

**THE POLITICS OF RESOURCE CONTROL  
IN NIGERIA**

**(A Case Study of Niger Delta)**

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**THE POLITICS OF RESOURCE CONTROL IN NIGERIA : ( A CASE STUDY OF NIGER  
DELTA)**

A Project Submitted to the Department of Political Science ,Faculty of Management and Social  
Sciences, Federal University, Gusau.

In partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Award of Bachelor Degree in political Science

(B.Sc Political Science)

**BY**

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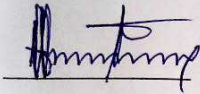
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**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

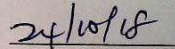
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## CERTIFICATION

This project by Mukhtar Lauwali (1410206002) has met the partial requirements for the award of Bachelor of Science Degree in Political Science, Faculty of Management and Social Sciences, Federal University, Gusau and is approved for its contribution to knowledge.



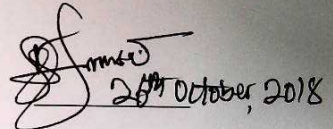
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## DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to Almighty Allah, his Noble Prophet Muhammad Rasulullah (PBUH) and loving memory of my father, Alhaji lawali Musa Liman, and my mother Hajiya Hauwa'u may Allah grant her soul eternal rest Ameen.

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## ABSTRACT

For some time now, the subject of this research has been on the front burner of public discourse through incisive and engaging features. This work highlighted the great potential of Africa and urgent developmental needs of this vital geopolitical region of the Niger Delta with critical analysis of the link between variables of ethnicity and religion as vital instrumentalities fueling the quest for resource control. This work has also through precise and analytical inquiries traced the historical antecedents of resource control vis-à-vis the environment as the main cause of conflict globally and the Niger Delta situation is such a pathetic one due to the degree of devastation done to it and the complexity of the crisis. The work also looked at the various governmental attempts aimed at giving solution to resource control through requisite institutional framework like the Niger Delta Development Commission and the Ministry for Niger Delta.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### I. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

There is no denying the fact that the issue of resource control has grossly been misconceived, misinterpreted and misrepresented in various quarters based on the emotional and/or perceptual standpoint of different individuals. Through threats and blackmail, efforts are being made to treat the phrase "Resource Control" as a national shibboleth and anathema.

It is important to point out that the issue of resource control should not be misconstrued as the peculiarity of Niger Delta area alone, but applicable to all the states that make up the Nigerian Federation. We must acknowledge the fact that every state in Nigeria has its own share of resources and it is the question of how they explore and develop it. Similarly, resource control include all natural resources whatever they may be, deposited or located in the country. Resource control is not the same thing with oil control (Michael, 2001).

The issue of resource control has generated so much controversy over the years to the extent that a lot of people have been emotionally carried away in the way they go about their agitation or condemnation of resource control. This has been as a result of palliative measures adopted by our leaders in solving the problem of resource control. Rather than finding a permanent solution to the problem, the emotion of the people was or has been manipulated and become antagonistic to resource control by the political intrigue of our leaders.

In regard to the above, the 17 southern governors' forum proclaims its stand on this issue. Its communiqué at the end of their meeting in 2001 defines resource control as "the practice of true federalism and natural resources and in which the federating units express their rights to primarily control the natural resources within their borders and make a great contribution toward the maintenance of common services of the government at the centre" (Diamond, 1983:25). This dogma cannot be true in its entirety as the individual and not the state is the final repository of this general will (Dafinone, 2001). These developments underscore the national dimensions of the Niger Delta problems and their relevance to the corporate existence of Nigeria. The nation is however, yet to have a clear meaning of the concept of resource control. One of the former Governors asking for it, Chief Lucky Igbenidion of Edo State was reported by Thursday Newspaper of April 15, 2001 to have defined resource control thus:

"Resource control means if I as a Benin man goes to Kebbi State and finds gold, the resource should belong to me and not the State or the Federal Government. All I owe the Federal Government is to pay taxes and royalties. The same principle should apply if a Kano man comes to Edo, Delta or Bayelsa and strikes oil he only pays royalties and taxes to the State or the Federal Government" (Michael, D 2001).

This definition departs from a commonly held notion that resource control is the grant of power and rights to the states to exploit the oil and mineral resources found in their domain. Lucky Igbenidion's idea smacks of individuals taking control of the resources which if it is adopted could further compound the miseries of the people. The country therefore is yet to know the true meaning of resource control.

Resource control in today's political lexicon refers to the appropriation of mineral deposits found in some states by such states. By implication where such minerals are located they become the property of that state by alienation. This is to enable the government of these states to pursue development programmes that will ameliorate the burdens and sufferings of the people. The demand, strange as it seems, is the collective desire of the people. The government responded by whittling down this demand, to accommodate its interest by virtue of Section 162 (2) of the 1999 Constitution which gives back 13 percent of the money generated from oil resources to the various state governments. The reason for this capitulation arose not out of sympathy or love but because of the ferociousness with which the youths in the oil states were advancing their course.

The Niger Delta is located in Southern Nigeria, a geographical framework mainly populated by Ijaw, Urhobo, Isoko, Itsekiri, Ibibio, Ogoni, Ikovere ethnic nationalities spreading over a total land mass of about 70,000 square kilometers. The region is inhabited by estimated population of 20 million Nigerians in 2000 communities.

The region is said to start from North of Agboh in Delta State, southward to palm point just below Akassa and the Nun River Benin estuary to east of the Imo River estuary. The entire region has various types of sediments arising from the River Niger deposits. It has the geomorphological characteristics of acrid swamps, mangrove vegetation and difficult terrain that posed difficult problems for development.

The area is also home to Ogonis, the Ikwerres, Ekpeyes, Ogbas, Egbemas, Engennes, and the Abuas of Ahoada division as well as the Obolos, and the Opobo people. In addition to the Ijaws of Western Delta are the Urhobos, Isokos, Itshekiris and part of Kwale. In the present composition, the Niger Delta covers six states of south-south namely Akwa-Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross-River, Delta, Edo and Rivers. However, the legislation of the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) in 2000 has further expanded the frontiers of the Niger Delta to include Abia, Imo, Akwa-Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo, Rivers and Ondo States thus making the political map of the Niger Delta to comprise nine states.

The region remains pervasively poor and underdeveloped, lacking virtually all forms of social amenities and infrastructure, including electricity, portable water, medical facilities, road, shelter etc. the area suffers a regrettable legacy of hunger, high and rising unemployment, communal conflict, youth restiveness and all forms of social insecurity.

Why is the Niger Delta region criminally neglected and devoid of meaningful development despite its immense contribution to the nation's economy? Who owns the natural resources in a federating unit (as in the case of Niger Delta)? Can there be federal polity without federating units? Why has there been over the past decades, strong advocates for true federalism? And how workable is it? For the purpose of our argument on resource control it should be more appropriate rather to cast our gaze toward OPEC countries or other oil producing developing countries whose circumstances are more suited to us here in Nigeria. In which of the OPEC countries or oil producing developing countries is resource control practiced? What are the antecedents and lesions available to us on the relationship between the foreign

multinational oil companies and the various oil producing developing countries? It is also lost on the proponents of resource control that requires heavy capital investment as oil, is a function of who invests in the venture? Which of the states where oil is found in Nigeria has the capacity to make the massive capital investment either jointly or individually to prospect and extract the oil therein?

As a context of both our constitutional status and international law, as a constituent of Federal Republic of Nigeria who was created by the same entity, on what locus can the resource controls states seek to control something which neither the constitutional status of the country, nor those of international law accords them? On what legal platform will they derive the power to enter into joint venture agreement with foreign multinational oil entities? For example, which multinational oil giant will want to enter into concessionary agreements on oil issues with a state or group of states that do not have any iota of sovereign power over what is to be agreed upon? What guarantees can such oil companies have such from such states for the protection of its operations and investments? Hypothetically, what will a federal government that is divested of its powers on such issues is expected to do when legal, security and other problems arise between the resource controlling states and the multinational company or companies? Where is the nation grasping with the incessant hostage takings by youth militia? Can't we take a lesson from how the Bakassi issue has turned out? What will happen to the legal status and structure of the Nigerian National Petroleum Company (NNPC) as a sole entity recognized to enter into agreements with foreign oil concerns for the purpose of exploiting the nation's oil and gas resources? Will resource control oust the power of NNPC in this respect? Will this lead to the formation of state oil concerns and fresh JV agreements



between the resource controlling states and multinational oil companies? If so, what legal recognition will be available to such agreements locally and internationally? How then can we extricate ourselves from the tangle web of legal and constitutional issues that will result from this? These are questions which this research work attempts to answer most, if not all.

## 2. STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Given the region's sensitive and fragile ecosystem and in spite of the vast resources endowment, its immense potential for socio-economic growth and its contribution to the overall development of Nigeria, it remains increasingly under threat of rapidly deteriorating economic and environmental conditions as well as social tension.

This research will delve into the above problem and critically analyze the deep seated crisis in the region which significantly constitutes a barrier towards the enthronement of genuine unity, harmony of interest and a balanced national development.

This research will further expound the potentials in the Niger Delta and failure of government to address these maladies and bring it under collective consensus and firm control as it is evident that nature has done its part by freely depositing valuable treasures as life support systems in the Niger Delta. What remains missing is that the Nigerian Nation-State is yet to play her role to overcome, tame and nurture the harsh environment to ensure the overall well-being of the people of Niger Delta in particular and the nation at large.

In the recent time, the Niger Delta crises have assumed serious and dangerous dimensions, witnessing militia groups abducting foreign workers, blow up some oil flow stations and disrupting oil business in demand for ransom for environmental damage from oil exploration, rising unemployment and poverty in the region. This work attempted to succinctly and in an articulate manner have an insight to these issues and possibly proffer solutions after a critical look at various government intervention measures through requisite institutional framework like NDDC.

Clamor for true federalism, merits and demerits of resource control and overall implication of resource control toward Nigeria's development should also be examined. As the character of these crises manifest and potential dynamics have challenged the very stability of the Nigerian states and the future of the country as a corporate entity. These are indeed fundamental premises, concrete existential problems on the basis of which this study is not only timely but also useful and relevant.

### 3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

These are tentative questions to the problems raised above, which seek to be addressed by this research work. These questions can be seen as follows:

- (1) What are the root causes of conflicts in the Niger Delta area?
- (2) To what extent is the issue of identity and resource control agitations responsible for the conflicts?
- (3) Why is the Niger Delta still prone to conflicts despite the effort of the government to develop the area? And to what extent has the movement sustained the conflicts?

#### 4. OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The general objective of the study includes an attempt to in-depth analysis of the role of government, the polity, and to establish in precise term, how an understanding of the dialectics of these variables may help resolve the apparently overwhelming constellation of the crises in the Niger Delta.

The specific objectives of the study include:

- 1) To examine the historical antecedents to the politics of resource control in Nigeria, from the colonial epoch through the post colonial period which constitutes a barrier towards the enthronement of genuine unity, harmony of interest and balance of National Development.
- 2) To review the contemporary crisis and situate them in clear historical perspectives.
- 3) To examine the success and failures of economy in the crisis in Niger Delta with special reference to the actions or inactions of the government, the policy, and the attendant consequences.

#### 5. RESEARCH ASSUMPTION

This is realistic expectations about the variables we attempt to discover the correlation. However, these Research assumptions will provide a basis to develop theories and adequate empirical evidence to proof the assumption.

1, the root causes of Niger Delta crisis lie in the history of the struggle for self determination, local autonomy and democracy of the ethnic minorities in the region which goes as far back as the second decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

2, the creation of Nigeria by the British as there colony in 1914, consigned the people of the Niger Delta to the status of ethnic groups, which dominated political life in what later became western and eastern region in Nigeria. The initial reaction

of the minorities was to protest against the perceived majoritarian stranglehold of the three ethnic regional blocs created by Britain, Mustapha (2003:8).

3, the study assume that their agitators had no intention of undermining the structure of the country or denying those states the oil proceeds, but that equity and fairness must be the yardstick for the shearing of oil wealth.

#### 6. SCOPE AND LIMITATION

This study is however limited in scope specifically within the realm of the Niger Delta region. It addresses the issue because of fear of its spread and intensity. The study is also limited by time constraints as a result of the short duration of the course. This however, does not undermine the validity and reliability of the positions taken in this study.

Research comprising of Niger Delta region involves large numbers of human resources to cover the administration of interviews and communication of questionnaires. Besides, it also requires large sum of money to cover the research in order to arrive at authentic conclusion.

#### 7. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The significance of this study is to have a hindrance of persistent call for freedom for resource control. It will expose to policy makers to understand the attitude of ordinary people to resource control. It is therefore the researcher's conviction and anticipation that the content to and conception of this work will prove as valuable asset to those who are charged with the responsibility of handling the issue. This research would also go a long way in providing planners, supervisors, administrators, etc with the role of reference and a source of valuable information.

## 1.8 CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

1. Resources, according to Ikporukpo 1998, is any source of economic wealth of a country or anything of material value whether Natural or Commercial resources, for example, Mineral, Land, Capital, Labour or Business enterprises. Natural Resources are useful materials that we got from the earth naturally, e.g. Sunlight, Air, Crude oil, Animals, Coal, Minerals, Plants, and Water among others.

2. Resource Control, is the grant of power and rights to the state to exploit the Oil and Mineral Resources found in their domain by their state. That means where such resources are located they become the property of that state by alienation.

According to Ake (1996), Resource Control generally involves acquiring political power over resources and taken out of the lands and continental shelves or provide a mechanism for the constraint of system resources.

3; Development, according to Rodney (1979), Development is the progressive and transformation in any society to the extent that it lead to multi-dimensional processes having radical implication on the economy, socio-political, cultural and administrative fabrics of the society.

4; Underdevelopment, is seen as the other side of development, hence they are two sides of a coin of development.

In the opinion of Rodney, Underdevelopment as it exist today expresses a particular relationship of exploitation of one country by another. Usually exploitation of third world countries by the developed countries, these unequal trade is propelled by the by the triumph of capitalism on a global scale which continue to appropriate surplus

values by depriving Africans the benefit of their resources. Thus, it is the incapacitation of a society to restructure socio-political and economic activities with a view to attain development.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 2.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, relevant literatures on resource control were reviewed from books, journal articles, conferences and seminar papers. It also propounded the relevant theory best suited for the study.

#### 2.2 THE DEBATE ON RESOURCE CONTROL

Although the politics of resource control cannot be said to be a new phenomenon, it has become a topical issue of debate among scholars in various conferences, summits and seminars.

Auwalu Ya'udu, the then legal adviser to Late General Sani Abacha believes that states cannot control their resources, citing some countries of the world mostly governed by monarchies to back his claim. In his view presented to the Committees on Revenue Allocation and Fiscal Federalism and on Environment and Natural Resources of the National Reforms Conference, the Legal luminary made the following points clear in relation to resource control.

(a) That any claim for absolute or any form of control, ownership, dominion or any other proprietary claim by any state, being a component part of the federation, to hand over mineral resources belonging to the federal government of Nigeria lacks any legal or constitutional basis in Nigeria under International Law.

(b) That it is incorrect to assert that states in Nigerian federation have any claim whatsoever to mineral resources situated under inland, soil or on seabed under Nigerian territorial water and sovereignty. According to our laws and constitutional provisions, such resources belong to the federal government.

(c) States both littoral and non-littoral, do benefit from a distribution of the federation account on account of the derivation principle not by virtue or on the basis of any claim of entitlement to, dominion or possession of natural resources found on their soil and adjacent to it but solely in obedience to an act of the National Assembly passed within a specific objective and in furtherance of the provisions of Section 162 of the 1999 Constitution.

(d) That the provision in the 1999 Constitution, which stipulates that in calculating the share of revenue accruing to them from the consolidated revenue distributed to states, the derivation principle shall be accorded "... no less than 13%..." was arrived at by process of consensus building generated by well-meaning Nigerians from all walks of life and every part of the country during the 1999 Constitutional Conference. This language is flexible and fluid enough to be utilized by the National Assembly, when the need arises, Okonmah (1997), cited in Atsegbua, L, et al.

During the First Republic, the derivation principle as applied strictly because it favored the northern and western regions and it is true that during the post war period and the First Republic, there was a strong agitation for the derivation principle on the allocation of the federation's revenues. This was because the northern and the western regions were subsidizing at a particular time the poorer



eastern region (which included the present south-south zone) and that time the source of revenue was the hard labour of the peasants, Ostheimer (1973:33).

In reaction to the change in attitude to the principle of derivation, Mbanefo (1993) stated that "the speed at which the derivation principle paled into insignificance with changes in both sources of revenue and allocation is purely a political power game. Besides having history on their side, the oil producing states have based their case for their derivation principle in the negative side effect of mining activities in their areas. What most people from the Niger Delta area are crying for is an increase in the derivation fund. Their cry according to Governor Ibori is that "before the oil well dries up, please allow this region to use the monies to diversify their economies so that they can be sustained when in case the wells dry up" (Okonmah, 1997:33). There is no point exploiting these natural resources and using the money in the way that defies all accountability theories and then leave us high and dry when the well dries up, (Okonmah, 1997).

The main cause of Niger Delta crisis includes greed and selfishness, deprivation and poverty and "social injustice". The simple meaning of social injustice according to experts is that the same contribution equals to the same benefit. A person's "benefit" equals his or her "contribution" and no country should be given more when it contributes less or be given less when it contributes more. That is the crux of the matter in Niger Delta crisis.

To quote extensively from the editor of the Daily Independent whose writing on page C4 on Friday, January 2, 2004 said:

“Non-adherence to universally approved safety and environmental standards has left the Niger Delta Basin, where over 96 percent of oil related operations take place, extensively devastated... massive land and atmospheric pollution alongside local input in production operations has remained abysmal as the multinationals source over 90 percent of their requirements, ranging from furniture and chemicals to machines pumps platforms and personnel from their respective home base in Europe and, the United States. This has hurt the Nigerian economy greatly the same way as it stymied the drive for backward integration and technology transfer”.

The idea is so simple and the prospects so exciting that you wonder how anybody could possibly misunderstand it except as a deliberate act of confiscation. One found the judgment delivered by Hon. Justice T.A. Odunowo on 16<sup>th</sup> February, 2000 in Suit Number FHC/LCS/689/95 involving Elugushi and others Vs the Attorney General of the Federation and others most pertinent to the issue of resource control. He had this to say:

It must be emphasized that as of now, land is to Lagos State what oil and gas represent to the oil producing states.

His conclusion therefore was the essential resources of Lagos State must continue to be controlled by that state. It cannot be different from other national resources. All states of the federation must resource control their natural resources. It has been documented that the plundering of the resources of the Niger Delta people and their struggle against exploitation, environmental degradation and control of their

resources date back to the chattel slavery era in the Sixteenth Century, (Okonta and Douglas, 2001). This continued into the colonial era till date. However, the publicity and tempo of the struggle increased with the formation of the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People for its development.

In the same vein, in October, 1999 the Movement of the Survival of Ethnic Nationality (MOSISEND) among other things demanded for the right of the Ijaw to control their natural resources. Hence Kiama declaration among other things asserted the right of the Ijaw people to ownership and control of their lives and resources. Kiama 1998 Declaration affirmed that:

All land and natural resources (including mineral resources within the Ijaw territory belong to Ijaw community and are the basis of our survival. We cease to recognize all undemocratic decrees that rob our people/communities of the right to ownership and control of our lives and resources, which were enacted without our participated and consent include the land use decree and the petroleum decree etc, (Kiama Declaration, 1998:12).

The provision of the constitution is merely an aspiration of political will of the government that lacked the basic legal condiment. Environmental protection should be fundamental legal right of the citizens and this is applicable to developing countries such as South Arica, Burkina Faso, India, China and others. The right to good environment is closely associated to a right to minimum quality of life and anything that affects health physically, emotions and means of livelihood threatens life itself (Smith, 1998).

After five months of heated debates of National Constitutional Conference (CONFAB 2014), intense lobbying, horses trading and mud's clinging by 492, delegates representing various interests across the country, the National Conference has finally ended.

Many delegates played various roles in propagating their agenda thus, adopting all manners of strategies to ensure that their interests were protected. The agenda that generated heated arguments are South-South which referred as the region that lays the golden egg, the Niger-Delta delegates were led to the conference by former Federal Commissioner and Ijaw leader, Chief Edwin Clark. He is also the self appointed political father of the immediate past President Goodluck Jonathan.

Clark led the South-South delegates at the conference providing them adequate political cover, the chief went extra mile to issue both direct and veiled threats against what he termed "parasitic" regions who constituted themselves as cog in the wheel of progress for their agenda (Constitutional Conference Reform 2014).

Raymond Dokpesi was at the conference under the platform of the media, but he switched from his professional calling to become the "Chief Executor" of his Niger-Delta regions plan. Amnkio Briggs is a Federal government's delegation from Niger-Delta who advocated for the total control of resources by the Niger-Delta with vehemence.

Chief Victor Attar former Akwa-Ibom Governor was the Chief Diplomatic of the region. He commanded respect as a gentleman and Pan-Nigerian even while advocating for the Niger-Delta.

From the Northern part of the country for instance, Yadudu a former Presidential Adviser, headed the Northern delegation, he defended the letters and spirit of the constitution, whenever there was any attempt to flout it as confab rejects new constitution, battle shifts to National Assembly.

### 2.3 RESPONSES TO THE CHALLENGES OF THE ENVIRONMENT

Industrialized countries and developing ones alike realize that the threat to the environment is a global concern. Accordingly, the UN regional organization and NGOs have sponsored summits and conventions on the environment. The UN sponsored summits include the 1972 Stockholm Summit tagged UN Conference on Environment and Development; the 1992 Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit; the Kyoto Summit (protocol on the environment) 1997 and the 2002 Johannesburg Summit on Sustainable Development. (Mason, 1992:34).

Following the UN Agenda 21 adopted at the Rio Summit, the global community has been sensitized to adopt a collective action in facing the global challenge of environmental degradation. The United Nations Environmental Programmed (UNEP) and World Bank were to finance water projects to the tune of \$300 million under the Global Environment Facility (GEF). (Ikporukpo 1998).

In April 2000, African countries formed an African ministerial conference on environment with Nigeria as its president. This form accords African countries the opportunity to take collective action on environmental problems. Environmental protection as a tool for sustainable development is thus included in the agenda for Africa economic integration.

However, the situation in the Niger Delta is better explain by Ololajulo (2006:3), who pointed out that resource control has become a permanent feature of the instability in the region leading to hostilities and affecting the economic well being of the people. Thus, these tensions between social identities and resource control agitations are the issue this study examines as the possible root of the conflicts and subsequent underdevelopment that have become part of the defining characteristics of the life of communities in the Niger Delta region.

According to Ikporukpo (1998:15-17), the cause of the Ogoni-Andoni and the Okrika - Ogoni inter communal conflicts are all related to the role played by resource control agitations from colonial times to oil exploitation activities in the area. He also noted that the policies and programmes of governments and oil companies addresses mainly the conflicts between petroleum exploitation and livelihood, the collapse of rural - urban leakages and the land disputes/community crisis (Ikporukpo 1998:48). The above problems led to the establishment of some government agencies such as Niger Delta Development Board (NDDDB, 1961) The Niger Delta River Basin Development Authority (NDBDA, 1976) The oil mineral producing areas Development Commission (OMPADEC) The Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC, 2000) and the Niger Delta Ministry in (2009) to provide succor and develop the communities in the area.

#### 2.4 ENVIRONMENT AND POLITICS OF RESOURCE CONTROL IN NIGERIA

Principle 22 of the Rio Summit of 1992, states that "indigenous people and their communities have a vital role in environmental management and development

because of their knowledge and traditional priorities. States should recognize and duly support their identities, culture and interests and enable their effective participation in the achievement of sustainable development". Moreover, Principle 16 (polluter pays principle), Endeavour's to promote the internationalization of environmental costs and the use of economic instruments, taking into account the approach that the polluter should principle, bear the cost of pollution, with due regard to public interests and without disturbing international trade and investment, (Mason, 1992:32).

It is in response to these UN Principles on environment that Ken SaroWiwa prepared the Ogoni people over natural resources found in ogoni land and a commensurate compensation by the oil multinational companies (MNCs) that have polluted their environment and threatened their aqua-culture. The refusal by the federal government to oblige Ogoni people their request and subsequent execution of Ken ASaroWiwa in 1995 by the Abacha government expanded the horizon of the environment and resource control agenda in Nigerian Politics. Since then the people of Niger Delta have been clamoring for the restructuring of the country with a view to instituting true federalism. In concrete terms this means that each state of the federation will own all or substantial proportion of the natural resources found in its territory, part of the rents and royalties paid on the exploitation of such mineral resources is to be paid to the federal government by the respective states in order to assist in developing other parts of the country, (Kiama Declaration 1998).

Ayo Dumoye, in his article titled Resource Control: which way forward? Argues that the momentum for resource control by governors in the Niger Delta area increased during the Fourth Republic because of the following reasons:

- (a) The injustice and inequity that characterized the distribution of national resources, particularly oil revenue.
- (b) The issue of derivation as a fundamental principle of revenue allocation.
- (c) Poor infrastructure in Nigeria, especially in the Niger Delta.
- (d) Democratization which has made people free to express themselves, unlike during the military era when such fundamental rights and freedom were violently suppressed.
- (e) Retaliatory measure taken by Southern states in response to the introduction of the Sharia in some Northern states.
- (f) Systematic destruction of the ecosystem in the oil producing area, which led to environmental degradation, pollution, acid rain and unemployment/poverty.
- (g) Failure of the multinational oil companies to contribute to the socio-economic development of the oil producing states.
- (h) Activities of the unemployed youths.
- (i) Resource control used as a vote catching ploy for politicians during general elections, (Dunmoye 2002:7).

## 2.5 RESOURCE CONTROL AND FEDERALISM

According to Awolowo (1968) "federalism is a constitutional system under which the people of any particular territory are politically united in subjection to the control, not of one government supreme over them in all matters and for all purposes, but a number of governments each supreme in a divine sphere of its own,



free completely from the possibilities of encroachment from the rest". This is cardinal and gives rise to the assertion that in a true federal arrangement, no level of government is subordinate one to other, but rather all tiers of government are to coordinate one with another.

Notwithstanding Nigeria's history of the 1950's has attested to the reality of codified federalism and it was the only established time of political freedom in the country, the essential of federalism was demonstrated by a deliberate quest of all Nigerians with intention for a transparent and unique government that would respond to the needs of the generality without distinctive phrases.

Federalism as practiced in Nigeria today is a far cry from what true federalism represents. As the nation awakens to the realities of its ethnic, religious, political diversities and corporate existence, the structure of her federalist claims has to be revisited and refocused. True federalism in other opinions promotes accelerated economic development, it unifies and binds people together, it triggers intellectual dialogue and provokes a healthy rivalry in revenue generation. Federalism as practiced today is likened to a lion chasing an antelope and squeezing out life from it (the lion represents the federal government). This present structure has positioned itself as an octopus firmly gripping the federating units with its poisonous clutch and constantly dictating its destiny.

Nigeria at independence practiced rationalistic federalism. The country was grouped into regions. Each region operated independently without undue interference and hindrance from the top. Bola Tinubu's argument of true fiscal federalism is his "critical issues" series a step in a right direction. He argued that it is

utterly ridiculous and unjust for more than 80 percent of VAT proceeds to be spending outside the state which generated the same percentage.

As a matter of fact, if Nigeria were a true federation, the principle of resource control is justified and in line with the concept and tenets of true federalism. In an ideal federalism or federation, the federating units are autonomous by implication each of the 36 states in Nigeria should be empowered (by a federal constitution) to take charge of their resources and pay taxes and other fiscal obligations to the government at the centre (Adebisi, 1998).

Unfortunately, the devolution of powers, political and fiscal which started in 1954 continued in the 1960 Constitution and affirmed in the Republican Constitution of 1963 with some amendments by the founding fathers of the Nigerian Federalism had its provisions violently suspended in part and amended by the military coupes in 1966. (Asobie 1998:26-28). Though none of the pre-military governance constitution could qualify as "original act of the people of Nigeria" ASobie, (1998:22) the distortions and damage to the constitutional provisions by subsequent authoritarian military administrative fiat through the instruments of decree and edicts, have created serious tension among the nationalities, classes and social groups in Nigeria.

From the foregoing, we can see that Nigeria is a federation by name but a feudal empire in practice or a unitary system in a federal garb. "By the power of this constitutional coup d'etat the central government is given authority to appropriate all the revenue from the juicy resources in the country which it in turn dispenses to the states and local governments according to criteria which are blatantly unfair (Darah, 2001). It is this political economy of feudal rather than fiscal federalism that

emasculates the states and local governments to the points where they are unable to run sustainable programmes. "Nigerians are getting tired of all these emotional defence of moribund and exploitative federal system that only leads to the ignoble situation where the rest of the country will be expected to catch cold each time the federal government sneezes out some toxic air. If Nigeria was not a fraudulent federalism and a jack booth of democracy, the issue of resource control would have been long settled either through a national conference or the proper interpretation or a review of constitution (Asobie, 1998:29-36).

## 2.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

We are concerned with the search for democratic theory and the philosophical undertones behind such theory. Theory refers to a set of paradigmatic, postulations, and propositions propounded to explain a given phenomenon. It is by no means possible to exhaust all the academic theories propounded on the struggle for resource control. Against this background we shall consider and analyze a particular theory and situate its relevance to our study. The theory we shall focus on is the Frustration Aggression Theory.

The rationale behind the adoption of the above theory is not farfetched. This is owing to the fact that the theory accommodates both description and prescription of the developments in the Niger Delta which is our focal point. This is in line with the discontent and long term of neglect that breed tensions of various dimensions.

## 2.6.1 FRUSTRATION AGGRESSION THEORY

The occurrence of aggression presupposes frustration. Frustration produces instigations to a number of different types of responses, one of which is instigation to some form of aggression. When people perceive that they are being prevented from achieving a goal, their frustration is likely to turn to aggression, (Gurr 1970:35-37). The closer you get to goal, the greater the excitement and expectation of the pleasures. Thus the closer you are, the more frustrated you get by being held back. There was some evidence supporting this hypothesis. Doob and Sears (1939) reported that when participants were asked to imagine frustrating and non-frustrating situations, they generally felt angry in the frustrating situations. This hypothesis was attached because it failed to account for justified and unjustified frustration. Other critics pointed to environmental cues to aggression, such as Berkowitz's (1962) aggression effect. Aggressive action is a behavior aimed at causing either physical or psychological pain: Aronson et al (1997) as aggression is an emotional reaction and it is very hard to measure. The most common way aggression is measured in lab studies is by asking people to give electric shocks. Other ways include getting them to punch a doll, to verbally rate how aggressive they felt, or to punch a button to their aggression on a scale. However, these are subjective and people have different perspectives of aggression. There are however many theories as to what causes people to act aggressively vis-à-vis the reaction of the people and youth militants violently in pluralistic realm of the Niger Delta region. When we are blocked from achieving our goals this leads to frustration. Frustration can then lead to aggression, sometimes this frustration can be displaced and lead to something else, example, depression. Frustration can be increased when it is unexpected, or when we are

nearer to our goal when it is blocked, you are more likely to get angry at someone for pushing in front of you if you are scored in the queue than if you are both in the queue.

## 2.6.2 RELATIVE DEPRIVATION

The perception of an unfair disparity between one's situation and that of others, when people feel that they deserve more than they have got, this can lead to aggression. This does not always happen in the poorest areas, as you might expect, as it is about what people feel they deserve. It occurs when people compare what they have to what others around them have. It also occurs when conditions are improving and expectations are rising but are not met (Joseph, 2008:388).

According to Rummel (2008), Relative Deprivation is defined as actor's perception of discrepancy among themselves, it assumes some criterion of the justness or fairness of what is due.

In social science, Relative Deprivation theory is a view of social change and movements according to which people take action for social change in order to acquire something, for instance, opportunities, status, or wealth that others possess and which they believe they should have too. Critics claim that Relative Deprivation theory does not explain why some people join movements that apparently do not benefit them directly (Berkowitz 1969).

## 2.6.3 CUE AROUSAL THEORY

According to this theory, although frustration leads to anger, it does not necessarily lead to aggression. There needs to be some associated stimulus to spark the

aggression. For example if you are carrying a pile of heavy books and could not get the door open, this would cause you to feel frustrated, but not aggression. However, if someone then laughed at you, this may be the cue to aggression (Capella and Greene 1982).

Cue Arousal theory in the words of Berkowitz (1969), being frustrated heightens ones predisposition towards violent actions. Contextual factors come in to play and how an individual interprets the situational cues at hand best predicts whether this athlete will exhibit aggression.

Frustration causes an increase in arousal but aggression only occurs if there are socially acceptable cues present. For example, frustration by blocking of goal increase arousal, anger and present of aggressive cues (Berkowitz 1969).

#### 2.6.4 EXCITATION TRANSFER THEORY

This theory suggests that arousal from one situation can be transferred to another situation. For example, a number of participants were provoked by verbal abuse. Half then went and did some exercise and half did nothing. All the participants then had the chance to give electric shocks to the people that had abused. The people that did the exercise gave more shocks than the others. This showed that the arousal from the exercise was transferred into aggression. (Bryant and Miron, 2003:31-59).

Excitation transfer theory is based on the assumption that excitation responses are ambiguous and are differentiated only by what emotions the brain assigns to them.

Also Zillmann (2006:223) stated that residual expectations from essentially any excited emotional reaction. The degree of intensification depends, of course on the magnitude of residues prevailing at the time. Hence excitation transfer theory helps to explain the fickleness of emotional arousal, (Zillmann 1983:215).

### 2.6.5 SOCIAL LEARNING THEORY

If a child is rewarded for being aggressive that behavior is positively reinforced and is more likely to be repeated. For example, a child hits another child and the second child gives up his toy. The first child has been rewarded for their violence, so will probably be violent again in the future. (Bandura 1971).

Social Learning theory, most recently Walter Micheal building on the work of Rotter and Bandura (1971) frame the determinants of human behavior in particular situations in terms of "person variables". This includes competence, perceptions, expectations, subject values, self regulation and plans.

Social learning theory has its roots in the behaviorist notion of human behavior as being determined by learning, particularly as shaped by reinforcement in the form of reward and punishment. (Bandura and Albert 1971:593). Thus, Social Learning theory is an approach to personality that emphasizes the interactions between personal traits and environment and their meditative by cognitive processes.

### 2.12 DEINDIVIDUATION

When people are in a large group or crowd, they tend to lose a sense of their individual identity and take on the identity of the group. This can make them commit

an act of aggression and violence that they wouldn't normally commit, (Smith 1956:86).

Contemporary observers of plural societies have been generally profoundly surprised, if not also impressed, by the rationality associated with ethnicity and by its capacity as an instrument for extracting goods and services to satisfy sectional needs despite the modernization processes and the various stages of development in plural societies. All these have their social and cultural contexts. Hence, as Hyden (1983:94) points out, each ethnically plural country would need to devise strategies or checks and balances designed to solve its problems of ethnicity (and indeed other plural tendencies) rather than ignore or sweep them under the carpet because of their insensitivity.

Out of sheer anger and disguise, the people of Niger Delta felt that they are been neglected and deserve more than they got which led to frustration and then aggression in relation to relative deprivation theory. They compare what they have to what other people especially the north have around them. This is as a result of palliative measures taking by our leaders in solving the problem of resource control. The emotions of the people were or have been manipulated into misplaced aggression and social tension between the protagonists and the antagonist of resource control. The reasons for the bottled emotions let loose by the loud clamor and sometimes militant aggression for resource control include the following:

Firstly, that the region has been criminally neglected and devoid of meaningful development despite its immense contribution to the nation's economy, its environment has been terribly bastardized and devastated by the oil exploration



and exploitation activities of imperialist oil companies whose compensatory gestures have not gone beyond conservative palliative. The people of the area have been juxtaposed with misery and deprivation.

Secondly, the people of Niger Delta see oil as curse rather than blessing, that the region is responsible for over 90% of Nigerian fortune. Oil spillage are recorded as often as the pipes carry the lucrative liquid and in one of such incident years ago, no fewer than 1,000 lives were lost to pipeline fire in the small Jesse community. The environment has grossly been depleted by gas flaring. In 1989 alone, 617 billion cubic fact of associated gas was flared of releasing 30 million tons of carbon dioxide. The fatal result is staring the Niger Delta people in the face. Community farmlands are affected by acid rain that impedes crop yield while the oil companies counts their profits in billions of dollars. The villages are literally on fire 24 hours of the day with suffocating heat that keeps men walking day and night bare bodied and young women with skimpy gears.

Thirdly, one of the emotional outburst was from Prof. Ise Sagay, a Senior Advocate of Nigeria and an ex-university don, when he vehemently disagreed with "moderate thinking that the resources belong to all and should be spread adequately". According to him central to the struggle for resource control is the right of the states and communities most directly concerned to have a direct and decisive role in the exploration, exploitation and disposal of including sales of harvested resources, it is they who will insist on plan and control production to ensure the progressive replacement of the non-renewable resources by a renewable product that is free of pollution and over environmental hazards. Mere increase in revenue

without control and management is short-sighted and deadly and it condemns the people of Niger Delta to a present without a future.

Fourthly, the infamous/million-man march staged by friends of late Sani Abacha, rather than applause for him attracted more upbraiding the rented crowd from different parts invaded the capital city of Abuja and not a few of them were lost on the opulence of the mega city with wide and smooth roads, uninterrupted power supply, and well-appointed structures dazzling the landscape and night glowing as day in the kaleidoscope of light, on returning home and beholding their land of abject poverty and neglect, delegate to the Abuja march from the Niger Delta resolved not to submit any longer to the situation where Nigerian states rob Paul to pay Peter.

Fifthly, another position of the Niger Delta people is based on the premise that if democracy allowed the introduction of the full Islamic Legal System in some northern states based on the "will of the people" then there should be no outrage on the clamour for resource control as it is also based on the "will of the people" in order to bring equilibrium. According to Dr. Peter Odili, "the reason for the agitation is to enable them to providing lasting infrastructural facilities in which sustainable development and empowerment of the people can be anchored and that it is a cry for justice, equity, and simply put a cry for the people everywhere.

Lastly, one of the position is that rather than proffer a lasting solution to issue of resource control, the federal government has failed to pay in the full the meager 13% revenue guaranteed in the constitution i.e. instead of obeying the constitution and paying the money owed to the oil states, President Obasanjo's government went

to Supreme Court in February 2001 challenging the right of the coastal states to revenue offshore.

## CHAPTER THREE

### 3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY AREA

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the methodology adopted in this study and political economy of Nigeria. The chapter therefore analyses the trends, issues, and general patterns of post independent Nigeria as an impelling foundation upon which pluralistic tendencies as an anathema toward national unity inevitably emerged. It also examines the organic link between class formation, ethnic conflict, and regionalism, as intervening variables in the politics of resource control.

#### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This refers to method used in data collection. This is a critical analysis which relies mainly on secondary sources with content analysis of textbooks, magazines, journals (most specifically newspapers) to obtain information and scholarly view on theoretical perspectives of the crisis in the Niger Delta.

#### METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

The data were inductively coded and manually analyzed, taking into consideration the historical nature of the topic of study. The study employed secondary sources of data with content analysis of text books, magazines, News papers, journals and scholarly views on theoretical perspectives methods of data collections.

## METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS

This is analysis of the causes of conflicts that mostly lead to violence. The data collected were inductive coded and manually analyzed base on secondary sources and they were subjected largely to inductive and descriptive analysis providing a narrative account of the phenomenon.

## THE NIGERIAN NATION

Located between latitude  $420^{\circ}$  and  $14^{\circ}$  North, and between longitudes  $320^{\circ}$  and  $143^{\circ}$  East, Nigeria's geographical space is 923,768 square kilometers and thus according to Awolowo (1968:295), becomes the ninth largest country in the world with the combined sizes of France, Belgium and United Kingdom or according to Nelson (1982:12) the sizes of Texas, Louisiana, and Mississippi combined. Nigeria's coastline stretches a space of over 700 kilometers while the coastal area of the Northern limits covers a distance of about 1,040 kilometers. The east to west distance is about 1,120 kilometers. The current statistics puts Nigeria as the most populous country in Africa with an estimated population of over 180 million people and the abode of virtually all black race in Africa.

Nigeria's ancient three language family has now evolved over centuries of diverse historical experiences in different geographical regions, into a more recent and complex heterogeneity of nations and cultures. This mixed bag of original nations with different languages and exclusive localities wrapped together as Nigeria has been described as a geographical expression (Awolowo, 1947:47). This

overdrawn cliché has continuously been redressed through socialization, government strategies, and processes (Otite, 1971:300).

The validity of Awolowo's concept applies to other countries such as Italy (Dudley, 1973) and also to Belgium (Kane, 1980:22) which has been on the verge of moving from unitary to a regionalized structure as a result of confrontations between Flemish and Waloon "primordial" nationalism (1968:237). This is seen by analytical scholars as an overdrawn perspective of socio-culturally artificiality.

#### BACKGROUND STUDY OF NIGER DELTA

History reminds us that Niger Delta as a region predates Nigeria's emergence as a British colony by at least a decade. Britain's Niger Delta protectorate were already well established by the middle 1880s and the late 1890s before further British interest to the formation of southern Nigeria in 1990. In the decades before Second World War, many Niger Delta communities have their own local leaders who distinguished themselves in service of their people while serving the British. Only as a result of Arthur Richard reforms of 1946 that regional representation becomes important in British colonial arrangements. The people's experiences with the treacherous British policies served them well and the leaders who emerged to represent them in the late 1940s.

Some experience abounds in the Niger Delta. It was agitation by the Ijaw Rivers Peoples League that led to the creation by the British of Rivers province in 1947. It was here and during this period that the Niger Delta Congress was founded by the young Harold Dappa Biriye to fight equality for the disadvantaged people of

January 1966 Adaka Boro has proclaimed the Niger Delta People's Republic with himself as head while before he was defeated on the 12<sup>th</sup> day, his rebellion became known in the political history of Nigeria as the twelve-day revolution.

#### CAUSES OF THE CONFLICT IN THE NIGER DELTA

By popular perception, the marginalization and balkanization of the people of the Niger Delta, the desolations of their environment and the resultant conflicts have their roots in the discovery of oil, exploitation, and exploration and production activities by the oil multi nationals in the late 1950s. The Niger Delta, a lush of mangrove swamps, rainforests and swampland is the site of rich oil and natural gas reserves in Nigeria. Oil accounts for about 90% of Nigerian exports and more than 80% of government revenue. Despite being the richest geo-political region in terms of natural resource endowment, the Niger Delta potential for sustainable development however remains unfulfilled and is now increasingly threatened by environmental devastation and worsening economic conditions.

Incidental to and indeed compounding this ecological devastation is the political marginalization and total oppression of the people. In spite of the enormous wealth accrued from their land, the people continued to live in pristine conditions in the absence of electricity, pipe borne water, hospital, housing and schools. The late environmentalist and minority crusader, Ken SaroWiwa summed it up by describing the pitiable situation of his 500,000 Ogoni people in the Niger Delta to have been consigned to slavery and extinction. The internationalization of the Ogoni case 1990 committed a global audience into the Niger Delta's plight.

The people of Ogoni land are traditionally farmers. Due to the introduction of toxic chemicals in to the sea in their quest for oil, these companies cause massive emigration of species from these areas. The constant menace of gas glaring created health problems adding to this numerous incidents of oil spillages which scorched their sol and rendered farming unprofitable. Access to education is as far as unattainable as the sky. There were virtually no roads. Faced with these problems disease and poverty flourished.

As a result of neo-colonization, that effect the continued marginalization impacted on Niger Delta's, more so the south-south by the over lordship of the federal government with culprits such as the majority ethnic groups who have been subjected to perpetual poverty and progressively they have also compelled the area to swamps and tagged it as gambits of extra-plant beings as circumstances has contaminated the Nigerian States. The federal management has destined the south-south to a systematic circumstantial termination including the communities where the oils are located, which are syndromes of excessive dictatorial government system.

The relentless exploitation of natural resources of the area without due compensation for the environmental hazards it has occasioned, has given rise to youth restiveness (of recent hostage takings in demand of ransom) aimed at seeking redress for over forty five years of neglect and deprivation. The Niger Delta environmental problems present a classical example of how ecological marginalization, depletion of natural resources and environmental degradation have culminated into crisis. It is for this reason that Dr. Hassan Adamu, former Minister



of Environment, in his lecture to the senior executive course No.22 at the National Institute in the year 2020, stressed the need for urgent attention to be given to the Niger Delta environmental degradation. Untold harm has been done to the environment by the oil business and the people felt that the Nigerian government has shown itself to be incapable of intervening to protect them.

There exists a lot of divide between the Niger Delta people. In fact divisions between the Niger Delta are as serious as those between them and outsiders. These intra-Delta antagonisms embrace antipathies like Ijaw versus Itsekiri, Itsekiri versus Urhobo, Ogoni versus Okrikaetc, these antagonisms have been made worse by the presence of oil and the discriminatory and environmental depredatory activities of multinational oil companies in the area as the environmental problems become more severe, aggravated, and prolonged, they caused societal instability, civil strife and eventual turmoil. Since the end of the 1980s and the beginning of 1990s, the Niger Delta has been a hot bed of communal conflicts. The inter-ethnic conflict became serious as an aftermath of the annulment of June 12. Inter ethnic conflict, also occur for instance between the Nembe/Kalabari, Okpona/Brass etc which were communities of Ijaw extraction. The conflicts were fuelled by the harassment of outspoken community leaders by government through surveillance, arrests and detention.

By 1998, a new dimension was introduced to the crisis with the oil companies and their contractors becoming targets of hostage taking and demands for ransoms by the belligerent youths that took over the Niger Delta area, whereas the conflict in the Niger Delta is often over petrodollars, the conflicts in Delta State between the

Itsekiris, Urhobos and the Ijaw were over supremacy/domination and the creation of local government areas (LGAs) and sitting of their headquarters of recent was the crisis on the location of the headquarters of Warri South West Local Government Area. This was transferred from Ogbe-Ijoh, an Ijaw village to Ogidigben, an Itsekiri village. Since this step was taken in 1997, the crisis, which erupts now and again, has claimed many lives including those of soldier, policemen and oil company personnel. The Niger Delta crisis is not only a national problems; it is a global problem that deserves serious attention. The world has long seen Nigeria as a non-stable economy and a sinkhole that could swallow their investment.

The United Nations Environmental Programmed (UNEP) report of June 1999 provided an overview of environmental conditions, resources and conflicts. It gave a proposition that a growing trend in international and intra-national conflict appears to be linked to the deteriorating environmental conditions and resources. The most common elements around which conflicts can erupt are water flow, diversion, Stalination, floods, and pollution. Resource depletion issues like deforestation, soil erosion, desertification, flooding and pollution commonly cause indirect international or indirect intra-national conflict. The report went forth to reveal that from empirical evidence across all categories, it appears that the vast majority of environmentally related conflicts occur in developing nations.

The notion that disputes and violence can erupt over access to resource appears common place. International wars have been fought over access to land and water since biblical times, indeed the link between environmental resources and the outbreak of conflicts have been recognized for decades. Their causes and effects are

always many and varied, their histories more complex than we normally think, their solutions more challenging than a remote observer could ever imagine. It should be understood that conflict is usually the playing out of human needs and fears in the society. In other words, a conflict is driven by unfulfilled needs of the people be it in terms of autonomy, sense of justice, identity, basic needs, rights of individuals, or whatever. Most of these needs are of collective character, and are more often than not provoked by official neglect, persecution and denial of human rights, insensitivity or egoism as well as arrogance of power on the side of some leaders. These significantly contribute to the escalation of a conflict.

#### THE PROBLEMATIQUE ABOUT RESOURCE CONTROL

Demand for more equitable and privilege treatment by the oil producing minorities of the Niger Delta, as well as struggle by them and other minorities to redress power imbalances in the country which made them internally colonized people are not new. The Niger Delta communities have been protesting the injustices peacefully for decades and they have been in the vanguard focusing on the "national question" as a problem notwithstanding the Ogoni uprising from the early 1990s and the consequent execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa in November 10, 1995 by the then military junta, the military invasion of Ijaw communities consequent upon the Kiama Declaration, and the Odi Direct Action of 1998 to 1999 marked the new interesting interface in expanding the horizon of the politics of oil and resource control in Nigeria. Mustapha. A. R. (2003:14)

The parties in the conflict do not involve only the federal government and the Niger Delta's but also the oil multinationals. Put summarily, the grievances of the

Niger Delta's have involved three closely interrelated but analytically distinct issues - firstly that all laws relating to oil exploration and land ownership be abrogated; secondly, the issue of natural resource control and self determination and thirdly, that appropriate institutional and financial arrangements should be put in place by the Nigeria Nation State and the oil producing communities for the development and environmental problems associated with oil exploration and exploitation.

The conflict has therefore been made complex and worse by the goal-blocking behaviors' practiced by the parties. The government continues to marginalize the people militarizing the area, suppressing intellectualism e.g. the killing of Isaac Boro, Ken Saro-Wiwa, Professor Claude Ake and kidnapping of expatriate oil company workers and demand of ransom, and repeated invasion and blockading of oil installations. In 1993 for instance, it is claimed that the operations and activities of Shell were disrupted by about a hundred communal disturbances, leading to the loss of some 12 mission barrels of crude oil worth about 369 billion naira.

The companies despite all these continue to invest into oil exploration in the Niger Delta and have at most times been linked to equipping the federal military for the militarization of the Niger Delta. In all, the government wants to continuously maintain the region for revenue purposes, the oil companies have refused to pack up from the region in spite of her several ultimatums given to them by civil groups due to the huge profits they derive in the oil business in the region and the Niger Delta people have now become more organized in their demand for development, something that has been denied them for a long time. These goal-blocking behaviors leave much to be desired and have jeopardized conflict prevention mechanisms.

Furthermore, the whole conflict has been compounded by the cultural patterns of the people. The people consider their land to be sacred, for it is the source of their subsistence and income and it also links the living to the dead. This too is reinforced by refusal to accept change, pride, confidence in supernatural deities and the low context behavior.

#### STRATEGIC UNDERPINNINGS ABOUT THE CRISIS IN THE NIGER DELTA

Agreed that the devastation of the environment is the key factor in the complex Niger Delta in Nigeria, let's consider underdevelopment as a source of tension. This tension may be managed by appropriate institutional structures, which avert degeneration into conflict, but without economic growth there can be no generalized access to health education, and other elements of social well-being. The employment policies of the oil companies too are lopsided with the Niger Delta youths always denied. Moreover the less people benefit from the system, the less interest it has in the survival of the system. Basically, profits or satisfaction derived from a functioning economy or system create an interest in avoiding conflict, which will prove more costly than management of the tension even the latter process require some compromise. The people of Niger Delta presently living in the dark stone ages in the presence of modern day technology and have therefore felt that enough is enough by demanding a control of their resources. The issue of resource control today goes far beyond what we can hear. It is about the development of the most backward area in Nigeria, where the wealth of Nigeria comes from. The Niger Delta governments in collaboration with other southern state governments are currently in judicial logjam with the federal government. The judicial option of the

federal government is being frowned at, and portrays a modern and sovereign resurgence of internal neo-colonialism and state imperialism.

Worst of all the operations of oil multinationals show that most of the host communities are crisscrossed by oil pipelines and gas flares burned around the clock at ground level. For instance, in most of the host communities, oil companies like Shell locations lies part in the middle of villages, in front and back gardens that should lay a particular responsibility on Shell to be absolutely cautious in its operations. Environmental activists opined that the company remains negligent and willful. Ken Saro-Wiwa in championing the cause outrightly and clearly put in this way, that "the Niger Delta, one of the richest areas on earth is today a fragile ecosystem. He wonders why rich oil companies with abundance of knowledge and material resources available to them should treat the area with such callous indifference". He considered the loss of the Niger River Delta a loss to all mankind and therefore regards Shell's despoliation of the area as a crime to all humanity. Despite his laying his life for the cause of the Niger Delta in general and his Ogoni people in particular, successive governments, the oil multinationals and the international communities are all yet to fashion out sustainable development options for the survivability of the people of the Niger Delta region (Research Report on Conflict and Integration, 2002:83).

The core of the Niger Delta issue is that the people demand equity, fairness, and justice in the distribution of the wealth of nation on the basis of from whom so much is taken, so much should be returned: quite some amount of foreign exchange has been earned from this region but no reciprocal significant development has been

put in place. A time magazine publication reported that Nigeria exported 300 billion dollars worth of crude oil from 1974-1999 (25 years). It would be instructive to know what percentage of this amount ploughed back to the Niger Delta for development. To address the problems of environmental degradation, unemployment and infrastructural development, state governments of this region are asking for resource control in spite of the 13% allocation on the principle of derivation to the oil producing states.

Under Nigeria's law, oil wealth which is the bone of contention in the conflict belongs to the federal government, and in a critical analysis, the laws were never made with the consent of the people of Niger Delta and other minorities even though the preamble of the constitution reads as follows:

"We the people of the Federal Republic of Nigeria having and solemnly resolved to live in unity and harmony... provide for a constitution for the purpose of promoting the good government and welfare of all persons in the country, on the principles of freedom, equality, justice and for the purpose of consolidating the unity of our people, do hereby make, enact and give ourselves to the constitution". Asobie, (1998:27) cited from the 1999, constitution page 1.

The constitution has not ensured freedom and quality, good governance and promoted the welfare of the people of the Niger Delta. The theory of equitable economy development stipulated fair and equal development of all regions and

people. But this is not the case for the Niger Delta and its people. The region is the most underdeveloped in the country.

Be that as it may, the situation in the Niger Delta involves a struggle for relevance and survival by the various actors within the nation state. As long as the people are forced to endure government that takes them political and economically hostage, as long as they are deprived of their cultural rights, or subjected to iniquitous and obnoxious laws, and as long as they are not provided with a context propitious for free enterprise, development will remain an empty word to the Niger Delta.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### 4.0 IMPLICATIONS OF RESOURCE CONTROL IN A PLURAL SOCIETY

#### 4.1. INTRODUCTION

Nigeria's plural context which is inherently conflictual, being the general characteristics of several plural societies, has drawn attention to two major phenomena, which is ethnicity and class as critical areas of analysis. Perspectives based on these analyses have flourished but without producing monocausal explanations of Nigeria's socio-political problems, especially in the areas of national integration and economic development. The best insight in the Nigerian context have been shed by bringing ethnicity and class into some form of dialectical relationship, while emphasizing the significance of other salient variables such as religion and socio-spatial properties as well.

#### 4.2. DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

From a social perspective, the various societies in the areas where the call for resource control is emanating are arguably the most factionalized within the Nigerian milieu. In his classic study of the social and political history of the area titled "Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta, the late Kenneth Dike attributed this to the impact of foreign negative influences over the centuries, which cumulatively helped to destroy the social fabric of social networks and structures in the various societies making up the area resulting in a state of perpetual social and political ferment, Michael (2001).

Both in the pre-colonial and post-colonial times the area has been a cauldron of ceaseless intra and inter-societal conflict with powerful individuals, city states, either singly or in alliance with others waging perpetual wars against one another over trading rights for such items as liquor, slaves, mirrors, palm oil and second hand clothes from Europe. From Jaja of Opobo to the King of Akassa to nana of Itsekiri, to Owon Women of Benin to Ibanichuka of Okirka and Igbaniwo will Braide of Bakana, Smith I. O. (1998).

Today, the situation is no different. Oil bearing communities and those who were platforms flow stations, and pipelines of oil companies run through are perpetually at war over who get what from the oil multinationals and their service companies. Communities routinely fight over who owns what land and who should control lucrative contracts, employment and empowerment opportunities that come from oil companies. Only recently, two neighboring kindred communities in one of the states at the forefront of the resource control issue laid waste to one another killing local government officials and a pregnant woman on account of which of the communities own the land earmarked for oil drilling by a prominent multinational company operating in the area.

In this deadly cocktail of intra and inter group crises that cover the whole of the Niger Delta, resource control would fittingly be the oil that would fuel more crises turning the area into one vast killing field worse than anywhere else in Africa would the federal government which had to intervene in a number of countries where tragedies of this nature occurred allow itself to be goaded into setting the

stage for this to occur in its own backyard on account of the greedy and selfish interests of a few disconnected elites of the Niger Delta.

How well a nation performs today economically, politically, and socially depends in some ways, on the creativity, boldness and vision of its founding fathers. The forebears of Nigeria were entangled in tribal and ethnic issues, and therefore, could not lay a solid socio-political and economic foundation for the nation. However, other societies were able to wage through their initial crisis in nation building and set up enduring economic and political systems. For instance, the ingenuity of the United States started with the creativity, boldness and vision of its founding fathers as reflected in their ability to craft an enduring constitution and a working definition of federalism for the world. As Nelson Rockefeller notes in "the future of federalism", federalism is a government by which a sovereign people, for their greater progress and protection, yield a portion of their sovereignty to a political system that has more than one centre sovereign power, energy and creativity... and no one of those centres or levels of government has the power to destroy another (Asobie, 2, 1998).

In addition, the federal system encourages innovations and support and encourages diversity of thoughts and beliefs and prevents excesses, and it invites inventive leadership to work toward solution to problems affecting the people. This balance is achieved through the vision of powers between the national, state and local governments and the separation of legislative, judicial and executive authorities at all levels and any nation toying with the system is expected to conform to its basic tenets without which it would not be regarded as a true federalism.

The major drawbacks of the perspectives or the interpretations given to the plural variables in their tendency towards monocausal explanations of the problems in Nigeria, the extreme ethnic pluralism in Nigeria, as well as strength and ubiquity of ethnicity lures writers and interpreters into feeling that every problem in Nigeria connected with national integration, economic development and related cases must be explained in terms of ethnicity. Likewise scholars especially those who are fanatically about economic determinism and the struggle it entails in the other substructures of society, become so engulfed in their perspective that all forms of relations including protests, riots, corruption, wealth and materialism and even ethnicity as a plural tendency are given class explanations.

The history of extractive mineral production, which today is limited to oil and gas, presents a study on the one hand, in extreme frustration on the part of those in whose land and territorial waters such minerals are found, and on the other hand, aggravation on the part of legitimate exploiters. I say legitimate because there has been a lot of illegal mining and large scale theft of our oil and solid minerals. It occurred to me that there could be an acceptable solution.

The military gained access to power in Nigeria, the military tested the new oil wealth and quickly devised ways of consolidating their grip on power. They mortgage the new oil and began squandering its proceeds on excess materialism. The productive and result oriented regional structure of government was replaced with unitarism. Control of crude oil resources and its attendant benefits were hijacked to the centre. The oil money has been controlled from the top of satisfy selfish ends to the detriment of the people whose land are being desecrated and desolated in the

process of oil exploration. The true concepts of resource control and true federalism have been jettisoned by the military and a few individuals who strategically positioned and aligned themselves to continually benefit from the oil wealth.

The northern governors have refused to join issues with their southern counterparts in their quest for resource control. The former governor of Borno State, Senator Ali ModuSherif has risen against calls for resource control – ‘I caution everybody to tread carefully’ Ali Sharif warned. His position on this matter clearly shows he is bereft of good understanding and insights on what resource control and true federalism offer his state. In fact, most of the northern governors argue that they are lacking in resources and implored the south not to be selfish with the oil God deposited in their soil since the constitution of Nigeria did not favour their claims and demands.

When communities in the volatile region were not in conflict with oil multinationals over land rights or compensation for environmental damage, they were in dispute with government over more access to oil wealth, or locked in conflict with one another over claims to ownership of areas where oil facilities and accompanying benefits are sited. But with the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) set up to redress the decades of neglect suffered by the oil region, finally gearing up to make its impact felt, the government has also been implementing a policy of strengthening its military presence in the region.

Key facilities in the Niger Delta are under the protection of troops – a more aimed at ending the disrupting of oil exports by angry communities and militants youths. To further strengthen this policy, government set up in October a presidential

special committee on oil producing areas, headed by then Army Chief of Staff, Lieutenant General Alexander Ogbemudia.

In 1986, lecturer at the University of Lagos, entitled "Oil in World Politics", the Late Chief M.O. Feyide, Nigeria's former secretary to OPEC, pointed out as follows: all over the world, the lives of people are affected and the destiny of nations are determined by the result of oil industry operations. Oil keeps the factories of the industrialized countries working and provides the revenues, which enable oil exporters to execute ambitious national and economic development plans. The march of progress would be retarded and life itself would be unbearable if the world was deprived of oil. That is why oil has become the concern of government, a vital ingredient of their politics and a crucial factor in political and diplomatic strategies. Oil has been given the image of a big business ruled by naked politics and dominated by ruthless men who are sensitive to nothing else other than their profit.

As a result of various factors and because oil companies did and do make tempting targets, many aggrieved youths in the Delta resort to direct action to extract compensation for their perceived loses. They invade oil company properties for their perceived hostage and shut down facilities. Oil companies typically negotiate release of captured personnel and properties with relative ease by paying the youths' modest ransom. This strategy creates a "moral hazard". The willingness of companies to pay ransom stimulates imitators of this lucrative business leading to sustained disruptions, at times to competition among youths and to a general sense of anarchy in the Delta.

In this culture of cynicism about government, economic stagnation and hopelessness, historical political fragmentation and low grade violent conflict, pre-existing political fragmentation become institutional disintegration. Small groups of youths with weapons went unchallenged and found oil companies easy targets for hold up and ransom. As the oil companies paid off the first gangs, others were inspired and soon followed suit.

#### 4.3. ECONOMIC IMPLICATION OF RESOURCE CONTROL

The political intrigues involved in the issues of resource control has beclouded the senses of our leaders to the economic implication and the merit of resource control for instance. studies and scientific finding have shown that in the next 10 to 20 years time, oil will cease to be relevant in the global economy. The question here is that what will be fate of Nigerian economy then? Will Nigeria wait until this happens before diversifying and reducing the over dependence on oil as now. This can be achieved through finding a lasting solution to the problem of resource control. That is to encourage agriculture which will bring back our groundnut pyramids, boost cocoa farms, and palm produce, etc, as well as developing ideas to exploit our untapped mineral resources that lives across the country for export in order to generate more foreign exchange to boost our economy and enhance development.

#### 4.4. CONSTITUTIONAL IMPLICATION OF RESOURCE CONTROL

From the onset of the 4<sup>th</sup> Republic, Abubakar Constitution has come under severe criticism. Some say it is replete with irreconcilable contradictions, while no less legal authority than Chief Rotimi Williams has publicly dubbed it as a legal

fraud. Thus, it would be illogical to expect the southerners who are feeling oppressed to passively accept any court ruling based on this defective constitution as the last word on the matter especially if it reinforces the strong feelings of oppression and marginalization in the area.

Section 1 of the Mineral Ordinance Act of 1945 promulgated by the British colonial office, stipulated that "the entire property and land in Nigeria and of all rivers, streams, and water source, throughout Nigeria is and shall be rested in the crown" (British Colonial Government).

At independence in 1960, the founding fathers who assumed the rulership of northern, western and southern regions respectively drastically amended this obnoxious ordinance. They agree to fashion the 1963 republican constitution in such a manner that it legitimized the regions control of not less than 50% of all revenue accruing from the mineral and natural resources within their territories.

This arrangement has changed during Gowon regime. Political expediency necessitated the splitting of former 3 regions into 12 states, at the same time crude petroleum (oil) became the mainstay of the economy. These developments facilitate the commandeering of the vast natural resources of the southern minorities by the 3 major ethnic groups. Gowon regime mostly dominated by Hausa and Yoruba after the defeat of Biafra's abolished the 50% derivation policy entered into by 1963 Constitution. The regime enacted Decree No.9 of 1972 which provided in parts that "the rights of the regions of the minerals in their continental shelves are abrogated. Ownership and titled of the territorial waters, continental shelves as well as royalties, rent and other revenues derived from, or searching for, or winning or working of



petroleum from seaward of the state are vested in the federal government and today the constitutional principle is based on 13% derivation formula.

#### 4.5. MERIT AND DEMERIT OF RESOURCE CONTROL

As there is always two sides of coin, the issue of resource control also have it advantage and disadvantages. Some of the advantages of resource control are as follows: Firstly, if a state and region are allowed the control of their resources under a framework of true federalism, you will found that you do not have to really develop the region for the states at the same pace. States that are naturally endowed will be free to tap their own resources. Those that are not so well endowed will be more creative and show more initiative to seek alternative source of survival. This will create competition and gives room for rapid development in other words if resource control becomes the rule, states which have been complacent will being to make genuine efforts to develop their own resource in order to contribute to national development and growth of our economy. Secondly, over dependence on oil is a shortcoming which can be rectified only when every state being to explore whatever natural resources lying in their domains and this solid mineral development, etc in order to generate more foreign exchange as well as developing shock absorbers in case oil diminish into an irrelevance in a near future as according to some predictions.

Thirdly, oil has been a principle factor in the promotion of corruption and pre-bendal behavior. The quest to take part or control oil resource instigates coup plots, presidential and gubernatorial ambitions, and the rigging of elections. If the government find a peaceful way of solving the problem of resource control and true

federalism, power will be decentralized and slim federal government will emerge. Fourthly, if resource control is achieved, it will be enjoyed not just by south-south alone, but including the north and south west and the south east too because we all have resources in our various zones. All they need to do is to exploit their territories and they will find resource that will sustain them and which they will enjoy.

The demerits of resource control on the other hand may be that if the federal government is stripped of its ownership and control rights, in favour of states, it won't be long before communities, families, and individuals in area within the state begin to demand for ownership and control right too and this may lead to chaos, anarchy, and civil disorder. Secondly, if resource control is achieved, the resources will be under the control of new governors, some of them who have spent the last seven (7) years dazzling their hapless citizenry in garish ostentation some governors may end up using the resources of the state themselves against political opponents and become a highly sophisticated international gangsters.

Thirdly, resource control will lead to a situation where states with vast resources may use their resources to provide infrastructures in their areas and for their own benefit, leaving states without resources dry and thereby creating lopsided development. Fourthly, Nigeria is the largest federation in the African continent that survived the end of the cold war. That the ideas of Nigeria have survived into 21<sup>st</sup> century ought to make us proud. It may be a dubious colonial inheritance by so many other nations. The day we whittle down the powers of the central government may mark the beginning of putting the corporate existence of Nigeria in jeopardy as any alternative to Nigeria will be more disastrous.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1. SUMMARY

The discourse on this topic politics of resource control within the Nigerian plural nation state espoused the impact of these pluralistic variables. Principally ethnicity, religion and regionalism on the integration/unity process in the country's body polity. This work attempts in examining the intervening variables. The size of the state, character of the ruling class and the nature of their ethnic relations – as they have been operating in the plural context vis-à-vis the call for resource control, in respect of these disturbing realities one can hardly talk about, successful revenue allocation formula and final solution to the issue of resource control.

Despite the prevailing formidable constraints presented by internal political environment, the call for resource control still thrives; this is owing to the democratization processes which accorded greater freedom to the people coupled with the deepening intensity of the crisis in the Niger Delta region. The debate on the ownership of natural resources is not exclusive to oil and gas in the Niger Delta. We should recognize the position of the Niger Delta on this issue as vital contribution to the resurrection of true federalism.

The former President of Africa Networks for Environmental and Economic Justice (ANEEJ), Mr. David Ugolor told Sunday Vanguard that "the best approach is for the south-south to bring on board intellectual analysis of the plight of the Niger

Deltans. Ownership is not the question. The debate is like we need the money and it is a narrow concept. We need to highlight the consequences of oil and gas exploitation and exploration on our environment and people. It is also huge and the challenge is to redress the damage, the NDDC cannot address. It is in the interest of Nigeria for the damage to Niger Delta to be addressed.

As Nigeria awakened politically, each state demand more control over the uses of its resources, income and planning on the basis of developmental needs gave rise to the principle of derivation, however, accelerating uneven development and disunity were the direct consequences of the intensive and extensive use of the derivation formula. Derivation was essentially a destabilizing principle (Philip, 1996:153). However, the under pinning agenda today is resource control. The clamour is for adequate compensation, a cry for the redistribution of revenue allocation formula and nothing more based on the philosophy of equity and justice.

Resource control and true federalism debate may in fact be symptomatic of even deeper malaise, a fixation on the part of insincere leaders with narrow interest that negates their very oath of office. At the bottom of it all is the reluctance to part, compounded with a culture of arbitrariness that we acquired during the years of military rule.

## 5.2. CONCLUSION

The pluralistic virus has been one of the most significant causes of social crisis and political instability in Nigeria and the country is sharply divided along ethnic lines, ethnicity have been perceived in general as a major obstacle to the

overall political and economic development of the country. It has been argued that the ethnic problem in Nigeria is indeed the "national question" around which a great deal of our national life revolves, and in the name of which all sorts of crimes has been perpetrated against the nation. Looking at the concept within the context of political economy approach, this study places much emphasis on the manipulative tendencies of the elite and the ruling class towards satisfying their age long interests at the expense of the vast, silent majority of Nigerians thus constituting obstacle to meaningful solution to the resource control dilemma.

It is ironic that Nigeria is yet to feel the outcome of resolutions at the United Nations earth summit which took place in Rio de Janeiro about half a century ago. The federal government seen not to have fully understood the implications of being unjust to any part of the country especially by depriving the citizenry of their God given wealth. The effect of oil explorations and exploitation are everywhere in evidence in the Niger Delta. Marine life is virtually extinct, indigenous occupational industries are comatose. Erosion is a widespread menace pollution of the very sources of life for the ordinary people manifest in everything from the fishing equipment to the drinking water.

The level of poverty and environmental degradation suffered by the vast majority of inhabitants of the area is perhaps unprecedented in Nigeria. Furthermore, it is incongruous with the law of social justice that an area from where such wealth is being generated should remain paradoxically without basic necessities for decent, meaningful existence side by side abject poverty. This is a metaphor for present day Nigeria. For being not just the area from which the bulk of state revenue is sourced

but also for the strategic reason of being the area from which our country is most vulnerable to foreign attack. There is strong and compelling case for decisive intervention by the federal and state governments of the area to massively improve the living conditions of the area. I firmly believe that improving the living conditions in the Niger Delta would have a positive ripple effect on the rest of Nigeria in quantum terms. Such interventions should however be balanced side by side the larger interest of not creating conditions for unhealthy regional dichotomies in terms of wealth and development in the country. Oil is a national patrimony which all collectively as Nigerians own and for which defence many have fought and died.

### 5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

The issue of resource control is an inherent pluralistic realm has become an intractable problem partly because few attempts have tackled the basis for its survival, that is, the destruction of those areas of incentives which are manipulated to sustain the phenomenon. Aware of this problem, various Nigeria governments have endeavoured to solve the problem while at the same time inadvertently encouraging its salience. Thus Nigeria has more or less been at war with herself in trying to both discourage and implicitly encourage ethnicity, religious differences, regionalism and related sentiments in the country. It is against this background that this research work considers the possible effectiveness of the following recommendations specifically to the mantra of resource control.

Citizen's right to clean, safe and healthy environment should be entrenched in the Nigerian constitution as one of the fundamental human rights. The right to good

environment is closely related to a right to minimum quality of life and anything that affects health, physical, emotions, and means of livelihood threatens life itself.

The oil and gas companies should ensure the integrity of their pipelines and in times of spillage, the best industry technology should be employed to affect remediation. In addition, the oil and gas companies should undertake urgent removal of toxic, widespread gas throughout the Niger Delta.

In addressing the environmental challenges facing the Niger Delta region, adequately, it would be advisable to start from the rural communities, which constitute over 70 percent of the region's total population and harbour most of the oil wells. All the problems associated with oil and gas exploration, ranging from environmental degradation, loss of farm land and marine life are solely borne by the rural dwellers. The oil and gas industries should either alone or in partnership with the oil producing companies embark upon small and medium scale industries. Such industries should be based on raw materials sources from the local area.

The much needed political will should be cultivated to develop the Niger Delta with a view to addressing various crises in the region.

The existing environmental laws should be reviewed and strict compliance should be enforced. In addition, development programmes initiated by industries for their host communities should involve the people from conception to completion so that the development may be sustainable.

There is also the need to diversify the Nigerian economy to include areas like agriculture and mineral development. This is aimed at reducing sole dependence on oil which degenerated into varieties of conflicts.

The federal and state governments and private investors (foreign and local) should set up industries around the commodities and raw materials obtainable in the area such as rice, fish, sharp sand industries etc of particular interest are the rice fields of PeremabiriIsampou in Bayelsa State which are capable of supplying the entire West African sub-region.

One of the biggest challenges facing the Niger Delta people and its leaders lies in designing appropriate political and economic framework that would ensure the protection of local communities. The Niger Delta states must come together and pull their resources together for regional development. Investments in mutually beneficial infrastructure such as railways, communications and agro-allied industries with special emphasis on fishing, farming and manufacturing will be ideal.

Finally, Communal Conflicts, Social Identity and Resource Control agitations in the Niger Delta are products of exploitation, injustice, uneven distribution of common wealth and political marginalization. In view of the significance of crude oil economy in national revenue and in developmental goals of the Federal Government of Nigeria, it is important that the Niger Delta Region should develop for justice and equity. This may well bring Peace and Stability in the Region in particular and Nigeria in General.



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