

## RESOURCE CONTROL AND SECURITY CHALLENGES IN NIGERIA: A LOCKEAN REFLECTION

By

**DENNIS EJKEME IGWE, PhD**

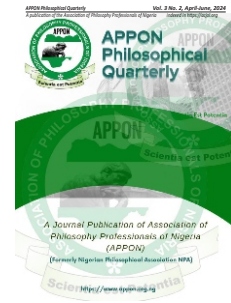
Department of Philosophy

University of Uyo

denco\_igwe@yahoo.com



Copyright: © 2024 by the authors. Submitted for possible open access publication under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>)



### ABSTRACT

This paper examines the resource control quandary in Nigeria from the perspective of John Locke with a view to suggesting a viable system that can mitigate the problems of resource control with its concomitant security challenges. Resource control has remained a recurring subject and perennial challenge for the Nigerian state, resulting into numerous agitations and conflicts. The agitations mostly come from the people of the oil producing regions who have suffered much harm as a result of oil exploration. The people of the region have suffered much injustice, alienation, exploitation, oppression, marginalisation and dehumanisation, yet, attempt to salvage this repulsive condition appears elusive. This has led to numerous conflicts, acrimony, restiveness and the rise of many armed groups, thereby posing a serious security threat to Nigeria. John Locke's political theory is adopted as a model in tackling the resource control imbroglio. This owes to its significance in social, political, ethical and legal discourses, ranging from natural rights, property right, freedom, equality, social contract to limited and representative government. Adopting the philosophical method of exposition and critical analysis, the paper contends that “Just Federalism” constitutes a viable theory that can robustly extenuate the problems of resource control with its concomitant security challenges facing Nigeria today; thus, ensuring the realisation of the desired “Unity and Faith, Peace and Progress”.

**Keywords:** Resource Control, Natural Resources, Security, Justice, Natural Rights, Federalism

### Introduction

Nigeria is a country blessed with abundant natural and human resources. With its great population, cultural, economic, and social grandeur, one would expect Nigeria to be a force to be reckoned with in global matters; a nation of superlative development; a place of peaceful coexistence and unity among its citizens, regrettably, this is not the case. The level of injustice, exploitation, marginalisation, nepotism, corruption, political and ethnic conflicts, lawlessness, judicial inconsistencies, kidnappings and

killings makes it appear as though there is no hope for a better Nigeria. The trajectory of agitations and problems in Nigeria is an apparent caveat that the nation is speedily degenerating into a failed state.

Among the major agitations and conflicts in Nigeria today, is that of resource control which has created much animosity, hatred, bitterness and division in Nigeria as well as led to the emergence of armed groups such as the Niger Delta Militants, Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force, Niger Delta Avengers, Movement for the Emancipation

of the Sovereign State of Biafra, Joint Niger Delta Liberation Force, The Red Scorpion and Niger Delta Greenland Justice Mandate, among others. The agitations are premised on the conviction of the agitators that the resources found in their territories rightfully belong to them, and so should be allowed to control the resources or at least offered an equitable share of the proceeds. Their agitations are also premised on the alienation, exploitation, oppression and environmental degradation they have suffered without due compensation.

John Locke was one thinker who expressed compelling and influential philosophical views regarding the state and its citizens. His thought has had enormous influence on social and political as well as moral thinkers of his time and our contemporary era. His political philosophy constitutes the foundation for democratic principles of which the rule of law, protection of rights, lives and properties, equality, freedom, justice and separation of powers are paramount. His ideas inspired the American Revolution and had enormous influence on the French Revolution and the Glorious Revolution that established parliamentary government in England a century before the American Revolution. Locke's theory, thus, is germane to the problem of resource control in Nigeria which borders on natural rights, property rights, justice, fairness and equity, among other ideals. This paper, therefore, aims at examining the resource control quandary in Nigeria from the perspective of John Locke with a view to suggesting a viable system that can mitigate the problems of resource control with its concomitant security challenges.

### **Nigeria and Resource Control**

Nigeria as a country was unified by the British colonial government. Its existence is

a product of the forceful amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates in 1914 by Lord Fredrick Lugard. Since Nigeria's creation, both the democratic and military regimes have encumbered the citizens with cruel conditions that violate their fundamental human rights and have failed to ensure peace, security and unity in the country. The failure of government to fulfil its mandate signalled a breakdown of law and order, peace and security in the country. Corruption, injustice, marginalization, oppression, nepotism, religious bigotry, and other vices have persisted till date, thereby, threatening the unity, peace and progress of the country. Sadly, these vices have given rise to various agitations, conflicts as well as armed groups

Underlying the agitations of most of these groups, particularly, in the Niger Delta, is the quest for resource control. This owes to the deep-rooted structural dysfunction evident in the unfair revenue sharing formula, environmental degradation, paltry compensation, and marginalisation experienced by these oil producing regions. Nigeria as a country is blessed with numerous natural resources, yet, has been unable to harness them for the well-being of its citizens and the country's desired development. These natural resources according to Aladeitan<sup>1</sup>, are gifts of nature and an endowment of comfort that makes the existence of mankind complete. Since natural resources can be used to create and increase the wealth of a nation or country, its ownership and control has become a subject of moral, legal, political and socio-cultural controversy because whoever controls them controls the environment. It is, thus, imperative, as some thinkers argue, that the wealth which is created through the ownership of these natural resources be distributed in a manner that guarantees a reasonable share for the locality from which they are produced.

---

<sup>1</sup>L. Aladeitan, L., "Ownership and Control of Oil, Gas and Mineral resources in Nigeria: Between Legality and Legitimacy", *Thurgood Marshall Law Review* 38, 2013.

natural resources popularly known as 'resource control' has remained a very sensitive and controversial issue that has significantly threatened the unity of the nation. The term is conceived differently by thinkers and politicians alike. As such, there's no generally accepted definition or meaning of the notion. Some consider it the total takeover or control of the resources located in a state by the people of those states, while others view it as the management of the greater portions of the resources found in a state by the stakeholders in that state<sup>2</sup>. Lawal views it as the practice of true federalism and natural law in which the federating units express their rights to privately control the natural resources within their borders and make agreed contributions toward the maintenance of common services of the sovereign nation-state to which they belong<sup>3</sup>. Henryik, on his part, defines it as the control and management of resources by state or local governments from whose jurisdiction the resources are extracted<sup>4</sup>. In spite of the various definitions given, the obvious fact is that the people of the region, state or community where the resources are found should have much control of the resources found in their region, state or community. Unfortunately, this is not the case. The 1999 constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria (Section 44, Subsection 3) vests the control and management of the natural resources absolutely on the federal government<sup>5</sup>.

Within the Nigerian polity, ownership

and control of the natural resources have generated crisis in the way and manner the financial proceeds are shared among the federating units of Nigeria in what is popularly called 'Revenue Allocation' which is tied to ownership and control of the natural resources. In Nigeria, the legal rights to own and control natural resources is on the Federal Government which exercises the maximum degree of formal control over mines and minerals, including oil fields, oil mining, natural gas and nuclear energy. Thus, ownership of natural resources in the Nigerian constitution translates into "State ownership" with the state (federal government) granting leases of oil wells/fields to private companies for mining operations which does not augur well with the oil producing areas.

Sadly, the non-producing regions are largely averse to the agitations of the people of the Niger Delta largely because the arrangement as presently constituted, favours them considerably. Many leaders of the North contend that the oil and gas found in the Niger Delta belong to all the thirty-six states of the federation, a view they do not express about the gold and other natural resources found in the North. Alhaji Abubakar Hashidu, a former Governor of Gombe State, for instance, is quoted by Egugbo to have said: "the territorial waters belong to the 36 states and the 774 local government areas of the country. Without the country, there will be no water; and without the country, states will not be in existence<sup>6</sup>." This view mirrors the mind-set of many northern leaders. Generally, there's

---

<sup>2</sup> F. O. N. Roberts & A. Oladeji, A., "Federalism and Resource Control Government in Nigeria: The Resource Control Palaver". In Monday Dickson and Samuel Asua. "The Politics of Resource Control in Nigeria: Agitation and Innovation". *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance* 8, no. 2 (2016).

<sup>3</sup> E. Lawal, "Revenue Allocation Processes as Antecedents to Politics of Resource Control in Nigeria federalism. In Hassan, A. Saliu et al (eds.), *The National Question and Some Selected Topical Issues on Nigeria* (Ibadan: Vantage Publishers Ltd., 2001), 21.

<sup>4</sup> B. Henryik, "Resource Control in Nigeria", (Retrieved on October 25, 2013), <http://www.henryiks2009.wordpress.com>

<sup>5</sup> Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999), Section 44, Sub-section 3.

<sup>6</sup> Chuks Egugbo, "Resource Control and Politics of Revenue Allocation in Nigerian

states regarding resource control agitation of the people of the oil producing regions. This attitude does not go down well with the people of the Niger Delta. It is in this regard that Sagay, according to Egugbo, lamented: “the attitude of the non-oil producing states toward the plight of the coastal states during the hearing of the resource control case was unsympathetic and horrible<sup>7</sup>.”

### **Security Challenges**

Undoubtedly, Nigeria is faced with huge security challenges which have impeded her development. These challenges which constitute threat to the lives and properties of the citizens of Nigeria, have greatly slowed down business activities and discouraged investors both local and foreign. As a result, Nigeria's economic growth is highly impeded. These challenges, ranging from Militancy, Boko Haram menace, Banditry, Armed Robbery, Kidnapping, Fulani Herders-Farmers clashes and Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) agitation, among others, have remained a great concern for the government of Nigeria and have engulfed huge amount of resources; yet, the challenges persist and appear insurmountable.

Militancy, common in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria resulted into the kidnapping of expatriates and oil workers as well as vandalism of pipelines and oil bunkering. The region has experienced numerous security challenges such as Ogoni crisis, Ijaw unrest, and Bonny conflict. Militant groups thrived. Oil workers were unsafe as many were kidnapped and forced to pay some ransom. Numerous pipelines were blown up and oil theft flourished, leading to huge drop on oil production. Agitations still persist till date as the people of the Niger Delta are still aggrieved that the region is yet to have due response from the government and the oil companies. Many

communities such as Andoni, Bille, Emohua, Okirika and Ibaa are experiencing serious environmental problems as a result of oil spillage, water pollution and gas flaring. Many groups, therefore, are seeking for justice which has resulted into serious security breach in the Niger Delta.

It does appear as though there is no hope in sight for the country. However, it is strongly believed that quelling these seeming insurmountable security challenges really demands devolution of power at the centre. States and local communities appear helpless in fighting security challenges owing to the centralisation of power as witnessed in Nigeria today. States and local communities depend on the federal government for maximum security given the limited power at their disposal.

### **Locke's Political Theory**

John Locke's political philosophy is an attempt to establish the theoretical base for the establishment of an ideal civil society and government which will promote security, liberty and well-being of the people that form the society and government. In his *Two Treatises of Government*, Locke theorises how to establish an effective social contract in the society; how to determine when the social contract is violated; how to protect the social contract and the best way to deal with abuses of social contract by the government. He establishes a foundation for a liberal mandate that includes representative and limited government that guarantees basic civil liberties<sup>8</sup>. Locke refuted the theory of the “divine right of kings” – a political doctrine in defence of monarchical absolutism – the political doctrine and practice of unlimited centralised authority and absolute sovereignty as vested in a monarch or dictator believed to derive their authority

<sup>7</sup> Chuks Egugbo, *Resource Control*, 197.

<sup>8</sup> Dennis E. Igwe, “Modern Social and Political Philosophy”, Nwankwor, Iks J. and Igwe, Dennis E, *Introductory Discourse on Sociopolitical Philosophy*, (Anambra: Excel Prints, 2024), 88.

from God and therefore, not accountable to his fellow man. But Locke argued against the doctrine and held that all persons are endowed with natural rights to life, liberty, and property and those rulers who failed to protect those rights may be removed by the people by force if necessary<sup>9</sup>.

Locke proposes his theory of property right in his *Second Treatise of Government*. The theory is premised on the laws of nature which permit individuals to appropriately exercise control over natural and material resources. Locke had a deep-seated conception of political theory construed from the principle of self-ownership and the corollary rights to own property which is based on his view that a man earns ownership over a resource when he mixes his labour with it<sup>10</sup>. Locke claims that the civil society was created for the protection of property. Accordingly, he states, “The chief end of men uniting into commonwealth and putting themselves under government is the preservation of property<sup>11</sup>”. In saying this, Locke relies on the etymological root of 'property', *proprius* (Latin) meaning that which is one's own, including oneself. Thus, by 'property', he means life, liberty and estate. Locke, thus, justifies the ownership and acquisition of private property which according to him is a natural right. The right to private property constitutes the foundation of Locke's political philosophy, summarizing how each man relates to God and other men.

Locke believes in a prohibition on harming others, and this stems from his more basic belief that “each individual has a

property in his own person<sup>12</sup>”. In other words, individuals are self-owning. This notion or principle of “self-ownership principle” constitutes the foundation of libertarian conception of justice<sup>13</sup>. Locke believed that determining the proper role of government would allow humans to flourish as individuals and societies, both materially and spiritually because God gave man the ability to reason. The freedom that a properly executed government provides for humanity amounts to the fulfilment of the divine purpose for humanity. Thus, according to John Locke, the moral order of natural law is permanent and self-perpetuating<sup>14</sup>. Governments are only factors contributing to that moral order.

Locke argued that government exists, specifically, for the welfare of the community. And any government, therefore, that fails in this responsibility can be substituted. The community, therefore, has a moral obligation to revolt against or replace any government that fails to fulfil its mandate. In Locke's view, men have equal natural rights to life, liberty and property. These rights are unchangeable and inviolable for they are derived from the law of nature established by God. The state of nature for Locke, is a moral state in which natural law dictates peace and preservation. It is a moral condition with a natural law that commands peace, enjoining that no one should harm another person in his life, liberty or possessions<sup>15</sup>.

### Evaluation

The situation in Nigeria with regard to property right and resource control has been

<sup>9</sup> J. Dunn, *The Political Thought of John Locke: A Historical Account of Argument of the 'Two Treatises of Government'*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

<sup>10</sup> John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, Rod Hay (ed.), (London: Thomas Tegg, 1823), 116.

<sup>11</sup> John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Co. Inc., 1952), 11.

<sup>12</sup> John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, 116.

<sup>13</sup> Dennis E. Igwe, “Marxism and Self-ownership: Assessing Cohen”, *Sapientia: Journal of Philosophy* 12, (2020), 14.

<sup>14</sup> Dennis E. Igwe, “Natural Rights as 'Nonsense Upon Stilts': Assessing Bentham”, *International Journal of Arts and Sciences* 8, no. 3 (2015), 380.

<sup>15</sup> D. E. Igwe, *Philosophy: Origin, Development and Relevance*. (Abuja: BricksCom Publishers. 2022).

regions is for a fair share in revenue allocation, considered achievable only where some autonomy in resource control is enshrined in the constitution. According to Okonkwo, the Niger Delta people remain aggrieved and have maintained that the land and natural resources that are found within the Ijaw territory belong to the Ijaw communities and are the basis of their survival<sup>16</sup>. The Niger Delta regions' agitation for resource control demands the abolition of the Petroleum and Land Use Acts and a review of the Nigerian constitution. The problem of resource control has engendered lack of trust, peace and unity. The question then, is, how do we fix this problem in order to live in peace and make the desired progress? The answer, I think, lies in "Just Federalism" of which resource control is a formidable part. By just federalism, I mean fair, equitable, unprejudiced and impartial political and economic arrangement in which government powers are shared between the federal government and the federating units such that the federating units are treated equitably and given control of the natural resources located in their regions or communities, retaining 55% of the resources and remitting 15% and 30% to the federal government and other federating units, respectively. With this arrangement, the regions will be strong enough to directly deal with the various challenges – economic, social, political, security, electricity, and so on, confronting them.

It is worthy of note that before 1970, the era of Nigeria's oil boom, the derivation principle was used by the federal government to allocate revenues to the regions of the federation. Basically, the formula used was 50% to the producing

region, 35% to other regions and 15% to the federal government. The Northern region of Nigeria, for instance, that was rich in Groundnut, Cotton, Tin Ore, etc., had 50% of the revenues allocated to them. Similarly, the Western region that was rich in Cocoa had 50% of the revenue. The Eastern region that was rich in Coal and Palm Oil had 50% of the revenue allocated to them. Other regions of the federating unit had 35% while 15% went to the federal government<sup>17</sup>. Unfortunately, by 1970 when there was oil boom in the Eastern region of Nigeria, the derivation was changed by the federal government and Onshore-Offshore dichotomy instituted. In this unfortunate arrangement, the federal government has absolute ownership of the oil produced offshore "while that produced onshore would attract a paltry 1–2 per cent royalty to the producing states"<sup>18</sup>. Again, the federal government included population size and state equality in the allocation of resources. This additional arrangement ensured that the region with more population would have more states, thereby having more share of the oil revenues than the others. These developments did not go down well with the oil producing regions. As a result, there was much clamour for fair distribution of oil revenues in favour of the oil producing regions. In response, the federal government, in 1978, under the leadership of General Olusegun Obasanjo, enacted the Land Use decree which gave the federal government absolute ownership of all lands in Nigeria. "This also meant that all natural resources that came with the land belonged to the federal government, controlled by the Hausa and Yoruba"<sup>19</sup>.

The agitations of the oil producing regions and the federal government's

<sup>16</sup> Theodore Okonkwo, *Ownership and Control of Natural Resources under the Nigerian Constitution 1999 and Its Implications for Environmental Law and Practice*, (Port Harcourt: UP Press, 2017).

<sup>17</sup> Tom Mbeke-Ekanem, *Beyond the Execution: Understanding the Ethnic and Military Politics in Nigeria*, (Lagos, Harmony Publishing, 2000), 16.

<sup>18</sup> Tom Mbeke-Ekanem, *Beyond the Execution*, 17.

<sup>19</sup> Tom Mbeke-Ekanem, *Beyond the Execution*, 19.

Nigeria's resource control imbroglio with its attendant security challenges. Locke, as already noted, held that civil society was established for the protection of property of which land and natural resources are part. Thus, before the establishment of civil society, traditional societies existed. The implication of this is that the lands including the natural resources found in them were already owned by the original owners before the emergence of any nation or state. In the case of Nigeria whose amalgamation was in 1914, the lands rightfully belonged to the various communities in which they were found before the amalgamation. After the amalgamation, the British laid claim to and controlled the natural resources found in Nigeria through the Mineral Oil Ordinance enacted in 1914 by Lord Lugard to secure easy administration over mining and oil rights; thus making it a wholly British concern<sup>20</sup>.

The constitution of Nigeria (1999) also failed to correct the injustice in the control and sharing of the proceeds of the natural resources. The constitution establishes "the federation account" wherein all revenues collected by the federal government shall be paid (Section 162, Subsection 1). It further provides that proposals for revenue allocation from the Federation Account shall be tabled before the National Assembly by the president upon the receipt of advice from the Revenue Mobilisation Allocation and Fiscal Commission (Subsection 2). In determining the formula,

the National Assembly shall take into account, the allocation principles especially those of population, equality of States, internal revenue generation, land mass, terrain as well as

population density: Provided that the principle of derivation shall be constantly reflected in any approved formula as being not less than thirteen per cent of the revenue accruing to the Federation Account directly from any natural resources<sup>21</sup>.

The above shows clearly that contrary to the derivation principle of pre-1970, population of states, land mass, terrain and equality of states have been inserted in favour of the larger ethnic groups. Again, 13% constitutes the benchmark as opposed to the era of 50% to the producing region. The implication of the 13% benchmark is that it may not increase insofar as the law did not go beyond the stipulated percentage and the oil producing regions cannot successfully challenge it without the amendment of the constitution. There is, therefore, a need for constitutional amendment to raise the benchmark to a reasonable per cent – 55%. This should also apply to all natural/mineral resources in all states of the federation including the gold mined in some Northern states of the federation which other states are not benefitting from.

From Locke's theory, some views are deducible which are germane and have some implications for Nigeria's resource control quagmire. First, is what I consider the 'property right' principle predicated on the laws of nature which allows individuals to exercise control over natural resources in their domain. In his view of private property, Locke, as observed by Igwe, "believes that we produce goods by mixing our labour power and talents with elements of the material world, and by mixing, we automatically own those modified elements<sup>22</sup>." As earlier noted, communities

---

<sup>20</sup> P. O. Okonnah, "Rights to Clean Environment: The Case for the People of Oil Producing Communities in the Niger Delta", *Journal of African Law* 4 (1997).

<sup>21</sup> Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999), Section 44, Sub-section 2.

<sup>22</sup> Dennis E. Igwe, "On the Moral Repulsiveness of Taxation: Assessing Nozick", *UNIUYO Journal of Humanities*, 19, 1 (2015).

amalgamation of 1914. The people of these communities have been actively involved in activities such as farming, fishing and hunting in their lands, seas and forests, respectively. Thus, they have been mixing their labour with their endowed natural resources before the coming of the colonial masters. The land, seas, and forests, thus, rightfully belong to them as their property in accordance with Locke's stipulation. Unfortunately, the amalgamation which took place without the consent of the people and the 1999 constitution forcefully took the resources away from the rightful owners.

The second deducible idea from Locke's theory is the 'harm principle' in which individuals in the civil society ought not to be harmed. Regrettably, the people of the oil producing regions have suffered much harm ranging from depletion and destruction of the ecosystem, environmental pollution and degradation, poisoning of the waters, lands and the atmosphere, leading to numerous diseases such as Cancer, Stroke, Asthma, Typhoid, Hookworm, Hepatitis, Dysentery, Cholera, Diarrhoea, Polio, and Acute Lower Respiratory Infections in children. The harm the oil producing regions have suffered is grave and irreparable. They are exploited and alienated from the resources which belong to them. Just as the worker in Marx's philosophy who "only serves as instrument of goal realisation<sup>23</sup>" for the capitalist, the people of the Oil Producing regions serve as instruments of profit maximization for the ruling class. It is, therefore, imperative that an equitable system – "Just Federalism" be instituted to compensate for the continued harm.

The 'Consent Principle' is another idea deducible from Locke. Locke averred that a civil society is democratic by nature. The consent of the people is a sine qua non in the formation of a civil society and establishment of government<sup>24</sup>. Locke

denounces authoritarianism which he argued is a pervasion of government. The case of the oil producing regions is really abysmal. Their consent is treated flippantly. The disappointing acclaimed compensations to these regions are either done without their free consent or with the consent of a few selfish and self-serving stakeholders from the regions that are puppets to the government. The 13% derivation formula was instituted without their consent; the onshore-offshore dichotomy was established against their wish; the mineral oil ordinance was imposed contrary to their wish; the 1999 constitution which gave all lands and territorial waters to the federal government was imposed against their desire. The government's authoritarian posture runs contrary to the democratic postulates of Locke. The outcome being conflict, hatred, dissention, injustice, restiveness, and violence experienced in the region. With these in place, the country will hardly experience peace and meaningful progress. It is against this backdrop that a 'Just Federalism' is proposed for Nigeria which provides for the consent of the people of the federating units to be sought before enforcement.

Here, it is noted that true federalism which many thinkers agitate for, may not necessarily favour the minorities given that the voices of the majority will undoubtedly, overshadow theirs in already established federalism/true federalism. A case, therefore, of dictatorship of the majority is obviously in place since the minorities are only a small fragment of the federating units. Just federalism contends that the voices of the minorities must be heard and their consent sought with respect to the mineral resources found in their various communities before a federal system is said to be just. The import of this suggestion is that a true federalism is not necessarily just,

<sup>23</sup> Dennis E. Igwe, *Karl Marx: Ideas, Life & Lessons*, (Abuja: Estonia Media, 2022), 200.

<sup>24</sup> John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, 146.



given that the interests of the minority may not be protected or their consent sought as the case with Nigeria's federalism. The minorities are submerged in the will of the majority.

Welfare Principle is another idea evident in Locke's theory. Locke held that government exists for the welfare of the people. The condition of the people of the oil producing regions shows that their welfare is not well taken care of. This calls for serious worry and attitudinal change towards their well-being. Many of them still live in poverty and squalor. Some of the communities lack good roads. Some still travel by boat; yet, a small percentage of the resources generated from the region can build good bridges to alleviate their sufferings. Many are still unemployed or underemployed. Many farmers have lost their means of livelihood owing to the depletion and destruction of their farmlands emanating from oil exploration. Some children are not in school due to poverty. Those who have graduated have many among them still roaming the streets in search of jobs. No wonder there are much agitations and resentments against the government as well as the rise of armed groups. Truly, the condition of the people of the oil producing regions is disheartening.

Adequate inclusion of the people of the region at the top echelon of the oil sector is imperative. The oil sector is dominated by people from the non-oil producing regions who lack adequate knowledge of the condition and plight of the people of the oil producing regions. More so, the headquarters of the oil companies are not in the oil producing regions. Thus, they are far from the people and would hardly

understand their predicament.

The proposal for just federalism covers all natural/mineral resources in Nigeria. Regrettably, most of them are not harnessed owing to overdependence on oil and gas, and this has grossly impeded the economic growth of the country which by extension has adversely affected other sectors. All the states of the federation are endowed with rich mineral resources which can sustain and develop them.

It might be important to remind us or bring to our knowledge that during the colonial era, the various regions developed on the natural resources controlled by them. The Northern region, for instance, which was and is rich in groundnut and other agricultural products, exported groundnut which was used to develop the region. The regional government led by Sir Ahmadu Bello, from the proceeds of the groundnut export was able to build the Bank of the North, the Ahmadu Bello University, etc., which aided the development of the region<sup>25</sup>. The Western region led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, from the proceeds of Cocoa export, funded a free primary education policy as well as established the first television network in the country. The Eastern region led by Dr Michael Okpara, from the proceeds of Palm Oil, made possible the establishment of the African Continental Bank and the University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

No state in Nigeria today, is without natural resources which can sustain and adequately develop it. Below is a list of Nigerian states (including the FCT) and their natural resources as put forward by the Raw Materials Research and Development Council, Abuja:

---

<sup>25</sup> Okwudiba Nnoli, *Ethnic Politics in Nigeria*, (Enugu: Fourth Dimensions Publishing Company Limited, 1978).

	<b>STATES</b>	<b>MINERAL RESOURCES</b>
1	ABIA	Gold, Lead/Zinc, Limestone, Oil/Gas & Salt
2	ABUJA	Cassiterite, Clay, Dolomite, Gold, Lead/Zinc, Marble & Tantalite
3	ADAMAWA	Bentonite, Gypsum, Kaolin & Magnetite
4	AKWA IBOM	Clay, Lead/Zinc, Lignite, Limestone, Oil/Gas, Salt & Uranium
5	ANAMBRA	Clay, Glass-Sand, Gypsum, Iron-ore, Lead/Zinc, Lignite, Limestone, Phosphate & Salt
6	BAUCHI	Gold, Cassiterite (tine ore), Columbite, Gypsum, Wolfram, Coal, Limestone, Lignite, Iron-ore & Clay
7	BAYELSA	Clay, Gypsum, Lead/Zinc, Lignite, Limestone, Maganese, Oil/Gas & Uranium
8	BENUE	Barite, Clay, Coal, Gemstone, Gypsum, Iron-Ore, Lead/Zinc, Limestone, Marble & Salt
9	BORNO	Bentonite, Clay, Diatomite, Gypsum, Hydro-carbon, Kaolin & Limestone
10	DELTA	Clay, Glass-sand, Gypsum, Iron-ore, Kaolin, Lignite, Marble & Oil/Gas
11	EBONYI	Gold, Lead/Zinc, Salt, Limestone, Ball clay, Gypsum, Granite, Iron ore, Refractory clay
12	EDO	Bitumen, Clay Dolomite, Phosphate, Glass-sand, Gold, Gypsum, Iron-ore, Lignite, Limestone, Marble and Oil/Gas
13	EKITI	Clay, Feldspar, Granite, Kaolin, Syenite & Atium, Bauxite, Columbite, Quartz, Limestone, Cassiterite
14	ENUGU	Coal, Lead/Zinc, Limestone, Crude oil, Lateritic clay, Kaolinic clay, Ball clay, Iron ore, Glass sand, Gypsum, Silica sand, Ceramic clay
15	GOMBE	Gemstone, Gypsum, Graphite, Kaolin, Limestone, Silica sand, Uranium, Coal, Clay
16	IMO	Gypsum, Lead/Zinc, Lignite, Limestone, Marcasite, Oil/Gas, Phosphate & Salt
17	CROSS RIVER	Barite, Lead & Zinc, Lignite, Limestone, Manganese, Oil/Gas, Salt & Uranium
18	JIGAWA	Butylene, Amethyst, Aqua Marine, Asbestos, Clay, Flosper, Gemstone, Gold, Graphite, Kaolin, Hyanite, Mica, Rock Crystal
19	KADUNA	Ruby, Sapphire, Sihnite, Superntinite, Tentlime, Topaz & Tourmaline
20	KANO	Gassiterite, Copper, Gemstone, Glass-sand, Lead/Zinc, Pyrochinre & Tantalite
21	KATSINA	Kaolin, Marble & Salt
22	KEBBI	Gold, Salt, Iron Ore, Feldspar, Limestone, Quartz, Bauxite, Clay, Manganese, Kaolin, Mica
23	KOGI	Cole, Dolomite, Feldspar, Gypsum, Iron-ore, Kaolin, Marble, Talc & Tantalite, Cassiterite, Columbite, Feldspar, Gold, Iron-ore, Marble, Mica
24	KWARA	Clay, Kaolin, Silica sand, Quartz, Dolomite, Marble, Feldspar, Gold, Tantalite, Cassiterite, Granite, and Limestone
25	LAGOS	Bitumen, Clay, Silica sand, Sharp sand, Gravel, Petroleum, Laterite, Columbite, Coal, Dolomite/Marble, Amethyst (Topaz Garnet), Barytex, Barite, Cassirite, Chalcopyrite

26	NASSARAWA	Feldspar, Galena, Iron-ore, Limestone, Mica, Salt, Sapphire, Talc, Tantalite, Quartz, Tourmaline, Zircon
27	NIGER	Gold, Lead/Zinc, Talc, Ball clay, Kaolin, Limestone, Granite, Glass sand, Iron ore, Red clay, Feldspar, Graphite, Cyanite, Silica sand, Quartz, Marble, Gemstone
28	OGUN	Bitumen, Clay, Feldspar, Gemstone, Kaolin, Limestone & Phosphate, Bitumen, Clay, Coal, Dimension Stones, Feldspar, Gemstone, Glass-Sand, Granite, Gypsum, Tar Sand, Limestone, Quartz
29	ONDO	Marble, Oil/Gas, Gold, Gemstone, Clay, Diorite, Lignite
30	OSUN	Columbite, Gold, Granite, Talc, Tantalite & Tourmaline, Quartz
31	OYO	Aqua Marine, Cassiterite, Clay, Dolomite, Gemstone, Gold, Kaolin, Marble, Silimonite, Talc & Tantalite
32	PLATAEU	Barite, Bauxite, Betonite, Bismuth, Cassiterite, Clay, Coal, Emeral, Fluoride, Gemstone, Granite, Iron ore, Kaolin, Lead/Zinc, Marble, Molybdenite, Phrochlore, Salt, Tantalite/Columbite, Tin & Wolfram
33	RIVERS	Oil/Gas, Clay, Glass-Sand, Lignite, Marble, Silica sand
34	SOKOTO	Clay, Flakes, Gold, Granite, Gypsum, Kaolin, Laterite, Limestone, Phosphate, Potash, Silica Sand & Salt
35	TARABA	Lead/Zinc, Fluorspar, Gamet, Tourmaline, Sapphire, Zircon, Tantalite, Columbite, Cassiterite, Barite, Galena, Gypsum, Limestone, Laterite, Bauxite, Pyrite, Magnetite
36	YOBE	Soda Ash, Tintomite, Clay, Gypsum, Kaolin, Silica sand, Uranium, Limestone, Iron ore, Epsomite, Trona, Shale, Granite, Bentonitic clay
37	ZAMFARA	Gold, Coal, Cotton, Granite, Chromite

From the above, it could be seen that all the states of the federation are endowed with natural/mineral resources capable of sustaining and developing them., thus, making Nigeria a force to be reckoned with in global matters.

### **Conclusion**

Humans are endowed with natural resources and rights which must be respected by the government in line with Locke's stipulation for a peaceful coexistence, unity and meaningful development. Resource control in Nigeria which has remained a contentious subject can be successfully handled and managed by the federal government if it is sincere in upholding the principles of justice, fairness and equity. There is, therefore, a need for attitudinal change on the part of the federal government and non-oil producing states. The oil producing

regions have economically sustained this nation for decades with their God-given natural resources. It is, therefore, imperative that all states of the federation also contribute meaningfully to the economic growth of the nation through their mineral resources. More so, resource control should be upheld whereby the federating units control greater percentage of the mineral proceeds as proposed. This will obviously make all states of the federation develop at a great speed and also reduce the overbearing powers of the federal government. It will further reduce conflict, acrimony, alienation, exploitation, marginalisation, dehumanisation, injustice, and other vices as presently experienced in Nigeria and ultimately promote 'unity and faith, peace and progress'.

## References

- Aladeitan, L. "Ownership and Control of Oil, Gas and Mineral resources in Nigeria: Between Legality and Legitimacy". *Thurgood Marshall Law Review* 38 (2013).
- Dunn, J. *The Political Thought of John Locke: A Historical Account of Argument of the 'Two Treatises of Government'*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.
- Egugbo, Chuks. "Resource Control and Politics of Revenue Allocation in Nigerian Federation". *International Journal of Arts and Humanities* 5 (2016).
- Federal Republic of Nigeria. *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria* (1999).
- Henryik, B. "Resource Control in Nigeria". <http://www.henryiks2009.wordpress.com> Retrieved on October 25, 2013.
- Igwe, Dennis E. *Karl Marx: Ideas, Life & Lessons*. Abuja: Estonia Media, 2022.
- Igwe, Dennis E. "Marxism and Self-ownership: Assessing Cohen". *Sapientia: Journal of Philosophy* 12 (2020).
- Igwe, Dennis E. "Natural Rights as 'Nonsense Upon Stilts': Assessing Bentham". *International Journal of Arts and Sciences* 8, no. 3 (2015).
- Igwe, Dennis E. "On the Moral Repulsiveness of Taxation: Assessing Nozick". *UNIUYO Journal of Humanities* 19, no. 1 (2015). Uyo.
- Igwe, D. *Philosophy: Origin, Development and Relevance*. Abuja: BricksCom Publishers, 2022.
- Lawal, E. Revenue Allocation Processes as Antecedents to Politics of Resource Control in Nigeria federalism. In Hassan, A. Saliu et al (eds.). *The National Question and Some Selected Topical Issues on Nigeria*. Ibadan: Vantage Publishers Ltd, 2006.
- Locke, John. *Two Treatises of Government*. Rod Hay (Ed.). London: Thomas Tegg, 1823.
- Locke, John. *Second Treatise of Government*. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Co., Inc., 1952.
- Mbeke-Ekanem, Tom. *Beyond the Execution: Understanding the Ethnic and Military Politics in Nigeria*. Lagos: Harmony Publishing, 2000.
- Nwankwor, Iks J. and Igwe, Dennis E. *Introductory Discourse on Sociopolitical Philosophy*. Anambra: Excel Prints, 2024.
- Okonkwo, Theodore. *Ownership and Control of Natural Resources under the Nigerian Constitution 1999 and Its Implications for Environmental Law and Practice*. Port Harcourt: UP Press, 2017.
- Okonnah, P. O. "Rights to Clean Environment: The Case for the People of Oil Producing Communities in the Niger Delta". *Journal of African Law*, 4 (1997).
- Nnoli, Okwudiba. *Ethnic Politics in Nigeria*. Enugu: Fourth Dimensions Publishing Company Limited, 1978.
- Raw Materials Research and Development Council (2022). "Nigerian States and their Natural Resources". <https://nigerianembassythe Hague.nl/about-nigeria/natural-resources/> (Retrieved on 19<sup>th</sup> March 2022).
- Roberts, F. O. N. & Oladeji, A. (2005). "Federalism and Resource Control Government in Nigeria: The Resource Control Palaver". In Monday Dickson and Samuel Asua. "The Politics of Resource Control in Nigeria: Agitation and Innovation". *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance*, 7, no. 2 (2016).