

CHAPTER 10 NEO-COLONIALISM AND ECONOMIC UNDERDEVELOPMENT

Objectives

After studying this chapter, students should be able to:

- define the concepts of neo-colonialism and under development;
- identify the features of underdevelopment;
- show the effects of underdevelopment on the African economy;
- explain the trend of unequal development among African states and factors responsible for it;
- analyse the effects of unequal development among African states.

Colonialism led to imperialism. Major European powers who colonised Africa took over the African political machineries and established in its stead a new political and governmental system which enabled them to exploit the mineral resources which were their major target. While this lasted, they exploited the economic stronghold of the colonies. On the attainment of independence by the erstwhile colonies, the colonial overlords put up economic systems that subordinated the new but weakened the states under their control and so kept them underdeveloped.

10.1 Definition of Neo-Colonialism and Underdevelopment

When the foreign powers ended colonial rule in Africa, they still sustained their economic interests in their satellite states. Through the colonial system, the economies of these states were tied to those of colonial powers, thereby making them dependant. By this arrangement, they ensure that whatever happens to the economy of the central states reflects on the economy of these satellite states which are largely exploited and dominated by foreign interests.

By way of definition therefore, neo-colonialism is a continued and sustained technological and economic dominance by foreign powers and economies, without applying direct political control on the dependent states or economies. These supra-economies or advanced states continually export their capital and technology to the dependent or satellite states to enable them take firm grip of their economic base. In other words, to further deepen their zeal for capitalist accumulation, the advanced and exploitative states use their developed technology, resources and capital to influence the direction and growth of the economy of the dependent or satellite states without directly coercing or use of force.

The neo-colonial powers achieved this through the assistance of the multi-national corporations (MNCs), the International Monetary Funds (IMF), the World Bank and through some

allied peripheral or neo-colonial states. They also achieved neo-colonial posture through foreign grants, loans, foreign aids, economic assistance, trade agreements (bi-lateral or multilateral) and by military or defence pacts. Through these, they tactically tie the peripheral states into the global capitalist market or economy in which they hold sway. France for example control the telecommunication, market and banking network of most of its francophone satellite states in Africa. In the same vein, Nigerian oil sector has been technically and technologically dominated and monopolised by British and American oil firms, namely; Shell, B.P. Texaco, Total, Elf, Mobil, Chevron and other servicing companies.

In order to sustain the tempo, they avoid human capacity development of the indigenous staff, rather preferring to import technical and foreign experts from their operational base. They supply spare parts of valuable machineries from their oversea base and by so doing derail technological and industrial take off of the satellite states. Consequently, the few indigenous technologists and scientists are drafted abroad where they could technically be used meaningfully. This obviously has led to the problem of brain drain experienced in most of the African states and which has remained the bane of Africa socio-economic and political under development.

Underdevelopment as applied to the socio-economic experiences of the neo-colonised or satellite states in Africa is basically rooted in the imperialistic interest and the neo-colonialists behaviour of the central or advanced states. The concept of underdevelopment reiterates the idea that the world is divided into rich states and poor states; developed (advanced) states and underdeveloped (developing, third world) states. Most of these underdeveloped states can be seen in the South-South States of Asia, Latin America and Africa. They live in penury, poverty and squalid condition with bleak future. The gap between them and the advanced states keep on widening.

In a way, underdevelopment is a man-made situation and an historical product which shows the yawning gap which exists between one state of development and the other. It is not the absence of features of land capacity to develop. Scholars of history define underdevelopment as a relative condition in which a state lacks the capacity to organise, control and mobilise its socio-economic structures for a sustainable economic growth and development needed for effective physical, mental, materials and technological attainment, without depending on external aid or situation. Daniel Offiong has defined underdevelopment as ‘a condition of economic and technological backwardness which, together, constrains the evolution of stable and enduring political system and dynamic external relations’.

Underdeveloped states exist because there are developed states. The European exploitation and economic escapades encouraged their colonial and imperial quests and instigated the process of capital accumulation by the metropolises (advanced states) as against the peripheral states. While the government of the metropolises encouraged their citizens to acquire self – sufficiency and economic freedom, they discouraged the spirit of enterprise among the local bourgeoisie who they oppressed, repressed and forced out of business. They promoted unskilled labour so as to prey continually on the robust economic base of the colonised states. Having weakened them, made them whollistically

dependent and fastened their economy to those of the metropolis, the satellites states stagnate helplessly. They therefore remain poor and unable to advance and develop.

10.2 The Nature and Features of Underdevelopment

Even though the imperialists ceded political freedom to African peripheral states, they withheld its attendant or accompanying economic autonomy. They staged manage the economic system of the peripheral states. This is neo-colonialism, a factor responsible for Africa's underdevelopment. Russians Vladimir Lenin exposed three basic laws of capitalism; the operating instrument of the core states (imperialist states). These are:

- (a) the general law of capitalist accumulation;
- (b) the law of competition and anarchy of production; and
- (c) the law of surplus value.

Using these capitalist laws, imperialist adopt five distinguished qualities to be able to subjugate the peripheral states. The features are:

- (a) the concentration of production and capital and monopolies;
- (b) vertical integration of bank capital with industrial capital and based on this, the creation of finance capital controlled by a financial oligarchy;
- (c) greater export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities;
- (d) formation of international monopolist capitalist associations which shared the world among themselves; and
- (e) the territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers.

Armed with these attributes, the core states visibly suppress the development of the neo-colonial states forcing them to be economically docile, perpetually dependent and lost in a competitive world.

Even with huge human and material resources, the economies of the satellite states swindle or at best crawl. They stagnate at certain stages of development and are unable to bail out themselves without recourse to the core states. Marxist and communist scholars have highlighted certain common features of underdevelopment which include:

1. ***The Predominance of Multi-national Corporations:*** (multi-national corporations – MNCs) and their anti-development activities in the domain of the peripheral states. The MNCs lend out themselves as agent of imperialism and underdevelopment in the periphery. They do this by:
 - (a) Refusal to transfer their technology to the indigenes of their host states, preferring to employ and train a good number of the indigenes to meet their needs. They do not adequately expose these personnels to the secrets of the operating technology, where they do, it is usually with obsolete technology.

- (b) They pollute the environment of the host states through industrial sewage, spillage, toxic waste and gaseous effect. They are connected with oil spillage which pollutes the air, arable lands, crops and streams; gas flaring and activities connected with depletion of ozone layer and green house effect.
 - (c) The foreign personnel of these firms repatriate their salaries and profits. Their salaries are often paid into their foreign accounts in hard currency.
 - (d) They hardly invest to develop their host countries. Rather they drain the available scarce resources back home. They shy away from making any meaningful contributions in education, skills acquisition and vocational training, medicare and road development of the host states. This is why they are called 'Agent of capital flight'
 - (e) They are in the habit of over-invoicing imported capital goods while at the same time under-invoicing exported raw materials and by so doing help their mother countries or core states to make stupendous profit.
 - (f) In order to sustain their control, they often intervene in the politics of the periphery. The core states use them to manipulate the economy and politics of the host states. They are readily used to achieve economic sanctions and technical assistance. Through the ITT, El Salvador was overthrown. In Nigeria, Gen. Murtala Mohammed was ousted in 1976 through the connivance of some multi-national oil firms. This has extended to Libya, Iraq, Panama, Cuba, Nicaragua, Afghanistan and Iran.
 - (g) The multi-national firms hardly disclose or declare their profits. When they do, the profits are under – declared. This they do to avoid being correctly assessed for proper taxation. Most of their activities are shrouded in secrecy and mind boggling bureaucracy.
 - (h) Due to their superior capital, technology and marketing strategies, they lure the local populace into developing unusual taste for foreign goods. By this, they kill local initiatives, entrepreneurship and innovations. They persuade people through catchy advertorials to prefer their products to locally made ones.
They avoid risk taking but engage in neckdeep capitalisation of surplus value. That is, they vigorously engage in profiteering.
2. ***The Operation of Action Systems:*** Satellite states following their links with the neo-colonial powers abolished their pre-colonial and pre-capitalist economies only to hook on to the new socio-economic and political order established for them by the colonial masters. This only achieve disarticulation and disorientation of their economic base. They engage in unequal production and exchange relations with the capitalist core states, relied of the capitalists few exports which forecloses indigenous industrialisation and which makes them dependent on the capitalist economy highly skewed to their benefits.
 3. ***Depending on Foreign Aids:*** The core states hide under the gesture of foreign aid to manipulate the economy and polity of the neo-colonial states. These states owing to their poverty show avid need for external economic, financial assistance in the form of aid and

grants and technical assistance. These donor countries use these to deepen their control and exploitation of the resources of the recipient states. It is therefore a business and not moral gesture. The foreign aid takes varied forms. These include project aid, programme aid, food aid, emergency aid, financial aid and technical aid which are meant to lure the satellite states into deepen dependency and subserviency.

4. ***Operating Life at a Rural Capacity:*** Life in the periphery is at its ebb devoid of the sophistications of modern life. Basically, people in these states struggle for esteem, belongingness and love, safety and psychological needs.
5. ***Mass Illiteracy:*** A high percentage of the masses lack basic and qualitative education. This is because, educational institutions, personnels, resources and facilities are in short supply. As a result, many wallow in ignorance.
6. ***General or Mass Poverty:*** Owing to the lack of industrial base and capital flight, their economies appear weak and fragile. There are mass unemployment, under employment, underpayment and under-utilisation of human and material resources to create wealth. The few entrepreneurs are less supported and thrive under harsh conditions including facing stiff competition with the multi-national corporations. This generally engender in the people hopelessness, frustration, materials and psychological poverty coupled with inferiority complex.
7. ***Socio-cultural Constraints:*** There are usually parallel values, ethics and life style. There are conflicts between the ancient and the modern orders, traditional values and contemporary norms, polyglot problems leading to the adoption of the language of the core state as Lingua Franca. Mutual suspicious among subsisting ethnic nationalities.
8. ***Lack of Basic Infrastructural Facilities:*** These tends to hinder inter and intra group and ethnic communication. The near absence of these facilities makes life difficult, harsh and unbearable.
9. Alien approach to development issues.
10. The existence of tribalism, ethnicism or racialism.
11. Erratic or epileptic power supply.
12. Presence of unimaginable corruption owing to poverty.
13. ***Faulty National Development Plans:*** Development plans or models appear elitist, western and alien. They follow top-bottom structure and planner executor beneficiary dissonance.
14. ***Mixture of Ideological Practices:*** In the same state, it is not uncommon to observe ideological ambivalence such as occidentalism versus orientalism, capitalism versus communism, Christianity versus Islamic and African traditional religion, westerism versus Afrocentricism.
15. ***Government Dominance of Instrument of Mass Communication:*** The government to a large extent owns electronic media and notable print media.

16. There exist in good dose of coercive laws, dictatorships, medial censorship and instability of government institutions. The states are fraught with mal-administration, militarism, abandoned projects, high handedness, corruption and social vices.
17. ***Practice of Subsistence Economy:*** The economy is largely reliant on subsistence agriculture, monocultural economy, petty trading, casual labour, local artisanship, poor feeding and low income per capita.
18. ***Performance of Hard Labour for Living:*** Modern technology appears elusive. Traditional techniques and technology are generally applied to solving life's problems and need such as soil tilling, palm wine tapping, sewing, bricklaying, etc.
19. ***High Rate of Infant and Maternal Mortality:*** Owing to obvious and prevalent degradation to the environment, developing states record high cases of epidemics, absence of personal hygiene, presence of slum and squalor, poor health condition and filthy environment.
20. ***Poor Personality Development:*** Satellite states lack self-confidence and sustained initiatives. They are usually dependent and manifest traits of inferiority complex being predominantly uneducated, unexposed and ill-informed.

Fundamentally, neo-colonial states display certain basic characteristics of underdevelopment which include short life expectancy; high birth rate, high rate of infant and maternal mortality, malnutrition, meagre capital supply and unemployment; illiteracy, low status of woman (practice of male gender preference), dominance of the agricultural sector which is largely unmechanised; rudimentary middle class; acute poverty; and political authoritarianism.

Claude Ake made a classification of these characteristics into two, namely: income determining characteristics and income-determined characteristics. Under income-determining characteristics are lack of entrepreneurship, credit systems, savings, technical knowledge, employment opportunities and low volume of trade per capita. On the other hand, income-determined characteristics include poor housing, high indebtedness relative to assets and income, major proportion of expenditures on food and basic necessities, malnutrition, rudimentary hygiene and sanitation.

10.3 Effects of Underdevelopment on African Economy

There is no gain saying the fact that the underdevelopment of African states through colonial and neo-colonial structures affected their economic development. While the colonial experience which lasted for over 70years across Africa confiscated and destroyed the African political set-ups, the neo-colonial wave of the post independence hoodwinked any possible economic survival independence and expansion of the neo-colonial states. The underdevelopment of Africa has created crisis in the continents. It has made it impossible for the peripheral states to maximise their resources for life enhancement. Because of apparent inability to tap their own very resources due to lack of skills, technology and funds, the economy of Africa has been submerged by the tokenism or technical aid of

the core states. Indigenes of the continent have been made agents of foreign development or exploiters rather than precursors and determiners of their own economic agenda.

The effects of underdevelopment on African economy span through vital areas critical to the development of neo-colonial or peripheral states. The effects have unarguably led to the backwardness of African states. An underdeveloped economy lacking in the provision of basic amenities and technological skills could hardly leap into or attempt developmental strides. As a result of underdevelopment, African states show signs of backwardness in education attainments. Education as the hallmark of human development is yet to be properly harnessed in Africa. There are noticeable flaws in the educational curricular and activities for the Africans. The African needs, environment and situation tend not to be considered and captured in the educational curricular taught in our schools. Foreign ideas, techniques and formula which often do not match the African solutions are presented.

On the other hand, the foreign curricular operated in our school systems are left in the hands of ill-equipped and haphazardly trained local teachers. The schools lack resource facilities, learning aids and good financial backing. Teachers are hardly motivated to encourage research initiatives and innovations. Text materials are scarce, teachers salaries are not encouraging and not paid regularly, and students are not properly streamlined, professionally tracked and reinforced. They are generally prepared for “White collar jobs” and certificated for plum positions and social reckoning. The curriculum is not regularly updated and revised to meet with modern trends and scientific demands. Government pays lip service and abandons educational responsibilities to parents who are largely peasant. Education remains largely underfunded as no African government reaches the UNESCO benchmark of 26% of annual budget for education. This has translated into the collapse of the sector and continual ‘fallen standard’ of education in the continent. Without good and quality education, every effort to economic development remains a mirage.

African states are also backward in science and technology. As a result of poor educational background and government’s inability to fund research and science – oriented programmes, the sector remains underdeveloped. Technological breakthroughs are hardly encouraged and supported by governments and multinational organisations leading to brain drains of its gifted talents to the core states with conducive techno-scientific environment. In Nigeria, for instance, Philip Emeagwali (a computer wiz kid), Damian Anyawu (automobile engineer) among others have found their way to the developed world where their technological innovations are encouraged for productivity. Without Science and technology, the desire to develop and industrialise would be like chasing the wild goose.

Akin to this, is the death of industrialisation. Africa and the Latin America are the most backward satellite economies owing to the absence of industries mostly heavy industries. The core states appropriate to themselves the patency and technology of heavy industries such as aeronautics, ship craft, space craft, automobile, telecommunications, electronics, agro-engineering, etc. Multi-national companies seem to hijack social services and technologies of light industries relegating satellite economies to mere producers and exporters to agro-allied products and raw materials. The few light industries operating in the periphery are mere arms of their foreign headquarters or are

dependent on the industrial outfits of the core states abroad. This industrial constraints impinges heavily on the development of the periphery. Location and localisation of industries are at the root of fast economic development which are lacking in Africa.

The underdevelopment of the periphery informed the backwardness of African political system and institution. It is a truism that the political super structure affects the economy. The African neo-colonial states under the apron string of their erstwhile colonial overlords remained tied to the political experiments of the core states. Both the Francophone and the Anglophone satellite states copied the parliamentary, partisan and capitalist outlook of their political institutions. The indigenous political leaders lend themselves to the dictates of the core states. The political and economic policies were formulated to agree with the military and socio-political pacts entered with their overlords. Working through these leaders, the core states were able to influence the devaluation of the currencies of the periphery, encourage the borrowing of the IMF loans and loans from the Paris and London clubs. African leaders were encouraged as well to loot the state treasuries and starch them away into foreign banks which inturn they give out as loans to African states. By smart manipulations of African leaders, they create crises, instability and economic recession using these avenues to market their wares, ideas and fasten the grip on African politics and economy. The underdevelopment of an African democracy backlashes any possible economic development.

The peripheral states have remained backward through unequal market economy and opportunities. Having reduced the satellite economy to a raw material producing market, the core states by this strategy hang their fate on a balance. The doctrine of comparative advantage has been used to streamline the economy of the periphery. Most neo-colonial African states run monocultural economy for which the core states place their price tag. They own the industrial capacity and therefore determine both the quality, quantity and price mechanisms. Values of commodities are fixed using foreign currencies after ensuring the devaluation of the satellite currencies. This brings about unequal exchange resulting in resource and capital flight. Trade relations with the core states leave African states poorer which militates against any foreseeable economic growth and expansion. The aftermath of a mono-cultural or single crop economy and agrarian posture is that it does not create room for diversification of the economy and of multi-professional skills. This is a play to stagnate our burgeoning economy and frustrate possible African industrial revolution as was the case of the Asia tigers, Japan and the Union of the Soviet Social Republic (USSR) with the 1917 Russian Revolution led by Stalin.

Africa's huge indebtedness was as a result of the economic underdevelopment. In Nigeria's first national development plan (1962 – 1968), >N1,351.4 million naira was earmarked for capital expenditure. Of this, 50% was expected from external sources in form of aids and loans. Other national developmental plans that followed were financed through foreign aid and loans which were meant to be repaid under a given period of time and stringent financial conditions. Most of these projects were abandoned and the funds starched away into private bank accounts. The crises that followed the huge indebtedness confined these states into recession, youth and graduate

unemployment, brain drain, dilapidation of existing social and economic structures as a result of lack of funds, youths restiveness and political disquiet. The inability of governments to tackle these problems led to coups and counter-coups with more dangerous ripple effects on the economy. The few running industries have wound up, prices of goods and services escalated and health care services virtually unaffordable to the common man.

Underdevelopment of African states led to the inability to tackle ecological problems. Because these neocolonial states have been subjected to poverty, the cities that host the basic facilities fastly degenerated into slums through the activities of influx of job seekers. Make-shift houses sprout indiscriminately to accommodate the helpless urban migrants. The squalid condition and unchecked housing behaviour became ecological problems.

Most of these African cities expand without proper urban planning and needed facilities. These easily results in indiscriminate dumping of refuse, blocking of sewage and drainage systems and water ways, falling of trees for domestic use and erection of shanties. The falling of trees for lumbering and domestic use have translated into desertification and hurricane devastation. Crowding of people into the cities have equally resulted in the breakdown of the grossly inadequate facilities and social amenities and the insurgence of malaria attack, epidemics and other health related matters. Prices of living have become astronomically high resulting in physiological failure and decayed mortality. The menace of flooding, collapse of bridges and road networks are recurrent experiences. Governments of these peripheral states lack both the capacity and the will to tackle these problems without again relying on the core states for assistance. The rescue operation by the core states done through financial assistance or lending is a ploy to keep the satellite states grossly underdeveloped for their selfish purposes.

10.4 Unequal Developments Among African States

African societies were in different stages of civilization and development when they were forcefully colonized by European powers. Some of these societies attained some heights in different areas of development. Timbuktu city in Mali flourished in university education through the contributions of Islamic scholars, Ghana flourished in gold mining which was why the colonial Britain named it Gold Coast, Kano flourished in Trans-Sahara trade, Benin kingdom advanced in administration and art works etc. Most centralized states were burgeoning into modernized cities while some sedentary societies were moving into centralized stage before the Europeans intervened. The Berlin conference of 1884-1885, where the African continent was shared and partitioned amongst the colonial powers of Europe further deepened the disparity in the development of these colonial states. Most of the developmental strides already achieved were displaced by the new European objectives and ideals. By this, some states relapsed perpetually as their economy and social values were completely destroyed while others by sheer cooperation with the colonial powers advanced into the new scale of modern development.

The unequal development of the neocolonial states takes different perspectives. By mere dint of colonial events, some states developed in certain areas. There were improvements in water transports among the coastal states of Africa with additional railway construction, arising from the hinterlands and terminating at the sea ports of the coastal states which aided the haulage of commodities and slaves down to Europe and America. Some states developed better in the areas of mining as a result of the whiteman's discovery of certain mineral deposits. Nigeria, Ghana, South Africa and Libya benefitted from the exploratory technology of the colonial powers. Religion also contributed immensely to the unequal development even in different areas within a state. At first the arrival of Islam in Northern Nigeria brought with it advanced Islamic tradition and civilization which was superior to pre-Islamic traditional civilization, but the advent of European imperialist brought Christianity alongside its missionaries. Areas that accommodate these missionaries and the new Christian religion became the centres for modern development owing to the activities of the missionaries. This gave the Southern Nigeria an upper hand in educational attainment and developmental status over their Northern counterparts who embraced tenaciously the Islamic culture.

10.5 Factors Causing Unequal Development Among African States

African neocolonial states are comparatively underdevelopment in line with the attainment of advanced societies. The little development so far achieved are unequally distributed. Certain factors are responsible for this.

- i. **Colonial Legacy:** On the eve of colonization, most states experienced unprecedented change. Geographical spheres of control were redrafted leading to the redrawing of the African map. The amalgamation of different ethnic groups to form nation-states was achieved. Some of these ethnic groups that made-up the 'colonial states' were populous, powerful and endowed with natural resources. This naturally gave them an edge over others that are less endowed. Ghana and Nigeria belong to this class of richly endowed states.

Again, following the conquest of the neocolonial states, the colonial powers introduced new socio-political and economic order. They settled first in the Crown colonies where they introduced a new life style different from the traditional pattern. They introduced modern legal trade, house construction, asphalted runways, shipping bays, automobiles, industrialized and manufactured commodities, education, orthodox medicine, telecommunication, marketing and banking systems. Depending on their acceptance by the people and the economic viability of an area, the colonial powers expanded their bases, established basic economic structures and incorporate the willing members of the society who later metamorphosed as the African elite. This settlement areas formed the nucleus of urban centres and subsequent acts of gentrification. The habitable interest of the 'whites' determined the quantum of amenities and urbanization of an area. The level of Western culture internalized by the people equally affected the level of development attainable by the neocolonial states.

- ii. ***Problems of Ethnicity and Nepotism:*** Inherent social problems of nepotism and ethnicism over-running the fabrics of neocolonial states account for the visible unequal development. In some states, tribal divide infiltrate partisan politics, political power and economic distributions. In Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Sudan, Liberia and Cote d'Ivoire, political leaders who took over from the colonial masters displayed nepotism. They distributed social services, infrastructural development and access to political power on the basis of ethnic origin and advantage. This fragrant display of tribalism and ethocentricism were at the root of the Nigerian civil war which undermined the little developmental strides already on ground and which has continued to derail her effort to nation- building and national development. Most civil strife experienced in these neocolonial states emanated from social and tribal divide, and this has accounted for their unequal developmental experiences.
- iii. ***Natural Endowments:*** Nations are equally not equally endowed in both human and material resources. Nigerian being the most populous nation in Africa is equally the most economically viable state given its unrivalled natural endowments within the African enclave. The harnessing, exploration, excavation and exploitation of these resources place Nigeria ahead of most neocolonial states like Gabon, Cameroun, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Burkina Faso, among others. Nigeria enjoys both sizeable, arable landmass, coastal reliefs, myriads of solid mineral deposits, sizeable youthful, virile and promising population, large deposits of crude oil and gas and enviable cultural heritage. All these earned her the pride and giant of Africa.
- iv. ***Geographical Placements:*** Development follow rules of accessibility and geographical placements. Most states which fall within the coastal regions bordering the Atlantic and Pacific oceans had early encounter with the Western world. The seas and oceans served as veritable means of communication and transportation. Consequently, the process of urbanization started in these areas regarded as white settlements and Government Reserved Areas (GRAs). Those in the hinterland had a gradual contact with development due to their distance to the coastal areas. Nigeria in West Africa is centrally positioned. It lies within Latitude $4^{\circ}\text{N} - 14^{\circ}\text{N}$ of the Equator and Longitude $3^{\circ}\text{E} - 15^{\circ}\text{E}$ of the Greenwich Meridian. It means that Nigeria has a latitudinal stretch of 10° and longitudinal stretch of 12° . With a landmass of about 923,678 square kilometres, it remains the fourth largest country in West Africa after Niger, Mali and Mauritania. Nigeria shares her Western border with the Benin Republic, the Eastern border with the Republic of Cameroon and the Southern border with the Atlantic Ocean. On the Northern border is Niger Republic.
- Nigeria remains a major gateway to the Atlantic Ocean. With her natural resources, she is seen as a regional business and economic centre by her neighbouring states. She can be readily accessed through the sea and through the land up to the North Africa through the Trans-Saharan trade routes.

- v. ***Liberal Policy of States:*** Another reason accounting for the unequal development of neocolonial states lies on state policies. The policy of French West African States (Francophone states) to remain economically subservient to France their colonial power and core state delayed their road to rapid socio-economic development. The states of Mauritania, Gabon, Cameroon, Niger, Burkina Faso (Upper Volta), and Cote d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast) are among the lowest developed states in Africa owing to their initial military, economic and political pact with France. The neocolonial fever and grip on satellite states were more evident in the Francophone states of Africa.

In the Anglophone states, neo-colonialism was more subtle and tactical yet penetrating and damaging. Britain was a little bit liberal with their neocolonial attachés as they were allowed to relate with other foreign states on their own capacity, although, guided against bloc. The liberal policies in terms of non-aligned posture, religious secularity and trade liberalization improved the lots of Anglophone neocolonial states. This is because foreign aid, assistance and technical support came from different interest nationals to shore up development.

- vi. ***Frequent Changes in Government:*** More than thirty African states have experienced military intervention. From 1966, military intervention became part of African political history. Unarguably, instability in government occasioned by militarization halts economic expansion through foreign and local investments. Most volatile areas or states attract less economic investment, instead the economic moratorium and capital flight become order of the day. Socio-economic development does not thrive in an insecure environment. The states of Egypt, Kenya, South Africa and Tanzania, recorded appreciable economic growth due to the relative stability in government. Nigeria with its unequalled military interregnum in Africa reeks in backwardness, lack of industrial presence and socio-economic cul-de-sac caused by more than thirty years of military rule.

10.6 Effects of Unequal Development Between States

Although at the global level, majority of African states including Nigeria are categorized as belonging to the South-South states that is, pariah or third world nations; there are some which are better developed than others. This disparity in development of the neocolonial states has impacted heavily on lives and existence of other states.

The regional and sub-regional organs like the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963, now African Union (AU) in 2002, and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975, were established to address the lingering issues of African sub-regional developments. The OAU at its formation had the following objectives:

- i. The promotion of the unity and solidarity of African states.
- ii. The coordination and intensification of cooperation and efforts to achieve better life for African people.

- iii. The defence of the sovereignty territorial integrity and independence of African states.
- iv. The eradication of all forms of colonialism in Africa.
- v. The promotion of international cooperation with emphasis on the U.N.O Charter on Human Rights.
- vi. The promotion of peaceful resolution of disputes involving member states through negotiation, mediation, consultation and arbitration.
- vii. Speaking with one voice on world affairs so as to present a united front.
- viii. The preservation of African personality, culture and traditions.

This is a way to close ranks and allow the existing developmental gaps existing between and among states to be filled. Where these have previously caused envy, sabotage, border disputes, segregation, ideological divide due to colonial history and experience or even the spirit of unhealthy competition and rivalry to the advantage of the western world, the formation of OAU seeks to level glaring difference and forge a common front to help less developed states to step up pace.

The ECOWAS presents a more apparent thrust to development parity through inter-states exchanges within the West African region. The organization tries to pool resources together to allow every member-state develop at the same time alongside others. The body presents the following objectives.

- i. Promotion of cooperation and development in all field of industry among its members towards the progress and development of the African continent.
- ii. Elimination of customs duties among member states to facilitate trade relations.
- iii. Abolition of trade restrictions among member nations.
- iv. Establishment of common tariff and common commercial policy.
- v. Abolition of obstacles to free movement of persons, services and capital with the sub-region.
- vi. Harmonization of agricultural policies and promotion of common projects in marketing, research and agro-industrial enterprises.
- vii. Implementation of infrastructural schemes for joint development in transport, communication, energy and other infrastructural facilities.
- viii. Harmonization of economic and industrial policies to eliminate disparities in the level of development among member states.
- ix. Harmonization of monetary policies.
- x. Establishment of common fund for cooperation, compensation and development.

Based on these, the peripheral states of African are working closely together to eliminate or reduce colonially-induced differences which are militating against their economic independence and development. The AU peacekeeping mission and the West African sub-regional ECOMOG (Economic Community Monitoring Group) in Africa are efforts geared towards maintaining peace in

the continent for sustainable development and to assert their economic and military emancipation from the core Western states.

Summary

- From the partitioning of Africa at Berlin in 1885 through the colonial period then to the present post-colonial era, African states have been rendered poor by her colonial masters and multi-national corporations.
- At the attainment of independence, the colonial powers through their international links, the multi-national corporations and their indigenous political compradors, controlled the economic system and policies of these satellite or neocolonial states by subjecting them to gross under development through their activities.
- In this way, they remained poor and manifest signs of underdevelopment which affected their vision and socio-economic exchanges that has resulted in an unequal development among them.
- Apart from the colonial experience and legacy, many other factors accounted for the underdevelopment and disparity in development attainment of these satellites states.

Objective Questions

1. What has kept the neo-colonial states underdeveloped?
 - A. The military takeovers in Africa
 - B. The economic systems of the West
 - C. Formations of regional bodies
 - D. Heightened ethnicism in African politics
2. Neo-colonialism in Africa is basically in the areas of the _____.
 - A. urbanization
 - B. religious secularity
 - C. economy
 - D. politics
3. The most outstanding agents of neo-colonialism and underdevelopment in Africa are _____.
 - A. multi-national corporations
 - B. Christian missionaries
 - C. indigenous traditional rulers
 - D. politicians
4. The overlords of the satellite states are called _____.
 - A. the colonial government
 - B. the buffer states

- C. the IMF
 - D. the core states
5. The term 'agents of capital flight' refers to _____.
- A. Islamic Jihadists
 - B. core states
 - C. industrialized nations
 - D. neocolonial states
6. A striking feature of a satellite state is _____.
- A. mixture of ideological practices
 - B. party case's
 - C. unequal development
 - D. under-population
7. For a functional education, UNESCO approved for states _____.
- A. 50% of their annual budgets
 - B. 13% of their annual budget
 - C. 26% of their national development policy
 - D. 26% of their yearly budget
8. Dr. Ezekiel Izuogu distinguished himself in the area of _____.
- A. electronics
 - B. agro-engineering
 - C. automobile technology
 - D. electro-magnetic technology
9. The aspect of industrialization which has eluded the periphery states is _____.
- A. computer science and technology
 - B. banking and insurance
 - C. heavy industries
 - D. educational technology
10. The Russian Revolution of 1917 was championed by _____.
- A. Vladamir Stalin
 - B. Vladamir Putin
 - C. Frederick Engel
 - D. Karl Marx

Essay Questions

1. Explain the concepts:
(a) Neocolonialism (b) Underdevelopment
- 2a. What are the three basic laws of capitalism and five basic qualities of capitalism?

- b. Outline six features of underdevelopment.
3. In what areas do African states show signs of underdevelopment?
4. What factors in your own assessment are responsible for the unequal development among African states?
5. What do you consider to be the effects of unequal development between African states?