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Author	EZE, Catherine Uju
	PG/MA/02/33583
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TITLE PAGE

RELIGIOUS/MORAL VALUES AS VITAL INGREDIENTS FOR
NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND UNITY IN NIGERIA

BY

EZE CATHERINE UJU
REG. NO. PG.MA/02/33583

DEPARTMENT OF RELIGION
UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA, NSUKKA

NOVEMBER, 2006

REQUIREMENT PAGE

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NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND UNITY IN NIGERIA**

BY

**EZE CATHERINE UJU
REG.NO. PG/MA/02/33583**

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APPROVAL

This dissertation has been approved for the award of Masters in Arts(MA)
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Nsukka.

Rev. Fr. Prof. Anthony N. O. Ekwunife
Supervisor

15-12-06
Date:

Rev. Dr. A.U. Agha
Head of Department

5/3/07
Date:

Prof. Okechukwu Ibeanu
Dean of faculty

15/3/07
Date:

External Examiner

20-12-06
Date:

DEDICATION

TO

Every Nigerian that they may accept and apply Religious/Moral values in their daily activities.

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It is in order that one must give appreciation for the favour received my first appreciation goes to God All Merciful, for His Grace given to me all through the period of the research in spite of my tight programmes.

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Eze Catherine Uju
Department of Religion,
University of Nigeria, Nsukka
November, 2006.

ABSTRACT

An objective assessment of Nigeria's achievement since her independence shows clearly that the nationhood had been a catalogue of crises, indiscipline, human misery and wanton disregard of the value of human life. Based on the above statement of the problem, the major aims of this study are: to explore how religious/moral values can be applied in the thinking and actions of all Nigerians so as to promote the process of national development and unity in Nigeria. Information and data for this work were called from both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources were derived from participant observation, discussion and interaction as well as personal experience as a Nigerian who has been living in Nigeria since birth. Secondary sources include published books, articles and information from the media. The data were organized and presented through descriptive method. Consequently, all efforts to tackle the problem of national development and unity in Nigeria have proved abortive. The writer, therefore recommends serious conscientization and socialization along the lines of religious moral values outlined in this project since they would invariably give rise to positive religious, political, social, economic and psychological well-beings of the entire citizens.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY:

The modern state of Nigeria, which was formerly a British colony, became an independent nation on the 1st of October 1960. Its population is estimated to be about 120 million. Nigeria is blessed with abundant human and natural resources. Yet it is a society in which the followership and leadership seem to have lost their God given conscience of what is good and evil and has therefore failed to develop morally and ethically as a result of this. This is evident from the ways we organize ourselves from day to day in our human relationship, our politics, economy and in our religious lives.

Nigerian society is bedeviled by corruption, indiscipline, dishonesty, injustice, abuse of drugs, insecurity of life and property, denial of fundamental human rights, ritual murder and human trafficking. An example of this is seen in Europe where our girls are sold. These girls never thought they will be doing such jobs but they are deceived by people who promised to give them job if they accept to travel abroad with them. On getting abroad, these girls are threatened and introduced into prostitution by those men who brought them.

On the eve of Nigerian independence in 1960, there was a great and anxious expectation that the end of British rule would break the colonial yoke and mark the dawn of a new era: that of national development and unity which was hitherto hampered by the British imperialistic policies and tutelage. But from the very outset, things started falling apart in every aspect of national life. In particular, national cohesion became a far cry; and dreams of national development became a classical utopia. Within two decades of idle hopes for

national development and unity, both constructive criticism and cynical remarks about the deplorable state of affairs were made because Nigeria found herself in a situation where one crisis bred another, where civil unrest led to one of the bloodiest civil wars in history, and social ills of all descriptions has assumed unimaginable proportions and affected all aspects of life in the society

An objective assessment of Nigeria's achievement since her independence shows clearly that the nation had been steadily on a downward trend in all aspects of national life. It then means that, instead of celebrating peace and progress, Nigerian forty-five years of nationhood had been a catalogue of crises, indiscipline, human misery and wanton disregard of the values of human life. Human dignity and rights are trampled upon, and freedom, honour and virtue have no place at all levels of the Nigerian society.

All efforts towards national development and unity will continue to be elusive unless serious attention and sense of commitment prevail in applying religious and moral values as a promoter of national development and unity in Nigeria.

Nigerians also known as one of the countries that is experiencing the fastest growth of religious activities in the world. Nigerians are notoriously religious because religion is seen to permeate every aspect of their daily lives. It is in this vein that Mbiti (1967) observed thus:

Wherever the African (Nigerian) is, there is his religion;
He carries it to the fields where he sows seeds or is
harvesting a new crop, he takes it with him to a bar
parlor or to attend a funeral ceremony and if he is
educated he takes religion with him to examination hall
at school or the university, if he is a politician, he
takes it to the house of representatives.

With the above, one will understand the depth of attachment a Nigerian has his religion. Yet respect for morality and religious values in public and private lives of Nigerians have reached regrettable low condition. Current events in Nigeria such as ritual killings and abortions make one wonder whether it can be said that increase in religious activities necessarily implies ascending over immoral attitudes among the populace. Stressing on the fact that Nigerian society is beset with many evil vices, Olagunju (1985:2) of Times International observes thus:

Today the society is beset with so many problems, that people start wondering whether conscience still has a place in the people's action. For example, cases of armed robbery, killings, theft, corruption, enrichment and all sorts of malpractices have so perverted the society that one would think that conscience has been thrown overboard.

Even among the political class and so-called "religious" men and women, it is the same story of negligence of religious and moral values. In an editorial opinion, Afuwape (2002:14) of The Vanguard Posited:

The political scene today, is full of leaders who are specialists in the use of religion as a cover for worse evil that even the devil himself will dread to embark. Political leaders who campaigned for political offices in order to obviate the sufferings of their people, have all turned brutish, callous and unfeeling to the yearnings of electorate, (as in the case of Dr. Mbadinuju, erstwhile governor of Anambra State).

In our country, there are many churches and mosques with large number of people in attendance. The traditionalists are not left out, as they also practice

their religion fervently. Yet the upsurge of social crimes in the society point to the fact that all are not well with the people despite their apparent religiosity. It is right to say that people pay lip service to religion, as they profess one thing and their different actions portray another thing. In an editorial opinion, Kumuyi (2004:21) argued that, "Being religious is one thing and acting right and doing well is another."

Religion in present day Nigeria, has been manipulated for selfish, political, economic and social gains. Nigerians especially our political leaders are known to commit crimes forbidden by the holy books in the name of God. A confused situation does not normally augur well for national development and cohesion. Rather it offers the breeding ground for opportunist to ear their ugly head and usurp power, position and property that belong to the people. This explains why today, Nigeria appears to be a place where nothing works, where only a negligible minority of the population enjoy the enormous wealth of the nation while the majority of the people languish in want; hunger, starvation and death; where prestige projects for the enjoyment and benefits of the few are preferred to money generating and job-creating ventures which would benefit the generality of the people; and where in the midst of galloping inflation, the old do not receive attention, the retired are not sure of getting their rewards and the youths of the nation face unimaginable unemployment rates.

Nigeria is also seen as the sixth largest oil producing country in the world, oil also constitutes more than ninety percent of the country's foreign exchange earner. It is easy to assume that Nigeria must be so financially well off that her large population had to have access to the income per capita that would enable her citizens to enjoy reasonable or comfortable quality of life.

But Nigeria is also described unenviable as the second most corrupt country in the world. Nigeria is indeed according to Ekwunife (1995:96) “Socially and morally and terribly sick”. Unemployment level and the rate of inflation, which acts as indices of poverty, hunger, starvation and death, had assumed such unprecedented proportions that defy description. The somber image of Nigeria commonly feature regularly in both national and international news media, periodicals, journals and books. The evident hollowness of Nigeria, in spite of her paradoxical acclaim to the lofty height of being the giant of Africa, has been orchestrated so often, so widely, so overwhelmingly and so disturbingly that the need to continue the search for the courses of her problem of national development and unity, as well as its possible solution can no longer be ignored or deferred.

1.1 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM:

This unpalatable situation described above had earlier provoked various kinds of reactions in the form of comments, suggestions and prescriptions from people of various walks of lives, some of who were genuinely motivated by their deep sense of patriotism as to what could have been the cause of the nightmare and what could be the solution, so as to alter the situation for the better. If the above worrisome state of affairs as observed in a country that professes to be deeply religious, then there is need to investigate the causes of this anomaly. It is a fact that all effort to tackle the problem of national development and unity in Nigeria have proved elusive, hence the need for a new option, and that is the application of religious/moral values as vital ingredient for national development and unity.

From what has been shown above about the behaviour of Nigerians; this question can be stated thus: why has Nigeria failed to achieve an integrated national unity and development?

1.3 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY:

The major aims of this study therefore are:

- i. To explore how religious/moral values can be applied in the thinking and actions of all Nigerians so as to promote the process of national development and unity in Nigeria
- ii. To define some basic terms such as Value, Religion, Morality and so on as they apply to our lives and contemporary situation.
- iii. To illustrate how the application of religious/moral values had succeeded in fostering national development and unity.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY:

This project is carried out with a conviction that a thorough sanitization of the Nigeria Citizens will produce a population that will join hands in fighting the societal ills that militate against national development and unity. In doing this, the rich religious/moral values embodied in the three dominant religions in Nigeria namely: The African Traditional Religion, Christianity and Islam, will be made the guiding principles of whatever every Nigerian does.

The application of religious/moral values in Nigeria national life will also give rise to positive consequences in religious, political, social, economic, educational and psychological aspects of life in the country, thereby resulting in national development and unity. With the acceptance of these values, Nigerians would no longer see politics as an exploitative game in which the politicians

always gain to the detriment of the others. Rather, politics will be viewed as an expression of care for the masses.

Furthermore, if true religious/moral values are accepted by the populace, the economic situation of the country would no doubt make a U-turn and improve. The cases of embezzlement of public fund, bribery and corruption, advanced fee fraud (419) and so on, would be curbed to a minimum. Inflation that has been the major problem of our nation's economy will be reduced. The religious leaders will begin to carry out their functions with dedication and a sense of commitment and with full awareness that the eyes of God, the divinities, spirits and ancestors are on them. The citizenry would understand and appreciate the fact that God is the cornerstone of the society.

It is only religious/moral values that can restore sanity to Nigeria's educational system and once again make educational institutions in the country centers of learning where the manpower for national development and unity are trained. With the application of religious/moral values, the value of human lives will be appreciated, the quality of life of Nigerians will also improve and every body will regard one another as members of the same family irrespective of diversities in ethnic origin. The only and most effective way of curbing the ugly trend in the social lives of Nigerian's is to effect thorough moral realignment through the acceptance of religious/moral values.

In conclusion, the ultimate significance of this study then is that, the application of religious/moral values in Nigerian national life is the real answer to the Nigerian quest for national development and unity.

1.5 SCOPE AND LIMITATION OF THE STUDY:

The scope of this study is on the Nigerian society with its leaders and masses. People were examined in relation to their application of religious/moral values to their daily activities.

This study does not claim to portray the behaviour to every single Nigerian because of her population. However, the study shows what the behaviour of a majority of the people is like.

Furthermore, this study is concerned with the role of religious/moral values as vital ingredients of national development and unity. The application of religious/moral values in a system can among other things, serve diverse purposes, namely evaluative, corrective and prescriptive purposes. These however complement each other to promote national development and unity.

This work seeks to evaluate the efforts and progress made since independence in various areas of nation building. It also seeks to correct whatever inherent weakness I the earlier efforts and strategies including the ways hey were executed by applying religious/moral values as vital ingredients of national development and unity. The study will therefore consist of a review of what has been done or what needs to be done in which areas of national life as economic, social, politics, religious, educational, and psychological aspects and then see how the application of religious/moral value can be of use as a corrective instrument to remedy any inherent weaknesses in any of them. It is also the concern of this work to prescribe religious/moral values to boost performance in any of these areas of the life of the nation.

The last but not the least, is that the area covered by this study is the geopolitical, region known by the name "Nigeria" which coined on the 8

January 1987 by a British lady, Miss Flora show, who was then the London Times Newspaper correspondent.

1.6 Research Methodology.

Information and data for this work were collected from both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources were derived from participant observation, discussion and interaction with Nigerian who has been living in Nigeria since birth. Secondary sources include published books, articles and information from the media. The analyses, organization and presentation of the data were done by attempting to describe either by comparing or contrasting the essential elements and characteristics of any phenomena in the angle of the study.

1.7 Definition of Terms.

For the purpose of clarity and comprehension, the following terms are defined and explained in this section.

- a. value
- b. religion
- c. morality

Value: value has vast conceptual meanings but an attempt is made here to define and describe this concept. According to Schwartz (1990:7) value refers to principles or criteria for selecting what is good among objectives, actions, ways of life in social and political institutions and structures. This implies that values operate in levels of individuals, institutions and societies. Therefore, a social institution embodies individual values. When in the moral course of it's operation, it offers people roles that encourage behaviour expressing those

values and fosters conditions for their further expressions. It should be pointed out however, that the values an individual can express are very much constrained by the character of the social institution and the social order in which the individual finds himself.

Schwartz (1990) also defines values as desirable goals, varying in importance, that serves as guiding principle in peoples lives. In other words, our behavioural patterns are determined by our value orientation. For example, the guiding principle of “area boys” is violence. Indeed, the term values can be defined in different way depending on the purpose it is intended to serve. There are for instance, institutional areas like social lives, political lives, economic lives, educational lives, and religious/moral lives for which the term value can be considered. To illustrate values with regards to moral which is at the center of the topic of this study, Nwala (1980:295) sees moral values as “those things in human character, conduct and social relations which we judge as good or bad, right or wrong, noble or ignoble and so on”. He argues that since our moral value are an integral element of our economic and social conditions, then religious/moral codes have meaning only in reference to the social and economic conditions of society. To understand the basis of religious/moral values in Nigerian society thus underscores the serious moral problems which plague the contemporary Nigeria such as corruption, nepotism, ethnicism, indiscipline, avarice and greed for wealth, armed robbery, mismanagement, embezzlement, misappropriation of funds and so on.

Summarily, value can be defined as the general societal standards about what is desirable, how things should be and what ultimate goals are to be

pursued. In Nigerian contemporary society, this conceptualization seems appropriate at least, as means of evaluating our desire for national development.

Religion- many scholars have defined religion, each according to his own perspective and understanding, Spiro (1964:94) sees religion as “beliefs in supernatural beings and their power to assist or harm”. On his part, Bellah (1969:263) sees religion as a set of symbolic forms and acts which relate man to the ultimate conditions of his existence. On the other hand Durkheim (1969:46) defines religion as “a unified system of beliefs and practices which relate to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart or forbidden- beliefs and practices which unite into one moral community called the church all those who adhere to them. As far as he was concerned, “religious should be an anciently thing”, hence the idea of religion is inseparable from that of the church. Yet to another scholar, Smart (1971:41), religion expresses. The visions by which men have interpreted the cosmic reality in which they are immense. Smart (1971:31-2), conceives religion as a six-dimensional organism typically containing doctrines, myths, ethical teachings, rituals and social institutions and animated by religious experiences of various kinds. Smart insisted, “Each religion is an organism and has to be understood in terms of the inter-relation of different parts.

For the purpose of this study, it is religion’s part of ethical teachings that brings in the absence of right and wrong which morality is all about. Elaborating further on what religion stands for, Smart (1971:11) observes that throughout history and beyond in the dark recesses of man’s earliest cultures, religion has been a vital and pervasive feature of human life”. Thus to understand human history and human life, it is necessary to understand religion

which is a doubly rich and complex phenomenon and which exists in a variety of forms of faith. Hence many religions are to be discovered in the world.

The various definitions above seem to agree that religion is a matter of beliefs in supernatural having absolute control over human affairs and actions and capable of assisting or harming depending on whether one's action is good or bad.

Summarily, religion is the feelings, act and experience of individual men in their solitude, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they consider divine or sacred. As evident from the given definition, any meaningful definition of religion must touch on the supernatural and sacred.

Morality: morality, like religion is an abstract concept, which is difficult to define. The term morality is derived from the Latin word, "more" meaning moral or manner. It means the generally accepted code of conduct in a society or within a sub group society. According to Madu (1996) morality is a set of principles and certain attitudes and behaviour towards fellow man. It is the human propensity to judge certain behaviours as good and judge other behaviors as bad.

Donnel (1974:24) defines morality as behavior which a society recognizes as good, immorality is behavior which a society regards as bad". It is better to adopt Socrates style of confronting an issue through questioning: what is the good of the moral?

Cross-culturally, it is significant that African idea about morality, ethics and justice has not been fully studied. However, Idowu (1962:144) explained that among the Yoruba of the south-western Nigeria, moral values derive from

the nature of God himself who they see as 'perfect king', one doted in white and so on. Idowu (1962) identified character as the essence of a person. According to him, what constitute good character also pertain to morality among the Yorubas. But in a Yoruba society, character also pertains to the traditional concept of good and bad or evil, that is, to the orals and ethics of any given society in Africa at large. On the other hand, Mbiti (1969:212 – 213) maintained that African societies regard God as the upholder of the moral order; hence both human and spiritual agents are used by Him to act as guardians or police of human morality. A number of other noteworthy points are to be seen in an African de facto definition of the term morality which Mbiti had emphasized. In the first place, African societies have a long list of what should and what should not be done so much so that, 'a person is constantly confronted with moral demands throughout his life. Secondly, the essence of African morality is that, it is more societal than spiritual. Thirdly, African societies see morality in terms of 'dynamic ethics' rather than 'static ethics' and therefore man is not by nature 'good' or 'evil' except in terms of what he does or does not do'. And finally, African ontology is deeply anthropocentric and this is also seen on issues of morality. According to Mbiti (1969:215), "no action takes place in a vacuum. And therefore to say that a person is good or bad can only be established in the context of his actions".

1.8 Limitations of the work:

The analysis made in this project is within the limits imposed by the available data. It cannot, therefore, claim to have exhausted every fact on the topic, especially when it is remembered that Nigeria is a vast territory, which has diverse peoples and cultures. Secondly, religious/moral values depend, to a large extent, on appeal to conscience, which is not backed by coercive authority. It cannot always boast of one hundred percent success.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 GENERAL WORKS ON RELIGIOUS/MORAL VALUES

According to Omolewa (1986:9), Nigeria as a nation state covers an area of 922,200 square kilometers, which is four times the size of the United Kingdom and is also endowed with enviable human and material resources – having people of proven outstanding ability in education and other fields of human endeavour and being indisputably the world's sixth largest producer of crude oil. It is also euphemistically widely acclaimed as the giant of Africa. But it is pathetically solaset with a multiplicity of social, economic and political problem that an observer here in Nigeria denies it the status of being a nation. According to Odumegwu (2001:37), "Nigeria is not yet a Nation". And internationally, it is seen as one of the poorest countries in the world sine the majority of its citizen live below the poverty level.

Thus, in spite of high hopes raised of African countries to become "developed" within a short wile of attainment of independence in the early 1960s, Meegar (1974) noted that development had completely eluded these countries. In his own words, "underdevelopment threatens to become a permanent condition rather than a transitory stage". Be that as t may, the problem of national development and unity is one of the major problems yawning for urgent attention if Nigeria is to survive as a country. Hence the need for continuous analysis of the cause of event in African countries, particularly Nigeria. There is still hope that possible necessary adjustment can be made and a realistic step taken in the search for the path to development and unity.

Nevertheless, in view of the abysmal failure of Nigeria to accomplish the goal of national development and unity since its creation in 1900 by the British colonialist this literature review on Nigeria's national development and unity and the role of religious/moral values can bring to fulfillment Nigeria's dream of national development and unity.

For the time being, the hollowness of Nigeria as a nation state has been such that, to continue to search for the real causes of and the possible solution to her issue of national development and unity can no longer be deferred or be ignored, its paradoxical acclaim as the giant of Africa notwithstanding.

As already seen earlier in the work, the structure of this survey is necessarily thematic in order to bring into focus an examination of the most related factors of the topic under discussion. At the same time, the most workable framework of the survey has to be a comparison and contrast of the essential elements and characteristics of any phenomena in the angle of the study.

1980 could be seen as the year par excellence, for the explosion of consistent writings on the issue of national development and unity. Before 1980, comments, observations and ostensibly academic analyses on the issues of national development and unity were prolifically published in Nigerian dailies and weeklies. But because they were, at times motivated by political and/or ideological consideration, continued presentation of political and ideological learning, programs or interests – they are deliberately excluded from this survey.

2.2 NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT:

Amauchazi (1980) doubts how far Nigeria's assessment as one of the Africa's leading countries commands a consensus when it lacks commitment to democratic processes and there still remains the problem of bringing the various ethnic and social groups into a harmonious and working relationship; and when the seemingly buoyant economy is still controlled by the foreigners instead of by Nigerians who are supposed to enjoy the benefits of the resources of the country. He then traces the overwhelmingly social, political, psychological and economic problem of Nigeria to the British colonialism and its legacy of the west minister parliamentary democracy model which was culturally unsuitable to the Nigerian situation and environment, and therefore advises that any remedy not based on complete restructuring "is unlikely to speedily solve the problem of poverty, ignorance, unemployment, disease etc" which beset Nigeria.

He blamed the 1945 Richards' Constitution for preventing the cause of national integration in Nigeria by giving Northern Nigeria a dis-apropriate numerical and territorial advantage, which had no basis in terms of cultural and religious homogeneity, hence "the ghost of the old structure is very much haunting the country". He also blamed the colonial education for failure to create equal opportunity for all thereby creating differences and tension in the society, hence the significance that "present day government of the federation appreciates that only through a system of free education at all levels can many differences be met" since education is the main factor of stratification in modern times. He again advises, as in the case of political system, that it is only through a complete restructuring of the old economic order could Nigeria become an independent and self-reliant nation because "the colonial economic

system has reared up an elite that will defend it and generate a taste that is so pervasive that it will not be easy to mobilize the generality of the people against it". Hence the need to do away with the British colonial political institution as well as the economic and social system which formed the reference points from which Nigerians take their bearing. Hence also any restructured government must detect the powerful clientele in the country which prefer to maintain the interest of the British exploitative system and thereby continue to reward themselves in return

Nwosu (1980) argues that, a developed Nigerian society must be one capable of creating self-reliant and confident people, and also capable of running independent and democratic government and generating and mobilizing energy which is in turn, capable of inducing a production and distributive economy which is both self-generating and self-perpetuating. Thus, administration is a planned system of co-operative effort in which individuals have assigned functions. To Nwosu (1980) administration is important "in all patterned and civilized life" and it underlines the need for a type of administrative system with a planned system of co-operative endeavour at all levels of the society. He notes that both the public and private organizations, which exist hand in hand in Nigeria, when properly managed, are indispensable for achieving the objectives of national development. He also commends the public administration for contributing in various ways towards national development and thereby narrowing the hiatus that normally exists between paper plans and actual achievement.

Having in mind many areas of national life where public administrators can immensely contribute for the realization of national development, he points

out that political development has to target meeting the demands of quality of life of the citizenry, availability of societal product and their distribution patterns, as well as the degree of government “which includes a stable and predictable political order, elite-mass integration. Nwosu (1980) noting the increasing scope of problems confronting the public administrators such as internal conflicts, corruption, etc, underscores the need for always putting in place an effective Administrative system in order to accomplish any successful programme of political development, hence public administrators must participate in both planning and execution of developmental programmes.

Asobie (1980) notes that the foreign policies of nation are conceived differently by the nation concerned according to their different levels of development. But the apparent differences of conception notwithstanding their foreign policies are in actual fact, not in opposition with each other and should therefore be seen as representing two end of a continuum whereby the development nation as it ascends the ladder of development. As it were, Asobie (1980) has a focus on Nigeria as a developing country and come to the conclusion that:

- a) Nigeria should not concern itself with Irrelevant question such as whether its foreign policy is pro-west, aligned or non-aligned, radical or conservative, and so on. Rather, it should first of all consider what purpose its foreign policies are serving and to what to what extent they are made to satisfy the internal needs and demands.
- (b) Nigeria should focus on policies, which are coherent and consistent and yet flexible enough to respond to changing internal and external circumstances instead of being merely an ad hoc and uncoordinated

reaction to external stimuli and the demand of the powerful pressure groups.

- © To be sure of going in the right direction while formulating foreign policy, Nigeria should make a systematic and detailed analysis of the entire foreign policy system with a view to identify the most important variables influencing the policy, progress and policy outcome, and also avoid the mistake of assuming that a developing foreign policy has to represent the state domestic structure or the personality characteristics of the chief executive.

Ofoegbu (1980) sees the existence of regional co-operation as emanating from the growth of regional consciousness and co-operation in which primary emphasis was laid on finding solutions to, or containing, international political disputes and war, and promoting friendship and peace. But it has been extended by an equally increasing emphasis on studying and finding solutions to world economic and social problems. To him, regional co-operation is a phenomenon of local group awareness and cooperative effort which is a common feature globally. He also identifies the factors responsible for regionalism to include, the desire to preserve peace, promote understanding and providing for the common defense of an area against external decay, share expectation of the economic gains, the need to localize conflict, the imperatives of development economies which aid regional co-operation and consideration of benefits accruing from external capitals. These factors explain why new nations, which are contiguous find that, on purely relational economic grounds, integrated regional activities are more worthwhile than separate and competing or rival small scale projects.

He then listed out those conditions, which must be fulfilled to actualize the desirability and formation as well as the variables required for the maintenance of regional co-operation. This discussion now focuses on the various regional co-operations that splintered in various sub-regions of Africa of which the Economic Organisation of West African States (ECOWAS) formed in 1974 was one of them. The efficacy or otherwise of this association is not discussed probably because it would be quite premature to do so at the time of writing in 1980.

Nwosu (1980) illustrates with a lot of statistical data that, although the urban sector is important or the transformation of the economy, the rural sector remains its core. He discusses the rural-urban employments and their viability under normal circumstances and explains why there is persistent mass migration from the rural to the urban areas and traces it to the unabated impoverishment of the rural milieu as a result of gross neglect. The point then is that rural development, rather than its ancillary. He explains further how national development becomes facial unless the transformation of the rural economy and life has taken its due place. By citing Olusanya's (1975) study of the socio-economic aspects of rural-urban migration in western Nigeria, he shows empirical evidence, which proved that Nigerians do not feel an inherent dislike of farming as an occupation. It is rather the system and environmental milieu that are at fault. Nwosu (1980) also agreed with Umacele (1975) that national development could be genuinely realized when rural development does not merely aspire to secure 'bare survival' but "productive survival" of the masses.

He explains further that since the urban population depended heavily on the rural areas for its basic needs, the latter must also be developed in order to avoid the catastrophic consequences such as debasement of human nature and defacement and endangering of urban environment and life when the frustrated youths streamed into the cities in search of refuge and succor. He then deplors the practice by the politicians of carting away the fund meant for rural development, with the project left unexecuted, thereby ruining the source from which the nation's earning comes – an attitude that spells disaster for, and disrupts the process of national development and unity.

Ukwu (1980) traces the development of transport and communication from the pre-colonial, through colonial, to post independence period to prove that, in actual fact, transport and communication provide access. Their development went hand in hand with overall modernization in social, economic and political aspects of life. Socially, their expansion fostered the spread of western education and Christian missions as well as the conventional health services; rural-urban migration also expanded as school leavers had easy access to the cities. Economically, the scope of the exploitation of the country's natural resources widened, market became accessible and commodities of trade became available to consumers. While per capita income of individuals also increased, their expansion however, brought about the demise of traditional industries due to competition with the industrialized countries, which flooded local market with cheap manufactured goods. Politically, their improvement broke the ancient political boundaries between communities and facilitated national interpretation and unity.

By way of conclusion, Ukwu (1980) stressed that the realization of the above listed advantages depended on the distribution of economic and political power and the pattern of decision made at any rate, the way they are could promote or mar development. But to assure of attaining the desired goal, "transport policy must therefore be set in the total context of economic development".

While examining patterns of agricultural and industrial production and their implications for the development of Nigeria, Nwosu (1980) recalls that the Nigerian economy up to its independence was viably dependent on agricultural production, though its export was controlled by foreign companies, and the revenue derived was spent on importation of manufactured goods which were distributed under the control of the same multinationals. Even the multinationals, with the connivance and support of the British colonial government, subtly discouraged industrialization, in order to protect their own interest. A related issue which Nwosu (1980) notes was that the meager revenue realized from international trade meant for funding development projects were rather misappropriated by the emerging indigenous politicians who spent it on ostentatious consumption and lavish traditional ceremonies. To reverse this trend, according to Nwosu (1980), Nigerians must have to produce by themselves, those industrial final and finished goods needed by Nigerians, including intermediate goods as well as industrial producing parts and components. He sees this as the sine qua non for tackling the vacuum, which was undermining prospects of Nigerian industrial take-off. Nwosu also deplors Nigerian's attitude of taking to trading and contracting activities as the quickest means of making income and in the process leaving everything concerning

manufacturing activities in the hands of the foreigners who thereby occupied a new economic domination of the country and subtly dictate terms and types.

He therefore advised that for Nigeria to be economically emancipated, its citizen must have to develop and demonstrate the requisite capability to be truly self-reliant. He also advises that, both well planned diversification of agricultural and industrial productions, and also revitalization of export and food crop production, will solve the problem of one dimensional structure which made petroleum the dominant source of national income, but at the same time allowed the economics of petroleum to be vulnerable to the vagaries of international politics. Therefore, hand in hand with freeing of the economics from the control of the foreign companies must go equitable distribution of the nation wealth so that the masses of the primary producers would not be left out. Only then would Nigeria find herself on the part of authentic national development.

Sullivan and Ikpeze (1980) recalled the observation made at a conference organized by the Nigerian institute of management in the late 1960s which stressed that, industrial development should be seen as an integral part of economic development which, in him, should be considered as a vital part of overall national development. Based on this observation, they identified the problems of industrial development in Nigeria as part of the overall problem of economic underdevelopment facing the country. They also saw the successive national development plans as loop-sided because; they did not properly take industrial development into account, and therefore could never yield the anticipated end-results of national economic prosperity and self-reliance. They briefly mentioned the potential benefits of industrialization and proceeded to

highlight those problem of economic underdevelopment which are particularly germane to industrial development including problem of availability of financial capital, lack of entrepreneurship, and so on. Believing that these problems were not insurmountable, the two authors are confident of a solution if official policy in response to them is to be closely tied to the problem and kept continually under review that it an keep abreast o circumstances as they change. The problem of industrial dispersal was singularly seen as for obvious political reasons a most inflammable area in which government must have to read utterly. The state governments are also advised to contribute their own quotas to supplement and complement the federal industrialization effort, while small-scale industries, which were more evenly distributed than the large-scale industries, which were more evenly distributional programme of action in order to make for even industrial development.

Nwabueze (1980) reviews relevant literature on trade union and economic development with a focus on the Nigerian situation and cites Asota Mehta and others like Cofchie and Rosbery who shared the view that consumption oriented trade unions only suited the developed Western World, while the underdeveloped countries had to make the sacrifice of subordinating immediate wage gains and similar consideration to the development of the country by way of achieving economic growth.

Nwabueze (1980) therefore notes tat the actual achievements of the Nigerian trade union were not something to write home about since their only credits were that, they serve as educative mechanism and a forum for integrating the heterogeneous ethnic groups of Nigeria through voluntary organization of workers, who fight for the promotion of their common interest.

He then listed out the areas where trade unions could contribute for national development and the growing needs of the country such as, participation in active politics, national development planning, formation of cooperative societies, promotion of labour education, or serving as educative mechanism which sees to the training and retraining of workers to increase their competence and at the same time enhance their earning potentials. He also mentions certain endogenous but identifiable factors capable of curtailing the effectiveness of the Nigeria trade unions such as, their unsound finances, small and atomistic size or membership, corrupt and inexperienced leadership and so on. These defects have to be overcome if trade unions are to contribute positively toward national development and unity.

Kodjo (1980) highlights a number of factors, which may or may not fasten Nigeria's national development and unity. He sees the former metropolitan countries as granting their former colonies independence by departing from the front door while trying all they could to re-enter through the back door. Thus, Nigeria's present economic problems are not as a result of whether it is a mixed economy or not because, every economy is after all, a mixed economy since the term itself refers to an economy, which contains elements of both private and state enterprise. Kodjo (1980) therefore, agrees with those who argue that the development problems facing Nigeria reside in the liberal socio-economic order or system chosen and the structural relationship planned and actually established between private and public economic undertakings. He notes the overwhelming numerical importance of the foreign private forms vis-à-vis those of Nigerian nationals.

He points out that, within decade, foreign investments in Nigeria had progressed substantially by 65.9% of which under condition of unrestricted economic liberalism, it is obvious that the above trend will hardly stop or decline since even in the new indigenization policy, there are flagrant malpractices which mar its efficiency, and also there exists some vested interests linking foreign businesses with Nigerian interest groups. Kodjo (1980) also notes that foreign private firms preferred mining, manufacturing and processing to other activities because, it is virtually such activities that generate by far the most substantial economic profits that foreign investors are after. He observes alongside official experts that foreign investors normally fear many conditions generally, especially the fear for nationalization and expropriation but warmly welcome both maximum profit (at a record time) and minimum risk, and these are, of course, the dilemmas which developing countries face while wishing to industrialize with the help of foreign capital. In other words, he notes that both national and foreign investors share common preferences for projects that are the best ones and the most lucrative ones. He discloses how foreign investors receive the backing of their home governments to ensure favourable investment climate as well as generous concessions and guarantees through legislations and documented officially in the investment code. But they evaded with impunity similar concessions sought by the developing countries. Kodjo cites Chibwe (1973) who narrate how Tomalbaye of Chad once threatened a culprit with a death sentence for a fraud considered glaring in his country which was a less complex economy, and then think the type of indignation similar fraudulence would cause in a country like Nigeria with a far more complex economy.

Kodjo (1980) then observes that, politically and ideologically, the motives of western capitalist nations are brought out by the fact that they are foreign private investments as an important integral element of international diplomacy of big industrial nations. Hence their political authorities give them full backing. This also explains why their institutions get involved in channeling private funds into undeveloped countries in a co-coordinated way and protected against risk, and at the same time evolve new strategies which they play as a way to perpetuate their hold on their former colonies, using the foreign private investments for achieving this. The former dependencies are thus converted into a mere game reserve to be exploited. Thus Kodjo (1980) sees aid policy as now serving as a timely adequate substitution for previous direct rule and power domination since it helps to conserve and consolidate the same previous relationship in another differently historical situation. He therefore, detects in this the origin of the modern expression of aid in lieu of colonial policy, thereby giving the mistaken impression of an end to colonial exploitation and the dawn of a new era on equality among factually unequal nations. In addition, the western industrial nations use foreign private investments, now tagged "aid", as instrument for preventing the spread of socialism and communism to their former colonies.

He also notes that Nigeria practices a mixed economy in a foreign dominated socio-economic environment. Hence as could be seen from Nigeria's third development plan, its economy is dominated through and through by private economic interest operating in the most sensitive areas which is strongly and decidedly biased towards favoring and supporting a powerful private sector that is essentially foreign. Thus, Nigeria has imposed on itself huge financial

responsibilities and commitments which foreign economic agent would manipulate, while on the other hand, the loop holes in the plan make it possible for the self-centered foreigners to pursue their dubious and individualistic interest. He also fears that, instead of competing with foreign private firms, Nigeria collides with them, thereby creating the problem of false assumption which would be inimical to national development.

Concluding, Kodjo (1980) notes that the activities of multinationals is a warning to Nigeria that it's national economy is under serious threat of being wiped out by a strong centrifugal or outward orientation of economic activities which usurp the position of self-centeredness and self-reliance, and create a peculiar situation of an unlimited dependence.

Obi (1980) recognizes that the less developed countries (LDC) have strong orientation to foreign trade, but that they serve only little of the expected gain from it because of the forces coherent in the existing world trade and monetary arrangement, hence their yearning for a new order between the developed and under-developed countries. The fact that international trade is the foundation of all other forms of inter-nation relations and therefore, foreign sector has a major stake in the economic development of LDCs. Thus, since the first principle of international relations is national self-interest, it looks a self-delusion to expect the center countries to try to develop the less developed countries up to their own level. It then means that, to eliminate underdevelopment and external dependence, the LDCs must acquire sufficient independent level rage in order to solve their technological problems, which are the sine qua non for national development.

OBI (1980) has therefore seen that, though a number of measures can contribute towards solving a country's development problems; the most effective aid enduring is through its own internal effort. Hence, at the international level, LDCs can pursue collective self reliance through various forms of economic integration such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). But this must ultimately go hand in hand with programme self-reliance, firmly, grounded in the domestic policies of individual countries. For genuine economic development, there can be no substitute for self-reliance.

(iii) Group of articles under the sub-title: Moral values and socialization.

Nwala (1980) sees moral values as representing those things in human character, conduct and social relations which we judge as good or bad and ethics as representing the science which examines the nature of moral values and judgment. He notes that the basis of the moral values of any society is the level and character of its social developments, that is : the way and manner that the society produces, distributes and exchanges its wealth and the type of relations this mode of production creates. He explains that this is what is meant by economic structure of that society of which ours, on the traditional setting was essentially communal. But there had occurred a revolutionary transformation into a capitalist system introduced, by colonialism, which intruded into Nigeria with the advent of Christianity since the mid-nineteenth century. Unlike the traditional economic structure, the capitalist system was individualist since it emphasizes the good and interest of the individual. The change in the mode of production from communal to individualist also meant immediate change in moral values from collective affair to individual affair so

that, henceforth what the individual considered good for himself was seen as good, otherwise it was bad.

Nwala (1980) also notes that the coming of the new social order introduced a new character into human social relations. The capitalist saw the world in terms of profit and loss because moral values were determined by economic forces and individualism was a virtue under capitalism to which it was directly linked and of which it was an important element in its mode of production, hence its ethos, private-rather than collective ownership-became the order of the day since the advent of colonialism. Nwala (1980) also argues that since moral progress and social development are derived from changes in economic system which brings about new ideas, new values and new forms of consciousness, only the rejection of the colonial economic system and a return to the traditional system can change society and its moral values which in their totality were the key to the social and moral development of human society.

Kalu (1980) disagrees with Karl Marx (1959) that religion is a mere opium –the elixir which numbs the sense from a correct perception of relativity, but agrees with Malinowski (1956) who believed that religion consist of inexplicable, inner religious feeling or simply, what Steve wonder- the black American singer referred to as “inner vision”, the innate religious instinct in man. He re-states Africa’s dominant world-view in which the African is seen as incurably religious and agrees that the core values and world-view of the African had bee altered by external change agents and later developments, but observes that there is a persistence of a traditional core amidst change.

He also observes that the staggering strength of the Islamic community and cultural influence in Nigeria regulate the spiritual, moral, economic and

socio-political affairs of the Islamic protégée and, therefore, control the person of every Muslim and the society at large. But Kalu (1980) concedes similar influence to Christianity and the traditional African Religion with regard to their protégées.

In his attempt to explain what development stands for, he says that real development involves a technology with a human face, a development strategy, which considers the quality of life as its supreme goal. He then cites Schumacher (1975) who is of the view that development is seen as an overall social process. He also cites Merino (1969) as saying that national development should be seen as a process of emancipation of man from poverty, fear and so on. In weighing the merits and demerits of the three dominant religions in Nigeria, Kalu (1980) gives credit to the traditional African Religion as propping up certain ethical values which would stabilize the gyrating moral system of our days citing the present day decadence of the Ozo title as resulting from the rapid process of modernization. In the case of Islam, he commends it for stimulating literacy and providing the bureaucrats that served the empires of western Sudan, as well as for adaptability to and absorption of, new ideas, culture and change, and also for linking the Western Sudan with the rest of the world. But while extolling it further for its excellence in organization and administration, which were indispensable in nation building, Kalu (1980) decries its pursuit of orthodoxy, which bred intolerance and made it a reactionary body in the quest for national liberation.

Kalu (1980) finally turns to Christianity, accusing it of disrupting African communities and aiding imperialism. But he commended its exodus event as an undisrupted paradigm of liberation, while the coming and career of Jesus

Christ symbolized the liberation of the blind, the deaf and all those who are suffering and dehumanized. Jesus is also seen as confronting the power structure of his days in his encounter with the Pharisees – the custodians of the law in order to prove that subterfuge or cloak of oppression should be exposed, hence his healing of the woman with the issue of blood on the Sabbath. Kalu (1980) also notes that the gospel of Jesus Christ tacitly prescribes socio-economic measures for national development, and at the same time issues a political programme, which constitutes the ethical values, which should guide policy planners. He then cites Schumacher (1975) again that there is a connection between the sermon on the mountain and the matter of technology and economics. The sermon gives pretty instruction on how to construct an outlook that could lead to an economics of survival.

Ezeanya (1980) appreciates that nation building is a Herculean task which some conceive materially in terms as involving being in possession of all kinds of material goods, which are calculated to make man's life happy here below and guarantee national anthem which prays God of all creation "to help Nigeria" to build a nation where no man is oppressed", and to bless it "with peace and plenty". He thereby, points out that, man is a composite of matter and spirit, and that his destiny exists beyond the confines of this world and, in him. This indicates that, nation building involves both material and spiritual aspects. Citing Aristotle (1961) Ezeanya explains that since man owes his existence to a higher power to whom he must give account of his stewardship when he departs this world, he must do good and avoid evil. Thus religion teaches man of his obligation to both man and God: an obligation without which he becomes an amphioxus and aberrant entity.

Ezeanya (1980) then discusses how ATR relates man to countless powers, which controls his destiny. He cites Mbiti (1970) to show that everybody is naturally inducted into the beliefs and practices of his social group. Furthermore, Ampiniset (1927) and Mbiti (1970) are cited to emphasize that everyone's religion is by virtue of being a member of his society. He goes further to cite Pope Paul VI and Shanahan (1968) to explain the spiritual view of life and the fact that, man was not a mere matter. He therefore, explains that both of them realized that the African tradition hold that the universe and all that there is the absolute an unconditional dependence of man on God and the powers above man. According to him, the idea in African Traditional Religion finds expression in the message of Jesus Christ which says that, "apart from me, you can do nothing", driving home all the above points and illustration, he explains that the whole African culture clearly illustrate that the African is living in a religious universe, and believes in the supremacy of God, his omnipotence, omniscience, and omni-competence, even though he created the minor divinities for man to consult for his immediate needs.

Ezeanya (1980) then indicts the leaders and statesmen for failing to play their role in leadership by exemplary life and explains that life does not end at death, and that man must account for his present life in the hereafter, hence the African's aspiration for a very high standard of morality at all levels in order to have a happy hereafter. He cites Basden (1966) to illustrate his point that African religion is anthropocentric in nature, hence his practice of divination, consultation of oracles, use of charms and so on in order to preserve life, which is so sacred that it could not be destroyed with impunity: an evidence that in

African thought, man is at the center of the universe, and also that he is the paragon of the gods.

Concluding, Ezeanya (1980) cites Ethenne (1960) who is of the opinion that greatness for Nigeria will only be attained when it regards God as the sole source of peace, prosperity, internal cohesion and so on. He advises Nigerians to adopt the principles of morality embodied in the African Traditional Religion in order to overcome the crises in our society. He also cites Fulton who is of the opinion that it is man who has to be remade first before the society is remade. He recalls Pope Pius II's observation that African Traditional Religion has those beliefs and practices with which it could fruitfully join hands with other religions for nation building. He rounds off with Dawson's (1965) advice that religion is concerned with realities: that it is in fact, the pathway to reality and the law of life.

Etteng (1980) with the hindsight of the falling standard of education and problems of underdevelopment in Nigeria discovers that the various ways in which the issue of the changing pattern of socialization in Nigeria is examined is directly related to the process and condition of national development in the country. He traces it from the pre-colonial times up to the post-colonial times and notes that, the changing pattern of socialization had been a fact of history and that, the trend that emerge always had their implications and consequences on the issues of development and underdevelopment.

He substantiates on changing patterns of socialization as a phenomenon from the earliest times, and comes to the conviction that socialization is a powerful tool for enforcing real development when employed by the real producers who directly enjoy its benefits other wise, the whole exercise will

amount to aiding the exploiters. Thus from a profuse analysis of the meaning of socialization, its aim, its adaptive and transformatory goals, its dynamics, trends in contemporary socialization, and radical socialization for authentic Nigerian development, he makes some vital deductions and observations before arriving at a remarkable stand. The vital issue that then emerges is that:

Real authentic development oriented socialization system is therefore defined as that system of education and learning obtained at various levels, of society, which perpetually enhances a people's creative ability to acquire initially, functional skill, techniques and values from all human disciplines and which guides their application of creative and productive labour – into products that satisfy their basic needs. In other words, any group or society that is determined to control its economy – its destiny and civilization, must inevitably evolve a pattern of socialization consistent with its production, distribution and consumption needs, whatever its level of scientific, technological and social development.

But the changing patterns of socialization from the pre-colonial subsistence production system to the colonial and post-colonial capitalist system instituted by the ruling classes in Nigeria have brought about a condition unequivocally inimical to Nigeria's real development. He therefore, advises that to reverse the ugly trend responsible for dependence and underdevelopment, Nigeria's socialization processes, which are both productive and emancipative, have to be developed and controlled by the actual Nigerian populace. The Nigerian workers and peasantry who are after all the producing majority, will in turn, share the benefits of the emancipatory socialization and at

the same time serve as the local instrument of anti-imperialist national development in the country.

2.3 RELIGION/MORALITY IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT:

Achebe (1983) makes a panoramic and incisive examination of Nigeria's performance, an analysis of the trouble with Nigeria since its twenty-three years of independence and concludes that, the locus of her social and politico-economic ills was within its parasitic elite, particularly her corrupt, inept, ineffective, uncommitted and frivolous leadership. By way of illustration, Achebe (1988) handles a number of topical issues in different chapters of the book, treating different aspects of Nigeria's performance, which call for either correction or emulation. Many areas of Nigeria's national life cited include a number of concrete evidence of corruption, unpatriotic behaviour, acts of indiscipline, social injustice and cult of mediocrity, ethnocentrism, unprovoked hatred against the Igbo ethnic group, the exemplary life of Aminu Kano, and so on, all of which negate and hamper, or foster, meaningful efforts towards national developments. However, some of his topics are more relevant to the scheme of this survey and the highlights of his revealing and prophetic observation are as follows.

In his opening remarks he warns Nigeria that 'unity' could be seen as valid when it stands for an absolute good, otherwise it clearly connotes conspiracy. Therefore, the values of unity to be extolled are only those to which their end is directed. Similarly 'faith' would be as good as the object on which it responds. Hence for religious people, faith in God becomes a desirable way of life and for the humanist; faith concerns itself with the "intrinsic worth of man". Thus, virtues, like unity and faith could only be

conditional and never absolute, since everything depends on their satisfaction of other purposes, which center on their social validity – the citizens' ability to indulge in mental vigor and ask searching questions. Nigeria should; therefore, direct its energy to seeking for 'justice' and 'honesty', since they are the virtues that cannot be distorted or manipulated by hypocrites.

Achebe (1983) sees patriotism as an emotion of love directed by a critical intelligence which motivates a person who loves his own country, and in this, he is always objective in accepting nothing but the best for and from his people. But observes Achebe (1983), in Nigeria, spurious patriotism, rather than true patriotism, is what those at the corridors of power preach to serve their self-interest. True patriotism will be achieved only when the rulers and the ruled genuinely try to maintain the agenda of national aspiration, and this could be accomplished only through just rule and selfless leadership at the top, as was found in Tanzania in the sixties under Julius Nyerere's TANU administration.

He then laments that social justice and the cult of mediocrity determined a person's access to important and strategic position and not his qualifications and the tribe he comes from. An unfortunate development which exposed the citizen to unfair treatment and social injustice, and a dismal situation which makes the nation to suffer the legitimate grievance of the wronged citizens, the incompetence of the favored citizen, and the decline of morale and subversion of efficiency caused by an erratic system of performance and reward. He points out, without mincing word that, Nigeria is a country where no important job is held by the 'most competent person. Nigeria's bane is the absence of merit on the national agenda, and all sorts of false excuses are fabricated to explain away failures in various areas of national life; the poor performance of the NEPA

being a typical example. And it is noteworthy that the question of social injustice is wider than is casually thought. Both politicians and civil servants are notoriously guilty of avarice, and Nigeria ranks as a country where the gap between the highest and the lowest paid public servant is one of the widest in the world. The social injustice referred to here does not include the innumerable prerequisites such as subsidized housing and other things reserved for the people at the top. Achebe (1983) also points out that social injustice in Nigeria is not restricted to the civil servants but affects all other citizens, including those in the concealed private sector, the petty traders, the beggars, the farmer in the deteriorating rural environment and so on. He therefore warns the elite that the oppressed masses are not enjoying their punishment and poverty, and that the oppressed masses might rise one day in protest for a better deal.

Indiscipline is seen as a malaise that so perverts the life of Nigerians' that, it looks proper to call it the condition par excellence' of contemporary Nigerian society. According to Achebe (1983). It has so many different forms and therefore difficult to define comprehensively. However he defined it as a failure or refusal to submit one's desires and actions to the restraints of orderly social conducts in recognition of the rights and desires of others. With self-interest as its goal, and abandonment of self-restraint as its expression, he illustrates it with his own personal experience on what happens on the Nigerian roads with regards to drivers' disregard of traffic regulation; but the case of indiscipline which causes the greatest harm and disaster is that of the leader who because of his strategic position in public life, easily spreads the virus of indiscipline to the people under him, who copy his unhealthy example.

He calls for war against indiscipline in order to evade the society from descending into lawlessness and anarchy.

On corruption in Nigeria, Achebe (1983) reacts to president Shagari's denial of corruption in the country in this way, "Anybody who can say that corruption in Nigeria has not yet become alarming is either a fool, or a crook or else does not live in this country". He cites the example of Haran Rashid of Bagdad in the eight century, who always insisted on seeing things for himself rather than allowing himself to be deceived by the guided tour of his countries. Therefore, in declaring that corruption in Nigeria has passed from the alarming to the fatal stage, Achebe calls Shagari "an ostrich" and emphatically says that the attribute of the Nigeria leader is corruption through which over 60% of the national wealth perishes, since corruption has grown enormously in variety, magnitude and brazenness and is carried out through budgeting abuse and political patronage on an unprecedented scale. Since no high public officer in Nigeria has been genuinely and thoroughly probed, Achebe (1983) was of the opinion that corruption has grown bold and ravenous as with each succeeding regime and civil servants have grown more reckless and blatant. Thus, he called on the president to rid his administration of all those guilty of corruption and scandal in order to ensure the unity and development of the country.

On the 'Igbo problem', Achebe (1983) refers to a remark by a political scientist from a minority area of the south, and agrees that, Nigerians of all other groups share the common resentment of the Igbo whom they accuse of being 'aggressive, arrogant and clannish' and also 'grasping and greedy'. But he points out that all these allegations were baseless except that they could apparently appear showy when they engage in celebrating success. Achebe

(1983) recalls the issues of Nigerian crisis of 1966 – 1970. He explains that the origin of the Igbo problem was as old as Nigeria itself, due to the fact that the exceptional expeditionary spirit, resourcefulness and resolve of the Igbo and the success and ascendance resulting from all these, ultimately had negative effect of arousing a deadly envy and hatred of the Yoruba-Hausa-Fulani conspiracy against them and the unleashing exclusion and discrimination against them which also resulted whenever the federation was allocating its wealth and project.

Achebe (1983) then uses the example of Aminu Kano to explain the purpose of government and why people seek political office. He sees these questions hovering around the issue of national development and unity of which the example of Aminu Kano has ready answers. Thus, he points out that unlike Azikiwe who had wanted to utilize his earned income to enjoy a high standard of living, and Awolowo who vowed to make all the money that is possible for a man with his brain and bran, or even new comers in Nigeria politics who pose worse tragedy by reviving a bankrupt and totally unstable tradition of political maneuvering and consummate selfishness. Men like Jim Nwobodo who turned out to be an egomaniac, vain and careless in the use of public fund and also governor Abubakar Rim, to whom national politics was regarded as a mere beauty contest in which he would win the vote of every Nigerian woman because of his handsomeness. Aminu Kano was a man of the people who foresaw the danger which over unjust social order poses for society and renounced the privilege of his class and identified himself completely through struggle with the fate of the down trodden. Thus Achebe (1983:63) sees Aminu Kano as a selfless commitment to the common people of our land

whom we daily deprive and dispossess and whose plight we treat so callously and frivolously.

Pass communication Ltd, (2005), 'Ojukwu speaks' represents a compendium of selected words, speeches and comments of Dim Chukwuemeka Odimegwu Ojukwu, the Ikemba Nnewi, on different occasions after his return to Nigeria in 1981 from self-exile. The hero of the Biafran revolution and the Head of State of the Republic of Biafra, 1967-1970, believes that the basis of Nigerian's unity must not be tampered with, negotiated or compromised and that the happiness of the ordinary Nigerian must be the focus of the government, hence he feels a compulsion to speak out always, even if his actions have to be seen as violation of a code of silence to which all Nigerians seem to abide. Bravely therefore, he makes, without bias, thought provoking assessment of eminent Nigerians and also hypes at the upheavals of the nation. Ojukwu (2005) speaks of various accessions, given the prevailing circumstances and the mood of the nation. Stated underneath are his views on issues related to national development, unity, and religious/moral values which as it stands, points ultimately to the fact that Nigeria is not yet a nation.

In his political periscope, Ojukwu(2005) identifies the absence of unity as perhaps, the one principal source of most of Nigeria's problems, he observes thus:

The struggle for independence gave the Nigerian people a togetherness, but not unity. It gave Nigeria confidence but not strength. If we believe in unity, we must be prepared to abolish ethnic ghettos in some of our cities, blur some of those imaginary boundaries that separate citizen from citizen. But we can decide that our diversity is more precious to us than unit. Logic demands that we face facts; tell each

other the truth and proceed to consider seriously the co federal option. The choice is there. The problem today is that, we are neither united nor diverse. We are in a limbo. Even after forty-five year of independence, there has never been a Nigeria. There has only been a shape on the map drawn by foreign colonialist, notably Lord Lugard who united the north with the other regions in 1914. A true Nigeria in social, cultural, and emotional terms is still a long way off. It is Infact, a mirage. To me, the entity called Nigeria is a fraud, a deceit, an unequal joke based on a foundation of falsehood... Nigeria is an apropos man of individuals pretending to be one.

On the problem with Nigeria Ojukwu (2005) notes that Nigeria suffers from selective amnesia, selective myopia, selective audition, selective morality and at the same time, she is in the grip of, and closely tyrannized by the pseudo-nothing looks like it truly is. Our leaders are pseudo leaders, our intellectuals, are pseudo intellectuals, our professionals, are pseudo professionals. In Nigeria, everything is theoretical and unreal because life appearances are generally untrue and the acquisition of privileges becomes the criterion. To Ojukwu (2005) the citizenry profane tradition to acquire titles, by-degrees and so on and thereby wallow in an orgy of recrimination and scapegoat hunting.

On leadership and the Nigerian state, Ojukwu (2005) observes that Nigeria is not a nation, because, in choosing her leaders, she has been careless. He advised that in choosing her leaders, Nigeria must exercise great care and must ensure that her democratic right are used in such a way as to ensure that the right person is chosen to lead, and must not confuse champions for leaders, prominence for pre-eminence eloquence for honesty, silence for wisdom, good looks for efficiency and bravado for courage.

While speaking with Frederick Forsyth, a Swedish journalist, Ojukwu expresses his viewpoint on the Biafran revolution regarding the incompatibility of Nigeria and Biafra, noting that nothing has changed before, during the after the war. According to Ojukwu (2005) the viewpoint has been altered because:

Reports so far indicate a marked reluctance or unwillingness on the part of the federation forces to federate. The basic needs of the people are not met. No food, no medicine, no money. Pledges made during and after are not fulfilled there have been report, on denials about the hue situation.

On the issue of bribery and corruption, Ojukwu (2005) observes that bribery, corruption and nepotism were too widespread that people began to wonder openly whether any other country in the world could compare with Nigeria in corruption and abuse of power. On his assessment of prominent Nigerians. Ojukwu (2005) bases his scores of prominent Nigerians on how their individual careers are affected, positively or otherwise.. He sees Zik as indefatigable and far-sighted nationalist who tried as much as possible to pull Nigeria out of the strangle hold of imperialism-the enemy he knew and fought, but due to his nature, he was a man of compromise. Ojukwu (2005) admits that Abubakar Tafawa Belewa was genial and impressive, but doubted his being effective. Hence he alluded that it was Belewa's ineffectiveness to be a leader of a huge country like Nigeria that tribal killings started in Nigeria again. Thus, he emphatically disagrees with the fallacy that Nigeria is a nation and calls that ideas, a wishful thinking'. He rather believes that for Nigeria to be a nation, it should be built together in agreement.

Ojukwu (2005) then observes that major General Aguiyi Ironsi was a nice man and an infantry soldier of international repute, the first African

emissary and international command of that magnitude. He became the head of the army on his return to Nigeria and also the Head of state of Nigeria after the January 15 coup of 1966. His life was cut short by Gowon's coup of July 29, 1966. the crisis that followed his death and the appointment of Gowon as the new head of rooted indiscipline in the Nigerian Army and opened the Pandora's box of crises in the country thereby leading to the bloodiest civil war I African history and throwing the nation into economic disarray, political instability and a myriad of social ills which robbed Nigeria of the capability and capacity to accomplish national development and unity. He sees General Murtala Mohammed as a man who was motivated by the best intentions and who never sought much for himself. Bu though Nigerians tended to like him; he could not be seen as a material for that high command. He sees Olusegun Obasanjo as a coward and a fraudster because; he has presented himself as something he is not. And to him, everything becomes a power play. It is hard to see something positive he has contributed to the country. He is seen as being unable to maintain peace in Nigeria because, he is displaying the same dandify of his election process into his administration, hence the endemic crises in the country.

Peddler (1979) examines the main currents in Nigeria history, 1940 to 1978, in four unequal periods. The first period, 1940 to 1960k, saw the leveling, as soon as the World War II ended in 1945, of decolonization in Nigeria. According to Pedler (1979) war activities stimulated demand for labour in Lagos. He noted that the population of the city grew, with overcrowding and discontent. Trade unions were formed and their leaders were more radical than any in West Africa.

