

# A History of the IMF-Nigeria Relations Since the 1970s

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## Abstract

*Though the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has been in existence since the end of the World War II, it became a reoccurring name in any discussion of the African trade and finance from the late 1970s and early 1980s when the devastating effects of the economic recession affected the African, and indeed other third world countries' foreign exchange earnings. Dwindling foreign exchange earnings resulted in balance of payment deficits and it is the IMF's responsibility to provide loans to enable recipient countries overcome short-term balance of payments deficits. The IMF, together with the World Bank seemed to be the messiah the African countries seek as most of them were already snubbed by Western commercial banks due to the heavy borrowings which came from the region in the 1970s. Among these African countries was Nigeria whose economic base was violently shaken because of the fall in the price of petroleum in the international market. To enable the country correct its balance of payment deficits, it became entangled in the political economy of the Bretton Woods Institutions. The aim of this work is to give a detailed account of the history of the IMF in Nigeria. The role and impacts of the gigantic financial institution in the country's economy is also accounted for and appraised. The paper adopts the historical method of research. The subjects are treated in themes, while the secondary and tertiary sources of data collection are consulted.*

## Introduction

In the 1970s, Nigeria enjoyed economic prosperity and the average citizen was quite oblivious of the activities of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) elsewhere in the globe. The country in fact found itself as a donor especially to her sister countries of the West African sub-region. A Nigerian head of states in the 1970s General Yakubu Gowon reportedly made a rather naïve statement that Nigeria had so much money which it did not know how to spend.<sup>1</sup> It was on the premise of this “father Christmas” attitude of Nigeria’s that the country was bestowed with the term “giant of Africa,” a term which critical scholars like Arthur Nwankwo regard as a farce.

By the late 1970s and the turn of the 1980s, the global oil price experienced a drastic fall which resulted to the oil glut. Nigeria started experiencing excruciating balance of payments deficits due to sharp decline in foreign exchange earnings. The monoculture economy of the country that deepened since

the exploration of petroleum in commercial quantity only served to worsen the fall of the national income. The country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) started experiencing a steady decline. The economy of the country dipped to an all-time low and the policy makers seemed totally clueless as to measures which will save the drowning economy. The Bretton Woods Institutions seemed to be the only light at the end of the tunnel especially as credit facilities was no longer flowing in from international commercial banks. Nevertheless, the policy makers and scholars were soon disillusioned by the draconian conditionality of the IMF loans. This conditionality is embedded in the IMF/World Bank economic policy blueprint for reforms and development, which is known as the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP).<sup>2</sup> The implementation of SAP in Nigeria represents the IMF activities in the country.

Though some other countries have been accepting the IMF conditionality to procure loans, Nigeria gave in to pressure and also started implementing policies towards procurement of a life-line from the IMF in 1986 during the military administration of General Ibrahim Babangida. Other countries

which accepted the loans of the IMF with its conditionality include mostly the Less Developed Countries (LDCs) of the Latin America and the Caribbean; Asia and Africa. In another twist, many scholars, mostly the exponents of the dependency theory, strongly argue that the IMF is a powerful instrument of imperialism in the hands of the Western economies. They believe that their activities only help to impoverish the third world countries more. Asad Ismi believes that the Bretton Woods Institutions are instruments of the United States' foreign policy. He stated that the role of both has been to fully integrate the third world into the U.S-dominated global capitalist system in the subordinate position of raw material supplier and open market.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, an objective interpretation of the evidence of IMF activities in the recipient countries will go a long way to show the motive of these financial institutions in their relations with the Less Developed Countries.

This paper shall attempt a dispassionate account of the activities of IMF in Nigeria. It shall be divided into sections. The first section will attempt the clarification of basic concepts in the study. The second section

will discuss the history of IMF in Nigeria. In the section, the course of their activities in Nigeria since their first contact will be explicated. The third section shall attempt to give an account of the role of the IMF in the Nigerian economy, while the fourth section shall examine the impacts of the activities of the giant financial institution on the country's socio-economic and political milieu.

### **Conceptual Clarification**

For the purpose of clarity, it is imperative to explain what the International Monetary Fund (IMF) is and also identify some of its basic roles. In the *Encyclopaedia Britannica Student and Home Edition*, the IMF is described as a United Nations (UN) specialized agency, founded at the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944 to secure international monetary cooperation to stabilize currency exchange rates, and to expand international liquidity (access to hard currencies).<sup>4</sup> This means that the Fund was created as a United Nations Financial regulative body to provide liquidity for the purpose of correcting balance of payments deficits. Asad Ismi explained IMF in

contrast with the World Bank when he stated that “the Bank was responsible for financing long-term productive investment in member countries while the IMF was to provide loans to overcome short-term balance of payments deficits.”<sup>5</sup>

Though the IMF was founded in 1944, it commenced operations in 1946 with a membership of thirty-eight countries. Its original Articles of Agreement were drafted in 1944. The Articles require the Fund to:

- Ensure that its members observe a code of international behavior with respect to payment restrictions and exchange rates, and
- Act as an international institution providing financial assistance to members experiencing balance of payment difficulties.<sup>6</sup>

Having cleared some air on the meaning and nature of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the paper shall attempt to discuss in brief the origin of the Fund's activities in Nigeria.

### **IMF in Nigeria: An Historical Excursus**

A functional IMF and Nigerian relationship started as a result of loan application made by Nigeria to the Fund on 18 April 1983. This loan was known as a balance-of-payments support loan. The particular loan category which Nigeria asked for was the IMF's three-year Extended Fund Facility (EFF).<sup>7</sup> The question an observer may ask now is: why did Nigeria apply for a loan from the IMF at the time it did? According to Aforika C. Ibe, Nigeria joined the IMF in 1961 and has not borrowed from it since then.<sup>8</sup> The country therefore made a formal application for loan from the Fund because of the economic crisis of the early 1980s. With the oil boom of 1970s, the governments of the decade had enough money to throw about, as we mentioned earlier. However, the collapse of the world oil earnings falling dramatically from a peak of ₦10.1 billion in 1979 to about ₦5.161 billion in 1982 immediately triggered a major crisis in the industry and the rest of the economy.<sup>9</sup> Olukoshi described the situation when he stated thus:

*The Nigerian economic boom came to an abrupt end, and deep-seated crisis set in rapidly engulfing industry, agriculture, the country's payments position, domestic*

*price levels and the general living conditions of the majority of the people.*<sup>10</sup>

Nevertheless, before the application for loan from the IMF was made, the government of President Shehu Shagari first made indigenous efforts to salvage the crumbling economy. The government promulgated the Economic Stabilization (Temporary Provision) Act of 1982 to give legal backing to the government resolve to reduce expenditure and curtail imports. This he argued became necessary "since government depended on oil revenue for 82% of its expenditure; the decline of oil sector has had various impacts on our domestic finance."<sup>11</sup> The administration practically imposed import duties where they were hitherto non-existent and increased them where they were already in force.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, the cost of consumer and non-consumer goods was increased resulting in what was popularly described as austerity measures of the government.

In spite of these and other related measures, the economic predicament of the country failed to improve. A year after the promulgation of the Economic Stabilization Act, the balance of payments problem remained unsolved. For this obvious reason,

the government decided to approach the IMF for a balance-of-payment support loan.

Another reason why Nigeria applied for the IMF loan was because of the insistence of the country's creditors that Nigeria must go to the IMF as a precondition to qualify for an arrangement to refinance the country's accumulated trade arrears.<sup>13</sup> The international commercial banks were already reluctant to make credit accessible to Nigeria because of these arrears. An IMF "seal of approval" then represented a vote of confidence that the country in question is qualified to receive credit. In the words of T.A Oyejide et al, "in other words, Nigeria's application to the IMF was dictated not necessarily by the country's own assessment of its economic situation but primarily by the need to satisfy a condition set by some of its creditors for refinancing."<sup>14</sup>

These two reasons, which complimented each other, made the condition ripe for Nigeria to inevitably establish a functional relationship with the IMF through the application for loan.

### **The Role of IMF in the Nigerian Economy**

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has played a prominent role in the economic history of Nigeria especially since the second half of the 1980s. The corrupt practices and allegations which marred the Second Republic government of Alhaji Shehu Shagari and also the political skirmishes of the time paved way for the exit of the regime through a military putsch. Though the ousted government had already made an application for an IMF loan, the General Buhari led junta strained Nigeria's relationship with the IMF when it paid deaf ears to their economic panaceas, and out rightly rejected to devalue the national currency, deregulate, and withdraw subsidies especially on petroleum products, liberalize trade and privatize state owned enterprises.<sup>15</sup>

However, the coming to power of General Ibrahim Babangida marked a turning in the annals of economic restructuring in Nigeria. In its efforts to break the icy relationship between Nigeria and the IMF, the regime instituted a national debate on the desirability of Nigeria obtaining a 2.5billion U.S dollar loan with the accompanying conditionality. It was reported that though the delegates rejected the loan during the

national debate, Babangida went ahead and implemented the Structural Adjustment Programme which was the conditionality for procurement of the IMF loan.<sup>16</sup> The IMF's role in the Nigerian economy therefore comes in form of the economic policy reforms as contained in their proposed Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). The reforms, as contained in the IMF's SAP include:

- *Import Substitution.* For a country to qualify for the IMF and World Bank bailout loan, it must eschew over dependence on importation of finished products. Import substitution is a process whereby a country looks inward for inwardly generated revenue rather than depending on aids, loans, imports and other social welfare handouts from the metropolitan nations.<sup>17</sup> As Eyiuche puts it "...import substitution provides for the optimal utilization of the locally produced commodities all, which enhances economic development."<sup>18</sup> This feature of IMF's SAP may be seen as a measure to break the developing countries' attitude of over dependency on the importation of finished goods which affects their foreign exchange earnings, thereby causing deteriorating balance of payments. It tends not towards

autarky instead it seeks to engender "we can do it" attitude in the developing countries. Import substitution involves the establishment of domestic production facilities to manufacture goods, which were hitherto imported. According to Okereke and Ekpe, "the policy of import substitution was first started in Latin America where development theorizing took early lead."<sup>19</sup> The prominence which this strategy of economic development enjoys is underscored by the fact that it empowers the individuals and takes cognizance of the culture and taste of countries. In order words it encourages individualism both in behavioural and institutional level. It is a participatory strategy which makes the individual agents in the development process. Also imports substitution dispenses balance of payment concern and obviates the issue of "dumping" that characterizes economic relations between developed and third world countries. Furthermore, it ensures quality of goods and services churned out especially where there is functional monitoring and regulatory mechanisms on ground. Worthy of note is the fact that import substitution promotes capital inflow through foreign direct investment (FDI).

• *Privatization and commercialization.* This is a major characteristic of the IMF's Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) because it emphasizes on the private ownership of the means of production and a market oriented economy which are in fact the major objective of the economic policy reforms. The International Financial Institutions have continually condemned the state ownership of economic parastatals and this has been a major reason why they have been in an ideological battle with the pro-socialist countries and leaders. A frontline Socialist leader in Africa Julius Nyerere of Tanzania emerged as an eloquent opponent of the reform, holding out against IMF conditions until his retirement in 1985, claiming that they would precipitate riots on the streets of Dar es Salaam.<sup>20</sup> At this point we may want to understand better the concept of privatization and commercialization. Privatization refers simply to the reduction or total withdrawal of the public sector intervention in economic activities. It involves the surrender of part or all the equity and other interest held by the government or its agency in enterprise, whether wholly or partly owned by the government.<sup>21</sup> Privatization can be total or partial. It is full when government fully

divest or sells all its equity shares and stake in an enterprise, and partial when a greater proportion of the shares are sold while a miniscule proportion is retained as instrument for exercising oversight function on how the organization is run. Commercialization, on the other hand, refers to the total restructuring of a government - owned public sector enterprise such that it operates as a fully independent profit oriented venture, which does not depend on the government for subvention. A fully commercialized firm is able to raise fund from the capital market without government guarantee.<sup>22</sup> The key element of privatization and commercialization include the reasonable autonomy and freedom of decision making together with shrewd business practices by the headship of the firm. In fact, privatized and commercialized economy represents a system where economic growth is determined by the market forces and not government regulatory forces. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank propose privatization and commercialization as parts of the conditionality for assistance because there is the growing propensity for managers of government enterprises and parastatals to indulge in sharp practices

resulting in abysmal short-fall in capacity utilization as well as over dependence on government for subvention and social welfare handouts. All these are seen as inimical to a favourable balance of payments and in extension a sustainable development by the financial giants.

- *Trade Liberalization.* It is believe in many quarters, especially among the proponents of the dependency theory that for the West to achieve a system of global capitalism there must be a removal of barriers to international trade. They (the Western capitalists) advocate for a system where the market forces should determine the price and not the government regulatory agencies. To ensure this trend, the concept of trade liberalization became enshrined in the conditionality of the IMF and World Bank for their assistance. Trade liberalization, therefore, means a policy or trade regime in which all barriers to the free movement of goods and services are eliminated between nations. The philosophical object of trade is to encourage the lowest price for the best service achieved through a system of free competition between enterprises. In other words, trade liberalization will undo such tariffs as customs and excise duties, consumer and

producer taxes and such discriminatory practices as the value added tax (VAT). Trade liberalization, to the extent that it encourages free competition between enterprises and nations, should also assist the process of industrial specialization between enterprises and nations, in which every country is able to explore to the maximum, the relative advantage it has in the production of certain commodities and the economies of scale, which it can enjoy there from. Trade liberalization hence, is a very important source of the movement of capital between nations and enterprises.<sup>23</sup> This easy movement of capital was envisaged by the International Financial Institutions as a strategy to place the economies of the third world countries on the path part of sustainable development. It was believed that foreign capital will jolt the dormant sectors of the economy of these impoverished countries.

- *Withdrawal of subsidies.* This was a major policy thrust of the Structural Adjustment programme (SAP), which seeks to leave the government with more money to meet other needs. Due to the large amounts of money going to subsidy, the governments of the less developed countries often become handicapped to implement developmental

projects that will ensure economic development and the payment of debts. Also, loans are often taken only to pay for subsidies. What then is subsidy? Subsidy is defined as “a payment to individuals or businesses by a government for which it receives no products or service in return”.<sup>24</sup> Subsidy is therefore basically a social welfare package which does not have much economic developmental value in the short-run. During the second half of the 1970s and the early 1980s most of the developing nations embarked on a foreign borrowing binge. Between 1975 and 1982 the developing world’s long-term foreign debt more than tripled, growing from \$162.5billion to \$551.2billion.<sup>25</sup> It was envisaged that part of the reasons for the debt crisis was heavy government spending on subsidy. The third world economies came to depend on loans from international commercial banks. IMF and the World Bank proposed for the removal of subsidy to foster self-sustained economic growth and to correct the balance of payments deficits. Also the removal of subsidy will ensure that the government would be able to pay back the IMF/World Bank loans.

- *Currency Devaluation.* This is an important measure to check the balance of

payment deficits in international trade. The three main aims of devaluation of currency as outlined by Afolabi include:

- i. To reduce price of exportable goods so that the country could sell more to the rest of the world and therefore increase her foreign exchange earnings;
- ii. To increase the domestic price of imports so that total imports may reduce substantially and therefore lead to a reduction in import bill; and
- iii. To, through the results obtained in the two above points, create excess in foreign exchange earnings to offset existing deficit in the balance of payment and probably create a surplus.<sup>26</sup>

Through these roles the IMF was able to impact on the lives of the Nigerian citizenry. Though the measures for reforms proposed by the Fund as their conditionality for loan was meant to put the nation’s economy on the path of sustainable development, the social effects seems more adverse considering the fact that the Nigeria’s economy may not have reached the stage where it can withstand the shocks of austerity measures.

### **Impact of IMF Activities on Nigeria**

The effects of the IMF activities on their recipient countries have been a subject of serious debate over time. While some school of thought believe that the implementation of the IMF conditionality to the later would have saved the crumbling Nigerian economy, an enormous number of scholars, analysts and observers believe that the IMF and World Bank involvement in the Nigerian economy is only detrimental to the socio-economic milieu of the country and other Less Developed Countries (LDCs). Nevertheless, we shall attempt to explicate both the positive and negative impacts of IMF activities in Nigeria.

There is a valid argument that Nigeria, and indeed most African states are prematurely integrated into the global capitalist system. Its weak productive forces cannot compete favourably with that of the donor countries. Claude Ake depicted the abysmal state of African productive forces viz a viz the imperial powers that colonized them when he stated:

*The history of Africa itself bears testimony to the importance of productive forces. It was mainly because the development of productive forces stagnated at a certain stage in African history that the colonizers were able to subordinate the continent.*<sup>27</sup>

Ake went further to criticize the introduction of the Western-styled liberal constitution with which many African countries came to independence because, according to him “African political economic system still maintains the existence of feudal relations...”<sup>28</sup> What Claude Ake was emphasizing on was the integration of African states into the global capitalism, which came with colonialism and neo-colonialism, based on unequal terms. Because of these weak productive forces, Nigerian socio-economic milieu groaned under the weight of the policy reforms that came with Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), which was tailored along the Western-styled capitalism.

The effects of SAP in Nigeria formed the platform upon which the nation’s elites vehemently condemned the IMF/World Bank conditionalities for their loans. Even though the Babangida government openly rejected the loan because of the conditionality, on 17 June 1986, he designed what he called a home grown Structural Adjustment Programme, which ironically embodied all the IMF conditionalities, such as deregulation, withdrawal of subsidies, currency devaluation etc. Justifying his

action, Babangida, in a Tell Magazine of May 6, 1991, was quoted as saying “SAP is the only alternative we have if we are to reduce Nigeria’s total dependency on oil as its foreign exchange earner.”<sup>29</sup> Even though the regime may have had the long-term benefits of SAP at heart, its implementation had adverse effects on the socio-economic structure of the country and these effects included:

- *Increased dependency syndrome.* The SAP implementation increased the dependency syndrome in Nigeria. This is well shown in the area of import substitution. As Roxborough aptly puts it, import substitution industrialization did not break the dependence of these countries on the export of primary goods, which was one of the primary aims of the policy. Also, the programme, he observed, failed to lessen the need for imports; rather, the type of imports changed from consumer goods to manufactured goods.<sup>30</sup> In addition, the high tariffs placed on imports and the consequent establishment of subsidiaries in these countries further cemented the ties between the mother countries and the host countries. By so doing, the bond of dependency and

neo-colonialism was re-energized. However, it was not all bad news for Nigeria as regards the implementation of import substitution. Under the import substitution policy in Nigeria, significant increases were recorded in the area of industrial establishments. For instance, more than 80percent increase was recorded in the country between 1963 and 1974. From 1,036 industrial establishments in 1974 it rose to 1,310 in 1976. The increase in industrial establishments meant opportunities for employment and declining rate of poverty. The number of people employed within the same period rose from 26,631 in 1963 to 128,519 in 1970; 274,738 in 1974 and over 1 million in 1976.<sup>31</sup> But the statistics shown above were the gains recorded in the pre-SAP period. This shows that Nigeria may have recorded favourable increase under Babangida’s SAP if the government was sincere in its implementation.

- *Hardship from the removal of subsidies.* One of the worst areas where the Nigerian populace groans under SAP was the area of removal of subsidies. Subsidies are interventionist mechanism employed by the government usually in the petroleum, educational, and agricultural sectors (in the case of Nigeria) to cushion the high cost of

products and such inputs as fertilizer. Tracing the origin of subsidy in the petroleum sector in Nigeria, Anyanwu, et al., noted that prior to 1973 there was no subsidy on petroleum pricing in the country. In fact according to them, not until in 1973 when the federal government began to fix the price of petroleum products that the term made an inroad into the lexicon of economic restructuring strategies in Nigeria. A subsidy of 33.7% for instance was introduced in 1973 for the total consumption cost of \$1.9 billion. The same continued until in

1986 when SAP was introduced and subsidies were withdrawn.<sup>32</sup> This paved way for incessant changes in the domestic prices of petroleum products. Between 1986 when SAP and its attendant conditionalities, including the withdrawal of fuel subsidy was introduced and 1993 when its principal proponent, general Ibrahim Babangida, “stepped aside,” the domestic prices of petroleum products was increased on several occasions. The table below shows the increments which continued till 2000 and beyond.

**Changes in the Domestic Price of fuel 1980 – 2000**

Early 1980s	20 kobo	-
1987	20 kobo	40 kobo
1988	40 kobo	60 kobo
1991	60 kobo	70 kobo
1993	70 kobo	₦5.00
1994	₦3.25	₦11.00
1999	₦11.00	₦20.00
2000	₦20.00	₦22.00

**Source:** the News Magazine, June 19, 2000.<sup>33</sup>

[1] The removal of subsidy in fuel and the concomitant increment in the pump price of the precious commodity have been the most noticeable cause of the run-away

inflation and unfavourable living conditions in Nigeria.

[2] *Highly undervalued naira.* One of the visible legacies of the General

Babangida's regime was the devaluation of naira. The regime devalued naira in line with the SAP. To devalue a currency simply means to willingly reduce by specific percentage, the value of a country's currency. Prior to the adoption of this measure, it was long held in the international business and financial circles that the Nigerian naira, since its introduction in 1973 has been over-valued as a result of the administrative controls and regulations concerning the management of the exchange rate by the government. Thus, the adoption of IMF/World Bank authored SAP gave much fillip to the clamour by international financiers and development partners for a true and realistic value of the naira. To devalue the naira and increase the foreign exchange earnings of Nigeria, the Second Tier Foreign Exchange Market(SFEM) was set up by the Decree 23 of 1986 and came into operation on 29<sup>th</sup> September 1986.<sup>34</sup> Unfortunately, the value of the naira was highly reduced that its purchasing power, both in domestic and foreign market became impaired. However, had the devaluation of naira been done with a realistic feasibility studies, a desirable result may have been reached. This is because an over-valued naira actually caused drain on foreign

exchange reserves, thereby adding pressure on the balance of payments, which arose from unrealistic pricing of imports and exports.

[3] *Neo-colonial tendencies from trade liberalization.* Trade liberalization is liberalization is an instrument of globalization. Many dependency theorists are kicking against a globalizing economic world of unequal opportunities. In the current trend of global capitalism, Africa is at a disadvantage because of unequal terms of trade and poor bargaining power. Trade liberalization is, therefore, seen as a strategy to further integrate Nigeria into the global capitalist system where the country is perpetually made a primary producer. The negative effects of trade liberalization on Nigerian economy include capital flight, importation of obsolete technology, undermining indigenous efforts, underdevelopment of domestic market, environmental degradation etc. Nonetheless, trade liberalization could have been a right step towards the right direction of sustainable economic development if the country's productive forces are well developed to match the economic powers of the developed countries in global economic competition.

[4] However, the IMF activities in Nigeria are not all about bad news. As already stated while describing the role of the Fund in the country's economy, there was more emphasis on production for export and individual ingenuity is given a chance through privatization. Also a cut in government expenditure means a step towards economic growth. Allowing the market forces to determine price of commodities encouraged competition and deemphasized monopoly with its concomitant hardship. Very important is the democratic process encouraged by the debate from the congress organized by the Babangida's regime to discuss the desirability of borrowing from the IMF. According to T.A Oyejide et al, in calling for a debate it is important to place the IMF loan in its proper context.<sup>35</sup>

#### [5] **Conclusion**

[6] The International Monetary Fund (IMF)'s activities in the Less Developed Countries (LDCs) receives a negative review from the African and third world scholars because their policy blue-print seems to be ignorant of the basic needs of the common people of the underdeveloped countries which they look up to their governments to meet. In fact, it seemed that

the IMF/World Bank were only interested in ensuring that there will be a payback of the loans they were to give. This attitude made the Bretton Woods Institutions seem like an instrument of imperialism in the hands of the developed countries.

[7] But on the other hand, the IMF and SAP is not only a symbol of catastrophe as they served as a framework through which other countries like South Korea and Ghana under Lieut. Jerry Rawlings charted a part towards sustainable development. This now puts a question mark on the implementation of the IMF's policy blue-print. SAP in Nigeria underscores the insincerity of the regime that introduced it. As discussed in the paper, though there was a popular rejection of the IMF loan and the conditionality as enshrined in SAP, the government of the day went ahead to implement it. This shows that the military dictator had an ulterior motive for the loan at the expense of the provision of the basic needs of the people.

[8] There were also reported cases of patrimonial attitudes, especially in the privatization exercise where the policy was used to reward loyalty and promote nepotism, instead of sincere hand over to private ownership based on merit. All these

implementation problems further led to the discrediting of the IMF and SAP in Nigeria.

[9] Finally, it is time African leaders look inwards for the solutions to our lingering problem of underdevelopment. Most countries which exercise hegemonic overtures in the global political economy first consolidated a sustainable foundation for growth and development through truly patriotic economic policies. Most African and third world countries have all it takes to achieve development and reach the stage the modernist theorists refer to as “the stage of mass consumption” but unpatriotic leadership seems to be the lingering cankerworm to this end.

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