

## **Achieving Sustainable Development in the Niger Delta Area of Nigeria: The Imperative of Peace Education**

**Oladiran Afolabi**

Senior Lecturer and Head of Department of Political Science, Houdegbe North American University, Cotonou, Republic of Benin

### **\*Corresponding Author:**

Oladiran Afolabi

Email: [afolabioladiran@yahoo.com](mailto:afolabioladiran@yahoo.com)

---

**Abstract:** The major goal of this paper is to explore the categorical imperative of Peace Education in the entire process of conflict management, conflict resolution and particularly in bringing about the desired development in the oil producing region of Nigeria. The Niger Delta crisis is undoubtedly a burning issue on the national agenda in Nigeria. The Nigerian state has instituted a number of mechanisms aimed at addressing the crisis; these include the establishment of a Niger Delta Development Board (NDDDB) under the 1960 Nigerian Constitution (Order in Council) and the 1963 Republic Constitution, the Oil Mineral Producing Areas Development Commission (OMPADEC) in 1992, the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC), created in 2000, the Niger Delta Ministry (NDM), created in 2008 and now the presidential proclamation of amnesty for militant groups. Essentially a historical and survey research, the study made use of data collected from archival sources and social survey to expose the inadequacies inherent in the various governmental efforts at solving the Niger Delta imbroglio. The central argument of this paper is that for enduring peace and sustainable development to be achieved in the Niger Delta there is the immediate need for a systemic and general orientation in the context of peace education. This special exercise would include all stakeholders: the militant groups, the federal government, oil multi-nationals, the governments of all oil producing states and communities, the Niger Delta people and overwhelming majority of Nigerian citizens. It is concluded that peace education for all is a veritable tool for a long lasting solution to the Niger Delta crisis.

**Keywords:** Peace Education, Sustainable Development, Conflict Management, Niger Delta.

---

### **INTRODUCTION**

The pre-eminence and importance of the Niger Delta to the survival and peaceful co-existence of the Nigerian state cannot be over-emphasized. Politically and economically, the Niger Delta has become the operationalized metaphor for planning and development in Nigeria; most especially if such developmental efforts are fundamental and aimed at sustainability. It is in this sense that any realistic and objective analysis and/or discussion about peace and sustainable development in the Niger Delta must of the highest imperative commence with a systematic and general orientation of the Nigerian people in the context of peace education.

This paper argues that a comprehensive and holistic approach in the form of peace education for all will do the “magic” in an attempt to effectively manage the seemingly perennial developmental crisis situation in the Niger Delta. In subsequent sections and for analytical convenience, the paper explores the conceptual and theoretical perspectives of peace education and sustainable development. It then examines the Niger Delta and the nature of the crisis

before acknowledging previous state’s efforts at managing the crisis. Finally, the paper explains the peace education strategy with an exposition of its *modus Vivendi* and *modus operandi* in the context of the Nigerian state.

### **PEACE EDUCATION AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES**

#### **Peace Education**

As we are rightly informed by the Chambers Dictionary, peace connotes a state of quietness, freedom from disturbances; freedom from war and conflict. Peace is the opposite of war and could mean the other side of confrontation and conflict situations. It is a condition of harmony, cooperation and understanding. However, peace may not only mean the absence of conflict but also the presence of creative alternatives for responding to conflict. (Thompson, (2004)

To be educated on the values and benefit derivable from peace in the context of the foregoing should perhaps be a major pre-occupation and joy of any leader or ruler. Peace education is the process or

system of instructing individuals and/or groups to consciously become aware and develop a culture of peace. It is the process of acquiring the values, the knowledge and developing the attitudes, skills, and behaviours to live in harmony with oneself, with others, and with the natural environment [1]. Education for peace has attracted the attention of many peace researchers. The concept has been referred to in many practices and study but poorly articulated. Phrases such as Education for Conflict Resolution, Global Education, Social Justice Education, Disarmament and Development Education, etc. has been used variously to actually mean peace education. In the words of one of the luminaries in the field of Peace Education, it is a concept and practice that could be conceived as:

encouraging a commitment to peace as a settled disposition and enhancing the confidence of the individual as an individual agent of peace; as informing the student on the consequences of war and social injustice; as informing the student on the value of peaceful and just social structures and working to uphold or develop such social structures; as encouraging the student to leave the world and to imagine a peaceful future; and as caring for the student and encouraging the student to care for others (Page, 2008: 189).

Peace Education is a series of teaching encounters that draw from people, their desire for peace, non-violent alternatives for managing conflict and skills for critical analysis of structural arrangement that produce and legitimate injustice and inequality [2]. The concept has been acknowledged as a tool developed to actualise the United Nations primary goal of “saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war”, to reaffirm faith in the ... dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women (The preamble to the UN Charter, 1945).

Furthermore, Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948 encourages vividly the non-violent alternatives to conflict management and advocate for peace education which is a type of education:

directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms”. It promotes “understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups” and furthers “the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace” (Article 26, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948).

In other words, peace education is an integral part of the work of United Nations, through a humanising process of teaching and learning, peace educators facilitate human development. They strive to counteract the dehumanization of poverty, prejudice, discrimination, rape, violence, and war. Originally aimed at eliminating the possibility of global extinction through nuclear war, peace education currently addresses the broader objective of building a culture of peace.

UNICEF and UNESCO are particularly active advocates of education for peace, UNICEF describes peace education as schooling and other educational initiatives tailored towards the following objectives:

- Function as ‘zones of peace’, where children are safe from violent conflict.
- Uphold children’s basic rights as outlined in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)
- Develop a climate that models peaceful and respectful behaviour among all members of the learning community.
- Demonstrate the principles of equality and non-discrimination in administrative policies and practices.
- Draw on the knowledge of peace-building that exists in the community, including means of dealing with conflict that are effective, non-violent, and rooted in the local culture.
- Handle conflicts in ways that respect the rights and dignity of all involved.
- Integrate an understanding of peace, human rights, social justice and global issues throughout the curriculum whenever possible.
- Provide a forum for the explicit discussion of values of peace and social justice.
- Use teaching and learning methods that stress participation, Cupertino, problem-solving and respect for differences.
- Enable children to put peace-making into practice in the educational setting as well as in the wider community.
- Generate opportunities for continuous reflection and professional development of all educators in relation to issues of peace, justice and rights [3].

### **SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT**

Development is a long term initiative aimed at supporting national objectives such as achieving socio-economic goals (NEPAD, 2003). Development is the state of being developed, a gradual unfolding or growth (Chambers Dictionary). Development is a part of social evolution manifesting in economic growth, modernization, distributive justice and socio-economic transformation of the society [4]. It is when this state of being developed becomes part and parcel of a people, a society or a nation that one can talk of sustainable development.

Sustainable development, according to the Brundtland report “is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.” The right perspective to sustainable development is to see the whole process as a system that needs to work in unison for the accomplishment of the overall goals of the society. Let us be illumined further by the Brundtland report:

When you think of the world as a system over space, you grow to understand that air pollution from North America affects air quality in Asia, and that pesticides sprayed in Argentina could harm fish stocks off the coast of Australia. And when you think of the world as a system over time, you start to realize that the decisions our grandparents made about how to farm the land continue to affect agricultural practice today; and the economic policies we endorse today will have an impact on urban poverty when our children are adults. We also understand that quality of life is a system, too. It's good to be physically healthy, but what if you are poor and don't have access to education? It's good to have a secure income, but what if the air in your part of the world is unclean? And it's good to have freedom of religious expression, but what if you can't feed your family?

Sustainable development is best understood in the context of the above illustration. It helps us understand ourselves and our world; and the enormity of the problems associated with our lack of understanding or lackadaisical attitudes to peace education. It then follows that to initiate and sustain any development agenda, a peaceful, harmonious and conflict-free environment is an uncompromisable yardstick. Therefore, to properly espouse the strategic importance of peace education to sustainable development in the Niger Delta and the federation of Nigeria as a whole, it is ideal to appraise what constitute the Niger Delta question and governments' effort at addressing it. This is the subject matter of the next two sections of this paper.

### **THE NIGER DELTA QUESTION: A SYNOPTIC OVERVIEW**

There have been identified three basic precepts that provide a clear focal point for pressure in addressing the continuous injustice, environmental hazard against the communities in the oil production area of Nigeria with regard to proffering a long lasting solution [5]. It is this precepts that are referred to as the Niger Delta question. The three basic precepts are:

- The serious grievance of the communities in this oil – rich area of Nigeria, that have not been addressed which range from the obvious critical issues of exclusions, social injustice, deprivation, despoliation to the fundamental problems of human

rights violation, oppression, continuous military action, intimidation and continuous domination.

- The demands for the equitable accommodation of and distribution of power and resource to these regimes.
- The continuous struggle to bring about changes in the oppressive system by simply redressing power imbalances in the Nigerian federation [5].

It therefore follows that the Niger Delta question is a complex issue constituting all forms of demands, struggle, agitations against the perceived injustice suffering and long neglect of the Niger Delta communities. These agitations and/or demands are normally made by the peoples of the Niger Delta Area against the Nigerian government or the Nigerian state and the oil multi-nationals operating in the region. Specifically, the Niger Delta question has:

an assertive core of grievances, demands and struggles for the rejection of suffering and oppression arising from neglect, poverty, hegemonic politics and controversy over resource control which may simply raise other questions [5].

It is however fundamental to establish here that the Niger Delta question, apart from being directed at the Nigerian state is also conspicuously linked to the cry of long neglect and marginalization which the people of the Niger Delta are made to pass through against the hegemonic Nigerian Ethnic groups vis-à-vis the various opportunities and advantages which these hegemonic ethnic groups enjoy within the political economy of the Nigerian state.

The foregoing therefore strongly indicates that there are two distinct possibilities for the explanation of the Niger Delta question. The first stems from the deprivation of the Niger Delta people in terms of the social, economic and cultural development within the framework of a true federal system in Nigeria [5]. This deprivation however resulted into a situation of serious frustrations and perceived oppression. Hence, the people became aggressive and determined to do whatever within their reach to remedy the situations. The aftermath of this aggressive tendency include: revolts, sabotages, kidnapping, abduction, vandalisation of oil pipelines and the emergence of various militant groups in the Niger Delta. The second explanation is directly kinked to the politics of “who gets what, when and how” in the Nigerian political equation and particularly since the political economy of oil wealth in the aftermath of the Nigeria civil war has introduced another element into the Niger Delta situation, namely; the evolution of legal instruments of repression as strategies of systematic domination.

## **INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISMS FOR MANAGING THE NIGER DELTA QUESTION**

Let us now turn our search lights to examining the mechanisms that had been employed over the years by the Nigerian state in the management of the Niger Delta conundrum. These institutional governmental efforts with some other palliative measures were expected to addressing the various developmental problems in the delta. The extent to which they have performed has however remained implicitly and explicitly arguable.

### **Niger Delta Development Board (NDDDB)**

The response of the federal government to the clamour for resource control is rather ambivalent. It is a "quick" response of carrot and stick [6]. In the past, especially in the years after independence in 1960, the federal government initiated the Niger Delta Development Board (NDDDB). This was interventionist agency intended to stimulate indigenous development and ultimately transform the economic misfortune and problems of unemployment, confronting the citizens of the Niger Delta region. However, most of anticipated policy and objectives of the Board were not realised because of organizational and manmade bottlenecks [6].

Writing in respect to the Niger Delta Development Board, Osaghae [7] argues that the Board was the first serious attempts taken by the federal government to address or redress the developmental problems of the region. The creation of the Board, he argues, was purely on the recommendation of the Willink minorities commission (1958). The Board, however, was short-lived and did not make any meaningful impact because the great problem confronting minorities at the time was over shadowed by the grim power – struggle among the major ethnic groups. Of course, it should also be noted that the Board also failed because it was seem as a short-term loan to only quell the agitation which would and cannot stand the test of the agitation [7].

### **The Oil Mineral Producing Area Development Commission (OMPADEC)**

The federal government due to pressure within and outside to address the Niger Delta situation and the failure of NDDDB, established the Oil Mineral Producing Area Development Commission (OMPADEC) in 1992. OMPADEC was intended to support development in the neglected oil producing areas of the Niger Delta. Parts of the law establishing the body stated that three percent (3%) of the total money accruing to the federation account from oil mineral producing state be used for the development of this neglected area so as to ease the agitation in the region.

The body was additionally mandated to hold meaningful discussion with the producing companies

with view to having genuine production figures on a state by state, and community by community basis. These figures were to be seen as a guide for the purpose of project citing by the federal government in the Niger Delta.(amange,2006:58) As a special agency, established in the typical state led development fashion to address development problem of the Niger Delta, the oil Mineral Producing Area Development Commission did appear to be doing good work in the Niger Delta [7].

However, While the body openly claimed that federal government did not release the full amount of money supposedly meant for its operation to it, the commission itself (due largely to wrong selection process engaged in picking their leaders) did not work in accordance to the policy, objectives and laws that created it [8]. The huge corrupt practices noticed among the body was obvious which in the end forestalled development. Resources were also squandered and there was a total failure to accomplish any purposeful project of worth [6].

The federal government released about fifth (50) billion to the OMPADEC to carter for hundreds of uncompleted jobs, most of which have no direct relevance to the lives of the oil producing communities and their people. One of the problems associated with OMPADEC is that the initiative and its operation was essentially non-participatory of indigenous people of the Niger Delta. What this meant was that there was no room for consultation and this resulted to a situation where the people were not allowed to determine its priorities. Its project were determined largely by contractors and the body had generally been associated with scandalous over-invoicing [9]. So the OMPADEC, it is argued was also:

a very lucrative avenue for accumulation by elite element who serve as contractors, consultants and project-lobbyists for helpless of oil producing communities [9].

This therefore, made OMPADEC as an institution essentially viewed as anti-development and purely a political response to delegitimise agitations for the development of the Niger Delta region. The point of emphasis is that the OMPADEC as an interventionist agency of the Nigerian state did not succeed in adequately addressing the Niger Delta question. It also failed to achieve the target objectives of harmonising the activities of the oil companies with the desires of the oil-producing communities and due to open corrupt practices attributed to the body's failure and non performance practically diminished the key values of accountability, participation and consultation [7].

### **The Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC)**

The Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) was set up in 2000 to take over the assets and liabilities of OMPADEC with a view to improving on the performance of OMPADEC. The law creating the Niger Delta Development Commission also provides for the development of oil mineral producing areas using quota of production after due consultation with oil companies. This particularly important provision was neglected by the OMPADEC in its operations.

However, it is safe to say that opinions ranged from total rejection to a more cautious approval, suggesting the trepidation with which the Niger Delta people view the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC). As Chief Nimi Barigha – Amange, a chieftain of the ruling People Democratic Party (PDP) in Bayelsa State made President Obasanjo to understand in a 2001 “Letter to President” The NDDC came, it has been seen but has refused to conquer. He (Chief Amange) argues that the main issues – appointment or employment, projects and contracts, are being neglected and this apathy was started by the federal government itself. In the appointment of people into the Board of the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC), the federal government failed to take into consideration the producing areas, but picked persons from the producing states generally, thereby defeating the sole aim of developing the producing communities. So, you now have a situation where the NDDC constructs roads in Port Harcourt town but neglects the producing communities that need such roads [8].

The argument is that the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) is not addressing the purpose for which it was set up. The body is going the way of its predecessor, the Oil Mineral Producing Area Development Commission (OMPADEC). The body has not been able to justify the billions of Naira it has collected since its establishment as an interventionist agency in the Niger Delta crisis. In the opinion of Chief Amange, no significant impact has been made by the commission in terms of the physical development of the oil producing areas. The style and approach of implementation is that, while the oil producing communities are being starved of projects, and the people from the area getting poorer, people from non-producing areas are getting richer. It is a clear case of “robbing Peter to pay Paul” [8]. The foregoing therefore explains why there are calls for the restructuring of the Niger Delta Development Commission by the sons and daughters of the oil producing communities of the Niger Delta. Also the fact that the Niger Delta region of the country could easily be described as “conflict zone” is indicative of the fact that the commission and the Nigerian state seem not to have adequately or effectively addressed the Niger Delta question.

### **The Niger Delta Ministry (NDM)**

In January 2008, President Umaru Musa Yar’Adua announced the creation of the Niger Delta Ministry (NDM), to address the many problems of the Niger Delta. While some have criticized the NDM as “unnecessary and capable of causing endless demand from other aggrieved sections of the country”; others support it as “an alternative for the ad hoc approaches” that have characterized the issue.

Prior to the creation of the Niger Delta Ministry in January 2008, President Yar’Adua had set up the Niger Delta Technical Committee (NDTC) to help resolve the intractable Niger Delta question. The mandate of the NDTC was to appraise the recommendations of previous committees or commissions, and come up with new recommendations that would enable the Federal Government achieve sustainable development, peace, human and environmental security in the Niger Delta.

The NDTC made a wide range of recommendations, including 25 percent derivation, and made provision for DDR – Decommissioning, Disarmament and Rehabilitation, among others. Mitee was confident that NDTC had done a good job. It was probably in response to the Mitee committee that the Ministry of Niger Delta was established. The coming on board of the ministry seemed not to have helped matters as the problem was not abating and was taking a more confrontational and violent dimension. The latest effort at achieving peace in the Niger Delta is the presidential proclamation of the granting of amnesty to all the militants operating in the oil producing areas all over the federation. The proclamation was signed by President Yar’Adua himself and has been embraced by many militants, including the most prominent among them.

### **PEACE EDUCATION STRATEGY FOR NIGER DELTA’S DEVELOPMENT**

The Hague Agenda for peace and justice for the 21<sup>st</sup> century is a very significant example of a modality for peace education. The document (UN Document Ref A/54/98) enunciated the involvement of committed educators, researchers and the global civil society as the underlying factors in peace education. Ideas are being linked together by NGOs, educational institutions and citizens networks in the advancement of peace education. These organisations usually work in partnership with the United Nations and its specialised agencies.

However, in terms of the system or modes of organisation and operation, the peace education strategy that would effect sustainable development in the Niger Delta would have to involve a revolutionary dimension to the concept. In the Nigerian context, a genuine

purpose agenda would have to be embarked on, which will see the concept of peace education enshrined in the curricula of education and school from the secondary level to the tertiary institutions. This system of education would allow for the development of a culture of peace consciousness in the mind of every Nigerian.

As this fundamental practice of instituting peace education in the curricula of schools continues to get entrenched into the consciousness of every Nigerian youth, there is the imperative of a general orientation of all adult Nigerians both at home and in diaspora. This would involve conscientiously educating the entire citizenry in the area of peace education, irrespective of ethnic or regional affiliations. The process may take any form or system but the main intention would be to educate the people and enlighten them on the values and knowledge of living in harmony with themselves as Nigerians anywhere they find themselves within the federation.

While encouraging a wide spread enlightenment programme and education of the citizenry on the beauty and advantages derivable from peaceful co-existence, a third point of the tripod would be to develop a special programme of peace education for the purported stakeholders, who are at the forefront of the Niger Delta issue. This special education would be anchored on the primacy of employing non-violent alternatives for the management of crisis and whatever conflict in any part of the country.

The non-violent means of settling all disputes or conflict, which is an aspect of peace education; and a prerequisite for real development would have to involve both short and long term processes of learning and enlightenment. In the short term all practically identified stakeholders – the federal executive council, the national assembly, governors of all Niger Delta States and their State executive council, State legislatures of oil producing states, oil multi-national corporations, all identified militants and militant groups operating in the Niger Delta, elders and leaders of all oil producing communities and any other groups and individuals that are directly linked or involved in the Niger Delta issue – are to be sincerely organised and systematically taught and orientated or re-orientated on every aspect of non-violent options to dispute resolution.

This special training or education would emphasise the opportunity cost of war and violent conflict. At whatever level or situation a people that engage in hostilities or destructive confrontation forgoes political stability, socio-economic and infrastructural development, peace co-existence and jeopardize the future of their children and generations to come. These are practical opportunity costs of war

which the training would have to impact. In this instance, the services of researchers in the field of peace education and other interventionist groups are highly needed. Local and international non-governmental organizations and civil society groups would do well in concentrating their focus and activities in educating these immediate stakeholders on the virtues of peace, especially as applied to the Niger Delta.

The long term process of this enlightenment and orientation about peace and development linkage would be all embracing and encompasses all stakeholders in the Nigerian socio-economic and political landscape. These stakeholders may not be directly linked to the Niger Delta but are one way or the other beneficiaries of the oil money from the Delta. These should include all public office holders, leaders of opinion, groups and influential individuals in all the geo-political zone of the country and invariably all the states and local governments of the federal republic. In this instance, there is the need for institutional mechanisms established for the primary purpose of training and educating about peace. Agencies and commissions at all levels of government would be appropriate but the scope of their activities limited to methods, systems, modalities and procedures for educating their target audience about the benefits accruable from peaceful co-existence of all Nigerians, irrespective of place of origin or ethnic affiliation.

This special peace education paradigm as applied to the Nigerian situation vis-à-vis the development of the oil producing region of the country should be made to include continuous dissemination of information about the source of the petro-dollar that has been responsible for the status of the country among the comity of nations. The education and enlightenment programme would do well to statutorily include an education on the Niger Delta's topography, the people, the crude petroleum deposits, the level of development/or and under development and generally the strategic importance and role of the area in the socio-political and economic life of the federal republic of Nigeria.

This will afford a young Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo, Igala, etc and even Ijaw boy or girl an opportunity to start the process of knowing and appreciating the Niger Delta even at a very tender age. He or she will grow into adulthood and possibly, position of decision making in Nigeria with the consciousness and knowledge of the Delta and its significance to the Nigerian state. This will be an enduring complementarity to the education on peaceful co-existence which will go a long way to making sure that sustainable development in the Niger Delta becomes a priority for any Nigerian whether from the north, south, east or west.

## **CONCLUSION**

The Niger Delta is the most strategic region to the Nigerian wealth because of its natural endowment in oil and gas resources. The region could however be rightly described as the “zone of conflict” because of the continuous agitation of the people of the area for better and commensurate allocation in the oil and gas proceeds from their area. However, irrespective of the past and present governmental efforts at addressing the problem, there is the need to institutionalise mechanisms to educate and orientate the entire citizenry of Nigeria in the field of peace education. This will lead to the development of the consciousness of a peace culture and make the Niger Delta a concern for all. The point being emphasised is that to achieve long lasting peace and sustainable development in the Niger Delta, every Nigerian that is living in any part of the world need a special type of education which will develop in individuals mind the culture of peace and erase any consideration of the option of violent in dispute or conflict management.

It is only through this that sustainable development in the Niger Delta and by extension the Nigeria State could be achieved. Finally, a culture of peace will be achieved when citizens of the world understand global problems, have the skills to resolve conflicts and struggle for justice, non-violently, live by international standards of human rights and equity, appreciate cultural diversity, and respect the earth and each other. Such learning can only be achieved with systematic education for peace. (Hague Appeal for Peace Global Campaign for Peace Education).

In this era of globalisation, progressive educators, local and international, would need to concentrate or at least get involved in the Nigerian case to teach the values, standards and principles articulated in fundamental UN instruments such as the UN Charter, Human Rights documents, the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), and the World Declaration on Education for All. The Niger Delta is the pride of Africa and anything that would bring peace to the region is worth the effort.

## **REFERENCES**

1. Wikipedia. Peace Education. Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia, 2009.
2. Ian H, John S. Peace Education for a New Century. *Social Alternatives*. 2002; 21(1): 3-6.
3. UNICEF. Peace Education, UNICEF Working Paper Series, 1999-July.
4. Mabogunje A. *The Development Process: A Spatial Perspective*, Holmes & Meier Publishers Inc, 1980.
5. Programme on Ethnic and Federal Studies(PEFS). *The Niger Delta Question: Background to Constitutional Reform*, Ibadan: PEFS Monograph New Series, No. 8, 2004.
6. Jike VT. *The Political Sociology of Resource Control in the Niger Delta*, Saliu, H.A. in *Nigeria Under Democratic Rule (1999-2003)*, Volume Two, Ibadan: University Press Plc, 2005.
7. Osaghae EE. “From Accommodation to Self-Determination: Minority Nationalism and the Restructuring of the Nigerian State. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*. 2001; 7(1).
8. Amange NB. Open Letter to Mr. President. *The Punch Newspaper*, 2006; March 6, p. 58.
9. Oyerinde O. *Oil Disempowerment and Resistance in the Niger Delta in Ken-Saro-Wiwa and the crises of the Nigerian State*, Lagos; CDHR Publication, 1998.