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**WAVING THROUGH HISTORY: NIGERIA IN THE  
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND THE CHALLENGE  
OF DEVELOPMENT**

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**Abstract**

The paper navigates Nigeria's complicated journey in international enterprises from the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade era through colonialism and neo-colonialism to the current economic globalization. It argues that slavery and colonialism have remained **raw** in their new incarnation under globalization and that it amounts to misplacement of hope to think that globalization would be guided by what is good for Nigerians. The international community which allows nearly half of all humanity to subsist on \$2 or less a day in a world of unprecedented wealth is still dominated by the egocentric descendants of western imperialist whose economic drive has extractive and exploitative effects on the socio political and economic landscape of the nations. The solution to Nigeria's crises of development lies more in the determination of Nigerians to pursue the path of self-reliant development considering her enormous human and natural resources than necessarily be a lackey of the developed world. If we fail to do this, Nigerians shall not **only** remain poor in the midst of plenty but also be the victims of globalization.

**Introduction:**

This paper navigates Nigeria's long and complicated journey in the international system. It sheds light on how Nigeria became **integrated** into the global community with emphasis on how that



integration impacted and is still impacting on her economy and people. With an examination of the phenomenon of imperialism, it argues that the internationalization of the capitalist system has created a dialectical process which enriches and impoverishes nations at the same time. The global community has the predator and the prey the hunted, the poor and the rich, the exploiter and the exploited, the oppressor and the oppressed, and recently the globalizer and the globalized.

These grim realities have been the characteristics of the age long globalizing world beginning from the slave trade era through colonialism to the current prison known as economic globalization, which has become the machinery for turning the nations of the world into mere markets for western capitalism and prison camps for the citizens (Ushie 18). It is argued here that in addition to the trauma of slavery and colonialism which bequeathed underdevelopment to us, globalization has arrived with unequal distribution of benefits and its multifarious anti-people policies, to accomplish what its predecessors failed to do in the emasculation of the political and economic strength of Nigeria among other third world countries. Since they have no voice in its design and course global rules and policies on the trade and finance leave no space for policy autonomy in developing countries and in Nigeria more people live in poverty than in the last decade.

The Nigerian nation today is faced with the problem of poverty, hunger, disease, ignorance and social and political conflicts. Some of these problems are not only getting worse, but appear to defy solution partly because of external influences. It is indeed painful to analyze our past and present to determine how deeply frustrated and disappointed we have been in the international system through the ages. Evidence from the past indicates in bold terms that development in whatever form is not a potted plant, which can be donated by the developed countries. The "Asian Tigers' miracle" shows by a thousand examples more persuasive than all arguments that a nation which ignores foreign inferences on

selective issues and develop alternative approaches to security, political and economic affairs in ways that serve their domestic interest will grow from poverty to prosperity. Indeed, Nigerians must know that development does not fall down from the sky but rather has been the result of people's effort and determination under enterprising leaders. A reliable guide for progress is to know where mankind is coming from.

Perhaps, it will be instructive to attempt an analysis of what has been the level of underdevelopment in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Nigeria. Truly, Nigeria's development plan through the ages is replete with similar tragedies and anyone tracing the path of our development will be disillusioned. It is agreed in some quarters that the underdevelopment of Nigeria is directly linked to the extractive and exploitative effects of capitalism on the social political and economic life of Nigeria. Capitalism is the mode of production that has fostered imperialism and created a system of subordination of the economy of Nigeria by the industrialized nations. Despite the prodigality of nature to Nigeria as our numerous natural resources will suggest our pressing problems remain unsolved. With our enormous oil wealth, abject poverty non-functional facilities and unemployment stare us in the face and Nigerians are perpetually kept on their knees begging for debts forgiveness.

In Nigeria, as elsewhere, the Western World has been driven by the need for economic gains in her imperial sojourn. Little surprising, therefore, why western imperialism and its alluded discrimination and injustice have kept Nigeria economically poor, politically alienated, psychologically dehumanized and socially degraded. It is no longer contested that the nearest fulfilling explanation for western imperialism has been and is still the need for new markets and the search for areas of profitable investment. Scholars have increasingly come to recognize the link between imperialism and the underdevelopment of Nigeria. Among the factors responsible for this is the age-long lack of tangible benefits

to Nigeria from opening her economy and the losses that haunt the nation by countries financial and trade liberalization. It becomes clear that Nigeria's relationship with the west is one of parasitism rather than symbiosis when it is recognized that the terms of trade and payment are dictated by the developed countries and by international institutions that are mainly under their control or inference (Khor ii). In Nigeria, imperialism has manifested as the slave trade, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Thus, like a former president of Gabon, Monsieur Mba, assured his erstwhile French masters, nothing has changed, slavery and colonialism have remained raw in their new incarnation under globalization (Ushie 23) Ushie argues further that the middlemen of the slave trade days, who cooperated with the whites in colonial days are still sitting on our frail necks today as greedy and blood-thirsty surrogates of international finance institutions and transnational corporations. In place of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, the name has changed twice first to colonialism and now to neo-liberalism or economic globalization under the manipulation of the stable democracies of our world (23-24). We shall now briefly turn attention to the various instruments adopted over the years to further the development of underdevelopment in Nigeria.

### **The Slave Trade and Nigeria's Underdevelopment**

The commoditization of Nigerians and Africans in general in the horrendous Trans-Atlantic slave trade were functions of the European conquests and colonization of the Amerindian lands. The colonization of the Amerindian lands was necessitated by the abundance of agricultural and mineral resources. The European colonies in the Americas were meant to enhance the economic interests of the mother country serving as sources of raw materials as well as markets for manufactured goods. The Americas, with their abundant land and enormous natural minerals and wealth, promised to yield good returns for Europeans with investable capital. The only handicap was the supply of adequate and steady

labour. After the initial experiment with Indian and European labour. African labour which was put into a variety of uses, was found most attractive and indeed suitable in the circumstance (Eluwa et 37). The Africans, including Nigerians, were subsequently involuntarily exported to the Americas as "beast of burden" in the sugar, coffee plantations and mines.

It is now generally agreed that the enslavement of Blacks transferred to the New World part of Africa's relative advantage in production of commodities for the evolving World markets and retarded the growth and development of commodity production which in turn "delayed or frustrated the development of market institutions and the general commercialization of economic activities" (Uya 2003:3). The role of the Black slave on European colonies in the New World, founded on imperialist parasitism cannot be over-estimated. The slave was maximally exploited for the economic benefit and wellbeing of a ruling class that was too sophisticated to degrade itself with work.

The development of underdevelopment of Nigeria is traceable to this early parasitic commercial relationship involving plunder and the export of capitalist manufactures abroad. The race for slaves as Dumont has put it, arrested development in every society that experienced it Nigeria is not an exception to this. Slavery involved the carting away of able-bodies men and women, who formed the engine of growth and development (Rodney 105). Again slaves were got through warfare, trickery, banditry and kidnapping, among other ways that made the people restless and most often abandoned their economic activities. This situation in which people lived in fear and speculation left no room for inventiveness (Offiong 93).

The goods received in return of slaves were mostly consumer goods, not capital and apart from encouraging conspicuous consumption (Ryder 246), such goods did nothing to improve the economy of Nigeria. In essence, slaves were exchanged for what Professor Dumnot called foreign knick-knacks

and trinkets. These included gun and gunpowder, cheap cloth, beads, jewels, and tobacco, spirits and gin. From every consideration the exchange was unbalanced and predatory.

From the technological point of view, the slave trade did nothing to advance those Nigerians involved in it. All authorities agree that the effects of the slave trade were at most one among several factors at work in the collapse of the Old Oyo kingdom. While the slave trade catapulted Europe to economic and industrial development, Nigeria became a victim of underdevelopment. In the Americas the mercilessly exploited slaves produced enormous raw multi-billions that sparked off and sustained industrialization in Europe, Nigerians, like other Americans, became the main bearers of the cost of Europe's advancement. Today much of the landscape of Nigeria bears the deep scars of this Europe's commerce-driven adventures into other lands out of Europe.

### **Colonialism and The Underdevelopment of Nigeria**

The intercourse between the people of Nigeria and the Europeans over several centuries was to exert tremendous influence on the political history of Nigeria when the slave trade was undermined by a number of developments that were primarily economic in character. By the middle of the eighteenth century, surplus capital, the bulk of which came from the slave trade had helped to bring about the industrial revolution in Britain (Eluwa et al 38). Fundamental to the industrial revolution was the application of science to industry; it was a process that made it easier and quicker to turn raw materials into manufactured goods. The economic implications of this were far-reaching. Tropical products were needed as raw materials to keep the machines working. Hand in hand with the search for raw materials went a quest for new and expanding markets to absorb the products of the industries (39). The old relationship between Britain and Nigeria based on the slave trade was clearly unsuitable in the new circumstance and the

attempt by the British imperial agents to create an environment that was conducive for trade culminated in colonization.

As a one-armed bandit, colonialism was meant to facilitate exploitation. It is no longer in doubt that the colonial state moderated and directly participated in the economic exploitation and impoverishment of Nigeria. Any measure of development embarked upon by the colonizers was in reality aimed at the evacuation of resources abroad. For instance, the construction of roads and railways designed to pass through areas like Kaduna, Jos, Enugu, Aba, and Port-Harcourt was influenced by their great potential for agriculture and mining. In the same vein medical services were meant to keep the people fit for work. This explains why as late as 1951, 51 percent of children in the Northern Region "died before they were six, while 70 percent of all children admitted to the hospital in the Eastern Region were found to be suffering from malnutrition" (Offiong 103).

Economically, the policies of the colonial regime were geared towards the integration of the economy into the metropolitan state though on terms that regarded Nigerians as inferior. The Enugu coal miner earned far less than expatriate miners would earn under the same employment (Ekereke and Ekpe 107). Again, indigenous entrepreneurship was sacrificed for the attainment of colonial objectives. The NOK culture, among others with a high degree of technological knowledge and sophisticated artistry, was condemned and replaced with what could enhance the maximization of huge profits. Indeed, the colonial policies that were introduced were designed to stifle local industries. For example, they "prohibited native manufacture in all facets of iron industry" and encouraged the consumption of European products (Adesina 407). The raw materials sought were cotton for their textile factories, rubber for tyres, palm oil and kernel for soap and margarine, hides and skins for leather works, tin coal and timber for making furniture. The finished products were brought back to the country, making Nigeria a dumping ground for European textiles, machinery, equipments



and various consumer goods. The British were conscious that the development of Nigeria would adversely impact on her economic driven sojourn. As a result, wherever industries were built, they were merely export-valorization and import-substitution industries, meant to lighten the weight of raw materials being exported (407). The reason for this harsh policy is not far-fetched because it is the character of the capitalist mode of production to expand and accumulate more capital.

As we probably are aware, the British colonial education was the sine qua non for exploitation. Technical and vocational education was not included in the curriculum that began and ended with the "Four R's" (Religion, Reading, Writing and Arithmetic). Afigbo criticized it as being limited in content and not making provision for the development of skilled and specialized labour force. Rather than ourselves with the policies of the dialectical process in which Nigeria lost out, it should be stated concisely that while Nigeria was being devastated, pillaged and its development stunted, Europe was the beneficiary. In this way, Britain accomplished its mission of colonialism whose essential purpose was to repudiate the profits (Rodney 162) in an attempt to fulfil the British plan of leading the world economically and industrially.

### **Neo-colonialism and Nigeria's Underdevelopment**

In spite of the hard struggle for independence by Nigerians, and the euphoria that followed its attainment, what was not made known to the vast majority of the people was that it was a mere treacherous replacement of terminology necessitated by Europe's own capitalist contradictions that culminated in World War II. The view that nothing changed is graphically captured in Ushie's argument that the colonial masters directly bled Africa to the marrow in the heyday of colonialism, and lavishly infested with visionless and maniacal thieves in the neo-colonial days (8). Gavin Williams supports this assertion

when he insists that the colonial political economy established the material and institutional foundation for the development of the neo-colonial economy. (Williams 33). In spite of the claim to independence, neo-colonial economy is characterized by expatriate domination of investment opportunities, made possible by access to credit, technology and managerial skills necessary for industrial production (Ekereke & Ekpe 109). In this way, neo-colonialism inhibits the accumulation and re-investment of capital by indigenous entrepreneurs who lack the resources necessary to compete with vertically integrated multinational corporations (Chinweizu 38).

It is imperative to note that under neo-colonialism the multinational corporations (MNCs) operating in Nigeria are not only of European descent, but are also of countries in the developed capitalist world, including the United States. These corporations control virtually all sectors of the Nigerian economy mining, construction, trading and oil industry. I. S. Ibaba excellently categorized the activities of the MNCs that promote underdevelopment into five broad areas of decapitalisation, stagnation of technological and entrepreneurial development, distortion of economic policies and development planning, intrusion into local politics and the constraining of sustainable development (Ibaba 173-183).

In Nigeria, and perhaps in other parts of Africa, where oil is explored and exploited, the ecological system has been irreparably vandalized and the communities on the surface of the oil wells simply left in the midst of death a situation which led to the killings of several thousands in the oil-rich Niger Delta communities, including the environmentalist and writer, Ken Saro Wiwa (Ushie 22). In one of his published accounts before his hanging on November 10, 1995, Ken Saro Wiwa laments: "In this most sophisticated and unconventional war, no bones are broken, no blood is spilled and no one is maimed. Yet men, women and children die, flora and fauna perish, the air and water are poisoned, and finally the land dies".

It is undoubted that the activities of MNC provide solutions to problems that would have challenged their home governments rather than tackle Nigeria's problems of development. This objective is achieved through the provision of investment funds, creation of employment expansion of the economy, the sustenance of dependency, and the spread of capitalist values across the globe (Ubaba 184). The MNCs are guided by the twin principles of economic exploitation and repatriation of capital abroad. To think that the MNCs would be guided by what is good for Nigerians is to expect the impossible. The United Africa Company, Paterson Zochonis, Lever Brothers, Coca Cola, Shell, Mobil, among other powerful conglomerates straddle the Nigerian economy like a colossus and rather than develop labour-intensive technology in Nigeria, export capital-intensive and labour-saving technology which generates poverty and backwardness in the country.

The argument is that Nigeria's independence in 1960 came with a virus that ensured the continued interference of the West in its development path. Political independence without economic independence resulted in disarticulation, distortion and structural incorporation of the Nigerian economy into a globalized economic system controlled by imperialist forces. While the beneficiaries of neo-colonialism are affluent, Nigerians have remained poor and very vulnerable to external shocks. It suffices that for any meaningful development to take place in the developing countries, it will require the demise by whatever means of imperialism and the dismantling of the exploitative machinery of capitalism (Nwaorgu 117-188). The turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century came with undue emphasis on globalization as the gateway to the prosperity of developing nations. We should, however, caution that it would amount to misplacement of hope for Nigerians to regard globalization as the reparation of the previous economic manoeuvring because globalization is undoubtedly the endorsement and propagation of recolonization through the

sophistry of the free trade language of the World Trade Organization (Toyo 57).

### Globalization and the Underdevelopment of Nigeria

Globalization has been described as "a Western (euro-American) driven market-based process designed to ensure that developing countries have the physical infrastructures necessary to facilitate their integration into the global economy with the main objective of exploiting their abundant natural resources, cheap labour and markets by western corporations" (Uya 2004: 37). The paradoxes of globalization as a process of inclusion and exclusion, empowerment and enslavement, citizenship and subjection, hope and disappointment, have been demonstrated by Martin Khor, who points out that globalization affects

*Different categories of countries differently...growth and expansion in the few leading or fully participating countries moderate and fluctuating growth in some countries attempting to fit into the globalization / liberalization framework; and marginalization or deterioration experienced by many countries liberation and unable to benefit from export opportunities (10).*

With its abysmally low level of technology and industrialization Nigeria fits into Khor's third category since the operations of economic globalization in this corner of the world have been simply cannibalistic. In her utmost forty-six years of flag independence from Britain, the country has enjoyed an oil boom and wealth that prompted one of its former military leaders, General Yakubu Gowon, to boast, "Our problem is not money but how to spend it". Even now Nigeria is the six largest producer of oil in the world. Yet, in this period of globalization the country has lapsed into the

blankets of one of the poorest nations of the world whose citizens live on just about one US dollar a day (Ushie 19).

The poverty of Nigerians in the midst of plenty presents a paradox: Nigeria is rich in land, people, oil and natural gas resources and yet the average Nigerian is in several ways worse off than a few decades ago. The extent of our deterioration becomes even more painful when we realize that our conditions of living have fallen deep below countries that once looked at us as the "giant of Africa". The health and education status of Nigerians is poor relative to other developing countries. Compared with Ghanaians, for example, Nigerians live a shorter life and their children have a higher probability of being malnourished and dying before age five (Anon xi). Indeed, social services in Nigeria are generally inadequate and poor quality. Nigeria today is a land of sober people mellowed though not cowed by a dream termed elusive which once seemed so vividly attainable. As Okpaku has argued, Nigeria today is a land so endowed with incredible resources and gifted people that the disillusionment of the recent past when it came was intensified by the people's acute knowledge of paradise missed and a deep sense of opportunity lost (143). Nigerians and their leaders ought to know from excruciatingly painful endurance that previous global enterprises have not been good, kind or fair to us and globalization has nothing better for us. The global village is not devoid of inequalities and injustices as its enthusiasts would want us to believe. It is a deeply and starkly inegalitarian process that still favours a privileged minority at the expense of the majority.

It is a wishful thinking for Nigerians to think that an uneven process as globalization will hold that answer to our problems of development. The hypocritical claim that MNCs are the major sources of foreign capital to the developing world is more metaphoric than real. We must heed Stiglitz warning that "globalization is not helping many poor countries. Incomes are not rising in much of the world and adoption of market-based policies such as open capital markets, free trade and privatization is making

developing countries less stable not more". The linkages between the slave trade, colonization and globalization demonstrate, in bold terms, that "ancient things remain largely unchanged".

There is absolutely no facet of the Nigerian economy that checkmated the choking impact of imperialism. Nigeria is now a dumping ground for second-rate technology and products. With oil as the major revenue sector one would have expected that sector to be well developed. Rather the refineries are not functional giving rise to importation of petroleum products at cut-throat prices. Globalization brings deregulation under which the neo-military administration of Olusegun Obasanjo has increased the price of fuel seven times since 1999, with a debilitating chain effect on the prices of consumer goods (Ushie 19). As a part of the privatization process, nearly all the state-owned enterprises have been sold to the few rich private investors and each transfer of a public enterprise to private ownership is usually followed by a lay-off of many workers, thus increasing the population of unemployed and helpless. Again in the neo-liberalism's spirit of seen nations only as market centres. Nigeria's President Olusegun Obasanjo has made over 100 trips to developed and developing foreign countries, trying to attract investment opportunities home between 1999 when he took over and now, all at the expense of public funds (20).

Our local imperialists see in globalization a means to an end. In compliance with the creditor-nation's conditionalities, particularly the generally rejected proposals by the World Trade Organization's meeting in Seattle, 1999, the Nigerian government in 2004, forwarded a bill to the National Assembly to decentralize the Nigeria Labour Union, the Academic Staff Union of Nigerian Universities (21). These two are the most vocal trade unions against neo-colonialist and an economic globalization policy in Nigeria and with external instructions and support, the government is poised to weaken their bargaining power. The International Monetary Fund and World Bank champion the market-deregulation crusade and Nigeria whose development has systematically been tied up with



these global institutions must implement whatever policy is prescribed for it or face threats of sanctions. The World Bank and IMF are not the right places to look up to see the essence of globalization. These 'missionaries' are out to enforce globalization against opposition since they want the market to be as large as possible. The global community which as Kofi Annan pointed out recently, "allows nearly 3 billion people-about half of all humanity – to subsist on \$2 or less a day in a world of unprecedented wealth" would not be so altruistic to shoulder Nigeria's crises of nation-building and development. Nigerians must look inwardly for solutions to persistent economic crises, social tensions, tensions, political instability declining entrepreneurial spirit, capital and brain- drain.

### **The Challenge of Development**

Over the years, Nigeria, in spite of its abundant human and natural resources, has been described as the poorest and lowest in most indicators of development and progress. The challenge before us in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is the enhancement of Nigeria's transition from an undeveloped economy to a major industrial giant in Africa and globally.

The first and urgent task is the development and improvement of our indigenous technology. Reminiscences from the Biafran challenge of 1967-70 show in bold relief that a nation involved in design, fabrication and production technology would in no distant time join the world super-powers. The Biafran experience rebuffed the claim that without foreign guidance indigenous effort at technology advancement will end in futility (Oragwu 213-217). Historically speaking, this Biafran technological accomplishment provided an opportunity for our nation to break away from the foreign dependency syndrome in virtually all spheres of existence. Our world, which in the words of Ambassador Professor Okon E. Uya, is still "dominated economically and politically by the

descendants of the slave owners" and by extension colonizers is largely egocentric. Our destiny is squarely in our hands. The pronouncement of "Vision 2010" was taken by many Nigerians, especially those without a good knowledge of our development history as a time when the nation will join the league of the developed nations.

It promises "to develop a blueprint that will transform the country and place it firmly on the route to becoming a developed nation by the year 2010". With barely four years to the visionary year, all would agree that we are still far from the vision since: "all around us are still overwhelming evidences of the stark poverty of the many in the midst of the provocative opulence of the few; collapsing health education, political and economic infrastructure..." (Uya 2005: 4). Unless we re-engineer our development based on our peculiar circumstance our eternal sources will not take us anywhere better.

The government should borrow a leaf from Japan by encouraging local entrepreneurs if we must arrive at the threshold of development. At a time when our roads are filled with Japanese cars and our stores with Japanese superb technological inventions, it is hardly believable that this "Asian Tiger" was at the same level of development as Nigeria up to the 1960s. During her transformation years, the government of Japan provided official export insurance and designated certain overseas industrial ventures as "national projects", assuming creditor positions in large syndicated financing, and occasionally providing subsidized funding for private Japanese industrial institutions (Spindler 95). The business men in Japan were fired by a spirit of nationalism which aimed at preventing western encroachment on the country's economic independence and development, and were determined to equal, indeed to out-distance the west on its own terms. With a brilliant demonstration of hindsight, manpower training and research, sustained hardwork, untiring industry and enterprise, the Japanese failed to be subdued by lack of capital in the early years of their industrialization. In



checkmating foreign domination of the economy the government encouraged many of the Japanese largest corporations to join together in huge financial and industrial combines and by the 1980s people in the United States and Britain were turning to Japan for lessons in industrial management (Schirokauer 273). Despite its borrowings and imported development paradigms, Japan has remained Japan culturally and this gives impetus to the ethical values of this Asian derived global economic power. The Japanese resisted the attempt by western MNCS to control their economy because they knew early in their history that the hypocritical claim that foreign MNCs are the major source of foreign capital to the underdeveloped world is more metaphoric than real.

With increasing concern for repositioning the Nigerian economy in the global theatre to enable it attain sustainable development, serious attention should be paid to education. The unfortunate attempt by successive administrations to water down our educational system makes development an uphill task. Backward public educational system with poor and ineffective facilities, coupled with drastic reduction in the yearly intake into national Universities challenges the traditional view that education improves opportunities for the disadvantaged (Eko 213). Eko argues further that the new emphasis on floating very expensive private universities and the ostensible neglect of state-owned universities is suggestive of the fact that the state is gradually stripping itself of the responsibility of providing social services along this line. Within the context of an economically backward and malnourished state like Nigeria, a properly subsidized tertiary education would serve as a respite to the poor in the society, who would not be able to afford the fees paid in the private universities (213). In an address to the joint session of the National Assembly in 2001, in Abuja, Bill Clinton, the then President of the US, stressed the role of education in economic growth. According to him "building a stronger economy also means helping all children learn. In the old economy, a country's economic prospects were limited by its place on the

world's map and its natural resources. Location was everything. In the new economy, information, education and motivation are everything". If we fail to take care of our education, our science, technology and development will be at risk-because "no nation rises above the level of its educational development".

Let it be stated here that there is the urgent need to build a fair and inclusive globalization that will serve as conduit for spreading the cherished pre-industrial and pre-racialist human values of love, compassion, human solidarity and fellow feeling instead of individualism and cannibalistic materialism (Ushie 35) such a globalization should be driven by conscience, passion for ideals, values, justice and sustainable development rather than being driven by gold and treasure. It should be possible in the global community for nations to retrieve all wealth stolen and stored in another. If this were done it would help Nigeria recover the multi-billions of the naira stashed away in the foreign banks by former dictators. Without this security the global village will still be very fraudulent.

### Conclusion

What we have attempted in this paper has been a survey of the status of Nigeria in the international system beginning from the slave trade era through colonialism to the current economic globalization. In each of these phenomena we tried to juxtapose the attitudes of the past with the contemporary happenings and it is clear that globalization is deeply rooted in the past and represents the culmination of the age-long manoeuvring by Western Europe and North America to compel all countries of the world to bow to capitalism. Economic policies and measures adopted during the slave trade and colonial periods have continued to affect the character of the development problems engulfing Nigeria today.

The task before the nation is the transformation of the socio-economic and political structures of dependency and underdevelopment that act as cogs in the Nigerian wheel of

development. The solution lies more in the determination of Nigerians to pursue the path of self-reliant development on the basis of the collective will of the people than necessarily being a lackey of the USA to eke out a livelihood. If we fail to face this challenge squarely our economic growth will remain at the mercy of the developed world and without doubt, we shall be the victims of globalization. Again, the authors of globalization are urged to pay heed to Clinton's plea that all of us should develop a truly global consciousness about what our responsibilities to each other are and what our relationships are to be. Only in this way, he insists, can the rich and poor spread the benefits and shrink the burdens of globalization (<http://bbc.co.uk/arts/news> comment/dimbeleby/print Clinton. shtmi). If Globalization fails to do this, it is mere romanticism and in no way different from its forerunners.

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