

MARTIN LUTHER KING'S CONCEPT OF MORAL COSMOPOLITANISM: IMPLICATIONS FOR NATURAL RESOURCES' CONFLICT IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

Natural resources need not be a source of conflict. In Nigeria, conflicts and even warfare have arisen in the process of exploiting resources. No matter the regions in the country in which natural resources are found, there can be agreeable and mutually inclusive principles that can help in managing these resources to mitigate conflicts. Why is there still warfare over resources? This issue is problematized here and examined through a hermeneutic method. Then insights from Martin Luther King's idea of moral cosmopolitanism (universal brotherhood) are used to periscope the conflict for a solution.

Keywords: Martin Luther King, Moral Cosmopolitanism, Natural Resources, Conflicts, Nigeria.

Introduction

Nigeria has witnessed a host of conflicts before and since after her independence on 1st October 1960. After independence there were military coups and counter coups followed by the Nigerian Civil War. The country has also witnessed ethno-religious conflicts in places like Kano, Kaduna, Jos, Ilorin, etc. Intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic conflicts have taken place in Warri, Portharcourt, Emede, Lagos, Enugu, etc. There are also the indigene-settler predicaments in place such as the Jos Plateau and Lagos among many others. Not to be left out of the list are pastoralist/farmers conflicts in the North Central Nigeria, violent hostage taking and kidnapping by criminal forces, electoral violence and fraud, the Boko Haram insurgency, and terrorist activities in the land.

Apart from the above, one of the most serious conflicts that the nation has and is experiencing is the conflict over natural resources, especially oil and gas resources (Okogu, 2007). The struggle over oil and gas resources dates back to pre-independence times. Since this is not a study using the historical method, it would not be necessary to narrate the story from the beginning. Oil and gas

resources have provided Nigeria with her major revenue earner, provided jobs for thousands of people, contributed to building of social infrastructure, and some oil multinational corporations have performed some forms of corporate social responsibility. In spite of these there is still much suffering, poverty, joblessness, youth restiveness and environmental degradation. This is as a result of inefficient management of the oil and gas wealth, corruption and embezzlement of oil revenue, and neglect of natural-resource producing communities.

The corruption that is rife in the oil sector, the neglect of other natural resources, and neglect of oil-bearing communities have raised a lot of questions on how to control and manage resources, produce conflicts and violent militancy, devastated the environment, made Nigeria ungovernable, caused insecurity, and other social problems. To resolve these issues people have called for resource control, fiscal federalism, balanced federalism, regionalism, sovereign national conference, and even partition of the country. Peace, justice, reconciliation, stable development and prosperity will continue to elude the country unless there is a resolution of how to manage her natural resources. No matter what is being called for there should be ethical imperatives that should guide it to succeed. Issues are likely to be easily resolved when there are ethical imperatives that guide humans and they commit themselves to live by those imperatives. King's ethical imperative of moral cosmopolitanism can be helpful in this regard. What is this ethical imperative? Who was King? On what did he found the idea of moral cosmopolitanism? Can it be helpful in resolving natural resources' conflict in Nigeria? What in Nigeria's existence is in consonance with King's idea and that can make it work? These and similar issues shall be examined. Since the main resources that there are conflicts over are oil and gas, the focus will be on these.

Conceptual Analysis

The meaning of concepts is important in understanding issues. Without understanding concepts, it is difficult to know how they can help to resolve problems. Concepts worth clarifying are moral cosmopolitanism, and natural resource conflicts. Kleingeld and Brown (2013) indicates that: "The word 'cosmopolitan', which derives from the Greek word *kosmopolitês* ('citizen of the world'), has been used to describe a wide variety of important views in moral and socio-political philosophy. The nebulous core shared by all cosmopolitan views is the idea that all human beings, regardless of their political affiliation, are

(or can and should be) citizens in a single community.” The cosmopolitan idea originates from Diogenes of Sinope, the founding father of the Cynic movement in ancient Greece. He often answered people who asked him where he was from that he was a citizen of the whole world (Copleston, 1946). Later Stoics who took over this idea will emphasize this to imply that each human being lives in the place of their birth and that of human projections. Brock and Brighouse (2005) say cosmopolitanism is a thesis about identity and responsibility. In your identity you are marked and influenced by other different cultures, while in responsibility you have obligations beyond local to even distant people whom you do not know and are not even intimate with. Cosmopolitans do not dispute that you have obligations to your friends, immediate family, ethnic group or nation but your obligations weigh far more than these (Brock and Brighouse, 2005).

There are various types of this cosmopolitan idea. Hooft (2007) citing multiple scholars argue that: “Cosmopolitanism is the view that the moral standing of all peoples and of each individual person around the globe is equal” (p.4). Because of this, Hooft (2007) avers that: “individuals should not give more preference to their compatriots, their co-religionists or fellow members of their demographic identity groups” (p. 4). He argues further that it shuns all “forms of discrimination that arise from the victim’s being of a different nationality, ethnicity, religion, language, race or any other form of identity that is used to classify people into discrete groups” (p. 5). In Appiah (2006) cosmopolitanism is openness and tolerance of other people and cultures. It is important to note that cosmopolitanism is conceived in various ways depending on the angle from which you are assessing it. In terms of politics, Vertovec and Cohen (2002) state that some see it as “a vision of global democracy and world citizenship” (1). These two authors just mentioned relate further that for some it is a way of making link among social movements across national borders; while for others it is a challenge against traditional communitarian ideas of belonging, identity and citizenship; and for others it can denote cultural multiplicity. The idea could even be spoken of in other ways, such as weak and strong cosmopolitanism. Brock and Brighouse (2005) For weak cosmopolitans everyone has extra-national obligations with moral weights, while for the strong cosmopolitan, “at the most fundamental level, there are no society-wide principles of distributive justice that are not also global principles of distributive justice” (p. 3).

In the midst of these understandings, where is the idea of moral cosmopolitanism? At the root of the moral cosmopolitan vision is the idea that all

persons share in a common humanity and that their humanness demands common moral imperative of goodness. Morality has to do with right and wrongness of actions. Humans are obligated to live rightly and pursue what promote human rights and dignity. Insisting that a common humanity warrants certain basic obligations to all is a form of moral cosmopolitanism. The language of the United Nations (1949) in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights fosters the idea of cosmopolitanism, at least moral cosmopolitanism. It speaks of each human person, and not some few as having the fundamental rights to life, freedom of association, to be treated equally, etc. Hooft (2007) infers that the cosmopolitan idea can be expressed in various ways such as: that people have basic and inalienable human rights, that all have human dignity, and that all share in a common humanity that necessitate a global community. Kleingeld and Brown (2013) have opined that the most common form of cosmopolitanism is the moral type. Kleingeld and Brown propounds further that: the insistence in contemporary moral philosophy of a duty to help foreigners who are starving or suffering; and the duty to promote basic human rights and justice is a moral cosmopolitan vision.

The natural resources' conflict can now be defined. In general, any endowment of nature, not produced by humans can be named a natural resource. Air, water, land, crude oil, diamond, bauxite, iron ore and limestone are all natural resources. Faridi (2008) states that: "natural resources are naturally occurring substances that are considered valuable in their relatively unmodified (natural) form". Michaels (2004) expresses it well when he says that natural resource is, "in general, any component of the natural environment such as air, water soil, forest wildlife, and minerals. Specifically, the material of nature available for use as inputs to economic activity" (p. 137).

Chaturvedi (2006) defines a conflict as an "opposition or competition between two or more forces arising either from the pursuit of incompatible goals or a class of rival opinions" (p. 64). Owolabi (2007) citing Deutsch states that: "conflict is a basic psychological mechanism that centers on incompatible goals. Conflicts exist wherever one set of goals, needs or interests disagree with another set. Conflict is a basic and inherent feature of relationships" (p.15). For Adefolaju (2007),

Conflict is that situation whereby there is disagreement between two parties or groups. It is usually characterized by the failure of those concerned to attain an amicable and acceptable resolution. It occurs where the objectives of one group are pursued in such a way as to ensure that the objectives of another group cannot be realized. (p.43)

Natural resources' conflicts in Nigeria refer to the struggles, disagreements, conflict of interests, disharmony and even at times violence and warfare over the management and sharing, and distribution of natural resources in the country. Though crude oil and gas resources are predominantly located in the Niger Delta, each region in the federation is blessed with other natural resources. Natural resources are gifts of nature, and their location is beyond human control. Too often in the country instead of devoting time to meaningfully and prudently exploiting the various natural resources, the focus is placed on oil and gas as these produce more than 90% of the nation's revenue. The conflicts in the nation over natural resources then are mainly conflicts over the oil and gas resources. This is why most of the citations here are on gas and oil conflicts.

The Question of Natural Resources' Conflicts in Nigeria

Conflicts over natural resources pervade the whole of Nigeria, though the one on oil and gas is the one that has much more literature. In Nigeria's central region, there are often conflicts in places like the Jos Plateau, Benue State, Kogi State, and Kwara State. Alubo (2006) has shown that many of the communal conflicts between settlers versus host communities in the Middle Belt are often disputes over land. Alubo (2006) notes that these natural resource conflicts include the land disputes between Kaduna host communities and Hausa settler community in 1980, the one between Gbagyi and Kori host communities and the Hausa-Fulani settler community in 1983, the one between Kurama host community and the Hausa-Fulani settler community in 1984, the one between Kahugu autochthonous community and Gure immigrant community in 1984, and many others. These disputes are over land and the resources in it. The contestations are over who will be the primary beneficiaries of the land. The question of who owns the land and the resources on it applies in all areas in Nigeria where there are disputes over land. In a place like Ife-Modakeke, Umuleri-Aguleri and other places there have been conflicts over land and boundaries. The conflicts often are over perceived resources that may be located in the ground. Ogunleye (2007) has shown that economic conflicts such as those over grazing land, ethnic groups' struggles over farmlands, and warfare over geographical boundaries are common in many parts of Nigeria.

With the foregoing in mind, the attention is now turned to oil and gas conflicts. The conflicts over oil and gas resources have arisen mainly from agitations and demands for justice and fairness by ethnicities in the Niger Delta. The peoples of the Niger Delta have argued that the oil gotten from their territories is essentially

what is used to run the Nigerian economy. Yet, their region is neglected. While there have been little improvement recently, compared with the enormous wealth from the region, the development that have taken place is insignificant. Many of the various communities that produce oil lack basic amenities of life such as electricity, good roads, pipe-borne water, modern marketing facilities, recreation centers, airports, educational facilities, health facilities, etc. Many of the youths of the Niger Delta are unemployed and lack basic skills. In the light of the neglects in the region there have been protests, campaign, demonstrations, and at times violent riots. These at times are met with heavy-handedness from those in power. Odu (2008) has enumerated some protests and conflicts situations that have taken place in the Niger Delta region such as the 1966 rebellion of Isaac Boro declaring secession from the nation as a result of marginalization and destruction of the ecosystem, the declaration of the 1996 Ogoni Bills of Rights by the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People demanding for resource control and political autonomy, the 1998 Kiama Declaration demanding oil companies to leave their Ijaw land and calling for resource control, and the 2005 actions of the Niger Delta Volunteer Force to halt oil production in the region.

The tension and conflicts over resources have revolved around what percentage of oil and gas revenue should go to the federal government, other states and the states in the region that produce the oil. The present formula is that 13% of all oil revenue goes to the oil producing states based on how much each state produces. In the light of the devastation of the environment, the gross neglect of the region, the lack of many amenities, and the burden of oil exploitation; many in the region have argued for a higher percentage or even full control of their resources with tax paid to the federal government. It should be noted quickly that the percentage or sharing formula is not the concern here. The concern here is to propose some fundamental ethical principle that should guide sharing. A formula that will truly work should take into consideration, the moral cosmopolitan idea that all human beings are equal in dignity and should be treated with a respect for their basic human rights. It should also be rooted in the fact that justice entails fairness and that because the communities that produce oil have suffered a higher burden of exploitation which have caused those communities untold hardships, they ought to receive a higher percentage of oil revenue, not just as compensation, but the demands of environmental justice requires it. This principle should apply to every other resource, especially solid mineral resources in the nation.

King's Moral Cosmopolitanism

The following brief bio-note on Martin Luther King Jr. is provided by Anagwonye (2009). King was born on 15th January 1929 and he died on 4th April 1968. He was born in Atlanta, Georgia to the Reverend Martin Luther King, Sr. and Alberta Williams King. After attending Booker T Washington High School, he went to Morehouse College. From Morehouse he bagged his first degree in sociology and will later on in 1951 obtain a Bachelor of Divinity from Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pennsylvania. He received his Doctor of Philosophy after his studies in Systematic Theology from Boston University in 1955. He was a Baptist clergyman, and leader of the American Civil Rights movement. He got married to Coretta Scott in 1953, a marriage that was blessed with four Children-Yolanda King, Martin Luther King III, Dexter Scott King and Bernice King. King lived in days when African-Americans suffered oppression and faced segregation from the Whites in the United States. They were deprived of voting rights, and suffered from many other racist practices. He was assassinated on 4th April at Memphis a day after he had made his "I Have Been to the Mountaintop" speech.

It was within the context of his time and rooted in his Christian theological foundation that King proposed his ideas of universal brotherhood, a world house, and beloved community. It is his ideas on this that is named his moral cosmopolitan vision. King's vision, message and praxis were not limited to the African-American community or the United States of America. His vision and message were broad and universal. He transcended race, ethnicity, and nationality to speak of one human race. In his "I have a Dream" speech King (1963) cites from the American Declaration of Independence that enunciated rightly that all humans are created equal by their creators with inalienable rights such as life, liberty, and the pursuits of happiness. King (1963) also spoke of the day when "all of God's children-black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Catholics and Protestants-will be able to join hands and to sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, 'Free at last; thank God Almighty, we are free at last'" (p.220). There should be no doubt that King (1963b) who saw all communities as interrelated, all humanities as caught in "an inescapable network of mutuality" who are "tied in a single garment of destiny," and that "injustice anywhere is a threat to justice anywhere;" implied all peoples and not just Americans. His idea of justice was not just for African-Americans or Americans only, but justice and end to oppression for all human persons. King (1963b) spoke of the prophets of the bible who carried their prophetic cry for justice "far beyond the boundaries

of their hometown,” and of the Apostle Paul who travelled the whole Graeco-Roman world transcending his little village of Tarsus (p. 290). King’s interest was never parochial or tribal. It was transnational and cosmopolitan.

King did not limit his concerns to people in the United States he was concerned with suffering everywhere. In his Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech, King (1964) made mention of the sufferings of the people of South Africa, related that people everywhere can have three square meals and access to abundant educational and cultural opportunities. He accepted that prize “on behalf of all men who love peace and brotherhood” (p. 226). In “My Trip to the Land of Gandhi” King (1959) discussed the plight and sufferings of people in India. He opposed and critiqued the Vietnam War.

There is no doubt that all these explicitly show the cosmopolitan vision of King. At the heart of his moral vision is that all people are brothers, share in one humanity, have equal rights and they should not be discriminated against. Harding (2008) is in consonance with the idea that King’s vision is for the human race and calls him “Blessed astronaut of the Human Race” (p. 111). Harding (2008) notes that humans have been able to conquer outer space but they have not been able to live together as brothers and sisters. Cone (1991) avers that his American Dream cannot be separated from the dream for the world:

King’s dream spilled over the boundaries of the United States. King urged Americans to ‘develop a world perspective.’ The American dream could not be realized apart from ‘the larger dream of a world of brotherhood, peace, and goodwill.’ We cannot be freed in America, King believed, unless people are freed in the Third World nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. ‘We must all learn to live together as brothers,’ he said, ‘or we all perish together as fools. We must come to see that no individual can live alone. We must all live together, we must be concerned about each other. (p. 59)

His concept of the beloved community brings this point right home. There is one universal community of which all people are participants. Jones (2012) cites King saying: “today our very survival depends on our ability to stay awake, to adjust to new ideas, to remain vigilant and to face the new challenge of change. The large house in which we live demands we transform this worldwide neighbourhood into a world-wide brotherhood. Together we must learn to live as brothers or together we will perish as fools” (p. 135). The idea of the community pervades King’s thought. But it is not just the African-American community but the larger global community, God’s house. King’s longing for community as Jones (2012) declares could not just be local for his idea of

'injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere' is akin to Marx's 'world-historical class' that fosters opposition to capitalism. Jones (2012) writes that: indebted to both Hegel and Marx it could be seen that the vision of a global community is fundamental to King for his "mid-twentieth-century philosophical ideals for a world-wide community averse to poverty, war, and racism-by-products of capitalism-remain architectonics for hope" (p. 138). King's struggle for racial equality and end to every form of oppression is to create the Beloved Community of love.

In King's cosmopolitan vision which is based on the beloved community idea, Jones (2012) has argued that King's dream implied a massive redistribution of wealth and resources. Jones states that he affirmed: "the solution to poverty is to abolish it directly,' and he advocated for a 'guaranteed income' that would benefit all poor Americans, not just poor African-Americans." The implications of King's moral cosmopolitan vision should be becoming apparent. The ideas of two scholars, Lewis V. Baldwin and Carol Bragg give clues on this. King's idea implies an integrated global house built on love, justice, equality of opportunities to end the evils of racism, ethnicism, poverty and militarism. To put it in another way citing Baldwin, Jones (2012), says it is a "world in which loyalties to race, class, sex, tribe, religion, philosophical orientations, political differences, ethnicity, and nationality would be transcended in the interest of total human community" (p. 143). Bragg as cited by Jones (2012), says, in this community excessive materialism would be curbed, a people-oriented society would take place, social injustice would be resisted and conflicts would be resolved through love and nonviolence.

Resolving the Conflict in King's Paradigm

The fact that we are citizens not just of our nation-states or ethnic-nations should not be denied. It is difficult in this present age for a nation or ethnic group to live in isolation from others. There are problems that affect all that cannot be solved alone. There are environmental problems that go beyond the boundaries of nations or regions. Conflicts and wars that begin in one nation have ripple effects across their borders, like conflicts in the central African countries or Horn of Africa. A nation isolates itself to its own perils. Take Nigeria for instance. The peoples in every region in the nation need the others. There are resources that a region has that the others may not have. People from one region may need to access educational opportunities in other regions, travel across roads in other states to be able to get to the airport or access international markets. There are

thousands of Nigerians who live outside this country, contributing to the international community in various endeavours and walks of life; that could not have been possible without services and facilities in other regions of the country. There is one vital point that should be noted right away. Today more than ever before the world is facing the challenge of globalization. The coming of globalization, which begun long time ago necessitates people coming and working together. Hooft (2007) is right to note that:

Because of globalization we all have a part to play in addressing problems of global governance, management of the environment, maintenance of peace, equitable global distribution of social goods and resources, humanitarian assistance, intercultural tolerance and understanding, and the protection of human dignity around the world. Accordingly, it could be claimed that we are 'global citizens' and that we should develop a 'global ethics' through which we can articulate and exercise our global responsibilities as citizens. (p.1-2)

Even for people, like in Nigeria, who live in the same country that is filled with many ethnic nations and cultures, there is need to imbibe this spirit of looking beyond the group to collaboration with other ethnicities on how to solve common national problems. There is no time that the idea of the cosmopolitan will never be necessary. Even when a nation is partitioned or a section secedes from the old nation, the new nation will still need the other in various ways in a globalized world. This is why it is necessary not to discard the cosmopolitan idea.

The King's idea of cosmopolitanism does hold serious implications amidst resources' control conflicts in Nigeria. From the moral cosmopolitan principle all people should be treated equally and their basic rights respected. By this principle, on face value, all Nigerians are entitled to an equal share in the revenue from oil or any other resource no matter where they live in the country. As the paper proceeds it will be seen that this principle should be subjected to pragmatic realities of natural resources exploitation. King argued for a global house in which people will place trust in their shared humanity. By virtue of that shared humanity they will transcend ethnicity, race, political affiliations, and other differences. They will see one another as brothers and sisters and that whatever affects one affects all. They would not just think of their own interests but the interests of others and how to end their sufferings and pains. By this spirit no one thinks of how much he can acquire but how to promote the wellbeing of the others. There is a deep social and communal spirit. Materialism

and acquisition of properties for its own sake are shunned. A cultivation of this spirit in Nigeria will make people to see that all Nigeria's natural resources belong to all Nigerians in trust from nature. The interest will be how to collectively work out how to manage them for the benefits of all Nigerians. There will be no use seeing other Nigerians suffer whereas few enjoy the benefits from the natural resources. The communalistic ethics of African traditional societies expressed in *Ujamaa* will pervade the society. Nyerere (1968) opines rightly that African societies were organized in a manner that fostered sharing of resources, communal ownership, solidarity with the needy, and there was corporatism in the production of wealth. In *Ujamaa* people sought the wellbeing of one another and there was brotherhood and family-hood. If people suffered as a result of lack of resources it was rare. There was essentially absence of exploitation.

Now is it possible that in the midst of Nigeria's enormous wealth coming from oil that there can be harmony in the management of resources? Yes. It is very possible. If you think of the millions of naira that have been siphoned through corruption and embezzlement, you know it is possible. If there is a corrupt-free management of Nigeria's wealth from natural resources, all Nigeria's can live a life that is totally free from poverty, thus conflicts will be reduced. The fundamental problem that should be tackled first is not the formula for sharing revenue from natural resources; it should be moral re-armament with this moral cosmopolitan idea of looking out for the wellbeing of one another. No matter where the resources are located no Nigerian should be deprived for the basic means of livelihood, when other regions are experiencing abundance. Nigeria's natural resource wealth no matter where they are found should be used to ensure the fundamental human rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

This principle of equality in sharing resources is true but the principle cannot but be mitigated, in order to take into consideration those whose humanity is already degraded and continues to be degraded as a result of environmental injustice and risks. All peoples have not suffered equally from the environmental justice perspective. In a case like Nigeria, the harmful suffering that happens in oil producing communities is not shared by all. There is a demand in justice and fairness then that for these sufferings and the continuous impact of oil exploration, a certain percentage of revenue far higher than the one given to all Nigerians should be given to Niger Deltans. This is applicable to every region that produces resources. Ola (2004) states that following the issues of

sustainable development such as environmental justice, environmental governance, and biodiversity conservation it is important that the management of natural resources be done in such a way that these ideas are promoted. With regard to environmental justice, Ola (2004) notes that this requires “equitable distribution of environmental benefits and environmental costs.”

While by the very fact of the human bond of all Nigerians environmental benefits can be allocated equally to all, the issue of environmental cost or impact is different. Since all have not suffered equal environmental cost in terms of the immediate hazards, a greater percentage more need to be communicated to those affected by the environmental hazards of natural resource exploitation and because of the cost of remediation and conserving the biodiversity of those areas. It is imperative to recognize that from the perspective of nonanthropocentrism, Resnik (2012: 57) citing Naess, Taylor, Callicott, Singer, Varner and Regan state that: “nonhuman biological systems have value in their own right and are not valuable merely as tool for serving human ends” (p.57). This being the case there is need to scale back human economic and industrial activities to protect nonhuman species and ecosystems (Resnik 2012). The implications of this is that in Nigeria there is need to devote much more resources to those areas where natural resources are exploited and they cause harm to the environment. The principle of cosmic solidarity requires altruism. People in areas where natural resources have not been fully exploited and as it is not much revenue is coming from those areas should think and be compassionate for the sufferings and pain of those affected by natural resources exploitation. They should strive to develop their own natural resource base and show more empathy for regions affected by environmental impact of mineral production (Okogu, 2007). The fact is that besides hydrocarbon deposits of oil and gas, Nigeria is blessed with solid mineral resources in commercial deposits and they include: “columbite, tin, granite, lead/zinc, barites, limestone, gold, bitumen, tantalite, marble and so on” that are evenly distributed through the country (Okogu, 2007, p. 47). Aside striving for sharing of benefits from natural resources, regions, states, and communities should strive to entrepreneurially to create and generate income to develop their regions, etc; instead of just waiting for federal allocations.

Applied to Nigeria, the cosmopolitan idea requires that all Nigerians no matter where they live and reside should be treated fairly and equally. Resnik (2012:221) is right to argue that: “justice requires that benefits and risks related to environmental health be distributed fairly and that societies follow fair procedures when making environmental policy decisions.” Yet equality of

treatment will become unfair if those who have suffered greater environmental health risks are treated as those who have not suffered these risks. Since it is impracticable and it would not be fair to transfer environmental risks to areas that are free from these risks, the best procedure will be to compensate, remediate, and pump more funds to ameliorate those risks.

The question that may be asked is; will mitigating the equality principle in the sharing of resources resonate with the moral cosmopolitan vision of King? It is. It worthy to note, that King in his life was a dogged fighter for environmental justice. He enunciated and fought that those who suffered from environmental racism and whose environment was already degraded needed to have their dignity restored by a radical improvement of their conditions. Though the environmental justice movement began more than a decade after King's death it could be said that seeds in the movement came from him and he had a great influence on it. One of the last activities that King engaged in before his death was the march at Memphis with sanitation works. The sanitation workers were protesting the death of two sanitation workers over poor working conditions.

Equality of treatment does not mean the rights to compensation of those who have already suffered environmental hurt should be denied. To deny it will make equality of treatment become problematic. Justice requires that those whose rights were already denied in an oppressive and imbalanced federation such as Nigeria be righted, while equally working for the wellbeing of all. Perhaps what Nigeria needs is what Green (2012) calls "cosmopolitan community solidarity." According to her,

Cosmopolitan community solidarity is this engaged, deeply valued, moral and metaphysical experience of living and belonging together in a larger struggle that leads us to act with the goal of forging the kinds of interconnections that will allow us to help each other to sustain present sources of meaning, beauty, and practical sufficiency, while transforming social institutions and power concentrations that currently block a more just local-and-global future - one in which all of us as differing peers will be well-supported and will better understand the broad dynamics and kinds of practices that are involved in sustaining such free, equal, communally interconnected ways of living. This on-going process of valuing and advancing cosmopolitan community solidarity with non-identical others emerges out of and reinterprets processes of seeking liberty and then social equality-in-difference through learning to discover fuller ideal meanings and to take up one's own related practical responsibilities to, with, and for

others as one comes to more fully understand one's own situation in relation to theirs. This process involves continuing development of characteristic habits of felt concern for and with others, which over time become reflectively expressed in collaborative, ecologically sensitive, transformative practices in which cosmopolitan community solidarity takes on meanings of mutual recognition, interactive support, and growth of new knowledge and insight through everyday processes of reflective living, as well as processes of problem-solving inquiry. (p. 245)

In this kind of cosmopolitan community solidarity already envisioned in the moral cosmopolitan beloved community of King, environmental and economic injustice have to be righted while there is an ardent promotion of values of brotherhood/sisterhood that ensure that everybody is valued and catered for by the system. Nigerians natural resources are intended for the good of all Nigerians no matter where they are found. They have to be equitably re-distributed following just economic policies that take into account those who have already borne and will bear the hazards of exploitation of those natural resources.

Conclusion

The foregoing has revealed that Nigeria's natural resources have been a source of conflict. The challenge of how to allocate the revenue coming from natural resources especially oil and gas has bred warfare and struggle in the land. Many formulas have been proposed on the allocation of revenue from natural resources, especially oil and gas. These formulas were not examined here as they were not the focus of concern. The focus of concern is on providing ethical principles that can pervade the choice of any formula. The moral cosmopolitan viewpoint rooted in the philosophy of Martin Luther King was examined and proposed as viable ethical framework in managing Nigeria's natural resources. The moral cosmopolitan vision transcends ethnicity, race, political affiliations, religious leanings, sectional and regional interests to speak of all Nigerians as brothers and sisters in one community. But it is also attentive to the vulnerable who have suffered more from natural resource exploitation. Following the African ancient principle of *Ujamaa*, *Ubuntu*, and communalism it is possible for the wealth coming from Nigeria's natural resources to be harnessed for the

benefits of all while not neglecting those who have suffered environmental damages previously.

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