

# Notes

## Introduction

1. Flora Shaw first proposed the name 'Nigeria' in an essay published in *The Times* on 8 January 1897. She married Sir Frederick Lugard in June 1902. Lugard first served as High Commissioner of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria from its creation on 1 January 1900 until November 1906. He was later Governor-General of the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria from 1 January 1914 to 8 August 1919. For a thoroughgoing account of Shaw's life see E. Morberly Bell, *Flora Shaw (D.B.E.)* (London: Constable, 1947).
2. In her essay to *The Times*, Shaw argued that 'the name Nigeria applying to no other part of Africa may without offence to any neighbours be accepted as co-extensive with the territories over which the Royal Niger Company has extended British influence, and may serve to differentiate them equally from the colonies of Lagos and the Niger Protectorate on the coast and from the French territories of the Upper Niger.' *The Times*, 'Nigeria', 8 January 1897, Issue 35095, p. 6, col. A.
3. At the time Flora Shaw's article was published, the British government had authority over two territories in the area that was to become Nigeria – the Lagos Colony and the Niger Coast Protectorate. The Lagos Colony had been established in 1862 and the Niger Coast Protectorate in 1891 as the Oil Rivers Protectorate. Its name was changed on 12 May 1893. A further larger territory, covering much of central and northern Nigeria, was administered by the Royal Niger Company.
4. On that date, the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria was combined with the Colony and Protectorate of southern Nigeria to form the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria. It was renamed the Federation of Nigeria on 1 October 1954.
5. Eghosa E. Osaghae, *Nigeria since Independence: Crippled Giant* (London: Hurst, 1998), p. 2.
6. The term 'south-south' refers to the Niger Delta region.
7. Fund for Peace, *Failed State Index Scores 2011*, 2011, available at <http://www.fundforpeace.org/global?q=fsi-grid2011> (accessed 17 February 2012) and Fund for Peace, *Failed State Index Scores 2010*, 2010, available at [http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=452&Itemid=900](http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=452&Itemid=900) (accessed 18 February 2011).
8. Fund for Peace, *Failed State Index Scores 2009*, 2009, available at [http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=391&Itemid=549](http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=391&Itemid=549) (accessed 18 February 2011).
9. Fund for Peace, *Failed States Index Scores 2008*, 2008, available at [http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=292&Itemid=452](http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=292&Itemid=452) (accessed 18 February 2011).

10. Fund for Peace, *Failed States Index Scores 2007*, 2007, available at [http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=229&Itemid=366](http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=229&Itemid=366) (accessed 18 February 2011).
11. Fund for Peace, *Failed States Index Scores 2006*, 2006, available at [http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=104&Itemid=324](http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=104&Itemid=324) (accessed 18 February 2011).
12. Fund for Peace, *Failed States Index Scores 2005*, 2005, available at [http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=103&Itemid=325](http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=103&Itemid=325) (accessed 18 February 2011).
13. The World Bank defines absolute poverty as living on \$1.25 or less a day and moderate poverty as living on \$2 or less a day.
14. Cited in BBC, *Nigerians living in poverty rises to nearly 61%*, 13 February 2012, available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-17015873> (accessed 18 February 2012), p. 1.
15. These countries are second, tenth, fifteenth and thirtieth respectively in the Fund for Peace's 2011 Failed State Index. Fund for Peace, *Failed State Index Scores 2011*.
16. The six states in question are Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo and Rivers.
17. For a fuller explanation of the concept of imagined communities see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (2nd ed.) (London and New York: Verso, 1991).

## 1 Fear of Failure: Negative Sovereignty and the Birth of State Failure

1. The population of each is Benin 9,211,700; Burkina Faso 16,268,700; Cameroon 19,958,400; the Central African Republic 4,505,900; Chad 11,506,100; Côte d'Ivoire 21,570,700; the Democratic Republic of the Congo 67,827,500; Gabon 1,501,300; Madagascar 20,146,400; Mali 13,323,100; Mauritania 3,365,700; Niger 15,891,500; Nigeria 158,258,900; the Republic of the Congo 3,758,700; Senegal 12,860,700; Somalia 9,358,600; and Togo 6,780,000. United Nations, *Country Profiles and Human Development Indicators*, 2010, available at <http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries/> (accessed 23 May 2011).
2. The five sub-regions are North, East, Southern, Central and West. The only sub-region not represented was the southern.
3. British Somaliland gained its independence on 26 June 1960 and Italian Somaliland five days later on 1 July 1960.
4. Two car bombs exploded outside the Ministry of Justice on 1 October 2010. Reuters, *Bombs Rattle Independence Day in Nigeria*, 1 October 2010, available at <http://af.reuters.com/article/worldNews/idAFTRE6902IJ20101001> (accessed 24 May 2011), p. 1.
5. For example, descriptions of Côte d'Ivoire, the DRC and Somalia as failed can be found in Thomas Dempsey, *Counter-Terrorism in African Failed States: Challenges and Potential Solutions* (Carlisle, Pennsylvania: U.S. Army

- War College Strategic Studies Institute, 2006), p. 12, and Robert I. Rotberg (ed.), *When States Fail* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 5.
6. Joel S. Migdal, *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 4.
  7. I. William Zartman (ed.), *Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995), p. 5.
  8. Robert H. Jackson, *The Global Covenant: Human Conduct in the World of States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 296.
  9. Rotberg, *When States Fail*, p. 1.
  10. Jean-Germain Gros, 'Towards a Taxonomy of Failed States in the New World Order: Decaying Somalia, Liberia, Rwanda and Haiti,' *Third World Quarterly*, September 1996, Vol. 17, No. 3, p. 456.
  11. Weber defines the ideal state as 'a compulsory association with a territorial base... [where] the use of force is regarded as legitimate only so far as it is either permitted by the state, or prescribed by it... The claim of the modern state to monopolize the use of force is essential to its character of compulsory jurisdiction and of continuous organization.' Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (New York: The Free Press, 1947), p. 143.
  12. Robert H. Jackson, *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations and the Third World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 29.
  13. *Ibid.*
  14. *Ibid.*
  15. *Ibid.*, 27.
  16. Robert H. Jackson and Carl G. Rosberg, 'Why Africa's Weak States Persist: The Empirical and the Juridical in Statehood,' *World Politics*, October 1982, Vol. 35, No. 1, p. 2.
  17. This argument is developed and outlined by Jackson over the course of a number of works. See Jackson and Rosberg, 'Why Africa's Weak States Persist'; Robert H. Jackson and Carl G. Rosberg, 'Sovereignty and Underdevelopment: Juridical Statehood in the African Crisis,' *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 1986, Vol. 24, No. 1, pp. 1–31; Jackson, *Quasi-States*; Robert H. Jackson, 'Juridical Statehood in Sub-Saharan Africa,' *Journal of International Affairs*, 1992, Vol. 46, No. 1, pp. 1–16; and Jackson, *The Global Covenant*.
  18. Perhaps nowhere is this wait-and-see policy better highlighted than in Algeria. Concerned that Algeria might slip into the Soviet Union's sphere of influence if and when it achieved independence, the U.S. government pushed its French counterpart to cut a deal with the National Liberation Front's (NLF). Paris found itself in the unenviable position, therefore, of being harangued by its friends and foes alike. For an excellent analysis of the impact of Cold War politics on Algeria's quest for independence see Matthew J. Connelly, *A Diplomatic Revolution: Algeria's Fight for*

- Independence and the Origins of the Post-Cold War Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
19. Jackson, *Quasi States*, p. 40.
  20. *Ibid.*, 85.
  21. United Nations General Assembly, *1514 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples*, 14 December 1960, available at <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/152/88/IMG/NR015288.pdf?OpenElement> (accessed 25 May 2011).
  22. Organisation of African Unity, *OAU Charter*, 25 May 1963, available at [http://www.au.int/en/sites/default/files/OAU\\_Charter\\_1963\\_0.pdf](http://www.au.int/en/sites/default/files/OAU_Charter_1963_0.pdf) (accessed 25 May 2011), Article III.
  23. Mohammed Ayoob, *The Third World Security Predicament: State Making, Regional Conflict and the International System* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995), p. 78.
  24. United Nations General Assembly, *1541 Principles Which Should Guide Members in Determining Whether or Not an Obligation Exists to Transmit the Information Called for Under Article 73e of the Charter*, 15 December 1960, available at <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/153/15/IMG/NR015315.pdf?OpenElement> (accessed 25 May 2011).
  25. South Sudan was finally recognised as an independent sovereign state on 9 July 2011.
  26. The other is Eritrea which won its independence from Ethiopia in the early 1990s. Yet even then there was still a two-year gap between when it achieved independence (24 May 1991) and when it was recognised as a sovereign state (24 May 1993) by the international community.
  27. John A. Ayoade, 'States without Citizens: An Emerging African Phenomenon,' in Donald Rothchild and Naomi Chazan (eds.), *The Precarious Balance: State and Society in Africa* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1988), pp. 100–118.
  28. Gros, 'Towards a Taxonomy of Failed States in the New World Order,' p. 461.
  29. *Ibid.*
  30. Rotberg, *When States Failed*, pp. 17–19.
  31. *Ibid.*, 5.
  32. *Ibid.*, 9.
  33. Rotberg, *When States Failed*, p. 9.
  34. International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect*, December 2001, available at <http://www.iciss.ca/report2-en.asp> (accessed 10 June 2011).
  35. Paul D. Williams, *State Failure in Africa: Causes, Consequences and Response*, 2007, available at <http://elliott.gwu.edu/assets/docs/research/williams07.pdf> (accessed 3 May 2011), p. 2.
  36. *Ibid.*
  37. United Nations General Assembly, *2005 World Summit Outcomes*, 15 September 2005, available at <http://www.who.int/hiv/universalaccess2010/worldsummit.pdf> (accessed 10 June 2011), p. 31.

38. Williams, *State Failure in Africa*, p. 2.
39. The UK's 2009 National Security Strategy argued that 'Al Qa'ida affiliates will develop more autonomy ...[and] will continue to gravitate towards fragile and failing states.' UK Cabinet Office, *The National Security Strategy of the United Kingdom: Update 2009: Security for the Next Generation*, June 2009, available at <http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/cm75/7590/7590.pdf> (accessed 21 July 2011), p. 44.
40. The UK's 2010 National Security Strategy asserted that 'fragile, failing and failed states around the world provide the environment for terrorists to operate as they look to exploit ungoverned or ill-governed space.' UK Cabinet Office, *A Strong Britain in an Age of Uncertainty: The National Security Strategy*, October 2010, available at [http://www.direct.gov.uk/prod\\_consum\\_dg/groups/dg\\_digitalassets/@dg/@en/documents/digitalasset/dg\\_191639.pdf?CID=PDF&PLA=furl&CRE=nationalsecuritystrategy](http://www.direct.gov.uk/prod_consum_dg/groups/dg_digitalassets/@dg/@en/documents/digitalasset/dg_191639.pdf?CID=PDF&PLA=furl&CRE=nationalsecuritystrategy) (accessed 21 July 2011), p. 28.
41. This concern was expressed most clearly by the UK's former Secretary of State for International Development Hilary Benn. In June 2004 he made a speech to the Centre for Global Development in Washington warning that 'states that are unable or unwilling to sustain strong public health systems can become reservoirs of communicable diseases – HIV/AIDS, polio and malaria.' Hilary Benn, *A Shared Challenge: Promoting Development and Human Security in Weak States*, 23 June 2004, available at [http://www.cgdev.org/doc/weakstates/WeakStates\\_Benn.pdf](http://www.cgdev.org/doc/weakstates/WeakStates_Benn.pdf) (accessed 21 July 2011), p. 3.
42. Jack Straw, *Failed and Failing States*, speech delivered 6 September 2002 at the European Research Institute, University of Birmingham, available at <http://www.mafhoum.com/press3/111P3.htm> (accessed 6 August 2012).
43. For example, U.S. officials have applied the term failing state to the Italian region of Calabria. This usage is at odds with its original academic meaning which applied to states alone, not subsections of them. *The Economist*, 'Failed States: Where Talk Is Cheap and Talk Is Loose', 17 May 2011, available at [www.economist.com/node/18396240](http://www.economist.com/node/18396240) (accessed 3 June 2011), p. 1.

## 2 The Enemy Within: Insurgency and the Failure of the Nigerian State

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2. BBC, *Nigeria Nearing a 'Failed State'*, 18 August 2009, available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/africa/8207736.stm> (accessed 15 February 2011), p. 1.
3. The Independent, *Nigeria Is Falling Apart, Says Nobel Prize-Winning Author*, 16 March 2010, available at <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/nigeria-is-falling-apart-says-nobelprizewinning-author-1921835.html> (accessed 15 February 2011), p. 1.

4. Punch, *Kidnappings: Nigeria May become a Failed State* – ASUU, 1 February 2011, available at <http://www.punchontheweb.com/Articl.aspx?theartic=Art201102013433382> (accessed 15 February 2011), p. 1.
5. Sunday Tribune, *Nigeria Is Showing Symptoms of a Failed State* – Okei-Odumakin, 31 July 2011, available at <http://tribune.com.ng/sun/interview/4665-nigeria-is-showing-symptoms-of-a-failed-state-okei-odumakin> (accessed 20 April 2012).
6. J.N.C. Hill, *Sufism in Northern Nigeria: A Force for Counter Radicalisation?* (Carlisle, Pennsylvania: Strategic Studies Institute US Army War College, 2010) and Abimbola Adesoji, *The Boko Haram Uprising and Islamic Revivalism in Nigeria*, Africa Spectrum, 2010, Vol. 45, No. 2, pp. 98–99.
7. The Guardian, *Boko Haram Vows to Fight until Nigeria Establishes Sharia Law*, 27 January 2012, available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/jan/27/boko-haram-nigeria-sharia-law> (accessed 23 April 2012).
8. This Day, *Boko Haram – Death Toll Now 700, Says Security Commander*, 2 August 2009, available at <http://www.thisdayonline.info/nview.php?id=150423> (accessed 3 December 2010).
9. Daily Trust, *Boko Haram – Why We Executed Them*, 22 September 2009, available at <http://allafrica.com/stories/200909221140.html> (accessed 3 December 2010) and BBC, *Nigeria Sect Head Dies in Custody*, 31 July 2009, available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/8177451.stm> (accessed 3 December 2010).
10. This Day, *Nigeria: Borno ANPP Chairman Killed in Suspected Boko Haram Attack*, 7 October 2010, available at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201010080326.html> (accessed 27 April 2012).
11. BBC, *'Boko Haram' Gunmen Kill Muslim Cleric Birkuti*, 7 June 2011, available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13679234> (accessed 27 April 2012).
12. Amnesty International, *Nigeria: Armed Groups Targeting Civilians in Latest Bombings*, 27 June 2011, available at <http://www.amnesty.org/en/for-media/press-releases/nigeria-armed-groups-targeting-civilians-latest-bombings-2011-06-27> (accessed 28 April 2012).
13. BBC, *Nigeria Boko Haram Islamists 'Bomb Maiduguri Drinkers'*, 27 June 2011, available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13920980> (accessed 28 April 2012).
14. New York Times, *Suicide Bomber Attacks U.N. Building in Nigeria*, 26 August 2011, available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/08/27/world/africa/27nigeria.html?pagewanted=all> (accessed 27 April 2012).
15. In this instance, the Federal Capital Territory is included as a state.
16. Nigerian Tribune, *Suspected Boko Haram Members Ambush Police Patrol Team in Damaturu*, 19 January 2012, available at <http://www.tribune.com.ng/index.php/news/34589-suspected-boko-haram-members-ambush-police-patrol-team-in-damaturu> – cp (accessed 29 April 2012).
17. BBC, *Nigeria Jailbreak: Boko Haram Claims Kogi Prison Attack*, 16 February 2012, available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-17059895> (accessed 29 April 2012).

18. Reuters, *Islamists Kill Dozens in Nigeria Christmas Bombs*, 25 December 2011, available at <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/12/25/us-nigeria-blast-idUSTRE7BO03020111225> (accessed 29 April 2012).
19. Reuters, *Suicide Car Bombs Hit Nigerian Newspaper Offices*, 26 April 2012, available at <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/04/26/us-nigeria-bomb-idUSBRE83P0NR20120426> (accessed 29 April 2012).
20. Vanguard, *Boko Haram Bombs Kano Afresh*, 24 January 2012, available at <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2012/01/boko-haram-bombs-kano-afresh/> (accessed 29 April 2012).
21. Jane's, *Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND)*, 10 May 2012, available at <http://articles.janes.com/articles/Janes-World-Insurgency-and-Terrorism/Movement-for-the-Emancipation-of-the-Niger-Delta-MEND-Nigeria.html> (accessed 2 May 2012).
22. *Ibid.*
23. Alamiyeseigha was arrested by the UK's Metropolitan Police in September 2005 on charges of money laundering. He fled the country, allegedly by disguising himself as a woman, after he was released on bail. When police officers raided his flat in the Water Gardens district of West London, they found nearly one million pounds in cash in various currencies along with an assortment of other treasures. Indeed so wealthy was Alamiyeseigha, he could afford to forfeit these valuables and his considerable bail bond. Michael Peel, *A Swamp Full of Dollars: Pipelines and Paramilitaries at Nigeria's Oil Frontier* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2009), pp. 105–106. On 26 July 2007 he was sentenced to two years in prison by a Nigerian court after pleading guilty to charges of theft and money laundering. He was released almost straight away due to the amount of time he had already served.
24. Vanguard, *MEND Proposes 11-Point Agenda for Peace in the Niger Delta*, 18 February 2008, available at [http://www.vanguardngr.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=2490&Itemid=43](http://www.vanguardngr.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=2490&Itemid=43) (accessed 18 February 2008).
25. The Daily Telegraph, *Car Bomb Attacks on Nigeria's Independence Day Kill 10*, 1 October 2010, available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/nigeria/8037584/Car-bomb-attacks-on-Nigerias-independence-day-kill-10.html> (accessed 12 October 2010).
26. Michael Watts, 'Blood Oil: The Anatomy of a Petro-Insurgency in the Niger Delta, Nigeria,' in Andrea Behrends, Stephen P. Reyna and Günther Schlee (eds.), *Crude Domination: An Anthropology of Oil* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011), p. 61.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Nigerian Guardian, *Gunmen Strike in N'Delta, Kill Three Naval Officers*, 4 February 2008, available at [http://www.guardiannewsngr.com/news/article04//indexn3\\_html?pdate=040208&ptitle=Gunmen%20strike%20in%20N'Delta,%20kill%20three%20naval%20officers&cpdate=040208](http://www.guardiannewsngr.com/news/article04//indexn3_html?pdate=040208&ptitle=Gunmen%20strike%20in%20N'Delta,%20kill%20three%20naval%20officers&cpdate=040208) (accessed 2 April 2008).
29. Punch, *Militants Abduct Lawmaker's Sister*, 8 January 2008, available at <http://www.punchontheweb.com/Articl.aspx?theartic=Art2008010813>

- 62242 (accessed 10 January 2008) and The Daily Telegraph, *British Oil Contractor Kidnapped by Gunmen in Nigeria*, 20 February 2006, available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/nigeria/1510983/British-oil-contractor-kidnapped-by-gunmen-in-Nigeria.html> (accessed 3 May 2012).
30. Houston Press, *The Cost of Doing Business*, 21 September 2006, available at <http://www.houstonpress.com/2006-09-21/news/the-cost-of-doing-business/> (accessed 3 May 2012).
  31. John Campbell, 'Nigeria on the Brink: What Happens if the 2011 Elections Fail?' *Foreign Affairs*, 9 September 2010, available at <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/66746/john-campbell/nigeria-on-the-brink?page=show> (accessed 15 July 2011), p. 1.
  32. Indeed, and as Graf puts it, 'if the Federal Government did not exactly provide a textbook lesson in how to conduct a war – stories of inefficiency, indiscipline among the ranks, lost opportunities and the like were rampant – it did in some measure demonstrate how a lasting peace could be made.' William D. Graf, *The Nigerian State* (London: James Currey, 1988), p. 44. Yet these inefficiencies aside, Gowon did win the war and, in the process, stopped Nigeria from breaking up.
  33. Somewhat bizarrely IBB once referred to himself as the 'Evil Genius.' Karl Maier, *This House Has Fallen: Nigeria in Crisis* (London: Penguin Books, 2000), p. 43.
  34. Vanguard, *Army Court-Martials 15 Officers over Missing Arms*, 14 January 2008, available at [http://www.vanguardngr.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=4474&Itemid=0](http://www.vanguardngr.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=4474&Itemid=0) (accessed 18 January 2008), p. 1.
  35. BBC, *Can Nigeria's Police be Reformed?* 30 July 2009, available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/8034141.stm> (accessed 5 May 2012).
  36. Senior member of the British High Commission Abuja, interview by author, Abuja, 13 December 2008.
  37. Oga is a Pidgin word meaning 'big-man'.
  38. Daniel Jordan Smith, *A Culture of Corruption: Everyday Deception and Popular Discontent in Nigeria* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 171–174.
  39. BBC, *Nigeria Rescue Bid: Kidnapped Briton and Italian Killed*, 8 March 2012, available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-17305707> (accessed 5 May 2012).
  40. Vanguard, *Nigeria: Army/Police Clash, Which Way Forward*, 3 June 2011, available at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201106030868.html> (accessed 5 May 2012).
  41. Smith, *A Culture of Corruption*, p. 171.
  42. Amnesty International, *Tens of Thousands Caught in Crossfire in Niger Delta Fighting*, 21 May 2009, available at <http://www.amnesty.org/en/news-and-updates/news/tens-thousands-caught-crossfire-niger-delta-fighting-20090521> (accessed 6 July 2011), p. 1.
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55. *Ibid.*
56. BBC, *Deadly Attack on Nigeria's Bayero University in Kano*, 30 April 2012, available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-17886143> (accessed 6 May 2012).
57. United Nations, *Nigeria*, 2011, available at <http://data.un.org/CountryProfile.aspx?crName=NIGERIA#Social> (accessed 26 June 2011), p. 1.
58. Then it stood at 40 years of age. United Nations Children's Fund, *Nigeria*, 2 March 2010, available at [http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/nigeria\\_statistics.html#78](http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/nigeria_statistics.html#78) (accessed 6 July 2011), Demographics.
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60. World Bank, *Nigeria*, 2011, available at <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/AFRICAEXT/NIGERIAEXTN/0,,contentMDK:22553025~pagePK:141137~piPK:141127~theSitePK:368896,00.html> (accessed 6 July 2011), p. 1.

61. Department for International Development, *Nigeria*, June 2008, available at [www.dfid.gov.uk/countries/africa/Nigeria-facts.asp](http://www.dfid.gov.uk/countries/africa/Nigeria-facts.asp) (accessed 11 February 2009), p. 1.
62. World Health Organisation, *Nigeria: Health Profile*, 4 April 2011, available at <http://www.who.int/gho/countries/nga.pdf> (accessed 6 July 2011), p. 2.
63. United Nations, *Adult Literacy Rates both Sexes (% Aged 15 and Above)*, 2011, available at <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/indicators/101406.html> (accessed 7 May 2012).
64. The World Bank, *Education: Data and Statistics*, 2011, available at <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTEDUCATION/0,,contentMDK:20573961~isCURL:Y~menuPK:282412~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:282386,00.html> (accessed 7 May 2012).
65. *Ibid.*
66. Thomas Hylland Eriksen, 'A Non-Ethnic State for Africa? A Life-World Approach to the Imagining of Communities,' in Paris Yeros (ed.), *Ethnicity and Nationalism in Africa: Constructivist Reflections and Contemporary Politics* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 1999), p. 56.
67. *Ibid.*
68. For example, 10,560 Nigerian nationals were granted British citizenship in 2007 and 2008 alone. UK Home Office, *British Citizenship Statistics United Kingdom, 2008*, 20 May 2009, available at <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/about-us/non-personal-data/Passports-immigration/citizenship-statistics-1998-2008/british-citizenship-stats-2008?view=Binary> (accessed 13 July 2011), p. 7.
69. Chief Ralph Uwazuruike, *The Aba Declaration: Birth of New Biafra*, public speech delivered 22 May 2000.
70. Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, *Nigeria: Treatment of Members of the Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB); availability of State Protection (August 2004–June 2005)*, 27 June 2005, available at <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country,,IRBC,,NGA,,440ed73221,0.html> (accessed 7 May 2012).
71. The two men, Chris McManus and Franco Lamolinara, had been working for an Italian construction firm, B Stabilini, on a road project in Kebbi State in the north-west of the country. They were abducted from McManus's home in the city of Birnin Kebbi. A third man, a German, escaped when the raid took place and a fourth, a Nigerian, was shot and wounded and left behind.
72. News of the failed raid was reported all over the world: Al Jazeera, *Western Hostages Killed in Nigeria*, 9 March 2012, available at <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2012/03/20123820234528508.html> (accessed 25 March 2012); The Financial Times, *Italy Attacks UK Over Nigeria Hostage Rescue*, 9 March 2012, available at <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/f371d0fa-6a04-11e1-b54f-00144feabdc0.html#axzz1q8acTm1G> (accessed 25 March 2012); The Independent, *Raid was 'Best Chance' to Rescue Nigeria Hostages*, 13 March 2012, available at <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/raid-was-best-chance-to-rescue-nigeria-hostages-7565498.html>

(accessed 25 March 2012); France 24, *European Hostages Killed in Joint Rescue Attempt*, 9 March 2012, available at <http://www.france24.com/en/20120308-european-hostages-killed-nigeria-rescue-attempt-british-italian-cameron> (accessed 25 March 2012); Irish Times, *Foreign Hostages Killed in Nigeria*, 8 March 2012, available at <http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/breaking/2012/0308/breaking50.html> (accessed 25 March 2012); USA Today, *British, Italian Hostages Killed in Nigeria Rescue*, 8 March 2012, available at <http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/story/2012-03-08/nigeria-hostages/53417830/1> (accessed 25 March 2012); Vanguard, *British, Italian Hostages Killed in Failed Rescue in Nigeria*, 8 March 2012 available at <http://vanguardngr.com/2012/03/british-italian-hostages-killed-in-failed-rescue/> (accessed 25 March 2012).

73. Robin Hughes and Matthew Maguire, for example, was held captive by the MEND for several months in 2008 and 2009. The Guardian, *Niger Delta Militants to Release British Hostage*, 19 April 2009, available <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/apr/19/robin-hughes-hostage-nigeria-release> (accessed 4 May 2012).

### 3 The Emperor's New Clothes? Federalism, the Decline of Old Loyalties and the Rise of New Jealousies

1. Eghosa E. Osaghae, *Nigeria since Independence: Crippled Giant* (London: Hurst, 1998), p. 34.
2. The federal parliament comprised of 312 seats: 174 of these were filled by representatives elected by northern voters, 73 by eastern, 62 by western and 3 by Lagosian. Osaghae, *Nigeria since Independence*, p. 32.
3. The National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons changed its name to the National Council of Nigerian Citizens in January 1962 after the British mandate territory of Southern Cameroons became part of the independent Republic of Cameroon on 1 October 1961.
4. C.M. Ngou, 'The 1959 Elections and Formation of the Independence Government,' in Peter Ekeh (ed.), *Nigeria since Independence: The First 25 Years* (Ibadan: Heinemann, 1989), p. 100.
5. William D. Graf, *The Nigerian State* (London: James Currey, 1988), p. 36.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. The AG's other most important figure, Samuel Akintola, who was premier of the western region, supported the NPC thereby causing a serious split in the party.
9. The remaining five seats were all taken by independent candidates.
10. The remaining 36 seats of the NNA's haul were won by the NNDP, the renamed rump of the AG led by Samuel Akintola, in the west. This was 21 more than the AG, the traditional power in the region.
11. Walter Schwarz, *Nigeria* (New York: Praeger, 1968), p. 178.

12. His murder by the second group of conspirators was not officially confirmed until 4 January 1967.
13. Osaghae, *Nigeria since Independence*, p. 63.
14. Lagos first became a crown colony on 5 March 1862.
15. Kalu N. Kalu, *State Power, Autarchy, and Political Conquest in Nigerian Federalism* (New York: Lexington books, 2008), p. 189.
16. Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria* (5 May 1999), Article 8(1 a i, ii, iii, b, c and d).
17. Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria* (1979), Article 277(1), Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria* (1989), Article 329(1), and Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria* (5 May 1999), Article 318(1).
18. Human Rights Watch, *Arbitrary Killings by Security Forces: Submission to the Investigative Bodies on the November 28–29, 2008*, July 2009, available at <http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/nigeria0709web.pdf> (accessed 2 April 2012), p. 3, and John Boye Ejibowah, *Recognition in the Nigerian Public Sphere: A Liberal Argument about Justice in Plural Societies* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2001), p. 140.
19. Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria* (5 May 1999), Article 15(3 a, b, c, and d).
20. This commitment to rotate the top jobs between the members of different ethnic groups is set down in the constitution of the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) to which both Yar'Adua and Jonathan belong. It states that 'in pursuance of the principle of equity, justice and fairness, the party shall adhere to the policy of rotation and zoning of party and public elective offices and it shall be enforced by the appropriate executive committee at all levels.' People's Democratic Party, *Constitution*, 28 July 1998, available at <http://www.peoplesdemocraticparty.net/attachments/article/7/PDP%20constitution.pdf> (accessed 7 August 2012), Article 7 (7.2 c).
21. Under the provisions of the constitution, he was obliged to step down having nearly completed the second of his two permitted terms in office. To free himself from this requirement, Obasanjo attempted to have the constitution changed. In May 2006, he placed a motion before the Senate calling for the removal of all limits on the length of time an individual could serve as president. And to smooth its passage through the house, he allegedly offered Senators huge cash bribes (in some instances up to \$750,000) in return for their support. Despite his best efforts, Obasanjo failed to secure the votes he needed. Jean Herskovits, 'Nigeria's Rigged Democracy,' *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2007, Vol. 86, No. 4.
22. Aso Rock is the name given to the president's compound in Abuja. This was not the only reason why Nigerians were keen to see Obasanjo step down, but it was one of them.
23. General Obasanjo, as he was then, was head of the Federal Military Government from 13 February 1976 to 1 October 1979.

24. Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria* (5 May 1999), Article 146.
25. 'The President shall vacate his office at the expiration of a period of four years commencing from the date.' Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria* (5 May 1999), Article 135(2).
26. Transparency International, *Corruption Perceptions Index 2011*, 2011, available <http://cpi.transparency.org/cpi2011/results/> (accessed 12 March 2012). Demands for better government must be heeded.
27. Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria* (5 May 1999), Articles 90, 91 92(1), 93, 176(1), 186, 197(1 a, b, c and 3).
28. Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria* (5 May 1999), Article 133 and 132.
29. Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria* (5 May 1999), Article 222(a, b, e and f).
30. Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria* (5 May 1999), Article 223 (1 b and 2 b).
31. Cited in Matthew Parris and Andrew Bryson, *Parting Shots* (London: Viking, 2010), pp. 282–283.

#### 4 Fuel to the Flames: Oil and Political Violence in Contemporary Nigeria

1. U.S. Department of Energy, *Country Analysis Briefs: Nigeria*, August 2011, available at <http://www.eia.gov/EMEU/cabs/Nigeria/pdf.pdf> (accessed 23 February 2012).
2. During the civil war, France, Israel, Portugal, South Africa and a number of other African states backed the Biafrans.
3. U.S. Department of Energy, *Nigeria*.
4. Cited in Andy Rowell, James Marriott and Lorne Stockman, *The Next Gulf* (London: Constable, 2005), p. 105.
5. This term is perhaps the least common and, unlike all the others, relates to Nigeria alone. It is used by William D. Graf, *The Nigerian State* (London: James Currey, 1988), p. 223.
6. Coined in the late 1970s by the *Economist* magazine to explain the collapse of manufacturing in the Netherlands following its discovery of natural gas a decade earlier, the term 'Dutch Disease' refers to those instances when a country suffers from exchange rate problems resulting from its sudden overdependence on the export of a single commodity usually an unrefined or unprocessed natural resource of some description. John Ghazvinian, *Untapped: The Scramble for Africa's Oil* (London: Harcourt, 2007), pp. 96–98.
7. Nicholas Shaxson, *Poisoned Wells: The Dirty Politics of African Oil* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 6.
8. Paul D. Williams, *War and Conflict in Africa* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011), p. 5.
9. All these figures have been drawn from the following sources: Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation, *Oil Production*, 23 February 2012,

available at <http://www.nnpcgroup.com/NNPCBusiness/UpstreamVentures/OilProduction.aspx> (accessed 23 February 2012), Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries, *Nigeria*, 2012, available at [http://www.opec.org/opec\\_web/en/about\\_us/167.htm](http://www.opec.org/opec_web/en/about_us/167.htm) (accessed 23 February 2012) and U.S. Department of Energy, *Nigeria*.

10. The figures provided by the OPEC were in cubic metres. They were converted into cubic feet by the author to facilitate their comparison with those provided by the NNCP and the U.S. DOE. The amount of gas the U.S. DOE believes Nigeria exports is determined by subtracting the amount Nigeria consumes each year from that which it produces. Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation, *Oil Production*, 23 February 2012, available at <http://www.nnpcgroup.com/NNPCBusiness/UpstreamVentures/OilProduction.aspx> (accessed 23 February 2012), Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries, *Nigeria*, 2012, available at [http://www.opec.org/opec\\_web/en/about\\_us/167.htm](http://www.opec.org/opec_web/en/about_us/167.htm) (accessed 23 February 2012) and U.S. Department of Energy, *Nigeria*.
11. U.S. Department of State, *Background Note: Nigeria*, 20 October 2011, available at <http://www.state.gov/t/pa/ei/bgn/2836.htm> (accessed 23 February 2012).
12. World Bank, *Nigeria: Country Assistant Strategy*, 2011, available at <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/AFRICAEXT/NIGERIAEXTN/0,,menuPK:368909~pagePK:141132~piPK:141105~theSitePK:368896,00.html> (accessed 23 February 2012) and U.S. Department of Energy, *Country Analysis Briefs: Nigeria*, August 2011, available at <http://www.eia.gov/EMEU/cabs/Nigeria/pdf.pdf> (accessed 23 February 2012).
13. There are currently thought to be around 90,000 Ekoi and 15 million Ijaw.
14. This new venture was named after William Knox D'Arcy who founded one of the companies which later became part of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.
15. In 1954, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company changed its name to British Petroleum. As a result, the joint venture also changed its name to the Shell – BP Petroleum Development Company.
16. All figures are drawn from: BP, *Annual Report and Accounts* (London: BP, various years); BP, *Statistical Review of World Energy* (various years); and Central Bank of Nigeria, *Annual Reports and Statement of Accounts* (various years).
17. Time Magazine, *Iran: Another Crisis for the Shah*, 13 November 1978, available at <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,946149,00.html> (accessed 1 March 2012).
18. Tim Niblock, *Saudi Arabia: Power, Legitimacy and Survival* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2006), p. 70.
19. Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 223.
20. Forbes, 2012, available at [http://www.forbes.com/static\\_html/oil/2004/oil.shtml](http://www.forbes.com/static_html/oil/2004/oil.shtml) (accessed 1 March 2012).

21. Peter Lewis, 'Getting the Politics Right: Governance and Economic Failure in Nigeria,' in Robert Rotberg (ed.), *Crafting the New Nigeria: Confronting the Challenges* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), p. 99.
22. Nigeria National Bureau of Statistics, *2010 Review of the Economy* (2010), available at [http://www.nigerianstat.gov.ng/ext/latest\\_release/2010\\_Review\\_of\\_the\\_Nigerian\\_Economy.pdf](http://www.nigerianstat.gov.ng/ext/latest_release/2010_Review_of_the_Nigerian_Economy.pdf) (accessed 15 March 2012), p. 12.
23. *Ibid.*, 14.
24. *Ibid.*
25. BBC, *Nigeria Power Shortage to Persist*, 30 May 2008, available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/7426593.stm> (accessed 16 March 2012), p. 1.
26. BBC, *Nigeria Needs \$85 Billion to Fix Power*, 26 June 2008, available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/7475284.stm> (accessed 16 March 2012), p. 1.
27. In 2006, the sector's revenue made up 1.83 per cent of the country's GDP. Nigeria National Bureau of Statistics, *2010 Review of the Economy*, p. 14.
28. Overseas Development Institute, *The Impact of Oil on Nigeria's Economic Policy Formulation*, 16 June 2004, available at <http://www.odi.org.uk/events/docs/117.pdf> (accessed 7 August 2012), p. 1 and Nigeria National Bureau of Statistics, *2010 Review of the Economy*, p. 14.
29. Section one of the Act declared that 'the entire ownership and control of all petroleum in, under or upon any [of Nigeria's] lands...shall be vested in the state.' Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Petroleum Act* (27 November 1969), Article 1 (1).
30. For example, see Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria* (5 May 1999), Article 44 (3).
31. Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Mineral Oils (Safety) Regulations*, 1963, available at <http://www.lexadin.nl/wlg/legis/nofr/oeur/arch/nig/mineraloilsreg.pdf> (accessed 7 August 2012), Part III – Duties of Managers, Article 7.
32. Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Petroleum Act* (27 November 1969), Part 1, Article 37 (e).
33. David Moffat and Olof Lindén, 'Perception and Reality: Assessing Priorities for Sustainable Development in the Niger River Delta,' *Ambio* (A Journal of the Human Environment), December 1995, Vol. 24, No. 7–8, p. 532.
34. Human Rights Watch, *The Price of Oil: Corporate Responsibility and Human Rights Violations in Nigeria's Oil Producing Communities*, January 1999, available at <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/nigeria/nigeria0199.pdf>, pp. 54–55.
35. The amount quoted by Kew and Phillips was 1.5 million tons. Darren Kew and David L. Phillips, 'Seeking Peace in the Niger Delta: Oil, Natural Gas and Other Vital Resources,' *New England Journal of Public Policy*, 2007, Vol. 21, No. 2, pp. 159–160. The author has converted this to barrels to facilitate comparison with the other figures cited. The author used BP's conversion formula of 1 ton equalling 8.5 barrels. The formula can be found at BP, 1999 – 2012, available at <http://www.bp.com/conversionfactors.jsp> (accessed 8 March 2012).
36. Human Rights Watch, *The Price of Oil*, p. 55.

37. Environmental Resources Managers Ltd, *Niger Delta Environmental Survey Final Report Phase I; Volume I: Environmental and Socio-Economic Characteristics* (Lagos: Niger Delta Environmental Survey, 1997), p. 263.
38. Kew and Phillips, 'Seeking Peace in the Niger Delta', pp. 159 – 160.
39. Toyin Falola and Matthew M. Heaton, *A History of Nigeria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 183–184.
40. The other main benefit ordinary Nigerians gain from their oil industry is cheap, subsidised fuel. But, recently, even this has been under threat. In January 2012, President Jonathan announced its removal. He later was forced to reverse his decision in the face of widespread anger and protests. BBC, *Nigerians Protest at Removal of Fuel Subsidy*, 3 January 2012, available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-16390183> (accessed 7 May 2012).
41. Hazem Beblawi, 'The Rentier State in the Arab World,' in Giacomo Luciani (ed.) *The Arab State* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 87–88.
42. US Department of State, *Nigeria*, 6 March 2007, available at <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2006/78751.htm> (accessed 25 February 2011), p. 1.
43. European Election Observation Mission, *Nigeria Final Report: Gubernatorial and State Houses of Assembly Elections 14 April 2007 and Presidential and National Assembly Elections 21 April 2007*, 23 August 2007, available at [http://ec.europa.eu/external\\_relations/human\\_rights/eu\\_election\\_ass\\_observ/nigeria/report\\_final\\_annex\\_23-08-07\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/human_rights/eu_election_ass_observ/nigeria/report_final_annex_23-08-07_en.pdf) (accessed 20 May 2009), p. 4.
44. Human Rights Watch, *Nigeria: Presidential Election Marred by Fraud, Violence*, 25 April 2007, available from <http://www.hrw.org/en/news/2007/04/24/nigeria-presidential-election-marred-fraud-violence> (accessed 25 May 2009), p. 1.
45. Daniel Jordan Smith, *A Culture of Corruption: Everyday Deception and Popular Discontent in Nigeria* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 116.
46. This statement is part of an interview between Abu Qaqa and the Guardian newspaper. The Guardian, *Boko Haram Vows to Fight until Nigeria Establishes Sharia Law*, 27 January 2012, available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/jan/27/boko-haram-nigeria-sharia-law> (accessed 18 March 2012).
47. A large portion of the statement was reproduced in the national, daily newspaper, the Nigerian Tribune. The Nigerian Tribune, *MEND Vows to Attack MTN, SACOIL, Others: Claims Responsibility for Agip Pipeline Attack*, 5 February 2012, available at <http://tribune.com.ng/index.php/front-page-news/35458-mend-vows-to-attack-mtn-sacoil-others-claims-responsibility-for-agip-pipeline-attack> (accessed 18 March 2012).
48. Jane's, *The Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND)*, 2009, available at <http://articles.janes.com/articles/Janes-World-Insurgency-and-Terrorism/Movement-for-the-Emancipation-of-the-Niger-Delta-MEND-Nigeria.html> (accessed 18 March 2012).



49. John Campbell, *Nigeria: Dancing on the Brink*, (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2011), p. 26.
50. U.S. Department of Energy, *Nigeria*.

## 5 Of the People but for the People? Nigeria and Its Armed Forces

1. Vanguard, *The Supreme Court Had Voided the Conviction of Rear Admiral Francis Agbiti by a General Court Martial*, 7 February 2011, available at <http://community.vanguardngr.com/forum/topics/the-supreme-court-has-voided> (accessed 31 August 2011), p. 2.
2. BBC, *Missing Tanker 'Shame' in Nigeria*, 20 September 2004, available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/3672264.stm> (accessed 31 August 2011), p. 1.
3. Oil bunkering 'is the illegal tapping... [of] oil pipelines, often at manifolds or well-heads, and the extraction of crude oil which is piped into river barges that are hidden in small tributaries. The crude is then transported to ships offshore for sale.' Human Rights Watch, *Rivers and Blood: Guns, Oil and Power in Nigeria's Rivers State*, 4 February 2005, available at <http://www.hrw.org/legacy/background/africa/nigeria0205/nigeria0205.pdf> (accessed 6 September 2011), p. 4.
4. This Day, *Missing Ship: Supreme Court Nullifies Agbiti's Trial*, 7 February 2011, available at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201102070609.html> (accessed 6 August 2012), p. 1.
5. The persistence of oil bunkering was well known to policy makers, researchers and academics throughout Europe and North America before this incident took place. Twelve months before the *African Pride's* disappearance, Human Rights Watch had published a report detailing the scale of the problem and its impact on the safety and well-being of the Niger Delta people. Human Rights Watch, *The Warri Crisis: Fuelling Violence*, November 2003, Vol. 15, No. 18, available at <http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/nigeria1103.pdf> (accessed 5 September 2011), pp. 17–21.
6. The ship was discovered along with the *MT Jimoh*, which had disappeared at the same time as the *African Pride*. The *Jimoh* had been renamed the *MT Lord* in an attempt to disguise its identity. BBC, *Missing Tanker Found in Nigeria*, 24 September 2004, available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/3686284.stm> (accessed 5 September 2011), p. 1.
7. The Times, *Nigerian Admirals Pay the Price for Stealing Captured Oil Tanker*, 8 January 2005, available at <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/article409606.ece> (accessed 1 September 2011), p. 1.
8. Daily Telegraph, *Embarrassment as Nigerian Navy 'Loses' Impounded Tanker*, 21 September 2004, available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/nigeria/1472282/Embarrassment-as-Nigerian-navy-loses-impounded-tanker.html> (accessed 5 September 2011), p. 1.

9. Ibid.
10. Domestic opposition and international criticism of Shell and its Nigerian subsidiary, Shell Nigeria, have grown steadily, albeit unevenly, over the past 20 years. Much of the opprobrium levelled at the company has been stimulated and generated by one man – Ken Saro Wiwa. In 1992 he founded the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People to pressure Shell and the Federal Government into compensating the Ogoni people for the grinding poverty and wretched environmental conditions they were forced to endure. MOSOP launched a highly effective two-pronged strategy to press its case. At home, its activists took part in mass demonstrations and sabotaged pipes and equipment belonging to Shell and the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation. Overseas, Saro-Wiwa embarked on a relentless public relations campaign to highlight the plight of the Ogoni and other Niger Delta peoples. So successful was he that the Abacha regime had him arrested and executed on trumped up murder charges. Yet, even in death, Saro-Wiwa was still able to embarrass Shell as the company was heavily criticised for not doing more to save his life. Misty L. Bastin, “‘Buried beneath Six Feet of Crude Oil’: State-Sponsored Death and the Absent Body of Ken Saro-Wiwa,” in Craig W. McLuckie and Aubrey McPhail (eds.), *Ken Saro-Wiwa: Writer and Political Activist* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000), p. 133.
11. Shell Petroleum Development Company, *Shell Nigeria Annual Report 2005: People and the Environment* (Nigeria: Shell Petroleum Development Company, August 2006), pp. 4–8.
12. WAC Global Services, *Peace and Security in the Niger Delta: Conflict Expert Group Baseline Report for Shell Petroleum Development Company*, December 2003, available at [http://shellnews.net/2007/shell\\_wac\\_report\\_2004.pdf](http://shellnews.net/2007/shell_wac_report_2004.pdf) (accessed 6 September 2011), p. 46.
13. Human Rights Watch, *Rivers and Blood*, pp. 8–9.
14. Ibid., 8.
15. Wole Soyinka, *The Open Sore of a Continent: A Personal Narrative of the Nigerian Crisis* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 33.
16. In a speech made shortly after his seizure of power, General Babangida justified his actions by arguing that ‘when in December 1983, the former military leadership, headed by Major General Muhammadu Buhari, assumed the reins of government, its accession was heralded in the history of this country. ... Since January 1984, however, we have witnessed a systematic denigration of that hope. ... The initial objectives were betrayed and fundamental changes do not appear on the horizon. Because the present state of uncertainty, suppression and stagnation resulted from the perpetration of a small group, the Nigerian Armed Forces could not as a part of that government be unfairly committed to take responsibility for failure. Our dedication to the cause of ensuring that our nation remains a united entity worthy of respect and capable of functioning as a viable and credible part of the international community dictated the need to arrest the situation.’ Cited in Ndaeyo Uko, *Romancing the Gun: The Press as a Promoter of Military Rule* (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 2004), pp. 180–181.

17. Clause 217 of the constitution stipulates that 'the Federation shall ... maintain the armed forces as may be considered adequate and effective for the purpose of – (a) defending Nigeria from external aggression; (b) maintaining its territorial integrity and securing its borders from violation on land, sea or air; (c) suppressing insurrection and acting in aid of civil authorities to restore order when called upon to do so by the President, but subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by an Act of the National Assembly; and (d) performing such other functions as may be prescribed by an Act of the National Assembly.' Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria* (1999).
18. The decree establishing the Federal Capital Territory of Abuja and the Federal Capital Development Authority, the body charged with developing the new capital, was passed on 4 February 1976. Francine Rodd, Jewell Kidd, Willie Cohen and Taniko Noda *Around and About Abuja* (Ibadan: Spectrum Books, 2005), p. 5. General Mohammed was killed nine days later in a failed *coup d'état* led by Lieutenant Colonel Buka Suka Dimka.
19. Abuja replaced Lagos as Nigeria's capital on 12 December 1991.
20. BBC, *Life of Poverty in Abuja's Wealth*, 13 February 2007, available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/6355269.stm> (accessed 25 September 2011), p. 1.
21. El-Rufai served as FCT Minister from 17 July 2003 until 27 July 2007.
22. For the first three years of its independence, Nigeria was a dominion. As a result its head of state was Queen Elizabeth II of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. She was represented in country by a governor-general. This role was performed first by Sir James Robertson (1 October 1960–16 November 1960) and then Nnamdi Azikiwe (16 November 1963–1 October 1963). Azikiwe was Nigeria's last governor-general and its first president.
23. These soldier-statesmen were Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi (16 January 1966–29 July 1966), Yakubu Gowon (1 August 1966–29 July 1975), Murtala Mohammed (29 July 1975–13 February 1976), Olusegun Obasanjo (13 February 1976–1 October 1979), Muhammadu Buhari (31 December 1983–27 August 1985), Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida (27 August 1985–26 August 1993), Sani Abacha (17 November 1993–8 June 1998) and Abdulsalami Abubakar (8 June 1998–29 May 1999).
24. Nigeria's first *coup d'état* was led by five army majors – Kaduna Nzeogwu, Emmanuel Ifeajuna, Donatus Okafor, Christian Anuforo and Adewale Ademoyega – and was only partially successful. While it did result in the collapse of the First Republic, largely because important political figures like the Prime Minister, Abubakar Tafewa Balewa, and Premier of the Western Region, Obafemi Awolowo, were executed, none of *coup* ever assumed power. That passed instead to Major-General Aguiyi-Ironsi, the most senior army officer not directly implicated in the *coup* who had not been executed by the conspirators. Eghosa E. Osaghae, *Nigeria since Independence: Crippled Giant* (London: Hurst, 1998), pp. 56–57.

25. Nigeria's soldier-statesmen adopted a range of titles. Aguiyi-Ironsi, Gowon, Mohammed and Obasanjo each assumed the title of Head of the Federal Military Government. Buhari, on the other hand, was known as the Chairman of the Supreme Military Council, IBB as the President of the Armed Forces Ruling Council, and Abacha and Abubakar as Chairman of the Provisional Ruling Council. Despite their different titles, these soldier-statesmen all assumed the same political and representational powers.
26. Alex Perry, *Falling off the Edge: Globalization, World Peace and Other Lies* (London: Pan Books, 2010), p. 127.
27. For example, on 4 August 2008, the MEND issued a statement threatening attacks against the Abuja-based staff and property of the German construction company Julius Berger. Agence France-Presse, *Nigerian Armed Group Threatens German Construction Firm Unit*, 4 August 2008, available at <http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Nigerian+armed+group+threatens+German+construction+firm+unit-a01611602841> (accessed 16 August 2008), p. 1.
28. U.S. Department of Energy, *Nigeria: Country Analysis Brief*, July 2010, available at <http://www.eia.doe.gov/cabs/Nigeria/Background.html> (accessed 18 November 2010), p. 1.
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30. Reuters, *Militants Kidnap 7 from Exxon Platform Off Nigeria*, 16 November 2010, available at <http://www.alertnet.org/thenews/newsdesk/LDE6AE188.htm> (accessed 18 November 2010), p. 1.
31. J.N.C Hill, 'Thoughts of Home: Civil-Military Relations and the Conduct of Nigeria's Peacekeeping Forces,' *The Journal of Military Ethics*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (November 2009), p. 298.
32. Certainly this is the claim made by the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Homeland Security. U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Homeland Security Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence, *Boko Haram: Emerging Threat to the U.S. Homeland*, 30 November 2011, available at <http://homeland.house.gov/hearing/subcommittee-hearing-boko-haram-emerging-threat-us-homeland> (accessed 22 May 2012).
33. Human Rights Watch, *World Report 2011: Nigeria*, January 2011, available at <http://www.hrw.org/world-report-2011/nigeria> (accessed 11 August 2012), Human Rights Watch, *Nigeria Prosecute Killings by Security Forces*, 26 November 2009, available at <http://www.hrw.org/news/2009/11/26/nigeria-prosecute-killings-security-forces> (accessed 11 August 2012), and Vanguard, *Nigeria: Army Court-Martials Two Colonels, 12 Others for Alleged Misconduct*, 28 May 2012, available at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201205290252.html> (accessed 11 August 2012).
34. Toyin Falola and Matthew M. Heaton, *A History of Nigeria* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2008), p. 158.

35. Robert B. Shepard, *Nigeria, Africa, and the United States: From Kennedy to Reagan* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1991), p. 40.
36. Cited in Olayiwola Abegunrin, *Nigerian Foreign Policy under Military Rule, 1966–1999* (Westport and London, Praeger, 2003), p. 52.
37. Indeed, the Biafrans were able to acquire several World War II vintage American B-26 bombers. *Ibid.* p. 53.
38. Thomas D. Musgrave, *Self-Determination and National Minorities* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 198.
39. Gérard Kreijen, *State, Sovereignty, and International Governance* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 351.
40. The OAS was established in January 1961 with the goal of keeping Algeria French. To do that, it embarked on a terror campaign in both Algeria and France that claimed the lives of hundreds of people.
41. Time, *The Mercenaries*, 25 October 1968, available at <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,900387,00.html> (accessed 14 May 2009).
42. The dozen states created were Benue Plateau, East-Central, Kano, Kwara, Lagos, Mid-Western, North Central, North Eastern, North Western, Rivers, South Eastern and Western.
43. The three states that replaced the eastern region were East-Central, Rivers and South Eastern.
44. Cited in William D. Graf, *The Nigerian State* (London: James Currey, 1988), p. 164.
45. Toyin Falola and Matthew M. Heaton, *A History of Nigeria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 214–215 and Daniel Jordan Smith, *A Culture of Corruption: Everyday Deception and Popular Discontent in Nigeria* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 113.
46. Federal Government of Nigeria, *National Youth Service Corps* (2011), available at <http://www.nysc.gov.ng/history2.php> (accessed 14 October 2011), Objectives of the Scheme 1f, 1g and 1h.
47. *Ibid.* Objectives of the Scheme 1a, 1b, 1c, 1d, 1e, 1f and 1g.
48. On 14 January 2008 the courts-martial of 14 army officers (three colonels, two lieutenant-colonels and nine non-commissioned officers) began at the Infantry Centre and School in Jaji. All were accused, and later convicted, of stealing weapons from the Nigerian Army Central Ordnance Depot (NACOD) in Kaduna, and selling them on to militants in the Niger Delta. Vanguard, *Army Court-Martials 15 Officers over Missing Arms*, 14 January 2008, available at <http://allafrica.com/stories/200801150105.html> (accessed 15 October 2011), p. 1.
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53. Many national, and some international, newspapers carried articles arguing for and against both the likelihood and desirability of another military-led *coup d'état*. For example, see ThisDay, *SNG Warns against Military Intervention*, 26 February 2010, available at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201002260391.html> (accessed 9 September 2011), ThisDay, *Yar'Adua's Return Has Compounded Our Political Crisis*, 2 March 2010, available at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201003030458.html> (accessed 9 September 2011), Daily Champion, *Military Intervention Will Not Salvage the Nation – Councillor*, 9 February 2010, available at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201002090053.html> (9 September 2011) and Financial Times, *Nigeria Constitutional Crisis Looms*, 6 January 2010, available at <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/c6a31dc2-fafd-11de-94d8-00144feab49a.html#axzz1XRZT4blg> (accessed 9 September 2011).

## Conclusions

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6. Daily Telegraph, *Nigeria: President Yar'Adua's 'Useful' London Visit, July 16-17*, 4 February 2011, available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/wikileaks-files/london-wikileaks/8304685/NIGERIA-PRESIDENT-YARADUAS-USEFUL-LONDON-VISIT-JULY-16-17.html> (accessed 17 June 2011), p. 1, and senior member of the British High Commission Abuja, interview by author, Oxford, 9 November 2010.

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