

Multinational Corporations as Mechanisms of Imperialism in the Third World Countries: A Study of Oil Multinationals in Nigeria.

Ember Yange

Department of Political Science and International Relations Nile University of Nigeria, Abuja

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.51244/IJRSI.2024.1107069>

Received: 22 June 2024; Revised: 06 July 2024; Accepted: 12 July 2024; Published: 17 August 2024

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the role of multinational oil corporations in perpetuating neo-colonialism in Nigeria. The research utilized qualitative methodology, employing secondary data sources to examine the phenomenon under investigation. Drawing on a structuralist and Marxist theoretical framework, the research focuses on how these corporations, specifically Shell, Chevron, Total, Eni, and ExxonMobil, operate as instruments of exploitation in developing countries. The authors argue that despite generating significant revenue from oil extraction – a staggering 45.6 billion in 2022 – the Niger Delta region, where these operations are concentrated, remains underdeveloped and marginalized. This stark contrast highlights the exploitative nature of these corporations, who reap immense profits while leaving behind environmental degradation and social inequity. The study concludes that the relationship between oil multinationals and Nigeria mirrors broader patterns of neo-colonialism, where economic power translates into political influence, perpetuating a cycle of dependency and underdevelopment. To mitigate the negative consequences of multinational corporations operating in the developing world, the study recommends strengthening government oversight and rigorously enforcing sustainable practices.

Keywords: Imperialism, Mechanisms, Nigerian Economy, Oil Multinationals, Structuralism/ Marxism theory

INTRODUCTION

The underdevelopment of African nations stems not from their integration into the global capitalist system itself, but rather from the manner in which they were incorporated. Specifically, it posits that their economies were deliberately structured to function as suppliers of raw materials for industrialized nations, hindering their own industrialization and perpetuating a state of dependency (Akinboye, 2008). Multinational corporations, particularly those with significant market power, are the primary agents of modern neo-colonialism. A critical analysis of these corporations is essential, it contends, to understand how they exploit and manipulate developing countries, trapping them in a cycle of underdevelopment and perpetuating global inequality (Onimode, 1978). Since World War II, the power and influence of multinational corporations have dramatically increased, making them key players in global politics and economics. This rise has generated both positive and negative reactions. Some view multinational corporations as drivers of free trade and globalization, bringing associated benefits. Others, especially in developing nations, criticize them for exploiting resources and workers, ultimately increasing poverty. This makes multinational corporations a point of contention, particularly in discussions about global economic fairness and equality (Blanton and Kegley, 2021). Abimbola and Dele (2015) noted that Multinational corporations are exploitative, encourage capital flight and may pose threats to a country's laws and sovereignty. They have generated and perpetuated the seemingly intractable problems of mass poverty, stifling foreign domination, savage exploitation, open starvation, debilitating disease, pervasive illiteracy, widening inequality, irrational waste, cultural degradation and political instability in Nigeria and the third world countries within the imperialist orbit (Onimde, 1978). Similarly, Ewubare and Udofia,(2018) assert that multinational corporations in developing countries have their origin in the imperial policies of the advanced capitalist nations and their collaborating economic and financial institutions. This suggests that the expansion of multinational corporations in regions like Africa, Asia, and South America primarily stems from the dominance of capitalist influence originating from Europe. It further points out that while multinational corporations have been present in Nigeria since the mid-19th

century, their influence became particularly pronounced in the mid-20th century, marking a turning point in their impact on the country.

According to Ajayi and Omolekan (2013), the genealogy of multinational corporations in Nigeria can be traced as far back as the colonial dispensation. The United African Company (formerly Nigerian Motors Ltd) is a prime example. Established in the 1930s as a subsidiary of the British-controlled Royal Niger Company, UAC initially focused on extracting and exporting raw materials like ore and coal, while also engaging in general trade. The identification of oil reserves in Niger Delta in the 1950s then triggered a significant influx of additional multinational corporations seeking to capitalize on this new resource.

This was led by the Royal Deutch Company (Shell), the coming of these wealthy foreign companies into the country cannot be said to have not benefited the country as the multinational corporations have provided jobs to thousands of youths in the country (Ajayi and Omolekan, 2013). As suggested by Abdul-Gafaru (2006), multinational corporations help in the development of local manpower through the transfer of knowledge, experience, technology which may not be available locally. On the other hand, contemporary discourse surrounding multinational corporations. Some scholars, such as Onimode (1982) regard multinational corporations as "monsters that have consistently and systematically stultified economic development in various parts of the world." Nigeria experience is a good case in point. This is because, several years of oil exploration by multinationals such as Shell, Eni, Mobil, Chevron, and Total in certain areas of Nigeria like the Niger – Delta region have degraded its environment and left the communities desolate. The result is economic hardship for hundreds of families who depend on fishing and farming to survive, thus posing a huge threat to human security (Oluwaniyi, 2018). While these companies may adhere to environmental regulations in Western nations, they operate with impunity in countries like Nigeria, prioritizing profit maximization over environmental and public health. Ejovi et al (2014) argue that this disregard for global environmental standards is possible due to weak regulatory enforcement by the Nigerian state, resulting in immeasurable health consequences from oil spills and gas flaring.

The corporate social responsibility (CSR) initiatives undertaken by these oil companies are often driven more by short-term public relations concerns than a genuine, long-term commitment to the sustainable development of the host communities (Eze et al., 2021). This study aims to analyze multinational corporations as instruments of imperialism within developing countries, using Nigeria as a case study. It seeks to empirically validate the core arguments of Structuralism and Marxism, which posit that the challenges faced by nations like Nigeria stem directly from the actions of imperialist forces, particularly multinational oil corporations. The research further suggests that these corporations operate in conjunction with other mechanisms of imperialism, including foreign investment, international trade, and foreign aid. Therefore, as we navigate this complex phenomenon, it becomes imperative to evaluate the effects of oil multinationals on the Nigerian economy.

Statement of the Research Problem

Oil from the Niger Delta region has been the main source of Nigeria's foreign exchange and revenue, as oil contributes about 95% of Nigeria's total foreign exchange earnings and 80% of the country's total annual revenue (SPE, 2023; Ekpali, 2022). This extraction of wealth is facilitated by multinational oil corporations such as Shell, Chevron, and Mobil, who extract millions of barrels of crude oil from the region daily. Despite this wealth of natural resources, the indigenous people of this area are still very poor and their environment polluted (Nwosu, 2023). A case in point, in the year 2022, a leaky crude oil belonging to shell petroleum Development Company of Nigeria, a subsidiary of Shell Plc, flowed over the Bodo community in Gokana local government of Rivers state ruining farmlands and contaminating the air (Alerechi and Woke, 2023). Furthermore, these issues carry significant economic consequences, hindering national economic growth and development and resulting in substantial financial losses. For instance, in 2021 Nigeria lost 23,773 barrels (3.8 million litres) of crude oil in 331 oil spill incidents. This represents a 22 percent rise in frequency when compared to the 18,563 barrels (three million litres) recorded in 2020 following 384 incidents (Ekpali, 2022). Indeed, a considerable number of people in the area still suffer from extreme poverty, lacking basic essentials like proper housing, clean water, and electricity. On top of that, MNCs do employ local labor, these employees often receive significantly lower wages compared to their foreign counterparts holding similar positions, even within the same host country. The example provided highlights this discrepancy, where a Nigerian manager at

Chevron might earn significantly less than a foreign manager with potentially fewer qualifications. Unfortunately, the home countries of these companies are always there with their might to defend them (Okeke, 2015). The state, driven by its reliance on oil revenue, aligns itself with the interests of multinational oil corporations to ensure uninterrupted production. This creates a "triple alliance" between international capital, the state, and dominant social forces, effectively capturing the state and compelling it to prioritize the interests of international oil investments over the well-being of its citizens, particularly those in oil-producing regions. In this context, since the state is dependent on rents from oil sales, it largely sacrifices the well-being of the populace in policy making and governance in preference to the interests of international capital while maintaining an unholy alliance with the MNOCs, and with the paraphernalia of force, subjugate oil-rich communities (Oluwaniyi, 2018). The fundamental question posed in this study therefore includes; what is responsible for the operations of this imperialist forces? What is the nexus between imperialism and multinational corporations? All these has left a serious gap and further investigation is required to achieve a more comprehensive understanding, hence the crux of this study.

Conceptual Clarifications

Multinational Corporations are companies headquartered in one country (typically their country of origin) but with operational branches, or subsidiaries, in multiple other nations. These subsidiaries, while geographically spread out, are managed from the central headquarters. MNCs are active in a wide range of industries globally, including but not limited to oil and gas, mining, finance, manufacturing, technology, automotive, construction, and information and communications technology. Examples of MNCs in Nigeria include: Shell Petroleum, Chevron, UAC, Toyota, Kia, LG, SAMSUNG, Thermo cool, Nokia, MTN, Standard Chartered IBTC and numerous others (Okeke, 2015). To be considered a multinational corporation, a company must engage in foreign direct investment and control value-added operations in multiple countries. Simply engaging in international trade or contracting for foreign companies does not qualify a firm as an MNC. Several factors determine the degree of a firm's multi-nationality, including: the number of foreign subsidiaries, the global reach of their operations, the proportion of assets/revenue/profits generated overseas, the diversity of their workforce and management, and the ambition of their overseas operations (extending beyond sales to encompass manufacturing, research, and development). A key characteristic of MNCs is their practice of foreign direct investment, which involves transferring funds from the parent company to support operations in host countries. The purpose of this transfer is to own or control overseas assets (Mkor, 2012). The perception of MNCs as prioritizing their home country's economic interests above all else has led to criticisms that they exert a hegemonic influence over the economies and political landscapes of developing countries (Okeke, 2015).

Imperialism

According to Brown (1974, p.22), imperialism is 'the out ward drive of certain people, to build empires-both formal colonies and privileged positions in the markets, protected sources of materials and extended opportunities for profitable employment of labor. All this is; predicted on equality and dependence. This means that colonialism, neo-colonialism, and globalization are just the ever changing phases of imperialism, with monopoly capitalism as its driving force (Bar and Mamkaa, 2008). This goes to mean that Multinational corporations are the true representatives of contemporary international monopolism. It is under the auspices of the foregoing that this study sets out to critically examine multinational corporations as the mechanisms of imperialism in third world countries, specifically the oil multinationals in Nigeria.

Third World Countries

The concept of Third World is not only popular but generally used by different people, yet defined in different ways by scholars, policy makers, politicians and experts of International Relations. Samples of these definitions are given below: According to Munroe cited in Audu (2020, p. 3), Third World nations refers to people who were not allowed to participate or benefit from the industrial revolution despite the fact that the sweat and blood of these people became the human slab on which the foundation of the Industrial Revolution was laid. The term Third World refers to the nations of Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Latin America and the Caribbean that belong neither to the first world, nor to the now defunct second world. They are

underdeveloped, and backward countries who are endeavoring hard for economic independence and development without aligning themselves with any of the two power blocs (Audu, 2020).

Oil Multinationals

Oil Multinationals are a strategically important group of multinational corporations that are responsible for oil exploration, crude oil production, refining, and distribution. Oil production in Nigeria is primarily a joint venture between multinational oil corporations (including ExxonMobil, Royal Dutch/Shell, ChevronTexaco, and Total Energies which partially fund the development process) and the Nigerian government, which has rights to all mineral resources in the country (Omalu, 1996).

Research Method

The study adopted the qualitative method of analysis. Secondary data is used in this study which includes journals, books, media reports, government reports, and the internet were obtained using documentary and historical approaches. As LeFebvre (2017) has affirmed, “the research purpose determines what data must be gathered and whether the data have methodological implications that can be utilized thereafter”. This study utilizes secondary data analysis to address its central research questions.

Research Objectives

This study primarily aims to analyze multinational corporations as mechanisms of imperialism in the third world countries: a study of oil multinationals in Nigeria. Other specific objectives include the following:

- To examine the nexus between multinational corporations and imperialism.
- To investigate the nature and character of multinational corporations as mechanism of imperialism.
- To evaluate the effects of oil multinationals on the Nigerian economy.
- To suggest possible ways of minimizing imperialist tendencies of oil multinationals in Nigeria.

Research Questions

This research will be driven by the following key questions:

- What is the nexus between multinational corporations and imperialism?
- What is the nature and character of multinational corporations as mechanisms of imperialism in third world countries?
- What are the effects of oil multinationals on the Nigerian economy?
- What are the possible ways of minimizing imperialist tendencies of oil multinationals in Nigeria?

Importance of the Study

The importance of this study arise from the fact that it has theoretical and practical significance as it concerns Nigeria. Theoretically, the study examined multinational corporations as mechanisms of imperialism in the third world countries: a study of oil multinationals in Nigeria, which also helps in understanding the effects of oil multinationals on the Nigerian economy. This research hopes to add fresh perspectives to the current understanding of the topic and expand upon current understandings through its findings. The study's findings will also provide valuable data for future scholars who may be interested in further studies in this area of Multinational corporations. Practically, this study may contribute to the solution of oil spillage and the environmental degradation caused by oil multinationals in the Niger Delta region of the country, which shall be of benefits to the Nigerian government, policy makers, host communities. The study's findings have the potential to inform policy decisions and contribute to the development of more effective legislative frameworks governing oil operations in Nigeria. Finally, the study will serve as a reference point to students who may wish to conduct research on a similar topic.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In looking at the subject matter under investigation, the study used the Structuralism cum Marxism theory of analysis. Onapajo (2023) is quoted to have mentioned Dos Santos, Gunder Frank, Dudley Seers, Samir Amin, and Claude Ake as major proponents of the theory. According to structuralist theory, the global system is divided into two primary categories: the core and the periphery. Core countries are characterized by advanced industrialization, technological prowess, democratic governance, and economic dominance. In contrast, peripheral countries, which constitute the majority, are typically underdeveloped, reliant on agriculture. The theory aims to understand the nature and character of multinational corporations in the third world countries, looking at whether multinational corporations add to, or decrease, the poverty and income inequality experience by many citizens of rich and poor countries alike (Schuler, Lenway and Eden, 2006). According to Structuralism cum Marxism Theory, Multinationals emerged out of the concentration or centralization of capital integral to the capitalist accumulation process (Chigozie, 2018). In the words of Palloix (2023), Marxist approach has also contributed to a theory of the self-expansion of capital (internationalization of the circuits of capital) on a global scale, within an analysis of the differentiation and of inequality. This position has resulted in four major research questions aimed at explaining the motives of multinational corporations in the third world countries. From a Marxists viewpoint, a global exploitation process is responsible for nations' wealth and suffering. The idea was that the Third World's underdevelopment is driven by an unequal economic relationship between the rich North and the impoverished South, rather than cultural backwardness or lack of technological development. This is known as "the evolution of underdevelopment," according to Andre Gunder Frank (Nwokoma et al, 2022). The issue isn't a lack of technical know-how, development-friendly cultural values, or modern institutions; instead, it lacks political will. Nonetheless, domestic and international special imperialist agencies and the world capitalist system have exploited them (Nwokoma et al, 2022). As Ballor and Yildirim (2020) puts it, one of the most egregious crimes of which multinational corporations are accused is the violation of human rights protections for employees. Scenes of deadly factory fires in Bangladesh and Pakistan and images of malnourished child laborers in Southeast Asia often spread across international news, along with headlines accusing corporate giants for negligence or worse.

The Nexus between Multinational Corporations and Imperialism:

Imperialism has several stages and continues to manifest in new and more effective ways (Bar and Mamkaa, 2008). Imperialism is seen as the establishment of economic and political dominance over other nations. The major forms of imperialism include; Economic imperialism, Political imperialism and Socio-cultural imperialism. Economic imperialism is a type of imperialism that allows the area to operate as its own nation, but the imperialist nations control its trade and other business and resources. Multinational corporations are imperialistic, historically imperialism and now multinational corporations (MNCs) are the primary tools for implementing this systematic exploitation of the underdeveloped world (Schuler, Lenway and Eden, 2006). With this as a point of departure, the following study tests if there is a nexus between multinational corporations and imperialism. Under economic imperialism, multinationals establishes economic dominance over their host countries especially in Third world, and more or less exploit their economic resources. Nowadays, Multinationals exert power and control over entities once they are established through their control over technical and intellectual properties. For example, Adidas holds patents on shoe designs, Siemens holds many patents on equipment and infrastructure, and Microsoft benefits from software patent. These patents often make MNCs to maintain a monopoly in the local economy, preventing local firms and businesses from developing and improving (Chigozie, 2018).

Multinational Corporations as Mechanisms of Neo-Imperialism

Neo-imperialism represents a modern form of imperialism characterized by the global reach of capitalist economic systems, particularly through economic globalization and the dominance of finance. As production and markets have become increasingly international, there's been a simultaneous concentration of capital into massive multinational corporations. These corporations have amassed such wealth that they rival the economic power of entire nations. Multinational corporations are the true representatives of contemporary imperialism (Enfu and Baolin, 2021).

Indicators of Imperialism

Imperialism continues to manifest in new and more effective ways; **Capital flight** which refers to outflows of private capital from developing countries and is viewed as 'hot money' fleeing political and financial crisis, heavier taxes, capital controls, currency devaluation, or hyperinflation (Davies, 2011). **Technology transfer:** transfer of technology entails much more than the mere acquisition of physical assets. The purchase of a house, for instance, does not constitute a transfer of the architectural and construction knowledge and skill that went into its establishment. The technology transfer process is more like learning carpentry than purchasing a new drill. "If one does not develop the skill to use the tool adeptly, and if one does not understand how one particular stage relates to other stages of production, one's product will be inferior and not sell" (Mittelman & Pasha, 1997, p. 61). **International Monopoly Alliance of Oligarchic Capitalism:** featuring one hegemonic ruler and several other great powers. "The epoch of the latest stage of capitalism shows us that certain relations between capitalist associations grow up, based on the economic division of the world; while parallel to and in connection with it, certain relations grow up between political alliances, between states, on the basis of the territorial division of the world, of the struggle for colonies, of the "struggle for spheres of influence" (Lenin, 2009).

The Nature and Character of Multinational Corporations as Mechanisms of Imperialism in Third World Countries

There is no doubt that MNCs do make some positive contributions to the development of their host country. For instance, they pay royalties and taxes to the government of their host country. Thus, they are potential source of revenues to the government. Also, MNCs do provide employment to the indigenes of their host communities. Some of the indigenes or citizens of the country where MNCs are sited are usually employed to work in these companies. This helps in solving the unemployment problem. Moreover, MNCs in fulfillment of their corporate social responsibility do provide social infrastructure in their host communities. In other words, they sometimes help the government to provide basic amenities such as roads, hospitals, potable drinking water, schools and electricity for the well-being of the citizenry. In some instances, they give scholarship to the indigenes of their host communities (Okeke, 2015). However, MNCs particularly those operating in Africa do engage in insalubrious practices which directly and indirectly further underdevelopment. For example, Peru and Democratic republic of Congo are good examples of multinationals imperialist activities in the third world countries. According to Ola cited in (Chigozie, 2018) the post-independence Congolese state attracted several multinationals because of its enormous mineral wealth. The state is stupendously rich in gold, diamonds, copper, Colton resources and a host of other mineral ore deposits. Roughly eighty percent of the world's Colton reserves is located in Eastern Congo, making it the ideal place to obtain resources for big MNCs. MNCs in DR. Congo had not only partake in causing and aiding crisis especially in Eastern Congo, but as well exploited the Congolese natural resources. U.S, Belgium and Lebanese corporations are the major culprits. Furthermore, the Peruvian economy since the 1950s has been controlled by the U.S multinationals particularly in the mining sector of the economy. In an attempt to make huge profits, MNCs now site their subsidiary plants in countries with large population like China, India and Brazil where labour is cheaper. They produce their goods in such countries and export them to other countries at high price. Similarly, owing to the fact that these corporations need a stable host government, which is sympathetic to capitalism, they try as much as possible to defend and protect the existing government whenever a reactionary leader or group seems to take-over the government (Okeke, 2015).

The Effects of Oil Multinationals on the Nigerian Economy

There has been serious considerable interest in the process of globalization fueled by Multinational Corporations. Nigeria is not an exception in the operation of these multinational companies, be it in the agriculture, oil, health and power sectors among others. The search for petroleum oil in Nigeria started during the first decade of the 20th century, specifically in 1903, eleven years before the amalgamation of Nigeria. According to Ubi cited in (Iyanam, Ubi and Ero, 2021), Oil was discovered in Oloibiri community, the present day Bayelsa State in commercial quantity in 1956, but today the town is almost a ghost town considering the negative impact of oil exploration in the area and neglect. Oil producing communities can be found in states like Bayelsa, AkwaIbom, Delta, Rivers, Cross River, and Ondo. These states fall under the purview of Niger

Delta, although Ondo State can be seen among the South Western State, but with oil discovery in commercial quantity it is under the platform of oil producing states. It is observed that Five oil multinationals namely Shell, Chevron, Total, Eni (Agip) and Exxon-Mobil, operate in Nigeria through numerous subsidiaries and network of 15 joint ventures with different activities and holding structures. Oil has dictated the pace of economic, political, social and cultural progress in the country. It was estimated that between 1980 and 1993, about 211.3 billion dollars was generated as federal government revenue through oil sales. According to the National Bureau of Statistics (NSB), Nigeria collected 45.6 billion from the sale of crude oil in 2022. However, while a Nigerian manager in Chevron may be earning 400 thousand naira monthly as salary, a foreign manager with even less qualification may be earning 20 thousand dollars monthly. Unfortunately, the home countries of these companies are always there with their might to defend them (Okeke, 2015). Thus, owing to the subjugation of the Niger Delta region to both MNOCs' onshore and offshore operations, the social relations of oil production has penetrated the social structure of the local communities and defined their space, largely as the excluded, the alienated, and the exploited" in the larger Nigerian society. Multinational corporations often prioritize profit over environmental responsibility, leading to severe ecological damage in the Niger Delta. Oil spills and gas flares, symbolic of this exploitation, exemplify the alienation of local communities from their environment and resources (Alerechi and Woke, 2023).

For example, Figure 1.1 provides visual evidence of the environmental damage caused by oil exploration, specifically depicting farm roads contaminated by leaks from an Eni/Agip pipeline in Okputwari community, Situated in southern Nigeria, this is part of the Southern Ijaw Local Government Area, Bayelsa State.



Obtained from: the works of Alerechi and Woke (2023).

According to NOSDRA quoted in Besliu (2023), during 2022, Total Energies was linked to four separate incidents that resulted in the spillage of 28 barrels of crude oil. According to a report released in May 2023 by the Bayelsa state oil commission, Eni was listed among the multinational companies polluting Bayelsa state, with most of the pollution happening in southern Bayelsa. Eni/Agip has a long history of oil spills in Nigeria, destroying livelihoods and biodiversity in Bayelsa and parts of the country (Alerechi and Woke, 2023).

To mitigate the risks associated with multinational corporations operating in vulnerable regions like the Niger Delta, robust codes of conduct and effective regulatory frameworks are crucial. However, the current reality

suggests that the negative consequences of MNC activities, particularly environmental damage and social unrest, often overshadow their purported benefits. The presence of these corporations can be likened to a double-edged sword, capable of inflicting harm if not managed carefully. The resulting instability and insecurity hinder both political and economic progress in the Niger Delta and Nigeria as a whole. So therefore, these communities are blessed by nature to have this mineral deposit in their domain and should be treated with the highest level of regards (Iyanam, Ubi and Ero, 2021).

CONCLUSION

MNCs are only interested in profit making. The only reason why they pay taxes, create jobs and carryout some corporate social responsibility is because such acts are necessary for their operations and existence as well as continuous exploitation of the resources of their host country (Okeke, 2015). Every part of life for communities in the Niger Delta has been deeply affected by the ever-present oil exploration. The oil industry, therefore, bears significant responsibility for the region's ongoing developmental challenges. This is because the Niger Delta hasn't benefited from its oil wealth due to international and local oil politics, the people there are demanding more control over their resources (fiscal federalism). Oil multinational corporations are the main agents for the transfer of resources from the Niger Delta Region to Europe and America. The oil communities are now basically saying, clean the environment, listen to our demands or there will be no peace in the region (Ikong, 2021; Oguji & Okwuadimma, 2022).

RECOMMENDATIONS

Despite the acknowledged risks, multinational oil companies remain important actors in the global economy, particularly given Nigeria's limited technological and financial capacity. A key question, however, is how the Nigerian government can maximize the benefits of oil extraction for its citizens while minimizing the environmental and social costs, especially in oil-producing regions. One potential solution involves restructuring the revenue-sharing model to empower local communities to manage their resources directly and subsequently provide dividends to the federal government. Appropriate Government Ministry, Department and Agencies should be empowered to closely monitor the Operation of Oil Companies in the Oil Producing Communities to Ensure Compliance with Sustainable Development Practice, Corporate Social Responsibility and Environmental Governance (Iyanam, Ubi and Ero, 2021). Also, just as Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) has directed oil companies to make annual budget provision for funding of rehabilitation of schools, houses, roads, hospitals and other infrastructure destroyed by terrorists in Borno state and other parts of the north-east region, similar measures can be extended to oil communities whose properties have been impacted by seismic blasting and corrosion arising from activities of oil exploration. This way, enduring peace can be achieved in the Niger Delta region, rather than see it as a conquered territory whose oil has been taken over as spoils of persecution (Owhoko, 2022).

REFERENCES

1. Akinboye, S. (2008) Globalization and the challenge for Nigeria's Development in the 21st Century. Retrieved from <https://globalization.icaap.org/content/v7.1/Akinboye.html>
2. Abimbola, O. S., & Dele, A. O. (2015). Multinational corporations and economic development in Nigeria.
3. Abdul-Gafaru, A. (2006). Are Multinational Corporation compatible with sustainable development in developing countries? Paper presented for the conference on MNCs and sustainable development strategic tool for competitiveness Atlanta- Georgia October.
4. Ajayi, E., & Omolekan, O. (2013). The impact of multinational corporations (MNCs) on sustainable development of the Nigerian economy. *Annals Economic and Administrative Series*, 7(1), 111-125.
5. Alerechi, E. and Woke, K. (2023) Oil spill by Shell in Nigeria polluted water and Killed Wildlife. Retrieved from <https://www.journalismfund.eu/shell-continues-oil-pollution-niger-delta>.
6. Audu, J. (2020) Third World Dependency and Development. National Open University of Nigeria. NOUN Press.

7. Ballor, G. A. and Yildirim, A. B. (2020) Multinational Corporations and the Politics of International Trade in Multidisciplinary Perspective. *Business and Politics*. 2020;22(4):573-586. doi:10.1017/bap.2020.14
8. Bar, A. and Mamkaa, I. (2008) Constitutional development in West African States. *Destiny Ventures*.
9. Besliu, R. (2023) Oil-spill devastation in Nigeria and how the EU can fix it. Retrieved from <https://euobserver.com/africa/156906>.
10. Blanton, S. L., & Kegley, C. W. (2021). *World politics: Trend and transformation*. Cengage Learning, 17th Edition.
11. Boele, R., Fabig, H., Wheeler, D. 2001. "The Story of Shell, Nigeria and the Ogoni People – Environment, Economy, Relationships: Conflict and Prospects for Resolution." *Sustainable Development*. 9:74-86.
12. Buckley, M. and Clegg, T. (1988) (eds). *Multinational Enterprises in Less Developed Countries*, 99.
13. Brown, M.B. (1974), *the Economics of Imperialism*, Harmondsworth: Beacon Publications.
14. Chigozie, N.P. (2018). Multinationals as agents of imperialism: a case study of third world countries *Equatorial Journal of Communication Technology*, 2 (1) p 1-8 [Journal Homepage](#)
15. Davies, V. (2011) *Capital Flight and Violent Conflict-A Review of the Literature*. © Washington, DC: World Bank. <http://hdl.handle.net/10986/9056>.
16. Ejovi, A. Ebie, S. and Akpokighe, O. 2014. "Globalization and Environmental Degradation of the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria," *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences* 4 (13): 142-152.
17. Ekpali, S. (2022) We are Hungry: Oil Spill Victims Seeks Justice. Retrieved from <https://www.fairplanet.org/story/we-are-hungry-oil-spill-victims-seek-justice/>
18. Eluka, Ndubuisi-Okolo and Anekwe (2016) Multinational corporations and their effects on the Nigerian economy. *European Journal of Business and Management* www.iiste.org ISSN 2222-1905 (Paper) ISSN 2222-2839 (Online) Vol.8, No.9, 2016 59 .
19. Enfu, C. and Baolin, L. (2021) Five Characteristics of Neoimperialism Building on Lenin's Theory of Imperialism in the Twenty-First Century. Retrieved from <https://monthlyreview.org/2021/05/01/five-characteristics-of-neoimperialism/>.
20. Ewubare, D.B. & Udofia, G.J. (2018). Impact of Multinational Corporation on Economic Growth in Nigeria: *International Journal of Scientific and Education Research* Vol. 2, (2) pp84-90.
21. Eze et al (2021) Antimonies of Crude Oil Production in the Niger Delta: Reflection on Ahmed Yerima's Trilogy. *Rupkatha journal on interdisciplinary studies in humanities*, Volume 13, Number 3, 2021
22. Handelman, H. (2005). *The Challenge of Third World Development*. New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall.
23. ICRICT (2017) It's time to acknowledge the impact of capital flight on developing countries. Retrieved <https://www.icriict.com/icriict-in-the-news/2017/12/16/its-time-to-acknowledge-the-impact-of-capital-flight-on-developing-countries>.
24. Igwe, O. (2002) *PoUtk's and Globe Dictionary*, Jamoe Enterprises, Enugu Nigeria.
25. Ikong, L. V. (2021) International Politics of Oil Production in the Niger Delta and Environmental Challenges. *Journal of International Relations Security and Economic Studies (JIRSES)*, Vol. 1, No 1, April, 2021. Available online at <http://journals.rcmss.com/index.php/jirses> ISSN: 2756-522X
26. Iyanam, F. Ubi, O. and Ero, R (2021) Impact of Multinational oil Companies in oil producing communities in Niger Delta, Nigeria. *International journal of innovative Research and Development*. ISSN 2278-0211.
27. Lefebvre, L. (2017) Variables conceptualized. In M.Allen (Ed), *The SAGE Encyclopedia of communication Research Design*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
28. Lenin, V. I. 2009. *Lenin Symposium: on Capitalism*. [In Chinese.] Beijing: People's Publishing House, 163.
29. Liu, Z. 1999. "NATO's New Strategy is the Embodiment of American Hegemonism." [In Chinese.] *Social Sciences Journal of Universities in Shanxi*, no. 3.
30. Loco, S (2015). *Boosting the Oil Sector for Viable Economy*. Unpublished Article
31. Mittelman, J. H., & Pasha, M. K. (1997). *Out from under development revisited: Changing global structures and the remaking of the Third World*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

32. Mkor. A. (2012) Foundations of Political Economy and the politics of Development and Underdevelopment. Makurdi, Aboki publishers.
33. Nwosu, F.P. (2023) Multinational corporations and Neo-colonialism in Africa. Awka Journal of International Relations (AJIREL) Vol. 1. No.1 August, 2023.
34. Odunlami, S. A. and Awolusi, O. D. (2015). Multinational corporations and economic development in Nigeria. American Journal of Environmental Policy and Management, 1(2), 16-24.
35. Offiong, D.A. (2001). Globalisation: Post Neo- dependency and Poverty in Africa. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers.
36. Ofer, G., & Polterovich, V. (2000). Modern economics education in TEs: Technology transfer to Russia (transition economies). Comparative Economic Studies, 42, 5.
37. Oguji, C. A., & Okwuadimma, J. C. (2022). Transnational Oil Companies, Environmental Pollution and Crisis of Underdevelopment in Nigeria's Niger Delta: A Study of Shell Petroleum Development Company of Nigeria (SPDC). Socialscientia: Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities, 6(4). Retrieved from <https://journals.aphriapub.com/index.php/SS/article/view/1420>
38. Nwokoma et al (2022) Swamped with Poverty and Agony: Oil Exploration and Unemployment of the Natives in the Niger Delta University of Nigeria Journal of Political Economy: Volume 12, number 1, 136-149 (2022) DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.6987271
39. Okeke, G.S.M (2015) Politics of development and underdevelopment. Lagos/ Retrieved from <https://nou.edu.ng/coursewarecontent/POL%20324.pdf>
40. Omalu, M. K. (1996) Developments in Petroleum Exploration and Production Arrangements in Nigeria, OIL & GASL. & TAX'N REV. 70, 70.
41. Onapajo, H. (2023) International Economic Relations: Structuralism cum Marxism Theory. Unpublished Lecture Notes. Nile University of Nigeria, Abuja.
42. Onimode, B. (1978) Imperialism and Multinational corporations: A case study of Nigeria. Journal of Black studies. Vol.9.2, Nigeria: Problems of Development. Sage publications.
43. Oluwaniyi, O.O. (2018) The Role Of Multinational Oil Corporations (Mnocs) In Nigeria: More Exploitation Equals Less Development Of Oil-Rich Niger Delta Region. Brazilian Journal Of African Studies | Porto Alegre | V. 3, N. 6, Jul./Dec. 2018 | P. 143-162
44. Osman-Gani, A. A. M. (1999). International technology transfer for competitive advantage: A conceptual analysis of the role of HRD. Competitiveness Review, 9, 9.
45. Owhoko, M. (2022) Oil is Owned by NIGER DELTA. Retrieved from <https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2022/01/31/oil-is-owned-by-niger-delta/>
46. Palloix, C. (2023) "[Multinational Firms' Practices: An Attempt at a Marxist Theorization,](#)" [Research in Political Economy](#), in: Value, Money, Profit, and Capital Today, volume 39, pages 117-143, Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
47. Schuler, D., Lenway, S., & Eden, L. (2006) Multinational corporations through the uneven development lens. Multinational corporations and global poverty reduction.
48. Shannon, L. and Kegley, C. (2021) World Politics: Trend and transformation. Seventh edition, United States: cengage learning solutions.
49. SPE (2023) Sustainable Development in the Niger Delta: The Role of Multinational Oil Corporations. Retrieved from <https://jpt.spe.org/sustainable-development-in-the-niger-delta-the-role-of-multinational-oil-corporations>
50. Zaharia, R. M and Grundrey, D (2011). Corporate Social Responsibility in the context of financial crisis: A comparison between Romania and Lithuanian. Amfeteru Economic, 13(29), 195-2020