

CONCEPTUAL APPRAISAL OF THE MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS (MDGS) FIVE YEARS AFTER ITS TERMINATION

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Abstract

The paper reports that the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) would have recorded more success stories had the eighth goals of the MDGs (the global partnership for development) being backed by equivalent, transparent and accountable actions. There are numerous challenges to actualizing the MDGs from the outside, the Nigerian government cannot be excused the guilt of failing to put the interest of its citizens at heart. The immeasurable effects of their activities on deepening the crisis of poverty, and consequently, insecurity in the region and beyond have become too awful for words. However, how will Africa eradicate poverty and hunger with the co-existence of such practices? If foreign investment were intended not to only profit the investors but to also uplift poor nations, then why do African states grow poorer? Imperialism foisted by the tool of capitalism is the rationale why African nations experience growth without development. While these may not necessarily be a sufficient explanation, other factors such as bad leadership, corruption and porous democratic institutions cannot be undermined in explaining the pity state of the continent today. Ideally, direct foreign investments and partnership with the continent ought to translate in reality into the alleviation of poverty and social insecurity that have become the lot of the people in yester years. But the reality today is that foreign investments in Africa create massive wealth for the few ruling class, who later use such wealth and resources in developing the already developed nations through money laundering. In the end, Africa's human and natural resources are sucked dry. Not until there is a blockage of the draining pipes and there is ideal intent and purposeful will, the continuous demands by African states for in Africa cannot be a sine qua non for real poverty alleviation as projected in the MDGs. The point however, is that there is the need to now look beyond 2015, with a more transparent, determined and accountable attitude to the MDGs. The paper recommends self sustaining growth, political will among others.

Keywords: Africa, Colonialism, Millennium Development Goals, Nigeria, Underdevelopment.

JEL Classification: R 58

Introduction

A continent like Africa, endowed with vast natural resources remains one of the “underdeveloped” parts of the world. To many in the developed world, Africa is synonymous with poverty, ignorance and diseases. No doubt, Africa is in a sorry state and the fact that her people are in an impoverished state in spite of sitting on an enormous quantities of natural resources is an attestation to this truism. Africa is a continent in despair (Ogunmola & Badmus, 2010:1). The number of people living in absolute poverty soared from 217 million in 1990 to 290 million in 2000. Yet, it is disheartening that women form the bulk of this number. Also, adult life expectancy also declined from 60 years to 50 years within the aforementioned period. Today, Africa is struggling to displace the crushing poverty that affects about 57% of her population, and this level of economic backwardness has led some to refer to the co-existence of vast wealth in natural resources and extreme poverty in

underdeveloped countries like Nigeria as “resource curse” (Ogunmola & Badmus, 2010).

In order to enhance development in underdeveloped countries, world leaders, under the auspices of the United Nations, agreed to evaluate the progress made in social, economic and political spheres and strategize for improvements in underdeveloped countries, many of them in Africa, in the 21st century. This assessment of the United Nations became pertinent by the fact that the gap between developed and underdeveloped countries was widening rather than closing up.

The interactions, awareness and negotiations led the United Nations to establish the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) meant to guide the plans and programme of nations for development through partnership. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) also represent the International Community's commitment to provide

accountable frameworks and global partnership for progressively eradicating poverty in all its dimensions. With the declaration of the United Nations on MDGs, underdeveloped countries were jolted to prepare bold national strategies to achieve the MDGs and for making measurable improvements in the lives of the world's poorest citizens.

Consequently, this paper will examine what Millennium Development Goals are, as well as some of the success stories recorded. To this end, this paper will be divided into three sections, the first being this introduction. The second section focuses on the Millennium Development Goals and their supposed implementations. The section will as well elucidate on some of the challenges militating against the realization of the goals in the year 2015, giving close attention to the eighth goal of the MDGs as another section (the third) suggests a plausible panacea to the underdevelopment saga.

The MDGs: Achievements and Challenges

We begin by looking at the basic constitutive elements of the Millennium Development Goals. The Millennium Development Goals are eight-developmental expected goals to be achieved by the year 2015. These goals respond to the third world's development challenges. The MDGs are drawn from the actions and targets contained in the Millennium Declaration that was adopted by 189 nations, which was signed by Heads of Governments during the United Nations Millennium Summit in September 2000.

Specifically, the eight Millennium Development Goals (Badmus & Ogunmola, 2010) are:

- i. Goal One: Eradication of Extreme Poverty and Hunger: 2015 target – halve the proportion of people living on less than a dollar per day and those suffering from hunger;
- ii. Goal Two: Achieving Universal Primary Education: 2015 target – achieve Universal Primary Education;
- iii. Goal Three: Promote Gender Equality: 2015 target – eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary education enrollment. Achieve gender equality at all levels;
- iv. Goal Four: Reduce Child Mortality: 2015 target – reduce by two-third the child mortality rate;
- v. Goal Five: Improve Maternal Health: 2015 target – reduce by three-quarter the proportion of women dying during child birth;
- vi. Goal Six: Combat AIDS, Malaria and other Diseases: 2015 target – to reverse the incidence of HIV/AIDS, Malaria and other Diseases;
- vii. Goal Seven: Ensure Environmental Sustainability: 2015 target – integrating the principles of

sustainable development into country policies and programmes and revering the loss of environmental resources. Reduce by half, the proportion of people without access to clean drinking water and basic sanitation; and

- viii. Goal Eight: Develop a Global Partnership for Development: There are no standards for the measurement of this partnership agenda, but the goal eight, however, commits both the North and South to working together to achieve an open state of affairs in trading and financial system, with more aids to countries committed to poverty reduction and relief for debt profile of underdeveloped countries. What success has this particular goal recorded? While it could be permitted to say that there are very minimal successes in the first seven goals, the eighth goal is actually a myth.

On the whole, the MDGs have a sole aim of closing the gap between rich and poor countries. To this effect, African states have set up many organizations to cater for this need, all working within the pedal of the eight goals. On a similar note, Lawal et al (2012: 74) reveals that:

In order to achieve these objectives, MDGs goals are sub-divided into eighteen (18) clear cut targets and forty-eight (48) indicators believed to be necessary as acid-test facilitator for the achievements of these laudable goals. Achieving these goals could be tasky and require a degree of commitments both at the national and international levels.

It is therefore not surprising that some notable achievements may be gleaned among some of the countries where the MDGs were adopted. According to the UN Summit¹ “The Millennium Development Goals Work”, the following are some notable achievements:

Goal One: Through a national input subsidy programme, Malawi achieved a 53% food surplus in 2007, from a 43% national food deficit in 2005. Vietnam's investment in agriculture research and extension helped cut the prevalence of hunger by more than half, from 28% in 1991 to 13% in 2004-06. The prevalence of underweight children also more than halved from 45% in 1994 to 20% in 2006. Nicaragua reduced its hunger rate by more than half, from 52% in 1991 to 21% in 2004-06. In Northeast Brazil, stunting, an indicator of child malnutrition, decreased from 22.2% to 5.9% between 1996 and 2006-07. Between 1991 and

¹cf U.N (2010). “We can End Poverty, Millennium Development Goals UN Summit” 20-22 September, 2010. <http://www.un.org/en/mdg/summit2010/successstories.shtml>, Retrieved on 11th December, 2020

2004, the number of people who suffer from undernourishment in Ghana fell by 34%, to 9% of the population.

Goal Two: By eliminating fees, Kenya was able to quickly get 2 million more pupils into its primary schools. In Ethiopia, the net enrolment rate for primary school was 72.3% in 2007, an increase of 88% on 2000 enrolment rates. In Tanzania, the abolition of school fees in 2001 led to a net enrolment rate of 98% for primary schooling in 2006. This represents an increase of 97% (i.e. almost double) compared to 1999 enrolment rates. Awolala and Akingbade (2013) inform us about some success stories in Nigeria. They reported:

An increase of 32% in the gross school attendance, gross school attendance which refers to the total attendance in primary school regardless of age, expressed as a percentage of the eligible official school-age population in a given school year rose from 80% in Nigeria to 92% in 2006. In Nigeria, a 58% increase was observed since students' attendance increased from 41% to 69% within same three years assessed. Net attendance leaped by 18% in Nigeria. This is defined as the attendance of the official age group for primary schooling, expressed as a percentage of the population of the official primary school age. In Nigeria, net attendance rose from 34% to 52% in 2006 (Awolala 2013, 25).

Goal Three: In 2008, Rwanda elected a majority of women (56%) to its lower chamber of parliament, the highest level of female representation of any country. In Ethiopia's Amhara Province, promotion of functional literacy, life skills, reproductive health education and opportunities for savings for girls has significantly reduced marriage of girls aged 10 to 14. In Guyana, help for teenage mothers to improve their competencies through education and life skills training has significantly empowered them to make decisions for better lives for themselves and their children.

Goal Four: Rwanda has met – and possibly even surpasses – the MDG targets for child and maternal mortality by 2015, in part thanks to the government's successful health insurance programme. The under-five child mortality rate has fallen by 40% or more since 1990 in Ethiopia, Malawi, Mozambique and Niger. In Malawi, for example, the under-five child mortality rate fell 56% between 1990 and 2008. The under-five child mortality rate was reduced by 50% or more since 1990 in Bangladesh, Bhutan, Bolivia, Eritrea, Laos

and Nepal. Since 1990, China's under-five child mortality rate has declined from 46 deaths for every 1000 live births to 18 per 1000 in 2008, a reduction of 61%. From 1990 to 2008, child mortality declined by 25% in Equatorial Guinea and by 14% in Zambia.

Goal Five: In Malawi and Rwanda, removal of user fees for family planning services has contributed to significant increases in use of family planning services. In Rwanda, contraceptive prevalence among married women aged 15-49 jumped from 9% in 2005 to 26% in 2008. The contraceptive prevalence rate among married women aged 15-49 in Malawi has more than doubled since 1992 to 33% in 2004. In Rwanda, the skilled birth attendance rate increased from 39% to 52% from 2005 to 2008. Between 1980 and 2006, the maternal mortality ratio in Tamil Nadu, India, fell from 450 to 90 per 100,000 live births.

Goal Six: New HIV infections and AIDS-related deaths have declined significantly in sub-Saharan Africa, thanks to education programmes, prevention policies and the wider availability of anti-retroviral medicines. In Uganda, the adult HIV prevalence rate dropped from 8% in 2001 to 5.4% in 2007. Cambodia has managed to halt and reverse the spread of HIV, with the prevalence falling from 1.8% in 2001 to 0.8% in 2007. The number of new HIV infections among children has declined five-fold in Botswana, from 4,600 in 1999 to 890 in 2007. Reductions of more than 50% in the numbers of reported malaria cases and deaths were observed in 4 high-burden African countries: Eritrea, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, and Zambia, as well as Zanzibar (Tanzania).

Goal Seven: Between 1999 and 2005, Costa Rica prevented the loss of 720 sq km of forests in biodiversity priority areas and avoided the emission of 11 million tons of carbon. In 2006, 80% of the rural population in Ghana had access to an improved drinking water source, an increase of 43% on 1990 levels. In Mali, the percentage of the population with at least one point of access to improved sanitation rose from 35% in 1990 to 45% in 2006. Guatemala has increased its investment in water and sanitation resources, which contributed to an increase in access to improved drinking water from 79% in 1990 to 96% in 2006 and to improved sanitation from 70% in 1990 to 84% in 2006. South Africa successfully achieved the MDG target of halving the proportion of people lacking access to safe water, as lack of access to improved drinking water was reduced from 19% in 1990 to 7% in 2006. In Senegal, the

proportion of people living in cities with access to improved water reached 93% in 2006.

Goal Eight: In 2008 the only countries to have reached or exceeded the target of official development assistance as 0.7% of Gross National Income were Denmark, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden. China, India, Iran and Uzbekistan succeeded in lowering private sector prices for generic medicines to less than twice the international reference price.

The MDGs, from the above may be said to have recorded some level of positive achievements. Although this essay is willing to concede, it however believes that had the eighth goal being given a transparent and committed priority, some of these achievements would surpass the set targets. Let us scan the eighth goal and how it affects the overall achievements of the MDGs closely.

The eighth goal recognizes the importance of the collaboration between the 'Haves' (i.e. developed countries) and the 'Have-nots' (i.e. underdeveloped countries) to eradicate poverty and hunger. To achieve this goal, world leaders recognize and emphasize their shared responsibility to eradicate poverty globally. In this regard, underdeveloped countries re-affirmed their commitments to strength governance, institutions and policies while developed countries on their parts, pledged additional and more sustainable debt relief, increase in trade and technological opportunities for underdeveloped countries. But an inquiry into the trade relations has shown that the Third World countries are always on the losing side. In other words, the collaboration should bring about development in the underdeveloped regions – a task which is becoming unattainable. But the issue is whether the collaboration is really working towards the success of set objectives. What is the original intent for the collaboration? Is it not more of an implicit imperialistic agenda? Perhaps, the real state of affairs is suggestive of what the intent really is. We shall therefore, consider how the 8th goal has been applied to show the negative implications therein shortly.

The partnership that the eighth goal hints and purpose to promote ought to be symbiotic. However, it has largely been a parasitic one whereby the developed countries partner with the underdeveloped countries to further in disguise, under-develop them. The partnership, in other words is exploitative and not fair for one side but beneficial to the other side. The developed countries' exploitation of the underdeveloped ones comes under three guises worthy of exposition:

i. Foreign Direct Investments;

ii. Foreign Aids; and
iii. Foreign Loans.

These supposed partnership traps and definitely enhances underdevelopment in Africa rather than the development which the MDGs seek to bring about. Speaking some decades ago, the late Walter Rodney (1972) advises that “none of these remarks are intended to remove the ultimate responsibility for development from the shoulders of Africans. Not only are there African accomplices inside the imperialist system, but every African has a responsibility to understand the system and work for its overthrow” in the quest of extinguishing a global partnership that is exploitative and breeds underdevelopment in Africa. More so, the internal betrayal is to a reasonable degree instigated by an external (i.e. Western) urge to imperialize. What this explains is that within Africa there are personalities who carry out the whims and caprices of some multinational companies that have huge investments in Africa. We shall further amplify our point soon. We commence with foreign direct investments.

The intention of foreign investors, as the case turns out to demonstrate is to invest, shape the productive forces, and cultures of the underdeveloped nations to integrate their financial structures and trade into an international wealth system which will in the long run be favorable to them with little or no concern for the underdeveloped states. Thus, the need for a substantive and viable panacea to Africa's underdevelopment has been a 'concern' so to say for the Super-Powers as well. Babu (1972) explains that their assumptions can be stated briefly as follows: “growth in underdeveloped countries is hampered by inadequate growth in export and inadequate financial resources and is made worse by ‘population explosion’ in these countries. And the solution is prescribed as follows: step up exports, increase aid and loans from the developed countries and arrest growth in population”. Babu regrets, however that these prescriptions have not helped matters at all as the above prescriptions have not broken through the gridlock.

According to Michael Parenti in his book *The Sword and the Dollar*, the reasons for foreign investment in an underdeveloped continent like Africa are:

- i. A relative lack of competition – this is because Africa is not an industrialized content comparable to other continents of the world; and
- ii. A very cheap labor pool – they are attracted to Africa because labor is cheap and available to enhance their profit margin i.e. these Western capitalists give less and get more because they do not have to pay much for labour which is the “living blood of capital” (Parenti;1989:9-10).

He goes further to argue that:

Capitalist imperialism ... invests in other countries and shapes the productive forces, penetrates the markets; transform the economies and cultures of the colonized nations integrating their financial structures and trades into an international system for the extraction of wealth (Parenti 1989).

Karl Marx is claimed to have hinted that capital is a “vampire thirsty for the living blood of labor” and that capital came into the world “dripping from head to foot from every poor with blood and thirsty” (Heilbroner, 2000). Foreign direct investments are encouraged by governments in African countries through the enactment of laws that deny workers’ reacting against the exploitative conditions. The consequences of this scenario are that foreign investors keep making profit while African workers are getting poorer day by day owing to an exploitative mode of production. For example, in Nigeria, the Labour laws are reviewed in order to put labourers in chains in the service of an unproductive ruling class and those international capitalist powers that are promoting ‘development’ through global partnership. This is evident in the imposition of anti-labour Act in 2003 by the local collaborators of the global capitalists who argue that the labour movement is ‘too free’ in Nigeria and that there is a need to regulate it. Thus the National Assembly is in the business of enacting new labour laws that will further constrain the trade unions especially in terms of wages, collective bargaining, rights to industrial action and so on.²

The trend of casual labour in Nigeria is also worth mentioning. There are workers who usually work in factories owned by Western investors for meager wages that do not accommodate benefits such as Health Insurance and so on. The tiresome fad is that these constitute the largest of the productive work force in Nigeria.

It is evident that Africa cannot eradicate poverty and hunger with a labour force that remains exploited. Thus, it is not an overstatement to assert that the collaboration or partnership through direct foreign investment has contributed to the impoverished state of Africa. This form of exploitation has foreclosed the flicker of hope that Nigeria and Africa as a whole expect in eradicating

poverty and hunger at the inception of the MDGs programme. Consequently, the capitalist structure and operation of the foreign investors and their local collaborators have marred rather than aided the realization of some other lofty ideal of the MDGs. Now, if this is the real case, we may be apt to say that the eighth goal affects the first goal of the MDGs which focuses on the eradication of extreme poverty and hunger. If this is the case, how can Nigeria and Africa as a whole develop with acts and laws inaugurated to ensure unequal partnership while simultaneously defending exploitation in full scale?

The above position can be further substantiated with the absence or near absence of environmental and safety regulations. Many heads of governments in Africa have not enacted laws that can curb the practices of the foreign investors in the exploration sector of the economy. In cases where there are laws for environmental safety and such laws are either selectively implemented or not implemented at all. Safety regulations are not implemented just because the foreign investors do not want to spend much to ensure safety in the fields they work and get high profits. The African accomplices and power brokers succumb to this alienation because of corruptive tendencies and the passion of being in the few ruling class.

The point to be gleaned from these revelations is that if environmental safety is in near abandonment, then, how will Africa achieve the MDG No. 7 which emphasizes the reverse of the loss of environmental resources? This is another angle with which the eighth goal of the MDGs poses a serious challenge to the seventh. A very good example of the absence and pseudo implementation of environmental safety regulations is the oil industry in Niger Delta of Nigeria, which has brought impoverishment, conflict, human rights abuses, and misery to the majority of people in the oil producing area. This situation occurs as a result of foreign investors (Shell, Chevron, Exxon Mobil etc.) that are working on the extraction of crude oil in Niger Delta. In the process of extraction, oil spillage occurs and these foreign investors do not clean up the spillage because of the cost implication and reduction in their profit margins. Human rights activists have spoken up but blindness and deafness to logic and reason plagues the administration (Oyekan and Ofuasia, 2017).

The Niger Deltans of Nigeria have been denied all access to good drinking water, fertile land as aquatic ventures have also ceased drastically. Unemployment among the youths has also soared and this leads in the end to the militancy experienced in the region lately. In their findings, Emoyan et al (2008) reveals: “The major

²See The Resolution of Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) at the Communique of the National Executive Council (NEC) meeting held at the University of Uyo on 4th April 2009, extracted from *The Nation*, 22 April, 2009.

sources of degradation of forests, land and water in the region include oil spills, gas leaks, blowouts, canalization and the discharge of wastes and effluent from oil and gas operations directly into surface water bodies and the land surface.”

In a related development, Adati Ayuba Kadafa (2012) informs that:

In general, the assessment of other researchers into this issue acknowledges that the oil industry has undoubtedly brought economic benefit to the Nigerian state but has left environmental pollution problems with visible physical destruction. The prevention of environmental degradation is a task that must be pursued vigorously.

It has been established that foreign investment has aided underdevelopment but what about foreign aid and loans? Foreign aid and loans are supposedly invested not for profit's sake but to help recipient nations develop areas like agriculture, technology, roads and ports, but if the nation's economy is in the hands of a small wealthy class and a host of multinational companies, as it is indeed the case, then as with private investment, the 'aid' will likely not be used for the economic interest of the masses but to the assistance of these imperial masters and their unwitting accomplices.

This scenario is the order of the day in African countries where there are systemic corrupt leaders. Foreign loans have intensified the impoverishment of Africa. This is because the “more a nation borrows, the greater its payments burden and the greater the pressure to borrow still more to meet expenses, often at highest rate and shorter payment terms” (Payer, 1982). Foreign loans to a country are ‘debt traps’ that a country may never be able to escape from.

More so, the aid issue has been given minimal attention by Africans as they care about the millions of dollars paying little or no attention to the repercussions. President John Kennedy was quoted to have said it accurately when he said that “foreign aid is a method by which the US maintains a position of influence and control around the world...” (Hayter, 1971). Furthermore, aids and loans available to African countries became contingent upon the premise of the doing what the West wants. For instance, by the 1980s, it became US policy in places like Africa to make aid contingent upon a country's willingness to dismantle public sector of the economy and hand them over to private (usually US) firms (Parenti 1989, 26). A ‘sharp philanthropy’ is what Karl Marx called the assistance rendered by the colonizer to the colonized (Marx and Engels, 1972).

Turning to the issue of loans, we must ask why African countries continuously demand for loans. Despite the fact that to qualify for loans from International Monetary Fund (IMF) a country must agree to IMF's “Stabilization” terms. The term(s) invariably include cutting back on domestic consumption while producing more for export thus earning more of the hard currency needed to pay its debt. Countries have had to cut back on their already insufficient spending in the fields of health, education, human welfare and penalize the common population “with wage freezes and high prices while offering generous tax and legislative concessions to foreign investors” (Payer, 1982). But if the insufficient spending on the sectors that encompass the MDGs is cut down to pay debt, then how will Africa achieve those goals?

The reason why leaders of African nations borrow sometime times is to serve their private interests. The debt payment schedule is one of the many ways with which Africa continuously remains underdeveloped. Some of these debts were incurred by Military regimes. These monies were usually stashed away in foreign banks from whence they came in the first place. It has been stated by Eric Toussaint and Damien Millet (2004) that “for every 1 dollar African countries owe the West they have paid 7 dollars and still owe 4dollars”. But beyond that, it makes the masses share in the national debt by cutting down allocations that are already not sufficient to pay off debts that will never end because African leaders will keep asking for more and more loans. If it is the case that there is any hope for Africa from the MDGs, one of the most pivot places of consideration to bridging the gap between the rich and the poor is debt cancellation. Eric Toussaint and Damien Mill (2004) have advanced arguments from religion to philosophy showing why the debts of Africans could be cancelled. But from the reality of actions, such is not forthcoming as African states have always had to borrow in order to clear a present debt with continuously soaring profit to their creditors.

Consequently, the structure and operations of the global partnership are the greatest challenges Nigeria and Africa face in achieving the MDGs. This is because we have been able to establish this challenge in consonance with Rodney's affirmation that “the most profound reasons for the economic backwardness of a given nation are not to be found inside that nation, all that we can find inside are the symptoms of “underdevelopment” and the secondary factor that makes us poor” (Rodney 1972).

Recommendations for the Realization of the MDGs

Given the fact that the MDGs have recorded some commendable results and elapses in another year, it is the

opinion of this study that we look beyond 2015 so as to incorporate some blue prints of the MDGs to the demands of development. The study hereby recommends as follows;

- i. **Self-sustaining growth:** This strategy encourages minimal reliance on other developed countries for development. This is not to say that a country should be independent totally, because such is not possible. But what we are trouncing here is that Africa should be less dependent in contrast to what we have now. This can be done by creating wealth internally and not through absolute reliance on external aids, loans or investment.
- ii. **Human Development/Motivation:** It takes a large number of skilled people to make an industrial economy function. The countries of Africa have a woefully insufficient number of highly qualified personnel. The figures of doctors, engineers, technicians, agriculturists, administrators and lawyers to mention a few are nothing to write home about. To make matter worse there is at present a pernicious process of “brain drain” from Africa to developed countries owing large to promoting

environments. These ‘brains’ left the continent frustrated due to lack of opportunities and appreciation on the part of the continent, on the one hand. Better pay and lure for exposure to latest technologies constitute the other motive.

- iii. **Political Will:** The most important element that will bring about “development” in Africa is for political leaders, Heads of Government of African countries to uphold the adequate political will to serve the people with transparency and accountability. If this is in place, then it will propel the march towards a future Africa different from the poor continent we know now.

Finally, the study recommends the need to build a transparent and mutual partnership between the poor countries and rich countries of the world. It is the case that the MDGs would have attained more than its set target, had the eighth goal been given adequate attention. The MDGs have come and gone and it is imperative for Africa to look for other more viable and self-sustaining means to address the lingering challenge of poverty and underdevelopment.

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