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Attitude Change: The Key to Econo-Industrial Development and Growth in Nigeria

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**ATTITUDE CHANGE: THE KEY TO ECONO-INDUSTRIAL
DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH IN NIGERIA**

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Degree of Master of Art

1987

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Dedicated
To
Mr. Puccino
by [illegible]

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TEXT SCOPE AND GOAL

By title and theoretical implications, the scope of this paper looks horrendously wide. One cannot deny that assumption. But once the goal and scope of this paper are clearly stated, it becomes easier for my readers to understand the direction of the text and why it assumes the title.

It would have been easier and perhaps more convenient to pick on a typical industry, for example, Nigerian Electric Power Authority (NEPA), Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), the Postal system, the Health care system or the banking industry, and make that industry the central discussion of this paper, but having closely followed the developments in Nigeria both at the political scene and economic arena for many years with such a heightened interest and despair, I have come to a conclusion that the cure for Nigeria's econo-socio-politico-industrial malady will undeniably require a wholistic rather than a partial approach.

It is possible to take on an industry and discuss how making some changes can result in positive development and productivity in that particular industry. However, we cannot neglect the existence of the hundreds of the other surrounding industries that might make that change impossible, or that could swallow up the little progress if indeed a

progress were made at all. Concentrating all efforts on changing one industry in a country like Nigeria that now seems to be in a state of real dystopia, is like trying to enrich a chief, whose ethnic poverty-ridden group approximate 50 thousand people, by giving him a fifty thousand dollar donation. If the money were to be distributed/shared somewhat evenly among the populace, an average lucky person will have a dollar. So they are all quickly back to the poverty lane. Any approach in the direction of trying to change just one industry in Nigeria today with its current situation is like trying to treat a patient for his eczema while his leprosy is totally ignored. Nigeria's econo-industrial problem is one with exceptional magnitude. A giant step is needed to solve the problem. It is my fundamental contention that if Nigeria is going to develop or solve its underdevelopment problems, it will take nothing less than a full-fledged wholistic approach, an approach that will involve and include all segments of the society and its industries.

The scope and goal of this paper are to reveal some of the existing problems in Nigeria and to prove two points:

- a) That attitude change can produce meaningful, positive and progressive outcomes.
- b) That for Nigeria to overcome its existing wholesome problems, then develop and grow econo-industrially, the prevailing attitude of the society must change first.

In other words, attitude change is not the panacea but it is where to start. It will be extremely naive either to think that Nigeria's problem can be solved overnight or to believe that one single developmental step will do it. Far from that, a reasonable approach will involve several steps with each step taking several processes. The first step that will shape a strong foundation for national econo-industrial building in Nigeria today is attitude change at all levels, but, fore and foremost, at the governmental level. If attitude change begins from and occurs at the government level (assuming the government possesses good organizational management sense and skill), the change will trickle down with minimum problem. Once the initial step of attitude change is accomplished, the task of organizing, coordinating and controlling the national development programs and activities will predictably become less frustrating, less confused, and more likely than ever be more successful and fruitful.

INQUIRY AND INSIGHT INTO THE NATURE OF AFFAIRS

A dire ambition of any sovereign nation is to be socially adaptive, economically viable, and politically stable. Beyond this, one of a nation's prestigious goals is to be truly independent and self-sufficient. But what the study has found in the majority of the so-called Third World Countries is a total absence of the foregoing enumerated virtuous goodies. Instead we find an opulence of value distortion, social dissension and dissatisfaction, economic derailment and political instability. Then, of course, is the late twentieth century political jigger that rocks, erodes, and sometimes rubbles the very foundations of the developing countries. That subtly operating jigger is neocolonialism. Nigeria, my beloved country, is a prime example. Nigeria has had so many chances to be truly free, develop and grow; but each time it has blown the chance.

This condition naturally invokes an outpour of questions about Nigeria, the land, the government, the people, the resources and their management. Few of such questions will be: What is fundamentally wrong with the nation, the resources and its people? How should government, organizations, and ministries and other agencies be designed to accomplish the goals of national development? How should these various government sectors be operated and managed? What is the

just goal or compensation for various kinds of development programs, contracts, and investments? What is the impact of government organizations and activities on other segments of the society and, more importantly, on the quality of human lives? These are just a few of the questions that desperately need answers.

This paper will not concern itself with a political prescription for what type of government or economic system should operate in Nigeria, its major focus will be on the government organizations, the national resources and their management. It will investigate and enumerate the possible causes of the prevailing social ills, political headaches, and economic predicaments, make recommendations for possible solution, and, of course, encourage the readers and interested parties to conduct further investigation and research into the nagging problem of national underdevelopment.

This paper is by no means a panacea to Nigeria's politico-industrial malady, but I hope it will serve as an icebreaker, a mind-agitator as well as an eye-opener. I also hope that it will encourage intellectuals, educators, political practitioners as well as laymen to begin to take a strong, straight look at the direction in which Nigeria is sailing and where it should be going. Several of the questions raised here will be left to professional and interested researchers for further investigation and research. It is my fervent hope

that this piece of writing will serve as an open door for all those interested in Nigeria affairs and specifically in Nigeria's development to begin to raise more questions, attempt to answer those already asked, and research for possible solutions to the existing problems of national development.

The British Empire, for example, followed a policy of "indirect rule" which was a form of administration in which the British officials acted as a sort of advisory council to the local rulers. This system was based on the idea that the local rulers were better qualified to understand the needs and customs of their subjects than the British officials were. This system was used in many parts of Africa, including Nigeria, and it was one of the main reasons for the success of British rule in Africa.

For Africa, however, the British Empire was not a success. The British officials were not interested in the needs and customs of the African people. They were only interested in the profits of the British Empire. This led to the exploitation of the African people and the destruction of their culture and society. The British Empire was a failure in Africa, and it is a lesson that we must learn from.

DEFINITIONS

Several definitions have been advanced for attitude change since 1935 when attitude began to gain prominence among the intellectuals and scholars, most notably, the socio-psychologists.

ATTITUDE

The Oxford English Dictionary, for example, defines attitude as "settled behavior or manner of acting as representative of feeling or opinion."¹ Kiesler, Collins, and Miller describe attitude as "a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience and exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations to which it is related,....."² Myers and Myers define attitude as "relatively lasting organization of beliefs which make you tend to respond to things in particular ways."³

For clarity, convenience, and a good understanding of this text, I will define attitude as an enduring organization of a set of predisposed positive or negative behaviors (or reactions) by an organism to the external stimulus. The above will serve as the operational definition of attitude

in this paper. Myers and Myers could not agree any more with this definition than when they write, "attitude include positive or negative evaluations, emotional feelings, and certain positive or negative tendencies in relation to objects, people, and events."⁴

Attitude Change:

With the understanding, in everybody's mind, that attitude can be positive or negative, good or bad, desirable or undesirable, I can now proceed to define attitude change, and furthermore convince my readers that an attitude change, can, indeed, produce a productive, positive outcome in practical situations. According to Oxford English Dictionary, change means "to make or become different, alter, modify, refashion, transform...."⁵ It further defines change as "to put fresh clothes on (a person)."⁶ By this definition, we can advance that a person wearing dirty, filthy, ragged clothes can change his own outlook by putting on fresh (clean) clothes. The important point here is how change can transform an initial outlook or impression.

Attitude change is a conscious recognition and awareness of a set of behaviors or actions or practices that are considered negative, undesirable or counterproductive and which is concomitantly followed by a conscientious, concerted effort and willingness to make a constructive and progressive change. This would stand as the operational definition of attitude change in this text.

As the above definition suggests, the individual or individuals that desire attitude change must first of all have the ability to recognize or be led to recognize the existence of the attitude that needs to be changed, and must be willing to take necessary steps to change the attitude. A positive step in the right direction would most likely lead to a positive destination. However, we must first recognize our problem and be consciously aware of its existence and uncomfortability before we can think about seeking a solution.

OBSTACLES TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH

Nigeria's problem of econo-industrial underdevelopment cannot be divorced from the country's political menace. All social, educational, economic and industrial planning and development of the nation are at the mercy of the nation's politicians. Therefore who they are, what they do, and how they act have direct implication on the national development and growth. So, it is necessary to, at this point, examine some of the political attitudes that are responsible for Nigeria's rudimentary industrial growth and economic stagnation or near economic collapse.

NATIONAL INTEREST VERSUS PERSONAL INTEREST

Like in most other developing countries, most politicians in Nigeria have been observed to be extremely selfish and insanelly greedy. They run for offices with personal goals in mind. When they take offices, they pursue those personal goals and neglect the national goal. Most of them, when they run for offices, do not have any clear manifesto or mandate or national goal. But because a large segment of Nigerian population is politically illiterate, or because of other reasons, such as rigging, the wrong candidates usually make their way into the offices. These

are the people that would make major political, economic and foreign policy decisions for the whole nation. When they stumble, the whole nation delve into an economic and political cave. They then run overseas (usually to Europe and America) for political assylum.

LEADERSHIP FACTOR

When unqualified individuals, by hook or by crook, occupy high political offices, the consequential effect is administrative disaster. These politicians swim in the ocean of ignorance and uncertainty without any sense of purpose or direction, they would be haunted by political ghosts with the result of inept leadership and poor management. Since a nation's survivability, longevity, and prosperity depend largely on a competent, dynamic leadership and sensible management, such inept politicians usually found themselves ousted but not until serious damage has been done to the national integrity and economy.

SOCIO-POLITICAL ATTITUDE

One of the socio-political dangers of having undesirable elements in important political offices is that economic disparity and gap between the poor and the rich would grow wider. The masses would begin to resort into any means by

all means so they can share of the national cake. What we would therefore witness are rampant bribery and corruption, blatant abuse of office and power, burglary, armed robbery, murder and other criminal activities.

EXCESSIVE DEPENDENCE

Nigeria, like most other developing countries, depends too heavily on foreign aids, foreign goods, and foreign experts. Moreover, many Nigerians are imitative consumers, they prefer goods produced overseas to similar products produced within the country. This type of colonial attitude and mentality are quite detrimental to econo-industrial development/growth, national identity and true independence. A large number of the Third World leaders, unfortunately, want to be pampered by their colonial masters and other leaders of the industrialized world. Such a lackadaisical attitude help to underdevelop citizens' innovation, creativity and industrial enthusiasm.

COLONIAL ATTITUDE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

Colonial Mentality:

Most Nigerians, like most Third World citizens, have the tendency to think, feel, and believe that "the grass is greener" elsewhere than in their own backyards. They, therefore, habitually fall into the trap of self-defeatism while at the same time indulge in colonial glorification. This trend has begun from the inception of colonialism in the continent of Africa and it is well alive in Nigeria today. This is a dangerous trend, an impediment in the way of political, econo-industrial development, indeed an obstacle to progress.

A specific example is in commercial activities. For instance, most Nigerians attach higher premium to, and have greater affinity and better appreciation for foreign goods than home-made products. Even in the face of tight, strict foreign exchange rules, Nigerians will, by all means, find ways to purchase their "beloved" foreign goods anywhere and at any cost. These fellows believe that foreign goods are always better than the indigenous ones and they insanelly crave for them. They have become addicted imitative consumers with no confidence, goal or aspiration to become producers. For them, their Psalm 23 must begin like this:

The Europeans are my colonial Masters, I shall not forget. They make me spend my oil money so freely and foolishly even in the presence of austerity; they lead me beside the path of underdevelopment and economic collapse...

Disoriented Value System:

Most Nigerians put a very high value on imported liquor, clothing materials, and just about anything you can imagine. Many nursing mothers prefer outdated baby formula (milk) to natural feeding (breast-feeding) and many of them do not have refrigerators to preserve the milk. The question is: Why don't most Nigerians appreciate their own products? Answers from different schools of thought will likely differ widely. In the education process and administration, there is a lack of appreciation for domestic products. Again, a case in point is the historical native value for breast feeding versus using outdated imported baby formula. This situation may be blamed on the failure of the educational system to present understanding of the risks and values. Economist could place the blame on scarcity, exploring the demand and supply theory. In philosophy, absence of witticism and enlightenment may likely be the culprit while in modern psychology, the emphasis may be on poor self-esteem, lack of positive self-perception, poor management, and poor leadership. An angry

citizen crowd would probably say "forget it, we're doomed (politically and economically); all we have is a bunch of colonial zombies and political rogues running our government." While all of these inputs vary in definitions, they are all correct and they all point toward the same direction. The direction is toward change. They are saying that some things are basically or fundamentally wrong with the present situation and they must change. They are all saying, Nigeria must change, the government must change, the inhabitants must change, things must change. For any of these things to change, attitudes must first change, and that change must begin from the top and trickle down.

To do this, the Federal Government of Nigeria by making the best and most constructive use of its plentiful human resources must have the will to demonstrate that it (government) has the ability, capacity, capability, creativity, ingenuity, and discipline to tenaciously and indefatigably pursue a goal for true independence, national sovereignty, and territorial integrity and, most of all, national development. The government must establish clear domestic and foreign policies. The last civilian government that began in January 1980 and ended in December 1983 was a woeful flop because of its myopic insight, faulty conception and perception, and poor judgement about the magnitude of

Nigeria's problems and needs. Let us take a retrospective view of Nigeria's foreign policy for instance. In the early 1980s, the United States President, Ronald Reagan, met with the leaders of the Third World countries in Mexico. In his speech, he encouraged the leaders to be self-sufficient. President Reagan suggested to them to learn how to fish so they could eat forever rather than looking for someone else to give them a fish which would only serve a meal. In a private meeting between President Reagan and President Shehu Shagari of Nigeria, the latter explained to the former that before a person could fish, he would need a hook and a fish pole. President Shagari probably got more than he bargained for, "big hooks" and "long poles," but he never caught a fish. I believe that President Shagari had quite a handful of foreign experts after the meeting with President Ronald Reagan.

Needless to say that this is not the right way to do things, the issue of national development, domestic and foreign policies must be carefully pursued wittingly and not unwisely. In the first place, it is inconceivably that Nigerian government which has a strong policy against South African apartheid would, at this point in time, be asking for a "fishing kit" from President Reagan who had proven to be no less than South African President Botha's "god father." Secondly, the

Nigerian government should be working for its nation's true independence and self-sufficiency by mobilizing and utilizing its resources, and effectively and efficiently developing and implementing national development plans. Thirdly, the practice of hopelessly and helplessly depending on foreign help in all sectors of national development demonstrates, among other things, a lack of self-confidence, a lack of confidence in national integrity, a lack of aspiration and will to develop and grow, and an act of puppetry, colonial mentality and colonial institutionalism. The subservient and slavish display of colonial mentality is not restricted to Nigeria alone, it is grossly available in most parts of Africa and elsewhere in the rest of the Third World countries.

Evidences of such a colonial attitude are indicated in Kwame Nkrumah's book, "Neo-colonialism: The last stage of imperialism." Nkrumah as a great pioneer of African Liberation and Pan-Africanism encountered a great deal of frustration from his African counterparts. In 1946, President M. Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast, also a member of French National Assembly, threatened by African continental unity and independence said, "there are no separatists on these benches... There is a powerful bond, capable of resisting all tests, a moral bond which unites us. It is the ideal of liberty, fraternity, equality, for whose triumph France has never hesitated to sacrifice its most noble blood."⁷

The same policy of distaste for African unity but of support for unity with France (colonial leader) was expressed at the same time by President Senghor of Senegal, "The French union must be a conjunction of civilizations, a melting-pot of culture.....it is a marriage rather than an association."⁸

According to Nkrumah, it was great pressure for independence that forced Boigny and Senghor, and other leaders like them to reverse their original positions and declared in favor of independence. Nkrumah insists that there are still some African leaders who are opposed to African unity, but they do so quietly and indirectly. It is a precarious situation.

It is my impression that Africans all over the world suffer from disrupted, disintegrated and distorted psyche as a result of long exposure to slavery and colonialism. The definition, analysis, and discussion of this (new) psychological terminology do not fit into the scope of this paper; but I humbly challenge my readers most especially the African, Afro-American intellectuals as well as other interested parties to investigate the problem. Rather than feeling low or disturbed about it, it is a real problem that needs to be vigorously researched, addressed and redressed. Disunity is a problem that is real among the black people all over the world. In the United States of America, if a black man runs

for a significant political office, his immediate opposition and disapproval would come from some of his own African-American people who would say that he has never held a public office even if the man has an outstanding record of successfully dealing with the masses for over twenty years. They would nitpick and capitalize on whatever negative things that his political adversaries have to say about him. They would not remember or at least pretend to forget what a great American President John F. Kennedy said that there's no school where you learn to become President.

The problem of disunity exists among black Africans all over. How do you explain the psyche of an African President who campaigned against the freedom of his own people, the independence of his own nation? What we are dealing with is impaired psyche. The problem is real and the trend is disturbing. Because of disunity the activities of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) have been slow and retarded, and the organization itself has therefore been ineffective and deficient politically and economically.

Therefore, for Nigeria to develop, it must have a government whose leadership commits itself to change. With attitude change from the Federal Government level, Nigeria can transform its scars into stars, change deficiency into efficiency, ethnic discord into social harmony, and become a producer State rather than a consumer State.

Blatant Abuse of Office:

In any event, the excessive rush and urge for imported goods with its concomitant distaste for home-grown or home-finished products is a dangerous trend that must stop. The mad rush by the disruptive, disgruntled elements within the political system to swindle money out of the country to be placed in foreign banks is a very serious colonial and social malady that needs immediate treatment and eradication. I remember a notorious case of how the military regime that ended in 1979 wilfully or accidentally placed 2.8 billion Naira (₦2.8 billion) in an individual's account in Europe. At that time, one naira was equivalent to roughly \$1.00, which means a total of \$2.8 billion was missing from the national treasury and was placed in an individual's account in that manner. Under oath, the late Professor Awojobi of the University of Lagos, Nigeria, revealed with massive evidences that the money actually swindled out of the country was as high as ₦10.4 billion (about \$10.4 billion) in a country with \$750.00 per capita income, a country where the majority of the masses cannot afford "three square meals a day" for their families, a country where well over 95% of the eligible students at all levels of education do not have government scholarships or any form of government financial assistance, a country where rural development is almost non-existent, a nation where inflation and unemployment rates are alarmingly skyrocketing.

Inept Leadership:

The civilian administration of January 1980 to December 1983 was a dismal failure. That administration was marred by inept leadership, wanton abuse of office and power, and gross mismanagement of resources and revenues. Beyond this, there is a clear establishment of cultural and value dis-orientation, and misplaced priority at the government and public levels. For any improvement to take place, there is need for cultural, educational, value reorientation and priority replacement. This must begin with and be implemented by the government. They must establish a clear policy to plan and implement educational programs and communication networks in order to accomplish the goal. To do this, the government must have a total commitment to change and make changes. The point here again is change. It boils down to attitude change, and that is where to begin. I am referring to a progressive change whereby a priority is given to improving the quality of lives of the masses, improving the health of the nation (socially, politically and economically), and most specifically, self-sufficiency in food production.

Beyond the scope of this paper is a discussion of "leadership quality." But I believe that my readers deserve to know, at least if only briefly, the type of leadership qualities needed of a national leader in Nigeria today since we cannot divorce politics from socio-econo-industrial development of that giant and complex African nation. The leader

must be one with a clear set of goals, a clear sense of direction, good organizational management skills, and a possessed ability to indefatigably pursue national goals to a meaningful and conclusive end. I strongly believe that an organization's survivability, longevity and prosperity depend largely on a healthy management system.

Therefore, the future leaders of Nigeria must establish a political system and resource management system that are operative and workable within the complex content of the nation, taking into consideration such factors as culture, tradition, philosophy, ethnicity, geographical location, demography, language, population, and natural resources. The leader must aim at mobilizing and uniting various groups of citizens into an effective national alliance for progress and prosperity of the nation.

Beyond running for and taking the office especially at the executive levels, the future Nigerian leader must do his homework; he must be prepared to deal with instantaneous, spontaneous and simultaneous issues and events (both internal and external) that affect his country.

What appears to have spelled doom for the civilian government of President Shehu Shagari was, partly, ill-preparedness, but largely due to abuse and mismanagement of

office, power, people and revenue. President Shehu Shagari was said to be an upright person and I believe that; but he had a pocketful of untutored, unpatriotic, incompetent, selfish, ill-intentioned political followers and advisers. They used him to optimum advantage in favor of their own selfish interests. They allegedly swindled the national treasury of billions of dollars into the Swiss Bank and other overseas banks.

Neocolonialism:

A major root cause of the Third World underdevelopment is colonialism and neocolonialism. Though several African countries today jubilate that they have achieved independence, but, in reality, neocolonialism persists. A snake is a snake, and the devil is the devil; there is nothing good about colonialism or neocolonialism. Some of the deadly impacts of colonialism on the people of African are acculturation, loss of identity, loss of religion, and that fondly unity that many Africans used to enjoy before colonialism. Colonialism dealt a major blow to traditional African scientific power and aspiration while it virtually destroyed African civilization.

Just like most other Third World countries, when African nations achieve independence, they generally become overwhelmed with joy, thinking that colonialism is gone and that they are now free. They usually forget their inheritance of colonial burden, neocolonialism. Neocolonial apparatus can be operatively subtle, but its impacts on the colonial soil or subjects are usually explosively dangerous. People of the post-colonial nations are never more in danger than when they think or believe they are free, losing sight of their gigantic neocolonial problems. In reality, they are mostly socially unsafe, politically unstable, and economically insecure. The reason for this is simple. Most of the independent nations follow the same pattern of colonial governmental administration. Even in the military or police sectors, recruitment,

training, operations and attitudes follow the same old backward colonial pattern. For example, in the early 1980s, armoured tanks and a large but unspecified number of Rover 2000 cars were ordered from the so-called civilized World to equip a special anti-crime squad of Nigerian police to arrest socio-political unrest on the street of Nigerian cities; whereas, up till today, the police patrol squad in England do not carry guns. In other words, it is alright for a directionless, goal-disoriented Third World leader to oppress, brutalize, and murder his country men, women, and innocent children in order to continue to stay in power. The real problem is that these countries do not have their own indigenous political system; their socio-politico-economic system is marred by colonialistic orientation, moral filth, backward planning, and dillusioned aspiration. Most of the neocolonial national leaders do not want to take time to think about new ways of doing things or about developing political and economic systems that are unique to their own conditions. They simply hold on to the neocolonial pattern which is very dangerous, and indeed detrimental to Third World political stability and socio-economic development. Kwame Nkrumah contends that the present state of neocolonialism represents imperialism in its last but also the most dangerous stage. He laments, "old fashioned colonialism is by no means entirely abolished. It still constitutes an African problem,...."⁹

Since the political and economic systems in neocolonial nations are not indigenous, the leaders of such countries more often than usual find themselves in a binding whereby they practically depend or are forced to depend on foreign expertise or direction to implement their economic programs and policies. Such a predicament is further echoed by Kwame Nkrumah, "the essence of neocolonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality, its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside."¹⁰

Nigerian intellectuals, politicians, as well as, other interested or concerned citizens must come together, plan, develop and implement political and economic systems that are unique, suitable, and favorable to their national conditions, development and growth. For this to happen, there must be a change, a change of current attitude. Neocolonialism must be dismantled and discarded and be replaced by a new sense of goal orientation and direction, a genuine spirit of patriotism, national unity, selflessness, determination, dedication, and total commitment to national development and true independence. Unless there is an attitude change on the part of Nigerian government, the politicians and the citizens at large, Nigeria will continue to suffer

from this type of deadly neocolonial viral affliction. Neocolonialism, in all of its dimensions, is very dangerous to national development. It delays progress for the indigenous country while it enhances the continuity of direct foreign (colonial) domination. Kwame Nkrumah cannot agree more than when he states, "the result of neocolonialism is that foreign capital is used for the exploitation rather than for the development of the less developed parts of the world. Investment under neocolonialism increases rather than decreases the gap between the rich and the poor countries of the world."¹¹ The more I discuss this subject, the more I find that the development pointers are pointing in the same direction. The direction is toward change; attitude must change. Naturally, some people are afraid of change, even positive change. Therefore, if the present national condition is to change, the national attitude must first change.

Nigeria should be a stabilizing and uniting force in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and Organization of African Unity (OAU). It should demonstrate an exemplary membership and leadership, and should not allow external forces or influence to use it to weaken or destabilize those organizations.

The Missing Link:

Both the East and West want the developing countries to ally with them, accept and practice their own political and economic doctrines (that includes cultural doctrines in case of the West). The truth of the matter is: neither the East nor the West would recognize or accept you until you have first identified, accepted, and proved yourself.

In most of the Third World countries, a vacuum exists. That vacuum is what I call the "missing link." Essentially, it is the absence of capable, orthodox, upright, sensible, patriotic, tough-minded, and goal-and-role-oriented leaders. Those countries are in dire need of able leadership. A good national leader will represent the meeting link and the missing link will cease to exist. Until Nigeria has a good leader, its precipitating political and economic woes would continue to rage like wild summer forest fire. The bottom line is: no developed country, as far as we have seen, has accepted or aided or will accept or aid a developing country except only and only if such an acceptance or aid is based on exploitation of that developing country. A practical example is the acceptance of the former Nigerian President Shehu Shagari by the West knowing fully well that they (the West) were exploiting his country and its resources and making a political stooge out of him. Infact, when his

presidency was abrogated by a military coup on December 31, 1983 the West "cried" in major national and local newspapers and went into a political "mourning" for their dear friend's political "death." One cannot predict that the military government is capable of handling Nigeria's development problems, but President Shehu Shagari's government was certainly politically very bad and economically destructive to the health of the nation. According to Chief F.A. Nzeribe,¹³ Nigeria's foreign loan which was \$1.6 billion when he assumed presidency rose as high as \$15 billion when he was forced out of the office. All of the money had been misused, mishandled, and illegally transferred to the Swiss Bank and other Western banks. On the other hand, the Libyan Leader, Muammar Qaddafi who has done so much to improve the health and development of his country has been branded and stigmatized as the World's terrorist leader by the West, simply because Qaddafi has refused to welcome Western dictation and influence and has rejected exploitation of himself or his country. This will be discussed further in the later paragraphs. In Nigeria's modern political history, we have had a very handful of leaders who Nigerians could be proud of in a true sense: Chief Obafemi Awolowo made an indelible political mark in the early 1950s when he built several schools and established free primary education system throughout the Western Region

of Nigeria. I must remark that Chief Obafemi Awolowo was (only) a regional premier and also that oil was not a part of Nigeria's revenue at the time. No other regional premier was able to successfully carry out the same program in their regions. Even with the military government and the oil revenue, the succeeding governments have been unable to formalize free education program at national level. In spite of his pragmatism and dynamism, Chief Awolowo's chances of becoming President were reduced to zero due to a very strong internally and externally backed massive rigging of electoral votes in the October, 1979 and October, 1983 elections.

Mr. Lateef Jakande was considered a great leader by individuals, journalists, and news media throughout Nigeria. His term was good and prosperous to the people of Lagos State of which he was a governor from January, 1980 to December, 1983. At the national level, President Murtala Muhammed was a leader whose name would and should never be forgotten in Nigerian history. He assumed power in July, 1975 by the way of a bloodless coup that ousted President Yakubu Gowon. Needless to say President Murtala Muhammed came to office with open hands, an open mind, attitude change and a goal to make changes, he miraculously transformed Nigeria. Within a few months, he had healed the country of its social ills, instilled positive

work ethics in the workers, restored morality, probity, prosperity and a sense of pride and patriotism in the society. The security and prosperity "tower" that he built for the nation quickly crumbled after his assassination in February 1976.

To assume that mere recognition or acceptance by the East or West is a salvation to national development in the Third World countries is a great mistake. I therefore contend that acceptance or recognition is not a prerequisite for econo-industrial development of a nation; it is something that manifests itself in national experience after national development has been attained. The prerequisite is a good leader who recognizes the deep meaning of change; who is willing to first change his own attitude and effect changes among his cabinet members and the masses. The task requires a leader who recognizes the national development potential, the magnitude and scope of the existing national problems, one who recognizes and appreciates his national resources (both human and material) and is willing to develop and utilize those potentials and resources not only to the maximum level possible but also to the best advantage of national development. Failure to recognize these facts and act accordingly and responsibly has resulted in various problems and complicated development efforts in most of the Third World countries.

FOUR CS OF AFRICAN UNDERDEVELOPMENT

The problem of underdevelopment in Africa is enormous. The leading factors that fuel, escalate and worsen the situation are what I call the four Cs of African underdevelopment. Essentially, these are corruption, conflict, coup, and confusion. The end result or aftermath of these unkind activities is political instability, economic regression, social chaos and poverty.

A typical predicament to national development in continental Africa and the rest of the developing countries is lack of national development initiative on the part of national leadership. Every time and everywhere, one discovers that there is a general lack of leadership preparedness or genuine and constructive initiative on the part of national leadership. When they come to power, they make gestures, postures, rethorics and lip service but no nationally beneficial actions. A lot of this lackadaisical attitude can be traced back to my earlier statement in which I discussed misplaced priorities. The only way to change the trend is for the developing countries themselves to endorse and actually demonstrate a genuine show of attitude

change. With a change of attitude, each country will recognize, reorganize, and rearrange their priorities. Once that occurs, several positive changes will occur accordingly: national interest will be given a much greater priority than personal interest. Until this occurs, the problem of underdevelopment will continue unabated. Making national interest the number one priority and concern will undoubtedly generate a national conscious consensus to develop, discipline, and sacrifice among the national leadership and the general populace. But what happens most of the time in the Third World countries is that most leaders come to power ill-prepared, assuming leadership role (but unwilling to exercise leadership responsibilities) but with a singular selfish goal of enriching themselves and their small clique. They become complacent with the poor national condition. Instead of concentrating on national development, they expend massive amount of time and energy amassing wealth for themselves and making foreign banks and foreign countries rich while ignoring the poverty and suffering of the masses in their own countries. People become dissatisfied and frustrated. Their frustration leads to aggression. Consequently, there is a coup. The nation returns to point one. There is confusion and anxiety everywhere. People become worried and confused because of the unknown, the uncertain future.

THE BROKEN CRUCIBLE

In Africa, religion has always been an important guide and strength factor. It is like a laboratory chemical preparation crucible which precipitates and holds all the solid residuals at the end of an experiment. This philosophical crucible, in contemporary African society, has been cracked and broken. Religion has lost its place, taste, and value. Many of those who presently practice religion in Africa only do so by lip service or for personality boost or for economic reasons, while several others simply do not care, just the way it is in the East and West. Religion is much deeper than that. Religion is defined in the Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English as "belief in the existence of a supernatural ruling power, the creator and controller of the universe, who has given to man a spiritual nature which continues to exist after the death of the body."¹⁴ Religion is therefore, the belief in and the worship of the only invisible God who is omniscient, omnipresent, omnipowerful, the Giver of Life and Death, the Master of the day of judgment, and the only One who has dominion over all things. Knowing that there is a merciful God who can do all things has, for ages, helped the African people to gain and maintain strength, stability and hope in spite of hardship and other

life difficulties. Being cognizant of the fact that there is life after death (the hereafter and the day of judgement) and that everyone would be judged according to one's own measure (good or bad deeds) has helped the Africans to maintain and inculcate decent and desirable virtues and behaviors in their children. This has helped African adults and children to grow upright.

When I was growing up in the 1940s, I had the opportunity to attend both the church and the mosque on regular basis. Education at that time required that we read the bible and memorize several of its chapters and verses. That type of religious atmosphere had helped to maintain sanity and stability in the African families and the society in general. People evinced restraint, etiquette, intelligence, wisdom, understanding, cooperation, probity charity and other desirable virtues. many Africans today, after receiving higher academic degrees from the East or West are led to believe that they have received education and a tool for success. Individualistic material success? Maybe yes; but to a limited degree, considering the fact that over 95% of the population are poverty ridden and downtrodden. Collective success or success in the hereafter? Probably no. Even in the case of individualistic material success, the success is usually not peaceful, productive, or lasting. For example, there are some prominent Nigerian lawyers and

politicians now living in exile overseas because of the roles they had played in Nigeria's economic strangulation which consequently resulted in political instability and social unrest. It goes to show that until there's collective good, individual gains would be enveloped by high risks. Religion teaches us to do good, be kind and helpful to others, especially the needy. Capitalism tells it the other way round. Now we understand, at least in part, why many Eastern and Western educated Africans become so confused about their roles in their home countries.

Unfortunately, many of them still believe that they have attained higher education and a tool for success. In reality, what they have received is not education but training. Both the Eastern and Western institutions of learning teach us how they do their things, and how they want us to do our things. This, usually, does not work because historically, culturally, traditionally and geographically, we are different. Beyond that, there are other environmental factors that are unique only to each of these different societies. It would be appalling and unworkable then to attempt to use the same yardstick for a measure of national development programs in the different nations. Therefore, a Western or Eastern trained African can and should pride

himself on having attained higher education only to the degree and extent to which he is able to use the various theories, principles, and concepts in a uniquely and practical way to improve his own homeland, always taking into consideration his homeland's environmental factors and conditions.

In the West, a lot of pastors and church goers eat pork, which is clearly forbidden by God in the Book of Deuteronomy. When you asked them why they deliberately defied God's Law, they would usually say, "that is in the Old Testament." The same pastor would go to the pulpit and preach to the congregation from the Books of Genesis, Leviticus, Chronicles, Joshua, Ruth, Job, Proverbs, etc., all of which are contained in the Old Testament. Some take excuses based on the New Testament; but there is nowhere in the original tablet of the Bible where Jesus attempted to change the commandment of God. Africans with strong cultural and religious background will have problems with such a manipulation and double-standard in religion; especially when we grew up with such notes, tunes, and doctrine of "charity begins at home," "honesty is the best policy," "give to the poor," "be good and kind to others," "respect and obey your parents so you may live long and be successful in the hereafter," "let

your good deed please you and your evil deed grieve you," just to mention a few. Religion has been so much a part of African society that the absence of it may cause it to die a shameful death. With the structure of African society, we cannot afford the (religious) void.

Let us look at Nigerian society for a moment. Up till late 1940s, Nigerians could afford to sleep safely all night in their balconies. At that time, neighbors knew neighbors, cared for one another; and people generally truly believe in and feared God. But during the past two decades with the massive outrageous importation of foreign cultures and general attitudes, Nigeria has drifted so far away from its unqualified beauty to shameful ugliness. Lagos, Nigeria's federal capital city, has become very unsafe due to high wave of armed robberies even in the broad day light, and even under the military regime. A woman's dressing style that would be chastised as nudity ten years ago has now been dubbed as modernity by some "modern" journalists. Some have argued that most of the problems arrive with industrial era. I disagree. Most of the problem came to exist because of individual and collective indiscipline, blatant selfishness, and inordinate greed of the ruling party or the ruling military regime time after time. It is true that industrialization has its own woes (nuclear waste, nuclear disaster,

industrial accidents, etc.) but it is my contention that national development can take place without the costly price of cultural importation and exploitation, oppression and suppression of the poor masses, and destruction of the important organs of the society. Getting down to the basis and bringing of religion, in a true sense and not in a commercial sense, back on the right track in Nigeria will help our intellectuals, educators, politicians, other professionals and laymen to use all their talents, skills, and knowledge in a manner that will benefit Nigeria and not just a minority clique of gangster. The only way to bring about the change is through attitude change on the part of the government and the general populace as well. The initiative must come from the government which seems to have the power to make or break.

SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST

Nigeria must learn to stand on its own feet, depend on its own wit, its own production ability, its own intuition, and its own gut. Nigeria is a country blessed with enormous resources, very enterprising, witty, shrewd men and women, and massive natural resources. But these clever, adventurous men and women most of the time operate on misplaced priorities; they are preoccupied with beating the system rather than building the system. In spite of these enormous resources, both human and material, Nigeria still depends appallingly and excessively on foreign answers to its problems.

Nigeria, at this time, is economically weak, politically vulnerable, and socially susceptible to any externally instigated divisive devices. It is like a potential time bomb which can go off at any time. To prevent disaster, Nigerian government must move swiftly, wisely and decisively to arrest or correct the situation. At the same time, it must show restraint, curb the excesses and demonstrate discipline and wisdom. The leader and his advisers and other staff must work hard for progress and be prepared to sacrifice. Bullets are not the answers; bread is. But to have abundant bread, prosperity, and peace, attitude from top to bottom must change.

Future Nigerian leaders must be tolerant, wise, sane, sensible, and sensitive to the needs of the land and the people, the need to be truly independent and the need to be self-sufficient most especially in agricultural product. Given the complexity of Nigeria structure (multi-linguisticity, ethnic diversity, religious and philosophical pluralism), it is a difficult task, but surely not an impossible one.

While discussing the present world predicament, Meier states, "most of the problems springs from an inherent unwillingness to abandon one's role....., and look at the problem squarely, realizing that it will demand a system of its own.....therefore, we must explore all the readily apparent possibilities for the organization of many diverse elements, sometimes to the extent of synthesizing quite new patterns that promise to be suitable,"¹² Meier statement clearly supports my contention all along that there is undoubtedly and unavoidably a dire need for a new politico-economic system and order in Nigeria if it were to overcome its present problems. But to do that, attitude of the government and the people must change. They must change the way they think, see, live, and the way they perceive national development.

I must say again that attitude change alone is not a panacea to Nigeria's econo-industrial development and growth, but attitude change is where to start. It will form the foundation and basis for all else. It is hoped that attitude change will lay a strong foundation for Nigeria's political, social and economic power.

IMPACTS OF ATTITUDE CHANGE ON NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

In the on-going passages, I will discuss how some contemporary nations have survived and overcome identical problems of development through attitude change. Let us begin with the United States of America.

America:

Up till 1776, America remained a British subject, colony to be exact. As soon as America attained its independence in 1776, it quickly put an imaginary but strong barricade between further colonial domination and its national development. America moved very briskly to replace colonial dependence and trust with self-reliance, and strong determination to be truly independent. America began to build and use its own schools for education of its own people. It established its own political and economic systems and policies within the framework of capitalist orientation and national interest. In establishing educational system, America literally put the colonial system of education under the rug. America used its own schools, wrote its own books including dictionaries, discriminately changed some English spellings and words, just to be unique or at least different from the colonial system, a diligent way to dismantle colonial heritage. Below are just a few of the spellings or words that America have changed or invented.

COMPARISON TABLE

BRITISH	AMERICA
Angry	Mad
Bicentenary	Bicentennial
Bonnet	Hood
Boot	Trunk
Cashier	Teller
Catalogue	Catalog
Cheque	Check
Colour	Color
Counsellor	Counselor
Current Account	Checking Account
Dismiss/Terminate (verb)	Fire (verb)
Enrolment	Enrollment
Favour	Favor
Flavour	Flavor
Football (soccer)	Soccer
Honour	Honor
Labour	Labor
Neighbour	Neighbor
Practise (verb)	Practice (verb)
Programme	Program
Pupil (at elementary-level)	Student (at all levels)
Racialism	Racism
Silencer	Muffler
Trafficator	Turn Signal
Traveller	Traveler
Tyre (of a car)	Tire
Veranda	Porch
Windscreen	Windshield

The comparison table is just to demonstrate the degree to which America attempted to distance itself from colonial attachment. By using its own ingenuity, initiative and intuition and depending on creativity, America rendered the colonial system obsolete. America, because of these changes, soon became the world's largest and strongest economy. The pragmatic demonstration of attitude change after independence worked marvels for America. Through hard work, dedication, determination, good orientation, and motivation to excel, America has by far surpassed Britain in economic and technological development. America has become a formidable force (militarily, politically, and economically) that the former colonial master (Britain) has to deal with. In this decade, if President Ronald Reagan sneezed, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher would have pneumonia.

Cuba:

Cuba's successful revolution of 1959 could be compared to successful revolutions of Mexico in 1910, Bolivia in 1952, Libya in 1969, and Iran in 1979. We know how shaky the political, social and economic conditions of Bolivia and Mexico are today. We must also remember that Cuba had a successful revolution in 1933. What has sustained the present day Cuba revolution is the unconquerable desire

and determination on the part of the government and the people to be truly independent and successful as a nation. In spite of massive military intimidation by a super-power country (America) which is only 90 miles away from Cuba, its economic blockade, sponsored economic embargo, sponsored assassination efforts and attempted invasion, massive propaganda, Cuba has stood up to the test and remained stronger than ever militarily, politically and economically. Fidel Castro is a leader with a sense of purpose. When he came to power in 1959, some of his major goals were to improve literacy rate and standard, improve health care system and agriculture. With a change of attitude which gave birth to national conscience in Cuba, Castro has been very successful. Among other things, Cuba has one of the best medical technologies in the world today.

German Democratic Republic:

A country of roughly 17 million people, bounded in the North by Baltic sea, in the West by West Germany, in the East by Poland, and in the South by Czechoslovakia, became known as German Democratic Republic (often called East Germany by the Western countries) in 1949 after the unconditional surrender of Nazi Germany in May, 1945 followed by Potsdam Conference of July, 1945 in which the national leaders of Great Britain, America, France and Soviet Union divided one

Germany into East and West zones, with West Germany for Great Britain, America and France and East Germany for Soviet Union. At that time, East Germany was in a very bad shape socially, politically, and economically. As Lex Hornsby testifies, East Germany was "a devastated area, with its cities in ruins, its industries destroyed, its fuel supplies, except for lignite, cut off, its foreign trade almost non-existent, its people hungry and scattered."¹⁵ In 1952, GDR decided to go socialist, declaring the power of the State as the chief instrument to make it work. Today, research shows that various parties in GDR no longer represent separate interest but national interest with a strong goal of creating and sustaining a socialist society. Quickly, GDR embarked on immense industrial expansion alongside with the reconstruction of smashed cities, the restoration of countless cultural buildings, vast housing programs, planning and financing of social services and a complete overhauling and a wholistic rethinking of its social structure. By 1966, GDR had become the 5th largest industrial state in Europe and 9th most powerful industrial nation in the world. Compared to Nigeria, a nation not at war but is unable to sustain itself or feed its own people in spite of the availability of massive resources (human/material, tapped/untapped). The only way

Nigeria will develop is to begin with attitude change embroidered with national conscience, strong determination to develop and the will to win. GDR began its national development program at a time when it had nothing but the determination of its own people. As Lex Hornsby verifies, "no rich subsidies were available from abroad, either in money or raw materials. East Germany's one great resource was the energy, inventiveness and determination of its people."¹⁶ Through attitude change, GDR became a developed country. Hornsby refer to GDR's recovery and success as "economic miracle."¹⁷ London Times (5/29/64) commented that the reconstruction of the world famous Zeiss optical plant, "like that of German industry East of the Elbe generally, is more miraculous than the better-known West German miracle, if one considers the odds it was up against."¹⁸

Japan:

Up till 1960, American society and American institutions were by far superior to those of Japan. By 1975, Japan had become number one in industrial productivity growth rate. It did not happen overnight. It is a matter of attitude change, Japanese incessant quest to be in the fore-front which began in 1868 when it embarked on a two-decade-long study of the best institutions in the world in each sector:

government, business, education, military, and arts. Throughout late 19th and past mid 20th centuries, Japan leaders attempted to select institutions appropriate for a country in their circumstances and with their cultural traditions. These leaders selected the best models and then made additional improvements. To prevent foreign conquest and catch up with the modern West, the Japanese government determinedly assumed leadership in dealing with broad issues in planning, restructuring, modernizing and phasing out declining industries. From 1945 to 1947, six million soldiers and civilians who had been overseas for decades returned home to be supported by the Japanese government. Food shortage and hunger were widespread. This could be devastatingly catastrophic for a country of 115 million people on a tiny island about the size of Montana state (USA). But because of attitude change and strong determination to succeed as a nation, by the late 1970s, the Japanese Gross National Product (GNP) had become as large as those of United Kingdom and France combined, and larger than half of America's.

According to Vogel's account,¹⁹ of the world's 22 largest modern blast furnaces in 1978, Japan had 14 and America had none. At the same time, with modern plants and higher productivity, Japan was outcompeting American

steel and other foreign markets. Similarly, Japan was dominating in electronic industries, automobile and ship industries and other markets. By 1978, Japanese Honda had competitively outdistanced Volkswagen in American market. In 1977 alone, Japan exported $4\frac{1}{2}$ million cars, while America exported only a small fraction of that figure.

The success of Japanese management system must be mentioned. The spectacular success has excited the attention of American scholars, professors, and businesses. The most talked-about subject this decade is not Theory X or Theory Y (except for comparative discussions/analyses) but Theory Z (Japanese management system), the adaptation of which Americans call Quality Circles or Participative Management. Some big American industries such as the Army, IBM, Kodak, etc., have adopted and implemented the Japanese management style to some extent. In Alvin Toffler's Third Wave,²⁰ one learns about industrial management concepts of standardization, specialization, synchronization, concentration, maximization and centralization; but Japan, as usual, always looks for system that will uniquely fit into its culture and environment, hence the Theory Z. It will be useful to show the comparative differences between Japanese management system and that of America.

Listed below is a few of them:

U. S. A.	J A P A N
Short time employment	Life time employment
Fast evaluation/promotion	Slow evaluation/promotion
Job insecurity	Job security
Specialization	Non-specialized paths
Competition	Cooperation
Individualism	Collectivism
Individual decision-making	Collective decision-making
Individual responsibility	Collective responsibility
Impersonal relationship	Intimacy
Segmented orientation	Wholistic orientation
Reactive	Progressive
Conflict	Concensus
Suspicion	Trust
Workers' disloyalty	Workers' loyalty
Organizational interest	National interest

Source: William Ouchi.²⁴

Also of great importance and admiration is their attitude toward education. The Japanese believe in quality and equality of education. Their youth have performed exceptionally well in international competitions in earth science, chemistry, biology and in understanding, application, and in higher mental processes, according to Vogel,²² who also commended the Japanese crime control system. Japanese huge success stems from their attitude change and their undoubting willingness to make changes in several spheres of their lives and organizations.

Libya:

Libya's social, political, and economic success of the 1970s and 1980s was not a spontaneous event occurring without a cause. It is a result of careful planning and competent administration of Colonel Muammar Qaddafi.

When Qaddafi was born in 1942 during World War II, Libya was still an Italian colony under Italy's Fascist government headed by an Italian dictator Benito Mussolini. Italy and its German allies (the Nazis) defending Libya against Britain and its allies (America, etc.,) lost. So Libya became under British and French domination; but the United Nations decreed that Libya be granted independence under the rulership of King Mohammed Idris Al-Sennusi who was toppled in a bloodless military coup on September 1, 1969. Qaddafi and 12 officers who pertook in the coup

formed a Revolutionary Command Council to rule the country. Qaddafi, who has been called a farsighted statesman by many, came to power with an enormous sense of purpose, an unyielding commitment to national building and Arab unity. In spite of all sorts of ugly name-calling by the West, this controversial leader has continued to enjoy massive support of his people and has remained popular among them. This is because Qaddafi has been able to deliver the political promises that he made to his people when he came to power in 1969. Soon after he assumed national leadership, he closed all the foreign military bases, including an American air base outside of Tripoli in an effort to ascertain that Libya was truly independent and would depend on its own military strength and defence system. A dozen years later, the following are just a few of Qaddafi's programs/achievements: outstanding improvement in standard of living, luxurious life compared to citizen experience under King Idris, basic needs of all the people have been met to a greater extent than any other African country, per capita income rose from \$1,700.00 to \$9,000.00 under his leadership, compulsory free education through elementary level, universal free education through university level, free health care services, utilities and a variety of social services.

In 1977, Qaddafi replaced the Revolutionary Command Council with the General People's Congress under a new constitution. The congress consists of about 1,000 popularly chosen delegates and represents the highest policy-making government body. Qaddafi remained the Leader of the Revolutionary Council. It is important to note that while Libya has used its LINOCO (Libyan National Oil Corporation) and its oil money sensibly to benefit its nation, Nigeria has abused its own NNPC (Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation) and illegally transferred its own oil money in billions of dollars to Swiss bank and other foreign banks to individual accounts.

Iran:

After 25 years of reign of terror and brutality under the Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, Iran assumed new leadership in 1979 when octogenarian Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini returned to Iran from France where he had been exiled for some years. This revolution's commitment to Islamic government and national development was undeniably strong. In spite of the fact that the Shah allegedly looted and emptied the national treasury when he fled the country, the fact that the young revolution had 444 days of confrontation with a superpower (American hostage crisis), and the worst of all, the fact that it has to spend billions of

dollars to defend itself against Iraqi war of aggression/ invasion. Iran still breathes. Infact, Iran breathes better than many countries that are not at war. With only 10% arable land, Iran is almost self-sufficient in most areas of agricultural produce. The greatest economic marvel or miracle of it all is the fact that Iran is the only country in the world today that does not owe the World banks anything. Indeed, it is a modern miracle. Whereas, Nigeria has 34% arable land, and it is not able to feed its citizens nor could it sustain itself economically. Iran's ability to be so successful thus far in the face of several odds and difficulties lies in the government's and people's attitude change, a change culminated by a strong determination and high desire to make Iran a model country in its own right.

In addition to the above listed countries whose leaders have exemplified positive attitude toward true independence, self-sufficiency, and national development, it will be useful to list comments from some of several writers who have voiced concerns or lamented over Nigeria's handling of its social, political and economic affairs. Uzodinma Nwala,²³ on the subject of ideological dependency, points out that Nigeria's economic system, Mixed economy, dates back to the colonial period (with the activities of the British finance oligarchy in

Nigeria). He quotes: "This oligarchy could not operate its profitable colonial enterprises without some other activities which were not capable of yielding profits. During the early colonial period, profitable enterprises were largely possible in import/export trade, banking, insurance, shipping, wholesale and retail trades and tin mining. The finance oligarchies concentrated their economic activities in this area. But railways and roads were important for these enterprises; so was the mining of coal to be used in running the railway system. Similarly, electricity, telephone and telegraph, the civil service, the army and police were important. The colonial state intervened to provide these services using the taxes obtainable from the colonized.

This is the historical origin of the public sector in the Nigerian economy. It is a sector that is based on the inability of its enterprises to generate profit, that services the sector that is profitable to the finance oligarchy, that does not service the interests of the colonized but is paid for by their taxes. Therefore, it was an instrument for the exploitation which occurs at that place of work. It reflects the super-exploitation of the colonized. And because it was only peripheral to the interests of the finance oligarchy, conditions of work

in it, particularly the wages, were less attractive than in the private companies, with a consequent lowering of workers' morale and productivity. These consequences are in turn used to discredit public ownership of economic activities."²⁴

Needless to say mixed economy is not an admirable type of economic system for Nigeria, it is a further proliferation of resource exploitation even after independence. Nwala laments on what amounts to nothing else but subtle abuse and exploitation of Nigeria's traditional rulers, (Emirs, Obas, Obis and Chiefs). These rulers depended on the colonial powers for political support and their material needs and in return acted as colonial agents to foster colonial interests in their localities. Nwala frowns on Nigeria's police and army which he believed are reared in the traditions of the British police and military system and are generally subservient to the colonial masters "both in sympathy and in ideas."²⁵ He seems to agree with me perfectly on the issue of acculturation. In his own words, "the educational system introduced in the country was aimed at infusing the cultural values of the metropolis and destruction of indigenous culture and value. Similarly, through several instruments of social control, Nigerians have remained victims of foreign domination materially and spiritually. For example, the mass media in Nigeria tend

to operate more subtly and benignly in importing new, predominantly foreign, values which may be technical, religious, commercial and consumptionist, propagandist and immoral."²⁶ Nwala's prescription for Nigeria's true autonomy (social, political, and economic) is a total break-off with the "world monopoly capitalism in which she (Nigeria) is only a convenient appendage."²⁷

In the earlier paragraphs of this paper, I have questioned the utility and intellectual integrity of the Eastern and Western education in relation to the Third World societies, aspirations, and needs. Samuel Kodjo could not agree any more. He stresses that the historic colonial relationship between the industrial nations and the West African countries is the basis for the present dependency, indicating "that such interactions involved more than technological and economic elements. They had important cultural dimensions of which the colonial educational system has had the most dysfunctional impact on our cultures. Probably the most pernicious effect is the predisposition among educated West Africans to uncritically accept and adopt Western cultural norms and values as universally valid."²⁸

According to Kodjo, modern education as practiced in the Third World countries tends to detach itself from the objective realities and prevalent conditions of the

underdeveloped countries. Furthermore, it is dominated and controlled by foreign facts and data and it diverts the attention of students in underdeveloped nations to things that are not relevant to their needs or conditions.

In Sonaike's and Olowoporoku's discussion of Economic Dependence, the following hypotheses²⁹ are advanced:

- a) World expansion of capitalism is directly responsible for economic dependence of the Third World countries.
- b) Dependence brews economic exploitation and expatriation of economic surplus by the dominant countries.
- c) Underdevelopment results from economic dependence.

The above points support my protracted argument all along that Nigeria must be prepared to be on its own feet and depend on its own resources and production if it is going to be truly independent and progressive. There are several other articles written by various writers about how Nigeria is malhandling its affairs and national development. While I am not able to make references to many of them in this paper, I am quite satisfied that we are talking about the same thing, the appalling state of Affairs in Nigeria and a dire need for a change. I agree with the

writers. If there is any disagreement at all, it lies in how to make the needed change and make things happen in Nigeria. For example, a respected writer suggests the need for Nigeria to break off with the capitalist world in order to develop. While I sympathize with his thinking and frustration, I strongly believe that Nigeria, as a non-allied nation, should be free and capable of having relationship with the East and West as long as its territorial integrity, sovereignty, and freedom to make its own decision are respected and reserved. But in the complex world we are in today, only the right leadership and the right attitude can make it work.

To continue to complain about the problems without taking a decisive action or suggesting an effective action plan to resolve them is mere procrastination and vacillation; and to suggest what Nigeria should not do without offering or suggesting what it should do to solve its problems is like writing a prescription without diagnosis. Having read so many books, and articles from journals, magazines, and newspapers, and talked with several intellectuals, politicians, business people, and fellow students alike, I have become more convinced than ever that attitude change in all dimensions of Nigeria's life can yield positive and fruitful results, leading way to true independence and national development. But we must have a capable and competent leader who understands that without collective

good, there will continue to be individual grimace; indeed a leader who understands the complexity and magnitude of Nigeria's problems and is willing to deal with them in a forthright manner, a leader who is ready to sacrifice and lead the masses to the path of collective prosperity. If the government takes a responsible stand and lead, the Nigerian masses will take a positively responsible step to follow suit.

INTERMEDIATE STEPS TOWARD NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND
SELF-SUFFICIENCY

By the conclusion of chapter three, this paper has done what it set out to do. But after a lengthy discussion, with and encouragement from Professor Arthur Prell, I proceeded to include this short chapter with a conviction that it would prove useful.

Professor Prell,³⁰ in his recent writing, proposes a development "recipe" which seems admirable and reasonable. His model calls for an establishment of a commercial relationship based on mutual trust and mutual benefits between a developed country and a developing country.

A multinational company from a developed country, upon invitation from a developing country, will construct an industrial facility in the host country at no cost to the host country, provide the needed equipment and trainers to train the host nationals on how to operate, maintain, and manage the industry. A contract will be written in a way that the foreign trainers will eventually be discharged according to an agreed-upon time-table, leaving the entire operation and management of the industry solely in the hand of the host country personnel. At the same time, the contract will stipulate that the products of this new

industry be sold to the multinational company at a discounted price below world market prices for a period of years according to an initially agreed-upon-time-table. This type of arrangement, if it can be worked out, will not only help the underdeveloped nation to develop, but will also go a long way to enhance international understanding and cooperation. However, we must not close our eyes to the bureaucratic red tape or general difficulties that may stand in the way of a fascinating arrangement like this. While the underdeveloped host country may worry about exploitation, the advanced foreign country has the right to be concerned about the security of its capital investment since many of the Third World countries are so politically unstable.

NEED AREAS AND APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY

Up till early 1960s, agriculture was the mainstay of Nigerian economy. But by 1964 with the oil on the scene, agriculture and livestock had begun to fall steadily. With steady population growth and farming neglect, Nigeria quickly became a country that could no longer feed itself. Today Nigeria imports mostly all of its food needs from overseas. According to Chief Nzeribe,³¹ Nigeria spent roughly \$1 billion on rice import in 1983. To reverse the continuity of the adverse condition, Nigeria must immediately and simultaneously embark on these projects:

Food Production:

First and foremost on the list of needs for Nigeria is food. With a population of 100 million people and a 34% arable land, Nigeria must be self-sufficient in agricultural produce and be able to feed its people.

Education:

Special focus must be put on several significant and relevant areas of education (cultural, traditional, health and sanitation, agricultural, political economy, science and technology, etc). More schools are needed everywhere. Education must be made compulsory up to High School level.

Rural Development:

This would help to curtail mass youth flow from rural to urban areas which has a tendency to increase crime rate

in the city as a result of unemployment. India and Tanzania have set good examples in rural development and integration and their examples are worthy of emulation. Transportation will be an important part of rural development program.

Industries:

Nigeria must, at this stage of its development, embark on small scale industries (intermediate technology or appropriate technology) which McRobie calls "small, simple, capital-saving, non-violent technologies and their supporting institutions."³² Nigeria's Research and Development Organization must determine what technology/industry is needed and the appropriate location. This must extend to rural areas of the entire country. Again, India and Tanzania have done this successfully. Nigeria should study their institutions. Today, oil represents 95% of Nigeria's export and revenue. But Nigeria has very enterprising people and many untapped resources. What happens to Nigeria's chief crops (cocoa, tobacco, palm products, peanuts, cotton, soybeans), mineral (natural gas, coal, iron, gold, limestone, columbium, tin), and several others such as timber, rubber, and hides and skins, etc? Working with the advanced countries and their technicians in conjunction with the indigenous experts on mutual trust-mutual benefit basis, Nigeria must industrialize and ruralize its economy,

making use of its vast resources (human/material, tapped/untapped). Under a contractual arrangement, Nigerians must be trained on how to operate, maintain and manage these industries on their own.

Health Care Delivery:

Nigeria needs many more hospitals and other health care facilities than it presently has. The few medical facilities that are available at this time are poorly equipped, poorly managed and understaffed. To achieve this objective, these steps are needed:

- 1) Build more medical facilities
- 2) Develop and introduce technologies that are appropriate to Nigeria medical installations
- 3) Encourage Nigerian medical practitioners who are now residing overseas to return home to serve their country

Crime Control:

Crime rate is rising in Nigeria, especially in the cities. Nigerian Police need better training, more discipline and more money. Some writers have attempted to equate the rise in crime rate as a progression factor of industrialization, but Japan, a country with the highest industrial output, has proved them wrong. Japan has curtailed its urban crimes to a minimally low level. Nigeria should study Japanese Police Department and crime control system.

There are other areas (for example, low-income housing, etc.), that need attention but I will limit this paper to the above areas. With an attitude change and the will to develop, Nigeria can develop socially, politically, and economically. Unlike in Nigeria where over 60% of the population are farmers and still cannot produce enough food to feed the nation, only 5% of the Americans are farmers, and they produce enough food to feed 240 million people, with a massive surplus to export and, sometimes, to waste. In India, Pandit Nehru advocated self-sufficiency of agricultural produce, and building and expansion of intermediate technologies. This effort was most vigorously pursued by his successor, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. By these efforts, India with a population of nearly 800 million people, over three times the size of America, and eight times the size of Nigeria has become very industrialized and most notably self-sufficient in food production. Now India exports large amount of food products overseas. In bringing industries alive to the rural areas, Indian faculty members and students were involved. They started by designing, building, and testing low-cost machinery and equipment for the farmers while other researchers focused on other areas such as small-scale soap production, alternative energy source, low-cost housing, and educational aids for teaching. This, among other benefits,

provided youth employment. Tanzania, though one of the poorest countries in Africa, has embarked on national development and rural upgrading for several years and has attained some success. Their industrialization effort was based on a careful choice of industries (large/small) and a philosophy of "economic and political decentralization, equality, and local and national self-reliance."³³

In order to solve the problems of rising crime rate, urban unemployment, rural underemployment, food shortage, and, in a nutshell, underdevelopment, Nigerian government and the masses will need to take a decisive step and an initiative to develop Nigeria, by studying other successful nations and making use of examples and styles that harmoniously and uniquely fit into their own environmental factors.

FOOTNOTES

¹James A.H. Murray, Henry Bradley, W.A., Craigie, C.T. Onions, The Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. I (London, 1961), p. 553.

²Charles Kiesler, Barry Collins, and Norman Miller, Attitude Change: A Critical Analysis of Theoretical Approaches (New York, 1969), p.2.

³Gail Myers and Michele Myers, The Dynamics of Human Communication: A Laboratory Approach (New York, 1980), p. 78.

⁴ibid., p.78.

⁵James A.H. Murray, et al., The Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. II (London, 1961).

⁶ibid.

⁷Kwame Nkrumah, Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism (New York, 1966), p. 24.

⁸ibid., p. 24

⁹ibid., p. ix.

¹⁰ibid., p. ix.

¹¹ibid., p. x.

¹²Richard L. Meier, Science and Economic Development (Cambridge, 1966), p. 1

¹³Francis Arthur Nzeribe, Nigeria: Another Hope Betrayed (Bungay, n.d.), p. 48.

¹⁴A.S. Hornsby, E.V. Gatenby, H. Wakefield, The Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English, 2nd ed. (London, 1963).

¹⁵Lex Hornsby; Profile of East Germany (London, 1966), p. 7.

¹⁶ibid., p.7.

¹⁷ibid., p. 18.

¹⁸ibid., p. 18.

FOOTNOTES CONTD.

¹⁹ Ezra F. Vogel, *Japan as Number One* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 10.

²⁰ Alvin Toffler, *The Third Wave* (New York, 1981).

²¹ William Ouchi, *Theory Z: How American Business Can Meet the Japanese Challenge* (Menlo Park, 1981).

²² Ezra F. Vogel, *Japan as Number One* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 159.

²³ Nzodinma Nwala, "Ideological Dependency and the Problem of Autonomy in Nigeria," *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, XIV, 1-2, (1-4/79), pp. 59-66.

²⁴ Nwala, p. 62.

²⁵ Nwala, p. 63.

²⁶ Nwala, p. 63.

²⁷ Nwala, p. 65.

²⁸ Samuel Kodjo, "Educational Strategy for Cultural Independence in West Africa," *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, XIV, 1-2, (1-4/79), pp. 67-77.

²⁹ Olayinka Sonaike and Bode Olowoporoku, "Economic Dependence: The Problem of Definition," *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, XIV, 1-2, (1-4/79), pp. 32-43.

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