

An Assessment of the Niger - Delta Crisis and Nigeria's External Relations - From 1992-2008

Angela Ajodo-Adebanjoko, PhD

Department of Political Science
Federal University Lafia
Nasarawa State-Nigeria

Ojua, Takim Asu, PhD

Department of Sociology
University of Calabar
Nigeria

Abstract

This paper is designed to assess the effects of Niger Delta Crisis on Nigeria's external relations from 1992 to 2008. The Niger Delta is the region that produces oil which is seen presently as the life wire of the Nigerian economy. The region has been embroiled in crisis for some time. The need to ensure lasting peace in the region prompted this research because peace in the region will impact positively on Nigeria's external relations. In carrying out this research, primary and secondary sources of data collection were used. At the end of the research findings showed that the Niger Delta crisis is the result of many factors among which are the desire of the people of the region to control their resources, the activities of multinational oil companies in the region which cause environmental hazards, corrupt activities of Niger Delta elites who embezzle funds meant for development; and obnoxious laws by the Nigerian government. Efforts of successive Nigerian governments to put an end to the crisis have not been a complete success. Meanwhile, the crisis continue to have an adverse effects on Nigeria's external relations and as a result, recommendations are made on the need for dialogue, involvement of host communities in decision making, rapid socio-economic development and revenue transparency among others so as to put an end to the crisis. Measures should also be geared up to properly integrate indigenous youths in the mainstream of production to attain sustainability, growth and development.

Key Words: Niger-Delta, Crisis, External Relations and Assessment

1. Introduction

Crisis is a feature of every society and this exist in multiple forms and dimensions across the globe (Ajodo, 2011). In Nigeria, Africa and the global society at large, it is not a new phenomenon; the country has witnessed many political crises such as Kano Riot of 1953, Census Crisis of 1962, Action Group Crisis of 1962/63, Federal Election Crisis of 1964, Coups and Counter Coups, the Civil War of 1967-1970 and more recently, the June 12 political crisis of 1993. These crises have all impacted on Nigeria's foreign policy negatively but none has had such tremendous and negative impact on Nigeria's foreign policy as the current Niger Delta crisis, had tremendously shown. Crisis in the Niger Delta region dates back to as early as the 19th century. During this period, a complex interplay of factors provoked sometimes volatile responses to the pressures for the control and distribution of resources coupled with a feeling of injustice and inequity. For instance, from 1894 to 1895, King William Koko of Nembe resisted the Royal Niger Company's attempt to shut out Nembe people from the lucrative trade in palm oil. Isaac Adaka Boro in 1966 and Ken Saro Wiwa from 1993-1995, put up similar resistance which was mostly over petroleum. Others include struggles sparked off by King Nana of Itsekiri in 1896, and Oba Ovarenmi of Benin in 1897 and the Kaiama Declaration of 1998-2000, making it a total of six major rebellions witnessed in the Niger Delta in the last two centuries in addition to the numerous armed rebellions of youths in the last 15 years or thereabout, which have disrupted oil exploration, while also attracting international attention because of the abduction of foreign oil workers, and its contribution to the rise in the prices crude oil (UNDP: Niger Delta Human Development Report, 2006:17).

The agitations for some degree of self determination and recognition of the region for special development attention were further compounded by the fear of marginalization and exclusion by the people of the region. Reacting to his nomination as the vice president of Nigeria under the banner of the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) in 2000 general elections, President Goodluck Jonathan who was then Governor of Bayelsa state re-echoed the views of the people of the Niger Delta region when he said: "*Before this time, what we have is the feeling that Nigeria is not for all of us.*" {Policy analysis and research project 2010}. The need to allay these fears led to the establishment of the Royal Commission, under the chairmanship of Sir Henry Willink {Horsfall, 1999; Okwechime, 2004}. The Willink Commission observed that the needs of the people living in the creeks were different from those in the interior leading to a feeling of neglect and lack of understanding by those affected. It therefore advocated for a special treatment for the area. The Federal government in 1961 set up the Niger Delta Development Board {NDDDB} to look into this issue but no lasting solution was found to the problem because the board was fraught with many challenges.

Oil which was expected to better the lots of the local people and improve their standard of living has brought impoverishment to them. Pollution and environmental degradation caused by the activities of these MNOCs have deprived the people the right to an adequate standard of living, right to gain a living and to health and a healthy environment among others. The result is high rate of unemployment, social deprivation, abject poverty, filth and squalor and endemic conflict which has made the region to be underdeveloped and ridden with conflicts. In recent times, the Niger Delta has become synonymous with conflict and recent hostage taking has introduced an international dimension to the crisis which no doubt impact negatively on Nigeria's external relations because of the link between domestic and foreign policies. Foreign policy is an extension of domestic policy. It regulates the interactions of states with one another. Niger Delta crisis no doubt has implications for Nigeria's external relations.

2. Oil Exploration and Current State of the Niger Delta

Niger Delta is made up of nine states namely: Abia, Akwa-Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo, Imo, Ondo and Rivers. It is located in the South-South region of Nigeria and extends over about 70,000 square kilometers, making up 7.5% of Nigeria's land mass. The Niger Delta is one of the World's ten most important wetland and coastal marine ecosystems and home to some 31 million people. It is also the location of massive oil deposits, which have been extracted for decades by the government of Nigeria and by Multinational Oil Companies (MNOCs). This makes the region more attractive, important and relevant to Nigeria and global survivor.

Crude oil was discovered in commercial quantity in 1956 in Oloibiri by Shell Petroleum Development Corporation (SPDC). Before this time, Nigeria's economy was dependent on agricultural products such as oil palm, palm kernel, coal and tin production. The country was the largest exporter of cocoa in 1960. However, annual production of both cash and food crops dropped greatly in the 20th century, with cocoa production dropping by 43%, rubber by 29%, cotton by 65% and groundnuts by 64%. The role of crude oil in Nigeria's export increased rapidly so that by 1960, crude oil export came to provide the bulk of mineral exports, thus oil operations began to play a greater role in government's affair in the 1960s. In 1971 Nigeria became the largest commonwealth oil producing state with a production capacity of 74,100,000 long tons which amounted to 41.1% of the total crude oil production of the commonwealth. Expanding oil production as well as oil price rises stimulated by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in the period between 1973 – 74 and thereafter, made Nigeria to be almost entirely dependent on oil. Today, Nigeria is the eight largest producer of oil to the world and oil is the mainstay of the economy and accounts for about 90% of government's revenue and 95% of its foreign exchange earnings thanks to the Niger Delta Oil wells. Despite this development, the people of the region have not fared better but worse since the discovery of oil on their land (Rowell and Andy 2005).

The Niger Delta is a paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty. Despite the vast wealth produced in the region, the people remain poorer than the national average with GNP per capita below the national average of US \$ 280. About 70% of the Niger Delta people live below the poverty line which is above African Standard making the Niger Delta one of the poorest parts of the world. It is also a region faced with poor governance which makes the poverty level so high. The high level of poverty is still the root cause of conflict in the region. Since people don't know a way to feed their children, any conflict that arises from such development becomes violent. Another problem is unemployment.

Due to the many forms of oil-generated environmental pollution evident throughout the region, farming and fishing have become impossible or extremely difficult in oil-affected areas and this has heightened unemployment. Over two million youths in the region are unemployed while MNOCs employ ghost workers which they pay for nothing. Militants in the Niger Delta region often use these unemployed youths to carry out their activities as a way of telling the world, that if the oil companies fail to provide jobs for them they can engage themselves. Even where some of the youths are absorbed, it is mostly on part-time basis or as casual workers.

Absence of safe drinking water constitutes a challenge to the people. Owing to pollution of water by oil spills, water supply in the majority of the states in the region come from unsafe supply facilities including rivers, lakes or ponds, unprotected wells and boreholes. The Bureau classifies available sources of potable water for household consumption as: pipe borne, untreated pipe, borehole, protected well, protected well, river/lake/pond, vendor trucks and categories. In five of the nine states in the region- Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Ondo and Imo, water problems are very acute and result in supplies of unsafe water in more than 50 per cent of the cases (NBS 2005). The lack of potable water has had serious implications for the people's health.

There are few hospitals in the region are these very far from people in the rural centres and even where they are available, absence of good roads pose as an obstacle to getting to the hospitals on time for treatment in the event of an emergency. It is on record that the Niger Delta has the worst post- neonatal mortality rate in Nigeria. In the estimates derived from the Nigeria Democratic Health Survey (NDHS) for 1999, carried out by the National Population Commission, the infant and child mortality rates for the Niger Delta region were estimated at about 48 and 35 per 1,000 respectively compared with national rates of 71 and 67 per cent per 1,000 respectively.

Roads in the region are mostly bad and impassable during the rainy season. Although urban road transportation development has in recent times being given priority attention, less regard has been shown for rural transportation, especially water transport which the most of the rural populace depend on. Because of the bad situation of the roads which has made them death traps, motorists avoid them and as a result people trek long and excruciating distances due to the high cost of motorcycle transport which has become a popular means of transport. Housing is also mostly of poor quality especially in the swamps and creeks where dwellings are made of mostly mud walls, and stilt and strip foundations.

Poor quality education poses a big challenge in the region. Statistical estimates has it that about 40 per cent of the people are illiterates. Across the region, nearly all school facilities are in a state of extreme disrepair and require major rehabilitation. There are schools in the region where pupils still sit on bare floors with leaking roofs. Another estimate puts the proportion of children attending primary school at 80 per cent which compares favourably with the estimated national average of 54 per cent. However, across the region, nearly all school facilities are in a state of extreme disrepair and require major rehabilitation. It is surprising to note that there are schools in the region where pupils still sit on bare floors and leaking roofs to learn. The secondary school system suffers from a shortage of quality teachers. An NDES report (2000) revealed that in the Niger Delta states covering some 30,000 square kilometers and with over 3,800 settlements and an estimated eight million living there, there were only 2,169 primary schools and 545 secondary schools. For primary schools, this implies one school per 3,700 people serving in an area of 14 square kilometers, and one school for every two settlements. For secondary, the ratio is one school per 14,679 people serving an area of 55 square kilometers and one school for every seven settlements. No wonder 40 per cent of the people are said to be illiterates. The Niger Delta Regional Development Master Plan (NDRDMP 2008) report states that the major constraint to good quality administration and schooling at the primary, secondary, adult and tertiary levels is poor funding with attendant poor infrastructure maintenance. One wonders why this should be the case with huge allocations to the region and money that accrue to the MNOCs, as well as compensations except that some elites within the region embezzle such funds.

Oil exploration in the Niger Delta has indeed led to exploitation, environmental degradation and pollution which in turn have resulted in poverty, unemployment, health hazards, conflicts and death in some cases. These have resulted in the underdevelopment of the region and a feeling of frustration among the people which has led to conflicts.

3. A Brief Review of Literature

3.1 Overview of Crisis in the Niger Delta

Crisis in the Niger Delta region as already stated dates back to as early as the 19th century. In the 1990s, conflict arose as a result of tension between multinational oil companies and Niger Delta's minority ethnic groups who felt they were being short-changed. Ever since then, competition for oil wealth among others has fuelled violence in the region leading to the militarization of the region by ethnic militia groups as well as the Nigerian military and police forces. Ogoni, a very small community triggered the on-going uprisings by the Niger Delta people. Oil was discovered in the land in 1957 and there are about fifty-six oil wells in Ogoni land which is the fifth largest oil producing community in River States. The first oil wells were in Ebubu and Bomu where exploration activities by Shell and Chevron started. In 1965, Nigeria's first oil refinery was established in Alesa Eleme in Ogoniland (Osaghae 1995 cited in Dauda 2006). Oil exploration activities brought serious havoc on the Ogoni community which made Ogoni leaders complain that oil companies had done nothing to compensate them for the environmental degradation. They also claimed the federal government was forcing them to abandon their land to oil companies without consultation and offering negligible compensation. Led by Ken Saro Wiwa, the people felt with oil exploration, pollution and neglect, they faced extinction. With the Ogoni's dissatisfaction with the deteriorating state of their environment, social and economic apparatus, the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni people (MOSOP) was formed in 1992 to protest the injustice by the Nigeria Government and the Oil companies.

The leaders of the Movement presented the 'Ogoni Bill of Rights' to the federal government. In the Bill they expressed the suffering of the Ogoni people as a result of oil exploration activities, their neglect by successive Federal and Rivers state governments, lack of amenities as well as political marginalization. In view of this, they demanded for the right to manage their political affairs as a distinct and separate unit and also to control and use a fair share of the economic resources derived from the land and also the right to protect Ogoni environment from further degradation. By December 1992, the conflict between the Ogonis and the oil companies became serious and intense on both sides as both parties started carrying out acts of violence. MOSOP issued thirty days ultimatum to the oil companies namely Shell, Chevron and the NNPC demanding the sum of \$10 billion in accumulated royalties, damages and compensation, immediate stoppage of environment degradation particularly gas flaring in Yorla, Korokoro, and Bomu, immediate covering of oil exposed high pressure oil pipelines and negotiations for mutual agreement on all future drilling. The Ogonis threatened to embark on mass actions to disrupt the operations of the oil companies. In response, the oil companies decided to tighten their security while the Federal Government banned all public gatherings and declared the disturbances of oil as acts of treason punishable by death. To drive home its threat, soldiers and mobile policemen were deployed to Ogoni villages.

Notwithstanding the threat, after the thirty days ultimatum expired, on 3rd January, 1993 a mass rally was held in Bori. Meanwhile, Saro Wiwa called on the international community to come to the aid of the Ogoni people. (Dauda 2006). On May 21, 1994 four Ogoni chiefs were brutally murdered and Saro Wiwa and eight other Ogoni men were charged with murder. A military Tribunal was thereafter set up headed by Justice Ibrahim Auta which after trying the accused, found them guilty and thereafter sentenced them to death by hanging on 10 November 1995. The killing of Saro Wiwa and the others rather than deterring the Niger Delta people triggered further protest led by the Ijaws who resorted to guerrilla armed struggle. In December, 1998 the Ijaw Youth Council (IYC) was formed and came up with the Kaiama Declaration in which they demanded for suspension of oil operations by Oil Companies and their withdrawal from Ijaw territory. The IYC pledged to struggle peacefully for freedom, self-determination and ecological justice, and prepared a campaign of celebration, prayer and direct action tagged 'Operation Climate Change', beginning in December 28 that year. As part of their protests, the Ijaws began shutting down some of the oil installations on their land which led to massive deployment of troops and occupation of the area. This occupation led to a lot of bloodshed and killing of Ijaw Youths.

The Urhobo declaration was also one of the protests against the activities of the Oil Companies. The Urhobo stated that they had nothing to show for their land that had yielded over \$25.7 billion of oil. They demanded that the principle of derivation be replaced with complete ownership and control of oil and gas wealth. After the Urhobos, the Oron people met on June 25, 1999 and came up with a declaration protesting the pollution of their waters as a result of the oil activities of companies. With the creation of the NDDC in 2000, uprisings in the region subsided until 2003 when armed groups in the region emerged.

Unlike in the 1990s when the centre of regional violence was Warri, this time the militants spread their tentacles to Bayelsa and Rivers states where oil exploration activities were more pronounced {Ejibunu 2006}. The groups that emerged this period were; the Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF) led by Mujahid Dokubo – Asari and the Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV) led by Ateke Tom, both groups comprising mainly of Ijaws. Others were the Martyrs Brigade and the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta {MEND}. These groups adopted various arm-twisting tactics such as kidnapping of expatriate oil workers and their Nigerian counterparts to press home their demands for resource control. The NDPVF founded by Asari, a former president of the IYC had as its goal the control of regional petroleum resources through oil bunkering. Following a mission to wipe out NDPVF by the Obasanjo government, Asari declared an “all out war” with the Nigerian government as well as oil companies and threatened to disrupt oil production activities through attacks on wells and pipelines. He was consequently arrested, charged with treason and detained by the president Olusegun Obasanjo Government.

To show its commitment to ending the Niger Delta crisis, on assuming office in 2007 the government of Yar'Adua released Asari Dokubo on 14th June, 2007 and since his release, the latter sought to assist the Federal Government in bringing peace to the Niger Delta region. The last was not to be heard of the Niger Delta crisis however as the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) led by Henry Okah and Edward Attatah came up. This group kidnapped both foreign and local oil workers, engaged in oil bunkering, and supply of arms to militant groups among others. MEND destroyed pipelines and claimed responsibility for attacks that have killed many members of the nation's Security Agencies, including a deadly attack on shell Benisede flow station on 15 January, 2006, that badly damaged the factory and left 14 soldiers and two civilians dead. In June 2008, the Royal Shell's Bonga Oil Field, Nigeria's largest offshore oil facility with a daily production capacity of 200,000 barrels of oil and 150 million standard cubic feet of gas was bombed by militants, a development which made Nigeria to lose about an average of 650,000 barrels of crude oil production per day. The group has claimed responsibility for this and most of the hostage taking. In addition, they continue to threaten to attack foreign oil workers and those with construction firms to halt their operations.

Hostage taking introduced an international dimension to the crisis because many countries like Britain, USA, France, and Israel among others have investments in the region. In addition, Nigeria ranks among the highest producers of crude oil and is the biggest supplier of oil to the world. The crisis is not only making Nigeria to lose her image abroad, her position as the largest exporter of crude oil in Africa to Angola but also funds which it generates from foreign firms which have decided to recall their nationals and pack up their business. As a result of oil shut-in resulting from bombing of oil installations, Nigeria is losing her large market in the global market as many countries like Britain are now turning to the Middle East for their oil supply {Daily Independent, 27 August, 2008}.

In spite of the Federal Government's Amnesty programme, leading to surrender of arms to the Federal Government by militants, the situation in the Niger Delta deserves serious attention because militancy is not yet completely a thing of the past. That is why according to Chairman of the Ijaw Youth Council, Tuodo, (2009):

...the glamour of amnesty is not the end of it. What of the agitations of the Niger Delta people for a better environment? There is a trend to the struggle. In the 1960s, our people cried in the rooms but the situation has escalated to carrying guns. With the present issue of amnesty, the case can get worse if the situation is not addressed. We are going to have a graveyard peace for some years but they {militants} can resort to using bombs in order to register their demands {The Guardian, 5 October, 2009:}.

3.2. Theoretical Overview

This section examines relevant theories with a view to putting the crisis in the Niger Delta in proper perspective, and in doing this; certain conflict and other theories were briefly reviewed. Conflict theories are perspectives in social sciences which emphasize the social, political and material inequality of a group and critique the broad social-political system. Bearing in mind that no single concept or theory can expect or capture the Niger Delta crisis and its implication on Nigeria's external relations in its entirety, two theories would be examined.

3.2.1. Classical Modernity Theory

This theory is associated and propounded by Anthony Giddens, Simmel, Weber, Marx and Durkheim. They were all engaged at one point or the other in an analysis of modern society. All were working at the point of the emergence of modernity and dwell more on the critique of the problems posed by the modern world and economy.

Simmel for instance according to Frisby (1992:59) “was the first theorist of modernity”. He (Simmel) investigated modernity primarily in two major interrelated sites – the city and the money economy. According to Poggi (1993), Simmel’s postulation first saw that modernization brings with it a series of advantages to human beings, especially the fact that they are able to express various potentialities that are unexpressed, concealed and repressed in pre-modern society.

This captures the whole essence of the Niger-Delta crisis where indigenous owners, community leaders strive to receive commensurate social provisions for themselves in line with the level of modernization, environmental development and socio-economic improvement.

3.2.2. Frustration-Aggression Theory

Frustration–aggression theorists argue that collective behaviour is an aggressive response to feelings of frustration. Central to the theory is the assumption that all aggression has its root cause in the frustration of more actors’ goal achievement. In other words, conflict can be the product of the unfulfilled personal or group goals and the frustration that this brings.

3.2.3. Structural Conflict Theory

It is most commonly associated with Karl Marx. According to him, conflict is a basic structural condition of society, in other words, conflict is an inherent part of human relations. Conflict is a natural phenomenon which contributes to social evolution. The main argument of Marx is that conflict occurs as a result of the exploitative and unjust nature of human societies divided along class with the privileged dominating the less privileged.

Conflict in the Niger Delta is the result of exploitations which have resulted in frustrations and recourse to arms. This is strictly an alternative to structural functionalism. To the structural conflict theorists, the functionalists had no sooner gained leadership in social science and sociological theory, than it came under increasing attack. The attack was multifaceted as this show cases conflicts in society as a structural response to the poorly organized economic various and resources of the people in society.

This paper adopted the Dahrendorf conflict perspectives of the Marxian theory. His major work, class and class conflict in industrial society (1950) is most influential in this issue under discussion for him, although aspects of social systems could fit together rather neatly, there also could be considerable conflict and human tension among them (Ojua, Tangban, Abia, and Bisong, 2012).

3.3. Effects of Niger Delta Crisis on Nigeria’s External Relations

Following series of mass disturbances and the killing of four Ogoni men, Saro Wiwa and eight other Ogonis were arrested and despite appeals from the International Community for the Nigerian Government to spare the lives of the nine men, they were executed on 10th November 1995 at a time when the Commonwealth Heads of state and government was meeting in Auckland, New Zealand. The execution of Ken Saro Wiwa and eight other Ogoni activists provoked considerable international alienation and revulsion as well as international condemnations and sanctions. The killing indeed drew criticisms from various groups within the country and the international community which believed the trial was pre-arranged by the federal government which constituted the tribunal and that the manner it was conducted was biased as the condemned persons were not given adequate time and facilities to defend themselves. For instance, while the tribunal embarked on the trial of fifteen defendants, in the case of eleven of them, there was no evidence produced by the prosecution in the summaries to suggest that they were guilty of any offence. In addition, ten were not mentioned in the summaries yet the tribunal ruled that the trial should commence meaning that it had already been decided that a trial should hold before the tribunal could decide if there was any evidence against any of the accused (Guardian August 18, 1997).

As a result of this, the Commonwealth Heads of State and Government suspended Nigeria from membership of the organization for two years, a motion moved by Mr. Nelson Mandela, the then president of the Republic of South Africa. According to the leaders, Nigeria had violated the 1991 Harare declaration of the organization which binds all members to a code of civilized behaviour which includes respect for human rights, fair trial and right of appeal, respect for rule of law among others. The leaders of the Commonwealth thereafter agreed that Nigeria's re-admission into the commonwealth would be based on her improved human rights record, release of persons convicted for their role in the botch coup of March 1995 and the government's seriousness to democratize within two years. In view of this, the Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group (CMAG) was set up to monitor democratization process in Nigeria and observance of human rights during the period. It was expected to visit the country and advise the Commonwealth on further steps to take. The Federal government in a bid to forestall further threats and sanctions from the international community constituted a 50-man member national committee made of traditional rulers and leaders of thought on November 29, 1995. The committee which was chaired by Lt. Gen. Jeremiah Useni viewed the commonwealth conditions for Nigeria's readmission as disturbing and considered reconsidering Nigeria's membership of the organization, reviewing Nigeria's foreign policy with Nigeria being the focus, and reaching out to friendly countries.

It also advised the government to change its aggressive behavior towards the countries which had imposed sanctions on it and this, the federal government accepted. The Federal government further sponsored some traditional rulers and 'leaders of thought' on an image laundering mission abroad but this was not successful because they had no right contact with policy makers in the various governments of the countries they visited. Although various meetings were held between the commonwealth Ministerial Action Group (CMAG) and the Nigerian representatives, the CMAG still reiterated the position of the commonwealth to continue with Nigeria's suspension until the country completed the process of democratization on October 1 1998. As a result, Nigerian representatives were excluded from all inter-governmental commonwealth meetings, participation in commonwealth games and from general access to commonwealth competitions. The commonwealth heads of government further empowered the CMAG to impose various forms of sanctions on the country if they will aid the democratization process and respect for fundamental human rights. The head of governments further stated that if Nigeria did not democratize after October 1 1998, it will then consider expelling the country from the association and introduce further measures in consultation with other members of the international community. Nigeria's suspension from the commonwealth and its product hurt the country financially.

Nigeria's relationship with the United State of America after the execution also nose-dived. The United States recalled its Ambassador to Nigeria Mr. Walter Carrington and imposed further sanctions on the country in addition to tightening the ones imposed as a result of the annulment of the June 12 presidential election of 1993. Going further, a bill tagged 'Nigerian Sanctions Bill' was introduced in the US Senate in November 1995 by Nancy L. Kassebaum, Chairman Senate African Affairs sub-committee and a Senator Patrick Leahy. The bill sought to strengthen the ban on foreign assistance to Nigeria at the International Financial Institutions, continued suspension of flights between the two countries and visa ban on the Nigerian Leadership and members of their families. Though the Bill was never enacted, it however sought multi-lateral sanctions against Nigeria, asking the American President, Bill Clinton to pursue a United Nation arms embargo against Nigeria, seek a multilateral oil embargo and pursue a resolution condemning Nigeria at the United Nation's Human Rights Commission. The Clinton administration also considered oil embargo on the country to compel the military government to transit to democracy and desist from human rights violation. This was not implemented because the USA had already banned the purchase of oil from Libya, Iraq, Iran and Syria and adding Nigeria to the list would work against its economic interest. However it continued to lead the campaign for Nigeria's isolation from the international community.

Nigeria-European union relations also took a down turn following the execution of the 'Ogoni nine'. The EU recalled its countries' ambassadors from Nigeria and on November 13, 1995 announced two sets of sanctions against the country. The first sanction was announced on November 12, 1995. The EU suspended development cooperation with Nigeria except for projects and programmes in support of human rights and democracy, poverty alleviation and provision of basic needs. Other sanctions were; restriction of movement of all military personnel; an embargo on arms and military equipment which covers weapons designed to kill and their ammunition, weapon platform, non-weapon platforms and ancillary equipment. The embargo also covered spare parts, repairs, maintenance and transfer of military technology.

The second set of sanctions imposed in December 1995, stated that members of the Provisional Ruling Council (PRC), the Federal Execution Council, members of the military and security forces and their families in possession of long-term visas were to be refused entry into any EU countries. Also military attaches in Nigerian embassies in EU member states were withdrawn while their counterparts from EU countries in embassies in Nigeria were also recalled. There was a ban on sporting contacts with Nigeria. The Head of delegation of the EU in Nigeria Mr. Luiz Saltzmann was recalled to Brussels Belgium, EU headquarters when he was not given an ambassadorial treatment by the Nigerian government which was displeased with the sanctions imposed by the EU. Following the sanctions, the developments of aid projects funded by the European Development Fund (EDF) during the Lome Convention were suspended. The 30.6 million ECU Sokoto Environmental Protection Programme, the 68.8 million (ECU) Oil Palm Belt Development Programme, covering seven states in the south, the 35 million ECU North East Arid Zone Development Programme (NEAPDZ) and the 28 million ECU Mambilla Tea and Irrigation Programme were all affected. Other projects were: the 33 million (EUC) Middle belt Programme, Katsina Arid Zone Development Programme valued at 25 million ECU, the 11.5 million ECU university Library Programme, 18.5 million ECU Oban Hills Programme, 30 million EUC NITEL Training and Research Programme and 105 million ECU NITEL Maintenance Training Programme and the Suspension of a N4.4 billion Pledged to Nigeria under the first financial protocol of the Lome IV Convention. Members of the EU went further to the UN General Assembly to canvass for concerted action against Nigeria. In addition, the EU boycotted major government functions in Nigeria.

For instance when the report of the constitutional conference was to be presented to General Abacha, the EU members boycotted the occasion and on Saturday December 14, 1996 when the Head of state was given a major foreign policy address at the annual patrons dinner of the institute in Abuja the same action was repeated in spite of the fact that a formal invitation was given to them. These actions drew criticisms from the Chief of General Staff Oladipo Diya who accused the EU of neglecting the family of the Ogoni four men killed while providing enormous resources to the families of Ken Saro Wiwa. He also accused them of openly providing financial and logistic assistance to anti-Nigerian efforts, unwanted interference in Nigeria's internal affairs, deliberate plan to weaken the country and an attempt to divert government's attention from pursuing its constructive policies and programmes. The UNO on its part reacted to the killing by passing a resolution, the first, on Nigeria. In the resolution A 150/199 of December 22, 1995, the UN General Assembly condemned the execution while expressing deep concern over other violations of human rights and fundamental freedom in the country. On the request of the Nigerian government, a fact-finding team led by Justice Atsu Koffi Amega was sent to Nigeria to look into the trial and execution of Saro Wiwa and the others. At the end of its mission, the team cited the failure to observe fundamental human rights in Nigeria as what led to the killing of Saro Wiwa and the others.

Nigeria's relations with Canada after the execution were also affected. Canada became hostile to Nigeria and announced that it was imposing sanctions on the country. Nigeria on her part decided to close down her High Commission by recalling its officials. As a result of the strained relationship between the two countries, Bata Nigeria PLC, Nigeria's only Foot wear company was affected as its Toronto based parent company Bata Limited terminated the existing pact between the two. The terms of technical agreement covered research and development of new technology, processes, machinery, materials, and products relating to the manufacture of foot wear and allied products. In addition, Bata Limited was the central source of collecting, coordinating and transferring information and technology as well as providing advisory services and authorizing the Nigeria outfits to use Bata trademarks.

Nigeria and South Africa relations also became sour after the execution. As earlier said, at the Commonwealth Heads of State and Government meeting in Auckland, Mandela moved the motion for the suspension of Nigeria from the organization for two years. He also sought the imposition of sanctions on Nigeria including oil boycott. Furthermore, Mandela threatened Shell Petroleum Development Company in Nigeria against further involvement in the multi-billion dollar Liquefied Natural Gas Project (LNG) going on in Nigeria then. In addition, the South African government recalled her ambassador and demanded the withdrawal of the invitation given to the Nigeria Super Eagles to play in a four nation tournament in South Africa. Although the letter was later withdrawn, Nigeria refused to participate on the ground of insecurity which led to its ban from the competition for two terms. The country was also fined \$30,000 by the Confederation of African Football (CAF) and further barred from participating in the Miss World beauty contest holding Johannesburg, South Africa.

The crisis of the period certainly strained the relationship between Nigeria and the international community which had a negative consequence on her external relations. As a result of the hostilities from the West, Nigeria attempted to go East undertaking economic relations with China, North Korea, Russia and Poland among others. Western hostility also made Nigeria to shift attention to South-south cooperation. Nigeria in 1997 purchased 1,500 specialized Tata truck vehicles for the armed forces and police from India. In spite of this shift however, Nigeria's Foreign Policy was negatively affected as her image in the international community nose-dived. Nigeria's external relations suffered in Africa leading to her influence in the region being eroded as she was sidelined by major powers on African issues. For instance, in 1996, Nigeria was excluded from the list of countries visited when the American Secretary of State Warren Christopher embarked on a tour of four African nations for the purpose of recruiting a strong African crisis response force constituting of African soldiers who would be charged with the responsibility of maintaining peace in troubled spots in Africa. The same was the case when the US President Bill Clinton, US Secretary of State, Madeline Albright and Reverend Jesse Jackson all visited Africa at various times.

In the West African sub-region, Nigeria could not garner support from the West African Football Union (WAFU) to withdraw from the 20th edition of the African Cup of Nations Championship in South Africa in January 1996 and had to wait two weeks to the competition before pulling out which earned her two terms suspension from the championship.

After the execution of Saro Wiwa and the 'eight Ogoni' various groups in the region began to agitate for resource control. A violent dimension was introduced to the crisis with the emergence of various militant groups following the end of the 2003 elections in the country when politicians armed Mujahid Asari Dokubo, leader of the Niger Delta Volunteer Force {NDVF} and Ateke Tom, leader of the Niger Delta Vigilante Force in a bid to be re-elected. The rise of these groups introduced oil bunkering, and hostage taking of foreign oil workers among others with implications for the country's external relations. According to a report given in 2009, over 512 people were kidnapped that year alone and kidnapping in the country is said to have increased with militancy in the Niger Delta {Daily Trust, November 2, 2009}.

Activities in the Niger Delta region have international implications because of the number of international investments in the country. The rise in armed conflicts in the region has therefore introduced an international dimension to the crisis. Political instability is injurious to an economy, as it induces capital flight. In 1994, following the assassination of Luis Danaldo Colosio, political instability in Mexico sent the financial market shivering. Also, a rumble in the banking sector in Asia (Thailand, South Korea and Indonesia) in 1997, led to capital flights from the nation as individuals and businesses seeing these nations as non-stable societies moved their investment to more secure societies. When the Russian Government defaulted on its loan, International businessmen took off with their money. Capital flight resulting from the Niger Delta crisis has had multiplier effects on the Nigerian economy. It has impeded business investment, economic growth and productivity, encouraged inflation and unemployment and negatively affected the living standards of the people. Political instability has also affected the nation's national income because investors and individuals in the society beginning to perceive the crisis as a serious threat to their investments and savings, have sold off their assets and bought assets in other politically secure and stable societies.

For instance, as a result of the recent hostage taking, many countries have recalled their nationals from Nigeria. Also several foreign firms including French Tyre Company, Michelin have left. In addition, some countries like Britain are turning to the Middle East for their oil supplies because of the lingering crisis. Shell {SPCD} recently lamented on the decline of the confidence private investors in the investment environment of Nigeria and oil and gas sector which has become shaky. Unrest in the Delta also reduced Nigeria's oil output by a quarter, causing it to lose its position as Africa's biggest oil producer to Angola according to April 2008 figure from the OPEC. The two attacks on oil installations in 2008 reduced the country's output by 345,000 barrels per day. Nigeria's income by extension is also affected. For instance, when Shell withdrew from Ogoni area in 1993, the company was unable to produce any crude oil. According to Shell, the oil wells in the Ogoni area are capable of producing 28,000 barrels per day. During this period, Nigeria lost about US \$ 133 million per year in oil revenues from the area. Accordingly, Nigeria lost almost US \$ 800 million in oil revenues from the area between May 1993 and May 1999 (Jerzrej 1999). The bombing of Bonga Oil Fields in June 2008 cut Nigeria's crude oil export by 225,000 barrels per day making her to lose about \$1.8 billion daily.

President Yar' Adua lamented that Nigeria had lost about 30 per cent of her oil revenue to the crisis which has affected the national budget. There was also a \$52 billion fall in Nigeria's foreign reserves between May and July 2008, not unconnected with crisis in the region. In 2009, Nigeria's output dropped to an estimated 1.740 million barrels per day {The Guardian June 19, 2009}. Edmund Daukoru former Special Adviser to President Yar' Adua on Petroleum and Energy in 2008, said the amount of money Nigeria has lost to the crisis since 1999 is up to US \$6.8billion. A whopping N3 billion was lost in 2008 alone to the conflict. This translates to the production loss of one million barrels of oil per day. Arithmetically, Nigeria's loss to the crisis exceeds Ghana and South Africa's foreign reserves, which at the end of April and June 2008 stood at \$2.19 million and \$3.0.77 million respectively. With the country losing about #1.8 billion daily, the nation's economic being is at risk and further delay in tackling the problem spells doom for the nation and the rising prices of oil in the international market. However, according to a report released by yahoo News (2006), Nigeria's annual loss to the crisis was about 4.4 billion dollars. Attacks on pipelines and industry facilities along with the kidnapping of oil workers since early 2006 did not only cost the country billions of dollars a year but have added to the volatility in global energy prices. Crisis in the Niger Delta resulted in higher prices and tighter supplies. According to a report by International Herald Tribune (2006), an attack by gunmen on a boat carrying oil workers to an offshore rig in the delta on Friday 8th June, 2007, pushed up oil prices by more than \$1.50, to \$63.38 a barrel. Because of the strategic importance of the region to the global supply of oil and energy, anytime there's crisis in the region, the world catches cold as oil prices always shoot up. The Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) recently gave the reason why oil prices hit an 11 month high pinnacle of \$76.08 in the international oil market to militant attacks and outages in the Niger Delta. The International Energy Agency corroborated this explanation of OPEC's when it said: "*it is (oil prices) driven up by supply anxieties. It is driven up by Nigeria...*" (Ramsay 2007 cited in Ejibunu 2007).

According to former British Prime Minister Gordon Brown *the Niger Delta is an important strategic area for the world where supplies if put at risk create an instability if not a loss of supply to the world* {Vanguard March 11, 2008}. Also speaking on that, former US Ambassador to Nigeria, Walter Carrington opined that;

...Nigeria's continued failure to bring justice and development to her oil producing region will cause increasing regional instability at home and financial instability abroad {Daily Independent August 27, 2008}.

As a result of the trouble in the region, the US Department of State, Bureau of Consular Affair warned its citizens of the danger of traveling to Nigeria. The citizens were particularly told not to travel to Delta, Bayelsa, and Rivers states because of high risk of kidnappings, robbery and other armed attacks in these areas. This action will jeopardize Nigeria's ability to attract foreign investors. As a result of rising oil prices, tight markets and political instability in the Persian Gulf, Indonesia and parts of Latin America, Nigeria's oil has become critical to the economy of the USA. The Bush administration in 2002 declared that; "*... African oil is a priority to US national security*". Nigeria is the United States' largest trading partner in sub-Saharan Africa. It supplies 11% of US oil imports in nearly 46% of her daily oil production. It is also the fifth largest exporter of oil to the United States and is hoped will become the latter's first or second source by 2015. Total two-way trade was valued at \$27.5 billion in the first 10 months of 2007, a 7% increase over the same period in 2006.

The foregoing shows that the Niger Delta crisis is therefore not only a national problem but also a global one that deserves serious attention. The world has long seen Nigeria as a non-stable economy and a sinkhole that could swallow her investments because of past crisis like the June 12th Saga. Crude oil is an important material input in the production of goods and services. Any disturbances in the flow of oil in Nigeria will negatively impact on the Nigerian economy and by extension the world economy because Nigeria supplies most of the world's oil, thanks to the Niger Delta oil fields. The political leaders therefore need to work hard for peace in the Niger Delta as without peace, growth is impossible.

Ecological degradation such as the one we have on almost every inch and space in the Niger Delta is not just a local problem, it has global implications. Quite a few scientific findings have shown that environmental degradation negatively impacts global security and prosperity. A critical examination of America's foreign policy in the last two decades proves that it is concerned with environment issues and with matters dealing with social dislocations, international health challenges and uncontrollable migration that are likely to constrict its resources; and that it is also concerned about activities that are likely to cause the unplanned disintegration of friendly nations.

Furthermore, if the economic, political and institutional underdevelopment continues, the crisis may become too complex and too perilous to resolve. In time, the cost of oil exploration and distribution may become very costly and in fact, the cost of some commercial activities may become exorbitant as the region is directly tied to the global economy. Already, some commercially minded individuals under the guise of militancy kidnap people and demand for huge sums as ransom. This new wave of crime makes the situation complex. According to Banon and Collier, (2003) there are systemic studies that indicate that poverty, hopelessness and cruelty lead people to violence and terrorism. Because these three variables are present in the region, elements and groups within the region may be amenable to outside forces looking to recruit terrorists. In a spider web-like world, terrorism has no boundary. Some dissidents are already using the crisis as a launching pad or testing ground for terrorism. In addition, in the post cold war era, right wing think tanks in the USA has argued that Nigeria is one of the countries in Africa that are too big for proper control and therefore need to be broken into smaller units. Imperialist countries may therefore want to use the lingering crisis in the Delta to firmly control the country in the context of the international geo-political rivalries of the contemporary world.

3.3. Recommendations and Conclusion

This research has explored the implication of Niger Delta crisis on Nigeria's external relations. Crisis in the Niger Delta region dates back to as early as 1914 when the people agitated for some degree of autonomy and recognition. Although the Niger Delta crisis has many dimensions, the current crisis is interrelated with oil exploration and its attendant hazards being the root cause. Some of these hazards which include environmental degradation and poverty have led to the desire for resource control which takes precedence over other demands. Findings also show that the current crisis in the region has implications for Nigeria's external relations.

Nigeria has lost billions of naira to disruptions in oil supplies and will lose more if the present hostage taking of foreign oil workers and oil bunkering continue as its business partners may decide to seek stabler economies for their investments. Also some foreign nationals have been recalled by their respective home governments and no doubt Nigeria would not be in the good books of such countries. Unrest in the Delta region has adversely affected Nigeria's economy in terms of human and monetary loss. Between May and July 2008, Nigeria's foreign reserves fell by about 2 billion. Recently in 2006, crisis in the region took the form of militancy with the kidnapping of foreign oil workers and bombing of oil installations which impacts negatively on Nigeria's foreign relations because Nigeria exports crude oil. In view of the short comings of previous intervention schemes, the following recommendations are made as a means of ending the crisis.

In the first place, dialogue should be embraced by all while the use of force should be de-emphasized since experience has shown that the use of force increases rather than ameliorate crises. The federal government should go into dialogue with all stakeholders with a view to ending the crisis. Since the military approach by the government has not yielded results, the path of dialogue becomes a necessity. According to Ejibunu (2007) Government should adopt dialogue using the Non-violent Communication (NVC) approach developed by Marshall Roseberg who states that government should use the NVC approach to organize seminars, to be anchored by NVC experts with all the stakeholders in attendance...doing so the government would have fulfilled the component of NVC which encourages people to focus on what they and others are observing; how and why they are feeling as they do; what their underlying needs are; and what each of them would like.

In addition, a neutral body or a group of Nigerians commending the trust of the communities could mediate between the Federal Government, the Multi-National Oil companies and the local people in a designated place acceptable to all stakeholders. The Niger Delta people at a time chose Nobel Laureate, Wole Soyinka to represent them in the dialogue with the Federal Government as Niger Delta activists in the past complained that past negotiations have been closed affairs involving delegates who are chosen by the federal and state governments. A case was the National Political Reforms Conference in 2005 as well as stakeholders meeting in April 2006 at which President Obasanjo announced a regional development plan which was treated with skepticism by militants who felt the government was trying to purchase participants' loyalty with expensive hotel rooms and bribes (International Crisis Group, 2006). The convocation of a Sovereign National Conference comprising of ethnic nationalities where all stakeholders in the polity could come together and discuss the future of the Niger Delta is also advocated. The truth remains that for the crisis in the region to be tackled adequately, collective efforts involving all stakeholders is required.

Secondly, a community relations approach which involves the host communities from the start must be put in place. The existing community – relations approaches have achieved little because of over concentration of decision making in the hands of the Multinational Companies. Decisions are usually taken for the host communities and contracts are awarded for projects to colleagues and friends of the companies to execute while the village heads are merely brought in to show the contractors the site of the projects. Because the people are not involved in the decision making process from the start, they are usually passive and contribute nothing to the success of such projects. For example, the people of Ogbia LGA in Bayelsa have refused to use the SPDCs lock-up market stores in Otuesega since its completion in 1998. The new community-relations approach is akin to what Prof. Steve Azaiki, National Coordinator of the National Think Tank (NIT) refers to as “Citizen-Oriented Community Development Initiative – COCDI”. It involves the host communities evolving or initiating projects, discussing them with the Community Liaison Officers (CLO) of the Multi National Oil Companies who would then harmonize them with the local and state governments as well as NDDC master plan. As a result of being part of the whole process, it becomes imperative for the rural community to openly own-up the programs and projects in their community and guard against vandalism {Guardian July 8, 2008}.

Efforts should also be made by the Federal Government, State Governments and the MNOCS to meet the genuine needs of the people of the region. In this regard, rapid and massive socio-economic development must be put in place if the Federal government’s programme of reintegration, rehabilitation and development is to succeed. The Federal Government must ensure that the unemployed youths in the region are employed as full time workers by the MNOCS and not just as casual workers. In addition, amenities such as portable water, constant electricity, state of the art schools and hospitals with qualified medical personnel among others must be put in place for the people to make life comfortable for them. Also, well-articulated skills acquisition programme should be put in place by the government to check the high rate of unemployment and by extension, poverty in the area. Also, there must be construction of roads and bridges to key towns and communities, coastal roads to link the entire region and creation of development centres in the most inaccessible areas of the region. Once the people see this, they will see the seriousness and genuine interest of government and MNOCS and in the region.

The Niger Delta Development Commission {NNDC} should be further strengthened through increased funding to drive the development of the region more effectively through the Niger Delta Regional Master Plan which has the potential to turn the fortunes of the region around. Previous intervention agencies like the OMPADEC failed to achieve the purpose for which they were established due to lack of funds and commitment on the part of the government. Recently, the Senate Okayed N89 billion NDDC budget but it goes without saying that more needs to be done. While more funds for the NDDC is advocated, its activities need to be monitored.

Furthermore, there must also be revenue transparency at both international and domestic levels. Government must ensure that payments from transnational oil companies are disclosed. This will discourage corruption and instill the confidence of the people of the region in the leadership. In addition, there should be a Fund like the Petroleum Trust Fund (PTF) where money for development is lodged and projects effectively monitored. This will to a large extent discourage corruption and embezzlement of funds. The 10 per cent proposed Trust Fund meant for the development of the region should not be controlled by governors in the region but must go to the communities directly and managed by honest and men of integrity in the region. In the 2004 meeting of the Group of Eight industrialized nations (G8), the first Transparency Compacts, Voluntary Partnerships in which a developing country government sets out a plan to bring greater transparency and accountability to the management of public resources was launched. Nigeria also signed the British-backed Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EIT) and has gone ahead to establish her own Nigeria Extractive Transparency Initiative (NEITI) in 2003. (International Crisis Group 2006 cited in Ejibunu 2007, p.28).

A former special Adviser in the administration of Obasanjo on Project Monitoring and Evaluation, Julius Ihonvbere lamented a situation whereby the Niger Delta governor between 1999-2007 did not manage the resources that accrued to the region. Some states that collected over N600 billion had nothing to show for it. He therefore advocated transparency on the parts of the leaders stating that if the people can see that their leaders are honest, they will understand, but once they see that their leaders are in power to make money, then there will be problem (Ihonvbere 2007 cited in Ejibunu 2007). There’s therefore need to go beyond rhetoric to ensure that revenue transparency becomes a reality in the Niger Delta.

Government policy on petroleum should be more inclusive, taking into consideration the peculiar problems and needs of the oil producing areas among others as a way of resolving the crisis while the Land Use Act must be abolished or modified to suit the wishes of the people of the region.

Furthermore, militants should sheath their sword permanently to enable government to concentrate on the issue on ground and proffer solutions. Continued disruptions and bombing of oil installations by the militants distract the government from finding real solutions to the problem of the region. While I commend some for their efforts in surrendering their arms, MEND should follow suit.

In addition, oil bunkers, kidnapers, protection racketeers and gunrunners and their business partners must be checked by the international community by lending its weight and clamping down on illicit trade in stolen crude oil. Similarly, corrupt governors must be picketed and sent to jail if found guilty of embezzlement and money laundering while in office to serve as a deterrence to others.

MNOCs operating in the region should ensure that oil production does not continue at the cost of violations of the rights of those who live in the area. They should take responsibility for their actions by a definite plan to clean the environment and adequately compensate the people for many years of environmental degradation just as obtains in advanced countries of the world. In addition, gas flaring which has a lot of havoc to the Niger Delta people should be eliminated as has been done in Europe and America. The deadline for oil companies to end gas flaring by 2008 must be complied with. Meanwhile, qualified Niger Delta people should be given management-related positions in oil-related parastatals to give them a sense of belonging. It is also important that these companies engage the services of environmentalists who would find out the extent of damage and relocate the people for effective rehabilitation where necessary. The international community also has a role to play in ending the crisis.

Western nations with oil interests in Nigeria should supervise the activities of MNCOs in the country ensuring that they operate according to international best practices. Strict environmental standards should be enforced. They should also ensure that a certain percentage of the funds generated be re-invested in the region to encouraged development.

The United Nations should use its position to get a neutral country without oil interests in Nigeria to mediate between the warring factions in the region.

Finally, the need to address the problem of the region should not be sacrificed on the altar of haste by the government and all stakeholders but time should be taken to come up with an error-proof strategy that would end the crisis of the region and by extension, the misery of the nation.

It is pertinent to say by way of conclusion that the problem of the Niger Delta has both a domestic and international dimension as discussed so far and therefore all hands must therefore be on deck to ensure that the crisis becomes a thing of the past. Collective responsibility of all peace loving Nigerians, the Nigerian Government and the international community is therefore required.

References

- Ajodo A; (2001) Nigeria's Defence Policy and National Security Options for the 21st Century, unpublished M.SC thesis, Department of Political Science and International Relations University of Abuja, Nigeria.
- Akangbe M. (2008) Internal Security, Hostage Taking and Foreign Policy: An Assessment of the Impact of Niger Delta Crisis on Nigeria's Foreign Policy. unpublished M.SC thesis, Department of Political Science and International Relations University of Abuja, Nigeria.
- Akinjide O. (Ed) (1997). Dimensions of Environmental Problems in Nigeria. Nigeria: Davidson Press, University of Ibadan.
- Akinyemi B. (1974). Foreign Policy and Federalism. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press
- Akinyemi B. (1987) Nigeria and the World, Readings in Nigerian Foreign Policy. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press
- Akpempuun O. (2006). Prevention and Management of Conflict. Ibadan: Loud Books
- Archer, C. (1992). International Organizations, (2nd edition) London: Routedledge.
- Austin, O. (2005). From country to collaboration: peace in Nigeria, oil producing communities. UK: Adonis and Abbey.

- Banon I. and Collier, P. (2003) *Natural Resources and Violent Conflict: Options and Actions*, Washington DC: The World Bank.
- Bassey M. and Oshita, E. (2007). *Resources Conflict: A case Analysis of Niger Delta*. Nigeria: Malthouse Press Ltd.
- Bunker S.G, (1985) *Underdeveloping the Amazon: Extraction, Unequal Exchange and the Failure of the Modern State*, U.S.A: University of Chicago Press.
- Cyril, O. (2004) *The Oil paradox: Reflections on the violent dynamics of petrol politics and (mis) Governance in Nigeria's Niger Delta*, South Africa: Africa Institute.
- Cyril, O. (2006) *Youth and Generational Dimensions to struggles for Resource Control in the Niger Delta Prospects for the Nation State Project in Nigeria*, Council for the Development of social Science Research in Africa.
- Dahrendorf, R. (1959). *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society*. Standford. California: Standford University press.
- Dauda, S. (2006) *Nigeria's Foreign Policy*, Ibadan: Daily Graphics Nigeria Ltd. P. 129
- DeGregorio C. et al (2003) *Context and Decision: policy ed upper saddle River*: Prentice Hall
- Ekanola, A. B. (2007) *Interrogating the Basic Course of the Niger Delta Rebate*, *Journal of sustainable Development in Africa*, Vol. 9.
- Ejibunu T.H. (2007). *EPU Research Papers, Issue 07/07 (PDF)*. Edited by T. H.Ronald. Australia: European University Centre for Peace Studies (EPU). Available at: [http:// www.aspr.ac](http://www.aspr.ac) {accessed on 22 March 2011}
- Ekpo U. (2004): *The Niger Delta and Oil Politics*, Lagos: International Energy Communications.
- George, R. (2012). *Sociological Theory (8th edition)*. McGraw-Hill International Edition, University of Maryland.
- Imobighe T. A (2002), *Conflict and Instability in the Niger Delta: The Warri Case*, Ibadan; Spectrum Books Ltd.
- Imobighe T. A. (2003), *The OAU (AU) and OAS in Regional Conflict Management: A Comparative Assessment*, Ibadan: Spectrum Books
- Jedrzej G.F. (1999) *Oil in Nigeria: Conflict and Litigation Between Oil Companies and Village Communities*. UK: Transaction Publishers.
- Krishner B. (2005) *Lifting the US-Cuban Embargo: A case of current Events*. Associated content. Available at: [http://www.associatedcontent.com/article,\(accessed\)](http://www.associatedcontent.com/article,(accessed))
- Lenski G. (1966) *Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification*: McGraw Hill
- McGarry J. et al. (1993) *Ethnocentrism: The Quest for Understanding (chapter 6 and 8)*: Princeton University Press
- Marx, K. (1898) *The Communist Manifesto*: New York Penguin Group
- Nore, P.C. and Turner T. (1980) *Oil and Class Struggle*, London: Zed press
- Ntido F. (2003) *Multi-National Oil Companies and Community Relations in the Niger Delta: A Look at Dispute Resolution*.
- Odum T. (1996) *Environmental Accounting-Energy and Environmental Decision Making*, U.S.A: John Wiley and Sons Inc.
- Okonta I. (2003), *Where Vultures Feast: Shell, Human Rights and Oil in the Niger Delta*, New York: Crown Publishers.
- Osaghae E. (1995). *The Ogoni Uprising: Oil Politics Minority Agitations and the Future of the Nigerian State*. South Africa: African Affairs
- Owolabi O. and Okwechime, I. (2007) *Oil and Security in Nigeria: The Niger Delta Crisis*, Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa. (E-book)
- Ojua, T.A., Tangbsn, E.E., Abia, R.P, Bisong, P.O (2012). *Environmental Conservation and the Development of Cultural Tourism*. *Scottish Journal of Art, Social Sciences and Scientific Studies*, 4 (1).
- Peters, S. E. (2002), *Niger Delta: Why the Quest for Resource Control*, Abuja: centre for publication.
- Pham, J. P. (2007) *Nigeria's Foreign Policy: An Inquiry into Sources and Prospects*, Presentation Prepared for V FLAD-IPRI International Conference "The E.U. and Africa: Looking for Strategic Partnership" 8-9 November Lisbon, Portugal
- Phillips J. (1997) *Resource Access, Environmental Struggles, and Human Rights in Honduras* Published in *Life and Death Matters* Barbara R.J (Ed), (n.d) U.S.A: Altamira Press,
- Poggi, G. (1993). *Money and the Modern Mind*. George Simmel's Philosophy of Money. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Raji A. (2000) *Boiling Point: A cdhr publication on the crises in the oil producing communities in Nigeria*, Lagos; committee for the Defense of Human Rights (cdhr).
- Rowell A. and Marriot, J. (2005) *The Next Gulf: London, Washington and Oil Conflict in Nigeria*. Uk: Constable
- Saliu A.H (2006) *Democracy and Development in Nigeria: Economic and Environmental Issues Vol. 2*, concept publications
- Wiwa S. K. (1992) *Genocide in Nigeria*, Nigeria: Saros
- Yinka O. (2003): *Oil and Gas Law in Nigeria*: Malthouse Press Ltd.