

Reflections on Dependence and the Rhetoric of Development in Africa

Uzodinma C. OKAFOR¹, Jeremiah N. EZE² and Emmanuel O. Ezeamu³

¹Department of Political Science, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, NIGERIA

²Department of International Relations, Madonna University, Okija Campus, NIGERIA

³Department of Political Science, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, NIGERIA

Abstract

The experiences of colonialism have thwarted and betrayed the value of sovereignty across African states. This has made the process of development relatively difficult and unattractive among most states in Africa. As such, Africa was unavoidably traded in deceit giving room for the dependence of African states on the western metropolises. Objectively, there is a likelihood that Africa has been fed with wrong development pills which has continued to make Africa helpless without the west. The study adopted qualitative design utilizing documentary evidence as the method of data collection. Deductive method of analysis was also considered while dependency and neo-colonial theories of the state provide the framework of analysis. The study discovered that the development of African states is placed on autopilot by both the western and indigenous capitalists leaving the states shattered and exposed for further exploitation. The resultant effect is nothing but continuous dependence on the west and China for survival. As such, this paper calls for an investment in human capital (internal potentials) with serious demand for results and expansion.

Key words: Africa, Dependency, Development, Imperialism and Non-autonomization

Introduction

The nature of dependence in Africa has taken a dramatic turn showing the relative helplessness of states to key into contemporary race for development. This has to a large extent revealed the lacuna prevalent in the style of leadership in Africa that is consequent on a borrowed life style that succeeded colonialism. On a daily basis, the states in Africa continue to experience a stance that rates them very low within the comity of states within the international system. This experience did not come by sudden but through a consistent subjugation and exploitation of essential values in Africa, which leaves them to deal with a path that leads to extreme suffocation and frustration. As such, it is axiomatic to argue that the history of most states in Africa is indubitably the history of changing dimensions of dependence occasioned by poverty and failures of development therapies. This situation aptly depicts that most states in Africa were “baptized” and consequently “confirmed” in the contaminated pool of excruciating, seemingly unabated process cum culture of exploitation and suffocating, peripheral rendition, circuitous and disastrous development strategy (Okolie and Ezeibe, 2011).

Building on the basis of the above logic, most states in Africa are constrained by surging global inequality to reduce their primary efforts toward escaping from the shackles of partly self-inflicted and partly externally-foisted institutionalized underdevelopment. Despite the apparent commitment of political leaders in Africa to shake-off the shackles of underdevelopment since the struggle and emergence of state independence expressed via successive economic and political reforms, the living standard of Africans has further deteriorated as both macro and micro economic indicators constantly paint a very bleak picture (Okolie and Ezeibe, 2011). On the strength of that, Aja (1998:47-48) argues that the situation is not natural. It was a logical outcome of imperialism and colonialism. From this critical view point, he notes that dependence describes the extent to which an economy is structurally disadvantaged in international division of labour that it lacks autonomous capacity to exploit, control and manage its natural, economic and human resources without falling prey to the dictates of foreign economic and other interests. Thus, it depicts the challenging situation that has continued to blow unfavourable breeze to the peripheral states of the global south. It has through the expression of woes inflicted unimaginable underdevelopment stance on the states of Africa due largely to cultural and developmental distortions made possible by colonialism.

Nevertheless, the study questions the nexus between dependence and development in Africa. The obvious remains that development has never been discussed in isolation as man is the epicentre. As such, it is germane to articulate a holistic view on development. To that Nwoye in Okafor & Obiora (2017) opines that development is especially about women and men becoming empowered to bring about positive changes in their lives, about personal growth together with public action; about both the process and the outcome of challenging poverty, oppression and discrimination and about the realization of human potential through social and economic justice. Above all, it is about the process of transforming lives and transforming societies along positive course of action. In other words, the dynamics of dependence can be properly understood under the purview of development.

From the trajectory, Aja further argues that the specific feature of dependency tends more to mean that no meaningful development can take place if, the development initiative or process of an economy depends on outside factors or external stimuli either of capital or expertise. In a similar vein Mclean (1996:134) describes dependency as a relationship between developed and underdeveloped countries as a structural imbalance that lopsided development in favour of the developed society. The basic questions that beg for answer are: Does the prevalence of dependence among the African states a function of long time external influence or internally inflicted? What is the nexus between development and dependency? How does the continuous dependence of African states affect the development of states? As such, the argument of this study will anchor on the above stated questions.

Conceptual and Contextual Discourses

There is need to meaningfully articulate the major concepts of the study. It then calls for a review of vital concepts in the study. Thus, the various concepts are reviewed as thus:*Dependence*:The theory of dependency evolved from a Marxian perspective by Baran

in 1957. The theory became popular in the 1960s and 1970s as a criticism of modernization theory due largely to continued widespread poverty in the world. Many dependency theorists advocate social revolution as an effective means to the reduction of economic disparities in the world system (Amin, 1994). Consequently, from the perspective of a Sociologist Fernando Henrique Cardoso (later President of Brazil), the central argument of this theory anchors so much on the following premise: (a) there is a financial and technological penetration by the developed capitalist centres of the countries of the periphery and semi-periphery; (b) this produces an unbalanced economic structure both within the peripheral societies and between them and the centres; (c) this leads to limitations on self-sustained growth in the periphery; (d) this favours the appearance of specific patterns of class relations; (e) these require modifications in the role of the state to guarantee both the functioning of the economy and the political articulation of a society, which contains, within itself, foci of inarticulateness and structural imbalance.

He noted that the financial and technological penetration in Africa by Europeans has done more harm than good to the growth and development of Africa. Disastrous as it is, it has produced an unbalanced economic structure both within the peripheral societies and between them and the centres. The implication is that it has practically affected all the other sections of the economy. From the above presentation and position of the study, the analysis of development patterns in the 1990s and beyond is complicated by the fact that capitalism develops not smoothly, but with very strong and self-repeating ups and downs, called cycles. Relevant results are given in studies by Joshua Goldstein, Volker Bornschier, and Luigi Scandella (Tausch 2003). Recall that the dependencia theorists had criticized the predominant development paradigm (modernization, rooted in liberal and neo – liberal prescriptions) propagated and eulogized by the advanced capitalist states and their institutional allies (International Financial Institutions) for engendering fallacious analysis of economic circumstances of developing economies (Tausch, 2003 & Okafor, 2018). In fact, the dependency analysis challenges the fundamental principles of the modernization paradigm and empirically exposed the analytical imbecility of the latter: it equally uncovered the sharp and invidious activities of the advanced capitalist states in their avowed subterranean intent to sustain and consolidate inequality and lopsided regional development pattern.

Summarily, on that note dependency analysis emerged as an intellectual protest or movement to diminish the relevance of modernization paradigm. As correctly noted by Petras and Morley (1990:59):

What remains of modernization theory is the language as a myth or an ideology of social action. The language serves as an excuse for the absence of a theory capable of confronting the problems of disaccumulation, economic and social regression and atavistic religious and military revivalism.

Character of a Dependent State: The following were articulated to represent the basic indices of a dependent state. They were extracted from Ake in Oddih and Agbaenyi (2012) which include: (a) Colonial and neo-colonial experience (b) Dependent on western capitalist economy (c) External forces influence dynamics of their socio-economic and political lives

(d) Lack of control over the trend and issues in international system (e) Major socio-economic and political policies of the south are shaped by international organizations. (f) Transnational corporations and foreign government interfere and influence their governments (g) Majority of the populations live in abject poverty (h) Low technological skill (i) Low standard of living among others (j) Prevalence of obsolete machines (j) Prevalence of transferred machines (not technology)

From the above chronicles of the indices of dependent states in Africa, it thus shows that the prevalent condition in Africa is deeply rooted in visionless, poor leadership and bandwagon style of followership. The outlined features show that colonial and neo-colonial experience has presented unfortunate scenario where there is a continuous exploitation of the people by their own and some of the agent of the west operating under multinational and transnational companies. The economy of the peripheral states is at the mercy of the western economy whose currencies continue to enjoy global acceptance and domination. This has made external influence possible among the developing states, especially in deciding and determining their socio-political and economic future. Obi (2019) notes that political narrative of African history and practices have suffered socio-economic and political strangulations occasioned by long external dominance and continuous internal exploitation. He blamed the pitiable political condition of the state on colonialism and subsequent neo colonialism. This has in many ways negatively affected the political conditions in the country resulting in the prevalence of abject poverty in the land. Uzoechina (2020) makes a laughable remark that global poverty index has it that in 2015, most people in Nigeria live below a dollar per day but today the market value of dollar has rendered Naira useless. There is low standard of living among the populace. By extension, it was noted that the above depicted the character of a dependent state where there is the struggles for everything. Nevertheless that the leaders are retrogressive minded, the masses do not have the spur to make the base beaten.

Development: The understanding of development has been a difficult one over the years leaving people in total confusion of what constitute growth against development. In order to give a clear view on what constitute development, it would be germane to note that it is a term that is not to be limited to mean economic development, economic welfare or material wellbeing; development in general includes improvement in economic, social and political aspects of the society (Lubaale, 2015). This dimensional aspect of development is of the view that it is an institutional or structural and legal framework, which circumscribes the behaviour of men, and streamlines their relationships, where it individually or collectively seeks to gain greater access to material things of value in society. From a different perspective, Rosekerley (2016), notes that development is a tri-dimensional concept. To him, it has a utilitarian or consumatory dimension, which connotes increase in the quality of usable items available to man in the society. It also has a behavioural or rational dimension when it defines the nature of the relation among man in the society. Again, Perroux cited in Rosekerley stated that development is the combination of mental and social changes among the population, which decides to increase its real and global products, cumulatively, and in a sustainable manner (Rosekerley, 2016). Roger in Rose (2016) also captures development as a long participatory process of social change in the society whose objective is the material and social progress

of the majority of population through a better understanding of their environment. Thus, to put a holistic understanding to it, Rodney (1972:9) argues that development in human society is a many-sided process. At the level of the individual, it implies increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material well-being...A society develops economically as its members increase jointly their capacity for dealing with the environment. This capacity for dealing with the environment is dependent on the extent to which they understand the laws of nature (science), on the extent to which they put that understanding into practise by devising tools (technology), and on the manner in which work is organised. Taking a long-term view, it can be said that there has been constant economic development within human society since the origin to win a living from nature. From the perspective of Rodney, one can easily note that he was able to touch different sides of life which include political, social and economic dimensions.

To give credence to the above submission, Gboyega in Tola and Oluwatoyin (2011) opines that development is an idea which embodies all attempts to improve the coordination of the human existence in all ramifications. This implies improvement in material wellbeing of all citizens in a sustainable way such that today's consumption does not imperil the future; it also demands that poverty and inequality of access to the good things of life be removed or drastically reduced. Thus, from the views given on development, it is obvious that Africa is very far from negotiating and achieving development considering the excessive dependency rate and poor productive stance that trail the states.

Theorizing the Logic of Dependency on African Development

Methodologically, the study will adopted time serial design considering the continuous dependence of African states on Western utilizing documentary materials that will be analysed using deductive argument. The nature of dependence of African states has enjoyed series of theoretical expositions making Africa a substantive litmus test for understanding issues of underdevelopment in the world of politics. Numerous African scholars have series of argument in defence of extreme dependence of African states. The genesis of dependency in the African region can be better understood from the world system perspectives (Frank in Alapiki, 2004). This could also find viable explanation in the post-colonial state theory that reveals the depth of subjugation that attends the states in Africa due to the apron strings that bind the states after colonialism. The theory practically echoes the connection between experiences of colonialism and the effect in neo-colonial era. It denotes the continuous porosity and lack of autonomy of African states promoted by the false alliance share by the west and the indigenous capitalists that superintend over the amorphous independent states of Africa.

Furthermore, it strongly emphasises that that the debates on the cause of Africa's economic backwardness have often been emotionally charged; participants have seldom attempted to present a balanced approach. This makes the task of facing up to present realities in Africa difficult. The present is the cumulative result of the past. Hence, to understand the present, we need to look into the past. It is generally held that colonization undoubtedly integrated African economies into the capitalist world system (Garret, 2007).

African economies at Independence were characterised by “syncretic articulation” that is, the uneven and combined development of both capitalist and pre-capitalist economic system. This has resulted in the disarticulation of these economies, which created the structural conditions for sustaining underdevelopment in the Neo-colonial phase (Ake, 1979 and Nkrumah, 1973). In schematic terms, the generation of development in the third world involves the interconnected roles of differences in strategy, historical phase, and specific forms of exploitation. In the pre-industrial mercantilist phase of imperialism before 1850, the strategy for generating the underdevelopment of third world societies consisted of barbarous enslavement of indigenous peoples and the so called “civilization” of “unoccupied” lands. This mechanism generated most of the primitive accumulation through open plunder of the extraction of absolute surplus value critical to the launching of the Industrial Revolution in Europe (Rodney, 1972).

It thus, show the genesis and depth of dependence in Africa which has to a large extent been responsible for the continued political miasma faced by African states in the pursuit of development goals. As such, in affirmation, the dependency nature of Africa states on the western metropole finds clear expression to their continued struggles with development which has consistently been negative and anti-progressive.

Problem of Dependence in Africa

Basically, bad leadership is another major problem as far as African integration and development are concerned. Achebe is always on the lips of everyone when leadership in Africa is mentioned. He blamed the trouble in Africa squarely on leadership (Achebe, 1983). It has remained the travesty of development in Africa. Lamenting on the bad leadership in Africa, Adedeji notes that the failure of African leaders to rediscover, acknowledge and act upon their continent’s wealth of collective wisdom – whether in the form of social, economic and political organization, of knowledge, or of ways thinking largely accounts for the endemic crisis that has confronted the region since independence. All these manifest in poverty, ignorance and disease (Nwoye, 2000 & Adedeji, in Okafor, 2017). It is worthy to note that no factor underlines the tragedy of Africa’s political and economic stagnation than the phenomenon of poverty with attendant ignorance and disease. The crippling effects of poverty facing most African countries is so devastating that there is no vision by African leader to see tomorrow and make plans at different levels to include; short, medium and long term plan. Thus, it is no doubt and a very painful reality that Africa is the only continent in the world that stepped into the 21st century with familiar, and unresolved problem of acute poverty, disease, ignorance and bad leadership (Okafor, 2014). These have in no small measures affected the nature of interaction, cooperation and collaboration among the African leaders who have remained parochial towards approaching the vision (economic agenda) and promotion of cooperation among states. This has continued to weaken the socio-economic fabric of the state forcing it to be completely reliant on the west and China.

Sequel to the above, dependence has been one of the major developmental problems in African. Another challenge to African development that has necessitated dependence has been the lack of sufficient capital to start a regional bank as an alternative to the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. It is tied to the nature of relations the

leadership of the global south share with Africa. Though there is African Development Bank, unfortunately, most states in Africa are trapped in the web of high debt crisis due largely to the ones borrowed from Europe. This has made their pooling of resources together to be at the mercy of the global North who determine most of their internal dynamics. Anedu (2018) aptly captures this view that the high debt profile of African states is enough suffocation on their economy which has tilted the development on the reverse. The big brother states like Nigeria with the depth of the natural resources inherent, struggles year in year out. The question is who will provide the fund and save Africa from excessive dependent on the western states for survival. Table 1 below depicts the extent of external debt and the condition of debt service payment with the attendant exchange rate. It shows the extent to which Nigerian leaders are unable to control their borrowing spree.

Table 1: PROFILE OF NIGERIA'S FOREIGN LOAN

S/N	Year	STATE OF EXTERNAL DEBT	DEBT SERVICE PAYMENT	EXCHANGE RATE
1	2010	\$4,534.19b	\$354,415,580M	150.30
2	2011	\$5,666.58b	\$351,619.07M	153.86
3	2012	\$6,527.07b	\$293,003.54M	157.50
4	2013	\$8,821.90b	\$297,329.30M	157.31
5	2014	\$9,711.43b	\$346,723.29M	158.55
6	2015	\$10,718.43b	\$331,059.85M	193.28
7	2016	\$11,406.28b	\$353,093.54M	253.49
8	2017	\$18,913.44b	\$464,047.50M	305.70
9	2018	\$25,274.44b	\$1,472,039.55B	306.08
10	2019	\$27,676.14b	\$1,333,537.66B	360

Sources: DMO (2020), NBS (2019).

On a similar note, below is the table that illustrates the extent of Africans debt to China where they can hard have any means to pay back.

Table 2: TOP TEN AFRICAN COUNTRIES WITH THE MOST DEBT OWED TO CHINA

S/N	Country	Debt rate \$billion
1.	Angola	25
2.	Ethiopia	13.5
3.	Kenya	7.9
4.	Republic of Congo	7.5
5.	Sudan	6.4
6.	Zambia	6.5
7.	Cameroon	5.5
8	Nigeria	4.8
9.	Ghana	3.5
10.	Democratic Republic of Congo	3.4

Compiled by the research (2012) in Bacha (2021) Top Ten African Countries with the Most Debt Owed to China

In agreement with the above, the poor commitment to development by Africans occasioned by weak and disarticulated economic base is also another limitation. A common feature of African economies is that they have weak and incoherent economic base. As a result their development is highly dependent on a global economic system dominated by the developed capitalist economies of Europe and North America, with China as part of the beneficiaries. Being both a cause and symptom of poverty and dependence, African states are grossly underdeveloped with the lowest per-capita income and life expectancy in the world (Nwoye, 2000). The continent is yet to rid itself of its monoculturalism and commodity export-dependency which has continued to result in uncertain and unfavourable trading environment over some decades. Most Sub-Saharan African states are in the doldrums, experiencing only feeble and marginal growth in terms of development. This has to a large extent made cooperation involving continental free trade difficult as such producing a vicious circle of chronic poverty and the deterioration of her external economic position arising from poor investment climate.

Furthermore, it would be of interest to note that lack of autonomy by African states occasioned by the Global North interference is a foundational problem challenging regional cooperation in Africa. For the fact that Africa is located at the periphery of global economy and virtually all the states have suffered colonisation which tilted their process of development to the North. They are left with no other option than to adopt all the principles and practices of western dictates which has largely shaped the process of development in Africa. This goes with assumption and acceptance of inferiority by Africans against the white resulting Africa abandoning its view for a western ideology. All of the above steamed from the colonization of Africa. Ake (1996) aptly argued that at the dawn of independence, Africans were granted political independence minus economic independence. As a result, the strong hold of the economic aspect of African living is practically responsible for African dependent of the Metropole for survival. A look at all the major companies in Africa shows the stigma of over dependent on the west. The desire to have collaboration among the African states has only been nurtured in the incubator without hatching. It does not mean that there has never been effort to collaborate among African states but majority of the efforts made are still locked under mirage. In other words, the neo-colonial relationship that emerged after flag independence was basically the product of the transfer of the formal political power to a class created by, and dependent upon western capitalism. Thus, the West has continued to exert economic influence on Africa as its major market (Nwoye, 2000).

Lack of technical know-how is also a major problem of development as far as production and manufacturing of goods and services are concerned. Nothing illustrates the weakness of industrial and technological capacity of Africa than the enclave and dependent nature of technological and industrial development. These industries are very inefficient, relying on outdated technology and sparsely concentrated in a few cities. Worse still, they are poorly co-ordinated to the extent that they are not integrated with each other. The consequence is that most of them, rather than rely on sectoral linkages for production, are dependent on external capital and technology for survival. Consequently, these industries are not based on local raw materials, but on the assembly or last-stage procession of imported components in form of import-substitution strategy. Conclusive

and again, there is a pervading lack of continuity in planning and policy making in Africa. This is because development policies and plans are not meticulously implemented, monitored so as to achieve the desired result. This is the main reason for this persistent inadequacy in fiscal and budgetary indiscipline made possible by a notable absence of transparency and accountability of governance. Using Nigeria as an example, we can discern easily the fact that there is no development plan which has achieved its core plan objectives (Nwoye, 2000). There is always a disturbing laxity in matching plain targets with practical and unfailing consistency. The same lack of planning pervades other African states where development plans were produced not to mobilize the overall states towards the goals of self-reliance but rather more of a dubious shopping list of projects and programmes through which corrupt practices can be perpetuated in connivance with foreign collaborators.

The Rhetoric of Development and the Nature of African Dependency

The drive for development in Africa has been a far-fetched one. The specificity of nationalist forces has not been given sufficient attention. The significant role of ethnicity and the intricacies of social changes and political development in specific African economies are major issues in question. There was also the inability to identify the changing pattern of links between African state and specific countries and regions in the industrialized world (Chazan, in Uzochina, 2017). In other to establish a stance, dependency summarises the obvious mistake on the assumption of a structural lack of dynamism in third world economies. Dependent African economies, for example, are seen as “passive recipients” of influence generated by imperialist forces. It does not seriously consider the internal fragmentation of dynamics of each developing African economy. So, for reasons different from dependency, underdevelopment perspective has been unable to advance significantly a deeper understanding of the present complexities of Africa’s development crises, or articulate in concrete terms the dynamics of the prevailing processes of social change and economic development (Alapiki, 2004). What this connotes is that the process of development in Africa is seriously encumbered by dependency occasioned by western colonialism, poor mentality and drive on Africans to rise above board.

In addition to the above, advanced capitalist economies created and institutionalized in developing economies a conservative, self – destructive, unproductive, intellectually imbeciles and unrepentantly rapacious and unabashed neo-colonial class whose primary occupation is idleness; and whose motivation is largely rooted in appropriation, misappropriation and shameless stealing of public wealth. This class creates personality cult in political leadership of their respective “self-serving political kingdoms/empires;” and hence derive their political positions, not from the mandate of the electorates rather from their subservience to the advanced capitalist interests (Alapiki, 2004 and Okafor, 2018). In fact, most political leaderships in developing economies function as automated receptive machines, that garbage in all development pills that originate from advanced capitalist economies and hence garbage out a regimented alien development strategies that contradict with internal development conditions. Indeed, the Washington Consensus is

one of such development pills advanced to all economies and Africa is not different from it (Okolie and Ezeibe, 2012).

Nevertheless, Vernengo (2004) and Bornschie, (1996) have suggested that the *sine qua non* of the dependency relationship is not the difference in technological sophistication, as traditional dependency theorists believe, but rather the difference in financial strength between core and peripheral countries – particularly the inability of peripheral countries to borrow in their own currency. He believes that the hegemonic position of the United States is very strong because of the importance of its financial markets and because it controls the international reserve currency – the US dollar. He believes that the end of the Bretton Woods international financial agreements in the early 1970s considerably strengthened the United States' position because it removed some constraints on their financial actions.

Interestingly, few political leaders in developing economies have begun to appreciate the need to indigenize received development strategies. In fact, World Bank Report (2015) had explicitly stated that more than two decade into the transition (adoption and implementation of the Washington Consensus) many developing countries are still in the woods. It noted that Sub-Saharan African economies failed completely to take off, in spite of significant policy reform, changes in the political and external environments, and continued heavy influx of foreign aid. However, it noted that only Uganda, Tanzania and Mozambique showed some success, but remained fragile.

From the arguments above, it depicts the situation and nature of system Africa inherited that has made the struggle for development unrealizable. By every stretch of analysis, the style and class of leaders that operate in Africa have in no small measure advanced the process of exploitation and subjugation. It becomes worrisome to note that little efforts were made by African leaders to keep the states moving but end up looting the system dry. The lack of vision and inability to understand the evolving global economy has pitched them on a very narrow path in the match to develop the states in Africa. All the leaders reveal similar traits of retrogression and inconsistency. These have become the lock and key of dependency in Africa that make development look utopic. Even the effort Mummah Gaddafi made in 2008 to unify and promote African values suffered defeat and was suffocated by the untimely termination of his administration by NATO (Odion, 2012). Thus, the net effect of all these rhetorics is that African states will continue to face a deepening crisis of development, balance of payment deficits and worsening debt servicing problems. Thus, Africa has been characterised by two features: hunger and poverty.

Conclusion and Recommendations

In the logic of the above argument, it is obvious to note that the current dependency issue in Africa has continued to deepen as a result of their romance with the west. It would be axiomatic to posit that the poverty of the countries in the periphery is not because they are not integrated into the world system, or not fully integrated as is often argued by the free market economist, but because of how they are integrated into the system. As such, nations structured to rely on west and China have no opportunity to improve their quality of life

on their own. The rate and depth of debt crises glaring most African state in the face throws a big question on the realization of development in Africa considering the big dependency question. Africa rely so much on the global capitalist for the survival, yet they are the barrier to the states (growing independently).

Recommendations Every research does not end in pointing at problems alone but with the aim of surmising a solution to the quagmire confronting the state. To that extent, this study outlines some focal views and recommendations to aid in the consolidation of development in Africa. This anchors so much on the proffering of solution to the challenging situation limiting the state in Africa. In other words, the study recommends: (a) There is need to build strong institutions against strong men. Africa's Problem has been a problem of strong men against having a strong institution. Africa needs strong institution to enable it progress beyond the struggling state. (b) Need to embark on production: Investment in industrialization is the life wire of development in most developed states through production. Industrialization provokes development and separates states from economic struggles and strangulations by other states. Production activates creativity and consistent innovation capable of lifting states from their economic and financial doldrums. (c) There is need for embargo to be placed on irrelevant governmental expenditure and foreign trips to save cost for further investment. (d) Empowerment of the masses: Serious efforts should be made by the government to empower the masses through viable state policies. This could be done through indigenization policy by various state governments in Africa. The most disturbing is that most African leaders lack clear focus on how to lead.

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Biographical Note

Uzodinma C. OKAFOR, PhD., is a Lecturer in the Department of Political Science, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka NIGERIA. Email cu.okafor@unizik.edu.ng

Jeremiah N. EZE is a Lecturer in the Department of International Relations, Madonna University, Okija Campus, NIGERIA.

Emmanuel O. EZEAMU is a Lecturer in the Department of Political Science, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka NIGERIA.