FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT AND NATIONAL SECURITY: ANALYSIS OF NIGERIA-CHINA ECONOMIC RELATIONS (2010 -2020).

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ABSTRACT
Economic relations have always been defined by strategic alliances based on the premise of comparative advantage within the context of globalization, interdependence and technological connectivity amongst countries of the world. This is the underpinning on which the China-Nigeria economic relations was anchored. However, the benefits accruing to each country have attracted debates and critiques. This paper examined specifically China's FDI inflow into Nigerian economy, the key sectors of Chinese investments and its impacts on Nigeria's economic and national security. A descriptive research design relying on secondary data and existing literature was employed. The theories of cooperation and dependency were adopted as analytical frameworks. The paper found that Nigeria and China benefited from the economic relationship but the benefits tilted much more in favor of China. The paper therefore concluded from its findings that the unequal economic engagement between China and Nigeria has exposed the Nigerian economy to be dependent on China and this constitute a threat to Nigeria's economic and national security. Recommendations were suggested as a way forward.

INTRODUCTION
China's political and economic influence on the global scene has witnessed an unprecedented rise within the past decades. This was facilitated by its "Going Out" policy which has manifested in the signing of many multinational and bilateral trade agreements with

many nations across the globe, particularly African nations within the auspices of the Forum on China – Africa cooperation (FOCAC) established in 2000. China's contact with Nigeria began on a political level with the invitation of Chinese delegation to witness the independence celebration in 1960. A decade later, precisely in February of 1971, Beijing established diplomatic relations with Lagos. Good political relations later spilled over into economics which led to the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on the establishment of a strategic partnership which was the first for an African country. The partnership opened the way for massive foreign direct investment (FDI) inflow from China into the Nigerian economy among other economic engagements.

As a result of this strategic partnership which granted unfettered access to Chinese companies to do business in Nigeria, there are presently over 200 Chinese companies operation in all sectors of the Nigerian economy. FDI inflow from China into Nigeria as a result of the partnership of 2016 according to Ogunsanwo (2018:12) stood at about USD 15 billion out of its USD 26.5 investment in Africa, thus making the country the largest recipient of Chinese Foreign Direct Investment. In spite of the huge Chinese FDI inflow into the Nigerian economy and its multiplier effects in enhancing socio-economic activities in the economic sector, analyst have raised concerns over the impact of these Chinese investments on Nigeria's economic and national security now and in the future. The arguments were that Chinese companies engage in the dumping of inferior Chinese industrial products into the country, lack of technology transfer from China to Nigeria especially in the technology sector, visa and employment restrictions to Nigerian to explore business opportunities in china. One of the scholars, Enuka (2010:11) argued that the Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) from china has led to the countries over reliance on the Chinese economy and manufacturing products, thereby undermining its own economic security.

Although there exist a large body of literature within the context of China-Nigeria economic relations, little has been written or known on the national security context of the increasing FDI inflow from Chinese businesses and government into Nigerian economy. The objective of the paper is to add to knowledge in this direction by investigating the key sectors of the Nigerian economy that have attracted Chinese FDI as well as examine the impact of such investments on Nigeria's national security from the period of 2010 - 2020.

METHODOLOGY

Pursuant to the above objective, the research paper design is anchored on descriptive research methodology employing qualitative data and reliance on existing literature. Data generated from this source were critically analyzed to provide answers to the following research questions:

- Is the China-Nigeria economic relation a positive or negative strategic partnership?
- In what ways have the economic engagement enhanced Nigeria's industrialization, objectives and aspirations?
- What are the impacts of China-Nigeria economic relations on Nigeria's economic and national security?

These are the critical and central questions, the paper seeks to answer in order to present a detailed and critical analysis of the implication of China's increasing FDI inflow into the Nigerian economy and the consequences of such investment on the country's economic and national security

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The paper adopts two theories as its framework of analysis. The first analytical theory is the Theory of cooperation propounded by Nye and Keohane (1994). The authors postulated that the process of political or economic relationship between nations on the global arena is characterized by cooperation and interdependency within the context of mutually win-win benefiting outcomes. The import of this is that in a mutually international economic relationship, both weak and strong economies have something to gain even within the context of unequal division of labor. Based on the premise of this theory, the China-Nigeria economic engagement is expected to produce a win-win outcome for both countries. The Dependency Theory on the other hand postulated that resources flow from a poor and underdeveloped nation classified as "periphery" to wealthy or developed nation seen as "core center" thereby enriching the core or wealthy nations at the expense of the underdeveloped poor nations. According to Daniel (1980:65) one of the main proponent of Dependency, is an economic situation in which a country or group of countries have their economies negatively impacted through the economic expansion in another country to which the former is subservient. The theory is a social science tool of explanation that rejected the modernization perspective theorized by classical economist that all societies' progress through linear stages of development, and that developed economies were once historically in the stages of underdevelopment. The classical economist went ahead to prescribe acceleration of investment, technology transfer, loans with stiff conditionality and closer integration into the global market as panacea to lift under-developed nations out of poverty unto modernization.

This notion was completely rejected by the dependency theorists who argued that underdevelopment is caused by the out flow of resources, capital or raw materials from poor nations to wealthy nations as a result of unfavorable terms of trade between developed and underdeveloped countries as well as the exploitative nature of the economic engagement between the two worlds. The principal African proponents of the dependency theory are Theotonio Dos Santos, Walter Rodney, Samir Amin and Claude Ake of Nigeria.

From the foregoing, the central tenet of the Dependency Theory is that dependency and underdevelopment of African nations today is as a result of the exploitative relationship that have characterized and still determining the nature, course and direction of economic engagements between African nations and the developed ones from the colonial times till date. The reality today is that though China and Nigeria have cooperated and still cooperating for mutual economic benefits, the impact of Chinese FDI in the Nigerian economy within the context of national security could only be critically analyzed and better explained through the prism of the dependency theoretical foundation. This is due to facts and supported by data certifying the prevailing trend of economic relations which tend to favor China who used her senior partner position to condition Nigeria to produce raw materials needed for China's industrial growth and development, while Nigeria continued to depend on imported goods from China, thereby creating a balance of payment problems for Nigeria. As a framework for analysis of data generated from secondary sources, the theories of Cooperation and Dependency are very central to this paper, because the central underpinning of both theories indicate that both developing and developed economies can benefit from economic relationship they entered into through mutual and optimal cooperation, but the realities of unequal international division of labor and the dependent nature of international politics cannot be ignored.

This is more pertinent as emerging trends indicate that China's FDI sectorial investment and trade pattern seems to suggest that China is attempting to condition Nigeria's development through huge Chinese FDI and loans given seemingly without collateral or stiff conditions, dumping of cheap Chinese industrial products that have resulted in massive closure of local manufacturing companies with corresponding job losses. This development according to Peter (2013:4). "Is sinking Nigeria into an abyss of debt"

This trend the paper submits if left unchecked would not only pose a grave threat to economic and national security but also make China to eventually condition the pace of development in Nigeria.

Conceptual Analysis of China-Nigeria Economic Relations

Over the years, China has succeeded in expanding economic ties with Africa aided largely by an investible export loan assistance of USD 150billion (Brautigam, 2019:22). In addition, Ogunsanwo (2018:6) noted that Chinese investment and aid in Africa rose from USD 9.68 billion in 2000 to USD 1.3trillion in 2013. The World Investment Report (2012:17) indicated that China's FDI inflow to Africa since 2000 is mainly dominated by Nigeria which the report claimed received about 80 percent of the China FDI inflow. This FDI inflow to Africa from china between 1998-2018 is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: China Net FDI Inflow to Africa

S/N	COUNTRY	VOLUME OF FDI (IN BILLION USD)
1	Nigeria	18.42
2	Algeria	9.23
3	South Africa	6.64
4	DR-Congo	6.55
5	Niger Republic	5.26
6	Egypt	3.23
7	Zambia	2.49
8	Libya	2.28
9	Sudan	2.21

10	Ethiopia	2.00
11	Angola	1.90

Source: World Investment Report (2012)

Though China and Nigeria established diplomatic relationship in 1971, the tempo of China-Nigeria economic cooperation received a major boost during the military administration of General Sani Abacha (1993-1998), when economic aid from Western nations was cut off and Nigeria declared a pariah state as a result of its abysmal human right record and Nigeria adopted a "Look East" policy. In return for China's economic support, Nigeria backed China's UNSC permanent membership bid as well as supported China's position in her territorial disputes against Taiwan and in the Pacific region (Alobo, 2014:19). The resultant China-Nigeria economic cooperation became an alternative economic development model, with comparative advantage to Nigeria (Ogunkoya, 2017:10). This partnership according to Utomi (2011:20) resulted in a surge in FDI from China and a 300 percent increase in trade size between the two countries. Udeala noted that between 2000 when the FOCAL was established to 2010, China-Nigeria trade volume increased from less than USD 2 billion to USD 18 Billion, fueled primarily by demand for oil and involvement in manufacturing and ICT by both private and public Chinese companies. Available Trade Statistics from World Trade Organization (2012) within the context of China-Nigeria trade volume is presented in Table 2.

Table 2: China-Nigeria Trade Statistics 2000-2010 (USD Million)

Year	China Export to Nigeria (USD Million)	Nigeria Export to China (USD Million)	Value Trade Imbalance (USD Million)
2000	563.7	292.9	271.0
2001	917.2	227.4	689.8
2002	1,047.1	121.3	925.8
2003	1,787.5	71.7	1,715.8
2004	1,719.3	462.6	1,256.7
2005	2,305.3	527.1	1,778.2
2006	2,855.7	280.0	2,575.7
2007	3,800.2	537.5	3,262.7
2008	6,758.1	509.9	6,248.2
2009	5,476.0	897.0	4,579.0
2010	6,737.5	962.5	5,775.0

Source: World Trade Statistics (WTO, 2012)

Analysis of data in Table 2 indicates that within a period of one decade of the establishment of the forum on China Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), the volume of trade between China and Nigeria recorded a 300 percent growth between 2000-2004 and a 600 percent growth by 2010. Another notable take-away from Table 2 is the fact that while the trade volume between the two countries was recording tremendous growth year-on-year, the balance of trade was in favor of China. This is due to the fact that China imported primarily raw materials that produced little or no added value, while its exports are value added industrial products that accounted for 93% of the bilateral trade total in 2010. This percentage according to Utomi (2017:51) represented 36.4 percent of the total trade volume between China and West African countries. The trade imbalance in favor of China as revealed in Table 2has persisted to a higher level today. For instance, data from South African Institute of International Affairs (AIIA, 2018:78) also indicated that in 2016, Nigeria imported industrial products worth 1.57 trillion naira from China while Chinese export from Nigeria in the same year was 157.5 billion naira, showing that Nigeria imported ten times more than it exported to China. In addition, the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS, 2022) first quarterly report showed that by December ending, 2021, the value of trade imbalance in favor of China had risen to USD 23 billion. This prevailing economic trend is a threat to Nigeria's economic security.

Chinese FDI inflow into the transportation infrastructure and communication sector and other investment loans are presently having a major impact on the infrastructure and ICT sectors of the Nigerian economy. A list of projects completed and those on-going is presented in Table 3.

Table 3: List of Projects completed or on-going through Chinese FDI or Investment Loans.

S/N	Projects	FDI	Investment Loans	Value (USD Billion/ Million)	Status
1	Refurbishment of Kaduna, Warri, Port Harcourt Refineries.	FDI	-------	USD23Billion	completed
2	Construction of crude oil refined		Sinosure and China		completed

	fuel complex	------	Exim Bank loan	USD 8 Billion	
3	NIGCOMSAT-1 satellite	FDI	--------	USD 10 Billion	completed
4	Abuja Light Rail	---	China Exim Bank	USD 500 million	On-going
5	Construction of four (4) Airport Terminals.	-----	China Exim Bank	USD 500 million	completed
6	Galaxy Backbone Expansion and Connectivity	-----	China Exim Bank	USD 100 million	completed
7	20,000 Megawatts Electricity Generation	FDI	------	USD 20 billion	MOU level
8	Dualization of roads across Nigeria	-----	China Exim Bank	USD 6 billion	On-going
9	Standard gauge railway upgrade	-----	China Exim Bank	USD 8 billion	On-going, Lagos-Ibadan, Abuja-Kaduna completed.
10	Expansion of Lagos, Kano, Abuja, and Port Harcourt Airport	-----	China Exim Bank	USD 1.5 billion	On-going, Abuja, Kano completed.
11	Shoe Making	FDI Private Investor	-------	USD 6 Million	Completed

12	ICT	Private Investor	-------	USD 1 Billion	Completed
13	Food and Restaurant	Private Investor	-------	USD 20 Million	Completed
14	Manufacturing of Rubber Bags	Private Investor	-------	USD 75 Million	Completed
15	Motor Cycle Assembly	Private Investor	-------	USD 20 Million	Completed
16	ZTE Telecommunication	Private Investor	------	USD 10 Million	Completed

Source: Culled from African Institute of International Affairs (AIIA, 2018)

In return for FDI inflow and infrastructure loans, Nigeria from the administration of President Obasanjo, Jonathan and Buhari led under the strategic partnership agreement granted unfettered access to Chinese companies to invest and do business in all sector of the Nigerian economy. Consequently, according to data from NIPC (2016), Chinese companies have been involved in the construction of hydro-dams and thermal stations across the country, construction of road networks, upgrade of railway tracks to standard gauge among others. According to Wang (2017:8) these construction projects are fully or partially funded by the Chinese government. While these Chinese FDI in critical infrastructure create economic development opportunities, the benefits of these projects are at high price to Nigeria's economic and national security. In the first instance as Table 2 revealed, Nigeria is saddled with high balance of trade deficits year-on-year in her trade with China. While China exports to Nigeria are in Trillions of

US dollars, Nigeria's export to China consisting mainly of primary raw materials are in billions of US dollars. With the free access granted to Chinese companies to do business in Nigeria, the Economist of London in its May edition of 2018 reported that as a result of Chinese company's operation especially in the manufacturing sector, 350,000 jobs have been lost in the textile industries and closure of over 178 textile companies. The Economist also reported that most Chinese companies operating in Nigeria employ Chinese technicians in the name of experts, instead of Nigerian skilled managers and local labor (John, 2016:14) confirming this development, Zweig and Jain hai (2015:10) noted that Chinese companies in Nigeria through unethical business do not contribute to either increase in the local employment rate or growth of the local economy. Other illegal activities of Chinese companies are the massive dumping of cheap substandard products especially textiles and electronic products on the market. This development was the singular reason, textile plants collapsed in Nigeria, due to their inability to compete with the cheap Chinese textile products due to the high operating cost of their operations compared to the imported Chinese textiles. Chinese companies have also been known to be involved in illegal mining activities thereby fueling insecurity in those mining communities. All these activities are threats to Nigerian economic and national security.

Another threat to economic and national security arising from the increasing Chinese FDI inflow as Table 2 indicated is the huge debt overhang. This debt portfolio of over USD 20 billion and the concession granted to private Chinese companies to have unfettered access into every sector of the Nigerian economy constitute a serious threat to Nigerian economy and national security in the future. In the first instance the volume of the loans is too high and are given out on easy terms which could strangulate economic growth in the future (Taylor, 2012:18). It is in this regard, that the World Bank, in its 2014 report (WB, 2014:6) criticized China's model of lending to Africa, arguing that Chinese low-interest loans, unconditional debt relief program undermine the efforts of global financial institutions to foster good political and economic governance in Africa. This is against the backdrop of the fact that between 2001-2010, China Exim Bank loans to Sub-Saharan Africa had top USD 67.2 billion, thereby overtaking the World Band lending of USD 54.7 billion (WBR, 2014:10) in reaction to Chinese debt incurred by Nigeria, Adubi et al (2019:30) noted that the large debt burden and its sustainability and repayment viability constitute a potential debt trap threat to the future development direction of Nigeria in the event of failure to pay-back the loans at maturity. In such a situation, the authors argued that China could force Nigeria to pay-back loans in natural resources or take over controlling shares in high end industries as was the case when Chinese loans given to Ethiopia for railway revitalization could not be repaid as when due. (Adunbi et al, 2019:41). Another instance, of Chinese high handed response to loan defaulting by nations in their debt trap is the case of Sri Lanka where Chinese loans where obtained to build the Hambantota Port infrastructure in 2006. By 2018, when Sri Lankan government defaulted in payment, China took over the port on a 99years lease (Foster et al, 2019:15).

Another note-able economic and national security challenges arising from china's FDI inflow into Nigeria, especially in the ICT sector, is the issue of China's interest law. According to Priegar (2013:15) it is mandatory as well as compulsory for all Chinese technology companies operating overseas to transfer to the Chinese government the identities of internet users. It is in this regard, that scholars such as Adegoko (2019:31) raised the alarm that Chinese FDI and investment in ICT infrastructure posed a threat to Nigerian economic and national security. Other scholars commenting on this threat, argued that China maybe attempting to dominate the citizenry through a form of "colonization" of the Nigerian digital technology sector (koiko, 2020:15). Koiko also asserted that China's disposition towards the internet constitutes an economic and national security threat, within the context of using the internet for employment generation. China according to Koiko (2020:30) is opposed to open internet through the deployment of firewalls, whereby the internet system is muted from the rest of the world. In this regard, the youthful Nigerian entrepreneurial that rely on the internet to do business are cut off and excluded from the endless opportunities available in an open internet system. Another potential threat to economic and national security posed by China's FDI inflow into the ICT sector also highlighted by Koiko is the challenge of using the Nigerian ICT infrastructure put in place through Chinese FDI for illegal digital espionage surveillance as was the case with Huawei in the United States of America, where the American government and other countries in the European union have cancelled their contract to the company for the deployment of 5-G infrastructure network. In Nigeria, Huawei and ZTE were engaged by the Nigerian government for its ICT infrastructure roll-out.

Consequences of China's FDI Inflow on Nigeria's Economic and National Security within the Context of Nigeria-China Economic Relations.

China's FDI inflow into Nigeria are more attracted to the oil, gas and road sectors. Other areas of FDI interest are in the rail construction, power and telecommunication ecosystem. According to data from NIPC (2016:40) FDI inflow from China into the oil and gas sectors amounted to USD 713.4 billion by 2015. Similarly, FDI inflow from China into the construction sector amounted to USD 115.5 billion invested in railways, housing, highway, bridges, airports and water supply projects such as dams. FDI inflow from China into the ICT ecosystem dominated by ZTE and Huwai amounted to USD 55 billion by 2015. Thus statistics indicates that the oil and gas sector attracted the highest FDI inflow into Nigerian economy between 2001-2015. In the same vein, the NIPC data also revealed that Nigeria's exports to China within the same period amounted to USD 12 billion. In line with this study's theoretical framework, a consequence of this lop-sided development is that while China's FDI and investment is large and growing, Nigeria on the other hand cannot match-up due to its inability to compete with industrial products from China. This development undermines Nigeria's economic and national security due to the persistent and chronic trade imbalance between China and Nigeria as Table 2 indicated. Another consequences of this development that has the potential to impact negatively on Nigeria's economic and national security is the challenge arising from the huge volume of the Chinese investment in the Nigerian economy whose developmental contribution to the growth and economic development of the country is not optimal because the gains made from these investment especially from those private Chinese investors are not re-invested but repatriated to China to promote Chinese economic growth, while undermining the growth and development of Nigeria's economy. In addition, the huge Chinese FDI inflow into the oil, gas, power, telecommunication and construction sectors have made Nigeria dependent on China for Chinese equipment's and gadgets instead of developing made-in-Nigeria equipment's through technology transfer that would enhance diversification of the Nigerian economy. This development also undermines Nigeria's quest for self-reliance, economic and national security. In the same vein, the fact that Nigeria's high-end industries and critical infrastructure especially in the oil, gas and ICT sectors are in the hands of foreign management including the Chinese also undermine Nigeria's economic security because it provides access to sensitive information and data to foreigners on the sectors which is detrimental to Nigeria's national and economic security.

Another identified consequence of China's FDI inflow into Nigeria within the context of Nigeria-China economic relation is that FDI inflow from China into the Nigerian economy positively impacted the economy through expansion of socio-economic activities. This development created a high level competition especially in the manufacturing sector, where local manufacturers are at a disadvantage against their foreign counter-parts, thereby creating stunted economic growth. There is also a noticeable dependency of Nigerians for foreign goods. For instance, NIPC (2016:38) data showed that 60 percent of Nigeria's electronic import comes from China. In addition, the NIPC data also indicated that nearly all (90%) of Nigerian mid-range industries lack the capacity to compete due to their higher cost of production as a result of high overhead cost, thus undermining Nigeria's future economic security through the collapse of local manufacturing industries in the face of strong competition from imported goods from China and overseas.

Another notable consequence of China's FDI inflow into the Nigerian economy within the context of Nigeria-China economic relations is the unregulated and unchecked influx of Chinese private investors into all sectors of the Nigerian economy. In the manufacturing sector, especially in the textile industries, incursion of Chinese businesses has pushed many local industries out of business, leading to massive job loss which the Nigerian Labor Union estimated to be over 350,000 employees and the closure of over 178 textile plants especially in Kano and Kaduna. The implication of this development in line with the paper's theoretical analytical framework is that, while Nigeria constitutes a huge market for Chinese products, which in turn boost China's economy on one hand and weakens Nigeria's on the other. In the final analysis, in the light of all the foregoing developments highlighted above the paper submits that within the context of Nigeria-China economic relations the consequences of the large volume of FDI inflow into Nigeria from China undermines Nigeria's economic and national security.

CONCLUSION

The China-Nigerian economic relation was established on the basis of strategic partnership. The underpinning principle of the engagement was anchored on a win-win platform. In reality as Table 2 revealed, the balance of trade has consistently been in favor of China, the senior partner, due to the price difference between the high volumes of value-added industrial products its exports to Nigeria and low volume of primary raw materials without value addition that Nigeria exports to China. The primary objective of entering into an economic relationship with China was for Nigeria to tap into China's economic success story, increasing both manufacturing and other economic capacities, thereby securing her economic and national security. The prevailing reality suggest that economic relationship between China and Nigeria is being driven solely by China's need for raw material and petro energy instead of a strategic partnership, thus undermining Nigeria's economic and national security. Within the context of the analytical theoretical framework adopted by this paper, one can very well agree with scholars such as Sanusi (2013), Taylor (2012) and Gaye (2017) that view China's dominance of Nigeria's micro and macroeconomic landscape as "Chinese colonialization" or "Sino imperialism" under the guise of strategic partnership in the China-Nigeria economic relations. In addition, these scholars argued that China through huge loans given to Nigeria and the dominance of Chinese companies in all sectors of the Nigerian economy, is attempting to overwhelm Nigeria's economy as well as strangulate her economic growth, thereby undermining her economic and national security. The employment of Chinese experts and the use of complete equipment and Chinese technicians impedes technology and skill transfer to Nigerians, thus undermining job security for Nigerians. These trends, the paper submits if left unchecked would not only undermine Nigeria's economic and national security, but would also open the pathway for Chinese imperialism in Nigeria as China would in the event of debts payment default, condition Nigeria's development process as postulated by the dependency framework.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To bridge the persistent trade imbalance between China and Nigeria, and to ensure a reversal of the prevailing trend, it is hereby recommended that there should be a synergy of interest and purpose between the Nigerian government and China's private investors by articulating a coherent policy and strategies that would strengthen the economic relationship.For Nigeria to enhance her productive base and tap optimally into the Chinese development model, it is recommended that Nigeria as a matter of economic urgency, diversify her export base from reliance on oil and gas adding value to her primary products through the use of exports processing facilities to increase its product value in order to generate higher foreign exchange earnings. To check illegal dumping of cheap Chinese industrial products on the Nigerian markets, it is recommended that the National Assembly enact a law specifically targeted against importation of sub-standard and inferior industrial products from overseas including China.

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