THE DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCE OF MALAYSIA: LESSONS FOR AFRICA IN
GENERAL AND NIGERIA IN PARTICULAR.*

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ABSTRACT

The economic miracles of Malaysia and other South-East Asian states and the possibility of applying them outside the region is much talked, but little has been done, practically at least, until recently. The Malaysian economy has registered impressive growth due to global trade connection, peaceful regional climate, investment linkage, as well as lessons learnt from the experiences of the Asian "tigers," Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore and South Korea. Lessons for Africa can be drawn from this experience. The most striking and reassuring fact is that the economic boom of Malaysia relied on factors that probably can be replicated elsewhere. This paper therefore investigates and analyse how tropical South-East Asia, especially Malaysia overcame the disabilities of the tropics to achieve rapid growth, identifying the critical success factors Nigeria must adopt, adapt, incorporate or invest for the eventual take-off of Nigeria into a developed nation. Malaysia worked hard to shift out of primary commodities to import substituting manufacturing, then into export oriented manufacturing. The country's most recent shift is into knowledge based industries. In a nutshell, the strategy revolved around an outward-oriented, market-based economic policy coupled with an emphasis on human resources development.

Countries in other regions, for example, Chile have followed the strategy with great success. Several African countries, led by Congo's neighbour Uganda, are trying to learn from the Asian experience and are enjoying their own Asian-style boom. Also, the paper will, of necessity, address the more complex relationship between political stability (civil society) and economic transformation. Economic policy rather than geography explains most of East Asia's relative success. Changes in policy - towards openness, fiscal rectitude, and the rule of law - could make a difference to the people of Nigeria and Africa in general.

Indeed, without a vision of the future, there remains only one direction in which a nation can drift towards and that is anarchy and disintegration. Given Nigeria's present plethora of troubles, many of which stem from the lack of long term agenda for the nation, "Vision 2010" inaugurated on November 27, 1996 represents a timely attempt, an idea whose time has come, to address and redress the national odyssey. The rosy view and emerging consensus is that Africa is not hopeless and real successes are transforming the continent. Four countries -- Uganda, Angola, Lesotho and Malawi -- are enjoying growth rates of 10 percent. That is about as fast as the peak growth rates for the high performing economies.

Introduction.

One of the great paradoxes of Africa is that its people are for the most part desperately poor while its land is extraordinarily rich. East Asia is the opposite: a region mostly poor in resources that over the last few decades has enjoyed the greatest economic boom in human history. Until the late sixties, almost all Asian countries were in the backwoods of development. But from that degenerate situation, many countries of that continent have risen to be reckoned among the key players in the world economy. Other countries of Asia that have emerged as key players in the world economy are India, China, Indonesia and Malaysia. All these countries are all united by one thing: the export oriented strategy of their economy. And by extension of the spirit of that policy, many of them have taken their business beyond their frontiers to other countries where they find conducive environment to do business.

Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to present some thoughts on the future of the African continent and Nigeria in particular as well as how to go about attaining the societal objective of an industrialised country without being a duplicate of Malaysia. Nigeria must aim to be a developed country in its own mould in all dimensions: economically, politically, socially and culturally. On a more theoretical level the paper seeks to investigate whether the Malaysian initiatives draws us near any development ‘model’ OR could it provide a case study for some other African countries and hence illuminate another aspect of development strategy in the new world order. The direct application of the Malaysian model is problematic. This does not mean, of course, that the Malaysian experience can automatically be transplanted to Nigeria and other developing countries. It is self-evident that every nation sets a national agenda, which is a product of its time and place and cannot be emulated exactly elsewhere. The Vision 2020 process is largely attributable to historical development processes of Malaysia. The key element (and missing link in the African case) is the capacity of the people to manage change in a dynamic world: to understand ongoing changes in the world, predict as yet unexperienced future changes and to respond flexibly, effectively and in good time to them.1 The key therefore, lies in a country’s ability to write its own agenda for social action. Nigeria in realisation of the need for such a vision set up the Vision 2010 Committee. The committee, which includes many top business chiefs, heads of ministries,
government bodies and traditional rulers was set up to find a way out of Nigeria's economic morass -- which many Nigerians blame on years of government waste and over-spending.

The importance of this study lies in the fact that Nigeria and Malaysia have a lot in common, in terms of socio-economic growth in the 1960s. Malaysia slumped into economic recession in the mid 1980s but the country has experienced a strong recovery, ranking as one of the fastest growing economies in the world. See Figure 1 The main impetus was supplied by the increased export of manufactured goods and a brisk expansion of industrial sector which has resulted in an average of 8 per cent growth per annum. Lessons can be learnt from developmental strategy or philosophy adopted by Malaysia in the late 1980s to the present as an economic foundation for 21st century Africa. Then the question is how did it all begin? In 1969 Malaysia was still a lowly Third World country whose main exports were rubber and tin. In June 1981, Dr Mahathir Mohamad began his reign, bringing with him bold, initially unpopular innovations. Heavy emphasis on economic and regional development was introduced through his “Vision 2020” as a means to secure Malaysia’s economic growth.2

Generally, and almost anywhere, for leadership to succeed certain qualities are important. These include, among others, political will, honesty, commitment to hardwork, firmness, fairness, vision, patriotism and integrity, for a nation without Vision perishes. A ‘Vision’ is a sort of declaration of an idea based upon perception of life. Indeed, without a vision of the future, there remains only one direction in which a nation can drift towards and that is anarchy and disintegration. Malaysia has been fortunate in this respect. It has leadership with the foresight and courage to set a long-term vision which acts as a rallying point for the nation as a whole, a vision in which the forces of investment and economic development are part of a fundamental and decisive transformation, bringing improvements in health, education, technology and infrastructure, while building a stronger and broader base of Malaysian entreprise.

Malaysia has the same experience as other Third World countries before she attained the present status as one of the fast developing countries. The pressures of a high poverty rate in the country and economic inequality among ethnic groups propelled the government to institute corrective policies and strategies to overcome these problems.3 The existence of diverse natural resources and good leadership, the goal of seeking new markets for Malaysian products overseas, coupled with the motivation from the ‘Four Dragons’ and the trend of industrialisation in the neighbouring countries were some of the reasons underlying her growth.
Malaysia's High Poverty Rates in the 1970s and the Way Forward

As stated earlier, Malaysia has the same experience as other Third World Countries before she attained her present status. The high poverty rates was one of the features in the early days of Malaysia economy. Today, absolute poverty is virtually non-existent, although three decades ago more than half the population fell into that category. In 1970, 52.41 per cent of Malaysian were identified as poor group. As shown in Figure 2, in 1990, the situation had improved to 17.14 per cent. Likewise, the incidence of poverty throughout Peninsula Malaysia has declined from 49.3 per cent to 15 per cent by the end of 1990, while the overall poverty for the whole of Malaysia declined from 20.7 per cent in 1985 to 17.1 per cent in 1990. The decline in the poverty rate was a result of the government’s enthusiasm to reduce this serious problem by implementing the New Economic Policy (NEP). After the execution of NEP, almost every government decision was based on NEP objectives in the eradication of poverty irrespective of race and the restructuring of society to eliminate the identification of race with economic functions. Exports accounted for over 45 per cent of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 1970, increasing to 73 per cent by 1988. Malaysian’s success in economic development thus far has been based on several factors, the most important being its socio-political environment. Despite being a multiracial society composed of Malays- 54 per cent, Chinese- 35 per cent and Indians - 10 per cent, the economy has grown at 8 per cent per annum since 1988.

The Malaysian population, estimated at 20.56 million, comprises many ethnic groups, which can be divided into two distinct categories. The Bumiputera, who are the majority comprise of Malays, Kadazans, Ibans, Orang Asli and other indigenous races, while non-Bumiputera denotes Malaysians who are descended from Chinese, Indian, European and various non-indigenous races. Malaysia with its diversity in cultural and religious practices has proven to be a model for inter-racial cooperation and harmony. Among the developing nations, Malaysia is one of the very few that has experienced changes in political leadership without loss of continuity in government policies and administrative capability. The multi-ethnic coalition has been the political answer to maintaining harmony since the May 13, 1969 racial riots.

Economic Inequality among Ethnic Groups.

The Malaysian economic inequality, like most developing countries, was deeply rooted. The underlying causes can be traced to colonial times. The British policies were formed to isolate the Malay group from the economic sector in order to avoid them from challenging the colonial political power. The Malays were totally excluded from the tin and rubber industries as well as business activities in urban areas. Most of them stayed in rural areas and carried out traditional agricultural activities such as rice cultivation, coconut growing and village handicrafts. Only a very small number were in executive
position while a large number were recruited as office boys, postmen, policemen and held low level positions in the national defence services.

Whereas the Chinese were encouraged to enter the Malay States to assist economic development by working in the tin mining and plantation sectors. Thus, most commercial activities in urban areas were carried out by the Chinese and their capital and property continued to grow as they diversified their holding by having stakes in banks until they began to control the economy. Besides the Chinese, the Indians were brought to the peninsula for the development of the sugar-cane, coffee and rubber plantations. Some of them also held positions as railway service maintainers, doctors, members of the police force and technical staff. The economic inequality especially between Malays and Chinese led to the racial crisis of May 13, 1969. Thus, economic diplomacy is one of the government strategies to reduce and redress the imbalance by monitoring and ensuring the efficiency of the quota system in the foreign-funded entreprises.

REASONS UNDERLYING MALAYSIA’S GROWTH
Socio-economic engineering has been a vital, though controversial element of Malaysia’s success. The significant role the state as a special institution in laying the ground for economic growth cannot be emphasised. The nature and magnitude of economic expansion is largely dictated by fiscal and monetary policies pursued by the government. A major contributing factor that enhanced Malaysian stability is the increasing presence of the Bumiputera in the modern economic sector. While there was a pronounced absence of the Bumiputera participation in the industrial and corporate sectors immediately after independence, the implementation of the New Economic Policy launched in 1971 has resulted in the creation of a substantial Bumiputera industrial and commercial community. Through NEP, the government was able to increase the Bumiputera share of equity from 4.3 per cent in 1970 to 30 per cent by 1990. Thus, with increasing Bumiputera confidence and the shifting of national priorities to the promotion of growth, the national unity further enhanced the country’s position to exploit its full economic potential. For as pointed out by the Prime Minister while commenting on the NEP, “The whole programme was not premised on taking from the richer Chinese in order to enrich the Malays, but on stimulating the growth of the economic cake and then distributing the enlarged cake to correct the economic imbalances between the races.” Despite the economic progress, the Malays were still weak in terms of average household income compared to non-bumiputeras. Between 1990 - 1995, the average household income for Bumiputera rose from RM931 - RM1,600; Chinese, RM1,523 to RM2,895; and Indian, RM1,201 to RM 2,153. The Sarawak Industrial Development Minister Datuk Abang Haji Rahman Johari Tun Abang Haji Openg was however confident that with the consistent efforts made by the government to help bumiputera entrepreneurs, the Malays had been able to compete with others.
The year 1990 signalled the end of the reign of the NEP. The policy was able, as mentioned, to make many rich Bumiputera as there are rich non-Bumiputeras. In addition, per capita income is now about US$4,000 (RM12,000) compared to US$300 three decades ago. So what happens next? The National Development Policy (NDP) was adapted in 1990 to pick up where the NEP left off. See Table 1. The goal was to attain a balanced development in order to establish a more united and just society as envisioned in Vision 2020.

**Abundance in Natural Resources**

The trade policies, again, lay down the type of international relations a country could have, not only in terms of goods imported but also in terms of type of technology adopted and cooperation with overseas corporations. However, the changed international power configuration has further placed developing countries in a situation wherein they may have lost a degree of freedom to choose their own unique path to development. In fact, the prices of low value forms of commodities which are the main sources of income, are sold to industrialised countries for reprocessing into higher value added products, and are subject to extreme fluctuations and depend on the world supply and demand. To illustrate, from 1970 to 1985, more than 85 per cent of exported Malaysian rubber were in form of latex, smoked sheets and Standard Malaysian Rubber, around 97 per cent of its oil in the form of crude or refined oil, and 97 per cent of the tin as tin ingots. However, the Malaysian economic policy makers discovered that it was beneficial for the country to reproduce the low value forms of its commodities to the high value added products for the domestic as well as foreign consumption. One of Malaysia's great economic successes was the creation of Perbadanan Nasional (Pernas) towards the end of 1969. In the mid 1970s, Pernas succeeded in gaining control of the plantations and the mining sectors from the British. Precisely, in 1975, Pernas acquired London Tin, and turned it into Malaysia Mining Corporation, which is now the biggest tin company in the world.

Malaysia remains unchallenged as the world's major exporter of tropical timber, petroleum, natural gas and manufactured goods. The establishment of the Heavy Industries Corporation of Malaysia (HICOM), a venture for the realisation of an ambitious heavy industrialisation programme has led to the establishment of iron and steel mills, petrochemicals plants and the manufacture of automobiles. In 1983, HICOM entered into a joint venture with Mitsubishi Motors and formed the Perusahaan Automobile Nasional, popularly known as Proton. More than 80 per cent of Malaysia's exports are manufactured goods, mostly high-tech components namely, electrical and electronics products. This is shown in Table 2. The export performance of the resource-based industries, namely, wood-based and non-metallic minerals also increased rapidly to 38.7 respectively. As of December 1994, 95,442 Proton Saga have been exported to 24 countries. (See Table 3 and Figure 3). An incredible transformation from a traditionally agrarian society to the modern hub of technology in Southeast Asia.
Malaysia’s natural resources form one of its strongest attraction for foreign investment. The country is rich in abundant supply of petroleum, natural gas, rubber, oil palm and timber. In 1993, oil reserve was around 3 billion barrels and 59 billion cubic feet for gas reserves in Malaysia. Malaysia produces 630,000 barrels of oil and 2.2 billion cubic feet of gas per day, with 75 years of production for gas and 13 years for oil. The motivations of firms for Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) are influenced by Malaysian government policies, and strengthen the firm’s desire to invest in the country rather than its country of origin. Puspha Thammipillai, lists the following as the most important motivating factors

- An open political and economic system with a consistent and recognisable decision making process;
- Adequate infrastructure and amenities that are reliable;
- Competitive prices for factors of production;
- Locational advantage and accessible markets;
- Cheap and trainable workforce;
- Favourable investment climate
- High profit potentials and minimum risks, and most important,
- A stable social and political climate.

Thus there is correspondence between Malaysia’s stable social and political climate and foreign direct investment. Again, the existence of a trainable workforce is important. Although Malaysia’s wage rate is higher than that of Thailand or Indonesia, in terms of productivity, Malaysian labour ranks high among Asian developing countries. Malaysia is now the 19th largest trading nation in the world and ranks among the top 10 in terms of trade competitiveness.

In the agricultural sector, Malaysia is the world’s leading producer of rubber and palm oil. It would be recalled that it was from Nigeria that the Malaysians came to pick a few palm nuts/fruit for research, and Nigeria was once the leading producer of this commodity in the world. Today Nigeria import these from Malaysia. Such misfortune can be attributed to mismanagement of the country by the military juntas and their civilian hangers-on. Many Nigerian paid researchers are in Malaysia perfecting the oleochemical technology for Malaysia. This means Nigeria may soon be paying Malaysia for Nigerian-Malaysian Palm technocrats to come and overhaul/upgrade the Nigerian vegetable oil industry as in the current Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) refinery saga. But for Nigeria’s oligarchy-imposed imbecilic leadership, ordinarily, Nigeria should have far out-paced Malaysia in development considering human and material resources and historical antecedents. Many of the things they are grappling with in Malaysia today had already been attempted in Nigeria in the seventies (one example is the national car project which Malaysia started about ten years ago and now is getting close to being
100% Malaysian). Nigeria had Volkswagens and Peugeots in the seventies and still cannot call any of them a national car even though that was the guiding principle behind those projects. If Nigeria had good leader she should have been among the worlds leading exporters of palm oil, cocoa and groundnuts. The leaders are simply not thinking about moving the country forward. More than ninety percent of their time is spent on planning how to share the resources of the country. The only reason countries like Malaysia, Indonesia and South Korea are progressing and Nigeria is stagnant is because Nigeria does not have serious thinking leaders.

Thus the attempt to formulate a strategy to impart knowledge on the Malaysian Visioning process for use in other developing countries development will have to incorporate the above-mentioned features.

**Lack of Advance Science and Technology to Develop Import Substitution Industries**

One of the major factors that contributed to the lack of value added oriented industries in developing countries is the absence of advance science and technology. The domestic R and D activities in industrial technology were almost never held within many developing countries industrialisation process. Both domestic private and public sectors paid very little concern towards R and D. In average, the world major industrialised nations spend 3 to 4 per cent of their GDP on R and D. The Malaysian government expenditure on R and D in 1978 was only 0.3 per cent of GDP, compared to Korea 1.4. Thus, to increase productivity, the Sixth Malaysian Plan stresses on improving technology, entrepreneurship and expanding research and development activities. Precisely, the following five key technology areas were identified for building competence: automated manufacturing technology, advanced materials, biotechnology, electronics and information technology. As seen in Table 4, by 1983 the Malaysian government increased the R and D to 0.8 per cent in order to inject innovative ideas in the domestic sectors. Apart from this, special programmes such as venture capital financing as well as financial assistance in the form of grants, risk-sharing investment and assistance with soft loans were developed which resulted in market-driven research and development.

**Lack of Massive Domestic Capital to Support Industrialisation Process.**

Malaysia faced critical problem in obtaining local finance to support her industrialisation process. To overcome the problem, the government promoted private capital for industrial development through the stock exchange market. The Malayan Stock Exchange was formed in Singapore in 1960 and a branch in Kuala Lumpur in 1964 to accumulate capital from the private sector for the national industrial development. The Kuala Lumpur Stock Exchange (KLSE) has been making an impressive impact since the late 80s comparing favourably with the major stock exchange securities, thus, attracting both local investors and foreign fund managers. However, with the depreciation of the ringgit to its historic low
against the US dollar to close at 2.9425, the government intervened. First, by lifting of the trading curb on the 100 stocks which form the Composite Index (CI) and investing RM60 billion fund to buy shares from investors who had bought them on credit and were now facing problems paying up.18 Thus, with the lifting of the designation of the 100 CI stocks, the KLSE Composite index posted its highest gain in four years.

Malaysia Incorporated: Generating Profits by Investing in Overseas.
In June 1981, Dr Mahathir began his reign, bringing with him bold, initially unpopular innovations. In 1982, the Malaysia Incorporated policy was introduced. The idea was based on “Japan Inc”, which is a close collaboration between the Japanese private sector and the government bureaucracy. Malaysia Inc is premised on the belief and conviction that the economic growth and overall development of the country can be facilitated by the close cooperation between the private and public sectors. This policy was followed by the privatization policy in 1983 to further reinforce the pro-private sector stance of the Government. As part of the government play in its Malaysia Incorporation Policy, it emphasised public sector - private sector collaboration and co-operation in furthering the cause of national development. Malaysia government has been successful in luring foreign investments into the country, while privatization has contributed a quarter of the market capitalisation of the Kuala Lumpur stock exchange. The Government also searched for suitable foreign countries where Malaysian investors could carry out investment projects. To this end, there are growing Malaysian investments in many developing (Telecom in Zimbabwe, Ghana) and developed countries. The inflow of FDI and the outflow domestic capital definitely will create mutual interest between Malaysia and the outside world.

The Success of the Four Dragons and Japan
Malaysian was motivated by the Four Little Dragons - Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea’s economic success. In 1993, Malaysia enjoyed 17 per cent growth rate in its exports and in 1994, 26.8 per cent to the value of RM153.7 billion.19 At same time, the growth in export for PRC and Singapore was 32 per cent and more than 30 per cent respectively. Malaysia, in order to realise its vision of being a Newly Industrialised Nation (NIC) concentrated on multilateral trade with foreign countries through its “Look East” and South - South Cooperation policies.
While Vision 2020 provides global targets and Second Outline Perspective Plan (OPP2) the planning framework for the NDP, the Sixth Malaysian Plan translated the OPP2 targets into operational plan of action. (See Tables 1 and 5)
Apart from privatization, productive deregulation and economic liberalisation, the government continues to implement infrastructural projects everyday: From the Kuala Lumpur International Airport, Bakun Dam, the Kuala Lumpur City Centre, to the Multimedia Super Corridor. Encouraged by the success of its
economic performance, Malaysia is looking to consolidate this achievement by moving into high technology industrialisation, a shift that is exemplified by the development of the Multimedia Super Corridor (MSC)

As a result of dynamic leadership, Malaysia has the political will and the power to rapidly change policies that impede the ability of companies to capitalise on the benefits afforded by the information age.

Now, determining which comes first between a good system of government and a sound economic policy will probably provoke a whole new bunch of position papers. Undoubtedly, good governance will almost unfailingly lead to a reliable and productive economic policy. In addressing the more complex relationship between democratisation and economic transformation, it is perhaps necessary to give an overview of the many components of the socio-political and economic issues in Africa.

**Roots of failure**

At independence, Nigeria had an economy organised primarily for the export of primary commodities and the import of finished manufactured goods. This economy was dominated by a corporate private sector, made up of a handful of European trading companies, for whom the colonial government of Nigeria was established to provide protection and support. Since the major goal of these trading companies was to operate their export and import businesses to make profit, to take out, and pay to their foreign shareholders, the economy was basically geared to facilitate capital flight from Nigeria.

The private sector then was made up of private, small-scale individual and family enterprises, and these trading companies, produced most of the Gross Domestic Product, and was the source, through various forms of taxation, of government revenue, and of the country's foreign exchange earnings. The marketing board regulated the export of some of the crops, and retained some of the surpluses for the government.

From the late 1950s, the regional and federal governments embarked on expanding transport, educational and health facilities, the utilities, modern housing and the administrative infrastructure. This increased the size of the public sector. But the economy remained oriented to the export-import operations controlled by European trading companies and the increasing number of Levantine and Nigerian importers and exports. Little was invested in manufacturing.

The railways, ports, roads, waterways, electricity and communications, were only developed to the extent that they served these export-import operations, which were geared to ensure that capital generated in
Nigeria was taken out for investment elsewhere. This capital drain itself limited the extent of the maintenance and development of this infrastructure. Hence the grossly underdeveloped state of our railways and waterways, which are the essential backbones of any efficient transport system, necessary for modernising agriculture and for industrialisation.

The reconstruction and rehabilitation necessitated by the Civil War of 1967-70 and the increase in the rent and royalties earned by the government from crude oil exports, produced the ambitious Second National Development Plan of 1970-74, which massively expanded the role of the public sector.

This expansion continued under the Third National Development Plan of 1974-1980, but was not accompanied by any substantial improvement in the structure, size, patriotism and the planning and executive capacity of the public services. The attempt to cleanse and sanitise it by the mass purges of 1975-1976, did not succeed, because the top military and civilian leadership of the country, in both the public and private sectors, failed to measure up to the standards of discipline, probity and patriotism during the short period of Murtala Mohammed's stewardship, from July 1975 - February 1976.

The public service, therefore, came to render less and less service to the public. Attempts continued to this day to strive to make the Nigerian public services serve Nigeria; an effort which, whatever its shortcomings, was necessary given the extent to which public and national interest had come to be, glaringly subordinated to private, individual and foreign interests, during the period 1970-1975. The public service became primarily a conduit for well-connected individuals and companies in the private sectors to milk public resources. This came to be done primarily through import-export transactions, involving the transfer of Nigerian foreign exchange to other countries.

With the expansion of crude oil production from the early 1970s, the government not only came to control massive amounts of money from the rent, royalties and taxes obtained from crude oil exports. It also came to command over ninety percent of the foreign exchange earnings of the country, in the form of petro-dollars. The domination, of the economy by exporters and importers, primarily interested in taking capital out of Nigeria, became even more entrenched, this time as part of a larger system of the recycling of the large amounts of petro-dollars paid to oil exporters by the oil-importing countries of the North.

In Nigeria, the system worked through contracts for construction and supplies with a high import content and through other forms of import transactions, which often involved no imports at all, merely the fraudulent transfer of Nigerian petro-dollars into private accounts abroad. The system worked so effectively against Nigeria that when in 1979-1983 oil prices were getting to forty dollars per barrel, the
outflow of petro-dollars from Nigeria exceeded the massive inflow. This inflow reached a record level of 14 billion dollars in 1980 and 12 billion dollars in 1981.\textsuperscript{21}

In these two years, which marked the onset of the economic crisis of Nigeria, the outflow rose from 12 billion dollars in 1980 to 15 billion dollars in 1981.\textsuperscript{22}

Not only was the rate of increase of the outflow of the Nigeria's foreign exchange earnings higher than the rate of increase of the inflow, but the burden of external debt was also rising and there was nothing to show for it. This debt rose from about 2 billion dollars in 1979 to about 10 billion dollars in 1983.\textsuperscript{23}

The fact was that with or without a fall in the earnings from oil exports, the Nigerian economy in the early 1980s was heading for a major crisis, particularly because of the way the high level of import dependence had undermined real investment in agriculture and manufacturing. The investments that were announced were largely paper transactions to take out foreign exchange. Besides, the enormous earning from the crude oil was not used to strengthen the economy of the country, rather it was squandered on the importation of consumer goods, luxury projects, funfares and frivolous sometimes adventous foreign policy. Invariably, from 1982 to 1986, various forms of austerity programmes were imposed, social sector expenditure and limits to the budget deficit. These only made matters worse.

In September 1986 the Structural Adjustment Programme promoted by reliance on what are called "market forces" with a debt repayment programme and an exchange rate for the naira which facilitated further outflow of foreign exchange from Nigeria and which entrenched the flight of capital from the country. The most favoured now being the "Medium Term Economic Recovery Programme". But the Vision 2010 Committee may come out with a repackaging of the same thing.

\textbf{An Overview of Africa’s Economic and Political Situation.}\n
Africa, with 640 million people, holds 13\% of the world's total population. It is a unique continent with valuable resources and development potential which is at the same time full of countries crippled with persistent ethnic strife, deteriorating economic conditions, poverty, drought and famine. The Continent occupies 23\% of the world's land and its forests constitute one third of the world's tropical forests. The Continent also has rich natural resources. For instance, Africa supplies 54\% of the world's cobalt, 52\% of the world's manganese, while 81\% of the world's chromium needs are provided solely by South Africa. Three of the world's 9 major ocean upwellings are located in the off-coast of Ghana-Nigeria, South Africa, and Somalia.
Despite all these characteristics and natural resources, Africa stands out as the only continent with political instability, the lowest life expectancy, the highest child mortality rate and the heaviest burden of disease in the world.\textsuperscript{24}

The major factors for the socio-economic and political problems of the region in the 1990s can be summed up as follows:

- foreign exchange resource constraints arising from escalating debt burden,
- inadequate flow of foreign assistance and deteriorating terms of trade,
- poor economic management,
- misallocation of scarce national resources,
- structural deficiency of the economy,
- political instability, conflict situations,
- lack of educational opportunities.

The prevailing military dominance on our political terrain, has left Nigeria, nay Africa, in the dark lane of development. There is no doubting the fact that behind every political instability, lies the mountain of poverty. Societies the world over have tried to fashion out one type of political system or other, to suit their structure, ideology and history. The art of governance has gradually shifted from the personalised dictatorship and military subjugation based on force and violence, to that of critically enlightened rationality in which the people have a strong determinism over their affairs and welfare. This results in the realisation of the majority will which is believed to be synonymous with the public good. The resolution of political power is central to the corporate existence of any group of people, no matter their primitivity or modernity. It is saddening that today, Africa is enmeshed in a predicament which manifests mainly in underdevelopment, the fragility of state structure, political instability and the crisis of legitimacy.

A cursory look at the African continent within the context of conflicts, leadership ineptitude and a barrage of other crises goes a long way to show. the position of things. No sooner had independence come than the hopes and aspirations of most Africans started turning into frustration, for most of these countries face threats greater than what the colonial overlords dished out. Truly, a brand new form of domestic colonialism had emerged in Africa and the nascent nationalistic feeling started weaning with a jet speed. Consequently, things started falling apart. Africa started witnessing civil wars. Starting with the Congo, Nigeria and the Sudan in the '60's. As the internal oppression and repression of Africans by Africans continued unabated, the '70's saw wars in Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique stretching to Western Sahara. In the words of Raymond W. Copson, the '80s was "a decade of war over much of Africa". Seven
countries including Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Chad, Sudan, Uganda and Somalia were engulfed by wars. The third post-independence decade, the '90s, was ushered in by a fresh wave of instability and civil wars. Liberia was the first to dash the hope of a peaceful continent in the '90s, as a murderous hate developed in that country, resulting in a genocidal war for most part of the '90s.

The retrogression and lack of development in Africa have positioned the continent on a pedestal of visionlessness. The absence of purposeful leadership in the bulk of the countries speaks volume of a visionless continent. However, it is a widely held view that the problems of Africa revolves around leadership. The leadership question in Africa has continued to elicit reactions and generate debates across the length and breadth of the continent.

The energy crisis has gone intense in most parts of the continent, including Nigeria, the "giant" of Africa. The African continent also faces another challenge - that of democratisation. Africa cannot afford to be left behind as has been the case in this quest for democracy. It would be an anathema if the wind of change blowing across the globe is not allowed to reach the African continent. The challenge of democracy should be seen by Africans as worth the trouble.

The new vision should place Africa as a continent with vision. For over three decades we have lived and groped in the dark, waging wars against ourselves and refusing to appreciate the heterogeneous composition of our constituency. Other regional organisations in Africa should direct their commitments to Africa and act as the vanguard for this new beginning.

There have also been quite a few policy declarations and programs designed to assist such countries in their political and economic development efforts. Some of these policy declarations can be cited as the Lagos Plan of Action (1980-2000), UN New Agenda for Development of Africa in the 1990s, Revised UN System-wide Plan of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development, Tokyo Declaration of African Development and African Common Position on Human and Social Development in Africa.

Nonetheless, given the complex relationship between democratisation and economic transformation, the continued rise of economic depression, high poverty rate and political suppression in African countries will result in higher degree of violent changes unless there are government reforms. The question then is what are the priorities of the moment?

NIGERIA REALITIES AND VISION 2010.

Nigeria’s economy, the biggest in Sub-Saharan Africa, slumped into recession when the army annulled the election in 1993 to restore democracy resulting in strikes and riots. The political crisis turned foreign investors away to other destinations such as South Africa and Asia where the business environment is
more favourable. General Sani Abacha in September 1996 launched “Vision 2010” modeled on plans in other countries, notably Malaysia, to bring economic prosperity in the next century. Vision 2010 envisages significant boost in Nigeria’s GDP through agriculture and industrialisation as well as literacy levels, health care and employment.

TERMS OF REFERENCE

A.
To set appropriate goals and targets and time frames for achieving Nigeria’s economic, political, social and cultural objectives and to propose the strategies and the institutional arrangements required to attain the set goals and targets.

B.
To forge a plan which will ensure that Nigeria is en route by year 2010, to becoming a developed nation in terms of economic prosperity, political stability and social harmony. In particular to focus attention on creating the right atmosphere and environment for:

- sustained annual growth of 6-10% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP);
- the attainment of high literacy rate and qualitative education level for the country;
- the achievement of high level of employment for the country;
- the attainment of price stability and the achievement of an inflation rate not more than 3-5% by the year 2010;
- the attainment of an effective, comprehensive and qualitative health care delivery system;
- accelerated agricultural production to ensure food sufficiency and the provision of major raw materials;
- a full-fledged industrialization programme based largely on local raw materials input for enhancement of the exportation of manufactured goods; and the proper integration of science and technology into our development plans and programs, etc.

C.
Propose a comprehensive plan for the country that will enable it to optimize its economic prospects and prepare it as a major economic power in the African region and the emerging markets.

D.
Prescribe specific roles for Public and Private Sectors in economic and social activities and devise the means of ensuring that each sector properly and creditable performs the role assigned it.
Suggest ways by which we can give adequate attention to the protection of the environment and ecology.

The paper presented by Chief E.A.O. Shonekan, Chairman of the Vision 2010, titled "The Place of Nigeria in the global Economy by the Year 2010" to the 37th Annual General Meeting/Conference of the Nigerian Association of Chambers of Commerce, Industries, Mines and Agriculture (NACCIMA) deals with the very important subject of the future of Nigeria and its place in the world, at the end of the first decade of the 21st century. It addresses the crucial issues of visualising the future and planning for it, which are essential requirements for meaningful human existence.

This paper by Chief Shonekan, on where Nigeria shall be in the world, by the year 2010, therefore, deserves serious attention. This is not only because of the importance of the subject, but because it is from somebody who has had a distinguished career as a top-flight corporate executive and leading spokesperson of the big business corporations operating in the country and is now the Chairman of the Vision 2010 Committee, established by the government to propose the direction this country should take in the twelve years, 1998-2010.

As an academic, I would attempt to assess it, beginning by bringing out clearly the key positions set out in it, with regards to its subject matter. I shall then assess each of these positions, and the whole paper, to see whether or not it gives us a rational and realistic forecast and a vision, as to what place Nigeria shall occupy in the global economy by the year 2010.

This paper has, in my view four key aspects. The first one is a statement of methodology. The methodology is, according to Chief Shonekan, the one used by the Vision 2010 Committee, in what he called "the visioning process". It consists of posing and answering three questions of where are we now? Where do we want to be by 2010? And how do we get there?

The second key aspect of the paper is a definition of the present state of the Nigerian economy and the weak position which its poor performance has placed it in the world today. This is combined with a diagnosis of what he calls Nigeria's development failures, which have resulted in this weak position.

The third key aspect of the paper is his identification of what he calls "the strategic forces" shaping the global economy now and for the foreseeable future; forces, towards which, according to him, no country has any alternative but to adapt to, hence the acronym used to describe their superhuman and supernatural powers is "TINA, There Is No Alternative".
The fourth key aspect of the paper is the absence in it of any forecast or vision as to the place Nigeria shall have in the global economy by the year 2010.

**Methodology**

The "visioning process" methodology amounts to posing and answering the three questions of where are we now? Where do we want to be by the year 2010? How do we get there? In it, one cannot see any method which has any scientific, or even rational basis. The scientific position with regards to all phenomena is that the place which any entity, in the natural world, or in human society, shall occupy in the future is determined by the internal processes of change of the elements constituting it, interacting with the external forces shaping these elements.

That is why, to know where any entity is going to be in the future, it is necessary to project where current objective trends are taking it to. After establishing what these trends are and what their possible outcomes are likely to be, one can then have a rational basis for bringing in one's dreams, hopes and aspirations and seek to see how one can shape the objective realities of its current momentum and take it as close to one's vision, as to what it should be in the future, as is humanly possible.

To have a meaningful vision of the future of a country, and its place in the world, and to outline a plan as to how this vision can be realised, the first thing to do after establishing its present conditions and circumstances, is to project on the basis of current trends, where it shall be by the year 2010 or whatever year in the future. This projection involves identifying the key variables determining its direction of change. For a country, these include, at least, the notion of its geology, hydrology, climate, demography, economy, technology, social structure, political systems and culture and, of course, its sub-regional, regional and global external environments. The various alternative possibilities as how each key variable will change will be identified and incorporated in the projections and this will give alternative scenarios as to where the country is heading to.

This is so that one can say, for example, given the likelihood of global warming and a wetter climate in the next thirteen years, what will be the effect on agriculture, fisheries, livestock, road construction and maintenance, housing, water supply, migrations, oil drilling, health and even clothing? Or say given wars, or the discovery of oil, in a neighbouring country, what will be the effect on the economy and on the political and security situation in Nigeria? On the basis of these projections, incorporating many variables one can then come face to face with what the future is likely to be and then dream, visualise
and plan, as to what it should be like with a rational basis for seeking to make it what one wants it to be, at any specific point in the future.

To simply jump from where we are, to where we want to be, and then seek to set out how to get there, amounts to building castles in the air, with no foundations on the ground. This is not a visioning process, but a wishing process.

The projection of current trends and the taking into account of key variables is such an elementary exercise, without which any visualisation of a desirable future goal for a country is so obviously meaningless. For, without answering the question of where we are heading to as a country and, therefore, where we are likely to find ourselves in the next thirteen years, given current trends, the whole exercise amounts to attempting to take a country of over one hundred million people on a wild goose chase for a mirage in the desert.

**Diagnosis**

Chief Shonekan's diagnosis of the causes of the weak position of Nigeria in the global economy fails to provide the sort of realistic diagnosis required to rectify the severe shortcomings of the Nigerian economy. He says in the paper that:

The four causes he diagnosed for Nigeria's poor economic performance, are all symptoms not causes of the problem. The scientific approach is to inquire deeply into every symptom and seek to see what causes it. The four causes he sets out are:

- faulty domestic policies, including inefficient public sector investment programme;
- infrastructural bottlenecks;
- political and policy inconsistency and instability;
- inadequate investment in human resource development

The questions to ask after setting these out are: why were the domestic policies faulty and the public sector investments inefficient? What, and who, caused the infrastructural bottlenecks? What caused the political and policy inconsistency and instability? Why was the investment in human resource development inadequate? The answers to these questions are what will take us closer to the roots of Nigeria's development failures. But, Chief Shonekan having placed all the blame where he wishes to place it, does not want to go any further into the truth of the actual process that is making the Nigerian economy incapable of performing well.
PROSPECTS.
The basic interface of production, finance and marketing in all sectors of the economy is dysfunctional or non-existent. For Nigeria to progress at all free market economy in all its definition should be employed wholeheartedly. It is this dysfunctional state that has made it impossible for any meaningful addition of value in the production of goods and services. The producers in the Nigerian economy will continue to enjoy to the detriment of the country as long as the imbalances caused by regulation persist. After all when capital markets between countries become segmented investments become lucrative so as to tap into the impecfections in the market. Little wonder Nigeria is an investment haven for Asians!

The government should re-appraise themselves by giving democracy a chance and allow simple law of demand and supply to reign supreme. Foreign direct investment (FDI) flows into Africa are picking up, but from an extremely low base, and remain paltry by emerging markets standards. Africa attracted less than five percent of all FDI flows into emerging markets last year, with Morocco and South Africa accounting for the bulk of the investments.

"There's an emerging consensus that Africa is not hopeless, and that in fact there is an emerging renaissance going on in Africa," said Salih Booker, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. A wave of new research into the contrast between Africa and East Asia is producing some surprising findings. The most striking and reassuring conclusion is that although East Asia enjoyed some significant cultural and historical advantages, its economic boom relied on factors that probably can be replicated elsewhere.

In a nutshell, the formula was an outward-oriented, market-based economic policy coupled with an emphasis on education and health care. Countries in other regions like Chile have followed the strategy with great success. Several African countries, led by Congo's neighbor Uganda, are trying to learn from the Asian experience and are enjoying their own Asian-style boom. Yet it is simply at the crest of a wave of African countries experimenting with privatization and stock markets - there are 16 so far in Africa -- and trying to prove that rapid economic growth is not a prerogative of East Asia alone.

For as rightly pointed out by Alan H. Gelb, the chief economist for Africa at the World Bank, "This is still in the early days, and we're not euphoric and jumping up and down, but we think that parts of Africa are moving in the right direction," "I think there are grounds for optimism."
At last count, four countries—Uganda, Angola, Lesotho and Malawi—were enjoying growth rates of 10 percent. East Asian countries pursued various economic models, but there was also a common economic strategy, which countries like Uganda are now emulating. The strategy emphasizes fiscal prudence and avoiding inflation while vigorously promoting exports and keeping the currency undervalued.

One reason for some optimism about Africa now is its parallels with Asian countries earlier this century. Much like Asia was before its boom, Africa is relatively egalitarian in wealth, partly because land is not concentrated in the hands of a small elite (as in parts of Latin America). Similarly, in many African countries birth rates are dropping and literacy is rising.

Moreover, it's instructive to recall that Western pessimism over global basket cases was once directed at Asia too: it used to be fashionable to say that Chinese had no capacity for hard work and no feel for business, and that China was destined, as Samuel Taylor Coleridge put it, to "permanency without progression.

**Lessons for Africa.**

The first lesson of experience for the developing countries and Nigeria in particular relates to sound fiscal management and public financial accountability. In these uncertain financially uncertain times, the weak currency event in Southeast Asia is a timely lesson for African countries. After all, economic growth rates across South-east Asia are still higher than in most other regions of the world; inflation and unemployment are low by any standards; foreign reserves are strong everywhere, except in Thailand; markets for Asian exports are growing nicely; and stock valuations are low relative to those in the United States and Europe. Although there are variations across the region. For instance, the Philippines shows fewer signs of vulnerability to property and currency problems than do Malaysia and Indonesia; Singapore, with its budgetary and current account surpluses, is a notable exception, although it too is facing a property glut; and none is in as dire straits as Thailand.

Nevertheless, the problems are there, and they are sufficiently widespread to suggest at least a degree of commonality of causes. Among these causes, economic overheating in the wake of chronically high growth rates over the last 10 years stands out. It has especially afflicted the so-called Asean 4: Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand. Notably, this overheating has played havoc with their external accounts: current account deficits have averaged more than 5 per cent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in the Asean 4 during the 1990s.

**As long as exports** were growing strongly and investments were perceived to be of high quality, the deficits looked sustainable. But over the last year, two things happened: first, export growth slowed sharply to around 5 per cent, from an average of just over 14 per cent during 1990-95; and second, it...
became evident that the quality of investments had been variable. Too much money had gone into fixed assets -- big infrastructure projects and real estate.

The second lesson of experience for the Sub-Saharan Africa relates to the importance of good governance and the acceptance of positive civil society. By good governance we mean the existence of political accountability; the exercise of legitimate power; respect for the rule of law; freedom of information and expression; freedom of association and participation and bureaucratic transparency; enhanced opportunities for the development of pluralistic forces, including civil society; and capacity building. Countries that have deficient basic governance will not be able to undergo sustained economic growth. Likewise, good governance can only be consolidated when there exists a vibrant, dynamic, and pluralistic civil society. In Malaysia, the fundamental pursuit of good governance has provided a favourable climate for the development of its civil society. The favourable climate has been found to include the formation of groups by interested members of the public and not at the request of a regime leader seeking support; a mass media free to report group activities and legitimately elected group leaders free of outside interference.

The Third lesson, and one related to the second, is the need to control corruption and rent-seeking activities. As defined above, good governance checks corruption and incompetence. Widespread corruption, as practiced in Africa, is a symptom that the state is functioning poorly. Ineffective states can retard and misdirect economic growth. Widespread corruption is of special concern in Africa because graft and poverty tend to go hand in hand. Corruption in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular is a pervasive and endemic pattern of behaviour that is incongruent with good governance, economic freedom, and competition - all three of which are significant elements of market-oriented economies. The control of corruption, as is currently emphasised by donor agencies and other aid partners, is a fundamental condition for the sustainable transition to a market-oriented economy.

The key lesson to be derived from Malaysia, in the attempt to remove the pervasive stench of corruption in Africa, is that corruption has to be made a high-risk that kleptocrats and other perpetrators will be caught and severely punished. To that end, in 1997 the government of Malaysia made the Anti Corruption agency was given more power to probe politicians. The agency is responsible for the investigation of alleged and suspected offenses of corruption and offenses against the fiscal laws of Malaysia. The establishment of meaningfully focused independent anti-corruption agencies can provide a very effective means of promoting integrity in public officials, building up a public service ethics, promoting probity in government, and protection of state income and expenditure, while at the same time offering the means for public redress.
Another lesson is the importance of institutional development and capacity building. When institutions are weak, then there is limited implementation capacity. In such an environment, economic development also remain elusive. Sustainable development requires relatively stable rules of the game to regulating economic and political interactions. The lack of institutional capacity in Africa translates into inability to regulate property rights, enforce contracts, maintain law and order, and control official acts of corruption and abuses of power, among other things. Regulatory capacity involves the ability of the state to establish and enforce the rules that guide, or regulate, societal behaviour so as to eliminate mismanagement, inefficiency, pervasive corruption of the public sector, and political instability.

In Malaysia, capacity building is vigorously pursued through national policies geared at human resources development and institutional change where necessary. National training policies have been developed and are being methodically implemented and the necessary institutions have been created while institutional reform is an on-going process.

Another lesson is the need to control and manage external debt within the national capacity to service such debt. The external debt and debt - servicing of Africa continue to pose a major threat to the sustainable development of the region. While African population has grown by 3 % a year since 1970, annual production of cereals has grown by less than 2 % while the Continent's arable land has been slashed by half from its 1965 level of 1.2 acres per person. During the period of 1990-1994, GDP in Africa declined at a rate of 1.5 % per annum. Even though the region reached its fastest growth rate in five years, Africa's share of aggregate world economic output has continued to shrink. While the Continent was a net exporter of food in the 1960s, today 25 % of its food needs are met through food aid and imports. Out of the total population of 640 million in Africa, over 215 million Africans were living in poverty in 1990 according to World Bank estimates. The debt service arrears of Africa countries represented more than 27 per cent of their debt stock in 1995 while in 1990 they were only 11 per cent. The need to control and manage external borrowing is therefore an obvious one.

In Malaysia, there has been considerable financial liberalisation since the early 1980s. New financial institutions and instruments have emerged: there exists a growth - oriented stock market (The Kuala Lumpur Stock Exchange); there has been a strengthening of market mechanisms and some innovation in the provision of banking services. It has become fashionable to introduce reforms in the form of liberalisation and deregulation encompassing prudent economic policies, privatisation and increasing acceptance of market forces in resource allocation. Any country that is unwilling to operate in line with
these rules will be sidelined in the global flows of foreign direct investment and trade which are powerful forces fueling the growth of the global economy.

The final lesson pertains to the development and implementation of outward-looking economic diversification strategies. In Malaysia, as earlier explained export promotion and economic diversification form the cornerstone of the government’s development agenda. That strategy has borne fruit with an increase in the manufactured exports of such companies as Proton.

In short, the internal processes and the external environment determining the future of Nigeria in the global economy needs to be seriously studied and the various scenarios established and the various options identified. Nigeria faces three major possibilities, given current trends, internally and externally.

One possibility is that, if current trends continue, without decisive political and economic changes, by the year 2010, Nigeria’s place in the global economy shall be one of a raw material exporter, largely minerals, with an enclave economy, marked by low-intensity conflicts and an amorphous sovereignty.

The second possibility, if the IMF and the World Bank succeed in imposing the sort of monetarist they want. The third possibility is, if the classes and groups who produce the goods and services in Nigeria develop political parties and take over power and link up with others across Africa, there will be some conflicts, with the narrow vested interest opposed to the African integration process; but by the year 2010, the modernisation of Nigerian agriculture and heavy and medium-scale industrialisation would be well under way, firmly placed within an African home market, with Nigeria as one of the pillars of a Union of African States, to fully emerge in the second decade of the 21st century.

Conclusion

Africa must develop its own intellectual self-confidence, professional competence and negotiation skills to make the most of all potential resources available on the international scene, in much as the same way the Asian and Latin American countries have done. It must develop and strengthen the capacity to write its own agenda, convince outside parties as well as domestic investors. Malaysia does not go by the dictates of any foreign agency. But Malaysia has a responsible leader. The fact is we as Nigerians never voluntarily fell into the World Bank/IMF trap. We were dragged, against our wish, by General Babangida. Some Nigerians have argued that is democracy enough for Nigerian situation, and the question whether democracy assure all the good development we crave for. The order, peace and progress that exists in functional democratic societies cannot be over estimated. Democracy is not enough to guarantee a progressive Nigeria. One can presume that once the country comes under democratic government, everything else would fall into place. In order words, democracy, being
"preferable to any of its alternatives" may be necessary, but it is certainly not sufficient for national progress. We must realise that democracy tells us nothing about the wisdom of the policies pursued, or whether such policies are justified. It tells us nothing about the structure, and the size of the government. It is silent about the relationship between the various ethnic groups of the people in a society. It does not prescribe an impartial method of sharing the general revenue. My point is that there is a fundamental reason why Nigeria is the way it is today. The problem is not just democracy, corruption etc, but leadership with the foresight and courage to set a long-term vision. Fixing things in piecemeal way is an exercise in futility, if the all pervasive societal infrastructure problems are not diagnosed, recognised, and fixed. I believe if the fundamental problem is fixed, the country would boom. If one compares North Korea and South Korea, two countries that started with the same resources but adopted different societal infrastructure, one would understand the point I was driving at. Nigeria needs a purposeful leader who will motivate the people to do right things.

This powerful force calls for a creating a compelling vision to inspire people to change. The vision should incite a sense of challenge and a deep sense of pride for people to achieve it. It should create possibilities and a dynamic future whereby everyone has a stake in it. It should provide a clear picture of what the future will be like "prosperous, democratic, economically just, psychologically liberated, ethical, progressive and tolerant, in which citizens feel they belong to one nation.

Notes


3. For more detail on the Role of the Private Sector, see Ahad Abdul Hamid, op. cit, pp. 205 - 206) and the Sixth Malaysian Plan, 1991 - 1995.

4. For more details, see Tenku Idris Tenku Hadi, Langkawi: The Hub of the Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand Growth Triangle, Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk Publ. Sdn Bhd, 1996, p. 21

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