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THE NIGERIAN STATE IN THE STAGE OF PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION

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ABSTRACT

The paper examined the socio-economic cum political events in Nigeria in the current political dispensation and sought to evaluate whether indeed Nigeria is in the stage of 'primitive Accumulation. It is essentially a descriptive research. It examined the actions and inactions of the Nigerian ruling and bureaucratic elites and indicated the presence of certain uniqueness that were common in the era of primitive accumulation. and events in Nigeria. The implications for this state of affairs in Nigeria include among others, the rating of Nigeria as very corrupt nation in the Transparency International Corruption Index, and other indices of development. The era has made Nigeria a paradox of a rich nation with massive poverty of the people. It presented database which led to its conclusion that Nigeria is indeed in the stage of primitive accumulation which would end-up as a failed-state. It called on the civil society to the rescue else Nigerian yet unborn would have no place to call theirs.

*Men who have tasted power will not without
conflict surrender it.*

Harold J.Laski

KEYWORDS: Primitive accumulation, Laws of social Development, Neo-Liberal policy, Reforms, robbery, commonwealth

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria emerged from colonialism forty eight (48) years ago. The Citizens had high hopes for an all round development. Forty eight (48) years down the line, the dream is hardly a reality. Many had attributed the slow pace of development in the state to the predominance of Military regimes which had dominated a greater part of the forty eight (48) years of statehood. The paradox of this state of affairs rests on the fact that other nation-states of similar age both with in and outside Africa; have recorded higher indices of development than Nigeria even where Nigeria is better endowed in natural resources.

The bourgeois usual excuse for this state of affairs has been that the periods of Military interregnum have been responsible for the slow pace of development. This is unacceptable. It is arguable that the Military must have achieved much more than the civil authority in comparative terms in Nigeria. This argument is made plausible because of what has happened in the last nine years of civil governance which has placed Nigeria within the ambience of what Karl Marx had termed a stage of 'primitive accumulation.' Some may explain away that Nigeria is in a stage of development hence the crisis of development must arise. This Eurocentric argument goes thus; there are stages of development which the developing nations would have to pass through, hence Nigeria is in one of such stages. One of these stages is the pre-conditions for take off. This is the period of significant economic

changes. The non-economic aspect of these changes is the appearance of new elites who consider economic modernization as being both possible and desirable. This group consists of men who are willing to mobilize savings and carry out innovational risks...the economic aspects of these changes involve a rise in the rate of capital accumulation above the rate of population growth...(Offiong, 1980:41). Perhaps the processes of capital accumulation include widespread plundering of the commonwealth of the people as currently being witnessed in the Nigerian state in the civil dispensation.

The Nigerian state has responsibility to the people, the prime beneficiary of statism. But an evaluation of the forty-eight years (48) of development and a critical assessment of the current nine years of civil governance create the impression that Nigeria is indeed in the stage of primitive accumulation. An evaluation of the Nigerian situation against the backdrop of the United Nations Development Program crafted Human Development Index (HDI), which uses indices such as; life expectancy at birth, infant mortality rate, school enrollment ratio, gender equality in education, employment etc, and democratic freedom (freedom to choose one's political leaders).

For instance the higher the life expectancy at birth the more developed the country is. Today the life expectancy at birth for the average Nigerian is about 51 years. This compares unfavorably with other countries such as Sri Lanka 71, Hong Kong 78, United States 76, Portugal 75, Greece 77, Japan 79, Canada 77, years ... these are made up of variables such as achievement of better nourishment, shelter, health, education, living condition and better conditions of employment for low-end poverty groups...(Nyong, 2005:15). These indicated that Nigeria is far behind her contemporary especially in the last nine years of civil rule. What would have been responsible for this, given Nigeria's natural resources endowment compare to the states which are ahead of her in Human Development Indices (HDI)?

The inability of Nigeria to achieve high Human Development Index variables is as a result of the high degree of primitive accumulation carried out through the processes of 'arrested development' which has scuttled public policy and the resources thereof. This is partly responsible for why Nigeria ranked 32nd out of 180 countries on Transparency International (TI) 2007 corruption Perception Index (Frank, 2007). Is Nigeria in a stage of developmental crisis? Is Nigeria in transition? What stage of development awaits Nigeria after this? Is Nigeria in the stage of 'Primitive Accumulation' which equates the 'age of bastards and the spoil system?' These have been known to be transitional stages in western development **agendas**. The problematic is that of determining what stage of development awaits Nigeria **after this, and why is Nigeria enmeshed in this?**

THE PROBLEMATICS

The prolong period of Military interregnum raised the yearning of Nigerians for democratic governance, and implicit in this was the expectation for high rate of socio-economic development. But what Nigerians have had so far, is a harvest of 'arrested development' (corruption) made possible by the released of the primitive instinct of the ruling elites against the commonwealth of the people. It is herein posited that in the era of the legendary "spoil

system' and the 'age of bastards' as well as during cradle of 'primitive accumulation' rules and regulation as well as laws are violated with impunity to satisfy personal as against 'general interests. The situation more often than note equates robbery hence the philosopher Karl Marx described the processes of capital accumulation in the "Das Kapital' as that of continuous robbery. The use to which the commonwealth of the people have been put into and its impact on the people leaves one with the view that Nigeria is actually in the stage of primitive accumulation. Let's examine some of the incidences which informed the statement of the problem.

The National Assembly the custodian of the 'General will' of the people, is said to be an institution where corruption walks with four legs...According to Yerima, the probes in the National Assembly are being done for two reasons. First, is to be used as smokescreen to cover up the corruption that pervades the National Assembly...it is going to be used as money-making (Ojo, 2008:53).

The senate blazed the trail in the war against corruption by passing the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission Act in 2001 and had the singular honor of investigating its members...that a couple of senators demanded money...to facilitate my clearance as a ministerial nominee (Rufai, 2003:4).

The power situation in the country became one of the preoccupations of the Government since 1999. The policy framework for addressing the decay in the power sector was the National Integrated Power Project (NIPP) which was meant to cite at least a power plant in each of the geopolitical zone of the country as well as reactivate the ailing ones. Consequent upon this, \$16 billion dollars was spent in the power sector some of which payment were made to unregistered companies which are unknown to the corporate affairs commission (CAC). It would be recalled that at the time of this contract, the 'due process' bureau had already come into existence. The importance of this sector to the economy was succinctly stated by the Chief Executive Officer of DN Meyer when he opined 'that the shortage of electricity supply in the country has impacted negatively on the real sector, by dropping capacity utilization in the industry from 45 per cent to about 30 per cent ...it critically affects the manufacturing sector because it has diminished the capacity of the sector to make higher contributions to Gross Domestic Products (GDP) of the economy (Ogbuanu, 2008:38).

In the recent times air transportation in Nigeria had become a nightmare because of the poor safety records and the numerous lives that have been lost. Resulting from this, the Minister for Aviation was permitted to source for funds to improve the infrastructures in four international airports in the country. This is beside the ministerial budgetary allocation to the ministry of aviation. The Minister therefore sourced N6.5billion through the Zenith Bank to obtain the facilities. What Nigerian got was a screaming headline "How N6.5 billion safety contracts was bungled, OBJ, Borishade, Fani-Kayode connections-Yar Adua furious' (Asonye, 2008:5). What this meant is that the funds sourced was not used for the purpose intended but appropriated by the officials and the Presidency. The paradox of this situation is that while the officials made themselves comfortable with public funds, accident in the airways continued unabated.

It is instructive to state that this situation did not end at the federal government level but it percolated through the states and the local government areas where the chairmen helped themselves to the monthly allocation meant for the development of the locality and the people therein. The testimony of this, is in the recent concern of the EFCC which has turned its attention to the local Government areas. It averred that of all the allocations to this sector, Nigerians have nothing to show for it. Mrs. Farida Waziri (EFCC Chairperson) disclosed that despite the N3 trillion Naira received by the 774 councils in the country between 1999-2007; there was nothing to show for the huge funds (Oloja *et al*, 2008:1).

The impacts of these episodes which amounts to primitive accumulation in Nigeria was captured by the United Nations Industrial Development organization (UNIDO) in its report released in 2004 after an extensive survey of the economic and social conditions of nations in sub-Saharan Africa. It single out Nigeria as the worst case of capital flight in the region, with more than \$100 billion private wealth kept broad... the report stated that Nigerians ...are poorer today than they were 20 years ago. The account further added that unless the Nigerian Government redresses the citizens penchant for stashing funds abroad... the drive to attract foreign investment to Nigeria will be meaningless, the United Nations has warned (Adesina, *et al*, 2004:10).

The sale by the Government personified in the President of national assets ... the refineries were sold at \$721 million in the twilight of its tenure, after spending... on the two refineries in the last four years shows \$1.1 billion sunk cost in the maintenance... the refineries were sold to Bluestar Oil Services company, a subsidiary of the Transnational Corporation (Transcorp Plc). The men and women behind these comprise some of Nigeria's oil oligarch who were the backbone of the economic reform program who picked up controlling shares in most of the disposed national assets (Okwe, 2007:4). It is bizarre to understand such transaction. It would be recalled that the President in his last days in office signed letters privatizing national assets of Nigeria to his comprador petite-bourgeois colleagues represented by companies some of which were no legal persons against the law of the nation. What does all this constitute for the Nigerian state? We shall adopt a framework of analysis which would explicate these bizarre transactions as stated and interpret the scenario painted.

FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

In this paper it is asserted that the scenario which created the statement of the problem, constitute processes of capital formation by the Nigerian comprador petit-bourgeois. Capital has many forms ...looking back through history, the early accumulation of capital was very largely open robbery. Vast quantities of capital in the form of gold and other things were looted by adventurers from America. Marx showed that this was the real origin of capital (primitive accumulation), and he ridiculed the legend that capitalists were originally abstemious men who 'saved' from their meager living (Burns, 1983:25).

This primitive accumulation plays in political economy about the same part as original sin in theology...in times long gone by there were two sorts of people; one the diligent, intelligent and, above all, frugal elites; the other, lazy rascals, spending their substance, and more, in

riotous living.... Thus it came to pass that the former sort accumulated wealth, and the latter sort had at last nothing to sell except their own skill. And from this original sin dates the poverty of the great majority, that, despite all its labor, has up to now nothing to sell but itself, and the wealth of the few that increases constantly although they have long ceased to work (Capital, Vol. 1 ch. XXVI cited in Burns 1983). The essence of Thomas Moore's Utopia was his dislike of the acquisitive society which had emerged from in England criminal activities were high and received corresponding savage criminal law, yet this did not salvage the situation as crime had become a way of life. Professor Eskor Toyo had observed that actually when a society is passing through primitive capitalist accumulation, all social mores, responsibilities, institutions, and collective constraints are loosened. Money and the market turn everything into a fluid, and individualism, selfishness, the get-rich-quick mania, and countless methods of perversion putrefy the fluid (2006:10).

It could be discernible from the above that this stage of primitive accumulation equates the Nigerian situation which is characterized by;

a) the robbery of the peoples' wealth or property by the comprador petite-bourgeois elements entrusted with the governance of the state, just as the initial capitalist robbed the people of their land, gold, Ivory and other precious products. The number of Governors and Federal public servants being interrogated by the EFCC is a confirmation of this fact.

(b) The pillage of the peoples' wealth abroad leaves the rest of Nigerians with 'inexplicable foreign debts'. It would be recalled that the observation of UNIDO on this issue had earlier been alluded to, in reference to the obsession of the Nigerian petite-bourgeois to stockpile their wealth abroad;

© The robbed economy (Nigeria) becomes a colony of the underdeveloped people defined by low life expectancy, poverty, excessive inequality, Industrial strikes in the economy under funding of the education sector and the ineffectiveness of the law etc. These indeed describe the Nigerian state in the current dispensation.

The implications of this framework of analysis for the Nigerian situation among others are;

i) Capital formation in history was from open robbery by the petite-bourgeois (Lord of the Manor) elements. Those robbed have but only their labor power to offer for sale in the market. In the words of late Professor Claude Ake, those who have been robbed wear a 'commodity mask' while their labor power becomes the only commodity for sale.

ii) That just as the original capitalists accumulated capital through robbery,, the events in the Nigerian state as captured in the statement of the problem, is but a phase of robbery-primitive accumulation. The situation has made the Nigerian case akin to 'the spoil system' to enhance its accumulation in the most prehistoric of ways, since none of the emerging Nigerian petite-bourgeois can assemble the capital needed from his own savings.

iii) The ostentatious and riotous living of the petite-bourgeois class means that the people's wealth would continue to be stolen to sustain their foreign biased taste and to pile-up wealth. This explains why the president even on the night he was to leave office had sign out the privatization of crucial public assets such as the Refineries.

iv) The impact of these processes is enormous negative development such as poverty of the majority of the people, low standard of living, poor social and economic infrastructure, inflation and stagnation.

v) It is expected that those who have been robbed but still have their labor for hire would get to a point in which there may be no one ready to hire their labor. This is because they would go for automation in the further process of robbery of the people. This is anticipated because the capitalists are obsessed with stashing their funds abroad as observed by UNIDO. It is discernible from above the main character of a state in primitive accumulation.

CHARACTERISTICS OF A STATE IN PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION

- i) Morality in the conduct of public affairs is discarded;
- ii) Laws are not obeyed where they exist;
- iii) Rules of conduct are violated with reckless abandon;
- iv) Robbery of the people's wealth become a way of life;
- v) Bureaucratic ethics are ignored by the bureaucratic elites in public affairs;
- vi) There is a pretentious desire to arrest corrupt practices;
- vii) Penalty for serious crime against the state is very light thus deter no one;
- viii) There is widespread assassination of those with dissenting views, while the state is never able to unravel same.

In the next section, we shall illustrate how the reality of the Nigerian situation approximates to a stage of 'primitive accumulation' as uniquely deposed to above.

ELEMENTS OF PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION

The Nigerian state in the present dispensation has adopted the neo-liberal political economy philosophy in which 'Reforms and Privatization' is its main theme to rob the people of the commonwealth. It consists in the main of Adam Smith theory of economic self proclivity. There is of course, the metaphor of the 'invisible hand', '*the dues ex machina*' discovered by Adam Smith that so directs the self-seeking proclivities of the business world that it confers benefits on society as a whole. And one can, indeed. Lay down simple and sufficient conditions under which the uncompromising pursuit of profits acts always to serve the public interest...that all effects relevant to the welfare of all individuals be properly priced on the market, and that perfect competition prevail in all economic activities (Mishan, 1972:12). By this approach, Nitel, Nicon Hilton Hotel, (now Transcorp Hilton) National hospital, Refineries (now retrieved) and many others were appropriated to themselves. Often the bourgeois argument to justify this robbery is the usual refrain that 'privatization is correct because government have no business in the running of the economy, and in any case, privatization is now the trend globally-even in the former Socialist countries' (Madunagu, 2007:65). This Neo-liberal argument have pervaded even the local government system where nothing is done but open robbery of the commonwealth takes place in furtherance of primitive accumulation as testified by the Chairperson of the EFCC and alluded to in the previous section of this paper.

Secondly, Nigerians have been inundated with reports of the "Wilbros, Siemens investigation...The USA authorities recently fined the oil and gas sector service provider, Wilbros Groups Inc. ...for bribing public officials in order to get business in Nigeria and other countries. Specifically, Wilbros is to pay \$22 million as criminal penalty and \$10 million as disgorgement of profit for giving \$6.3million bribe to Nigerian official (yet to be publicly

named) in order to win a \$387 million dollar pipeline contract for the Eastern Gas Gathering system between 2003 and 2005. In Germany, late last year, and on the admission by its officials, German Company Siemens was fined 201 million euros for bribing public officials in Nigeria and other countries to win business...Halliburton is under investigation for questionable payments to Nigerian public officials. Bristow Group Inc. a helicopter transport service provider to offshore oil company was reported to have been found guilty of bribing Nigeria officials to the tune of \$423,000 through its Nigerian affiliate, African Airlines Nigeria limited, to get a tax reduction (Guardian, June 1, 2008:24). The principle of primitive accumulation entails the brushing aside of moral suasions. Consequently the current Nigerian government with its ideology of 'due-process and the rule of law' had jettisoned the fact that Siemens has presented itself as a morally bankrupt business partner and had gone ahead with the business. Thus the Federal Government gave insight into why it signed on a German firm, Siemens ... after it blacklisted the company over the allegation that it offered \$14million bribe to some Nigerian official. The company met several times with the officials of government after which it was decided that 'we have to move forward' (Mojeed, 2008; 6). Consequently, the business with Siemens is proceeding accordingly.

Thirdly, there have been incessant air disasters in Nigeria particularly between 1999 till date. The Government in an attempt to ensure air transport safety allowed the sourcing of N6.5 billion from Zenith Bank for the provision of infrastructure at the four international airports in the country. Today, the caption in one of the newspaper was, "How N6.5 billion safety contract was bungled-OBJ, Borishade, Fani-Kayode connections-Yar Adua furious' (Asonye, 2008:5). In the same circumstance, the federal Government is to pay an interest of N2billion on this loan. The big question that deserve explanation is, was the aviation industry not included in the current budget to take care of the infrastructure? Was it an oversight on the part of the planners? Did they not know that such facilities were not available? Howbeit that no one knows the life span of the various facilities and budget for their replacement?

Fourthly, the Presidency was recently shocked by the over N30.9billion drawn in five days' in the Transport Ministry. The point was that the Transport Minister...withdrew N30.9billion between December 26 and 31, last year in defiance of a Presidential directive on unspent budget... (Ali, 2008:3).

Fifthly, security of life and property is one of the cardinal responsibilities of the Leviathan - Government. Doing this means equipping the security forces. It was against this background that the Government instituted the Police Equipment Funds (PEF) to which corporate organizations donated funds. The media again had reported with the caption 'N50 billion, Police Equipment Fund: Martins, Dumuje, Gella granted bail' (Punch, July 4, 2008:9). The progress report on this is very embarrassing it touches on the abuse of public office for private gains. The theft and robbery of public funds, the betrayal of public trust and collusion with foreign interest against one's land is only possible in a spoil system or a state in the stage of primitive accumulation.

Some if not all of these cases of primitive accumulation were being investigated. But nearly six months after however, little or nothing has been heard about the investigation ordered by the President that was being conducted by the anti-graft agencies. It is the view of this paper that Nigerians have the right to know the outcome. The inference is that the people's funds have been appropriated by some element, thereby denying the people the opportunity for adequate security protection.

It is also instructive to note further that the "Due Process" office is quick to point out how it has saved the country over N20 billion through renegotiation of contracts already awarded by the Ministries and the Federal Executive Council (FEC). What this means is that both the Ministries and the Federal Executive Council are guilty of contract inflation. Furthermore, the NITEL episode, and that of Global Infrastructure Limited which purchased the Delta Steel Company It did so at \$5million more than the price asked for by an indigenous firm which won the bid at N5million when it was not even involved in the final bid. It is by this arrangement to also take over the Itakpe Iron Ore Mining Company and Ajaokuta steel company respectively (Umar, 2007:8).

It would also be recalled that Nigeria was scored the 27th most corrupt nation in the world during the late General Sani Abacha's most vilified administration. Today we are ranked 6th most corrupt in the Transparency International Corruption Index (Umar,2007:8). It is only in a state which is either in the 'age of bastards', 'spoil system' or in the stage of 'primitive accumulation' that such lawlessness could take place with reckless abandon.

The above scenario equates a stage of prehistoric gathering of wealth which was foremost in Hobbesean's state of nature. It also indicated that it is often a fallacy to believe that the initial capitals of the bourgeois were obtained from their savings. It also point to the direction that the Nigerian society is likely to go and the likely impact. Thus if this situation continues, development would continue to be arrested, while the Nigerian society and its people would continue to record negative indices of Human Development Index (HDI).

PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION AND DEVELOPMENT

What are the consequences for Development in Nigeria for this stage of societal growth? It is pertinent to state herein, that this stage is associated with the growth of capitalism as a socio-economic system and corruption or 'arrested development' is a necessary outcome of capitalism. Capitalism is a neo-liberal ideology which manifest itself in 'Reforms and Privatization.' Privatization negates the social sector, and the bulk of Nigeria's developmental needs belong to this sector. This sector is not an attractive arena for bourgeois investment.

The disinvestment by the state in this sector as a result of the neo-liberal ideology of privatization evokes negative development in the society at large. The impacts could be illustrated in the following forms:

- a) Today the life expectancy at birth for the average Nigerian is about 51 years. This compares unfavorably with other countries such as Sri- Lanka 71 Hong Kong 78, United States 76, Portugal 75, Greece 77, Japan 79, Canada 77 years... these

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are associated with the achievement of better nourishment, shelter, health, education, living condition and better conditions of employment for low-end poverty groups in developing countries (Nyong, 2005:15). These indices are referred to as the Human Development Index (HDI). These are not attainable in the free-market economy with high degree of primitive accumulation.

b) In the tertiary education sector, this is characterized by a high degree of 'brain-drain' because the state in Nigeria has refused to invest in this sector base on the logic of the free-market. Consequently Nigeria is the only country in Africa with the least budgetary allocation to education as shown below;

% OF ANNUAL BUDGET TO EDUCATION

Countries	% of Annual Budget
South Africa	20-30
Morocco	26.1
Togo	23.2
Kenya	22-23
Guinea	25.6
Malaysia	26.7
South Korea	22.4
Nigeria	5-8

Source: Service Delivery in the Nigerian University System: A Study of Selected Universities- being a Ph.D Dissertation by E. O. Frank-Graduate School Unical 2006 p. 68

This is because the bourgeois government lacks the executive capacity to understand that the education sector is the factory for human capital accumulation for National Development. The free market ideology presupposes negotiation in a collective bargaining system. Perhaps because the bargaining power of the academic staff is not able to negotiate. Consequently, Nigerian University lecturers are the least paid in Africa, setting in motion the practice of 'brain-drain'. The fact below tells volume of the situation.

ACADEMIC STAFF SALARIES/SELECTED AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Countries	Staff Salaries (US\$) Per Annum	Senior Lecturer	Professor
South Africa	15,000	30,000	55,000
Zimbabwe	12,000	24,000	48,000
Ethiopia	3,600	4,800	6,000
Kenya	3,600	4,400	4,500
Ghana	1,800	3,000	4,800
Nigeria	222	360	439

Source: Source: Service Delivery in the Nigerian University System: A Study of Selected Universities- being a Ph.D Dissertation by E. O. Frank-Graduate School Unical 2006 p.64

The linkage is that in this stage, since personal aggrandizement is the rule, providing for the intellectual community to enhance human capital formation is unnecessary, hence they pay pittance, for their roles are not recognized as being incidental to development.

The State exist to assist the citizens achieve a state of self actualization in various respects. The impacts of the above scenario in Nigeria as been seen mostly in the social sector which does not lend itself to the interplay of neo-liberal free market. Consequently ...health statistics have sunken to pre-independence levels. Routine immunization coverage rate that reached over 80 per cent in the early 1990s dropped below 30 per cent in 2005. Frequent outbreaks of vaccine preventable diseases such as measles, whooping cough, cerebrospinal meningitis and polio have been reported. Nigeria as of 13th August 2008, has reported 575 polio cases in 23 states; representing 91 per cent of 631 polio cases reported in Africa. We constantly experience uncontrolled outbreaks of diarrhea diseases and cholera... we have the highest rates of maternal mortality in the world, rising from 704 to 800 per 100,000 between 2001 and 2005... under five mortality rate, which is already higher than the average for sub-Saharan Africa is now 110 per 1000. ...life expectancy has dropped to 45 years. These remarkable statistics have earned Nigeria a WHO ranking of 187 among 191 members states (Ukwuoma, 2008:17). These statistics which are at variance with the quantum of resources available in Nigeria are made possible by the processes of primitive accumulation of available resources. It represents the dichotomy between of wealth and poverty in a state of primitive accumulation in the health sector only. This explains why the 2007 United

Nations Human Development Index report ranked Nigeria 158 out of 177 countries, a significant decrease in its 2004 ranking.

CONCLUSION

This paper had set out to appraise whether Nigerian is indeed in a stage of primitive accumulation. It approached the subject-matter from basically descriptive perspective, and presented empirical data in this regard. It examined and equated the principles and practice of 'Primitive Accumulation' found same endemic in Nigeria.

It is herein concluded that the continuation of this practice in the next few years would transform Nigeria into a classic 'failed state', which was once endowed but later prostrate with no wealth left. This is because under primitive accumulation, no one cares about sustainable development. As the law of accumulation is anomic and praetorian.

It is herein recommended that a government is bad to the extend in which the civil society is docile. The civil societies including the University community have a duty to contribute constructively to playing the watchman's role over the few who have been 'entrusted' to rule. It was the possibility of their becoming selfish and drifting into acquisitive society which had made possible the Lockean, Hobbeasean and Machiavellian theses of checks and balances. The greatest check on the civil authority is an enlightened civil society.

We all have a duty to perform otherwise we shall jointly conduct the burial of the Nigerian state and your children would have no place to call their own. For like Franz Fanon said Each Generation must out of relative obscurity discover its mission and fulfill or mar it.

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