its good sense, which is generally the most widespread conceptions of life and of man. Every philosophical current leaves behind sediments of common sense. Common sense is not commonly rigid and immobile but is continuously transforming itself, enriching itself with scientific ideas and with philosophical opinions in ordinary life. Common sense for gramsci is a position somewhere between folklore and the knowledge produce by specialists. This is the strength of gramsci historicism (Cox 1996: 125)

The role of intellectuals to gramsci cannot be over emphasize, from their studies of general values and applicability to complex articulated societies possessing the highly evolved civil society of advanced capitalism, by civil society Gramsci indicated something much broader than what Hegel and Marx meant by it. Lynne perception of Gramsci thought embodied the entire complex of social, cultural, and political organizations and institutions in particular society to everything that is not part of the state. In discussing national state society relations, Gramsci argued that the complex contradictory and discordant assemble of the social relations of production, internationalising this argument that, war and the interstate on the one hand and the global economy on the other are interdependent aspects of a contradictory totality unlike Cox argument of a duality subject to separate logics (Cox 1987:366). Hegemony the Gramscian concept was the very fulcrum of his thought, is pictured as Lynne put it, as an ‘’equilibrium between civil society and political society for leadership, based on consent and domination based on coercion in the broadest sense.’’ Such as Piedmont which dominated the Italian peninsula in the period of Unification without ever being truly hegemonic (Gramsci 1979)

 Gramsci uses this term in his most original style associating it with civil society as opposed to political society to emphasizing cultural ideal as something necessarily complementing and accompanying the seizure of state power in all of its phases and insisting on achieving hegemony through all of the organs of civil society before as well as after taking over the structures of the state (ibid 1979:42). If ‘’dominance plus leadership ‘’ can be seen as Togliatti saw it, as an extension of dictatorship of the proletariat, then this concept of hegemony and the crucial role it gives to intellectuals on all levels of society is unique in the history of Marxist thought. The need of history he emphasize to analyse the development of civil society to obtain consensus rather than that of political society problem of culture as well that of power(ibid), the organic intellectuals working on behalf of a given class to obtain the consensus of the masses for the state, in which according to gramsci, it is criticism that constitutes the greatest achievement of modern philosophy from Kant to Marx, in whose works criticisms reaches the greatest scientific validation, put to test in gramsci analyses of the works of Benedetto Groce(ibid :45).

In accordance with Gramsci theories, the intellectuals production and reproduction of culture, history, religion, economy and politics have led to the broad cultural conceptions of the power to define what is and what is not security, production, finance and knowledge and belief structures of the world system that support the construction of particular power regimes through a ‘’vulgar materialist’’ view of history widespread among intellectuals and characterised the culture of the nation as a whole(ibid 1979:47). This have all help to bring about a new culture of revolutionary action of the masses to intervene in the sphere of the bourgeois state, to transform into a classless society, educating and mobilizing the masses of working class and other social groups, philosophy of praxis, structure and super structure as well as historical, sociological, literary ones to organization of culture, a vision Gramsci called ‘’absolute historicism’’ a philosophy of praxis of thought and experience that humanity must undergo and embodied in concrete reality in the world (ibid 1979:55).

What matters is a new way of conceiving the world and man is born and this concept is no more reserved to great intellectuals and professional philosophers, but tends to become popular mass phenomena, capable of modifying popular thoughts and culture (Freire 1971). According to Gramsci, only a political movement based on a popular mass culture could have any hope of seriously challenging the power of a modern capitalist state, such as he qualifies Italy in his time, that a historic change can be brought about by a ‘’collective intellectual’’ for the establishment of a cultural social unity with common aim of understanding the world (Gramsci 1979: 44). This demand a new type of intellectual conception existing through out society as a whole, of a relationship connecting the rulers and the ruled, the intellectuals and the labourers, the elite and the followers, the state and the market, north to south. For every relationship is an educational relationship, and should exist not only within one nation, but between the various forces of which the nation is composed in the international and world wide civilizations.

The importance of history in the understanding of the development and connections of a nation and its culture has to be paid particular attention. History enables us to observe at the processes unfolding, intertwining, spreading out and dissipating over time. This means a rethink of the unit in question of household, localities, nation state, national and international entities, seeing them not as fixed entities but as changing areas over time being shaped and reshaped (Wolf 2001). The main importance of the Granscian theories is to see culture as an important part of the balance of power equilibrium between various groups within and without society. Such as the development of individuals, Groups, and organizations is vital in reconnecting the security of the nations and Gramscianism has shown ways of using culture within society and develop intellectuals and organizations that can bring the civil part of the society into a more progressive status, with the improvement of education, healthcare and the use of technology, improve economic and political sectors within a country, with which to reconnect to the world system. The importance of history brings out the African Gulf of Guinea countries as colonies ruled by Europeans. In this period many changes happened in the Europe such as mass movement of political culture, labour unions and labour interests, from where it expanded to the world in general and Africa Gulf of Guinea in particular.

It is as also the importance of intellectuals and organizations connecting culture and intellectual developments around the period of the British victory in the Napoleonic war, the French revolution as in the thinking of Voltaire and Rousseau(strange 1994:125), the labour movement, at the same time the economic development was focusing on the industrial revolution and new means of communication, and liberalism being seen as the dominant ideology for economic prosperity in the 18th and 19th Centuries, developed a middle class in Europe and America, were the conditions unified to create an interdependent world[[31]](#footnote-31) where economic prosperity brought large part of the population out of poverty and starvation that still remain a plague in many African countries. All these factors have been summarized by Gransci into the use of common sense in society, which is a position somewhere between folklore and knowledge produced by specialist. This common sense has been developed into a solid movement, in Europe with which they use to speak power and dominate. Gramsci concept of passive revolution has also helped in understanding the political implications in the global spread of neoliberalism, where neoliberalism is conceived in the passive form of revolution in adopting the economic principles and priorities of the ruling classes of the advanced countries in the countries of the south. This leads us to make the conclusion that the working classes of both the developed and developing countries immediate enemy remain the national ruling elites. This explains the southern ruling classes opposition to the neoliberal project, a reflection of their independent interests of the world’s rulers against the interests of subordinate classes. Marx argued, the world ruling classes remain hostile brothers and suppose the subordinate classes of the poor countries should adopt the slogan of contemporary anti capitalist movement of ‘’thinking global and acting local’’[[32]](#footnote-32) for as Gramsci noted following Marx, ‘’it is on the level of ideologies that men become conscious of conflicts in the world of the economy’’(ibid 1987:289)

Susan Strange IPE approach question the separation of the dominant model by theorizing neo realism, neo realism assuming a world made up of states units, motivated by self interests, state no overarching authority but might control them, neo realism vision of state concentrate on the agent and not the structure. International institution exist as anarchy of world scene and only the state maintain order, there exist a competition whereby states are in quest of relative gains in relation to one another in a dilemma sum game. The question of security whereby the quest for power and capacity of the state in the matter remain central. Pro western centred to the mode in north America. Strange through a reflection of ‘’I E and IR; A Case of Mutual Neglect’’(Op. cit) in it she tries to find the weaknesses of both and used IPE as a means of overcoming their weakness. International anarchy set up empire or balance of power where states gathered influence becomes less attractive invade them and looking at the state that prevails as one that has most guns, allies and resources. She produces the argument to sustain her critique of neo realism that Europe has market. More specific than the increase in economic interdependence and interaction is that the pace of development in the international economic system has accelerated, is still accelerating and will probably continue, with numerous processes and organizations, regular integrations as well as of numerous transnational actors and increase activities of international organizations marked by heightened interdependence. The international organizations and non state actors took this importance since the state was central in the Cold War rivalry between the East and the West. While NGOs played a key role in the regional and international organizations, thus benefiting from the guarantor-ship of the state legitimacy for reasons of national security.

Strange argue in her book entitled *The Retreat of the State: The diffusion of power in the world economy,* that the authority of the state was declining looking at certain assumptions in the study of IR, the limits of politics as a social activity, the nature and source of power in society, the indivisibility of authority in a market economy, the anarchy nature of international society and the rational conduct of states as the unitary actors within society. She argues the production and finance structures of some multinational corporation and international organization such as the UN and their material capability is richer than the state. Strange argues the global market had gain significant power relative to that of the state, against the Westphalia system that had the state as the only actor in IR (Strange 1994, p.24-26).To Strange this particular focus on state power relationship ignores the processes of particular powerful agent structures such as multinational corporations and international organizations and their role in war, that might challenge the power of particular state structures , in the way questions are asked outcomes generated, decisions are made and how businesses operates, she put fort the argument that ‘’the impersonal forces of the world markets integrated over the post war period more by private enterprise in finance, industry, and trade than by the cooperative decisions of governments , are now more powerful than the states whom ultimate political authority over society and economy is supposed to belong’’[[33]](#footnote-33)

She explains that where the states were once the masters of the markets, now it is the markets which on many crucial issues are the masters of the government of states. She justify her claim with the argument that Europe has market, also, the declining authority of states is reflected in a growing diffusion of authority to other institutions and associations at local regional and international bodies, and the differential between states with structural power and weaker ones without them. At the same time the list of societies demanding their own state is in the increase, such as the ethnic groups suppressed by the single party government of the formal Soviet Union, the aboriginal peoples of from every part of the world, Africa, India, Australia, Canada, the old nation states of Europe, or those suppressed by force as the kurds , the basques or those by will as the Samis, Flemish. Some MNC and TNC are actually richer than the state such as Wal Mart stores, Royal Dutch Shell (UK/Netherlands), Toyota, General Motors, TotalFina, IBM, Exxon Mobile and might lead to the retreat of the state. This state market nexus of balance of power lead us to ask the question, *Is The State Dead*?

The state is in the heart of the theorizing in this paper, with a judicial and sociological personality. The Jurists characterize the state simply as a government, with a population and territory to act on, while the sociologists sees the state as sovereign legitimate holder of monopoly of violence over all the other entities within its given territory. The state lost of monopoly in international action could be traced in the confrontation of states in the treaty of Westphalia 1648opened a period that progressively saw the state replacing the church in attaining its prerogatives as representative of nations, organizers of society, principal dispenser of news abd thinker of war. WW I and more recently the Cold War, represent strong moments illustrating these roles. The end of the cold war precipitated the withdrawal of states and the emergence of non states actors in the international scene. Above all the private organization imposes to states bureaucracies in concessions forcing the state to lose it pertinence of efficiency, triumph of economic and commercial dimensions of international actions, the aid to export acquisition of markets, the question of debts have become source of power to states. Beside the rapid development of new private actors, more mobile simple and performing relative to state performance in difficulty to the international scene. The dialogue between the states and non states actors became obligatory at times as partners. For example green peace has a better mastery of the global environment than the states. Led to the globalization of the economy and the obligation to compose with new international actors like the WB, IMF,

The role and function of the state is to maintain its integrity, and avoid domination, Diplomatic Missions in Embassies, Visas attribution. The state may not be a unified actor but the condition of its functioning reveals it sound nature. Without a world government the only source of security from robbery, violence and gross bodily harm at the hands of other societies is the territorial states. According to (Miller 1982 in Strange 1984:193) observation of realist view, ‘’the state is the ultimate protector of the individual and there is no visible alternative.’’ Far from being a unified hypothetic actor, the politics of the state is the product of a composition of multiple actors like the media and pressure groups having divergent interests in the secular and universality nature of the state, knocking against the different cultures like Judaism, Islam, and the other African cultures. The influential role of individual actors, the international role of religious networks, tribal community solidarity that often goes beyond that of the states, given remarkable importance to transnational actors and at the same time avoiding the process of breakdown of the state.

The viability of governments to deliver on their promises, may as (Krasner 1978 in Strange 1984:193)has argued weaken the state, the weakness if not reverse, is more likely over time to produce a take over bid and the transfer of political powers. But the intervention of the state authority and the agencies of the state such as the police and gendarmes in maintaining peace and security against violence, stable money for trade and investment, a clear system of law, in the daily life of the citizens, protection from goods and services such as customers protection against unclean water, unsafe food, faulty buildings or transport systems, the provision of jobs and other public goods. What would it be if every individual was to drill his own hole for clean water supply or his is own cable for electricity, all these need a political authority of some kind, legitimated either by law of coercive force or popular concern or both is the reason for the survival of the state. (Strange 1994:6). Furthermore the NGOs and other non state actors adhere for approval and legitimacy from the state, the INGOs is the continuation of the state in international affairs through delegation of state powers to specialised agencies. Most often, the markets are not regulated at all; they cannot function well without solid infrastructures like airports seaports, electricity, healthcare, education and public security which are largely of state appeal. It is the state government that is responsible to define the strategies by fiscal policy social customs, which ameliorates productivity and development of technology at the national and global economy for example the internet.

 Schoenauer Iris in her works on Susan’s Strange approach to IPE, she looks at strange argument focusing on power shifts in IPE[[34]](#footnote-34), arguing non states actors as being more significant than states actors In IPE. Claim however the increasing interconnectedness has had a strong impact on both state and non state actors with the state still playing an influential role and I agree. that the state powers has been eroded for example in the in the technological and finance sector neglected[[35]](#footnote-35) the cost of new technology in the production structure has added salience of money in IPE , a neglected aspect that has lead to credit creation and changes in the global financial structure. The states no longer have power to control their currencies, especially the countries of the gulf of guinea with very inflationary currencies that largely depend on foreign mechanisms of regulations for stability such as the francs CFAF in use in central and west Africa, secondly states are showing increasing inability to provide welfare, especially as the burden of additional costs in form of employers contributions discourages multinational corporations from investing in the economy. This is the predicament of states in the gulf of guinea whose survival depend solely from taxes of MNCs and TNCs. Nigeria is an example FDI from of the multinational oil companies account for 90% of her GNP (Ghazvinian 2007)

Trade and competitiveness of non state actors in the international economy seems to be taking over the state in IPE. Organizations such as UNO, WB, IMF, Al-qaeda, influential individuals, opposed to state which are represented by their government authorities and so on come in different forms shape and sizes. Supranational organization as the UN WTO, TNOs. The environmental groups or civil society which shows an increasing interest in world affairs yet a decreasing interest in local affairs. In addition the non state actors include illegal organizations such as the mafia, terrorist groups, guerrillas and liberation movements such as the MEND in the Delta region in Nigeria, L’UNITA in Angola, the SDF in Cameroon, SWAPO in Namibia that received widespread external support for their fight against the South African apartheid regime; support in the form of recognised diplomatic status, money, and weapon supplies. Clear shifts can be observed from state government to non state governance, but my perception would be to see both actors which depend on each other though with conflicting interests. The shift from Keynesianism to neo liberal globalization, according to strange poses wealth hence economic success over freedom security and justice[[36]](#footnote-36) The contentious argument that state have lost their power or have retreated in a globalize world economy invites us to take a look at the MNC TNC and the financial sector. Global capital markets have led to turbulence in the world economic system during recent years (strange 1996).

The importance of pattern of power distribution has been demonstrated by strange in her criticisms of neo realism as displaying a limited view of power concentrating on the state as power religion, she defines power as ’’the ability of a person or group of persons to affect outcomes that their preferences take precedence over the preferences of others’’ that is ‘’the human ability not just to act, but to act in concert’’ (ibid). The problem arises when will and skill is added to power, describing the US as a ‘’tied Gulliver not a master with free hands’’ (Hoffman 1968 in Strange 1996:19) and Waltz observing the nuclear capabilities of the two super powers in 1970s warned against confusing the use of power with its usefulness, in the Gulf War the US with its allies displaying overwhelming military power over Iraq but failed to achieve their desired aim of removing Saddam Hussein from office. Power is only one cause among others to determine outcomes from which it cannot be isolated (Waltz 1979:191; 1993; in Strange 1996:19). Joseph Nye in *Bound to lead* describes between ‘’Hard and Soft ‘’power as two kinds of power in the US. The importance of power is in its usage where the organizations that possess power speak power to the organizations that have less power. For example the US in its drive to established a zone of influence in west Africa Gulf of Guinea without negotiation, display its capability to this region thereby speaking power of its hegemonic influence to all the countries of the Gulf of Guinea. As (Kindleberger 1973) has pointed out, the world economy works best when one dominant state acts as a financial leader or hegemon. The developing market economy of the 19th century had used the British Sterling partly because its value was fixed in gold, partly a major source of foreign credit and major open market of foreign goods. But in the world depression of the 1930s because Britain has been unable and the US unwilling to act as a hegemon, the whole world had suffered, and this is not so much because of protectionism in trade as because of the absence of a financial leader and lender of last resort with a stable currency. The neo realist assumes that sufficient amount of strength need to exist among the major powers to bring about a global architectural change. It is the changes of the distribution of strength among the major powers that determine the structure of the unipolar, or bipolar or multi-polar world order(Waltz 1979), where in my perception the post Cold War IR appears contrary to many views as unipolar with the US preponderance of material capability compared to the other great power rivals.

Strange further argues this time inline with Max Weber and Robert Dahl that structural power capabilities or resources are a poor way of judging relative power. The authority or power over global outcome enjoyed for example by the American society and therefore indirectly by the US government is superior to that of any other society. At the beginning of the Cold War for example, congress passed the Battle Act aimed at preventing sales to the Soviet Union, and at once was adopted by American allies and NATO members and others like Japan and Australia, another example is the Oil Pollution Act of 1992, following the accidental oil spill by the Exxon Valdez, that applied to all tankers entering a US port no matter who owned them. Another point is power over need not be confined to outcomes consciously sought for. It can be exercised by being there. According to Strange quoting Waltz ’’an agent is powerful to the extent that he affects others more than they affect him’’( Waltz 1979:192 in strange 1996:26), for example Canadians overshadowed by the US have long been aware of this truth, therefore taking the unintended effect of power relations out of consideration, is indeed according to Waltz ‘’take much of the politics out of politics’’(ibid) and Strange seems to agree with the distinction of her relational and structural power relevance. Another example is when the economic plight of Russia worsened and the risk of political chaos loomed, the US unilaterally stepped in with a promise of $23 billion in emergency aid.

The American structural power whether exercise through NATO or unilaterally, was the final determinant of outcome. Strange identifying power with tangible resources of one or another; territory, population, armed forces, with the political nexus of the market and state authority in a balance of power seesaw, the structural power of hegemony and gap between nation states and international governmental organisation in which a free market hand could be constructive or destructive. For example the US is using its structural power to lock Europeans, Latin American, and now Asian and African economies into an open world market economy. In economic matters, Strange perceptively argued, what matters was not physical endowment but rather structures and relationships, of who depends on whom, and for what, operating in two levels; structural and relational power. Relational power echoing the ‘’power of A to get B to do what they would not otherwise do’’, and structural power ’’the power to shape and determine the structures of the global political economy, how things will be done, to shape frameworks within which states relate with each other. Structural strength according to Strange refers to the capability of the leader to create rules and norms and modes of operations for various dimensions in the international system. Hegemon enjoys structural power by its capacity to determine the terms on which and to whom needs are made available. Thus hegemony further sustains critical regimes of cooperation to reduce uncertainty as states pursue their objectives. What decides the nature of the mix is fundamentally a question of power. (Strange 1984:190; 1994:23-4; Cohen 2008:49-63; Keohane 1984).

 She identifies four areas of construction of power; security, production, finance, knowledge as core areas of analysing IPE, that goes beyond the power of the state. Common sense have it that when violent conflict threatens personal security, he who offer others protection against that threats is able to exercise power in other non-security matters like the distribution and administration of food, justice, the greater the threats to security the higher the price and risk will be willingly accepted . The mode of production as the bases of class power over other classes, can use its structural power over production to consolidate and defend its social and political power, establish constitutions, set up political institutions and lay down legal and administrative processes making it harder for other to challenge. Finance structure is basically the control of credit in international economic relations and competition of corporate enterprises, and enormous in determining outcome in the security, production and research. What is invested is not accumulated money but created credit and finally knowledge is power, whoever is able to develop and control the access to knowledge exercise a special kind of structural power in the world economy that affects the politics to define what goods and services are produced, how, where and by whom(Strange 1994:29-30). It is the change from production mostly designed and destined for one national market to production designed and destined for a world market. It is not the enterprises MNC/TNC but the markets. It is the production of the world market that has transformed innumerable national enterprises into TNC. It is the shift from states to market that has actually made the TNC political players with political institutions having political relations with civil society which is important than relations with other firms or governments, and at every stage of production when firms act as technical or organizational innovators, as consumers of other goods and services, as producers and sellers and as employers. This shift from state to market understood in a historical perspective according to classical writers of IPE such as (Polanyi 19944; Braudel 1975 in strange 1996:44-5) is a pendulum of a forward backward movement, handed political power to the TNC by the state.

The TNC took this importance since the state was more concerned with power rivalry between the East and the West, while the non state actors played a key role in the international scene, with the guarantor-ship of the state for reasons of national security. The integration of the world economy through international production has shifted the balance of power away from states towards world market. The interactions of these structures with the security structure has had the influence of the centralization of some power from territorial states civil society to non territorial TNC, and also affecting the limits of cooperation and competition as well as the shift of power and wealth between states(ibid:46). It is this MNC/TNC in operation in the Gulf of Guinea and the dependency of this region on the capitalist world economy, the switch in employment and trade from primary to secondary and tertiary sectors of production, privatization, the relocation of manufacturing industry, managing labour relations and tax issues such as the UN, or BAT new form of investment by foreign owned firms, with FDI that has opened up the economy this region whereby the regain of importance to the world system.

 Strange criticize politics on account that economics and technology often neglected may not capture the agent structure relationship fully well, its comparative advantage over simple comparative politics, such as to organize materials on the basis of markets in examining the role of states and non states authority in the working of specific markets with difficulty to capture the mix of values and the who gets what in the system as a whole (Strange 1996:41). Strange criticize politics on the assumptions that the political reasons are the primary area for understanding the social world, the various function of authority in a political economy to determine outcome, of great flexibility, applied to all forms of authority in family, tribe, religious to the managers of firms, leaders of political parties or mafia bosses and not just the authority of the state. Extending the focus of analysis from state to all forms of authority allows us to ask how and by whom values are allocated and political decisions taken over such matters as what resources should go into limiting the spread of aids, how can the preservation of endangered animal or species be weighed against the need for economic growth for poor people. Extending the limit of politics include notion of world society that is sometimes bruised by the political system of states and by economic system of markets. Getting both the state and the market though there is general decline in the power of most states and some gain in the authority of world markets. The shift from states to market is the biggest change in IPE in the areas of production and financial structures. Strange argues the major shift resulting from structural change has been the increased power and influence of the multinationals called TNCs and the networks they set up and operates (ibid:43)

 Bieler and Morton conception of Robert Cox neo granscian IPE approach of Marxist historical materialistic problematic of social transformation emphasize on hegemony construction expressed as consent of ideas, and supported by material resources and institutions, first within the state and then projected to the world scale(Gramsci 1971; Cox 1981; 1983; Morton 2001). With the origin situated in IR with the de-linking of the dollar, the end of the post war regime of embedded liberalism, and a world of sustained structural change, marked by the end of the French war and the end of the East West conflict, the collapse of the soviet empire marked the fall of state, organization marked the link of states in general with IR in difficulties in understanding this development, and the challenges posed by new critical theories of feminism, historical sociology, and post structuralism, rejecting the positivist assumption of the aim of social science of identifying causal relationship in an objective world. Rejecting the mainstream positive IR approaches assuming that it is neither possible to separate the object from the subject or distinguish between normative enquiry and empirical scientific research (Smith 1995:24-26).

 According to (Bieler and morton2001), Cox neo Gramscian approach of questioning the mainstream dominant models of neo-realist and neo-liberal institutional approaches, as well as the radical alternative of the world-system theory, can be rejected as problem solving theories. Assuming all the basic features of the international system are constant, consisting mainly of the rejection of the mainstream positive international relations approaches. Robert Cox critique with respect for institutions, social and power relations, calls the mainstream theories, in this case neo-realism, by concerning itself with their origins and if they bring about change of world order, dominant norms, institutions and practices ( hegemonic forces, and counter hegemonic structures of their social origins and the historical context perspective of private power, in their social interactions, comprising set of material capabilities, ideas and institutions into spheres or levels of production, forms of state, and world orders). He criticize economics as the primary reasons for understanding the social world, with the normative remark ‘’theory is always for someone for some purpose’’ (Op. cit). Cox sees production as the basis of social and political power in the society. The state is the embodiment in political term with authority of the class in control of the production structure in an anarchical world order. (ibid 1996:11) Engaging the neo classical political economy tradition with origin in the works of Adam Smith view of individual as a moral agent, as well as the radical economics tradition originating in the works of Karl Marx, view of the division of society into economic classes. Both accepting the role of social forces in the production of economic outcomes and Strange seems to agree with its link between IPE and historical roots in the tradition of political economy (Cox 1981:129-147 in Cohen 2008:87-9)

Cox neo Gramsci approach defines the Pax Americana as a hegemonic world order in which power is exercised on a large consensual basis of a post war open economy with the economic and military aspect of imperial rivalry separated. The opposition of Europe to the US centred world free trade system led to economic and political conflicts (Budd 1993; Burnham 1990). The neo realist hegemonic stability theory argues that international order may exist provided it rest on one powerful state which dominates all other states through its economic and military capabilities (Gilpin 1981). According to Cox, the more the military force is increased and employed the less the world order rests on consent and the less it is hegemonic. Yet in rejecting realism exaggeration of military power in shaping the international system Cox largely presents it as a determining factor in the Cold War, it becomes more than simply state dominance. Within a world order, hegemony may prevail based on a conjunction and configuration of material power, the prevalent collective image of world order including certain norms, and a set of institutions which administers the order base on universality. Hegemony is therefore a form of dominance, but it refers more to a consensual order where dominance by a powerful state maybe necessary but not a sufficient condition for hegemony (Cox 1987; 1981:139)

Hegemony within a historical structure is constructed within three spheres of activity. Beginning with the social relations of production, covering the production and reproduction of knowledge and social relations, morals and institutions that are prerequisites to the production of physical goods. Through the concern of dialectic levels of logic and real history by the continual confrontation of concepts with reality and their adjustment to changes of this reality, and the knowledge concept that each reality contains its opposite. At the level of real history, dialectics is the potential for alternative forms of development arising from the confrontation of opposed social forces, where neo realist sees conflict as inherent in the human nature of power seeking essence and taking the political form of a continual reshuffling of power among states as a zero sum game.

Historical materialism remakes human nature and creates new patterns of social relations that change the rules of the game that is, see conflict as a possible cause of structural change. Secondly it focuses on imperialism power rivalry, historical materialism add a vertical dimension of power on a horizontal dimension of rivalry among the most powerful states, the dominance of the core over the periphery. It enlarges the concern with the relationship between the states and civil society. It focuses on the production process as a critical element in the explanation of the particular form taken by the state society complex. Historical materialism examines the connection between power in production, power in the state and power in IR, neo realism by contrast simply ignores the production process. Historical materialism is sensitive to the dialectical possibilities of change in the sphere of production which could affects the other spheres such as those of the state and world order. (Cox 1996:95; 1987:1-9)

**Chapter Four**

**4. The Analyses:**

The analysis reveals the argument that the regain of importance of Africa to the world system after 9/11 attacks: War on terrorism or integration for sustainable development, the case of the security of the gulf of guinea, is due to turbulence in the world system that has led to a growing shift from Keynesianism to neo-liberal global market economic integration and heightened global interdependence of the production, finance and knowledge structures interacting with the security structure that has led to the regain of importance of Africa Gulf of Guinea to the world system. This research investigates to know the following questions;

***4.1 What factors explain to the regain of importance of Africa Gulf of Guinea to the world system?***

To better approach our point of investigation, we ask the question to know what factors are responsible. What is the security doctrine of the US and how it changes after 9/11? What is the importance of the Gulf of Guinea to the US politics and the rest of the world? by looking at the interaction of the security structure to the production, financial, knowledge and belief structures and other secondary structures like transport, trade, energy, welfare in relation to their source of power and the shift in focus from national markets to single global market or many national markets. Their impact on policies of this region and elsewhere, on MNC / TNC, on markets, and the balance of power over outcome between states, company and markets in this region and elsewhere.

**4.1.2** The factors favouring the regain of importance of Africa gulf of Guinea to the world system after 9/11 attacks are many and varied from external to internal that accounts for the turbulence in the international scene that has led to a shift or changes in world politics from states to markets. This could be seen looking at the relational and structural power in IPE interacting with security, production, financial, knowledge, belief and ideas, transport, welfare structures. Looking at the security structure which is basically the framework of power created by the US providing security to the countries of the Gulf of Guinea against a possible spread of terrorism to this region, where the US acquire the privilege of building a zone of influence and a military base in the region, speaking power to all the countries in the Gulf and acquiring the advantages of the production and consumption of energy resources, wealth and social relations. Security is the most basic of all human needs, the question of who provides security to whom against what threats and for what prize? Conversely to whom does the states, individuals, look up to for greater security, and how much security is provided and on what terms? In IPE the security structure is built around the institutions of the state claiming political authority and the monopoly of legitimate violence in relation with other states within and beyond territorial boundaries (Strange 1994:45-6).

 It is this relationship between the US, EU and China and the countries of the Gulf of Guinea after the 9/11 attacks that has led to the regain of importance of this region to the world system. According to the editorial department of oilprice.com[[37]](#footnote-37), the provision of security by the US and its allies to the Gulf of Guinea varies with the nature of the individual states who are the major players in the IPE system. The strategic framework and the correlation of forces in this region of significant energy resources, is rapidly changing with a new security arrangements for the region moving from an area of low technology defence security systems and minimal command and control at national levels to one of growing sophistication, higher mobility and the potential for military confrontation. The five year $250 million Equatorial Guinea maritime security program of integrated naval and air capability announced in February 2010, given the strategic maxim that military planning is based to a large degree on capabilities rather than intent of neighbours, this means action to the neighbouring Cameroon, Nigeria and Gabon to the changing security realities, even though Equatorial Guinea depend on Abuja for assistance and even military training and security backup.

The contract with US Defence Corporation the MPRI subsidiary, L3, shows that Equatorial Guinea intends to be a major player in the Gulf of Guinea security, that it has the capacity to influence sea lane security to and from Nigeria and Cameroon. This activist stance is based on the reality that there has been no cohesive professional command and control structure in place other than personal links between arbitrarily ranked colleagues of President Theodoro Obiang and from his ethnic fang, an evidence of the continued prevalence of the ‘’neo patrimonial political culture’[[38]](#footnote-38)’ and processes of state power and the leadership style of capital accumulation of anti liberal and undemocratic historical legacies to which many leaders have fallen victim of clinging long to power, fuelled with corruption and mismanagement. The substance with the MPRI/L3, is that, it is engage in helping Equatorial Guinea whereas it still has potential concerns with the Nigeria Army. Equatorial Guinea, Nigeria, Gabon, and Sao Tome and Principe all recognize that they face common security threats, of potential friction in this region but also with Cameroon engaged in an eighteen years long border dispute with Nigeria.

 including the de-linking of the dollar and the fall of the gold standard leading to salience in oil prices, the lack of an international trading system for global governance to bring about better social outcome, the global financial crisis and even more crisis now, the military non role in finance and trade vital for resource game and the US security interest, the rise of the Asian tigers, the rise of non state actors and the declining authority of the state, innovation in nuclear technology, globalization and change, the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Berlin Wall, the expansion of EU, the new status of the post Cold War era and the future of the world, to the birth of new paradigms such as climate change and global warming, production, trade, ecology, migration, new social movement, environmentalism, feminism gender, and human rights activities world wide, rapid improvement in technology, not withstanding the upsurge of energy consumption, with their complexities and connections in our contemporary world, but also the war on terrorism and integration for sustainable development and the African state system among others has speed up the race for rivalry amongst major powers and the new scramble as the reasons for the regain of importance of Africa Gulf of Guinea to the world system.

This include factors such as the proliferation of actors blame on population explosion at five billion today and projected to eight billion in 2025 creating farming, threat to the environment among others leading to an increase in collective actors to act on their behalf on the global stage with complexities of factions, associations, parties, organizations, movements, to advance their welfare and network with each other to meet ecological challenges, dissatisfaction over the performance of existing authorities over need and wants(27).

The impact of dynamic technologies is another factor fostering the narrowing of social and political space such as travel time and distance, circumventing economic barriers, the nuclear and communication revolution of rapidity and clarity with which ideas and information circulate through television, VCRs, the internet, fax machines, satellite hook-ups, fibre optics telephone circuit and more have rendered national boundaries more porous and world politics more vulnerable to cascading demands. An example in point is the CNN said to be watched the world over and that serve as the bases for diplomatic and military action on both sides of the conflict during the Gulf War. This has stimulated people everywhere to become skilful and ready to challenge authority, engage in collective actions as well as enable leaders in public and private sectors to mobilize.

The globalization of national economies has been a prime source for turbulence in world system, stimulating tendencies toward decentralization through empowering citizens and sub-national groups while centralizing the economic tendencies of production organization, specialize market restructuring capital in world markets and linking producers to supply markets in many countries, and sustaining a financial system that is global in scope in major cities of the world. The globalization of capital, production, labour, and markets through networks of world economy, superseded the traditional political jurisdictions of the state in world politics, expanding the horizons of workers and producers with self interests responding to the formation of transnational organizations. This has weakened and limited the state to instrument for adjusting national economy to the exigencies of global economy. Globalization as a social force allows as business grows to shift production from one part of the world to another. National governments find it hard to control wages, working conditions, taxation, industrial location and the preservation of natural resources. Like terrorism, states are constraints to preference national security (29) (Hungtington 1991)

The advent of interdependence issues coming with transnational problems on the world’s agenda that state government political agenda and diplomatic institutions could not cope with such as environmental pollution, currency crises, drug trade and mafias, TERRORISM, AIDS, the flow of refugees and more embrace processes that transgress national boundaries. For example the outbreak of the terrorist attack with targets in the US and the subsequent declaration of global war on terrorism has seen the emergence of the security of the gulf of guinea requiring cooperation on a transnational scale of either transnational social movements or international institutions with impact on the countries and people of the region. This has lead to turbulence in world politics causing citizens to doubt their state in solving problems as interstate conflict to favour transnational cooperation and associations challenging the authority of the state have seen an upsurge.

The weakening of the state and the restructuring of loyalties is another area of turbulence that has lead to security challenges. states continues to be present and the source of creation of multilateral organizations that contain the nuclear revolution, and that responded to the demands for decolonization by producing the hierarchical arrangements that enabled the industrial countries to speak power to and dominate the developing world, more perform vital functions and overcoming challenges that serves the need s of people and have since Westphalia 1648. Viewed from the perspective of vulnerability, population density, the expanding complexity of the organized segments of society, the globalization of national economies, the constraints of external debts, relentless pressure of technological innovations, groups intent on achieving greater autonomy, and more stand evidence that states are not eternal verities and susceptible to variability like any other social system. Though the state still occupies the political centre stage, they seem to become vulnerable, impotent and ineffective managers of their own affairs as such a source of turbulence in world politics. (p.31).

The role played by subgroups for their associations, organizations and subcultures with which they have been historically, professionally, economically, socially or politically linked and to which they attach their highest priorities and emotional dimensions of generic decentralizing tendencies of upward and downward relocations marked with comparable intensities and best known as subgroupism can be a source of turbulence to the state and world politics. Linked to this is the spread of hunger, poverty in the developing world as another source of turbulence that leads to integration for sustainable development. Underlying the politics of the state and multi-centric world has been another split between industrially develop and the underdeveloped countries. The crisis of states in developing countries to forge nationhood has seen a spiral of civil societies that has been a source of turbulence in the international system.

The developing countries have added to the complexity and dynamism of the global structures, with sharpened performance criteria of legitimacy, enriched by the skills of the underprivileged, hastened the trans-nationalization of economies and social movements, limited the authority of developed states over their production facilities, intensify the flow of people from south to north, lengthen the list of independence issues, and strengthen the tendencies toward subgroups. The impact was most felt with the global distribution of power with decolonization resulting in the proliferation of actors in the state centric world with hierarchical rigidity of global structures. The process of greater power that accompanied the development of industrial states in the developed world was lacking when statehood came to the developing world and Africa Gulf of Guinea in particular. These states acquired sovereignty even though they lacked the internal resources and consensual foundation to provide for their development. These circumstances led the states of the Gulf of Guinea in particular into a deep dependency on the industrialized world for trade, technology, and other prerequisites necessary to fulfil their desires for industrial development. The result has been a pervasive global pattern interconnectedness in which the industrial world continues to prosper while the developing world has languished and thus reinforcing the inequalities that underlie the hierarchical structures of world politics where the rich north industrial countries get richer and the south poor underdeveloped countries get poorer (p. 33-4).

In managing the foreign debt to third world country, powerful state exercises indirectly through the bureaucracies of international organizations their structural power. The stronger state with the most global reach direct and constrict the response of the international bureaucracies to the debtors. What this means is that they speak power through international agencies to the debtor countries. For example the US choice of areas and of partners is a political as at the same time, it exercise authority indirectly over the world economy relocating its manufacturing industries to the developing countries. This shift is the consequence of the power of market and corporate strategies responding to markets, with the consequence of a shift from wealth and employment derived from agriculture to wealth and employment derived from manufacturing. More new producers of wealth mean more new consumers stimulating further investment and employment. The consequence of such global shift separate the firms from the government of their home basis in the US, Britain, France or Japan to new markets say Nigeria where demand is growing thereby paying wishes to the local authority, state or non state authority governing these new markets(Strange 1996:193). These dilemma for firms and political stresses for governments resulting from the relocation of manufacturing industries in the market economy under pressures of political and economic change has led to the regain of importance of Africa Gulf of Guinea to the world system and not that war on terrorism or integration for sustainable development.

 **4.1.3** What is the Security Doctrine of the US and how it changes after 9/11; before the 9/11 attacks, no single agency was in charge of security in the US. The US security doctrine by this time revolved around the policy of containment of communism to Russia in an East West Cold War ideology of military balance of power, alliance relationship and traditional collective security. There was total neglect of international organizations, international law and universal collective security to the extent that world security interests was perceived as what was good for the US was good for the world, a conceit of nationalistic universalism of realist thought like Maughwnthau in some Pax Americana premises of US policy (Seyom 1998:15). On the morning of 9/11 2001, the US security doctrine and the world change forever. 9/11 provided a justification for a shift in the US security policy and an expansion to incorporate the principle of universal collective security, waging global war on terrorism [[39]](#footnote-39)without borders by the Bush administration, attacking countries inhibiting terrorists, pre-emptive strikes, unilateralism(ibid), but also component of expansion to promote US strategy, democracy, the economic as well as the politics, cultural as well as the material values, ethical and moral values as well as individual self interests, states as well as non states actors . Which by implication takes into consideration the growing awareness of the entire planet of the fundamental human interests that deserve to be accommodated and reliably secured not only with physical safety and public order, but also economic subsistence and basic healthcare of the population(sustainable ecological environment),individual civic and property rights, and opportunities for cultural and religious communities to develop their own ways of life, which Brown terms as world interests(ibid 1998:16)

The revolutionary changes with the end of the Cold War marked the end of the US-Soviet hostility and the break up of the former Soviet Union, since then, the outbreak of the Gulf War, the carnage in Bosnia, the genocide in Rwanda, the rise of China as a major power marked the world scene, more the emergence of new category of security challenges such as environmental degradation , resource scarcities, transnational criminal activities, arms proliferation, mass human civilization and migration, ethnic warfare, climate change, economic s, forces engendering both risk and opportunities and generating new threats to global security than the world have ever known, and according to (Klare and Chandrani 1998) this led to the development of new responses by international policy makers to these perils.

 It is the changes in the security doctrine of the US after 9/11 attacks that led to two major changes in the security structure that account for the fundamental seesaw between the state company market relationships. According to (Strange 1994:204), it was the de-link of the dollar and the fall of the gold standard leading to the political salience in rising oil prices during the presidency of Nixon that leads to even more crisis today with the current financial crisis and an ever increasing oil prizes. The other is the change in the knowledge structure with innovation in nuclear technology development for nuclear weapons used in WW II, could now be use to produce electric power for industry (Scheimann in Cox and Jacobson 1973 in strange 1994:204)

 The desire to shift some of America’s dependence from Middle East to Africa raises excitement in Washington, Europe and china; The ever increasing prize for crude oil, technological advancement, competition among super powers to create their zone of influence, and the outbreak of the Gulf War opposing the US and its allies to the Arab nations, push the US to turn to the gulf of guinea to ensure her supply, making the gulf a British and French somewhat considered ‘’pres carree’’ to become a potential zone of conflict crisis. More the activities of the non state actors of multinational corporations and financial institutions in the gulf endangered rivalry and the security of the region very much depended on the countries for the most part weak, through resistance and balance of power equilibrium. The incapacity and weakness of the countries to exploit the mineral resources themselves couple with the low demand for energy as a result of low industrialization, sparks of strategic redeployment of multinational oil companies of French, British, Dutch, Chinese origins to rival the petroleum diplomacy offensive of the United State in the Gulf of Guinea. Based on the above reasons, the GG, became the world strategic reserve of oil resources for the industrial nations, with linking the protection and exploitation of the GG region as a matter of US National Security[[40]](#footnote-40).

Susan Strange in her book Casino Capitalism argues the international economic and financial situation in the 1970s-1980s owes to the mismanagement of money and credit more dangerous than protection in trade policy. This is true for countries of EU and US. Whereas in countries of the gulf of guinea and sub Sahara Africa in general, protectionism only worsen a bad situation of export substitution industrialization, with no adequate social protection system, massive dumping of agricultural products that provoke massive unemployment. At this same time, the world economy was transcending an era of non decisions; no country was ready to shoulder the international financial affairs. The standard process for the provision of credit and the handling of bad debt was inexistent. In addition to the permissiveness towards Eurodollar lending and the proliferation of speculative instruments and the refusal to manage speculation for export contracts and to install stable exchange rates. The gaps in exchange rates gave way to the creation of the Euro, a big challenger to the dollar as world currency. Strange points an accusing finger at the US (Strange 1992)

The fall of the gold standard exchange rate, and rising oil prizes as Engdahl E explain in ‘’A century of wars’’, the oil shock was a creation to counter the feared massive devaluation of the dollar after a repeal of the gold standard. A strategy to make the rest of the world pays higher for oil price in dollars, to support the US currency. In addition the surpluses of dollar amassed by OPEC countries were transferred into US bank accounts providing a bulk of new working capital for these countries. As a Keynesian strange disagrees with the determinists who contend that nothing can be done against wild business cycle swings. In a world dominated by transnational corporations, individual government do not impose efficient measures within their own borders. Strange envisage greater stability and order at a time most secure of jobs vanish and still more people are made redundant. She blames this on the lack of an international leadership or hegemony in IR in favour of self interests. In casino capitalism.(ibid)

**4.1.4** What is the importance of the Gulf of Guinea to the US and the rest of the world; The importance of Africa in general and the Gulf of Guinea in particular to the world, cannot be over emphasize. The new scramble for Africa speaks to the interests of the Europeans for a source of market for raw materials and finished goods, to offset western dependence on Middle East Oil(Klare 2002:83), the geographical location of the Gulf of Guinea , to maintain international order and assure the defence of security, to expand capitalism and promote democracy, it’s a strategic world reserve for oil to the world market, an area for the engagement of states and non states actors, seen as a priority to the US national energy security interest, its importance could be seen through as a contested notion of security and sovereignty, seen through the struggle for access into the region vast energy resources, it reveals the fierce competition for influence between major powers and their multinationals, reveals the emergent pattern of contestations and the current economic down turn, it reveals the impact of war on terrorism, among other factors.

The Gulf of Guinea is famous for its fine quality and quantity of energy resources availability in the Gulf of Guinea, known in extractive industry parlance as ‘’light and sweet’’, vicious, low in sulphur, easier and cheaper to refine, in comparisons to the Middle East crude that lacks hydrocarbons and is very sticky. According to (Xinhua 2005)[[41]](#footnote-41)news analysis, it is highly valued by the US market and it is believed to hold as much as 10percent of the world oil reserves and extracted and refined mostly by western oil giants such as the Royal Dutch Shell, ExxonMobil, Chevron, TotalFinaElf. According to the financial times of (May 3 2010), Nigeria has estimated proven reserves of 36.2 billion barrels of crude oil reserve and currently produces 2.17 barrels per day, Angola 9 billion[[42]](#footnote-42) barrels as reserve and currently produces 2.01 million barrels per day. Gabon 2 billion barrels with 348 000 barrels produced per day. Equatorial Guinea 1.1 billion barrels with 360 000 barrels produced per day. Ghana also has a lot of oil discovered in 2007 and current reserves run to 800 million barrels expected to fetch Ghana $1 billion per year, which will continue to rise as new discoveries are made amongst other things (ibid). According to the US National Intelligence Council, the US in diversifying its sources of oil hopes to increase it reliance on the Gulf of guinea oil from the current level of 15 percent to 25 percent of oil imports in 10 years, while the centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), A Washington based think tank, in its July report qualifies the Gulf of Guinea as a nexus of vital US foreign policy priorities (redorbit.com)

The geographical location of Africa and in particular the gulf of guinea favoured by cheap means of transport; The Gulf of Guinea is entirely surrounded and or expose to the ocean waterway and existing sea lanes which significantly cuts transport related cost and risks and ensures cheap and quick delivery to the major ports of Shreveport in north America, Southampton in Britain or le Havre in France. Given no need to build expensive pipelines through unpredictable countries or crossing the Suez canal, as it is the case with the troubles encountered with NABUCCO in eastern Europe or the Baku- Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline in central Asia stretching from Azerbaijan through Georgia and into turkey, all to deliver Caspian crude into the Mediterranean, crossing minefield of Middle East politics, anti globalization protest and the red tape before it could be opened. Light sweet oil from the gulf faces none of these threats. It is simply loaded tanker ships at the point of production and begins its smooth unmolested journey on the high seas.(ibid: stratfor.com).

Another reason is seen from the advantage of the perspective of the terms of trade with the oil companies; with a tremendous favourable contractual environment such as enjoyed by Exxon Mobil in Ghana over the jubilee oil field, China CNPC in Angola, French TotalFinaElf in Congo Brazzaville, British Shell in Nigeria, unlike in Saudi Arabia where the monopoly is the reserve of the state own company Saudi Aramco, on the exploitation production and distribution of the country’s crude oil. Most of the countries in the Gulf of Guinea operate on the production sharing agreement (PSA). In this agreement, a foreign company is awarded a license to look for petroleum on the condition that it assumes the up front costs exploration and production. Where oil is discovered in a block the oil company shares revenues with the host government after deducting initial cost. A case in point is the Exxon Mobil oil multinational company that has recently discovered huge quantity of oil reserve in the Jubilee oil field offshore the coast of Ghana.

The importance has been very much captured by the conflict of interests over the oil rich Gulf of Guinea among global oil majors. According (ibid 2005) South Korea consortium exercised special rights to acquire two deepwater blocks in Nigeria, Africa’s top oil producer. Asian oil majors however have also underpin their strategies on sourcing oil from the Gulf which undoubtedly runs contrary to the interests of the US, EU countries, and the giant oil companies are unwilling to let the Asian latecomers . According to CSIS, Competition for influence in the Gulf of Guinea is fierce, European interests; official and commercial remain fully engaged. China, India, Korea have swiftly enlarge their engagements along multiple lines.

 The desire to shift some of America’s and western dependence from Middle East oil, to Africa raises excitement in Washington, Europe and china; The ever increasing prize for crude oil, technological advancement, competition among super powers to create their zone of influence, and the outbreak of the Gulf War opposing the US and its allies to the Arab nations, push the US to turn to the gulf of guinea to ensure her supply, making the gulf a British and French somewhat considered ‘’pres carree’’ to become a potential zone of conflict crisis. More the activities of the none state actors, multinational corporations and financial institutions in the gulf endangered rivalry and the security of the region very much depended on the countries for the most part weak, through resistance and balance of power equilibrium. The incapacity and weakness of the countries to exploit the mineral resources themselves couple with the low demand for energy as a result of low industrialization, sparks of strategic redeployment of multinational oil companies of French, British, Dutch, Chinese origins to rival the petroleum diplomacy offensive of the United State in the Gulf of Guinea. Based on the above reasons, the GG, became the world strategic reserve of oil resources for the industrial nations, with linking the protection and exploitation of the GG region as a matter of US National Security[[43]](#footnote-43).

***4.2 What impact may this have on the security realities in the countries of the sub region? That is what are the challenges? (A) the impact to the countries in the GG as a curse (B) the impact to the countries in the GG as a blessing (C) The impact on the other regions in the world as a curse (D) the impact to the other regions in the world as a blessing (E) A comparison of the impact on other regions in the world to that of the countries in the Gulf of Guinea sub region?***

To better approach this question, it is necessary to look at the impact of the 9/11 attacks on the security realities of the other regions of the world and compare with the realities of the gulf of guinea to shade more understanding of the hypothesis;

**4.2.1The challenges to the countries of the Gulf of Guinea as a curse;**

One area where this could be seen is in the shift from states to markets that is a shift from Keynesianism to neo liberal open economy in the countries of the Gulf of Guinea with little or no comparable advantage in international trade. This has further weakened the power and authority of the weak states barely struggling for their survival.

It has led to conflicts between and within states in a balance of power rivalry, exercising power over, for the control of security realities found in the gulf of guinea. This include the many and varied resources from Forestry, mining, natural gas, crude oil, refined oil, rubber ,marine resources, environmental change affecting fishermen and farmers, national identity and so on. But this paper question to know why has resources that is suppose to be the source of economic development constituted a source of continuous conflicts and insecurity in the Gulf of Guinea?

Taking a synaptic look at the security of the Gulf of guinea since 9/11, the observation is one characterized by a series of conflicts and instability between and within the countries of this sub region. Prominent among these conflicts is the interstate conflicts between Nigeria and Cameroon over the border stretch of the Bakassi peninsular said to be rich in energy resources[[44]](#footnote-44). Fuelled by the national identity, environmental change, colonial legacy affecting local fishermen and farmers that create a need for porous border of the region, more the increase in oil prices from the world market and the desire of both countries to gain control over the resources, of the peninsula, not withstanding the concern of the Anglophone Cameroonian secessionist Ambazonian movement, and the Nigerian migrant community in disputed territorial that further complicated the situation, break into a full scale war between both countries that lasted over 18 years and took the lives of millions not withstanding the disruption of a lucrative trade between the two countries. The crisis was mediated and resolved by the ICJ. This shows that the security of Africa Gulf of Guinea has been a curse to the region, making Africa an object in IR and its resources a curse.

The conflict between Nigeria and Equatorial Guinea, with Nigerian dream of creating the ‘’Pax Nigeriana’’ undermining Equatorial Guinea territorial waters and a failed attempted coup to topple President Obiang Nguema in which seven Nigerians were involved and blamed on the Movement of the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND)[[45]](#footnote-45) despite the fact that Nigeria and Equatorial Guinea share friendly ties as evident by gesture of Nigeria training Equatorial Guinea security men and gives scholarships to students to study in Nigeria, this did not prevent disagreement between the two countries. shows that resource security could be seen as a curse Furthermore, conflict between Gabon and Equatorial Guinea in 2003 each claiming security over a border uninhabited island of Mbanie Cocotier and Conga in Corisco Bay, an area with possible oil resources[[46]](#footnote-46)

Cameroon and Equatorial Guinea as a result of the war between Cameroon and Nigeria and Equatorial Guinea intervening in favour of its interests and support Nigeria, beside, the neglected mainland region of Equatorial guinea covered with timber bordering the Atlantic claimed by Cameroon and Gabon, notwithstanding the disputed island off the mouth of the Ntem river in Cameroon that remain unresolved (ibid: Oilprice.com). Ghana and Ivory Coast over the Jubilee oil fields, and Liberia and Sierra Leone over the diamond trade and more, are all instances of conflict within Africa Gulf of Guinea that has made negative impact.

Looking at the internal insecurity within states, the region has known a combination of industries built by Barons and roughnecks and a region marked by weak and ineffective governance has been a disaster hurting the environment, human rights and development and lack of social security. Internal conflict over the distribution of oil resources with the example of the MEND activities in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria (Op. cit). Political shake up in Congo Brazzaville where General Sassou Ngueso ousted democratic elected incumbent Pascal Lisuba with the conspiracy of TotalFinaElf[[47]](#footnote-47), Angola, and military coup in Tchad, Equatorial Guinea. Multinational oil Companies rivalry and influence to the local population such as in Angola, Congo Brazzaville, and Nigeria, and terrorist threats in Tchad, Angola and Equatorial Guinea. Nigeria for example oil account for around 90 percent of its foreign exchange, suffers stagnation when oil prizes falls forcing the country to bow to the IMF conditions , (Strange 1994, p.195) furthermore, the inequality in the distribution of oil income leads to internal uprisings.

Paraphrasing Alex Perry of the financial times of May 3 2010, page 41, it is hard to imagine a starker illustration of getting it wrong than an oil shortage in one of the world’s biggest oil producers. But that is exactly what regularly happens in Nigeria, as gas stations run dry and thousands of motorists and truckers jam driveways and spill out onto freeways. This owes to the way Nigeria messes up its oil industry that ranges from rioting refineries, poor distribution, and hiking hoarders. A case in point is the fuel drought last December in Nigeria where according to Perry quoting the executive of the Legislative Advocacy Centre in Nigeria’’ Our oil powers the world. But in Africa, it creates places in which no longer do people think about how to build a nation, only how they can steal from it’’(ibid).Nigeria with close to 3% of global oil deposit is Africa’s greatest shame. The World Bank estimates the country Generals and gangster politicians stole $300 billion in the three decades to 2006. Trampled in the scramble for riches have been human and political rights, corruption and anger not wealth has trickled down. Fury at the crooked elites has fuelled two low level civil wars, one in the oil rich southern delta region[[48]](#footnote-48), where militias fight for a share of revenues (Ghavinian 2007) the second in the Muslim north where a youthful Taliban style movement aims to purify the country of its father’s sins.

The distribution of the revenues from oil resources has degenerated into ethnic and tribal conflicts opposing greed versus grievance, involving both local and international actor. the implications of the links between oil consumption, energy security in the west and conflict in these oil producing states put the other way round, the gulf of guinea has now become the new gulf of Persia meaning that those who drink coffee, and eat bananas imported from this region will automatically end up paying more because of instability. Just like it inflate the prize for oil in the world market, so will the conflict have direct effect on chocolate imported to the gulf of guinea.

Angola, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Cameroon, Chad are all scarred by despots, corruption and mismanagement, inequality, government is a business of a closed family and village entourage of corrupt leaders succumbing to the lures of power glory ‘’neo paternalism’’(ibid). Even of greater concern are the challenges of securing the coastline and offshore facilities in Nigeria in a far more complex situation with greater volume of facilities pipelines than Equatorial Guinea with major challenges of growing forces with budget surpluses generated from energy exports, more but also of Gabon and Cameroon facing depletion with oil resources. Moreover Nigeria continues to address a militant armed opposition force of the movement for the emancipation of the Niger Delta which have fractured into a number of groups as the Niger Delta crisis today a challenge for the young presidency of Goodluck Jonathan who is an indigene and formal Governor of Niger Delta state.

**4.2.2 The advantages to the countries of the Gulf of Guinea as a blessing;**

The Gulf of Guinea became as the world strategic reserve for oil and energy resources from the quotation “We dare not fail…African countries have had many opportunities to develop but we have blown them. Oil represents a last opportunity for these countries to break out of poverty’’[[49]](#footnote-49) oil raises hopes and exploitation as an opportunity to boost the countries and its peoples. Hopes for a better tomorrow comes with oil resources as it brings investment opportunity and create employment for the population. Oil investment in the sub Saharan Africa, gulf of guinea, represents represents 50% of all FDI’s[[50]](#footnote-50)

**4.2.3 The impact to the other regions in the world as a curse;**

The increasing competition for oil and gas resources of the major world powers, makes the US and Europe to become increasingly dependent upon Africa Gulf of Guinea for their oil and gas supply as energy demand increases due to rising competition from china and India. In his book, untapped: The Scramble for Africa’s oil, Ghazvinian gives a historical account of external influence, taken keen interest in Africa Gulf of Guinea region as an oil producing region. In December 2000, the National intelligence council, CIA think tank published a report that declared ‘’sub Sahara Africa will play an increasing role in global energy markets’’, predicting 25% of north American oil import by 2015 coming from west Africa gulf of guinea according to a secretive energy task force put together by US vice president Dick Cheney report ‘’ West Africa is expected to be one of the fastest growing sources of oil and gas for the American market’’, bringing groups of politicians, strategists, lobbyist under the umbrella of the African Oil Policy Initiative Group, preaching the message the gulf of guinea was the new Persian gulf and be made a strategic priority of the US even to the requiring an expanding military presence(Ghazvinian 2007,p.88-9).

The impact of the Gulf of Guinea on the security of the other region is far reaching, as it has revived old rivalry between the major powers. With the end of the Cold War, the French policy makers questioned the American leadership. French German and British policy makers agreed after the dominant role played by the US in the Bosnian conflict to create an independent military capability for the EU separate from NATO, and US control ( Volgy et al 2004), the US withdrawal from the Kyoto Protocols has been denounced by the G7 members states. Even Japan resisted US hegemony in the global political economy to the extent of seeking cooperation with China in an alternative financial structure to the IMF in Asia (Bergsten 2000). Disagreement between the major powers predate the Cold War, France refused flight over privileges to the US warplanes attacking Libya. Again during the Iraqi war, the French foreign minister argued for a new world order based on multipolarity , while the German foreign minister noted ’’A world order in which the superpower decides on military strikes based only on its own nation’s interests cannot work’’(The Economist 2003:27). The US drive for the creation of zone of influence making the Gulf of Guinea as a priority of the US national security is in direct opposition to the French and British interests of colonies as reserves for their national interests.

This might lead to the consequence of scarce resources alliances between the energy rich Russia and China in energy deficit thus introducing new sources of instability in the balance of power in the world or reviving the unlikely Sino-Soviet alliance of old.

**4.2.4 The impact to the other regions in the world as a blessing;** In Norway oil resources has been a boon. The discovery of the North Sea oil in the 1960s took European back water with an economy based on fish, trees, and ships, and gave it one of the world’s highest standards of living and an economic diversity spanning green energy and cancer research. Following the drilling accident in the Gulf of Mexico, the Norway government has suspended any further drilling in the north sea until the causes of the explosion in the Gulf of Mexico is known. With war in the Gulf of Persia, the Gulf of Mexico oil explosion and spill suffering in perils, has seen the US senate voting for immediate social security to the affected population, this leaves the gulf of Guinea as an open heaven for rivalry between major powers. This lead to the situation with the new American energy strategy after 9/11 2001, where the outbreak of war in the middle east with American dependence on middle east oil with Saudi Arabia providing 15% of crude oil importation. This heighten the need for policy revision in Washington, the importance of the gulf of guinea to the security of the US and the advantage the gulf of guinea crude oil offers[[51]](#footnote-51)

Europe developed to the level it is after experiencing two world wars with capital from abroad, the US through the marshal plan loan several billions of dollars to Europe especially to Britain and France and Germany amounting to eighty eight billion by 1943, with the US directing production facilities located in several places which according to Melman after the war, was adopted to run a series of foreign affiliates. Vatter 1985 22; Melman 1970 in Strange 1994 75 supply of raw materials from the colony. Furthermore, it led to a support for a common defence capability for the EU gained additional momentum during the Iraqi war as Belgium invited other EU states to a summit to discuss a fast track approach to a common European defence policy (The Economists 2003a). However, the effort in unlikely to yield much without substantial resource commitment, commitment which are not forth coming (The economist 2003b)

The period after 9/11 has nevertheless been a period of memorandum of understanding between the major powers in matters of security with regards to the Gulf of Guinea such as the AFRICOM and EUCOM , satisfied with status quo politics in the direction of affairs in international politics, critical for the G7 to work in concert with a similarity of preferences through the identification of alliance portfolios and through similar voting patterns in the General assembly of the UN(Signorino and Ritter 1999), although voting resolution may not well captured the full array of activities occurring in the international environment as to define policy preference of G77 such as Russia and China who might wish to seek a position of leadership within the G77(Volgy et al 2003)

**4.2.5 A comparison of the impact on the other regions in the world to that of the countries in the Gulf of Guinea sub region?**

Advantage and disadvantage of the regain of importance. HIPC PRSP PRGF countries, increase instability piracy, theft and bunkering, disease and pest, militarily strategically markets ideology economic political. To the world powers and their multinationals; Support investment in the GG region countries, The knowledge gap is bridge; The lack of skills among Africans which partners could help develop. The brain drain

Open up of African boundary to US EU markets more this region imports more than it is exported hence trade imbalance . according to Sachs and Warner 1997, the more countries depend on the export of their natural resources, the more the countries growth rates slows down and it significantly and substantially increases the risk of global conflict and civil wars (Tabbs 2007:33)

The exportation of terrorist and brigands activities not just to this region, but to Africa at large; According to the Washington times of the 13th May 2010, more than 200 ‘’Green Berrets’’[[52]](#footnote-52) from the special operation forces and from the US Marine Special Forces have deployed in Mali, Mauritania, and other countries that line the Sahara Desert’s southern rims. The yearly exercise known as ‘’Flintlock ‘’, is being augmented to face traffickers and al-Qaeda linked terrorists mounting increasingly brazen operations in this vast region of porous borders and lawless tribes. Western intelligence officers estimate about four hundreds heavily armed Islamist militants have made northern Mali their rear base where they carry out their operations. This is evidenced with the kidnapped of a French terrorist held hostage somewhere in the desert and a half dozen were held hostage last year. More worrisome is the implication of the presence of al-Qaeda in this region to the authorities of the states. The militants known as al-qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, are now thought to be cooperating with traffickers, who increasingly use the desert routes to carry large quantities of south American cocaine to Europe. The state apparatus risk collapse as this means bringing in more weapons and more cash to the region and increasing the militants potency making the area a no go zone and the nation at the brink of civil war or military coup.

***4.3 What institutional mechanisms in terms of governance are put in place that explain to the regain of importance of the security of the Gulf of Guinea to the world system?***

As a general observation, the Gulf of Guinea countries could be seen as a good market with opportunities for further development. Liberia Ivory Coast and Ghana has a relatively good markets with stable politics, Angola, Nigeria and Cameroon as challenging markets with relatively stable politics, Gabon, Benin, Congo Brazzaville, Equatorial Guinea, Sao Tome and Principe, Tchad, in the process of building its economy and the opportunity for development. Several institutional mechanisms interplay in the development of the security realities within the sub region. They range from within countries to regional and international structures. Regional structures such as AU, NEPAD, ADB, OHADA, CEMAC, COPAC and CAMAC, BCEAO,SADC, ECOWAS, ECOMOG, AOPI, Lome Convention, the Cotonou, agreement, among others and internationally through the efforts of the WB, IMF, WTO, EU ACP multilateral and bilateral agreements, the UN and its specialize agencies; The ILO, FAO, WWF,UNDP, UNHCR, UNICEF, CARE, UNESCO, the Commonwealth of Nations, the Francophonie, the NDI, Human Rights Watch, Transparency International, and international military mechanisms such as AFRICOM, The Flagship, EUCOM, and their activities among other have contributed for the regain of importance Africa Gulf of Guinea to the world system,

**4.3.1** States and Governments Mechanisms within countries of the Gulf of Guinea, the existence of the states itself despite its relative sociological dimension. the role and function of the state to maintain its integrity, and avoid domination, Diplomatic Missions in Embassies, Visas attribution. The state may not be a unified actor but the condition of its functioning reveals it sound nature, far from being a unified hypothetic actor, the politics of the state is the product of a composition of multiple actors like the media and pressure groups having divergent interests in the secular and universality nature of the state, knocking against the different cultures like Judaism, Islam, and the other African cultures. The influential role of individual actors, the international role of religious networks, tribal community solidarity that often goes beyond that of the states, given remarkable importance to transnational actors and at the same time avoiding the process of breakdown of the state. But the intervention of the state authority and the agencies of the state such as the police and gendarmes in maintaining peace and security against violence, stable money for trade and investment, a clear system of law, in the daily life of the citizens, protection from goods and services such as customers protection against unclean water, unsafe food, faulty buildings or transport systems, the provision of jobs and other public goods. What would it be if every individual was to drill his own hole for clean water supply or his is own cable for electricity, all these need a political authority of some kind, legitimated either by law of coercive force or popular concern or both is the reason for the survival of the state. (Strange 1994:6). Furthermore the NGOs and other non state actors adhere for approval and legitimacy from the state, the INGOs is the continuation of the state in international affairs through delegation of state powers to specialised agencies. Most often, the markets are not regulated at all; they cannot function well without solid infrastructures like airports seaports, electricity, healthcare, education and public security which are largely of state appeal. It is the state government that is responsible to define the strategies by fiscal policy social customs, which ameliorates productivity and development of technology at the national and global economy for example the internet.

 The state lost of monopoly since Westphalia 1648, (Morse 1969 in strange 1984:195)have opened up a period that have progressively seen the church attaining its prerogatives of representative of nations, cultural organiser of the society, principal dispenser of news, thinkers of war especially with the demise of the Cold War, that seems to mark the withdrawal of the state from the international scene, especially with the rise of non state actors, with a more mobile, rapid, simple, adaptation to performance and evolution of the world system, in most cases responding to the private logic and imposing their rationality and at times richer than the state. This makes the state no longer have the logic of state in Tchad, Central African Republic, in Niger, in Equatorial Guinea, in Sao Tome and Principe, to obey to the criteria of efficiency linked to economic and commercial dimension. The international aid to export orientated industrialization, acquisition of markets, the question of debts, and the role of international commerce is now become priority source of power to these countries of the Gulf of Guinea.

Regional institutional mechanisms came about with the neo functionalist renew of solidarities of citizens leading to the creation of transnational organizations acting as actors beyond frontiers in the Gulf of Guinea among which we have the African Union(AU) as the supranational organization for Africa integration. Regional cooperation has made it easier to do business in the gulf of guinea[[53]](#footnote-53), with easy access to many countries, it has led to the harmonization of regulations customs banking laws and currencies policy. The French speaking countries of the Gulf of Guinea have the monetary unions that takes place under the French Franc zone arrangements, with a common central bank BCEAO(Central Bank of West African States) located in Dakar Senegal, and the BEAC(Bank of Central African states) located in Yaounde Cameroon. What is more, to ensure convertibility of the CFA francs, the Banque de France guarantees the money issued by the BCEAO and BEAC, in exchange for reserve requirements at the French treasury that gives it its weight as hard currency in business(ibid) CEMAC(Communaute Economique et Monetaire de l’Afrique Centrale) with the aim to promote macroeconomic policies, stabilize the common currency, create a single market, and harmonize sectoral policies, and non tariff barriers have been removed in favour of competition. BCEAO policies are similar, but member countries undertake to coordinate their economic financial and structural policies. ECOWAS, it is custom union to bring about a common market and free movement of labour. regroups sixteen countries with six of this countries located in the Gulf of Guinea and most the countries in the Gulf of guinea belong to both the Common Wealth of Nations known as the Gentleman Club and the Francophonie. Angola is a member of the SADC and located in the Gulf of Guinea. This is the uniqueness of the Gulf of Guinea underpinning the integration of three regional groupings into one conundrum.

OHADA(Organisation pour L’Harmonization du droits des Affaires en Afrique) harmonizes a broad range of legal systems that covers wide disparity in business law, code, rules, regulations and local conventions affecting businesses. The act covers commercial laws, companies, economic interest groups, organization of securities, bankruptcy proceedings, discharge of liabilities law of debt and arbitration.

The Lome Convention is a trade and aid agreement between the European Union and Europe’s formal colonies and dependencies in ACP countries. Lome agreement guarantees duty free entry into EU member states for a number of commodities and product produced in these countries. In return the ACP countries put an end to child labour and observe democratization process and fight human rights abuse as a precondition to access aids among others.

The African Development Bank(ADB, it is a regional multilateral development bank whose shareholders include 53 countries in Africa and 24 non African countries from the Americas, Asia and Europe. it was created to promote economic development and social progress of its regional member countries, promote sustainable economic growth and to reduce poverty in Africa, provide financing for a broad range of development projects and programs . Among its members is the US as the second largest non regional shareholder with about 6.62 percent of the bank total share holdings, occupy an influential position used in speaking power to the countries of the sub region and beyond.

 Others include the military cooperation organizations such as the ECOMOG in west Africa, with intervention in Liberia and Sierra Leone to its credit, the MARAC and COPAC in central Africa Cameroon, the INTERPOL also known as the international police and other military security for settling peace in this region. AFRICOM, the British FLAGSHIP Project, and the French Commando’s operations organizations. This and other international military organization has led to the regain of importance of Africa Gulf of Guinea to the world system

**4.3.2** International Mechanisms, International Organizations and Financial regulatory institutions. They include among others; The UN and its specialize agencies International Labour Organization, Food Agricultural Organization, World Wide-life Fund , CARE, UNHCR, The world Bank, IMF, World Trade Organization, and other bilateral and multilateral trade agreement and partnership, Transparency international, NDI, Human Rights Watch, the Francophonie, the common wealth, France Afrique summit, military accord between GG countries and their colonial masters, the US AFRICOM and the British FLAGSHIP, the French Commando’s.

The International Monetary Fund(IMF) and the World Bank(WB) is the international organisation responsible for macroeconomics, structural and social policies of countries governments. In its inception in, the IMF declared all the countries in sub Saharan Africa including all the countries in the Gulf of Guinea as Highly indebted Poor Country. The PRGF[[54]](#footnote-54) is the IMF grant facility for low income or poor countries, base on countries own poverty reduction strategies, adopted in a participatory process involving civil societies and development partners, and articulated in the PRSP. This is to ensure macro economics, structural and social policies to increase growth and reduce poverty. The PRGF carries an annual rate of 0.5%, repayable over ten years with a five and a half year grace period (IMF Press Release n0 06/84/april 2006), Few countries in the Gulf of Guinea however have manage to meet up with the conditionality of the IMF such as Ghana[[55]](#footnote-55) successful implementation of well prepared structural reforms, liberalizing the economy, adjust prices to achieve full cost recovery for petroleum electricity and water, reduced government spending, and strong program implementation among other things.

**4.3.3** The Sporting Organisations; The FIFA world cup, and Olympics games, that of CAF, are transnational authorities beyond states engaged in the management of various multinational sports has had tremendous impact affecting the participants, those who provide the necessary finance and the spectators. According to (Strange 1996:96) the political economy of football and sports in general, might be judged as very important, interesting and enthusiastic in the lives of people in countries of the Gulf of Guinea especially with the performance of Cameroon and Nigeria in previous editions of the world cup and Olympics games. This time around the world cup is hosted by South Africa and pressure is mounting in the countries of the Gulf of Guinea presenting four of the six teams participating in the tournament and as it is promising to be the best ever yet. With economic and political consequences for states and cities and their tax payers, great commercials and profit as in Atlanta 1996,or huge debt as in Montreal Canada(ibid) . As president Mandela once said the game of sport football is a great uniting factor in contemporary times and the world’s best football players kick around the ball for a month, the citizens of their respective countries are distracted from their geopolitical concerns while football passions sent countries into fits of bliss of happiness from Cameroon to ivory Coast as well as occasional exacerbating geopolitical conflicts from the dissolution of Yugoslavia and ethnic tension in Spain, to a war between Honduras and El Salvador according to STRATOF[[56]](#footnote-56) . The FIFA World Cup to South Africa then is a symbol of the regain of importance of Africa to the world system.

**4.3.4** Media Networks Coverage; The internet, CNN, BBC, RFI, International and Local mews papers, Telephone network, have had tremendous effects of what is happening on the ground within the Gulf of Guinea region to the rest of the world and vice versa. Too often the conflict in the oil producing region such as the MEND activities in the Niger Delta in Nigeria, the coup in Tchad, the uprising in Cameroon, are reported as ethnic and tribal issues or greed versus grievance whereas in the truth of the matter, the conflict are far more complex involving both local and international actors. In countries where poor governance, corruption, mismanagement and unaccountability are endemic and human rights violation with impunity is on the rise, the media is the only way to expose such abuses . Furthermore the creation of awareness of the existence of certain goods and services in areas of abundance to areas of scarcity is done through publicity on the media. Thanks to extensive coverage of the media, the gulf of guinea has emerge as the world reserve of energy security since the outbreak of the war in the gulf of Persia.(ibid)

**4.3.5** Military mechanisms such as the US Africa Command (AFRICOM ) promoted by the bush administration as a panacea for solving Africa’s problems, promote security against global war on terror (GWOT) with Africa seen as the ‘’world soft underbelly’’[[57]](#footnote-57), democratization, access to health and education, and improve economic growth. The Blair FLAGSHIP project, now a plethora of voluntary initiatives that oil companies sign for the principles of security and human rights which provide a buffer to oil companies against mandatory regulations and supported by Western government , IGO and NGO’s, not withstanding their activities in this region, coupled with the EUCOM paramilitary operation training of government forces on counter terrorism and mores have given rise to the importance of the gulf of guinea to the world system.(gerlach 2008). The Universities, Research and Developments, such as John Hopkins research project, Centre for Disease Control, Sorenson Molecular Genealogy Foundation, Networks departments, the internet , Financial Banks institutions, Military networks such as the US marines, the CIA, Scotland yard, terrorists networks as the Al-qaeda have all led to turbulence in the world system.

**4.3.5** Trading Organizations and Development Cooperation Agencies; The importance here is the assistance given by US government to business organizations locating and operating in the Gulf of Guinea, such as the Buy-USA, represented in Dakar Senegal and covers eighteen countries within the Gulf of Guinea region. The example of the US government offices, embassies overseas have a well developed commercial section that can provide market research, counselling services assistance. The commercial section is equipped with valuable resources to help businesses learn more about the market. Other tools include the export import bank the EXIM-Bank, with its mission focusing on helping the private sector create and maintain jobs by financing export. The chain and departmental shopping complexes found in the US such as WALMART, McDonald, and KFC, the same you find spread through out Nigeria Cameroon and Angola, the SCORE and TITI retailing outlets found in Paris France the same you find in Libreville Gabon, Yaoundé Cameroon, the SPAR supermarkets you find in Denmark, the same you find in Cotonou Benin. Development Cooperation or development aid is aid given by governments and other agencies of developed countries to support economic, social and political development of developing countries, and different from humanitarian aid, with its focus on alleviating poverty in the long term rather than short term response. It is a partnership between the donor and the recipient, and usually bilateral from one country say Denmark(DANIDA), or Sweden (SIDA) directly to another country say Equatorial Guinea, or multilateral from a donor country to an international organization such as the WB, or the UN Agencies UNESCO, UNICEF, UNDP, WHO, UNAIDS. As argued by (Moyo 2008) foreign aid though with good intentions is the one factor holding back the development of developing countries. According to Anup Shah[[58]](#footnote-58) , foreign aid for development assistance come with a price of its own as it is been wasted, usually not given where it is needed, dwarfed by donor country protectionism, and grand strategy often fails to help the vulnerable as money easily embezzled.

The heavy investment MNC and TNC such as Shell, TOTALFINAELF, Texaco, Exxon Mobile, involve in the extraction and refining of energy resources such as oil in the Gulf of Guinea, are protected against adverse actions by foreign governments such as political violence, expropriation, inconvertibility, by the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC),that insures investors against political risk insurance, that covers long term financing directly or through guarantees that supports the US foreign policy objectives,

**4.3.6** Others such as the Humanitarian Relief Agency interventions and international aid systems, the actions and activities of influential individuals such as the Bill and Melinda Gate Foundation, Clinton Foundation, DANIDA, SIDA, religious leaders as the Dalai Lama of Tibets, with connections and friendly ties, not withstanding their foundation assistance to victim families affected by natural hazards, wars and HIV/AIDS pandemic across Africa and Congo Brazzaville, Cameroon, Gabon, Nigeria ,Liberia and Angola in the Gulf of Guinea in particular. Activities of hostile terrorist network groups like Al-qaeda and its leaders in the likes of Ben Laden, sponsoring sharia movements in northern Nigeria, Tchad and Sudan. Where according to Dembisa Moyo, the International aid system as an instrument of foreign policy mechanism by the rich and powerful countries of the north for fighting famine, pestilence and poverty in the third world countries, of Africa and the Gulf of Guinea in particular, is often wasted and responsible for corruption, and actually responsible for regressed rather than progressed Africa in economic terms since colonial rule, she note that the often cited factors accounting for this tragic constraints such as geography, history, social cleavages and civil wars, are not as compelling as they appear and have been overcome, she argues international aid itself has been the crucial factor holding Africa back( Moyo 2009). ‘’Aid is perceived as a charity trap tied with strings beyond Africa and across the globe’’ (My Emphasis). At the outset, aid was principally driven by common sense of humanity that cut across national boundaries, but today it rest on two principles, moral duty and beneficial results. She justifies her claim by leaning on liberals as Gunnar Myrdal and Paul Rosenstein Rodan who felt that the principles of progressive taxation and redistribution within nations ought to be extended across international borders, proposing one percent of donors GNP as playing off the Christian principles of ten percent tithing of one’s income or the Muslim duty of zakat, a 2.5 percent of one’s earnings to the needy(ibid 2009) have all contributed to the turbulence in the world system that has led to the regain of importance of Africa Gulf of Guinea to the world system.The impact of all these static and non static connection and integration though with good intentions have largely open up the African space, retreat the state and make Africa an object in IR,

***4.4 How has the security reality of the Gulf of Guinea influence politics that is what are the political implications locally and internationally since 9/11 attacks?***

This question seek to know what the social consequences of security in the gulf of guinea means to the US, EU, China and India, and Africa as a whole, what has change and how does the changes affects politics, economics, security and socio-cultural domain within societies, such as a shift in the US security doctrine, the conditionality in EU aid and trade agreement with the ACP countries, Chinese interests.

**4.4.1.** Internally it has led to the mobilization of governments with increasing pressures of civil disobedience and strikes within countries with an unprecedented increase in the prizes of basic necessity doubled. This implies that governments such as of Nigeria will now be forced to act rapidly if it is to contain its own security concerns and also retain its dominance of the Gulf of Guinea, for example the Nigerian National Security Advisor during the Obasanjo Administration Lt. Gen. Aliyu M. Gusau, presently back in that role, drafted the framework for a Gulf of Guinea Commission to begin developing offshore security modalities from the immediate Gulf of Guinea region down to South Africa(ibid: Oilprice.com 2010). In Cameroon, what was sold for a hundred francs CFAF for example in Cameroon is now sold for two hundred francs CFAF, as was commonly felt by all the countries of the sub region and that almost crippled the economy. The sharp increase in the value added taxes that had to be shifted on to the consumers of bread in the form of increase prizes was the oil wealth that has brought endemic conflict in all the countries gulf of guinea. The real ‘’curse oil’’ is not political or military instability but economic degradation. According to (Ghazvinian 2007:95-6), when an oil bonanza is discovered in a struggling African country like the bulk of the countries of the gulf of guinea, the instinctive assumption is that, it can only be a good thing, that it will result in the rapid improvement in the lives of the people; that suddenly there will be money for hospitals and vaccines and schools and roads, that everyone will be rich.

To the contrary, however, studies suggest that real GDP and the population standard of living always decline where oil is discovered. Between 19970-1993 for example, countries without oil saw their economies grow four times faster than those of countries with oil. This paradox he explain using the period following WW II, when the explosion in the global demand for oil began delivering petrodollars to the economy of otherwise obscure and underdeveloped countries that just happened to be blessed with large hydrocarbon deposits. From Mexico city to Bagdad to Carracas, great cities were built or rebuilt from scratch, some with towers. But as time went on, it became increasingly clear that the much celebrated oil wealth brought economic stagnation to which Juan Pablo Perez Alfonso described as the ‘’devil’s excrement’’ (ibid). According to (The Editorial Department of oilprice.com 2010) statistics derived from the World Bank GIS/Defence and Foreign Affairs Archives, on security concern of the Gulf of Guinea, shows that countries devote relatively little of their GDP to defence.

**4.4.1.1** In a sudden infusion of foreign currency, a country that was once a regional breadbasket and net exporter of food, can quickly turn into one that is unable to feed itself. Unfortunately the security oil is finite resources, and only when it runs out that its true cost of the Dutch disease is felt such as the depletion and also neglect of other important sources of security facing Cameroon, Gabon and Nigeria. Just as they quickly arrived, the dollars and Euro’s disappear from the nations economy, the national currency rapidly depreciates, the power of consumers to purchase foreign goods collapse, worst still, as there is no more agricultural or light industry base for the economy to fall on, the country finds itself in much worse shape than when oil was first discovered. This might ushered the implication of seeing neo liberal globalization as a passive revolution as it bring the impression that the politics is global but the economics is local, subordinating the countries of the gulf of guinea and countries of the global south in general, to that of the great powers. This might push the agenda of a contemporary anti capitalist movement of ‘’think global and act local’’, to which combating the ruling class ideas is one of the key tasks of Gramsci matured revolutionary projects he dedicated his life (Cox 1987:240).

**4.4.1.2** The influence of the security realities in the countries of the Gulf of Guinea; This can be seen from the political, economical, military and socio-cultural dynamics. It would have meant everything to Africa; unfortunately, Africa has not got an African consensus that embodies an African geo strategy. The third world in general and Africa Gulf of guinea in particular gave up its claims for NIEO and instead compete for the attractions of FDIs which by implication and according to (Gipin in Guzzini 1994:22)are not only being exploited but also being neglected by the international division of production. With war in the Gulf of Persia, the Gulf of Mexico oil explosion and spill suffering in perils, has seen the US senate voting for immediate social security to the affected population , this leaves the gulf of Guinea as an open heaven for rivalry between major powers for the energy resources of the Gulf of Guinea (Friedman 1999:13).The security of the gulf of guinea among other things could be calamitous, not just for people, companies and states involve in the Gulf of Guinea, but to a wide effect both internally and externally such as if you drink coffee, eat chocolate, like bananas or plan a new purchase of ornament, or a house, you could end up paying more because of the security of the gulf.

 Another implication is the ‘’Dutch disease’’ describe as the collapse of the manufacturing following the discovery of natural gas there in the 1960s. The term now refers to negative effects of the exchange rate appreciation on an economy that suddenly become over reliant on one type of commodity; this is the situation of Gabon where the agricultural sector is completely neglected and the whole country relying on food importation both from neighbouring Cameroon and Metropolitan France. Furthermore, when a country sells its oil to the world market, the currency it receives does not come in the form of local currency say CEMAC CFA, or Nigerian Naira, or Angolan Kwanzas, it comes in the form of foreign currency, US dollars, British pound or Euro’s. The country find itself flooded with foreign currency that artificially inflates the value of the country own currency. This means that imported product becomes much cheaper and everyone rushes out to buy foreign goods perceived to be more fashionable than local products for example boiled cassava. The natural reaction to this agriculturalist is that they abandon their farms to go to the city, they end up selling cigarettes, or drive taxis. This mass urban migration devastate the traditional farms and the irony of the collapse of agricultural farms sector make life in the city to be dependent on imported foreign food, which is largely out of rich to this new arrivals who turn to be dependent on government handouts and international food aid.

**4.4.2** The influence of the security realities on the other regions internationally; Looking at the other region through the security lens, it reveals the decline of the pax Americana and a new international liberal order. The recent developments that led to turbulence in the international scene with strains on the US capacity to handle both the international political economy and its own society became visible. This according to (Gilpin 1991; Guzzini 1994:21) is the consequence of a massive redistribution of world economic power away from the US, first toward Europe, then to the pacific around Japan and South East Asia. The US has become heavily indebted and rely on foreign help from Japan and increasingly China, to run the international monetary relations, in addition flexibility changes in the monetary system induced the phenomenon of global inflation, putting constraints in traditional Keynesian policies, causing global financial crisis and even more crisis now. As a consequence firms management of industrial production has become vertically integrated and genuinely transnational (ibid). Gilpin further explains it brought changes to a third phase of industrial revolution with the coming of knowledge intensive industries which has undermined the basic assumption of the Breton wood trading system that comparative advantage was a given of nature and could not be altered by policies of corporation or governments. As a consequence the present world system is characterized by the transnationalization and integration of markets and nationalistic impulses marked by struggle for world product or resources and hegemonic rivalry, for Gilpin economic efficiency and political power have become increasingly linked.

**4.4.2.1** These countries agendas underpin in their various consensus the Washington Consensus for the US, the Brussels and the Beijing Consensus for the EU and China respectively. With the end of the cold war, the Washington Consensus, a Washington centred alliance system, basically a structure for global economic system, lost its rationale and legitimacy with the US hegemony after the cold war. This led to the setting up of new type of international institutions of laws and rules to preserve hierarchy to generate US interests. The new post Cold War US policies articulated the transfer of responsibility to institutions and non governmental organizations, hence the rise of NGOs, called for institutional rules and market capitalism, lay focus on human rights and democracy values and a shift from bipolar balance of power to multi polar imbalance of power. However 9/11 impact change the rules and US lost of friends and position because of unilateralism acting alone for example going to war over Irak and the prison in Gwantanamo bay. Not withstanding new policies to maintain hegemony called for transnational liberalism with the shift this time from US hegemonic world order to stability through balance of power and nations states building perspective.

The security realities of the gulf of guinea enters as a priority for the American foreign policy with the changing concept of public goods which all countries rather than the Americans have to exercise(Klare 2002:10). This gave rise to transnational governance politics beyond the nations states that saw the rise of new non state actors[[59]](#footnote-59) economic relations, norms and values , issues of security and the environment leading to climate change, it brought about transnational issues beyond the old world order leading labour movement, transnational environmental problems such as climate change as evidenced by the Copenhagen summit and today more ash spills in iceland, lead to transnational politics of human rights, democracy and of corporate social rights(CSR), transnational resistance movement such as criminals and terrorists activities example of Alqaeda operations with new states and non states actors, including the elite class and the civil society operating within countries and internationally. The US have come out of its shade of arsenal of democracy to cooperating with dictators all in the name of energy resources. Forming alliance with third world authoritarian capitalism

The Gulf of Guinea is serving as a breading ground to revive old differences of contestation to the American hegemony. France as a formal colonial master of most of the Gulf of Guinea countries with special economic, military and political agreement is frustrated with the US expansionist drive to create a zone of influence in this region, France did not support the US invasion of Iraq. All great powers assign strategic importance to economics and resources, for trade routes, market and prestige. Rivalry between US and China, Britain and France The importance of the security of Africa Gulf of Guinea has had strong influence on the structural and power relations between the US, EU, China, India and Japan and their Multinationals, from contestations to cooperation in a hegemonic balance of power rivalry within and without the gulf of Guinea, a traditionally considered reserve territory of the British and the French as former colonial masters with special ties. The US ambition for a security zone of influence immediately revived old conflict of interest.

The emerging countries of China, India and Brazil are increasing the demand for global supplies of energy and industrial minerals from the Gulf of Guinea. Until recently these countries consumed only a share of these materials in comparison to the consumption of vital resources of the other industrial great powers. China and India now compete on equal terms for vital resources and in some cases China overtakes and is now the leading consumer of iron, copper, aluminium, cement, and is catching up to the US in its consumption of oil. They wish the confusion to reign so they can extend their influence to achieve their economic ambitions of obtaining favourable terms of trade in both the market of raw materials and finish goods so as to keep her industries running. What this means of course is that, the Gulf of Guinea as the world reserve for natural and energy resource base is being subjected to an unprecedented and unsustainable level of demand, inflicting a negative environmental impact, catastrophic not only to their own population, but in the form of accelerated global warming.

Recently the massive oil spill triggered by the explosion of Deepwater Horizon oil rig in the Gulf of Mexico, it has led to raising awareness among US citizens but also citizens of the world, of the side effects of the reliance on petroleum industry on oil resource security, and the negative impacts felt in ecosystems and communities in the Gulf of Guinea. According to Horace Campbell, the implication for this explosion will as a follow up to the Copenhagen and Cochabamba conferences on climate change lead to further strengthening cooperation and coordination among environmental activists in all parts of the world for oil to be left in the ground [[60]](#footnote-60)

**4.4.2.2** A comparison of the influence of the security 0f the other regions and the Gulf of Guinea? To better approach this question, a look at the spill over effect of Ernst B. Haas functional integration will help to throw more light. Although investment has seen a net increase in the form of FDI in the Gulf of Guinea region since 9/11, through

***4.5 What have we learnt and which way forward?***

**4.5.1** Our investigation found out that, maintaining and reinforcing the income gains achieved since the devaluation of the CFA francs in 1994 remains a key challenge. Given that oil resources as a major source of revenue, is in a state of depletion in Cameroon, Gabon, Nigeria, focus and attention need to be paid to the development objectives with increase spending on physical and social infrastructures, which requires the authorities of these countries to mobilize non oil revenue which in itself requires further liberalization of their economy. A case in point is Cameroon that joins the IMF in 1963 with its exclusive use of the IMF financing with some success.

The logic of the market economy as an inherently expanding global system collide with the logic of modern welfare state. While solving the problem of a closed economy, the welfare state transfer has only transfer the problem of the market economy and its survivability to the international level, resulting in a system where states compete on the international division of economic activities by using and creating their comparative advantage and by attracting production into their countries. The domestic welfare legitimacy makes states more nationalists than before where only a hegemon can impose a liberal order in a competitive environment , provide the necessary public goods to allow the compromise of embedded liberalism, that is to run multilateral system by allowing autonomous national economic policies(Gilpin 2001)

The UN Commission on sustainable development , announced the publication of the new Bahai statement also titled ‘’rethinking prosperity: Forging Alternatives to a Culture of Consumerism’’ at a time when oil spews forth uncontrolled in the Gulf of Mexico, we feel both the immediacy and urgency to rethink what fair and just progress is, he said ‘’we have been rethinking what true prosperity looks like’’ what is needed Mr. Hanks said, is public discourse on the nature and purpose of human development, along with the recognition that each individual has a contribution to make in building a more just and peaceful social order. Professor Jackson agreed. Saying ‘’we need a better concept of prosperity, a lasting prosperity, a prosperity built around the concept of people’s capacity to flourish, within the confine of a finite planet’’ he said[[61]](#footnote-61) simply put, we should not spend money we do not have, buying for what we do not need, and paying for what we do not care about. Recognize our essential oneness Sticking to values of spirituality and to identify patterns and processes of development in society Miss Thoresen of the Norwegian Partnership for Education and research about responsible living said, there has been a shift in focus in the international scene, from IR to IPE, firstly of the global order, with the dead of the old world order of bipolar hegemony rivalry between the US and the USSR, to multi-polarity including new emerging states and recording even more pressure from the world orders.

Another finding is the shift in focus of the unit of analysis in IR from states to markets that is the shift from the US government to a more including global governance and regulation in IPE . The US hegemony is been contested more than ever by emerging states like China, India, Brazil and the EU and the world orders. A case in point is the US Senate overhaul of financial regulatory system inline with the white house regulatory reform legislation and the Treasury Secretary, Timothy Geithner meeting with Michel Barnier, internal market commissioner for the EU, to discuss global rules proposed by the Basel Committee on Banking supervision and other regulatory changes for the financial industry[[62]](#footnote-62), while the EU Parliament is meeting to vote for transparency rules for hedge funds operating in the Eurozone, strongly opposed by Britain and the US.

Africa Gulf of Guinea countries that had the same level of development for example Ghana as some countries in the north such as South Korea, Malasia, do not anymore support her development and rank amongst the HIPC countries and dependent on the WB, and IMF programs for structural adjustment such as the PRSP and the PRGS. All because of reconnection and interconnectedness that has further intensified domination of the great and super powers in exploitation of the natural and human resources of this region.

That the civil wars, conflicts and flux of migration of people from Africa Gulf of Guinea has made the region to become under populated especially with the introduction of family planning methods which seems to be eroding from the GG countries. This touches on the sentiments of the Africans who have responded to these syndromes by delivering many children to increase population, despite the prevalence of poverty and diseases.

That Africa GG like China grows in population and migration while the US and EU countries grows in demography, this has help to destabilised the region never to meet up in development, and the ever increasing population has remain a pressure on the government for the most part weak. The economy of the countries of the GG no longer support itself and are heavily indebted, and largely depend on subvention as international aid and subvention long term loans from the IMF and WB most often tied with strings as it is money to be paid back with interests over a long period of time.

The GG countries are mostly surrounded by ocean and are not a marine power, she could have counted with the air force, but it is a thing lacking due to lack of substantial knowledge and technical know-how of military build up capabilities, which is highly developed in the great and super power countries of the north.

Beside this weakness, the regain of importance of the Gulf of Guinea is an indication that the world powers and former colonial masters are bent to repossess this region in all it form, to brain-drain the energetic men and women, the natural resources of all kinds, the control of the sub region, the geo-strategic and geopolitical installation of the American naval base in Sao Tome and Principe and a joint US and EU paramilitary AFRICOM/EUCOM of the region, is evident with the new codification of the continent for example, the British council is moving from Yaoundé to Ghana, the US Embassy is based in Yaoundé and although the Danish Embassy is located in Yaoundé, Cameroonians travelling to Denmark and Britain needs to obtain visas, which requires them to go to the Danish Consulate in Cotonou Benin, and or Accra Ghana. This requires additional expenditure for transport and entry visas for both Benin and Ghana.

It is the same continuity, the same tradition, and the same manifestation to keep Africa as an object. With the end of the cold war, and the failure of economic rivalry over strategic importance of China with the open door policy, they now resorted for a common enemy, the ‘’clash of religion’’ (Huntington 1993) Christianity versus Islam and the Muslim religion that lead to the birth of terrorism, have only fuelled further turbulence that has made Africa an object in IR and her resources a curse.

Like Heru El-Salim inspirational work on the African Diasporas, Africans has no identity, collective world view or oneness in presenting their demands of security from health care through education, political or economic future. Like the 1992 Rodney King riots in Los Angeles, where John Hope Bryant founded the HOPE Foundation to fight the sufferings and struggling of many Americans mostly African-American community, said, ‘’ at twenty six I had everything but I wasn’t a happy man, until I came to understand that happiness comes when we stop focusing on me and start focusing on we.’’ With the dilemma of not having an African agenda or consensus.

Poor quality of invisible leadership chosen for African people as collaborators of the matrix, European Caucasian domination, like Marx saw it, the bourgeoisie of the centre are teaming up with their puppet bourgeoisie of the periphery to smash the common man grappling on with survival for existence. This has made Africa an object in IR and security a curse to the countries of the sub region to the interests of the world powers.

Environmental Pollution, Climate Change and Global Warming is fast encroaching, putting the depletion, ecology and ecosystem in catastrophic danger and environmentally unfriendly to man security, depending on its environment for survival.

A more strategically mobile and competitive framework is emerging because of the evolving discovery and exploitation of hydrocarbon deposits in the region. Many of the old boundary issues, as well as the prospect for the movement of societies as a result of wealth opportunities not evenly distributed, means that stability can no longer be guaranteed. Furthermore there is the emergence of a more competitive regional environment in which very tangible economic resources such as hydrocarbon deposits are at stake, and demanding new kind of increasing reliance on technological solutions to security challenges.

 **4.5.2 *Which way forward;*** We can be Zulu, Hutu, Bantu, Semi-Bantu, Hausa or Yoruba, hard working devoted men of God or Allah, one thing remain true in that, we share a common heritage of joy and pain of the beauty and richness of Africa, the turbulence in the world system that has made Africa an object in IR and resource a curse, since 9/11 is an opportunity for reflection on core values, requiring an understanding for a shift in thinking and focus, walking the talk and acting on a common spiritual ideal by which all black people south of the Sahara give meaning to life and reality known as the, ‘’UBUNTU Philosophy’’[[63]](#footnote-63), as a spiritual foundation of all African societies, Africans should pull together their cultural diversities, and as a collective man draft an African agenda (consensus) with which to present their demands in an interconnected world system.

 Africa’s hope for development is the heart of the African problem ‘’poverty’’ and other societal challenges, there is need for securing meaningful partnership between the various entities within the states and markets societies, to share responsibility and accountability of the security impacts to allow for a political and functional integration of all the various entities and sectors interfering in development, from the local highest level in polity to the grassroots activists (regional integration)and from the highest level in polity in the international to the lowest level in the local grassroots (international organizations, and multinational corporations) to benefit from the ‘’spill over ’’[[64]](#footnote-64) effects as propounded by (Hass 1958) and talked of by (Nugent 1995) in Big Men Small Boys and the Politics in Ghana.

In an earlier study on Population and Economic Development on Africa and Asia, that of Democracy and Good Governance in Development in Africa and the West, and Improving on the Quality of Education and Sustainable Development in SA, we concluded that education was an economic engine to succeed development, it is the life basket of the nation work force. President Nelson Mandela once said ‘’education is the most powerful weapon used to change the world’’. According to (Muller and Subotzky 2000, p.163), improving on the quality of education reveals the context of a country’s ‘’dual developmental imperatives’’ of simultaneously addressing the basic needs and engage in global competition. Therefore the governments of countries of the Gulf of Guinea with an ever increasing unskilled population should seize the moment with resource security to educate their large population into crafts, trades and be able to ‘’read the word and the world’’ (Frerie and Macedo 1987), for the development of mass culture of awareness, common sense and the development of a middle class intellectuals, that could be beneficial to the economy of these countries and the world at large.

Without fear or favour the time and moment is Africa’s, therefore we dare not fail, many things did not work out well for Africa but with the second chance of the richness of her soil, the governments of the countries of the Gulf of Guinea in particular must be cautious and watch out for dubious compromising agreement that and partnerships that only compromise the future of the beautiful ones are not yet born. The practice of planned exploitation I mean the imposition of tariff quotas and barriers to oil trade, avoid the power diplomacy of pax Americana be it pax Britannica or a la France. Common sense therefore warrants that we construct visionary good neighbourliness diplomacy to replace the balance of power equilibrium which never balances. This done will itself bring about the sweet moment of integration and free movement of goods and persons that will lead to the construction of an African identity.

The creation of a Cosmopolitan Youth Service Peace Corps (CYSPCO) with which to bring about an African agenda and the realization of the African geo-strategy; Bring about the United States of Africa, an African identity, an African currency, common market, philosophical ideology of cooperative democratic governance compromise, build an African data base and blend Africa’s cultural diversity and sell as information, No one deny the power of cooperative efforts aimed at enhancing the environmental performance, as a collective man research efforts aimed at improving environmental technology such as the invention of clean bio-fuel to reduce dependence on oil and gas as source of energy thereby degrading planet earth should be considered that also serve as a solution to the problem of depletion.

 **Chapter Five**

**5. Conclusion*:***

Whatever reasons it is that brought the external to influence the internal and the internal connecting to the external, the study of the security of Africa gulf of guinea shows that it has done more harm than good, as it has lead to a resource war between the external powers and their multinationals, each fighting to build a zone of influence and hegemony on what history reveals use to be a protectorate reserve of Britain and France, this has lead to furious contestations and influence of the politics and economics of the countries in this region which in themselves have engage in resource war to gain hegemony of neighbouring territory. The engaging behaviour of the great powers over Africa Gulf of Guinea’s oil, natural gas, uranium, forestry, and other energy resources makes the danger of war ever present, whereby as Michael Klare has argued, the use of arms deliveries as an inducement to the oil producing countries in order to win major contracts, create a zone of influence or military base in the gulf of guinea, as a consequence will lead to the ever growing danger and fear that the activities of the major consuming nations will provoke regional arms races, get drawn into local resource dispute, increasing the risk of great power conflict while transforming the region into an unstable oil producing region. This is the case of the Nigeria and Cameroon border conflict over Bakassi and the entrance of Equatorial Guinea in favour of Nigeria to gain possession for her interests. The conflict between Equatorial Guinea and Gabon over the island of anabon for control because of resources, Chad and Sudan over Darfur leading to the dead of hundreds. if this has had far reaching consequences between countries, it is non the less even worst internally within countries, such as is the situation in the delta state in Nigeria. In Equatorial Guinea it lead to a coup to topple the government, in Tchad it brought civil war, in Congo Brazzaville it lead to the removal of the democratically elected president Pascal Lusuba to a dictator Sassou Nguesso. The situation of Angola has for over two decades speaks for itself as it has been the subject matter of news headlines of conflict between l’UNITA of Savimbi Jonas supported by the multinational trade cartel of the dalmant oil company against NPFLA of Dos santos supported by the oil cartels. In Cameroon oil and its resources is a matter of a few heads. According to heresy, the one time director of the national hydrocarbon once said ‘’je ne aucun conte a rendre a person sauf le president de la republique’’.

The regain of importance of Africa Gulf of Guinea to the world system viewed through the security lens, reveals critical engagements of US, EU, China and the entire Africa in policy relevant areas of security, economic development, and democratization as the framework foundation for development cooperation. Through the mechanisms of inter states agency coordination, public and private partnerships, and multilateral cooperation. Between Africa Gulf of Guinea and the industrialize countries of the north and their multinationals for a long term impact in a win-win situation. The long term security interests of the US of overcoming the challenges in the Gulf of Guinea and build a safe heaven for multinational oil companies, will be of no substance and effects if looking at the realities of on the ground and learning from past experiences in other energy rich regions of the world such as the Caspian region, the South China sea, the Persian Gulf, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Alaska backwaters. Fails to line up the security interests alongside the coordinated efforts of the local security realities to increase state legitimacy, democracy and good governance in development, support programs of local population and economic development, sustainable ecological environment, mass education of the population for a political culture, enhance human and individual civic and property rights and opportunity for cultural and religious communities to develop their own ways of life. A region with a complex history of external and internal factors making life a matter of existence and survival to a considerable ratio of declining standard of living of the majority. Encouraging the multinational companies to engage in indiscriminate extraction through guarantee security without a corresponding sustainable level in socio economic and political improvement, will lead to short comings and is only fanning the flame of violence in the region. Therefore it is wisdom for the US, EU, China and their multinationals to promote transparency, human rights, the rule of law, and integrative sustainable development as the basis for both policy makers and the multinational corporations to avoid the warnings of Forest and Sousa ‘’if we fail to learn from the past, we are destined to repeat our mistakes in the future’’[[65]](#footnote-65). And it is the truth for those who make peaceful change impossible make violent change inevitable. This done, the international influencing the local and the local interacting with the international thereby connecting Africa to the world system.

**5.1 Assumptions, significance and perspectives;**

This paper reveals that the politics of the Breton woods institution or other word known as the Washington consensus is global that is, it knows no territorial limits, but the economics is local and differs from country to country. The PRSP and the PRGF and the policy requirement and indicators to qualify to these institutions is the same and apply to all countries rich or poor. But when it comes to the execution proper of the structural adjustment programs, different countries choose and adopt different policy areas of priority. While Cameroon embarks on internal restructuring of its fiscal and tax policy, public service and diversification of investment to non oil revenue Nigeria focus on military restructuring , large scale extraction of mineral oil resources, and regional peacekeeping as policy areas of priority.

The international scene is characterized by the combine action of governmental and non governmental actors. Henceforth the post Westphalian period, the international scene has been diversified and goes beyond the level of the state. That is to say according to James Rosenau, it is the time of governance without government. In other words the state is not as powerful as before, the state is in crisis and retreats in a world becoming a global village with NGOs, individuals and multinational companies playing a role on the international scene. Though the state has crisis and loses its sovereignty of state monopoly , it still has a vital role to play in the international scene to coordinate, control and administrate the state territory, population government, and the activities of other actors within the state. The state continues to influence the rate of political and economic evolution of the world, for example looking at the fundamental role of the industrialized states like USA, Britain and France in the international scene. The importance of the states in globalization intervening in the development of big industries for example when we talk of Microsoft of Bill Gate we see the United States of America behind it. The MNC and TNC reflect the state even at the level of industrial networking, the state plays an important role in the control and administration of their development of the new technology of information and communication supported by US government. In the post Westphalian period the international scene has been diversified and goes beyond the level of the state with the irruption of influential individuals such as Nelson Mandela with international prestige, Bill Gate of software, Dalai Lama the Tibetan Boudist, also terrorists as Ben Laden, and his right hand man Abo Musab Alzakaoui, African dictators as Robert Moghabe once a symbol of white and black integration in Zimbabwe but today a dictator. The multinationals and transnational companies such as Exxon Mobile, Shell, TotalFinaElf, Ford, Toyota, MTN, Orange , Samsung. International Institutions such as UNO, WB, IMF, NATO, ILO, FAO, Red Cross. Networks such as the University scientific research departments, the internet , Financial Banks institutions, Military networks such as the US marines, the CIA, Scotland yard, terrorists networks as the Al-qaeda have all led to turbulence in the world system that has led to a shift from Keynesianism to neo-liberal global market economic integration and heightened global interdependence of the production, finance and knowledge structures interacting with the security structure that has led to the regain of importance of Africa Gulf of Guinea to the world system.

 The regain of importance of Africa to the world system, far from being as a result of war on terrorism or integration for sustaining development has to do more with the turbulence in the international scene and the regulating mechanisms put in place that led to the regain of importance of Africa Gulf of Guinea to the world system. This has not gone without the impact of the clash of civilization, according to Huntington’s thesis of global clash of civilizations[[66]](#footnote-66), it assumes that state will develop their security policies on the basis of loyalty to particular religious or ‘’civilizational’’ community; The Christian West; Orthodox Slavic bloc; The Islamic world and so on. He explains ‘’will be the latest phase in the evolution of conflict in the modern world’’ (Klare 2002, p.13), this is the situation in Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad. This clearly confirms the choice of priority pursued by countries government, revealing the present system of things which this paper qualifies as living in ‘’a policy of terror coupled with one of propaganda to keep conquered peoples down and to frighten potential enemies with graphic propagandist imagery and brutal psychology’’ (Ephasians 6:12).

**5.2 Politically** speaking, the geopolitics of the world as we know it to be, respond to certain dynamics such that the spewing of oil in the offshore rig of Mexico affects a lay farmer in a la France, and if you eat bananas and chocolate and drink coffee for breakfast, you may end up actually paying double all because of the pattern of power distribution in the world system. In today Francis Fokuyama ‘s post Cold War era of globalization, the importance of Africa as an actor in IR has been demonstrated. Africa has the capacity to play and is playing the game of power rivalry and conflict among these actors but highly dominated to the role of an object by the Asian, Europeans and Americans. The success of Africa depend on the emergence of an African geo strategy where the feelings and sentiments of the past is destroyed and replaced with the preoccupation of her interests and importance which are necessarily disputed by the three main actors. Furthermore to seize to play as an instrument in IR, she need to address the continental means of transport of railways linking the north to the south and the west to the east, seek a united African government as did predecessors in the likes of Nkrumah, Dr. Tajudeen advocated for a central power or presidency, create a common market and a currency, build a continental submarine unit and an air-force, strife for a political weapon or the atomic bomb, invest in major industries for the transformation of her resources and overhauling its diversified culture and sell as information.

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**7.Appendix:**

7.a Tables:

 Table 1.1 select sales of multinational corporations 2004 (in US$)

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

 Wal-Mart Stores $288 billion

 Royal Dutch Shell (UK/Netherlands) 269 billion

 General Motors (US) 194 billion

 Daimler Chrysler(Germany/US) 177 billion

 Toyota(Japan) 173 billion

 General Electric (US) 153 billion

 Total (France) 153 billion

 IBM 96 billion

 Siemens(Germany) 92 billion

 Nestle(Switzerland) 70 billion

 Sonny (Japan) 67 billion

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Source; ‘’The Fortune Global 500’’, Fortune in Nye J S Jr 2007,p. 8

These selection of large Multinational corporations is to depict two things; firstly that these multinational corporations have annual sales that are larger than the GDP of more than Half of the states in the world and all the states in sub Saharan Africa richer and secondly that though they are non state actors and lack some types of power such as military, their role and influence in making wars and bringing about political change within states cannot be undermind.

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12. AOPIG US Energy Security lobby on Africa’s oil. <http://www.africaaction.org/africom.html> [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
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14. What this means in real terms is that everybody in the Delta scrambles to get by in shantytowns built of driftwood and corrugated zinc, watching their children die of preventable diseases, while their corrupt leaders whiz past behind the tinted windows of air-conditioned BMWs. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
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18. Revolution is an elastic tern in security. Synonymous to violence and the absence of security but could also be bloodless such as the English revolution of 1688, the Gaullist revolution of 1958, the Turkish revolution of 1983 all enhanced security. Or threats to economic security affecting the production and trade structure. (Baechler 1975 in Strange 1994:245) [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
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54. The Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility(PRGF) is part of the IMF/WB Structural Adjustment Program which helps poor countries to follow up on their economic development programs in order to be eligible for new loans and be able to pay old debt owed to the IMF/WB or other governments and financial institutions. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. <http://www.modernghana.com/news/46187/1/imf-completes-first-review-under-ghanas-prgf-arran.html> [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
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