

AMNESTY AS A PANACEA FOR STOPPING MILITANCY IN THE NIGER DELTA REGION OF NIGERIA

Kenneth Yowika N. Ph.D

ABSTRACT

This study examined Amnesty as a panacea for stopping militancy in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. It examined the root causes of the act of militancy that led to the amnesty programme pronouncement it also looked at those who were involved in the programme and why they were involved. Corruption was seen as a destructive tool that had frustrated the effort of government in achieving its objective. The government must strengthen its agencies to make its efforts succeed.

INTRODUCTION

The Niger Delta region of Nigeria has been one plagued with a lot of infrastructural, human capital and environmental problems. This simply has arisen from age long neglect of the region from government and the oil multinational companies which do business within the region, some of such companies are Shell, Mobile, Nigerian National Petroleum Company (NNPC), Elf and Agip these companies have operated within the region for decades and have nothing to show for it in their area of operation. Oil was found in Ogoni land in the year 1958 and sold in commercial quantity from K. Dere (Bomu Oil Field).¹ In 1970 the first seed of the current conflict were sown when Ogoni chiefs handed a petition to the local Military Governor complaining about Shell, then operating a joint venture with BP. According to the petition the company was "seriously threatening the well-being, and even the very lives" of the Ogoni's.² That oil has been mined from their land since 1958 to this day from the following oil fields (i) Bomu (ii) Bodo West (iii) Tai in Tai L.G.A (iv) Korokoro also in Tai LGA (v) Yorla in Khana LGA (vi) Lubara Creek and (vii) Afam in Oyigbo LGA by Shell Petroleum Development Company (Nigeria) Limited. That in over 30 years of oil mining, the Ogoni nationality have provided the Nigerian nation with a total revenue estimated at over 40 billion Naira (N40 billion) or 30 billion dollars and with all this and from other regions like Oloibri in now Bayelsa State that oil was struck earlier than in Ogoni in 1956 these areas in the Delta region have nothing to show for the huge amount of wealth been sapped from their area by the Federal Government of Nigeria and the multinational companies. This neglect brought about agitations from various ethnic groups within the region and the youths took the forefront of this agitation for benefits for what they owned as they had made claims.

These agitations were made constructively to the government of Nigeria but none was listened to. The Kaiama declaration was one of such agitations carried out to impress on the government to do what was expected of it by the people of the Niger Delta (The Kaiama Declaration 1998). The first paragraph and roman figure iv and v is quite explicit on the need of the people of Kaiama as it reads we, Ijaw Youths drawn from over 500 communities drawn from over 40 clans that make up the Ijaw nation and representing 25 representatives organizations met, today, in Kaiama to deliberate on the best way to ensure the continuous survival of the indigenous people of the Ijaw ethnic nationality of the Niger Delta within the Nigerian State.³ That the quality of life of Ijaw people is deteriorating as a result of utter neglect, suppression and marginalization visited on the Ijaws by the alliance of the Nigerian State and transnational oil companies also that the political crisis in Nigeria is mainly about the struggle for the control of oil mineral resources which account for over 80% of GDP, 95% of national budget and 90% of foreign exchange earnings. From which 65%, 75% and 70% respectively are derived from within the Ijaw nation. Despite these huge contributions over reward

¹ Ogoni Bill of Right 1991.

² W. Nzidee, F. Yowika, N. Ndegwe, E. Kobani, O. Nalelo, A. Ngei & O. Ngofa, Humble Petition of Complaint on Shell-BP Operations In Ogoni Division, letter to His Excellency the Military Governor OF Rivers State. 25 April, 1970.

³ The Kaiama Declaration, 11 December 1998.

curbing the restiveness within the region was the amnesty programme for Niger Delta militants by the Federal Government of Nigeria.

The Amnesty Programme

In Nigeria, the Niger Delta region is unique because since 1956 when crude oil was discovered in commercial quantity at Oloibiri, Ogbia in present day Bayelsa State as well as in other core areas of the region, crude oil exploration and exploitation have sustained a large proportion of the country's revenue up to eighty percent. However, the region has commensurately benefitted in terms of infrastructure and human development among others. Consequently, the youths became restive after several efforts, agitations and protests to make the Federal Government and oil companies to develop the region that had been neglected for decades since the commercialization of crude oil. The region has ever since contended with challenges such as, pollution of water sources that has severely depleted aquatic life and endangered a majority of the citizens who drink from both underground water and rivers, ocean and other water bodies.

Flooding of farmlands and whose communities, coastal erosion, deforestation, oil spills, gas flaring have also had serious negative consequences of the region's demography and loss of lives and properties.

In reaction to these experiences given the fact that adequate positive measures were not undertaken by the Federal Government to address these issues/challenges, the youths developed militant groups all over the region in order to pressurize government and oil companies to develop the region. Several strategies were adapted to achieve their goals. For example, foreign oil company workers among others were kidnapped, oil pipelines were blown up, other oil installations were destroyed, vehicles and other oil exploration, exploitation and servicing equipment were looted.

Sequel to a prolonged period of attempts to assuage the militants in 2007, the then president and commander in-chief of the armed forces, President Umar Musa Yar'Adua proffered Amnesty as a solution to militancy in the region.

The Amnesty programme came from the recommendation of the Niger Delta Technical Committee (NDTC) which came into being on the 8th of September 2008 by the Federal Government whose terms of reference were:

- i. To collate, review and distill the various reports, suggestions and recommendations on the Niger Delta from the Willinks Commission Report (1958) to the present and give a summary of the recommendations necessary for government action.
- ii. To appraise the summary recommendation and present a detailed short medium and long-term suggestion to the challenges in the Niger Delta.
- iii. To make and present to government any other recommendations that will help the Federal Government sustainable development peace, human and environmental security in the Niger Delta region.

The committee made proposals on each of these with a specific reference to stemming the tide of resurgent violence in the region, it recommended the application for International standard of Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) of militants, as prescribed in the United Nations integrated DDR standards. It suggest that the Federal Government.

1. Establish a credible and authoritative DDR institution and process including international negotiations to plain, implement, and oversee the DDR programme at regional, state and local government levels;
2. Provide for open trial and release on bail (with a view to eventual release) of Henry Okah and others involved in struggles relating to the region;

3. Grant Amnesty to all Niger Delta militants willing and ready to participate in the DDR programme;
4. Address short term issues arising from Amnesty to militants, by promoting security for ex-militants and rebuilding of communities destroyed by military invasion;
5. Work out long-term strategies of human capacity development and reintegration for ex-militants;
6. Reflect on the time-line with adequate funds for the DDR programme to take place;
7. Stop the illegal demands put on youths from the region by prosecuting the suppliers of small arms and light weapons and also those involved in oil bunkering by identifying highly placed persons in and outside of government who are engaged in sponsoring for economic and political reasons;
8. Exclude from Amnesty and criminalize the activities of those militants not committed to the DDR process and unwilling to surrender their arms;
9. Ensure that signatories to the DDR programme show clear commitment to the entire process.

On the 25th of June 2009, the Federal Government announced the Amnesty deal according to the President, the offer for Amnesty was predicated on the willingness and readiness of the militants to give up all illegal arms in their possession, completely renounce militancy in all its ramifications unconditionally, and depose an understanding to this effect.⁵ A summary of the main terms of the Amnesty include:

- a. An unconditional offer of forgiveness for all militants who accept the offer willingly surrender their weapons and embrace dialogue with a view to broker peace in the region;
- b. Rehabilitation programmes, education and/or training touching on the physical or psychological re-orientation of their ideologies so as to create a refocused group of people who will be better able to tackle the challenges and issues militating against their communities in particular and Nigeria in general;
- c. Pecuniary entitlement of 65,000.00 (US \$841) paid to each militant monthly as feeding allowance and stipend for the duration of the rehabilitation process.

The President gave a 60 day window from date of announcement of the offer within which interested militants were to take up this offer, on the expiration of the deadline, about 15,000 ex-militants reportedly surrendered themselves and caches of weaponry to accept the Amnesty deal.⁶ The government also made promises to the region including a new regional railway project, the LNG project, new refinery project, new town projects, environmental remediation project, and a crucial East-West Road project as well as other coastal roads in the zone. In addition to contributing to the infrastructural development in the region, the government intends for these projects to be an avenue to offer gainful employment opportunities to the thousands of ex-militants that benefit from the skills acquisition and training programmes.⁷ The Federal Government also committed to transfer of 10% equity of its oil and gas ventures directly to oil producing communities (thereby bypassing the state governors) in the Niger Delta but reneged on this citing contentious legal issue.⁸ Instead,

⁵ A. Chinweoke, V. Enebele and A Onwuka, 'The Terms of Amnesty by Yar' Adua', Vanguard Newspaper 17, October, 2009.

⁶ C. Obi and S. Rustad, *Oil and Insurgency in the Niger Delta: Managing the Complex Policies of Petro-Violence*, Zed Books Ltd, 2010.

⁷ C. Ajunwa, 'Nigeria: Federal Government Approves 6,166 Ex-Militants for Amnesty', Thisday, 28 November 2010, <<http://www.codewit.com/north-america/2338-nigeria-fed-gov-approves-6166-ex-militants-for-amnesty>> accessed 13 May 2021.

⁸ T. Hallahm, 'Niger Delta to get 10% of Oil Wealth', Daily Trust (Nigeria), 20 October, 2009 http://www.news.dailytrust.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article*id=8113%Aniger-delta-to-get-10-of-oil-wealth&catid=46%3Alead-stories&Itemid=140>access 19 June 2021.

the government intends to share dividend from the oil-industry amongst host communities based on the value of assets in their areas.

Looking at the various countries discussed above with reference to Amnesty one key thing to note is that they all come to granting freedom to person for various crimes committed not withstanding how severe the crimes may have been or those that were affected by it. It is also key to note that Amnesty was mainly granted by states to a particular set of its citizens example the military, police, politicians and criminals for offences against the state or its citizens. Looking at the Amnesty programme holistically, one would see that the programme in the nine (9) countries discussed was all aimed at using it to foster peace among aggrieved members of a group within a state whose ideologies are the same. The programme of Amnesty has worked for various states that's why countries of the world continue to use it as a means of fostering peace among those who have been neglected. One can clearly say that Amnesty is a key instrument for peace.

The word amnesty is described as an official statement that allows people who have been put in prison for crimes against the state to go free, it is also a crime where people can put down their weapons and go unpunished.⁹ The debasement of the Niger Delta region by the Federal Government and it's multinationals had led the youth into vandalization of oil facilities in the region, the youths fought against neglect and corruption and spoke for control of the resources found in their area, the Elders and youths had recognized that about 80-90% of the government revenue came from their area in oil and gas and there was nothing to show for it after much agitation the government agreed to grant them in 1999 13% derivation but up till 2011 these issues where unresolved because the benefits of the 13% is still not been felt also in 1997 a report of the (Niger Delta Environmental Survey Report, 1997) suggested that the 3 sets of stakeholders industry, government and community should emphasize on the principle of participation as against dictation, they also rejected the top-bottom approach to development planning and implementation in place of bottom-top type. Furthermore, they urged updating forty-fifty year old data, on hydrology hydrodynamics and other sciences relevant to the Niger Delta.¹⁰ It also requested for an environmental impact assessment exercise to precede the design and execution of any development plan in the Niger Delta. None of this was done so frustration and desperation set in among the people mostly the youths and they took the Bull by the horns.

The birth of pipeline vandalism and kidnapping had started the movement for the emancipation of the Niger Delta among others, vowed to continue attacking oil installations and Nigeria military units until oil assets are brought under local control. Impoverished and hopeless youths are fed up with the present state of affairs which degrades the environment and loots local wealth. Anger was everywhere and the aggressive youths had advanced into violent kidnapping of expatriates of all oil companies operating in the Niger Delta who were kidnapped frequently and ransom paid for their release most times in the process of release some of them lost their lives in the exchange of life for money. Initially the kidnapping was concentrated on the expatriate staff, but after most of them withdrew from the area the concentration moved to the local staff all for the exchange of money which they had seen as a medium for enriching themselves and it did because they were paid handsomely for victims to be released. The act of kidnapping had spread among various groups to the Niger Delta e.g. the Niger Delta freedom fighters, movement for the emancipation of the Niger Delta and the Niger Delta volunteer force at the initial stages these groups had faceless leaders who spoke for them and made demands on their behalf they destroyed flow stations and vandalized pipelines and as the day went on they became very rich and powerful and out of control of the government and the security forces simply because they had invested in modern fighting

⁹ Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary of current English, 6th Edition. Oxford university press, p. 36. 2002.

¹⁰ Niger Delta Environmental Survey Report, 1997.

equipments that could contain the countries forces and was doing so and this became a challenge to the Nigerian state because the countries income was depleting.

Present Amayanabo of Okochiri Kingdom King Ateke Tom was the head of one of the militant groups the Niger Delta volunteer force, since its inception in February 2016, the militant group had up to the 10th of June 2016, carried out sixteen attacks on oil pipelines and facilities. The attacks and dates are reported as follows:

1. February 10th 2016 at about 1:30am Bonny Soku gas export line.
2. February 14th SPDC giant under water focados 48-inch export line.
3. February 19, 3:30am clough creek TebidabaAgip Pipeline manifold in Bayelsa.
4. May 4th Chevron value platform located at Abitege.
5. Lunched a coordinated attack on the Chevron Well b 25 in Abitege May 5th
6. May 13th bombed a Chevron Pipeline at two separate spots near a military location.
7. May 20th attacked escravous gas pipeline a facility of the NNPC in Delta State.
8. May 25th NDA struck Chevron main electricity feed pipeline to the escravous tank farm of cieva creek in Warri South-West Local Government Area of Delta State.
9. May 27th destroyed the Nembe 1, 2 and 3 Brass to Bonny tank lines belonging to Nigerian Agip Oil Company and Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC) in Bayelsa State at about 2:15am.
10. May 27th blew up NNPC gas and crude trunk lines.
11. May 31 blew up Chevron oil wal RMP 23 and RMP 24 believed to be the companies highest swamp producing oil wells at about 3:44am.
12. June 11th carried out twin attack on well RMP 23 and RMP 24 owned by Chevron Nigeria Ltd. Located in Dibi Warri South-West Local Government Area of Delta State.
13. June 2nd at about 2:00am boomed the Ogboinbiri to Tebiduba and clough crak to Tebidaba crude oil pipelines in Bayelsa State.
14. June 3rd at about 3:00am blew up SPDC focados 48 export line in Delta State because the company went ahead with repair works against it's warning.
15. June 3rd at about 3:30am strike team blew up Brass to Tebidaba crude oil line in Bayelsa State.
16. June 9th at 3:00am on Friday NDA blew up the Obi Brass trunk line belonging to AgipEni.¹¹

The major causes of militancy in the Niger Delta are as follows.

- a. Political and economic marginalization
- b. Unemployment
- c. Abject poverty through neglect
- d. Unfair resource allocation from the federated account
- e. Environmental degradation
- f. Bad governance and policy inconsistency
- g. Divide and rule policy by the oil companies

The main causes of the Niger Delta crisis include greed selfishness, deprivation, poverty and social justice to imply that the same contribution equals the same benefits. A persons benefit equals his or her contribution and no community should be given more when it contributes less or be given less when it contributed more. Ejibunu has identified other causes of militancy to include.

1. Structural deficiency of the Nigerian federation.
2. Poverty and deprivation of the means of livelihood.
3. Environmental damage occasioned by oil spillage, gas flaring, oil and pipeline explosion.
4. Lack of development and unemployment.
5. Distortion in social and economic fabric of the local society.

¹¹ Vanguard Newspaper, Attacks on oil installations by Niger Delta volunteer force. June 2016.

6. Human right violations.
7. Bad government/corruption.
8. Allege insensitiveness of Federal Government of Nigeria.
9. Divide and rule tactics of the oil companies.
10. Killing of Kenule Saro-Wiwia and eight other Ogoni's.¹²

Therefore the need by the Federal Government of Nigeria under President Umar Musa Yar-Adua in 2007 to commence the amnesty programme for militants in the Niger Delta region.

Some of the militant groups operating in the region include:

- Niger Delta Avengers (NDA)
- Niger Delta Liberation Force (NDLF)
- Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MENT)
- Niger Delta People Volunteer Force (NDPUF) one of the largest aimed groups in the Niger Delta.
- Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV) the group was headed by the Present King of Okochiri Kingdom King Ateke Tom.

The amnesty programme for militants came as a stop gap to the vandalism and kidnapping that was taking place within the Niger Delta region of Nigeria the proclamation of amnesty was made by the President on the 25th June 2009. And Major Gen. Godwin Abbe was the first coordinator of the amnesty programme for interior under President Umar Musa Yar-Adua. In 2007 he was the Chairman of the Committee that recommended amnesty programme which he also headed the beginning but just like every other issue in Nigeria the programme was not without its difficulties. The year 2009 25th June to be precise saw the proclamation of the programme by the President and Mr. Ndutimi Alaibe was appointed the first Chief Executive Officer of the Presidential amnesty programme in October 2009. He became the Chief negotiator for the Federal Government in the disarmament of militants who had held the Niger Delta hostage for years, this was acclaimed one of the best disarmament programmed ever seen in Africa.

The programme was not free of complains of poor funding and corruption on the part of government. The year 2011 saw the assertion of Vice President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan to be President of Nigeria. This afforded him the opportunity to appoint Hon. Kingsley Kaku as the coordinator of the amnesty programme to bridge the gap that existed between the militants and the coordinators of the programme as regards funding in January 2011 Hon. Kingsley Kaku was appointed special adviser to the President on the Niger Delta and Chairman, Presidential amnesty programme. His tenure ended in 2015 after then he had been invited severally by the economic and financial crimes commission EFCC for questioning which he has declined to present himself. In July 2015 Brig. Gen. P.T. Boroh was appointed as special adviser to the President on Niger Delta Affairs and coordinator Presidential amnesty programme by President Muhammadu Buhari was also not without challenges of accusations of corruption by the militants his tenure came to an end in the year March 2018. Presently the man at the term of affair is Prof. Charles Dokubo he was appointed on the 13th of March, 2018 by President Muhammadu Buhari as the special adviser to the President on Niger Delta and Coordinator Presidential amnesty programme.

His appointment has inspired millions of Niger Deltans with hope of brighter prospects for the presidential amnesty programme. He has kept the hope alive. The return of Peace and Progress to

¹² H.T Ejibunu, Nigeria's Niger Delta crisis: Root causes of peacelessness, https://www.aspr.ac.at/epu/research/rp_0707.pdf.2007.accessed 15 May 2020

the Niger Delta is still alive and we hope that the amnesty programme for militants this time will rise against its failures of the past regimes.

The Way Forward

The believe of insincerity of the part of the Federal Government of Nigeria has to change issues like the Federal Character has to be followed strictly. Issues like developing the area that produces the wealth of the Nation has to be addressed to douse questions like who shares the massive quantity of gold been mined in the Northern part of Nigeria (Adamawa State) and others like taking the wealth of the Delta region to develop dry areas of the North like it was prior independence where the reason for amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorate was because the Northern protectorate continuously was running in deficit.¹³ The Southern protectorate and an imperial grant in aid from Britain of about £300,000 a year. This run contrary to the colonial policy that each territory shall be self-sustaining but this was never the case and even up until now after independence the Southern part of Nigeria still suffers the problem of supporting the Northern part of Nigeria. The aim of amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates of Nigeria was hatched in London in defiance to the people of the two territories, Lord Harcourt in his famous after dinner speech of 17th June 1913 in London said, 'We have released Northern Nigeria from the leading strings of the treasury, the promising and well-conducted youth is about to effect an alliance with a Southern lady of means I have issued the special incense and Sir Frederick Lugard will be performing the ceremony. May the union be truthful. This union has never been truthful and has been the centre of the problem of the Nigerian State.

Sincerity in the fight against corruption is yet another to be tackled in the initial stages of the work you would agree that corruption has been seen as the crux in all the matter regarding the amnesty programme and the failure could be adduced to corruption on the part of the officials. The government must ensure a strict adherence to the programme mostly financial. Those who are found wanting should be tried and sentenced for their crimes to serve as a deterrent to others. Government officials who also receive the royalties from the so called multinationals who are worse than political parties in their approach should be watched closely because the royalties are never used in developing the area for which they are meant to develop, infact there is no account of royalties paid the government, because in the case of Ogoni and shell the company argued that they had paid their dues to the Federal Government and could not be held responsible for underdevelopment of the area while the Ogoni's insisted on evacuating the occupiers of their land. Bodies like the United Nations (UN) has to ensure that their laws need to be obeyed e.g. those that affect the indigenus people of the world; otherwise there would be no need for the existence of organizations like them.

Human Capacity Development

The need for education is key in developing humans. The neglect of education by the government is key in destroying the human capacity of the nation. Therefore schools should be built within the Niger Delta region also skill acquisition centers be also built for the women and young girls to improve or learn crafts that they would use as means of survival in the case of lack of white collar jobs that have become scarce within the country. Things like the Niger Delta University of Petroleum and others should be built to allow for the growth of skills bothing on petroleum to be developed by graduates in the area to assist in our refineries and gas plants.

CONCLUSION

The amnesty programme for militants truly would have been a perfect panacea for militancy but corruption has destroyed the programme. The government of Nigeria has to look inwards into its

¹³ M. Crowder, The story of Nigeria. P 240.1962

developmental programme for host communities within the Niger Delta to develop them. 'Resource control is not new in Nigeria. The government pyramids were exclusively controlled by Hausa up to the tune of 60%, the cocoa houses were controlled by the Yoruba's hegemonist as well as the East in oil palm by the Igbo's the Ijaws, Ogoni's must control their oil now.¹⁴ This has to change the goose that lays the golden egg has to be seriously considered for benefits from what they have been blessed within. The federation too has to take its fight against corruption seriously so as to checkmate corrupt officials who in their service have deprived host communities their benefits as a result of massive corruption and the multinationals have been deprived steady operation in their operational areas because the communities have deprived them since they have not done what is expected of them to do.

REFERENCES

- Ajunwa, C. 'Nigeria: Federal Government Approves 6,166 Ex-Militants for Amnesty', Thisday, 28 November 2010, <<http://www.codewit.com/north-america/2338-nigeria-fed-gov-approves-6166-ex-militants-for-amnesty>> accessed 13 May 2021.
- CBN Report on oil producing States, 13% deriavation: Oil producing States receive N7trn in 18 years. https://www.vanguardngr-com.cdn.amproject.org/v/s/www.vanguardngr.com/2017/08/13-deriavation-oil-producing-state-receive-n7trn-18-18-years/amp/?amp_is_v=a6&_gsa=1&usqp=mq331AQKKAFAQrABIIACAw%D%3D#aoh=16334435495285&referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com&_tf=From%20%252%24s&share=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.vanguardngr.com.%2F2017%2F08%2F13-derivation-oil-producing-states-receive-n7trn-18-years%2F.2017.Access 27 May, 2020
- Chinweoke, A.; Enebele, V. & Onwuka, A. 'The Terms of Amnesty by Yar'Adua', Vanguard Newspaper 17, October, 2009.
- Crowder, M. The story of Nigeria. P240. 1962
- Ejibunu, H.T Ejibunu, Nigeria's Niger Delta crisis: Root causes of peacelessness, https://www.aspr.ac.at/epu/research/rp_0707.pdf.2007.accessed 15 May 2020
- Hallahm, T. 'Niger Delta to get 10% of Oil Wealth', Daily Trust (Nigeria), 20 October, 2009 http://www.news.dailytrust.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article*id=8113%Aniger-delta-to-get-10-of-oil-wealth&catid=46%3Alead-stories&Itemid=140>access 19 June 2021.
- Niger Delta Environmental Survey Report, 1997.
- Nzidee, W.; Yowika, F.; Ndegwe, N.; Kobani, E.; Nalelo, O.; Ngei, A. & Ngofa, O. Humble Petition of Complaint on Shell-BP Operations In Ogoni Division, letter to His Excellency the Military Governor OF Rivers State. 25 April, 1970.
- Obi, C. & Rustad, S. Oil and Insurgency in the Niger Delta: Managing the Complex Policies of Petro-Violence, Zed Books Ltd, 2010.
- Ogoni Bill of Right 1991.

¹⁴ T. Tamuno, Oil Wars in the Niger Delta 1849-2009. P. 127. 2009.

Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary of current English, 6th Edition. Oxford university press, p. 36. 2002.

Tamuno, T. Oil Wars in the Niger Delta 1849-2009. P. 127. 2009.

The Kaiama Declaration, 11 December 1998.

Vanguard Newspaper, Attacks on oil installations by Niger Delta volunteer force. June 2016.