



EX-MILITARY GENERALS IN CRUDE POLITICS OF CRUDE OIL IN NIGERIA: IMPACT ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, NATIONAL COHESION AND STABILITY EFFORTS

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ABSTRACT

The paper examined the issues of political system failures, ideological aberration, and absence of constitutional democracy and abuse of the rule of law critically. It touch lighted the way and manners politics of the Oil crude characterize by divisive programmes, hate and non-inclusion affected Nigeria development efforts, past and present and state from its legitimate responsibilities of security of lives, properties and sovereignty. It argued that interest in the oil-crude mono-economy and huge revenue income accruing promoted selfish power grasp corruption and inability of the leaders to consolidate and utilize the concepts, of strength in abundance and diversity of: natural, material and human resources, especially, the Youth potentials. These constituted further impediments to efforts to diversify the mono-cultured oil economy and interest for science and appropriate technology to move the nation forward and to discourage the essence of incompatibles, especially, of political agenda between the north and the south. The paper emphasized that sustainable activities of the ex-military Generals in Nigeria's political power tussles and economic policies' constitute a clog and impediment to efforts to promote national cohesion and stability. Frustration aggression theory is considered more appropriate to the study as it explained cause and implication on socio-economic struggles, multi-dimensional development processes, and attainments of peace and unity of any nations, developing or developed. Survey method of examination is utilized through literature reviews. It's further opinion of the paper that development can only thrive where crude politics is not existence and where there is peaceful environment; hence, it is a matter of decision, good planning and execution among leaders.

BACKGROUND OF STUDY

Nigeria is a nation of diverse ethnic, tradition, culture - natural (solid/mineral), and human resources; yet, the economic future is bleak in spite of her education philosophy which hinged on manpower development, dignity of labour and productivity through teaching, research and service delivery. Consequent calls from different zones suggest for either a rebirth, sovereign conference, restructuring or total reconstitution have failed to yield fruit. The futures of

any nations strive on the ability to sustain peace, patriotism and unbroken solidarity. Unity is a pillar to development. Where it is non-existent, is where chaos thrived close to state failure of the legitimate power to protect lives and property; where power tussle among the elites tend to threat national cohesion and economic development efforts. Same it is, where electoral malpractices, corruption, cultism, exploitation and abuse of fundamental human rights take front burner issues and mortgaged such nations, such as founded in Nigeria to the extent that the concept of unity and strength in diversity become mere proposals.

Problems of pre and post-electoral malpractices including periodic burning of INEC offices, voter's registration cards, campaign offices' files and properties, have constituted the system which threatened political stabilities of the nation. Other threats are expressed through crude political behaviours, and ethicized-hate speeches which ginger crude politics, for oil-crude powers to allocate the oil-wells, on the winner take it all basis. Institutional and constitutional abuse and compromise exist to destructive extends and extents that kept the nation's unity fragile and unstable. There is contemporary insistence by Nigerians, in the recent times to re-visit the history and foundation and need to ascertain the reasons why retired military generals grab leadership with impunity and sustainability as a class of corporate northern interest elites in all ramifications including the ministerial appointments and oil income distribution in Nigeria.

Other related sensors and worrisome issues to the above extends centered on: why Nigeria find itself into a new era of nomadic barbarism, madness, hatreds and sponsored killings across geopolitical zones; why gangsters, and promoters of ideology of blood-birth and waste tend to encourage criminologists against positive efforts at expense of technologists of development. Other raisings include: why people now play smartness and break-through games in expectant of miracles without labour. Why raising agitations for secession from the east and west geopolitical zones and resource control agitations issues from the south-south, and why none makes any impact on the leadership styles and attitudes. Why activities of extremists strived unchecked and unpunished, why the nation sustained destructive lifestyles of contraveners. Majority are of the opinion that Nigeria should undergo surgical operation to save the nation from impending socio-economic, education, political and ideological doom and to save the 'state,' from total



paralysis of the legitimate duties to protect lives, properties and national sovereignty. There is need to avert the impending point of suffocative bleeding of the state to death, at worse ahead. These, in effects have created poverty and hunger with consequent increase of spates of all manner of crises: terrorism, militancy, herds-menace operation by the Fulani radicals and Boko-Haram insurgents who operate with sophisticated weapons of killing and subjected thousands of Nigerians in to internally displaced citizens from their legitimate communities.

Life in country has turned brutish-bitter; meaningless and valueless; to that extends that any eventual death of the valued cows is accounted for, better, than the humans in any parts of the country. It is to the extent that failure to account, such amounts to displacement of the citizens of the entire communities involved to exile and their properties destroyed. Cattles are fed fat on people's farms and sweat, while the farm owners live in poverty and hunger. The cows are guided and guarded with sophisticated arms of the likes of Ak-47 caliber while the humans are defenseless to the core and to a point that majority of Nigerians now live with shrinking thoughts, and regrets of accepting the age long national creeds or anthem in contents, words and action and the pledge of faithfulness, loyalty and honour, service, dignity, unity, glory and defense of noble course.

These issues are contradicted among the developing and developed nation in terms of life and properties defense assurances. Evidence abounds as an American national expressed in Herds (2016, November, daily nation, pp.12) thus:

“..... I count my blessings every Single day that I am American and I still believe as deeply As I ever have that if we stand together and work together with respect for our differences our convictions and love for this nation, our best days are still ahead of us”

No doubt, knowledge is historical bound alongside with culture and time. Time presently demands on Nigeria, functional institutions, constitution and viable policies' operation through re-socialization and re-orientation of the citizenry which in effect would help to impact needed reformed habits among the teemed youths and the up-growing ones.

It is a non-arguable that, the seeds of hatred, bitterness and politics of destruction had been earlier sown and watered in the heart of the Hausa Fulani people of the core Northern region of Nigeria against the rest of nationals especially the south. This was perfected through deliberate, remarkable utterances and actions earlier, of the like of sir, (Alh.) Ahmadu Bello (late), former leader of the Northern People's Congress (NPC). Sir Ahmadu Bello was one of the great grand-son of Usman Dan Fodio and leader of the 1804 Fulani Jihad. Noted in his maiden address to the northerners, during 1960 independence Anniversary speech which occupied indelible space, in the hearts of early northern youth and elder extracts of the north and impacted on continuous corporate political agenda and operationalization, of the north including its engraftment on the psyches of the new generation, and by extension, on the political economy of Nigeria over developmental relations with the Southern counterparts. According to the elite (Late):

The new nation called Nigeria should be an estate of our great grand Father Usman Dan Fodio. We must ruthlessly prevent a change of power. We must use the minorities in the North as willing tools and the south as Conquered territory and never allow them have control of Their future..." - [The parrot 1960, October 12, in DailySun 2016, May Tuesday 3rd].

Its today's evidence is unveiled in the northern political culture of power domineering and politics of intimidation irrespective of party affiliation in Nigeria. This has gained sustenance through the ex-military generals in politics who remained blunts and ignorant over any calls for national equation balancing, and reforms for national coherence, development and stability.

Early reform at the military regimes in both types and attempts failed including: The Adebayo Commission (1971); Udorji Commission(1974); The Local Government Reform (1976); Dotun Philip's Commission (1988); Allison Ayida Pannel (1994). Others included, the reforms under civilian administration of President Olusegun Obasanjo (the military in disguised; 1999-2007); The Steven Oronsaye Panel's sovereign Conference (2010-2011) It was short-lived, under threat, by opposing force of the All People's Congress party led by retired Military General Mohammadu Buhari as its presidential candidate against continuity of the People's Democratic Party incumbent president Goodluck Ebele Jonathan. The fore goings are discuss as follows:



THE RETIRED MILITARY GENERALS' INTEREST IN THE OIL CRUDE, AND PETRO-POLITICS OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

"Politics play complicated roles on economic and human institutional behaviours Hughes, Kroehler and Vander Zanden (1999:426), it is the extends and extent of such behaviours that inform the level of corruption, patriotism, nationalism among leaders and the led. Corruption in Nigeria is fuelled by the inability of the leaders past and present (military and civilian) to consolidate unity and strength in diversity for sustainable good governance. Rather than consolidate for better future, mismanagement of ethnic-diversity constituted barriers which in effect promoted underdevelopment in Nigeria. "Ethnicity/tribalism is defined as purposeful practices of discrimination rooted in hatred and sentiments against fellow citizen simply because of his/her place of birth" Achebe (1998).

The foregoing definition has multiplier negative impacts across multidimensional development efforts' spread be it in education, defense, technology, ideology, economic, socio-cultural or political struggles. Especially, as it promotes irresponsibility, unpatriotic and un-nationalistic attitudes for corruption.

It is lamentable that in the country, when unarmed robbers are being requested to give up their ill-gotten acquisitions by which others have been impoverished; some disreputable men and women will bring feeble and shameful defense on ethnicity, religion and politics. Obasanjo (2000, October, 9th, Monday, Vol.13 No.22). The Daily Chapion.

In effects, also, the mode of social production and governance of nations are sustained by grounded attitudes of nationals. In other words leadership and political, economic, social, technology, defense, economic and educational development or underdevelopment attitudes can affect mode of operations of institutions, constitutions and policies.

These are evidenced by present situation in Nigeria where mismanagement of the ethno-religious, cultural, and natural resources diversity translated into underproduction and underdevelopment, poverty and hunger crises.

“Qualitative leadership remains the biggest problem confronting most countries in Africa, especially, Nigeria where it is a rare commodity”. Egonmwan, (2018:226). It is to that extent that Soyinka (2006) asserted opinion that “Nigeria is not a nation but, a mere geographical expression”. However, the Nigerian understanding and governance, as a nation, underscores Harf (1995:3) definition of a nation as “an intangible term that refers to a group of people who identify with one another because of their common characteristics such as shared history language and race”. Nigerians neither understand themselves as one under a nation nor united under the definition of a ‘state’ which is an intangible entity with defined territories, boundaries, governments and usually in recognition by other sovereign states or countries Rourke (1995:3).

The mode of democratization in Nigeria is moreover, threatened by its definitive characteristics in existence, both as nation and as a state; due mainly to the responsive impact of disunity complemented by hate and destructive politics of governance. When people’s freedom and happiness are not guaranteed, instability and underdevelopment become imminent. However, “liberty lies in the hearts of men and women and when it dies there, no constitution, no law, no court can even do much to help it” (Hand in Chibueze; 1993:256). With the military interest, especially, the retired generals is vested on internal power tussles for oil crude dominated economy and policies, Nigeria score bellow requisite dividend expectancy of democracy, and bellow John Gerring et al. (2005) arguments that “countries’ growth and economic performance is affected by number of years it operationalized democracy and the mode of institutional operation”.

Whereas there is total failure of Nigeria alongside political and economic growth over long period of her independence since 1960 due to inability of leaders past and present to significantly, manage, strengthen and utilize the diverse language, culture, geography and natural resources abundance in the mode of production and economic distribution. This aligns with the Carl Max earlier views that “all social relations are determined by the mode of production prevalent in a particular society”. Ake (2003) concurs that “development is achievement determined through struggle and acceptance of change or retrogressive choice of idleness i.e. the lack of industriousness (a choice of underdevelopment).



The military oil interest made the leaders undermine development as a multidimensional phenomenon that cut across education, defense, economic, politics, technology and based on purposive cohesion or disintegration efforts between failure and success. The retired military leaders' political approaches were not geared towards successful efforts of accountability, equity, justice, rationality and fair play. Rather, they are aware that a chosen approach could be aggressive (crude), refined and constitutionally guided); it could be politics of development or underdevelopment (failure). The missing link remained the absence of a good government which according to Agwunobi (1992:18) "is government run in line with (constitution) law of the land for the maximum benefit of the entire people".

This is only possible where there is peaceful coexistence. In other words, political behaviour and environments determine the processes and choice between constitutional democracy (operationalization of the rule of law) or the abuse of same hence, good leadership promotes the interlinks of good policies' programmes, determine the functionality of the requisite institutions, type of technologies, personnel management, administration, external relations and choice of development. Subsequently, the leadership style could be made offensive, defensive, or sustainably peaceful base on the efforts by the leaders towards success or failure. Amongst all, nations make deliberate choice and efforts to sustain ideologies and viable development model.

However, between the choice of crude petro-political behaviour for power to allocate the oil-wells and constitutional democracy (refined politics), Nigerian leaders (ex-military generals seemed to have deliberately towed the line of crude politics and crude political behaviour which sustained in the mono-cultured crude oil economy and undermine of its diversification? The nation, as implication therefore remained in poverty, hunger, unstable and underdeveloped. The foregoing argument exposed why attempts for reforms, restructuring, technological progress, and national cohesion remain illusion in Nigeria in spite of abundance of human and natural (mineral and solid) resources.

There is underdevelopment due to ignorance of leaders whose deficiencies and defects of maladministration undermine consolidation efforts of utilizing the resource spreads across large expanse of the composite geopolitical areas of the nation including: south-east; south-south; south-west; north-central; north-

west and north-east. There is a common crash of incompatibility of understanding, between the war-trained and civil-trained leadership in Nigeria. This is exemplified by the type of leadership psyche exhibited in the military leadership era at post-independence and presently, sustained ex-military Generals in the nation's power and politics

Bajowa (1974) argued that: *the way and manner in which the military gets into power and the way and manner it tries to stay In power ruins the Spirit of fighting force.*

Bajowa was a retired major general and former adjutant general commandant of the military staff college Jaji. It is worthy of note at this point that the military was attracted into Nigerian politics of the oil-crude, based on multi-ethnics' centered interests. To that extent, also, is disunity that put spanner against efforts of national cohesion and development; of which its recent realization caused lamentation from different quarters. "Nigeria is seek at 60"- Cadinal Anthony Okojie (2020, Nigerian Pilot, Thursday, October 1st); "Sixty years after independent from Great Britain in 1960 and 21 years of broken civil democratic rule since 1999, after many years of the military rule....the nation can be described as a failure"- Dahiru (2020, Nigerian Pilot, Vol. 10 No.233; www.nigerianpilot.com).

Former Head of State, General Badamosé, Babangida was not left out of awareness and blames, on the impending effects, on national and state's failures arising from the military petro-political interests on nation's development struggles while he was addressing the 1987 graduands of the Command and Staff of the Military Staff College, Jaji, on 'Professionalism and Professional Responsibilities'. There he expressed his regrets. His words:

"Let me reiterate that even though circumstances forced us into politics, we must like all good military men perform our duties and withdraw with the same precision with which we came into the national retrieval, the defense of the integrity of our country must remain our primary focus."

On the path of ethno-centric leadership which accompanied the above interest is bounty gain in the divide and rule system initiated, operated and handed by the imperialists British styles.



THE DIVERSE RESOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION IN NIGERIA

Leadership and development constitute major problems in Nigeria. In essence, a good leadership promotes support communications which serve as vehicles to carry majority of people along in a peaceful coexistence for desired development. It however, requires consultations through avenues of conferences, trainings with appropriate technologies, institutions, policies frames, planning and execution. Such, can only thrive in a purposive, consolidated democratic environment and political liberalization amidst fundamental human rights' subjective approaches. Leadership styles and approaches are defined along varied interests and objectives. While the idealist may wish to operate through formal guidelines, cooperative relationship and dialoguing, the realist may wish to utilize coercive apparatus to advance interest; On the other hand the globalist may involve interdependency approaches. Among these approaches is a common understanding that peace and stability are necessary ingredients for any desired development to occur. Nigerian leadership is dominated by Ex-Military General who lacked of these understanding which impeded post-independent efforts to consolidate diversity management and sustainable national cohesion till present national situation. However, Nigeria has imposed leaders (dominated by the ex-military men) who lacked investigations and the science of governance at expense of scientific leaders. Hence, the nation falls into the traps of the petro-based bitter politics of underdevelopment.

As to Stoker (2006:201) captured it "politics is about collective decision, balancing conflicts and cooperation in order to promote human purpose." Unfortunately, the Nigeria leaders past and present (ex-military generals) usurped the political leadership powers of the oil rich mono-culture economy in disregard of peace and civil orderliness of the nation. There is rather, preferences of sponsorship of Crude Political Behaviours (CPB), Politics of Destruction (PoD) to heat the Politics of Crude (unrefined, undemocratic, uncivilized and unimaginable) giving rise of underdevelopment and resultant socio-economic development, poverty and hunger crises, insecurity of lives and property (sovereignty at stake and failing of state). In them too thoughts and values are totally lost, even though:

"Thoughts are already at increase, globally, and could even be borrowed according to desires" Heidegger, M. (1968). the more thoughtless they are the more inhuman they become as the state of the world is becoming

constantly more of thought – provoking”. Nigeria leaders are missing in actions of good governance Heidegger, M. (1968).

Nigerians needs consolidation of the diversified economic, natural and human resource endowments to meet development needs. Such expectations regrettably have been crucified at the altar of crude politics emanating from the oil crude interest, crude behaviours, and crude social relations’ actions and inactions. Fixing the round pegs into square holes cannot make any development efforts meaningful. This Adamolekun (2002:28-35) captured in his argument that:

People with relevant experience and business experience in general should be appointed; people with qualities, good personal records, integrity in the community, ability, specialized knowledge and experience should be considered for appointment for varied work of life.

In line with the above Achebe (1998:5) once posed this question:

“We have lost the 20th century, are we bent on seeing our children, also lose the 21st century?” – “God forbids!” he reacted. Any leadership thoughts, action or inaction which is dominant of people trained for war is thought and or action in conflict, with civil the society. The Nigerian pathetic situation captured a country, blessed with huge resources: man, material, natural (mineral and solid) and environment, yet, the people suffer in pains of ignorance of development theory and strategies and subsequently, die in poverty, hunger and hardship crises.

These occur as leaders and the led are neck-bent in large consumption of other nations’ goods and services, without efforts to localize processing and production from the abundant agricultural raw materials. This writer refers such condition as a “boom-doomed experience” – ‘a concept’ which has left the nation, Nigeria, behind in chain and shackles of external debts trap. Akinrinade in Etekpe (2012:8) argued that:

All available evidence indicates that the present generation will live to service the external debts and future generation would also beborn to continue paying to the London Club, Paris and Multi-national Agencies.

There is need for reversal of this resource curse theoretical effect. For the nation to move forward. It should think out modalities to operationalize the institutions and embrace people oriented policies, pivoted on efforts to



utilizing local techniques as tool to achieve broad based sustainable economic growth; promoting efficient use of labour and techniques initiated and owned by the people themselves. Such would also reverse the trends of imposition of wills characterized by negative underdevelopment and sustainability of mono-culture oil economy void of efforts to diversify.

CORRUPTION, IMPLICATION ON GOVERNANCE

Corruption is briefly defined as “the abuse of entrusted power for private gain” (Transparency International 2010). Similarly, the World Bank (WB, 2010) defined corruption as “abuse of public office for private enrichments”. Multiplier effects of corruption and mis-governance in Nigeria, under the ex-military generals’ power ploys and tracts of recycling leadership was exposed by General Mohammadu Buhari; former and present president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 2015 till date on his Presidential Tour (PT) to Republic of China in 2016. While in China Buhari experienced in comparative terms, gap between the developed and underdeveloped, especially, on the issues of cultural values, human attitudinal and behavioural attitudes’ restructurings, civic responsibilities, patriotism and nationalism. He observed discipline, orderliness and ethical life-styles of the Chinese environment which he compared with Nigeria.

President Mohammadu Buhari observed while interacting with his media adviser Femi Adesina who forwarded his personal discussion with Mr. President:

Adesina did you notice the cleanliness and order? Did you see anybody throwing, liter or garbage anywhere? And did you see the security agents, how smart and dutiful they are? President Buhari:

“Discipline is the name of the game and it has done China a world of good” indeed, the China human beings have been reconstructed, passed through plastic surgery. The dividends of communism. The Chinese communist have dramatically demonstrated that an effective regime can achieve extensive social change at a breakneck pace, pains and endurance over a period that resulted to positive social change. I never thought that human beings and society could be reconstructed so easily.

Evidence from the above shows beyond reasonable doubts the extent at which good leadership and diversity management worked and transformed China with diverse....Than Nigeria (DailySun 2016, May, Tuesday 3rd).

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Issues and problems of mis-governance, especially, of the diversified resources in Nigeria are linked to the resource curse theory for easy explanation. The attitudes of the leaders and governance styles including wasteful consumption, lack of production, lack of governance science and luxuries have extension of effects of poverty, hunger, social crises of governance understanding and underdevelopment which theoretical implication is rooted on the 'frustration aggression.' The theory was propounded by John Dollard; Leonard Doob; Neal Miller; Mowrer O.H and Robert Sears in 1939 (Gorri 1970 and Goldthorpe 1981:156) <https://www.researchgate.net>.

However, a theory is meant to describe a set of systematically interrelated concepts or hypothesis that explain and predict phenomena. It is also frequently referred to as model, used interchangeably (Robbins; Jude and Sanghi (2009: 722-3).

The frustration aggression theory was later subjected to various articles critiquing it while social scientist pointed at its strictness to frustration-reaction, with arguments and debates to project its meaningful conclusion. This led to modification of the theory in 1941 by the Yale group. As a result of its multiple criticisms by pioneers of social sciences across the world, the theory survived the test of time and season, especially, in 1941, when the Yale group restated the theory and transformed certain conceptual contents that strengthened the explanations, further. It stipulated clearly, that occurrences of aggressive behavior always presupposed the existence of frustration and it's contrariwise. Also, according to the theory, "an existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggressions." <https://www.researchgate.net>.

The Yale group thereafter further, clarified several other misunderstood impressions from earlier thoughts. It recognized that other approaches could be applied to address aggressive response which such circumstances could involve, for instance, setting up well constituted panels for negotiation and bargaining such as observed in industrial bargaining etc. Consequently, political science scholars have come to terms that frustration produces instigation to a number of responses, one of which is aggression. Hence, aggressive impulses are not the only kind that could emerge when individuals or groups feel aggrieved or frustrated.



Other impulses such as fear of punishment or humiliation, imprisonment could be applied as stool to outweigh or attenuate aggression instigations until it disappears; though it may not be a total forget in dynamic events of the same groups or individuals. It is therefore observed that, not always, and all cases that frustration brings about aggressive response. However for groups, individual and societies frustration generate conflicts which in turn generate positive or integrative functions. "It could delimit groups and make their boundaries defined. It makes clearer, who is at which side" (Gold Thorpe 1981:161). There are some exclusives such as early identification of the problem and application of subtle approaches to resolving it.

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