

## Post-Conflict Amnesty Policies of President Goodluck Jonathan in Nigeria: Role of History and Failure of Wrong Philosophies

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### ABSTRACT

This research paper has been titled, "Post-Conflict Amnesty Policies of President Goodluck Jonathan in Nigeria', The Role of History and the Failure of Wrong Philosophies". The Central argument of the research was that it is clearly unthinkable to grant another amnesty in Nigeria while an earlier grant of Post-Conflict amnesty to Niger Delta Militants, continues to indicate a likelihood of a possible return of hostility to the region since the Post-Conflict policy itself was never based on dialogue or any sound philosophy of conflict. The paper made this profound observation that the refusal by Nigerian leaders to engage separatist groups in genuine dialogue, is not the only factor', Greed, Corruption, and Maladministration, etc, are also responsible for the failure of amnesty policies in Nigeria. Yet, the research aimed to discuss the role played by history and the contributions of wrong philosophies to the failure of Post-Conflict amnesty policies in Nigeria. In this way, the paper was significant in raising these two (2) issues, first, that any post conflict amnesty policy in Nigeria, can only succeed by first overcoming tribal sentiment created by the country's history of civil war, military rule, amalgamation and colonial favours; and second, if this cannot be achieved, then, President Goodluck Jonathan can only succeed by replacing post conflict amnesty policies with genuine dialogue, being in the opinion of this research that dialogue still remains the best philosophy of conflict for any nation.

**KEY WORDS:** Post-Conflict Amnesty Policies of the Jonathan Administration, History of Nigeria from pre-colonial to present day, philosophies of conflict in Human Society.

### INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL OVERVIEW



The date was May 29<sup>th</sup>, 2014, when President Goodluck Jonathan declared a second amnesty of the Post-Conflict nature in Nigeria. This time, it was not a Post-Conflict amnesty policy in favour of Ex-Niger-Delta Militants as it was the case in 2009. This year's May 29<sup>th</sup> 2014

Democracy-Day declaration of Post Conflict amnesty policy was an amnesty declaration in favour of Boko Haram in the North of the country. Following this declaration of amnesty in favour of Boko Haram, Nigerians have continued

to react both ways-for and against the President's decision. Unlike the Niger-Delta Militants, a cross section of Nigerians, and indeed, members of the Public, have for the most part,

conceived of Boko Haram, not as freedom fighters but a pure stock of separatist groups. Therefore, a major reason why members of the Public have continued to react to this second amnesty grant to Boko Haram by the Jonathan's administration, has been that in Nigeria, Post-Conflict amnesty policies have only served the Nigerian government as a brutal military philosophy unleashed against voices of dissent, yet, the said policy is disguised as a post-conflict healing process. Therefore, it has only been normal for Nigerians to continually react against amnesty policies in general as recent history in the country seems to indicate that amnesty policies in Nigeria merely serve the Nigerian oligarchy as a tool for silencing voices of decent and regional opposition(s) anytime their activities appear to run contrary to the political ambitions of Nigerian Oligarchy, and nothing more.

One of such retrospective but incisive reaction by Sabella Ogbobodo. (July 24<sup>th</sup>, 2010), which seems to tell the whole story of the failure of post-conflict amnesty policies in the Post-Military democracies of the Jonathan's first and second administration(s), duly indicate that, perhaps, it is because of tribal, military, colonial, amalgamation and civil war, religious, ethnic, and political sentiments, etc, that Nigerian oligarchy does not only not know how to share power but is completely uncomfortable with (the philosophy and history of) dialogue as a means of resolving conflict in Nigeria and other national issues. According to Ogbobodo in another commentary (Oct 7<sup>th</sup>, 2009), it is to be noted that during the 2009 amnesty grant to Niger-Delta militants by the Joint team of Yar'Adua-Jonathan's first administration, the leading militia group in the Niger-Delta region, namely, MEND, continuously wanted dialogue as a means of restoring peace in the region. But instead of dialogue, the Yar'Adua-Jonathan's administration, having looked at themselves as successors of the colonial masters and admirers of pre-democracy military policies including the country's civil war history, preferred to impose on the Niger-Delta militants a compulsory post-conflict amnesty policy, and on refusal, declared the said first administration of Yar'Adua-Jonathan a total war against the region. This was strange to most Nigerians because there is hardly a Nigerian adult who lived to witness the Nigerian civil war who is happy to speak of another war in the country. Most surprisingly was the point that both President Musa Yar'Adua and, then, Vice President Goodluck Jonathan, both witnessed the abomination and the desolation that befell the country during the civil war. It is to this extent that people often wonder about the content of power that often makes Nigerian oligarchy to forget history so easily, especially, where such forgetfulness is tailored towards their political ambitions of ruling the country by whatever means, even where obvious problems in the various regions are merely swept under the carpet in the name of amnesty policies.

This art of taking for granted, the negative role played by the country's past and present history and the misapplication of misleading, military, colonial, ethnic, socio-religious and class philosophies, etc, to national issues in Nigeria, etc, has in the view of the "Sunday Punch" as related and couched differently by its reporter, Dapachez (April 3<sup>rd</sup> 2014), explained that this forgetfulness of history and application of wrong philosophies been largely responsible for the failure of national policies (including the amnesty policies of the Goodluck Jonathan's administration(s) in Nigeria). According to this text by this reporter, facts emanating from the post-conflict 2009 Amnesty Camp at Obubra Local Government Area of Cross River State South of Nigeria, tend to indicate that, unless proactive measures have been taken by the current administration by the Jonathan Government, there are indications that hostility may someday, and sometime in the future, return to the Niger-Delta Region out of which the 2009 amnesty policy was granted. To this extent, a connection was created in the sense that when on May 29<sup>th</sup> 2014, being Nigeria's Democracy Day of this year, the current administration by President Goodluck Jonathan, proceeded to declare a second (ever) amnesty policy in the country, this time in respect of Boko Haram sects in Northern Nigeria, the country's amalgamation history,

colonial favouritism, and tribal sentiments, etc, from the country's civil war history and military rule influences on the current democracy in the country, were obviously loud and clear as some political affiliates of '*certain generals*' in the North of the country *outrightly* debunked president Jonathan's efforts with the argument that Boko Haram is a "*faceless group*" in the country. The argument, if not for any reason, did more than anything else, amount to nothing less than what everyone was already familiar, namely, the "*Northern Agenda*".

As fortune would have it, this second amnesty policy by the Jonathan's administration was coming at a time when reports reaching the Nigerian media, began to indicate full and clear evidence of the failure of post-conflict amnesty policies in Nigeria, stressing the contributions made both by the country's past and present history and the delusiveness of wrong philosophies of conflict in the failure of post conflict amnesty policies, stressing also that amnesty policies in Nigeria will always fail to produce good results, unless something is done by the Jonathan administration. The analysis given by Depaches in the "Sunday Punch" (April 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2014) as an incisive analysis of the 2009 amnesty grant to Niger Delta militants, raised legitimate doubts whether any amnesty grant in the country could represent a government policy in the real sense outside what is obtainable in a military regime? This for Depachez is to the extent that each day that passes-by, Ex-militants in their Obubra camp, keep waiting with bathed breath for their passing out parade. (Possibly because of primordial sentiments arising from the country's history) *Political heavy weights in the country have hardly allowed the Jonathan's administration to adequately deal decisively with post conflict amnesty. The position as related by Depachez is that since president Yar'Adua sent the first badge of Ex-militants for different projects overseas, little or nothing has been heard or said about them. What more? In the midst of all this, related ministries such as; Youth Ministry, Niger-Delta Ministry, Culture and Tourism, Education and Sports, etc, which were founded for purposes of assisting to arrest Youth restiveness in the country, hardly saying or doing anything to expedite governments' post-conflict amnesty promises to conflict regions in Nigeria.* This research paper, "Post-Conflict Amnesty policies of president Goodluck Jonathan in Nigeria; The Role of History and the Failures of Wrong Philosophies"; has been written to contest the following positions without fear or favour;



That Post-Conflict amnesty policies of President Goodluck Jonathan, and indeed in Nigeria as a whole, are plagued with a variety of setbacks to includes; corruption, maladministration, and political manipulations.

But in all, their failures which have eventually led to their total non-performances as policies of President Jonathan's administration, etc, all have something to do with application of wrong philosophy of conflict and with sentiments arising from the country's past and present history.

Due to lack or the absence of dialogue, or the absence of any other sound philosophy of conflict in the process, the amnesty policies of president Jonathan, and indeed, all amnesty policies in the country, etc. would continue to fail unless president Jonathan or the Nigerian Nation does something proactive.

If President Goodluck Jonathan must successfully produce a workable amnesty policy in the country, then, he must work hard to overcome, first and most fundamentally, tribal, religious, colonial, military and civil war sentiments amongst Nigerian oligarchy.

If this cannot be achieved, then, President Jonathan can "*alternatively*" produce workable solutions by replacing amnesty policies with genuine dialogue as an effective philosophy of conflict in the country.

As for the already granted amnesty of 2009 to Niger-Delta militants in the south of the country, president Jonathan must be committed to the original version of an amnesty policy as it was conceived by its author, Namely, as a “rehabilitation” and a “reconciliatory” process meant to persuade separatist groups into cooperating with government policies, and nothing more, because contrary to these, the amnesty, though granted, shall from the point of view of classroom analysis, continue to fail as an amnesty policy

The over listed positions have been argued individually and collectively in the body of this research paper. But this was not done without, first, making a clarification of what the post conflict amnesty policies of president Goodluck Jonathan in Nigeria duly embodies and the said role played by history and wrong philosophies in rendering them unattractive as policies of the ruling regime.

### **POST-CONFLICT AMNESTY POLICIES OF THE JONATHANS ADMINISTRATION IN NIGERIA: HISTORICAL BASICS, PHILOSOPHICAL CONSTRUCTIONS AND THEORETICAL EXPOSITION.**

While for purposes of fairness, it amounts to one thing to indict related agencies such as; Niger Delta Ministry, Youth Ministry, Sports and Tourism, etc, which were all founded to facilitate solutions against chronic youth restiveness, etc, for failure to spur different presidential committees on Amnesty into effective results of post-conflict amnesty policies of the Jonathan’s administration as well as the amnesty policies ever granted by leaders in Nigeria; it is quite another thing entirely to point out at the very beginning of our discussion in this paper that the failures of all parties who are connected in anyway with the amnesty grants in Nigeria and at any time in the country’s history etc, have been due largely to what this research paper calls “the role of history” and the “wrong application of misleading philosophies” of conflict in Nigeria. One of such failed philosophies of conflict has been highlighted as the philosophy of amnesty currently being relied upon by Nigerian leaders as a philosophy of conflict in contemporary Nigeria committed to the leadership of President Goodluck Jonathan.

Ever when dialogue proves to be the best option in the circumstances, Nigerian oligarchy has been more interested in pronouncing a “compulsory amnesty” programme with threats of war and victimization of voices of dissent within the affected region of the country. The amnesty policies of the Jonathan’s administration(s) have been so called “post conflict amnesty policies” of his administration since their grants have been based on Post-conflict scenarios.

- **Conflict in the Niger Delta**

Highlighted Blocks in Nigeria numerically showing states typically considered as states of the Niger Delta region: 1. [Abia](#), 2. [Akwa Ibom](#), 3. [Bayelsa](#), 4. [Cross River](#), 5. [Delta](#), 6. [Edo](#), 7. [Imo](#), 8. [Ondo](#), 9. [Rivers](#)

- **Conflict in the Niger Delta**

Or otherwise stated, they have always been offered to separatist groups and militants, sometimes freedom fighters who have been labeled as militants, etc, as post-conflict rewards in compensation for total surrender of weapons by militants and as compensation for total surrender of the territories under their occupation as militants to the Nigerian government. Quite unfortunately, while this seems to be a clever and tactical enough ploy by the Nigerian government, most Nigerians would agree with the views in this research, namely, with the contention that their

grants have been based on the wrongful philosophy that at the time of granting of post-conflict amnesty bonuses to separatists and militants in the country, separatists and militants would have also accepted the views of government. Contrary to this philosophical tenet, history shows that the belief in such a philosophy of conflict is only plausible rather than true, because, often times, rebels have subsequently broken agreements, and taken up arms, and proceeded to reclaim regions of the country which were previously under their control. The Position here



is that we may have to X-ray the position of militants at some depths; In particular, when Nigerians take up arms to equal the refusal of Nigerian Oligarchy to dialogue with them over issues of interests do they think that taking of arms or public protests can ever serve as the last option? The recent-past public protests by the Occupy Nigeria Movement which took place between 3<sup>rd</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> of January 2013 in Lagos and New York City tend to have proven the contrary. Below is the full story of what happened as reported in the Wikipedia;

### **First of All First Quarry!!**

#### ***Will Revolutions Provide the Requisite Solution to Conflict in Nigeria?***

#### **Popular Answer**

***The Answer Which Most Well-Meaning Nigerians are likely to give is a Resounding NO!***

### **Second Quarry!!**

***But Let us Not Blame Boko Haram Insurgency and Niger-Delta Militancy without Reason***

#### **What Reasons!**

***They Waited Too Long For Dialogue from Which Nigerian Oligarchy Have Up to This Day, Consistently to Apply as a Mean of Resolving National Issues***

#### **But Ultimately**

However, We Only Need To See From the Occupy Nigeria Example; Protests and Revolt Against Government Will Lead Nowhere, Hence

### **OCCUPY NIGERIA PROTESTS NOW IN FOCUS**

#### **From Wikipedia, the free encyclopaedia**

**Occupy Nigeria Protest** was a socio-political protest movement that began in Nigeria on Monday, 2 January 2012 in response to the fuel subsidy removal by the Federal Government of President Goodluck Jonathan on Sunday, 1 January 2012. Protests took place across the country, including in the cities of Kano, Ojota (-part of greater Lagos ), Abuja, and at the Nigerian High Commission in London. At least 16 people were killed in Nigeria, all shot dead by the Nigeria Police Force. The protests have been characterised by civil disobedience, civil resistance, strike actions, demonstrations and online activism. The use of social media services such as Twitter and Facebook has been a prominent feature. Through 2012, Occupy Nigeria continued to engage in organized meetings, events and actions.

### **Background to the Said Occupy Nigeria Protest**



Nigeria is Africa's largest oil producer, but still imports refined petrol.[5] The country produces about 2.4 million barrels of crude oil daily which is exported to be refined abroad; however due to years of corruption-fuelled neglect the domestic refineries are inoperative.[6] As a consequence, Nigeria imports 70% of its gasoline (about 250,000bpd of petroleum products [citation needed]) into the country for sale to its citizens.[6] The price of petrol has increased from 65 naira (\$0.40; £0.26) per litre to at least 141 naira

in filling stations and from 100 naira to at least 200 naira on the black market, from which many Nigerians buy their fuel.

With the majority of Nigerians living on less than \$2 per day, cheap petrol is viewed by many Nigerians as the only tangible benefit they receive from the state, hence the widespread disapproval. In addition, the economy is heavily reliant on crude oil (amongst other reasons, due to absence of essential infrastructure and services such as constant electricity). A consequence of this is that other seemingly unrelated items are tied to the price of fuel as has occurred from previous price hikes. Due to the absence of stable electricity, gasoline generators are a common energy alternative for small businesses and residences.

The removal of the subsidy took effect from Sunday, 1 January 2012 as announced by the Executive Secretary of the Petroleum Product Pricing Regulatory Agency, PPPRA Reginald Stanley.

### **Protests by the Said Occupy Nigeria Group**

Protesters shut petrol stations and formed human barriers along motorways. Nigeria's main trade unions have also announced an indefinite strike and mass demonstrations from Monday, 9 January 2012 unless the removal of a fuel subsidy is reversed. "We have the total backing of all Nigerian workers on this strike and mass protest," the Nigeria Labour Congress's Chris Uyo told the BBC.

Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria Lamido Sanusi told the BBC the subsidy (which he said cost the government about \$8bn last year) was "unsustainable". Several previous governments have tried to remove the subsidy but have backed down in the face of widespread public protests and reduced it instead.

### **Casualties during the Save Nigeria Protest in Lagos**

Muyideen Mustapha, 23, was reportedly the first person to be killed during the nationwide protests over the lifting of petrol subsidies. He was reportedly shot by the Nigerian Police Force in Ilorin, Kwara State on 3 January 2012. The Police denied the report saying that he had been stabbed by other protestors for not joining in the protest. Muyideen was buried on Wednesday 4 January 2012, according to Islamic rites. There have been further reports of one to three people being killed by clashes between police and protestors on 9 January.

On 9 January, a Divisional Police Officer attached to the Lagos State Command, shot and killed a young man, Ademola Aderinde at Ogba during the protests in Lagos. The officer was arrested on the order of the Commissioner of Police and was expected to be charged with murder following an investigation.<sup>[13]</sup>

### **Abuja & London Protests; Protests and Solidarity Protests**

The **Occupy Nigeria** Movement plans another protest to hold at Eagle Square, Abuja for Friday, 6 January 2012 while another one hold simultaneous at the Nigerian Embassy in London. However, leaks from security agencies report of an order issued by the Government of Nigeria to the Mobile Police, advising them that the best way to stop the protests was to kill at least one of the protestors.

### **International protests Showcasing Both the New York and the Nigerian Dimension of Occupy Nigeria Protests**



Occupy Nigeria protesters in New York City.

The Occupy Nigeria protests have also occurred in other countries to show solidarity with what the plight of Nigerians back home. The first one was held at the Nigerian High Commission in London on 6 January 2012, followed by another at the World Bank complex in Washington D.C on 9 January. 2012. Other countries like Belgium (-in Brussels its capital), and South Africa joined the protests and occupied the Nigerian embassy in their countries in the second week of January 2012

### **NLC/TUC; Both Were Deep in a Nation-Wide Subsidy Strike during the Occupy Nigeria Protests**

On Thursday, 5 January 2012, the Nigeria Labour Congress issued an ultimatum to the Federal Government promising to halt the economy of the country by Monday, 9 January 2012.

"We are shutting down the Nigerian airspace to local and international flights from Sunday night" said Denja Yakub of NLC.

"If a revolution will solve our problems, why not, what is going on already shows that our people are prepared for a revolution. But we will not ask for a revolution that will bring back the military, they are a part of the problem." he added

### **Government reaction To Occupy Nigeria Protests**

Following the emergency meeting of the Federal Executive Council, in Abuja, the Minister of Information, Mr. Labaran Maku, told newsmen the government was not oblivious of the pains inflicted by Nigerians as a result of the new policy. In order to ameliorate those pains, he said the government had commenced a 'massive mass transit scheme' aimed at cushioning the effects of the subsidy removal on transportation. 1600 diesel-powered mass transit vehicles, he claimed, would be distributed.

Curiously missing at the pivotal meeting were two controversial senior officials and pillars of the new policy: Finance Minister, Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, and Petroleum Resources Minister, Diezani Alison-Madueke. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala is quoted as having said that she'll resign if the presidency goes back on its decision to remove the subsidy.

### **Media; Confusion Over to Give their Backing in the Protests**

Channels Television and Galaxy Television, two local media houses in Lagos, covered the Lagos protests on 3 January 2012. There was also a report on the march in the Daily Times of Nigeria.

In addition, Facebook group pages were created to spur Nigerians globally against the fuel-subsidy removal regime. One of them (called "Nationwide Anti-Fuel Subsidy Removal: Strategies & Protests") was created on 2 January 2012 and had over 20,000 members by 9 January 2012. Student websites in universities and blogs are reporting the Occupy Nigeria Protests and student representatives are sending live pictures of ongoing protests.

Twitter was also used as a connecting platform for the protesters.

The 2012 documentary *Fuelling Poverty* by Ishaya Bako was based on some of the events that occurred during the fuel subsidy crisis. It was banned by the Federal government of Nigeria for being "highly provocative and likely to incite or encourage public disorder and undermine national security." It went on to win category Best Documentary at the 2013 Africa Movie Academy Awards and was praised by many Human Right activists and organisations.

## **Jonathan administration; Clearly in Trouble Over Conflict With Industrial Unions and The Said Occupy Nigeria Group And his Predecessor Blames Weakness of Leadership Prowess**



Goodluck Jonathan at the Nuclear Security Summit 2010



Former President Olusegun Obasanjo (Brasilia 6 September 2005)

It still is a mystery how the cost of subsidy shot up to 1.3 trillion naira in just one year of President Goodluck Jonathan's administration, especially since ex-President Olusegun Obasanjo's administration spent 300 billion Naira per year. When the Obasanjo government left power in 29 May 2007, the country was no longer in debt and the 30 billion dollar foreign debt that Obasanjo met when he came to power in 1999 was fully paid off. Today, under the administration of Jonathan, the country owes debt to the tune of 30 billion dollars and is still borrowing. It was reported that when the Obasanjo administration left power in 2007, 23 billion dollars was left in the Excess Crude Account after he built it up from nothing in 1999; by January 2012 the account was empty because the money has been "squandered and the account scrapped".

Under the Goodluck Jonathan's administration, and indeed, throughout the history of Nigeria as a political state, Presidential Committees on Amnesty Policies, have not been able to deliver convincing results which prove the imposition and forceful application of amnesty policies in Nigeria as true and workable philosophies of conflict in any political state as a whole. On a careful analysis, the major setbacks would, for the most part, would have been traceable to ethnic philosophies and religious sentiments arising from past and present events which have shaped the history and development of the Nigerian state. The point which duly calls for emphasis is that the presidential committees on amnesty are expected to seek and receive the cooperation of the Nigerian public, non-governmental organizations, amnesty-related ministries and agencies as earlier listed in the study, Government itself and the international community to enable the successful working of post-amnesty policies of the Jonathan's administration in Nigeria, would also be expected to perform, under the current circumstances where the philosophy is rife that *"everybody's business is actually nobody's business"*. Thus, it is only natural to agree on all four-sides of the argument that the failure of post-conflict amnesty policies of President Goodluck Jonathan in Nigeria, a country which is the most populous nation in Africa, that as far as its amnesty policies are concerned, their failure to have a clear prospect as a government policy could be traced to the country's history and the misapplication of wrong philosophies by the ruling party in power. According to Sabella Ogbobodo (Pambazuka.org), Peace cannot be forced as the amnesty policy seems to imply, but that as a reality, if government wants peace in any part of the country, then, it should be ready to negotiate it through dialogue rather than an arbitrary imposition of a compulsory amnesty.

The word "amnesty" is according to the online dictionary (dictionary.com), 'a criminal pardon granted to convicts by the state'. Therefore, since both sets of persons in the Jonathan's Amnesty policies in Nigeria, namely, the Niger-Delta Militants South of the country and the Boko Haram insurgents in the North of the country, both see themselves, not as criminals but





freedom fighters and agitators of their socio-political rights; one could as well, proceed to described the Jonathan's amnesty policies and those of successive governments in Nigeria as "*forms of technical intimidation*" against voices of dissent rather than a post-conflict "*healing*" and "*reconciliatory*" process that the Nigerian oligarchy thinks it to be. It appears, for practical reasons, that the reason for seeking quick solutions in compulsory amnesty policies

rather than a thoroughly diplomatic process of dialogue, is that apart from being cheap and easy to come-by, as a solution, the true meaning of amnesty policy is one too many a form of regional intimidation by the government at the centre. We recall with interest that the first ever amnesty policy in Nigeria which came in 2009, was a verbatim reproduction of this characteristics of all amnesty policies in Nigeria.

During the, then, Yar'Adua-Jinathan's first administration as president and vice, the idea of "*dialogue*" was like confronting the Oracle of Delphi's; a violent sum that would dry-up the Nigerian oligarchy if dialogue be applied as a means of overcoming conflict in any affected region of the country. It was therefore to surprising when the Nigerian Federal Government produced as its amnesty slogan, "amnesty to Niger-Delta militants or total war in the region". But Nigerian wasted to time in drawing a connectivity between the president's actions and the insensitivity to local populations which colonial history was known for. At amalgamation, the colonial master gave power to the North, and for this reason (for which president Yar'Adua's forefathers felt that the Nigerian state was all about power and that it did not matter how bad the president's decisions may be) with his declaration of compulsory amnesty or total war were put forward for another civil war in the country the Ijaw youths were bent on blowing-up all the oil tunnels in the Niger Delta Region. Many have argued that Nigeria is not so much of a "robot" not to deviate from its historical antecedents', but who knows why the Nigerian oligarchy has not allowed the country's dirty past to transform itself into a sweeter contradiction than what is today called the Nigerian State. According to F N Ndubisi (2006:64).

When the colonial masters were leaving the shares of Africa they left behind 'lackeys' and 'stoogies' as their successors on the thrones power.

More than half a century now since the end of colonial reuse in Nigeria, the two amnesty policies of the Jonathan's administration(s) still proves to be failure of the Nigerian state to rise beyond its ethnic, religious, social and political history which have all the time painted the ugly picture of Nigeria's past and present realities. The same ethnic and political biases which presented Yar'Adua, a Muslim president from the North from accepting the option of dialogue from Southern militants from the Niger Delta in 2009; are now playing back only three (3) years later in 2014, as president Jonathan, a Christian President from the South is similarly blocked by historical sentiments from dialoging with Boko Haram militants from the north of the country. Even the Ministries of Youth and Sports as well as those of the Niger-Delta, which were created as external hands of different presidential committees on the presidents amnesty policies, have continually been polarized along lines of past and present history and by its military philosophies of 'amnesty' and 'eventual war' from delivering the gains of president Goodluck Jonathan's Amnesty policies in the country. The very application of the concepts "ex-militants' alone, writes Sebella Ogbodo (30<sup>th</sup> July 2009), is one challenge which the post-conflict amnesty polices of Dr Jonathan must sufficiently deal with since the has the connotation of aligning than with X-convicts, a concept which all parties under the presidents' amnesty programme object to. Commenting on the true states of post-conflict amnesty policies of President Jonathan. The *Vanguard Newspaper* in Nigeria (May 6<sup>th</sup>, 2010: p. 1 and 3), made it explicit that; that Amnesty policies in Nigeria could contrast with like option A-4 which gave

Nigeria her best election under military rule but which Nigerians never lived to profit from. The offer of amnesty to militants and separatist groups in Nigeria may be likened to it. What is more? (it would only have been successful as a policy of the martial order) during military rule, not in a current democratic rule by president Jonathan.

Anything that is forced, only fits in as a round peg in a square hole. No matter what President Jonathan does, Post-Conflict amnesty cannot change its name to a democratic process. No matter what, amnesty is amnesty (it cannot take the place of dialogue or any sound philosophy of reconciliation or rehabilitation as the president thinks) History can be transformed. But the peculiarity of multi-ethnicity, cultural biases and religious bigotry etc, has made the Nigerian scenario an impossibility. Meanwhile the position taken by the Nigerian government is not one that is likely to transform in the present scenario. As Dr. Ferdinand Ikwang who spoke for Mr. Tim Aliagbe, Chairman Presidential Committee on the 2009 Amnesty, "*Sunday Trust*" (3<sup>rd</sup> April, 2011);



*"The days of fighting for the Niger Delta or the regions are over...it is now time for Ex-militants (and separatists) to fight to improve themselves (under the post-amnesty scheme made available by the government in authority).*

In other words, one would have expected that the post-conflict Amnesty policy is a government's own initiative meant to convince dissenting youths to accept, cooperate and work with government policies for a better Nigeria. But the current administration seems to view it on the opposite as a project which only offers youths an opportunities to improve themselves in Post-conflict amnesty camps current built at the former NYSC orientation camp in the Obubra local government area of Cross River State South of the country on its borders with Cameroon. The repercussion of governments view as a project offering militants opportunity for self-improvement is the consequential reality of abandonment, lack of funding, over-militarization of the process and a full indication of *malad ministraton* of amnesty policies in its possible return of hostility sometimes someday to an area of the country formally under occupation by militants and separatists groups. As the "*Punch Newspaper*" has it to explain (28<sup>th</sup> Sept. 2010 online), "it is most likely to be that post conflict amnesty is only meant to hold brief for a while as there are indications of future eruption of hostility in the Niger-Delta region which currently enjoys the pardon of the first ever official amnesty of the Nigerian nation granted to Niger Delta militants by the Yar'Adua Jonathan government in 2009.



According to (INRIN Africa.com), government in the 2009 amnesty Grant, predicted that 10,000 Youths and militants of the Niger-Delta region were going to surrender the Niger-Delta region which was under their occupation and embrace the Yar'Adua Jonathan Amnesty policy. But on the offer to the said amnesty policy, 17,000 Youths submitted into the programme and this has brought pressure upon the government in terms of management and in terms of resources budgeted for the program. But this is to be contrasted against a contrary report by Madiaga Alffe who in The "*Punch Newspaper*" ([www.ijawmnonitor.org/News](http://www.ijawmnonitor.org/News)) explains that for the most part, funds earmarked for post-

conflict amnesty policies of the Jonathan administration have been diverted to other projects', and that, at other times, the funds run into third parties that little or nothing is left to run the

post-conflict amnesty project in a way that can possibly produce positive results. The only natural conclusion that is likely to be reached from the foregoing is that the real test of post-conflict amnesty policies in Nigeria is a test of good governance and nothing more. In other words, anyone would conclude correctly from the foregoing that Nigeria's democracy is no way, mature enough to apply post-colonial amnesty policy as one of its philosophy of conflicts assuming that amnesty is capable of serving as a philosophy of conflict at all. Neither is the current study advocating an intervention by the US or the UN or any other external body or the international community for purposes of solving the Boko Haram insurgency in the north of the country. What president Jonathan requires in order to convince separatists and regional agitators into accepting the legitimacy of his government as a Christian President from a Minority Community South of the country, is not post conflict amnesty policies and is not to be found outside the pockets of his trousers. Since he (Mr. President) cannot possibly over turn age old sentiments arising from the country's past and present history; all that he requires to convince Muslim North to accept the legitimacy of his administration as Christian president from the South is something more than a "sovereign national conference" – He requires a one-on-one dialogue with separatist groups; Nigeria's history shows tendencies relating to or parallel, or comparable with, "sovereign national conference", all of which never produced an intended result disrupted by the same sentiments among members resulting from the country's past and present history as here stated in this research; The new position to be advanced henceforth, is bound to be something beyond the current re-enstatement of Nigerian oligarchy in the Name of the people's representatives at the "Sovereign National Conference". These oligarchy seems, in the view of this research, to be represented their families rather than the people of Nigeria.

### **PRE-COLONIAL HISTORY OF NIGERIA AND THE AMNESTY QUESTION OF THE JONATHAN'S ADMINISTRATION**

The question of post-conflict amnesty of President Goodluck Jonathan is one which has historical antecedents. It spans up to as far as the country's pre-1860 pre-colonial period. Prior to the 1860(s) the concept of amnesty was already known to different communities which occupied the territory which is now known as Nigeria. Sources have it that ([en-wikipedia.org/./history\\_of\\_Nigeria](http://en.wikipedia.org/./history_of_Nigeria)) that as far as 11000 BC, decentralized communities were already occupying the Nigerian soil. When warriors were captured in inter-tribal or inter-ethnic conflicts, the chiefs affected in the raid, sometimes, sent emissaries to the victorious King to plead for amnesty. In this way, amnesty was already known to pre-colonial history in Nigeria. The contention, however, is that, then, the mode of application was in its true meaning of the Yar'Adua's 2009 amnesty intent as a post-conflict reconciliation process, a tool for healing disaffectionate relationships between former disputants. Again, the true dictionary meaning of amnesty as "pardon for state criminal's", was magnanimously respected to the tone of the kindness of the state granting the amnesty. But all this changed with the changes in history. As soon as the British began the processes of colonization; the true meaning of amnesty also began to be directed.

This is not to say that pre-colonial states, which have today been amalgamated into the Nigerian state, could not have politicized the meaning and application of the concept of amnesty. The contention here is that the pre-1860 communities, could not have possibly entertained the same level of greed for power as Nigerian oligarchy in colonial and post-colonial Nigeria, having not have witnessed contemporary feelings of globalization and the fact that



more power means to the Nigerian oligarchy more access to the country's oil and other forms of national wealth, etc, been more interested in private interpretation of amnesty as it has become the case since Britain began the processes of colonization of Nigeria in 1860. It is something which could very easily be concluded on the basis of probability that since colonial Britain both discovered the country's oil wealth, they everything to ensure some kind of sit-tight in the country Nigerian oligarchy including late president Yar'Adua and President Goodluck Jonathan, who now represent colonial succession on the throne, as indicated since the beginning of colonial rule in 1861, seems to serve better at the beginning of a long history which the Jonathan's administration must address in his post conflict amnesty policies if they must succeed. An easier option is perhaps, to rise beyond the on-going discussions on the sovereign national conference and have a one-on-one dialogue with separatist groups in the country. To adequately account for how the contrary would continue to man his efforts towards building both the country's petroleum-based economy and peace in the midst of Boko Haram Amnesty policy, it remains expedient that we consider, in our second effort, colonial history and its impact on the current efforts by the Jonathan amnesty policies in the country towards stabilizing the country through successive amnesty policies.

### **COLONIAL HISTORY IN NIGERIA AND THE AMNESTY QUESTION OF THE JONATHAN'S ADMINISTRATION**

By the period of 1861 when Nigeria eventually came under the apron string of colonial Britain, the change of status to a people bow colonized by another, brought its own consequences as well. Britain was at the time, already advanced as a western nation, and its civilization which was largely influenced by tenets of globalization and the greed to control the resources of vassal states as a master would control the resources of its subjects, began to send new signals to those who were to succeed their colonial interests as Nigerian leaders at independence in 1960. Here is the game of life; human beings are in the main, not altruistic but self-centred. In this way, even the concept of amnesty began to be applied subject to fulfilment of certain conditions. The introduction of colonial courts in particular or as sources have it (Colonial Nigeria, *online*), the condition under which British rule pardoned local natives was on the promise that if found guilty of the same act is to be returned to custody as punishment for breach of promise. It is therefore not surprising that well over fifty years since the exit of colonial rule, the Yar'Adua-Jonathan's government proceeded in 2009 to impose and amnesty deal on Niger-Delta militants on condition that refusal would attract total war by government against the region.

### **POST-COLONIAL NIGERIA AND THE AMNESTY QUESTION OF THE JONATHAN'S ADMINISTRATION**

#### **Basic Highlight**

- The Civil War History With its Military Greed and Ethnic Sentiments
- Development of the Oil Sector with Kingship of the Sector in the NNPC
- A Long and Almost Endless History Of Military Rule, and
- The Sporadic Rise in Ethnic Militia and Regional Insurgency

#### **BBC NEWS, AFRICA NEWS TAKES OVER ON NIGERIA'S PROFILE AND ITS CHRONOLOGY OF KEY EVENTS:**

**Circa 800 BC** - Jos plateau settled by Nok - a neolithic and iron age civilisation.

**Circa 11th century onwards** - Formation of city states, kingdoms and empires, including Hausa kingdoms and Borno dynasty in north, Oyo and Benin kingdoms in south.

**1472** - Portuguese navigators reach Nigerian coast.

## BIAFRA WAR AND ITS MILITARY GREED AND ETHNIC SENTIMENTS

Biafra war: Attacks, blockade killed more than a million

- 1970: Nigeria marks end of Biafra war
- Secret papers reveal Biafra intrigue

**16-18th centuries** - Slave trade: Millions of Nigerians are forcibly sent to the Americas.

**1809** - Single Islamic state - Sokoto caliphate - is founded in north.

**1830s-1886** - Civil wars plague Yorubaland, in the south.

**1850s** - British establish presence around Lagos.

**1861-1914** - Britain consolidates its hold over what it calls the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria, governs by "indirect rule" through local leaders.

**1922** - Part of former German colony Kamerun is added to Nigeria under League of Nations mandate.

**1960** - Independence, with Prime Minister Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa leading a coalition government.

**1962-63** - Controversial census fuels regional and ethnic tensions.

**1966 January** - Balewa killed in coup. Major-General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi heads up military administration.

**1966 July** - Ironsi killed in counter-coup, replaced by Lieutenant-Colonel Yakubu Gowon.

**1967** - Three eastern states secede as the Republic of Biafra, sparking bloody civil war.

**1970** - Biafran leaders surrender, former Biafran regions reintegrated into country.

**1975** - Gowon overthrown, flees to Britain, replaced by Brigadier Murtala Ramat Mohammed, who begins process of moving federal capital to Abuja.

Obasanjo - first time round

**1976** - Mohammed assassinated in failed coup attempt. Replaced by his deputy, Lieutenant-General Olusegun Obasanjo, who helps introduce American-style presidential constitution.

## LONG AND ALMOST ENDLESS HISTORY OF MILITARY RULE

### Sani Abacha



Gen Sani Abacha was accused of stealing some \$3bn from state during his five-year rule.

- Horrors of the Abacha regime
- Obituary: Abacha leader with an iron grip

**1979** - Elections bring Alhaji Shehu Shagari to power.

**1983 January** - The government expels more than one million foreigners, mostly Ghanaians, saying they had overstayed their visas and were taking jobs from Nigerians. The move is condemned abroad but proves popular in Nigeria.

**1983 August, September** - Shagari re-elected amid accusations of irregularities.

**1983 December** - Major-General Muhammad Buhari seizes power in bloodless coup.

**1985** - Ibrahim Babangida seizes power in bloodless coup, curtails political activity.

**1993 June** - Military annuls elections when preliminary results show victory by Chief Moshood Abiola.

**1993 August** - Power transferred to Interim National Government.

### Abacha years

**1993 November** - General Sani Abacha seizes power, suppresses opposition.

**1994** - Abiola arrested after proclaiming himself president.



**1995** - Ken Saro-Wiwa, writer and campaigner against oil industry damage to his Ogoni homeland, is executed following a hasty trial. In protest, European Union imposes sanctions until 1998, Commonwealth suspends Nigeria's membership until 1998.

**1998** - Abacha dies, succeeded by Major-General Abdulsalami Abubakar. Chief Abiola dies in custody a month later.

**1999** - Parliamentary and presidential elections. Olusegun Obasanjo sworn in as president.

**2000** - Adoption of Islamic, or Sharia, law by several northern states in the face of opposition from Christians. Tension over the issue results in hundreds of deaths in clashes between Christians and Muslims.

**2001** - Tribal war in Benue state, in eastern-central Nigeria, displaces thousands of people. In October, army soldiers sent to quash the fighting kill more than 200 unarmed civilians, apparently in retaliation for the abduction and murder of 19 soldiers.

**2001 October** - Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo, South African President Mbeki and Algerian President Bouteflika launch New Partnership for African Development, or Nepad, which aims to foster development and open government and end wars in return for aid, foreign investment and the lifting of trade barriers to African exports.

#### ***Ethnic violence***

**2002 February** - Some 100 people are killed in Lagos in clashes between Hausas from mainly-Islamic north and ethnic Yorubas from predominantly-Christian southwest.

**2002 November** - More than 200 people die in four days of rioting stoked by Muslim fury over the planned Miss World beauty pageant in Kaduna in December. The event is relocated to Britain.

**2003 12 April** - First legislative elections since end of military rule in 1999. Polling marked by delays, allegations of ballot-rigging. President Obasanjo's People's Democratic Party wins parliamentary majority.

#### ***Obasanjo re-elected***

**2003 19 April** - First civilian-run presidential elections since end of military rule. Olusegun Obasanjo elected for second term with more than 60% of vote. Opposition parties reject result. EU poll observers cite "serious irregularities".

### **DISCOVERY OF OIL ERA IN POST-COLONIAL NIGERIA AND THE KINGSHIP OF THE NNPC**

Nigeria is a big oil exporter, but violence and oil spills dog the industry

- 'Decades' to clean up Nigeria oil
- 'Blood oil' dripping from Nigeria

**2003 July** - Nationwide general strike called off after nine days after government agrees to lower recently-increased fuel prices.

**2003 August** - Inter-communal violence in the Niger Delta town of Warri kills about 100 people, injures 1,000.

**2003 September** - Nigeria's first satellite, NigeriaSat-1, launched by Russian rocket.

**2004 January** - UN brokers talks between Nigeria and Cameroon about disputed border. Both sides agree to joint security patrols.

**2004 May** - State of emergency is declared in the central Plateau State after more than 200 Muslims are killed in Yelwa in attacks by Christian militia; revenge attacks are launched by Muslim youths in Kano.

#### ***Trouble in the south***

**2004 August-September** - Deadly clashes between gangs in oil city of Port Harcourt prompts strong crackdown by troops. Rights group Amnesty International cites death toll of 500, authorities say about 20 died.

**2005 July** - Paris Club of rich lenders agrees to write off two-thirds of Nigeria's \$30bn foreign debt.

**2006 January onwards** - Militants in the Niger Delta attack pipelines and other oil facilities and kidnap foreign oil workers. The rebels demand more control over the region's oil wealth.

**2006 February** - More than 100 people are killed when religious violence flares in mainly-Muslim towns in the north and in the southern city of Onitsha.

**2006 April** - Helped by record oil prices, Nigeria becomes the first African nation to pay off its debt to the Paris Club of rich lenders.



**2006 May** - The Senate rejects proposed changes to the constitution which would have allowed President Obasanjo to stand for a third term in 2007.

Bakassi deal

**2006 August** - Nigeria cedes sovereignty over the disputed Bakassi peninsula to neighbouring Cameroon under the terms of a 2002 International Court of Justice ruling. A special transitional arrangement for the Nigerian civilian

administration will be in place for five years.

**2006 October** - Spiritual leader of Nigeria's millions of Muslims, the Sultan of Sokoto, is killed in a plane crash, the country's third major civilian air disaster in a year.

**2007 April** - Umaru Yar'Adua of the ruling People's Democratic Party is proclaimed winner of the presidential election.

**2007 September** - The rebel Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (Mend) threatens to end a self-imposed ceasefire and to launch fresh attacks on oil facilities and abductions of foreign workers.

**2007 November** - Suspected Nigerian militants kill 21 Cameroon soldiers in Bakassi peninsula.

Nigerian senate rejects Nigeria-Cameroon agreement for hand-over of Bakassi peninsula to Cameroon.

**2007 December** - Anti-corruption chief Nuhu Ribadu is sidelined, but a high-profile graft-related arrest follows soon after.

### ***Oil prices soar***

**2008 January** - Oil trades at \$100 a barrel for the first time, with violence in oil producing countries such as Nigeria and Algeria helping to drive up prices.

**2008 February** - Mend leaders Henry Okah and Edward Atata extradited from Angola on suspicion of involvement in attacks on oil companies. Report that Okah was subsequently killed in custody proved to be untrue.

Tribunal upholds election of Umaru Yar'Adua as president following challenge by rivals who wanted the vote annulled because of vote rigging.

**2008 April** - Two former health ministers and a daughter of President Olusegun Obasanjo are among 12 top health officials charged with embezzling around 470m naira (4m dollars) of public health funds.

Oil production cut by about half as a result of strike action and attacks on pipelines by militants; problems in Nigeria help keep world oil prices at record highs.

**2008 August** - Following agreement reached in March, Nigeria finally hands over the Bakassi peninsula to Cameroon, ending a long-standing dispute.

Iran agrees to share nuclear technology with Nigeria to help it increase its generation of electricity.

**2008 September** - Militants in the Niger Delta step up their attacks on oil installations, in response to what they describe as unprovoked attacks by the military on their bases.

#### ***Oil prices fall***

**2008 October** - The government announces major budget cuts following steep falls in the price of oil.

**2008 November** - At least 200 people are killed during clashes between Christians and Muslims in the central Nigerian town of Jos.

**2009 January** - The main militant group in Niger Delta, Mend, calls off four-month cease-fire after army attacks camp of an allied group.

**2009 March** - Nineteen opposition parties unite to form a "mega-party" to compete against the governing People's Democratic Party in elections due in 2011.

**2009 May** - Niger Delta militant group Mend rejects government offer of amnesty and declares offensive against Nigerian military.

**2009 July** - Hundreds die in northeastern Nigeria after the Boko Haram Islamist movement launches a campaign of violence in a bid to have Sharia law imposed on the entire country. Security forces storm Boko Haram's stronghold and kill the movement's leader.

Government frees the leader of the Niger Delta militant group Mend, Henry Okah, after he accepts an amnesty offer.

**2009 August** - Two-month offer of a government amnesty for Niger Delta militants comes into force.

**2009 November** - President Yar'Adua travels to Saudi Arabia to be treated for a heart condition. His extended absence triggers a constitutional crisis and leads to calls for him to step down.

Jos clashes

**2010 January** - At least 149 people are killed during two days of violence between Christian and Muslim gangs in the central city of Jos.

**2010 March** - More than 120 people are killed in clashes between Muslims and Christians in the flashpoint city of Jos.

**2010 May** - President Umaru Yar'Adua dies after a long illness. Vice-president Goodluck Jonathan, already acting in Yar'Adua's stead, succeeds him.

**2010 October** - Nigeria marks 50 years of independence. Celebrations in Abuja marred by deadly bomb blasts.

## **BOKO HARAM**



The Islamist group Boko Haram is loosely modelled on the Taliban movement in Afghanistan and has claimed responsibility for numerous attacks

- Boko Haram: What You Need To Know
- Who are Nigeria's Boko Haram Islamists?
- Why can't Nigeria defeat Boko Haram?

**2010 November** - Nigeria intercepts arms shipment from Iran, reports find to UN Security Council.

**2010 December** - Christmas Eve bomb attacks near central city of Jos kill at least 80 people. Attacks claimed by Islamist sect Boko Haram spark clashes between Christians and Muslims. Some 200 killed in reprisal attacks.

**2011 March** - Goodluck Jonathan wins presidential elections.

**2011 July** - President Jonathan says he will ask parliament to amend the constitution so that presidents will serve a single, longer term in office.

Government says it wants to start negotiating with the Boko Haram Islamist group blamed for a series of recent attacks across northern Nigeria.

**2011 August** - Suicide bomb attack on UN headquarters in Abuja kills 23 people. Radical Islamist group Boko Haram claims responsibility.

**2011 November** - At least 63 people are killed in bomb and gun attacks in north-eastern town of Damaturu. Boko Haram claims responsibility.

President Jonathan sacks the head of Nigeria's anti-corruption agency, saying that the body has failed to get to grips with graft during her tenure.

Christmas Day attacks

**2011 December** - Nearly 70 people are killed in days of fighting between security forces and Boko Haram militants in north-eastern states of Yobe and Borno.

Christmas Day bomb attacks kill about 40 people. Boko Haram claims responsibility.

President Jonathan declares state of emergency to contain violence by Boko Haram.

**2012 January**-Fuel price strike causes major disruption. Unions suspend action when government reverses decision to drop fuel subsidies.

More than 100 killed in single day of co-ordinated bombings and shootings in Kano, shortly after Boko Haram tells Christians to quit the north.

**2012 April** - Chadian President Idriss Deby calls on countries neighbouring northern Nigeria to set up a joint military force to tackle Boko Haram militants as they continue their attacks. He warns of the danger of the Islamist group destabilising the whole Lake Chad basin area.

**2012 June** - Boko Haram claims responsibility for attacks on two churches in Jos city and Borno state, in which one person died and dozens of others were injured. An angry crowd kills six Muslims in Jos in retaliation.

**2012 July** - Nigeria signs a preliminary \$4.5bn deal with US-based Vulcan Petroleum to build six oil refineries. Nigeria lacks refinery capacity and has to import most of its fuel needs, despite being a major oil producer.

**2012 August** - The army kills 20 Boko Haram fighters in a shootout in the northeastern city of Maiduguri. The government says it has started informal talks through "backroom channels" with Boko Haram to try to end attacks. Boko Haram ruled out peace talks shortly beforehand.

Maiduguri clashes

**2012 October** - Boko Haram bomb army bases in Maiduguri. The army says it kills 24 Boko Haram fighters in subsequent clashes.

**2012 November** - At least 100 people are charged with treason after a march supporting independence for Biafra in the region's main town, Enugu.

**2012 December** - A French engineer is abducted in northern Katsina state. The Islamist group Ansaru claims responsibility.

At least 20 Christians are killed in attacks by suspected Islamist militants in the northern states of Yobe and Borno over the Christmas/New Year period.

**2013 May** - Government declares state of emergency in three northern states of Yobe, Borno and Adamawa and sends in troops to combat the Boko Haram Islamist militants.

**2013 July** - Secondary schools close in Yobe state after a massacre of 22 pupils at a boarding school, which the government attributes to Boko Haram. The Islamist group has burned down several schools since 2010.

**2013 September** - Boko Haram Islamists murder more than 150 people in roadside attacks in the northeast. Separately, security forces fight Boko Haram armed insurgents in the capital Abuja.

**2013** November - Six state governors defect from the governing People's Democratic Party (PDP) and merge with main opposition All Progressives Congress, leaving the PDP with fewer governors supporting it than the opposition.

**2014** April - Boko Haram kidnaps more than 200 girls from a boarding school. The US and Britain sends planes to help search for them and West African leaders agree to co-operate to fight the Islamists.

**2014** May - Nigerian cities are hit by a series of fatal bomb blasts blamed on Boko Haram.

**2014** July - Nigeria and neighbours agree to form a joint military force to combat the growing regional threat posed by Boko Haram.

**2014** August - Boko Haram proclaims a caliphate - an Islamic state - in the territory it controls in the northeast, a declaration dismissed by the government.

Re-opening of schools for the new academic year is postponed because of the ebola outbreak in the region. Five people have died in Nigeria.

Post-colonial period in Nigeria is the period in the country's history marked by self-governance. It began at the independence day of October 1<sup>st</sup> 1960 to present day history of the country. In it, the country has had to experience a variety of events and in their asserted forms to include its civil war history of 1966-1969, its period of military rule spanning more than 30 of the country's fifty four (54) years of existence, its history of ethnic tensions in the Niger-Delta region and now that of Boko Haram insurgency in the Lake Chad North East region of Nigeria, Within this post-colonial period, ethnic tensions have constituted political instability over a period longer than half of its years of existence as an independent nation. However, it is perhaps due to a saturation of this period with biases among Nigerian oligarchy stemming from the country's past and present history that the country's philosophy of conflict has almost become sacrosanct as that of amnesty and its mode of application has been one that is intended to protect the interests of the country's oligarchy rather than the good will of the people of Nigeria. As explained in ([country studies. us](http://countrystudies.us)) post-colonial Nigeria is one now resembles its own history (as a widening gulf did separate north from south at amalgamation, the three regions under colonial rule and now Islam and Christianity proceeding to separate the north of the country from the south) there are, indeed, too many historical sentiments to identify Nigerian problems with. The one conclusion to draw from the foregoing is one which had already been highlighted, namely, that since president Jonathan cannot undo historical sentiments among his own oligarchic colleagues to enable him succeed his amnesty policies; it is expedient to change course while it is still possible and embrace true dialogue based on a one-on-one discussion with ultercators of his legitimacy as a Nigerian president.

### **THEORIES /PHILOSOPHIES OF CONFLICT IN SOCIETY AND REASONS FOR RECOMMENDING DIALOGUE FOR PRESIDENT JONATHAN**

It is only natural that since there exist a diversity of human personalities in society, opinions are likely to differ among different persons and different societies on what should be adopted as a philosophy for purposes of resolving disputes among persons. According to the online articles "Conflict theories" ([en.wikipedia.org/.../conflict theories](http://en.wikipedia.org/.../conflict_theories)). There exist an infinite number of conflict theories; however, despite their numerosity, they may be summarized into the following;

#### **Karl Marx Economic Theory of Conflict:**

Here, Marx argues that all human societies are created, sustained and perpetuated through a history of class struggle between the owners of the means of production and the labourers who work of them. In terms of his analysis, Marx has largely captured the conflict giving birth to amnesty policies in Nigeria since the Nigerian oligarchy and government now claim ownership



of the country with a view that they only have to instruct rather than dialogue with citizens even in matters leading to conflict. However, where Marx gets it wrong is his recommendation of a communist solutions for similar problems. Nigeria runs a mixed economy and applying a communist solution to its amnesty processes would amount to a square peg in round whole.

### **Ludwig Gumplowicz's Evolutionary Anthropology (cal) theory of human conflict:**

According to this Wikipedia sources ([en.wikipedia.org/./conflict](http://en.wikipedia.org/./conflict)), Gumplowicz, like Karl Marx was economic and historical, but unlike Marx, his materialistic theory was purely anthropological. Gumplowicz was of the view that everything in society-good or bad, etc, is a product of the conflict between tribe and tribe, government and people, colour and race, groups and individuals like Karl Marx, Gumplowicz only captures an aspects of the truce behind the Jonathan's successive grant of amnesty, as a philosophy of conflict. It did this in stating that the actual relationship between government and citizens is anthropological. But when deeply analysed, the problem is more of 'resource control' and 'power between the Nigerian government and the regions currently opposed to his goveremnt through active militancy.

### **Lester F Ward's Sociological Theory of Conflict:**



In the view of Lester, conflict is an outcome of social, competition for the limited resources available in society. He argues this retrospectively, not in terms of Marx's class competition, but Lamark's social conflict of "survival of the fittest" and the economist, Thomas Malthus who taught that while the resources of life are fixed, population is constantly increasing, such that there is always a social rivalry over the limited resources, therefore, conflict. In this Lesterian theory, the philosophy of conflict is perceived to be a mixture of economic and social elements. The problem here is the difficulty of controlling population growth and the impossibility of increasing available resources to satisfy all citizens in a multi-ethnic and multi-populated country like Nigeria therefore, while Lester, Lamark, Darwin and Malthus are to be commended for identifying competition for limited resources as the primary source of conflict in society the solution which Lester offers, namely, that of birth control, can hardly satisfy the underlying conflict over power by Nigerian oligarchy which seem to stand as the underlying reason for successful amnesty grants by the Jonathan government in the Nigerian state. The point, therefore is that Nigeria may have to look elsewhere.

### **Emile Durkweim's Systems Theory and Philosophy of Conflict**

Like other philosophies and conflict theories already listed here, Emile Durkheims believes that conflict is a function of the human system. Thus, in his view of conflict ([en.wikipedia.org/.../conflict](http://en.wikipedia.org/.../conflict)), conflict is created in society whenever a part of the system of society fails to live out its function within the system. In other words, Durkheims believe that conflict would not arise unless members of the political, economic, social and religious system fail to deliver expected results. The kind of situation being envisaged by Durkheim's systems theory is one too many an explanation for instability in Nigeria; but the solution suggested can only be implemented by a country's oligarchy who have the interests not of their own selfish political ambitions but that of the people whom they represent. In particular, Durkheims is right in supposing that the origin of the Jonathan's amnesty policies is the effort by Nigerian government to remedy disaffection caused by failure of the country's leadership to provide for the socio-political needs of the various regions of the country which now register their grievances by refusing to cooperate with his government an pilot of the Nigerian state. But the solution offered by Durkheims still talls short of a final answer because even when the Nigerian

government is willing to address the socio-political and economic needs of its regions, the needs themselves can only be known and responded to through dialogue rather than forms of government imposition of “undiscussed” solutions. The point, therefore, is that though Durkheims invites the state to examine the totality of factors within the state to ascertain the causes and subsequently, solutions to conflict in the state; the one thing he fails to identify is that dialogue would be expected to play a definitive role in the entire process, hence, this provides the justification for recommending dialogue for president Jonathan.

### **Marx Weber’s Structural Theory and Philosophy of Conflict in Society:**

Weber in many ways, is a realist of modern making, and he believes in the philosophy that conflict is created, not as a function of the system but as a function of the structures or the leadership which holds the system together. Hence, in his views ([en.wikipedia.org/...conflict theories](http://en.wikipedia.org/...conflict_theories)), conflict is generated where the leadership of the state is weak to containing the excesses of its citizens power and the quest for control of it, is by that fact, the determining factor and duty of the leadership.

Therefore, the leadership can go to any length to suppress, oppress and to intimidated groups of dissenting voices within the political state; And no matter its fraudulent application of force by the leadership structure, this would not be seen as evil so long as the required peace is achieved within the political state. This, is a point-on-point explanation of the said amnesty programmes of the Jonathan’s administration(s) which this research work has criticized for its admiration for autocracy. The very emphasis on structures by Weber, makes power the whole point in any philosophy of conflict; and since this rules-out the possibility of dialogue, Webbers philosophy and understanding of conflict cannot provide us with the way forward in respect of amnesty policies in President Jonathan’s administration in Nigeria. The point, therefore, is to look outside of the leadership structures and to set our eyes on dialogue as a genuine mechanism for the support of separatist groups who are in the interim, opposed to the government of the day.

### **J. S. Mills Theory of Limited Power of Sovereignty:**



As solution for conflict in society; Mill, like other English utilitarian’s believes in the socialist doctrine but in the sort of socialist doctrine which maximizes the rights of individuals within the state. In the explanation of ([en.wikipedia.org/./conflict-theory](http://en.wikipedia.org/./conflict-theory)), Mill expects that the state and its leadership structure is to exercise its powers or limit the rights of citizens any to the such

circumstances, such as possession of harmful drugs or criminal breaches etc where the exercise of individual rights, harms society or interfere with the rights of other individuals in society. Mills conception is that conflict in the true sense of the work is entered by the state in its imposition of self on the citizen’s hence, to culture peace in any state, private rights must supersede the powers of the state. Minimizing the powers of the state in Mills theory would mean that the state would only exist as a referee to an umpire to supervise socio-economic relations without itself being an integral part of the system here called society. it would encourage parties to dialogue but would not participate as a party in the dialogue. Here, there is a fundamental error in making government an observer rather than a participant in the peace building processes of the state. In this way, though Mill’s efforts. Seem wonderful as a theory, the Nigerian amnesty philosophy of conflict requires something from the state which is deeper than spectatorship. What Mill suggested is already the idea of the sovereign National

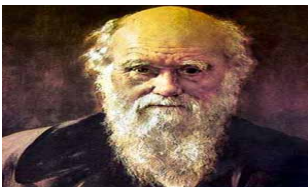
conference (CONFAB) sitting at the league in Abuja and cannot give Nigeria the political solution that the state requires. If President Jonathan must succeed in moving the country forward, then, we must be ready to have a one-on-one dialogue with separatist groups. No nations can progress profitably unless in the midst of peace and in the absence of conflict.

### **THREE (3) KEY PHILOSOPHIES OF CONFLICT ON APPLICATION TO THE POST-CONFLICT AMNESTY POLICIES OF PRESIDENT GOODLUCK JONATHAN IN NIGERIA**

#### **HOBBSUISM AS A PHILOSOPHY OF CONFLICT IN JONATHAN'S POST-CONFLICT AMNESTY POLICIES IN NIGERIA**

Thomas Hobbes believes that conflict is inevitable in any states and any terms such as Nigeria's Niger Delta military and Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria etc, its existence and eventual resolution is attempted, it must be done as the Nigeria oligarchy has done under the Jonathan's administration at the service of the state rather than the people. According to convincing sources ([www.rjgeib.com/hobbes](http://www.rjgeib.com/hobbes)), conflict is the real test of leadership that Hobbes, like the realists, believes that the government or the Leviathan must "rise and crush" any rebellion which arises in the state as a sign of successful rule. The question of the rights of the citizens need not arise in Hobbes Pedagogy because as he sees it, citizens all gave up their rights during the social contract which created the state and in exchange for security of their lives and property by the state; hence, to turn back and ask the state to respect same is in Hobbes view, self-contradictory. This attitudes is precisely what plays out in the Nigerian system' its ruling oligarchy like Hobbes, do not believe in dialogue'. If either believes in sending of troops as during military rule to disperse conflicting parties or a declaration of what parties as a way of getting to the root of the matter. Of late, the Jonathan's administration(s) have done no less than adopt such a Hobbesian spirit into his post-conflict amnesty policies here under contention. But the truth of it requires President Jonathan to rise beyond Hobbesism to make dialogue formidable and recognized philosophy of conflict for the Nigerian state.

#### **DARWINISM AS A PHILOSOPHY OF CONFLICT IN PRESIDENT JONATHAN POST-CONFLICT AMNESTY POLICIES IN NIGERIA**



Unlike Hobbesism which is political, Darwinism fixes the causes of conflict such as the immediate past Niger-Delta militancy, the Nigeria civil war and the current Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria together with the eventual resolution of local and national conflicts etc on the biological processes of nature. According to Darwinism as pointed out by sources ([www.ibbc.uk/./darw](http://www.ibbc.uk/./darw)) the rationale for conflict is that individuals and groups are in a constant search for self-improvement and this process the question of stiff injustice and endless competition for superiority (such as the tussle for political supremacy over the regions in Nigeria) remains the order of the day. Who would eliminate the other party in this contest between the Jonathan's government and the regions of the country affected by his amnesty grants? Darwin would answer thus; that the Jonathan's government would! Reasons! It has all the international and local connections which gives it a superior trait to win by "forces" of "arms" this battle of superiority. This in the on-going analysis ([www.bbc.co.uk/darwin](http://www.bbc.co.uk/darwin)) would not be politically analysable but biologically explainable in Darwinism to the extent that the hand (Boko Haram or any other militia group in the country) is not likely to defeat the head (federal government) which controls every part of the body (the Nigerian nation) in this contest for political supremacy (the said amnesty projects of the Jonathan's government).

## **MACHIAVELLIANISM AS A PHILOSOPHY OF CONFLICT APPLIED IN PRESIDENT JONATHAN'S POST-CONFLICT AMNESTY POLICES IN CONTEMPORARY NIGERIA**

Like any other Nigerian oligarchy, Machiavelli was a politician and a statesman. And just like the Jonathan's Amnesty policies, Italy was in factions and at the brink of becoming a failed-state when Machiavelli like President Jonathan suddenly turned a social reformer and his famous works "*The Prince*" bore a number of closed resemblances with the philosophy in application in the post-conflict amnesty policies of President Goodluck Jonathan in Nigeria. According to sources available on the internet ([www.historyguide.org/intell](http://www.historyguide.org/intell)) Machiavelli did believe the "Prince" or any legitimate environment, should imbibe the winning philosophy that "the end justifies the means", both in peace-building processes (as those of the two amnesty policies of the Jonathan's administration in Nigeria) and in matter of governance in general. The end being for the Yar'Adua-Jonathan leaderships in Nigeria a workable philosophy of conflict, it consequently seems right for them to have adopted a brutal military amnesty project at the expense of the democratic principle of dialogue, not minding the irreversible consequences of post conflict amnesty after all said and done. Though the belief among the Nigerian oligarchy is that in matters of government, Machiavelli was right in positing that for the "Prince" of the "leader", "the end justifies the means", in the opinion of this research paper, this could only have been expected of a military dictatorship. In contrast, any democratic would most likely adopt something more than the current sovereign national conference whose current effort in giving Nigeria a re-birth (currently taking place at Abuja) has largely been marred in sentiments arising from the country's past present history. Moreover, the same philosophy of government choosing representatives for and on behalf of citizens, gave birth to the said conference and in obedience to the Machiavellian philosophy that "the end justifies the means", hence, the current research argues that if president Jonathan must stabilize his government against obstruction by separatist groups, he must be ready to dialogue with "any" and "every" groups, individuals, communities, region, states of the federation or [political parties which disagrees with his government.

### **EVALUATION, CRITICAL COMMENTS, SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

As another history is currently being made in Nigeria following the on-going sovereign national conference sitting currently in the Nigerian capital, Abuja, a major issue which both gave birth to it and has consequently taken center-stage in all deliberations has been that of the unity and stability of the Nigerian state given the rising spade of violence created by successive separatist groups such as Boko Haram in the north and the immediate past insurgency by the Niger-Delta militants. What this research has done is to contextualize the said "history in the making" within the Jonathan's successive grant of amnesty and to reject amnesty as a philosophy of conflict, capable of moving the country forward. In place of successive amnesty policies and a sovereign National Conference not open to people's decisions, the paper has proceeded to suggest a philosophy of dialogue as a cure both from historical sentiments which have denied the Nigerian state, and indeed, Africa, from moving forward and a superior cure from such philosophies of conflict reflected in Machiavellianism, Hobbesism and Darwinism, all of which are rampant among Nigerian and African leaders. While the work replaces amnesty with genuine dialogue without being biased to the fact that a non-on-one dialogue with dissidents, disaffected communities, agitated regions of the country, opposition political parties in the country, etc shall be riddled with its own problems and difficulties, nevertheless, dialogue in the consideration of this research paper still remains what the Jonathan's government and indeed, all African leaders must seek with all amount of interest if they truly desire to make the African continent and the Nigerian state productive and stable as political entities which have emerged from stable trade, colonial rule, military history and different histories of war.



- From Granting Amnesty To Boko Haram The Nigerian Oligarchy Has Up-Draded to Full Scale Declaration of War Against Boko Haram
- This Same Declarants of The Said War Against Boko Haram All Lived to See The Artrocities that constituted the Abomination and the Desolation that befell Nigeria During its National(Civil War)
- What Exactly is it that has blinded Nigerian Oligarchy from visualizing innocent Civilian Casualties that would Accompany these Raids Against Boko Haram.

## Vanguard

### **BOKO HARAM: NIGERIANS ARE FRUSTRATED, HELPLESS; ANGRY SENATE ASKS MARK TELL JONATHAN**

September 17, 2014 / in [Headlines](#) 10:22 am / [Comments](#)

***Boko Haram installs new Emir in Bama***

***By Johnbosco Agbakwuru & Joseph Erunke***

**ABUJA**— THE Senate, yesterday, canvassed tougher and full scale measures to end the Boko Haram insurgency. It said that the sect has declared war on Nigeria.

The senators, who resumed from their two-month vacation, expressed dissatisfaction with how the war was being prosecuted and mandated the Senate leadership to meet with President Goodluck Jonathan and service chiefs to hammer out better strategies to checkmate the insurgents. President Goodluck Jonathan and Senate President, Sen. David Mark

Senator Mark, in his welcome speech said actions of the Boko Haram sect are a complete declaration of war geared towards undermining the nation's sovereignty.

Meantime, the Senate has referred President Jonathan's \$1 billion loan request to fight insurgency to its committees on Foreign, Finance, and Local Debt to report back within one week.

Senator Mark in his speech also said the Senate was waiting for Mr. President's action on the report of the just concluded National Conference which was convoked to discuss and suggest ways of resolving perceived structural defects in the polity.

The Senate President further tasked the President to ensure the 2015 Appropriation Bill gets to the legislative chamber before the end of the month to enable the lawmakers pass it into law before January 2015.

He noted that the escalation of violence and the heinous crimes being carried out on daily basis by the insurgents including the declaration of a caliphate had reached alarming proportions.

#### **Insurgency in North East can affect 2015 elections; So! Why Not Dialogue Now While it is Still Possible?**

Deputy Senate President, Senator Ike Ekweremadu warned that if drastic action was not taken to tackle headlong the activities of Boko Haram, it would derail the 2015 elections.

Senator Ekweremadu stated that Section 180 of the constitution provides that "if the Federation is at war in which the territory of Nigeria is physically involved and the President considers that it is not practicable to hold elections, the National Assembly may by resolution extend the period of four years mentioned in Sub-section 2 of this Section from time to time, but no such extension shall exceed a period of six months at any one time."



### **Furthermore, Ekweremadu said:**



“If we don’t resolve the problem in the North-east, we may not have elections in 2015 because Section 180(3) of the Constitution says if the country is at war, there may not be elections. Of course, the country is at war now. Democracy is being rolled back in North-east. It is very important as the Senate to take a firm stance to resolve this problem.”

Also supporting Ekweremadu’s position, the Deputy Senate Leader, Senator Abdul Ningi wondered why the country would be facing serious security threat from the Boko Haram sect and some people were going on with political

activities. In apparent reference to the ongoing rally by the Transformation Ambassadors of Nigeria, TAN, Senator Ningi, who represents Bauchi Central on the platform of the Peoples Democratic Party, PDP said, “Section 2 of the Constitution says Nigeria shall be one indivisible nation. Many houses and villages are no longer parts of this country. Fighting this war is more important than any other thing. There should be suspension of electioneering activities until these wars are over. People are so disturbed and have been disenfranchised and some areas are no longer part of this country...All electioneering activities should be suspended until this war is over.”

### **Senator Bello Tukur representing Adamawa Central said: But Who is Fooling Who?**

“It took Boko Haram less than 10 days to move into five local governments. The problem we have now I believe is the lack of understanding of security agencies on how Boko Haram is operating. I have interacted with some people and they said the number of Boko Haram people operating in that area is not more than 100 and yet they are able to chase the military away.”

### **Mark’s speech; Someone Please tell Senator David Mark it is not time for speeches by Dialogue with Separatists Groups**

In his speech, Mark said among others:

“The escalation of violence and the heinous crimes daily perpetrated by insurgents and terrorists including the declaration of a Caliphate has reached alarming proportions. Regrettably, the Boko Haram sect, these harbingers of death have become more emboldened and daring, killing innocent Nigerians and destroying property at will.

“From abductions, kidnappings and bombings, the situation has now degenerated to capturing and occupying some parts of Nigeria. In what is obviously intended to humiliate us as a sovereign nation and test our resolve, the terrorists have brazenly hoisted their flags to confirm their assault and affront on our collective will as a nation.

“My dear colleagues, to put it otherwise is to shy away from the truth. In my candid opinion, the Boko Haram sect has in no unmistakable terms declared a total war on Nigeria and Nigerians. Their ideology is alien to our culture. We must as a people and nation handle this situation with all the seriousness it deserves.

“I have consistently advocated dialogue as the needed panacea to this malaise. Sure, dialogue must not be ruled out but this time around, with this scale of warfare, we must first demonstrate our strength, confront and defeat these terrorists and insurgents before we resort to dialogue.

“I am yet to come to terms with what the Boko Haram Sect actually wants. And I dare ask: What offence has the Chibok girls or any other school child, a market woman or artisan

struggling to earn a living committed that he or she deserves to be felled and decimated daily by the bombs and arsenals of these insurgents?

“This war has certainly come to our door-steps. As Senators of the Federal Republic, destiny has entrusted us to be at the helm of affairs today. We must all rise to the current challenge. The government must be supported fully by this Senate to confront the challenge head-long.

“Therefore, we must devise a better strategy to win this war at the earliest possible time. We must come out with clear, concise and unequivocal mission statement on how to win this war.

“As I have repeatedly said, we must as a matter of urgency, fish out the financiers of these terrorists and all collaborators wherever they are, and bring them to book. My appeal to you, my bosses, is to continue to provide the necessary legislative framework that is needed to win this war.

“Except to pretend and say otherwise, Nigerians are frustrated and presently appear helpless over the unfolding events. They watch in total disbelief and shock at the activities of the Boko Haram.

“But we must reassure them that they are not alone in this. We are indeed doing all we can to protect and secure their lives and property. As a responsible government, we will not tolerate this subversion of our sovereignty.

“It is reprehensible and totally unacceptable. The life of every Nigerian is very important to us and must be held sacrosanct. Total security is *sine qua non* to our existence.

“Obviously, these are trying times. We must not, under any circumstances, play politics with our collective security. This is not the time to wilfully castigate or criticize our armed forces and security operatives. We must not trade blames or pass the buck.

“We must not stand divided along any real or perceived fault lines. We must not abandon the dreams of our founding fathers and their belief in one united, indivisible and indissoluble democratic nation. We must not condone religious intolerance.

“We must not cave in to the rigid and bigoted views espoused by these terrorists. We must not succumb to intimidation, blackmail and threat under any extremist ideology.

“This is the time to stand united, rally round and encourage our armed forces and security operatives. They are our dear compatriots who have chosen to lay down their lives so that we all may live in peace.

“This is the time to give them maximum support so that they will be motivated to prosecute and win this needless war in the shortest possible time. We must also mobilize all our war efforts and **Legislative calendar is running at a Jet Speed; What Was the National Assembly Doing in their Four Years in Office?**

He also spoke on other tasks before the legislators.

“We have on our legislative calendar the Petroleum Industry Bill, Pensions Reforms (Amendment) Bill, Customs (Amendment) Bill, Immigration Repeal & Re-enactment) Bill, Public Procurement Act (Amendment) Bill, Proceeds Of Crimes Bill, National Automotive Industry Development Plan (Fiscal Incentives and Assurances), FCT.

“Area Council (Political Structural) Bill, National Health Bill, Labour Institutions Bill, Bio-Safety Management Bill, Agricultural Processing Zones Bill, further review of the Electoral Act, harmonization of the Senate and House positions on the proposals for the further amendment of the 1999 Constitution (as amended), and consideration of the 2015 budget estimates, amongst others.”

"I cannot overemphasize the importance of passing the Petroleum Industry Bill (P.I.B) as quickly as possible. Both operators and watchers of Nigeria's petroleum Industry are in agreement that this vital sector is in dire need of reforms and a new template that will enthrone these essential reforms is an urgent imperative.

"Every informed player in the industry that I have interacted with holds the view that one imperishable legacy the 7th Senate can leave behind is the passage of the Petroleum Industry Bill. Not only will it engender greater transparency in the operations of the oil and gas industry, it will also enable our country to maximize the benefits derivable from this God given resource.

"As the 2014 fiscal year draws to a close, we expect that the appropriation bill arrives this chamber before the end of this month. This will enable us work on the budget and pass it into Law before January 2015.

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