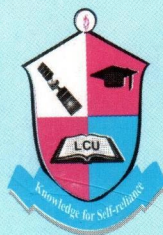


**Rich Land; Poor People: The Political Economy  
of Mineral Resource Endowment in a  
Peripheral Capitalist State**

*3rd Inaugural Lecture*

**Lead City University  
Ibadan**



**7th November, 2013**

---

**Professor Chibuzo Nnate Nwoke**  
Department of Politics and International Relations  
Faculty of Social Sciences and Entrepreneurial Studies  
Lead City University, Ibadan

**Rich Land; Poor People: The Political Economy  
of Mineral Resource Endowment in a  
Peripheral Capitalist State**

**3rd Inaugural Lecture  
Lead City University  
Ibadan**

**7th November, 2013**

**Professor Chibuzo Nnate Nwoke**

*Department of Politics and International Relations  
Faculty of Social Sciences and Entrepreneurial Studies  
Lead City University  
Ibadan*

© Lead City University, Ibadan

First Published 2013

*All rights reserved*

No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, electrostatic, magnetic tape, photocopying, recording or otherwise without the express written permission of the copyright owner.

*Designed and Printed by:*

College Press

3, Baale Mosaderin Road, Jericho, Ibadan

08036694838, 08022900793

The Chancellor, Prof. Gabriel Ogunmola,  
The Pro-Chancellor & Chairman,  
Governing Council, Prof. Babajide Owoeye,  
The Vice-Chancellor, Prof. Femi Onabajo,  
The Registrar, Dr. (Mrs) Oyebola Ayeni,  
The University Librarian, Mr. Lanre Osaniyi,  
Other Principal Officers,  
The Dean of the Post-Graduate School,  
Deans of other Faculties,  
Eminent Invited Guests,  
My dear Colleagues; and other Staff,  
Great LCU Students,  
Our Friends from the Media,  
Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen,

## **I. Introduction**

I stand before you this afternoon, in all humility and with deep gratitude to God Almighty, to deliver the 3rd Inaugural Lecture of Lead City University. For record purposes, I wish to inform you that while this lecture is the third in this young but great citadel of learning, it is also the second one to come from my Faculty of Social Sciences and Entrepreneurial Studies, and the first to come from my Department of Politics and International Relations. And, in the context of the entire Lead City University system, I have two predecessors in this noble academic tradition, in the persons of Professors Femi Onabajo and Shadrach Agunbiade, of the Departments of Mass Communication and Biochemistry, respectively. I believe it is, therefore, proper for me to doff my cap to them. However, with all humility, the record should also show that the Chair of International Economic

Relations, which I inaugurate today, has no precedence in this University.

Mr Vice-Chancellor, Sir, for most of my mature academic life, I have been concerned with, and interested in, the possibility for a poor, underdeveloped, country to be transformed to a rich and advanced industrialised state using its God-given endowments of natural resources. Indeed, in the early 1950s, most mainstream development economists had suggested that resource abundance would help the "backward" states, which were thought to suffer from imbalances in the factors of production, because, while most of them had surpluses of labour, they experienced shortages of investible capital. In other words, according to mainstream economists, it would be easy for states with abundant natural resources to overcome their capital short-falls by exporting primary commodities and by attracting foreign investors. According to this scenario, the governments of "backward" states would also find it easier to collect revenues and hence provide public goods.<sup>1</sup>

In the field of International Relations, the ownership and control of natural resources has, for long, also been recognised as a very important asset of power and influence in the international system. Personally, I had observed with keen interest the formation of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), and the proliferation of several other Third World producers associations: in copper, bauxite, tin, groundnuts, cocoa, coffee, etc. I witnessed the unprecedented impact on the world economy of the 1973 Arab oil embargo, the quadrupling of the price of oil in the international market following the Yom Kippur war, and the increased power and influence of oil (and some other resources) supplying countries in the international system.

I was fascinated by those developments, which coincided with the general Third World struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order, and which appeared to have considerably shaken the very foundation of the global capitalist system, so much so that the advanced countries, led by America, declared an "oil crisis" and conceded that the threat from the Third World was real.<sup>2</sup> Infact, scholars in International Relations even began to describe the global power structure, in terms, not of "bi-polarity" but, of "tri-polarity", in recognition of this new Third World trend.

Unfortunately, however, I have also observed the gradual and subsequent erosion of the Third World's "resource power", up to the point where, today, several scholars now speak of "the paradox of plenty"<sup>3</sup>, or the "resource curse"<sup>4</sup>, which they say has afflicted Third World countries that God had blessed with abundant resources.

In other words, resource abundance, accompanied by high levels of poverty and destitution in resource-supplying countries, has led to an inverse relationship between resource availability and economic performance. To support this line of thinking, a World Bank study has indicated that between 1960 and 1990, the Third World countries with few natural resources grew at up to 300 per cent faster than natural resource abundant countries, with the exception of diamond-rich Botswana.<sup>5</sup> But, while there seems to be strong evidence that states with abundant resource wealth perform less well than their resource-poor counterparts, there is little consensus on why this is so.

My own thinking on the natural resource issue is radically different from, and opposed to, the mainstream capital shortage, or resource curse, thesis. I confess that my thinking has been

influenced by several radical/progressive scholarship on the Third World's raw materials issue, which exposed me to, and shaped my understanding of, the peripheralised role of Third World raw materials suppliers in the international capitalist division of labour.

In that respect, I need to recall here some of the great scholarship which influenced me, including works by Michael Tanzer,<sup>6</sup> Norman Girvan,<sup>7</sup> Pierre Jalee<sup>8</sup>, Zukhayr Mikdashi<sup>9</sup>, Kwame Nkrumah,<sup>10</sup> V. I. Lenin,<sup>11</sup> Samir Amin,<sup>12</sup> Immanuel Wallerstein,<sup>13</sup> Gregg Lanning and Marti Mueller,<sup>14</sup> Walter Rodney<sup>15</sup>, Harry Magdoff<sup>16</sup>, Bade Onimode,<sup>17</sup> Claude Ake,<sup>18</sup> Paul Baran,<sup>19</sup> Samuel Ochola<sup>20</sup>, Andre Gunder-Frank,<sup>21</sup> etc. As a graduate student in the Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver, the works of those scholars were part of my daily companion.

I must also recall the mentoring role of three of my teachers. Firstly, my Ph.D. supervisor, Prof. Satish Raichur, a fine Marxist-economist who, not only exposed me to the wealth of knowledge in Karl Marx's works<sup>22</sup> but also, taught me to always look deeply beneath the surface of social phenomena in order to get at reality. Unfortunately, Prof. Raichur died, at the age of 35, even before I completed my doctoral work. Secondly, I also benefited from Prof. James Caporaso and Prof. James Mittelman, two brilliant political economists, with whom I worked closely in the early 1980s on the then evolving dependency theory. Prof. Mittelman inherited, from Prof. Raichur, the role of my Ph. D supervisor.

Ladies and gentlemen, from Kwame Nkrumah's work on *Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*, I have a favourite quotation for understanding Africa's resource endowments problems, not as a curse, but properly, in the context of the

organisation and functioning of the world capitalist economic system and the specific role forcefully assigned to Africa in that system as a *supplier of raw materials*.

*Africa is a paradox which illustrates neo-colonialism. Her earth is rich, yet the products that come from below and above her soil continue to enrich, not Africans predominantly, but groups and individuals who operate to Africa's impoverishment.*

*... If Africa's multiple resources were used in her own development, they would place her among the modernised continents of the world. But the resources have been, and are still being, used for the greater development of overseas interests.<sup>23</sup>*

At least, from Nkrumah, we know the origin of Africa's so-called resource curse. In other words, much of Africa's underdevelopment is the result of its engagement predominantly in primary resource production, which is controlled by foreign transnational entities, merely for export to metropolitan countries. This contrived and structural development of underdevelopment is, therefore, largely externally-induced.

Nevertheless, mainstream and conservative scholarship of the neo-classical economics genre, as represented in studies put out by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, tend to leave out the role of such external factors from the explanation of Africa's social, economic and political problems, and rather emphasise only factors that are internal to the continent. In other words, the organisation and functioning of the world capitalist economic system, and the specific role occupied therein by Africa as supplier of raw materials is totally

ignored by IMF and World Bank studies. Their answer to the crisis in Africa is for us to develop agriculture, but, again, with a view to export; and for us to abandon protection of domestic industry, to dismantle the public sector and make greater efforts to attract foreign capital. In short, they recommend policies the effect of which would be to aggravate the problem inherent in the specialisation in raw materials exports and foreign control over the economy, which are, in fact, among the major factors causing the African crisis.<sup>24</sup>

Africa's stagnation in the role of raw materials exporter is regularly reinforced by the neo-classical economics principle of comparative advantage. And within the world trade regime, despite its mantra of trade liberalisation, every effort is made, through Western protectionism, to discourage attempts to process, and add value to, Africa's raw materials export.

My intellectual orientation, beginning with my doctoral dissertation up till my present research, has been geared against this mainstream intellectual bias. Originally entitled "The Global Struggle Over Surplus Profits from Mining", my Ph.D. dissertation was published in 1987 by Zed Press in London, under the title *Third World Minerals and Global Pricing: A New Theory*. The first part of the book's title points to the fact that while the minerals in question belong to the Third World, the pricing, i.e., the sharing of the benefits, is done abroad, globally, outside the control of the Third World. And the rider, *A New Theory*, is a reflection of my adaptation of Marx's theory of ground-rent (while critiquing the prevailing mainstream bargaining theory) in the relationship between the capitalist (Western transnational capital) and the feudal landlord (Third World governments). But even before that book, and in the process of my Ph.D. research, I had

published my first article, entitled "World Mining Rent: An Extension of Marx's Theories", in *Review: A Journal of the Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economics, Historical Systems and Civilizations*, the reputable journal that was edited by the eminent scholar, Prof. Immanuel Wallerstein, the father of the World System Analysis School. That piece was meant to reveal the origin and structure of an important source of wealth (rent) in the international mining industry and to underline the asymmetric balance of power in favour of metropolitan mining firms (and their states) in the appropriation of that wealth.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Sir, the central thesis of this lecture is that what mainstream, conservative, scholarship now labels as a resource curse is really the euphemism for imperialism, cleverly designed, as usual, to disguise the real cause of poverty, misery and underdevelopment in Africa's natural resource-endowed countries. On the contrary, to reiterate, it is Africa's forcefully assigned role of raw materials supplier in the international capitalist division of labour that mostly explains the cause of misery and underdevelopment in resource-endowed countries. This is not, of course, to discount the colluding and compradorial role of Africa's leadership class in this imperialist scheme.

I have structured the lecture into twelve parts. I begin with a brief introduction to the political economy of mineral resources, followed by a description of the critical importance of minerals in modern civilisation. I then bring Nigeria's own huge minerals endowments in focus in order to next underline the several missed opportunities to apply the critical resources for self-reliant industrialisation and in uplifting the standard of living of the Nigerian people. The three sections that follow deal with the external and internal factors of minerals-related underdevelopment. The next

section presents a catalogue of misery, poverty and underdevelopment in Nigeria, a mineral-rich economy. Against that background, I then unfold, in the last section, a strategic agenda for Nigeria's economic emancipation and self-reliant development.

## II. A Brief Introduction to the Political Economy of Mineral Resources

Since the industrial revolution in the metropolitan countries, and especially since the Second World War, the enormous growth of the economies of the advanced countries and the resulting growth in the demand for minerals has caused the rapid exhaustion of their mineral reserves and left them with only low-grade or difficult-to-extract deposits. As the raw materials of the industrialised countries became more and more costly to develop, they have increasingly resorted to controlling the minerals of foreign countries, especially those of the Third world, in the periphery of the world-system.

Referring to the aftermath of the industrial revolution in the metropolis, Marx had observed that as soon as the general conditions requisite for production by the modern industrial system have been established, this mode of production acquires "a capacity for sudden extension by leaps and bounds that finds no hindrance except in the supply of raw materials".<sup>25</sup> Hence, according to him:

*By ruining handicraft production in other countries, machinery forcibly converts them into fields for the supply of its raw materials. In this way East India was compelled to produce cotton, wool, hemp, jute, and indigo for Great Britain. By constantly making a part of the hands*

*"supernumerary," modern industry, in all countries where it has taken root, gives a spur to emigration and to the colonisation of foreign lands, which are thereby converted into settlements for growing the raw materials of the mother country; just as Australia, for example, was converted into a country for growing wool. A new and international division of labour, a division suited to the requirements of the chief centers of modern industry springs up, and converts one part of the globe into a chiefly agricultural field of production, for supplying the other part which remains a chiefly industrial field. This revolution hangs together with radical changes in agriculture.*<sup>26</sup>

More recently, and by the same token, following the second industrial revolution and the rapid exhaustion of their industrial raw materials, the metropolitan countries have succeeded in extending their raw materials frontiers by shaping the countries of the periphery of the international capitalist market into resource-colonies for safely supplying these materials.

What is new today is that, from the point of view of metropolitan capital, the "importance" of the periphery, as supplier of agricultural raw materials, has been superseded by its "importance" as supplier of industrial raw materials. In the context of the entity known as the world capitalist system, which is composed of the center and the periphery, the result of this shaping of the periphery to specialise as supplier of vital raw materials to the industries of the center is known as "monoculture".<sup>27</sup>

Monoculture is, therefore, not a natural but a colonial invention that is characteristic of regions falling under imperialist domination. It entails the creation of a dependent ruling class of landed proprietors whose interests, though theoretically contradictory to those of capital, would still be made to satisfy capitalist interests in the larger context of an international capitalist system as a whole.

Mainstream scholars rarely use the term monoculture, but when they do, it has been to blur and confuse the real meaning of the term to imply simply a nation's specialisation in the production of the few products for which it has the so-called "comparative advantage." In progressive or radical scholarship, on the other hand, monoculture is an important coinage that is used analytically to adequately describe the historically assigned Third World role as a periphery in the international capitalist division of labour, which is that of supplier of cheap natural resources (and cheap labour) for the increasing industrialisation of the advanced-centre countries. In that imperialist division of labour, the role of the centre-countries is, on the hand, to supply monocultural areas with manufactured goods, including, in particular, capital and technology, at high and exploitative costs. Third World countries were originally structured, i.e., underdeveloped, to serve as natural resource suppliers when they were forcefully incorporated, through colonisation, into the world capitalist economy. In other words, an important precondition for establishing this colonial arrangement was the underdevelopment of productive forces in the colonised areas.<sup>28</sup> Domestic productive forces having been underdeveloped, the colonised areas became virtual plantations or resource enclaves, economic activity became concentrated on the rapacious

exploitation of natural resources for export to metropolitan countries, and the resource enclaves thereby became entirely dependent on the economic and political vagaries in the metropolitan countries, the major consumers of their natural resources. Through neo-colonialism, most of the Third World is still in this situation even today.

In the transition from colonialism to flag independence in Africa, the colonialists had nurtured comprador (intermediary) elements within the ruling class to whom political power was later transferred in the neo-colonial period.<sup>29</sup> "Comprador" is the Portuguese word for buyer. The cadre of professional intermediaries who dealt with the foreign trading houses in the coastal enclaves during colonisation were dubbed. "comprador elements" by the Chinese Marxists.

The term "neo-colonial" indicates that, in the transition from colonialism to flag independence, political power was transferred to regimes based on the support of social classes linked very closely to the foreign interests that were formerly represented by the colonial state. As the term is used here, "comprador" describes those professional intermediaries who organise the access of foreign mining companies to Africa's minerals in the neo-colonial period.

In this respect, Nigerian middlemen, for example, constitute comprador elements within the Nigerian ruling class, with its representatives occupying government and business positions and controlling the state. It is these intermediary elements, who are closely linked to the very foreign interests that formerly controlled the colonial economy, that today superintend over the pillage of Africa's vital resources by Western transnational

corporations. Because imperialism relies on the collaboration of local ruling strata, profound political and social changes within the mining countries themselves are required before the African people can gain control of their mineral resources.

Nigeria is a typical monoculture. Historically, economic activity in the country has been structured primarily around the production and export of a few primary products. These have included agricultural cash crops in earlier times and petroleum today. The change from agricultural cash crops exports to minerals exports has been in response to the dynamics of the Western industrialisation process. Typically, the country is, therefore, both structurally underdeveloped and externally dependent.

### **III. The Critical Importance of Minerals in Modern Civilisation**

Technically, minerals are naturally occurring crystalline solids of inorganic origin, having a more or less fixed chemical composition. While there are said to be about 2,000 known minerals, only about 100 of them are considered of economic importance. Modern man's interest in them arises primarily because of their non-renewability and scarcity. They are also referred to as "raw materials" because they contribute the raw, i.e., natural, inputs of modern industrialism.<sup>30</sup>

Minerals have always played an important role in man's life. Notice how Alexander Sutulov described the importance of minerals in our lives:

*Originated in the tiny interface between the earth's crust and atmosphere, man is predeterminately oriented towards his natural medium for all supplies he needs for maintaining his*

*life and constructing his civilization. And this medium is overwhelmingly inorganic and mineral in its origin. The air we breathe, the water we drink, are minerals but in gaseous and liquid forms; the soils we walk on and cultivate our crops in, the fertilizers we use for better yields, are minerals also; finally, all materials we use for our housing, tools and arms, machinery, equipment and the construction of many engineering objects are either minerals or can be traced to them in one or another way. Indeed, starting from common construction rock and finishing with metals, alloys, all types of cements, glasses and even plastics, we can find common mineral origins in all of them.*<sup>31</sup>

History documents that mineral resources can, indeed, facilitate economic development and the eradication of misery and poverty, which abound on this planet. The development of our civilisation is closely related to our abilities to use minerals and transform them into materials for our needs. That is why we have come to associate the different stages of our civilisation with the discovery of different mineral materials: the Stone Age; Copper Age; Bronze Age; Iron Age; and, even now, the Atomic or Nuclear Age.

Minerals and their products constitute the basis of all industrial production and activities; and they permeate the entire fabric of modern society. In a certain sense, modern man can, in fact, be said to be a creation of industrial minerals. A variety of these minerals are involved in various proportions in his life. The food and liquid he eats and drinks, the clothes, shoes and ornament he wears, the drugs he takes to keep healthy, the house in which he lives, the paper on which he writes, his cell phone, laptop,

palmtop, the vehicles he travels in and the road on which he travels, the elevators and escalators that provide him comfort up and down a high-rise building, etc., are all constituted in small or large proportions by minerals.<sup>32</sup>

Minerals are the most important base product for our industrial, agricultural, and construction activities. And, as such, they constitute the fundamental infrastructure of our contemporary society. Without minerals there would be no raw materials for our factories, fuel for our industries, fertilizers for our crops, or materials for our construction industries.

*If you cannot get manganese, you cannot make steel. And if you cannot get chrome and cobalt, you cannot fly an airplane, run a train, or build an automobile or computer.*<sup>33</sup>

As one minerals industry expert has correctly observed:

*If a country does not have enough of the minerals it needs for industrial and military use, it has to get them from other countries, through [any means possible]... it follows that any powerful country that lacks adequate supplies within its borders will be under strong internal pressures to adopt a meddlesome, imperialistic, and even bellicose, foreign policy, in order to ensure that other countries' exercise of sovereignty does not deny it access to vital minerals. We have seen a lot of this in action in recent history.*<sup>34</sup>

The search for available supplies of raw materials, particularly of minerals, has, indeed, become the kernel of foreign policy especially from the standpoint of the super powers.

In summary, mineral wealth, like other assets, should help countries develop and grow. After all, the industrial revolution began in England and quickly spread to Germany and the United States partly because these countries were well-endowed with coal and other natural resources. The returns from mineral exploitation can be used to build industries, schools and hospitals, airports and highways, and homes and parks. Mining and mineral processing can also generate jobs, provide opportunities for the development of domestic skills, encourage the creation of associated industries, and provide other beneficial side effects or linkages for the local economy.

The underdevelopment, poverty and dependence that today characterise many Third World mineral-endowed countries is, therefore, both surprising and very depressing. Many of them, like Nigeria, have watched the standard of living of the majority of their people deteriorate to hopeless levels, while many more have even suffered from complete economic stagnation and decline.

Before addressing the several squandered opportunities to mobilise Nigeria's minerals wealth towards uplifting the living condition of the people, let us first take a quick inventory of the array of minerals that the Almighty God, in his loving kindness, has blessed us with.

#### **IV. Overview of Nigeria's Minerals Endowments**

Before the so-called oil boom era in the Nigerian economy, tin mining was the major source of revenue and foreign exchange for the country; and Nigeria was, for a long time, among the top six producers of both tin and columbite in the world. But mostly because of our subsequent over-concentration on oil, the

importance of tin and other solid minerals has declined in the Nigerian economy.

A poor monocultural Third World country like Nigeria cannot afford to ignore the totality of the inventory of the minerals sector of its economy because the long term well-being of the country may very well depend upon the nationalist and prudent management of its mineral endowments. Investigations by mining industry experts reveal that there are potentials in Nigeria's minerals sector that, if judiciously worked, could provide the needed pre-condition for a future of successful industrialisation and human development. Specifically, the Ministry of Solid Minerals Development has informed us that, altogether, Nigeria has appreciable reserves of thirty-four different types of solid minerals today.

A comprehensive inventory of Nigeria's minerals potentials, listed on the basis of their industrial utility, has been grouped as follows by experts in the field.<sup>35</sup>

- A. Building and Construction Industry Minerals
- B. Fuel Minerals
- C. Steel Industry Minerals
- D. Non-Ferrous Minerals
- E. Industrial and Manufacturing Minerals
- F. Strategic Minerals
- G. Precious Metals and Gemstones

#### **A. Building and Construction Industry Minerals**

The minerals that are utilised in the building and construction industry and that are known to exist in extensive quantities in Nigeria include *building stones and aggregates, sands and gravels, polished stone works, bitumen and tar sands.*

## B. Fuel Minerals

Fuel minerals include *coal, petroleum, natural gas, and lignite*; and Nigeria is very well endowed with these important resources.

### *Coal*

Actual known reserves of coal from Enugu and Kabba are about 650 million tons. Assuming a million metric ton-per-year rate of exploitation, the present coal reserves are projected to last for 400 years.

### *Crude Oil*

Nigeria's potential petroleum resources, i.e., resources which are in the ground but which are not now producible either because of unfavourable economics or inadequate technology, were estimated at between 90 and 115 billion barrels. On the other hand, estimates of the country's proven reserves of petroleum, i.e., petroleum which is still in the ground but which has been discovered and can be produced, vary between 25 and 40 billion barrels. While the lower reserve rate gives an estimated life of 20 years, the higher reserve rate gives an estimated 45 years of petroleum supply in the country as of 2011.<sup>36</sup>

Nigeria's petroleum is of the high quality, low sulphur, grade. The country is ranked the largest oil producer in Africa; and the 11th largest producer in the world. Average daily production is about 2.5 million barrels. Nigeria is the world's 8th largest exporter of crude oil; and 45% of its exports go to the US. Ninety-five per cent of the country's export revenue currently comes from oil exports.<sup>37</sup>

### *Natural Gas*

Apart from crude oil, huge reserves of natural gas have been discovered mostly in association with petroleum production. Proven reserves of both associated and non-associated gas in the country have been estimated at about 185 trillion cubic feet (TCF) as of January 2006. This makes Nigeria the seventh largest natural gas reserve holder in the world and the largest in Africa. At the present relatively low production rates, the country's natural gas is estimated to last for about 70 years.

### *Lignite*

The second fuel mineral that is available in Nigeria, lignite, a solid mineral, has been assessed in the Owgashi-Asaba and Obomkpa areas of Delta State where over 70 million tons have been proved. Other occurrences are known to be in Nnewi and other areas in Anambra state. Low grade lignite occurrences are also known to be located in thin irregular seams in the Gombe area of Bauchi State.<sup>38</sup>

### **C. Steel Industry Minerals**

The steel industry minerals that are found in Nigeria include *iron-ore, chromite, columbite, wolfram, molybdenite, manganese* and *nickel*.<sup>39</sup>

(a) Investigations for *iron-ore*, the key material in the iron and steel industry, have proved deposits in the Agbaja and Itakpe areas of Kwara State, Nsude/Enugu areas of Enugu State, Ajashe near Ogbomoso in Oyo State and recently in the Muro areas of Plateau State. Total reserves of high grade ore from Agbaja, Itakpe, Nsude and Ajashe have been estimated at about 300,000,000 tons. Low grade iron stones are also known to occur in Sokoto State.

(b) *Chromite*, the main mineral of Niobium, is known to occur in Nigeria in association with tin production in Jos Plateau, and in the Bauchi, Zaria, Kano, and Benue areas.

(c) Nigeria was, until recently, the world's largest producer of *columbite*. A large proportion of the world's present production of columbite is from Nigeria, which has an estimated reserve of about 17,875 tons, of which 14,300 tons have been proven mainly in the Jos area of Plateau State.

(d) *Wolfram* is the main ore of tungsten. Reasonable occurrences of wolfram have been found in the country at Tibchi and Yelli Hills in Bauchi State, and in Liruei in Kano State where the mineral is associated with tin lodes.

(e) *Molybdenite* is the principal ore of molybdenum. A deposit is known to be located in the Kigom Hills and minor veins are known to occur in Nasarawa egon Hill in Plateau state. The country's reserves are not known as the mineral occurs in minor veins.

(f) *Manganese* ore is only in traces in the country in the Oban Hills of Cross River State and near Zaria, in Kaduna State.

(g) Traces of *nickel* that are closely associated with sulphides have been located in the Ijebu-Jesha area of Osun State, and also in the serpentinite deposits at Mallam Tanko in Kaduna State.

#### **D. Non-Ferrous Minerals**

The non-ferrous minerals that are found in Nigeria include *lead-zinc ore, tin, tantalite and copper*.<sup>40</sup>

(a) *Lead and Zinc ores* occur in a narrow long belt stretching from Ishiagu and Abakaliki in Ebonyi State, Arufu and Akwana in Gongola State, Zurak in Plateau State to Gwona in Bauchi State. The most promising of these are the deposits in Abakaliki, Arufu, and Zurak. But no reserve estimates are yet available.

(b) *Tin* production in Nigeria is mainly based on the alluvial cassiterite deposits in the Jos Plateau and in the Younger Granite areas of Buga in Bauchi State, Ririwari, in Kano State, and the Zaria area of Kaduna State. Even though tin production in the country dates back to the 19th century, there is yet no definite information on the volume of the country's tin reserves!

(c) *Tantalite*, another non-ferrous mineral that is closely associated with the older granite pegmatite that are tin-bearing, occur in small quantities in Plateau, Benue, Niger, Ondo, Oyo and Cross River States.

(d) Investigations in the Rishi Hills of Bauchi State and in Zarara and Banke Hills in Kano State have so far shown the occurrence of *copper*, even though only in traces.

### **E. Industrial and Manufacturing Minerals**

Industrial and manufacturing minerals may be sub-divided into minerals in the ceramics and glass industries, refractory minerals, fertilizer minerals and chemical minerals.<sup>41</sup>

*Ceramics and glass industry* minerals that are found in Nigeria include *clays, feldspar, glass sands and barytes*. Extensive occurrences of *clay* have been established all over the country commonly as

brick-clay, kaolin and *fireclay*. *Feldspar* occurs widely in many pegmatite bodies in Nigeria but few deposits of economic value are known in the areas they are found, including Kwara State, Oyo State, Ondo State, Kaduna State, Borno State, Abuja, and Ogun State.

Very large reserves of *glass sand* deposits have been located in Nigeria in the following areas: Enugu State; Rivers State; Niger State; Kaduna State; Sokoto State; Kano State; Edo State; Lagos State; and Ondo State.

*Barytes*, is a vein-mineral located in many areas of the Middle Benue Valley. It has been investigated at several locations in Plateau State, Gongola State, Cross River State, and Benue State. Proven reserves have, however, not been established.

Minerals, such as magnesite, dolomite, bauxite, silica, fluorspar, graphite and manganese, which serve to help withstand the high temperature employed in industry, are known as refractory materials. And, the refractory materials known to occur in Nigeria include *asbestos*, *fireclays*, *graphite*, *kyanite*, *sillimanite*, and *talc*.

Another category of industrial materials are fertilizer minerals, which include *phosphate* and *limestone*, both of which abound in the country. Two "phosphogenic provinces" have been identified in:

- a. the "Gulf of Guinea Phosphogenic Province", which stretches from Ogun state to Imo State, where deposits of phosphate, identified as francolite carbonate-flourapatite, are known to be present; and
- b. the "Sokoto Basin", where rich phosphatic nodules are known to occur extensively. <sup>42</sup>

Many commercial *limestone* deposits in Nigeria have been evaluated and some of them are being exploited, while many more are being discovered as further work on the geological mapping of the country progresses. Estimated reserves are put at over 600 million tons.

The other category of industrial and manufacturing materials found in Nigeria are those used in the chemical industries. Under this category, occurrences such as *salt* and *natron of kanwa* have been reported. Numerous salt springs and brine water are known to exist along an elongated brine zone, stretching north-east from Cross River State through Ishiagu, Uburu, Oposi and Enyiba, in Ebonyi State, to Keana, Awe, Kanje and Ayere, in Plateau State, and Bunza area of Sokoto State. At present, all the deposits appear to support only cottage salt industry but further search for possible deep-seated salt deposits is understood to be in progress. Natron of kanwa, commonly called soda ash, potash or kanwa, is produced by native Nigerians in the northern parts of Borno State. But no reserve estimates are yet available.<sup>43</sup>

#### **F. Strategic Minerals**

Nigeria's minerals endowments also include materials that can be classified as strategic, such as *uranium, pyrochlore, manozite and thorite*.<sup>44</sup> Uranium and thorium in small bodies of granite containing pyrochlore in the Lirvei Hills of Kano and in the Kigom Hills near Dorowa on the Jos Plateau was first reported in 1947 by the Geological Survey of Nigeria. Subsequent occurrence was discovered in 1952 in the tin fields of northern Nigeria. Recently, several important uranium deposits have been discovered in some six states of Nigeria (Cross River, Adamawa, Taraba, Bauchi, and

Kano) by the Atomic Energy Division of the Geological survey of Great Britain.<sup>45</sup>

Pyrochlore is a yellow or brown complex and strategic mineral ore that contains 3.3 per cent uranium oxide, 3.3 per cent thorium oxide and 41.1 per cent niobium and tantalum oxides. The occurrences are not yet fully investigated and evaluated, so estimates of reserves are not available.

Monazite and thorite, two radio-active minerals, occur in Nigeria as accessory minerals in the biotite-riebeckite-granites in the Jos Plateau, where they are recovered as by-products of the alluvial tin mining there.

### **G. Precious Metals and Gemstones**

The precious metals and gemstones that are known to occur in Nigeria include *gold, silver, beryl, and amethyst*.<sup>46</sup>

In summary, Nigeria's minerals endowments appear impressive, such as, with good management, could be effectively mobilised for advanced industrialisation and to raise the standard of living of the generality of Nigerians. As one scholar has aptly suggested, we can use our mineral endowments specifically to (a) eradicate poverty, ignorance and diseases from our society and thereby eliminate internal threats in the country; and (b) assure the self-reliance of our nation, and the state of general preparedness that would secure the nations in our buffer zone and serve as a deterrence to other foreign nations that seek to destabilise our country.<sup>47</sup>

Unfortunately, however, there has not even been a systematic and comprehensive geological investigation of the exact extent of the country's minerals potentials for planning purposes, not to talk about using them strategically to eradicate poverty and to

ensure self-reliance as proposed. And, also, the applicability of most of the available minerals in the local industrialisation process and for forging an authentic and autonomous technological culture has not been scientifically determined. This problem-situation is the result of the initial pattern of uneven, haphazard and socially irrational mineral exploitation approach introduced by imperialist interests in originally structuring Nigeria to serve as a monoculture that will provide raw materials for the industrialisation of the centres of advanced capitalism. As is evident, the exploitation of the few minerals (tin, columbite and petroleum) that have been "developed" in the country has proceeded only according to the logic and demands of the world capitalist minerals market dominated by the advanced countries and their integrated transnational corporations. Therefore, if the ruling class in Nigeria is committed to the task of lifting the generality of Nigerians from their depths of poverty, ignorance and disease, it has only one option, which is to adopt the mentality of defining minerals management in the country as a national security issue. The situation deserves nothing less than this strategic-thinking orientation.

#### **V. Possible Strategic Applications of Nigeria's Minerals for Industrial Transformation**

A potential threat to national security can be said to exist in the country today, as a result of the inequality in the society, predicated upon the state's failure, for so long, to fulfill those traditional obligations expected of it in a modern democratic society, including the provision of basic human needs, such as food, potable water, shelter, cheap and safe transportation, primary health care, education, etc. And here one is not just

thinking about the insecurity following the recent Boko Haram phenomenon but about the insecurity arising from the larger social inequality that has been in existence in the country since flag independence. I suggest that this inequality can be removed, or greatly reduced, by mobilising our abundant mineral resources effectively and using them to solve most of our basic social problems of how to enable the majority of the people, who are wretched and impoverished, to meet their basic human needs.

To that effect, the minerals are grouped and discussed under two categories: (a) those related to attaining self-reliance and a general state of high industrialism and mass production of goods and services, whose development would provide employment, raise income levels and lead to increases in the people's standard of living; and (b) those directly applied toward the alleviation of poverty and related to the production of cheap and nutritious food, and to the massive provision of shelter and affordable health care to the generality of ordinary Nigerians.

I will begin with the first category of minerals; while the second category will be addressed in the next section.

Industrialisation, which involves the mass production of goods, would, therefore, lead to the availability of cheap products for mass consumption. Moreover, it would nurture the development of indigenous technology, promote employment opportunities and human capital development, increase the per capita income and purchasing power of the people, including increases in the production of capital goods. All of these would facilitate the attainment of self-reliance in the nation.

The various minerals that are considered relevant to Nigeria's industrialism will be discussed under the following categories: <sup>48</sup>

1. Industrial and Manufacturing Minerals
2. Building and Construction Minerals
3. Iron and Ferro-Alloy Metals
4. Non-ferrous Minerals
5. Mineral Fuels
6. Metallurgical and Refractory Metals
7. Precious Metals and Gemstones

## 1. Industrial and Manufacturing Minerals

Many minerals belong in this category, including mica, talc, diatomite, barytes, silica (sand), salt, kaolin and monazite, but the discussion here will be limited to mica, talc, barytes, salt and kaolin.

### (a) *Mica*

The most important application of mica is in the petroleum industry where it is used in all drilling muds to ensure safety on drilling rigs, especially to combat the loss of drilling mud in the shallower parts of oil wells. Mica, which comes in two types, the fine and the coarse, is a fairly easy mineral to produce. Considering its large-scale importation in the past four decades, the mobilisation of the country's substantial endowment of the mineral and its effective application in the petroleum industry will mean huge savings in foreign exchange. It is also used for electrical insulation, electronic tubes and capacitors, roof and paper coating.<sup>49</sup>

### (b) *Talc*

Talc can be widely used in the paint, ceramics, cement, cosmetics, paper, toiletries, textiles, plastics, furnace, insecticides and rubber

industries. In particular, talc is a major component in the manufacture of cosmetics and antiseptic powders.<sup>50</sup> And yet, despite its huge reserves, large quantities of powder are still being imported into the country today. In other words, Nigeria's manufacturers have failed to exploit this available resource despite its potential advantages. The loss is not just in terms of foreign exchange but also of employment, forward and backward linkages, and the development of basic technology.

### *(c) Barytes*

Barytes is principally used as a slurry in drilling mud in the oil industry. A conservative estimate of the cost of the mineral that is consumed in the oil industry alone is about \$15 million per year. For a long time now, huge amounts of foreign exchange is being drained in importing the mineral because of some erroneous view that the Nigerian barytes was not high enough in quality. The oil industry in Nigeria now consumes about 96 per cent of barytes production in the country while the remaining industries consume the balance of 4 per cent.<sup>51</sup>

### *(d) Glass Sand*

Also known as silica, this mineral makes up to between 52 to 65 per cent by weight of the mix from which glass is made. Almost all the numerous known glass sand deposits in Nigeria are suitable for glass manufacture.<sup>52</sup> There is thus no reason why the local manufacture of glass products should not be made mandatory and their importation banned. Glass manufacture needs only very few inputs to make its production completely local. The products include mirrors, lampshades, car windscreen, sheet glass for furniture, bottles and other glass containers, which,

because of their fragile nature, tend to have a short life. This means that the local glass industry will always enjoy good demand for its products, which can even be extended to exports, at least, to the sub-region. Again, the prospects of huge employment, and the development of basic technological and industrial infrastructure, is being lost.

*(e) Salt (Sodium Chloride)*

We know that numerous salt springs and brine water exist in this country. A total reserve of about 1.5 billion tons of salt has been confirmed. We should, therefore, be able to produce salt to meet the country's requirements. On the contrary, this resource is not sufficiently mobilised for the needs of our people and we still depend heavily on its importation. The petroleum industry alone uses not less than twenty thousand tons of salt per year; and other user-industries of salt are petro-chemical and chemical. While all the salt deposits in the country today support only cottage salt industries, it is important not just for food stuff uses but also in agriculture and industrial chemicals, textiles, industrial soap, explosives, production of chlorine, caustic soda, sodium hydrochloride, hydrochloric acid, hydrogen peroxide, etc.<sup>53</sup>

*(f) Kaolin*

In its white and fine state, kaolin is a chemically inert powder and its main use in industry is as a filler or extender in a diversity of minerals and products.

Refined kaolin is a major raw material in several industries, including: paper manufacture; ceramics; refractories; rubber; plastics; paint; pharmaceuticals; fertilizers; leathers; insecticides; and chalk.<sup>54</sup>

Kaolin is used as filler for the interstices of the cellulose fibres which are the major constituents in a sheet of paper. The refined mineral is eminently employed as a coating for high quality paper, and it is not only cheaper but also improves the printing characteristics of the paper. Paper manufacture consumes up to 30 per cent by weight of kaolin and it can be lower or higher, depending on the quality of the paper.

The pharmaceuticals industry is another user of kaolin. Highly refined kaolin is used for making drugs because of its harmlessness, and the soft and smooth powder which makes an ideal carrier for active ingredients in tablets, stomach powder, etc.

Yet another area of application for kaolin is in the manufacture of textiles in a preparation which the manufacturers use in strengthening the fibres during weaving. It is used in silk textiles and as a final dressing for other textiles.

Kaolin is also used in the production of fertilizer as an anti-caking powder. Fertilizer tends to cake together and become difficult to distribute with farm machinery, and kaolin powder has been found to help open it up.

Fine and high quality grades of leather are dressed with kaolin preparation. Kaolin helps to fill the surface pores; and it helps to produce a smooth-textured surface for high quality and fancy grade leather products.

In addition to numerous other uses of the mineral, such as in soap-making, detergents, toothpaste, cement, insulators, electrical porcelain for electricity transmission, etc., fine kaolin is also used for the production of insecticides, where it is mixed with dust and it acts as a bulk carrier for insecticide mixtures.<sup>55</sup>

Now, given the abundant reserves of this mineral in Nigeria, it is very embarrassing to learn that the mineral is still being

imported into this country in large quantities. A mid-1990s survey of the Nigerian market indicated that demand for kaolin for various uses is in excess of 200,000 tons per annum. The local production of kaolin to satisfy the demands of the numerous industrial applications of the mineral will obviously amount to significant foreign exchange savings, a great boost in employment opportunities, in addition to the usual linkage effects on other local industries. The importation of kaolin into Nigeria ought, therefore, to be prohibited.

## **2. Building and Construction Materials**

Nigeria's minerals endowments that are useful in the building and construction industry include: marble, limestone, gravel stones, sand, clays, and bitumen from tar sands.

### *(a) Marble*

Marble is a hard mineral with crystalline textures. When cut and polished, it is used for building, decoration and monuments, for cement production, and as raw material for agricultural lime production.

We have noted that Nigeria is blessed with extensive deposits of this useful mineral, which has been seen as the country's next best bet for self-sufficiency and self-reliance, and which can well supplement petroleum as a national asset. If gainfully exploited, the mineral can, indeed, redeem the ailing economy within a decade.

Unfortunately, marble and its products are currently being imported yearly (especially from Italy) on a massive scale by both the private and public sectors of our economy. And yet Nigeria boasts of at least eight marble deposits with an estimated reserve of about 90,000.000 tons from only four of the deposits!<sup>56</sup>

### *(b) Limestone*

Limestone is the sedimentary form of calcium carbonate. The mineral exists in economic quantities in so many states across the nation. It is widely used in the manufacture of cement. Besides building and construction, other applications of limestone include as fluxing stone for iron-smelting, filler in petrochemicals, and in lime production for fertilizer. Nigerian steel projects were expected to demand and consume substantial quantities of limestone.<sup>57</sup> Another strategic opportunity has been lost.

### *(c) Gravel and Sand*

We have noted that vast deposits of sand and gravel abound along river channels on the country's coastline. Gravel and sand, which are basic in the construction industry, are perhaps one of the very few totally-local materials that go into industry in Nigeria.

### *(d) Clay*

Clay is used in the manufacture of bricks in the construction industry. This local mineral raw material is very much in abundance in the country to last to eternity!

Bricks that are made of clay are known to have the advantage of long life span. One notable example of this in this country is the clay-built Gabarau Minaret in Kastina, which was estimated to have been built in the 15th century, standing some 15.5 meters high, but has not needed any major repairs for over 400 years before it was put in its present use as a museum. Bricks were also used in the construction of most of the colonial buildings, which can still be seen standing gracefully in the former provincial headquarters in various parts of Nigeria today.<sup>58</sup>

Bricks do not only have a longer lifespan than cement for building; they also have the advantage of being cheaper. Moreover, they open up unlimited possibilities in the creative hands of architects and designers. They are used in all types of construction work, for example, for sewage, drainage, water works, storage, factory, road surfacing, silos, walling, decking, ceiling, roofing, screening, paving, etc.<sup>59</sup> Moreover, bricks do not rot, wear or shrink. And due to their non-conductivity and non-combustibility, they are highly resistant to fire. The beauty of bricks, and its resistance to aging, still remain unbeatable qualities that are highly sought after in the building and construction industry.

In view of all these obvious advantages, it is difficult to understand why successive Nigerian Governments' massive construction projects, country-wide, have not considered the mandatory use of bricks as a necessary policy, especially considering the scarcity and high cost of cement, which now sells for about ₦2,500 a bag.

#### *(e) Tar Sands*

It is estimated that national demand for various grades of bitumen for road paving application is over 2,000,000 metric tons per annum for maintenance purposes alone.<sup>60</sup> We have bitumen and tar sands equivalent to 13 billion barrels of oil; and each of these minerals is worth billions of dollars in revenue annually and hundreds of thousands of jobs.<sup>61</sup>

In addition to its application in the construction industry, bitumen also has so many important by-products for other industrial uses. Such bitumen by-products include: sulphur, sulphuric acid, phenol, petrochemical, nickel, vanadium, etc.

Sulphur is useful in the production of sulphuric acid, rubber vulcanisation, pharmaceuticals and insecticides; sulphuric acid is used for phosphatic fertilizer, paints, and explosives; phenol is used for drugs and disinfectants; petrochemicals are used for olefins and aromatics; nickel is useful in the production of stainless steel and ferrous alloys for coins; and vanadium is a useful ingredient for steel alloys.

In view of the foregoing, it is clear that the nation stands to gain immense economic advantages by mobilising and judiciously applying its proven bitumen reserves. Such advantages would be distinct from the intangible aspects of self-reliance in the essential industrial commodities. Moreover, the annual savings in foreign exchange would be enormous. And, as we have seen, the exploitation of our tar sands can certainly generate several ancilliary industries through its backward and forward linkages, in addition to thousands of jobs that will, thereby, be created for skilled and unskilled labour. So far, however, these opportunities have been lost.

### **3. Iron and Ferro-Alloy Metals**

The development of an efficient iron and steel base is a necessary prerequisite for the effective industrialisation of any nation. The greatest revolution in Nigeria's mineral industry will be the full take-off of the fledgling iron and steel industry at Ajaokuta and Aladja. That industry is going to be a consumer as well as a producer of many industrial mineral raw materials. Its key raw material is iron-ore. There are numerous locations of substantial iron-ore reserves in Nigeria, even though some of them have not yet been quantified. It was estimated that between the Ajaokuta and the Aladja plants, some 3.5 million tons of iron concentrates will be consumed.<sup>62</sup>

Some of the products of the completed and functioning steel plants would include tabular goods and pipelines, which are widely used in the petroleum industry. But, besides the petroleum industry, a substantial quantity of sheet metal used in structural activities, such as roofing sheets, vehicle bodies, tankers, tanks, etc., would also be produced.<sup>63</sup>

Steel is the raw material that is used for the construction and fabrication of irons and metallic objects. These products are necessary for production in the industrial sector, such as agro-industrial machines, ships, cars, bridges, iron beams used in the construction industries, weaponries used in defense, mining and mineral processing equipments.<sup>64</sup>

The death of Nigeria's steel industry is, therefore, a major tragedy to the advanced development of the country. The opportunity for iron and steel to serve as a major foreign exchange earner, source of promoting a robust industrialised economy, employment generator, etc., have since been lost.

#### **4. Non-Ferrous Minerals**

Tin, lead, zinc and tantalite are the minerals under this category.

##### ***(a) Tin***

Nigeria has, for long, been one of the world's leading producers of tin, which is used principally in the manufacture of tin plates in can production, alloys, calico-printing, dyeing, in ceramics manufacture, for high-quality soldering, e.g., in electronic manufacture, and for fire-proofing.

### (b) *Lead and Zinc*

Lead is used industrially for making pigments, cable covering, batteries, solder, water and sewer pipes, ammunition, and sheet metal. It is also used in glass-making, as a flux and in printing.

Zinc is widely used for galvanising iron and steel products. It is also used in the manufacture of alloys, the most well-known being brass and in the pharmaceutical industry, in the form of its oxide and carbonate as a curative for skin and other diseases. Other applications are in soldering and dyeing, while its oxide and sulphide are used as pigments.<sup>65</sup>

### (c) *Tantalite*

Tantalite is a rare metal needed by high technology and aerospace industries. This mineral, the main ore of tantalum, is widely used in the electronics industry to make capacitors, and in engineering to make special cutting tools. Nigeria has the second largest reserves of tantalite in the world.<sup>66</sup>

In sum, it is obvious that the mobilisation and judicious application of all these non-ferrous minerals in the local industrialisation process will not only save scarce foreign exchange and boost employment, but introduce needed forward and backward linkages in the Nigerian economy. In other words, the tendency to export, in raw form, which has, hitherto, characterised the exploitation of these minerals, especially crude oil, should be discouraged.

## 5. Mineral Fuels

The mineral fuels, or energy minerals, in Nigeria are petroleum, natural gas, coal (and lignite), and the radioactive mineral, uranium. The availability of cheap energy is a *sine qua non* for

industrialisation. Without energy, improvements in the healthcare, sanitation, food production, education, and transportation, which are the foundations for better quality of life of the people, would not be possible. Therefore, access to a reliable and plentiful supply of safe and cheap fuel is essential for Nigeria's industrialisation and development.

### *(a) Petroleum*

Although the major use of petroleum is as a fuel (gasoline, jet fuel, heating oil), and it is often used to generate electricity, it has many other uses in our everyday lives. All plastics are made from petroleum; and plastic is used almost everywhere, in cars, houses, toys, computers and clothing. Asphalt, which is used in road construction, is a petroleum product. So also is synthetic rubber, which is used for making car tires. Paraffin wax comes from petroleum, as do fertilizers, pesticides, herbicides, detergents, phonograph records, photographic film, furniture, packaging materials, paints, artificial fibers used in clothing, upholstery, shoes, carpet backing, shirt buttons, ball point pens, protective gloves, rain coats, umbrellas, etc.<sup>67</sup>

If we just consider, for a moment, how many thousands of medium to large-scale enterprises that can be developed to provide these products, how many jobs that they can provide, the basic technology that will be developed in the process, and the savings in foreign exchange from not importing most of those items, we will begin to appreciate how hopelessly thoughtless we have been in governance in this country. What our leaders have done is to surrender the petroleum industry to foreign transnational oil companies, while the state has remained simply a passive tax-collector that is completely oblivious of even the

exact quantity of petroleum that is produced, stolen, or exported daily from the country.

### *(b) Natural Gas*

Industrial applications of natural gas are many, including those same uses in residential and commercial settings, such as heating, cooling, and cooking. Natural gas is also used for waste treatment and incineration, metals pre-heating (particularly for iron and steel), drying and dehumidification, glass melting, food processing, and fueling industrial boilers. Natural gas may also be used as feedstocks for the manufacture of several chemicals and products. Gases, such as butane, ethane, and propane, may be extracted from natural gas and used as a feedstock for such products as fertilizer and pharmaceutical products. As a feedstock, natural gas is commonly found as a building block for methanol, which also has several other industrial uses.<sup>68</sup>

Despite these huge opportunities for advanced industrialism, most of the natural gas in this country is today wastefully burnt off by the Western transnational corporations that dominate the industry. The Nigerian Government merely slaps them on the wrist with a token fee, which it describes as "penalty".

### *(c) Coal*

According to mining authorities, coal export, or its application for energy generation, is capable of earning or saving Nigeria up to \$6 billion per annum. And applying Nigeria's coal to generate electricity would yield 7,000 megawatts, which can be the national base load, supplemented by other sources for the next 30 years.<sup>69</sup> Nigeria's coal has great potentials, not only for export, but also for application as chemical feed-stocks to the downstream

industries in the agricultural, petrochemical, pharmaceutical and manufacturing sectors, and for filling the anticipated increased demands by the upcoming local industries, such as the steel plants, new coal-fired power plants at Oji and Ijora, the new cement plant in Kogi State, and the carbonisation and briquetting plants for the production of coking coal and smokeless coal briquettes.<sup>70</sup>

Even the waste materials from coal production can be utilised productively. For example, run-of-mine waters from coal mines can be gathered and treated to recover useful products, such as battery acid. Such waters can also be made potable for industrial and town water supply. The solid waste from coal mining and preparation can also be used as landfill and for road rehabilitation.<sup>71</sup>

Besides its applications in heat generation for domestic and industrial uses, in electricity generation for thermal power plants, and as briquettes for iron and steel production, domestic and industrial fuels, Nigeria's coal can be used as local input in the manufacture of several products, including the following: fertilizers; insecticide sprays; dyes, tar; plastics; paints; antiseptics; disinfectants; toning agents; herbicides; explosives; glues, aspirins; flavourings; detergents; soap; mothballs; abrasive wool; wood preservatives; carbon brushes; brick; glass; odorants; ammonium sulphate; galvanising agents; battery acid; rust preservation; roofing felt; tyres; brake liners; linoleum; printing ink; perfumes; motor fuels; aviation fuels; carbon electric; pencil lead; etc.<sup>72</sup>

In summary, Nigeria's coal production and utilisation could be mobilised to achieve the overall national goals of employment generation, additional savings in scarce foreign exchange expenditures, provision of raw materials for the industrial, energy and production sectors of the economy, increase in economic

activities as a result of higher turnover of subsidiary plants, and a significant diversification of the country's economic base.

*(d) Lignite*

Lignite is actually the lowest grade of coal, which is formed from layers of sediment that accumulate over peat. Lignite's industrial use is similar to coal's, and for the production of nitrate fertilizer.<sup>73</sup>

*(e) Uranium*

Uranium anomalies have been found in several parts of the country. Initially, radium was used mainly for medical purposes, though some of it went into the manufacture of luminous dials.

Today, uranium is used primarily in the generation of energy; and radium is no longer treated as a noxious waste product. Until 1960, the main use of uranium was for the manufacture of nuclear weapons; currently, most of it goes into electric power plants.

One of the impacts of the 1973 global energy crisis was the increasing application of nuclear-based electricity, especially by the industrialised countries, as a cost-effective alternative to oil, and as insurance against oil embargoes by "hostile and unsafe" Third World supply sources. Uranium thus acquired the status of a strategic mineral,<sup>74</sup> the possession of which was essential, initially, for purely military reasons, and, now, for both military and civilian reasons.

It is mainly because of its industrial uses that uranium has become such a strategically important mineral. It is used for a whole range of industrial purposes, including in the construction of space vehicles, missiles, electricity-producing nuclear reactors, etc.

It is widely expected that within the next decade, nuclear power will play a major role in the energy and growth of most

Third World countries. Both for strategic and economic reasons, it would be better for a Third World country like Nigeria, to have endowments in uranium, and to utilise it as a primary source of nuclear power, than to have to rely heavily on its importation.<sup>75</sup>

## **5. Metallurgical and Refractory Metals**

Fluorite (flourspar), cryolite, graphite, limestone and lime; and refractory substances, such as kyanite, sillimanite, magnesite, dolomite, bauxite and silica, all constitute a group of minerals commonly used for reduction of ores to the metallic state. In particular, refractory materials serve to withstand the high temperature employed in metallurgical furnaces. Had Nigeria's failed steel plants been fully operational, they would be requiring several thousand tons of these minerals annually.

### *(a) Dolomite*

This mineral is used in making refractory bricks, flux in steel making, cement manufacture and also in the petroleum industry.<sup>76</sup>

### *(b) Flourspar*

Flourspar, or fluorite, is used in hydro-fluoric acid production, ceramics, enamels, and as ferrous metallurgical fluxes.<sup>77</sup>

### *(c) Graphite*

Large deposits of low-grade graphite have been established in a few states but the reserves are not yet quantified. It can be used in making graphite lubricants, pencil lead, carbon brushes and foundry facings, and for electrodes.<sup>78</sup>

### *(d) Kyanite*

Because of its high melting point, Kyanite is used in the manufacture of heat resistant articles, including spark plugs,

electrical and laboratory porcelains and in the manufacture of refractory mortars, cement, and mixes.<sup>79</sup>

### *(e) Manganese*

Manganese is a very vital component in steel-making. It is next only to iron-ore as the most important non-fuel mineral for steel production. Manganese is not only the most important alloying metal needed to produce any type of steel; it also has an important role to play as a scavenger of sulphur in the production of steel, which increases yields in the basic oxygen process, enhances the furnace refractory life and lowers consumption of fluxes.<sup>80</sup> There is thus no steel production without manganese; and manganese demand is heavily concentrated in steel industries, which consume some 96 per cent of world manganese production.<sup>81</sup> The mineral is also used in foundry industries, dry cell batteries and chemical industries.

## **6. Precious Metals and Gemstones**

Precious metals include gold, silver and diamond.

### *(a) Gold*

Primarily known for its monetary, jewelry, and ornamental applications, gold is also an essential industrial material. It is used in integrated circuits in electronics, for reliable connectors in computers, as shielding in space crafts, and in brazing alloys for bonding turbine blades to rotors in aircraft jet engines. The use of gold in electronics is the most important industrial application of the metal, the importance stemming from the fact that modern solid state electronics devices operate on very low currents and voltages, devices which require reliable connectors, contacts,

switches, and components that will remain uncontaminated and clean throughout the life of the devices. Gold is also used in dental and medical supplies.<sup>82</sup>

*(b) Silver*

The major use of silver is in photography, electronics, silverware, and jewelry, but photography is by far the most important single silver-consuming industry and accounts for about 35 per cent of the total consumption of the mineral. Because of its importance in photography and electronics, silver is considered a strategic material,<sup>83</sup> at least from the standpoint of the advanced countries.

*(c) Gemstones*

The most abundant gemstones are aquamarine, emerald, sapphire, ruby, topaz, garnet, tourmaline, zircon, and almandine.<sup>84</sup> These gemstones can be used in making a variety of jewelry, an industry that needs to be developed to take advantage of the wide local and tourist markets that are open for jewelry in Nigeria. Gemstones are also used in abrasives, in the manufacture of surface testing equipment and in electronics.

Distinguished ladies and gentlemen, it is quite clear from the above discussion that the potentialities of Nigeria's vast endowments are more than enough for transforming Nigeria from an externally-dependent and underdeveloped society to a self-reliant and industrialised one. Unfortunately, however, these potentials have, hitherto, not been actualised, mainly because, as has been noted, the necessary political will and imagination has been lacking; and because, what we have, so far, is a visionless leadership class that is in a position to make policy but that rather

prefers to play a subservient middle-man role for metropolitan capital in the exploitation of the country's resources.

The truth is that Nigeria's leaders lack strategic imagination. In a brilliant article in *The Guardian* newspaper, Chikwendu Ukaegbu has underlined this lack of imagination by drawing our attention to the extensive multiplier-effects that can be derived from the local manufacture of paint, a useful product whose raw materials, as we have seen, are available in abundance in this country.<sup>85</sup> Observing the very filthy and poor aesthetic picture of the buildings in Nigerian cities and towns, and the fact that Nigerian home-owners and landlords paint their houses only once in a lifetime, i.e, after construction, Ukaegbu challenges us to imagine a bill in the National Assembly and State Assemblies that is couched in a philosophy of environmental aesthetics, which legislates that all the home-owners and landlords must paint their houses every five years.

According to him,

*... this bill will expand the paint manufacturing industry and create more jobs in that sector because of high demand for paints. Many secondary jobs will increase by way of more painters and more makers of paint-brushes; carpenters will build ladders for painters, traders will make profits selling paints, brushes, and ladders. Even the lumber industry will benefit because the ladders and paint-brushes will be made of wood. The multiplier effect of this one bill [will be] enormous. In fact, it has the capacity to create thousands of jobs nation-wide if properly implemented by... the political leaders...<sup>86</sup>*

Furthermore, Ukaegbu's bill ties the strengths, weaknesses, and needs of the society to achieve the multiple developmental values of: (a) a national aesthetic appeal; (b) an expansion of paint manufacture using local raw materials; and (c) employment opportunities for thousands of Nigerian citizens.<sup>87</sup>

When we further imagine the possible multiplier-effects that can also arise from this kind of imaginative micro-economic policy-making that specifically targets the mobilisation and application of Nigeria's several other mineral raw materials, we will then begin to appreciate the enormous developmental opportunities that have been lost by Nigeria's consumptionist-oriented ruling class that lacks strategic imagination.

## **VI. Possible Applications of Nigeria's Minerals Towards Poverty Alleviation**

Let us now review some of Nigeria's minerals that can be, but are not being, directly applied towards the eradication of poverty, i.e., towards the provision of some basic human needs, specifically, of Nigerians. These needs include for food, shelter and health care.

### **1. Food**

Nigeria's minerals endowments that are directly related to food production include fertilizer minerals and salt. The fertilizer minerals that are found in Nigeria include phosphates, agricultural limestone, lime, and marble.

#### **A. Fertilizer Minerals**

##### **a. Phosphates**

Superphosphates, the form in which phosphorus is readily available to plants, can be prepared by the treatment of phosphate

rock with sulphuric acid.<sup>88</sup> Phosphate mineral deposits are found in many States in Nigeria; and the phosphorus oxide content of the deposits average up to 35 per cent.

*b. Agricultural Limestone and Lime*

Limestone, lime, marl, and oyster shells are used as agricultural liming materials for solid conditioning. Limestone deposits abound in several States across Nigeria.

*c. Marble*

Marble, which has already been identified as a very abundant resource in Nigeria, can be used to produce agricultural lime, which is a fertilizer.

*d. Ammonia Liquor*

Even ammonia liquor, which is recovered as a by-product from the distillation of coal, is a good source of ammonia and ammonium salts, used in the manufacture of fertilizer.<sup>89</sup> And, as we noted, Nigeria's coal reserves are extensive.

Despite these vast opportunities, however, these minerals are today not being effectively mobilised, developed and used in the mass production of fertilizer, such that it will be more accessible to the end-user, the peasant farmer, at cheap cost, and such that food production will increase and its price becomes low enough and affordable to the generality of Nigerians.

Recent revelations indicate the existence of big barons (or mafia) who have cornered the fertilizer market, depriving farmers of the product at an affordable price; and the government lacks the political will to deal with the barons. The National Fertilizer Company of Nigeria (NAFCON) was commissioned in 1981.

But, inspite of all the raw materials available locally for its manufacture, Nigeria still imports billions of naira worth of fertilizer. Even then, this huge fertilizer import has not been applied to help Nigerian farmers, a large part of the commodity having ended up in the mafia's greedy hands.

### ***B. Salt***

In addition to fertilizer minerals, another abundant mineral that is related to food is salt, a versatile mineral which, as we noted earlier, can also be used in the industrial and manufacturing process. The value of salt for food preparation and preservation is well-known. Rather than depend heavily on imported salt, the Nigerian Government should have endeavoured to use the numerous salt springs that exist in Nigeria to produce enough edible salt to meet the food requirements of Nigerians. One is reminded here of the very critical salt scarcity in Biafra, during the Nigerian civil war, when, through their ingenuity, the people of Biafra were sustained mainly with the local, war-time, cottage production of edible salt from the salt springs of Okposi and Uburu. Unfortunately, today, the same selfish forces that frustrate the development of important commodities, such as fertilizer, from local mineral resources, are also at work in the case of the production of salt.

## **2. Shelter**

Apart from money, the two most basic requirements for providing houses for the people are land and building materials. And the high cost of obtaining land and building materials in Nigeria today is the greatest obstacle to the attainment of the so-called objective of providing "housing for all". We are here concerned

only with building materials, whose natural resources abound in the country, and which resources, if effectively mobilised, can provide fairly cheap building materials in large quantities. Nigeria's huge endowment of minerals for producing building materials include marble, limestone, gravel stones, sand, clays and tar sands. Limestone and marble are used in the manufacture of cement; and burnt bricks, which are more durable and cheaper than cement blocks, can be made from clay. Yet, there is an almost total reliance on imported (and local) cement, both of which are outrageously more expensive, for building purposes, than locally-made burnt bricks.

Under such conditions, the Government's populist rhetoric of securing cheap and adequate housing for the poor by some magical year will continue to remain a mirage for the masses of Nigerians. Housing is one of the most basic human needs which, for the urban dwellers at least, includes not only the provision of shelter but also of services and facilities, such as water, electricity, sewage, drainage and environmental sanitation.<sup>90</sup> Lack of, or poor, housing will thus diminish the lifestyle, health, productivity, and happiness of the people. The picture becomes even more pathetic when we consider the fact that in the cities, several people live under bridges and slums; and that in rural areas, even peasants take precarious shelter in huts, at the mercy of the elements.

Poor housing conditions would generally tend to impair the health of the people, diminish their self-esteem, reduce their happiness and productivity, and alienate them from the mainstream of society. Such persons would tend to develop neither loyalty to the Government in power nor a sense of belonging and nationalism, a situation which would obviously be a threat to the security of the nation.

In addition to limestone, clay, marble, etc., some products of the iron and steel industry, such as wire rods, pipes, beams and bars are also essential in building projects. But, like the prices of other building materials, the prices of iron and steel products are prohibitive to all but the very rich in the society. Whenever Nigeria's steel plants finally take off on a serious footing, these products will, perhaps, be cheaper and more affordable to many people than they are at present.<sup>91</sup>

### 3. Health Care

The minerals that are directly related to health care are the chemical minerals. These include salt and brines, borax, nitrates, sodium carbonate, sodium sulphate, calcium and magnesium chlorides, potash, sulphur, strontium and lithium mineral, bromine compounds and iodine.<sup>92</sup> All these minerals, which are abundant in Nigeria, can find wide industrial applications in pharmaceutical and chemical manufacture in the general health sector.

In addition, virtually all chemicals derivable from crude oil can also be obtained from the by-product of coal carbonisation. Such by-products include naphthenes, aromatics, olefins, paraffins, etc.<sup>93</sup>

Unfortunately, however, the opportunity offered by the abundant chemical minerals in the country is not being used by the Government to provide cheap and affordable medicament for the generality of poor Nigerians. Diseases like malaria, yellow fever, cholera, and guinea worm continue to kill thousands of poor Nigerians all over the country yearly.

Ladies and gentlemen, in sum, in a land of abundant mineral wealth, that wealth has, sadly, not been mobilised and applied to improve the health condition of the people. Public hospitals, and

### *(ii) Unstable Mineral Exports Market*

The second external factor of underdevelopment in a mineral export economy is the unusually sharp price fluctuations that characterise international commodities markets. States, such as Nigeria, that rely on minerals exports would, for example, find these fluctuations transferred to their domestic economies, making government revenues and foreign exchange supplies unrealisable and private investment prohibitively risky. Consider the precarious case of Nigeria where the yearly national budget ritual is based on the projected price of oil in the international market, a market that is outside the Government's control.

### *(iii) Enclave Nature of Mineral Export Sector*

A third external factor of underdevelopment in a mineral-export economy like Nigeria is that the mineral-export sector is unlikely to stimulate growth in the rest of the economy, especially since foreign transnational corporations dominate minerals extraction and repatriate their profits instead of investing them locally. A mineral export economy, such as Nigeria, is thus left with a "booming" minerals enclave that produces few forward and backward linkages to other parts of the local economy. Indeed, in the case of Nigeria, other than the fortuitous revenue from the sale of crude oil, the rest of the economy is effectively alienated from the crude oil business.

These development-problems of mineral-export economies, which have persisted since the 1950s, simply point to an apparent policy failure on the part of their Governments that, though they have the sovereign capacity, fail to take corrective measures. Progressive-thinking scholars would favour a strong role for a State that can buffer mineral-export economies against the

vicissitudes of international price shocks; a State that would endeavour to capture the economic rents (which are otherwise garnered and repatriated by transnational corporations) and to invest such rents in other sectors of the economy; a State that would use tariffs and quotas to promote import-substitution industrialisation; that would use international commodity agreements to stabilise or improve the terms of trade for mineral-exports; and, above all, as I have specifically advocated in this lecture, we need a State that will mobilise and apply the country's huge mineral resource endowments towards massive poverty alleviation and towards creating a state of high industrialism.

The reality, however, is that capitalist Governments in Third World States generally would be unable to take the kind of radical measures proposed above as long as those Governments are dominated by local comprador elites who share the class interests of the foreign transnational corporations. And this is exactly the situation we have in Nigeria today.

Ordinarily, even small States should have considerable influence over their own economic performance and future. The Nigerian Government's failure to take appropriate measures to transform its huge mineral resource endowments to a state of high industrialism and for providing basic needs for all must, therefore, be blamed on the irresponsibility of the leadership class that makes, or influences, Government-policy. We must, therefore, also rigorously interrogate the internal factors of underdevelopment in Nigeria, a mineral-export economy. These factors include the neo-colonial nature of the State and the visionless character of the unpatriotic ruling class.

### VIII. A Neo-Colonial and Petro-State

The salient features of the Nigerian State<sup>95</sup> include the fact that it is neo-colonial and dependent. The Nigerian State is also highly authoritarian and violent, not just in relation to the Nigerian people but also in relation to other sections of the political class within the ruling class that are out of control of state power. And, above all, the Nigerian State is a petro-state.

First, being neo-colonial<sup>96</sup> and dependent simply means that Nigeria's independence project has not been completed; that foreign interests and models dominate and dictate the economic and political choices of the State; and that in situations involving conflict of interests between the Nigerian people and international capital, the Nigerian State will likely act to defend the interests of international capital against those of the Nigerian people.<sup>97</sup>

The eminent historian, Ade-Ajayi, explains neo-colonialism in terms of the failure of the "post-colonial" state to decolonise, signified by the continuing control of the economy, including imposed strategies of development by "experts" from outside. In his words:

*This external control bolstered up the tendencies towards dependence, and deepened the crisis of development...*

*The one prescription that the foreign experts are usually unwilling to try is that of empowerment and self-reliance... such external control has had the same effect as military intervention, blocking avenues to the maturity of the political class.<sup>98</sup>*

It is an accepted fact that the international monetary and financial institutions, the IMF and the World Bank, are now involved in the control and management of the Nigerian economy.

The management of the Nigerian economy seems to be guided by the tenets of neo-liberalism, which insist on reckless liberalisation, privatisation, and deregulation to stimulate the operations of market forces, and on the minimisation of the role of the State in development. As Akin Oyeboode has rightly observed:

*Aside from dictating policy for the [Nigerian Government] they, [the IMF and the World Bank], actually recruit even ministers and train technocrats and government functionaries to ensure fruitful and unflinching implementation of both fiscal and monetary policies emanating from Washington...<sup>99</sup>*

Second, because of the authoritarian and violent nature of the Nigerian state, those who control the apparatus of power do not see the state as deriving its legitimacy from the people. They do not understand the meaning of "sovereignty of the people". They see the effort of groups to create this understanding in adversarial terms that, to them, are calculated to undermine the security and stability of the social order.

Third, the Nigerian state is also a petro-state. But, while it has the nominal ownership of all the oil produced in the country and the monopoly of access to oil revenue, its oil is, however, actually produced by foreign oil transnational corporations that seem to have the monopoly of the supply of the technology for oil extraction. Thus, while the state is strong by virtue of the petro-dollars that it garners into its coffers, it is also weakened by its heavy dependence on oil, a commodity whose production and international price it does not control. The Nigerian state's role is thus reduced to that of a passive tax collector and distributor of oil rents.<sup>100</sup>

This reinforces the centralising and monopolistic tendencies of the state and places of lot of power in the hands of loyal managers of the state. It is they that determine the manner of the distribution of the oil-largesse to members, excluding outsiders, i.e., those outside the state's inner-chambers. In other words, the autonomy of the Nigerian state is limited because it cannot act in the interest of all but in the interest of the few who are members of its inner-chambers.

Decentralisation of state power, accountability, and development are, therefore, not features of the state system in Nigeria. The aim of governance in Nigeria has been reduced to sharing the rents from oil while excluding the perceived enemies of the ruling faction, and holding on to power in a "do-or-die" system. Under this condition, politics in Nigeria is highly personalised and factionalised; all the state's institutions of governance, the executive, legislature, and judiciary have been weakened and compromised by political corruption, making it difficult for a coherent ruling class to emerge and for a development ethos to take root within the state.

Instability, therefore, appears to be a permanent feature of Nigeria's polity, raising fears, within and outside, that the system is on the verge of collapse.<sup>101</sup> The imminence of the collapse of the Nigerian system has been expressed in various ways. Some people say that "this house has fallen";<sup>102</sup> others say that the Nigerian state is a "failed state"; and still others, who, perhaps, want to show how patriotic they are, describe it as a "failing state"; in other words, it has not totally failed, and we should, therefore, not publish its obituary yet.

For me, what is certain is that there is serious cause for concern about governance in this country today. And that is because

human development has, therefore, become an obscured value in the thinking of the ruling class in Nigeria.

### **IX An Unimaginative and Visionless Ruling Class**

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Sir, distinguished ladies and gentlemen, notice how Rueben Abati, when he was still a progressive-thinker, described the pathetic state of mis-governance by Nigeria's ruling class:

*...Nigeria is sick. The country has since slipped into coma. It is dying. The evidence can be found in the ironies of our circumstances and how the nation has remained immobile on all fronts...Nigeria is dying because it is in short supply of true citizens and patriots. Too many of our [leaders] do not care whether this country fails or not as long as their personal ambitions are realised at the expense of everyone else.<sup>103</sup>*

Before Abati, Patrick Wilmot had also effectively painted the sordid picture of mis-governance in Nigeria.

*After almost half century of independence, Nigeria, the potential superpower of Africa, has travelled in reverse gear. If Nigeria had been a motor vehicle, it would have been scrapped. And the scrap dealer would probably have refused the metal because of its flaws. On every measure of performance, for a state with its wealth of human and material resources, Nigeria has been a failure. Nothing works, from health, education, housing, manufactures, telephones, roads, the historical record is almost blank.*

*In a thousand years, scholars could look back and sigh,  
"there's no sign here that wise men once ruled."<sup>104</sup>*

In other words, our problem is that of leadership failure, which itself is a reflection of the failure of the electoral system in Nigeria to entrust the development project of the country in the hands of Abati's "true citizens and patriots," or in the hands of Wilmot's "wise" people.

In his 1984 work, Chinualumogu Achebe had confirmed that the problem with Nigeria is indeed the failure of leadership.

*The trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership. There is nothing basically wrong with the Nigerian land or climate or water or air or anything else. The Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to the responsibility, to the challenge of personal example, which are the hallmarks of true leadership.<sup>105</sup>*

Part of Major Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu's January 1966 coup speech had read as follows:

*Our enemies are the political profiteers, swindlers, the men in high and low places who seek bribes and demand ten percent, those that seek to keep the country divided permanently so that they can remain in office as ministers and VIPs of waste, the tribalists, the nepotists.*

Over four decades since that broadcast, the political profiteers are still very much around; the only difference today is that the bribe-givers and takers are now more sophisticated; they now deal in trillions of money: naira, pound sterling, dollars, euros; and the VIPs of waste, those who seek to keep the country divided permanently, the tribalists and nepotists are still very prominent in Nigeria's polity.

Nigerian leadership regimes are characterised by their rascality and indiscipline. The Nigerian power elite's brand of politics is short-sighted; it lacks ideological content; it is disorganised, opportunistic and incapable of building strong, efficient and effective institutions. Mainly focused on crude means of capturing power in a "do-or-die" manner, this brand of politics is superficial, alienating, anti-people's development and anti-intellectual.

Mediocrity is the Nigerian leader's standard;<sup>106</sup> corruption is its culture; creativity has been shoved aside; and thuggery has been elevated as an acceptable means of governance. The Nigerian power elite focuses excessively on building personality cults, which he uses to marginalise the already voiceless and vulnerable in society, whose quality of life it was his mandate to uplift in the first place. His leadership is totally discredited. Under his watch, most institutions and structures have been weakened and are on the verge of collapse. Most institutions have stopped providing relevant services to the people in critical basic needs areas, such as food, energy, health, employment, education, shelter, transportation, etc.

Despite democratisation, the political space is not yet free and unhindered; opposition and civil society groups are perceived as enemies of the state by the ruling party.

The police is corrupt; the judiciary's neutrality is doubtful; and shocking revelations of shameless stealing and looting in the states and national assemblies are a regular news feature in the media. The rule of law and the instruments of coercion have been privatised. The values of probity, social justice, transparency and accountability have been compromised. The pursuit of the public interest has been abandoned; so also the urgent task to uplift the nation.

Above all, the Nigerian leadership class is under the control and dictatorship of the international community. Edwin Madunagu has provided a brilliant and critical insight into the frequently-used, but mostly misunderstood, phrase, "the international community".

According to him, the international community is a new global formation that aggregates the United Nations, its affiliates and agencies, regional bodies, the World Bank, the G-7 Group of industrialised nations, the European Union, the IMF, the World Trade Organization, International Creditor Clubs, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), among other groupings. The dominant global dictatorship (which is identified simply as those who went to war with Iraq and Afghanistan, i.e, America, Western Europe, especially Britain, including Japan) is the founder and leader of the international community.<sup>107</sup>

Most African rulers and mainstream politicians, including those in Nigeria, not only take the international community's dictatorship, decrees, policies and directives very seriously, they are also strictly guided by them.

For example, the Nigerian political class owes its international legitimacy to the recognition given to its poor and corrupt governance by the international community, guided by its double-

standards and hypocrisy. It has, therefore, swallowed hook, line, and sinker the free market dogma and prescriptions of neo-liberalism that was imposed by its senior partner, the international community, including the elimination of the developmental state (in favour of the promotion of the market), privatisation, reckless liberalisation, deregulation, etc. Following this approach, the focus of development policy is not on equity and social justice concerns but on sterile gross domestic product (GDP) growth figures.

Informed by the tenets of neo-liberalism and market fundamentalism, the Nigerian leadership class has done a lot to install market-led reforms. In particular, Nigeria's economic management team, led by Nigerian-born World Bank officials, has set up specific agencies to implement the deregulation of the economy and its privatisation programmes. Agencies such as the Bureau of Public Enterprises (BPE), the Central Bank of Nigeria and relevant committees in the National Assembly have played key roles in the reform process. In addition, agencies that pretend to tackle the problem of corruption have also been set up, including the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC), the National Agency for Food, Drug, Administration and Control (NAFDAC), etc.

But, to what extent do these so-called reforms address the developmental aspirations of the 70 per cent of Nigerians who are poor in the midst of plenty? Even from a cursory observation, it should be clear that Nigeria's dogmatic pursuit of the global neo-liberal agenda has actually excluded, disempowered, and impoverished the majority of the people, dashing their hopes for a better life in a land of abundant mineral resources.

As one scholar has put it, "*leadership is cause; everything else is effect*".<sup>108</sup> According to Adei, it is the leadership class that would supply the vision, set up the think-tanks, use the knowledge from the think-tanks, and ensure the adoption of a development agenda.<sup>109</sup> The remarkable transformation in the economies of Asian countries, such as South Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Thailand, India and China, demonstrate the potency of good leadership to empower a poor country to overcome poverty, underdevelopment, and to significantly improve a people's human condition. Such visionary leadership has been in deficit in Nigeria for a long time, which explains the catalogue of underdevelopment woes that has befallen the country for so long.

#### **X. A Catalogue of Underdevelopment Woes in a Mineral-Rich Economy**

Especially from the standpoint of the ordinary Nigerian, the state of the economy and society is quite alarming today. Since 1999, the country has been variously classified by the World Bank as a "Fragile State", a member of the "Highly Indebted Poor Countries" (HIPC), and a member of the "Low Income Countries Under Stress" (LICUS). In its Sunday, March 11, 2007 Editorial, *The Guardian* of Lagos described countries that have been so classified as

*...conflict prone, largely unstable, and lacking in basic institutional capacity to guarantee security and human rights for their people, with the tendency to become a source of refugees to their neighbours.*<sup>110</sup>

Moreover, according to *The Guardian*, such countries face the challenge of

*poor and weak governance characterised by weak administrative machinery, low in capacity building initiatives, leading to chronic humanitarian and social crises manifesting in severe development constraints, sometimes as a legacy of civil war.* <sup>111</sup>

The state in Nigeria has abdicated its primary responsibilities to provide for the basic needs of the people, including education, healthcare, shelter, water, employment, individual and collective security, electricity, means of transportation and communication. This neglect is even more pronounced with respect to the more vulnerable groups in society, including women, children and the physically-challenged.

The overall performance of the economy has been dismal, resulting in rising unemployment and other economic downturns, which impact negatively on the World-Bank-supervised anti-poverty campaign. While official records claim that the Nigerian economy grew at an annual average of almost 8 per cent between 2011 and 2012, the increase in output was distributed inequitably among citizens of the country, still leaving more than 70 per cent of the population mired in abject poverty, unable to meet their basic needs on about ₦150 per day.

The United Nation's Development Programme's (UNDP's) Human Development Index (HDI) is an average which measures basic human development achievements in a country. It is a summary measure for assessing long-term progress in three dimensions of human development, which include: a long and

healthy life; access to knowledge; and a decent standard of living. The UNDP's 2012 Human Development Index has ranked Nigeria 153rd out of 187 countries studied. Nigeria's HDI value is 0.471, which is in the very low human development category.<sup>112</sup>

It is always revealing to compare Nigeria and Malaysia, two former British colonies, which were similarly characterised by primary production after independence, in 1960 and 1957 respectively. It is striking to note that since independence, Malaysia's economic development performance has been spectacular compared to Nigeria's woes and misfortunes.

While Nigeria ranks 153 on the HDI, Malaysia ranks 64. Malaysia's gross national income (GNI) per capita, at \$13,676, is six times that of Nigeria, at \$2,102. A Malaysian is likely to live 20 years longer than a Nigerian, whose life expectancy at birth is 52 years. The Malaysian, with a life expectancy of 74.5 years, virtually lives in an advanced world economy today, with better access to internet and other modern living conditions. Manufactured goods constitute 76 per cent of exports in Malaysia, compared to Nigeria's still backward economy, with only 2 per cent of its exports as manufactured goods.<sup>113</sup> With 98 per cent of its exports as primary resources, the Nigerian economy, in comparison with the advanced Malaysian economy, has stagnated as a raw materials exporting country, fifty-three years after its flag independence. While only less than 2 per cent of Malaysians live below \$1 a day,<sup>114</sup> as we noted earlier, over 70 per cent of Nigerians fall in that unacceptable category of poverty.

In the 1960s, Malaysia got palm kernel seedlings from Nigeria, from where it also acquired the technology for palm oil production. Malaysia has since moved ahead of Nigeria to become

the major producer of palm oil in the world market. Infact, Lever Brothers, Nigeria Ltd, has been importing palm oil from Malaysia for the manufacture of soaps and edible fats since the late 1970s. Nigeria, the original source of Malaysia's palm kernel seedlings, is not reckoned with in the global trade in palm oil.<sup>115</sup>

While Nigeria's unemployment figure is 40 per cent; Malaysia's is 3.3 per cent.<sup>116</sup> Out of the 90 million Nigerians who are willing and able to work, about 70 million of them have no gainful employment. In other words, out of a total population of 170 million, only 20 million Nigerians have jobs. Almost 50 per cent of Nigerian youths, in the 15-25 years age bracket, are without jobs.<sup>117</sup> Apart from the colossal annual loss of about ₦2 trillion resulting from lost opportunities in commercial and industrial activities, this volatile situation has clear implications for the existing threat to peace and security in the country today. The absence of any specific plans, in the current Federal Government's ₦4trillion budget, for the actual jobs to be created in the year, is a clear illustration of the visionlessness of governance to take advantage of the opportunities that abound in the country's huge mineral endowments.

Average mortality rate for children in Nigeria under the age of five is 220 deaths per 1000 births. This is higher than anywhere in West Africa, apart from Liberia and Sierra Leone (when they were in crisis). The adult literacy rate in Nigeria is about 69 percent.<sup>118</sup>

Agriculture, which should employ the large rural population in Nigeria, has declined because of lack of support from the Government, which is preoccupied with collecting rents from the production of oil by transnational corporations. National food security is under threat.

Consider the following observation from a discerning Nigerian citizen:

*We are told that agriculture is a business not a 'development' programme. However, how can it be a business when it is not developed? Successive Nigerian governments have grappled with this philosophy with little success – the National Accelerated Food Production Programme was introduced by Yakubu Gowon; Obasanjo followed and in 1976 unleashed the so-called agricultural 'revolution' entitled 'Operation Feed the Nation' (OFN); Shehu Shagari in 1979 rolled out his scheme tagged the 'Green Revolution'; the Spartan-like ascetic, Buhari, who overthrew Shagari launched the 'Go Back to the Land' programme, so also was Ibrahim Babangida's Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI). They were all massive failures and poverty and hunger still ravage the land. In 2010 alone, Nigeria spent ₦356 billion to import rice; ₦97 billion to import fish; ₦635 billion to import wheat; ₦217 billion on sugar importation. How long will this squandermania continue?<sup>119</sup>*

Malaysia has an inflation rate of 1.5 per cent, compared with Nigeria's 9.5 per cent figure. With a national minimum wage of ₦18,000, inflation has wreaked havoc on the living condition of the ordinary Nigerian. Most staple foods, such as rice, beans, garri, etc, are now beyond their reach. A tin of aroso rice which cost ₦45 in 1991 now sells for over ₦300 today. A tin of Titus sardine, once a favourite of the poor, which sold for ₦10 in 1991, now sells for ₦150.<sup>120</sup>

And what about transportation? According to a critical observer:

*...those who dreamt of private means of conveyance now despair at the thought of purchasing one. At the various UTC Motor outlets, a brand new 406 SR Peugeot brand costs a whopping ₦4 million. The average [salaried] buyer thinks this is a huge joke and has since abandoned the attempt. Those who are condemned to public means of transportation must [be] content with rickety [danfos] unworthy of road use. Without the tokunbo solution, a lot of us would have gone under to meet our ancestors.<sup>121</sup>*

The cost of housing has also gone off through the roof. Today, the cost of land is prohibitive to all but the crooks in society. Landlords increase rents at will and demand two or three years advance payments from prospective tenants. Government legislation against shylock landlords are obeyed only in the breach. Despite successive Governments' promise to provide shelter for all by some target-dates, those dates have come and gone while several Nigerians still find shelter under bridges and in other precarious habitations.

Several important industries, such as textiles, are moribund. The Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN) reports that over 2000 firms have closed down since 1999, contributing, along with insecurity and the unreliable electric power supply situation in the country, to the departure of several transnational corporations, except, of course, those in the very lucrative oil and gas sector.

The resultant de-industrialisation of the Nigerian economy has given rise to very high levels of unemployment among young male and female graduates who have applied their various

ingenuities towards criminal ventures, including armed robbery, kidnapping, “419” fraud, etc. The more honourable among them are either “okada” drivers or “danfo” bus conductors. The well-connected businessman, Dangote, has graciously offered to employ jobless Ph.D graduates as drivers in his companies. Insecurity of lives and properties is, as a result of pervasive unemployment, palpable.

Nigeria’s critical infrastructures are at an alarming state of decay, even though the country has garnered huge oil revenues, since 1999, amounting to almost \$250 billion. Through kleptocracy and rampant graft, much of the money has been frittered away, into private pockets. The Economic and Financial Crimes Commission estimates that the country has lost some \$400 billion in this manner since 1960.<sup>122</sup>

**Table 1: Value of Nigeria’s Crude Oil Exports (2012)**

1	Quantity Produced Per Day	2.5 million barrels
2	Average Price	\$ 113 per barrel
3	Daily Sales	\$ 282 million
4	Monthly Sales	\$ 8.47 billion
5	Total Sales (2012)	\$ 101.7 billion
6	Naira Equivalent of 2012 Sales*	₦272 trillion
7	Nigeria’s 2012 Budget	₦4.5 trillion
8	Surplus	₦ 267.5 trillion

\*At ₦160= \$1

Table 1 indicates that the Government collected a whopping ₦272 trillion in 2012 from crude oil exports. If we subtract the

country's 2012 budget figure of ₦4.5 trillion from that figure, one wonders where the huge surplus of ₦267.5 trillion went as it was certainly not used for development.

Delivering the 42nd Convocation Lecture of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, on January 24, 2012, a former member of the Federal Executive Council, Dr. Obiageli Ezekwesili, posited that the \$45 billion in foreign reserves and the ₦22 billion in excess crude account, which was inherited from the Obasanjo Administration (in which she served) in 2007 had been squandered by the two governments after the Obasanjo-led one. Ezekwesili described this squandermania as "the most egregious" instance of Nigeria's failure to make the right development choices.<sup>123</sup>

Despite vast sums, of over ₦116 billion, that were said to have been budgeted for, and spent on, Federal roads, those roads have continued to deteriorate, causing loss of about 800 lives per month.<sup>124</sup> The negative impact of the very poor state of Nigerian roads on commerce and food security must be very great. The best attention that the deplorable condition of our roads has received in recent times was when a certain pretty female Minister wept publicly over the sad condition of the Shagamu-Ore-Benin road, which she had gone to inspect. She has since been re-deployed to another ministry where, perhaps, she would not be shocked to tears again. The Government appropriates billions of naira on roads that erode even before they are completed, roads that degrade after six months, and roads that collapse after twelve months.

Nigeria's spiralling debt profile gives cause for serious concern. In 2007, the external debt was \$22 billion. It rose to \$22.228 billion in 2008, \$25.8 billion in 2009, \$32 billion in 2010, and \$39.7 billion in 2011. According to statistics from the Debt Management

Office (DMO), Nigeria's economy may be threatened by another external debt overhang, seven years after the debt relief illusion that was orchestrated by the Western creditors in collusion with the Obasanjo Administration. The latest figures show that Nigeria's total debt profile now stands at \$44 billion, which is the highest debt profile since 2007.<sup>125</sup>

This trend portrays the fact that the Nigerian Government is reckless with money, which contradicts the present Administration's promises not to put Nigerians in another debt slavery through unproductive borrowing. The country's new debt burden reveals the patent lack of policy measures to utilise the country's abundant mineral resources, especially the rising oil revenue, to pull Nigerians out of poverty.

All serious-minded Governments appreciate the critical role of energy in a modern economy and place the ample and efficient supply of energy very high on their list of priorities. Nigeria is a country that is blessed with an abundance of both renewable and non-renewable sources of energy.<sup>126</sup> However, electricity has been a very scarce commodity in the country for a long time now. The Nigerian economy has been described as a generator-economy; and the pervasive use of generators has taken its toll in the society, both in terms of its horrendous cost to business and industry, and in terms of the several deaths that have been caused by their toxic fumes. We hear that there is a cartel of generator-sellers in this country today who are averse to fixing the energy problem.!!

About four years ago, independent energy experts assessed that Nigeria's power supply would be 60,000 megawatts by 2010 if the country would graduate to the league of industrialised nations in the world by 2020. However, in 2013, Nigeria is still struggling to maintain a - 3000 megawatts supply.<sup>127</sup>

Nigeria has the lowest electricity consumption per capita, at 123.76 kilowatt hour, among the eleven members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). The country's electricity generation per capita of 00.000021 megawatts is also the lowest among OPEC members. Nigeria, which has the highest population, at 167 million, among OPEC members, generates the lowest volume of electricity at about 3,500 megawatts on the average.<sup>128</sup> Table 2 is a comparison of Nigeria's electricity generation and supply figures with those of other OPEC members.

**Table 2: Electricity Supply and Consumption among OPEC Members**

S/N	Country	Population	Electricity Generation (MW)	Per Capita Generation	Per Capita Consumption (MW)
1	Algeria	36,423,000	12,000	0.000329	809.83
2	Angola	18,498,000	7,000	0.000378	237.88
3	Ecuador	15,007,343	18,260	0.0001217	1,053.48
4	Iran	75,330,000	61,000	0.00081	2,653.70
5	Kuwait	3,566,473	9,400	0.002636	15,491.43
6	Libya	5,670,688	9,400	0.001658	360.13
7	Qatar	1,696,563	9,000	0.001106	16,190.73
8	Saudi Arabia	27,136,997	30,000	0.005305	6,318
9	UAE	8,264,070	18,747	0.002268	12,814.97
10	Venezuela	29,105,632	23,000	0.00079	3,004.08
11	Nigeria	167,000,000	3,500	0.000021	123.76

Source: Designed from Stanley Opara, "Nigeria Enjoys Least Electricity Supply among OPEC Members", <http://www.punching.com/business/business-economy/nigeria-enjoys-least-e...>, retrieved 24<sup>th</sup> March, 2013.

Nigeria is the sixth largest producer of petroleum in the world. In addition to this enviable position, its oil is described as "sweet" because of its low sulfur-content, the preferred choice of Western refiners. Furthermore, Nigeria's natural gas reserves make it more a gas territory than a petroleum producing country.<sup>129</sup>

But that is the end of the good news. The citizens of this oil and gas country regularly suffer excruciating scarcities of petroleum products and endure humiliating long queues to get them. Refineries have been left to decay and we now import refined products from abroad, including from Senegal, a non-oil producing country that has only one refinery! In the guise of neo-liberal deregulation, the Government, from time to time, imposes cruel hikes on the price of petroleum on hapless Nigerians, a hike which usually has multiplier-effects on transport cost and the price of food, with the poor bearing most of the pain.

Most of the gas that is associated with oil production is, as we noted earlier, maliciously flared by Western transnational oil corporations, like Shell and Chevron, which produce oil in Nigeria. Nigeria flares the most gas in the world. And the Government's penalty for gas flaring amounts to a slap on the wrist. Gas flaring has taken a heavy toll on human, animal and plant life in the Niger Delta region.<sup>130</sup>

Gas flares, burning 24 hours a day (some for the past 30 years), are often situated near impoverished villages. Foreign oil companies in Nigeria flare about 2.5 million metric cubic feet of gas daily, a loss amounting to over \$2.5 billion annually.<sup>131</sup> This amount can easily supply all the power needs of the nation and save Nigerians from the stagnations and the lack of development caused by insufficient electricity. Meanwhile, a significant proportion of Nigerian households still depend on firewood to cook, with its environmental and health consequences.

Clean water is a rare commodity in Nigeria today. The rich drill bore holes. The poor drink "pure water"; and the very wretched of the earth, who cannot afford pure water, drink from dirty wells and polluted streams.

Health facilities have been so neglected, the poor go there only to die. Most members of Nigeria's ruling elite frequently jet out for medical check-ups and for the treatment of the most minor ailments abroad. They usually go to Germany, Britain, United States, France, India, and even Saudi Arabia, a country which, only recently, was begging Nigerian doctors to come to its aid. The most thriving part of Nigeria's hospitals today are the mortuaries, which are usually so full; and it is not uncommon for several corpses to be stacked in one cabinet.<sup>132</sup>

Quality education, at all levels, has taken flight in Nigeria<sup>133</sup> The education sector, just like the health sector, has been neglected by the Government. Most members of the ruling elite have sent their children abroad to study in the choicest and most expensive schools. Teachers' prolonged strikes to fight for better funding to provide adequate teaching and research facilities have not been treated with the urgency it deserves by the Government. Academic calendars have been disrupted; and students are stranded. The Academic Staff Union of Research Institutes (ASURI) had, earlier this year, embarked on a strike that lasted for almost three months. Activities in Nigeria's research institutes, including the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA), and the Nigerian Institute for Social and Economic Research (NISER), were completely shut down during the strike. The anti-intellectual Government simply ignored to respond to the Union's demands. And, because of the Government's recalcitrance, the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) was out on strike for most of July 2013 to demand the implementation of agreements it reached with the Government since 2009.

With the growing decay in our educational system, we can never attain the knowledge-economy, which is the primary precondition for transforming from the present state of underdevelopment to becoming a member of the top-twenty, or twenty-five, economies in the world by 2020, or 2025. The knowledge-economy is an economy that can create knowledge and that can use that knowledge to pursue domestic and international goals of national interests. It is an economy where knowledge is fast replacing physical resources as the driver of economic growth and development.<sup>134</sup> The knowledge-economy is what drives contemporary globalisation; it is also what primarily accounts for Singapore's transformation from Third to First World.<sup>135</sup> It is at the centre of the secret of the success of the Asian Tigers.

Unfortunately, however, Nigeria is, today, at the bottom of the global knowledge pyramid, primarily because of: the collapse of its educational system (including poor school enrolment record, falling quality of education, low investment in knowledge and research and development, and inadequate use of knowledge); the weakness of its governance institutions; its declining innovative capacity; and its weak information and communications technology base.<sup>136</sup> No Nigerian university is ranked among the best 500 universities in the world.

And because of our hostile economic environment and misgovernance, an alarming proportion of Nigeria's best trained and highly-skilled persons have fled to better-organised climes abroad to realise their potentials. They include professionals in space science, robotics, medicine, information and communications technology, education, engineering, agriculture, business management, etc. This critical mass of Nigeria's human capital is

domiciled abroad and is contributing to the development of other countries, including the already advanced ones. This sad situation significantly diminishes our capacity to move up the global knowledge pyramid towards attaining the knowledge economy.

Nigeria, this most populous “giant” of Africa, is well-endowed with vast human and natural resources, including agricultural commodities, petroleum and natural gas, and a wide array of solid minerals. But, after fifty-three years of political independence, it is still being described as “a potentially-rich” country, because of the pervasive poverty and underdevelopment that characterise the country. The truth is that Nigerian leaders have simply raped the country and left it in a sordid state.

In addition to morbid corruption, the past fifty-three years have been bedeviled by economic mismanagement, inordinate political ambitions, election malpractice, including violence and rigging (inspired by the quest to “capture” power and the oil money for selfish ends), and bad governance.<sup>137</sup> Our development-project is certainly in deep crisis. And the people’s rights to a life of dignity have been trampled upon by a vision-less, unimaginative, and irresponsible leadership class that, unfortunately, holds sway in a land flowing with milk and honey. The provision in the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria that the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of Government has been rubbished and thrown overboard by that irresponsible leadership class.

## **XI A Strategic Agenda for Self-Reliant Development**

Because Nigeria’s international exploitation is based on its assigned role of supplier of raw materials in the international capitalist division of labour, there is, from a progressive stand

point, an urgent need to articulate and adopt a strategic plan of action, which includes how to neutralise its mineral-resource-based exploitation by the forces of the global economic North and their local comprador collaborators. Such an agenda would revolve around several strategies, including the following:<sup>138</sup>

(a) Assume 100 per cent National Ownership and Control of the Minerals Sector

The Nigerian Government is at present merely a passive tax collector in the mineral (oil) sector upon which the survival of the economy largely depends. The real control of the sector effectively rests with Western transnational corporations whose profit interests are clearly opposed to Nigeria's developmental interests. The total localisation of staff, and the Government's assumption of a 100 percent national ownership, control, and management of the minerals sector, is absolutely necessary if we must begin to halt surplus drainage from the Nigerian economy and if mineral resources must be re-oriented in the service of the economic strategy for national self-reliant development.

(b) Apply Mineral Resources Towards Industrial Transformation

Most of the value-added from the minerals exports of Third World countries, such as Nigeria, is garnered abroad, by the advanced countries with whom they mostly trade. This is so because the Third World's exports are usually in their raw and unprocessed state; and they are usually too poor and too weak to exercise significant control over the processing, shipping, and marketing of their raw minerals exports.

There is, therefore, an urgent need to transform the Nigerian economy from its neo-colonial role of exporter of raw materials to that of a producer of processed and manufactured goods in the world economy. This urgent call is important because there is currently an orchestrated scheme by the advanced countries, both in the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) negotiations between the European Union (EU) and the African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) countries, and also in the WTO negotiations, to maintain Third World countries perpetually as raw materials exporters.<sup>139</sup>

In other words, if we must export them, we must first add value to our mineral resources. Our lives literally depend on them. The idea is to break off the old colonial conditioning to export unprocessed resources in their raw form mainly to service the advanced industrialism of the metropole. The strategy of adding value to Nigeria's raw materials is equivalent to a reversal of the development of underdevelopment trend that the country has suffered since Britain colonised it.

But, more importantly, beyond processing for exports, we must actualise the several opportunities that exist for utilising our abundant mineral resources for the local industrialisation project and for improving the living condition of the Nigerian people. We must embark on mineral-based, low technology, small and medium scale, labour-intensive, enterprises that require limited capital inputs.

(c) Embark on a Gradual and Progressive Phase-Out of Mineral Exports

Because mineral resources are depletable and non-renewable, every barrel of petroleum, cubic foot of gas, or ton of solid mineral that is exported represents a minus from the indigenous critical mass of resources available for present and future use as input into the local productive system for the satisfaction of the people's needs.

For Nigeria, there is, therefore, a need to immediately embark on a policy of gradual and progressive phase-out of minerals exports, especially to the over-industrialised countries who must now learn to adapt their economic and consumption patterns to their own locally available resources. This policy orientation is suggested in order to save Nigeria from imperialist minerals-exploitation and in order to conserve critical mineral resources for the kind of industrial transformation suggested earlier.

(d) Embark on Local Geological Survey and Exploration

An important pre-condition for Nigeria to assert total ownership and control of its mineral enterprises, as suggested earlier, is for it to develop a comprehensive inventory of its available mineral resources, including petroleum, natural gas, and solid minerals. There is thus an urgent need to vigorously embark on local geological survey and exploration in the country. Because the Nigerian Government is so preoccupied with the sharing of the rents from crude oil, adequate attention has not been paid to the efficient development of the country's natural gas and solid minerals potentials.

(e) Establish Indigenous Technological Research and Development Centers of Excellence

In order to be able to take full control and ownership of Nigeria's critical mineral resources, it would be necessary to develop new and improved ways and means of utilising the minerals in the local productive system for the satisfaction of mass needs. There is need, therefore, for a serious and concerted effort to establish indigenous technological research and development facilities in Nigeria, the ultimate objective being to adapt local consumption patterns to the nation's mineral resource endowments.

(f) Invest in Human Capital Development

Following from the foregoing need, the Government must aggressively invest in higher education, especially prioritising education in science and technology. Today's technology-driven world dictates that we re-double our efforts at developing our information and communications technological base, which, at present, is very poor. Research, both in universities and research centres, must be linked to the activities of the direct producers in manufacturing, agriculture, medicine, and other critical sectors. And the Government must institute a systematic, intelligence-based foreign policy strategy that is geared towards identifying the huge population of skilled and highly trained Nigerian professionals in the diaspora. This massive human capital should be mobilised for national development.<sup>140</sup>

(g) Revive Iron and Steel Industries

Iron and steel are the foundation of sustained indigenous industrialisation. This country has the basic raw materials for this critical project. The Ajaokuta and Aladja iron and steel industries

must be revived as a matter of urgency. The Government must make it a high priority to remove all possible economic and political constraints that have for so long inhibited the operations and efficiency of those complexes.

(h) Production for Economic Emancipation

Production, the creation of goods, services and ideas, provides the essential ladder to learning and economic liberation. It involves innovation and creativity, both at the level of producing goods, and services and at the level of producing knowledge. The challenge is, first, for Nigeria's so-called capitalist class to transform from being traders, importers and exporters to real producers of useful goods and services; and, second, for the Government to establish viable think-tanks that are founded on the ideology of economic liberation and run by nationalists that are schooled in the philosophy of strategic thinking.

(i) Develop International Competitiveness

In the contemporary era of globalisation and trade liberalisation, Third World countries' clamour for access into the markets of the global North countries is, at present, misplaced, because underdeveloped countries generally lack the capacity to meet production targets in the metropole, in terms of quality, quantity, standards, delivery-time, etc, as well as to diversify the product-mix.

There is, therefore, need to address, as a matter of urgency, the supply-side constraint inhibiting Nigeria's ability to competitively produce and trade in the world market.<sup>141</sup> This assumes, of course, that we have weaned ourselves from our colonial heritage of exporter of raw materials.

The proper responses to Nigeria's supply-side constraints would include the following:<sup>142</sup>

- return to import substitution industrialisation, by utilising resources from petroleum, natural gas, solid minerals, and agriculture, and by rejecting the neo-liberal imposition of reckless import liberalisation;
- rehabilitate decadent economic infrastructure and services, such as electricity, roads, water, telecommunications, transportation, etc;
- adequately fund and strengthen social services, particularly education and health;
- modernise the agriculture and forestry sector;
- establish viable industrial and technological base, for example, iron and steel complexes;
- develop, nurture, and utilize human capital capacity in various technical areas of international negotiations, such as in trade, aid, debt, investments, etc;
- establish efficient and coordinated institutional policy and regulatory frameworks; and
- graduate to high level of transparency and accountability in a stable environment of democratic governance.

(j) Ensure Food Security<sup>143</sup>

The Government must put people at the centre of its development project; and food security must be top among its priorities. The Government must discontinue the old colonial concentration on production of cash crops for export.

What is needed in Nigerian agriculture is adequate financing and the application of science, and greater emphasis on food production. Small-holder farmers must be given easier access to

land and technology, including expansion of micro-credit facilities, better transportation, marketing and research support, inputs, etc.

(k) Provide Peoples' Basic Needs

The basic needs approach to development focuses on poverty alleviation. At its most fundamental level, it should include satisfying minimum levels of material needs, such as for food, shelter, clothing, and access to such public services as clean water, sanitation, affordable public transport, health, and education. Basic needs should also include such non-material values as human rights to freedom, security and democratic participation.<sup>144</sup>

In summary, it is clear that the strategic agenda for self-reliant development that has been sketched above is radical in orientation. In other words, I appreciate that the present entrenched political forces, who either make or influence policy in Nigeria today, are not likely to embark on the measures suggested in the agenda. Indeed, I do not expect them to commit class suicide.

The agenda that I suggest can only be executed by (a) a people's developmental state, i.e, a state that is no longer an instrument in the hands of comprador elements in Government who are junior partners of imperialism; and (b) a visionary and nationalist leadership with imagination, a leadership that has been emancipated from the intellectual orientation of neo-colonial slaves.

## XII. Concluding Remarks

Against the background of Nigeria's bad experience with crude petroleum production, it is important to warn against replicating

the mistakes we made earlier. Precisely, the mistakes were associated with the dogmatic application of Western orthodox development policy, which encouraged us to pursue a raw materials export-led development strategy. The main features of this strategy are (a) to specialise in the production and export of a narrow line of raw materials for which we have a so-called "comparative advantage", and to increase the acquisition of foreign exchange by increasing the export of other raw materials; and (b) to use the foreign exchange export earnings to "diversify" the economy, i.e., to further increase raw materials production for export, and to invest the revenue in development projects. Nevertheless, it is clear that at the base of Nigeria's economic crisis today is its role in the world economy (as prescribed by Western orthodox development policy) to supply raw materials to service the mature industrialism of the West.

This certainly calls for a re-thinking of Nigeria's development policy, which should be based on the proper understanding of the phenomenon of the externally-induced development of the underdevelopment of the country. Such a re-thinking would require a radical intellectual re-orientation towards an alternative development model, which would define the goal of a mineral policy in the context of the general strategy of economic liberation, self-reliance, and the satisfaction of the basic material needs of the masses. Most importantly, this strategic re-thinking would reject imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Contrary to modern democratic theory, the state in Nigeria has, for so long, failed to meet its traditional obligation to all its citizens: to cater effectively for the well-being of all its people by evolving programmes of full employment, adequate remuneration of workers, adequate incomes for peasants or farmers,

unemployment benefits, good and affordable shelter, old-age benefits, and public health services.

According to Eme Awa, when, in addition to the state's failure to fulfill such traditional obligations, we also include the injustices of socially-imposed restraint on the masses, such as poverty, ignorance, disease, etc., and the denial of the liberty of the individual to pursue his conscious purpose in taking decisions and to participate meaningfully in the decision process of the society, it becomes quite clear that a serious condition of inequality exists in the Nigerian society today.<sup>145</sup>

It should be obvious that this condition of inequality is a potential threat to the national security, i.e., to the stability and continued existence of Nigeria as a nation. This is so because the prevalence of poverty, ignorance, disease, etc., among the masses is a fertile ground for the spontaneous eruption of violence among the masses, a violence which can be triggered off by even a minor problem. A hungry man, they say, is an angry man. A poor, angry people can, in fact, also be incited to acts of disaffection and rebellion by external or internal forces. Moreover, in a situation of extreme poverty, the people, the prime movers of all productivity, will be underdeveloped mentally, physically, morally and spiritually, and cannot, therefore, make maximum contribution to the wealth of the nation through productive industry or agriculture. In such a situation, the aggregate level of wealth in the country will be low; and this can mean indefinite subservience of the nation to foreign nations, which is a clear threat to national security.

As a means of solving the problem posed by the potential threat to the national security, I have, in this lecture, proposed, as urgent policy, the systematic mobilisation of our huge

endowments of minerals, including petroleum, natural gas, and solid minerals, for use, not primarily for exports but, in the indigenous industrialisation process to attain self-reliance and to eradicate poverty, ignorance, disease, etc., from our society. I do not believe that God has planned poverty for Nigeria. On the contrary, Nigeria's poverty is the handwork of Nigeria's irresponsible leadership class, in accepting to play the middle-man-role for imperialism to pillage the country.

It is obvious that a major obstacle to the effective and nationalist application of Nigeria's abundant mineral resources, as I have proposed, has been the lack of will power and vision on the part of the Nigerian leadership class. In other words, in addition to imperialism, the single most enervating obstacle to effectively applying Nigeria's numerous mineral endowments towards poverty alleviation and high industrialism has been the dominance of the political economy by the unenterprising, greedy, and consumptionist-oriented elements in the ruling class who happen to determine and influence public policy.

Ultimately, the recruitment of a visionary and strategic-thinking leadership group with great imagination and a committed sense of nation would be the surest antidote for the poor Nigerian condition. It should be obvious that, in the final analysis, it is the responsibility of the wretched of the earth, the downtrodden, those who really feel the pangs of the indignity of poverty and deprivation, to recruit for themselves those who will best give them a good life.

As *The Guardian* editorial has correctly observed, Nigeria's salvation does not rest in the hands of the current political class, which is constituted by a band of mendacious self-seekers. The Nigerian people should, therefore, according to the editorial,

*... be watchful over the quality of persons who seek their votes at all levels of government. They should be wary of untested sinecures without demonstrable leadership capacity, self-seeking pests whose only quest is to feast on the commonwealth, little minds in high places who have no patience for the finer acts of democracy. The battle to save Nigeria would begin when Nigerians thoroughly interrogate the character of those who want to lead them and, for recruitment into leadership positions, they build a better purifying mechanism that can keep out the dregs.<sup>146</sup>*

Ladies and gentlemen, above all else, we should call for God's intervention; and there is a great prayer-line against irresponsible and reckless leadership in Nigeria, which is often said in our Catholic churches, and which is very appropriate to be presented at this point:

*Father in heaven,  
You always provide for all your creatures  
So that all may live as you have willed.  
You have blessed our country Nigeria  
With rich human and natural resources  
To be used to your honour and glory  
And for the well being of every Nigerian.  
We are deeply sorry  
For the wrong use of these your gifts and blessings  
Through acts of injustice, bribery and corruption,  
As a result of which many of our people  
Are hungry, sick, ignorant, and defenceless.*

*Father, you alone can heal us  
And our nation of this sickness.  
We beg you, touch our lives  
And the lives of our leaders and people,  
So that we may all realise  
The evil of bribery and corruption  
And work hard to eliminate it.  
Raise up for us God fearing people and leaders  
Who care for us and who will lead us  
In the path of peace, prosperity and progress.  
We ask this through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.*

And, as the Yoruba saying goes:

*Omo eleran, ogbodo je egungun;  
Omo alaso, ko gbodo wo akisa;  
Omo onile, ko gbodo sun sita.*

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Sir, I am done; I believe I have paid my dues to Lead City University. To God be the glory!

What remains is for me to extend a few words of appreciation to several deserving quarters.

First, even though they are all gone and are now resting in the bosom of the Lord, I wish to recall the fond memory of three persons in my family. They are: my very dear and immediate younger sister, Chidi, who died in 1982, in far away Cuba where she had gone to study; my loving mother, Mrs. Roseline Nwoke, who passed on in 1993; and my great and disciplinarian father, Nnate Oso Nwoke, who re-united with my mother in 1996. This lecture is hereby dedicated to their loving memories.

Second, I wish to appreciate my loving wife, Dora Akunjeri Nwoke, and the children Obike, Uchenna, Uzoma, Okechukwu and Chukwuemeka. Their love, support, and encouragement have sustained me and provided the peaceful and sane family environment that has been indispensable for my survival in the very difficult and challenging Nigerian condition.

Third, I want to thank Babajide Owoeye, the humble, amiable, and kind scholar-entrepreneur, the Pro-Chancellor and Chairman of the Governing Council of this great University, the man with the Midas-touch. You have been a true friend; thank you for inviting me to participate in growing the success of this great idea of yours.

Finally, I must appreciate the very cordial working relationship that I have enjoyed from my colleagues in the Department of Politics and International Relations. Thank you all; I have enjoyed being part of the progressive INTEREL family.

And, last but certainly not the least, to this great audience, I say thank you so very much for your kind attention.

## Endnotes

1. See, for example, Jacob Viner, *International Trade and Economic Development* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1952); W. Arthur Lewis, *The Theory of Economic Growth* (Homewood: R.D. Irwin, 1955); and Joseph J. Spengler, Ed, *Natural Resources and Growth* (Washington, DC: Resources for the Future, 1960).
2. See, for example, C. Fred Bergsten, "The Threat from the Third World", *Foreign Policy*, No. 14, Summer, 1973; Stephen Krasner, "Oil is the Exception", *Foreign Policy*, No. 14, Spring, 1974; Charles Johnson, "Cartels in Minerals and Metals Supply", *Mining Congress Journal*, No.62, 1976; and Robert Pindyk, "OPEC's Threat to the West", *Foreign Policy*, No. 30, Spring 1978.
3. Terry Lynn Karl, *The Paradox of Plenty: Oil Booms and Petro- States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).
4. Micheal L. Ross, "The Political Economy of the Resource Curse", *World Politics*, No.51, January, 1999.
5. World Bank, *World Development Report 2003: Sustainable Development in a Dynamic World* (New York: World Bank/Oxford University Press, 2003), p149.
6. Micheal Tanzer, *The Political Economy of International Oil and the Underdeveloped Countries* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969); *The Energy Crisis: World Struggle for Power and Wealth* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974); and *The Race for Resources: Continued Struggles over Minerals and Fuels* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1980).
7. Norman Girvan, *Corporate Imperialism: Conflict and Expropriation* (New York: M.E . Sharpe, Inc. 1976).
8. Pierre Jalee, *The Pillage of the Third World* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1968).
9. Zuhayr Mikdashi, *The International Politics of Natural Resources*(Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976).
10. Kwame Nkrumah, *Neo- colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism* (New York: International Publishers, 1965).
11. V.I Lenin, *Imperialism: The Last Stage of Monopoly Capitalism* (New York: International Publishers, 1974 ).
12. Samir Amin, *The Law of Value and Historical Materialism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979).

13. Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Capitalist World Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1979).
14. Greg Lanning and Marti Mueller, *Africa Undermined: Mining Companies and the Underdevelopment of Africa* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1979).
15. Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1972).
16. Harry Magdoff, *The Age of Imperialism: The Economics of US Foreign Policy* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972).
17. Bade Onimode, *Imperialism and Underdevelopment in Nigeria: The Dialectics of Mass Poverty* (London: Zed Press 1982).
18. Claude Ake, *Revolutionary Pressures in Africa* (London: Zed Press, 1978).
19. Paul Baran, *The Political Economy of Growth* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1968).
20. Samuel Ochola, *Minerals in African Underdevelopment* (London: Bogle- L'Ouverture Publications, 1975).
21. Andre Gunder-Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment", *Monthly Review*, September 1966.
22. See, for example, Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977); *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977); *Grundrisse: Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy* (New York: Vintage Press, 1973); *Theories of Surplus Value* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1968); and *The Poverty of Philosophy* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1973).
23. See Nkrumah, *Neo-colonialism*, op cit, pp 1-2.
24. Samir Amin, "Preface", in Faysal Yachir, *Mining in Africa Today: Strategies and Prospects* (Tokyo: UN University, 1988) p. XII.
25. See Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, op cit, pp 450-451.
26. *Ibid*, p 451.
27. On monoculture in Africa, see Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, op cit; and Chibuzo N. Nwoke, "World Mining Rent: An Extension of Marx's Theories", *Review*, Vol. viii, No1, Summer 1984, pp 29-89.

28. On the underdevelopment of productive forces in Nigeria, see Gavin Williams, Ed, *Nigeria: Economy and Society* (London: Collins, 1976); Onimode, *Imperialism and Underdevelopment in Nigeria*, op cit; and Okwudiba Nnoli, *Path to Nigerian Development* (Dakar: CODESRIA,1981).
29. On the comprador factor in Nigeria's petroleum sector, see Terisa Turner, "Nigeria: Imperialism, Oil Technology and the Comprador State", in Petter Nore and Terisa Turner, Eds, *Oil and Class Struggle* (London: Zed Press, 1980), chapter10.
30. See Charles Parker, *Affluence in Jeopardy: Minerals and the Political Economy* (San Francisco: Freeman, Cooper and Company, 1968),p. 8.
31. Alexander Sutulov, *Minerals in World Affairs* (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Printing Services, 1972), p.9.
32. Musa Nashuni. "Minerals as Raw Minerals for Nigeria's Industries", Mimeo, Nigerian Mining Corporation, 1990, p.2.
33. *Newswatch Magazine*, 10 November, 1980, as quoted by, Alhaji Inuwa Gombe, "The Development of Nigeria's Strategic Minerals for Military Use", delivered at the Armed Forces Seminar, 1986, at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, Lagos, 22<sup>nd</sup> September, 1986,p.1.
34. Gombe, Ibid p. 11.
35. See J.I Nehikhare, "An Inventory of the Mineral Resources of Nigeria", Geological Survey Dept, Ministry of Mines, Power and Steel, no date, p. 15; and M.O. Feyide, "The Nigerian Minerals Industry: Realities and Options", *Nigerian Journal of Mining and Geology*, vol.1,No1,1982,p.19.
36. Chibuzo N. Nwoke, "An Overview of the Management of Nigeria's Energy Resources", in Chibuzo N. Nwoke and Dan Omoweh, Eds, *The Management of Nigeria's Energy Resources for National Development* (Lagos: Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, Lagos, 2006),p.103. See also Chibuzo N. Nwoke, "Nigeria's Energy Problem and the Need for Policy", in G.O. Olusanya, et al, *Economic Development and Foreign Policy* (Lagos: Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, 1981), ch. 9.
37. Ibid, "An Overview..."

38. Roland E. Ubogu, "Mining and Quarrying", in F.A Olalokun, Ed, *Structure of the Nigerian Economy* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1979), p.54.
39. Nehikhare, "An Inventory ...," op cit, p.5.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid, pp 5-7.
42. Ibid, pp 7-8.
43. Ibid, pp 8-11.
44. Ibid,p.11.
45. See Siyan Molomo, " Recent Developments in Uranium Exploration in Nigeria", Mimeo, Nigerian Geological Survey Agency, Abuja, nd; and Fumilayo Akinlolu and Musa Saleh, " Uranium Development in Nigeria", Mimeo, Ministry of Mines and Steel Development Abuja, nd.
46. Nehikhare, op cit.
47. See Eme Awa, "The Use of Nigeria's Mineral Resources as a Political Weapon", *Nigerian Journal of Policy and Strategy*, June 1988, pp 32-50.
48. See Musa Nashuni, "Minerals as Raw materials for Nigeria's Industries", Mimeo, Nigerian Mining Corporation, 1990, p 2; Nigerian Mining and Geosciences Society, 30th Annual Conference Exhibition, 1992 ; and Raw Materials Research and Development Council Exhibition pamphlets, 1991.
49. Nashuni, Ibid, p. 5.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid, p. 4.
52. Ibid.
53. Abdullahi Aliyu, *Industrialization in Nigeria: An Appraisal* (Lagos: Dilli's Ventures, 1995), p. 87.
54. Nigerian Mining Corporation, op cit.
55. Nashuni, op cit.
56. Geological Survey of Nigeria, 1991.
57. Handbook of Industrialisation in Nigeria, 1993.
58. Sani Nuhu, "Burnt Bricks: Historical Background, Its Uses and Importance to the National Economy", *Nigerian Mining Corporation News*, No. 2, Dec., 1986, p.5.

59. Ibid.
60. Nigerian Mining Corporation, 1990.
61. *This Day*, "Nigeria: Unlocking the Potential in Solid Minerals", 7th October, 2011.
62. Ministry of Mines, Power and Steel, 1986.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. Nigeria Mining and Geosciences Society, op cit; Nashuni, op cit.
66. Nashuni, ibid, p.5.
67. See David C. Kopaska-Morkel, et al, "Why Do We Need Petroleum?", <file:///c:/users/Documents/why%20Do%20We%20Need%20...>, retrieved, 3rd January, 2013. Grades 3-7 students in a US school were led by their teachers to identify up to 136 products made from oil.
68. "Natural Gas Uses in Industry", [file:///C:/Users/Owner/Desktop/Documents/NaturalGas\\_org.htm](file:///C:/Users/Owner/Desktop/Documents/NaturalGas_org.htm), retrieved, 3rd Jan. 2013.
69. Nigerian Coal Corporation Information Manual, Enugu, Feb. 1995.
70. See Greg Iwu, "The Potentials of Nigerian Coal for Industries", Keynote Address presented to the Nigerian Metallurgical Society, Lagos, July, 1991, p. 18.
71. Nigerian Coal Corporation Information Manual, op cit.
72. Ibid; See also Karen Varuch, "Uses of Coal", <file:///C:/Users/Owner/Desktop/Documents/Coals%20Camp%20Memories2...>, retrieved 3<sup>rd</sup> Jan., 2013.
73. Varuch, Ibid.
74. A strategic mineral is any mineral that is essential for the operation of the economic and financial system, but a large proportion of its reserves are owned and controlled by just a few countries. Recent developments within the military, energy and space industries make uranium a strategic mineral within the category of minerals necessary for the development of future technologies. See Oumarau Ibrahim, et al, "Direct and Indirect Effects of Mining and Energy Sectors on Industrialization", in Smail Khennas, Ed, *Industrialization, Minerals Resources and Energy in Africa* (Dakar: CODESRIA, 1992).

75. See Bohdan Suprowicz, *How to Avoid Strategic Materials Shortage* (NY: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 1985); and Oye Ogunbadejo, *The International Politics of Africa's Strategic Minerals* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1985).
76. Abdullahi Aliyu, "Potentials of the Solid Minerals Industry in Nigeria", Raw Materials Research & Development Council, Investment Promotion Materials, 1996.
77. Ibid.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.
81. See Hans Maul, *Raw Materials, Energy and Western Security*, (London: The Macmillan Press, 1984), p. 196.
82. Nashuni, op cit, p. 7.
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid.
85. Chikwendu Ukaegbu, "Imaginative Policy Making for Development," *The Guardian*, 28<sup>th</sup> October, 2010, p.67.
86. Ibid.
87. Ibid.
88. Nashuni, op cit, p.6.
89. Ibid.
90. Awa, op cit, p. 36.
91. Ibid.
92. Aliyu, "Potentials of the Solid Minerals Industry...", op cit.
93. Iwu, op cit; Nigerian Coals Corporation Information Manual, op cit.
94. See Michael Ross, "The Political Economy of the Resource Curse", op cit.
95. See Chibuzo N. Nwoke, "Towards Authentic Economic Nationalism in Nigeria", *Africa Today*, Vol.33, No 4, 1986, pp. 51-69; Bjorn Beckman, "Whose State? State and Capitalist Development in Nigeria", *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 23, January-April 1982, pp. 37-51; Festus Iyayi, "The Primitive Accumulation of Capital in a Neo-Colony: Nigeria," *Review of African Political Economy*, No 35, 1986, pp.27-39; and Cyril Obi,

- "Nigeria: Democracy on Trial", Occasional Paper, Nordic Africa Institute, September, 2004.
96. On neo-colonialism, See Nkrumah, op cit; Claude Ake, *Revolutionary Pressures in Africa*: (London: Zed Press, 1978); and Chibuzo N. Nwoke, "The Scramble for Africa: A Strategic Policy Framework", *Nigerian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 33, No.2, 2007, pp. 41-42.
  97. Obi, op cit.
  98. J. F Ade-Ajayi, "Africa's Development Crisis in Historical Perspective", In Bade Onimode and Richard Synge, Eds, *Issues in African Development* (Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books, 1995), pp 42-43.
  99. Akin Oyeboode, "Re-inventing the Nigerian Project", *The Guardian*, March 26, 2007, p. 85.
  100. Nwoke, *Third World Minerals...*, op cit.
  101. Obi, op cit.
  102. See Karl Maier, *This House Has Fallen: Nigeria in Crisis* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2002); Gabriel Osu, "Nigeria: A Failing State at 48", [http://www.newswatchimgr.com/index2.php?option=com\\_content&tast=view&id=](http://www.newswatchimgr.com/index2.php?option=com_content&tast=view&id=), retrieved, 28<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2008.
  103. Reuben Abati, "Nigeria: Dead or Alive?", *The Guardian*, Nov. 27, 2009, p.51.
  104. Patrick Wilmot, *Interventions* (Ibadan: Bookcraft, 2007), p. 40.
  105. Chinua Achebe, *The Problem with Nigeria* (Enugu: Fourth Dimension Press, 1984).
  106. According to a foreign journalist, "Nigeria is the opposite of a meritocracy: you do not earn by achieving. You get to be who and where you are by knowing the right people..." Fenike van Zeiit, "Mediocrity Overtakes Corruption to Wreak Nigeria", *The Guardian*, April 2, 2013, p. 4.
  107. See Edwin Madunagu, "Africa and the International Community", in Biodun Jeyifor, et al, Eds, *Understanding Nigeria and the New Imperialism* (Calabar: Clear Line Publications, 2006), p. 265.

108. See Stephen Adei, "The Role of Leadership in the Development of the Asian NICs and Lessons for Africa", Paper presented at the 29<sup>th</sup> AAPAM Annual Roundtable on the theme: "Political and Managerial Leadership for Change and Development in Africa", Mbabane, Swaziland, 3-7 September, 2007.
109. Ibid.
110. *The Guardian*, Editorial, March 11, 2007, p. 85.
111. Ibid.
112. UNDP, *Human Development Report, 2011/2012* (Washington DC: UNDP, 2012).
113. Ibid.
114. Ibid.
115. See Chibuzo N. Nwoke, "Electoral Violence, Democratic Misadventure, Governance-Failure: The Deepening Crisis of Nigeria's Underdevelopment", Paper presented at a Roundtable on "Democracy and the 2011 Elections in Nigeria", organised by the African Centre for Peace-Research, Empowerment and Documentation (ACPRED), Ilorin, 21-23 September, 2010.
116. UNDP, op cit.
117. Nwoke, "Electoral Volence..." op cit.
118. Ibid.
119. See Isaac Igweonwu, "The Age of Diminishing Expectations", *The Guardian*, March 20, 2013, p. 51.
120. Ibid.
121. Ibid.
122. See Chibuzo N. Nwoke, "Infrastructural Decay in Nigeria: Is the Infrastructure Concession Regulatory Commission the Panacea for Development?" Paper presented at Roundtable on "Global Infrastructure", organised by the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, Lagos, 15th Dec. 2008.
123. See Obiageli Katryn Ezekwesili, "The Wealth and Poverty of a Nation: Who will Restore the Dignity of Nigeria?" I & II, *The Guardian*, February 4&5, 2013.
124. Nwoke, "Infrastructural Decay...", op cit.
125. Debt Management Office.

126. On Nigeria's energy resource endowments, see Nwoke, "An Overview of the Mismanagement of Nigeria's Energy Resources", op cit.
127. See Emaka Anuforo, "A Two-year Dream to Supply Power Going the Way of Other Promises", *The Guardian*, Dec. 4, 2009, pp. 22-23.
128. Stanley Opara, "Nigeria Enjoys Least Electricity Supply Among OPEC Members", <http://www.punching.com/busienss/business-economy/nigeria-enjoys-least-e...>, retrieved 24th March, 2013.
129. Nwoke, "An Overview...", op cit.
130. See Chibuzo N. Nwoke, *Critical Perspectives on Nigeria's International Economic Relations* (Ibadan: College Press, 2010).
131. Ibid.
132. Nwoke, "Infrastructural Decay..." op cit.
133. See Chibuzo N. Nwoke, "Towards a Knowledge Economy for Nigeria's Vision 2020: Leadership Lessons from South East Asia", Paper presented at a conference on: "Facilitating International Trade and Investment Towards Vision 2020 in Nigeria, organised by the NIIA, Lagos, March 31-April 2, 2009.
134. J. U. Umo "Towards Designing a Knowledge Strategy for Nigeria's Development", Presidential Address, 47<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the Nigerian Economic Society, Calabar, August 22nd-24th, 2006.
135. Ibid.
136. Ibid.
137. Nwoke, "Electoral Violence", op cit.
138. Most of these strategies were originally discussed in Chibuzo N. Nwoke "Foreign Policy and Economic Development in Nigeria: Critical Issues in Strategic Thinking", in Osita Eze, Ed, *Foreign Policy and Nigeria's Economic Development* (Lagos: NIIA, 2009). ch. 1.
139. See Chibuzo N. Nwoke, "The Potential Impact of the Economic Partnership Agreement on the Nigerian Economy", a paper presented at the MAN/NESG workshop on the EPA, Lagos, July 25, 2008; and my "Nigeria and the Challenges of the EPA", *Trade Negotiations Insight*, Vol. 7, No. 8, 2009.

140. Nwoke, "Towards a Knowledge Economy..." op cit.
141. Nwoke, " Nigeria and the Challenges of the EPA", op cit.
142. Nwoke, "Foreign Policy and Economic Development..." op cit.
143. Ibid.
144. Ibid.
145. Awa, op cit.
146. See "Rivers and the Shape of Things Unwanted", editorial piece in *The Guardian* July 22, 2013, p. 14.



College Press  
08036694838, 08022900793