

**a critical analysis of the united states of america's military policy to
africa: the case of nigeria (2000-2015)**

BY

HILARY NARE

(R095387B)

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS OF THE MASTER OF SCIENCE DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS**

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATION STUDIES

FACULTY OF SOCIAL STUDIES

UNIVERSITY OF ZIMBABWE

MARCH 2015

DEDICATION

This dissertation is a special dedication to my late grandmother for her material and moral support in my academic prowess and for instilling brevity and unshakeable strength in my conscience to overcome adversity in virtually all aspects of life.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My gratitude is unreserved to many people who contributed immensely to the successful completion of this dissertation. First and foremost glory is to God who made this work a success. Special thanks to my supervisor DrChingono for awakening my commitment to hard work and her inspirational guide in the writing of this dissertation.

Salutations to: My mother, Obey,Oswell, Norman, Natasha, my wife, FlytonMushapaidze (the late) and TAMIC Motors crew. Thank you so much, your contributions are greatly appreciated.

Am greatly indebted to Marianne Williamson (1992; 165) “Our deepest fear is not that we are inadequate, our deepest fear is that we are powerful beyond measure. It is our light and not our darkness that most frightens us..... Your playing small doesn’t serve the world we are all meant to shine as children doIt is not just in some of us, it’s in everyone. And as we let our light shine we unconsciously give other people the permission to do the same. As we are liberated from our own fear, our presents automatically liberate others.”

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AFRICOM	Africa Command
AQIM	Al-Qaeda Islamic Mahgreb
AU	African Union
BBC	British Broadcasting Cooperation
CENTCOM	Central Command
CJTF	Combined Joint Task Force
DoD	US Department of Defense
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West Africa
EUCOM	European Command
FMF	Foreign Military Funding
FOCAC	Forum for China Africa Cooperation
GGESS	Gulf of Guinea Energy Security Strategy
GWOT	Global War on Terror
HOA	Horn of Africa
IMET	International Military Education and Training
LIFG	Libyan Islamic Fighting Group
MEND	Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta
NORTHCOM	Northern Command
PACOM	Pacific Command
SADC	Southern African Development Committee
SOF	Special Operations Force
SOUTHCOM	Southern Command
UN	United Nations
US	United States of America
VEO	Violent Extreme Organizations

ZNA

Zimbabwe National Army

ABSTRACT

This study analyses the controversy and decidedly mixed views surrounding the US military policy to Africa. The US military policy to Africa has developed immensely over the years. Africa gained in strategic importance to the US in the post 2000 era as the US projected a massive oil output in the continent by 2025; coupled with political instability in the Middle Eastern states the US has sort to diversify its oil supplies and Africa proved to be that viable alternative. In-order to unravel the US military activities in Africa paying particular attention to Nigeria, qualitative methodology was used to solicit data in this research. Primary and secondary data collection methods were used to solicit data, in particular documentary search and in-depth interviews. This research made use of purposive sampling method to select the sample; as the information sort could not be easily obtained from the general public. Thematic analysis was then used to analyze the data obtained. The findings showed that the US military policy to Nigeria was essential in solving certain problems like terrorism and human rights violations. Moreover, the US military policy is critical in strengthening African militaries through military to military training programs for them to be able to respond and deal with crisis situations on their own. However, the study also revealed how the ongoing militarization of Nigeria and Africa as whole could have destabilizing effects in the long run and it excavated how the US' selectivity in the application of international norms was central to the controversy surrounding its military policy. Due to such undertakings African states are generally skeptical of this US military policy such that Africa has not welcomed AFRICOM to be headquartered on African soils. After a critical analysis of the data obtained, this research proposed that US military aid should come on African terms and not vise versa. Moreover, the US needs to be objective in-order to eliminate selectivity if its activities are to be seriously considered and accepted as the panacea to African peace and security. Therefore, the study concludes that the US needs to increase transparency in its activities in-order to make its military policy to Africa effective.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Problem

The United States of America (U.S) military activities are largely influenced by its foreign policy which seeks to maximize economic gains and maintain its hegemony. Benschinski (2007:4) points out that, “AFRICOM’s birth underscores a recent significant change in U.S policy towards Africa. Despite conducting at least 20 military operations in Africa during the 1990s, in mid decade DoD planners maintained that the United States had very little traditional strategic interest in Africa.” Thus, before the year 2000, African continent was of little strategic significance to American policy makers as it posed no direct threats to the US nor was it recognized as having fundamental strategic resources, which the US priorities as most important. As a result, the US military activities in Africa were not so intensive and the US carried out a few military operations in Africa which was a clear reflection of its low interest in the region. A strong US interest in the Continent developed in the post 2000 era as pointed out by Ndumbe (2004:93) that, “The volatile political climate and ...the increasing anti-West feeling in many Middle Eastern countries is pressuring the US to diversify its energy supplies.” Therefore, the US is having problems with its traditional sources of oil, particularly the Middle East which is marred with unending wars as well as an anti Western policy forcing the US to look for alternative sources of oil. As part of its effort to shift its oil dependency from the Middle East, and diversify its oil supplies, Africa has proved to be a good alternative, particularly Nigeria which is endowed with vast oil deposits making it an important alternative source of oil. This has pressured the United States of America to create a military policy that is pro-active in protecting its national interest in the continent as well as confronting African problems. More-so, terrorism is spreading from other continents into Africa, driving the US policy makers to craft a radical military policy to Africa which has the mandate to mitigate terrorism. However, controversy surrounds this military policy as Africans are not certain with the intentions of US military activities in the region.

The expanding U.S oil demands, as necessitated by its burgeoning capitalist economy; the declining oil production in the Middle East; the fast growing West African oil sector, which is seen as alternative source of U.S oil supplies, largely concentrated in the new Gulf of Guinea, (about 70% of African oil); and the need for the U.S. to effectively surmount the existing threats by the various militant groups operating in the creeks of Niger Delta, which it considered as a

hindrance for its oil interest, are all medley of events which saw the birth of US Africa Command (AFRICOM) in October 2008 (Iwuocha2011). This is an overview of a combination of factors which mainly influenced the US to create its military policy to Africa in the post 2000 era which is geared towards enhancing its energy security, suppress terroristic activities in Africa and to maintain its global domination. However, Africans are skeptical of this military policy, as controversy shrouds its real motives. This skepticism is largely explained by Africa's historical background where Africans were tricked into colonialism through different mechanisms, pressuring African states to react to Western foreign policies with caution to avoid recurrence of a similar scenario or worse. Hence, this controversy has created a divide among scholars and mixed views among African leaders warranting a critical analysis in this research.

1.2Statement of the Problem

Central to the problem under investigation is the controversy and decidedly mixed views surrounding the US military policy towards Africa. The American policy makers view the US military policy to Africa as the panacea to stability and African development. However, the idea of having a foreign army on African soils is in itself the initial born of contention, as this is envisaged by some Africans as eroding sovereignty and territorial integrity of African nations. AFRICOM's stated objectives include, "Preventing conflict by promoting stability regionally and eventually 'prevail' over extremism by never letting its seed germinate in Africa and addressing underdevelopment and poverty which is making Africa a fertile ground for breeding terrorism," Okumu (2007:3). Thus, AFRICOM is multi faceted, mandated with dynamic tasks ranging from political to developmental issues; hence envisaged by America as an important tool to foster peace, stability and development in Africa. Berschinski (2007) points out that Africans "worry that AFRICOM signals the exportation of militarized US foreign policy.... As well as reintroduction of Cold War arms sales, and US support of repressive regimes...and they accuse the US of neo imperialism and resource exploitation." American military policy is viewed as designed to promote systematic siphoning of resource from Africa to the US and not designed to solve African problems as it is purported to be. More-so, militarization of Africa could bring disastrous consequences to the continent by triggering the use of weapons which could exacerbate inter and intra state wars. This will in turn have a destabilizing effect in the region instead of enhancing peace and stability which will end up being the reverse effect of AFRICOM

stated objectives. Berrigan (2004) notes that the (US) state department's human rights report found that "the Nigerian military and security forces are using these weapons to 'commit extrajudicial killings.'" He then questions, "How increased military aid will improve human rights and efforts towards democratization in Nigeria." Therefore, indirectly the US is aggravating the decadents of democracy and human rights as it is aware of what the Nigerian security forces are doing but keeps supporting Nigerian militia for its own selfish ends. This brings a lot of questions as to whether AFRICOM is designed to save Africa or to serve the hidden interests of America in the continent. Thus, Controversy and skepticism surrounds the US military policy to Africa and its future remains uncertain.

1.3 Objectives to the Study

1. To critically examine the nature of the US military policy to Africa.
2. To analyze the motives behind the establishment of AFRICOM.
3. To objectively investigate the controversy surrounding the US military policy to Nigeria.
4. To recommend mechanisms or ways that may boost military cooperation between the US and Africa.

1.4 Research Questions

1. What is the nature of US military policy to Africa?
2. What are the motives behind the formation of the US Africa Command?
3. What are the trajectories that make the US military policy to Nigeria controversial?
4. What can be done to enhance US-Africa military cooperation?

1.5 Hypothesis

US's policy of hegemonising Africa militarily and ideologically has played a pivotal role in the controversy marring US engagement with the Africans.

1.6 Literature Review

States in international relations create foreign policies and foreign policy objectives to guide them as a road map to a desired end in foreign relations. As such, states develop foreign policy goals compatible with the interests they seek to achieve in global politics. The Zimbabwean Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2013) defines Foreign policy as, "... a set of goals that seeks to outline how that country will interface at an official level with other countries." Foreign policy therefore, is a tool that guides principle actions of a state as it engages in international relations with other states. Foreign policy goals thus, determine the behavior of states in international relations; there are a means to a pre-determined end. The US military policy to Africa can be understood in that same vein, in the sense that, the US interests on Africa increased in the post 2000 era consequently influencing the US to increase its military activities in the region in-order to safe guard these interests. In 2002 Kansteiner, the US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa said that, "African oil is of national strategic interest to us and it will increase in importance and become more important as we go forward," Claire (2007:1). The US declared on several platforms how African oil had increasingly become its national interest and hence seeks to realize that national interest by all means necessary. Nigeria has proved to be a viable alternative of oil to the US as it is endowed with the largest oil deposits in Africa which has, "... reserves more than 30 billion barrels and currently produces more than 2.7 bpd," Ndumbe (2004:93). Thus, West African oil has proved to be of paramount importance to the US especially Nigeria which has large oil deposits which the US seeks to fully exploit with little or no disturbances until the oil reaches the US. This explains why the US enacted a military policy geared towards the protection of oil infrastructure and suppressing terroristic activities that could disrupt exploitation of oil, ultimately enhancing its energy security.

Contrary to the above assertion, the US justifies its military policy to Africa as a way of creating a secure environment, free from terrorism through training of African troops and not merely for the quest of its energy security concerns. This action is believed to be part of the "global war against terror." These military activities can be drawn back as far as 2001 through the Pan Sahel initiatives which Draitser (2014) describes as, "A state led effort to assist Mali, Niger, Chad and Mauritania...to support US national interests and waging a war against terrorism ...these initiatives were replaced by the Trans Saharan Counter terrorism initiatives in 2005, which in turn

was cooperated into the US Africa Command in 2008 (AFRICOM).” Thus, various military programs have been carried out in Africa, where the US engaged in military cooperation with African states to mitigate terrorism until the creation of AFRICOM in 2008. Thus, AFRICOM is not a new phenomenon which codifies militarization of Africa, but some programs existed before it though they were circumscribed to a certain sub-region; AFRICOM simply became US aggregated military action to Africa in its entirety. However, the creation of such military programs from the own set has triggered controversy as the true motive to these initiatives which are the essence of US military policy are debatable.

Not only in Africa has the US conducted military programs that enhance its security from global terrorism and maximizing its energy security. Mullen (2011:5) posits that, “There are no vital interest than the security of American people, our territory, and our way of life. This is why we are at war in South Central Asia, the epicenter of violent extremism. Violent extremism is not limited to South Central Asia ...but elsewhere around the globe.” Thus, the US is conducting military programs through-out the world to combat terrorism and avoid the same pit fall such as 9/11 attacks. This justifies the US military is presents worldwide, and why the US is carryout wars in the Middle East, while spreading the notion of democracy and human rights. Clare (2007:3) points out that, “...the war on terror and the American desire for oil are inherently interconnected.” In a similar view, Paul (2010) states that, “...the US desires oil to ensure longevity of its capitalist system and global economic superiority.” Therefore, it becomes clear that the US military policy globally, is primarily influenced by war on terror and the desire to acquire oil since these are critical aspects in sustaining US hegemony and economic might. Therefore, in as much as the US is fighting against thriving terrorism in the world, one can posit that the war on terror which started after the 9/11 attacks, is now being used as a way to justify US presence on foreign territories to acquire critical resources that are fundamental in sustaining its capitalist economy. This assertion holds water in the sense that the US “war against terror” is mostly fought in oil rich states. This could possibly show that the war on terror is simply a means crafted by the US to justify its presents in foreign territories. Engdahl(2013) explains how US military policy is controversial in Africa just like everywhere else on the globe,

...in 2007, the enterprising al-Zawahiri added another building block to his Al Qaeda chain of thugs when he officially announced the merger between the Libyan LIFG and al-Qaeda in Islamic Mahgreb (AMIQ). The LIFG and Libyan Islamic Fighting group was formed by Libyan-born jihadist named

AdbenhakimBelhaj. Belhaj was trained by the CIA as part of the US financed Mujahiden in Afghanistan... That becomes even more interesting when we find that the Belhaj's men who as Escobar writes were at the forefront of a militia of Berbers from the mountains southwest of Tripoli, the so called Tripoli Brigade- were trained in secret for two months by US special Forces.

Controversially, the Tripoli brigade was instrumental in the Libyan revolt that contributed significantly to the toppling of the Qaddafi's regime which was backed by America and the French forces, yet the same LIFG which formed the Tripoli brigade was branded a member of AL Qaeda as noted above. Such allegations raises eye brows, as the US is accused of having connections with the so called terrorist groups in Africa which destabilizes the region only to create a reason for US military presence in the name of mitigating terrorism. This creates controversy as to whether the war on terrorism is real or it's just an excuse used to further US interests and the actual motives of US military policy to the Africa and to the entire globe becomes questionable. The Herald (2014) noted that, "...what the command is active in doing is often far from clear... it offers no breakdown on the nature of its operations. And it allows only a handful of cherry-picked reporters the chance to observe a few select missions." Thus, AFRICOM activities remain unclear to Africans themselves which raises a lot questions concerning its primary goals whether it is working for or against Africa, since there is no transparency on its activities.

The US military policy to Africa has created mixed and diverging view as other see it as important to Africa while others criticize it as a threat in the region. Iwuoha (2011) articulates that, "Nigeria is a nation ashamed in serious crisis ranging from ethnic conflicts, periodic religious clashes, militancy in the Niger delta and worse still terrorism..." Thus, Nigeria is in an intermezzo where it is bedeviled by diverse political problems. It is a state that is characterized by political instability despite having important natural resources such as oil. The US military policy could act as an important tool to create peace and stability through working hand in glove with the Nigerian military. It is important to note that one of the chief goals of the U.S Africa Command is to promote peace and stability. However, Nigerian political situation seems to be worsening as terrorist radicalism is increasing through the work of Boko Haram despite US military to military activities with the Nigeria government. Hence the US military presence in Nigeria is likely to fuel radicalism since the Nigerian government is deliberately failing to address grievances of the weak and marginalized but rather is using force to thwart disgruntled

voices using military techniques and equipment it would have acquired from the US. As such, militancy and terror is likely to increase as this will act as the last resort to the dissatisfied sectors of the society. Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) spokesman JomoGbomo wrote to Bush the Former President of the US in response to the creation of AFRICOM that, “Mr. President, your warships do not intimidate us, instead they embolden our resolve in fighting...” This shows that force is not the solution to African problems, but there is need to address the root problem causing dissatisfaction, for instance in the Niger Delta, Amnesty International (2009) reported that, “Oil industry has brought impoverishment, conflict, human rights abuse and despair to the majority of the people.” Thus, there is need to address problems in the Niger delta with an open mind, maybe starting from infrastructure development and introducing pro-active public service delivery and reducing corruption within the government systems. It is destitute of common sense to note that people living in that oil rich territory the (Niger Delta) where the bulk of Nigerian oil comes from, are not getting any meaningful benefits from exploitation of oil. Hence these discontented sectors of the Nigerian society are likely to use force to get their grievances addressed. This shows that AFRICOM is largely created to help realize American interest and not to help Africa in the literal sense. If AFRICOM sincerely desired to help Africa it could have devised mechanism to help the Nigerian government to improve its service delivery system first as this is the root problem, rather than just conducting military to military training programs; of which it is important to note that one of AFRICOM’s objectives is development oriented not just military activities as previous US military projects in Africa.

Draitser (2014) articulates that, “Vice Admiral Robert Moeller, told an African conference in 2008 that AFRICOM’s goal is meant for, ‘protecting the free flow of natural resources from Africa to the global market.’” These remarks clearly prove that AFRICOM is not designed to create comfort, peace and stability for the benefit of Nigeria and Africa in its entirety, but to create conducive environment for the siphoning of natural resources to the US. Since Nigeria has become an important source of oil to the US, the US has sought to mitigate acts of insurgency, terrorism and other civil unrests as these disrupt the supply of oil from Nigeria to the later, hence it has established military partnerships with the Nigerian government in a bid to create a secure political climate. In support of that view, Iwuoha (2008) points out that, “Nigerian oil out-put had

been cut by one quarter, about 25% by the militant's activities from about 2.5 million barrels of crude oil per day to roughly 1.6million barrels per day. Specifically Nigeria has lost over N53 billion to petroleum pipeline vindications between 2006 and 2007." Therefore, the main concern of the US is protection of infrastructure which facilitates the exploitation and supply of oil as this has direct impact on its economy if oil supplies are cut. This largely explains why the US is concerned with creating military partnerships with African states and continuously increases its military spending as this has a bearing on its global hegemony and economy. To further cement that idea, Volman and Klare(2006) articulates that, "...the largest portion of military aid to Africa are being directed to Angola and Nigeria, the two leading African oil suppliers to the US.....Nigeria received International Military Education and training (IMET) funds amounting to US\$800 000." Thus, the US is deliberately choosing to spare large amounts of money to oil rich states in order to guarantee a constant flow of oil. These large military spending are directed towards the training of Nigerian troops as well as providing military equipment which is useful in suppressing rebellion or acts which might militate against continuous flow of oil. However, AFRICOM's planners insist that, "...the command was established primarily to train African militaries, so that the continent will be able to respond to its own crises," Taylor (2010). This vividly reflects how controversial the American military policy to Africa is, as there are heavy contestations pertaining to the real motive of AFRICOM. The skepticism surrounding American policy has lead African leaders to distrust AFRICOM and this explains why AFRICOM is not headquartered on African soils, but in Germany. The true motives behind the creation of AFRICOM are still being questioned and American military policy to Africa is still being viewed as a tool to facilitate neo-imperialism from an African's perspective.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

Realism is a theory in international relations which best explains the US behavior in the international system as it seeks to maximize economic gains, ensure its survival and maintain its global dominancy. There are various types of realism and of paramount importance to this study is the offensive realism devised by Mearsheimer 2001. Stevenson(2014) notes that, "There is anarchy in the International system which means that there is no hierarchical superior with coercive power that can guarantee limits on the behavior of states." Thus, there is no supra-national government to regulate the international system, implying that no state is responsible and

has the sole authority to regulate others. For instance at a global level, the US controversial military intervention in Iraq triggered a lot of debate as some views it as a unilateral decision of the US hence posing threat to international peace and security since it was not authorized by the United Nations (UN) while others are pro that decision. In that instance the US was not punished, though it is an international norm that attacking a state for any cause should be mandated by the UN Security Council as stipulate under chapter VII(42) of the UN charter, validating Mearsheimer accession that, "...there is no government of governments to reinforce rules and punish perpetrators," Peter (2003:5). The US took that decision only to invade Iraq for its own benefit which was to squash terrorism and enhance its own security; therefore to ensuring its own survival which is the next Mearsheimer's attribute of his offensive realism. In general this reflects how controversial the US military policy is, even at global level.

Mearsheimer also postulates that, "Survival is the primary goal of all states in the international system. Even though other goals e.g prosperity, human rights are high on the list of survival... security is the main motivator of states behavior," Peter (2007: 5). Security of state is thus central to Mearsheimer's theory since it is the bedrock upon which other aspects like economic prosperity are hinged upon. This unravels the essence of the US military policy to Africa which was devised to curb the spread of terrorism into Africa from other continents which has become a rampant phenomenon. The US views terrorism as its major threat as illustrated by 9/11 attacks, hence seeks to take precautionary measure to mitigate it before it goes out of hand. The US has carried out military programs like the Pan Sahel Initiatives in Africa to fight against terrorism; which is now being spearheaded by AFRICOM since 2007. Okumu (2007:5) articulates that, "AFRICOM is expected to stop terrorism from being bred in Africa's weak, failing and failed states.... Improving security would inevitably promote US national interests by making it less likely that the continent could be a source of terrorism against the US." The US does not want the recurrence of a situation like the 9/11 attacks hence it has deployed its military into Africa to curb terrorism at its infancy. Thus, war against terror is a key component of the US military policy to Africa reflecting how survival is of primary importance in international relations. More-so, as part of survival of the state the economic aspect comes into play as posited by Mearsheimer since the US seeks to maximize its economic gains through securing its energy security concerns by exerting control and influence in states like Nigeria which are endowed with vast oil deposits. However, in the African context and particularly in Nigeria, it is not survival in the form of

armed threats which is at the core of US military policy as postulated by Mearsheimer, but economic benefits are at the core of this American policy. The concern to protect that constant supply of oil has warranted the US security in its traditional sense.

The issue of maximizing economic benefits is of fundamental importance to those who follow the realist school of thought. Chang Xu (2008:135) posits that, “International competition is a zero sum game especially when non renewable and non replaceable energy is concerned – if China takes one barrel of oil from Africa it would mean one barrel less for the US and if China expands its trade with African countries the US would lose out on those markets.” Therefore, Chinese activities in Africa are viewed by US policy makers as a threat to American economy and American interests. As such the US seeks to use all means necessary to maximize economic gains through militating against the growing Chinese influence in Africa for it to win most of the gains in the “zero sum game”, especially acquiring oil and other precious metals from African countries. Ibid (2008:135) explains that the only way for the US to ensure its interest in the continent is to export its military and economic presents; use its political, economic and military resources to prevent China from dominating the oil producing countries. This explains why the US has created AFRICOM to curb the growth and spread of Chinese influence in Africa and most importantly in oil rich states for it to maximize its energy security concerns. This fundamentally tallies with the realist theory that states in international relations are concerned with maximizing economic benefits. In as much as the US seeks to maximize economic benefits it also seeks to increase its influence and stamp its authority as the dominant super power of the day.

Another pillar of Mearsheimer’s offensive realism theory is that, “States possess some offensive capabilities..., inherently defensive weapons could be used for offence..... benign intentions can quickly turn into malignant ones,” Peter (2007:5). Stevenson (2014) explained a similar view pointing out that, “...states can never be certain that the other states will refrain from using those offensive military capabilities.” Thus, states have permanent interests like survival and dominancy among others, but friends can turn into enemies and vice versa for the sake of achieving national interests. For that reason, African states have not fully embraced AFRICOM initiatives, but are skeptical of the intentions of the US such that they have not agreed to have AFRICOM headquarters on AFRICOM soils. They fear that, maybe AFRICOM could be used in

the future to foster American motives against their will forcefully, therefore eroding African sovereignty. Though the AFRICOM initiatives have been tabled as defensive in nature in the sense that it seeks to repeal terrorism which could be dangerous to America in the future, creating a stable political environment through creation of an African military that is capable to respond to challenges that might arise, it could be used to militate against African ideologies. Thus, states can never be sure of the motives of other states in international relations as articulated by Mearsheimer 2001. Combining these assumptions Mearsheimer concludes that, "...maximizing security with the ultimate aim of becoming the strongest power of the system (a hegemony)," is desirable. This explains the US motives of exerting African states under its power and control as this has economic advantages in the long run which are essential in maintain its global hegemony and ultimately its survival.

1.8Methodology

1.8.1Research Design

Barbour (2008:15) defines methodology as, "The more general discussion about the assumptions underpinning different methods and implications, challenges and limitations of choice for the process of conducting research and its ultimate products." This implies the use of techniques, methods or tools of research in order to solicit the data needed or necessary for a particular study. This research made use of qualitative research since much of the phenomenon under study essentially deals with vast data which cannot be quantified, hence qualitative method was most suitable in this particular research. Frayer (1991:3) notes that, "Qualitative researches are more concerned in their research with attempting to accurately describe, decide and interpret the meaning of phenomenon occurring in their social context." Thus, qualitative research obtains data in its naturalistic form and present information in the context in which it occurs, which makes the data more accurate in explaining phenomenon under study. Qualitative analysis is compatible with this research which is subjective in nature and essentially deals with vast data which cannot be quantified. Pharm (2010) articulates that qualitative research has the major advantage of examining issues in detail and in-depth, which implies that it pays particular attention to detail and therefore accurate information can be obtained.

1.8.2 Data Collection and Procedure

Gibson and Brown (2009:66) articulates that, “documentary search refers to the process of using documents as a means of social investigation and involves exploring the records that individuals and organizations produce.” Documentary search therefore, deals with already existing, written and readily available information like books, newspapers, internet and other published articles. These articles are fundamental in obtaining US military activities in Nigeria for example how much the US is budgeting annually towards strengthening and equipping the Nigerian military and how it is actually conducting its military to military activities. Documentary search must be handled with caution in order to minimize level of bias. Scott (1990:1) formulated quality control criteria which include representativeness, authenticity credibility and meaning. Therefore, this research paid attention to the for-named criterion in-order to limit the level of bias. Another data collection method which was used in this research is in-depth interview. Neala(2006:3) articulates that an in-depth interview, “... is a qualitative technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspective on a particular idea, program or situation. This entails conducting in-depth interviews with a few key informants, for example interviewing the US embassy officials one at a time or intellectuals to get their opinions as well as first hand information about the situation on the ground. Neala (2006:3) adds that, “Interviews are useful if you want to detail information about a person’s thoughts and behavior in depth.” Qualitative methods can be classified into primary and secondary data analysis.

Kadam (2013) points out that primary data analysis is data collected from the field under the control of the supervision of an investigator. The implication is that primary data collection is first hand information that is obtained by the researcher in the field of study. First hand information is obtained through surveys, mails and interviews among other methods. Therefore, this research made use of in-depth interviews to solicit data pertaining to the US military policy to Nigeria. The major advantage of using in-depth interviews is that it allows the researcher to obtain new information since it obtains first hand information and it also gives room for probing in-order to get clarity on the issue understudy.

Another method employed in this research is secondary data analysis. Care (2005:1) posits that, “Secondary data analysis can be literally ‘defined as second hand’ analysis. It is analysis of data

or information that was either gathered by someone else or by an organization.” Therefore, documentary search was used in this research to solicit information that was already written by other scholars to support the arguments made in this research. Novak (1996) points out that secondary data analysis is important in designing subsequent primary research. This means that before starting any research, one should engage in secondary data analysis to get the general knowledge and information about the research understudy in-order to choose the right method of research compatible with the issue understudy. Therefore, documentary search was most appropriate in soliciting data about the US military activities in Nigeria which paved way for the primary data method used in this study, which is, in-depth interviews. Documentary search laid the foundation upon which primary data collections methods were employed. Care (2005:1) points out that, secondary data analyses are generally cost effective as information is readily available in text books and on the internet and obtaining data is usually quicker. Therefore, information of the US military policy to Africa was first obtained from internet journal and other publication which helped the researcher to choose the appropriate sampling method compatible with this research.

1.8.3 Sampling Procedure

The research has made use of purposive sampling procedure. Kumar (2005:179) articulates that, “the primary consideration in purposive sampling is the judgment of the researcher as to who can provide the best information to achieve the objectives of the study.” This method is important as it screens out all other elements which are rendered of less importance to the research, giving due concentration to the sample that is knowledgeable. Yates (2004:27) notes that, “Purposive samplings are those where the probability of a case being selected is 0 percent, 100 percent or an unknown.” This shows that samples have no equal chance of being selected, but the discretion is with the researcher. The major reason why purposive sampling is more suitable to this research is that, the information sought is not common knowledge that can be obtained everywhere, but only intellectuals in the international relations discourse, and Zimbabwean government officials, as well as the US embassy personnel can have a refined understanding of the US military policy to Africa. Therefore, these will make up part of the sample which will be used in the research.

1.8.4 Data Presentation and Analysis

Criswell (2007:148) notes that data analysis in qualitative research consist of, "...preparing and organizing the data for analysis, then reduce the data into themes through a process of coding and finally represent the data in figures, tables or discussion." Hence, grouping data into themes makes the analysis of data easy and manageable. More-so, this may show other important areas that the researcher might have overlooked and probe further research into those areas for more information which might be crucial to the research. Clarke (2006:79) notes that, "Thematic analysis is a qualitative method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes within data). It minimally organizes and describes your data set in (rich) detail." Boyatzis (1998:1) notes that it is a form of pattern recognition of data, where emerging themes becomes the category for analysis. The process therefore, simply groups data with the same themes into a single group and codes the information to simplify the process of analysis, making it important in obtaining refined results.

1.9 Limitations of the Study

The study has made use of documentary search and in-depth interviews. The research could be affected by individual bias and propaganda of other writers or key informants due to their interests on the issue understudy. These may have personal bias depending with their political affiliation or relationship with the states understudy. For instance, it was during the interviews difficult for a US embassy member to effectively criticize US military policy to Africa, mainly because it is their official duty to defend US policy abroad. Nor did the Zimbabwean government official comprehensively emulate the US foreign policy to Africa due to the current antagonism between the two states. However, the research triangulated both methods in order to limit the levels of bias. Officials from the US embassy, Zimbabwean government, Nigerian Embassy as well as the Zimbabwean Defense Forces were interviewed to get a holistic understanding of the phenomenon understudy.

1.10 Delimitations of the Study

Though the research is assessing the effects of US military policy to Africa, it is impractical to conduct such a research on the African continent in its entirety; thus, the scope of the research

was limited to Nigeria. Since the research was limited to Nigeria, some critical states that reflect the dynamics of the US foreign policy to Africa fell out of the scope of the research, hence some important examples and situations were not considered in this research. Nigerian engagement with the US reflects the main strategies being used by the US to lure African states into conforming to its dictates.

CHAPTER TWO: EVOLUTION OF THE US MILITARY POLICY TO AFRICA

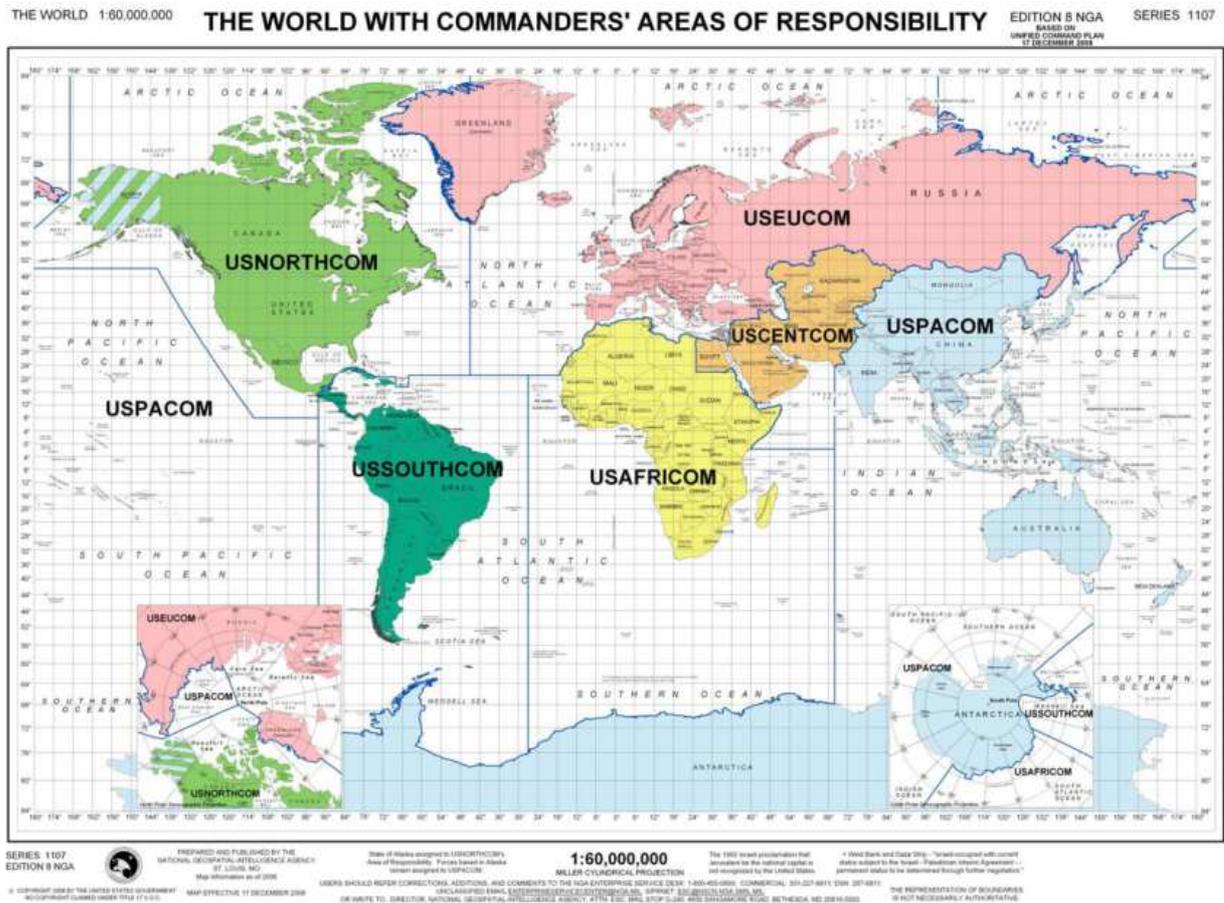
2.1 Introduction

The militarization of Africa by the US has taken various forms and has been implemented through various mechanisms. The latest means through which the militarization of Africa is taking place is through AFRICOM initiatives. The US Africa Military Command (AFRICOM) headquartered in Stuttgart Germany, "... is the ninth unified and sixth regional US military command established after the Second World War," Deen (2013). Thus, AFRICOM is charged with the responsibility to protect US interests, maintain peace and stability as well as maintaining US hegemony in Africa. Traditionally hegemony is defined as, "political rule or domination in relation between states," Williams (1997:108). Hegemony is therefore established when a state becomes a dominant power economically and militarily, exerting influence and control over other states, be it regionally or globally. The US attained the state of being a global hegemony following the collapse of the Soviet Union after the Cold War. However, the post 2000 era has witnessed the rise of a number of states either solely or in groups competing with the US to exercise some degree of influence in global politics; such that questions have arisen whether the world is still under the unipolar dominancy of the US or is now under multi polar system? However, the US still remains the most powerful state beyond any reasonable doubt and the rise of contender states such as China and groups like BRICS have stimulated American policy makers to craft a radical military policy to defend and maintain its global hegemony and Africa has not been an exception.

2.2 US Global Domination

The US has created a number of military commands across the globe to maintain a grip on its hegemony. These military commands protect and spearhead US interests and react to crisis situations in their respective areas of responsibility. Thus, AFRICOM was just modeled after the first five US regional commands and is tasked with the same responsibilities as its predecessors elsewhere. The first five regional commands which were created before AFRICOM are US Central command (CENTCOM), US European Command (EUCOM), US Pacific Command (PACOM), and the Southern Command (SOUTHCOM) and Northern Command (NORTHCOM), Ploch (2011:3).

MAP: UNIFIED COMMAND PLAN



Source: *US Department of Defense 2011*

Therefore, as illustrated above each regional command is tasked with fostering US ideology in its own area of responsibility. These unified military commands repeal threats to American interests and they are the chief architects through which the US implements its war against terrorism. Such a set up is a reflection of the US desire to foster and maintain its global domination by controlling activities in virtually every part of the world through its military might. The US thus, exercise control over the oceans and land of almost every part of the globe. For instance Ploch (2011:1) posits that AFRICOM first intervention was Operation Odyssey in support of the UN resolution 1973, whereby the US Africa Command played a critical role in bringing about the downfall of Gaddafi the Libyan leader. Thus, it was AFRICOM which reacted in a crisis situation which had occurred in its area of responsibility which vividly shows how the US commands are strategically created to monitor and control proceedings in their respective spheres of influence.

According to Dufour (2013:5) the U.S. military dominance manifests itself through the deployment of forces in more than 737 bases in foreign lands worldwide varying in size according to usage covering the continents, oceans and outer space. These military bases are used to indoctrinate foreign militaries into American ideology; as a result foreign militaries indirectly give in to American supremacy. Thus, US military bases are virtually spread across the globe and despite the negative criticism that has followed after the formation of AFRICOM by African states, the US has enjoyed increased cooperation from Africans themselves which is a reflection of how effective is the American military policy in realizing its objectives. Thus, militarily the US is no doubt the most powerful nation in the world; hence creating military bases across the world simply reflects its desire to foster and maintain its global hegemony.

Barne (2014) notes that the US army has long defined its core mission as winning wars which now equally weighs with preventing wars. Thus, the US has created the unified commands shown in the diagram above with an open mind to pro-actively deal with crisis situations in-order to limit the escalation of wars and maintain international peace which is essential to carrying out US interest. Ibid (2014) posits that the US Army is unveiling a new global strategy for reshaping the largest American military force and the US has developed the “Army Operating Concept”. The strategy paper identifies Russia and China as “competing powers”. Therefore, the US army seeks to maintain its grip in controlling global politics; hence it has continuously identified China as an imminent threat to its interest and its unified commands are modeled to repeal such threats. The US army is thus determined to keep the competing powers at bay and realize its interest in Africa and the world over through the use of its military policy which is geared towards the creation of a crystallized American hegemony. Though the unified commands shown in the diagram above control activities in their own area of responsibility, they all seek to maintain a similar goal which is to maximize US economic benefits and maintain American hegemony which necessitated the formation of AFRICOM tasked with fostering American hegemony in Africa which was the only continent left without a unified command in the post 2000 era. The desire to create a unified command for Africa does not only hint on the American quest to keep contending powers at bay, but also reflects how Africa has gained in strategic importance to the US.

2.3 US Hegemonic Tendencies in the Face of China –Africa Relations

China has long maintained important ties with African states for diplomatic reasons; it played a pivotal role in bringing about African independence by supporting liberation movements and this created strong political ties between China and Africa from then to present day. On the contrary, Deen(2014) points out that the US, “Through its containment policy adopted during the Cold War, it has historically backed dictators, funded various often extremely brutal military groups and had unfavorable attitude towards African liberation movements.” China is now capitalizing on the cordial relations it developed and maintained over decades in Africa to compete with the US for economic and strategic purposes. This has given China some leverage as it is viewed by African states as an all-time friend; such that it has gained political mileage in attracting support and cooperation in the post 2000 era than the US through its economic arrangement, The Forum for China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC). This is reflected by trade activities between China and Africa which has grown significantly to supersede trade activities between the US and Africa. Xinhua (2013) states that, “In 2009, China became Africa’s number one trading partner... in 2012, the total volume reached US\$ 198.49 billion; 85.139 billion were exports from Africa and US\$ 113.171 billion were imports from Africa.” This reflects on the trajectories of economic and bilateral strengthening of relations between African states and China. China has sought to use its fast growing economy as an advantage to attract cooperation of African governments through its foreign policy to Africa, FOCAC, under which it provides foreign aid, loans and other economic benefits with no political conditionalities. China has thus overtaken the US as Africa’s largest trading partner; this could negatively impact on the US economy in the long run. Therefore, the US seeks to address this situation through the creation of a radical military policy to Africa under the auspices of AFRICOM to regain its control and influence in the continent.

China devised a deliberate policy to dilute US influence in the continent with the ultimate aim of gaining leverage for the race of becoming the super power overtaking the US. Chang Xu(2008:1138) points out that the concern of American policy makers is the way in which China conducts business in Africa, spreading capitalism as a model of development in which human rights, democracy and welfare are distraction from the main business of economic growth. This is designed to down play US influence and control in Africa which has somehow worked as reflected by the above statistics which reflect how China has gained as an important trading partner of Africa at the detriment of the US economic activities in the continent. Ibid (2008:1135)

explains that, the investment by Chinese oil companies in Africa is interpreted as a deliberate effort to lock oil supplies in producing countries and lock the US out of African markets. The implication is that, shutting the US out of African markets is a direct threat to its energy security concerns which the US has declared its national interest and above all which it seeks to realize and consolidate in Africa. Therefore, China's activities are well calculated in Africa with the ultimate aim of increasing its influence in the global power politics to elevate itself into a global super power overtaking the US through locking out American oil supplies from Africa. Resultantly the US has combined its economic and military power to fight against this Chinese policy as it is aiding African countries military budgets and engaging with them militarily to re-orient them ideologically.

Clare(2007:8) maintains that, "China already has a significant presence in Sudan and has most recently closed a 2.3 billion dollar deal to acquire 45% stake in offshore Nigerian oil fields." US and China desire for oil has turned out to be great in the twenty first century, and of particular importance is that, Nigeria is the largest oil exporting state in Africa to the US, therefore, a 45% stake acquired by China in Nigerian offshore oil is a threat to US energy security concerns. AFRICOM is therefore, symbolizing the US military might and control in the region and acts as a tool to deter China from hegemonising the region. The militarization of Africa is expected to re-orient African states into American ideology and diminishing the scope of Chinese influence therefore giving US the upper hand. Carmody (2007:11) points out that FOCAC also talks about, "...the unjust and inequitable world order implying that China and Africa should position themselves towards establishment of the new world order which will advance their intereststhis is seen to be a way of deflecting 'US hegemonism.'" Thus, literally Chinese foreign policies militate against US economic and political interest in Africa and this explains why the US has chosen to create a military policy geared towards reversing the negative effects being propagated by China in Africa though publicly the US rejects that it created AFRICOM to fight against China.

The US has crafted a number of military policies to Africa such as the Pan Sahel initiatives and the Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa, before the creation of AFRICOM, but all these policies are now being coordinated under the auspices of AFRICOM. Volman and Keenan (2010) articulate that, "The US has concluded that it is not desirable for the US to build a lot of

expensive highly visible military bases but concluded what are known as ‘access agreements.’” This has been the new strategy being used by the US to keep its military foot print across the globe and in Africa. These access agreements allow easy US military intervention if need arises since it will be having a considerable number of its personnel already on the ground on its small military bases. An example of such an access agreement is the US drone base in Niamey Niger which has around a hundred military personnel set up in 2013. The US is also using these small military bases to provide military to military training programs to African states. The US military training programs orient African militaries into American ideology and these military training programs act as an incentive to loyal governments; which is an effort driven towards hegemonising Africa. The overall effect of these military training programs will be the creation of an African continent that is submissive and loyal to American needs; aligning African states into American way of thinking hence repealing the growing Chinese influence.

Moreover, the Chinese foreign policy to Africa which is mainly enshrined in FOCAC was designed in a manner that is lucrative to African states since it has no political conditionalities like the American aid such that its membership is wide. West Africa Trade Hub (2014) points out that, “Alarm bells went off in Washington in October 2006 when the Chinese President hosted a historic Beijing Summit, the Forum on China Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) which brought nearly fifty heads of states.” This Beijing summit reflected on how China had grown to be the greatest American contender in controlling and determining events in Africa. This affected a crystallized American hegemony in the region such that, Taugen(2010) posits that, “AFRICOM merely represents the apex of a long lasting American imperial effort to exert control over the continent.” With the rising of Chinese influence in Africa, one can argue that AFRICOM is a US reaction to curb Chinese activities in Africa, as the US is determined to maintain its grip on the African continent by all means necessary even if it means war as a last resort. AFRICOM therefore, is a means to an end; where the US seeks to attract African government’s loyalty by introducing military partnerships as well as military funding while at the same time militating against Chinese influence for its own hegemonic advantage. Repealing Chinese influence will in turn increase economic benefits in the long run to the US as it will get the largest share of African natural resource such as oil, gas and other precious materials that are essential in the sustenance of its global hegemony.

2.4 The War against Terror and the US Hegemony

The US Department of Defense (2011) defines terrorism as the, "...calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or intimidate governments or societies in pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious or ideological." Terrorism is thus not a method of conventional warfare but a strategy that is used by various groups to forcefully have their grievances addressed by governments, or responsible authorities through violence and radicalism. The war on terror was introduced by the US after the 9/11 attacks where the World Trade Center was bombed. Since then, the war against terror has been fought in the Middle East as that territory is believed to be the hub of terrorism. However, terrorism is not only confined to the Middle Eastern states but has spread across the globe and into Africa as well, leading to the introduction of the war on terror in Africa.

Before the formation of AFRICOM, the European Command (US EUCOM) was charged with overseeing military operations in Africa. Feickert (2013) articulates that, EUCOM has reported that nearly 400 foreign fighters captured in Iraq have come from Africa. This led the US to see the importance of crafting a separate unified command for Africa alone as the continent was slowly increasing to be a breeding ground for terrorists. Ibid (2013) notes that:

In 2002 the US established the Joint Task Force (CJTF), Horn of Africa (HOA) to curb terrorism in the region. In 2005 about 700 US Special Operations Force (SOF) personnel and support troops conducted training for selected troops from Algeria, Chad, Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Nigeria... three weeks exercise in Africa "dubbed Flint Lock 2005".

Therefore, the US has tried to stop terrorism from spreading in the continent since the early 2000s even before the creation of AFRICOM through various programs as mentioned above. Nigeria has always been at the centre of this American militarized policy as the US seeks to eliminate terrorism which has become rampant in that state. However, other scholars argue that the US is keen on combating terror in Nigeria to enhance its energy security concerns. Despite this criticism, the US has had a traceable military policy in Africa from the year 2000 in its quest to curb terrorism up until 2008 which saw the formation of AFRICOM which is now the main instrument spearheading the American war against terror.

Boko Haram is the main terrorist group that has and is still carrying out devastating activities to destabilize the oil rich Nigerian state. Ifek (2010) points out that, “Boko Haram was founded in 2002... their objective is to impose reform on corrupt Muslim elites who have adopted ‘bad’ Western values and to establish Sharia state through-out Nigeria.” Thus, Boko Haram objectives are basically political and religious which is to force a change on a corrupt system of governance that has become rampant in Nigeria as well as militating against any other form of religion especially Christianity in-order to form a homogeneous Islamic state. Boko Haram believes that the West has played a pivotal role in aggravating moral decay within the systems of Nigerian government for years hence sees their brutal activities as the best way to restoring good governance through coercing the policy makers to address their grievances. Shah (2010) explains that, “A series of repressive regimes and corrupt governments in Nigeria have been supported and maintained by Western governments and oil corporations keen on benefiting from fossils that can be exploited.” From that point of view, the Western powers activities in past years have contributed to the current terrorist crisis in Nigeria in the sense that, instead of fostering democratic values as they purport to do globally they have supported and maintained loyal repressive and corrupt regimes that connived with them in realizing their goals that is acquiring oil from Nigeria at the expense of the Nigerian populace. This has created discontentment among other sectors of the society leading to them taking up arms and conducting destabilizing activities. These groups view themselves as liberation movements for change and transparency, while the government and the international system views them as terrorists, which brings out the controversy of Western foreign policies as well as the meaning and definition of terrorism. Therefore, corruption is the root problem of the current disturbances that are occurring in Nigeria and in Africa as whole. The bulk of these problems including terrorism can be solved if corruption is first and foremost addressed.

Boko Haram has carried out a number of brutal activities like bombing police stations, Christian buildings and gatherings as well as terrorizing the civilian population. One Nigerian soldier explained that the Nigerian force tasked with pursuing the kidnapers of missing girls is, “...ill equipped to do so, and lacks the will to take on the group accused of kidnapping 276 school girls last month.” In that same report, the French president also made similar comments noting that the Islamist (in Nigeria) had ample funds, highly sophisticated weaponry and advanced training with some of the world’s most experienced terrorists,” Foxnews (2014). Boko Haram has proved

to be militarily stronger than the Nigerian force as it is well equipped and well trained. The implication could be that, the terrorist activities might continue to grow further destabilizing the already troubled nation and this justifies military presents of other states willing to combat this grave situation. The US has proved to be fundamental in playing that role, since its military activities range from military to military training programs which could be important in developing requisite skills within the Nigerian military in dealing with terrorism. Moreover, the US funding through the IMET, Foreign Military Funding (FMF) and other military sales equipment programs could also help in strengthening the Nigerian force to confront and combat Boko Haram activities in that country. In addition to that, the US has also provided its personnel to help investigate inform and fight against terrorism in Nigeria which also reflects on the potential benefits of the US military policy to Africa as the US is working closely with the Nigerian government in a bid to curb terrorism.

However, the war on terror being fought by the US cannot be analyzed separately from its desires for crude oil. The so called terrorism in Niger Delta disrupts oil supplies to the US; hence in order to realize its interests the US automatically has to be involved in order to suppress rebellion for it to ascertain its energy security. The US desires African oil, and in particular Nigerian oil because, “Nigerian oil export blends are light, sweet crudes with low sulfur content meaning they are highly viscous ...comparatively inexpensive to process ...making it, suitable for stringent refined products requirements,” Africa Security Research Project (2009). Thus, the US requires Nigerian oil since it is cheap to process and it would definitely militate against any disturbances that affect the exploitation of oil. Terrorist activities, protest and vandalism of pipelines in Niger Delta have in many cases disrupted oil supply to the US. This has consequently pushed the US to step up its military activities in Nigeria to protect the free flow of oil. Claire (2007:3) points out that, “The war on terror and the American desire for oil are inherently interconnected.” This explains why the US is conducting war against terror in Nigeria as it seeks to maximize its economic benefits through guaranteed supply of oil which is critical to its overall global domination. Therefore, the war on terror being fought in Nigeria by the US is also attributable to its national interests, without which it would be debatable whether the US would involve itself or not? However, Ifek (2010) concludes that increasing military security is not the solution to nourishing terrorism but rather, there is need to combat bad governance and corruption. These two are the major causes of

terrorism in Nigeria and until these are solved, prospects of curbing terror will largely remain low.

Despite the potential benefits of the global war on terrorism, the war on terror has been criticized by many scholars as hypocritical in nature. Weinstein (2011) posits that, energy security, it turns out to be a terrifying hybrid of the old and the new primitive accumulation (that is looting) and American militarism coupled with the war on terror. Therefore, from that point of view one can conclude that the US is using the war on terror as the latest means to justify its military presents on foreign lands for its economic advantage. This, carries weight especially when one considers that the war on terror is mostly carried out in oil rich states primarily in the Middle Eastern states and now in Africa particularly Nigeria which is Africa's largest oil exporting state to the US and which has the largest oil reserves in Africa. Thus, the term "the war on terror" was coined to limit opposition and resistance of US foreign intervention in international relations but in real terms, it was crafted to foster American interest in Africa and elsewhere in the world.

2.5 Conclusion

The US military policy towards Africa has taken a paradigm shift from a policy of benign neglect to a radical military policy as US interest in Africa grew in the post 2000 era. In Nigeria, the US has conducted military to military training programs, conducted war against terror, and has effectively increased its military spending through various programs such as FMF and IMET to create comprehensive military training and military support to the Nigerian government. The US military policy to Africa through AFRICOM has been presented to Africa as the panacea to African problems; however, the way in which the US military policy is being conducted in countries like Nigeria, raises questions and creates skepticism. The US military policy to Africa reflects its inherent desire to maximize economic benefits at the expense of African development and democracy. Moreover, the US presence in Nigeria is worsening political instability, as radical groups like the Islamist believe that though the Nigerian government was "democratically" elected, the corrupt system is being sustained and maintained by Americans; which has forced these radical groups to engage in terrorist activities to fight against such a system. More-so, the US has failed to help address serious environmental and developmental issues in the Niger Delta, but rather is aggravating the problem by aiding the Nigerian

government with more arms to suppress demonstrations and revolts while turning a blind the root problems. All these issues reflect the controversy which revolves around the US military policy to Nigeria and to Africa as a whole.

CHAPTER 3: HEGEMONISING AFRICA MILITARILY AND IDEOLOGICALLY: THE ESSENCE OF THE CONTROVERSY BEHIND THE US MILITARY POLICY TO AFRICA

3.1 Introduction

The US has long history of foreign intervention and long perfected the art of gaining access to other countries natural, human and capital resources through various mechanisms such as trade, international law, diplomacy and when all fails military intervention, Paul (2010). Such a posture reflects how the US has developed and mastered the art of foreign intervention especially for economic reasons and for the sustenance of its global hegemony. AFRICOM is the latest means through which the US is using to stamp its authority as a dominant hegemony in the hemisphere. Since the US declaration that oil constitutes part of its national interest; its military policy to Africa through AFRICOM initiatives is playing a key role in Nigeria in ascertaining continuous flow of oil from Nigeria to the later. Thus, at the core of American military policy to Nigeria is the agenda to maximize and guarantee an undisturbed extraction and transportation of oil, at the same time using its economic might to reward the Nigerian government for its loyalty to the Pentagon. The implication is that, the US economic and military activities are mutually reinforcing; that is, they play a complementary role for the sustenance of its global domination. This American policy of hegemonising Africa militarily and ideologically has played a pivotal role in the controversy marring US engagement with Africa. Nigeria therefore, is a classic African example which reflects the apex of American neo imperialism which is well decorated with lucrative military packages like IMET and FMF to attract the cooperation of African states. Above all, the key issue guiding the US military policy to Africa is its energy security concerns and this provides an explanation of the militarization that is taking place in Nigeria and across the continent.

3.2 US Presence in Nigeria: Controversies and Contestations

The US is the largest consumer of oil world wide and oil is a prerequisite in the sustenance of its large industrialized economy and its military operations across the world. This explains why energy security is at the core of American national interest. Mansbach (2009:01) points out that, the U.S has taken note that the world supply of oil may fall short of global demand as early as

2025, by the same year, Africa's oil production is expected to rise by 91%. Thus, African oil provides a viable alternative to the US which seeks to diversify its oil supplies from its traditional sources of oil such as the Middle Eastern states which it renders politically unstable. Thus, the creation of AFRICOM in 2008 signaled the introduction of the growing American presence on African soils. This also paints the picture on the state of affairs between the US foreign military relations with the Nigerian state which happens to be Africa's largest oil exporting state to the US. Therefore, the ongoing military partnerships and training programs between America and the Nigerian army are driven towards the American grand desire to acquire oil. The US military training programs are aimed to creating a Nigerian army that is able to respond to crisis situations that might disrupt oil supply to the US. Berrigan (2004) articulates that, "Washington's desire for Nigerian oil and territory triggered deeper military relationship ...military aid also skyrocketed from \$90 000 in 1999 to more than \$4 million in 2003." Thus, US military spending is increasing on Nigeria to buy its allegiance at the same time the weaponry that is procured or brought to Nigeria through such military aid programs help create a conducive environment for the systematic siphoning of oil and other natural resources from Nigeria to the US through the suppression of insurgence and terrorist activities that might frustrate the extraction and exportation of these critical resources.

Of particular importance in reflecting the relationship between AFRICOM initiatives which represents the wholesome of American military foreign policy to Africa and its quest for economic benefits is the selectivity of its military programs which are mainly conducted where US stakes are high. Ifeka (2010) articulates that militarization of Africa is taking place in selected West African states whose pre-industrial economies are still geared as in colonial era, which are mainly raw material exporting states with little value addition to the advantage of Western states and Nigeria is a concrete example of that scenario. This illustrates how hypocritical American military foreign policy can be as its initiatives are selective in nature mainly confined to oil rich states of West Africa which could validate the assumption that AFRICOM is not meant to bring peace, stability and comfort for the benefit of Africa but mainly to protect American interest particularly the siphoning of oil resource to the US. This selectivity raises a lot of questions pertaining to the motives behind the formation of AFRICOM which creates distrust and skepticism towards the American military policy by African states. The selectivity shows that the US is not in Africa for charity, but to spearhead its global agenda which is to dominate through

stamping of its hegemony, gain and ascertain continued access to natural resource in foreign territories as it is doing in Nigeria. Hence, US military policy to Africa is largely influenced by the desire to maximize economic benefits, and the need to dominate activities in the Hemisphere as part of its agenda to maintain global hegemony.

3.3 The International Military Education and Training (IMET) and Foreign Military Financing Program (FMF)

The US makes use of the IMET funding to educate foreign militaries globally on a variety of military issues. The IMET program now being implemented under AFRICOM has also been useful in educating and training of the Nigeria military personnel. Clare (2007:7) posits that, “In 2006 Nigeria is expected to be Africa’s second largest recipient of IMET program funding.” The increase on the IMET funding for Nigeria reflects how Nigeria has become of strategic significance to the US as it has become the largest African oil exporter to the US. President Obama in fiscal year 2010 requested an increase in IMET funds for African states and of paramount importance is the selectivity of the beneficiaries of this increased military spending. Volman (2010) posits that, the increase was proposed by nearly 17 percent from just under 14 million to over 16 million; Niger Delta getting US\$250 000, Nigeria getting US\$1.1 million, Algeria \$950 000, Mali \$350 000 and Equatorial Guinea \$40 000 among other Africa states. Through the IMET the US conducts military to military training programs with Nigeria and other African states. American weapons are introduced and education on how to operate these sophisticated weapons and machinery is enhanced. However, it is of paramount importance that even though such programs are essential in strengthen African militaries, US interests permeates the entire exercise. Indirectly, the Nigerian government submits to American dominancy and control in return for the financial support and military training programs. The US can be said to be using carrot and stick inducements to pressure African states to conform to its demands by rewarding loyal states like Nigeria, while anti American states do not benefit from such programs and in extreme cases are punished through various mechanisms like sanctions. Therefore, the US is using its economic power to sustain its military activities in Africa, and theses military programs are designed to maintain an aggregated US hegemony as well as protecting its interests. Thus inherent in American foreign policy, is a knit of both military and economic might which are mutually reinforcing for its global domination agenda.

Another initiative which reflects the desire of the US to exert its influence and control activities in Nigeria and elsewhere in Africa is the Foreign Military Financing programs (FMF). In 2010 President Obama proposed an increase in FMF of African countries; the budget proposed an increase of over 300 percent for sub Saharan Africa from just over US\$8.2 million to US\$25.8 million; major recipients included Djibouti US\$2.5 million, Ethiopia US\$3 million and Nigeria US\$1.4 million among other states, Volman (2010). The FMF's main purpose is to support funding for all US arms sales and other security assistance programs worldwide. Therefore, this increase in US military spending through the fore-named program reflects how Africa has increased in strategic importance and the US seeks to use its strong economic base to attract support from African countries in its competition with China for dominancy and control of activities in Africa. Thus, the increase of the FMF for Nigeria makes its government bent towards the desires of the Pentagon as it seeks to maintain cordial relations with the White House for it to continue to receive military aid and other economic benefits. Therefore, both the IMET and the FMF are designed to perpetuate the dependence syndrome such that the Nigerian government will always need American aid to sustain its institutions. More-so through these programs, African states are indoctrinated towards American ideology resulting in a crystallized American control of the region.

3.4 Arms Sales

The forenamed US military programs in Africa have culminated in the militarization of Africa and consequently securitization of Nigerian oil. When the US secretary of state Hilary Clinton paid a visit to Nigeria in 2009 she said that, "In addition to everything we had promised to Nigerians, if they were anymore request for military equipment to be used in the Niger Delta, the US would be perfectly willing to provide," Volman and Keenan(2010). Such utterances reflect that the US is mainly concerned with siphoning oil for its economic benefit and not concerned about the security of African people. "More weapons to be used in the Niger Delta" are the weapons that are being used by the Nigerian state security agencies on defenseless civilians who demonstrates to have their grievances solved resulting in a very high death toll every year. Weinstein (2008) articulates that, "In Niger delta you have people living in stone-age squalor in mud huts ...no roads, no electricity, no running water.... And you no through their backyards you have thousands of miles of pipelines, ultra modern, multi- million dollar air conditioned state of

art facilities going up...” This population has not significantly reaped benefits from the extraction of oil which is being carried out in their neighborhood, such that discontentment and hatred towards oil companies and the government has grown over the years. Basically the discontented population has been carrying out demonstrations, while others destroy pipelines and at times carry out other activities which sabotage the full scale extraction and exportation of oil. The US sees these activities in the Niger Delta as hindrance to the realization of its national interest goal that is, accessing oil, resulting in the US classifying such demonstrations as part of the ongoing terroristic activities in the North. This reflects how controversial and hypocritical the American military policy is, as the US is mainly concerned with maximizing economic benefits without considering the welfare of Africans. It is mainly concerned with spreading its ideologies, maximizing economic benefits and if there are barricades to its desires the US then makes use of “all means necessary”; even the use of its military to realize its objectives.

Also under its arms sales initiatives, “The US delivered four surplus coast guard Balsam class coastal patrol ships in 2003 through excess Defense Article programs.... These ships had a total value of more than four million dollars...” Africa Security Research Project (2009). These coast guard ships were intended to protect offshore oil extraction activities and to fight against piracy and other crimes that occur in coastal areas of Nigeria. These military ships will help decrease crime rate in the coastal areas of Nigeria and also eventually reduce the continuous infiltration of terrorist groups from other continents like Asia since the coastal areas will be secure. Such an effort though intended to maximize US interest is also beneficial to the Nigerians as this will help in curbing crime rates as well as maximizing the revenue they can acquire from offshore oil mining since disturbances will be reduced. According to Draitser (2014) “Over the last decade, America has quietly expanded its military presence throughout Africa in an attempt to counter Chinese and other emerging nation’s influence while consolidating control over critical strategic resource and trade routes.” Thus it could be argued that, though the coast gutters have played a critical role in reducing terrorist infiltration from other continents into Africa, the US also provided the coast gutters to protect the transportation of oil exports from Nigeria to the US. Therefore, at the core of the US military policy is desire to maximize economic benefits facilitated by its military might. Clearly, the US is using its military aid programs to further its economic benefits at the same time exerting its hegemony.

Deen (2013) postulates that, “AFRICOM’s development masks attempt to create the illusion that the US actions on the continent are altruistic and not part of the scramble for Africa that many analysts argue it is.” Therefore, in as much as the US tries to deny the allegations that AFRICOM is an instrument to fight against increasing Chinese influence in Africa, indicators reflect the opposite. The IMET and FMF programs are calculated to bring about a crystallized American hegemony as these programs are likely to buy African loyalty and this would improve the US bargaining position in its competition with China. These programs have led to increased small arms proliferation across Africa and Nigeria is not an exception. Berrigan (2004) asserts that, “Just look at the US top 10 oil suppliers Angola, Saudi Arabia, Nigeria.... are repressive regimes with deplorable human rights records.” These are states that have and are still receiving US military aid either in military equipment or in cash simply because they export oil to the US though despotism and human rights abuses are rampant in these countries. Some of these states are the ones that have received the IMET and the FMF funding and it has turned out that in states like Nigeria, these funds and equipment are being used to commit extra judicial killing and human rights abuses in the Niger Delta which shows that the militarization and securitization of Africa oil could possibly be a tragedy for the continent. Thus, these programs are proving to be of particular importance in serving American interests as these programs are instrumental in attaining its national goals, in the form of acquiring oil while African governments get more arms at the detriment of African peace and stability as these weapons are being used against innocent civilians. This serves to demonstrate that the competition between China and America aggravates decay of democracy and in the long run can have destabilizing effect in the region as proliferation of small arms is likely to trigger the use of these weapons within and among states. Therefore, the US military policy to Africa as reflected by its activities in Nigeria is designed to protect the flow of natural resources from Africa to the US as well as to restore its hegemony in the region which has been challenged considerably by China.

3.5. US Military Policy to Nigeria: A Panacea to Stability?

The US has carried out a number of military programs with Nigeria inside and outside of the Nigerian territory but for the objective of realizing its energy security concerns. Onouha (2012:3) articulates that, the US collaborated with Nigeria and other international partners to establish the Gulf of Guinea Energy Security Strategy (GGES); it is saddled with the mission of

providing a secured business environment in the entire Gulf of Guinea. Thus, despite conducting military programs that are mainly centered in Nigeria, the US has partnered with Nigeria and other international actors to create military partnerships that are responsive to challenges in that area. The US is largely interested with the oil in that sub-region; hence creating partnerships with Nigeria to secure the Gulf of Guinea is largely beneficial to the US as this would create conducive environment for offshore oil mining and secure trade routes for the transportation of oil from the region to the US. In a similar point of view, Paul (2010) noted that the US military involvement in West Africa to getting US forces on the ground is aimed at supporting the global war on terror (GWOT), to advise and upgrade the region's militaries and to establish maritime dominance in the Gulf of Guinea to secure off shore oil installations. Therefore, the US seeks to maximize its energy security in West Africa while exerting its dominancy as the super power beyond any reasonable doubt. The same applies in the Nigerian context in its internal territory; the US military policy seeks to protect oil installation in-order to realize its energy security concerns which are essential in the sustenance of its global hegemony.

According to US Army Africa Public Affairs (2013) the US conducted a military engagement in August at the defense intelligence college for four days and in that engagement, the US taught the Nigerian troops on how to deploy biometric collection equipment like the Secure Electronic Enrolment kit (SEEK) device that scans individuals and takes photographs of potential Violent Extreme Organizations (VEO). Though the US military policy in Nigeria and its quest to combat terrorism has been associated with its desires to protect oil installations and maximize its energy security concerns, the US counter terrorism methods which virtually makes use of automated machinery described above could prove to be important for the Nigerian government in combating terrorism. The Biometric equipment could be used to detect explosives and other weapons that are used by Boko Haram. Most importantly the VEO could be used to detect potential attacks before they occur. Thus, US military activities could prove to important in Africa as the US is bringing technology requisite in dealing with terrorism which could help create peace and stability in the continent. This reflects how multi faceted US military policy to Africa is as it is not only meant to benefit the US but has other aspects that are specifically designed to benefit Africa.

Nigeria has received benefaction from US military aid together with other oil rich states which are rated as most important for the fulfillment of its energy security concerns, which raises suspicion on how genuine is the American military aid or the aid is just a means of buying loyalty of oil rich African states so that it can continuously benefit from the latter's oil reserves. Berigan (2004) articulates that since the introduction of the war on terror US top 10 oil exporting countries have experienced a 350% increase in US military aid, a large part of the increase is explained by Washington's rewarding of regimes like Algeria and Nigeria for cloaking domestic repression in the rhetoric of war on terrorism. Thus, Nigeria being Africa's largest exporter to the US also enjoyed ubiquitous share of this increase. However, criticism is labeled against the US as it dubiously increases military aid to states where its interest are high for the purposes of suppressing demonstrations and other militant activities that may disrupt extraction and exportation of oil regardless of whether such demonstrations have genuine motives or not. The struggle in the southern part of Nigeria is mainly a civil strife which was caused by poor distributive system of proceeds from oil hence the general populace is suffering and somehow its actions are justifiable as it seeks redress of the situation. This is unlike the conflict in the northern part of Nigeria where Boko Haram is terrorizing innocent civilians for the purposes of attaining its political goals. In as much as terror has become a major problem in Nigeria being spearheaded by Boko Haram the conflict in the southern part of Nigeria, is based on distributive gains of revenue from the sale of oil. Such protests and violent conflicts has ensued between the local people and the state security agents, which the US still classifies as part of extremism which is why the Former secretary of state of the US Hillary Clinton promised more arms to be used in the Niger Delta. Hence, the US is increasing military aid to squash these insurrections for it continuously access oil without disturbances. This brings into light the controversy surrounding the US military policy to Africa; as it is fueling conflicts through sponsoring of tyrannical regimes that are suppressing human rights for their own survival at the detriment of public good. This has led other scholars like Ifek (2010) to conclude that, US military policy is likely to destabilize the already troubled continent as is reflected by its activities in Nigeria

The US is thus, against the militant activities that occur in the Niger Delta as this disrupts oil supply as explained by Paul (2010) that, in 2003 and 2004, armed insurgents and attacks on oil installations cut national oil output to forty percent and in the first three months of 2006, 1 billion in oil revenue was lost and national output was cut by one third threatening American energy

security. Hence, disruption of its energy security will negatively constrain its economy which is heavily dependent on oil and this will also have serious repercussions for its global hegemony as well. It becomes a major obligation of the US to use its Military might to defend its interests by all means necessary to sustain and maintain its global superiority. Of primary importance to the US is the maximization of benefits or economic interest through its military policy. It is difficult to separate American military activities from its economic interests because history has shown that the US rarely intervenes in foreign territories where economic stakes are low. In 2003, a senior Pentagon official said a key mission for the US force in Africa would be to ensure that Nigerian oil fields are secure, Klare and Volman (2006). This shows that Nigerian oil is by no means trivial to the US and the Pentagon would do anything even if it means war to protect continuous oil supply from Nigeria. Henceforth, central to the US military policy to Africa, is the desire to ascertain energy security concerns and increase access to other natural resources essential to the sustenance of American economy and above all its global hegemony. Clearly, as it stands there are no real prospects for the situation in Nigeria to improve, but a clash of interest exist where the US seeks to continuously acquire and maximize oil benefits from Nigeria while the Nigeria populace is clamoring to have benefit from oil proceeds as well yet that has not been forth coming. This will inevitably worsen the ongoing conflict if the situation is not properly managed.

3.6 Conclusion

In a nutshell, the controversy which surrounds the US military policy revolves around the real intentions of AFRICOM, the legitimacy of the means which justify US presence on foreign territories and how such policies are fueling conflicts and decadents of democratic norms in foreign lands like Nigeria. The US justifies the creation of AFRICOM as critical in bring about African peace and development. However, the US military policy to Africa as it is unfolding itself in Nigeria is largely crafted to carter for economic needs of America which is basically to guarantee a continuous flow of resources from Africa to the US with limited disruptions. Therefore, American military policy seeks to maximize economic gains just like the foreign policy of any other state since states are self interested entities in international relations. In order to realize the fore-named goal the US has used mechanism like the FMF, IMET, arms sales as well as other programs to buy the loyalty of the Nigerian government in-order to ascertain its

energy security concerns. The overall goal of the US military policy is to maximize economic benefits as well as exerting and sustaining US global Hegemony.

CHAPTER4: THE EFFICACY OF US MILITARY POLICY TO AFRICA

4.1 Introduction

This chapter emphatically looks at the US military policy to Nigeria and the implications of its military policy to Africa as a whole. This chapter made use of in-depth interviews and different views points were obtained from seven key informants based in various organizations like the Zimbabwean Foreign Affairs Department, the US Embassy officials and The Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA). Major themes raised in this research includes the controversy over the US war against terrorism, American hegemonic tendencies, American support of repressive regimes in Africa and the significance of the US military financing programs in relationship with the growing pursuit of a crystallized American hegemony in Africa. Lastly, the chapter deals with the consequences of the American military policy to Nigeria and the African continent as a whole. However, from the major findings of this research, the US foreign military policy to Africa as reflected by its activities in Nigeria remains controversial and most states including Nigeria itself has expressed skepticism towards the US military policy under the guise of AFRICOM. This has culminated in a lot of debate pertaining to the sincerity of the program leading to diverse views among scholars and this is also inherent in the sample used in this enquiry.

4.2 AFRICOM: The Panacea to African Peace?

The US military foreign policy to Africa has mainly taken the shape of military partnerships with African states for the attainment of collective interests of both the US and Africa. These partnerships are aimed at improving efficiency and efficacy of African militaries. Mutamangira who is an official in the Zimbabwean Foreign Affairs Department articulated that, “The US military policy through AFRICOM initiatives are mainly centered towards strengthening African militaries through military to military training programs as well as providing funds and arms to individual African nation states which the US may deem necessary.” The US is mainly carrying out these military programs to suppress militant activities and extremism of groups such as Boko Haram in Nigeria, Lord Resistance Army and AMI in North among other groups across Africa. One respondent from the Nigerian Embassy explained that, these groups have a destabilizing effect in the region, and at the same time they directly infringe on American interests in the continent as they disturb its economic activities hence pressuring the US to take measures against such groups. Thus, it can be argued that, AFRICOM is mainly driven by the desire to protect

American interests and survival of the US through repealing of threats posed by terrorism to avoid the recurrence of 9/11. The implication is that, at the core of American military policy to Africa is the issue of economic interests, fighting terrorism and other issues may then follow.

At the core of the US military policy to Nigeria is the desire to maximize economic gains through the creation of a conducive environment to its economic activities. One respondent from the Zimbabwean Foreign Affairs Department explained that, "...from which ever dimension you want to consider US foreign relations with Nigeria, it all goes back to issues of economic gains." The US therefore seeks to promote and protect its economic interests through military means in Nigeria and in Africa as a whole by protecting oil and other industrial installations, trade routes and guaranteeing an undisturbed flow of natural resources from Africa to the US. Issues of economic benefits are at the core of American military policy particularly its energy security concern. "The US normally does not involve itself in wars or issues it does not benefit from..." explained Mutamangira. The implication is that, US interests in Nigeria are high and these interests are influencing the US to behave in the manner it is doing. However, one respondent from the US embassy pointed out that, such allegations labeled against the US are not conclusive of the US actions in Africa, "but the US as the super power has the obligation and responsibility to protect the vulnerable; at the same time promoting peace and development globally." Thus, AFRICOM is there in Africa for important purposes like fighting against terror, training African militaries for sustainable peace to thrive and for developmental issues and not merely to enhance American economic interests. This shows that the US obligations in Africa are multi dimensional and a holistic approach needs to be used in-order to comprehensively appreciate American initiatives under the auspices of AFRICOM.

The formation of AFRICOM as a means to help create peace and stability in Africa through training and helping African militaries to repeal threats in the region has not been embraced by some sectors of the African society as noble. One respondent from the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) pointed out that, "The US is good at creating proxy forces." The implication is that the US recruits and trains groups which destabilizes states for it to justify its military intervention in the name of suppressing these groups. Thus, the US creates these proxy forces for it to justify its military intervention in-order to gain access to other states' natural resources. His explanation tallies with the assertion posed by Engdahl(2013) that the Libyan revolt was spearheaded by LIFG

which was trained by the US and had American support throughout the entire process of toppling Qaddafi despite the fact that LIFG had formally joined with Al-Qaeda Islamic Malgreb (AQIM) which the US regards as a terrorist group. This vividly reflects how controversial the US policy towards Africa is, as the US is mainly concerned with attainment of its political and economic goals in Africa. African states should be cautious when engaging with the US and carefully select principles of AFRICOM that will be beneficial in the long run and not merely accept everything, as AFRICOM could prove to be a threat to the continent.

To further elaborate the above point of view, one respondent from the Foreign Affairs Department pointed out that, before accepting and integrating AFRICOM as Africa's partner, one should start by analyzing American military policy elsewhere then contextualize it to Africa. The idea is hinged on the notion of transferability of outcomes. The official from the ZNA pointed out that, "The US is mainly after natural resources particularly oil; he stressed that, when the US invaded Iraq it took over the administration in Baghdad and simultaneously took over the Oil terminal. Similarly in Libya the US went for Tripoli and took over administrative functions and at the same time took over Benghazi which is the oil terminal." So the US behavior in that respect is systematic and predictable. It takes over political control in-order to put a regime or government loyal to its calls at the same time takes over control of important strategic pillars of the economy for its benefit, in this case which is the oil industry; which is its real motive for intervening. Thus, the respondent from the ZNA postulated that, the US which desires African oil could also do the same in Nigeria; hence Nigeria had to make well calculated moves to protect its sovereignty to avoid ending up in a similar tragedy typical of the Iraqi and Libya. This greatly shows how American policy to Africa can be disastrous and that Nigeria should be careful as it seeks American aid to deal with the issues of terror that is being perpetrated by Boko Haram.

4.3 American Hegemonic Tendencies in Nigeria

The US seeks to maintain its grip as the uncontested global power; it seeks to achieve this end through the use of its unified commands which are spread through-out the globe. Thus, the US has created these commands for systematic control of global issues as each command is charged with regulating issues essentially within its sphere of influence. Mutamangira pointed out that, AFRICOM reflects the US quest to dominate and control activities in Africa in the same fashion as other unified commands like PACOM and EUCOM which regulate activities in their

respective areas of responsibility. According to one respondent from the Nigerian embassy, Africa is the second largest continent in the world in terms of the population and has the potential of becoming the richest continent in the world as it is endowed with vast natural resources. That is why the US has taken strides to exert influence and reduce competition particularly in Nigeria where its energy security concerns are vested. Thus, the US is exerting its influence in Nigeria and the rest of the continent for strategic advantage, as resources like oil will ultimately have a bearing on its global superiority as most scholars have pointed out that US global hegemony is largely dependent on oil.

The Nigerian government has sort to continuously benefit from military programs offered by the US and in order to do so, the Nigerian government has in some instances crafted policies that conforms to the conditions specified by the former. In that same fashion, hegemonial tendencies are spread across Africa as African states have to behave in a certain manner consistent with the dictates of bigger powers in order to qualify for special benefits. The US is spreading its influence in Nigeria through offering lucrative military aid programs under the auspices of IMET, FMF as well as other military training programs. Thus, the US is hegemonising Africa using its military policy for its economic advantage as it seeks to benefit from the vast natural resources endowed by the continent. Mutamangira points out that the US is spreading its hegemony to repel Chinese influence which is rapidly spreading in Africa, as China has become the largest trading partner of Africa. One respondent from the Nigerian embassy said that, Nigeria is endowed with vast oil as well as gas reserves and other special metals which explains why there is competition between the US and China to gain and maintain access to these precious resource. His point of view carries weight noting that China acquired 45% of offshore oil stakes in Nigeria yet Nigeria is the largest oil supplier to the US in Africa. The implication is that, the US energy security concerns are under a serious threat and the best way to repeal such threats is to subject African states to its influence in-order to effectively harness economic benefits and the US has sought to do so through the creation of a unified Africa command which guards and protects it interest in the region.

The, US also seeks to exert its hegemony through imparting its ideology to Nigeria and other African states. “The IMET indoctrinates African military personnel to side with American way of thinking,” explains the respondent from the ZNA. Therefore, African officers would then

introduce American ideologies into their armies and consequently American kind of thinking is propagated into the system, such that it becomes easy for the US to control African governments. That is the major reason why the US is so keen to keep on carrying out military to military training programs, as this would help it to main a grip on the continent. This explains why the US is willing to help Nigeria to deal with the crisis of terrorism and carrying out military training programs and ultimately with the desire to continuously enjoy oil deals it has with Nigeria. Therefore, one can conclude that the hegemonic tendencies being spread in Africa by the US are aimed at maximization of economic benefits, especially ascertaining energy security concerns.

4.4 Controversy Over the War against Terrorism

The respondents unanimously agreed that terrorism is an undesirable scenario which all states should unite and fight against. However, views differed on the procedural aspect, that is, on how exactly to go about combating terror in relation to military partnerships with the American government. One respondent from the Nigerian Embassy pointed out that, American support was essential in dealing with terrorism in Nigeria as the situation is getting out of hand, of concern, he noted the kidnapping of school girls, foreigners and the continuous bombings and killings of innocent civilians. However, though the US military support is important in combating terror, the initiations should not be on American terms; rather African states should draw their road map in dealing with terror upon which the US military initiatives should be circumscribed. The respondent from American Embassy concurred with the above idea pointing out that, “The US has considerable experience and techniques in dealing with terrorism hence the US military initiatives under AFRICOM could help the Nigerian government to address the situation.” Both views show how the US is an important actor in combating terrorism and the Nigerian government has the obligation just like any other African states to learn and appreciate the techniques essential in fighting against terror. However, in a diverging view, one respondent from the Chinese embassy pointed out that, “The war on terror has never been successful and is still on-going in Afghanistan where it started more than a decade ago hence the war on terror was not going to bring a significant end of terrorism in Nigeria or any other African state bedeviled by terrorism.”Mutamangira pointed out that the US military policy in Nigeria is likely to worsen the situation if the US was to increase its military personnel on the ground in the name of combating terror. Thus, the two last respondents were of the opinion that if the American foreign military

policy to Africa was to be significant in combating terrorism, the US could help by training African armies and providing military equipment and not by increasing the number of American personnel on African soils as this might fuel the conflict.

Moreover, the war on terror and the American military policy in its entirety is said to have a destabilizing effect. One respondent from the Zimbabwe Foreign Affairs Department stated that, “Nigeria should be careful when engaging with the US military particularly in the war against terror because generally the US military policy often leaves states in shambles and unstable, for instance Iraq, Afghanistan and even Libya, have not been politically stable ever since the US stepped its feet on the forenamed state’s soils.” From that point of view, American military foreign policy to Africa remains a major threat to peace and stability to the continent since history has it that American military activities in foreign lands has failed to create pillars of sustainable peace but rather leaves states in a chaotic state. Responding to the above assertion, the respondent from the American Embassy actually mentioned that, the American war on terror had its own successes as the US had managed to do away with prominent terrorists like Osama Bin Laden, but the major challenge with this war was that, terrorists could not be readily identified like troops of a conventional army; difficulty in identification therefore prolongs the war. She concluded that if states could unite in the fight against terrorism, the problem could probably be curtailed. Thus, American military foreign policy to Africa could prove to be a solution to curbing terrorism if African states could effectively cooperate with the US in dealing with the problem, since AFRICOM was created to make Africa a safer and progressive continent in terms of peace, stability and development.

One respondent from the Zimbabwean Foreign Affairs Department explained that in the fight against terror in Africa, it is important for African states themselves to be actively involved in combating terror. The war against terrorism should not be carried out by the US alone but the African Union and sub-regional organizations like ECOWAS should also clock escalation of violence in their areas of responsibility. He applauded the on-going move in which a number of West African countries joined hands and declared war against Boko Haram. The respondent from the ZNA explained that in January, Chad formally joined with Cameroon and Nigeria to fight against Boko Haram. Such efforts are important as they create African solidarity, coupled with

the US military support the effort could therefore prove to be effective and could also demystify the myths about AFRICOM's motives in Africa.

After having critically analyzed the procedural aspect on the implementation of the war on terror, the last aspect to look at was why the war on terror is mostly fought in oil rich states? In response to that, Mutamangira pointed out that the US which has long polished the art of intervention, is now using the war on terror as a means to gain access to other states' resources such as oil and that is why today the war on terror is being fought in Nigeria as it is being carried in the Middle Eastern states. Thus, it can be argued that the US is using the war on terror to realize its energy security concerns as it is carrying out its prolonged wars while at the same time facilitating the extraction and protecting oil installations for its benefit. This reflects how American military policy is directly crafted to facilitate and support its economic policy and therefore the two are mutually reinforcing, that is the war on terror and American oil lobby.

Responding to this similar question, the respondent from the US embassy actually pointed out that such allegations were inaccurate and remained unfounded. Rather, resource curse was fueling the growth of extremism and discontentment as corruption and mismanagement of proceeds from oil was often a characteristic in most oil rich nations which are still less developed. Only a few elites benefited from the oil industry while the bulk of the population suffered resulting in extremism and violent groups militating against the government and in most instances would demonstrate their discontentment through calling for reforms by instilling fear and killing innocent civilians. She also pointed out that, religion was also a cause of terrorism for instance in Nigeria where radical Islamists were hoping to take over state control and do away with Christianity since they believed the government was corrupt and the World would be a better place if it were in Islamic control. Hence, such groups militate against democratically elected governments and they seek to realize their goals using force and terrorizing civilians who do not conform to their beliefs. All these factors contributed to American military intervention in these states to contain the situation through military partnerships with incumbent governments in these states as the US is doing with the Nigerian government. In most instances, conflict over proceeds from oil sales leads to these clashes and in some instance oil proceeds are used to fund terrorism as has been the case in Afghanistan and Iraq forcing the US to react. Hence, the US

military foreign policy to Africa seeks to fight against such tendencies and make Africa a safe haven for investment.

4.5 American Support of Repressive Regimes in Africa

The US has also been criticized a number of times for aiding repressive regimes in Africa. Denying these allegations, one respondent from the US Embassy said that, “The Obama administration has refused to offer military equipment to the Nigerian government citing issues of human rights violations.” Thus, even in the campaign against terror the US has refused to offer ammunition to the Nigerian government as its state security agents have been criticized for committing extra judicial killings on a number of occasions resulting in gross human rights violations. The Obama administration is taking a new twist from its predecessors who offered military equipment to Nigeria for the purposes of securitizing oil without considering issues of human rights. The respondent from the US embassy concurred with Mutamangira that, “Nigeria has a military elite that controls politics and at the same time the elite also represents business community,” such that its politicians have become so rich while the populace languishes in poverty. Thus, no clear demarcation can be drawn from the Nigerian military elite, politicians and business people. The elite is profiteering from exportation of oil and using the military to suppress opposing voices. Considering such issues, the Obama Administration has therefore refused to offer military equipment for any purpose to the Nigerian government. However, controversy still surrounds US actions in Nigeria. Despite noting human rights abuse and corrupt elite, the US has still maintained military ties with Nigeria conducting military training programs. Thus, the US has failed to distance itself from repressive regimes as it still offers military funding through the IMET and FMF programs to such repressive regimes like the Nigerian government. This has been attributed to its desire to enhance its energy security concerns. Therefore, the US activities in Africa shows that the US interests comes first as the US military policy to Africa is mainly concerned with maximizing US interest.

The US has half-heartedly pressured the Nigerian government to craft strong development oriented policies that militate against corruption and mismanagement of public funds and this reflects how controversial the US military policy to Africa is in general. This is reflected by the fact that the US normally punishes states that it characterizes as undemocratic and corrupt through sanctions or other punitive measure to make such states reforms as it did to Zimbabwe

and Cuba among other states, but it has been a different case for Nigeria. Despite the fact that the US has criticized Nigeria a number of times, it has maintained economic and political ties without reservation for its economic benefit. The US has thus, connived with the Nigerian government to squash and suppress demonstrations in the Delta for it to maximize oil gains without assessing the real problem causing the instability and even if the US is aware of the real problems in the delta, it has failed to significantly pressure the Nigerian government to address such issues. One respondent from the Chinese embassy pointed out that, “The law of the jungle applies largely in the Niger delta, where activities are dilapidating almost to the Hobbesian state of nature where there is “war of all against all” and the system is chaotic in nature. This is depicted by the radical activities that characterize the Delta as militant groups destabilize the southern part of Nigeria. The end result is a fight for individual survival by the general public as they also steal oil from pipe lines in the same manner as militant groups and the conflict does not seem to be ending anytime soon. The forenamed Chinese embassy respondent pointed out that the weak regulatory framework was a direct cause to this unending conflict. He pointed out that, “The government of Nigeria is making millions of dollars every year, and the oil companies are gaining immensely from this set up while the people in the Delta are poverty stricken.” This condition has forced the Niger Delta populace to react in the manner it is, that is, carrying-out disruptive activities to the extraction and exportation of oil as they are not benefiting from the process. “There are no significant schools and hospitals, the infrastructure development is poor and the people live in poles and mud houses,” says the official from the Zimbabwean Foreign Affairs Department. The government failed to create development oriented policies that would benefit the Niger Delta and has constantly relied on the use of force using military equipment provided to the regime by the US. The US military policy which is mainly concerned with gaining from Nigerian oil wells has indirectly supported the Nigerian government in its resort to use force by constantly financing Nigeria through its FMF program to suppress demonstrations and anti government activities in the Niger.

In support of the above idea, Mutamangira pointed out at the occasion when the US secretary of state Hillary Clinton visited Nigeria in 1999 and promised the Nigerian government more arms to be used in the Niger Delta as a clear indication of American hypocrisy as the US deliberately supports tyrannical and repressive regimes if it was in its interest to do so while turning a blind eye on democratic concerns. These arms have resulted in very high death toll annually as the

Nigerian government brutally kills protestors in the act of suppressing protests and demonstrations. The US selfishly provide these arms for its economic interests to be maximized in the Delta, that is acquiring oil without significantly considering development of the region and the plight of the people in the Niger Delta. One respondent from the Zimbabwean Foreign Affairs Department went on to question, “How then is AFRICOM said to have one of its objectives as development oriented while it has only managed to militarize the Delta without creating concrete pillars of sustainable development as it purport to do in Africa?” If AFRICOM genuinely wanted to forester development, peace and tranquility in Africa as it purports to do, it should have first and foremost come up with measures to develop the Niger Delta instead of merely providing more arms for its own advantage. This vividly shows that AFRICOM is simply there to enhance American interests and merely not to benefit Africa as it is portrayed by its makers. In a diverging view, one respondent from the American embassy pointed out that, the lack of development in the Niger Delta is not a problem of the US, instead American oil companies like shell have tried to donate millions of dollars for development in the Delta but however support from the society itself lacked and at times corruption from government officials has resulted in the embezzlement of these funds leading to the failure of these development aid initiatives. Therefore, poor government policies were cited as a major weakness fueling political instability in the Niger Delta as the Nigerian government has failed to provide a framework for development to its citizenry despite generating large sums of money every year from oil revenue.

4.6 Consequences of American Foreign Military Policy in Nigeria

The US military policy to Africa has diverse effects. Mutamangira stated that the US military policy to Nigeria can go a long way in strengthening the Nigerian army and increase its effectiveness in dealing with BokoHarram. He only expressed discontent over gross human rights violations by the Nigerian army in the southern part of that country. One respondent from the US Embassy pointed out that reports has shown thatBokoHarram is better equipped than the Nigerian army which renders the Nigeria army weak in hunting down the former.Boko Haram is better equipped because it gets reinforcements from other prominent terrorist groups. The US military sales programs and other special donations could help strengthen the Nigerian force and make them effective in dealing with Boko Haram. Commenting on the human rights violations, the respondent from the US Embassy said that the US conducts education on human rights through

the IMET and Nigeria is part of it, therefore such issues could be addressed through such programs. Thus, the US military policy to Africa could prove to be beneficial to the continent as it is endowed with dynamic issues ranging from human rights, democratic, combating terrorism as well as issues to enhance development.

However, one respondent from the Foreign Affairs Department actually said that, African states had to be careful when engaging with the Americans. “AFRICOM is a program that could possibly enhance neo-colonialism so Africans had to protect their sovereignty.” Such allegations are labeled against the US following the formation of AFRICOM where, “African states were never consulted but the set up was just imposed on them...” articulated Mutamangira. Hence Africans should engage with US Africa command with caution as its real motives still remains unclear and uncertain. That is the major reason why AFRICOM is not headquartered on African soils as most African states remain skeptical of its real motives. Nigeria itself rejected the idea of having an AFRICOM base on its soils, despite having strong military ties with US which also reflects how Nigeria is skeptical of AFRICOM. The respondent from the US embassy said that, the motives of AFRICOM are clear, as they are well articulated on the objectives of the organization and she said “...of course besides fighting terrorism, the US also seeks to create conducive environment to enhance its trade and other business activities and that was desirable for Africa as well since this would increase investment for the continent not only from the US but other major players in global politics; but such issues of neo-colonialism were archaic and unrealistic.” Thus, the issue pertaining to the real motives of AFRICOM remains a controversial one and that explains why states have not been readily welcomed AFRICOM though participation has gradually increased over the years.

4.7 Conclusion

In a nutshell, the above findings reflect how controversial the US military policy to Africa is; there is no general consensus on the sincerity of the US military policy to Africa as well as its implications for the continent. Application of norms is selective and the militarization of the continent could fuel the use of arms and consequently more violence. The US has continuously supported Nigeria despite its deplorable human rights records which have led many to conclude that the US is after Nigerian oil as it seeks to shift its oil dependency from the Middle East. In general, African states are skeptical of AFRICOM initiatives and mixed views have been

expressed over US military activities in Nigeria. Therefore, one can conclude that the US is using its military capacity and economic might for bargain purposes to continually benefit from Nigerian oil reserves.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This Chapter deals with the conclusions and recommendations of the issues raised in the foregoing analysis. Conclusions were arrived at, after information obtained from documentary search and major findings from in-depth interviews was analyzed. The data obtained excavated a number of loopholes of the US military policy to Africa, and it is upon this data that recommendations to this study are premised. Recommendations were basically crafted focusing on a few areas that need to be revised in order to improve the efficacy of the US military partnership with Africa. Implications for further research is the last aspect of this dissertation, which explores other areas propping up from the main issues which could warrant a follow up research after this study.

5.2 Recommendations

African states are basically skeptical of the US military policy under the auspices of AFRICOM. This research has identified a number of areas that need to be improved in-order to make AFRICOM effective and universally acceptable to African states as a partner to peace building and peacekeeping. Firstly, the US needs to be objective in order to eliminate selectivity in the application of international norms. The US has tended to condemn authoritarian regimes on one hand while dining with others on the other. This policy of selectivity is mainly guided by the US desire to maximize economic benefits as the research has found. However, such double standards have rendered the US military policy weak and undesirable to Africa as its real motives becomes questionable. This point is valid as this research has found out that some of the African states which have received US military funding, which have also qualified as part of top 10 oil suppliers to the US are repressive regimes and these include Nigeria and Angola; despite the fact that the US purports to distance itself from repressive regimes in general. This has driven some scholars to conclude that the US is after oil and natural resources in Africa. Basically this has created resentment and skepticism of AFRICOM. Hence, the US needs to standardize its principles and be objectives when it comes to application of international norms as this may help justify on the sincerity of its initiatives. This will make more states open up and generally accept AFRICOM as an important partner in the continent.

Another important aspect of AFRICOM which requires to be reformed is its initiatives directed towards fighting against terror. For the US to curb terrorism with a considerable degree of success in Africa, it should introduce systematic training sessions of African militaries both for a single state (that is engage with one country at a time) since the environment and the context in which terrorism is occurring differs from one state to the other and collectively at sub-regional levels, for instance it would set a limited number of troops from each country from ECOWAS members and train them all in a single session. If resources permit then move on to the next sub-region like SADC until it covers the entire continent. This would help to create a bond and strong military partnerships for working together between and among African states in the fight against terrorism since such a problem requires a collective action of states in-order to combat terror which is spreading at an alarming rate in Africa. This view carries weight as the on-going activities in Nigeria has proved that, sole Nigerian action to combat terrorism is failing; hence other African states could intervene to aid Nigeria in a bid to fight against terrorism in that country and to mitigate the spread of terrorism to other African countries. More-so, the African Union (AU) should be strongly involved in the process since it is the main body charged with maintenance of peace and security in the continent. Therefore, the AU involvement would help to demystify the controversy that surrounds the US military activities in the continent and would make the entire process transparent and eventually may boost confidence of African states towards joining American initiatives.

A more serious problem crippling the Nigerian army in its quest to hunt down Boko Haram is weak ammunition. From the foregoing analysis, this research has found out that Boko Haram is better equipped than the Nigerian defense forces which is making the Nigerian troops ineffective in containing the group. The US has refused to help Nigeria with military equipment because of poor human rights record BBC (2014). Despite having deplorable records of human rights; the US should help Nigeria with better military equipment in order to be able to fight against the fore named terrorist group which has devastated the Northern part of Nigeria. The US could provide Nigeria with sophisticated weaponry like automated guns and maybe access to satellite tracking if the Nigerian force is to successfully fight against terrorism. In-order to deal with issues of extra judicial killings which are perpetrated by the Nigerian army, the US could send a very small number of its personnel to be part of the team which will move around in the search of

Boko Haram to monitor human rights issues; this might help in the reduction of the Human rights abuse.

Moreover, the Nigerian army requires support from the civil society in order to combating terrorism in Nigeria. Basically the civil society plays various roles ranging from advocacy, educating the public and lobbying the state to do certain things among other roles. The civil society needs to play a key role in rallying for the support of the international community and other important actors in the international system to help the Nigeria army financially and with the equipment requisite in dealing with Boko Haram. Furthermore, the Northern part of Nigeria which is basically occupied by Muslims which happens to be the hub of terroristic activities perpetrated by Boko Haram requires a pro-active and aggregated civil society role in educating the Muslim society on the etiquettes of religious tolerance. The civil society cannot carry out such an action on its own but they need the backing of the Nigerian army for protection in the violent Northern part of Nigeria. The Islamic fundamentalism teachings fuel such terroristic activities as those spearheaded by Boko Haram, therefore a pro-active approach could yield attitude change in the long run as radical Muslims would appreciate the importance of peace in bringing about development. Most importantly, the civil society could target children to create attitude change in their mindset which might have a strong bearing on the future of Nigerian society. The US and the international community should therefore add more funding to the civil society for it to effectively play the forenamed roles which could prove to be the solution to Nigerian instability though this is a long term approach to creating peace which does not yield instant results.

The Nigerian government has been criticized for being corrupt, and its corruption has been attributed to be one of the direct causes of the conflict in the Delta and most importantly terrorist insurrection which justifies its existence in the name of toppling the corrupt government which it believes though democratically elected, is sustained by the US. The US should pressure the Nigerian government to build pillars of sustainable development in the Niger Delta as the entire Southern part of Nigeria has largely remained very poor and under developed regardless of the fact that it is the hub of Nigerian economy as it is endowed with vast oil reserves. The Elite which forms part of the military, also holds the political office at the same time being the business people which means almost all the important economic activities in Nigeria revolves

around them hence there is a great disparity between the poor and the rich. The US should therefore, pressure the Nigerian government to fight against corruption and misuse of public funds which has become rampant in the system. The government should put in place transparent mechanisms in the distribution of public funds especially oil proceeds, and channel these funds towards constituency development. The US could make use of sanctions targeting the officials or the states itself as a way of pressuring the officials to improve. However, because of its interest in Nigerian oil the US has turned a blind eye to democratic issues leading to decay and worsening of democracy. The half hearted effort to call for reforms in the Nigerian governance system has resulted in the conflict which is often associated with resource curse that has ravaged Nigeria.

Lastly, though the US has supported the Nigerian government through military to military training programs, financial military aid and procurement of military equipment; that alone has proved to be ineffective in combating terrorism in Nigeria. The US needs to implement a radical approach in thwarting terrorism in Nigeria since terrorist do not usually cooperate when diplomacy is used. Capturing of the leaders of Boko Haram and putting them to justice could somehow prove to be important in reducing the activities of Boko Haram. Of which the Nigerian army own its own cannot play such a role effectively, therefore physical American military backing is required in carrying out such a radical move which could prove to be a solution to the political instability in Nigeria.

5.3 Conclusions

The Evolution of US military policy to Africa particularly the formation of AFRICOM reflects how Africa has become of strategic importance to the US. This radical policy is influenced primarily by the desire to realize American energy security concerns which is critical for the sustenance of the US' large industrialized economy and for the sustenance of its global hegemony. Africa increasingly became important in the post 2000 era as the US seeks to diversify its oil dependence from the Middle East which it renders unstable and volatile hence expensive in terms of human capital as thousands of American lives perishes in that region annually. Therefore, Africa has proven to be an important alternative as it is relatively peaceful than the Middle East. To attain that goal the US has made use of various initiatives such FMF and IMET through its military to lure African states ideologically. Closely knit to its energy security concerns is the war on terror which some scholars have described as a means through which the

US is using to gain access to other states resources. The US policy to Africa has been presented by its makers as a way of helping to create peace and fight terror in Africa at the same time creating pillars for sustainable development. African states however, have not welcomed this development as they were never consulted during the formation of AFRICOM hence they have remained skeptical of its real motives and that explains why AFRICOM is not stationed on African soils. More-so certain comments from American military personnel have reflected how AFRICOM is designed to serve American interest in the continent, though officially the US has denounced such views as inaccurate.

Fundamentally, one can conclude that AFRICOM is meant to spread American influence in Africa thus exerting the US hegemony while repealing Chinese influence. Theoretically, the US behavior is explained by offensive realism where the US is acting to maximize its economic gains, ensure state survival and security of the state as envisaged in the foregoing analysis. In its quest to maximize economic benefits the US has engaged with Nigeria which happens to be its biggest oil exporter despite criticisms of human rights violations labeled against the later. The extremists behind Boko Haram claim that the Nigerian government is corrupt and is sustained by the US hence they seek to carry-out their disturbing activities in-order to over throw the government and replace it with a more responsible Muslim government. This is mainly the issue that has caused the instability in the Northern part of Nigeria compounded by religious intolerance. In the Southern part, the problems are not very different from those in the Northern part; the Niger Delta also seeks to benefit from the oil proceeds in-order to address the issue of under development since the government has failed for many years to deal with that issue. The MEND has mainly championed organized protests to have grievances of people in the Delta addressed. However, the US has not embraced these radical activities as well as public protest which have affected the overall oil output and supplies to the US, hence the US has militarily supported its interest in the Delta by providing weapons to the Nigerian government to be used in the Niger Delta to deal with the insurgence and other disturbing activities. It is this US military policy to Africa that has created controversy as it has become clear that the US in worst case scenario is ready to use its military power under the auspices of AFRICOM to realize its interests at the detriment of African peace. In a nutshell, Africa has not welcomed AFRICOM initiatives on African soils, as they seek to defend their territorial sovereignty and integrity and guard against the new wave of the “scramble of Africa.”

5.4 Implications for Further Research

This research has discussed how the US is using its military capacity to further its economic interest and to hegemonise Africa. The follow up research to this study would critically look at what African states should do to promote common interests and development without much external influence in domestic issues. The research would look into how Africa can use uniform policies to standardize trade in the continent with the ultimate aim of developing the continent with limited external influence while promoting human security and peace.

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