

NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT (NEPAD) AND THE PROSPECT OF AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT: THE NIGERIAN EXPERIENCE

Udochukwu A. Ogbaji¹, Dr. Rose Nkechi Nwankwo² & Francisca Ogoegbunam Ezeigwe³
Department of Public Administration,
Federal Polytechnic, Oko, Anambra State-Nigeria

Abstract

The study examines the relationship between the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) as a continental development initiative and the Nigerian condition. Using the dependency theory, we came to realization that African economies and indeed that of Nigeria are conditioned by the unequal relationships between the metropolitan countries in the West and the countries in Africa. We have shown in our work that NEPAD is linked to negotiation of new terms for Africa's engagement with the developed world based on a co-equal relationship and dialogue with the developed countries, for their commitment and support for an African initiative for development. At the same time, it seeks to provide a home grown solution to internal demands for development, national reconstruction and reconciliation, democracy, good governance as well as peace and security. Equally, we have argued that the leadership style in Africa and indeed Nigeria is self centered as the interest of the ruling class and their cronies are served rather than that of the populace. This practice drives rather than attract the much desired Foreign Direct Investment to boost our economic development. The study therefore concludes that NEPAD as it is presently conceptualized is unlikely to promote Nigeria's development. It therefore recommends that, the Nigerian leadership should re-adjust and refocus their mindset and perceptions about the state and build a vibrant and dynamic economy if NEPAD will serve as a basis for her development.

Keywords: New Partnership for African Development, Dependency Theory, National Reconstruction, Democracy and Good Governance

Background to the Study

One of the greatest challenges facing the African continent today is the problem of development. The stark realities of the gloomy economic development prospects of African countries have provoked suggestions and reappraisal of ideas and thoughts about development processes. Several attempts have been made at seeking ways to increase the level of development in the third world countries. One of the strategies adopted to achieve this objective is economic integration.

Development strategies in Africa are the bi-product of a certain historical moment with its social, economic and political conditions as well as the dominant or leading development thought of that moment. While Lagos plan of action was the product of state-led and collective self reliance mode of development, NEPAD, (New Partnership for Africa's Development) which came more than twenty years later reflects the post-Washington consensus model of development (Tawfik, 2005).

There was a growing awareness among Africa's leading thinkers that the problems of development were not merely cyclical and short-term but structural and long-term; hence the determination to turn adversity to advantage, to transform, enforced into determined self-reliance (Ofuebe 1992, 239). Africa's colonial past cannot be solely blamed for her present economic woes. Evidences abound to show that issues like corruption, bad leadership, roles of the multinationals, debt crisis, etc also contributed to the continent's state of underdevelopment (Zein, 2005). Africa is a continent that is perceived to be blessed with both human and mineral resources; it is therefore surprising how development has eluded her. Global indicators paint a picture of disease, poverty, famine, draught, conflicts, wars, bad leadership, etc.

Abraham (2003, 717) arguing in line with the above assertion avers thus

'At the dawn of the third millennium more than half of the countries of Africa continue to be mired in crisis of one sort or another. Poverty pervades the continent, inadequate access to resources characterizes the lives of many communities, malnutrition and disease are ever present.'

The African Union (AU) declared 2002-2011 as a decade for capacity building with the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) as a strategy for achieving this development. Africa has put in place various development strategies; some are indigenous while others are imposed by powerful western countries and their controlled financial institutions. They have all failed for a variety of reasons ranging from the unstable polity that characterizes the continent and institutional discontinuity in the state and regional pursuits.

The opening paragraph of NEPAD foundational document (October 2001) holds thus;

'This New Partnership for African Development is a pledge by African leaders, based on a common vision and a firm and shared conviction, that they have a pressing duty to eradicate poverty and to place their countries, both individually and collectively, on a path of sustainable growth and development and at the same time to participate actively in the world economy and body politics. The programme is anchored on the determination of Africans to extricate themselves and the continent from the malaise of underdevelopment and exclusion in a globalizing world'.

Since poverty and backwardness of Africa stand in stark contrast to the prosperity of the developed world, the continued marginalization of Africa from the globalization process and the social exclusion of the vast majority of its people constitute a serious threat to global stability. The New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) is evolved following the deteriorating social and economic conditions of the African state which manifest in what African leaders collectively submit thus:

In Africa, 340 million people or half the population lives on less than US \$1 per day. The mortality rate of children under 5 years of age is 140 per 1000, and life expectancy at birth is only 54 years. Only 58 percent of the population has access to safe water. The rate of illiteracy for people of 15 is 41 percent. There are only 18 main line telephone per 1000 people in Africa, compared with 146 for the world as a whole and 567 for high-income countries. (Abuja, Nigeria October 2001, 3)

The New Partnership for Africa's Development calls for the reversal of this abnormal situation by changing the relationship that underpins it. African states seek to consolidate and accelerate their development by evolving new line of relationship within African states and the international community especially the highly industrialized countries, to overcome the development chasm that has widened over centuries of unequal relations (Abuja, 2002). The character of this relationship has greatly impoverished African states.

For many years, African states have been integrated into the world economy mainly as supplier of cheap labour and raw materials. Consequently, this has meant the draining of African resources rather than their use for the continent's development; in spite of the rich resources in the continent, African leadership and political ideologies and the character of relationship between them and the developed economies on the international plane raises more challenges to the development efforts of this continent.

NEPAD is therefore invented as a merger of other antecedent initiatives such as the president Thabo Mbeki's Renaissance idea or President Wade's Omega Plan by African leaders as part of the search and strategies to create a Pan-African structure that can lead to the social and economic transformation of the continent in a rapidly globalizing world. Going by this lofty expression, and the objectives of NEPAD, this work is born out of the desire to carefully assess the philosophy behind the formation of NEPAD and its impact on Africa's socio-economic growth and development using Nigeria as a case study.

Statement of the Research Problem

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) is an instrument of contestation between Africans seeking self determination in their development efforts and those forces that seek the continuation of the exploitation of the continent's resources upon which the accumulation of their wealth depends. The linkage that brings about this contestation is not just a historical one but also a concrete one in that, it manifests itself in the continuing structures of imperialist domination of African people through the post-colonial state which continue to be a neo-colonial instrument of domination (Nabudere 2002, 1).

The post-colonial African state find itself at the centre of the contestation because of its ambivalence in facing the two forces (trying to respond to the people's demands and the leadership lack of determination to pursue those demands on the basis of the people's own decisions in a democratic state) and the pursuit of people's oriented aspirations. Inherent here is the issue of leadership.

This position raised question about NEPAD's ability to effectively transform and improve on the protracted development backwardness of Africa. While it is believed that African states are blessed with rich mineral deposits, its flora and fauna, natural habitat, its culture which has strengthened the culture of the global community have not been able to impact meaningfully on the development efforts of the continent due to looting and plundering by African leaders. This has remained a fundamental structural problem of development which neither NEPAD nor AU can contain.

Issues of corruption among leadership are very common in Nigeria to the extent that, access to the state in the view of Ekekwe (1996) provides the individual an opportunity to rise above the poverty line for his life time. Corruption distorts and impacts negatively on growth and development through various channels such as government inability to run sound fiscal policy. Obadan (1998) notes that:

Corruption survives under condition of bad leadership, of scarce resources and with government playing a dominant role in their allocation; when public sector wages are low and rules are unreasonable and unclear; when controls are pervasive excess regulations, when transparency and accountability are not taken seriously; and when punishment is not likely.

This position is originally the prevailing character of African states where there is low level of autonomy of the states institution, over developed character of the state and its dependent nature.

Furthermore, the multinational companies have become a tool in the hands of the 'West' to continue the domination and impoverishment of the African continent. For instance, a (BBC World Edition News 18th June 2004) reported that Shell Oil Company has recently admitted that, it inadvertently fed conflict, poverty and corruption in Nigeria through her oil activities. A United Nations (UN) Report (2003) on the illegal exploitation of natural resources and other forms of wealth of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has found among other things that multinational companies trading or investing in DRC have directly or indirectly contributed to the war in DRC; so also is the many conflicts in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria.

Nigeria and four other countries in Africa have contributed immensely to the development of NEPAD initiative. In the light of this, a work of this magnitude which seeks to critically X-ray and evaluate development plans and initiatives in Africa using Nigeria as a case study is significant and timely. This work will attempt to answer the following questions;

- (a) How realistic are the aims and objectives of NEPAD to the development pursuit of Nigeria?
- (b) To what extent can NEPAD enhance development in Africa (Nigeria) in the face of the massive corruption among African leaders?
- (C) Do African leaders have the political will to pursue the NEPAD objectives in the face of invading Western political and economic interests?

Objectives of the Study

The specific objectives of the study are;

1. To examine the strategies, aims and objectives of NEPAD and determine its relevance to the development pursuit of Nigeria;
2. To evaluate the extent to which NEPAD can enhance development in Africa (Nigeria) in the face of the massive corruption among African leaders.
3. To know if African leaders have the political will to pursue the NEPAD objectives in the face of invading Western political and economic interests.

Significance of the Study

The study derives its justification from the prevailing problems of underdevelopment in Africa. It is therefore not isolated to argue that NEPAD was not initiated in a vacuum but rather to solve the problems of underdevelopment characterized by poverty, squalor, disease, poor leadership and human right abuses in Africa, bring them to limelight and proffer ways of ameliorating them in the continent.

The NEPAD initiative is quite timely given the African situation and its emphasis that 'the hopes of African people for a better life lie in their own hands and not on the magnanimity of others is helping to increase Africa's profile (Omoweh, 2003). NEPAD is rooted in good governance and democracy, which distinguishes it from previous regional development initiatives. An interesting issue however is that the feasibility of democracy in Africa depends not so much on the pronouncements of African Leaders, rather, it lies more on how democracy can be used to meet the social and economic needs of the people. The study is therefore of both theoretical and political relevance for scholars, head of governments in Africa and other parts of the world, social scientists, students of African government and politics who are interested in the problems of development in Africa.

Scope and Limitations of the Study

African states have evolved various strategies at ensuring its development pursuits. A reflection on the focus of this research (NEPAD and African Development: The Nigerian experience) shows that it is confined to studying the programme and Nigeria. Although references are made to other African state's development under NEPAD, the analysis in this research is limited to Nigeria's experience from 2002-2008.

Discussion

Since its inception as the latest policy framework for Africa's development in the new millennium, the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) has elicited tremendous attention, and generated a great deal of debate within and outside Africa, as to its content, relevance and indeed, its prospects and possibilities. This is partly due to the increased pace of competition in a 'rapidly globalizing world', and the growing concerns in some parts of the world on how Africa can achieve sustainable growth in the 21st century.

The Concept of NEPAD

The New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) is a product of the continuing search by African people and its leaders to create Pan-African structures that can lead to the socio-economic transformation of the continent in a 'rapidly globalizing world'. This is consequent upon the fact that, African economies remain underdeveloped despite decades of conceptualizing, formulating and implementing various policies, programs and initiatives by leaders such as Thabo Mbeki's (Renaissance idea) and President Wade's (Omega Plan) (Yash 2002, 2).

NEPAD therefore is linked to the negotiation of new terms for Africa's engagement with the world based on a co-equal relationship and dialogue with the G-8 countries, and their commitment and support for an African initiative for development. At the same time, it seeks to provide a home-grown

solution to internal demands for development, national reconstruction and reconciliation, democracy, good governance as well as peace and security.

The New Partnership for African Development which is a direct reflection of the poverty and general backwardness of Africa in stark contrast to the prosperity of the developed world as stated thus:

'This New Partnership for African Development is a pledge by African leaders, based on a common vision and a firm and shared conviction, that they have a pressing duty to eradicate poverty and to place their countries, both individually and collectively, on a path of sustainable growth and development and at the same time to participate actively in the world economy and body politics. (NEPAD Summit, Abuja, October 2001, 3).

NEPAD therefore evolve as a reversal of this abnormal situation (poverty and general backwardness of the continent) by changing the relationship that underpins it. In strong pursuit and support for NEPAD as a lasting solution to the development challenges facing Africa, one of its progenitors Thabo Mbeki of South Africa presenting NEPAD's ability in managing and transforming Africa from the dependency stage to that of independence boasted thus:

Across the continent, Africans declare that we will no longer allow ourselves to be conditioned by circumstances. We will determine our own destiny and call on the rest of the world to complement our efforts. There are already signs of progress and hope. Democratic regimes that are committed to the protection of human rights, people centred development and market oriented economies are on the increase. African people have begun to demonstrate their refusal to accept poor economic and political leadership. These development are however uneven and inadequate and need to further expedited (Africa today, August/September 2002, 11).

To Thabo Mbeki, NEPAD has the ability to undertake a broad fundamental change of African conditions, (economic, social, political, historical, cultural, technological, etc) as it is capable of tackling the galaxy of crisis, such as poor economic performance, bad governance, corruption, conflict (inter and intra), insecurity as well as marginalization that plagued the continent.

Conceptually, NEPAD and other development strategy initiatives constitute a quest. African states seek partnership, mainly, with the erstwhile imperial powers to promote their development and transformation. Since the strategies were deemed to be partly voluntary and partly mutual, African states assume the establishment of a format that supports their sovereignty and independence on the one hand and advance their development on the other. They were to undertake to uphold certain principles and objectives and then their foreign partners would be persuaded to cooperate. The outcome, Africa's development, is presented as the aim and goal of the partnership at both ends.

But this idyllic scenario has to be operated against a definite background, which is not neutral-i.e. the enduring legacy of the old imperial order. There are two related dimensions to this assertion. One, the erstwhile imperial powers (the focus of the partnership) has not shifted their positions over the notion of preserving an international order favorable to their power and primacy. African conception of partnership has to contend with this power reality. And two, African states also have to contend with the

objective conditions of the post-colonial states; notably the limitations imposed by weak national institutions and lack of industrial capacity. In combination, these two factors give an involuntary hierarchical character to the partnership such that the format created by NEPAD and others ultimately becomes a modification of the old imperial order.

NEPAD was launched in October 2001. It is an ensemble that is part of an African doctrine, and part of a development strategy position that aims to establish Africa, positively, in world affairs. As a holistic, comprehensive and integrated strategic framework for the socio-economic development of Africa, NEPAD is designed to address key social, economic and political priorities in a coherent and balanced manner (Nwanegbo 2005, 162) in order to accelerate the integration of the continent into the global economy in a competitive manner. While it is not a contestable issue that Africa plays an indispensable role in the global community given her resource base (the rich complex mineral deposit, the ecological lung provided by the rain forest, the pale ontological and archaeological wealth as well as her rich culture) that has served humanity for many centuries, African states in today's world is consumed in massive poverty and underdevelopment in the face of these resources (Amuwo, 2007).

The historical impoverishment of the continent (colonialism) is accused of the present state of underdevelopment. A reflection on the character of state building since independence (decolonization) reveals elements of distrust and general absence of ideological framework for a continental integration venture. This therefore affects regional attempts at integration and so, a bane for development in Africa.

Reflecting on the above, another NEPAD initiator, President Wade of Senegal eulogized the initiative thus:

The New Partnership for African Development seeks to build on and celebrate the achievement of the past, as well as reflect on the Lessons learned through painful experience, so as to establish a partnership that is both credible and capable of implementation. In doing so, the challenge is for the people and governments of Africa to understand that development is a process of empowerment and self-reliance. Accordingly, Africans must not be wards of benevolent guardians; rather they must be the architects of their own sustained up-liftment (Times Magazine, 14 May 2003).

This position presents African states as being ready for a self-determination project that will enable the continent to take the challenges of development with a vocal voice in the 21st century. By this, African continent will now face the competition that characterized the global economy.

Consequent upon this, NEPAD's willingness to change Africa's condition have already been recognized by the governments and organizations across the world. The UN millennium declaration adopted in September, 2000 confirms the global community's readiness to support Africa's efforts to address the continent's underdevelopment and marginalization. While NEPAD differs in its approach and strategies from all previous plans and initiatives in support of Africa's development, though the problems to be addressed remain largely the same, it urged African leaders to take joint responsibility in strengthening mechanisms for conflict prevention, management and resolution at the regional and

continental levels, and to ensure that these mechanisms are used to restore and maintain peace. It also urged African leaders to promote and protect democracy and human rights in their respective countries and regions, by developing clear standards of accountability, transparency and participatory governance at the national and sub-national levels. There is also need to Restore and maintain macroeconomic stability, especially by developing appropriate standards and targets for fiscal and monetary policies and introducing appropriate institutional frameworks to achieve these standards; instituting transparent legal and regulatory frameworks for financial markets and auditing of private companies and public sector; revitalizing and extend the provision of education, technical training and health services, with high priority given to tackling HIV/AIDS, malaria and other commercial diseases; promoting the role of women in social and economic development by reinforcing their capacity in the domain of education and training; by the development of revenue-generating activities through facilitating access to credit, and by assuring their participation I the political and economic life of African countries; building the capacity of the states in Africa to set and enforce the legal framework, as well as maintaining law and order; and promoting the development of infrastructure, agriculture and its diversification into agro-industries and manufacturing to serve both domestic and export markets are all part of it (NEPAD summit, Abuja October, 2001).

Opinions are divided on the ability of NEPAD in achieving all these lofty challenges not only among academics but also African leaders. In a paper presented at the African scholars forum on NEPAD in Nairobi, Kenya Yash (2002, 1-2) became very critical and queried the evolution of NEPAD in Africa and its character. According to him:

The New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) made its entry into Africa rather mysteriously. Very few people in Africa had heard about NEPAD and they raise the legitimate question as to whether the earlier initiatives were different from NEPAD.

To him the initiative is an imperialist project in Africa and African leaders who are at the centre of the project seem to have collaborated with some foreigners to sustain such imperialist tendencies on the continent of Africa. This is evident in his observation when he remarked thus:

Most civil society organizations in Africa first learnt about NEPAD from their foreign colleagues. Many governments in Africa too had learnt about NEPAD from the Western media.

This submission corroborates Arap Moi and Muammar Gaddafi's opposition to the idea of NEPAD in Africa's search for balanced development. Being so much troubled, Yash (2002) laments thus:

One troubling aspect of the process is that the authors of NEPAD appear to be in a hurry. First, they did not consult with the people of Africa on whether this is the route they wish to go. They did not even consult with the political leadership of most of the rest of Africa. Furthermore, they have put NEPAD on a "fast track" and appear to want the G8 countries meeting in Alberta, Canada, at the end of June 2002, to make commitments to finance the NEPAD plan. To them, one can only say that they must go slow.

Being very bothered about the haste that characterized the implementation of NEPAD initiatives by the initiators, Yash (2002) further queried thus:

If after four decades Africa has not been relieved of its poverty and misery, then another one or two years of serious reflection on what NEPAD offers will not make much difference. Why are they in such a hurry? Development, further, is too serious a matter to leave it to African finance ministers and the G8 countries only. Let us get into the technicalities in a hurry. Let us look at the larger issues first, namely, the political economy of NEPAD.

Nyongo (2002, 20) in his contribution avers that the underdevelopment witnessed in Africa is human created and would only be solved through sincere and focused leadership guided by such beautiful blueprint epitomized in the NEPAD philosophy. Against this background, he suggested a resilient effort for NEPAD's implementers to work in conjunction with indigenous private investors so as to attract her own private capital and export some abroad as foreign savings and investments. According to him repatriating these resources can substantially add up to development funds and reduce dependence on foreign aids.

Ogwu (2004) recounts that for the NEPAD's package to be successful, African leaders must resolve to Promote economic and social integration of African economies to enhance self reliant and self-centered development. Create national, sub-national and regional institutions in pursuit of this Self-reliance. Give primacy to human resource development, place science and technology at the centre of Africa's development process. Ensure self-reliance in food production and guarantee the African people proper and adequate nutrition, together with other basic needs for a civilized standard of living.

This submission by Ogwu is not isolated in any way. NEPAD is a product of the continuing search by the African people and their leaders to create Pan-African structures that can lead to the social economic transformation of the continent in a rapidly globalizing world (Nabudere, 2002).

Attempts at examining the political economy of NEPAD raise question on Africa's underdevelopment and attempts to offer solutions to these problems. Inherent in this is the issue of economic governance. Economic governance connotes good governance; good governance does not necessarily imply democracy. A World Bank Report (2002, 99) conceived good governance thus:

Good governance requires the power to cam,' out policy and to develop institutions that may not be unpopular among some or even a majority of the population. Public officials cannot enforce property rights without the ability to try, judge and punish those who do not respect those rights.

In place of NEPAD, good governance is advocated for growth and poverty reduction in Africa. This will enthrone development which the continent yearns for.

The Concept of Development

The success stories of several developing countries have turned out to be less than successful in human terms. The disillusionment is seen in the result of the United Nation First Development Decade. In the

same vein, the failure associated with the various development plans and strategies have engendered in many minds the question as to what could be wrong with the various development plans in the past and even the current democratic dispensation in Nigeria. Why has the country's strategies for development not bring about significant change in the lives of the teeming masses? These question and many others have led to the agitation for new development strategies.

While some examine and evaluate the physical especially structural arrangement, some believed the changes from primitive or traditional settings and values to modern ones constitute development and it is perhaps one major factor that has caused many to see development as modernization. Ideally, a living boundary exists between these variables. Scholars such as Rostow (Stages of Economic Development), Everret Hagan (Status Withdrawal) and Piero Ghedo (Four Revolution) believe and tries to link development with modernization, based on the failure of societies that pursued development from traditional approach (which sees development as purely economic phenomenon), development is not basically an economic phenomenon. It goes beyond economic and it is a very vital issue in human societies.

While Frank and Todaro, among other scholars, were evolving a radical conceptual framework to challenge the traditional model of development within the context of the Latin American experience, Adedeji (1982, 34) was questioning orthodox assumptions within the context of African development since independence.

Adedeji posits that economic and material growth by themselves should not be viewed as sufficient conditions of development, important though they are: growth must be brought about in ways which actively promote the self-reliant capabilities of developing countries in order to be of lasting value. He has concluded that development 'cannot be reduced' merely to capital accumulation, economic growth and economic restructuring. To do so is to confuse what may constitute the basis for development with development itself.

Adedeji has stressed on many occasions that the ultimate purpose of development must be the development of man to the unfolding of his creative potential through improvement not only in his material conditions of living which enable him to fulfill his physiological needs but also through the satisfaction of his psychic needs. From such a humanistic perspective, development is indeed liberation from poverty and from stunted view of self by instilling self esteem and a sense of efficiency or ability to make choices about the future.

Development strategies in Africa are the bi-product of a certain historical moment with its social, economic and political conditions as well as the dominant or leading development thought of that moment. While Lagos plan of action was the product of state-led and collective self reliance mode of development, NEPAD, (New Partnership for Africa's Development) which came more than twenty years later reflects the post-Washington consensus model of development. The debate within the later model is no longer about whether the state should intervene in development process. It is, rather, about the ways and mechanisms of such intervention and the relationship between state, private sector and

civil society for achieving development. Yet, Africa is still in need of a need of a new development model that provides a partnership framework between the three development actors (Tawfik, 2005).

Development is a phenomenon that is associated with humanity and creative energies. It has to do with both quantitative and qualitative improvement in the materials, emotional and spiritual condition of the human existence. By this Ofuebe (1998, 85) conceived development as:

'aiming at the unending improvement in the capacity of the individual and society to control the forces of nature as well as humanity at large. It is a process of actualizing people's capacity to live a better and more rewarding life.

The view above seems to relate development with general awareness and increased consciousness of the individual to live responsibly in his environment. Nnoli (1981, 36) specifically see development as: a dialectical phenomenon in which the individual and society interact with their physical, biological and inter-human environments, transforming them for their own betterment and that of humanity at large and being transformed in the process. The lesson learned and the experiences acquired in this process are passed onto future generations, enabling them to improve their capacity to make further valuable changes in their inter-human relations and their ability to transform nature. In defector terms, development as a concept is normative and it is multidimensional in nature to the extent that they have contended that it should be sphere within the context of time, place and circumstances. However, others argued that the concept must not be predicated within any universal formula.

Ake (2001) sees Development as a process by which people create and recreate themselves and their life circumstances to realize higher levels of civilization in accordance with their own choices and value. It is observed that the concept of development has not enjoyed the desired intellectual consensus. While some sees it as modern society (modernization), some believed it is basically a factor of man.

Attempts at X-raying the various arguments on development has revealed that those that distanced it from modernization as well as the advocates of the modernization school believed that development is man centred. In as much as development seeks to improve man's physical and abstract environment, development is basically a notion that revolves around man. Since mankind is the centre of development, mankind must be involved in its process as development in the view of Ake (2001) "is something that people must do for themselves although it can be facilitated by the help of others."

Closely related to the development question is the complex problem of strategies of development which economists have, according to different criteria, classified into three categories on the basis of the mode of foreign trade, namely, primary product export, import substitution and export substitution strategies. The other two are 'catching up' strategy and 'alternative strategy' aimed at meeting essential needs of the society and people.

Generally opposed to the idea of foreign trade being an engine of growth, Adedeji does not believe in the efficacy of any of the above development strategies when applied to African situation. He draws attention to the many confusions and contradictions in such development strategies, which have made

a number of developing countries still subject to the control and exploitation of the international economic system to varying degrees. These confusions and contradictions are reflected in the literature on development economics which is full of all sorts of theories and models on development strategy with each proponent naturally claiming that his strategy or thesis is the panacea for the problem of underdevelopment. As a consequence, not only are economists confused, 'policy makers are simply confounded'. All this has provoked a series of challenging question: which 'correct' development strategy should Africa and the developing countries as a whole adopt? Or which revised brand of long-term development strategy will best suit different portions of the Third World? Which strategy (s) can activate all possible factors and achieve optimum economic results so as to increase the capability of developing countries for self-reliance and promote the concerted development of the economy, science and technology and the society as a whole? (Adedeji 1982, 68).

Preoccupied with such searching questions and with the fact that the old prescriptions did not work and no new remedies seemed to be in sight, Adedji identifies and strongly advocates two fundamental concepts: national and collective self-reliance and self-sustaining development. Self-reliance is considered by him in terms of the internalization of the forces of demand which determine the direction of development and economic growth processes and patterns of output; increasing substitution of factor inputs derived from within the system as opposed to those from outside; and increasing participation of the mass of the people in the production and consumption of the social product. And self-sustainment is taken to mean the deliberate installation of patterns and processes of development and economic growth in which different components support and reinforce each other.

Given his overwhelming belief in these principles as the basis for a framework for an African strategy for development, Adedeji has stressed:

There is no doubt that Africa cannot develop until its people absolutely resolve to be self-reliant. This means developing in the individual as well as in the society such attitudes as the will to succeed in life through productive labour, to experiment, to be resourceful and to conquer new frontiers. Self-reliance implies undertaking economic activities that enhance the capacity of the society to function over the long term for the well-being of all its members (Adedeji 1982, 80).

One other key aspect of Adedeji's development strategy is the concept of regional co-operation and integration. Adedeji considers a regional approach, which is linked to the principle of collective self-reliance, as a sine qua non for the achievement of national socio-economic goals. For in no area-whether it is in the internalization of the development process or international trade negotiations, debt policy, or adjustment with transformation- can much progress be made without co-operation among African countries. In his view, national development efforts have to be supplemented by sub-regional and regional co-operation development efforts. Particularly in the case of Africa there are fundamental reasons why domestic efforts may not be optimal in providing at all and/or efficiently the basic requirements for satisfying the social and economic needs of the people.

Apart from cultural and tactical considerations, Adedeji argues that the main reasons 'for the pooling of development efforts among countries are purely economic'. This is particularly the case for Africa where for historical reasons many of the countries are at present too small for viable economic activities, particularly in the context of establishing and managing basic industries for the production of agricultural, industrial and natural resources.

Finally, there is the problem of low level of per capita income. For these reasons African countries find it difficult to develop on an individual basis. Therefore, in the face of fundamental handicaps at the national level the sub-regional, regional and multinational approach, could provide the answer. Through this approach, African countries could be in a position to capture economies of scale by sharing joint institutions and increasing agricultural and industrial production capacities. With appropriate policies, they would be able to take advantage of the growth potential of a larger market area.

NEPAD: Origin and Goals

The New Partnership for Africa's Development NEPAD evolves as result of African leadership search for a mechanism that will redress the deepening economic crisis and galvanized development. Prior to the evolution of NEPAD, African leaders have stumbled from one programme or project to the other all in search of change. There have been the economic nationalism of early post-colonial era (Kamidza et al, 1981) which were unable to redress the deepening economic crisis thus gave way to the Lagos Plan of Action of 1980 (OAU, 1981).

Ideologically, NEPAD has its roots in the concept of an "African Renaissance". Despite the limitations of this phrase, the concept would appear to stem from the philosophical discourse on Pan Africanism, Negritude, Ubuntu and Black consciousness (Melber 2001, 4) whose desires were to present a nationalist picture to the world and should be accorded similar regards as continental role player. It is observed therefore that, African leaders have shown extra commitment to the challenges of development on the continent. In order to actualize these desires, there was the Togo Summit of the OAU in July 2000 acknowledging the parallels between the two mandates accorded to Mbeki and his colleagues and mindful of the fact that the servicing of debt was but one of many obstacles to Africa's development.

Reflecting on the internationalization of the drive for development by African leaders, the mission of MAP in Africa was given further attention by other African leaders at the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) meeting in Algeria from 8-10 May 2001. At the same meeting, the president of Senegal Abdoulaye Wade presented the "Omega Plan for Africa" while UNECA proposed a "Compact for African Recover".

Recognizing the need for a united continental position and the three initiatives, it was resolved that an integrated programme be presented to the outside world. Mbeki during a trip to the United States secured the endorsement of the US president, George Bush who offered to introduce the plan at the G8 Summit in Italy the following month. At the Summit, revised MAP initiatives was presented (MAP had

meanwhile been amalgamated with Wade's Omega Plan and the UNECA Proposal) (Business Day 2-3 July, 2001). By November 2001, the new initiative was therefore adopted by African leaders as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) at the inaugural meeting of the implementation committee of Heads of State and government in Abuja, Nigeria.

However, the NEPAD's formulated goals designed to be actualized in the shortest possible time in the view of Aredo, (2003) and Mbeki (2002) include the following:

- (a) to promote accelerated growth and sustainable development;
- (b) to eradicate widespread and severe poverty;
- (c) to halt the marginalization of Africa in the global process;
- (d) to ensure African ownership, responsibility and leadership;
- (e) making African ownership, responsibility and leadership more efficient and effective;
- (f) to unleash the vast economic potentials of the continent;
- (g) to achieve and sustain an average Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth rate of over 7% for the next fifteen (15) years;
- (h) to increase investment in human resources development;
- (i) to promote sub-regional and continental economic integration;
- (j) to develop a new partnership with industrialized countries and multilateral organizations on the basis of mutual commitments, obligations, interests, contributions and benefits;
- (k) to strengthen Africa's capacity to lead her own development and improve coordination with development partners;
- (l) to ensure that there is a capacity to lead negotiations on behalf of the continent on major development programmes that requires coordination at a continental level;
- (m) to ensure that there is a capacity to accelerate implementation of major regional development co-operation agreements and projects already approved or in the pipeline; and
- (n) to strengthen Africa's capacity to mobilized additional external resources for its development (Nwanolue 2005, 227-228). These goals in the view of Dogonyaro (2002, 7) Serves as a means of consolidating the pride of African peoples in their own humanity, and as a confirmation of the common humanity of the peoples of the world.

The lofty tasks of the initiatives (NEPAD) if well followed and protected will bring about accountability, responsibility and transparency to ensure that the continent achieves the agreed international development plan (IDP) which are:

- (1) To reduce the proportion of people living in extreme poverty by half between 1990 and 2015
- (2) To enroll all children of school age in primary schools by 2015
- (3) To make progress towards gender equality and empowering women by eliminating gender disparities in enrolment in primary and secondary education by 2005
- (4) To reduce infant and child mortality ratio by three quarters between 1990 and 2015
- (5) To reduce maternal mortality ratio by three quarter between 1990 — 2015
- (6) To provide access for all who need reproductive health services by 2015
- (7) To implement national strategies for sustainable development by 2005, so as to reverse the loss of environmental resources by 2015. (Abuja 2001).

In order to see that these strategies adopted produce the expected result, Karo (2006, 16) observed and asserted that;

African leaders must improve economy and evolve measures that will strengthen its growth, increase employment so as to reduce poverty and general Inequality that pervade the continent.

He noted further that,

The productive activities of the continent should be diversify, enhance international competitiveness and increase export of the local products. A measure of increase African integration must be upheld.

When measures such as these are injected as remedial to the problems of achieving organizational goals, it requires a concerted efforts and so, NEPAD's goal are well conceived and articulated and if followed up will inject a new line of transformation in the continent.

NEPAD and the Prospect of African Development

The search for a Pan-African initiative and structure that can lead to the social and economic transformation of the continent of Africa in a rapidly “globalizing world” is climaxed with the launching of the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD). This initiative is faced with certain challenges which constitute its problems. NEPAD's overall success anchored on three human factors. These include:

- (1) Leadership, good governance and accountability
- (2) Foreign Western partners, and
- (3) African people.

On the first challenge, NEPAD is a pledge by African leaders based on a common vision and shared conviction that they have a pressing duty to eradicate poverty and to place their countries on the path of sustainable growth and development and at the same time to participate actively in the world economy and body politics. Consequently, the leaders have a duty to sell NEPAD to the African people and convince African partners that they are ready to participate in world economy and body politics. The ability of African economy to participate in a competitive style is directly a factor of her economic governance. Economic governance revolves around sound economic management and performance of an economy over time; and sound economic management must result in sustainable economic growth and development which in the view of Ekpo (2002, 6) includes:

“The provision of sound macroeconomic policies that create a stable environment for economic activities.”

This implies the creating, protection and enforcement of property rights without which the scope of economic activities will be limited. Leadership is saddled with the task of maintaining good governance. Economic governance centers on the provision of an efficient regulatory regime, the absence of corruption, consistent policies to eradicate poverty and the provision of appropriate institutions to support human existence. The implication of this is that political and economic governance are inseparable. It is in all, issues of good governance.

As a major challenge facing NEPAD, good governance is important for growth and poverty reduction which is the major cause of underdevelopment in the continent, If leadership is devoid of transparency, accountability and comprehensiveness in the management of the economy which is the hallmark of good governance then NEPAD has very big constrain. An issue of leadership, good governance and accountability is one thing that is lacking on the continent. It is a reality that NEPAD has failed to capture and unless it restructures its strategies, NEPAD efforts at enhancing development in Africa remain very bleak.

On the issue of foreign western partners; NEPAD seems to appeal to the West rather than confronting the West in efforts aimed at development. Karo (2006, 10) reflects on this and blamed NEPAD strategies of looking up to support from the West and consider it a very serious challenge it has to face.

The remedial measure for these identifiable problems and challenges facing NEPAD are that, on the issues of good governance and accountability, the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) which is an instrument voluntarily acceded to by African members of the African Union for the purpose of self-monitoring that will foster the adoption of policies, standards and practices and lead to political stability, high economic growth, sustainable development and accelerated regional integration in the continent. Good governance and accountability in leadership will be achieved if the APRM prescription is taken into consideration.

On the foreign partnership with the West, Omoweh (2002) reports that, As a regional agenda, NEPAD is still seeking recognition both within the continent and globally. Its origins ... excluded the majority of African leaders which is why it is regarded as an elitist project. Even some members states of the G8 like Germany expresses fear as to the internationalization of the regional document in Africa. Ushi Eid, special Adviser on NEPAD to Germany's Chancellor Gerhard Schroder in a meeting on "the NEPAD initiative and the G8 Action Plan" held in Berlin in May 2002, wondered why Ghana, a more relatively stable country' with longer period of civilian government than Nigeria has not shown much interest in the document [and] members of parliament from Uganda, who the author met and interviewed at a meeting in Berlin said their country was more interested in AGOA than in NEPAD because they had just heard of the initiative [with]....indications that the document is still seeking for recognition within the continent.

What is immediate to the protagonists of NEPAD is to ensure that the NEPAD gospel is spread first within African state as evidence available suggests that, the initiative seems to have been planned by foreign leaders in direct collaboration with few African leaders.

While on the issue of the African people, African leaders should ensure that her enormous natural and human resources are properly harnessed and utilized, this will lead to equitable and sustainable growth of the continent as well as enhance its rapid integration into the world economy. This position should be assured given the fact that this present initiative is an expression of the commitment of African's leaders to translate the deep popular will into action.

NEPAD and Foreign Direct Investment in the Development of Nigeria.

It is a common knowledge that the post colonial Africa may have inherited weak states and dysfunctional economies; poor leadership, corruption and above all, bad governance have made many African countries worse off (NEPAD Declaration, 2001). These weak states today remain major constraints to sustainable development on the continent of Africa. The character of leadership that exist in Africa are those that are devoid of strength and capacity to govern and develop long term policies and implement far reaching reforms and programs in their respective states.

Leadership is very important in the development endeavors of any society. Once political leadership looks beyond its own self-interest, then such society can overcome some of the impediments (be it structural or historical) to development. This is very important because, the leadership style of any nation is evaluated by donors and investors and diminishes or enhances the prospects for increased foreign investment.

As admitted by NEPAD, 'there is a resource gap' in Africa and therefore Africa must therefore depend on foreign capital to fill the gap. For all intent and purpose, the foreign capital mentioned here refers to those from the highly industrialized countries yet NEPAD admit that only few countries in the world play substantial role in the global economy.

The choice of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) is borne out of the consciousness that credit and aid rather than accelerate has hindered development and growth of the continent. Away from the issues of aids and credits, leadership in Africa will seek to mobilize resources; they will seek "the extension of debt relief beyond its current levels (based on debt sustainability)" and link debt relief with 'coasted poverty reduction outcome' they will seek increased ODA flow in the medium term, as well as reform of the ODA delivery system to ensure that flows are effectively utilized by recipient African countries; they will do all this, but in the final analysis, it is the flow of FDI that will decide whether Africans can meet its growth targets. NEPAD considers debt reduction and ODA as complementary external resources required in the short to medium term' and "address private capital flows as long term concern". NEPAD set its target at an estimated 7 percent annual growth rate needed to meet the millennium goals, particularly, the goal of reduction by half the proportion of Africans living in poverty by 2015. To achieve this, Africa needs to fill an annual resources gap of 12 percent of its GDP, or US\$64 Billion ... the bulk of the needed resources will have to be obtained from outside the continent.

The import of the view above is that, though NEPAD will collaborate with foreign world to achieve development on the continent through pressure for debt relief in order to reduce poverty on the continent, seek increased ODA flows in the medium term in order to ensure that flows are effectively utilized by recipient African countries. By this, it is the expectation of NEPAD that, the new long-term vision will require massive and heavy external investment from outside the continent to bridge the existing gap. One question that is worth asking at this stage is "why should the West help Africa?"

Two reasons are advanced for this purpose. In the first instance, The West must recognize that Africa is an indispensable resource base that has served all humanity for so many centuries (NEPAD Base Document, 2001).

The emphasis on resource base here in this context refers to the rich complex of mineral, oil and gas deposit, its flora and fauna, etc; the ecological lung provided by the continent's rain forest, the paleontological and archaeological sites contain evidence of the evolution of the earth, life and human species and the rich Africa's cultural contribution to the global community. (NEPAD Document, 2001).

The second reason for the West involvement in this NEPAD vision and strategy is that it is in its own interest to do so. The pursuit of improvement in the living standard of the people and global stability by the West in the face of the present condition of Africa pose serious challenge to the potential of NEPAD in the development question of Africa. Global stability and improved living standard are not only challenging to the moral conscience, but also fundamental to the sustainability of the global process (NEPAD Document, 2001). While the West will not help Africa alone, Africans are requested to help themselves. These they must do by embracing democracy, resolve ethnic and social conflicts knowing that increased capital inflow is dependent of good governance.

Leadership Character and NEPAD in the Development of Nigeria

Leadership is one of the greatest challenges facing development effort in Africa and indeed Nigeria, as is seriously acknowledged by the NEPAD document (2005, 5):

The impoverishment of the African continent was accentuated primarily by the legacy of colonialism, the cold war, the working of the international economic system and the inadequacies and shortcomings in the policies pursued by many African leaders in the post independent era.

This view reflects Ake's position that;

Because of historical legacy and objective conditions of contemporary Africa, a national development project in most African countries is not a rational undertaking a... Nevertheless, all the leaders of Africa know they have to be seen to be assiduously promoting development. In most cases, their efforts amount to little more than sporadic intervention that have been usually ineffective and unstable (Ake 2003, 70-71)

Although colonialism has its role in leadership character with implication on development, it does not submit that Africa's development problems in the post colonial state is caused by colonialism. These claims have been contended by Nwabueze (2000) as having little or nothing to do with leadership failure in Africa and indeed Nigeria. However, Mbaku (2003, 21) argues that African leadership style does not provide the wherewithal to enhance peaceful co-existence and improve the national welfare rather, state custodian using the state and its apparatus to:

Monopolize political power and the allocation of resources; suffocate civil society; exploit, oppress, marginalize and push minority and other vulnerable groups to the periphery of society; retard development of viable indigenous entrepreneurial class; increase corruption and in fact been distinctly uninterested in development; stunt through perverse economic policies, wealth creation and generally impoverish the people.

This claim point to the fact that African leaders appears more interested in power for their own development rather than the well being of the larger society. The type of policies evolved by African leaders seems not to have any serious solution to the development needs of African states.

In Nigeria, government policies toward poverty eradication as a means of promoting development have become a bourgeoisie project. Take for instance, public policies launched by successive administrations in Nigeria either in agricultural sector or poverty alleviation does not serve the interest of the people for which it was formulated. Nzimiro (1985, 21) collaborated this when he reviewed two major agricultural policies in Nigeria (Operation Feed the Nation and the Green Revolution) and submitted that they were evolved primarily to serve the interest of the ruling class.

Again, the struggle for power in Nigeria raises serious questions for leadership potentials to pursue development of the polity. The consistent manipulation of the electoral process to acquire political power raise serious question on the ability of the leaders to effectively employ NEPAD initiative in the pursuit of development in Nigeria. On attaining political power, the political leaders in Nigeria therefore exploit certain weaknesses inherent in the state to maintain and consolidate their domination. The implication of this Hobbesian character of political struggle in a non-autonomized state in the view of Ake (1985) is conversion of the resources of physical coercion to the tools of particular group especially the hegemonic factions of the ruling class.

There is also the problem of the use of politics in the underdevelopment of Nigeria by the leaders. This is very manifest in Ake (1996) when he remarks that:

One area in which this problem has been singularly acute is in the management of public institutions and our use of manpower. The most critical positions in the nation's economic life are filled with those who are politically useful or safe, who do not usually have the appropriate technical competence. Incompetent people in high places undermine the nation's economic progress.

The over politicization of social life is perhaps one major import of the view above and a strong factor in leadership pursuit of development considering this multi-faceted programme of action of NEPAD (2001) and the challenges before African leaders in order to develop the continent. Strengthening mechanism for conflict prevention, management and resolution.....and to ensure that these mechanisms are used to restore and maintain peace. The ever lengthening thread of violence (Ife-Modakeke, Zango-Kataf, Itsekiri-Ijaw, etc) in Nigeria suggest that the Nigerian leadership is yet to and cannot realize this objective easily. Promoting and protecting democracy and human rights in their respective countries by developing clear standard of accountability, transparency and participatory governance at the national and sub-national levels. Evidence from previous electoral processes show that, the realization of the tenets and the true spirit of democracy is far from Africa given the nature of violence and security concerns in Nigeria today.

The indiscipline among the Nigerian leadership in the struggle for power mirrors the natural world as portrayed by Charles Darwin. The continuous infringement of both the statutory and regulatory laws

and even moral laws by people in authority constitute a great threat to enforcement of law and order as well as the autonomy of the state. The very character of the Nigerian state seems to be promoting indiscipline and corrupt practices among political leadership in Nigeria.

Infact, leadership is identified as the major challenge facing development in Nigeria. The context in which leadership pursue power is antithetical to development. This is because, in their attempt to monopolize power, the ruling elites used state power to control the economy and amass wealth. This is not surprising as the post-colonial leadership lacks a productive base; they resort to the capturing of state power as a gateway to economic power. For example, the Financial Time of London reported that: Nigeria public office holders, politicians and corrupt officials had embezzled as much as 280 billion dollars of oil money in the last 25 years (National Concord 8 March 1999, 11). It was also officially reported that N64 billion was recovered from the Abacha's family. The state rather than being a public property is converted to an instrument used to further the interest of those in power.

The state in the hand of the leaders is used to perpetuate corruption, inefficiency, mediocrity, plundering of the public treasury and general misuse of resources. The net effect of these are that, apart from taking away the resources for development, the merit, efficiency and professionalism which constitute serious ingredients of development are relegated to the background. Politics rather than developing Nigeria become a strong factor in the underdevelopment of Nigeria.

Leadership in Nigeria has taken advantage of the very character and nature of the Nigerian state which in the view of Ake (1985, 9):

...has limited autonomy. That is, the state is institutionally constituted in such a way that it enjoys little independence from the social classes, particularly the hegemonic class, and so is immersed in the struggle of the classes since autonomization is the very essence of the state.

Ake (1996, 23) noted further that,

In the case of Nigeria, the distinctive features of the state are as follows: (a) the pervasiveness of state power: in Nigeria, the state is everywhere and its power appears boundless. There is hardly any aspect of life in which the state does not exercise power and control. That makes the capture of the state singularly important. (b) The state lacks autonomy ... in the sense that it is externally controlled, a fact reflecting Nigeria's dependent economy.

These characters of the state make it vulnerable to exploitation by the leaders and therefore remain a strong threat to the development of Nigeria on NEPAD initiatives.

The colonial foundation and structures, and its implication for the development of the post colonial state, the very character of the Nigerian state, the crude politics and its primacy which is the overriding pre-occupation of the leaders and general absence of a people oriented ideology stand as serious threat to the NEPAD initiatives in the development of Nigeria.

Theoretical Underpinnings/Framework

The theoretical framework that we have adopted in this study is Dependency theory. This is because elements inherent in this theory will offer a revolutionary understanding of the development strategies and NEPAD in Nigeria. Consequent upon this, the dependency theory will be used in the analysis of this research work. Dependency enunciates the dialectical relationship between development and underdevelopment and also bring to the fore the socio-economic relations between developed countries especially those between developed and underdeveloped countries.

The dependency theory, as a concept of underdevelopment originated from Latin American scholars such as Andre Gunder Frank, Theotonio Dos Santos, Immanuel Wallenstein etc. Theotonio Dos Santos (1970, 131) in his work, "The New Dependency Theory" defined dependency as "a situation in which a certain group of countries have their economy conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy, to which the former is subject. The relation of interdependence between two or more economies, and between these and world trade assumes the form of dependence when countries (the dominant) can expand and give impulse to their own development, while other countries (the dependent) can only develop as a reflection of this expansion". This is the thrust of this research.

The concept of dependency coined by Brazilian sociologist Fernando Cardoso, helps to link both economic and political analysis; that is, it links those who are beneficiaries of development with those who make the decisions (Jaja, 2001). Dependency simply states that crucial economic decisions are made not by the countries that are being "developed" but by foreigners whose interests are carefully safeguarded.

Historical situations of dependency have conditioned contemporary underdevelopment in Africa and other underdeveloped societies. Thus underdevelopment is not an original state as modernization theorists want us to believe. The beginnings of African underdevelopment can be traced to the trans-Atlantic slave trade, the abandoning of that trade in favour of "legitimate" trade and the eventual partition of Africa (Jaja, 2001). In other words, the basis of African underdevelopment can be found in slave trade and colonial imperialism.

Research Methodology

This study is primarily a historical one hence the method of data collection for this research relies significantly on secondary sourced data (scholarly texts, bulletins, journals, base line data, conference papers, seminars, Newspapers, Magazines, etc.) in analyzing NEPAD and the development pursuit and initiatives in Nigeria. The findings will be used as a generalization of the entire African continent given the fact that, African states share same history (colonialism) and leadership style as well as other characteristics.

Conclusions

African leaders in 2001 developed the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) with the major objective of Jumpstarting the continent's development in the 21st century. NEPAD orchestrates the continent's determined push to achieve a growth rate of 7 percent by 2015 through verifiable

commitments to democracy, good governance and economic development. NEPAD is a vehicle for a re-energized relationship between Africa and the rich nations, principally the G-8 nations in order to operationalize the African Peer Review Mechanism, facilitate and support the implementation of the short-term regional infrastructure programmes covering transport, energy, ICT, water and sanitation, assist in the implementation of agricultural programmes in all sub-regions, make easy the preparation of a coordinated African position on Market Access, ODA reforms, monitor and intervene as appropriate to ensure that the Millennium Development Goals in the areas of health and education are met. It also intends to ensure that Africa becomes more effective in conflict prevention and establishment of enduring peace on the continent, for Africa to also adopt and implement principles of democracy, good political economy and corporate governance, and the protection of human rights to be entrenched in every African country.

Africa will develop and implement effective poverty eradication programmes and accelerate the pace of achieving set African Development Goals, particularly human development. Africa will also achieve desired capacity for policy development, coordination and negotiation in the international arena to ensure its benefit engagement in the global economy, especially on trade and market access issues and genuine partnership are established between Africa and developed countries based on mutual respect and accountability. This is essential because NEPAD is anchored on the belief that the international community particularly industrialized countries will co-operate with Africa in her desire to achieve sustainable growth and development in the 21st century. The performance of the African economy in general during the period 1980-2000 was largely unsatisfactory. Several reasons such as inconsistent micro-economic policies, adverse terms of trade, low savings, and low investment among others can be adduced as factors militating against African development.

However, there is a growing consensus among African leaders that good governance, peace and security and sound macro-economic management are necessary for growth and development. Economic governance connotes sound economic management and performance of an economy. It implies the creation, protection and enforcement of property rights without which the scope of economic activity will be limited.

While there remain many questions and obvious limitations to the socio-economic and political problems of Africa (and indeed Nigeria), a process of restitution has begun through the concept and initiative associated with the NEPAD's philosophy. NEPAD initiative, though important in meeting development challenges in Nigeria, it is pertinent to point out that many of the key developmental and governance challenges require action(s) not by an inter-governmental organization but by national governments. This work therefore points out that there is the need for good governance and responsible leadership in Nigeria.

The study analytically examines the strategies of NEPAD and determines its relevance to the development pursuit of Nigeria and concludes that the leadership character in Nigeria constitutes serious threats to NEPAD in the development of Nigeria.

Secondly, the International communities through the instrumentalities of multinational corporations and the international financial institution and her integration into the world capitalist system remain another serious threat to NEPAD in the development of Nigeria.

Thirdly, the leadership style, personal ideology and individual sovereignty right will threaten the attraction of Foreign Direct Investments to Africa and indeed Nigeria as NEPAD strategies in the development of Nigeria.

Our conclusion point to one problem NEPAD is bound to face. NEPAD has wholesomely and uncritically adopted 'neo-liberal' cum Keynesian free market political economy. But Africa requires more of a social democracy, especially those practiced in states that were challenged with the task of revamping their economies and putting themselves on the path of development. This African-driven initiative must not dissociate the people from the process of development. Thus it must assign duties and responsibilities to the people of the continent because no development is possible in Africa (and indeed Nigeria) except majority of its people-who are rural dwellers and have been historically disconnected from the state and indeed production are reconnected to these institutions and functions.

Recommendations

Based on the findings and conclusions, the following recommendations are offered in order to promote development in Nigeria on NEPAD initiatives. In the first instance,

1. Nigerian leaders should adjust, refocus and reorient their mindset and perception of the state and show serious commitment in building a vibrant, dynamic and well managed economy by fighting those vices that are antithetical to development if NEPAD will serve as a vehicle to development of Nigeria.
2. African state and indeed Nigeria should review their interactions with all the agents of the international communities in their countries and never play subordinate role in the formulation of policies that affects development efforts in their countries. Leaders should persuade the nations to take their destinies in their hands.
3. Leadership, scholars and civil society should not try to tail themselves behind agendas set by the new imperialism that may seek to incorporate them into the mainstream programme of domination.
4. There must be restoration and maintenance of macroeconomic stability, especially by developing appropriate standard and targets for fiscal and monetary policies, and introducing appropriate institutional framework for achieving these standards.
5. The development of infrastructure, agriculture and its diversification into agro-industries and manufacturing to serve both domestic and export markets should be promoted.

References

- Adedeji, A. (1987), *A Geography of Nigeria*. Ibadan: MacMillan.
- Adigwe, F. (1975), *Essentials of Government for West Africa*. Ibadan: CUP
- Ake, C. (2001), *Democracy and Development in Africa*. Ibadan: SpectrumBooks Ltd.
- Ake (ed) (1985), *The Political Economy of Nigeria*. London: Longman
- Amuwo, K. et al (eds) (2000), *Federalism and Political Restructuring in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Spectrum.
- Asika, G. (2000), *Nigeria: in Search of Balance*. Ibadan: Vantage Publishers
- Bakare, L. (1988), *A Geography of Nigeria*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd.
- Baran, P (1968), *The Political Economy of Growth*. New York: Macmillan
- Bode, C. (1996), *A New Geography of Nigeria*. Ibadan: Longman
- Dos Santos, T (1970), *The New Dependency Theory*. London: George Philips and Sons.
- Ndoh, C.A. and C. E. Emezi (eds) (1997), *Nigeria Politics*. Owerri: CRC Publication.
- Ekekwe, E. (1980), *Class and State in Nigeria*. Lagos: Longman
- Jaja, J.M. (2001), *Issues in Government and History*. Owerri: Springfield.
- Nabudere, D.N (2002), "NEPAD: Historical Background": Paper presented at the African Forum for Envisioning Africa, Kenya.
- Nnoli, O. (1981), *Path to Nigerian Development*. Dakar: CODESRIA
- Obi E.A. et. al. (2005), *State and Economy*. Onitsha: Book Point Ltd.
- Nwankwo A. (1981), *Can Nigeria Survive?* Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers.
- Nwabueze, U. B (2000), *Nigeria: Real Problems Real Solution*. Texas: Umez.
- Nzimiro, I. (1985), *The Green Revolution in Nigeria OR Modernization of Hunger*. Owerri: Zim-Pan African Publishers.
- Nyong'o, P.A. et al (2002), *NEPAD: A new Path*. Nairobi; Heinrich Boll Foundation
- Obadan, M.K. (1998), *The State, Leadership, Governance and Economic Development*. Ibadan : Nigeria Economic Society.
- Offiong, D. (1980), *Imperialism and Dependency*. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers Ltd.
- Ojiako, J. O. (1981), "Nigeria: Yesterday, Today and ...?" Onitsha: Africana Publishers; Tell Magazine 12th September, 1993 p4. Times Magazine, 14th May, 2003.
- World Bank (2002), *Building Institutions for Markets World Development Report (2002)* Washington D.C
- Journals and Periodicals**
- Abraham, D. (2003), *NEPAD and Africa's Quest for Economic Development*, Nigerian Journal for Economic and Social Studies.
- Amuwo, K. (2007), *African Integration in and For Civil Society: Buletin 9*
- Aredo, D (2003), "The New Partnership for African Development: Prospects and challenges" in OSSEREA Newsletter Vol XXI No 3 October
- Ayittey (1995), Cited in Kebonang Z. "NEPAD: Promoting Foreign Direct investment Through Good Political Leadership" Paper Presented at Faculty of Law, university of Botswana, Gabororie, Botswana. zkebonanghotmail.com
- Ekpo A. (2002), "Economic Governance and the Partnership for African Development NEPAD": Paper for presentation at the African Forum for Envisioning Africa held in Nairobi, Kenya 26th 29th April.

Environmental Resources Management. Ltd, Niger Delta'
Environmental Survey Financial Report Phase I Vol. 1 1994

Falola T. and Ihonvbere J. (1993), "The Rise and Fall of Nigeria's 2nd Republic" Democratic Transition.

Garth, A. (2003), "Africa, the Tragedy; Africa, the Challenge "NEPAD and the New Humanitarian Agenda. Paper presented at Africa's Economic Forum, 2003, Kenya.

Karo, O. (2006), 'NEPAD: Continuing the Disconnections in Africa" The journal of Pan African Studies, Vol. 1 No. 6 December, 2006

NEPAD Document 2001, Abuja, Nigeria.

Ogwu, J. (2004), Foreword to the conference-"NEPAD in the Nigerian Dockyard". NIIA, Lagos,

Tawfik, R. (2005), NEPAD and APRM: Can They Deliver on Good Governance and Development in Africa? Paper presented at the 15th AAPS Biennial conference, Cairo.

Yash, T. (2002), "NEPAD and Foreign Direct Investment FDIS: Symetries and Contradictions" Paper presented at the African Scholars' Forum on NEPAD, Nairobi 26-29 April 2002.