GLOBALIZATION AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

Arua Christopher Chukwu & Okechukwu Groupson-Paul Department of Political Science Federal University Ndufu Alike Ikwo

Abstract

The concept of globalization describes a fundamental trend in the modern world; the interrelationship among nations that have diversified to an unprecedented degree. This relationship has far-reaching implication on Africa's development as African countries are inevitably in the most vulnerable position in the face of these trends. This paper surveyed trends in international economic integration and inequality in development as a result of the emergence of globalization. It distinguishes among the different dimensions of globalization (trade and capital flow). The negative impact of globalization on Africa development was analyzed within the dependency theory framework. The study notes that there is evidence on the link between inequality and globalization. Africa as a continent had been manipulated by the policies of Western political actors; this is because market opportunities are more limited for low technological nations like ours. Again, Africa was totally ignored by the North which has more interests in profit(s) than developing the continent. The study recommended for the African countries to strive on changing some of their economic policies; policy conditions imposed through Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) have to be loosened and some of the multilateral policies exerted on developing countries through the World Trade Organisation (WTO) agreements be re-examined. This is by adopting development approaches that are based on the principles of sustainable development.

Keywords: Globalization, Underdevelopment, Structural Adjustment Programme, Modernization, Western political actors

Introduction

Africans indebtedness to international financial institution/organization and developed countries of the world has reached an alarming and catastrophic stage. The appalling stage of Africa's technological development; the exit of developed minds from the continent acronymed "Brain-drain" and avalanched of protests against the political regimes and the concomitant political instability in African states, are all causative variables and symptoms of underdevelopment in African continent (Frank, 1982).

These multitudinous problems which stare Africa in the face are weighty enough to sink the continent even deeper in the mesh of underdevelopment and misery. Even the certainty of political redemption becomes a dilemma, as the political leadership which ought to redefine the focus of developmental strategies are ignorant of the intricacies of African developmental problems. Added to this grim statistics of Africa's wretchedness are all series of interstate conflicts; the menace of inter-tribal wars, the sanguinary disaster occasioned by religious fanaticism (Boko Haram insurgency and ISIS) and the vulnerability of African states to external powers influence (Offiong, 2001). Accordingly, the United Nations population projections in 2014, affirm that African population will be more than double from 900 million in 2010 to 1.9 Billion in 2050. Looking further ahead, African share of world population is projected to double from 15 percent in 2050, with over 2.1 billon people living on the continent (UN, 2010). Clearly, if current levels of low economic growth persist, the vast majority of Africans will remain desperately poor throughout this century and the wealth gap with other regions of the world will widen. While Africa's population surges ahead, population growth in other regions are projected as slowing and particularly in Europe decreasing.

Interestingly, no nation in contemporary history has developed in isolation of the international economic system or without trading. None of the Asian countries that have reduced poverty during the past four or five decades achieved the economic growth that made this possible by relying solely on internal resources. And as such, any economic success of any sort has reflected openness to trade and the acquisition and adaptation of modern technology (Offiong, 2001). However, the African case is different, though, globalization has brought about the integration of the third world but its progress is uneven and also in an unbalanced manner as Africa has been marginalized by the world business leaders and their multinationals. Thus, Africa has been handed over to the international financial institutions; the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), to handle as they will. The resultant effects have been the iron-fisted economic policies associated with the Structural Adjusted Programme (SAP) by the Word Bank and IMF. Interestingly, the sovereign nations of the third world countries, particularly, Africa has been de-sovereignised and the financial institutions are managing their economies (Ogbuagu, 1995).

The structural adjustment programme as a policy was a carefully but systematically brought into play by the G-7 and their allies to reverse nationalistic policies of the south (Africa) by providing loans in exchange for significant and fundamental changes in their political economy, changes that further tie these countries inextricable to the industrialized nations (Ogbuagu, 1995). SAPs have accentuated poverty in Africa, because their institution is not meant to help African countries, bearing in mind that technology is not transferable. Instead, they are among other things designed to impose strict conditionalities to any new credits or rescheduling of debts, and force Africa and other third world nations to adjust to the whims and imperative of the inequality at the global market, thereby opening up their markets to the North and other industrialized countries. This orchestrated global economic interconnectedness or economic globalization is deeply hurting Africa badly and this spells unconscionable or unbearable poverty for the continent. This paper is arranged into four parts. The first is on the conceptualization of major concept(s) of the topic; the second part is the theoretical framework of the paper. While the third is on globalization and its consequences on African development and the last section is recommendations and conclusion.

Theoretical Explanation of Globalization and Underdevelopment of Africa

In the theoretical explanation of globalization and African underdevelopment, it is necessary to bring into focus various theories of thought of political analysis which will serve as a guide to understanding of this paper. The "Dependency theory" perspective is adopted for the paper. Just like modernization theory, dependence theory is a model of economic and social development; but the difference is that dependency theory explains global inequality in terms of the historical exploitation of poor societies (Africa) by the rich and powerful ones.

Dependency theory is a Marxist critique of modernization theory which focuses on internal factors created by external factors rather than external factor in themselves. The argument of the dependency theorists is that, historically, no state sets up any universal standard of development. The gap between the developed nations and the underdeveloped states has nothing to do with differing political cultures but the historical impact of industrial revolution in Europe which ushered in industrial capitalism which subsequently made for imperialism, colonialism and forceful integration of pre-capitalist into world capitalist system (Offiong, 2001). The proponents of dependency theory are Paul Baran (1957), Andre Gunder Frank (1966), Theotonio des Santos (1970), and others.

They are of the opinion that dependency place primary responsibility for African poverty and underdevelopment on Western imperialist powers. It holds that these powers have impoverished Africa and the rest of the third world so that today poor countries are dependent on rich ones. The development of rich countries paralleled the underdevelopment of the poor countries. The roots of this ruinous process extend back several centuries. In other words, the ultimate outcome of this process according to O'Conner (1971) is that:

The underdeveloped nations assumed a dependency status (the last step before outright control) in relation to the Western powers chiefly because the former were in debt to the latter. What was significant about the shift from consumer goods to capital goods in world trade was that the colony-tobe needed long-term credits or loans to pay for the capital goods, and that finally, the relationship between the backward country and the metropolitan country one of debtor and creditor. And this was but a small step to dependence and dominance (p 80).

From this theoretical explanation, it is clear that, the dominance of the US and its allies in the world capitalist economy, coupled with the introduction of international financial institutions namely; World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) through the much propagated and re-invigorated globalization and its conditionality/process, Africa are trapped into unrealistic development policies or strategies. These as a result compounded the development policies of Africa into

accepting and swallowing the pill(s) of trade liberalization, foreign direct investment, privatization, deregulation etc.

Arguing further, Ihonvbere and Ekekwe (1988) observed that underdevelopment in Africa is pervasive, dynamic and enduring; that it is rooted in history, reinforcement and reproduced through structural and institutional articulation with global capitalism. In addition to external dimension, underdevelopment is fundamentally reinforced, intensified and deepened through internal relations of production and exchange, parasitism and non-autonomisation of the state structure. While policies like self-reliance and indigenisation programmes which sought to put the African bourgeoisies in charge of the commanding weights of the economy have been viciously subverted by internal and external interests, policies of structural adjustment which seek to integrate peripheral economies structurally of the IMF and the World Bank and in some cases made available such facilities as the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facilities (E.S.A.F.) and External Fund Facility (E.F.F.) are discriminatory aid practices that have only helped to make Africa poor and submissive.

Conceptual Clarification Globalization

This question has assumed ever-greater importance with the emergence of the World Trade Organization as a force for trade Liberalization throughout the world, with the increased economic integration of Europe, with the collapse of Communism in the late 1990s. The concept of globalization has attracted public debate by scholars and as such, the issue can be frustratingly confused. Most seriously, scholars often define globalization as encompassing many different phenomena (O'Rourke, 2002).

Aja (2001) sees globalization as electro-communication driven in the facilitation of the flow and share of ideas, values, goods and services, banking and finance, science and technology, foreign investments and market integration. To Gracia (1998) globalization implies changing the way production is organized as required by the general dismantling of trade barriers and the free mobility of financial and productive capital, in the context of accreted technological change. He stated further that technological development in the sphere of information and electronic services have been a catalyst for speeding the process; bring about global production, distribution and consumption.

Writing in the same vein, Ibietan (2010) argued that globalization is associated with the perception of an irresistible dynamism in global economic relations destined to breakdown traditional barriers to free trade and usher in an age of global capitalism and Western (neo) liberal governance system. It is the process of intensification of economic, political, social and cultural relations across international boundaries (Akindele cited in Ibrahim, 2013).

Mucchiell, (2004) argued that globalization for countries and firm is characterized by openness of economies and a global market in which "firms" strategies focus on resources, seeking along with synergies and standardization in market offering. Reduction of technology and policy related barriers in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), trade and communication, which have combined to produce a rise in international integrated production.

Similarly, globalization is considered by Porter (1999) as a new stage of international economic integration in specific markets where the competitive positions of the main actors (that is the MNCs in an oligopolistic environment) are increasingly internationalizing their operators and are deeply affected by their mutual interdependence, and by the strategic behaviours of their competitors.

However, globalization is the increasing integration of national economies into the world economy (Akpakpan, 1999). It is the linking of nations in interdependent economic relationship (Obadina cited in Ibietan, 2010). In a nutshell, globalization encompasses declining barriers to trade, migration, capital flows, technology transfers, and foreign direct investment.

While there are some advantages to an open regime for developing nations, the impact of openness depends on a country's level of development and preparedness to take on the challenges of subjecting local production units to foreign competition, of being able to break into world markets, and of weathering the vitality and fickleness of private capital flows and their propensity for leading recipient countries into a trap. It is therefore imperative that Africa continent will be given the chance to have an adequate range of options, of when, how and to what extent to open their economies for Western countries to maintain flexibility in policy option; they have to collectively press their case in international fairness and institutions where decisions on the global economy are made.

Human Development Report (2012) explains the dilemma of economic globalization in the way it has widened the gulf between the haves and the have-nots; stressing that people also fret about their jobs. Both jobs and income have become more precarious, as global mergers and intense competition pressure companies into streamlining their operations. Hiring and firing workers according to the current needs of the market makes sense for a company concerned with increasing its profit, but plays havoc with peoples' lives, a situation which is not healthy for Africa as a continent.

Underdevelopment explained

It will sound unreasonable to discuss the concept of underdevelopment without grasping what development is all about. This is because both concepts are like a simens twins, and as such they cannot do without one another. Amartya (1999) whose work has been central to the broadening of perspective on the meaning of development and poverty reduction, in his book, "Development as freedom" embodies the key idea of development as the enhancement of individuals' abilities to shape their own lives. Nyerere (1993) sees development as a process of profound structural transformation that cannot simply be imported. He stressed that there is ample evidence that successful development is vitally linked to the resilience of the economy, polity, and civil society, all functioning in a spirit of harmony to promote shared goals and objectives. Thus, the success of the South (African) struggle against its underdevelopment will depend on the ability of the continent of Africa to reform and regenerate its economies, polities, and societies in line with its basic developmental goals. Rodney (1986) equally stated that development in human society is a many-sided process to imply increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self discipline, responsibility and material well-being.

However, to many, development is a means as well as an end. As a means, development is often viewed as the sum total of those activities directed towards the attainment of certain goals, such as a developed economy and equitably distributed social services, human mastery of his environment and free individual participation in the affairs of the state (World Bank, 2000). As an end, development is often regarded as a quantitative realization of human happiness and well being or simply, the satisfaction of basic needs in an economically, politically and structurally transformed society. For example, in the field of development and underdevelopment, a number of variables can serve as indicators; birth rate, death rate, literacy, income, calories can be used. Death rate may be used to indicate the level of development in public health in political system which in turn may be employed to analyze the overall development level of social welfare services and consequently the level of general development in the country.

Similarly, Wood (1994) believed that development indicators may also be used to mean any qualitative or quantitative measures of some factors or characteristics of development that is identifiable as part of the process of development. It constitutes the measurement of the salient features or particular aspects of development recognized as the central value choice of the gals of development. For example, whatever the specific definition of development a certain level of:

- Standard of living
- ➤ Literacy
- Social welfare services
- School enrollment
- The reduction of infant mortality
- Increase in per capita GNP
- Active participation in the political and economic process, are considered to be the goal of development.

Having tactically, but systematically defined development, it makes it easy to comprehend the concept of underdevelopment. Although the term underdevelopment seems ubiquitous, it is rarely defined with much rigour. One reason for lack of precision is that the term is being used in so many different issue areas. Obviously, underdevelopment is not absence of development, because every people have developed in one way or another and to a greater or lesser extent. Underdevelopment makes sense only as a means of comparing levels of development. It is very much tied to the fact that human social development has been uneven and from a strictly economic view-point some countries have advanced further by producing more technologically ahead and becoming wealthier (Rodney, 1986).

Interestingly, the concept of underdevelopment has no straight jacket

76 South East Political Science Review, Vol.1 No.1, 2017

definition(s) rather, it is better explained through its structures than define. Hundreds of millions of people living in Africa suffer from hunger, malnutrition, and preventable diseases, and are illiterate or lack education and modern skills; that is to say that there are gaping disparities in education, literacy, population and life expectancy. For example, among the less-industrialize countries in Africa, sixty percent of the population is undernourished and over 10,000 die daily as a result of prolonged malnutrition; Africa's economies are highly dependent of the North for trade, investment and, as well as money policies (Offiong, 2001).

Furthermore, Okolie (2015) highlighted some of the basic features of underdevelopment economies to include:

- Personalization of state power
- Planning without execution
- Abject poverty
- High elasticity of socio-economic inequality
- Devaluation of currency/inflation
- Over dependency on foreign aids/grants
- > Budgetary deficit and deficit financing etc.

The aforementioned characteristics are not mutually exclusive and exhaustive but noted that a good number of the citizens living in the underdeveloped economies are subject to abject poverty and penury (Okolie, 2015). Having mentioned that majority of African states are highly dependent on countries of the North for trade, investment and money policies, majority of them were formal colonies of the West and are mainly agricultural countries in the sense that they rely on agriculture and have little or no industry. But their agricultural yield are far less than those of the developed countries and highly unscientific. African countries are suppliers of primary products and importers of finished goods (Ogbuagu, 1995).

However, globalisation can be said to be a new world pattern of marginalization of African continent through globalised economic policies/forces of the advanced countries of the West. On the other hand, underdevelopment seen as lack of capacity to improve standard of living, literacy, social welfare services, long absence of democracy and sustainable development, which abound in most African countries notwithstanding of global integration. It is obvious that world powers together with their monetary policy have no intension of improving African's lot. Thus globalization is a scourge to African development.

Structural Adjustment Policy as Agent of Deepening Dependence

It is important to note that the increased contact between the developed and he underdeveloped countries of Africa and the globalization of the world economy has been a frontal attack on the dependency theory which has all along contended that such relationship have always survived to the detriment of the poor continent of Africa. By emphasizing that trade liberalization and interdependency as the recommendation of Walt Rostow, yet, Africa is the region worst affected by Structural Adjustment Programme. It will be recalled that the lingering economic crisis of Africa in the 1980s namely debt burden and debt service obligations, adverse balance of payments and huge and rising trade arrears, as well as excessive dependence on agriculture. In addition, worsened by scarcity and high dependence on external sources for industrial inputs, galloping inflation exacerbated by inappropriate policies, unproductive investment, deterioration infrastructure and productive capacity, limited administrative and technical and corruption (Ogbuagu, 1995).

Besides, the above difficulties faced debilitating external economic difficulties which had to do with its declining ability to attract new foreign aids, loans and investments and to maintain a reasonable level of credit worthiness in the international market economy. Against the background of the heavy foreign debts and deteriorating economic performance, Africa countries were pressured by multilateral financial organizations, commercial banks and donors' countries to accept intervention by international financial institutions; World Bank, IMF and the likes (Ghai, 1991).

Interestingly, this pressure was quite timely and effective because African countries were in dire need of foreign exchange to honour their debt obligations and also maintain level of imports (Offiong, 2001). In return for debt rescheduling and new credits, the international financial institutions (World Bank and IMF) and other foreign creditors insisted on a wide-ranging but generally uniform package(s) of economic reform.

As at mid 1990s, a little above 40 countries including Nigeria had adopted structural adjustment programme(s) (SAPs) aimed at relieving external and internal imbalance and facilitating the resumption of growth. Given this imperative, SAPs are not designed to either solve or aggravate the economic crisis in Africa. Osakwe (1993) sees SAP as a policy package which focuses on demand management and the supply side of economics. It seeks, at macro-level to employ some demand management strategies in order to influence, at micro-level, the response of production units of the economy. According to Ould-Mey (1996) Adjustment Policy in Africa is the manifestation of the Western countries to expand their markets, increase their exports, and secure debt payments through a carrot-and-stick programme of providing loans to fiscally bankrupt third world government particularly African continent in exchange for fundamental reforms in their political economy. He stated further that, adjustment policy or policies and liberalization policies are sweeping the entire South, thereby opening and re-strengthening the relationship between developed nations and that of Africa in particular, through what many scholars describe as debt trap, where a country seek new loans to pay old ones.

At this juncture, let us summarize the main objectives of SAP, and what is globally referred to as International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank conditionalities. The objectives of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) are:

- To restructure and diversify the productive base of the economy in order to reduce dependence
- Elimination of price distortions in different sector of the economy
- More trade liberalization, and

78 South East Political Science Review, Vol.1 No.1, 2017

Promotion of domestic savings in the public sector, improve the sector's efficiency and intensify the growth and potential of the private sector.

For government to overwhelmingly achieve the above stated objectives, the International Monetary Fund/World Bank (financial institutions) must adopt the following policy instruments or "standard conditionalities" for doing business with African countries with shaky economies;

- Exchange rate adjustment which centers on currency devaluation, coupled with liberalization of the external trade and payment system.
- Further rationalization and restructuring of public expenditure and custom tariffs.
- Control of money supply and credit.
- Interest rate policies to enhance domestic savings and achieve appropriate allocation of resources.
- Fiscal policies to reduce government expenditures and deficit financing regulation of the prices of goods and services and factor input (Offiong, 2001).

However, the aforementioned conditionalities are not exclusive, as more continued to be added and these have adverse effect(s) to the development of the third world, particularly, African countries.

Consequently, in view of all these, African countries are being forced to adopt pro-Western policies because they can hardly make any political or economic decisions which are not approved by the Western powers that controls and also dominates the IMF and World Bank (financial institutions). The resultant effect of the above statement is that African leaders can never be liberated from the dependency syndrome or economic restructuring measures of the North. Unfortunately, such economic reforms championed by the IMF and World Bank are capable of undermining or cause severe development problems to African countries.

Globalization and its Consequences on African Development

All over the world globalization has raised fears that the market could rend the social fabric of societies. Anti-globalization protestors proclaim that "the world is not for sale" (World Bank, 2009). Globalization has made Africa to be caught in an international poverty trap and this means that pervasive poverty and lack of economic growth within African nations has effects that cause economic underdevelopment to persist and even increase.

The consequence of globalization in Africa is not limited to currency devaluation, and economic liberalization, and the disaster it brings upon the poor, the widening gap, among others. In the economic sector, the distribution of global wealth has never been fair, but globalization has widened the chasm between rich and poor. In sub-Saharan Africa and some other less-developed regions, income has actually decreased in the past three decades. The international community allows nearly three billion people; almost half of all humanity, to subsist on 2 dollars or less in a world of

unprecedented wealth (Annan, 2002). One of the major causes of this huge social divide is financial self-interest.

Moreover, globalization has also favoured the growth of rich multinational companies that have practically taken over the world market for certain products; their activities is often not to promote the general welfare but rather enriching further the wealthy, while poverty of the vast majority of African countries aggravate. Ibietan (2010) rightly noted that trade liberalization has not aided domestic production as much as it has opened economies for imports, as African economies become dumping sites for all manner of Western industrial products

The globalization of culture is another area of concern, which involves clashes of culture and the spread of materialistic values. The interchange of ideas is an important feature of globalization, and nothing symbolizes this phenomenon more than the internet. Unfortunately, the internet is not merely used to spread beneficial information, culture, and commerce. As Friedman (2013) points out some web sites promote pornography, racism or gambling. A few even give specific instruction on how to make homemade bombs. Television and films also have an enormous influence on how people think. The messages on the world's screens often come out of Hollywood, the world principal factory of make-believe. The values that this vast entertainment industry reflects often promote materialism, violence or immorality which at the long run affects or bring negative development to African countries. Nevertheless, governments, educators and parents invariably find it extremely impossible to hold back the tide.

To a large extent, globalization has magnified African countries problems that already existed in our imperfect world. Rather than offering solutions to underdevelopment in Africa, it has become part of the problem, for instance, in area of crime and Terrorism.

Unfortunately, tools of trade and commerce can easily be converted into tools of crime. As the multinational corporations have led the drive to globalize the world's economy, so the crimes multinationals; organized crime syndicates have been quick to exploit it. The elimination of many customs controls and the increasing movement of people also make it much easier for drug cartels to transport illegal drugs from one country or continent to another. Interestingly, drug cartels have found a host of new opportunities to launder their billon-dollar profits. Again, international mafia groups have also developed a lucrative business in prostitution. Every year, they ship nearly 500,000 women and girls from the shore of Africa to Western Europe for this purpose; the majority against their will (Human development Report, cited in Annan, 2002).

Terrorists are not left out. They use the tools of globalization. All these atrocities mentioned have an adverse effect to the development of Africa, particularly Nigeria. Accordingly, Annan (2002) asserts that the world has rapidly become much more vulnerable to the eruption and, most critically, to the wide-spread and even global spread of both new and old infectious diseases. Such diseases in the like of zika virus, HIV/AIDS and EBOLA, as well as people can travel around the globe; the dramatic increases in worldwide movement of people, goods and ideas is the driving

force behind the globalization of diseases(UN Programme on HIV/AIDS, 2000).

In some countries of Arica, microbes and viruses are not the only unwanted global travelers, intentional dumping of toxic waste are efforts by the western countries to undermine development in Africa.

Arising from the above explanations, it is obvious that the principal problem is that economic globalization is driven by the desire to make money. The profit motive rarely takes into account the poor and the disadvantaged continent of Africa. An unregulated global economy dominated by corporations that recognize money as their only value is inherently unstable and is impoverishing humanity in real term.

Conclusion

Globalization allows the developed nations and multinational Corporations the opportunity to accumulate more wealth. While the African nations become weaker and submissive, owning to the superior capital structure of globalization that gives the developed nations the power to enforce trade agreements that favour their interests. Repositioning Africa in a globalized economy calls for both policy and intellectual review of the trends and patterns of African substructure production system in terms of export capacity and infrastructural facilities. Without this, Africa has nothing for the world trade except to consume foreign goods and services.

Recommendations

The prospect(s) for Africa in a globalized economy must include:

- Governmental discipline, politics to revitalize growth, diversity and promote exports and improve market access abroad for African experts.
- A viable export development strategy for Africa should exploit the regions comparative advantage, particularly in primary production (first).
- There is also a need to strive for governance at a national level that combines economic development and social justice.
- If democratization/development process in Africa is to be relevant to Africa, it must reflect the values of its operational environment, and must originate from within African continent. This shows the irrelevance of those conditionalities stipulated by Western World as prerequisites for development and democratization.
- Finally, the policy conditions imposed through structural Adjustment have to be loosened, and some of the multilateral disciplines exerted on developing countries through the WTO agreements have to be re-examined.

References

- Aja, A. (2001). Selected themes in international economic relations: Understanding trends of globalization & regionalization. Enugu: Rhyce Kerex Publishers.
- Akpakpan, E. (1999). The state of economy in Africa. Abuja: NIIA.
- Amartya, N. (1999). Development and poverty reduction. India: Cambridge Press.
- Annan, K. (2002, May 22). Globalization: Hope and fear. Awake, p 7.
- Frank, A.G. (1982). *Dynamics of global crisis*. USA: Library of Congress Publication.
- Friedman, T. L. (2013). *Globalization, curse or cure?* New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.
- Ghai, D. (1991). *The IMF and the South: The social crisis and adjustment* (Ed). New Jessy: Zed Book.
- Gracia, M. E. C. (1998). Latin America's pattern of globalization and regionalization. New York: UNDP.
- Human Development Report (2012). *Globalization and inequality: Reducing hunger in Africa.* New York.
- Ibietan, J. (2010). The gap between globalization and socio-economic development in Africa. *The Nigerian Journal of research and production*, *16*(2), 1-10.
- Ibrahim, A. (2013). The impact of globalization of Africa. Intenational Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences, 3(15), 85-93.
- Ihonvbere, J. & Ekekwe, E. (1988). Dependent capitalism, structural adjustment and democratic possibilities in Nigeria's third republic. Ibadan: African Spectrum.
- Mucchielli, J. (2004). *Globalization and regionalization*. New York: International Business Press.
- Nyerere, J. (1993). *The challenge to the South*. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishing Company Ltd.
- O'Conner, J. (1971). The meaning of economic, imperialism. In Fann, K. T & Hodges, D. C. (Eds), *Reading in US imperialism*. Boston: Porter Sergeant Press.
- Offiong, D. (1980). Imperialism and dependency, obstacles to African development. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers.
- ----- (2001). *Globalization: Post-Neodependency and poverty in Africa*. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers.
- Ogbuagu, C, S. A. (1995). *Development policies and programmes*. Calabar: University of Calabar Press.
- Okolie, A. M. N. (2015). Global political economy and development: Different people, some market and glorification of poverty. *92nd inaugural lecture*. *University of Nigeria*, 14th May.
- O'Rourke, K. H. (2002). *Europe and causes of globalization, 1790-2000.* Paper presented at the conference from Europeanization of the globe to globalization of Europe. Geneva,10th-12th January.

Osakwe, J. O. (1993). Seven years of IBB: The economy (ed). Lagos: The Daily Times of Nigeria Plc.

Ould-Mey, M. (1996). *Global restructuring and peripheral states: the carrot and stick in Muritania.* Boston: Rowman and Littlefield.

- Porter, M. (1999). *Globalization of finance and development prospects in Africa*. New York: UNDP.
- Rodney, W. (1986). *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publication.
- United Nations (2010). African debt crisis: A continuing impediment to development. New York.
- United Nation Programme on HIV/AIDS (2000). New York.

World Bank (2000). Global development finance 2000. Washington D.C.

Wood, A. (1994). North-South trade, employment and inequality: changing fortunes in a skill-driven world. Oxford: Clarendon Press.