Resource Abundance: A Dutch Disease Perspective

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Abstract

Although, the discovery of a certain resource is often received with great gladness, its boom is again often received with positive shocks. Infact, most countries of the world are a times positively embarrassed with wealth from booming sectors of their economies. Yet, what happen to other competing sectors of such economies? Of course, it results to abandoning and killing of other viable and important sectors of these economies. For every economy to experience development, it must be diversified and make other sectors relevant. Of course, once more there are a number of countries that have done better without natural resource abundance than the so-called resources abundant nations of the world.

Keywords: Resource abundance, Dutch disease, Oil

Introduction

Every country in the world is differently endowed with natural resources as well as human resources. Some of these countries are moderately endowed with such resources; while, others are abundantly blessed with these natural resources. In some cases, some of these countries of the world neither have natural resources nor skilled or quality human resources that can move their economies to sustainable growth and development. Some of them have quality human resources, but no natural resources. Yet, these countries are expected to compete for survival in the same world with those countries that are so endowed with abundance in natural resources in so many ways. This is why we shall try to address the question of whether resources abundance is a blessing or a curse to those countries that are so endowed with such natural resources. Pat Utomi (2001) had asked "Is oil a blessing or a curse to Nigeria? In other words, are these resources abundant nations of the world better-off than those resources less nations of the world? Or are they worse-off? We may culminate our question as "are resources considered blessing or curse to

resources abundant nations"? If they become a curse to these nations, then we have the Dutch Disease situation. We shall try to give explanation of the concept of the Dutch disease situation in due course in our analysis.

Literature Review

Examining the history of most of these resources abundant nations, we discovered that most of them are wallowing in poverty, hunger, diseases and squalor-amidst abundance. And, there are some countries or nations of the world, the so-called resource abundant-less or simply resource-less nations of the world that are better-off than the so-called resource abundant nations. We can argue further that, resources are supposed to be a means for developing these economies of the world rather than a weapon for killing their economies.

There are two schools of thought on the resources development theory. The first is the school that believes in resources abundance as the only way to change the economy in terms of their development status. Of course, they argued that natural resources availability to a nation will empowered her to develop the economy in general by way of improving wages and salaries. Thereby, increasing expenditure absolutely to change the level of development and life quality of the people.

John Cairnes have been identified in terms of literature as the first to actually present the idea of a boom when in 1857, he carried a study on the effects of the 1851 Australian gold discoveries on other sectors of the economy. But in concise literature, Corden (1984) and Neary and van Wijnbergen (1986) described a booming sector theory as the sectoral allocation of productive factors in response to favorable shock emanating from either a resources discovery or an increase in the price of some commodity-typically an exportable one. Hence, they argued that the contraction or stagnation of the traded sectors is sometimes regarded as the Dutch disease.

Oftentimes, these 'resources abundance' is also referred to as "resource boom" in economics. This is because it brings or creates such confusion in planning and expenditure by making the countries affected to miss the direction of planning because of excess revenue. This leads us to certain characteristics of development that were better described as the "Dutch Disease" DD. as stated earlier which can equally lead to what is called the Political Dutch Disease (PDD).

The other school of thought is that which believes that resource abundance is a Curse to a nation rather than a blessing. In other words, this school of thought believes that resource abundance has rather taking these countries several years backward in terms of the level of growth and development that they would have achieved. Their argument is that these resources abundance has rather killed other sectors of the economies of the affected countries.

The national resources abundant nations of the world are not measured in terms of whether they belong to the G8 Nations which are the largest economies of the world or the G20 countries which are the most developed countries of the world. But, natural resource abundance nations are those countries that are blessed with natural resources by God. Such as oil, coffee, rubber, forest resources, coal, gas, fishery drug etc.

In most cases, natural resource boom results in increasing levels of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and thereby increasing the welfare for energy producing nations. But Matsuyama (1992) Sachs and Warner (1995, 1999) and their followers have modelled economic growth as a function of the relative size of the manufacturing sector. Therefore, a boom occurring from natural resources can be a curse and not a blessing as witnessed in some countries today

Our analysis will therefore, be based on what resource abundance or natural resource boom can bring to a nation. Better life quality Or miseries? This is where and why the Dutch Disease concept surfaced in the early 1960s particularly in the Netherland.

Accordingly, resources abundant nations are countries that have been blessed with abundant natural resources. They are also called resource rich nations of the world. We may not be able to mention all of them. But the facts remain clear that they have natural resources which other countries of the world don't have. Such countries have enjoyed heavy inflow of revenue from the exports of such natural resources to very powerful countries of the world that needs them for their industrial development and sustainability.

On the other hand, the non-resource abundant nations are countries which have little natural resources or non-natural resource nations of the world. There exist many countries of the world which fall under these categories of resources situation. Yet, some of them are even regarded the most powerful countries of the world today. What an irony? The question that we still can ask is that "Is resources abundance a blessing or a curse"? To every rational economist and non-economist alike, the discovery of any abundant resources should bring the sigh of relieve to every nation that is blessed with such endowment.

Note that such endowment of primary resources is what leads to changes in an economy in terms of increases in income vis-à-vis wages, budgets and for budget curve moving in the direction of Swagger growing budget curve. By this analysis, resource abundance is considered as a good and not a bad. Except the school of thought which behave otherwise.

The various income hypotheses like the Absolute Income Hypothesis by John Maynard Keynes, Permanent Income Hypothesis by Milton Freidman, the Relative Income Hypothesis by James Dusenbery down to life cycle hypothesis by Kuznets all explained what changes in earnings can do or cause in changing the life quality of an individual in a given environment or nation. The higher the income, the higher or greater will be the expenditure absolutely and even in relative terms down to the retirement age of the individual. Hence, our *apriori* expectation is clear that positive results are expected with resource abundance which is not always the case in the long-run. Of course, in the short-run, the benefit can be glaring. Where the opposite is found, we assume various terms of Dutch Disease situation. We shall try to expose this weakness in our analysis as a way of showing the presence of Dutch Disease in an economy. Therefore, when a country discovers some tradable mineral resources, it becomes stronger in terms of foreign reserves, and equally becomes capable of being developed from the earnings of such natural resources. Accordingly, the discovery of any tradable goods truly becomes a blessing by helping a nation to face her constitutional obligations to the people, but mostly in the short run as said earlier.

The Dutch disease theory therefore, refers to the situation in which a boom in an export sector mostly due to resources abundance, leads to a shift of production factors towards the booming sector and an increase in the prices of non-tradable goods and services, thus hurting the rest of the tradable goods sector. Daniel (1986) explained that resource curse has two main areas of active research: Political economy of mineral rent generation and distribution and general equilibrium effects of a mineral boom, including the spending effects of the mineral rents.

Let us be clear about the issue of resource abundance. That, an increase in export earnings during boom period results in an appreciation of the real exchange rate and in a loss of competitiveness of tradable goods sectors that are not associated with the boom generally referred to as Dutch Disease. There are a lot of literatures on price vulnerability that show that price shocks can jeopardize development. Guillaumout P and Guillamount Jeranneneys (1999 and 2003) contended that:

The global interest on natural resources and raw materials has been part of the efforts to improve governance and to reduce conflicts in the world. This tends to shed more light on the long standing problem of international price fluctuation that affected developing countries of the world today. A number of countries remain vulnerable to price shocks as the situation does not seem to change.

The instability of exports earnings has also extended to public finance which could generate serious imbalances. Thus, during a regime of monetary and fiscal policy, the growth of tax receipts, as well as an easy resource to external borrowing leads to an increase in public expenditures which results in public deficit during periods of declining prices. These deficits are in turn difficult to absorb, owing to the downward rigidity of expenditure, especially those on wages and salaries. As a result, inflation and public indebtedness become a chronic problem. Guillamout, Jerenneney and Brun, (1999) that:

Beside debt service, public investment constitutes one of the most flexible components of public expenditure. Its instability, induced by that of export results in a lower average rate of return, due to the low return of many investments launched in boom periods, compared to the higher return of those given up when shortfalls occur.

Another extreme view by Colliew and Hoef Flw (2002) was that, suppose the presence of primary commodities gives rise to a rent seeking behavior and favors the financing of rebels, then, they believe that the exports earnings will exacerbate feelings of frustration.

The argument above is that excess revenue from boom or resources abundance facilitates the financing of rebels and other insurgence or terrorist's activities in most countries faced with these growing phenomena in the world today.

Literature Review

The Dutch Disease (DD) is a situation in which the discovery of a primary mineral resource in any country of the world, instead of boosting exploitation and harmonious

development of the economy, rather leads to decline or total collapse of economic activities in other sectors.

During the 1970s, the Netherland or Hollandis guilder appreciated relative to most currencies in Europe. Thereby, causing both the textiles and clothing industries to almost vanish. This situation was caused by the movement of labour from the manufacturing sector to the booming sector (oil and gas). There was also a decline in metal manufacturing, mechanical engineering, vehicles, ships, and even construction and building materials. The service sector expanded noticeably, and seemed to be taking over from the other sectors.

Dorance and Leeson (1997), traced the idea of *DD* itself back to Meade who spent six months in Australia in 1956. While there, he observed the effect of growth in Australia's resource exports, and identified what came to be called the Dutch Disease (Corden 1996). Thus, the first paper actually approaching the question of the Dutch Disease was by Meade and (Russell 1957). Corden (1984), and Corden and Neary (1982), are the cornerstone of a vast Dutch Disease literature that developed around how a natural resource boom can trigger a process of 'deindustrialization'.

David (1985) describes it as a phenomenon that was introduced to a country by a sudden modification in earnings from a sector which caused a contraction in other tradable goods sectors caused by the expansion on the non-tradable goods sector. Nelson (1999) was of the view that, countries that are rich in natural resources are always exposed to a very dangerous situation. As such blessings turn out to be an economic sickness

There is need to understand the situation in the Netherland was that the discovery of a large natural gas reserve led to a decline in its industrial base owing to inflationary pressure on the guilder as expressed above. As a result of similar phenomena in so many countries of the world, it led to dangerous trends that have often left so many of these countries into one crisis or the other. For instance, the oil boom periods of 1973 and 1979/80 were difficult situations all over the world for petroleum exporting countries (Bright 1991). This was a painful experience to petroleum exporting countries, of which Nigeria was one and is still one. In effect, the discovery and exploitation of petroleum in commercial quantity in Nigeria, particularly during the oil boom periods of the 1970s and 1980s led to parallel declines of economic activities in other sectors, principally the agricultural sector which was then the leading sector of the economy and the major foreign exchange earner for the country as well as the major sector providing employment for over 80% of Nigeria's population (FGN, 1983). Other sectors such as the industrial and the manufacturing sectors have also suffered declines but not as much as the agricultural sector.

According to Bature, (2013), the Dutch Disease originated from Europe, particularly from Holland. The term DD was first used in an English Journal called The Economist on June 26,1977 (Koutassila, 1998). The analysis described a certain phenomenon known as the Netherland Syndrome or the Hollandis Syndrome, and branded as the Dutch Disease.

Accordingly, Nowak (1994), explain that the syndrome was simply referred to as the Dutch Disease. Likewise, Coussy (1991:64), and Christine, (2003) also called it the "Hollandis sickness". The Dutch Disease phenomenon was even in existence long before the situation was

actually brought to limelight with the collapse of the manufacturing sectors and the subsequent unemployment in the Dutch economy. Corden (1984), explained that the abundance of gold in Australia, the growth of capital in Switzerland, the growth of gold in Spain and the United States of America in the 16th century were situations or elements that also constituted the Dutch Disease. They could not establish institutions such as in international trade comparative advantage to maximize these abundances.

Countries of the world often tend to experience serious declines in the output of other sectors of their economies, whenever the discovery of particular natural resources seems to imprint in the minds of its citizens that poverty has come to an end road in their economy. Thus, Al-Sabah (1988), argued that "the DD is not unique to oil and gas exporting countries alone." The natural gas discoveries in the Netherlands in the 1960s led to an appreciation in the real exchange rate, brought about not so much by an appreciation in the nominal wage increase ahead of that of West Germany, but with the net result that her export industries were squeezed and a decline in Dutch manufacturing set in.

The boom in technologically advanced parts of Japan's manufacturing sector in the 1960s had adverse effects on the less dynamic tradable sectors, including agriculture. The boom in the export of Swiss bonds and money in the 1970s led to a real appreciation in the Swiss franc and had an adverse effect on traditional Swiss exports and export-competing industries. In the words of Lord Kahn (1977:82):

An exogenous increase in the value of the Sea oil and gas begins to diminish, about the turn of the 21st century, our island will become desolate. Any disease which threatens that kind of apocalypse deserves close attention.

Booming sector's output such as natural resources raises the marginal productivity of labour in the sector. This situation of a shift of labour from the other sectors will ensue and a contraction of the tradable sector will result from its reduced use of production factors due the effect of resources movement (Corden, 1982). The effect is called the supply side effect of a boom. On the demand side effect, a primary material boom, leads to increases in income at home and as such increases the demand for all goods. The price of tradable is set in the world markets. The boom's extra spending raises the prices of non-tradable goods, resulting in further appreciation of the real exchange rate. The implication of this development is that labour would shift from the tradable to the non-tradable sectors, resulting in a contraction in the non-booming tradable sectors. Ellman, (1981:147) added to the above analysis by saying that "cheap domestic energy seemed wholly favourable to the Netherland economy, at least into the late 1960s and early 1970s".

Discussion

The Nigerian Dutch Disease came into focus when oil was discovered in commercia quantity in Nigeria in the 1960s. The nation was even then still heavily reliant on farm produce as well as tin and columbite for most of her revenue. According to (Bature 2012), the end of the civi war in 1970, saw oil gaining ascendancy among Nigerian's agriculture and mineral resources From "a net contributor of less than 20 percent to the revenue of Nigeria, the contribution to revenue from the oil sector rose steadily to over 70 percent in less than five years" as found in (FGN 1983:3). Diallo (1971), explained that 'Before the Civil War, Nigeria was the 2nd mos important oil producer in the Common Wealth, the 3rd in Africa, coming after Libya and Algeria the 1st and only producer in West Africa". The impression imprinted on the minds of mos Nigerians was that no other area of our natural resources deserved to be further nurtured excep oil. Agriculture was left for the aged and very young children, following the rural drift to urbar areas for jobs empowered by oil money, Gambo and Mai-lafia (2000:69). Adedeji (1989:115) maintained that agricultural sector had, at independence in 1960 alone, constituted about 65% of the total output and accounted for about 90% of foreign exchange earnings from exports and 80% of total employment. In like manner, Robson and Lury (1969) maintained that:

After the WWII, the production and distribution of agricultural products for domestic consumption and for export continued to dominate Nigerian economic activity, but the 1950's witnessed the beginning of industrial development and increasing government participation in nearly all sectors of the economy.

The then agricultural activities were relegated to the background both as an occupation and as a former major foreign exchange earner. Most Nigerians who were gainfully employed in the sector, moved to the oil sector of the economy which was at that time providing ove gopercent of the nation's revenue. Almost every aspect of expenditure, such as salaries, othe recurrent expenditure, capital votes, grants to states, over 95percent of the federal accounts some 98% of our external reserves and several other areas of Nigeria's national life came from oil revenue (FGN 1983). There was massive rural-urban drift of people all over the country in search of white collar jobs, whether skilled or unskilled, educated or not educated, in order to tall and enjoy the revenue from this oil windfall. As a result, the production of cash crops and stable food fell, farm, output also fell drastically. Obansajo (1992:2) expressed his worries on the situation in Nigerian. He stated that:

While Indonesia had oil in part to finance its investment in agricultural development and to use it as jump of leverage, Malaysia was not blessed with the same gift of nature. Yet the story has been told so often of how Malaysia came in the sixties to collect palm oil seedlings from Nigeria. The irony of it is that while Malaysia is currently an exporter of palm oil, Nigeria is now an importer of palm oil and importing from Malaysia. This in part tells the story of our decline in agricultural production.

Nigeria, which formally exported cash and food crops began to import both for industrial and other uses. This situation generally brought about rising bills for imported food and industrial machines which made Nigeria to become more and more dependent on oil.

Shortly after the collapse of the agricultural sector, the situation changed as Nigeria began to produce less than 1 million barrels of petrol daily and sold it for about 3odollars per barrel as compared with the earlier 2.5 million barrels per day in 1979 and at a tagged price of about 4odollars per barrel (FGN 1983). This difficult situation brought about sharp and harsh changes in the country, including the introduction of the structural adjustment programme (SAP). This happened as a result of the oil glut which is why nations of the world should consider the DD as a dangerous problem to their economies.

Three approaches for the determination of the DD in Nigeria as used by Coussy (1989:64) are: The Dutch Disease of adjustment by the rise in the nominal exchange rate; the Dutch Disease of adjustment by the rise in the general level of prices and; the Dutch Disease of adjustment by the abolition of the restrictions to changes. Neglecting other local industries which could have stimulated faster development and in a harmonious manner for oil, created the Dutch Disease atmosphere in Nigeria. For example, chemical industries which fabricate chemical products and plastic materials for industrial uses have not taken off fully. It is believed that the painting industry, the detergents plastic materials, and automobile have the right to substitute important primary products for producing industrial chemicals for foreign exports. Again, attention needed to be given to priority areas like agriculture and agro-allied industry. The major preoccupation was to invest the revenue from petrol profitably to the non-oil sectors of the Nigerian economy, which is to say, diversify the economic base of the nation for national growth and development. What Nigeria needed was sectoral diversification. Henry (1991), in his study discovered that in the middle of 1980, Nigeria was the only country out of six countries (Nigeria, Indonesia, Algeria, Iran, Venezuela, Trinidad and Tobago), whose level of life quality had fallen below the shock level. The performance of the Nigerian economy was summarized into three main points as follows:

- The specific uses to which petroleum revenue was put conditioned the structure of socio-political sharing. The social interest and class contrast were low because the state was under pressure to render services to the people which continued from military government.
- 2. There was no much pressure to use petroleum revenue to ameliorate the agricultural sector productivity. This is where Nigeria differs from Indonesia in the study. In Indonesia, petroleum revenue was used to ameliorate the agricultural sector. In Nigeria, that was not done. Hence, while Indonesia progressed, Nigeria declined economically.
- 3. Macroeconomic adjustment of Nigeria led to declining national revenue, and this differs from other petroleum exporting countries. Indonesia adopted a rapid exchange rate between 1978 and 1980 in form of devaluation. Venezuela, Trinidad and Tobago experienced a large devaluation in 1981 without any hesitation on such adjustment.

Coussy, (1991:72) maintained that while, Cameroon escaped the DD, the potential difficulties involved in relying on primary exports have been on the export prices and revenue nstability, declining terms of trade, and balance of payment crises resulting from the collapse of primary exports market prices in Nigeria. The Nobel Laureate, Joseph Stiglitz (2003:1) stated that, to ensure proper management of oil revenue, leaders need; "to regard their country's national resources as the nation's endowment, and that these resources do not belong exclusively to the current government and generation, but to all citizens and generations. The current government and generation are simply trustees. To use these resources for one's own penefits, leaving future generations impoverished, is to steal their patrimony".

The management of revenue, however, has been widely observed in natural resource-ich developing countries to be very problematic. Thus, they are commonly known as the resource curse' countries. These nations are as diverse as Nigeria, Iran and Venezuela. They have, ronically, fallen victims to their own prosperity. Oil-rich developing countries have consistently under-performed economically when compared with resource poor developing countries in such areas as human development, economic growth, human rights, democratic governance, and conflict prevention.

In the same way, Utomi (2003:1) has asserted that every oil windfall has created policy shocks that have increased uncertainty and resulted in retrenchment rather than real growth of the Nigerian economy. He further cited definite instances to corroborate his stance as follows:

The Yom Kippur War windfall of 1973 facilitated the Udoji awards and the damage to the Consumption ethic of Nigerians, which hunts us today. The Iranian revolution windfall of 1979/80 sets us up for Dutch Disease after DD as expanding budget begot the open general License for imports that led us down the path of debt crisis. The ultimate was1991windfall following the Gulf War which increased our recklessness so much that in the year of that windfall we ended up with perhaps the worst deficit we had up to that point, creating the inflationary pressures that did havoc to real incomes.

The dramatic Arab embargo of October 1973, which quadrupled world oil prices, set in notion a chain of events that was to have a great impact on the economies of virtually all ndustrialized and developing oil-importing and oil-exporting countries. How important were the oil windfalls to developing exporters? Did these countries merely consume their terms of trade gains? If not, what strategies did they formulate for using their new wealth to promote growth and development? Did they enhance social well-being and raise consumption? Or did the difficulties of managing producer economics through volatile, poorly predicted terms of trade shifts nullify the potential gains, perhaps even turning them into net losses? Is it in fact possible for a country receiving a large windfall gain to end up less well-off than it might have been without it? What lesson can be learned from these natural resource countries' experiences?

Accordingly, Nelson (1999) drew the conclusion that for a sustainable development to be achieved, countries rich in exhaustible natural resources need to consider the depletion of these resources over time and the volatility of world commodity prices in the short-run. The DD theory, particularly in the 1970s, showed that contrary to what common sense would indicate, natural resources are not a blessing. This particular reinterpretation gained almost general acceptance after comparing the poor economic performance of Latin America and African countries (rich in natural resources) and the economic success of the Asian tigers (poor in natural resources) in the 1970 and 1980s. He further maintained that some countries seem to fit the DD prediction.

The quest to gain power and control enormous wealth accruing from such windfalls or booms was seriously responsible for such painful experiences. The DD in Nigeria, brought about changes in governments and other serious forms of instability and miseries. The 1983 coup d'etat, like any other coup in Nigeria, was purely the product of attendant problems brought about by massive importation of goods and services due to the large decline in their production in the country. Workers' hopes were that the military government was, in accordance with military tradition, going to turn things around for the better, but the DD situation was already bad and difficult to rescue.

There was a tragic shift from agriculture to oil in the case of Nigeria. Accordingly, Gambo and Mai-Lafia (2000:66) had argued that, more tragic was the gross incompetence of the leadership to use the financial resources through the sale of oil to mitigate the distortions in the economy. The tragedy can be explained in terms of the 'curse of resources abundance' which is the Dutch Disease.

Most writers may not be wrong to assume that the persistent military rule or prolonged military domination in many African countries which led to corruption, mismanagement of resources and the rigging of elections in recent years are all caused by the desires to claim and rule the economies. This is also referred to as Political Dutch Disease.

A new concept of the Dutch Disease called the political Dutch Disease has recently been developed. Lane (1996) and Tornell (1999); Baland and Francois (2000) have attributed the Dutch Disease to an increased rent-seeking and a pernicious distributive struggle for resource rents by numerous and equally powerful groups, which result in a decline of the level of investment and in a lower growth rate.

Alvarez, Cheibub, Limongi and Przeworski (ACLP, 1997) have explained that three conditions must be fulfilled for a regime to be classified as a democracy: the chief executive must be elected, the legislative must be elected, and there must be more than one ruling party. It follows that a dictatorship is a political regime under which at least one of these three conditions is not met. It also results in political Dutch Disease where natural resources or windfalls do not only lead to slower economic growth but also to generate and reinforce authoritarian tendencies in third world political regimes. Thus, Lane (1999) has argued that resources abundance can be used to exacerbates the power asymmetry between the populace and the political elites. That part of the elites' power is derived from their greater share of national income. The impact of this is increased income inequality with two different effects (the direct and indirect impacts). The

direct impact is due to the elite's control over the government which allows them to obtain a larger share of the resource rent. The indirect impact is due to economic decline associated with the Dutch Disease, which increases income inequality because the benefits from growth are more evenly distributed than resource rents. This explains why, for example, resource-rich countries such as Nigeria, Argentina and Venezuela have been outperformed by resource-poor countries such as Korea and Taiwan.

Boycko Shleifer Vishny (1995) has asked why Communist dictators such as Stalin and Kruschev were so powerful but yet not as rich as capitalist dictators such as Marcos and Mobutu. Why didn't they use their immense power to accumulate wealth? It is far costlier for the communist elites to accumulate power through the private wealth than to accumulate power through their influence over the process of rent distribution because of the orientation of the type of political system they belong to. Note that dictatorship and slow growth are not the only possible outcomes of resource dependence. For instance, the United States, Norway, Canada and Botswana in Africa are countries where natural resources have contributed to economic growth and did not undermine democracy.

Concluding Remarks

When we invest in several sectors of the economy, we can avoid government jobs and /or white cola jobs. In doing this, we will be able to create employment for other citizens of our countries. After all, if we see nothing in government employment, and if we see our government as broke, then why do we need to rely or depend on government employment? The diversification of the economy will be possible and a reality if we move our energies toward investments in the country.

One of the major problem for instance in Nigeria is that as it is being talked about every day and every time is just words and no action. We need to diversify the economy and not words upon words. Diversification should be physical, tangible and real. The history of the Dutch disease theory is an interesting one. We should therefore, change our diversification mentality into a reality and not mere words expression all the time and all the years that are passing without action.

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