## **Decolonization and Dependence**

## The Development of Nigerian-U.S. Relations, 1960–1984

**Bassey E. Ate** 

Westview Press / Boulder and London

## Contents

.

.

.

|      | of Tables and Figures   |  |  |  |  |
|------|---|--|--|--|--|
| Intr | Introduction  |  |  |  |  |
| 1    | Decolonization in African Politics: The                                       |  |  |  |  |
|      | Opening Phase 10  |  |  |  |  |
|      | Conceptions of African Decolonization   |  |  |  |  |
|      | and Global Dimensions 16  |  |  |  |  |
|      | Nigeria and African Decolonization  |  |  |  |  |
|      | Synthesis: Decolonization and Dependency                                      |  |  |  |  |
|      | Notes   |  |  |  |  |
| 2    | The Bases of Nigeria's Foreign Economic and<br>Political Relations: 1960–1961 |  |  |  |  |
|      |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | The Essential Features of the Colonial Economy                                |  |  |  |  |
|      | The National Development Plan, 1962-1968 40                                   |  |  |  |  |
|      | State Interests and External Dependence                                       |  |  |  |  |
|      | Particularistic Commitment by Strata in the Political Class 55                |  |  |  |  |
|      | The Significance of the Anglo-American Nexus                                  |  |  |  |  |
|      | Summary   |  |  |  |  |
|      | Notes   |  |  |  |  |
| 3    | The Emerging Structure of Bilateral   |  |  |  |  |
|      | <b>Dependence: 1960–1966</b> 71   |  |  |  |  |
|      | Foreign Aid and Technical Assistance  |  |  |  |  |
|      | Logic   |  |  |  |  |
|      | The Psychology of Dependence and Policy Behavior 100                          |  |  |  |  |
|      | Summary   |  |  |  |  |
|      | Notes   |  |  |  |  |

- \* \* · · · · · · · ·

| 4 | Moderation and Cooperation  |               |
|---|---|---------------|
|   | THE CONGO CRISIS, 1960-1964 112   The First Foreign Policy Test. 112   The Pattern of Nigerian-U.S. Cooperation in the Crisis 117 |               |
|   | THE CHALLENGE OF GHANA AND THE ASSASSINATION OF<br>SYLVANUS OLYMPIO   | '             |
|   | Relationship: The Effect on Nigeria's Response  | 7             |
|   | Summary   |               |
| 5 | The Changing Bilateral Structure, 1967–1976:<br>Political Economy of War and Oil  | 3             |
|   | The Significance of the Nigerian Civil War, 1967–1970 158<br>The State of the Economy and Ties with the                           |               |
|   | United States, 1970–1976  | <b>)</b><br>5 |
| 6 | Regional Policy Relationship: Straining for<br>Independent Leadership 181   | 1             |
|   | The Essence of the New Pattern  |               |
|   | and Extent  |               |
|   | Amendment, 1971–1973  | 1<br>4        |
| 7 | The Promise of a Partnership: Obasanjo and<br>Carter, 1977–1979   | D             |
|   | The Philosophical Premise of Carter's Policy 201   Resilience of the Bilateral Structure 205                                      | 1             |

x

## Contents

|      | U.SNigerian Partnership in Regional Affairs<br>Summary<br>Notes   | 216   |
|------|---|---|
| 8    | Retrogression: Shehu Shagari and Ronald Reagan,<br>1980–1983  | 221   |
| 9    | The Return of Cynicism.   Reverses in the Bilateral Structure.   Regional Leadership Under Siege.   Shagari and Reagan, 1980–1981.   Policy Convergence on Libya, Chad, and   Southern Africa   Reagan's Approach Versus Carter's Approach   Summary   Notes.   Conclusion   Recapitulation   The Promise of Buhari   Future Prospects in Nigerian-U.S. Relations   Notes | 222<br>228<br>230<br>232<br>235<br>237<br>238<br>241<br>241<br>244<br>246 |
| App  | endix A: Private U.S. Institutions and Firms<br>Working in Nigeria Financed by USAID  |   |
| App  | as of December 1966<br>endix B: U.S. Companies in the Oil and Gas Industry<br>in Nigeria as of 1976   |   |
| Bibl | of Acronyms   | 257<br>25 <b>9</b>  |

۰.

.