



NIGERIOLOGY **POLITICS AND** **NATIONAL** **DEVELOPMENT**

Leke Alder

Principal, Alder Consulting

**THE MASTER'S ACADEMY ENTERPRISE
AND LEADERSHIP EXECUTIVE CLASS**
The Master's Place Int'l Church
Warri, Delta State

Thursday, August 2nd, 2018

© Leke Alder 2018

NIGERIOLOGY: POLITICS AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

I want to thank you for inviting me to deliver this lecture on politics and national development. The subject has been my focus for some months now. I'm trying to put a few ideas out there, make solutions available to alter the national paradigm. If I'm lucky some of the solutions will be implemented in my life time. But if not the next generation has a working blueprint.

There is the belief for example that Nigeria's problems are unsolvable, that the problems are too many and too large. It's almost as if the nation is too large for us to administer. Travel down any major highway and you'll see degradation, chaos and anarchy. There's nonchalance and individual sovereignty. Everyone does whatever he likes. As government intervenes in one area, problems spring up in other areas. Drive down Lagos-Ibadan expressway and you'll get a sense of what I'm talking about. There are shanties all over the place, refuse dumps like mountains. There's dirt, unhygienic situations and poverty. Trailers are parked anyhow. The expressway is destroyed. Police have lost control and seem interested in only one thing. Entropy seems to reign everywhere.

Our country is only 923,768 sq.km. It is nowhere as large as:

- a. Russia - 17,098,242 sq.km
- b. Canada - 9,984,670 sq.km
- c. America - 9,826,675 sq.km
- d. China - 9,596,960sq.km
- e. Brazil - 8,514,877sq.km

Our population is nowhere near that of China - 1.4B or India - 1.35B, or even America - 326,941,277M. And yet those countries are well governed. What is lacking is the application of management science to our problems. There is no

application of intellectual rigour in our approach to management. We're very fond of palliatives.

Because of non-application of management science we've produced poverty in a nation that should never know poverty. Unlike many nations of the world Nigeria had start-up capital, still has working capital. Nigeria has 52 mineral resources. Look at the list: Coal, Lignite & Coke, Gold, ColumbiteWolframite& Tantalite, Bitumen, Iron Ore, Uranium, Marble, Clay, Cassiterite, Dolomite, Salt, Kaolin, Bentonite, Gypsum, Magnesite, Lead/Zinc, Limestone, Glass-Sand, Phosphate, Amethyst (violet), Berytes, Gem stones, Diatomite, Hydro-carbon (crude oil and gas), Feldspar, Tatum, Granite, Syenite, Marcasite, Butytes, Sapphire, Serpentinite, Asbestos, Kyanite, Graphite, Silhnite, Mica, Aqua marine, Ruby, Rock Crystal, Topaz, Flosper, Tourmaline, Prochinre, Copper, Talc, Beryl (emerald), Haliodor, Quartz, Zireon, Galena, Barytes, Chalcopyrite, Dimesion stones, Sillimnote, Tin, Phrochlore, Bismuth, Fluoride, Molybdenite, Bauxite, Silica-sand, Potash, Flakes, Soda Ash.

Singapore never had such privilege.

They gained independence in 1965 with a population of 1.887M. The nation had a small domestic market, and high levels of unemployment and poverty. 70 percent of Singapore's households lived in badly overcrowded conditions. A third of its people squatted in slums on the city fringes. Average unemployment rate was 14%, GDP per capita was US\$516. Half of the population was illiterate and they have no natural or mineral resources. Even water was scarce.

Today, Singapore is a highly developed free market economy. The economy is ranked as the most open in the world, 7th least corrupt country in the world, most pro-business, has the third

highest per-capita GDP in the world in terms of purchasing power parity.

Nigeria is not working

The evidence things are not working is all around us:

1. There's violence. There's insecurity. No nation can develop without security.
2. We can't pay salaries.



3. The youths have no job.

Youth unemployment rate



Nigeria's youth
population
61.3M
(3rd quarter of 2017)



Number of
employed youths
42.1M



Number of
unemployed youths
19.2M

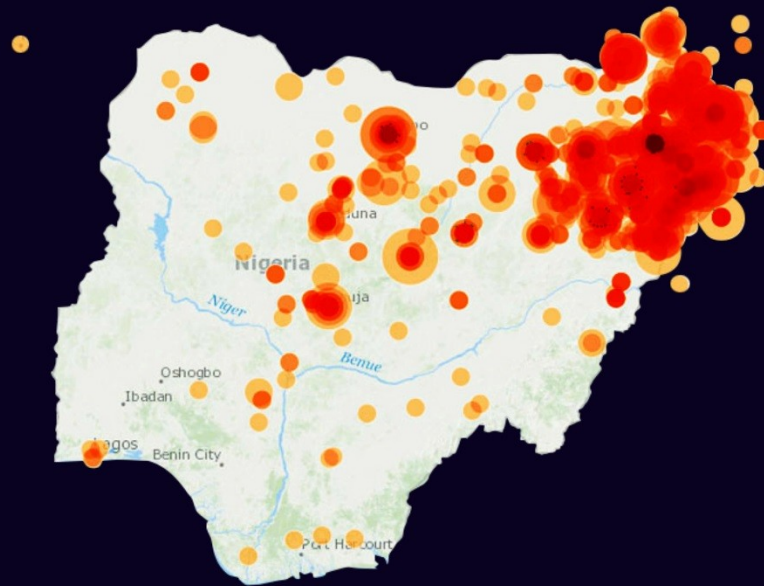


Unemployment rate
33.1%

Source Trading Economics/Daily Trust

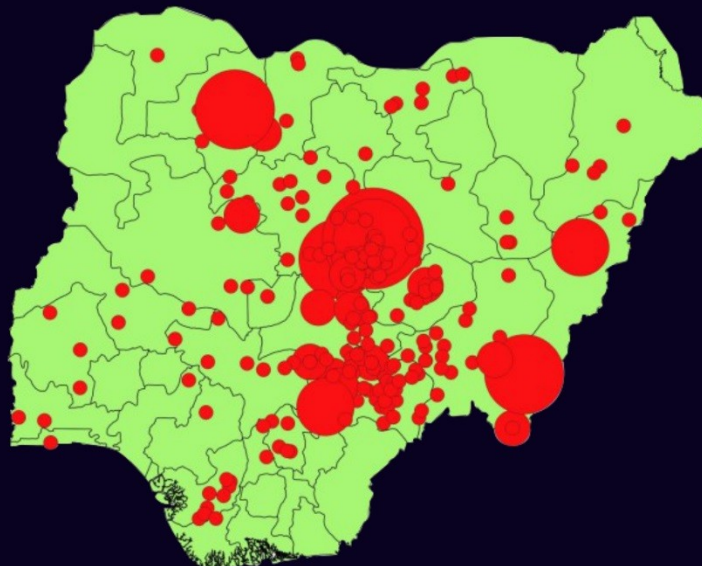
4. There's hegemonic tendency and distrust all around. In pursuance of our identity politics each tribal grouping has a "sociocultural" organisation. These organisations are actually political megaphones. Arewa People's Congress, Afenifere, Ohaneze, Ijaw National Congress etc.
5. Each tribal group has a sponsored ethnic militia - OPC, Bakassi Boys, MEND, Niger-Delta Avengers, MASSOB etc.
6. There are terrorist attacks all over.
Boko Haram was rated the deadliest terrorist organisation in the world by Institute of Economics and Peace (IEP), through its Global Terrorism Index but it is incomparable to "Fulani Herdsmen."

Boko Haram attack



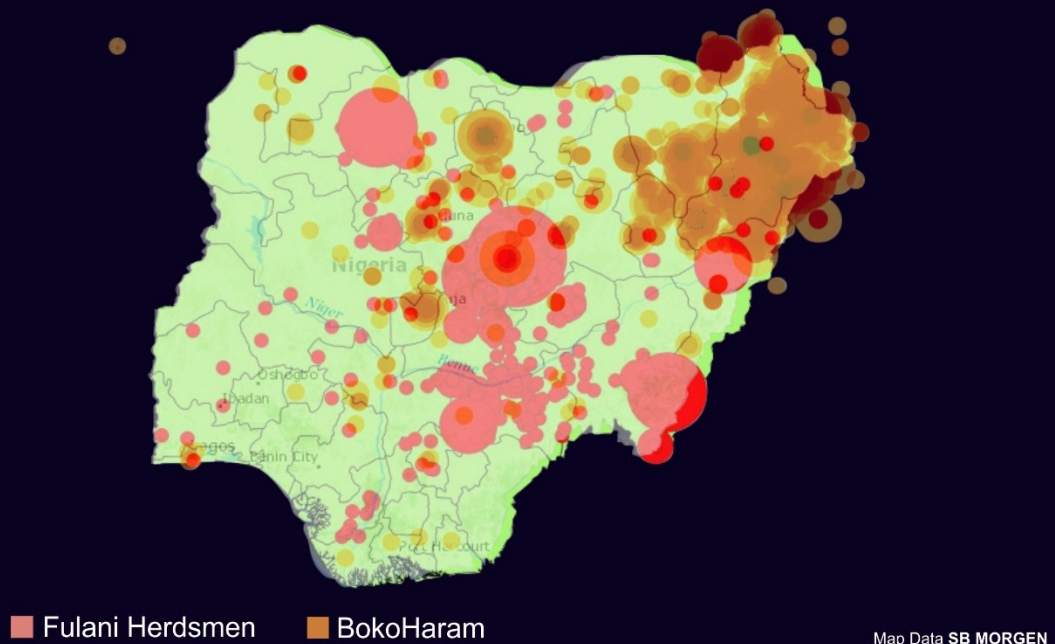
Map Data AlJazeera

Fulani Herdsmen attack



Map Data SB MORGEN

Correspondence



7. Government is bloated and too expensive to maintain. The people obviously are not getting dividends of democracy.

Bloated government expenditure 2017



 **N125bn**
Aggregate Expenditure

Senate 109
House of Representatives 360

Source National Assembly/Punch Newspaper

Budget correspondence

National Assembly



N125bn

Total number
of Legislators

469



N266,524,520

per Legislator

Education



N605bn

Total number of
students in Nigeria
(Primary, Secondary and Tertiary)

78M



N7,756

per Student

Source UNESCO

8. Poverty is hampering development of democracy.
In Ekiti votes are being sold for the price of four days work. The price has gone up since the last election. In that election votes were sold for the price of a meal. The Bible calls the selling of sacred rights profanity.
9. The educational system is run down. There are cults all over- Pyrate Confraternity, Buccaneers Confraternity, Black Axe, Supreme Vikings Confraternity, Supreme Eiye Confraternity, etc. And there's perceived injustice in the admission system to federal universities. Besides it's most inefficient. The universities still conduct own examination.

Education statistics 2017



1,736,571

Number of candidates who sat for UTME



550,357

Number of candidates who got admitted into higher institutions



1,186,214

Number of candidates who did not gain admission

UTME University Tertiary Matriculation Examination

Source Vanguard Newspaper

10. The gap between the rich and poor is widening. There's regulatory capture of important sectors of the economy. A few people have cornered the finance market. 350 Nigerians and their businesses owe a whopping N4.3 trillion, that is 80% of the N5.4 trillion debt profile of AMCON, an amount which is over 50 per cent of the 2018 budget of Nigeria.
11. The security services prey on the people. Police extort money from the poor on a massive revenue scale. That economy is millions of naira daily.
12. There's a high illiteracy rate despite 58 years of independence. Nigeria has about 65-75 million illiterates.
13. There's little infrastructure to drive the economy. The infrastructure is outdated. Power is epileptic despite the pouring of billions of dollars into energy generation. We

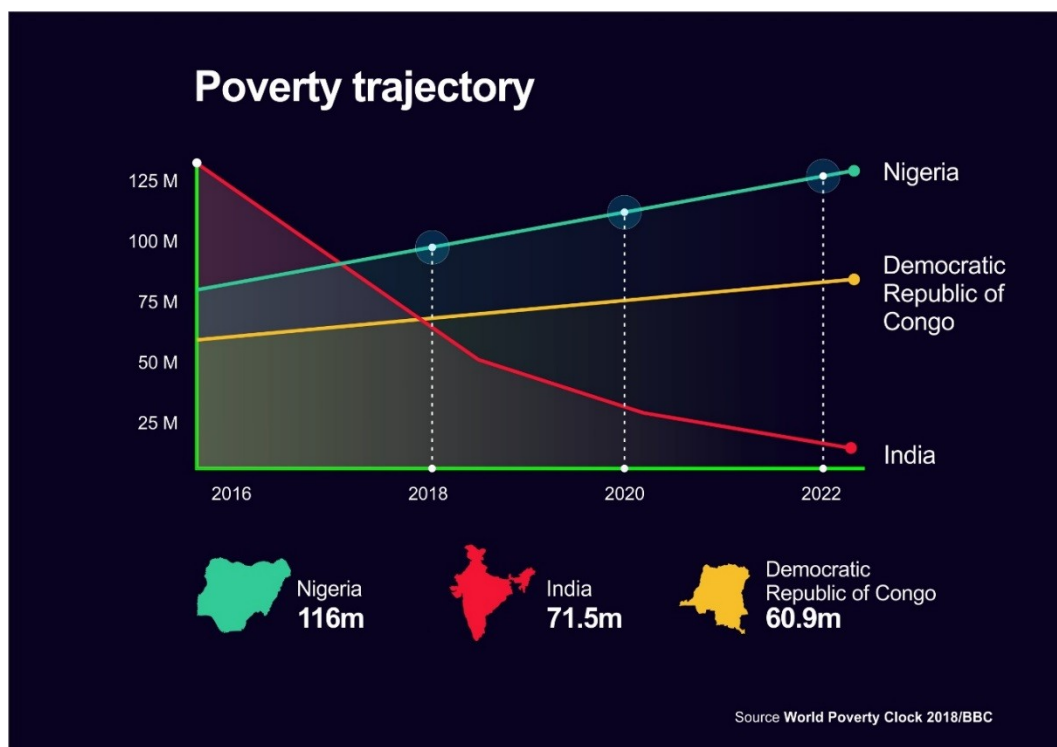
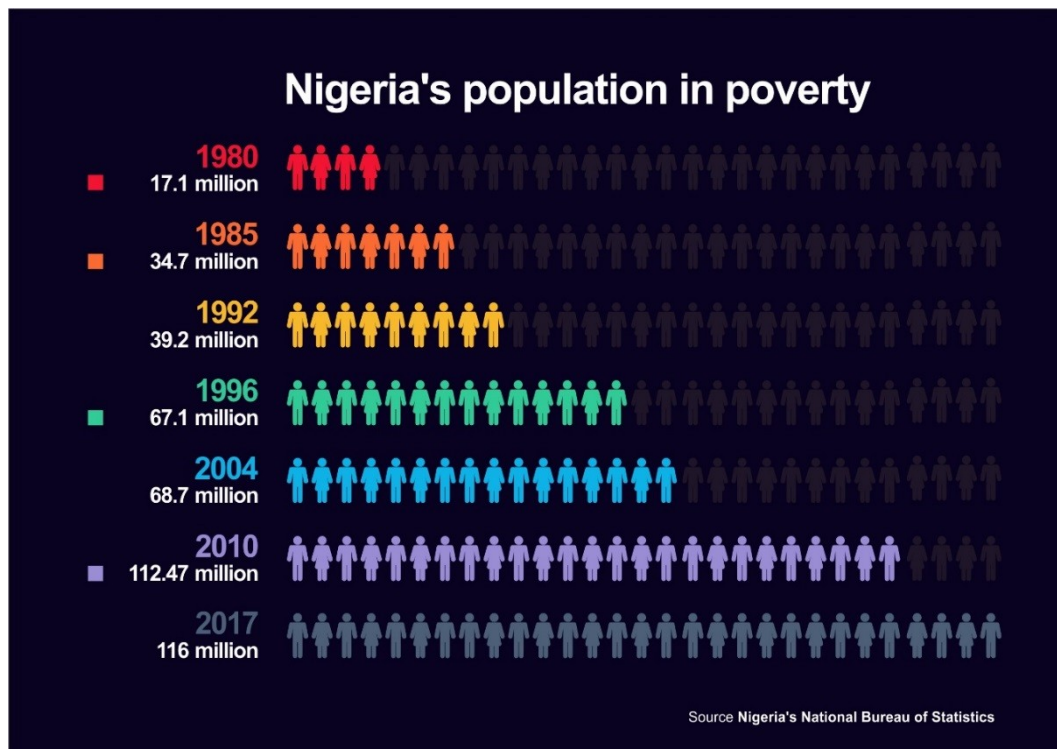
need to generate 160,000 megawatts to meet the country's power needs. We're now at 7,124MW with a transmission of 5,500MW.

14. There are agitations all over and cries of marginalisation. And there are injustices and inequities.
15. There was a civil war. It consumed 2million civilian lives and 100,000 soldiers. June 12 took us to the brink of another.
16. There are separatist agitations. Cf. IPOB.
17. It is difficult to do business in Nigeria.



18. Poverty is climbing.

The greatest proof Nigeria is not working is the excruciating poverty. Look at the figures and trends.



Population in poverty

Nigeria



Total population **195.8M**
Poverty rate **116M**
61%

Kenya



Total population **60M**
Poverty rate **14.7M**
24.5%

Democratic Republic of Congo



Total population **84M**
Poverty rate **60.9M**
72.5%

Ethiopia



Total population **107.5M**
Poverty rate **23.9M**
22.23%

Tanzania



Total population **59M**
Poverty rate **19.9M**
33.73%

Mozambique



Total population **30.5M**
Poverty rate **17.8M**
58.36%

Source World Poverty Clock 2018/BBC

Population in poverty

Uganda



Total population **44.2M**
Poverty rate **14.2M**
31.13%

Bangladesh



Total population **166M**
Poverty rate **17M**
10.24%

Indonesia



Total population **266.7M**
Poverty rate **14.2M**
5.32%

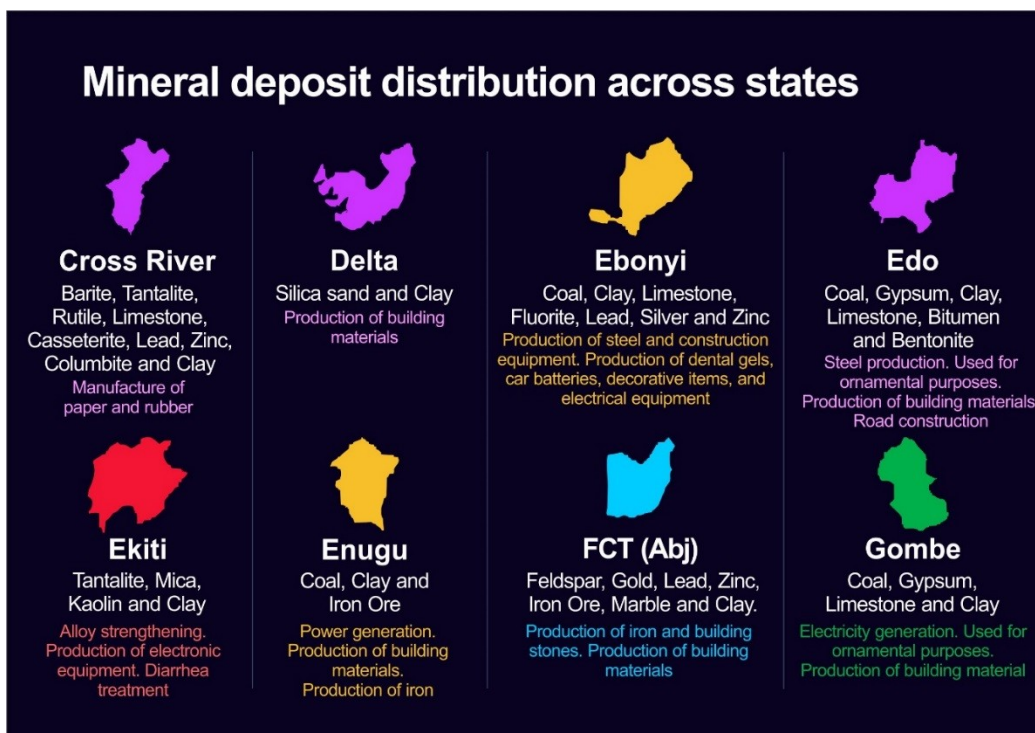
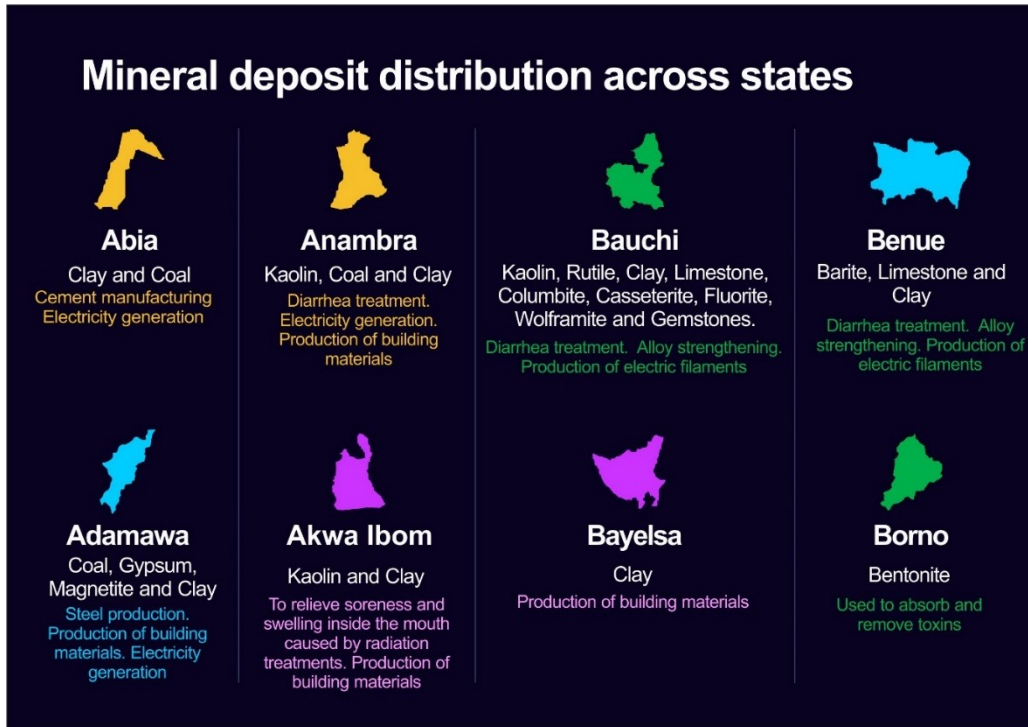
India



Total population **1.35B**
Poverty rate **71.5M**
5.3%

Source World Poverty Clock 2018

But we can industrialise our way out of poverty.
 Fortunately benevolence has given us the endowment to
 create an industrial economy. EVERY state in Nigeria is
 blessed with mineral resources.



Mineral deposit distribution across states



Imo

Kaolin, Coal and Clay
Alloy strengthening
Production of electronic equipment. Diarrhea treatment. Building material



Jigawa

Silica Sand and Clay
Glass manufacturing.
Production of building materials



Kaduna

Rutile, Talc, Feldspar, Gold, Clay, Columbite, Kyanite, Bismuth, Wolframite and Gemstones.
Paint production.
Electronics. Road construction. Armor-piercing. Ammunition. Jewelry production



Kano

Coal, Feldspar, Silver, Cassiterite, Wolframite and Clay.
Paint production.
Electronics. Road construction. Armor-piercing. Ammunition. Jewelry or other adornments



Katsina

Kaolin, Gold, Manganese and Clay
Diarrhea treatment.
Jewelry production



Kebbi

Kaolin, Feldspar, Gold, Clay and Manganese
Diarrhea treatment.
Jewelry production



Kogi

Tantalite, Coal, Mica, Talc, Feldspar, Clay, Bentonite, Iron Ore, Limestone and Marble
Cement production. Alloy strengthening
Production of electronic equipment. Diarrhea treatment. Production of decorative items



Kwara

Tantalite, Mica, Gold, Columbite, Clay, Cassiterite, Marble and Gemstones
Alloy strengthening.
Production of electronic equipment, and decorative items

Mineral deposit distribution across states



Lagos

Silica Sand, Bitumen and Clay
Glass manufacturing.
Production of building materials



Nassarawa

Mica, Barite, Clay, Columbite, Cassiterite, Iron Ore, Lithium, Wolframite, Marble and Gemstones
Alloy strengthening.
Production of electronic equipment



Niger

Talc, Gold, Clay, Lithium, Kyanite, Wolframite and Gemstones
Alloy strengthening
Production of electronic equipment. Diarrhea treatment. Jewelry production



Ogun

Kaolin, Gypsum, Quartz, Limestone, Mica, Glass Sand, Feldspar, Clay, Bitumen and Phosphate
Glass manufacturing. Alloy strengthening
Production of electrical filament. Diarrhea treatment



Ondo

Kaolin, Silica Sand, Bitumen, Bentonite and Clay
Glass manufacturing.
Alloy strengthening. Production of electronic equipment. Diarrhea treatment. Aircraft fuel



Osun

Mica, Gold and Clay
Alloy strengthening
Production of electronic equipment.



Oyo

Mica, Marble, Clay and Gemstones.
Alloy strengthening
Production of electronic equipment. Diarrhea treatment. Jewelry production



Plateau

Kaolin, Coal, Rutile, Columbite, Clay, Cassiterite, Fluorite, Lead, Molybdenum and Gemstones
Alloy strengthening
Production of electronic equipment. Diarrhea treatment. Jewelry production

Mineral deposit distribution across states



Rivers

Kaolin and Clay
Diarrhea treatment . Production of building materials



Sokoto

Limestone, Phosphate and Clay
Production of building materials.
Fertilizer production



Taraba

Barite, Phosphate and Clay
Production of building materials
Fertilizer production



Yobe

Diatomite, Silica Sand,
Gypsum and Clay
Alloy strengthening.
Production of electronic equipment.



Zamfara

Barite, Feldspar, Gold, Lead, Zinc,
Clay, Iron Ore, Lithium, Manganese
and Wolframite
Electricity production. Glass and ceramics
production. Production of decorative items.
Armor-piercing ammunition. Building
materials

Mineral deposit distribution across economic zones

north economic zone

31



Kaolin

Coal

Mica

Rutile

Gypsum

Iron Ore

Limestone

Magnetite

Lithium

Columbite

Silica Sand

Marble

Cassiterite

Talc

Lead

Fluorite

Feldspar

Molybdenum

Wolframite

Gold

Phosphate

Gemstones

Kyanite

Diatomite

Barite

Bismuth

Zinc

Clay

Silver

Bentonite

Manganese

Mineral deposit distribution across economic zones

middle belt economic zone

23



Tantalite	Mica	Coal	Barite
Columbite	Clay	Talc	Bentonite
Marble	Cassiterite	Molybdenum	Iron Ore
Rutile	Gemstones	Kaolin	
Gold	Fluorite	Zinc	
Wolframite	Lead	Kyanite	
Limestone	Lithium	Feldspar	

Mineral deposit distribution across economic zones

south east economic zone

9

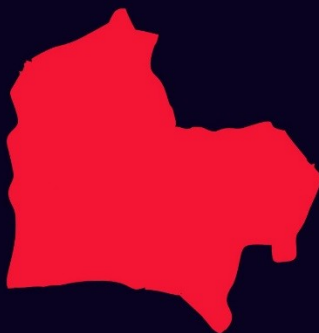


Clay	Lead
Coal	Fluorite
Limestone	Silver
Zinc	Iron Ore
Kaolin	

Mineral deposit distribution across economic zones

south west economic zone

18



Tantalite	Mica	Phosphate
Gold	Kaolin	Clay
Columbite	Gypsum	Feldspar
Limestone	Gemstones	Bitumen
Glass Sand	Quartz	
Marble	Bentonite	
Casseterite	Silica Sand	

Mineral deposit distribution across economic zones

south south economic zone

13



Coal	Tantalite
Gypsum	Casseterite
Limestone	Zinc
Bitumen	Columbite
Bentonite	Kaolin
Silica sand	Clay
Barite	

We need to create the industries that need these minerals by encouraging private sector investment so we can create jobs and export products.

However, a more fundamental way to create prosperity is to restructure our federation and turn it into economic engine. The greatest problem we have is poverty.

When a country is plagued by perennial issues that seem to defy solution it has to be a structural alignment problem. We can't seem to fashion a workable formula that takes into cognisance the multiculturalist dimension of the federation.

Nigeria is a nation of nations. It's made up of more than 300 tribes. Tribal identities run deep. We've tried to bleach away those tribal identities to produce a synthetic generation but that has been an utter failure. All the institutions devoted to that endeavour have failed magnanimously. Think JAMB, even NYSC.

Our multiculturalism wouldn't be a problem if we knew how to fashion a federal republic. When a country is multi ethnic, multicultural and multi religious in nature management science dictates a federal system of admin is the ideal solution.

Our inability to create a working federalist system has produced grinding poverty. Poverty multiplies hopelessness and desperation across the land. It is largely responsible for the endemic corruption in the country. That's not saying we do not have a values challenge but the chief reason we have endemic corruption is because we have endemic poverty. We need a prosperity formula.

The answer lies in the prosecution of economically focused federalism. Unfortunately the word federalism has been barstardised. It's been reduced to mere agitation for state

police and a more equitable revenue sharing formula. These are not fundamentals. They're progressives. We need to focus on fundamentals. And for that we need intellectual rigour. We must take a conceptual approach. If we want to drive administrative efficiency that delivers prosperity to the people we must reimagine Nigeria.

To develop the nation and create prosperity for the people Nigeria should be broken into seven economic regions - Northwest, Northeast, Middle Belt, South East, South West, South South and Lagos. (Though one must note there's really nothing called South South on the compass. It's a peculiar Nigeria invention, but it will do.) These seven economic zones will be progressed thematically.

Note I said economic regions and not political regions. Political regionalism has not delivered prosperity to the people. That's because it's hegemonic. When the people demanded fairness we ended up over-creating states. We never thought of economic viability. Barely 6 out of 36 states are economically viable. We have produced massive poverty.

Poverty rate per state



Zamfara
91.9%



Yobe
90.2%



Jigawa
88.4%



Bauchi
86.6%



Kebbi
86.0%



Sokoto
85.3%



Katsina
82.2%



Taraba
77.7%

■ South West ■ North ■ Middle Belt ■ South East ■ South South

Source The United Nations' Global Multi-Dimensional Poverty Index 2015

Poverty rate per state



Gombe
76.9%



Kano
76.4%



Borno
70.1%



Niger
61.2%



Benue
59.2%



Adamawa
59.0%



Kaduna
56.5%



Ebonyi
56.0%

■ South West ■ North ■ Middle Belt ■ South East ■ South South

Source The United Nations' Global Multi-Dimensional Poverty Index 2015

Poverty rate per state



Nassarawa
52.4%



Plateau
51.6%



Cross River
33.1%



Oyo
29.4%



Bayelsa
29.0%



Enugu
28.8%



Ondo
27.9%



Kogi
26.4%

■ South West ■ North ■ Middle Belt ■ South East ■ South South

Source The United Nations' Global Multi-Dimensional Poverty Index 2015

Poverty rate per state



Ogun
26.1%



Delta
25.1%



Akwa Ibom
23.8%



Kwara
23.7%



FCT (Abj)
23.5%



Rivers
21.1%



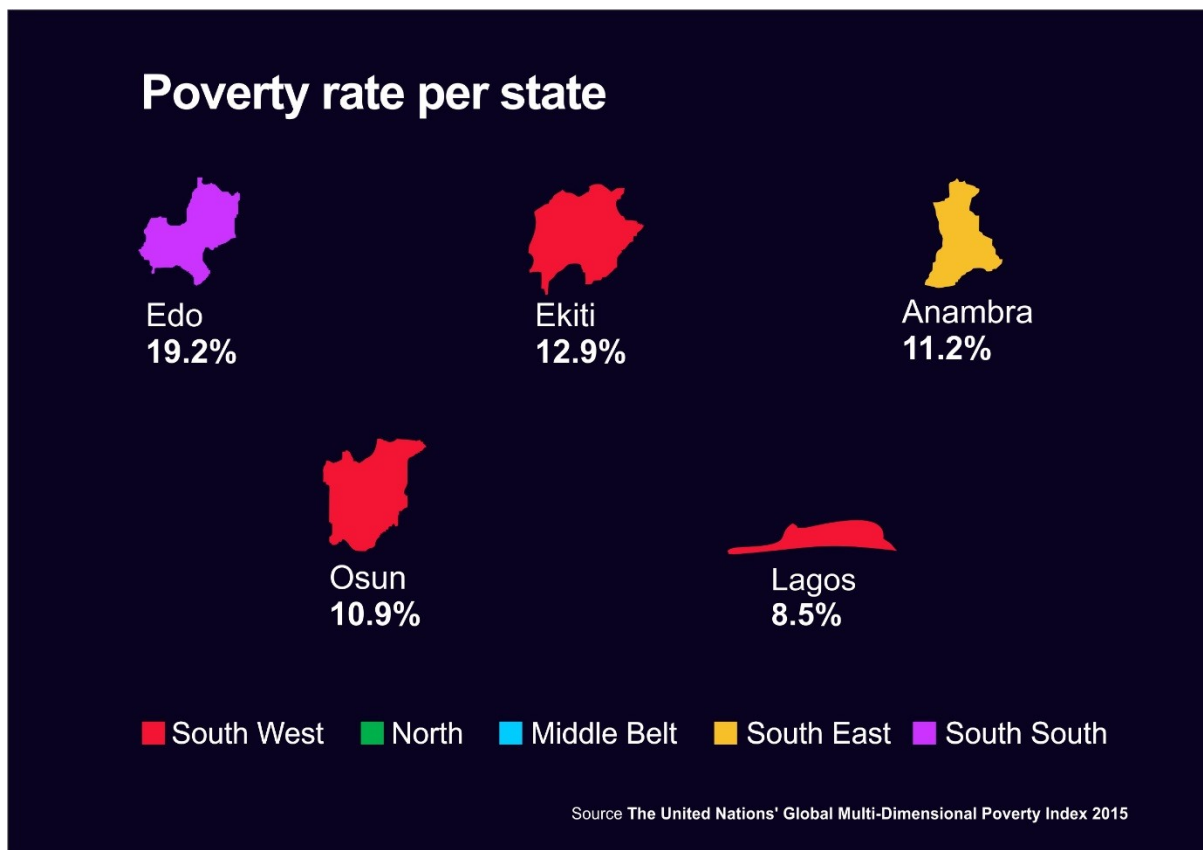
Abia
21.0%



Imo
19.8%

■ South West ■ North ■ Middle Belt ■ South East ■ South South

Source The United Nations' Global Multi-Dimensional Poverty Index 2015



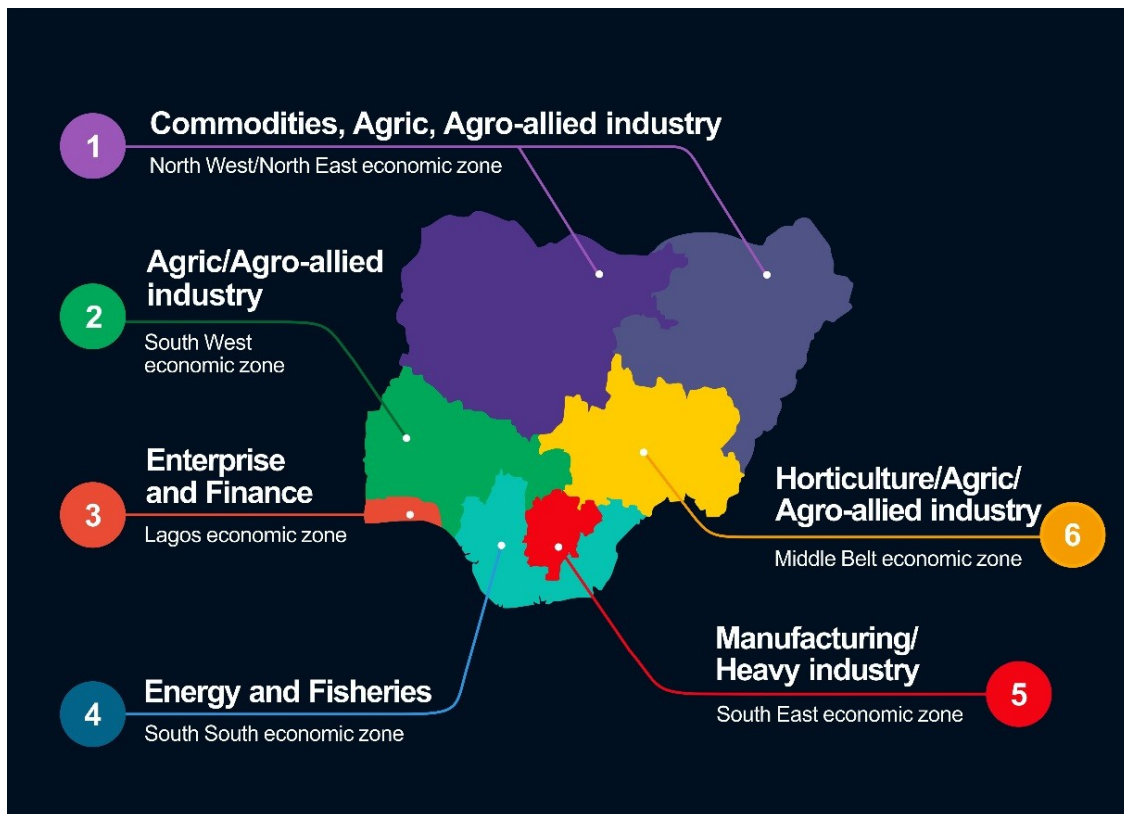
Very few states have the economic heft to do development. They're hardly investible propositions. It's why we need economic zones.

But to develop an economy for each zone we must take into cognisance nativist factors in each economic region. Each region is unique. The people are different. Their mentalities, giftings and orientations are different. A one cap fits all approach has never worked, will never work. You cannot effectively develop the nation without factoring in local realities. The attempt will fail. You cannot have economic development without consideration of human factor. We must think of the people, the culture, the natural resource endowment as well as the energy base endowment if we want to develop each region. It is unintelligent to have the same energy policy for a sun drenched region and a water-logged region. The North should be running on solar energy not carbon based energy system. They should be driving Teslas in the North not petrol guzzlers.

The reason several attempts at industrialisation have not succeeded is because we didn't factor in the variables.

My proposition therefore is what I term nativist federalism.

Everything must follow the economic logic we devise. I propose we turn the federation into 7 economic zones.



This will be the economic base of the federation. For our economic vision to generate sustainable development we must factor in the logic of each zone, which means we take into cognisance not just the natural endowment of each region but also the climatic condition as well as the natural bend of the people in each region.

Nativist federalism factors in regional endowment, competitive advantages as well as the proclivity of the people of a particular region. Each region is peculiar in terms of resources, weather

condition, mineral endowment, cultural and human inclination. The people in the North are not like the people in the East. The people in the East are not like people in the West. The people in the West are not like people in the South South. And the people in the South are not like the people in the Middle Belt. This is the reality called Nigeria. That is the strength of Nigeria. It's not her disadvantage. There's a reason every attempt to manufacture a national car has come from the East. Clearly Easterners are engineering inclined. We leave it to anthropologists to tell us why but the reality we see is Eastern proclivity for engineering and manufacturing. Nativist federalism insists we must take that factor into account.

Let me illustrate.

The dominant tribe in eastern Nigeria are the Igbos. Igbos are known for inventiveness, entrepreneurship, dedication and hard work. These are nativist factors. It makes sense to leverage these factors to create an economy for the East. One would therefore expect that the East becomes the manufacturing hub for Nigeria, and by extension Africa. The reasoning is simple. That is the natural bend of the people. It's like a child. If your child is science inclined you don't force him to become a lawyer. If he's arts inclined you don't force him to become an engineer. You leverage his bend. Same principle applies to federalist nation building.

In economically progressing the nativism of Igbo land the cultural and personality traits of the people must be factored in. For example, the East has developed a successful proprietary business mentoring system that has worked for over 40 years. After a period of service the mentee gets seed funding to start his own business. This system is so successful it has minted many millionaires. We need to domesticate that system into a

science. It's a complete system. It teaches the values of discipline, hard work and delayed gratification. Trade knowledge and contacts are also passed on under this mentoring system. We must leverage on this mentorship programme and scale it up to develop the East. There's Silicon Valley model, there's Aba model. Abarism, or the Eastern method of business mentoring must be developed into business science.

The educational policy must follow the logic of the East. And so one would expect the universities in the East to be focused on engineering, manufacturing, industrial design, industrial relations. Other courses can be offered but these will be the strategic courses. In pursuance of this there'll be linkages with universities with industrial design strength, like Loughbrough in the UK. The jet engine was developed at Loughbrough.

For that manufacturing hub to fructify however the East will need a port. The port is necessary infrastructure. There's a port in Port Harcourt, therefore there must be rail link between Aba and Port Harcourt. This will carry cargo. Eastern export should be done through Port Harcourt, not Lagos.

Without power there can be no manufacturing. The East has an abundance of coal. There's also River Niger. The energy system should therefore be based on clean coal and hydro power. The steel industry in Aladja must be linked to the East by rail. Aladja is a main source of raw material. Our rail systems must be strategic. We cannot afford a political rail system that genuflects at the altar of "federal character". It is a waste of resources. Our primary focus ought to be economic. Cargo ferries are needed for the East as well.

The East can and should become a heavy industry manufacturing hub servicing the whole of Africa. Supportive

industries and specialisations will naturally arise when we have a policy focus. That policy focus will drive health care. For example the hospitals in the East will specialise in industrial health medicine. So will the colleges of medicine.

The East should be manufacturing armour vehicles for the Army, tractors for agriculture, excavators for the building industry, and cars for Nigeria. This logic of development flows from the natural endowment of the people, as well as the geography of the East. Nativist federalism insists there must be relational integrity between human endowment and natural resource endowment. In that way we take care of human capacity development and regional development in one stroke.

Our vision will be to turn the East into Taiwan or China. Initially the world will laugh at us, just as they laughed at Taiwan, just as they laughed at China. But along the way we will introduce branding into the mix and set standards for the goods manufactured. We will create an advertising campaign along this line:

SOUTH EAST NIGERIA VERY WELL MADE IN ABA

Nigeria
Seven Economic Zones
One Beautiful Nation

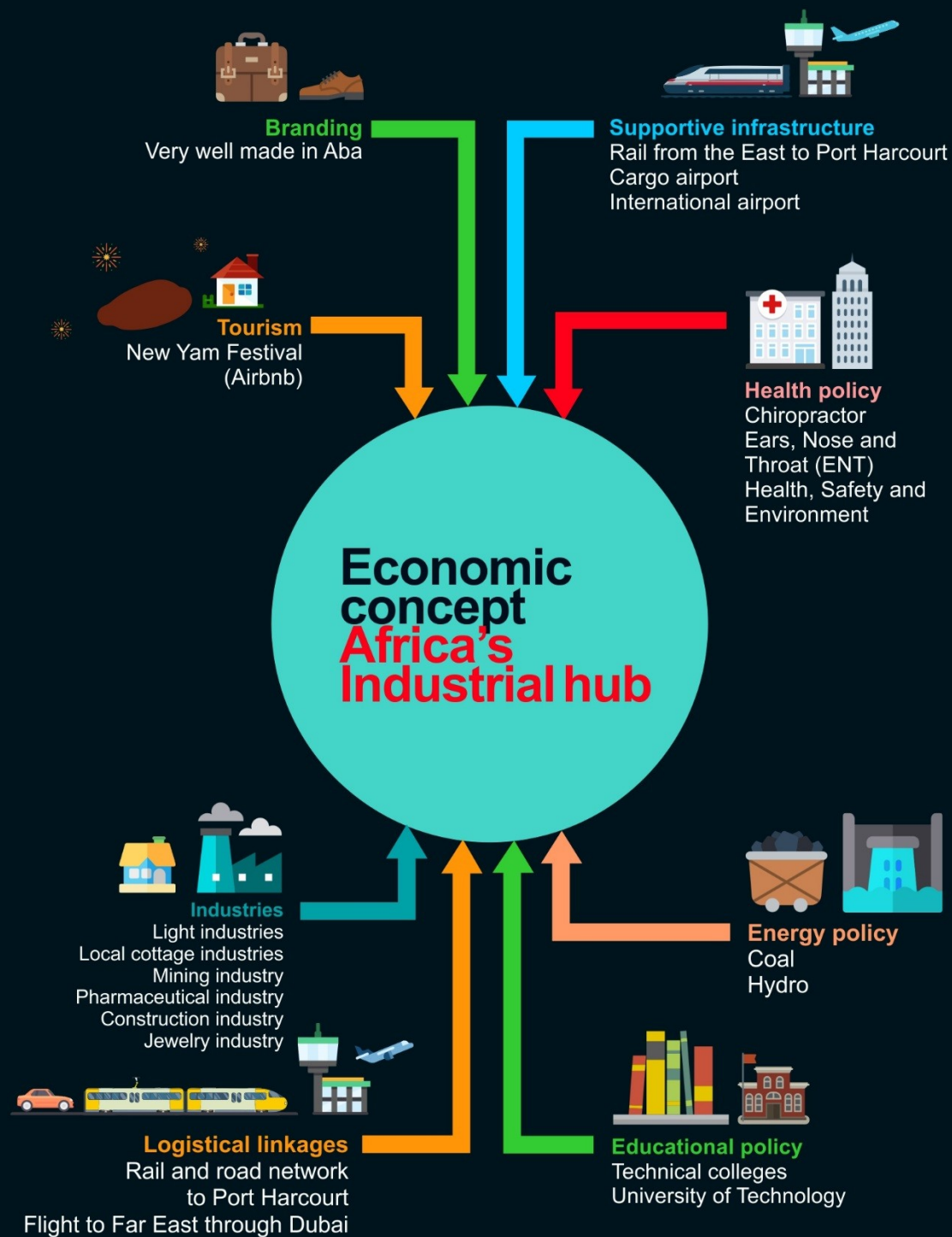


© Copyright reserved 2018

www.investnigeria.com

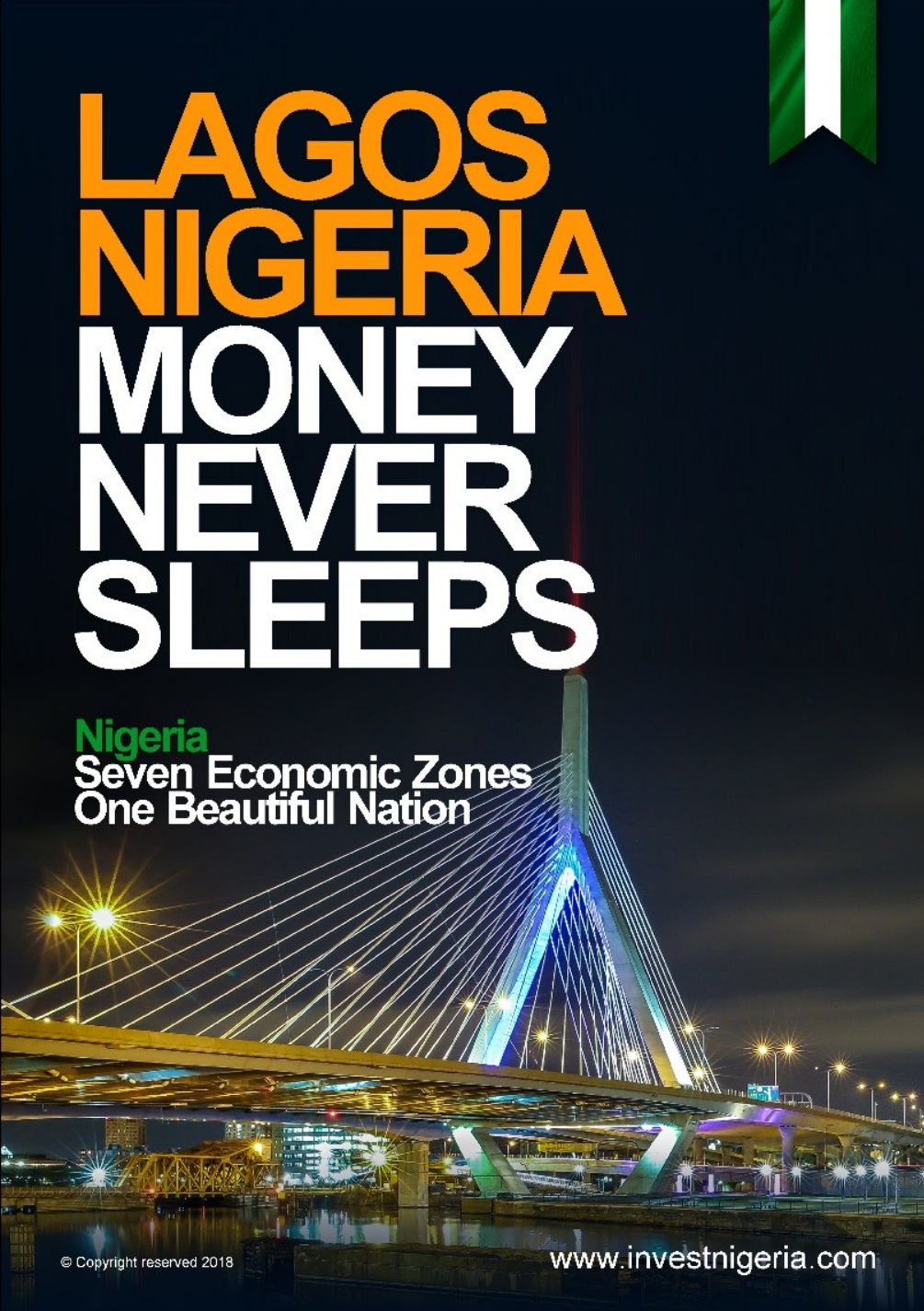
The matrix of the East economic zone is diagrammatically represented in this chart:

south east economic zone



© Copyright reserved 2018

Lagos will be the finance and enterprise hub. What London is to Europe, Lagos will be to Africa. It will rely on wind energy and hydro power from the Atlantic.



**LAGOS
NIGERIA**
**MONEY
NEVER
SLEEPS**

Nigeria
Seven Economic Zones
One Beautiful Nation

© Copyright reserved 2018

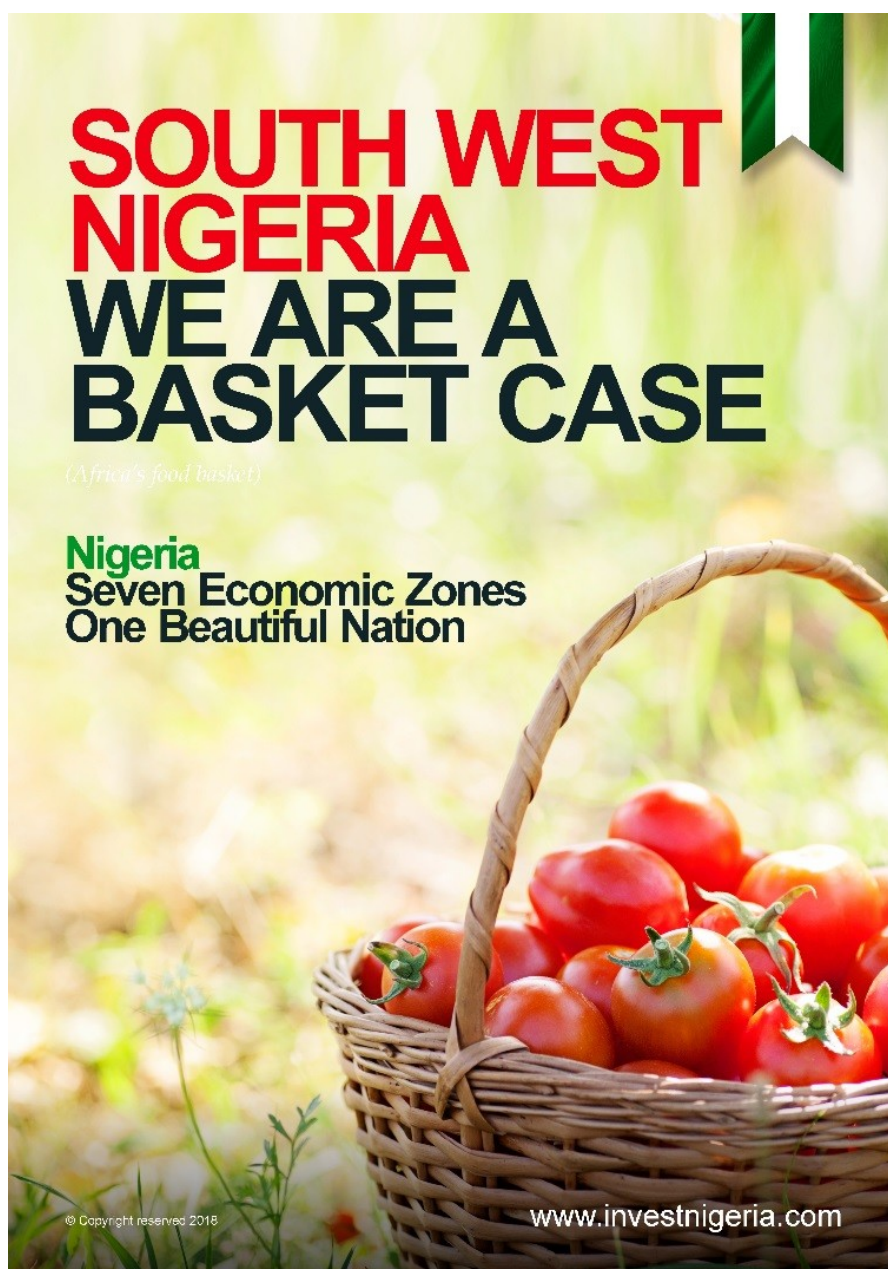
www.investnigeria.com

lagos economic zone

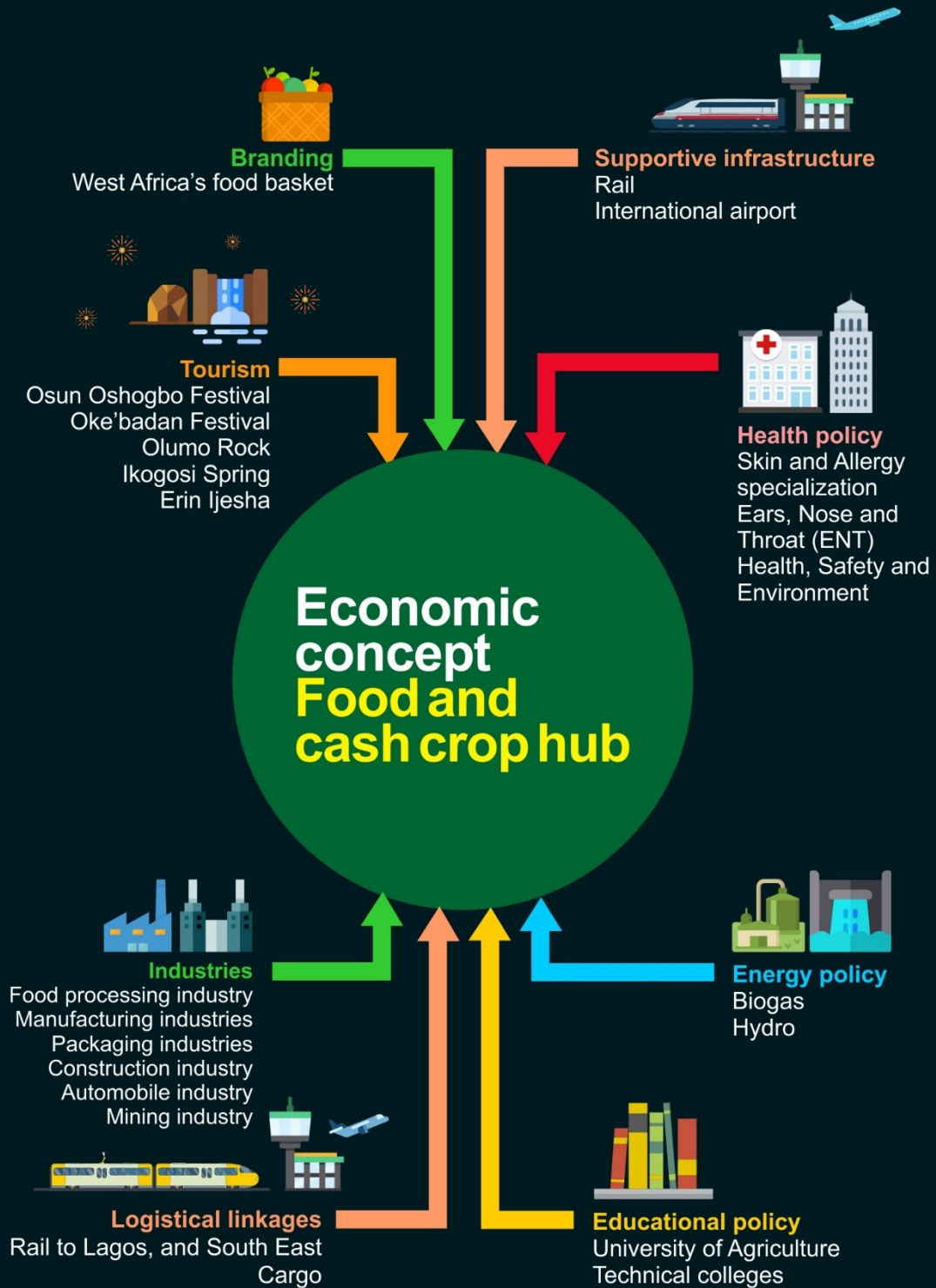


© Copyright reserved 2018

The South West economic zone will focus on commodities, food processing and agro allied industries. That region has the climatic condition of Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire. Those countries export cassava, cocoa, palm produce, timber, rice, corn, cotton, rubber, beans, bananas, sweet potatoes, sugar, shea nuts, peanuts, palm oil and fish. Together they earned \$23.24b from agriculture in 2017. Just ten years ago, they earned just \$8.30b (2007). The South West economic zone has the potential to replicate this success.

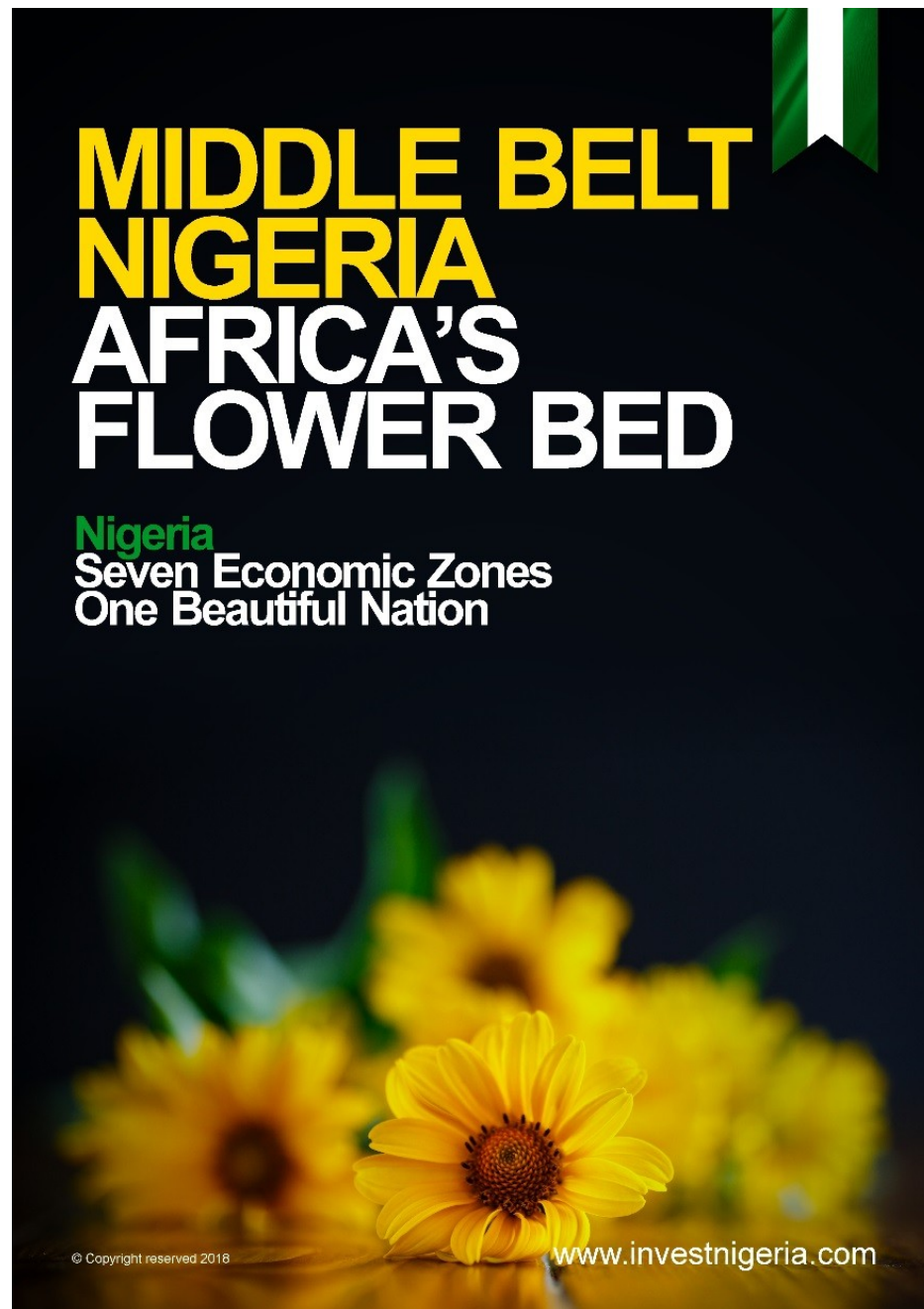


south west economic zone

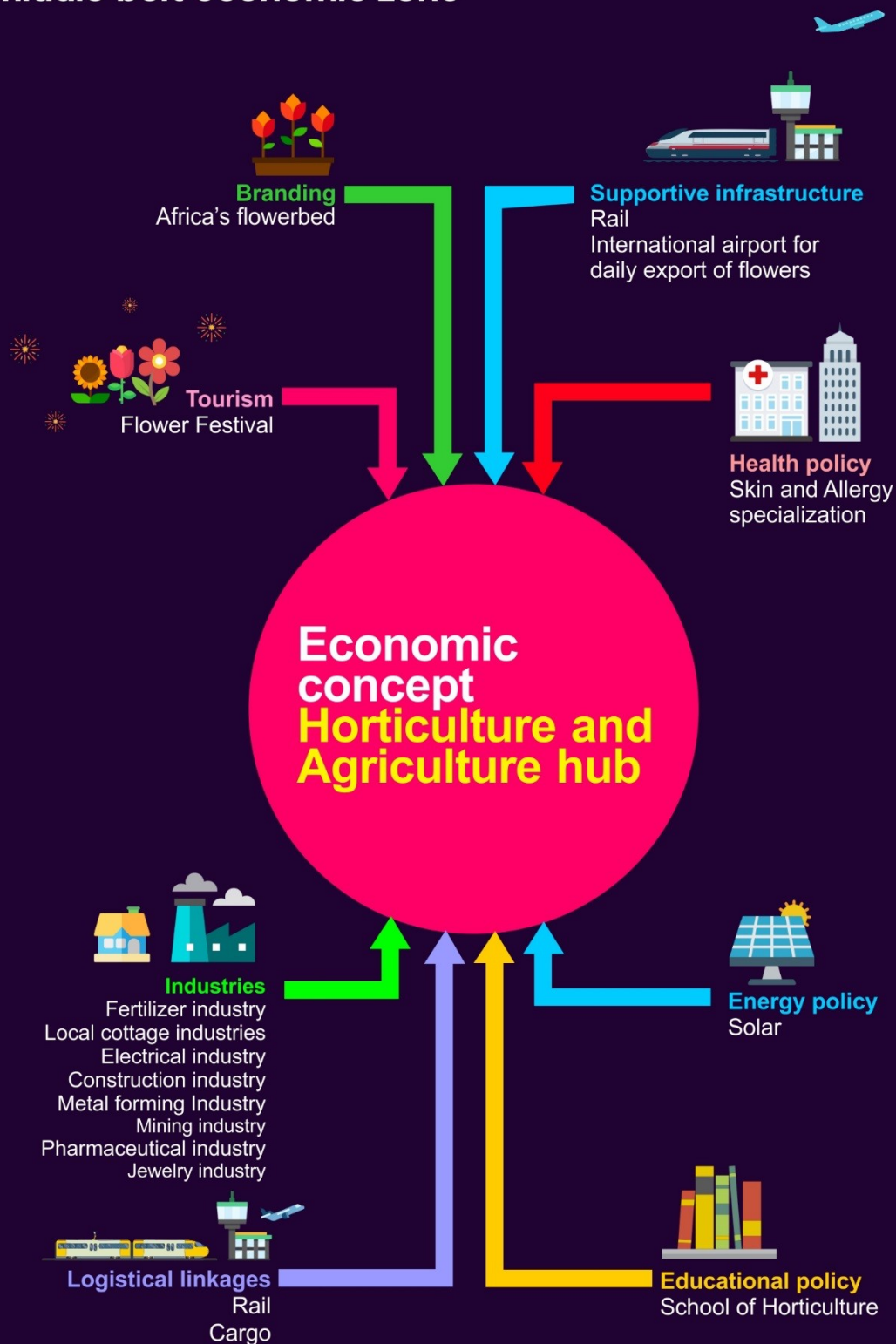


© Copyright reserved 2018

Brand wise, the Middle Belt economic zone will become a horticultural haven exporting flowers like the Netherlands. There are miles and miles of sunflowers in Jos. Flowers love the Middle Belt. But the zone will also focus on agriculture in general. Like the West, it should be an agro allied industry zone.



middle belt economic zone



© Copyright reserved 2018

The South South's strength is energy and aqua farming. The energy system ought to be natural gas, hydro, and for now fossil fuel. As an energy economy the South South will create capital, operational, and maintenance inputs for the energy sector.

**SOUTH SOUTH
NIGERIA**

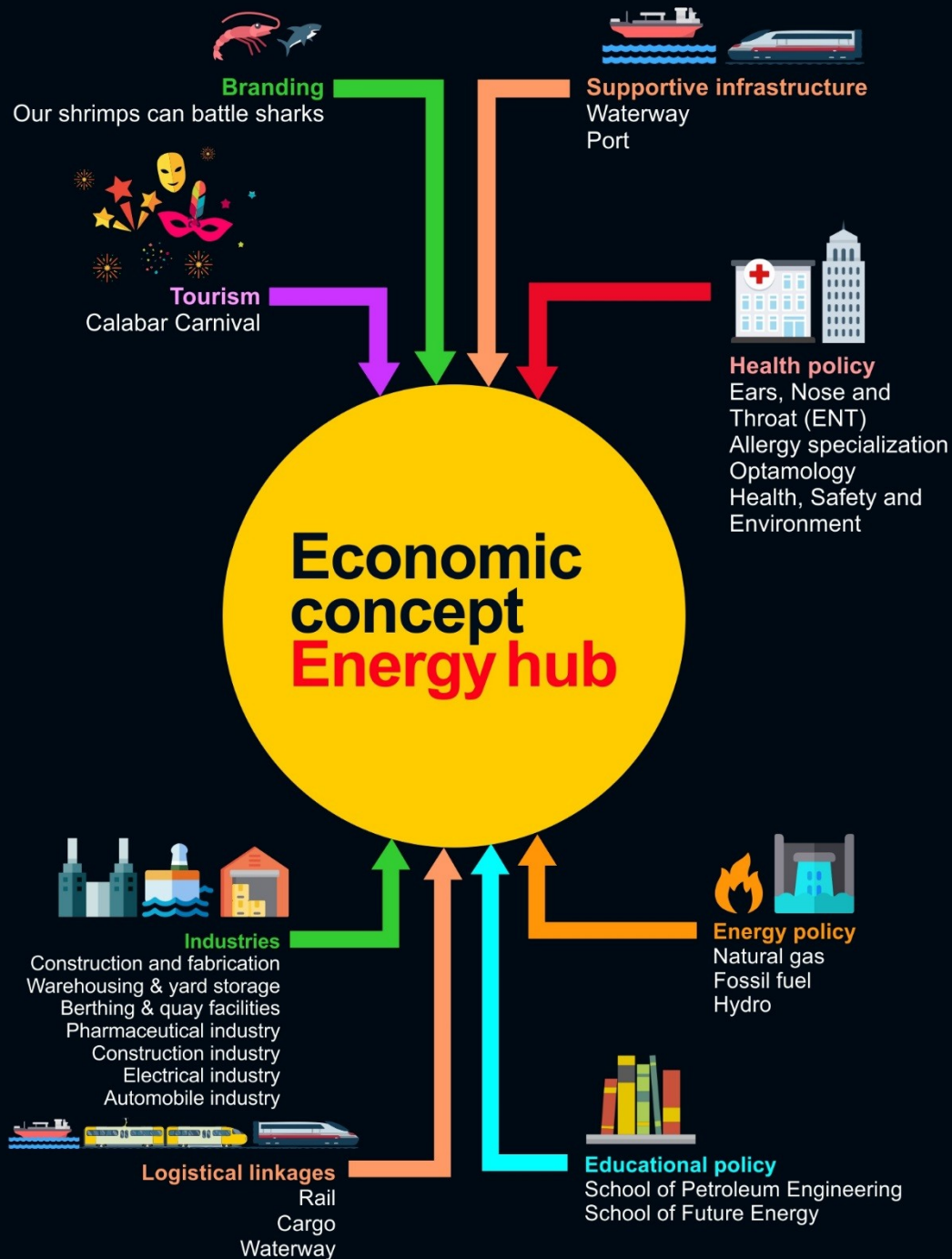
**OUR CRABS
CAN BATTLE
SHARKS**

Nigeria
Seven Economic Zones
One Beautiful Nation

www.investnigeria.com

© Copyright reserved 2018

south south economic zone



© Copyright reserved 2018

The two economic zones in the North will focus on tannery and commodities for export. The North will host a trade show every

year for manufacturers of fashion accessories. Buyers from Louis Vuitton, Hugo Boss, Calvin Klein, Versace, Burberry, etc., will be invited. They already buy our leather. Our leather is high grade leather. Our cows are tough!

NORTHERN NIGERIA OUR COWS ARE TOUGH!

(They produce fantastic leather)

Nigeria
Seven Economic Zones
One Beautiful Nation



© Copyright reserved 2018

www.investnigeria.com

The energy system will be solar. It ought to be solar.

north economic zone



We must develop the endowment of each region for the benefit of the region. In this way we have regional specialisations and seven economies. It is a function of vision.