

**DEPENDENCY AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN
AFRICA: THE NIGERIAN EXPERIENCE**

BY

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Approval Page

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Dedication

This research work is dedicated to Almighty God, for his unending love, grace and faithfulness in my life and that of my entire family; and to my late father Chief C.C. Njoku who until his last days ensured I get a sound academic background, and here I also dedicate the efforts of one woman whom I can never forget her name in my success story who is in person of Chief Mrs Agatha Ojiugo Njoku who happens to be my beloved mother who made sure that I did not just get a good academic background, but also encouraged me during the tough times had and impacted in me a moral standard which I have always lived up to.

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Inyene Ibanga and the host of others may God strengthen
and bless you all Amen.

Long Live Political Science Department
Long Live Caritas University
Long Live Nigeria.

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Abstract

Dependency and underdevelopment in Africa is our main thrust which we try to relate the above to the Nigerian context. Dependency as we all know is a product of underdevelopment which is prevalent in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular. It is certain that Nigeria is an independent nation, but it does not reflect in all the facts in the society since the super structures that form the society and state are dependent on foreign policy and factors.

As we can see in this research work, we observe how the African state started its journey to underdevelopment which came in disguised of development and missionary activities which currently left it in shambles and dependent on foreign influence, since we were colonized and gives independence, literally we are independent but practically we are dependent on foreign influence since they form most of our policy and

decisions as seen in some of our super structures like political which we adopted their style of government, economic which capitalism has contributed in crippling our economic culture which has been influenced by foreigners and degraded our cultural value, social which brought about the current inferiority complex suffered by Africans whenever they come in contact with the white.

Also more emphasis is also laid on the post colonial and pre colonial African economy as we see how the post-colonial African economy led to the current debt crisis incurred by Africa in general and Nigeria in particular and we also see how Nigeria has been subjected to unhealthy conditionalities in its quest for foreign aid which does not translate the reason for its request after it is been given rather public officers now use these foreign loan for their private use thereby putting Nigeria in a higher debt profile, and in order to mediate the debt problem an organization was set up called the

international monetary fund (IMF) which is an agency of the United Nation which claims that its reason for existence is to aid the third world countries in advancing the structural adjustment programs (SAP) aimed at developing the African country to international standard, but in the real sense, it worsened the African economic problem by cursing Africa rather curing Africa from its economic slambles.

This research work is divided into five (5) chapters for proper understanding and clarification on the nature of Dependency and underdevelopment in Africa with particular reference to Nigeria.

In chapter one (1) we look at the technicalities involved in writing a research work, and we look at the introduction of our main thrust of study or to pie which has to do with dependency and underdevelopment in Africa. Chapter two (2) we see how dependency and underdevelopment came about in Africa starting from the

advent of the colonial masters, prior motive and missions and their later motive which reflects the current economic conditions in Africa and Nigeria. This chapter also talks about the processes and stages African passed through ranging from slavery, colonialism and the existence of economic saboteurs who amplified the African resources for their own selfish reasons. Chapter three (3) talks about foreign aid as a tool used by the foreign policy or international organs to underdeveloped Africa as they make use of attractive donations to procure political and economic favours in the recipients country. This chapter also portrays the nature of the African economy as a dependent economy suffering from colonial impact, the conditions attached with foreign aid and how it fosters slavery or imperialism and the level of mismanagement and misapplication of funds by public office holders in Africa. In chapter four (4) we devise a strategy or couple of strategies for curbing dependency

and underdevelopment as we look at some of the strategies below; like the strategy of indigenization which states that indigenous enterprise should be promoted to foster independent economic development, the strategy of war against corruption, which is a tool for removing the stigma with highest infections in the Africa economy which is corruption and the strategy of neoliberalism and lastly but not the least in chapter (5) which some the whole research work up we see how we put all the stories in few sentences which is summary and we conclude based on the facts gotten and then we make recommendations on appropriate policies to be made.

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Chapter One: General Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

The concept of dependency and underdevelopment draws our attention to the stagnation, deplorable and peripheral condition of Africa, Asia, Latin America, in the international system. Africa, among other continents in the world, is seen as the poorest continent of the world. In the international system, the G8 (Group of eight) and other international organizations regard Africa states as “POOR” thereby seeing Africa as an incapable or handicapped continent.

The reason becomes why they give out loans to most African states in order to attain the international standard of development, thereby making Africa indebted to the European countries. It is also for the same reason most international organization are established, towards the development of Africa states. Development of most

African states here implies meeting up with the European standard. Taking a look at Africa, it is seen that the problem of underdevelopment in Africa, centers on their inability to transform their raw materials to finished products, as well as their inability to properly manage and harness their products management and good leadership. The African continent is presently facing a unique and unprecedented crisis or problems in its history as a human society. These problems also transcends previous calculations of socio-economic background, balance of payment deficit, poor health statistics, material poverty indebtedness, poor education, disorganizing ethnic welfare, rapid capital flight, alleged law capacity utilization of materials and other human resources and so on. The above listed problems are what makes Africa dependent and underdeveloped, as a result of its incapability to overcome these problems or tackle them successfully. This study attempts to explore the

dimensions of dependency and underdevelopment and access the impact of Africa using Nigeria as a reference point.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In this analysis, we shall explore into the most of the problems Africa, and Nigeria, in particular is faced with and as the analysis goes further, we shall understand the reason for this underdevelopment, and try to sort out possible solutions to go into that, it is paramount to point out factors necessitating the phenomenon of underdevelopment and dependency in Africa, such as;

- i. **The reckless and excess lust for foreign loan and aid:** This has to do with a financial assistance granted to third world country in order to boost their economy and project them capable for international trade.

ii. **The domination of import over export trade:**

This is one of the major problems in Africa, or third world countries economy, since they tend to patronize more of the foreign goods over indigenous goods thereby bringing the implication of exploitation from the foreigners at the detriment of indigenous traders.

iii. **Political Crisis and Corruption:** Africa is conversant with the above, since it is married with different kind of political crisis ranging from military coups to party crisis and worst of all which is corruption since it is the end products of any political unstable nation.

iv. **The failure of policies made by the government:** Since policies made cannot be strictly adhered to them the problems in which that policy was made for has not yet been satisfied or settled, and in most cases these

policies made are irrelevant to the countries or nations development agenda.

- v. **Lastly but not the least poor education:** Here the level of education which is the key to every kind of success is too low and a times poor, in third world countries the education, sector is dominated with all manner of malpractices which includes bribery, strikes, indefinite closure of school, due to illegality in its operations, unaccredited academic structures and all other shortcomings etc.

Against this backdrop, this study attempts to provide answers to the following questions,

- i. Is there a link between dependency and underdevelopment in Africa?
- ii. Is foreign aid responsible for Africa's underdevelopment?

- iii. Is accountability and transparent leadership capable of endangering sustainable development in Nigeria?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The broad objective of this study is to interrogate the link between dependency and underdevelopment in Nigeria, especially the study is aimed at;

- i. Establishing the link between dependency and underdevelopment in Africa
- ii. Ascertaining that foreign aid is responsible for underdevelopment in Africa
- iii. Determining if accountability and transparent leadership are capable of engendering development in Nigeria.

1.4 Literature Review

The term underdevelopment is used in the social sciences to refer to certain areas of the world; it gained prominence in the late 1940's. Prior to this time, other derogatory terms has been used to quality and describe these areas as meier has noted, in the 18th century, such terms as "rude" and barbarous were used to describe countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the 19th century, those terms were dropped in favour of new terms such as "backward" and primitive". In the 20th century, especially after the end of world war if the previous terms were equally abandoned in their places, new terms such as "underdevelopment" and "developing" were used.

At the inoment, it has been suggested in some quarters that such tenures as "less developed", "developing", "poor", and emergent countries should used instead of underdeveloped countries. The reason for this

suggestion as spotlighted by Walter Rodney, “is to avoid any unpleasantness which may be attached to it” and which may be interpreted as including such physical deformities as mental and moral underdevelopment.

It is also been suggested that the previous derogatory terms should be dropped in favour of less offensive or mild ones such as “developing” or emergent. This is perceived as a calculated design or ploy by the west to mask or common flag economic stagnation and exploration exists in underdeveloped areas. It is contended for instance that the application of such terms as “developing” instead of underdeveloped gives an erroneous impression, that these countries are changing positively and thus are developing and that if the right policies are implemented, sooner or later these countries will definitely catch up with the developed countries of the world.

In view of this assumption, the Marxist Theorist prefer to use the term “underdevelopment” to describe the less developed parts of the world. The reason for this is that the term “underdevelopment” is believed to be best concept that can apply describe the state of stagnation and exploitation that is prevalent in these societies. We now shall examine the meaning of the concept of underdevelopment.

Underdevelopment the Liberal Perspective

The liberal scholars conceive of underdevelopment in terms of backwardness and primitivity. This explains why it is common for them to use the term “agrarian” and pre-industrial to in apply underdeveloped parts of the world. Implicit in this conception of underdevelopment is the fact that it is a natural or original condition, which has existed from fine immoral. In other words it is believed by the bourgeois scholars that

underdevelopment is not caused by an external factor but rather is induced by internal variable.

Pulating the above, it is the alternative explanation which is equally offered to support the view that underdevelopment is a natural process. In this view, it is stated that development and underdevelopment are natural process ordained by God. It is contended that the developed parts of the world have been endowed by God with wisdom and high intelligence quotient (IQ). This explains why they are superior and advanced. On the other hand, the same God is said to have created the underdeveloped societies differently. He makes them to be culturally and psychologically interior, which is said to be responsible for their state of backwardness.

It is important to state that even though the bourgeois scholars are agreed on the fact that natural and internal forces causes underdevelopment, there is no agreement with respect to which internal variable

actually bring it about. According to Ragna Nurke in his work “problems of capital accumulation in poor countries; a country is backward and poor because it is poor.

This represents a vicious circle of poverty that “runs from low income productivity and then back to real income.

In his own contribution, Richard Eastern line attributed underdevelopment to the eliminate, over population and lack of motivation on the part of the population.

Other scholars still blame the situation on radical grounds, peasants conservation, and strong attachments to tribal customs such as extended family and hand fame system.

In view of the fact bourgeois scholars attribute underdevelopment to internal factors, this has influenced how they defined it. According to them it can be defined

as a natural state of social, psychological, political and economic backwardness occasioned by natural and internal milieu. This definition leads the liberal scholars to postulate that the way out of this backwardness is through modernization. That is “Europeanization” or “Americanization” of the economy in order to stimulate growth and progress.

Underdevelopment: The Marxist Perspective

To the radical scholars, it is untrue that underdevelopment connotes backwardness, primitivity or lack of underdevelopment. This is because every people have developed in one way or the other and to a greater or lesser extent.

Equally untrue is the assertion that it is a natural process to the radical man-made process and a manifestation of a long period of economic and political relationship between these countries and the advanced industrialized parts of the world.

Quite unlike the bourgeois scholars who claimed that capitalism played no part in the creation of underdevelopment but natural and internal factors; the radical scholars think differently. The thesis of dependency theorists is that underdevelopment is caused by capitalism which guarantees exploitation. This position has been supported not only empirically but logical and factual presentation of concrete evidence. For instance, while supporting the view that underdevelopment is caused by the interplay between internal structures; Gunder Frank asserted:

Underdevelopment is not simply non-development, but is a unique type of socio-economic structure brought about by the integration of society concerned into the sphere of the advanced capitalist countries.

It is the view of the radical scholars that it is the same process that fosters development in the industrialized parts of the world which hinders development

and generates underdevelopment as third world countries. Put in another way, the integration of third world countries into the main stream of world capitalism has enhanced the rate of development in the third world. This position has been beautifully articulated by Osvaldo Sunkel when he observes;

We postulate that development and underdevelopment are the two faces, of the same universal process, and what its geographic expression is translated into two great polarizations on the one hand one polarization of the world between industrial, advanced developed and metropolitan countries and underdeveloped, backward, poor, peripheral and dependent countries and on the other hand, polarization within countries in terms of space, backward, primitive, marginal and activities.

Similar views have been expressed by other eminent scholars of the Marxist persuasion. The most forceful among them are Kay, Jaguaribe, Celso, Rodney, Frank,

Dos Santos, and Cotten. They have argued though with different emphasis that the foreign penetration is the causes of underdevelopment.

Arising from this premises, they contended that underdevelopment is the state of backwardness, retardations and economic distortion counsel by exploration and plunder of the economies of the developing areas as the result of their integration into world capitalism.

This perception of underdevelopment has constrained Rodney to assert that;

A second and even more indispensable component of modern underdevelopment is that it expresses a particular relationship of exploitation, namely; exploitation of one country to another. All of the countries named "underdeveloping is exploited by the other and underdevelopment with which the world is now preoccupied is a product of capitalism.

From our discussion so far on the concept of underdevelopment, we have seen that the term has been used and defined differently by both the liberal and radical scholars. The way these scholars defined it is apparently influenced by what they think causes underdevelopment while the liberal views on underdevelopment is that, it is an original and natural situation, the Marxist scholars are of the view that it is an artificial process caused by the exploitation of one country by another. Our knowledge of underdevelopment should place us on a vintage pedestal to understand the concept of the “third world” or “dependency”.

The concept of “dependency” coined by a Brazilian sociologist Fernando Hennishe Caidoso, helps to link both and political analysis that is, it links those who are beneficiaries of development with those who make decisions. Dependency simply stated that crucial economic decisions are made not by the countries that

are being “developed” but by foreigners whose interests are carefully safeguarded foreigners use their economic power to buy political power in the countries that they penetrate. This could mean political pressures, the imperialist monopolies or even military intervention. This collusion between aliara economic and political power distorts both the economy and the policy of the dependent countries. Out of this situation is the emergence of political alliances between foreign bourgeois. The process is now complete because first all the metropolis exploits the colonies, so does the domestic colonial bourgeois class exploit the rest of the population.

The term “dependency” is shrouded in the definitive ambiguity. This explains why there are many definitions for the term. In its earliest conception dependency, as noted by Ian Roxborough, was defined as “the observers side of a theory of imperialism” implicit in this formation is the notion that imperialism has two faces.

The first represents the colonial powers, while the others represent the “imperialized” or dependent countries in this sense, theories of dependency were believed to have the potentials of explaining the social and economic process which occurred in the “imperialized” or dependent countries.

The above perception of dependency must have been influenced by the postulation of V.I. Lenin on imperialism. As the first scholar to have used the term “dependency” Lenin contended that capitalism imperialism is a manifestation of the struggle among the colonial powers for economic and political domination, as well as division the world. He observed that;

Not only are there to main groups of countries, those owning colonies and the colonies themselves, but also diverse forms of dependent countries which politically are formally independent but infact enmeshed in the net of financial and diplomatic dependency.

Lenin's observation merely captures the nature of dependency as a logical manifestation of imperialism. It does not give adequate insight for an in-depth operationalization of the concept; various definitions have been made as there are some scholars.

In his contribution, P. O. Brien articulated the view that "dependent countries are the one which lacks the capacity for autonomous growth and they lack this because their structures are dependent ones.

This position seems to tally with Bill Warren, who contends that;

Dependency represents the complex socio-economic relationship that bind the advanced capitalist countries of the "center" (the United States of America, Japan, Western Europe) and the Latin America countries of the "periphery" such that the movements and structures of the former decisively determine those of the latter in a fashion somehow detrimental to the economic progress of the Latin American societies.

The definition of dependency Dos Santos is the most incisive and concise. It encapsulates the central ideas of most radical scholar in the area.

According to Dos Santos, dependency means;

A situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected. The relation of inter dependence between these and world trade, assumes the form of dependence when some countries (the dominant ones) can do this only as reflection of the expansion, which can have either a positive or negative effect on their immediate development.

Dos Santos position was expanded by Osvaldo Sunkel as he maintained that;

Foreign factors are seen not as external but as intrinsic to the system, with manifold and some times hidden or subtle political, financial, economic, technical and cultural effects inside the underdevelopment country. Thus

this concept of “dependency” links the post – war evolution of capitalism internationally to the discriminatory nature of the local process of Development, as well know it. Access to the means and benefits of development is selective rather than spreading them, the process lends to ensure a self reinforcing accumulation of privilege for special groups as well as the continued existence of a marginal class.

Ian Rox Borough has reduced other usages of the term “Dependency” into two basic approaches namely; Dependency as a relationship or as a conditioning for factors which alters the internal functioning elements of the dependent social formation. Regardless of how one sees dependency, in essence, it implies a kind of parasitic relationship that exists between the highly industrialized countries, and the less developed ones in a manner that ensures the continuous advancement of the former to the detriment of the latter. An example could bedrawn from the Nigeria’s oil and gas sector, here we see how we take

out variable time and money to export our natural resources to be refined in the developed or industrialized countries; and after being refined in these places, it is imported back to the home nation, where it is being distributed and sold at a higher price, irrespective of the fact that the oil is naturally gotten from this country. As a result, we now pay higher to get what naturally belongs to us, thereby depriving us the privilege to enjoy our natural resources. Now it is noted we use our natural resources to maximize the economy and suffer or rather pay tighter to get what is ours.

Dependency as noted earlier states that crucial economic decisions are made not by the countries that are being “developed” but by foreigners whose interests are carefully safeguarded, foreigners use their economic power to buy political power in the country that they penetrate. Instances could be drawn from the IMF, SAP, World Bank etc. The western world adopted this strategy

which appeared as a means to develop most African states and Nigeria in particular, thereby leaving Nigeria and most African states indebted to these European nations and as of which the debts owned by these developing nations, increase as time goes by and become a heavy task for the developing nations as a result of their incapability to pay back the idea now leaves Nigeria and Africa unable to attain autonomous growth because their structures are dependent ones.

Dependency can be seen or defined as an explanation of the economic development of a state in terms of the external influences, political economic and cultural on national development.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The significance of this study cannot be over emphasized because it is of great importance and adds to the existing knowledge towards the concept (Dependency

and underdevelopment). As such the ongoing analysis becomes of great importance to these who particularly seek to understand why Africa or Nigeria is dependent on the western world. Also of high value of today's government of Nigeria, which tries to eradicate the concept of dependency and underdevelopment from the Nigeria, socio-economic and political system

This study is finally important to Nigeria and Africa as a whole because it explores and attempts to bring possible solution on how Nigeria could attain a sustainable development, inspite of her dependent nature.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

This study considers dependency theory most appropriate as the frame work of analysis. Dependency theory is a body of social science theories, both from developed and developing nations that creates a world

view which suggests that poor underdeveloped states of the periphery are exploited by wealthy developed nations of the center in order to sustain economic growth and remain wealthy.

For example, these European states of the world, issued out loans to most African states for development exercise, and these African states, have been made to service these debts from time to time irrespective of the fact that most African states are unable to pay up these debts.

Now it is seen that even the amount paid on debt servicing for a number of years, has even exceeded the debt owned by these African states. This is an example of what these European, or rather what the theory of dependency explains by suggesting that the poor underdeveloped nations of the periphery are exploited by the wealthy developed nations of the center in order to sustain economic growth and remain wealthy.

Dependency theory developed in the late 1950's under the guidance of the Director of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America Raul Prebisch. Prebisch and his colleagues were troubled by the fact that the economic growth in advanced industrialized countries did not necessarily lead to the growth of the poorer countries. Indeed, their studies suggested that economic activity in the rural countries often led to serious economic problems in the poorer countries. Such a possibility was not predicted by neoclassical theory, which had assumed that economic growth was beneficial to all even if the benefits were not equally shared.

Prebisch's initial explanation for the phenomenon was very straightforward, poor countries exported primary commodities to the rich countries that then manufactured products out of those commodities and sold them back to the poor countries. The value added by manufacturing a usable product always cost more than

their primary products used to create those products. For instance, in the oil and gas sector in Nigeria, it is observed that we export our oil to these westerns, for refinery and after it is being refined, we also take out variable time and money to import back this oil, and at the end of the day, the cost of exportation and importation of these products, becomes so high but no profit is realized after the transaction. This now boils down to the increment of fuel price in Nigeria, workers go on strike etc. Therefore poorer countries would never be earning enough from their export earnings to pay for their exports.

Presbisch's solution was similarly straight forward poorer countries should embark on program of import substitution so that they need not purchase the manufactured product from the richer countries. The poorer countries would still sell their primary product on the world market but their foreign exchange reserves

world not be used to purchase their manufacturers from abroad.

Three issues made this policy difficult to flow. The first is that the internal markets of the poorer countries were not large enough to support the economies of scale used by the richer countries to keep their prices low.

The second issue concerned the political will of the poorer countries as to whether a transformation from being primary product producers was possible or desirable.

The final issue revolved around the extent to which the poorer countries actually had control of their primary products, particularly in the area of selling those products abroad.

These obstacles to the import substitute policy led others to think a little more creatively and his toxically at the relationship between rich and poor countries.

At this point, dependency theory was viewed as a possible way of explaining the persistent poverty of the poorer countries. The traditional neo-classical approach said vertically nothing on this question except to assert that the poorer countries were late in coming to solid economic practices and then as soon as they learned the techniques of modern economies, then the poverty will begin to subside. However Marxist theorists viewed the persistent poverty as a consequence of capitalists exploitation. And a new body of thought, called the “world system approach” argued that the poverty was a direct consequence of the evolution of the international political economy into a fairly rigid division of labour, which favoured the rich and penalized the poor.

Understanding Dependency Theory

The debates among the liberal reforms (prebisch). The Marxist (Andre Gunder Frank) and the world system theorists (Waller Stein) was rigorous and intellectually

quite challenging. There are still points of serious disagreement among the various strains of dependency theories and it is a mistake to think that there is only one unified theory of dependency.

Nonetheless, there are some core propositions which seem to underline the analysis of most dependency theorists.

Dependency can be defined as an explanation of the economic development of a state in terms of the external influences, political economic and cultural on national development policies.

Dependency also is a historical condition which shapes a certain structure of the world economy such that it favours some countries to the detriment of others and limit the development possibility of the sub-ordinate economies, a situation include the economy of a certain group of countries is conditional by the development and expansion of another economy to which their own is

subjected an example of this could be traced from the colonial history. These European came to Africa, introduced us to cash crops, which led us to the monetarization policy, and at this level things started being difficult, and people work so hard to get money this time. This monetarization policy now led to debt crisis as a result of the inability to meet up to this standards, and the debt crisis issue, now resulted to brain drain and poverty in Africa and also the level of our underdevelopment. Now with this example, it is noted that dependency is a historical condition that shapes a certain structure of the world economy that if favours some countries to the detriment of others and limits the development possibilities of the sub-ordinate economies.

There are three common features of these definition, which most dependency theorists share, first, dependency characterizes the international system as comprised of two sets of states, variously described as

dominant, dependent, center/periphery or metropolitan/satellite.

The dominant states are the advanced industrialized nations in the organization of economic co-operation and development (OECD). The dependent states are those states of Latin America, Africa, Asia which have low per capital GNP's and which rely heavily on the export of a simple commodity for foreign exchange earnings.

Second, both definitions have in common the assumption that the external forces are of singular importance to the economic activities within the dependent states. These external factors includes multinational corporations, international commodity markets, foreign assistance, communications and any other means by which the advanced industrialized countries can represent their economic interests abroad.

Third, the definition of dependency all indicate that the relations between dominant and dependent states are dynamic because the interaction between the two sets of states tend to not only reinforce but also intensify the unequal patterns. More over dependency is a very deep-seated historical process, rooted in the internationalization of capitalism.

As such, dependency theory here explains the present underdeveloped states of many nations in the world by examining the patterns of interactions among nations and by arguing that inequality among nation is an intrinsic part of those interactions.

1.6.1 Method of Data Collection

The method of data collection in this research work is the secondary mode of data collection, first as stated in the research proposal. The secondary mode of Data

collection here implies visiting of libraries, extraction of information from journals, newspapers and books.

1.6.2 Method of Data Analysis

Since the method of data collection was the secondary mode of data collection, or rather the non-reactive method of data collection, the method of data analysis here, is the qualitative method of data analysis. It is more explanatory in nature.

1.7 Hypotheses

1. There is a strong link between dependency and underdevelopment in Africa.
2. Foreign aid appears to be responsible for the underdevelopment of Africa.
3. Accountability and transparent leadership are capable of a gendering development in Nigeria.

1.8 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The scope of this study centers around the dependency status of Africa, particularly, how the dependency status endangers the economic development of most African states. The scope of this study also emphasizes on how a sustainable development can be attained in spite of the dependent nature of Africans and particularly Nigeria.

Limitations

Too many factors stood as limitations to this research study, insufficient finance, was one major problem faced during this research work. This study also suffered the problem of data collection and management.

1.9 Operationalization of Concepts

In this study, some political concepts will be adopted or rather applied in relation to the study and they includes as follows

Oligarchy: Government by the few, the logically exclusive categories of government by one, the few or the many that have been widely deployed, but the terminology has varied for example, aristocracy, is a form of government by the few, Aristotle distinguished between rules who govern in their own interests (Oligarchy). Sociologists have made claims about a necessary connection between organization and oligarchy.

Hegemony: When social class, exerts power over others beyond that accounted for by coercion or law, it may be described as meaning hegemonic, drawing on the Greek word “hegemony” meaning chieftaincies. Thus the bourgeoisie was regarded as hegemonic within capitalist society by Gramsci, who believed their power depended on

the permeation by bourgeois values of all organ of the society.

Elite: Privileged minority, a small group of people within a larger group who have more power, social standard, wealth or talent than the rest of the group restricting powers and privileges in a society to a member of one small favoured group, and the belief that this arrangement is justified by their support.

Chapter Two: Background to Dependency and Underdevelopment in Africa

2.1 The Slavery Era in Africa

It is paramount to begin with looking into the root of Africa's underdevelopment, which is the slave trade of the European, and as a basic factor in Africa's underdevelopment.

To look into the trade between African's and Europeans in the centuries before colonial era is virtually to look into the slavery era in Africa. This has to do with a point in time when man has to be subjected to the actions of another which is known to be superior to him.

Here the Africans only become a slave when he reached a society where he worked as a slave. Before that, he was first a free man than a captive. However, it is acceptable to talk about the trade in slaves to refer to the shipment of captives from Africa to various other

parts of the world, where they were to live and work as the property of Europeans.

In East Africa and the Sudan, many Africans were taken by Arabs and were sold to buyers. This can also be known as “**Arab Slave Trade**.”

There is no doubt that with few exceptions such as Hawkins, European buyers purchased African captives on the coast of Africa and the transaction between themselves and Africans was in form of trade. It is also a fact that very often a captive was sold and resold as he made his way from the interior to the part of embarkation and that too was a form of trade. However, it is paramount to note that the process by which captives were obtained in Africa was not in form of trade, they rather made use of some devices like trickery, war, banditing, kidnapping and other social vices and then they are now transferred to the destination and then await trade.

Many things remain uncertain and unclear about the African slave trade era, but the general image of destruction is well defined and clear, and that destructive acts can be seen as the logical consequences or implications of the manner of capturing their captives in Africa. Looking at all these uncertainties the question that strikes one's mind is the quality involved which has to do with how many Africans were imported and this has long been an object of speculation with some estimates ranging between few millions to over one hundred million.

It is very important to also take note that when asking questions about how many Africans were captured and shipped or imported it should be noted that not all of these captives survive to the destination due to the ill treatment meted to them on their way to the Europeans' places, and some die along the way while others survive and the survivors shorten the Europeans' target which

makes them look for more captives to satisfy their thirst for slaves.

A recent study suggested a figure of about ten million Africans landed alive in the Americas, the Atlantic islands and Europe. Since the figure is so low and is already used by European scholars who are apologists for the capitalist system and its long record of brutality in Europe and abroad. In order to white wash the European slave trade, they find it convenient to start by minimizing the numbers concerned. The truth is that any figure of Africans imported into the Americas which is narrowly based on the surviving records is bound to be low, because there were so many people at the time who had a vested interest in smuggling slaves.

There were numerous recorded deaths in Africa between the time of capture condition of embarkation, especially in cases where captives had to travel hundreds of miles to the coasts the massive loss of the African

labour force was made more critical because it was composed of able bodied young men and women. Slave merchants preferred their victims between the age of 15 and 35, preferably in the early twenties, the sex ratio being about two men to one woman. Europeans sometimes accepted young African children, but rarely any older person. They shipped the most healthy whenever as possible, taking the trouble to get those who has already survived an attack of small pox, and who were therefore immune from further attach of that diseases, which was then one of the world's greater killer disease.

There was a problem of that actual size of Africans population due to the absence of data on the 15th century which made it difficult to carry out any scientific assessment of the results of the population outflow. But nothing suggests that there was any increase in the

continents population over the centuries of slavery, although that was the trend in other parts of the world.

The slave trade on the Indian Ocean has been called the East Africa Slave Trade” and the Arab slave trade for so long, that it hides the extent to which it was also a European slave trade when the slavery from east Africa was at its peak in the 18th century and in the captives was the European owned plantation economies of Mauritius, Reunion and Seychelles as well as the Americas, via the cape of good hope. Besides, Africans laboured slaves in certain Arab countries during the 18th and 19th centuries were all serving the Europeans capitalist system which setup a demand for a slave grown products, like the slaves grown in Zanzibar which was supervised by the Arab Masters.

No one has been able to come up with an accurate figure which represents the total losses to the African population sustained through the extraction of slave

about from all areas of to all destination over the many centuries that slavery existed.

An emphasis on population loss as such is highly relevant to the question of socio-economic development. Population growth played a major role in the European development in providing labour markets, and the pressure which led to further advancement. The Japanese population growth and similar positive effects, and in other parts of Asia which remained pre-capitalists, the size of the population growth led to a much more intensive exploitation of the land than has even been the case in what is still a sparsely -peopled African continent.

So long as the population density was low. Then human beings who were known as the units of labour were far more important than those factors of production. Such as land from one end of the continent to the other, it is easy to find examples that the African people were

conscious that population was in their circumstances the most important factors of production.

Africa's economic activity was affected both directly and indirectly by population loss for instance, when the inhabitants of a given area were reduced below a certain number in an environment where some insects were present, the remaining few had to abandon the area. By implication, slavery was causing these people to lose their battle to harness nature, a battle which is at the basis of development. The opportunity presented by European slave dealers became the major stimulus for a great deal of social violence between different African communities and within any given community. It took the form of raiding and kidnapping than regular warfare, and that fact increased the element of fear and uncertainty, all the European powers in the 19th century indicated their awareness of the fact that the activities connected with producing captives were inconsistent with

other economic pursuit. At this point in time the British wanted Africans to collect palm produce and rubber and grow agricultural crops for export in place of slaves, and it was clear that slave raiding was violently conflicting with that objective in western, eastern and central Africa. Long before the date, Europeans accepted the fact when their self interest was involved. For example, in the 17th century, the Portuguese and Dutch actually discouraged slavery in the “Gold Coasts” for they recognized that it would be incompatible with Gold trade. However by the end of that century Gold was now discovered in Brazil and its importance supplied in Africa was lessened.

At this point, slavery began to undermine the Gold Coast economy and destroyed the gold trade due to the fact that within the total attack pattern, Africa slaves became more important than Gold and the Brazilian Gold was offered for African captives at whydah (Dahomy) and Accra. Slave raiding made it unsafe to mine and travel

with gold, and rendering for captives provide more profitable than Gold mining.

The change over from gold mining to slavery took place within a period of a few years between 1700 and 1710, when the “Gold coast” came to supply about 5, 000 to 6,000 captives per anum. At the end of the 18th century, a much smaller number of captives were exported from the gold coast, but the damage had already been done. It is worth noting that Europeans sought out different parts of western and central Africa at different time to play the role of the major suppliers of slave to America’s. This meant that virtually every section of the long western coastline between the Senegal and Gunenevivers had at least a few years experience of intensive trade in slavery.

Besides in the history of Eastern Nigeria, the Congo, Northern Angola and Dahonay, there were periods extending over decades when imports remained at an

average of many thousands per year. Most of those areas were also relatively developed within the African Continent.

The change over of war like activities and kidnapping must have affected all branches of economic activity and agriculture in particular. Occasionally, in certain localities food production was increased to provide supplies for slave ships, but the overall consequences of slavery on agricultural activities in western, eastern and central Africa were negative. Labour was drawn off from agriculture and conditions became unsettled. Dahomey, which in the 16th century was known for exporting food to parts of what is now Togo, was suffering from famines in the 19th century. The present generation of Africa will readily recall that in the colonial period when able bodied men left their homes as migrants labourers that upset the farming routine in the home districts and often caused famines. Slaves trading

after all meant migration of labour in a manner of one hundred times more brutal.

To achieve economic development one essential condition is to make the maximum use of the country's labour and natural resources. Usually, that demands peaceful conditions, but there have been times in history when social groups have grown stronger by raiding their neighbours for women, cattle and goods, because they then used the "booty" from the raids for the benefit of their own community. Slavery in Africa did not even have that redeeming value since captives were shipped outside instead of being utilized within any given African community for creating wealth from nature.

In any case slavery prevented the mining population from effectively engaging in agricultural industry, and it employed professional slave hunters and warriors to destroy rather than build. Although apart from the moral aspect and the immense suffering totally

irrational from the view point of African development for certain purposes, it is necessary to be more specific and to speak of the trade in slaves not in general continent wide terms but rather with reference to the varying impact on several regions. This relative intensity of slave – raiding in different areas of fairly well known some south African people were enslaved by the Boers and some north Africa Muslims by Christian Europeans, but those were minor episodes.

It might therefore appear that slavery did not adversely affect the development of some part of Africa, simply because exports were non-existent at a low level. However, the continent that the European slavery was an under developing factor for the continent as who must be upheld, because it does not follow that an African distribute which did not trade with European was entirely free from whatever influences were exerted by Europe. The Europeans trade goods percolated into the

deepest interior, and the orientation of large area of the continent towards human exports meant that other positive interactions were thereby ruled out.

The above propositions may be ore fully grasped by making some comparisons in any given economy; the various components reflect the well being of others. Therefore, when there is depression in one sector, that depression invariably transfers itself to others to some extent. Similarly, when there is buoyancy in one sector then others benefits. Turning to logical sciences, it will be found that students of ecology recognize that a single change, such as the disappearance of a snail species could trigger off negative or positive actions in spheres that superficially appeared unconnected. Parts of Africa left free by exports trends in captives must have been affected by tremendous dislocations in ways that are not easy to comprehend because it is so much a question of what might have happened.

2.2 The Colonization Process

The major aim of colonization was to civilize, evangelize, educate and reform Africa as a whole. As we Africans were made to believe by the so called colonial masters at the initial stage of their advent, but rather they functioned in an opposite way which rather inflicted more pain and damage in Africa, just like the Nigerian adage “adding salt to an open wound or injury” that was the exact out come of the colonization that was proposed for the good of Africa.

Nothing spectacular was done in the interest of Africans, supposedly, they built rail ways, roads, schools, hospitals and so on, it would have been to their own interest, just to tell you how they had only their selfish interest at heart rather public service as portrayed in their reasons for their invasion. It is paramount to note that all the above infrastructures if would build like the rail ways was to enable them export our stolen natural

resources, to their various points of merchandises for the first 30 years in Africa nothing was actually done for the advantage of we Africans until after the last war that social services were built as a matter of policy.

As a matter of fact the statistics, which shows that Africa today is underdeveloped, are the statistics representing the date of affairs at the end of colonialism.

Having considered and now became the masters of the continent; the European rulers of Africa began to seize resource and to organize their rule for a long profitable stay. First, they began to take out of African use or occupancy whatever kind they wanted and they simultaneously assembled African labour to mine the land for gold, copper, diamond, asbestos, tin, etc to famount for wool, cattle, tobacco, timber, sugar, bananas, coffee, etc. but as the Africa people were reluctant to disposes themselves of their lands as the

European wanted had to be confiscated and Africa labour compelled. The means of doing this was,

The adopting by a white ruling of legal” measures designed expressly to whom they apply to guilt land which they occupy and by which they can live, in order to work in while services for the private gain of the white man. When lands formerly occupied by natives are confiscated, or otherwise annexed for the white owners, the creation of the disposed native is usually a secondary object.

Legal or illegal, these measures were often quite brutal. For instance, because they were considered too low and unattainable for work in the white man’s mined and on his farms the bushman of southern Africa were expected from their homeland. In many cases they were, like the Americans in the United States, simple exterminated.

A situation where expulsion and extermination were deemed unprofitable, other methods were tried, some

were quite indigenous. In Bechuanaland in 1897 a small local riot involving a few drunk natives was fermented and used as a pretext for expelling 8000 of the natives from lands secured to them by the Bechuanaland annexation Act of 1895. While the rest of the population were forcefully evaluated to other poorer districts. The lands confiscated was turned over to British occupation.

Some other assets besides land was also seized like what happened to the matabele after war, as a wholesale for their cattle was, confiscated for the purpose of stocking in the famus of white sellers which later sparked up a second war as a signal of strong hesitation of action of the British and subsequent defect still led to the continuous confiscation of their cattle. As a result of the defeat the conquered (matabele) lamented that

Our country is gone and our cattle,
we have nothing to live for.
Our women are deserting us, the
white man does as he likes with
them. We are the slaves of the

white men; we are nobody and have no rights or laws of any kind.

But unfortunately there was nobody man enough to redress the case. To couped labour from Africans, legal coercions was widely used. In Sierra Leone, a high and burdensome “huttax” was imposed. Its collection was harshly executed to the doctrine of the citizens who happen to be victims subjected to the huttax. In order to earn money to pay it, Africans had to sell their labour to white man where taxation failed to turn out an adequate supply of Africans labour, compulsory labour ordinaries, made it an obligation on persons of the labouring class to give labour for public purposes on being called out by their chiefs or other native authorities.

In 1895 such a ordinance was passed in the Gold coast to compel chiefs to furnish carriers for a military expectation against Ashanti. But where, as in sough Africa, the chiefs did not for whatever reason, provide

their allocated quotas of labour, native police were sent out to collect the labour.

In South Africa, in order to meet the insatiable demands of the mines, methods more fulfilling than compulsory labour ordinances were derived. The ground plant

Break up the tribal systems which gives solidarity and some political and economic strength to native life, set the Kaffir on an individual footing as an economic bargainer,, to which he is wholly unaccustomed, take him by taxation or other "stimulus" from his locality, put him down under circumstances where he has option but to labour at the mines.

Although some humanitarians thought that this plan would go far since it was seen as various and they demand against their sentimental qualities about destroying the tribal system of the Kaffir, lofty arguments were put forward. A magistrate declared;

The labour question and land question are indissolubly bound together. In my opinion it is of little use framing enactment to compel unwilling persons to government work, it is like the old saying about leading a horse to the water. You can take him there but you cannot make him drink.

In the same way, you may impose your labour tax, but you cannot make your unwilling person work. Create a healthy thirst in your horse and he will drink fast enough, similarly create the work and he will work and none better, Hitler. Under our commercial tenure system, there has been little absolute necessity for our young natives to leave their homes to work. The land supplied them with food, and a few shillings will buy a blanket and as soon as the young man marries, he is entitled to receive his lot of arable land, but once this is stopped, and it will be stopped by the surveyed individual tenure, a young man before he marries his wife will have to be in a position to support a wife and to obtain this, he must work. Once having married her, he must still work to maintain her and himself, and once the necessity of work is

created there will be no lack of men ready and willing to work.

Quickly reassured by such magisterial opinion, the humanitarian missionaries dismissed their qualms and went taking with the plan it must have seemed part of God's work to teach the "lazy nature the dignity to toil by creating in him a healthy thirst for doing the white men's work.

The British, of course were not alone in confiscating land and compelling labour, the Germans after winning hegemony over Tanganyika, built first in strategies places planted white sentiments suppressed revolts, exacted tares and conscripted African labour for some African chiefs, like Kinyasi of Usambara, rather than supply labour to German planters, abdicated their client chieftaincies. The ferocity of the planter require some drove all the people of southern Tangayika into a United rebellion. The Maji maji rebellion, that raged for years

before it was stamped out. But it was in French Equatorial Africa and in the Congo free state of the Belgians that the alienation of African labour was caused to Mazi style perfection. In the region of the Congo basin avaricious French and Belgian traders who claimed to have come to Africa to bring law and order and enlightenment to a supposedly dark and disorder or continent practiced systematic countries on the African population.

The noble purpose of it all was to extract rubber, cheaply and abundantly as feasible.

It was more like coming to Africans with the Bible to preach Christianity, and after which we were asked to close our eyes for prayers, and after the prayers, we had the bible, and they had lands and the natural resources.

In order words, colonialism is the main sources of Africans present underdevelopment and dependency.

2.3 Predominant Existence of Companies

This is where the pain and tears of Africa began as the colonial masters extracted the raw materials and natural resources from African lands; and they also located ethnic and regional boundaries in most part they touched, so as to enable them to properly steal our natural resources. While those colonial masters expelled the natives from their lands, they automatically, created colonial boundaries a\on most African lands they confiscated thereby establishing regional maps in most ethnic societies, establishing ethnic rivals and social inequalities which all teamed up in scanning way these Africans whose properties were seized.

Due to the unarranged boundaries scattered and littered by these colonial masters, a conference held in Berlin, Germany around 1885 was held were these European nations came together and made a treaty on their various regions operating in Africa, thereby using

pencils and paper to make demarcations and sketches of their boundaries and regions, of which these regions has not been seen by some of these Europeans in other to avoid one colonial power operating in another territory.

In the 19th century, when completing their quest in India, the British began and led the assault by the Industrial nationalism of Europe upon Africa, and upon these parts of Asia to the east and west of India which they called from their Eurocentric geography of the world, the Middle East and Far East.

In west Asia the principal industrial nationalist would remain Europe up until the end of the 19th century and the west victims would be Africa.

In post Napoleonic Europe and Bulgaria's Italians and German's following the lead to British and the French each towards national unity and made strides in industrialization. As each became a modern industrial nation, it made its own bid for an empire their initial plan

showed that that of one area available for their industrial nationalist expansion in Africa, Europe's southern neighbour felt prey to their link and was the most lucrative in terms of success. Thereby the third charter of the 19th century, the enlarged pack of Europe's imperial carnivals or compared sprang up in Africa. In 1885 at Berlin a guideline was drawn in the manner of scrambling for African by these Europeans and below are some European toeholds on the countries; Spain occupied the Canary Island and the Island of Fernando, Portugal held the island of 300 tone and principle, occupied parts of the coast of moranbique, and had settlements at Landa and Benquela on the coast of Angola, Italy held Assab on the Red sea coast of Ethiopia, Germany had trading post and settlement s on the coast of south west Africa.

Nigeria today has so many ethnic groups sounding it, but on a more historic note, since there is never a

case of ethnic crisis between two or more ethnic crisis between two or more ethnic groups, not until after the coming of the colonial masters, as a result of the haphazard creations of so many boundaries by the colonial masters, there rises the needs or the promotion of ethnic crisis in Nigeria, which reflected in the political and socio-economic systems of many African states, particularly in Rwanda and Burundi We shall make us of Rwanda and Burundi as our case study on the effects of colonial boundaries created in Africa.

Rwanda and Burundi were formally German colonies, but following the defeat of Germany on World War 1, they were now placed under the Belgain authority who occupied the colonies since 1916, following a league of nations, mandate in 1923. The constituents are the AUTU, the TWA and the TUTSIS, prior to the colonialist invasion the above mentioned groups leaved in peace and co-existence not until the colonialists under Africa which

also pulled a threat to Africa unity due to their ambush plan and use of sophisticated weapons and technology like union glass, shoes, boots etc.

Following the Berlin conference of 1884/ 1885, the coming up of continent did not take into view the separation of families or the splitting of ethnic groups interest in such carvings within each nation, state, ethnic groups are forced to merge with other ethnic groups to form a new nation and there were no dissemble long process of communication before such merger and the ideology behind the merger carefram the imperial nations.

Going back to our case study states of Rwanda and Burundi we discover that the three ethnic groups of HUTU, TWA and TUTSI lived together in harmony and they had economic roles which were relatively specialized. But following the porous colonial boundaries created by its colonial masters, the political systems of

the territory was re-organized and system of exploitation was made more explicit. The TUTSI given vantage posts and positions in the colonial administration and were used by the colonial masters to extract taxes and labour from the majority AUTU colonial scholars and administrator emphasized the radical difference between the two ethnic groups.

Looking at the allocation of positions and posts, the majority of TUTSI were judged intelligent and capable of governing, while the majority of AUTU's were said to be less intelligent and talented which represents a paradigms of the elites and masses. While the TWA people were presented as pigmies who spent time in search for fruits and animals.

Under the Belgian colonization, the military were mainly recruited from the TUTSI in Burundi due to their war like tendencies as immigrants of which they controlled their security services until after independence

and these added to the subjugation of the AUTU's since it is due to the military power vested on the TUTSI's they now use it to suppress any mass actions instituted by the AUTU's

In Rwanda, the colour difference and the different characters of individuals were obvious but never generated conflict until the invasion of the Europeans who started with their structural education which later was reverted to the HUTU. They brought two types of education which carried or conveyed different orientations and knowledge which also increased the rate of division by letting the two ethnic groups know that they are not ones. Consequently to the above situation, the Rwanda HUTU's became increasingly unhappy and therefore engaged in a heavy conflict between the ruling aristocracy and the HUTU's which were known to be dominated. This led to the War in 1959 which expelled many of these TUTSI people who were

dominating, which now led to the rise and fall of groups of people.

It therefore remains a fact that tribalism is ethnicity in Rwanda and Burundi were all creatures of the colonial command and authority.

Chapter Three: Foreign Aid and Underdevelopment

3.1 The Nature of African Economy

We all know that Africa falls under the category of third world nations which implies their backwardness in all ramifications of life.

The Africans economy is saddled with many set backs and faults but we shall look into the most pressing of all which has to do with the financial aspect since its funds that determines any economy or economic activity.

The foreign aid, as defined by Lambo (1987) is the transfers of real resources from developed countries to less developed countries. It has to do with a developed country developing an underdeveloped country to help curb poverty and backwardness.

Chinweizu was of the view that the concept and by the developed nations to the developing nations is first on institutional mechanism used by these donor countries

to expand and re-enforce their wanton exploitation of these countries in the name of aid and they send doves of spies and experts to advice our petite bourgeoisie into pro-imperialist policies.

This means that these developed countries used the word “aid” in quote as a technical weapon to monitor the economic, political etc Affairs of their prey (country to be developed) country.

These foreign aid comes mostly in monetary forms and technological assistance which they use in spicing and invading the countries privacy, we shall discuss more of this exhaustively as we look into its origin and we will pay attention on Nigeria as our case study.

Origin of Foreign Aid in Africa

At the era of the post war of the Second World War the first change was the emergence of less developed countries as increasingly activate actors in international relations. In the twenty years following the Second World

War, the 19th century expires disintegrated and much of Africa achieved political independence following a compromise between the United States and the Soviet Union in 1955, new states were regularly admitted to the United Nations. By the end of the second post war decade the United Nations had 122 members of which only 87 were developing nations, within the General Assembly and Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) the less developed countries began to form groups and make coordinated demands.

The major aids focus of the less developed countries was the special limited nations fund for economic development (SUNFED), although has opposed by the north especially the United States but was accepted by the southern group. Dissatisfied with the World Bank and with Bilateral aid programmes, they continued to press and maneuver for the adoption of the adoption of their proposed organizations. SUNFED never came into

being, the persistent efforts of the south helped to induce some changes. They led, first to the establishment in 1959 of the United Nations special funds (UNSF) to finance through grants in various pre-investment projects. The presence of SUNFED also influenced the World Bank system especially in the establishment of the international finance corporation (IFC) and the IDA.

While the southern group layed their interest in the United Nations, series of international conferences were been held by the developing countries first of which is held in April 1955 at Bandung about twenty nine (29) African and Asian countries met to discuss their common problems and issues, of which contained the recommendation for the establishment of a new financial aid institution and for the allocation by the world bank of a greater part of its resources to Africa and Asia.

In 1956, and 1957 US policy makes turned their attention for the first time to a serious consideration of

foreign assistance or aid to the developing countries. The result was the determination that economic assistance to the south could be a powerful tool in the cold war. This conclusion was based on several calculations.

By comparison, economic aid seemed a relatively painless solution; according to the economic analysis growth of the less developed countries was constrained primarily by insufficient savings and foreign exchange and external financial assistance since it was argued that it would fill this resource gap and thus make growth possible. Capital assistance together with technical assistance to improve the use of both domestic and external capital would enable the creation of conditions for self sustenance and economic growth.

The principal result of the new link between aid and northern foreign policy was the expansion of bilateral foreign aid programmes. In the United States the Development Loan Fund (DLF) was established in 1958

with an appropriation of \$300 million (three hundred million U.S Dollars). By 1961 the DLF was allocated \$600, million (six hundred million US Dolalrs), the United States was also active in presuming the other developed market economies to increase financial flows to the development countries. They supported the creation of a development assistance committed within the OECD (organization for economic cooperation and development) to concern itself with aid policies.

However, Foreign Aid amounts increased and aid been an institutionalized organization. But aid altered neither the distribution of wealth nor power.

Foreign Aid in Nigeria

The origin of foreign aid in Nigeria could be traced down to the 1950's when the British common wealth developmental corporation granted the first loan for public works. In the 1970s Nigerians policy towards western economic aid was regarded by the western Bank

and credit circles as conservatives. Nigeria stood second to the lowest among the middle income countries. These western powers complains of how borrowing from Nigeria. They were however of the opinion that Nigeria should borrow more to match her high absorptive capacity, very high rich base and tremendous growth potentials and improve her rating. Under the multilateral, the buck of aid to Nigeria was with the World Bank which normally grants loans. The broad areas of these loans were in Agriculture and urban development, agricultural development, the world bank projects example of these loans towards the execution of nine world bank projects, example of such loans include, \$142 million Kano agricultural loans, \$132 million Bauchi agricultural loans, \$ 147 million world bank loan to Sokoto state for food crop production and \$ 250 million for Nigeria importation of fertilizer for 1984 – 1985 crop years.

In this period it became imperative for the government to receive aid from the government to receive aid from the developed countries in order to attain developmental statuses.

During this time of buoyancy in the Nigerian economy was dwindling and foreign earning was going down the drain, prices of crude oil was fast depreciating and the Nigerian economy has tuned into a mono-economy abandoning agriculture for crude oil and not building the capacity of the manufacturing sector, it turned us into a raw- material export orientated country, here many development programs started depending on loans.

It is paramount to take note of various issue of money from the World Bank for the completion of the \$832.4 million fertilizer project in Nigeria. It was the collapse of the Nigerian economy and standard of our

currency purchasing power that even social amenities and infrastructures had to depend on aid also.

These can be seen in the World Bank reports, World Bank started giving loans and aid to non profit oriented social projects, they included \$67 million for the Anambra, \$ 150 million loan for Gongola state for the development of urban centers other states that benefited from similar loans include Imo, Bauchi, Ondo, Niger, Benue and Ogun.

According to the World Bank report, the aid is primarily to facilitate the various state governments and to enable them provide adequate facilities and public utilities for the improvement of the states. It was observed and stated that most of the bilateral aid that came to Nigeria within the 1960 – 70 came from the Britain and America.

However, under the bilateral arrangement we had two categories, is aid from foreign private financial

organization like banks to Nigeria. Example is the three loans between Nigeria, and Britain for the execution of three steel rolling mill projects. This shows us how the economies failure shifted to aid and because of the manipulation of the foreign powers who were not comfortable with the Nigerian policy on aid sought for ways to bring the country to their manipulation and control through aid, loan etc. Even though most of these aids were tied to one thing or the other, the issue of Aid and foreign capital has dragged Nigeria into the global capitalist system where it cannot compete favorably.

Nigeria became an IMF members in 1960 immediately after independent, between 1960 and 1965 Nigeria has visible deficits in her balance of payments account. She therefore had to borrow from international monetary funds.

By 1986, Nigeria had applied to borrow more money from the fund. The condition led to the farmous debate

on the IMF loan in Nigeria. IMF had had serious effects on the economy of Nigeria. In 1986, after Nigeria had rejected the IMF loan in a national debate, the Babangida regime introduced a structural adjustments programme (SAP) designed by the IMF and the World Bank, a programme which ravaged the economy with the consultation of the rich industrialized nations, especially the “Group of Ten” who control the fund and have more voting rights.

These funds seems ineffective to solve the monetary problems of Nigeria in terms of financing needs of World Trade.

In the SAP years, the economy experienced and unprecedented proliferation of banks. The dropping of the naira led to serious abuse of foreign exchange market by banks that applied mostly for their clients and later resell the currencies at exorbitant prices to parallel market operators, thereby contravening banking ethnics

and making millions after tax through this very fraudulent practice.

IMF is worsening the situation, by encouraging external borrowing and with it, Nigeria is currently in debt crisis. Nigeria presently has a debt over \$31 billion excluding the debt servicing charges and interest rates accruable to the debts. However, the 60% reduction of Nigeria's external debt stock recently, was not given on a platter of gold by the Paris club, it was accompanied with conditionality which is, that Nigeria would have to pay their arrears of \$6 billion.

Nigeria's economy should not be left at the mercy of the Bretton Woods institutions taking of IMF loan, or any other external loan for that matter at this point in time, has a lot of implications, because IMF and World Bank remain what they are "agents of capitalist exploitation."

3.2 Foreign Aid Conditionalities

The quest for foreign aid and the attendant conditionalities attached to them are deplorable. These external manipulations are carried by the western powers and mainly by IMF and World Bank through these institutions; the developing countries have been made to suffer retarded in national development and untold hardship in the economic systems.

The main idea of foreign trade and foreign investment could be seen in economic imperialism, which enables western organization or industries such as multinational corporations (MNCs), to still exploit the developing nations of the world, particularly on their economic system particularly through capital flight. Our major focus on this part of there search work, would be centered on particularly the activities of the Multi-national corporation, in the third World Countries, or rather developing nations.

Since our major focus here is centered on the “engines of growth” of the European nations, which are foreign trade and investment, which centers on the economic imperialism of African states, or rather third world nations, we can say that economic imperialism is the subordination or domination of one country or a group of countries by another for the main purpose of formal or informal control of domestic and economic resources for the benefit of the subordinating or dominating power, and at the expense of local people and their economy. The imperialist’s powers control foreign exchange and public and private savings, and agricultural, mineral transportation, communication, manufacturing and commercial facilities and other assets. In other words, imperialists powers control both the liquid and real economic resources of the underdeveloped countries.

In the further analysis, certain features of contemporary imperialism can be summarized thus:

The further concentration and centralization of capital and the integration of the world capitalist economy into the structures of the giant United State based multinational corporations, or integrated conglomerate monopolistic enterprises, and the acceleration of technological change under the auspices of these corporations.

The abandonment of the free international market, and the substitution of administered prices in commodity trade and investment, and the determination of project margin through adjustments in the internal accounting schemes of the multinational corporations. The active participation of the capital in the international investment subsidies and guarantees to private investment, and a global foreign policy which corresponds to the global interest and perspective of the multinational corporation. The consolidation of an international ruling class constituted on the basis of ownership and control of the multinational corporations, and the concomitant decline of national

rivalries initiated by the national power elites in the advanced capitalist's countries, and the internationalization of the world capital marketing by the World Bank and other agencies of the international ruling class. The intensification of all these tendencies arising from threat of World Socialism to the World Capital System.

This is to insinuate that the multinationals do not contribute to wards the development of the underdeveloped, but that their malpractices wipe away any contributions that they can make. The United Nations has been concerned about the role of the multinationals in the development of the underdeveloped countries. In its reports, the commission on transactional corporations stressed the importance of fundamental recommendations on "non-interference in the internal affairs of the states and the necessity for adopting strict sanctions against encroachment upon the national

sovereignty of legitimate governments. The following year it was the view of the delegation that;

Transnational corporation/because of their enormous economic power, has also been able to wield political power and indeed had on occasion, interfered in the internal affairs of sovereign host countries, and that such actions were a denial of national sovereignty and independence in the host countries, and affected negatively the control of developing countries over their national resources and economic developmental corporation in supporting colonialist, racist and apartheid policies of certain countries, constituted a threat to peace, security and détente, which the transnational, corporation obstructed the full exercise of trade union rights.

As at the late 90's many delegations reported condemned corrupt practices of most foreign investments, and called for immediate action end to such practices. The group of 77 submitted a note which they

spelt out areas of regarding the operators and activities of transnational corporation.

1. The transnational corporations or multinationals, demands preferential treatment in relation to national enterprises.
2. The refusal by the multinational to adjust to the legislation of the host countries is the matters interalia of foreign investment and policies concerning credits exchange, fiscal matters, prices and commercial matters, industrial property and labour policies.
3. The non-positives attitude of the multi-materials to renegotiate original concession if such existed and if this should be considered necessary by the government of the host country.
4. Their refusal to accept exclusive jurisdiction of domestic law eases of litigations

5. Direct and indirect involvement in the domestic affairs of host countries by the multinationals.
6. Obstruction by multinationals of the efforts of the host country to assume its rightful responsibility and exercise control over the development and management of its resources, in contravention of the accepted principle of permanent sovereignty of countries over their natural resources.
7. Lack of respect of the socio-cultural identity of host countries.
8. Superimpositions of imported technology without any adoption of local conditions, creating various types of distortions.
9. The practice of multinationals to contribute in the maintenance of racist and colonialist policies and support of policies of apartheid and foreign occupation.

In Nigeria today, multinationals do not contribute to the domestic affairs of the states where they operate, and

also they fail to realize that Nigeria has the inalienable right to exercise its sovereignty over its natural resources and it has a sacrosanct right to ownership and effective control of those resources. It is particularly in this issue that lead to the recounting crisis in the Niger Delta part of Nigeria, which is braining about brain drain in the region, this includes constant hostage taking or rather kidnapping of most of these multinational's staff, and requesting of huge ransom for their release.

3.3 Prevalence of Mismanagement and Application for Fund in Africa

Since independence in Nigeria, the problem of management has partially contributed to the root of our under development today. It was as a result of the inability of our early political leaders to property mange our economic resources, without taking brute force to maintain themselves in their political offices that led to

initiatory intervention. In Nigeria Politics, even while the military was dominating the political system, Nigeria witnessed series of countercoup, as result of the inability of one government to face a problem, and solve the problem, this lead to frequent irrelevant changes in the political system, and as a result of this, there were so many policy failures, which results from the changes in government public offices in Nigeria have suffered from severe set back due to the political instability and interference in the management of such enterprises. A major contributing factor to the problem of management of public offices is the existence of many tribes and ethnic conflicts in the society, this promoted bias in many public offices, particularly from the people who work under offices that do not contribute toward to the growth or development of his or her ethic background.

Other contributions of mismanagement is public offices, is the self-interest stigma since most leaders of

the Nigeria political system, mostly care about their selfish interest, and due to this fact, the masses suffer as result of one leaders selfish interest, end embezzlement of public finds.

In contemporary Nigeria, the acquisition of public offices no longer follows the normal procedure of qualification rather personal affiliations has dominated the entire scene as Nigerians new work based on commotions or personal relationship rather then basic qualification and this promotes mismanagement in Africa and Nigeria, since most of these public office occupants are not qualified by act or intellect.

Chapter Four: Strategies for Curbing Dependency and Underdevelopment

At the beginning of this Research work we first observed the meaning and historical background of dependency and underdevelopment in Africa with particular reference to original.

Dependency is the mother of underdevelopment because when a country allows its economy to be determined by another, then the chances of development of the former will be jeopardized by the latter, since it only follows and adheres to the reforms and policies of the independent country without considering whether those policies are really working for them or not.

A good example of the above is Africa with particular reference to Nigeria, since we are dependent on foreign elements for survival in all reunifications, which makes Nigeria unable to stand on its own and develop rather

we wallow in Dependency and remains underdeveloped and this brings or breads the multinational corporations (MNCS) who come in disguise to help develop us but rather re-enslave us or put us in the imperialism stage which is regarded by a political scientist in person of Dr. Dilichukwu Anselm Omemma “as the worst form of Colonialism” in his book the fundamentals of African Politics. We shall look at those strategies of curbing Dependency and underdevelopment is due course.

4.1 The Strategy of Indigenization and Nationalization

Indigenization has to do with the presence of home made or indigenous products and science which is made available for public utility.

This indigenization is what is missing in Africa and in Nigeria in Particular since the who atmosphere has been dominated by foreign based elements. Since the post colonial ear, Africa and Nigeria in particular has

remained with the stigma of colonization which has left a scare of dependency since she cannot accept that something good can still be made out of its geography.

For instance Africa is regarded as a third world, not because that she was the third continent to be known or existed but, it is due to her detemorating and back ward nature which made them to be tagged as a third word nation, since it is saddled with the problem of Dependency which head to its present underdevelopment.

In Nigeria in particular we will come to discover that all the investments and other economic domains oven her political ideology is not home made indigenous because it is all the manifestations of foreign influence. We shall take a clear investigation into some key factors and see how they have been dominated by foreign influence which led to the Dependency and underdevelopment of Nigeria.

Firstly lets look at the economic aspect before the discovery of crude oil in the mid 1940's Nigeria is known for its high performance in agriculture, as it was the only source of the countries income and foreign exchange earning, but as crude oil was now discovered, it overshadowed the agricultural aspect and took over as the one and only major source of the countries income, thereby making the country to have a mono economic base, as if that was not enough Nigeria today has three refineries in Port Harcourt, Kaduna, and Warri respectively and yet non of them is in good working condition and a heavy amount of money is being paid as a Turn Around Maintenance (TAM) fee to maintain them and still Nigerian exports crude oil to foreign based oil companies for refining of which when refined it is brought back and sold at a higher price which atimes is unbearable to the masses that cannot afford the price, since it is a necessary commodity, and yet Nigeria has

three refineries which a heavily amount is spend on yearly to maintain, and it is paramount to note that the company refining it is a foreign based company and some of them send their infant oil companies to come to Nigeria as a development strategy for Nigeria, but in the real sense it rather increases the problem since it does not only put Nigeria in an imperialist condition, it also dampens the hopes of the indigenous companies from competition and even existence, as the former is seen as more superior and productive than the later.

A good example is the Total, Mobil, Shell Petroleum Development Corporation, Chevron and the host of other multinationals that are yet to be mentioned.

The suggested strategy including the above condition is for the federal government to assist ad encourage indigenous and nationalization through reducing the number of multinationals trooping in the country and adequate fund and atmospheric conditions

should be made available for these indigenous companies and also the bureaucratic bottlenecks associated with acquisition and processing of crude oil should be reduced in order not to secure these potential merchants.

Lets also look at the telecommunication sector where we have MTN as a leading telecommunication company before the advent of globalization which is Nigeria's first and only indigenous telecommunication company, we observe that Nigerians up till date patronize the MTN network than the GLO network and this is still part and parcel of the Dependency and underdevelopment we are talking about since indigenization has been jettisoned for foreign based influence.

My recommendations is that provisions should be made to regulate the call rates in order to check the excesses of these networks especially the foreign based

ones, since theirs has the highest tariff plan which inflicts a silent killer stigma on Nigerians.

Secondly, we take a look at the political system, African and Nigeria in particular practiced the monarchical system of government before the advent of the foreigners who colonized us.

We should note with keen interest that their motives when they arrived was different from what they displayed since they claimed to have come to developed us but rather underdeveloped us.

Looking at the political scene, the pre-colonial era seemed to have worked better than the post colonial political order since the former is a home made product while the latter is a foreign based influence and Nigeria with out accessing the gains and pains associated with the foreign political doctrine went ahead to practice it up till this our contemporary time fully knowing that it is rather causing more harm than good.

In conclusion, I recommend that a retreat or seminar should be held that will give room for the masses to contribute whether it should be taken back to the pre-colonial polities or left it the way it is, and what ever their resolutions are it should be forwarded to the national assembly for due constitutional process before it is finally implemented by the executives and interpreted by the judiciary.

4.2 The Strategy of War Against Corruption

The war here does not represent or mean the fighting for a cause with the use of canons and ammunitions, rather it represents the use of relevant tools for relevant agencies in order to contain or check its excesses.

Starting from the Nigeria a political we see how we have the three areas of government with delegated function far different from each other with one goal of

good leadership dispensation. Below are these arms of governments;

- **The Executive:** Which comprises of the cabinet members which is headed by the president and subordinated by ministers, and their duty is to implement the laws made by the legislatures and they also act as a watch dog or tool used in checking the excesses of other arms of government.
- **The Legislature:** These is a composition of the law makers who makes the rules and regulations that guide the country in order for it to achieve its course for existence.

In Nigeria, we have two chambers which are the house of senate also known as the upper house headed by the president of the senate who is member of the senate, and the house of representatives also known as the lower house

which is headed by the right honourable speaker of the house who is also a member of the house.

They make, remove and edit laws based on the need for any desired of above actions and they also act as a watch dog or tool on other arms of government in order to monitor the excesses in running the affairs of the government.

- **The Judiciary:** This is the judicial arm of the country which also takes part in law making since they interpret the laws made through its court proceedings, it comprises of reputable lawyers and barristers and headed by a judge or chief justice in the case of a Supreme or Apex Court.

It is paramount for us to understand the three arms of government and their various purposes they serve, as they all act as a watch dog over other arms of government.

Apart from the arms of government there are other agencies or ways of fighting against corruption or economic indiscipline just like some agencies already present in Nigeria, apart from the armed forces and police we have the two main corruption or economic sabotage fighters namely; the economic and financial crimes commissions and the independent and corruption practices and other related crimes commission, of which was merged recently by the federal government since both serve same purpose.

These agencies are antigraft bodies established by the government in order to check the excesses of public office holders irrespective of the position or status or persons involved.

For instance we can see where they displayed their processes, when they go in search of public office holders who has been sensed to have mismanaged their offices in one way or the other names will not be mentioned for

security reasons, but in due course we shall find appropriate examples to back our assertions.

These anti-graft agencies work through their logistic crafts or agents in order to track down those who dwell in corruption economic sabotage and mismanagement and misappropriation, they conduct an investigation of which when found wanting in a particular area, they can now press their charges and get the victim arrested and subjected to their punishment.

Going down memory lane we shall have in our chapter three of this research work on the third column we see the menace facing the Nigerian public offices of the prevalence mismanagement and misappropriation of funds, but with these anti graft agencies, the above menace will be curtailed to the lowest minimum in order to provide the democratic dividends promised the masses or the public by these public office holders before taking their various oaths of offices.

In summary fighting against corruption or economic indiscipline should not be left in the hands of these anti-graft agencies, rather it should be a collective responsibility in order to fish out those spoilt eggs from contaminating the entire system, that is why the saying goes “that two heads are better than one”. This assertion can be justifiable by the level of corporation employed by relevant stakeholders.

4.3 The Strategy of Neoliberal Reforms

Neoliberalism is a political philosophy whose advocates support economic liberalization, free trade and open markets privatization, deregulation and decreasing the size of the public sector while increasing the role of the private sector in the modern society.

The term was introduced in the late 1930s by the European liberal scholars to promote a new form of economic, political and societal liberalism.

The lessons gained from the historical experiences of both faded economic liberalism in the early 1930's and the inhuman totalitarianism and fascism of National socialism and in addition the preoccupation with the social question since the late 19th century led to the discussion and eventual development of a new liberalization or neo-liberalism as a so-called third or middle way between the extreme of unbridled capitalism and collectivist central planning.

In the decades that followed neo-liberal theory tended to be at variance with the more laissez-faire doctrine of classical liberalism and promoted instead a market economy under the guidance and rules of a strong state a model which came to be known as the social market economy. In the sixties, usage of the term neo-liberal heavily declined when the term was reintroduced in the following decades, the meaning had shifted.

The term neo-liberal is now normally associated with laissez economic policies, and is used mainly by those who are critical of legislative market reform.

In a nut shell neo-liberalism has to do with the freedom of an economic atmosphere ranging from privatization, indignation, deregulation etc.

In Nigeria for instance the government in order to curb this underdevelopment problem which is a product of dependency firstly it ha to do the following:

1. Encourage privatization since it has to do with the entrance into the states economy by non governmental participants, this would go along way in helping Nigerians condition since it is like an idea collection, because if privatization is created different people with different market orientation and ideas will come in and their ideas will really go along way in helping in the Nigerian market.

2. Deregulation policy is also a strategy of neoliberalism since it encourages the removal of government all powers on certain economic practices and allows non-governmental bodies to take change of the market, and foster sustainable economic and most importantly competition.

A case study is the deregulation of the oil dean stream sector, which has not just given individuals the economic power to participate in their state, it also provides jobs for the teaming population of both graduates and non-graduates into the labour.

3. Import substitution is also a nice strategy since the government here removes or reduce the level of importation and increases exportation, which will not only give it the ego of exporting its indigenous products, it will also account for its foreign exchange and reserve and increase its gross domestic product to an international standard.

And one paramount feature or advantage of this import substitution is that it creates a room for indigenization and it now strengthens the weaker indigenous business to buckle up since the main shunning block of multinational has been reduced if not removed.

In a nutshell the neoliberal reforms will do a great job in curbing the level of Dependency which is the main source of underdevelopment in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular.

Chapter Five: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Summary

The nature of Nigeria and Africa's dependency and underdevelopment could be traced to the colonial era, when Africans were made to believe that the Europeans came for civilization into Africa, most African societies accepted this in open arms, while others that understood what unfolded plan as well as about, fought against, and they finally were subdued by these unfolded, it started with the stealing and exportation of human and material resources for the development of western nations, the human resources that was stolen resulted to slave trade which lasted for over four hundred years. Now this was more than enough time for the European nations to properly utilize the human and material resources gotten from Africa, and also enabled the extreme exploitations in

Africans. It was at the peak of the slavery era, that they realized that they should create market for their surplus manufacture goods that the era of slavery stopped, and colonialism now came into play.

Even the colonialism itself played a major role in the underdevelopment of African and Nigeria, because often the slavery era the colonial masters also continued stealing our natural resources, and they used this era to play for long profitable stay in Africa, and development of the European nations, at the detriments of Africa, the colonial era enabled some sort of development in Africa, like the building of rail ways, roads, hospitals, the utilization of modern facilities like guns, mirror etc but it is important for us to understand that this social services rendered, was to enable the easy and proper exploitations of Africans,, the rail roads built by these colonial masters all had routes to the seaports, so as to enable easy

transportation of goods and natural resources to the seaports, where it will be exported to their nations.

Colonialism thereby became a strategy adopted by the colonial masters, to promote their industries, and find market where their industrial goods will be sold. This now led to foreign trade and investment and the use of multinational corporations to promote economic imperialism in Africa and Nigeria, with this economic imperialism, Nigeria's economy was going down the drain and in flying to save itself from death foreign and came in disguise, issuing of loans by European industrialized nations to African states, so as to enable them have rather a more poor economic system as we currently experience such in Nigeria.

5.2 Conclusion

Nigeria today, falls under the third world nation, which is synonymous to the poorest counties of the

world, irrespective of the fact that she is the sixth largest oil producing nations of the world. From the answers we got in this research, it is noted that the background to Nigeria and Africa's dependency could be traced to the coming of the white men into Africa with the aim of evangelizing and civilizing, this lead to the slave trade and colonialism, neocolonialism, imperialism etc. Apart from these attributes, our early political leaders also contributed to this problem, by depending on the western world for economic assistance while most leaders just assume into leadership, without considering their qualifications, there by promoting mismanagement of economic and material resources, of which most of these leaders only care about their personal interest, even if it is to the detriment of the masses.

5.3 Recommendations

Having looked into the concept of dependency and underdevelopment in Africa, and its effect in Nigeria as a nation, it is observed that apart from the role colonialism played in the history of dependency and underdevelopment of Nigeria, the major characteristics of the dependent nature of Nigeria, centers around foreign aid, transnational corporations, and the inability to generate good policies that would be at equal standard when nit is compared to the Nigerian socio-economic and political systems comparadonism and puppet leadership. Etc.

Thus, it is recommended that the African continent and Nigeria in particulars, should break out from this oldest to create order, colonialists and neocolonialist systems and learn to be self reliant, when it comes to production of goods and services, and policy generation in particular that concerns the socio-economic and

political system and decrease from imported policies that favours only the western nations and unfavourable to the Nigerian socio-economic and political systems.

In other words, it is my suggestion that there should be a thorough transformation on the socio-economic and political structure of Nigeria that will enable the generation of useful potentials in Nigeria and Africa at large.

They should also operate in a manner that will enable the indigenes to participate fully and meaningfully at all levels of decision making policies.

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