

**POST-COLD WAR FOREIGN POLICY OF THE U.S. IN WEST AFRICA: A
CASE STUDY OF GHANA AND NIGERIA.**

BY

AHMED IDDRIS

(10273992)

**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA,
LEGON IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE AWARD OF MPhil POLITICAL SCIENCE DEGREE**

OCTOBER 2020

DECLARATION

I, Ahmed Iddris, hereby declare that this Master of Philosophy (MPhil) thesis submitted to the department of Political Science of the University of Ghana is my own original work. This work is not made up of any material that has been previously published or materials that has been endorsed by an institution for the award of any other degree. Sources of materials consulted in this study have been duly cited and duly acknowledged.



AHMED IDDRIS

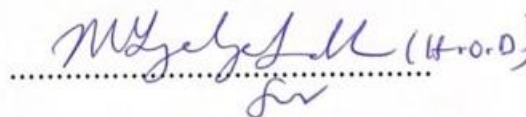
DATE: 20/10/2020



PROF. KWAME BOAFO-ARTHUR

Principal Supervisor

Date: 20/10/2020



DR. NENE- LOMOTEY KUDITCHAR

Co- Supervisor

Date: 30/10/2020

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my parents Alhaji Ahmed Abdul Karim and Hajia Bilkiss Iddris. Also to my siblings, Fawaz Ahmed, Ibrahim Ahmed, Firdaus Ahmed and Adiza Ahmed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I express my sincere gratitude to the almighty Allah for my life and for giving me the strength and knowledge needed to go through this work successfully.

I also wish to acknowledge and thank my supervisors, Prof. Kwame Boafo-Arthur and Dr. Nene Lomotey Kuditchar. I owe them my deepest gratitude for their supervisions, critique and corrections especially, their concise and insightful comments on the various chapters of this work. To the Head of Department of Political Science, I remain grateful to you for your necessary support. Again, my sincere thanks and appreciation go to all the lecturers at the Political Science Department for your direct impact in my life.

Furthermore, I would also like to thank warmly the academics and experts that contributed their expertise and input, by agreeing to be interviewed or providing materials or insights. Finally, to my friends and course mates, I say a very big thank you for the distinct roles you played in getting this work done.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	ii
DEDICATION	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	v
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	viii
ABSTRACT.....	xi
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION	1
BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY	1
1.2. STATEMENT OF RESEARCH PROBLEM	4
1.3. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES.	5
1.4. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY	6
1.5. ORGANIZATION OF CHAPTERS.....	6
CHAPTER TWO	7
LITERATURE REVIEW	7
2.1 INTRODUCTION.....	7
2.2 UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY TOWARD AFRICA	8
2.3 UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY TOWARD WEST AFRICA.....	15
2.4. STRATEGIC INTERESTS OF UNITED STATES ON THE CONTINENT.....	22
2.5 CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY TOWARD AFRICA/WEST AFRICA.....	30
2.6 UNITED STATES - NIGERIA RELATIONS	37
2.7 UNITED STATES - GHANA RELATIONS	42
CHAPTER THREE	47
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	47

3.1 INTRODUCTION.....	47
3.2 OFFENSIVE REALISM.....	48
3.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	54
CHAPTER FOUR.....	55
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	55
4.2 APPROACH TO STUDY.....	55
4.3 DATA COLLECTION.....	57
4.4 FRAMEWORK FOR DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION	59
CHAPTER FIVE	60
DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION	60
5.1 INTRODUCTION.....	60
5.2 PARAMETERS OR TRENDS OF CHANGE IN POST-COLD WAR U.S. FOREIGN POLICY TOWARD WEST AFRICA	60
5.3 ECONOMIC INTEREST OF U.S. IN WEST AFRICA IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA	68
5.3.1 Nigeria.....	68
5.3.2 GHANA	73
5.4. SECURITY INTEREST OF U.S. IN WEST AFRICA IN THE POST-COLD WAR	77
5.4.1. NIGERIA	77
5.4.2 GHANA	82
5.5 THE PRESENCE OF CHINA AND OTHER ACTORS AFFECTING U.S. INTEREST IN WEST AFRICA	84
5.6 STRATEGIES ADOPTED BY THE U.S. TO HALT THE CREEPING RISE OF CHINA IN WEST AFRICA	88
CHAPTER SIX.....	92
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND.....	92

RECOMMENDATIONS	92
6.1 INTRODUCTION.....	92
6.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS	93
6.2.1 RESEARCH QUESTION 1:.....	93
6.2.2 RESEARCH QUESTION 2:.....	94
6.2.3 RESEARCH QUESTION 3:.....	95
6.3 CONCLUSION	95
6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS	96
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	98
APPENDICES	107
APPENDIX A.....	107

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACOTA:	African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance
ACRF:	African Crisis Response Force
ACRI:	African Crisis Response Initiative
AFRICOM:	African Command
AGOA:	African Growth and Opportunity Act
APS:	Africa Partnership Station
AMLEP:	Africa Maritime Law Enforcement Partnership
AQIM:	Al Qaeda in the Maghreb
BRICS:	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CIA:	Central Intelligence Agency
DOC:	Department of Commerce
DOD:	Department of Defense
DEA:	Drug Enforcement Agency
DTRT:	Dignity Do The Right Thing
FMF:	Foreign Military Financing
FOCAC:	Forum on China-Africa Cooperation
GAFCSC:	Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College

GOG:	Government of Ghana
GNPC:	Ghana National Petroleum Corporation
IMET:	International Military Education and Training
IMF:	International Monetary Fund
LECIAD:	Legon Center for International Affairs and Diplomacy
MCA:	Millennium Challenge Account
MCC:	Millennium Challenge Cooperation
MEND:	Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta
NDC:	National Democratic Congress
NDPVF:	Niger Delta People Volunteer Force
NDV:	Niger Delta Vigilante
NPP:	New Patriotic Party
PAC-DBIA	President's Advisory Council on Doing Business in Africa
SGI:	Security Governance Initiative
SOFA:	Status of Force Agreement
SOE:	State Own Enterprise
TSCTI:	Trans Sahar Counter Terrorism Initiative
TWN:	Third World Network

UN:	United Nations
USAID:	U.S. Agency for International Development
VOA:	Voice of America
WAGP:	West African Gas Pipeline Project
WTO:	World Trade Organization

ABSTRACT

U.S. foreign policy formulation and implementation is one of the complex political processes in America. Post-Cold War foreign policy of the U.S. towards the West African sub-region can be understood in the broad context of U.S. policy towards Africa. West African states were used as pawns during the Cold War between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. The sub-region is still of strategic importance to America in the Post-Cold War era.

Extant literature on U.S. foreign policy towards Africa focused on continuity. And this study seeks to find out in what ways the foreign policy of the U.S. in West Africa has undergone change after the end of the Cold War. Thus, it investigates the parameters or trends of change in Post-Cold War U.S. foreign policy in the sub-region. Also, it discovers the exact interests of U.S. and the strategies adopted by America to halt the creeping rise of China in West Africa.

Data collected from semi-structured interview and literatures were interpreted and analysed within the theoretical framework adopted by this study. That is Offensive Realism.

The study found out that the parameters or trends of change in Post-Cold War U.S. policy border around ideological, economic and security interests but the two major changes are economic and security interests. The study also revealed that the U.S. are using propaganda tools, soft diplomacy and hard power to halt the creeping rise of China's influence in West Africa. The study claims that U.S. foreign policy toward the sub-region changes on the basis current happenings in the international system in order to suit its interests

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

U.S. foreign policy formulation is one of the most complex and sometimes highly contentious political processes in the American government. But it becomes less contentious only when there is a national consensus between the Republicans and Democrats devoid of partisan politics and ideology. That is, U.S. African policy is based on bipartisanship. Foreign policymaking in the U.S. largely depends on the personal idiosyncrasies of the presidents. The president wields the power of making foreign policy under extraordinary limitations (Schraeder,1991). The department of states (D.O.S) and the secretary of state, are traditionally expected to be the president's foreign policy advisors and executioners (Mesfin, 2009). Congress, professionals, think tanks and experts in foreign policy decision making are also involved in policy making. The policy makers sometimes take into consideration the consent of the American citizenry before implementing some of the policies. The decision-makers in foreign policy are driven by national interest of U.S. in relation to Africa. Academic organizations, foreign lobbyists, private corporations, non-profit and human rights organizations sometimes do influence the substance of US Africa policies (Schraeder,1991).

Isolationism which is a policy of non- interference or non-intervention in the political or economic affairs of countries was a tradition in American foreign policy for its first two centuries (Encyclopedia Britannica). The first significant foreign intervention by the U.S. was the Spanish American war of 1898 where the U.S. occupied and controlled Philippines (ibid....). After the

second World War, U.S. foreign policy was characterized by interventionism where it was directly involved in the affairs of other states. The aim of every U.S. president has been to expand the American empire (Mangu, 2013). Although, America maintained a low profile engagement with the African continent, the department of state recognized the importance of the continent through the creation of Bureau of African Affairs. The end of the second World War also marked the beginning of ideological battle between America and the Soviet Union (Cold War). U.S. Cold War Africa policy was characterized by Containment of Communism.

Africa became a region of renewed interest for American elites after the Cold War (Kraxberger, 2005). The Post- Cold War era saw the U.S. clearly defined as the world super power and its African foreign policy was largely influenced by terrorism and the spread of democracy. The debacle of Somalia and the twin bombings of U.S. embassies in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi are glaring examples. According to Lawson (2007), the first transitional period of the immediate Post-Cold War U.S. policy towards Africa was characterized by a “New World Order” which involved U.S. positive engagement with the continent; the second period started with the pulling back of American forces in Somalia in early 1994; and the third period constituted the espousal of the rhetoric “African Solution to African Problem” in the first days of the second term of Clinton’s administration. The 9/11 terrorist attacks dramatically altered U.S. foreign policy under President G.W. Bush Jnr’s administration. The aftermath of the attack made the U.S. to rejig its policy of disengagement into an active involvement focused on fighting terrorism in Africa.

West Africa did not feature prominently in the U.S. Cold War geopolitics in the continent. Except for the high profile engagement in Liberia, the region was one of the less contested regions in the East-West ideological battle during the Cold War. U.S. foreign policy towards West Africa and Africa as a whole is complex and multi-faceted (Shai et al, 2017). Prior to the 9/11 attack, the sub-

region had little strategic value to the U.S. Although, the Clinton administration introduced initiatives like the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) and African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI), during its second term, the sub-region largely became of strategic importance to the U.S. during the presidencies of both G.W. Bush Jnr and Barack Obama. The recent U.S. engagement in the region under these presidents can be observed in four major focus areas; health diplomacy, development assistance, trade and military cooperation and assistance. President G.W. Bush launched the President Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), Millennium Challenge Cooperation (MCC), African Command (AFRICOM) and Pan Sahel Initiative (PSI). Obama continued with these initiatives and also introduced Power Africa and Trade Africa.

West Africa is envisaged to be one of the fastest growing sources of oil and gas for the American market because of the high quality (low sulfur) content of its oil. Hence, U.S. involvement in the region is to develop it as a supplier of energy and other resources, deny sanctuaries to terrorists and to halt the creeping rise of China (Ingram, 2007). Nigeria and Ghana are the two pivotal states in the sub-region which are largely of strategic importance to the U.S.

Nigeria-U.S. relations began in the 1960 and was driven by the U.S. policy of Containment and Nigeria's non-aligned posture (Ayam, 2008). It is the most populous country in the region and has a large market for U.S. products. However, it is plagued by the nefarious activities of "Boko Haram" in its northern parts and militants in the Niger Delta. Nigeria is the economic and military hegemon in the sub-region. The largest sources of U.S. oil imports in Africa is Nigeria, providing 8% of U.S. petroleum imports, a country where security is unsure (White, 2010). U.S. multinational oil and gas corporations like Chevron and Exxon Mobil are operating in Nigeria. But the rate of piracy, hijacking and oil bunkering is on the ascendency in the Niger delta.

On the other hand, Ghana-U.S. relation began in 1957 after it gained its independence from Great Britain and Ghana was the first country to receive U.S. Peace Corps Volunteers in 1961. Ghana in the Post- Cold war is characterized by political stability because of its democratic credentials, rule of law and regard for human rights. It is largely considered a vibrant democracy in West Africa taking into consideration the alternation of power between the two major political parties (NPP and NDC). It is one of the fastest growing economies in the world and oil was discovered in commercial quantities in 2007. American oil and Gas multinationals like Kosmos Energy, Halliburton, Baker Hughes, Schlumberger and ExxonMobil are also operating in Ghana.

The relationship between U.S. and these countries still exists and it is largely defined through the parameters of Washington because of the unequal power relations between these countries and Washington (Shai, Molapo and Sodi, 2017).

1.2. STATEMENT OF RESEARCH PROBLEM

The U.S. is a hegemonic power that has been in relationship with the states in West Africa (Akinwande,2014). The extent of U.S. engagement in Africa is determined by the strategic calculation of what the country stands to gain.

During the Cold War era, U.S. Africa policy was characterized by Containment of Soviet expansion. The aftermath of the Cold War also witnessed the disintegration and demise of the Soviet Union. Consequently, the Post-Cold War era saw the U.S. clearly defined as the world super power. This period also witnessed the creeping rise and influence of China as a potential competitor to the U.S. in Africa. China is gradually launching itself as a major external power in Africa and Sino-African trade has grown with breath-taking speed and amount to over \$ 70 billion USD (Mesfin,2009). Pham (2016), claimed that China surpassed America as Africa's largest

bilateral trading partner in 2009. China-Africa trade manifested itself in the major China-Africa conference in Beijing in 2006.

Extant literatures on Post-Cold War U.S. foreign policy towards Africa focus particularly on the continuity of the policy without looking at some aspects of change. Schraeder (1994), Shai et al (2016), argue that Post-Cold War U.S. foreign policy is still characterized by continuity regardless of the periodic change from the Republican Party to the Democratic Party and vice versa. Rochester (2008), also argues that U.S. interventionist behavior throughout the Post-Cold War era fell into similar pattern, even if the purpose were no longer Containment-oriented. Moreover, there are not sufficient and up to date academic literatures on U.S. foreign policy towards the two case studies (Ghana and Nigeria). Therefore, this research seeks to find out in what ways the foreign policy of the U.S. in West Africa has undergone change after the end of the Cold War.

1.3. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES.

- The overarching research objective is to identify and understand the parameters or trends of change in U.S. Post- Cold War foreign policy towards West Africa.
- To know the exact interests of U.S. in West Africa particularly, Ghana and Nigeria.
- To discover the strategies adopted by the U.S. to halt the creeping rise of China in West Africa.

1.4. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

- The research findings will contribute to guide and enhance the knowledge of leaders in the sub-region about U.S. foreign policy because of the continuous evolution of the policy.
- The research findings will contribute tremendously to the body of knowledge already in existence in the said area.

1.5. ORGANIZATION OF CHAPTERS

In terms of structure, this study is divided into six chapters.

Chapter one: This chapter consists of the introduction of the study, statement of research problem, research objectives and significance of the study.

Chapter two: This chapter focuses on reviewing relevant literature on U.S. foreign policy towards Africa.

Chapter three: The chapter constitutes the theoretical framework and the research questions.

Chapter four: This chapter consists of the research methodology.

Chapter five: This chapter consists of data analysis and discussion based on respondents' general views on the ways in which Post-Cold war U.S. foreign policy has undergone change.

Chapter six: The chapter presents the summary of research findings, conclusion and recommendations based on the outcome of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews relevant literature in the area of international relations and U.S. foreign policy toward Africa. The literature review examines the quintessential issues on U.S. foreign policy toward Africa and then reduce it to the Post-Cold War policy toward West Africa with special reference to Ghana and Nigeria. Therefore, the objective of the literature review is to analyze, assess and elucidate existing knowledge in the field of U.S. foreign policy toward Africa. Every literature review tends to share with the reader the results of other studies that are related to the one being studied; relate a study to the larger, ongoing dialogue in the literature, filling in the necessary literature gaps and extending prior studies (Cooper, 1984; Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Also “literature review furnishes a researcher a frame of reference for establishing the significance of the study as well as a standard for comparing the results with other findings” (Creswell, 2009:25)

The research explores Post-Cold War foreign policy of the U.S. in West Africa with a focus on Ghana and Nigeria. The literature review is categorized under the following themes or subheadings: U.S. foreign policy toward Africa; U.S. foreign policy toward West Africa; Change and Continuity in U.S. foreign policy toward Africa/West Africa; Strategic Interests of U.S. on the continent; Ghana-U.S. Relations; and Nigeria-U.S. Relations. It is to establish the relevance of the categorized subheadings to the study as well as the missing links the study is bringing.

2.2 UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY TOWARD AFRICA

It is a trite knowledge that American policy toward Africa is driven by the perceived interests of America in Africa. Despite the historic linkages between America and Africa, American policy toward Africa has in general been marked by indifference and neglect (Patman, 2008). Lawson (2007), agrees with Patman's assertion that Africa was swinging as a pawn in the Cold War between America and the Soviet Union. Patman and Lawson argued without stating the obvious reasons for the neglect of the continent by the U.S. but Mesfin (2009), attributed the neglect of the continent to the U.S. lacking a clear-cut interest in the continent as of that time and that has left Africa at the bottom of U.S. foreign policy concern. Although, Alden (2000), agrees with Patman on the issue of the neglect, he argues that the absence of colonial bond between U.S. and Africa in the 20th century as well as the dominance of Europeans in the continent set the parameters of American engagement with Africa. The parameters centered around commerce (oil), security and humanitarian intervention. These parameters are debatable as American interests on the continent as of that time are not glaring because of the neglect of the continent by America. Alden also asserted that there was the creation of a new American foreign policy toward Africa which is the product of the transmogrification of the international system in the wake of the end of the Cold War. Moreover, Van de Walle (2010), toe the line of argument of these scholars on the issue of indifference and neglect of the African continent by America. He claims that there has been difficulty in identifying the overarching national interests of the U.S. because of the perception of the top decision makers or the bureaucrats that Africa is of less strategic importance to the U.S. Thus, the absence of core U.S. interests during the Cold War and in the mid 1990's marked a low point in U.S. -Africa relations.

On the other hand, Schraeder (1994), posited that Africa has very often been treated as a foreign policy “backwater” in official foreign policy decision making ambience, compared to the time and resources allotted to other regions considered to be of greater significance to the U.S. However, he holds different opinion contrary to that of the scholars above by arguing that U.S. engagement with Africa did increase with the onset of the Cold War. Kraxberger (2005), also sides with Schraeder by claiming that American policymakers perceived Africa as a pivotal region in the search for client states in their ideological battle with the Soviet Union. Kraxberger further argues that the Cold War has led to a significant change in American foreign policy toward Africa. That is the introduction of containment policy in order to protect American interest as well as to prevent the spread of Communism in Africa. According to Schraeder (1994), the U.S. encounter with the Soviets was designed by two main object of American Post-War policy namely; anti-Socialism and a new strategy of national security that went beyond the concept of national defense. These two ideas, according to him, shaped U.S. foreign policy toward Africa in the Cold War. Lastly, Schraeder focused much on the horn of Africa and East Africa to the neglect of the other parts of the continent as he claims that the containment policy was visible and effective in these parts of Africa. i.e. Ethiopia, Djibouti, Eritrea and Somalia.

Schraeder’s book, *“United States Foreign Policy Toward Africa: Incrementalism, Crisis and Change”* offers a tremendous and distinctive analysis of historical evolution of American foreign policy toward Africa before the Cold War up to the early part of the Post-Cold War era. It also helps to examine the trends and patterns that have emerged in the African policy of the U.S. as a result of the role played by the U.S. policy making elites. However, his focus on the analysis of U.S.-African policy during the Cold War as well as the emergence of the Post-Cold War cannot provide a great deal of help in comprehending and elucidating the exact interest of America in

West Africa particularly, Ghana and Nigeria. Schraeder's neglect of the interests of America in these countries (Ghana and Nigeria) is the literature gap this study seeks to fill. Also, his work is limited by its scope of analysis and time frame as it was published in 1994.

According to Kraxberger (2005), Africa became a region of renewed interest for American elites after the Cold War but was largely of less strategic significance to the U.S. in the early part of the Post-Cold War. The aftermath of the Cold War tended to offer an exceptional opportunity for a policy of positive U.S. engagements with Africa (Patman, 2008). Kraxberger (2005) identified three distinctive features of the Post-Cold War era:

Firstly, there were no longer military confrontation of a system threatening kind. He also claimed that after 1989, a nuclear conflict between Washington and Moscow seemed inconceivable; secondly, America emerged from the Cold war as the world's superpower with no real geopolitical or ideological competitors; lastly, the Post-Cold War world was characterized by intense globalization.

It is palpably clear that the three features identified by Kraxberger signaled positive engagements of U.S. with Africa, but the first feature is debatable because of the proliferation of nuclear weapons as well as the establishment of American military bases in other parts of the world including Africa.

Kraxberger's article, *"The United States and Africa: Shifting Geopolitics in an Age of Terror"* helps to dig into American foreign policy decision makers' appraisal of Africa before and after 11 September 2001, and also to critically analyze how these appraisals have been transcribed into American foreign policy toward Africa. The article focuses on the altering appraisal of Africa by U.S. foreign policy elites. Therefore, the limitation of this article lies on its emphasis on the altering

assessments of Africa by American foreign policy elites. And this study seeks to build on these assessments of Africa by U.S. policy elites to assess how the U.S. policy toward Africa has undergone change in the Post-Cold War era.

Lawson (2007), also categorized the Post-Cold War era into three transitional periods; the first transitional period of the immediate Post-Cold War U.S. policy towards Africa was characterized by a “New World Order” which involved U.S. positive engagement with the continent it earlier on perceived to be of less significance to its national interest; the second period started with the pulling back of American forces in Somalia in early 1994 as a result of the debacle of Mogadishu where dead U.S. forces were dragged on the streets of Mogadishu; and the third period constituted the espousal of the rhetoric “African Solution to African Problem” in the first days of the second term of Clinton’s administration. She claims that the lesson from Somalia, Rwanda and Liberia made the U.S. to reverse its decision of direct engagement with African countries and resorted to the use of financial resources and human resources on the continent for conflict resolution, political reforms and transitions and economic development. Patman (2008), holds similar view with Lawson (2007) on her description of the third transitional period as he affirmed that the period of renewed but limited U.S. engagement in Africa began in the first year of Clinton’s second term of office.

Lawson’s article “*U.S. Africa Policy Since the Cold War: Strategic Insights*” provides an insightful and better understanding of the Post-Cold War transitional periods as well as the policies of the various American presidents in the Post-Cold War era. However, the limitation of her article lies in her failure to enumerate the parameters of change in Post-Cold War U.S. foreign policy toward West Africa which is the main objective of this study. Thus, this research seeks to fill the

academic gap in the literature by identifying and understanding the parameters of change in U.S. Post-Cold War policy towards West Africa which is the overarching objective of this research.

Moreover, on the issue of the renewed American interests in Africa in the Post-Cold War era, Kraxberger (2005) and Patman (2008) are of the view that the events of the 9/11 attack and the fear of states failure in Africa, acting as sanctuaries for terrorists triggered a renewed American interest in Africa. Thus, the aftermath of the attack made the US to rejig its policy of disengagement into an active engagement concentrated on fighting terrorism in Africa and protecting its interests. Patman (2008) is also of the view that, the creeping rise and influence of China in Africa and growing competition for African oil is further stimulating American renewed interests as China's engagement in Africa may challenge the longstanding dominance of U.S. in Africa. Van de Walle (2010), also argued that the event of the 9/11 attack made the U.S. to alter its African policy. Thus, the policymakers have altered their conception of national interest in the region. He used the creation of African Command (AFRICOM) to suggest a policy shift in U.S. Africa policy and the shift does not represent a paradigm shift in the policy. Although, U.S. foreign policy was largely characterized by continuity, the events of the 9/11 attack altered U.S. Africa policy which constitutes some form of discontinuity that has marked U.S. policy during the Bush administration (ibid...). Bush administration's initiatives were largely continuation of some of the policy of Clinton's administration.

On the other hand, Alden (2000) holds contrary opinion to Kraxberger and Patman, as he asserted that, the Clinton administration defined the terms of American engagement in the new international system as they related towards Africa. Thus, Clinton was the trailblazer in defining the new engagement with Africa in the Post-Cold War era by renewing American interest. Alden (2000),

identified three broad outlines of the U.S. Africa policy in the aftermath of the Clinton visit to the continent;

The first one is the new terms of American political engagement in Africa which was about the propagation of democracy in Africa; secondly, the changing terms of American trade and development assistance to Africa where initiative like the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) was introduced to support the African countries in their trade; and lastly securing the continent where the Clinton administration sought to address security threats emanating from Africa, including conflicts between and within states, terrorism, drug trafficking and illicit arms.

On the first outline of U.S. Africa policy, although, propagation of democracy and human rights somehow renewed American engagement with Africa, they were in bed with dictators and autocrats who commit heinous and egregious crimes against their citizenry. In elucidating the second outline of the U.S. Africa policy toward Africa, Alden (2000), asserted that in the views of American bureaucrats and policy analysts, the panacea to Africa's poverty and underdevelopment lies in eliminating the barriers to trade and investment. This clearly shows that there is some form of changes in the Post-Cold War American foreign policy. With the third outline, Clinton's administration proposed in October 1996 the creation of an African Crisis Response Force (ACRF) which consequently was replaced by African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI) to boost the capabilities of African forces in peace keeping and curbing the menace of terrorism. But Patman (2008), argued that ACRI evolved into the African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (ACOTA) which is mainly concerned to meet the needs of recipient countries. Alden (2000), argues that the Clinton administration made the first attempt to develop a comprehensive foreign policy towards a continent which was formerly not of strategic importance to the U.S. This argument raised by Alden is debatable because the Clinton

administration only focused on Africa in its second term unlike the Bush administration which concentrate much on Africa through several initiatives.

Alden's piece, *"From Neglect to Virtual Engagement: The U.S. and its New Paradigm for Africa"* contributes much to the literature on U.S. policy toward Africa. It explores the changing patterns of the American policy towards Africa in the Post-Cold War by providing an overview of the Post-Cold War construction of the policy. However, this exploration of the changing dynamics was conducted from a South African perspective and also the article focused much on the Clinton administration. But this study seeks to explore the changing dynamics of U.S. interest in West Africa particularly Ghana and Nigeria. Alden's work also centered on the parameters of American engagement with Africa but this study seeks to investigate the parameters of change in Post-Cold War U.S. policy toward West Africa which is the main objective of the research.

Finally, on the issue of renewed interest of U.S. in Africa, Olsen (2017), claimed it was expected that, Obama being of an African origin would prioritize Africa much more than his predecessors. Thus, change was expected, however, there was a continuation of U.S. Africa policy. Also, Van de Walle, (2015) is also of the opinion that the Obama administration's initiative for Africa placed much emphasis on private-sector investment. This manifested in the introduction of Power Africa and Trade Africa in order to boost power generation as well as trade on the continent in addition to AGOA. He further argues that the Obama administration widens U.S. engagement with Africa beyond the schemes of traditional security and humanitarian relief. This indicates that there were some slight changes in Obama's Africa policy which is likely to occur gradually although continuity dominates most of American Africa policy.

2.3 UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY TOWARD WEST AFRICA

U.S. foreign policy in the West African sub-region has over the years been centered on some key countries for various reasons and Ghana and Nigeria are among these countries. West Africa did not feature prominently in the U.S. Cold war geopolitics in the continent. Except for the high-profile engagement in Liberia, the region was one of the less contested regions in the East-West ideological battle during the cold war.

Schmidt (2013:198) argues that, West African sub-region was of strategic significance to the U.S. because of the “establishment of the Voice of America (VOA) relay station in Liberia for propaganda purposes throughout Africa, Middle East and Asia; Omega navigation station which facilitated shipping along the West African coast; a critical CIA listening post; Robert's field where America military planes landed and refueled on twenty-four hours' notice.” He cited the above reasons as to why the sub-region was of strategic significance to America, but Liberia is not the only country in West Africa. Schmidt (2013) ignored Nigeria which is the most populous country in the region and has a large market for U.S. commercial activity. All the above reasons cited by Schmidt are issues related to security and is also as a result of Liberia being a close ally of America.

Schmidt's work, *“From the Cold War to the War on Terror, 1991-2010”* provides an overview of the evolution of U.S. policy towards West Africa starting from the Cold War to the Post-Cold War period which is beneficial to this study. Although, it explores the dynamics as well as the reasons for U.S. engagement in Africa, its limitation lies in its case studies and focus on Liberia, Somalia, Sudan and Zaire. But this study intends to explore how U.S. policy in West Africa particularly, Ghana and Nigeria has undergone changes in the Post-Cold War era. The limitation and gaps in the literature influenced the researcher, to a large extent, to undertake this study. Thus, the study

intends to fill in the academic gaps in Schmidt literature with regard to the West African sub-region.

On the other hand, Ostegard (2006), labeled the West African sub-region as a new frontier in America's foreign policy. He argued that prior to the 9/11 attack, the West African sub-region had little strategic value to America and it became an alternative source of petroleum to America after the attack. He buttressed his argument with the claim that the Gulf of Guinea of which some of the countries in West Africa can be found has the largest deep-water offshore oil reserves in the world. This argument is weak because Nigeria which is the most populous region in the sub-region has a large market for U.S. products and it has been supplying oil to the U.S. prior to the 9/11 terrorists attack. Ostegard (2006), further claimed the U.S. offered military assistance to countries in West Africa in order to protect American investments especially in the Niger Delta where majority of oil is extracted from. However, the situation in Niger Delta rather exacerbated regardless of the security and military support provided by America and this resulted in Nigeria engaging in trade with Petro-China in 2005. Schmidt (2013) also holds similar opinion with Ostegard (2006), as he claims that America has now focused its attention on the Gulf of Guinea as its new source of oil supply as a result of political instability and series of conflicts that has engulfed the Middle East. And the Gulf of Guinea is made up of countries rich in oil and gas. Nigeria, Angola and recently Ghana are notable examples of these countries.

It would be out of order to engage in an analysis of Post-Cold Cold War U.S. foreign policy towards West Africa without proper recourse and review of Ostegard's article. This is solely because it serves as a background studies of the Post-Cold War U.S. policy in West Africa. It throws more light on the beginning of American engagement in the Gulf of Guinea and the West African sub-region where Nigeria and Ghana which are the main focus of this study can be located.

It also adds to this research the major or pivotal shifts in U.S. foreign policy towards West Africa. However, his claim that oil is the only strategic reason for U.S. engagement in the region is the limitation of the literature. But this research also intends to know and identify the strategic reasons (interests) motivating the commitment of U.S. securitization in the region. Therefore, the limitation is the academic gap that this study seeks to fill.

In addition, Mezzell (2010:3), holds similar view with Schmidt (2013) and Ostegard (2006) by asserting that “America’s interest in the sub-region is to get access to Africa’s wealth of hydrocarbon resources.” This argument is being backed by Miles (2012) argument that Nigeria being the most populous country in Africa and the fourth largest supplier of petroleum to America has been of strategic importance to America. Mesfin (2009:3), further bolstered their claims by predicting that within the next decade “Africa’s oil production is expected to double and U.S. imports of crude from West Africa are envisaged to increase to 25% of the total oil imports.”

Although the West African sub-region remains the poorest and the least integrated into the world economy, the U.S. has strategic interests in areas where there exist vast oil reserves which is a major national security concern for the U.S. This national security issue in the oil extracting areas has the propensity of decreasing U.S. oil imports in the sub-region and the decrease in the oil importation will also lead to slight change in U.S. policy toward the region. All the above arguments raised by the scholars above seem to suggest that American policy toward West African sub-region is largely marked by continuity. Therefore, it can be surmised that the policy is driven by American insatiable energy interests or demands.

On the issue of security about American - Africa policy, West Africa is a region of utmost priority to the U.S. because of its strategic interests and investments in the region. Miles (2012), sees

security a sine qua non to development for both the provider of security and the receiver. According to Le Sage (2007:8), the threats of security “frustrate trade, investment and discourage tourism; annihilate national infrastructure; deplete national income; and displaced African communities.” Moreover, Le Sage (2010) posited that the activities of Boko Haram and Niger Delta militants destabilize oil production in Nigeria which is the largest supplier of oil to the U.S. in the sub-region. The activities of Al Qaeda in the Maghrib (AQIM) in the Sahel parts of West Africa is a primary security threat as the Sahel region is viewed as the breeding grounds and sanctuaries for terrorists. Gilpin (2007) as cited by Le Sage (2010) claims that violence by militants in Nigeria’s Niger Delta caused economic losses to U.S. multinational oil companies which could run as high as \$10 billion between 2005 and 2014. As a result, the U.S. adopted soft counterterrorism strategies of development in addition to its military strategies to curb the menace of security threats and terrorism. The soft counterterrorism strategies include; African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), President’s Emergency Plan for Aids Relief (PEPFAR), Millennium Challenge Account (MCA), Power Africa, Trade Africa etc.

Le Sage’s work is indubitably a reference point for newcomers when it comes to the analysis of U.S. policy towards Africa. It provides an overview of security threats and analysis of their strategic implications as well as the national security interest of the U.S. It also provides a detailed information on emerging threats and trends that receive little attention in international relations. Notwithstanding, his work is limited by its over concentration on proffering solutions and strategies to security threats of the U.S. in Africa neglecting the reasons motivating the commitment of U.S. securitization in West Africa particularly, Ghana and Nigeria. Therefore, it is the bid to fill this literary gap that this study is influenced.

However, Campbell (2017), looks at the idea of soft counterterrorism from different angle by asserting that American interests in West Africa veered off from the security needs of the people in the continent. Campbell claims that the soft counterterrorism adopted by the U.S. in Africa largely serve the interest of the top U.S. capitalists. The use of some of these soft counterterrorism initiatives by the U.S. in West Africa represents some form of change in the policy although majority of scholars agree that U.S. African policy is largely characterized by continuity. Miles (2012), couldn't specify the ways in which American Africa policy has undergone some changes in West Africa through the adoption and use of these soft counterterrorism initiatives by the U.S.

Campbell's seminal piece, *"United States and Security in Africa: The Impact of the Military Management of the International System"*, is relevant to this study because it scrutinizes current global context which influence the perception of a section of the U.S. foreign policy establishment that espouse the militarization of U.S. Africa relations. Again, it explicates the forces that influence the idea and practice of militarization of U.S. policy towards Africa. The limitation of the literature lies in its focus on the dynamics influencing the militarization of U.S.-Africa relations and their impact on security and transformation in Africa. Therefore, Campbell's work which does not analyze the motivation of the commitment of U.S. securitization in West Africa, motivates the study to, in order to fill the literature gap.

Ostegard (2006), argues that U.S. Post-Cold war foreign policy was largely influenced by terrorism and the spread of democracy by neglecting the strategic interests of U.S. Although, terrorism and the spread of democracy is important to U.S., its strategic interests which are of economic values are preeminent in order of priority. Maritime insecurity is also a source of worry in West Africa and consists of various notable but related crimes in the sub-region. For example, the rate of piracy, hijacking, ransom and oil bunkering is on ascendancy in the Niger Delta and as a result, Nigeria

loses millions of dollars. The region has also become “the hub and transit point for narcotics from South America and South Asia to Europe and to a lesser extent the United states” (Le Sage, 2010:9). He further claims that “in 2007, an estimated 48 metric tons of cocaine value at \$1.8billion transited West Africa, comprising some 27 percent of Europe’s annual supply” (ibid...).

In order to address the menace of terrorism and security threats in the sub-region, various scholars have raised distinctive arguments and elucidations on some of the hard counterterrorism initiatives adopted by the U.S. in West Africa. Schmidt (2013), is of the view that the Pan Sahelian Initiative (PSI) which was later transformed to the Trans Sahara Counter Terrorism Initiative (TSCTI) was launched to enhance border control against the movement of terrorists in the Sahel part of West Africa. For instance, his argument seems to indicate a proactive measure adopted by America to halt the likelihood of spill-over effects of terrorists in countries like Ghana and Nigeria where chunk of U.S. oil imports come from. The argument raised by Schmidt (2013) is weak because there already exists instability and forms of terrorism in Northeastern part and Niger Delta of Nigeria of which the United States is suspected of sponsoring the militants. Also, in January 2016, two Yemeni detainees from Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, were transferred to Ghana by the United States. These two actions embarked upon by the U.S. defeats the purpose of which the PSI and TSCTI were created. Schmidt further claims that African Command (AFRICOM) is the capstone of America’s militarized Africa policy. Thus, it was created to secure American access to energy resources and fight against international terrorism. Miles (2012), agrees with Schmidt (2012) that the Pan Sahel Initiative (PSI), African Command (AFRICOM) and Trans Sahara Counter terrorism initiative (TSCI) were all introduced to counter terrorism in the Sahelian part of West Africa. On the other hand, Campbell (2017), posited that part of the reasons for the establishment of African Command (AFRICOM) was to halt the rise and influence of China in Africa as China-Africa trade

manifested itself in the major China-Africa conference in Beijing in 2006; and China's implementation of resource for infrastructure arrangements with over 25 African countries.

In addition, Le Van (2010), cited four reasons for the creation of African Command (AFRICOM); terrorism; violence; counterbalancing the creeping rise of China; and finally, access to oil and natural resources. On terrorism, Le Van didn't specify which parts of Africa are affected by terrorism. It is glaring that the Horn of Africa and the Sahel parts of West Africa are affected by the activities of terrorists. West Africa is endowed with natural resources which are of strategic importance to U.S. and a typical example are the activities of the militants in the Niger Delta of Nigeria where the U.S. imports its oil from. On violence, Le Van (2010:9) claims that "violence in the region is precipitated by nontraditional causes such as migration, urbanization and refugee flows." But it is conspicuously clear that violence in West Africa is largely caused by political instability although the cause of violence cited by him cannot be ignored. On the third point, China invests in Africa with little or no regard for political rights, democracy and rule of law. In this sense, the U.S. has no option than to alter its policy in order to effectively and efficiently counterbalance the creeping rise of China in West Africa. Finally, access to oil and natural resources: Le Van (2010), cited this reason as a result of the fact that the sub-region is naturally endowed with large quantities of oil and natural resources. This made the U.S. to shift its attention from the middle East to West Africa for its oil imports especially with the discovery of oil in Ghana and Sierra Leone in addition to the oil produced by Nigeria. Therefore, the adoption of some new strategies by the U.S. results in some form of changes in the U.S. policy toward Africa.

Le Van's article, *"The Political Economy of African Responses to the U.S. Africa Command"* is relevant to this study as it helps us to know how good economic performance augment the freedom African countries have when responding to American policy leverage. It also helps to identify

some of the benefits of U.S. aid and assistance on the continent. However, this study seeks to examine whether West African countries, particularly Ghana and Nigeria can survive or develop on U.S. soft power strategies or special preference. Therefore, it tends to build upon some of the benefits of U.S. soft power strategies and assistance identified by Le Van (2010). Also, his article fell short of incorporating changes in U.S. policy toward West Africa. But this research is being conducted to find out the ways in which American policy has undergone changes in the region which is the burden of the research. Finally, although, Le Van (2010), elaborated on the establishment of African Command, he failed to explain the strategic reasons motivating the commitment of U.S. securitization in West Africa.

2.4. STRATEGIC INTERESTS OF UNITED STATES ON THE CONTINENT.

National interest can be defined as the prospective national gains or losses in a concrete decisional situation (Knudsen, 1979). The idea of national interest mostly borders on material advantage of a state in a given situation of choice (ibid...). National interest becomes genuine in foreign policy goals when an opportunity is identified and assessed as worth pursuing with regard to a particular context. According to Jackson & Sorenson, (2003:68), “foreign policy is probably formulated in conformity with national interest”. Thus, the driving force behind the U.S. foreign policy is what is commonly known in international relations as the national interest. The idea of national interest is glaringly a demonstration of realist perspective in analyzing international politics. Pham (2005), posited that, there is the long-standing truism that the African continent is the stepchild of U.S. foreign policy. Although, most African countries were engaged in proxy wars of the ideological rivalry between U.S. and the Soviet Union, most foreign policy realists perceived the African continent to be of little importance as regards America’s strategic interests.

According to Smith (1972), interests are the prominent reasons for American involvement or engagement with other nation-states, groups and people. They may be political, strategic, commercial, psychological or economic. He identified six U.S. interests in Africa which are not evenly applicable to all countries and sub-regions, but they provide the necessary or appropriate framework for looking at the continent in general. The six interests include: (1) avoidance of great power rivalry, dominance, and conflict; (2) independence and territorial integrity; (3) social and economic development; (4) diplomatic support; (5) strategic and military considerations; and (6) trade and investment.

On the avoidance of great power rivalry, dominance and conflict, Smith argues that the U.S. do not want to see Africa as a battle ground of power struggle like it happened in the ideological battle between West and the East during the Cold War. This argument raised by Smith doesn't hold water in this current unipolar world with the creeping rise of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) as it doesn't explain the main point. This point can also be perceived as a shift in U.S.- Africa policy because as of the time of the Cold War, the main aim of the U.S. was to halt the spread of Communism or Soviet expansion.

With regard to the independence and territorial integrity of African countries, America has an interest in the maintenance of independence and territorial integrity of African countries. Whenever there is chaos or turmoil in the political system, their interests are compromised and the floodgates for power struggle on the continent would be opened. Antithetically, the U.S. that seeks to ensure the independence and territorial integrity of African countries meddles and interferes in the political affairs of these African countries. Meanwhile, the policy of the U.S. is not to interfere in the internal affairs or the political system of African governments. A typical example is the involvement of the CIA in the Congo Crisis.

Also, Smith (1972), considers the economic and social development of the African people as a humanitarian interest. And this is not a changed policy. He introduced the issue of growth as a prerequisite for achieving this interest. And humanitarian support cannot and does not lead to development because it is an ad hoc solution to developmental problems.

On diplomatic support, Smith, argues that the U.S. wants to maintain a good, constructive diplomatic relations with the African states because they constitute the majority caucus of the United Nations (UN) general assembly. Also, in their insatiable quest to maintain diplomatic relations with all African countries, America supported dictators and undemocratic leaders, contrary to their doctrine of rule of law and democracy.

About strategic and military considerations, Smith claims that U.S. strategic interest in Africa is minimal. He focused on the importance of North Africa to the neglect of the other parts of Africa. He cited the closeness of North America to the Strait of Gibraltar, the Mediterranean and the Middle East because of the fear of domination and control by the Soviets. In West Africa for example, Liberia was strategically important to the U.S. intelligence and propaganda. The U.S. established satellite relay stations and their communication facilities in the continent to contain the spread of Communism in the sub-region.

Finally, on Africa's resources and markets, Smith (1972) claims, American interest in these resources is substantial and the value of certain raw materials America imports from Africa signaled the importance of U.S. economic interests on the continent. The argument of a favourable trade balance between the U.S. and Africa raised by Smith is not realistic as it is conspicuously clear that bilateral trade between U.S. and Africa is uneven as well as characterized by unfavourable terms of trade.

Smith's literature, "*The Nature of American Interests in Africa*", is an important literature if one wants to study American foreign policy especially in relation to the interests of the U.S. It also contributes to our understanding of why the U.S. is expending huge sums of resources, time and effort to protect or advance its particular interests as well as explain the importance of each interest to U.S. Although, Smith elucidated the overall American interests in Africa, the literature is limited by its scope of analysis and time frame. That is the literature predates the Post-Cold War era. The study seeks to find out the exact interests of U.S. in West Africa particularly, Ghana and Nigeria in the Post-Cold War era. Therefore, the research will add or build upon Smith's literature. Another limitation is that, the literature failed to distinguish some or all of the particular relations U.S. have with individual African countries. And this study seeks to know the relations and exact interests of America in Ghana and Nigeria.

Similarly, Harris (2017), dispels the myth that Africa is of secondary importance to U.S. national security and economic prosperity. He encapsulated U.S. material interests in Africa through the following lenses:

- (1) transnational threats; (2) economic opportunities and competitiveness; (3) access to natural resources; and (4) promoting an international order that benefits the U.S.

In elucidating the transnational threats, Harris opines that weak and failed states breed instability which is a potential threat to U.S. national interest and most of the countries in Africa are unstable and fragile. So, the U.S. needs a cooperating partner in Africa capable and willing to help it curb or nib the potential threats and instability in the bud in order to protect its interests. Harris enumerated different kinds of transnational threats which include: terrorism; health threats; trafficking; proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; piracy; environmental degradation and

climate change; cyber security; threats to European allies; and threats to American citizens overseas. All these threats enumerated by Harris still exist without the U.S. providing a stringent solution to address them. Also, about these threats, there is not much change to U.S. African policy.

On economic opportunity and competitiveness, Harris posited that the U.S. economy, to some extent, depends on African markets because of the operation of U.S. multinationals in Africa as well as the readiness of consumers on the continent to buy American goods and services. For example, Nigeria being the most populous country in the sub-region has a large market for U.S. products. Harris also projected that a quarter of the world's population will live in sub-Saharan and North Africa which is an indication that U.S. African policy is likely to change during this period. Another argument he raised is that China and some BRICS countries are outpacing America in Africa, blocking their economic opportunities in the region. This reason incites or sparks the interest of the U.S. in Africa because of the fear of China outmaneuvering them in Africa.

With access to natural resources, Africa is endowed with a lot of natural resources that have significant commercial uses. The countries in the Gulf of Guinea are gradually becoming oil and gas exporters which have the tendency to affect global energy prices. Africa can boast of a third of world's mineral reserves.

Finally, on advancing an international order that benefit the U.S., Harris opines that American interests in Africa can be viewed in three ways:

- (1) advancing vital interests in international organization and uphold sanction on regimes; (2) promote American values overseas; and (3) exert global influence and leadership.

According to Harris, the assertion that Africa is of secondary importance to American interest is untenable.

Harris' article titled "*Why Africa Matters to United States National Security?*", helps us to know how African countries are linked to a broad and growing range of American interests. It also states Africa's importance to U.S. national security and economic interests. That is, it explores the geopolitical and economic importance of Africa with regard to U.S. interests. Nonetheless, the literature's scope of analysis is limited to how Africa affects U.S. national security interests though national security interests are not the sole goals of America's engagement in Africa. Also the literature basically focuses on sub-Saharan Africa but the focus of this study is West Africa particularly, Ghana and Nigeria.

On the other hand, some scholars use the incident of the 9/11 attack to explicate American strategic interests on the continent. Notable among them is Peter Chaveas. According to Chaveas (2007), the 9/11 attack made the U.S. to alter their perception about the globe. Many areas of the world previously or formally branded as insignificant to U.S. interest became important to U.S. strategic interests. Chaveas wants to suggest that prior to the 9/11 attack, U.S. direct interests in Africa were not strategic in nature and only became of strategic interest after the attack. Chaveas identifies energy resources and counterterrorism as the main interests of the U.S. in Africa. But he asserts that energy resources are the vital interests of the U.S. and further claims that the nations along the Gulf of Guinea from Nigeria to Angola supply about 18% of U.S. oil imports. On counterterrorism, Chaveas posited that terrorism in Africa is not currently a pervasive threat. But the activities of Boko Haram and Al Qaeda in the Maghreb are threatening and worrying taken into consideration the atrocities and heinous crimes perpetrated by these terrorist groups. He further stated that issues that are fundamental to the well-being of the vast majority of African such as good governance,

adequate food and water, health services, education and employment opportunities are central to U.S. strategic interest on the continent. Chaveas couldn't specify the ways in which these issues are central to U.S. strategic interest in the region.

Chaveas' article, "*A Renewed Interest: United States -Africa Engagement*", contributes tremendously to this study by helping in the identification and recognition of new American strategic interests in Africa. The article also identifies the numerous initiatives undertaken by U.S. during the Cold War era in order to achieve its various interests. The researcher would therefore want to build on these initiatives in order to explore the exact interests of America in West Africa particularly, Ghana and Nigeria. However, Chaveas focuses much on the Post- 9/11 interests of the U.S. and he also kept mute on the rise of China in Africa in the aftermath of the 9/11 attack. Therefore, the study seeks to fill the gaps as it is intended to discover the strategies adopted by the U.S. to halt the creeping rise of China in West Africa.

Moreover, Barnes (2005), categorized U.S. interests into: the threat of terrorism; the rise of an interrupted oil supply; and strategic philanthropy. On terrorism, although, U.S. already had interest in Africa, Barnes opines that the year 2002 marked a significant Post-Cold War shift in U.S. relations with Africa because of the 9/11 terrorists attack. Therefore, the threat of terror attack became an important issue of national security interest. This point elucidated by Barnes establishes the way in which American foreign policy towards Africa has undergone some changes. On the rise of an interrupted oil supply, Barnes posited that much of the oil consumed by America comes from West and Central Africa and it is estimated to be within the range of 13-18%. With most of the oil imports of America coming from Nigeria, we can surmise that America is largely a dependent on oil from the sub-region. She also asserted that America tolerated military presence or build up as well as policing of its oil installations as a result of scanty information about the

happenings in Africa. This certainly can never be true because in this modern technological era and advanced research, no information on the African continent can be hidden. Barnes sees strategic philanthropy as the way through which America and its multilateral corporations engage in local community development in order to achieve their interests. This strategic philanthropy is diametrically opposed to the traditional style of altruism of companies who donate to orphanages and other needy organizations. It is committed to a sustainable development projects such as improving infrastructure, education, agriculture based on mutual benefits and it strengthens local-corporate relationship.

Barnes' article, "*Global Flows: Terror, Oil and Strategic Philanthropy*", explores the significance of U.S. military presence and business initiatives for African nations. Although, Barnes brought out the issue of strategic philanthropy, she refuses to examine whether West African countries, particularly Ghana and Nigeria can survive or develop on U.S. soft power strategies or special preferences. Another limitation in her work is that, she focuses much on U.S. response to the perceived threats on its interests on the continent while this study focuses on knowing the exact interests of U.S. in West Africa particularly Ghana and Nigeria.

In addition, Aning et al (2008), argue that U.S. engagement in Africa is primarily conditioned by its strategic interests on the continent, that is access to Africa's natural resources like oil. This strategic interest according to them informed the presence of private military companies in Africa. They further posited that the use of private military companies by America is quintessential aspect of pursuing its strategic interests in Africa because of the availability of resources (oil), the war on terror and competition with China. Thus, there is nothing altruistic about American involvement in Africa. They further indicated that, since the incident of 9/11 attack and the ongoing crisis in the Gulf and Middle East, U.S. national security interests have been closely tied in with African

oil which contributes about 15% of overall U.S. oil consumption. For instance, America engagement with Nigeria and Equatorial Guinea is a clear indication of its resource interest in Africa and the activities of the private military companies. Price (1978), holds similar view with Aning et al (2008), when he opines that American interest in Sub-Saharan Africa is focused largely on the weakness and porousness of western shipping lanes in the Indian Ocean and around the Cape of Good Hope because of suspected oil blockade by the Soviet from the Persian Gulf through the Red Sea to the Suez Canal. Thus, the security of these shipping lanes is of strategic significance to the U.S.

Aning et al, in their seminal work, *“The Role of Private Military Companies (PMC’s) in U.S.-Africa Policy”*, explore the issues of security and private military companies in relation to American foreign policy in Africa. That is, their work provides a tremendous understanding of the issues of security interest of America. However, their work is limited in its overconcentration on the role of Private Military Companies in the discharge of U.S. military support to Africa. This is a glaring academic gap which the study seeks to fill by looking at the strategic reasons motivating the commitment of America securitization in West Africa. Another limitation is that, they examine the link between U.S. strategic interests in Africa and the use of PMC’s using Nigeria and Equatorial Guinea. But the research would want to find out the exact interests of U.S. in West Africa using Ghana and Nigeria.

2.5 CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY TOWARD AFRICA/WEST AFRICA.

According Schraeder (1991, 1994)), continuity and change of American foreign policy can be further elucidated through the clarification of the roles and functions played by the various members of the foreign policy establishment in the formulation and implementation of America’s

Africa policy. The members of the foreign policy establishment include the Congress, Department of Defense (DOD), Department of State (DOS) and the Central Intelligence Agency. He further posited that the trend and nature of events on the continent affect the operations of the U.S. policymaking process in Africa. Again, the African Bureau was created to ensure smooth and stable political relationship between America and Africa but Schraeder kept mute on the responsibility of the Bureau in recognizing the strategic importance of the continent to the U.S. in order to pursue its interest. This is because, he claimed that America through the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Department of Defense (DOD) and the Department of State (DOS) perceived Africa as a strategic East-West battleground as well as view the Communists as a threat to its interests in the region in the era of the Cold War. Moreover, Schraeder cited the functions of the various components of the executive like the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Department of Commerce (DOC) that they pursue economic interests in Africa through a variety of projects and programs. But he rather puts much emphasis on national security aspects of U.S. Africa policy with regard to change and continuity in U.S. Africa policy.

On the issue of the bureaucracies in the formulation and implementation of U.S. Africa policy, Schraeder (1991), maintains that the U.S. bureaucracy largely maintained the status quo regarding the formulation and implementation of U.S. policy under various administrations which makes the likelihood of continuity in the policy higher. This is simply because, it is safer and smooth to rely on established and standard procedures. Also, his argument that the risk-taking through the process of change causes or damages one's career is a weak argument because of the personal idiosyncrasies of U.S. presidents when it comes to policy formulation and implementation. Again, Schraeder tilted much toward continuity of U.S. African policy because of his claims that the

bureaucracies use various means like economic aid, military aid as well as visits by Heads of State and Department of States (DOS) to enhance or promote continuity in its policy. However, he further posited that, the process of incrementalism makes it complicated and difficult to experience a significant change in U.S. Africa policy even with the emergence of new administration. Finally, he identifies three patterns that capture the dynamic nature of U.S. African policies which include the following: routine situations and bureaucratic influence within the policymaking process; crisis situations and democratic influences within the policymaking process; and finally, extended crisis situations and domestic influence within the policymaking process.

It is worthy of note that, Schraeder's seminal work, *"Speaking with Many Voices: Continuity and Change in U.S. Africa Policy"*, furnishes the researcher with a distinct analysis of the historical evolution of American foreign policy toward Africa. That is, it enables the researcher to obtain a broad comprehension of continuity and change in U.S. foreign policy toward Africa. Also, it offers the researcher a comprehensive knowledge on U.S. policy toward Africa in the Post-Cold War era. That is, it enables the researcher to obtain a full grasp of the theoretical analysis of U.S. policy toward Africa in the Post-Cold War. Moreover, the work provides a systematic overview and analysis of U.S. policy toward Africa which is beneficial to both students and academics of international relations as well as members of the policymaking establishment. Again, it explicates the roles played by various members of the foreign policy establishment in the formulation and implementation of America's policy toward Africa. Nonetheless, the literature is limited because its main focus is to delineate and explicate continuity and change in U.S.-Africa policy during the Post-Cold War era. But the burden of this study is to find out the extent and in what ways the Post-Cold War U.S. policy in West Africa has undergone some changes. This is the point of departure between this study and Schraeders' seminal work. Thus, the point of departure underscores the

gap of knowledge that this study seeks to fill. Another limitation is that, it focuses more on the major level of the policymaking process in U.S. neglecting the extent and ways in which the policy has undergone changes.

On continuity, Seal (1994), argues on continuity of the U.S. Africa policy which is based on national interest. He identifies three interests or objectives stated in the 1991 U.S. national security strategy which have guided the various administrations in the Post-Cold War era regarding their security policy. Thus, the Post-Cold War security policy of U.S. starting from 1991 is characterized by continuity. The three objectives identified by Seal include: the survival of the nation of its values and institutions; to promote a strong and expanding national economy; and to build and maintain cooperative and politically vigorous relations with allies and friendly nations. Seal attributed the reason for this continuity of interests of U.S. African policy to the ineluctable fact of geography without critically expounding how geography contributed to the continuity of the policy.

Seal's literature, "Continuity and Change in U.S. Security Strategy", enables the researcher to become abreast of information on the strategic U.S. security interests and the changing role of its military in the Post-Cold War. Also, it provides and expound various perspectives on strategic U.S. security interests in Africa. However, its limitation lies in its overconcentration on strategic U.S. security interests while this study rather intends to examine the strategic or exact interests of U.S. in West Africa particularly Ghana and Nigeria.

On the other hand, with regard to change, Sebastian (2008), opines that American intervention and involvement in the affairs of other countries can be comprehended in the context of changes in the international power structure. Sebastian further asserted that during the Cold War, U.S. policy was

specifically designed to contain Soviet expansion and the threat of Communism but in the Post-Cold War era, Washington perceives that the Cold War factors such as threat of Communism have been substituted by factors like terrorism and rogue states. Terrorism is one of the factors which has shaped U.S. strategic interest, but Sebastian kept mute on key U.S. interest which has made the U.S. policy to undergo some changes. He concluded that the U.S. foreign policy goal has undergone significant changes in the Post-Cold War era without enumerating the ways and trends in which the policy has undergone tremendous change.

Also, on change, Schraeder (2001), in his article, *“Continuity and Change in U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Southern Africa: Assessing the Clinton Administration”*, identified five trends in U.S. foreign policy toward Africa which include the following: (1) the centrality of trade in U.S foreign policy; (2) the regionalization of foreign policy initiatives; (3) bureaucratic dominance of the U.S. policymaking process; (4) reassessment of direct American involvement in African conflicts; and (5) an uneven approach to democracy promotion. Schraeder (2001), focused on changes in Clinton administration’s foreign policy toward Southern Africa. But he was critical of the Clinton administration for implementing and formulating African policies which are not coherent and consistent. He chided the administration for implementing reactive policy rather than proactive policy. The article helps the researcher to unravel and understand the specific trends in American foreign policy toward Africa. Notwithstanding, the it is limited by its total focus on Southern Africa. It gives little attention to West Africa particularly, Ghana and Nigeria which are the test case of this study.

Moreover, on change, Schraeder (2001), posited that the investiture of G.W. Bush Jnr marks the beginning of a new era in U.S. policy towards Africa. He discusses the major trends in Bush foreign policy toward Africa. Schraeder, argues that the U.S. neglect of Africa as a continent was as a

result of the following factors: firstly, he claims that prior to assuming or occupying the office, President G.W. Bush Jnr made it point blank that Africa was not part of strategic interests of the U.S. Secondly, the Clinton administration's policy of non-interference in African crisis was embraced by the Bush administration which also signaled continuity. Again, members of the bureaucracy prefer to maintain the status quo than change. Lastly, the process of incrementalism is an indispensable aspect of American foreign policy toward Africa. Therefore, a new administration with different policy finds it difficult to alter the policy of incrementalism. In conclusion, we can surmise that American foreign policy toward Africa under President G.W. Bush Jnr. is a continuation of his predecessor's foreign policy.

The literature, *"Forget the Rhetoric and Boost the Geopolitics: Emerging Trends in the Bush Administration's Policy Towards Africa"*, is a reference point for the researcher in identifying and analyzing major trends in Post-Cold War U.S. Africa policy. It also serves as a background for Post-Cold War U.S. foreign policy change. However, Schraeder's main focus are the major trends in President George W. Bush's foreign policy towards Africa, which is the limitation of his work. Therefore, his work which does analyze and give full details of how U.S.-Africa policy has undergone changes in the Post-Cold War period, motivates this study to fill the literature gap.

In addition, Olsen (2017), identified three circumstances under which the international system can alter change in U.S. foreign policy decision making on Africa in the current century. In the first place, he posited that Africa is less significant to the U.S. in economic terms as America only imports around 1% of its overall imports from Africa (sub-Saharan Africa) of which 65% is oil. He further claimed that the continent ceased to export oil to the U.S. by 2014 due to the increased U.S. production of shale oil. Olsen did not provide the quantity of shale oil produced by the U.S. and also failed to state whether the quantity of the shale oil will commensurate the quantity of oil

America imports from sub-Saharan Africa. The second circumstance is the creeping rise of China on the continent which has the tendency of altering American Africa policy because China is gradually becoming Africa's largest trading partner. The last circumstance is the fight against terrorism. According to Olsen, the 9/11 attack also made the U.S. to shift its attention to security issues all in the name of fighting terrorism. That is, to halt the establishment of a sanctuary for the operations of terrorists on the African continent. Olsen focused much on the administration of President Barack Obama.

His article, "*Obama and U.S. Policy Towards Africa: A Study in Failure*", provides a significant understanding of the nature of the American political system and its effects on the foreign policymaking establishment in the formulation and implementation of American policy toward Africa. Also, the theoretical approach and analysis used in the literature serves as a very useful reference point in developing a theoretic framework for this study. That is, it highlights the concept of national interest vis a vis foreign policy decision making. For example, the use of both hard and soft power in pursuing national interests of the U.S. on the continent. However, the limitation of Olsen's piece lies in its concentration on militarization of U.S.-Africa policy in pursuing its economic interests on the continent. Hence, this study intends to expand the literature by looking at the reasons for the commitment of U.S. securitization in West Africa.

On this same issue of change in U.S. Africa policy, Olsen (2017) also brought in the issue of evangelical groups. That is, the involvement of evangelical groups in the foreign affairs of the U.S. by way of launching initiatives aimed at executing humanitarian and philanthropic work in Africa. This can be considered as not a significant change as the U.S. is already involved in humanitarian work prior to the involvement of these evangelical groups in U.S. foreign affairs. Olsen again, made a vague conclusion by arguing that President Barack Obama's Africa policy is to a large

extent a continuation of the policy of President G.W. Bush Jnr. although both policies can be labelled as incoherent and inconsistent.

2.6 UNITED STATES - NIGERIA RELATIONS

America established and maintain diplomatic relations with Nigeria in 1960, after Nigeria attained its independence from the its colonial masters (United Kingdom). From 1966 to 1999, the country witnessed mutinies and had some respite from military intervention for a period of four years (1979 to 1983). They also experienced two and half years long civil war (Biafra war) from 1967 to 1970 between the government of Nigeria led by Yakubu Gowon and the secessionists state of Biafra led by chief Odumegwu Ojukwu which resulted in so many casualties. During the time of the civil war, America maintained a neutral stance and channeled its efforts to the provision of humanitarian reliefs to the victims of the civil war (David, 2009). After the investiture of a civilian president in the country, the relationship between America and Nigeria started to improve with regard to their foreign policy objectives. Nigeria has the largest population in Africa within the range of two hundred million (200) people, which is envisaged to increase to four hundred million people by 2050 (U.S. State Department, 2014). It is the military and economic hegemon in the West African sub-region, and it is also characterized by instability. It is plagued by the nefarious activities of “Boko Haram” in its northern parts and militants in the Niger Delta.

According to Ayam (2008), engagement between U.S. and Nigeria during the Cold War era was driven by the containment policy of the U.S. and Nigeria's non-aligned posture. Ayam also claimed that American policy towards Nigeria during the Cold War was guided by two main issues: containment of Communist expansion; and the provision of aid and strengthening of bilateral

economic ties. Again, on Nigeria's non-aligned posture, he posited that Nigeria did not want its newly attained sovereignty and independence to be involved in the East-West ideological battle. Indeed, Nigeria's neutrality was exhibited during the Congo crisis of 1963 by providing troops to support the peacekeeping effort of the United Nations (UN). Ayam further claims that U.S.-Nigeria relations undergone intense transmogrification getting to the end of the Cold War. This clearly indicates that there was a change in U.S. policy toward Nigeria getting to the end of the Cold War, but he did not indicate the ways in which the transmogrification of the policy occurred. Thus, the Cold War U.S.-Nigeria relations varies from that of the Post-Cold War.

In the Post-Cold War era, Ayam opines that the relations between America and Nigeria were influenced by the need for democratization, trade and peace keeping. The peacekeeping aspect identified by Ayam is weak because of the reluctance of the U.S. to intervene in humanitarian and peacekeeping activities in Africa as a result of the debacle of Mogadishu where dead and maimed American soldiers were dragged openly on the streets of Mogadishu. He further claimed that, during the Cold War period and in the early part of the Post-Cold War, U.S.-Nigeria relations were devised by three factors, namely: "the pursuit of America's policy of Containment; devotion to the non-alignment policy by Nigeria; and the hostile relationship which negatively affect the capacity of the African-American lobby groups to pressure their government to embrace a more favourable policy toward Nigeria. Also, in the Post-Cold War era, Ayam (2008), argues that U.S. was concerned with low intensity conflicts, the menace of terrorism to its interests, resolution of conflict and advancement of multi-party democracy as a prerequisite to good economic and political relations with Nigeria. But Islamic fundamentalism was not the only threat to American interests, there existed the Niger Delta militants who are the major threat to U.S. interest in the Niger Delta. Ayam kept mute on that.

On economic relations between the two countries, Ayam maintained that economic relation between Nigeria and U.S. is always strong regardless of whether their political and diplomatic relations are worst. Robert R. Shepard (1959) as cited by Ayam (2008), affirms to this argument using the incidence of the Angolan independence in 1975. Shepard pointed out that, Political relations remain rancorous and acrimonious while the economic relations were left untouched by the two governments and continued to thrive. Even during the Cold War, there was a considerable economic cooperation between Nigeria and the U.S. despite the standoff in political and diplomatic relations. He attributed the strong economic ties to the large quantities of oil found in Nigeria. Osaretin and Ajebon (2011) associate with this argument as they claim that oil is of strategic significance to the American economic interests and the large population size of Nigeria has a large market for American products. Again, Ayam opines that the annulment of the June 12, 1993 election made the U.S. to halt all kinds of support and assistance to Nigeria to the extent of cancelling \$11million USD of assistance intended to support the budget of the ministry of health of Nigeria but the sanction did not extend to areas of trade where U.S. imports its oil from.

In point of fact, the importance of Ayam's piece, *"The Development of Nigeria-U.S. Relations"*, lies in broad explication of the significant transformation of U.S.-Nigeria relations. However, the limitation of the piece is that, Ayam (2008), jettisoned the trajectories and the extent in which the Post-Cold War U.S.-Nigeria relations have undergone some changes. Thus, it is this knowledge and academic literature that this study seeks to fill. Another limitation is that he hammered mainly on the economic interest of America in Nigeria and focus little attention on other strategic interests of U.S. in Nigeria and West Africa at large. But one of the objectives of the research is to identify and know the exact interests of U.S. in West Africa particularly, Ghana and Nigeria. Therefore, it is the bid of this research to fill the knowledge loophole in the literature.

Moreover, Osareten and Ajebon (2013), asserted that the annulment of the June 12 election, dictatorial tendencies, and egregious human right abuse of the Abacha regime strained U.S. - Nigerian relationship. But they didn't specify whether the strained relationship led to a minor change in American foreign policy toward Nigeria. They agree with Ayam that U.S. national interest is utmost when it comes to their foreign policy toward any country. Thus, its economic relations with Nigeria remains intact regardless of the diplomatic hiccups and dictatorial tendencies of the various regimes. Their article titled, *“The United States and Nigerian Relations: Diplomatic Row Over Official Terrorist Label”*, serves as a guide for future relation between the two countries as it provides insightful elucidations on the evolutionary trends in U.S.-Nigeria relations. Again, it helps the researcher to identify and become abreast of information on the bilateral relations between America and Nigeria. Nonetheless, the limitation of their work is that, they only looked at the import of the U.S. policy decision as regards the numerous terrorist attacks and attempted terror attacks in Nigeria. But this study seeks to find out the motivation behind the commitment of U.S. securitization in West Africa. It is the bid of this research to fill in the lacuna in the literature.

In addition, Mba (2013), claims that the U.S. in collaboration with the Central Bank of Nigeria, Finance Ministry, and National Planning committee is working to make Nigeria a conducive place for investment in agriculture. This claim is debatable and unrealistic in the sense that, even oil dominates in the number of goods traded in African Growth and opportunity Act (AGOA). U.S. prioritizes oil in Nigeria than any other goods. The U.S. contribution to the investment of Agriculture in Nigeria is infinitesimal, as it is glaring that some farming communities in the Niger Delta of Nigeria are being driven away by foreign oil companies, majority of which are American companies. For example, protests by farmers and the autochthonous of Oguni which is in the Niger

Delta led to the hanging of an environmentalist cum writer, Ken Saro Wiwa. U.S. multinational oil and gas corporations like Chevron and Exxon Mobil are all operating in Nigeria. From the argument by the above scholars on U.S. economic policy toward Nigeria, it can be deduced that the economic interests of U.S. in Nigeria are marked by continuity. Mba's article, "*U.S. Economic Policy Towards Nigeria: Implications, Pros and Cons*", provides detailed explanation of the benefits and shortcomings of U.S. economic policy toward Nigeria. Nonetheless, its focus on only the economic policy of U.S. toward Nigeria is its limitation because this study would want to find out the exact interests of U.S. in West Africa of which economic interest is part. Thus, this study will build upon or expand the literature by exploring not only economic policy of U.S. in West Africa.

On security issue, Nigeria is a country of tremendous significance in the U.S. security and counterterrorism policy toward Africa. It is a country where Islamic attitudes toward the U.S. are tending towards increase antagonism. For instance, the introduction of "Sharia Law" in some northern states and the recent spate of religious violence and insurgency in the region have increased U.S. interest in Nigeria for the fear of Islamic terrorists coming out of the growing Islamic fundamentalism in Northern Nigeria.

Osaretin and Ajebon (2013), claim that the failed bombing attack in 2009 by a Nigerian, Umar Farouk made the U.S. to enlist Nigeria among the 14 terrorist countries. This made Obama to review the country's security procedures according to them. But they didn't specify the ways in which the review of the security procedure led to a change in American foreign policy. They raised the issue of security and instability without mentioning the Niger Delta militants who are threats to U.S. oil interest in the oil extracting areas.

Ayam (2008:10), is of the view that the “maintenance of regional security and peace is an important area the interests of the U.S. and Nigeria converge.” This assertion by Ayam is in the right direction because Nigeria which is the military hegemon in the sub-region provides the cornerstone of African peace keeping deployment and was also crucial in the peace and conflict management in Liberia. However, Nigeria has also attracted American interest for all the wrong reasons as it is largely reported to be the home of some of the world’s most sophisticated criminals and drug syndicates. According to the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA), Nigeria is a transit point where couriers, agents and drug syndicates ferry drugs into the U.S. and Europe from Asia and Latin America. Also, Nigeria is responsible for fifty percent 50% of the heroine brought into the U.S. Nigeria 419 internet scam is today the leading cyber-crime in America. All these security issues have elevated the country as a national security interest to U.S. Therefore, in conclusion, it can be surmised that all the security policy of U.S. toward Nigeria has largely remained the same without any tremendous change because the argument raised by the various scholars couldn’t specify the ways in which the security policy has undergone some changes to address the security menace in Nigeria.

2.7 UNITED STATES - GHANA RELATIONS

America’s relations with Ghana started after Ghana had attained independence from its colonial masters (United Kingdom). According to Shai, Molapo and Sodi (2017), the relationship between the U.S. and Ghana is largely defined through the parameters of Washington because of the unequal power relations between the two countries. Ghana was the first country to receive Peace Corps Volunteers in 1961. Ghana in the Post-Cold War is characterized by political stability because of its democratic credentials, rule of law and regard for human rights. It is largely

considered a vibrant democracy in West Africa taking into consideration the alternation of power between the two major political parties (NPP and NDC). President Barack Obama's first state visit to Ghana is an affirmation of democratic consolidation in the country.

Shai et al in elucidating U.S. foreign policy toward Ghana, focused largely on Obama's administration. They argue that Barack Obama's policy is predicated on the influence of the legacy of his predecessors. That is, there is not much change in his administration's policy toward Ghana. They also argue that Obama adopted the strategy of using pivotal states to engage various regions of Africa and Ghana is now seen as one of the pivotal states in the sub-region by the U.S. Moreover, Shai et al argue that Barack Obama's 2009 visit to Ghana is not an indication or evidence of change in U.S. foreign policy toward West Africa. That is not an indication that America has neglected Nigeria. Nigeria remained the most important country to America in the sub-region because of the large quantities of its oil and commercial purposes. But Kornegay (2008:5) disassociate from this argument by positing that "America still continues to view Africa through a humanitarian lens rather than a more strategic lens." However, it is apparently clear that the strategic interest of the U.S. in West Africa outweighs its humanitarian programs. West Africa is envisioned to be one of the fastest growing sources of oil and gas for the American market because of the high quality (low sulfur) content of its oil. In addition, Ingram (2007), opines that U.S. involvement in the sub-region is to develop it as a supplier of energy and other resources, deny sanctuaries to terrorists as well as to halt the creeping rise of China.

On economic relations, there exists a warm bilateral and economic relations between Ghana and America but on an unequal foothold or standing (Shai et al, 2017). They further posited that prior to the discovery of oil in Ghana, the official prescripts of American foreign policy regarding Ghana was based on the promotion of democracy, human rights, rule of law, enhancement of security as

well as bolstering U.S. economy. Taking the democratic credentials of Ghana into consideration, it is inescapable for the U.S. to partner with Ghana in its economic affairs. Also, the U.S. cannot sideline Ghana in its trading, economic and commercial dealings as Ghana has been rated as one of the fastest growing economies in Africa. Shai et al opine that policy initiatives like African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) has led to economic growth in Ghana which is of less significance to the Ghanaian populace because it has not translated into socio-economic development. Also, the power Africa launched by Obama was to boost American businesses in Ghana as well as stimulate trade between the U.S. and Ghana. That is, the targeted beneficiary for Power Africa is not the African people. But in 2012, Ghana completed a five- year \$536 million Millennium Challenge Corporation Compact focused on improving agriculture, economy, roads and ferry investment and rural banks, as well as education, water, sanitation and power service delivery (U.S State Department, 2019). Also, in 2014, Ghana signed a second year MCC compact worth \$498 million which is concentrated on improving the country's electricity system and many other areas of the energy sector (ibid...). The facts gathered by the U.S. State Department contradict the assertion by Shai et al that, the targeted beneficiary for these initiatives is not the African people and for that matter Ghanaians.

On security relations, there exists closer military cooperation between Ghana and the U.S. to enhance stable peace and security in the sub-region. Shai et al posited that Ghana is one of the countries that embraced the idea of African Command (AFRICOM) in Africa. Shai et al kept mute on the benefits Ghana derived from AFRICOM. Also, Ghana along with Nigeria play significant roles in the context of ECOWAS in resolving conflicts and peacekeeping in the sub-region especially, in Liberia and Sierra Leone. Therefore, enhancement of peace and stability as well

conflict resolution in West Africa is largely done by ECOWAS in which Ghana and Nigeria deploy most of military forces.

Their literature offers an erudite analysis and explanation of the key drivers of American foreign policy towards West Africa. Also, it helps the researcher to acquaint himself with various angles of influence of American policy. Moreover, it makes an important contribution to international politics, especially on the role of political legacies of the various U.S. presidents with regard to U.S. foreign policy towards West Africa. However, the limitation of their literature is that, they use Ghana as a case study to examine the Post-Cold War foreign policy of the U.S. towards West Africa. Therefore, this study seeks to build on the literature by expanding it to capture the extent and ways in which Post-Cold War U.S. policy has undergone changes in West Africa using Nigeria and Ghana as a case study.

Again, Cook (2009:15) claims that the military assistance offered to Ghana by the U.S. is to address the issue of transshipment of narcotics from West Africa to the U.S. and Europe as well as to fight the encroachment of “Boko Haram” and the terrorist organizations in West Africa. But the menace of transshipment of narcotics in the sub-region is on the ascendency regardless of the military and police support by the U.S. Also, their argument that the U.S. can rely on Accra to fight the encroachment of Boko Haram and other terrorist organization in West Africa is weak because the activities of terrorists is on the rise in the Sahel countries of Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger which are closer to Ghana. The March 2018 terrorist attack in Burkina Faso and the December 12, 2019 attack on military base in Niger which led to the death of seventy-one (71) soldiers are notable examples.

Moreover, in 2018, the government of the United States and the government of Ghana signed an updated Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA). That is an agreement governing bilateral defense cooperation and the rights and privileges of U.S. troops stationed in partner countries (U.S. State Department 2019). The ratification of the SOFA by Ghana's house of legislature sparked fierce resistance from the Ghanaian populace based on the suspicion that the U.S. intend establishing military bases in Ghana. Shai et al concluded that consolidation of democracy and the discovery of oil in Ghana served as an impetus for U.S. concerted engagement with Accra. Therefore, deducing from the argument, it can be surmise that the main reason for securitization of U.S. foreign policy in West Africa and for that matter Ghana is to protect its economic interest.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In order to conduct this research, there is the need to espouse a theoretical framework in which the work will be situated. “A theory is a set of propositions and concepts that endeavor to explain political phenomena by specifying the relationship among variables” (Mingst 2008:56). The task of explicating American foreign policy is unfathomable and complex. “As a result of this complexity, almost all those who have attempted to elucidate American foreign policy have recognized the centrality of theory” (Schmidt, 2008:8). Schmidt further opines that a theory is both indispensable and inescapable when it comes to understanding or elucidating international politics. It is inescapable in the sense that, policymakers and scholars approach the world from a specific paradigm or world view that in turn generates specific theories. Also, theories are indispensable because they guide us on what to concentrate on and what to ignore. Moreover, theories help us to organize and make sense of all the information that inundates us daily. Schmidt went on to claim that the goal of achieving an overarching theory to explicate the foreign policy behaviour of the U.S. has proven to be elusive. Mearsheimer (2008), asserted that nobody could comprehend the international system or make decisions without employing a theoretical approach.

However, Rosenau (1971), made a sagacious attempt to carve out a theoretical framework for identifying the main sources of a state’s foreign policy. He discovered five (5) potential sources that influence a state’s foreign policy:

Firstly, the external environment of the international system; secondly, the domestic societal environment of a nation-state; also the governmental structure that specifies the policymaking

process; again, the bureaucratic roles occupied by individual policymakers; and finally the personal characteristics and idiosyncrasies of individual foreign policy officials and government elites.

Rosenau, also asserted that each of the five sources mentioned above can be weighed as independent variables that either separately or jointly help to explicate the behaviour of American foreign policy which is the dependent variable.

On the other hand, Waltz (1997) asserted that as a result of the complicated nature of foreign policymaking processes and the point that foreign policy is influenced by both global and domestic factors, constructing a theory of foreign policy is unattainable. But the best that we can aspire to achieve is a theory of international politics, that “delineate series of corollary actions and interactions of states within a given system and shows how the series of expectations varies as system change” (Waltz, 1997:71). A theory of foreign policy tries to interpret why a state proceeded with a specific policy at a particular point in time. Also, a theory is devoted to providing an answer to a question that makes a state to embrace a particular type of foreign policy. Therefore, the study seeks to use “Offensive Realism” as a theoretical framework to interrogate the security and other strategic interests of the United States in West Africa with emphasis on Ghana and Nigeria.

3.2 OFFENSIVE REALISM

Offensive Realism was propounded by John Mearsheimer in 2001, in his masterpiece, “The tragedy of great power politics”. Great power like U.S. considers the theory in its foreign policy formulation and implementation. It concentrates on big players in the international system like the US, China, UK and Russia. It is arguably the appropriate theory to elucidate major power behaviour with regard to minor powers and it gives accurate or veracious account of U.S. toward

Africa. Velarino, (2009), opines that any theory that attempt to explicate the actions of major powers cannot to do so without accounting for the behaviour of major powers toward minor powers. The theory is based on the structural conditions of the international system and the offensive nature of state actions (ibid...). Offensive realists argue that states are power maximizers, meaning that they are consistently anticipating favourable occasions to obtain more power as compared to other states. Mearsheimer (2001), opined that the conflictual or disorderly structure of the global system in addition to the profound uncertainty that America has about both the future and current aspirations of big powers like China and Russia impels the U.S. to increase its relative power positions. The theory portrays big powers as power-maximizing revisionists qualifying “buck-passing” over “balancing strategies” in their final aim to capture or conquer the international system as opposed to Kenneth Waltz defensive realism where balancing is preferred.

Offensive Realism is grounded on five key assumptions: (1) Great powers are the core actors in world politics and the global system is conflictual; (2) All states in the international scene possess some offensive military capabilities; (3) States are uncertain about the aspirations of other states; (4) Survival is the main purpose of states; (5) Finally, states are rational actors, who are capable of adopting sound strategies to achieve their goals.

In the first assumption which talks about great powers being the core actors in world politics as well as the international system being anarchic, offensive realists mean that a great power is influenced by the external ambience of the international system which is anarchical. But the realist conception of anarchy has nothing to do with conflict, rather it is an ordering principle which implies that the system is made up of sovereign states with no central authority supervising or controlling them (Mearsheimer, 2001). Realists argue that states always seek power in order to capture the international system so that they can prevail under the condition of anarchy in the

international system. According to Mearsheimer, states do not necessarily need to survive but to thrive in the international system constrained by anarchy. Also Waltz (1979), claims that the goal of every state is to gain power and not to share it equally. However, since no state is capable of achieving global hegemony, the international system is reduced to competition among great powers. Also, in the formulation and implementation of American foreign policy, those at the helm of affairs and the bureaucrats decide whether to maintain the status quo or to make some changes depending on the nature of the international system which has the potential to influence its interests.

In the second assumption, all states possess some offensive military capabilities. The military capabilities give the great powers the wherewithal to dominate and possibly destroy each other. The U.S. possess some military strength or capability as it is the world super power. Its military might is unmatched around the globe. Hence, it has stationed military bases in the various regions and continents of the world purposely because of its strategic (economic) and security interests in those regions. On the other hand, China with its huge population has the wherewithal of building a formidable military force. Also, it has the potential of becoming a military powerhouse by deploying its forces and establishing military bases around the globe including Africa which is its new discovery in terms of trade. For example, America has a military base in Djibouti (Camp Lemonnier) which is in the Horn of Africa. China on the other hand has also a military base in Djibouti which is the Chinese People Liberation Army Support Base. There is the possibility of China establishing a military base in West Africa because of its interests in the sub-region.

The third assumption is that states can never be certain of the intentions of other states. According to Mearsheimer, states ultimately want to know whether other states are determined to use force to alter the balance of power (revisionist states) or whether they are satisfied enough with it that

that they have no interest in using force to change it (status quo states). It is very difficult to decipher the intentions of other states because intentions cannot be empirically verified. Although, Mearsheimer kept mute on the issue of transnational movement like terrorism, it is very difficult to decipher the intentions of terrorist organizations. The twin bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998 as well as the 9/11 terrorists attack on the world trade center would have been prevented if the U.S. had already known the intentions of the terrorists.

The fourth assumption is that states have survival as their primary goals. Great powers that are not able to fight are concerned with their own survival. Thus, they pursue power and seek to dominate the minor powers (Mearsheimer 2001:1). It can be surmised that this is the main reason behind U.S. foreign policy toward countries like Ghana and Nigeria. For instance, there exists a bilateral trade relations between these countries and China as a new trading partner. Therefore, the creeping rise of China in the West African sub-region has resulted in an intense security and economic competition between America and China. The main concern of the U.S. is to contain China in West Africa like it used the policy of containment to contain the Communism and Soviet expansion in Africa during the Cold War.

The last assumption of offensive realism is that states are rational actors capable of using sound strategies to maximize their prospects for survival. The U.S. adopts soft powers or soft counterterrorism strategies of development like humanitarian aid, development aid, the spread of democracy and economic assistance to pursue its political, economic and security interests in West Africa without necessarily using hard powers. Initiatives like the President Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), Malaria initiative, Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), Africa Power Plan etc. introduced in West Africa by both Bush and Obama are typical examples of such sound strategies. This idea of soft counterterrorism is an extension of Joseph Nye's idea of soft

power defined largely as the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion (Miles, 2012).

According to Mearsheimer, great powers choreographed the architecture of the international system and determine the fate of other states. He further argues that security policies are paramount to any other issues. Also, the addition of a new variable such as geography in the theory enables us to understand why the U.S. uses offshore balancing and projection of power to halt the rise of any other regional hegemon. For example, the African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI) was created to compete with Europe in Africa and part of the reasons for the establishment of the African Command (AFRICOM) according to scholars like Campbell (2017), was to halt the creeping rise of China in Africa. AFRICOM was started by Bush and continued by Obama without hindrances because of their hardheaded realist postures. The U.S. has schemed and structured its military authority in a manner that every continent of the world is dovetailed to an area of responsibility (AOR) in the department of defense. A good example is the AFRICOM which is responsible for the African continent. The theory also elucidates the conflict or competition occurring among states. For example, the competition between China and US as regards their interests in Africa.

Offensive Realism as a theory has some weaknesses since every theory in the field of Social Science is assailable. The theory focuses much on power and security maximization as the driving forces of state's behaviour (Snyder, 2002). Defensive Realists believe that enough security can be assured or maintained without hegemonic tendencies. But Offensive Realists argue that they pursue power only when the benefit outweighs the cost. They keep pursuing power and these power urge seems bound to clash. Defensive Realists are of the view that states can be secured without necessarily dominating other states. Secondly, there is the issue of territorial expansion in

the theory of Offensive Realism which involves taking something from other minor states all in the name of security. Again, global hegemony according to Offensive Realism is the topmost intent of every state's foreign policy. However, Mearsheimer claims that it is unattainable because of the "stopping power of water" which makes it practically impossible for any state to extend its power over oceanic distances and to subjugate or hold territories in a far distance. This clearly contradicts his claim that Great Powers attempt to maximize power. The issue of "stopping power of water" raised by Mearsheimer is flawed because of the advancement of modern technology. Moreover, the theory which focuses much on power-security competition neglected the concept of transnational movement like terrorism which cannot be downplayed when it comes to security issues in international politics. Finally, Mearsheimer (2001:335) opines that the "bipolar" system tends to be the most peaceful system and the unbalanced "multipolar" system are more prone to deadly conflict. We are currently in an unbalanced multipolarity which according to Mearsheimer is anarchic and prone to deadly conflicts. But it is glaring that clear that the current system we live in is relatively peaceful.

The aim of this study is to find out the extent and in what ways the Post-Cold War U.S. foreign policy has undergone change. And offensive realism is a useful theory for explaining and examining the Post-Cold War U.S. foreign policy. Realists perceive foreign policy decisions to be driven by what is called national interest in international relations. More often than not, realists pursue hard core national interests like security and economic gains as enumerated in the realists' assumptions. They may also pursue their interests through the strategies of soft power. Thus, realists pursue their interest through both soft and hard power strategies depending on their perception about the international system as regards threats and opportunities. Offensive realism as a theory of great power of politics focus on hegemony. Following the attainment of its

hegemonic status in its own region, the U.S. acted in other regions in accordance with the prediction of offensive realism (Snyder,2002). Therefore, its engagement or intervention in Africa is to pursue its interests which is the driving force behind its foreign policy. However, the Post-Cold War period witnessed the creeping rise of China as a potential competitor to America in Africa. Recently, it surprisingly surpassed America as Africa's largest trading partner. Therefore, the goal of the U.S. is to prevent or halt the rise of its competitor (China) especially in West Africa in order to acquire power and pursue its strategic interests. The theory further explains how and why the U.S. foreign policymaking establishment alter its Post-Cold War African policy in order to suit its interests in West Africa. Therefore, variations in American interests as a result of the change in the international system, consequently lead to alteration in African policy.

3.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research seeks answers for the following questions:

- What are the parameters or trends of change in U.S. Post-Cold War foreign policy towards West Africa?
- What are the exact interests of U.S. in West Africa particularly, Ghana and Nigeria?
- What are the strategies adopted by the U.S. to halt the creeping rise of China in West Africa?

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The overriding goal of this research is to find out the extent and in what ways the Post-Cold War foreign policy of the U.S. has undergone changes in West Africa especially in Ghana and Nigeria. Creswell (2009:3), opines that the selection of a research design is based on “the description of the research problem or issue being tackled or addressed, the researcher’s personal experiences as well as the audiences for the study.” This chapter deals with the methodology that supports this research. The approaches, procedures and techniques that make up this study are captured in this chapter. Therefore, the chapter provides the full details of the research approach and methodology, the justification for the choice of the methodology as well the importance and weaknesses. Moreover, the chapter captures the mode of data collection, the study population or sample and the framework for data analysis. Finally, standards for reliability, validity and generalizability will be established.

4.2 APPROACH TO STUDY

The three main approaches to social science research include: quantitative; qualitative; and mixed method approaches. “Quantitative research method involves the collection of data so that information can be quantified and subjected to statistical analysis in order to approve or disapprove alternate knowledge claims” (Creswell, 2003:153). Quantitative methods commonly depend on large samples picked haphazardly in order to give a general form with certitude from the sample to the population that it defines or depicts (Patton, 2002). Therefore, it is unsuitable for this study,

since the study seeks to find out the extent and in what ways the Post-Cold War foreign policy of the U.S. has undergone changes in West Africa especially in Ghana and Nigeria.

On the other hand, “qualitative research is a means of investigating and appreciating the meaning individuals or groups attribute to a social or human problem” (Creswell, 2009:4). The five areas of qualitative research include: (1) case studies; (2) ethnography; (3) grounded theory; (4) phenomenological research; and (5) narrative research. Qualitative inquiry typically focuses on relatively small samples and it spans out of three (3) kinds of data: direct observation; written documents; and in depth or opened-ended interviews. Data collected in qualitative research is used to explicate in-depth phenomena pertinent to social behaviour in new and emerging paradigms. That is, qualitative approach enhances or facilitates study of issues or phenomenon in depth and detail. The analysis of qualitative data constitutes creativity, cerebral discipline, coherent and analytical rigour as well as lots deal of hard work (Patton, 2002). Finally, the social phenomenon being explored from the participant’s standpoint identifies qualitative research.

The third methodological approach is the mixed method. Creswell (2009:4), defined mixed methods research as “an approach to social science inquiry that merges or blends both qualitative and quantitative forms”. This method is also unsuitable for this study.

From the foregoing analysis of the three approaches of research methodology, the most suitable approach for this study is the qualitative approach. Thus, the researcher uses purely qualitative method in order to successfully undertake the research. This research intends to provide an in-depth insight into a phenomenon unlike the other approaches that use inferential statistics to quantify results. For example, researchers using quantitative method tend to resort to the use of numerical data and statistical analysis. And qualitative approach cannot be applied to phenomena

that are expressed in terms of quantity. This study sought to find out the extent and in what ways Post-Cold War American foreign policy has undergone some change in West Africa. Therefore, it is advisable for the researcher to adopt qualitative approach for this study because the ways in which the Post-Cold War U.S. foreign policy has undergone change can never be quantified. Qualitative research methodology is relevant because it provides in-depth details and interprets how an action occurred and why it occurred. Also, open-ended questioning in qualitative studies unveils novel or unexpected phenomenon and generates more issues via plain and open-ended inquiry (Yauch and Steudel, 2003; Creswell, 2014) as cited by (Mohajan, 2018). Finally, qualitative research methodology is cost-effective as the data collection procedure involves limited number of respondents, which can be carried out with limited resources.

4.3 DATA COLLECTION

The study solely employed qualitative methodology as a means of data collection. Data was gathered from two main sources: primary and secondary sources. The primary source constituted interviewing of nine (9) experts (respondents) in international relations as well as in U.S. foreign policy towards Africa. Four experts were chosen from Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPCTC) based on their professional credentials as well as their knowledge in international relations and U.S. foreign policy. Two (2) academics were chosen based on their expertise and knowledge as lecturers in International Relations as well as U.S. foreign policy towards Africa at the department of political science (UG). Also, one academic from Legon Center for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD) was interviewed based on his expertise in International Relations. Again two experts, one from the Third World Network (TWN) and the

other from the Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College (GAFCSC) were interviewed based on their vast expertise and knowledge in International Relations.

Secondary data for the research was gathered purposively from the secondary sources such as peer reviewed journal articles, books, reports and online sources from the Balme Library (UG), LECIAD Library (UG), Department of Political Science Library (UG) and the American Embassy Library. Also, electronic sources such Google Scholar, JSTOR, Sage Publication, Academia.edu and other websites were used for this study.

Purposive sampling technique was used in order to achieve the purpose of the research. “Purposive sampling is a technique mostly used in qualitative studies for the identification and selection of information-rich cases for the most effective use of limited resources” (Patton 2002: 230). This involves identification and selection of individuals that have expertise, knowledge and understanding of the research as well as the phenomenon of interest. Random sampling will be inapplicable in this study because the researcher might end up with respondents who have limited knowledge about the subject matter. Therefore, the researcher selected respondents who are knowledgeable and experts in the field of U.S. foreign policy toward Africa.

The research uses semi-structured interviewing questionnaire as a guide for its interviews. Semi-structured interview is a qualitative data collection strategy that merges a pre-determine set of open-ended questions with the opportunity for the interviewer to explore particular themes or responses further. With semi-structured question, informants are at liberty to express their views in their own terms. Also, it helps the interviewer to gather information from key informants who have knowledge and experiences related to the subject matter. Finally, semi-structured interview guide provides an unambiguous set of instructions for interviewers and can provide reliable,

comparable qualitative data (Cohen and Crabtree, 2006). The interviews were recorded with interviewees' permission.

4.4 FRAMEWORK FOR DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Both the primary and secondary data were subjected to critical contextual analysis. Qualitative content analysis was used as a method of data analysis. Content analysis can be defined as “any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings” (Patton, 2002:453). That is, “it refers to analyzing text (interview transcripts, diaries or documents) rather than observation-based field notes” (ibid....). The three approaches of content analysis propounded by (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005), were used to analyze and interpret meaning from the content of data gathered. The three approaches include the following: conventional approach where coding categories are obtained directly from the text data; the directed approach where analysis commences with a theory or germane research findings as guidance for previous codes; and lastly, the summative approach which involves counting and comparisons of key words or content, followed by the interpretation of the underlying context.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the analysis of data collected qualitatively. The process of data analysis involves interpreting text and image data collected qualitatively (Creswell, 2009). The chapter seeks to find the needed solution to the research questions that underline this study as well as fulfills the objectives of the study through valid and well-grounded interpretations. The chapter is categorized under the following themes: parameters or trends of change in Post-Cold War U.S. foreign policy towards West Africa; economic interest of U.S. in West Africa (Ghana and Nigeria) in the Post-Cold War era; security interest of U.S. in West Africa (Ghana and Nigeria) in the Post-Cold War era; the presence of China and other actors affecting U.S. interest in the sub-region; and finally, the strategies adopted by the U.S. to halt the creeping rise of China in West Africa.

5.2 PARAMETERS OR TRENDS OF CHANGE IN POST-COLD WAR U.S. FOREIGN POLICY TOWARD WEST AFRICA

American foreign policy towards West Africa can be understood in the broader context of the policy towards Africa (Respondent No.2, personal communication, March 23, 2020). That is, American policy towards West Africa is not much different from its foreign policy towards the other regions in Africa. During the Cold-War, the U.S. intervention in Africa was basically conducted in relation to the Soviet Union as of that time, in order to limit or contain the influence of Communism on the continent, via proxy wars, where West African countries were used as

pawns in the ideological battle between the East and West (Respondent No.1, personal communication, June 9, 2020; Respondent.9, personal communication, August 8, 2020). Lawson (2007), affirmed this assertion when he claimed that Africa was swinging as a pawn in the Cold War between America and the Soviet Union. But we had a unipolar world in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the U.S. emerged as the super power in the international system (Respondent No.5, personal communication, June 23, 2020).

The Post-Cold War period was an obstruction to international politics where liberalism dominated devoid of any serious ideological or material challenges (Bellamy, 2008). The opportunities provided by the demise of the Soviet Union have molded U.S. foreign policy much more than the responsibilities charged upon all nations by international law (Guyatt, 2003). In the immediate Post-Cold War era, the U.S. policy of Containment shifted to liberalism where the U.S. wanted to impose Americanism or liberalism onto several countries in the world including West Africa (Respondent No.1, personal communication, June 9, 2020). At the time of the end of the Cold War, Fukuyama's "*The End of History*" resolved that since the U.S. conquered Communism, there was no option but liberal democracy (Pieterse, 2008; Respondent No.1). Therefore, the need to fend off the Soviet Union in Africa was not there and so they had to find other reasons to continue to engage with the continent. Although, both the policy of Containment which the U.S. used during the Cold War and also liberalism which they used in the immediate Post-Cold War era are ideological policies; which sought to suit the interest of the U.S. or inured to its benefit, there is a change contrary to the claims made by some scholars that they are similar policies. The U.S. used the former to contain Communism via proxy wars while the latter was imposed on the West African countries through neoliberal policies of global financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and the World Trade Organization (WTO) (Respondent No.1,

personal communication, June 9, 2020). The Containment was largely to enhance U.S. military control of the sub-region while the Post-Cold War reality created the conditions no more for Containment but now a proactive and progressive kind of foreign policy. Also, the reasons and driving force of America's continued engagement changed dramatically, so security and military reasons were not so much an issue until of course when the issues of instability and Islamic fundamentalism started emerging in the sub-region.

On the other hand, Respondent No.3 (personal communication, August 13, 2020) is of the view that, American foreign policy toward Africa and for that matter West Africa for the first ten years after the Cold War, was rather indistinct as the sub-region was of less strategic importance to the U.S. He claims there was no coherent foreign policy because the Soviet Union was the main target of the U.S. in terms of what they did in Africa. So American policy toward the sub-region was one of neglect. Patman (2008), in agreement with Respondent No.3 (personal communication, August 13, 2020) contends that regardless of the historic linkages between the U.S. and Africa, American policy toward Africa has in general been marked by indifference and neglect. "Although, oil rich countries in the Gulf of Guinea like Nigeria, Gabon and Angola were among the top suppliers of crude oil to the U.S. during the 1990s, the sub-region was not a foreign policy priority to the U.S." (Leech, 2006:90). The assertion made by (Leech, 2006), also buttressed the proposition of Respondent No.3 (personal communication, August 13, 2020) who labelled the immediate Post-Cold War policy of the U.S. as indistinct, incoherent and of neglect. This is because, prior to the end of the Cold War, U.S. policy towards West Africa was not largely driven by commercial, economics, democracy, human rights but largely, to prevent the Soviet Union from really taking over the sub-region. American policy as of that time ranged from humanitarian intervention; supervising elections and democratic transitions; spreading of American values and

imposition of neoliberal policies (Respondent No.3, personal communication, August 13, 2020). And this same indistinct policy continued for some time in the Post-Cold War era until the region became an area of priority to America. For example, America neglected the continent for some time after the debacle of Mogadishu where the Black Hawk soldiers were killed until somewhere in 1998, where Clinton visited the continent including some countries in West Africa. The lesson from Somalia made America to reverse its decision of direct engagement with African countries and resorted to the use of financial resources and human resources for resolution of conflict, transitions and political reform and economic development (Lawson, 2007).

During his visit to Africa in 1998, President Bill Clinton asserted that, “conceivably, the meanest sin America ever perpetrated towards Africa was the sin of neglect and ignorance as regards the continent” (Guyatt, 2003:21). Also, President Bill Clinton in his autobiography posited that “the U.S. had neglected African for far too long” and he was of the conviction that “Africa would play a significant role for good or ill in the twenty first century” (Clinton, 2000:780). Thus, Bill Clinton was the trailblazer in defining the new engagement with Africa in the Post-Cold War era by renewing American interest.

With the foregoing analysis, it can be deduced that American foreign policy towards the sub-region changes with current happenings or turn of events in the international system in order to suit its interests. That is, U.S. intervention and involvement in the affairs of other countries can be comprehended in the context of changes in the international power structure (Sebastian, 2008). It also changes according to the personal idiosyncrasies of the various American presidents and their individual policy plans as well as the area of focus of their policies. “The New World Order has been delineated not by the international community but by the U.S. presidents keen to make use of the Unipolar moment in which the U.S. prides itself of matchless power and can basically do

what it likes” (Guyatt, 2003: xiii). Guyatt’s (2003), assertion reconciles with my second point which borders on the personal idiosyncrasies of U.S. presidents as regards their policies. For instance, President Bill Clinton never launched a military campaign against terrorists in the Sahel part of West Africa as it was not the priority of his administration. And majority of American populace as of that time were very much concerned about domestic issues. But according to Alden (2000), the Clinton administration sought to address security threats emanating from Africa including conflicts between and within states, terrorism, drug trafficking and illicit arms. Also, the twin bombings of the American embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam did not trigger the Clinton administration to proactively send troops to the Sahel region in the fight against terrorism. It only launched African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI) to train and build the capacity of the military of some countries on the African continent in order to stop wars and maintain stability on the continent. This is a clear manifestation that Clinton’s administration was less focused on the continent as regards its foreign policy on counter terrorism.

Also, getting to the latter part of President Clinton’s administration, U.S. foreign policy towards the continent and for that matter the sub-region shifted to economic interest (trade and commerce). That is, the policy was largely on trade and commerce as the main focus was on U.S.-Africa relations in order to promote free market and free movement of capital between the U.S. and the African continent. Again, Clinton’s administration realized that the U.S. corporations have found a new market for their commercial purposes. For instance, Nigeria which is the most populous country in West Africa offered a large market for U.S. products. Therefore, Bill Clinton launched the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) initiative in that regard which ensured the safe delivery of African products to the U.S. markets with nominal tariffs. In his autobiography, Bill Clinton asserted that the launch of the AGOA initiative was a clear manifestation that America

was turning a new page in its relationship with Africa (Clinton, 2000:784). Alden (2000), also posited that the introduction of an initiative like AGOA had changed the terms of American trade and development assistance to Africa. But there was also the concern raised by the U.S. labour unions that American markets would be inundated with cheaply manufactured goods (Guyatt, 2003). Although the AGOA program was a good initiative, not all countries in Africa were beneficiaries of the initiative because of the criteria set by the U.S. for qualification into the program by African countries. The criteria include the following:

The AGOA program calls for qualifying countries to abandon controls on capital movements, to reduce tariffs, to privatize State Own Enterprises (SOE's), and to reduce taxes for business. It also requires qualifying countries to avoid gross human-rights violations and activities that undermine America's national security or foreign policy interests (Guyatt, 2003:24).

Consequently, the incident of the 9/11 terrorist attacks led to a total overhaul of U.S. foreign policy globally including the African continent (Respondent No.5, personal communication, June 23, 2020). Kraxberger (2005) and Patman (2008) in agreement with Respondent No.5 also contend that the events of the 9/11 attack and the fear of failed states in Africa acting as sanctuaries for terrorists triggered a renewed American interest in Africa. Prior to the terrorist attacks, former president George W. Bush who was explicitly devoted to unilateralism sought to depart from the extreme interventionism of the Clinton administration and focused on domestic affairs (Guyatt, 2003; Bello, 2005). In addition, George W. Bush in his autobiography posited that, earlier before the terrorist attacks, his policy on Africa was focused on humanitarian mission and eradication of disease (Bush, 2010:336). The attacks led to the resurgence of insurgency and Islamic fundamentalism in the Horn of Africa as well as the Sahel part of West Africa which are sanctuaries for these terrorists.

Again, after the incident, George W. Bush made it crystal clear that the focus of his administration was going to be much about global war on terror. That is, how to curb the menace of terrorism and Islamic fundamentalism globally including West Africa especially the Sahel part. For Bush, the 9/11 incident was the demarcation line between the new century and the 1990s when Bill Clinton had failed to respond aggressively and proactively enough to series of attacks on America and its allies. “The terrorist attacks therefore became a cautioning signal as regards the strategic circumstance that successive U.S. presidents would be encountering for the next fifty (50) years” (Woodward,2003:372).

Moreover, George W. Bush embarked on a foreign policy which was focused on economic interest of the U.S. That is, trade in hydrocarbons (oil and gas) and also commerce (Respondent No.3, personal communication, August 13, 2020). Mezzel (2010), holds similar view with Respondent No.3 by also asserting that America’s interest in the sub-region is to have access to Africa’s wealth of hydrocarbons (oil and gas). With the discovery of oil in some countries in the Gulf of Guinea in addition to the crude oil already existing in Nigeria and Angola, the West African sub-region became an area of strategic importance to the U.S. A notable example was the discovery of oil in Ghana in commercial quantities. Also the conflagration and instability in the middle East made America to concentrate on the crude oil in the Gulf of Guinea. Leech, (2006) bolstered these claims when he opined that the U.S. quest to diversify its oil sources led the Bush administration to focus an increasing amount of attention on West Africa’s Gulf of Guinea. Also, the incident of the 9/11 led to a reappraisal of U.S. policy in West Africa, which the “U.S. Department of Energy gauged will become increasingly significant over the next decade” (Leech, 22006:90). Thus, it is glaring that America established bases in Africa to make the continent stable for the smooth operations of

its multinational oil corporations like Chevron Texaco and ExxonMobil which have continued to operate in West Africa.

In view of the foregoing analysis, former President Barack Obama continued with George W. Bush's policy of economic and security interests. We witnessed some kind of dealings in Africa at the level of development and other sectors under Obama's administration but there was not much change especially in the security front (Respondent No 5, personal communication, June 23, 2020). Also, what is influencing President Donald Trump's policy in Africa is basically to deal with China and Russia (ibid...). Trump's concern is to counter the threat of China in Africa because China is gradually gaining control of the continent. He is also exhibiting some policy of isolationism which was the traditional foreign policy of America prior to both the First and Second World Wars.

In conclusion, it can be inferred from the above analysis that, economic interest (Trade, Energy security) and security interest (global war on terror) are the major policy change in Post-Cold War U.S. foreign policy towards West Africa. Alden (2000), affirms this point when he argues that the parameters centered mainly around oil and security. There is a dramatic or paradigm shift both in terms of focus and in terms of interest as far as the relationship between the U.S. and West Africa is concerned in the Post-Cold War era.

5.3 ECONOMIC INTEREST OF U.S. IN WEST AFRICA IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

5.3.1 Nigeria

American foreign policy is not intended to benefit any country in the sub-region. It is intended to enhance U.S. national interest as the policy is pursued with U.S. national interest in mind (Respondent No.2, personal communication, March 23, 2020). But the countries in the sub-region stand the chance of benefiting from their relationship or engagement with U.S. These countries if committed to their relationship with U.S. will reap benefit that will change the wellbeing of their citizens (ibid...).

The economic relations between the U.S. and Nigeria came out not through the dynamics of economics but from British colonialism (Ola, 2019). Crude oil was first discovered in Nigeria by Shell in 1956 while the country was still under the British (Leech, 2008). Consequently, Mobil also obtained concession to commence oil exploration in the country in that same year (ibid...). And foreign aid and bilateral development assistance were the sparking plug of U.S. foreign policy in the bilateral interaction between U.S. and Nigeria before the advent of the Post-Cold War era (ibid...)

In the Post-Cold War era, U.S. interest in the sub-region is largely oil that is found in the Gulf of Guinea which is more of a high quality than what can be found in the Gulf region of Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states (Respondent No.2, personal communication, March 23, 2020). The Gulf of Guinea of which some of the countries in West Africa can be found has the largest deep-water offshore oil reserve in the world (Ostegard, 2006). And Oil is one of the feeds of the American economy. America doesn't need to spend huge sums of money to refine it because of the quality

nature of the oil which is made of high Sulphur content. Thus, Leech (2008), claimed that the main priority of the U.S. foreign policy in the sub-region is to secure present and future oil supplies from the Gulf of Guinea contrary to the claims made by some scholars that West Africa is a region of less significance to the U.S. It is worthy of note that America currently imports similar amount and quantity of oil from the African continent as it does from the Gulf region. This is buttressed by the claim made by the National Public Radio (2012), that Nigeria alone provides more crude oil to America than any country from the Middle East with the exception of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. In the area of commerce and business (trade), the U.S. has continuously invested in oil exploration and oil businesses in Nigeria even prior to the Post-Cold War era because of the large deposit of oil in Nigeria which makes it a significant country to the U.S. (Respondent No 2, personal communication, March 23, 2020).

Nigeria is the largest oil producer in Africa as well as the world's fifth-largest exporter of liquefied natural gas as of 2018 (U.S. Energy Information Administration, 2020). Nigeria is the seventh largest exporter of crude oil to the U.S. and it is also among the top ten (10) oil exporting countries that account for approximately ninety-seven percent (97%) of all U.S. crude oil imports (ibid...). All these records from the U.S. Energy Information Administration clearly delineate American interest in West Africa particularly Nigeria. And as a regional hegemon in the West African sub-region, if America could be its ally, it will be easy for America to protect its interest within the sub-region against its competitors like China and Russia who are gradually gaining control in the region (Respondent No.5, personal communication, June 23, 2020). Leech (2008), claimed that in 2004, Chinese companies reached a deal with the Nigerian government to develop two (2) oil fields as well as build refineries and pipelines in that country. Again, U.S. multinational oil companies like Shell, Chevron/Texaco and ExxonMobil are engaged in oil exploration in the Niger

Delta region of Nigeria. Even the Federal Republic of Nigeria has entered into a joint-venture agreement with Shell and ExxonMobil in the production of oil (Okonjo-Iweala, 2018).

Although the U.S. multinational companies engaged in oil exploration in Nigeria are there purposely for their interest or profit, the Federal Republic of Nigeria also obtains revenues and various forms of royalties from these companies, as against the perception or scholarly guesses that oil producing countries in West Africa derived nothing from the U.S. multinational oil companies (Respondent No 2, personal communication, March 23, 2020). Regardless of the hiccups and ugly nature of Nigeria's oil and gas sector, the sector has helped finance the country's development in one way or the other. According to Nigeria's Ministry of Budget and National Planning as cited by the U.S. Energy Information Administration (2020), the country's oil sector contributes seventy percent (70%) of government revenue and ninety-five percent of export revenue. In other words, the country is hyper dependent on oil production as it is crystal clear that oil production is the backbone of the country's economy. But its non-oil revenue constitutes only 3.4% of the country's Gross Domestic Product, one of the lowest in the world (U.S. Energy Information Administration, 2020).

However, chunk of the revenues derived from the U.S. multinationals oil companies do not reach the large section of the Nigerian citizenry as they are unaccounted for. The rich and the elites benefit from the oil proceeds more than the low-income or poor people. Even the autochthonous from the oil exploration communities of the Niger-Delta lament of not benefiting from the oil production in their area. For instance, in 2014, there was an allegation by the then governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria, Sanusi Lamido Sanusi that about \$49.8 billion dollars was missing or unaccounted for from the country's oil account for the period from January 2012 to July 2013 (Okonjo-Iweala, 2018; 44). In her autobiography, the then minister of finance of Nigeria, Ngozi

Okonjo-Iweala admitted that the spreadsheet of the ministry of finance of the federal Republic of Nigeria confirmed that \$10.8 billion dollars to \$12 billion was unaccounted for in that same year (Ibid...). The discrepancies and inconsistencies in the management of the oil revenue is a clear manifestation of misappropriation and embezzlement of the revenue by the political elites and the top businessmen in the country to the neglect of ordinary citizens.

Moreover, oil revenues are being lost to oil theft ‘oil bunking’ and attacks on oil pipelines perpetrated by armed militants from the Niger-Delta region which makes the country to suffer considerable losses instead of maximizing its output and revenues. A June 27 2012, article in *Oil Change International* cites Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala as saying “Nigeria is losing \$1 billion a month as a result of oil theft and smuggling” (Okonjo-Iweala, 2018:48). Also, powerful traditional leaders, top businessmen and the elite politicians usually used money to fund the armed militant groups in order to consolidate their control over the oil producing region of Niger-Delta. The armed militant groups not contented with the meager amount they receive from the corrupt elites compete for control over communities located on oil-rich lands. Also the discovery and rise of shale oil in the U.S. appears to be challenging for Nigeria’s oil production. According to Bloomberg News (2020), sudden increase in the production of shale oil drastically lowered Nigerian exports to the U.S.

In point of fact, America also embarked on trade as a form of soft power strategy to consolidate its control of the continent (Respondent No 2, personal communication, March 23, 2020). This point can also be backed by the assertion made by Joseph Nye at the 2006 meeting of the American Political Science Association when he said that “The U.S. cannot win by hard power alone but must pay more heed to soft power and global communications” (Bello, 2005:115). Thus, another new approach to America’s economic development was the launch of the African Growth and

Opportunity Act (AGOA) and the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA) initiatives. Trade is certainly the direction to offer help to people in the developing world to expand their economies and elevate themselves out of poverty (Bush, 2010:359). To be eligible for the MCA funds, countries in the sub-Saharan Africa had to meet three distinctly defined criteria: “govern free of corruption; follow market based economic policies; and spend in the health and education of their people” (Bush, 2010:348). AGOA was also launched to open American markets to African products and also to remove tariffs on most African exports to the United States. And one of the eligibility criteria of AGOA requires eligible countries to shun gross human-right violations and exercises that threaten U.S. national security or foreign policy (Guyatt, 2003). But Nigeria is a beneficiary of both AGOA and MCA initiatives despite the fact that egregious human-right abuses and rampant corruption are on ascendancy in that country. The eligibility criteria for qualification were not duly followed because Nigeria never met some of the criteria. However, the U.S. cannot ignore or disqualify Nigeria which is the most populous country in the region as well as the big player in trade and commerce. This clearly shows the interest of America in the country as regards commerce and trade. And the U.S. Department of State (2019), buttressed this point when they claimed that Nigeria is the largest receiver of American exports in the sub-region and also the largest recipient of U.S. foreign direct investment.

Moreover, these trade initiatives come with conditionality and imposition of American values on Africans which are at par with Africa’s cultural values and norms. They are not for the wellbeing of Nigerian citizens as well as the growth of Nigerian economy but rather for the wellbeing of American citizens. Although, U.S. economic interest in Nigeria is largely based on its benefits, Nigeria on the other hand also reap some benefits but not on equal measures.

5.3.2 GHANA

The diplomatic relations between Ghana and the United States began in 1957 when Ghana attained its independence. Currently, there exists a strong economic relationship between these two countries which is beneficial to both of them. Ghana is gradually following the footsteps of the U.S. in spreading democracy, human rights and rule of law as it is the shining example on the African continent.

In the immediate Post-Cold War era, U.S. interest in Ghana was much of promoting democracy, freedom, human rights as well as foreign aid. It was more of promoting American values than economic interest; thus, all these featured prominently in its foreign policy. Although, a nascent democracy which started in 1992, Ghana is one of the countries the U.S. continue to use as incubators to spread democracy as well as their values because of its democratic consolidation and also the good diplomatic relations with U.S. (Respondent No.2, personal communication, March 23, 2020; Respondent No.8, personal communication, August 18, 2020). Also, America had supported its democratic transitions, elections, and even it is continuously engaging governments to commit to the respect and promotion of fundamental human rights of the people in Ghana. Moreover, the U.S. still continue to sponsor or support elections in Ghana. A notable example was its support for the 2016 election of Ghana. According to Congressional Research Service (2019), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the State Department contributed \$7.4 million in program support for Ghana's 2016 election. Most importantly, in International Relations and global affairs, Ghana is seen by America as a continental leader which they can use to get Africa to support certain position at the international level or scene particularly at the United Nation (UN) and other international organizations (Respondent No.2, personal communication, March 23, 2020; Respondent No.5, personal communication, June 23, 2020).

Harris (2017), is in agreement with Respondent No.2 & Respondent No.5 when he opined that part of the U.S. interests is to advance its vital interest in international organizations.

However, Bill Clinton during his second term of office focused on U.S. economic interest in Africa and Ghana was part of the countries he visited in his 1998 tour of the continent. Bill Clinton on his return from Africa signed the AGOA initiative into law and later George Bush worked with Congress to expand it. Under the AGOA initiative, eligible African countries were given special consideration by American corporations and investors and it also established a free-trade area that ensures the safe delivery of African products to the U.S. markets with negligible tariff (Guyatt, 2003:24). Ghana was eligible for the AGOA initiative because it met all the qualifying criteria as a result of its democratic credentials, good governance and respect for human rights. AGOA was indeed a vital economic initiative and it impacted the Ghanaian economy as most successive Ghanaian entrepreneurs exported their products to the U.S. without much hindrance. George Bush in his autobiography asserted that, he saw the impacts of AGOA firsthand when he met a group of Ghanaian entrepreneurs in Ghana who exported their products to the U.S. (Bush, 2010:351).

It is worthy of note that Ghana is still reaping a lot of benefits from the AGOA initiative despite the fact that the initiative is intended to serve American interest at large. For instance, Ghana's trade under the program registered a total of \$748 million in 2017 according to Ghana National Chamber of Commerce and Industry (AGOA.info, 2018). Again, under the program, America has always been supportive of Ghana's manufacturing industry especially the apparel industry. In 2019, a high powered U.S. congressional delegation with its speaker Nancy Pelosi visited Dignity Do the Right Thing (DTRT) Limited in Ghana; the largest apparel manufacturer and exporter in West Africa which is a beneficiary of both USAID programming and AGOA (My Joy Online.com, 2019). Though not under the AGOA initiative, the U.S. secretary of commerce, Wilber Ross in

2018 announced over \$1 billion in Africa's private-sector deals during his visit to Ghana with a delegation from the President's Advisory Council on Doing Business in Africa (PAC-DBIA) (U.S. Department of Commerce, 2018).

In addition, Ghana signed the Millennium Challenge Corporations (MCC) compact in 2006 which aimed to assist in transforming Ghana's agriculture sector. After successfully completing the first compact in 2012, Ghana was also qualified in 2014 for another compact which was mainly concerned about improving the quality of the country's electricity system. Although, the MCC compact is a good initiative, it is intended to promote American interest. That is, to support U.S. companies by facilitating their smooth operations in Ghana devoid of any hindrance. The first compact of the MCC was used to construct the N1 road in Ghana linking Accra to the Central Region in order to facilitate easy and smooth transportation of tropical fruits from the Central region to the Cargo section of Kotoka International Airport for export. Also, part of the first compact was used in constructing roads in Somanya in the Eastern Region where there is a lot of mango plantations for easy transportation of the mangoes to the Airport for export to America. Though bilateral trade relations between the U.S. and Ghana is a win-win situation, it is not of equal measures as the U.S. is always the recipient of the lion share of trade deals.

In 2005, a five-year \$1.2 billion program for eradication of Malaria (Malaria Initiative) in fifteen (15) sub-Saharan Africa countries was launched by George Bush's administration. Also in 2008, the U.S. Congress passed a \$15 billion initiative to mitigate the menace HIV/AIDS on the continent under the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR). Ghana was a beneficiary of these programs. These two initiatives are forms of the soft power strategy America is using to solidify its presence on the continent for the purpose of pursuing its interests contrary to the

observations of some scholars who perceive these programs as some form of foreign aid or assistance.

The discovery of oil made Ghana the subject of strategic U.S. energy and economic interest. Oil was discovered in Ghana in 2007 in large quantities for commercial purposes but the operation and production started in 2010. A U.S. multinational oil company, Kosmos Energy started the exploration and production of oil in Ghana in late 2010, followed by Tullow Energy and Gas at the Jubilee oil field. Currently, U.S. multinational oil and gas corporations operating in Ghana include; ExxonMobil, Halliburton, Baker Hughes and Schlumberger. These multinational oil companies are operating in the three oil producing fields in Ghana: Jubilee, Tweneboa Enyera Ntomme (TEN) and Sankofa Gye Nyame (SGN).

Though, these multinationals take a large share of the oil and its proceeds back to the U.S. and other places, the government of Ghana gets 10% of the amount as revenue. The revenue Ghana derives from oil production has been supporting its national budget since commercial production of oil started in the country. Since 2010, Ghana has received more than \$7 billion in oil revenues (Ghana News Agency, 2020). It is worthy of note that the Government of Ghana (GOG) relies on the petroleum revenue as a core source of funding for the government flagship free senior high school program. Again, the West African Gas Pipeline Project (WAGP) which is a joint venture by ChevronTexaco, Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation, Shell, Takoradi Power Company Limited, Societe de Gez, and Societe Ben Gaz S.A. is also a major project that has significant involvement from U.S. oil multinationals. The WAGP is fifty-nine percent (59%) owned by ChevronTexaco and Royal Dutch Shell (Otchere-Darko, 2009). However, the presence of U.S. and its multinational oil companies sometimes restricts Ghana from engaging in a trade deal with other multinationals from different countries. For instance, three years ago, Ghana and GAZPROM, a

Russian gas giant signed 12- year deal to supply Ghana National Petroleum Corporation (GNPC) with liquefied natural gas at a cheaper price to enable Ghana shore up its energy security (Reuters News, 2017). It later turned out that America has placed a sanction on the company and consequently affected the company's supply of gas to Ghana. The trade deal between America and Ghana is not massive as compared to other countries across the globe, Ghana is still relevant and vital to America in the international system.

5.4. SECURITY INTEREST OF U.S. IN WEST AFRICA IN THE POST-COLD WAR

5.4.1. NIGERIA

America had security interests in the sub-region even before the advent of the Post-Cold War era. For instance, Liberia was strategically significant for U.S. intelligence and Cold War propaganda (Respondent No.2, personal communication, March 23, 2020; Respondent No.9, personal communication, August 8, 2020). America's security interests in the sub-region from the advent of the Post-Cold War is focused on the fight against terrorism (global war on terror) and also to ensure stability for the smooth operation of American businesses in order to achieve its interest. Therefore, it is vital for the U.S. to get West African countries, especially Nigeria which is the regional hegemon that will support them in their crusade against war on terror (Respondent No.1, personal communication, June 9, 2020). Ayam (2008), in agreement with Respondent No.1 posited that the upkeep of regional security and peace in the sub-region is an indispensable area the interest of America and Nigeria meet. In addition, because of the dominant Muslim population in Nigeria, America has always viewed the country as a key ally in its war on terror.

With the war on terrorism, the U.S. started its campaign on the continent in the aftermath of the twin blasts of U.S. embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. But the serious campaign against terrorists commenced right after the 9/11 attacks. And prior to the 9/11 attack, U.S. direct interests in Africa were not strategic in nature and only became of strategic interest after the attack (Harris, 2017). Therefore, security matters were involved in U.S. foreign policy towards the sub-Saharan Africa as of that time. For instance, the U.S. State Department (2019) in the Foreign Operations budget request for financial year 2016, labeled the improvement of peace and security as one of the United States' highest priorities in the sub-Saharan Africa. Also, Olsen (2017), asserted that the threats from global terrorism and radicalized Islamic fundamentalism depict some of the external determinants of U.S. policy towards Africa. The activities of Al-Qaeda in the Maghreb and Boko Haram in the Sahel region of West Africa and Nigeria have sparked U.S. security interests in the region for the fear of the region becoming a sanctuary for terrorists and militants who are potential threats to the U.S. security interests and the people of West Africa. Therefore, the fight against radical Islamist insurgents in Nigeria and the Sahel region became one of the priorities of the U.S. in the sub-region. Furthermore, the U.S. capitalized on the post 9/11 war on terror to ensure and maintain security in the Sahel countries and Nigeria via military assistance. However, Olsen (2015), posited that America lacks a diplomatic presence in the northern part of Nigeria where the "Boko Haram" insurgents operate as a result of security reasons. But it is rather the Sahel region where two countries (Chad and Niger) have borders with Nigeria that has been the focus of U.S. security policy since the incident of the 9/11 attacks.

Consequently, America launched a number of regional security initiatives reiterating that Africa was joined or included in the global fight against terrorism. But prior to the bombing of the two U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, the African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI) was

introduced in 1997 by the Clinton administration to train African military to participate in peacekeeping or support activities but it was later transformed into a new program dubbed African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (ACOTA) under George W. Bush administration. In 2002, the U.S. state department introduced the Pan-Sahel Initiative (PSI) to provide border security and other counterterrorism assistance to Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger and Chad. But it is worthy of note that Niger and Chad share borders with Nigeria at the northeastern part where there is the massive presence of Islamist insurgents. Again, in 2007, the African Command (AFRICOM) was initiated to protect the national security interest of U.S. and to conduct military operations in order to curb the menace of transnational threats, crime and terrorism (Respondent No 2, personal communication, March 23, 2020; Respondent No.5, personal communication, June 23, 2020). Olsen (2015), in agreement with the purpose of establishing the AFRICOM asserted that American military established the African Command in large part to coordinate the fight against growing Islamic fundamentalism in the Sahel region of West Africa and horn of Africa. The U.S. department of defense considers counter-terrorism operations an enduring struggle for the next ten to twenty years; and Niger which has a border with Nigeria is geographically stationed to enable support to multiple efforts to AFRICOM's mission (Mail & Guardian, 2020). Nigeria which is the regional hegemon in the sub-region is a beneficiary of all these security and military initiatives but when the Bush administration announced the idea of the creation of AFRICOM, Nigeria was one of the countries that opposed its establishment on the continent (Respondent No.1, personal communication, June 9, 2020). Also, under the Trans Sahara Counter Terrorism Partnership (TSCTP) program, Nigeria was also part of the ten (10) countries that signed the partnership deal with America. The creation of these initiatives is a clear manifestation of Americas' commitment in protecting its interests on the continent as well as

ensuring stability and peace. A case in point is when the activities of Boko Haram reached its peak in northeastern part of Nigeria, the U.S. increased its military assistance to the country (Olsen, 2015). But the U.S. halted the assistance based on allegations of corruption among the political elites and human right abuse within the Nigerian military.

Moreover, the Gulf of Guinea in which Nigeria can be found is an oil shore; therefore, America's interest is to make sure that it does not fall into the hands of militants and its competitors like China and Russia. Thus, the focus of America on Nigeria as regards security issues is to secure its energy supplies in the Niger Delta region, where there are incessant attacks on oil facilities and installations. Attacks on oil facilities affects about ten percent (10%) of the Nigeria's oil production which directly affect the supply of oil to America. Also, violence by militants in Nigeria's Niger Delta caused economic losses to U.S. multinational oil companies which could run as high as \$10 billion between 2005 to 2014 (Gilpin, 2007). The Niger Delta region still remains fragile as the underlying or root causes of the violence or conflicts between the militants and the oil companies has not been resolved. The activities of militants like Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND), Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV) and the Niger Delta People Volunteer Force (NDPVF) affect the oil production of U.S. multinational oil companies in the region.

In addition, the prevalence of piracy in the Niger Delta region disrupts oil production in the entire Gulf of Guinea which is the new source of oil supply for America. Nigerian territorial waters house some of the U.S. multinational oil companies (Mustapha, 2014:29). Nigeria was ranked No.1 by the international maritime organization in global pirate attacks before the Somali pirates came on the scene in 2008 (ibid...). Regardless of the amnesty granted the Niger militants, they still engaged in piracy. Also, based on the international maritime bureau's data of 2013, Nigeria was ranked second only to Indonesia in pirate attacks (ibid...). Initiatives like the Africa Maritime Law

Enforcement Partnership (AMLEP), Africa Partnership Station (APS), and “Obangami Express” which are the AFRICOM’s maritime security engagement programs were introduced to curb the menace of piracy and transnational crime in the Gulf of Guinea. The APS helps empower maritime security capacity via maritime training, collaboration, infrastructure building and cross-border cooperation. And the AMLEP is a bilateral agreement between U.S. and a partner nation to curb illegal transnational maritime activity. To protect American investments and for that matter the multinational oil companies; the Bush administration reached an agreement with Nigeria to provide its Navy with fifteen (15) patrol boats to be used to protect oil installations in the Niger Delta as well as the country’s coast (Leech 2016:116). Again, Barack Obama was also concerned with Maritime security for fighting the menace of piracy in the Gulf of Guinea in the form of military assistance (Pham, 2011). Moreover, Barnes (2005), posited that America tolerated military presence or build up as well as policing of its oil installations as a result of limited information about the happenings in the region.

Specifically, American security initiatives in the Federal Republic of Nigeria falls within its general foreign policy strategy toward the sub-Saharan Africa. Regardless of these initiatives, piracy on Nigeria’s coast and the activities of terrorists in the northeastern part of the country are still on the rise. Ostegard (2006), also affirms this position when he asserted that the situation in Niger Delta rather exacerbated regardless of the security and military support provided by America. Although, there is a sense in U.S. fight against terrorism and militancy in Nigeria but the whole process under which that war is waged has become the very problem that it sets to resolve. This is because the strategy used by the U.S. to fight the terrorists and militants rather ginger them to commit several attacks.

5.4.2 GHANA

According to Congressional Research Report (2019), U.S.- Ghanaian security cooperation is fixed in bilateral defense agreement dating back to 1972. Ghana is stationed in a stable center of the Gulf of Guinea which makes it a vital or strategic country to the U.S. in terms of its economic and security interests (Respondent No 1, personal communication, June 9, 2020). Although, the U.S. has security interest in Ghana, the interest is not as much as compared to other countries in the sub-region like Nigeria, Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso. American security concern is not much focused on Ghana but rather Ghana is being used as a launching pad to monitor the nefarious activities of terrorists in the Sahel region and pirates in the Gulf of Guinea (Respondent No 2, personal communication, March 23, 2020). Ahorsu (2011) is in agreement with this point when he asserted that the aftermath of September 11 and the new strategic importance of the sub-region makes it a potential target to terrorists, pirates and militants. It is worth emphasizing that Ghana is indispensable to the U.S. given its strategic importance and also the need for U.S. to protect its energy interest in the Gulf of Guinea.

The U.S. engagement with Ghana in the area of security is somehow beneficial to Ghana although it is in the interest of the U.S. It helps to build some of our military units, training, education and sponsorship for some of the programs of the Ghana Armed Forces. Even prior to the discovery of oil in Ghana, America continue to receive favourable reception in the country in terms of their military operations than the other countries in the sub-region. Ghana has benefited a lot from U.S. security initiatives like AFRICOM, ACOTA, ACRI, TSCTI launched by the U.S. Amongst the benefits include; capacity building of the Ghana Armed Forces, training of the military in the Ghana Army, provision of military equipment, knowledge acquisition on how to deal with the increasing threat of terrorism and insecurity in the sub-region. For instance, Ghana is also a

beneficiary of U.S. traditional security assistance programs like the International Military Education and Training (IMET) and Foreign Military Financing (FMF).

In addition, Ghana is a beneficiary of the Security Governance Initiative (SGI) which is a security partnership deal signed between the U.S. and Ghana that is designed at enhancing the competence of Ghana's security sector. Again, under the SGI, the U.S. has pumped more than \$35 million to strengthen border, maritime and cyber security as well as to improve the administration of justice (U.S. State Department, 2018). Furthermore, Ghana and the U.S. signed a Joint Country Action Plan (JCAP) which identified three (3) priority areas of partnership; maritime security, border security and cyber security (ibid...). As a result of Ghana's political commitment and human right-centric approach in dealing with cyber security, the country has been appointed as a member of the Independent Advisory Committee (IAC) of the Global Internet Forum to counter terrorism (Citi Business News, 2020).

However, the signing of the U.S.- Ghana military pact in 2018 generated a lot of brouhaha in the country for the fear that America was going to construct a military base in the country which has the tendency of attracting terrorists from the Sahel countries to Ghana (Respondent No.1, personal communication, June 9, 2020). This brouhaha led to a second look at the policy in Ghana's parliament because majority of Ghanaians claim the country was handed a raw deal as regards the signing of the pact. But the U.S. claimed it only requested to deploy its marine forces and military aircraft in Accra in order to enhance security cooperation between the countries as well as address regional defense and security issues. In point of fact, Ghana and U.S. signed similar pact in 1998 and it was renewed in 2015. Thus, the 2018 pact between the U.S. and Ghana can also be seen as a renewal of the 2015 military pact between the two countries.

Regardless of these initiatives, the activities of terrorists in the continent and for that matter the Sahel region of West Africa is on the rise. Ghana's neighbour, Burkina Faso, and Niger have all been taken over by these terrorist groups who are occupying certain territories in these countries. Therefore, the coastal countries including Ghana and Nigeria which have borders with these countries are very much concerned about the possible intrusion of these terrorists in their territories. Also some scholars contend that our suspicions about security initiatives like AFRICOM and ACRI have not allowed us to translate these initiatives into any beneficial outcome, although they were launched purposely to serve the interest of America. Thus, poor leadership underpinned by suspicions contributed to lack of benefit from these initiatives.

5.5 THE PRESENCE OF CHINA AND OTHER ACTORS AFFECTING U.S. INTEREST IN WEST AFRICA

Notwithstanding the presence of U.S. in the sub-region, China which is another oil consuming giant is escalating its presence on the continent and for that matter West Africa. The increasing relationship between China and Africa is gaining attention. China is the most dynamic country in the world which is capable of making life difficult for America in West Africa (Respondent No.7, personal communication, May 25, 2020). Thus, the presence of China largely affects U.S. interest in the sub-region. Respondent No.7 (personal communication, May 25, 2020), contend that increasing China's activities in West Africa is a threat to America or a new form of Cold War. "Analysts also evaluated that excluding a huge downturn or a political fiasco, China will have an economy larger than that of America possibly within two or three decades, and fifty percent (50%) larger by 2050" (Bello, 2005:211).

Also, considering the discovery of large deposit of oil in the Gulf of Guinea and China's quest for more oil, West Africa is of strategic significance to the Chinese. "The world's most valuable company is Petro China at \$1 trillion which is double the value of ExxonMobil" (Pieterse, 2008:168). According to Bello (2005), China is consuming seven percent (7%) of the world's oil supply. It is envisaged that China may surpass the U.S. as Africa's trading partner. Their oil companies are gradually besieging the corridors of oil rich countries in the sub-region for business transactions. For instance, "in 2004, there was a deal between the federal government of Nigeria and Chinese companies to develop two oilfields and to build refineries and pipelines in that country" (Leech, 2006:120). Also, in 2004, there was an agreement between China's state owned oil company, Sinopec and the Omar Bongo administration, for Gabon to supply China with 20,000 barrels of oil a day (ibid...). During the same period, China supported the Angolan government with \$2 billion in aid in exchange for 10,000 barrels of oil a day (ibid...). Though Angola and Benin are not part of West Africa, they fall under the Gulf of Guinea which is a vital source of crude oil for the U.S.

Moreover, China is the front liner as regards infrastructure projects in Africa, financing road and bridge construction throughout the continent (Lyman & Robinette, 2009). But the road and bridge construction is in a form a barter trade where countries in the sub-region exchange their minerals resources with such projects. A typical example in Ghana is the \$2 billion Sinohydro Agreement between China and Ghana with the sole purpose of addressing major infrastructure challenges in the country as well as the construction of the Bui dam project. The Sinohydro projects are being done in exchange with Ghana's natural resources. For instance, Ghana mortgaged its bauxite for the current Sinohydro projects; and also used the sale of the country's cocoa as of that time as a collateral for a commercial loan of \$292 million and a concessionary loan of \$270 million it

received from the China Exim Bank for the construction of the Bui Hydroelectric dam. The same thing is being done in Nigeria. Lyman & Robinette (2009), further claimed that there are more than eight hundred (800) Chinese companies operating in forty-nine (49) African countries. From the foregoing analysis, it is envisaged that China will conquer Africa in the near future because Chinese loans and investments come with no conditionalities, unlike America which give loans to countries in the sub-region with conditionalities (Respondent No 1, personal communication, June 9, 2020). And as a superpower, the U.S. continue to have strong presence in the sub-region but they are getting more concerned about China's incursion into West Africa.

Furthermore, most African countries are beginning to realize that their bilateral relations with China inure more to their benefits as compared to their bilateral relations with America. After 2005, when the Chinese established the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), about thirty-five African Heads of state appeared for the first time in China together (ibid...). However, it must be noted that the U.S. holds sway in the dealings of African countries with the Bretton Woods institutions. Thus, the international scene is not always necessarily about bilateral relations between countries but multilateral relations play pivotal role as well.

In addition, though China is part of them, countries like Brazil, Russia, India and South Africa (BRICS) emerged in the international system as alternative hubs for new combinations in trade, energy and security (Pieterse, 2008). The emergence of the BRICS signaled burgeoning influence in the international scene like the resuming momentum of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries (ibid...). Thus, their presence has the possibility of affecting U.S. as the global hegemon within the international arena. As reported by its 2005 report, Mapping the Global Future, the National Intelligence Council, the center of strategic thinking in the U.S. intelligence community, projects the following trends:

The likely emergence of China and India ... as new major global players similar to the appearance of a United Germany in the 19th century and a powerful United States in the early 20th century will transform the geopolitical landscape with impacts potentially as dramatic as those in the previous two centuries. In this new world, a mere 15 years away, the United States will remain 'an important shaper of the international order,' probably the single most powerful country, but its 'relative power position' will have 'eroded.' The new 'arriviste powers,' not only China and India, but also Brazil, Indonesia, and possibly others will accelerate this erosion by pursuing 'strategies designed to exclude or lock out or isolate the United States' in order to 'force or cajole' us into playing by their rules (Pieterse, 2008:169).

Also, Respondent No.1 (personal communication, June 9, 2020) in agreement with Pieterse's assertion, argue that the BRICS pose a great threat to the U.S. because global financial institutions may collapse if the BRICS stand firm in their activities. These scholars contend that the BRICS are giant economies and if they put their resources together and start trading not in dollar denomination but in a different currency, America will be the sufferer.

However, when the whole concept of the BRICS cropped up, researchers thought that their emergence was really going to revolutionize International Relations (IR) especially in Africa and the sub-region but Russia, India and Brazil have not actually taken their position in pursuing that agenda (Respondent No.2, personal communication, March 23, 2020). The point is that with the exception of China, the rest of the countries that form or make up the BRICS have no direct influence that can shape American foreign policy towards West Africa especially Ghana and Nigeria despite their dealings with the countries. In September 2008, Russia's state owned gas company, Gazprom, gained concessions for natural gas in Nigeria (Lyman & Robinette, 2009). Brazil increased its bilateral trade and opened twelve new embassies on the continent between

2003 and 2007 (ibid...). Also, in 2017, Gazprom signed a deal with Ghana to supply the country with Liquefied Petroleum Gas. It must be noted that Nigeria which is in West Africa has overtaken South Africa which is a member of the BRICS as Africa's largest economy. Also, South Africa doesn't have much influence in West Africa because South Africa and Nigeria are competing for the African seat in the Security Council of the United Nations (Respondent No.5, personal communication, June 23, 2020).

5.6 STRATEGIES ADOPTED BY THE U.S. TO HALT THE CREEPING RISE OF CHINA IN WEST AFRICA

In line with the foregoing analysis, America has adopted propaganda tool to fend off Chinese influence in the sub-region. America is using propaganda to make China unpopular by making Africans believe that the Chinese are corrupt, they are unscrupulously grabbing lands and dumping inferior goods on the continent (Respondent No.1, personal communication, June 9). Surprisingly, America is trading with China and they owe China a trillion dollars in trade deficit. In point fact, America's claim of China engaging in land grabbing and destruction on the continent cannot also be overlooked or sidelined. For instance, in Ghana, Chinese are engaged in illegal mining "Galamsey", which is adversely affecting water bodies and farmlands. Thus, the issue of environmental destruction as a result of illegal mining "Galamsey" by the Chinese justifies some of the concerns raised by the U.S. as a caution in dealing with the Chinese. Also, there have also been diplomatic channels trying to warn West African countries of the fallout or the ramifications of their close relationship with the Chinese which has not been successful in any meaningful sense (Respondent No.3, personal communication, August 13, 2020). That it is part of the international propaganda to make China look bad in the eyes of developing countries. In West Africa

particularly, there have also been instances where the U.S. has limited its support to some African countries because of their relations with its enemies or competitors like China and Russia (Respondent No.5, personal communication, June 23, 2020). However, the propaganda tool used by the U.S. against China in West Africa are not yielding any fruits because Ghana and Nigeria are going back to China and getting deals signed and sealed by the governments. So America doesn't necessarily have that much control over the foreign policies of countries in the sub-region, but of course sagacious leaders of the countries would also be sure that they don't incur the wrath of America because they will need them when it comes to multilateral policy or deal.

Another strategy is the use of soft diplomacy by the U.S. through the USAID and other initiatives (Respondent No.1, personal communication, June 9, 2020). America use soft power as a strategy to solidify their presence in the sub-region (Respondent No.2, personal communication, March 23, 2020). They use them in promoting their values and democracy in countries in the sub-region. Pieterse (2008:128), posited that "the U.S. uses trade, aid, debt and international financial institutions as strategic instruments to enforce its hegemony". While the financial institutions are apparently geared toward promoting economic stability and development in developing countries, "they impose stringent conditionalities which often trigger economic chaos, financial crisis and political upheaval" (Ibid...). It is worth noting that China has money and can throw the money at African countries in the form of loans and investments but America continue to have more upper hand in terms of using soft diplomacy because of their history and past records in using those strategies.

Also, Respondent No 3 (personal communication, August 13, 2020) claims that America can use hard power to halt the presence of China in West Africa. His argument is that part of the AFRICOM initiatives is to keep Chinese out of the continent. Campbell (2017), asserted that part

of the reasons for the establishment of AFRICOM was to halt the creeping rise and influence of China in Africa. So within the broader scope of things, the hard power strategy is presented as an initiative that is supposed to ensure security to keep the terrorists out of the region but then part of the ideas was to keep Chinese out of the region. America has military in West Africa to fend off Islamic fundamentalists or terrorists but it cannot establish things that will fend off Chinese business (Respondent No.2, personal communication, March 23, 2020). That is, the U.S. is using hard power strategies in West Africa but it cannot directly encumber Chinese investments by using hard power. However, the Chinese have also begun making inroads particularly in Eastern Africa even though their presence in West Africa so far has been quietly subdued militarily. Thus, the main agenda is to register heavy U.S. military presence in the region in manner that keeps the Chinese out. Also, America has increased its engagements as a way of countering the threats of China by establishing military bases in some countries within the sub-region (Respondent No.5, personal communication, June 23, 2020). The idea of establishing military bases in countries within the sub-region is part of the strategies to make sure that their eyes and ears are on grounds to counter whatever inroads that China is making within the region (ibid...). Moreover, U.S. military presence in the sub-region may be another powerful containment strategy to keep the countries closer to U.S. in times of external attacks or aggression. Once most West African states feel secure under U.S. leadership, security may move them more towards U.S. side and a distance from China.

However, economically, it will be difficult for America to keep the Chinese out of the sub-region because there is a lot of Chinese influence all over the sub-region. Also, the political elites in the sub-region prefer dealing with China because when they negotiate with the Chinese, they negotiate about economics but when they deal with the West including America, they negotiate about

economics and politics (Respondent No.3, August 13, 2020). The Chinese give them support without political interference unlike America. China does not meddle with internal political issues in most states including West Africa. Therefore, militarily, America can indirectly keep the Chinese away from the continent but in terms of economics it is practically impossible because the Chinese are already into business with most African states. Tactically, U.S. can contain China through economic diplomacy with West African leaders and to soften its stands against bad leadership (Respondent No.6, personal communication, June 14, 2020). But America is also capable to halt the growing influence of China in the sub-region through gun-boat diplomacy (Respondent No.1, personal communication, June 9, 2020). That is, they can only destroy the economies of the countries in the sub-region but cannot encumber China coming into those countries to do business.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND

RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

An analysis of the general U.S. foreign policy decision making processes and its dynamics offer a clue to the understanding of the trends or parameters of change in U.S. foreign policy because of the continuous evolution of the policy. With the current happenings in the international system and how American foreign policy changes with the sudden turn of events in the international scene coupled with Africa attracting the attention of America and China; it was compelling that the study of American foreign policy towards Africa was conducted. The study was conducted to probe the extent and in what ways the Post-Cold War U.S. foreign towards West Africa has undergone change especially in Ghana and Nigeria. That was the fundamental aim of this study. The concentration of the study on Ghana and Nigeria is enough to explain American foreign policy towards the region. The researcher also conducted interviews with open ended questions. Furthermore, a comprehensive study of the general U.S. foreign policy on the continent as well as the study of country profiles and happenings in Ghana and Nigeria were conducted in order to unravel the variables that cause change in U.S. foreign policy towards the region. The theory applied under this study was used as a framework to draw variables for analysis, thus, research questions were carved out of the theory in order to guide the study. The objective of this chapter is to summarize the findings of the study, draw conclusions as well as suggest recommendations for future research.

6.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

6.2.1 RESEARCH QUESTION 1:

What are the trends or parameters of change in U.S. Post-Cold War foreign policy towards West Africa?

The study found out that, the trends or parameters of change in Post-Cold War U.S. foreign policy towards West Africa border around ideological interest, economic interest and security interest. In terms of ideology, in the immediate Post-Cold War era, after the demise of the Soviet Union, America adopted a policy of spreading liberalism across the globe including the African continent. The study identified that, America largely imposed liberalism on West African countries via global financial institutions like the Bretton Woods institutions and the World Trade Organization. Also, with regard to the economic interest, the study found out that, the U.S. largely focused on trade and commerce. This is reinforced by the introduction of the AGOA initiative to facilitate safe delivery of African products to U.S. markets devoid of tariff. It identified that, the U.S. broadened its economic interests in the sub-region because of the large deposits and new discoveries of crude oil in the Gulf of Guinea. Thus, West Africa became an area of strategic importance to America. With the security interest, the study revealed that the 9/11 incident made America to focus much on security issues in the sub-region especially in the Sahel part which has become a sanctuary for terrorists. It further identified that American security interest in the sub-region is part of its global war on terror. However, the study found out that economic interests and security interests are the major policy change in Post-Cold War U.S. foreign policy towards West Africa.

6.2.2 RESEARCH QUESTION 2:

What are the exact interests of U.S. in West Africa particularly, Ghana and Nigeria?

The study found out that, America have economic and security interests in both Ghana and Nigeria. It is identified that U.S. economic interest in both countries largely revolves around oil. With Nigeria, the country is the largest producer of oil in Africa and it exports most of its oil to the U.S. With Ghana, more oilfields are still being discovered in addition to the existing ones. The study also revealed that America embarked on commerce and other forms of trade in both countries in addition to its interest in crude oil. Nigeria with the highest population on the continent receives a lot of U.S. exports and it is also the largest recipient of U.S. foreign direct investment. Both countries are beneficiaries of the AGOA initiatives implemented by the U.S. for African countries. In terms of security, the study found out that, U.S. security interest in Nigeria is focused on the fight against terrorism and also to ensure stability in the oil producing region for the smooth operations of American businesses. This can be seen in America's relentless effort to secure its energy supplies in the Niger Delta region. However, in Ghana, U.S. security concern is not much focused on Ghana because of the stability in the country. The study identified that, Ghana is being used as a center to monitor the activities of terrorists in the sub-region as well as pirates in the Gulf of Guinea. Thus, both Ghana and Nigeria are beneficiaries of the various security initiatives like ACRI, AFRICOM, ACOTA, TSCTP launched by the U.S.

6.2.3 RESEARCH QUESTION 3:

What are the strategies adopted by the U.S. to halt the creeping rise of China in West Africa?

The study found out that, regardless of the presence of America in the sub-region, China is also increasing its presence in the sub-region. The study also identified the presence of countries like Brazil, Russia and India in the sub-region but their presence does not necessarily affect U.S. interests. Therefore, the study found out that, the presence of China largely affects American interests in West Africa. China is a giant oil consuming country and also engaged in infrastructural and developmental projects in the sub-region devoid of stringent conditionalities. In terms of strategies adopted by the U.S. to contain the presence of China in West Africa, the study further found out that, the U.S. is using propaganda tools, soft diplomacy and hard power as strategies to halt the creeping rise of China in the sub-region. Despite these strategies adopted by the U.S., the Communist China is still making inroads in the continent and for that matter West Africa.

6.3 CONCLUSION

What are the parameters or trends of change in U.S. Post-Cold War foreign policy towards West Africa? This overarching question laid the foundation for this study. To answer this question, Offensive Realism was adopted as a theoretical framework to guide this study. And the assumptions of this theory helped explain the changes in U.S. policy. But the primary assumption of this study was that, U.S. foreign policy toward the sub-region changes with the current happenings or turn of events in the international system in order to suit its interests. Moreover, the data collected was analyzed to reveal that individual policies launched by various American presidents in the sub-region during the Post-Cold War era were pursued to serve both the economic

and security interests of the U.S. It was also revealed that, after an analysis of ideological interest of the U.S. as one of the parameters of change; the spread of liberalism cannot be an adequate variable for change in the Post-Cold War U.S. foreign policy. Therefore, discussions of the study revealed that, economic and security interests of the U.S. are the major cause of change in U.S. policy towards the sub-region in order to fend off Chinese presence in the sub-region.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations of this research are important for academia as well as the African political elites and technocrats. This research, after an analysis of the Post-Cold War U.S. foreign policy in West Africa, revealed how the policy negatively impact the progress of the sub-region especially in Ghana and Nigeria. On the other hand, the research also disclosed how the policy change is beneficial to Ghana and Nigeria. It is clear that America's foreign policy goals have had both positive and negative impacts in Africa in general and the West African sub-region in particular. Therefore, it is recommended that African political elites, diplomats and technocrats must be on the wings of informed knowledge and understanding of U.S. interest with regard to the change in U.S. policy towards the continent so that they can negotiate with the U.S.

Again, the research revealed that some African political elites and technocrats are bereft of ideas and knowledge with regard to U.S. foreign policy towards the continent as a result of lack of extensive research in that area; and it adversely affects their dealings with America. For instance, in 2018, the Ghana-U.S. military pact signed generated an uproar in the country due to lack of experts in that area to negotiate properly with America. Therefore, it is recommended that the government of countries in the sub-region must devote resources into research in that field. An in-

depth research in that field will serve as a guide to African political elites in their dealings and agreements with big powers like China and U.S.

Moreover, the study discovered that America always takes the lions share in their dealings with the countries in the sub-region. It is therefore recommended that involving academics and experts in the area of American foreign policy will help the countries in the sub-region particularly Ghana and Nigeria to bargain well with U.S. especially in the area of commerce, trade and security, even though America still receive the large portion of the deals.

In academia, not much has been written in the area of U.S. foreign policy towards West Africa, it is therefore recommended that extensive research in that area must be given much and rapt attention so that more knowledge can be built upon this study. Also the identification of the trends or parameters of change in U.S. foreign policy in Africa serves as a guide for further research and an in-depth analysis of U.S. relations with other countries in the sub-region because of the continuous evolution of American foreign policy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AGOA.info (2018, September). Ghana: Exports Under AGOA hit US\$748 in 2017. Retrieved from [https://agoa.info/news/article/15523-ghana-exports-under-agoa-hits-us-748m-in-2017.html#:~:text=Renewed%20confidence%20in%20the%20African,Commerce%20and%20Industry%20\(GNCCI\)](https://agoa.info/news/article/15523-ghana-exports-under-agoa-hits-us-748m-in-2017.html#:~:text=Renewed%20confidence%20in%20the%20African,Commerce%20and%20Industry%20(GNCCI)).
- Alden, C. (2000). From Neglect to Virtual Engagement: The United States and Its New Paradigm for Africa. *African Affairs*, vol.99, No.396 (July 2000), pp.355-37.
- Aning, K., Jaye, T. & Atuboi, S. (2.008). The Role of Private Military Companies in US-Africa Policy. *Review of African Political Economy*, vol.35, No. 118, Public/Private.
- Ayam, J.A. (2008). The Development of Nigeria-U.S.-Relations. *Journal of Third World Studies*, Vol.25, No.2
- Barnes, S.T. (2005). Global Flows: Terror, Oil and Strategic Philanthropy. *Review of African Political Economy*, vol.32, No. 104/105, Oiling the Wheels of Imperialism (Jun.-Sep. 2005), pp. 235-252.
- Bellamy, A. J. (2008). *Fighting Terror: Ethical Dilemmas*. London: Zed Books Ltd.
- Bello, W. (2005). *Dilemmas of Domination: The Unmaking of the American Empire*. London: Zed Books Ltd.
- Bush, G. W. (2010). *Decision points*. New York: Crown Publishing Group.
- Campbell, H.G. (2017). The United States and Security in Africa: *Africa Development*, vol XLII, No. 3, 2017, pp. 45-7.

- Chandran, N. (n.d.). China Says it will Increase its military presence in Africa. Retrieved from <https://www.cnbc.com/2018/06/27/china-increases-defence-ties-with-africa.html>
- Chaveas, P. (2007). A Renewed Interest: U.S.-African Engagement. *Harvard International Review*, vol. 29, No.2 (Summer 2007) pp. 58-62
- Citi Business News. (2020, June). Ghana to Serve on Independent Advisory C'ttee of Global Internet Forum to Counter Terrorism. Retrieved from <https://citibusinessnews.com/ghana-to-serve-on-independent-advisory-cttee-of-global-internet-forum-to-counter-terrorism/amp/>
- Clinton, B. (2004). *My Life*. New York: Knopf Publishing Group.
- Clowes, W., Bala-Gbogbo, E. & Lehane, B. (n.d.). Nigeria Stares into the Abyss of a Life Without Oil Cash. Retrieved from <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-05-06/nigeria-stares-into-the-abyss-of-a-life-without-oil-revenue>.
- Cohen, D., & Crabtree, B. (2006). *Qualitative research guidelines project*. California. Sage Publications Inc.
- Cook, N. (2019). Ghana: Background and U.S. Relations. Congressional Service.
- Cook, N. (2019). Nigeria: Background and U.S. Relations. Congressional Service.
- Cox, M. & Stokes, D. (2008). *United States Foreign Policy*. Oxford University Press.
- Creswell, W.J. (Eds.) (2009). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*. California. Sage Publications Inc.
- Creswell, W.J. (2014). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*. California. Sage Publications Inc.

- Creswell, W.J. (2018). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*. California. Sage Publications Inc.
- DeJonckheere, M., & Vaughn, L. M. (2019). Semi-structured interviewing in primary care research: a balance of relationship and rigour. *Family Medicine and Community Health*, 7(2), e000057.
- Fikreyesus, Daniel. (2012). *Oil and US Foreign Policy Towards Africa*. Dissertation, Georgia State University.
- Ghana News Agency. (2020, July). Impact of Covid-19 on Ghana's Petroleum Upstream Sector. Retrieved from <https://www.gna.org.gh/1.18613109>.
- Ghanaweb Online. (2019, April). Sinohydro Projects Kick Starts Today with Tamale Interchange Project. Retrieved from [https://ghanawebonline.com/sinohydro-project-kick-starts-today-with-tamale-interchange project/](https://ghanawebonline.com/sinohydro-project-kick-starts-today-with-tamale-interchange-project/).
- Given, L. M. (Ed.). (2008). *The Sage encyclopedia of qualitative research methods*. Sage publications.
- Goerg, M. (2016). Security, Development and Democracy: Solving the Puzzle of the US- Sub-Saharan Africa Strategy. *IAI Working Papers* 16|23 - September 2016.
- Guyatt, N. (2003). *Another American Century? The United States and the World Since 9/11*. London: Zed Books Ltd.
- Haradhan, M. (2018). Qualitative Research Methodology in Social Sciences and Related Subjects. *Journal of Economic Development and People*, vol-7, Issue 01,2018, pp.23-48.
- Hershberg, R.M. (2014). *The Sage Encyclopedia of Action Research*. London. Sage Publication Ltd.

- Hsieh, H. F., & Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative health research*, 15(9), 1277-1288.
- Jackson, R. (2003). SØRENSEN, Georg. Introduction to International Relations: Theories and approaches. Oxford University Press.
- Knudsen, O. (1979). National Interests and Foreign Policy: On the National Pursuit of Material Interests. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 14(1), 11-19.
- Kraxberger, B.M. (2005). The United States and Africa: Shifting Geopolitics in an “Age of Terror”. *Africa Today*, vol.52, No.1 (Autumn, 2005), pp.47-68.
- Lawson, L. (2007). US Africa Policy Since the Cold War. *Strategic Insights*, Volume VI, Issue 1 (January 2007).
- Le Sage, A. (2010). Non-state Security Threats in Africa: Challenges for U.S. Engagement. *Prism*, vol. 2, No.1 (12/2010), pp. 57-78.
- Le Van, A.C. (2010). The Political Economy of African Responses to the U.S. Africa Command. *Africa Today*, vol. 57, No.1 (Fall 2010) pp.2-23.
- Leech, G. (2006). *Crude Interventions: The United States, oil and the New World [Dis] Order*. London: Zed Books Ltd.
- Lyman, P. & Robinette. K. (2009). Obama and Africa: Matching Expectations with Reality. *Journal of International Affairs*, volume F: 62 Number 2.
- Mearsheimer, J. (2001). The Tragedy of Great Power Politics. New York, NY. W.W. Norton.
- Mearsheimer, J. & Stephen M. W. (2002). *An Unnecessary War Foreign Policy*, 134:50-59.

- Mesfin, B. (2009). The Establishment and Implications of the United States African Command: An African Perspective. *Institute for Security Studies*, ISS Paper 183, April, 2009.
- Mezzel, Ann. (2010). US Policy Shifts on Sub-Saharan Africa: An Assessment of Contending Prediction. *ASPJ Africa & Francophonic*-4th Quarter 2010.
- Miles, W.F.S. (2012). Deploying Development to Counter Terrorism: Post-9/11 Transformation of U.S. Foreign Aid to Africa. *African Studies Review*, vol.55, No.3.
- Mohajan, H. K. (2018). Qualitative research methodology in social sciences and related subjects. *Journal of Economic Development, Environment and People*, 7(1), 23-48.
- Mustapha. A.A. (2014). *United States-Nigeria Relations: Impacts on Nigeria's Security*. (Published Master's Thesis). Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California.
- Myjoyonline. (2019, July). U.S. Reaffirms Commitment to Ghana's Apparel Manufacturing Industry. Retrieved from <https://www.myjoyonline.com/business/economy/us-reaffirms-commitment-to-ghanas-apparel-manufacturing-industry/>
- National Public Radio. (2020, April). Where Does America Get Oil? You May Be Surprised. Retrieved from <https://www.npr.org/2012/04/11/150444802/where-does-america-get-oil-you-may-be-surprised#:~:text=Today%2C%20the%20U.S.%20actually%20gets,does%20from%20the%20Persian%20Gulf.>
- Ohaegbulam, F.U. (1992). The United States and Africa After the Cold War. *Africa Today*, Vol.39, No.4, Africa and Human Rights in the 1990's (4th Qtr.1992).

- Okonjo-Iweala, N. (2018). *Fighting Corruption is Dangerous: The Story Behind the Headlines*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Olsen, Gorm Rye. (2017). Obama and US Policy Towards Africa: A Study in Failure. *Int Politics* (2017) 54:73-88. doi:10.1057/s41311-017-0018-z.
- Olsen, Gorm Rye. (2017). The ambiguity of US Foreign Policy Towards Africa. *Third World Quarterly*, 38: 9, 2097-2112. doi:10.1080/01436597.2017.1315298.
- Ostergard, Jr., R.L. (2006). The Failure of America's Post-Cold War Foreign Policy: From the Persian Gulf to the Gulf of Guinea. *The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations*, Summer/Fall 2006.
- Patterson, R. (2004). *Dereliction of Duty: Eye Witness of How Bill Clinton Compromised America's National security*. New York: Regnery Publishing.
- Patton, M.Q. (2002). *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*. California. Sage Publications Inc.
- Peprah, K. N. (2014). Militarization of U.S. Foreign Policy in Africa: Strategic Gain or Backlash? *Military Review*, January-February 2014.
- Pham, J. P. (2005). US national interests and Africa's strategic significance. *American Foreign Policy Interests*, 27(1), 19-29.
- Pham, J.P. (2011). Africom from Bush to Obama. *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 18:1, 107-124, doi:10.1080/10220461. 2011.564429.
- Pham, J.P. (2016). A Measured US Strategy for the New Africa. *Atlantic Council Strategy Paper* No. 7.

- Pieterse, J. N. (2008). *Is There Hope for Uncle Sam?* London: Zed Books Ltd.
- Price, M. R. (1978). *United States Foreign Policy in Sub-Saharan Africa: National Interest and Global Strategy*. University of California, Berkeley.
- Reuters.com. (2017, September). Russia's Gazprom Signs LNG Supply Deal with Ghana. Retrieved from <https://fr.reuters.com/article/idAFL5N1LZ4LC>.
- Ripley, B. R & Lindsay, M.J. (1997). *U.S. Foreign Policy After the Cold War*. University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Rochester, J.M. (2008). *US Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century: Gulliver's Travails*. University of Missouri, St. Louis.
- Schmidt, E. (2013). *Foreign Intervention in Africa: From the Cold War to the War on Terror*. Cambridge University Press.
- Schraeder, P. J. (1994). *United States Foreign Policy Toward Africa: Incrementalism, Crisis and Change*. UK. Cambridge University Press.
- Schraeder, P.J. (2001) Forget the Rhetoric and Boost the Geopolitics: Emerging Trends in the Bush Administration's Policy Towards Africa. *African Affairs*, vol. 100 No. 400 (July 2001), pp. 387-404
- Schraeder, P.J. (2001). Speaking with Many Voices: Continuity and Change in U.S. Africa Policies. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.29, No.3 (Sep. 1991), pp. 373-412.
- Schraeder, P.J. (2001). Continuity and Change in U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Southern Africa: Assessing the Clinton Administration. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 10(2): 131-147.

- Silverman, D. (2011). *Qualitative Research*. California. Sage Publications Inc.
- Smith, R.S. (1972). The Nature of American Interest in Africa. *A Journal of Opinion*, vol. 2 No.2 (Summer, 1972), pp.37-44.
- Snyder, G.H. (2002). Mearsheimer's World-Offensive Realism and the Struggle for Security: A Review Essay. *International Security*, vol.27, No.1 (Summer, 2002), pp. 149-173.
- Soldatkin, V & Thomas, S. (n.d.). Russia's Gazprom Signs LNG Supply Deal with Ghana. Retrieved from <https://fr.reuters.com/article/idAFL5N1LZ4LC>.
- Tarrosy, I. (2018). Changing US Foreign Policy towards China and Africa: *Security Policy*. DR 2018/1.
- Thomas, G. (2011). *How to do Your Case Study: A Guide for Students and Researcher*. California. Sage Publications.
- Turse, N. (n.d.). The U.S. Military's Plans to Cement its Network of Africans bases. Retrieved from <https://mg.co.za/article/2020-05-01-exclusive-the-us-militarys-plans-to-cement-its-network-of-african-bases/>
- U.S. Department of Commerce. U.S. Secretary of Commerce Wilber Ross, President's Advisory Council on Doing Business in Africa, Announce \$1Billion in Deals During Africa Mission (2018, July). Retrieved from <https://www.commerce.gov/news/press-releases/2018/07/us-secretary-commerce-wilbur-ross-presidents-advisory-council-doing>
- U.S. Department of State. (2019, December). U.S. Relations with Nigeria Retrieved from <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with->

nigeria/#:~:text=Bilateral%20Economic%20Relations,destination%20in%20Sub%2DSahara
n%20Africa.

U.S. Energy Information Administration. (2020, June). Retrieved from
<https://www.eia.gov/international/analysis/country/NGA>.

Van de Wall, N. (2010). U.S. Policy Toward Africa: The Bush Legacy and the Obama
Administration. *African Affairs*, vol. 109, No.434 (Jan., 2010), pp. 1-21.

Walliman, N. (2011). *Your Research Project: Designing and Planning your Work*. California. Sage
Publications Inc.

Williams, C. (2011). Research Methods. *Journal of Business and Economic Research*, volume 5,
Number 3.

Willis, J.W. (2007). *Foundations of Qualitative Research: Interpretive and Critical Approaches*.
California. Sage Publications Inc.

Woodward, B. (2006). *Decision points*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Zhang, Y., & Wildemuth, B. M. (2009). Qualitative analysis of content. *Applications of social
research methods to questions in information and library science*, 308, 319.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR INTERVIEWEES

INTRODUCTION

This research seeks to find out in what ways the foreign policy of the U.S. in West Africa has undergone change after the end of the Cold-War.

RESEARCH INTERVIEW GUIDE QUESTIONS

Research Question 1

1. What are the parameters of change in U.S. Post-Cold War foreign policy towards West Africa?

Specific questions for interviewee

- a. What is the major policy change in Post-Cold War U.S. foreign policy towards West Africa?
- b. In what ways is the policy change beneficial to Ghana and Nigeria?
- c. How does the U.S. foreign policy in West Africa in the Post-Cold War negatively or positively impact the progress of the sub-region?

Research Question 2

2. What are the exact interests of U.S. in West Africa particularly, Ghana and Nigeria?

Specific questions for interviewee

- a. What accounts for U.S. interest in West Africa in the Post-Cold War era?
- b. How does the sub-region continue to be a vital region to the U.S. in the Post-Cold War era?

Research Question 3

- 3. What are the strategies adopted by the U.S. to halt the creeping rise of China in West Africa?

Specific questions for interviewee

- a. How does the presence of the BRICS particularly China in the sub-region affects U.S. interest in Ghana and Nigeria?
- b. How is the U.S. capable of containing Chinese presence in the sub-region?

APPENDIX B

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

1. Prof. Emmanuel Kwesi Aning, the director, faculty of academic affairs and research of the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC).
2. Dr. Kwaku Danso, research fellow at the faculty of academic affairs and research of the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC).
3. Dr. Festus Kofi Aubyn, research fellow at the faculty of academic affairs and research of the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC).
4. Brigadier General (Dr) Emmanuel Kotia, deputy Commandant of the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC).
5. Dr. Vladimir Antwi-Danso, the dean of academic affairs at the Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College (GAF CSC).
6. Dr. Ziblim Barry Iddi, deputy minister of tourism and a lecturer at the department of Political Science, University of Ghana.
7. Dr. Alidu Seidu, senior lecturer at the department of Political Science, University of Ghana.
8. Dr. Daniel Kipo, lecturer at the Legon Center for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD).
9. Dr. Yao Graham, coordinator of the Third World Network (TWN) Africa.