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A Discourse on Andre Gunder Frank's Contribution to the Theory and Study of Development and Underdevelopment; its Implication on Nigeria's Development Situation

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ABSTRACT

This paper is a discourse on Andre Gunder Frank's contribution to the theory and study of development and underdevelopment with emphasis on its implication on Nigeria's development situation. The study exposes the inequality in the pace of socio-economic wellbeing of the people of various societies of the world which led the social scientists to call those societies whose socio-economic development is considerably low "backward nations" even though they later abandoned this expression as it was considered derogatory, and adopted instead, the expressions "underdeveloped societies," "less-developed societies," or "developing nations." To explain the reason for the underdevelopment of these nations, W.W. Rostow in1960 developed his Modernization theory which conceived underdevelopment as an "original state," something characteristic of a "traditional society", something that has internal origin. In response to this theory, Andre Gunder Frank in 1966 propounded his "dependency theory which saw the world's nations as divided into a core of wealthy nations which dominate the poor nations whose main function in the system is to provide cheap labour and raw materials to the core. It held also that the benefits of this system of relationship accrue almost entirely to the rich nations, which become progressively richer and more developed, while the poor nations, which continually have their surpluses drained away to the core, do not advance rather, they are impoverished; he therefore asserts that for the underdeveloped nations to develop, they must break (radically) their ties with the developed nations and pursue internal growth. In addressing this thesis, the puzzle is "can Nigeria break her ties with the core wealthy nations of the West which have advanced their economies at the detriment of Nigeria and pursue meticulously, internally generated growth?".

INTRODUCTION

As capitalism developed and its class contradictions deepened, scholars become preoccupied not with understanding capitalism but with justifying it (Iwilade, 2009). This led to what Rubin (1979) described as the vulgar phase of capitalism, embedded in the nexus between politics and economy, leading to the politics of development and underdevelopment. However, since the 1970s, there has been resurgence in the tendency to interrogate society from a political economy perspective. Implicit in this re-emergence is the realization of the critical nexus between politics and economy. Indeed, failures in both the economic and social spheres have tended to highlight the need to initiate comprehensive reform of the international economy. This reform can however not be done without politics. By the time the new states in the third world started emerging and asserting their nominal independence in the system, the movement for reform had intensified significantly. These new states faced relatively new economic and social problems that required fresh approaches. Chief among these problems was the crisis of dependency.

Dependency theorists do not see much difference between politics and economy. Andre Gunder Frank hinted as such when he noted that '…historical research demonstrates that contemporary underdevelopment is in large part the historical product of past and continuing economic and other relations between the satellite underdeveloped and the now developed metropolitan countries'. Furthermore, these relations are an essential part of the capitalist system on a world scale as a whole' (Frank, 1972). The connection between economics and politics has been heightened since the collapse of the cold war.

In the first place, the ideological frameworks around which economic policy is made seem to have collapsed in such a way that a homogenous theory of development and capitalist growth, seems to be emerging. Indeed the international financial institutions of Breton Woods have gone through a process of transformation so much so that by the 1980s, they began to link issues of governance and politics to economic development. The conditionalities imposed by these institutions on many third world countries were a signal that capitalism had gone full circle. It had returned to the classical interrogation of society through its political and economic framework. Conditionalities like democratization, respect for human rights, and good governance clearly illustrate the re-emergence of the policy focus that links politics to economy. Within the context of adjustment, these policies did not necessarily promote economic development as many studies have shown but their failures do not necessarily reflect a weakness in the proposal for linking economic issues with politics. They in fact, demonstrate the dialectical relationship between them.

Sometime after the end of World War II, social scientists began to speak of three "worlds." These worlds represented social, economic, and political categories into which contemporary societies could be placed. The First World consisted of the industrially advanced capitalist nations, which had parliamentary democratic forms of government: the United States, Canada, England, France, the Netherlands, Sweden, most of the rest of western and northern Europe, and also Australia and Japan. The Second World was industrially advanced, or at least on the path toward industrial development, but the societies of this category had socialist economies and totalitarian forms of government. Included in this category were the Soviet Union and the Eastern European socialist states. The rest of the world, not counting primitive or preliterate societies, was the Third World. This world consisted of the poor, technologically backward, economically underdeveloped societies constituting most of Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Having conceptualized the Third World, social scientists proceeded vigorously to study it. Many kinds of social scientists were involved. Yet the overriding question for most investigators was why the societies of the Third World had failed to achieve the levels of technological and economic development, as well as the social patterns, that so characterized the First World, and to some degree, the Second. Lots of academic giants and historical scholars have been identified as being involved in the search for the explanation of "why the poor countries of the third world are poor". One of these scholars is Andre Gunder Frank.

The Biography of Andre Gunder Frank

Andre Gunder Frank was born in Berlin on February 24, 1929. He was an economics professor and theorist and also one of the founders of the 'Dependence theory', developed in the sixties. In his more recent work he focused his attention on the analysis of the crisis in world economy and then also on global world history. He was married to Marta Fuentes, with whom he wrote several studies about social movements. They had two sons and she died in Amsterdam in June 1993. Andre Gunder Frank left Germany as a boy when his parents had to escape the Nazi regime. In 1941, they entered the United States of America. Andre Gunder Frank was educated at the University of Chicago, where he received his Ph.D in Economics in 1957 with a dissertation on Soviet Agriculture. From 1957 until 1962 he was lecturer and Assistant Professor at the universities of Michigan, Iowa and Wayne State. In 1962, he went to Latin America and became Associate Professor at the University of Brasilia teaching anthropological theory. Then he became Extraordinary Professor at the National School of Economics of the National Autonomous University of Mexico in 1965. From 1966 until 1968, he was Visiting Professor at the Departments of Economics and History of the Sir George Williams University, Montreal, Canada. In 1968 he became Professor at the Department of Sociology and the Faculty of Economics, University of Chile, Santiago, Chile, where he was involved in the reforms of the Salvador Allende administration. After the military coup in 1973 he escaped to Europe, where he became

Visiting Research Fellow at the Max-Planck Institute in Starnberg, Germany, from 1974 until 1978. In that year he moved to Norwich, England, where he was appointed Professor of Development Studies at the School of Development Studies, University of East Anglia. From 1981 he was also Professor of Development Economics and Social Sciences at the University of Amsterdam, to where he definitely moved in 1983. Besides he had many other temporary visiting appointments and research appointments in among others the USA, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Belgium, Germany and France.

In 1994, at the age of 65, Frank went into mandatory retirement from his professorship in the Faculty of Economics at the University of Amsterdam. Since then, he has been Visiting, Visiting Distinguished, and Adjunct Professor at five Universities, one in Toronto where he also wrote his latest book Re-Orient, and in 1999-2000 at two in Miami. For the full semester of 2001, Frank was Visiting Professor of World History at the University of Nebraska in Lincoln, and at that time, is Senior Fellow at the World History Center of Northeastern University in Boston. So, Frank has taught and done research in departments of anthropology, economics, geography, history, international relations, political science, and sociology, not to mention interdisciplinary ones, in 9 Universities in North America, 3 in Latin America, and 5 in as many countries in Europe. He has also given countless lectures and seminars at many dozens of Universities and other institutions all around the world in English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, German and Dutch. Andre Gunder Frank has written widely on the economic, social and political history and contemporary development of the world system, the industrially developed countries, and especially of the Third World and Latin America. He has produced over 950 publications in 29 languages, including 43 book titles in 140 different language editions, and 160 printings, 169 chapters contributed to 145 books edited by others and a couple by himself, and some 400 articles published in over 600 issues of academic journals. Apart from these listings, further accounts of this academic experience and the development of his work may be found in the autobiographical/bibliographical essay "The Underdevelopment of Development."

In the 1990s, Frank increasingly turned his attention to world history and produced (with Barry Gills) The World System about the last five thousand years of world history and Re-Orient about most of the last five hundred. Andre Gunder Frank died on May 2005 - at the age 76 of cancer. He was best known as an early exponent of dependency theory, which asserted that rich, developed countries gained from poor under-developed countries in their interrelationship (Sunkel, 1969).

Meaning and Definition of Dependency Theory

The debates among the liberal reformers (Prebisch), the Marxists (Andre Gunder Frank), and the world systems theorists (Wallerstein) were vigorous and intellectually quite challenging. There are still points of serious disagreements among the various strains of dependency theorists 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 underlie the analyses of most dependency theorists (Ferraro, 1996).

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 (Sunkel, 1969). Theotonio Dos Santos emphasizes the historical dimension of the dependency relationships in his definition when he wrote:

Dependency is...an historical condition which shapes a certain structure of the world economy such that it favors some countries to the detriment of others and limits the development possibilities of the subordinate economics...a situation in which the economy of a certain group of countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy, to which their own is subjected (Dos Santos, 1971). There are three common features to these definitions 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 industrial nations in the Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). The dependent states are those states of Latin America, Asia, and Africa which have low per capita GNPs and which rely heavily on the export of a single commodity for foreign exchange earnings, and the importation of variety of goods from the western developed dominant states.

Second, both definitions have in common the assumption that external forces are of singular importance to the economic activities within the dependent states. These external forces include 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 definitions of dependency all indicate that the relations between dominant and dependent states are dynamic because the interactions between the two sets of states tend to not only reinforce but also intensify the unequal patterns.

Moreover, dependency is a very deep-seated historical process, rooted in the internationalization of capitalism. Dependency, scholars still argue, is an ongoing process. This was expressed by Bodenheimer when he wrote: *Latin America is today, and has been since the sixteenth century, part of an international system dominated by the now-developed nations.... Latin underdevelopment is the outcome of a particular series of relationships to the international system (Bodenheimer, 1971).*

Simply put, dependency theory attempts to explain the present underdeveloped state of many nations in the world by examining the patterns of interactions among nations and by arguing that inequality among nations is an intrinsic part of those interactions. While Modernization Theory understood development and underdevelopment as a result from internal conditions that differ between economies, dependency theory understood development and underdevelopment as relational. It saw the world's nations as divided into a core of wealthy nations which dominate a periphery of poor nations whose main function in the system is to provide cheap labour and raw materials to the core. It held that the benefits of this system accrue almost entirely to the rich nations, which become progressively richer and more developed, while the poor nations, which continually have their surpluses drained away to the core, do not advance. Dependency theory shared many points with Rosa Luxembourg's and V.I. Lenin's earlier Marxist theories of imperialism was embraced by many Marxists and neo-Marxists. Dependency theorists held that for underdeveloped nations to develop, they must break their ties with developed nations and pursue internal growth. One type of policy crafted from this insight was Import substitution industrialization (Chew and Denemark, 1996).

A Discourse on Andre Gunder Frank's "Dependency Theory" of Development and Underdevelopment

Dependency theory was first developed in Latin America and came to the attention of North American and European social scientists largely through the writings of the American-educated economist Andre Gunder Frank (1966, 1967, 1969, and 1979). By the mid-1970s, this approach had become very popular, especially among sociologists. In many ways dependency theory is a specialized offshoot of the Marxian theory of capitalism.

The basic underlying assumptions of the dependency approach stand in stark contrast to those of modernization theory. Rather than conceiving underdevelopment as an "original state," as something characteristic of a "traditional society," underdevelopment is viewed as something created within a pre-capitalist society that begins to experience certain forms of economic and political relations with one or more capitalist societies. Underdevelopment, according to the Dependency theory, is not a product of certain internal deficiencies, as modernization theory holds. It results not from the absence of something, but from the presence of something. Thus, dependency theory would not regard India in 1700 as an underdeveloped society, even though at that time it was an agrarian, pre-capitalist empire, but by 1850 it was well on the road to becoming underdeveloped due to its relationship to British capitalism. The root cause of underdevelopment in the dependency perspective is economic dependency. Economic dependency exists when one society falls under the sway of some foreign society's economic system, and when the first society's economy is organized by persons in the foreign society so as to benefit primarily the foreign economy. Economic dependency implies that there are relations of economic domination and subordination between two or more societies.

The concept of dependency as an explanation for economic underdevelopment has been developed most prominently by Frank (1966, 1979) and Samir Amin (1974). For Frank, the concepts of development and underdevelopment have meaning only when applied to nations within the capitalist world-economy. Frank envisions this world-economy as being divided into two major components, metropolis and satellite. These concepts are basically equivalent to Wallerstein's (1974) concepts of core and periphery. The flow of economic surplus in the world-economy is from the satellite (or periphery) to the metropolis (or core), and the world-economy is organized to make this happen. The underdeveloped nations therefore have become and remain underdeveloped because they are economically dominated by developed capitalist nations that have continually been extracting wealth from them. Frank (1966) has called this process the development of underdevelopment. In this view, the development of the rich nations and the underdevelopment of the poor ones are but two sides of the same coin as underdevelopment of some nations has made development for other nations possible and the development of other nations made the underdevelopment of other nations possible. The primary victims of this process are the vast majority of peasants and urban workers of the underdeveloped world itself. While the members of developed nations do benefit from this, since, their standard of living is raised substantially. But the greatest benefits go to capitalists in the metropolitan countries, as well as to the agricultural and industrial elites of the satellite countries. The latter have close economic and political ties to the metropolitan elite and play a crucial role in retaining, maintaining and sustaining the situation of economic dependency of their states. They are blind-folded to the stark reality of the lopsidedness in their relationship with the metropolitan capitalists which is in sharp contrast to Amin Samir's contribution to the theory and study of underdevelopment.

Samir Amin's (1974) contributions to dependency theory center on his concepts of articulated and disarticulated economies. According to him, the developed nations have highly articulated economies, or ones whose multiple sectors closely interrelate such that development in any one sector stimulates development in the other sectors. Underdeveloped societies, by contrast, have disarticulated economies.

These are economies whose various sectors do not closely interrelate. As a result, development in any one sector is commonly unable to stimulate development in the other sectors. Those sectors that are most developed in disarticulated economies involve the production of raw materials for export to the developed countries. The cause of economic disarticulation, according to Amin, is foreign control of the economy. Capitalists in the developed world have important connections with those peripheral capitalists who control raw-materials production. What disarticulation really means, Amin argues, is that the kind of development characteristic of the advanced industrial societies cannot occur in the Third World, hence when a society's economy becomes disarticulated due to foreign economic control, attention is directed to the development of those economic activities that benefit core capitalists, negating internal growth policy as those activities that would involve production for the overall benefit of the domestic economy are consequently neglected.

The concept of dependency can be understood more thoroughly by examining its various forms. Theotonio Dos Santos (1970) has suggested three historical forms of dependency through which the now-underdeveloped nations have passed.

The first of these he calls colonial dependency. Under this form of dependency, which began as early as the sixteenth century in some parts of the world, European capitalist powers colonized pre-capitalist regions and established a monopoly over land, mines, and labor. Surplus wealth was extracted from these regions by means of European control over trade relations. The economic character of these colonized regions was powerfully shaped by their subordination to European nations.

A second historical form of dependency identified by Dos Santos is financial-industrial dependency. This form of dependence began in the late nineteenth century. It was characterized by the expansion of European industrial capital (as opposed to the earlier merchant capital) into the backward regions of the world. This form of dependency was part and parcel of the monopoly phase of capitalist development. Financial-industrial dependency involved heavy investment of big capitalists in the world's backward regions mainly for the purpose of producing raw materials to be exported back to the core nations.

The most recent form of dependency is termed by Dos Santos the new dependency. This kind of dependency is a post-World War II phenomenon and involves the emergence of transnational corporations that engage in extensive economic investment in Third World countries.

In addition to this concern about the forms of dependency, there is the question of how economic dependency creates and sustains underdevelopment. Dependency theorists often disagree with respect to the particular mechanisms whereby this occurs. Several different mechanisms through which dependency induces underdevelopment have been proposed by various theorists, and more than one is sometimes proposed even by the same theorist. Four possible dependency mechanisms are most frequently suggested in the current dependency literature (Chase-Dunn, 1975; Delacroix and Ragin, 1981; Barrett and Whyte, 1982):

- **Exploitation through Repatriation:** It is often suggested in dependency writings that foreign firms reinvest only a portion of their profits derived from Third World investments in the Third World itself. The bulk of these profits are shipped home (repatriated) for the benefit of the investing nation.

- **Elite Complicity**: A common theme in dependency writings is the claim that the rich capitalists of Third World countries enter into various types of agreements with rich core capitalists to maintain the status quo of the underdeveloped country. This occurs because the elites of both countries benefit from the prevailing economic situation.

- **Structural Distortion:** Some dependency theorists argue that economic dependency leads to a distortion of the economy in the underdeveloped nation. This distortion then creates severe barriers to economic development. This argument, for example, is the kind made by Amin when he speaks of the disarticulation of the economy that result from the dependence of Third World countries on the capitalist core.

- **Market vulnerability:** It is sometimes argued that the peripheral nations are especially harmed by world market conditions. World demand for the primary products of peripheral countries tends to decline over time, and this decline is aggravated by price fluctuations for primary products. These four ways in which dependency can induce underdevelopment should not be thought of as mutually exclusive. It is entirely possible that underdevelopment could result from more than one mechanism operating at the same time, or even from the simultaneous operation of all of them.

In consideration of the various forms of Dependency as enunciated by Dos Santos (1979) and Barret and Whyte (1982), and the mechanisms through which dependency induces underdevelopment, we x-ray first, the relationship between the dependency theory and the underdevelopment situation of Africa and secondly, its implications on the underdevelopment situation of Nigeria.

Dependency Theory and African Underdevelopment

Africans have a hand in the festering and negativity that abounds and surrounds them says Sabella O Abidde. Yes, slavery, colonialism and exploitative nature of capitalism have a hand in Africa's problems; but that's not all and the only story. To think otherwise is to continue to play victim. You play victim when you've mentally consigned yourself to everlasting servitude.

Every time the issue of development and underdevelopment has arisen, either within the ivory towers or in beer parlors, I have always contended that the underdevelopment of our continent and of our countries can be traced to several factors; and all these factors can be grouped under four headings: (1) external factors; (2) internal factors; (3) cultural factors; and (4) the confluence of 1, 2 and 3. Since the early years of independence (the 1960s), over two thousand books and scholarly materials have been devoted to the issue of Africa's (under)development.

There has been one theory after another, one paradigm after another, i.e. modernization and dependency theories, the Rostow's stages of economic growth, the Harrod-Domar model, and the Schumpeterian theory of underdevelopment, the Solow Growth Model, the Lewis Model, and the Jorgensen Model, all trying to explain underdevelopment.

However, presentation after presentation and conference after conference, I have come to the conclusion that Africa's development problems are attributable to: (1) dearth of visionary and bold leadership; (2) lack of viable and enduring institutions; and (3) the strength and character of our people and national culture. Now, if we get the first and the second right, the third factor may be ameliorated. For instance, there are several positives to institutions -one being that it checks and moderates the public and private behavior and pronouncement of people. It helps to dampen people's excesses. Aren't gluttonous behaviors, corruption and wanton disregard for law and order our first enemies?

A visionary leader and his lieutenants would have, could have, or should have come up with antidotes to counter or ameliorate the poisons of the Bretton Woods Institutions. But what does one expect when we have functional illiterates as presidents. All they want to do is sign the enslaving papers, be assured of their kickbacks and get the hell out of there, so they can find time to visit their mistresses and relatives, and then deposit money in their personal bank account. Then go shopping. They are not thinking about the interest of the country.

Western capitalists don't care and won't shed a tear if a minister, governor or president wants to mortgage his/her country. In addition, what do Africans expect when a thirty-year-old World Bank or IMF official can simply walk into our presidents or ministers' offices and speak in magical terms? These officials get bamboozled with fuzzy math and fuzzy economics all the time. And our leaders…thinking about kickbacks always go along with the recommendations or are without backbones when it's time to negotiate during which they mostly sell the country to the lowest bidders.

And then there are times when our governments simply signs papers without a clear understanding of the ramification of such binding legal tenders. The IMF, WB and WTO are not charity organizations, you know. Capitalism is mostly about profit, profit and more profit; these are not social justice institutions.

So the next time Africans gather, they should ask themselves: "what should we do about Africa's leadership and institution crisis"? The question and the answers lie at the heart of what's wrong with the continent. And so I leave you with the word of Daniel Etounga-Manguelle: "In Africa...the entire social body accepts, as a natural fact, the servitude imposed by the strongman of the moment. It has been argued that the underdeveloped are not the people, they are the leaders. This is both true and false. If African peoples were not underdeveloped (that is to say, passive, resigned, and cowardly), why would they accept underdeveloped leaders..." (Abidde, 2006)

Consequently, African, especially, Sub-Saharan Africa's economies have deteriorated alarmingly since decolonization. Its proportion of the world's export products declined from more than 3 percent in 1950 to only 1 percent in 1990, and its external debt rose from just over 30 percent of GNP in 1980 to nearly 80 percent in 1994. The World Bank reported that, of the $231 billion in foreign investment that went into the Third World in 1995, only 1 percent went to Africa. In 1991 there was only one telephone line for every 100 people in comparison to 2.3 lines for the Third World as a whole compared to 37.2 for the industrial countries. By the early to mid-1990s, real income had declined by almost 15 percent from its level in 1965. Food production has declined markedly, to the point where many African countries cannot feed themselves. Taxes are high, inflation is rampant, and currencies are unstable. Technological infrastructure has decayed everywhere: roads have become paths and ruts, bridges are collapsing and do not get repaired, railways are in a state of decay, phones do not work, and universities have deteriorated. Hospitals are in such a poor state that patients often need to bring their own blankets and bandages (Castells, 1998; Ayittey, 1998).

In the last 20 years the continent has experienced severe ethnic hostilities, civil wars, political chaos, and massive government corruption (Castells, 1998; Ayittey, 1998). Ethnic groups engage in genocidal actions against each other, and governments often conspire in this. For example, in 1994 ethnic conflict in Burundi and Rwanda between Tutsis and Hutus resulted in some 700,000 Tutsis being killed, and hundreds of thousands of Hutus were slain as well. This genocidal civil war led to over a million Hutu refugees fleeing into neighboring Zaire. Many countries seem to have almost completely disintegrated.

As Ayittey (1998:54) has commented, "For much of 1992 Somalia lay in ruins – effectively destroyed. It had no government, no police force, and no basic essential services. Armed thugs and bandits roamed the country, pillaging and plundering, and murderous warlords battled savagely for control of Mogadishu." Dependency and world-system theories blame exploitation by the core for Africa's current problems. In the words of Andre Gunder Frank, "the lemon was squeezed dry and then discarded." But this is very dubious conclusion because Ayittey (1998) places most of the blame on sub-Saharan Africa's internal problems, as does Castells (1998). Both traced Africa's massive problems to what they call the "predatory" or "vampire" state characteristic of so many African societies.

Dishonesty, thievery, embezzlement, and the like are everywhere. African political leaders can be compared to gangsters and crooks who have seized political power merely to advance their own interests. In fact, states as they were usually thought of really do not exist in Africa. The political institutions that are crucial parts of states – for example, the military, police forces, the civil service, parliaments, and judiciaries –

have suffered a kind of debauchery. Parliaments either do not exist or are little but charades. Political dictators have staffed each of these institutions with their own tribesmen who will be completely at their beck and call. There is little or no professionalism and accountability in any of these institutions. However, Ayittey argues that, although Africa's problems are mostly of **internal origin**, the West has magnified them.

Western leaders, he says, have been seduced by despots. They have often supported pro-capitalist African dictators and supplied them with economic and military aid. Ayittey also notes that American blacks have often praised African leaders and failed to realize the horrendous actions these leaders were engaged in. If the predatory state is the principal source of Africa's horrendous economic and social problems, then the obvious solution would be to destroy this type of state and replace it with a more democratic type. But that is much more easily said than done. As Ayittey pointed out, the commitment to reform has been weak in African countries. African despots have been extremely reluctant to give up power (just like Nigeria where, only until 2007, the military were in power both in Kaki or in Agbada) and would rather destroy their economies instead. And it is likely that the African state is not the real source of the problem, but simply another dimension of the problem. The real question is why such anomalies and underdevelopment tendencies have persisted.

The Implications of Andre Gunder Frank's Dependency Theory on Nigeria's Underdevelopment Situation

It should be pointed out here that the arrowhead factors nurturing underdevelopment in Nigeria is poor or bad governance and leadership inertia. In other words, it is on these two issues that other factors (both internal and external) are anchored. What this implies in the words of Nnadozie (2010) is that any attempt to address under development in Nigeria must be zeroed in on the problem of leadership inertia and bad governance. That Nigeria is today, overwhelmed by poverty and underdevelopment can easily be attributed to poor, visionless, inept and selfish leadership' (Achebe, 1998 and Nnadozie, 2006). From the experiences of other continents, including America and Asia which passed through similar historical experiences as Africa such as colonialism and foreign domination, kit is evident that their ability to jerk off the yoke of external domination and exploitation and leap into first and middle class industrialized societies never occurred until their leaders rejected foreign domination by taking concrete steps through their visionary, resilient, selfless and charismatic leadership.

Indeed, the central factor sustaining underdevelopment in Nigeria is squarely a failure of leadership that is, the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to the occasion in their responsibility and the challenge of personal example which are the hallmarks of the true leadership. Nigeria has been less than fortunate in their leadership; and a fundamental element of this misfortune is the seminal as absence of intellectual rigour in the political thought of many of the founding fathers of the country; a proclivity "to pious materialistic wooliness and self-oriented pedestrianism" (Achebe, 1998).

The ways by which the Nigerian leaders have sustained the underdevelopment of the country as follows: one is the manner Nigerian leaders have been mismanaging the enormous and God-given resources of the country. They waste the wealth of the nation by purchasing foreign and exotic good and services for themselves, friends and cronies. Secondly, a large junk of that wealth was simply stolen through inflated contracts, frauds and other dubious methods. Again, apart from direct stealing of public fund, there is also the adoption of corrupted concept of development and development projects and programmes by governments in Nigeria, hence investments and public fund are for pecuniary reasons directed by our leaders at white elephant projects and programmes that do not yield dividends or cerate employment for the people as private interests override public interests. Colossal sums of public money has been lost in is manner.

Nigerian leaders who loot their state treasuries often take the monies to foreign banks, mostly in Europe and America, thereby depriving the country even the benefits of reaping from investing the stolen money in the country; as a large chunk of state resources should have been channeled into productive sectors of the economy to strengthen social services, especially in the areas of health, education, infrastructural facilities and energy is lost through various forms of corrupt practices. The money, all end up in the pockets of few privileged state/government officials and the people are worst off for it (Nnadozie, 2010). As Ake (2001) concluded that colonial rule left most of Africa a legacy of intense and lawless political competition amidst an ideological void and a rising tide of disenchantment with the expectation of a better live. Therefore, the underdevelopment of Nigeria is hinged on the mentality of Nigerian leaders borrowed from the whites. This assertion has been fully argued against when we assert that it is not the relationship with the westerners but the connivance imbedded in the personal and aggrandizing interests of Nigeria leaders to loot the country and enrich themselves that sustains underdevelopment in Nigeria.

Eranga (2009), writing on Nigeria at 48 still underdeveloped, observed that Nigeria is besieged with huge debt burden and unequal foreign exchanged and that her economy is in a state of near-collapse. Accordingly Arizona-Ogwu, (2008), added "the performance or state of a nation's economy also attests as to whether such a nation falls under the rubrics of developed world or not; as a perpetual feature of the economy of a typical underdeveloped or developing nation is that of unequal foreign exchange, inflation and an economy realign under a heavy debt burden. Having borrowed so much from the western nations, the economics of underdeveloped or developing countries have become appendages of western capitalist order such that underdeveloped nations are continuously expropriated and exploited." This is the true picture of the Nigerian economy. This is also the implication of Andre Gunder Frank's Theory of Dependency on the economy of Nigeria. This is implicit in the fact that, despite the debt cancellation by the Paris Club, Nigeria still owes huge debts, as the nation's total debt stock as at end of 2010 stood at $4.7 billion for external debt and #4.5 trillion for domestic debt (Babajide, 2011). Inflation is on the increase day in and day out, reaching to its peak when it was rated at 10.5 percent in October 2011 by tradingEconomics.com. Unemployment, statistically given at 4.9 percent in 2007 by Index Mundi (2011) has ravaged the economy to the extent that it has been said that about 64 million Nigerian graduates are unemployed as evidenced by the teeming millions of Nigeria youths roaming the street in utmost despair; Majority of them joining crime and other social vices to make ends meet as they must feed, clothe have a shelter over their head and fend for their immediate families. These factors are clear indicators of severe underdevelopment.

Nigerian economy presently is characterized by galloping inflation, unequal foreign exchange rate exasperated by devalued currency and persistent dependence on importation, widespread unemployment, dilapidated infrastructures exemplified in the nature of the Nigeria roads and death conservative nature of Nigerian hospitals, epileptic power supply that has helped crippled all aspect of the societal survival possibility, near death state of the educational sector leading to a unavoidable brain drain. Entrepreneurship has died as corruption in the system has left nothing to desire in hard work and labour as youths are now concerned with money-making irrespective of how it comes and who gets hurt in the process. This is why diligence and honesty has been dethroned while dishonesty and greed has been enthroned. This also explains why merit has died in Nigeria making way for mediocrity.

Below are other factors that have kept Nigeria down. These factors are however, apart from Achebe's one- dimensional factor of Nigeria's problem of leadership.

Low Technological Growth: Although Nigerian has made some efforts, in terms of ensuring technological growth, she is still behind many developed or near developed countries. And in the words of Fayemi (2010), "the development of today's society is assessed according to the technological availability hence the common place dictum, "no technological growth no development." Nigeria as a country has a low record of technological growth and so is regarded as underdeveloped.

Injustice is still very much prevalent in the Nigerian economy as persons awaiting trial are detained for months before they are taken to court for trials. "The thing" in Nigeria today is police killing innocent citizens after which he (the police) is allowed to go scot-free. This is injustice at the highest level because the loss of human life is involved. There are many instances where an elite will commit a crime and be allowed to go Scot free, but if it was to be a common man, he will be placed in police custody. A recent example is the case of James Ibori, a former Governor napped by EFCC on over hundred count charges but was freed from all of them; yet the same person has been sentenced to over 10 years imprisonment by the London Metropolitan Police on a three- count charge.

Materialism has become the order of the day in Nigeria and as such has escalated the level of crimes in the society; hence the rich man uses his affluence to oppress the poor. And average man in the society while trying to be like the rich man, may resort to crimes and will be duly punished if caught. In Nigeria, a man will have up to five jeeps in his compound without being interrogated on how he got the money; yet we say that EFCC, Police, CID, ICPC etc are working.

The one that has taken the centre stage of our political scenario is Cult of mediocrity. This is mostly seen in form of nepotism, tribalism and favourtism. Mediocrity is a situation whereby a person is given something or a position not because he merited it but because of family or friendship ties. By the time this happens in the different key sectors of an economy, the economy will be seen parading a work force full of mediocrity. This is the true situation of Nigeria at 51, depicting what Okoli (2003) called cognitive melodrama hence "official corruption" as coined by B.O. Eboh, is seen as reflecting from the Nigerian economy. To get a government-teaching job in some parts of Nigeria, one will have to pay the sum of 150 thousand naira (150,000) to a higher official in the ministry. In fact, according to anonymous source, to get a job with the National Directorate of Employment (NDE), a sum of #200,000 tip is mandatorily required. This is quite different from the I institutionalized 10 percent kick-back which has necessitated half –back projects, hence these projects such as road construction etc are no longer evaluated as monitoring and evaluation has gone sabbatical. They do this because they cannot be probed as they have paid their dues.

Embezzlement of public funds has characterized the government of the day as State governments embezzle money from the state treasury and take them to overseas countries to deposit; this they do while their states are crying for development. The local governments chairmen have join ranks with the Governors in this mad rush for state and local government loot without recourse to the state of affairs in their posts of administration leading to societal economic quagmire.

The poor are continually being oppressed by the rich. This is referred to as economic slavery as most companies pay workers peanut. Karl Marx calls it the theory of surplus value. Hence workers expend their energy for a particular company and the company is making huge profit, yet, these workers are paid very little amount. Minimum wage in Nigeria before February, 2011 was #7,500.00 only, even now that the president has signed an upward review of Minimum wage to #18, 000.00, majority of the state are not paying hence the states' governors also want upward review of their allocations before they can pay, yet the governors have very many Houses at choice areas within and outside Nigeria and several Oversea bloated Bank accounts, yet they cannot pay minimum wage as low as #18,000.00.

The Nigerian electoral system has always been going through reformation, meaning that the system has always been dysfunctional and this has had alarming effect on the political maturity of the country hence a political office holder who won election through rigging will tend to live with "I don't care attitude". This is what is obtainable in Nigeria today. Rigging of election is promoted by lust for power while political and business assassinations are as a result of intolerance. This is what Don Santos called Elite Complicity in rendering a naturally blessed nation underdeveloped. This Elite Complicity is still related with Achebe's Leadership problems in Nigeria which is the prime factor in Nigerian underdevelopment scenario. This is the point we tend to bring out, when we said that even though A.G. Franks Dependency theory, to a large extent, is a truism even in the Nigeria political scenario, and breaking the ties as he proposed is not the solution as it does not checkmate and correct the issue of leadership problem. Leadership problem made manifest in their relationship with the western capitalist economy as has been earlier identified that our leaders connive with the westerners to loot the nation's economy for their personal enrichment at the detriment of the nation's development.

Hence Salimu (1998), writing on a history of capitalist 'underdevelopment' averred that Nigeria, with its oil wealth, is different from many other neo-colonial countries as the majority of the ruling elite do not really care about developing the manufacturing or agricultural sectors of the economy as the only sure source of wealth in Nigeria is the daily inflow of $30m petrodollars into the regime's off-shore bank accounts. This now makes up at least 85% of total government revenue and is the 'pot of gold' over which the elite fight. Corruption and financial swindles are the easiest way to make money in Nigeria, certainly better than the unpredictable fluctuations of industrial production or 'normal' trade.

But, apart from a brief period in the 1970s and very early 1980s, oil has not benefited the majority. While income per person grew at 3.3% a year between 1956 and 1966, in the whole period since the 1973 oil price rise, the average figure has been below 0.02%. Despite 30 years of oil exports worth over $225bn, the annual average per capita income today of around $280 is no higher than that before the oil boom, although in the early 1980s it reached $1,000.

For a time the oil boom boosted the economy, but between 1975 and 1980 the economy grew by a real 6%-7% per year. But this came to an end in 1981. Between 1981 and 1983 Nigeria's GDP fell by 12.1%. The subsequent years of crisis have revealed how Nigeria, like all neo-colonial countries, was not able to independently develop its economy. Nigeria, with over 150 million people and enormous natural resources, has a greater economic potential than any European country. But competition from already developed nations and the imperialist controlled world market, as well as elite complicity have prevented any possible sustained development of the economy (Olagunju, 2010).

In this situation the Nigerian elite do not see how increase their wealth by investing in production etc. The struggle at the top is over who has access to the oil money and how much can be siphoned off. This is a key reason why the military tops are not prepared to hand over power to civilians, as generals become dollar millionaires, despite 'only' receiving military pay. In June the London Times reported one estimate that, since the early 1970s, Nigerian leaders have amassed personal fortunes totaling $217bn in foreign, mainly Swiss and Lebanese, banks. The Times estimated that Abacha himself accumulated $5.8bn during his nearly five years in power (London Times, 2002).

Okoli (2003) while analyzing the involvement of Retired Public Servants in multinational corporations when he argued that the secret behind imperialism (dependence) lies in the organization of transnational corporations and their practices to associate themselves in joint ventures with local-private as well as state-capital in underdeveloped countries, hence the connivance of the Nigerian capitalists with the western capitalist. Magdoff estimated that during the period of 1952-65, of the 84 Billion U.S foreign investments only little more than 15% came from the U.S. the remaining 85% was raised outside the U.S., 20% from locally raised funds and 65% from the cash generated by the foreign enterprise operations themselves. The pattern is similar for rich and poor countries. If anything, the U.S capital contribution is less in the poor countries than in the rich ones. In contrast to the colonial period, underdevelopment in the Neo-colonial period is no longer the product of imperialism rivalries between the capitalist states but between the modern transnational corporations which determine the economic, the political and indeed the social reality of the world today.

The table below shows the investments of the Nigerian retired public servants in various multi-national corporations.

Retired public servants and the multinational corporations where they serve as directors from 1970-1986.

Company	Name	Post prior to Retirement
Agip (Nigeria) Limited	Tukur Usman	Federal Permanent Secretary (works, 1970-1975)
Alcan (Nigeria) Limited	Dr. M.Tukur	Director, Institute of Administration, A.B.U.(1970-75).Vice Chancellor, Bayero University, Kano, 1975-1977. Federal Ministry of Commerce and Trade 1983-1985
Alumaco Nigeria) PLC	Mr. F.O.Ogunlana	Managing Director, Chief Executive, NICON
Associated Electronic Produce (Nigeria)	J.T.F. Iyalla, Dr. M. Tukur	Nigeria's Ambassador to the United States. Permanent secretary, Ministry of External affairs. These are for Iyalla. For Tukur, see Alcan Nig. LTD

Bank of credit and commerce international	Dr. M. Tukur; Mamman Daura	(Alcan Nig. Ltd for Tukur M). Managing Director, New Nigeria Newspapers (1974-1978).
Beecham (Nigeria) PLC	P.C. Asiodu	Federal Permanent Secretary (Industries, Mines and Power) 1966-1975
Berger paints (Nig) PLC	A.A. Ayida	Federal Permanent Secretary (Economic Planning and Finance), 1963-1975. Secretary of the Military Government and Head of Service (1975-1977)
Julius Berger (Nig) PLC	Tukur Usman	See Agip (Nig) Limited
BEWAC (Nig) PLC	A.A. Ayida; Alhaji Ado Bayero	(See Berger Nig. PLC) Career Diplomat
Boots (NIG) PLC	Mamman Daura; Babatunde Jose C.O. Lawson	(See bank of credit and commerce). Managing Director, Daily Times of Nigeria (1962-1973). Federal Permanent Secretary, Health, communications and Transport) (1961-1964), Secretary to the Federal Military Government and Head of Service (1971-1975).
R.T. Briscoe (Nig) PLC	Alhaji Ado Bayero Shehu Ahmadu Musa Chief J.Udoji Dr. Pius Okigbo	(see BEWAC Nig PLC) Secretary to the Federal Government, (1979-1983). Chief Secretary and Head of Service of the Eastern Nigeria. Economic Adviser to the Federal Government and Nigeria's Ambassador to the then EEC (European Union)
Cadbury (Nig) PLC	Dr. M.Tukur Mr. C. Onosode Christopher Kolade	See Alcan (Nig) Ltd; Presidential Adviser on Budget; Director-General, Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria, 1972-1978.
Cappa and D'Alberto PLC	S.B. Daniyan	Managing Director, NIDB, (1966-1976).
CFAO (Nig) PLC	A.A. Ayida	See Berger Paints (Nig) PLC
Credit Lyonnas (Nig) PLC	A.A. Ayida A.M. Joda	See Berger paints (Nig) PLC Federal Permanent Secretary (Information, Education and Industries), 1966-1975
Dumez (Nig) PLC	A.A. Ayida Major-General J.M. Garba (Rtd) P.C. Asiodu	(see Berger paints Nig. PLC) Federal Ministry of External Affairs, (1975-1979) (see Beecham Nig. PLC)
Dunlop (Nig) Industries PLC	Mamman Daura	(see Bank of Credit and commerce)
International Paints (W.A.) PLC	Silas Daniyam	See Cappa and D'Alberto PLC
Flour Mills (Nig) PLC	Ahmed Joda Chief M. Ani	Federal Permanent Secretary (Information, Education and Industries), 1966-1975; Federal Permanent Secretary (1966-1968); Secretary to the Military Government and Head of South Eastern State Civil Service Member, Federal Public Service Commissions, (1975-1977). Chairman, Federal Electoral Commission, (1977-1979)
G.T.E (Nig) PLC	Liman Ciroma P.C. Asiodu	Federal Permanent Secretary (Industries), Secretary to the FMG and Head of Service (1977-1979) see Beecham (Nig) PLC
Glaxo (Nig) PLC	Ibrahim Damicida	Federal Permanent Secretary (Trade and Defence) 1966-1975
Hageeyer (Nig) Limited	Babatunde Jose Mamman Daura	See Boots (Nig) PLC See Bank of Credit and Commerce
Backwood Hodge (Nig)	Babatunde Jose Mamman Daura	See Boots (Nig) PLC See Bank of Credit and Commerce
ICON Merchant Bank (Nig) PLC	Dr. Tukur Musa Bello	See Alcan Nig Limited Federal Permanent Secretary, Finance (1975-1978)
International Merchant Bank (Nig) PLC, Affiliate Citibank	Liman Ciroma , Chief J.Udoji	See G.T.E. (Nig) Ltd. See R.T. Briscoe (Nig) PLC
Gintra-Motors Nig. PLC	Alhaji Sule Katagum, J.T.F. Iyalla	Chairman, Federal Public Services Commission (1969-1975). See Associated Electronic Products Ltd

John Holt PLC	Silas B. Danyiyan Edwin Ogbu	(see Cappa and D'Alberto PLC). Federal Permanent Secretary (Works, Finance and External Affairs 1962-1968), Permanent Representative at the United Nations.
Lever Brothers (Nig) PLC. Unilever Group	A.Ayida	See Berger Paints Nig PLC
Lion Africa Insurance Company	Godfrey Amachree	Federal Permanent Secretary (Justice)
Metal Box (Nig) PLC Carnaud Metal Box Nig. PLC	Chief G.O. Obatonyibo Silas B. Daniyam	N.A. (see Cappa and D'Alberto PLC)
Merchant Bank of Africa, Affiliate of Bank of America	J.T.F. Iyalla	(see Associated Electronic Products)
Leventis Motors PLC (A.G LEVENTIS NIG. PLC)	H.S.A. Adedeji Dr. J.U. Aire	(see Nigeria Bottling Company PLC) (see Nigerian Bottling Company PLC)
Philip Morris (Nig) PLC	Godfrey Amachree Ayida	(see Lion of Africa Insurance PLC) (see Berger Paints Nig. PLC) (see Cappa and D'Alberto PLC)
Nigerian Bottling company PLC	H.S.A. Adedeji Dr. J.U. Aire	Permanent Secretary, Western Nigeria. Senior Lecturer in Business Administration, University of Lagos.
National Cash Register Nig. PLC	Tukur Usman	(see Agip) Nigeria Limited
National Cereals Production Company Ltd	Tukur Usman	(see Glaxo Nig PLC)
Nigeria International Merchant Bank, Affiliate of First National Bank of Boston	Ibrahim Damicida	(see Glaxo Nig PLC)
Nigerian Tobacco PLC	Chief Simeon Adebo Chief J.Udoji Dr. Pius Okigbo	Head of Service of Western Nigeria (1951-1962) Permanent Representative at the United Nations (1962-1968). See Briscoe Nig. PLC
Palm Line Agency (Unilever)	Chief Simeon Adebo Silas B. Daniyan	(see U.A.C of Nigeria PLC) See Cappa and D'Alberto PLC
Roads (Nig) Limited	Major-General Musa Shehu Yar'Adua (Rtd)	Chief of staff, Supreme Headquarters, (1976-1979)
SCOA Nig PLC	Ahmed Joda	(see Flour Mills Nig. PLC)
Tate and Lyle Nig. Limited	Liman Ciroma	(see G.T.E. Nig. Limited)
Wiggins Teape (Nig) PLC	Chief J.Udoji	(see R.T. Briscoe Nig. PLC)
U.T.C (Nig) PLC	S.B. Awoniyi Umar Adamu Ciroma, Major-General J.J. Oluleye (Rtd)	Federal Permanent Secretary. (see G.T.E. Nig. Ltd) Federal Commissioner of Finance.
U.A.C. of Nigeria PLC (Unilever Group)	Chief Simeon Adebo Dr. Okoi Arikpo Lt-General M.I. Wushishi (Rtd) S. B. Daniyin	(see Nigerian Tobacco PLC), Federal Commissioner of External Affairs. Chief of staff, Army Headquarters. (see Cappa and D'Alberto PLC)
University Press PLC	Alhaji H.R. Zayyad	Executive Director, Central Bank of Nigeria
West African Portland Cement Company PLC	C.S.O. Akande V. Oduntan	Permanent Secretary and controller of works Services, Western Nigeria, Secretary to the Government and Head of Ogun State Civil Service
Taylor Woodrow (Nig) PLC	I.F. Iwajomo	Secretary to the Military Government and Head of Ondo State Civil service
Thomas Wyatt (Nig) PLC	Godfrey Amachree	(see Lion of Africa Insurance PLC)

Source: Adeoye, Akinsanya et al in Okoli (2003:32-39)

In support of our claim that the underdevelopment of the Underdeveloped nations in general and Nigeria in particular, is not rooted in her dependence on western capitalist countries but by the connivance of her political leaders and public office holders, the above table captures admirably, the picture of Nigerian retired civil and public servants who, apparently made hey while the sun shine, as took advantage of their official positions and cornered the wealth of the nation yesterday. Today, they are the veritable tormentors of the Nigerian masses, and the visible beneficiaries of the national honour.

From 1986 till date, a bunch of new individual capitalists who had served this nation in one capacity or the other have emerged. This is why Nigeria, a great oil producing nation has no functional refinery while her citizens have lots of refineries in other countries of the world, leading to export of crude oil and import of refined oil which makes the oil price higher than necessary, leading to fuel subsidy whose management saga has in recent times taken the front burner of the national discourse.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Having done a critical review of Andre Gunder Frank's contribution to the theory and study of development and underdevelopment, and its implication on Africa underdevelopment and Nigeria's development and underdevelopment situation, which said that there is a relationship between the developed and the underdeveloped countries of the world and that this relationship enriches the already developed countries and at the same time impoverishes the underdeveloped countries of the third world such as Nigeria, we therefore recommend

1. A gradual break with the western economies. Nigeria should pursue a break of the ties with the western developed nations, yet keeping the advantages derivable from such relationships. This is because for any nation to survive, it must have a relationship with other nations but not depending on them, thereby being subordinate and subservient instead of being complementary partners. However, this break is different from the one that A.G. Frank recommended as he recommended a radical break but we recommend a graduate break because for every relationship, there is a gain. In the case of Nigeria, the gains accruable are cornered by the elites who are the political and public office holders both past and present and therefore, a different development policy needs to be pursued for a desired development to be possible.
2. An internal growth policy: Nigeria should pursue an internal growth policy paying attention to our peculiarities and socio-cultural, economic and political environment, yet a model is required from others countries that have similar political, economic, social and cultural environment with us. This is to ensure that the relationship between the developed and the underdeveloped countries that enriches the already developed countries at the expense of the underdeveloped countries of the third world such as Nigeria can be eradicated or at least, minimized. Yet, this internal growth policy will yield no expected dividend unless a thorough review of the political landscape of Nigeria is made.
3. A total revamp of our political landscape as tremendous changes in the politics and leadership of Nigeria is needed such that mediocrity will give way for merit as democratic good governance will hold sway to ensure economic prosperity for all and at the same time ensure a peaceful, strong and virile economy based on harmonious co-existence where tolerance will be the watch word.

CONCLUSION

Andre Gunder Frank's contributions to the theory of development and underdevelopment are tremendous but the most glaring is "the dependency theory" which was made famous in his essay *"the development of underdevelopment".* His theory tries to explain underdevelopment situations in the third world which Nigeria is a part of. It rose out of criticism of W.W. Rostow's Modernization theory, maintaining that there is a relationship between the developed and the underdeveloped countries of the world and that this relationship enriches the already developed countries and at the same time impoverishes the underdeveloped countries of the third world such as Nigeria; and that this dependency is in many forms but the most important is the trans-national corporations that engage in extensive economic investments in the third world which leads to exploitation through reparation of surpluses/gains/profits, structural distortion, market vulnerability and elite complicity, involvement and connivance. Again, that the elite complicity, which of course, is a common theme in Dependency Theory writings which claim that the rich capitalists of the third world countries enter into various types of agreement with the rich core capitalists to maintain the status quo of the underdeveloped countries. This occurs because the elites of both countries benefit from the prevailing economic situation. And that this elite complicity is what led to the present prevalent economic underdevelopment situation of Nigeria which finds expressions in corruption which Nzeogwu (1966) lamented thus: "Our enemies are the political profiteers, the swindlers, the men in high and low places that seek bribes and demand ten percent… those that have corrupted our society and put the Nigerian political calendar back by their words and deed". Again Buhari (1983) observed that "it is true that there is a worldwide economic recession. However, in the case of Nigeria, its impact was aggravated by mismanagement…as the situation could have been avoided if the legislators were alive to their constitutional responsibilities. Instead, the legislators were preoccupied with determining their salary scales, fringe benefits and unnecessary foreign travels, etc, which took no account of the state of economy and the welfare of the people they are representing. Also, Babangida (1985) observed that "The last twenty months have not witnessed any significant changes in the national economy. Contrary to expectations, we have so far been subjected to a steady deterioration in the general standard of living; an intolerable suffering by the ordinary Nigerians has risen higher, scarcity of commodities has increased, hospitals still remain mere consulting clinic, while educational institutions are on the brink of decay, unemployment has stretched to critical dimensions". More so, Obasanjo (1999) reiterated his government unwavering efforts to combat corruption because of its negative consequences. To him: "We have made shy of our undiluted commitment to eliminating corruption from our national life because it compromises national development, contaminates collective morality and values, distorts national planning, corrodes integrity and discipline, and destroys the foundations of creativity, innovation, and democratic structure and development". Hence Diamond (2004) pointed out in his work on Nigeria's Perennial Struggle that "No problem, however, is more intractable and more threatening to the future of Nigerian democracy than political corruption. The oil boom has given dramatic boosts to corruption, ostentatious display, and sheer waste". While Arizona-Ogwu sees nepotism as our major drawback, Fayemi blames it on poor leadership. This is in direct agreement with Chinua Achebe's wide read "the trouble with Nigeria- a book where he laid down the problems of Nigeria stating that chief among them is leadership problem. This view has the eternal support of this paper as its has been argued earlier that our leaders connive with the western capitalist in exploiting us as they abandon the development hope of their land and rush for self-aggrandizement.

From the above, we therefore, submit that dependency per say is not sacrosanct in explaining underdevelopment in the third worlds such as Nigeria as there are other factors such as poor leadership, corruption, disregard for rule of law, low level technological advancement, non availability of sound education, greed, materialism etc . There are other very important factors such as political (systems) arrangement and socio-cultural environment which are playing active role in ensuring underdevelopment in the third world and its sustenance and finally, elite complicity which Don santos identified as a form of dependency.

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