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THE AMNESTY MODEL AND THE NIGERIA NIGERDELTA REGIONAL CRISIS MANAGEMENT

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ABSTRACT

The adoption of the Amnesty model and its success as one of the Crisis Management tools by the Government of Nigeria in resolving the Niger Delta Crisis was the focus of this paper. As its objective, the paper discussed the various Crisis dimensions and models with a view to unveiling the Amnesty model as one of the options for managing the Crisis in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria. The paper discussed Crisis genesis through a schematic representation of the processes involved with particular reference to the Niger Delta Region. A discussion on the potency of the Amnesty model was done, using available literature and Journalistic writings from related discourses. The result of the discussion was that the Amnesty model, rather than solving the crisis as expected, has temporarily quietened the Niger Delta Agitators. The Paper concludes that the Amnesty model is a subtle means designed by the Federal Government intelligence unit to quieten the region from her prayers (reduction of the political marginalization and repression; economic marginalization and exploitation; and social marginalization and rejection of the residents). The paper then argues, content-wise, and adopting Marx's conflict theory on crisis management, that the Niger Delta agitations can only be controlled by addressing her fundamental issues of resource control. The paper recommends that the Government should put a design in place to address the key resource control issues in the Region.

Keywords: Amnesty, Subtle tool, Niger Delta, Regional Crisis, Political Marginalization, Social Marginalization, Economic Marginalization.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

A crisis can occur as a result of an unpredictable event or an unforeseeable consequence of some event that had been considered as a potential risk. This description of crisis implies that its management involves an application of strategies designed to help a system or an organized entity deal with a sudden and significant negative event (Duigan, 2020). From Duigan's position, we can refer to crisis management as the practice of preparing for likely negative incidents, with the objective of minimizing likely damages and disruption. Crisis Management, therefore, has the purpose of getting the affected system back to normalcy at

Volume 03, Issue 05 "September - October 2022"

ISSN 2583-0333

the fastest possible time. It takes skill, and planning, including actions prepared for responding to threats proactively to minimize the threat and its likely pain points. Crises may manifest at different levels and dimensions. These levels and dimensions may happen at intra-country, regional and international levels. An example of a regional and intra-country level crisis is the type that occurred in the Nigerian Niger Delta region.

Biriowu (2001) distinguished between crises that may occur in an organized or unorganized form. For Biriowu therefore, the organized forms are essentially when accredited regional representatives declare a formal action against an industrial organization within their locality on account of a breakdown in discussions/negotiations on how Community members are to be compensated for alleged environmental exploitation and degradation. The unorganized type uses individuals as channels and this manifest in sea piracy; abduction of top Company officials; sabotage and tampering with oil installations; disruption of industrial operational activities. At the level of theory, the crisis could be conceptualized as a way of deploying and demonstrating Community power; as punishment for a breach of understanding with industrial organizations within their hosting territory; as propaganda to attract attention; as a means of releasing Community tension; as a means of demonstrating Community solidarity; and as a means of projecting the unity of Community leaders (Biriowu, 2001). For any entity or system to be ongoing, there must be a crisis management model put in place for crisis minimization. There exists, a multiplicity of models for the management of crises. These include the Amnesty Model.

Amnesty is derived from the Greek word "amnesia" which represents a pardon or forgiveness of past acts of an individual or group that bother on criminality against the State. This is granted upon the condition that those pardoned will return to obedience and duty within a prescribed period. Amnesia or amnesty is traditionally granted for political crimes, including treason, sedition, and rebellion against the State (Duignan 2020). Duignan points out that, amnesty as a technical term differs from general pardon. Whereas a general pardon relieves affected persons from punishment, amnesty declares the affected persons innocent and abolishes the crime. Legal scholars, however, see some difficulty in distinguishing between general pardon and amnesty because of their similarities. Barcroft (1993) however, contended that, in theory, an amnesty is granted before prosecution takes place, and a pardon after, and that the U S Courts have allowed the two terms to be used interchangeably. What is noteworthy is that amnesty grants affected persons immunity from prosecution. As pointed out succinctly, amnesty cannot grant a license to commit future crimes, nor can it forgive crimes not yet committed (Barcroft, 1993). Amnesty has traditionally been used as a political model or tool of compromise and reunion following a war, rebellion, and agitation. Amnesty as a model or tool was recorded in the U.S. when it was offered by President George Washington, in 1795, to participants in the Whiskey Rebellion which was a series of riots caused by an unpopular excise tax on liquor. The pardon was given on the condition that it allowed the U.S. government to forget the crimes of those involved, in exchange for their signatures on an oath of loyalty to the United States. Other significant amnesties in U.S. history were granted on account of the Civil and Vietnam Wars (https://legal-dictionary. thefreedictionary.com/Washington). In 1974, President Ford was said to have attempted reconciliation by declaring a conditional amnesty for those who had evaded the draft or deserted the armed forces.

Volume 03, Issue 05 "September - October 2022"

ISSN 2583-0333

The most current issue that resonates in the Niger Delta discourse has been the Amnesty programme, which was introduced by the late President Yar'Adua in 2009 against a groundswell of violent conflicts in the region. The Amnesty model was introduced to address the crisis and issues raised by residents of the Nigeria Niger Delta Region. The Niger Delta Residents developed a perception of marginalization. This perception and conception of marginality have led to the formation and emergence of various social movements that claim to be championing the course of the various ethnic groups resident in the Niger Delta Region. The great Egbesu/Ijaw National Congress (INC) and the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP) were the most notorious of the social movements. These movements claim that the residents of the Niger Delta are socially marginalized and rejected; politically marginalized and repressed; economically marginalized and exploited (Biriowu, 2001). These social movements asserted that going by the magnitude of environmental degradation consequent upon the operations of Companies in the region, residents of the Niger Delta have been described as "Marginals" who live in Shanty Towns, Favelados, Barbados, and who are not integrated into the mainstream of the socio-policy-economic structure of the Nigerian society. For these Social Movements, therefore, residents of the Niger Delta Region are people who have developed a peculiar way of life referred to as a culture of poverty.

However, since the introduction of the Amnesty program in August 2009, concerns have been raised about its effectiveness to end violence and install peace in the region.

This paper's point of departure is therefore to embark on a review of the effectiveness of the Niger Delta Amnesty model in addressing the crisis that affected the region.

2.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Conflict Theory

Conflict theory presupposes the predominance of inequalities in society. Conflict theory describes the struggle for power by members of society as the basis of social relations. The well-known or major conflict theories, therefore, center their discourses on the different forms of inequalities in society. Some of the major types of conflict theories include those that view conflict as dysfunctional and those that view conflict as functional. The dysfunctional type of conflict theory is associated with the works of Marx (1864) who centered his discourse of conflict on the existing material inequality between classes. For Marx therefore, at every historical period in time, two classes exist. There were for example the Serfs and the Feudal Lords in medieval Europe; the working class and the capitalist class at the advent of industrialization. For Marx then, the history of society is the history of class struggle. Marxian class conflict theory posits that the struggle between classes permeates and shapes all forms of political, social, and economic behavior and outcomes. Marx's analysis of conflict may be seen to be different from other conflict theories. In his assertion, pervasive social conflict is a consequence of the dominance of the capitalist class (the Bourgeoisie) over the working class (the proletariat) and thus will be eliminated when a more equitable form of exchange supplants the capitalist system.

Mills (1956) used his notion of social stratification theory of conflict to explain the effect of social structures on the development and founding of influential public institutions. These influential public institutions which are not founded or created on agreements, but on conflict

Volume 03, Issue 05 "September - October 2022"

ISSN 2583-0333

and competition perpetuate inequalities (social stratification) in resources and influence. These influential institutions create the elites that come to shape social norms, values, interests, and decisions in society. These powerful elites create social order by applying coercion through various means, including the use of the ideological state apparatus (state media and religion) and state coercive apparatus (law enforcement agencies of the state). Society is consequently stratified in such a way that only the powerful elites created by the institution have access to society's social privileges and key resources. These inequalities create conflicts between persons or groups in the various strata of society.

As a reaction to the position taken by the dysfunctional theories of conflict, arguments arose regarding the positive function of conflict in society. This led to the emergence of functional conflict theories. For these theorists, therefore, the pervasiveness of conflict at every level of society contributes to the functioning of that society. The functional views of conflict are put forward by Coser (1956). Coser sees conflict as a fundamental element of human relationships. For Coser therefore, since conflict results from the struggle for resources, positions, power, and recognition (and other forms of inequalities), then it serves the function of driving social innovation and change. For Coser then, there is the need to view social conflict as an action that should be tolerated as naturally functioning to raise awareness of societal norms, instigate adherence to laws, and, in the long run, generate new social structures (innovation). From Coser's perspective, we can argue that conflict can serve as an instrument of socialization that uses mutual antagonism to enhance group solidarity and preserve social stratification.

The relevance of Conflict theory to this discourse lies in its emphasis on how forms of inequalities lead to crisis. These inequalities as epitomized in the Nigerian Niger Delta Region where the residents are claiming political marginalization and repression; economic marginalization and exploitation; and social marginalization rejection. The theory went further to expose how the consequent crisis may lead to the emergence of a new position (innovation) through the instrumentality of crisis management models, including the Amnesty model.

2.2 The Genesis of Crisis

The genesis of the crisis in the Niger Delta has been linked to the recurring agitation of Communities that play host to Industrial establishments, especially in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria. Over the years, there had existed a perception of marginalization of Community members. This perception and conception of marginality have led to the formation and emergence of various social movements that claim to be championing the course of the various ethnic groups resident in the Niger Delta Region. The great Egbesu/Ijaw National Congress (INC) and the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP) are the most notorious of the social movements. These movements claim that the residents of the Niger Delta are socially marginalized and rejected; politically marginalized and repressed; economically marginalized and exploited. These social movements asserted that, going by the magnitude of environmental degradation consequent upon the operations of Companies in the region, residents of the Niger Delta have been described as "Marginals" who live in Shanty Towns, Favelados, Barbados and who are not integrated into the mainstream of the socio-policy-economic structure of the Nigerian society. For these Social Movements,

Volume 03, Issue 05 "September - October 2022"

ISSN 2583-0333

therefore, residents of the Niger Delta Region are people who have developed a peculiar way of life referred to as a culture of poverty.

The activities and Programmes of these social movements led to the creation of increasing awareness and identity amongst the residents of the region. This equally led to the creation of structures that would negotiate with industrial organizations before they would be allowed to operate within an affected location in the region. Failure to provide a forum or unwillingness on the part of an affected organization to negotiate often leads to Community strikes. These strikes which usually follow a process may also occur where agreement is not reached between Community Leaders and organizations on how Community members are to be compensated for economic exploitation, social rejection, and political repression over the years.

3.0 THE CRISIS PROCESS

It will be imperative to schematically and analytically demonstrate the form or process that a Community strike may take. This will help us to understand the process of a Community strike. Figure I is a schematic description of the genesis, processes, and terminal or apparent irredeemability of the strike action.

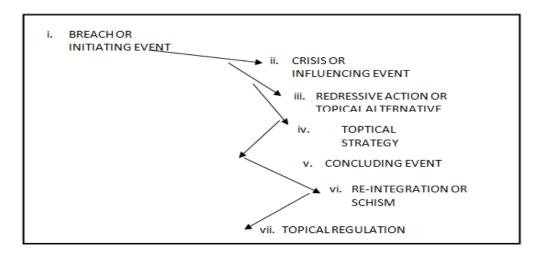


Figure 1: Schematic representation of crisis process sources: Authors Desktop Research, (2020).

For the purpose of mere description, a Niger Delta Community and management of an industrial organization could be used to demonstrate the Crisis process:

- i. BREACH OR INITIATING EVENT: Community representatives contested an organization's procedure of acquiring Community land for its operations. This has led to the initiation of an event dispute.
- ii. CRISIS OR INFLUENCING EVENT: Community Representatives in a Niger Delta location issue a 21-day ultimatum. The action of the Community in issuing an ultimatum within which crisis might brew is a way of influencing the event in dispute.
- iii. REDRESSIVE ACTION OR TOPICAL ALTERNATIVE: The processes followed by either the Community or the organization (e.g. management of the organization

Volume 03, Issue 05 "September - October 2022"

ISSN 2583-0333

- persuading the Community to withdraw its ultimatum and then come for discussion) is a redressive action or topical alternative.
- iv. TOPICAL STRATEGY: Either party (Management of the organization or Community representative) applies a Topical strategy. This refers to the method applied by either party to gain outside support in order to pacify the situation. Management of the organization could approach the government and citizens who are of high social standing in society to persuade and advise the Community representatives to accept the prevailing social responsibility votes meant for the Community.
- v. CONCLUDING EVENT: Both parties may reach the stage of events conclusion. This refers to the final outcome of the discussion and negotiation on the disputed issue which may give rise to either reintegration or Schism.
- vi. RE-INTEGRATION OR SCHISM: Where agreement is reached, it leads to reintegration but where agreement is not reached, Community/industry relationship blows up (schism) and manifests into a Crisis.
- vii. TOPICAL REGULATION: Where there is an agreement, it serves to guide or regulate both the Management of the organization and the Community relationship regarding the event.

The crisis in the Niger Delta Region has created the wrong environment for foreign investment attraction; increasing loss of lives and property; erosion of the Company's profitability; loss of employment; and negative impact on the overall economy of Nigeria. Crisis, if unchecked, may lead to a strong threat to the life and property of citizens of this Country; breakdown of law and order; paralyzation of the economy; and the Military may find a new excuse for intervention. Supporting the negative imports of Crisis, Twadell (1999) points out that the recent spate of violence in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria has the potential of discouraging foreign investments.

Newswatch (1998) highlighted what the oil Companies lost so far to Crisis in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria. Egbesu Boys of Africa (an affiliate of the Ijaw National Congress) laid siege to almost all oil installations in the Niger Delta (according to a Newswatch report). And that within the said period Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC) lost about \$90 Million to the Egbesu Community strike. SPDC also lost about \$840 Million to the Ogoni crisis championed by the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP) in 1993. SPDC was quoted to have lost about \$1.3 Billion to the Nembe Community strike in 1997. Chevron was said to have lost between \$1.2 and \$2.4 Million daily to a Community strike in 1998. Chevron also lost about \$1.4 Million daily to the Ilaje Community strike within the same period. Nigeria Agip Oil Company lost about \$1.2 Million daily to the Niger Delta crisis within the period.

The colossal issues are shown in figure ii below

S/NO	YEAR	NAME OF COMPANY	LOSSES	COMMUNITY
1	1998	SPDC	\$90 Million	(Ijaw) Egbesu
2	1993	SPDC	\$840 Million	Ogoni (MOSOP)

Volume 03, Issue 05 "September - October 2022"

ISSN 2583-0333

3	1997	SPDC	\$1.3 Billion	Nembe
4	1998	CHEVRON	\$2.4 Million daily	Ilaje
5	1998	AGIP	\$1.2 Million daily	Niger Delta crisis

Figure II: Colossal losses by companies.

Source: collations from news watch, November 09, 1998

Following the highlighted colossal losses brought about by Community strikes, there arises the need to search for solutions to this challenge.

Literature on Crisis has confirmed a perceived marginalization as the symbol of unity amongst Communities in the Niger Delta Region. This unity symbol led to the formation of the so-called social movements and ethnic armies which are used as vehicles for carrying out Community strike plans. For Niger Delta Communities, therefore, Community strike is a function of Economic Marginalization; Political Marginalization; and Social Marginalization. For Niger Delta Communities then, Economic, Political, and Social Empowerment of Community members are the application panacea for Community strikes.

3.1 Models for Managing Crisis

Management theorists and practitioners generally agree that crisis management needs to be conducted through a central focal point. (usually a crisis management team, manager or incident commander) where crisis situations are complex and or larger; most practitioners and theorists accept the need for a crisis management department, unit, or ministry as in the case of a region that coordinates and or controls the approaches adopted in dealing with the crisis and the impacts produced by that crisis. Just how the organizational structure for the response and the management team composition is integrated into a strong yet flexible unit depends on how the users view the mission of the crisis management response. (Heart, 1998). Meyer. And Holusha, (1986), cited in Heart, R. (1998) argued that the use of an ad hoc committee is somehow preferable if it is called together by the senior person in charge of the organization or regions because its flexibility in the approach can be encouraging. Yet, they noted that such an ad-hoc group suddenly called together can hardly perform without problems as they may not have all the skills and training for their group roles. To these scholars, the time taken select and bring together such group or team could as well be used to obtain more information on the crisis situation. According to Heart (1998) where crisis response teams are more permanent in business or industrial setting or in a society, because the people confront crisis situation regularly or are exposed to major crisis situations; Meyers and Holusha, (1986) believe that team members should have frequent contact work in close proximity, be able to effectively interact together. (Heart 1998; 228-9). To Meyers and associate, these crisis team members need to be able to set aside their work and their personal lives for the duration of the crisis and should be well compensated for their efforts. Team membership in a further assumption of Meyers and friend should include the most creative senior executive in the organization who is capable of undertaking the pressures involved, a person with a broad and substantial knowledge of the organization and how the organization functions, the most

Volume 03, Issue 05 "September - October 2022"

ISSN 2583-0333

senior (power welding) executive available, a person outside the organization who is knowledgeable about the type of work undertaken by the organization.

In essence, the scholar averts that a team needs to have sufficient conventional authority as to enforce the crisis management instructions, sufficient understanding of the intricacies of the particular organization, innovative skills and a member that may hold a different prove than those within the organization. This latter feature according to them can help in the reduction of the mindset effect and group thinking in the industry. Accepting the stand-point of Meyers, Holusha and Barton (1993). Cited in Heart, (1998) finds that several managerial level positions from within an organization are needed to make-up a crisis management team; such as A lawyer; A public relations coordinator; A technical expert; A financial officer; A telecommunications manager; A public affairs expert; and A delegate from within the organization;

Although Barton (1993) sees this composition as a comprehensive team formation for crisis management, yet, he notes that this type of team is associated with such problems of overcaution and administrative slow-downs. Because lawyers will argue for limited time and non-committed responses, while the financial experts will try to curb and control expenses; But then an understanding legal points of a situation is important and properly maintained financial records will be needed for the survival of an organization once the crisis ends. From the foregoing analysis, it is crystal clear that the use of Niger Delta crisis is in error. Amnesty as we have noted earlier, is a legislative or executive act by which a state restores those who may have been quality of an offense against it to the positions of innocent people".

Its usage includes more than a pardon, in as much as it obliterates all legal remembrance of the offense. The Niger Delta youths MEND and some other groups restiveness or involvement in the destruction of oil well pipelines and hostage-taking was said to be a fight against marginalization exploitation, pollution exclusion in the participation of matter affecting the regional development and the failure of the Federal Government to provide infrastructural amenities to the communities which are directly affected by the environmental impact of oil spoilage. According to critics, the offered amnesty simply provided a get-out-of-jail free card to those who were responsible for kidnapping acts or hostage-taking, sabotage and banditting and that of the promises to re-educate and reintegrate them into civilian society would require years of investment. The real tools that are capable of managing the Niger Delta crisis would be the establishment of educational centers, building of hospitals, construction of good roads, provision of employment avenues and the provision of such other things that can bring about sustainable development in the region.

Booth (1993); Seymour and Moore (2000) put forward a typology of crisis. For these scholars, crisis can be typologized into the Cobra and Python types. The Cobra type of crises is said to be sudden, and therefore comes as a shock. Unlike the Cobra version, the Python type creeps into an entity in a slow and gradual fashion.

Based on these crisis types, various models for the management of crisis are also put forward by Caplan (1961); Slatter (1984); Arnold (1980); Booth (1993); Clarke and Varma (2004; Seymour and Moore (2000) and Smith (1990).

Volume 03, Issue 05 "September - October 2022"

ISSN 2583-0333

As contended by Evans and Elphick (2005), the Caplan's model uses a psychological approach to achieve a coping plan. Slatter's model adopts an economic approach that suggests susceptible factors to the crisis in a system. Arnold's model adopts a sociological perspective, observing crisis affected communities and how they react to the crisis. Booth's model uses an approach that tends to identify features that appear to be common in crisis. Seymour and Moore put forward a model that is referred to as the crisis life cycle model which looks out for events or things that stand in the way of decision making during crisis. Clarke and Varma added a model that is referred to as a risk management model. Smith and Sipika propounded a model that prescribed a start to finish process.

We are however, to add the Amnesty model which relates to a graphic description of the stages or process through which groups or individuals who are involved in causing instability to the State pass through before Amnesty is granted. Here, the State adopts an Amnesty model that grants the crisis involvers a conditional pardon, in returnfor a promise to gain back obedience and duty from those pardoned.

3.2 The Amnesty Model and the Niger Delta Crises Management

The Amnesty model as demonstrated in figure 1 below is a process flow whereby a rebellion, sedition and instability is perpetrated by a person or groups who are dis enchanted with certain perceived deprivations which range from political exclusion, economic exploitation and social repression. Then an Amnesty package is put together and dangled to involvers who will in return pledge back loyalty to the dominating social system.

Figure iii: Schematic Representation of the Amnesty Model:

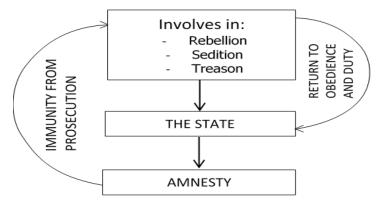


Figure iii: Amnesty model.

Source: Author's Desktop conception, 2022.

In Nigeria, Amnesty was first granted to Isaac-AdakaBoro and associates about a decade ago. In 2004, Obasanjo granted another one. Recently, in a bid to curb attacks on foreign oil companies operating in the Niger Delta region, the president, Umaru Musa Yar'dua offered militants in the oilrich Delta region an Amnesty with a view to halting attacks in (2009). In his words:

Volume 03, Issue 05 "September - October 2022"

ISSN 2583-0333

"I hereby grant amnesty and unconditional pardon to all persons who have directly or indirectly participated in the commission of offences associated with militant activities in the Niger Delta; the offer of the amnesty will remain open to all militants for a period of 60-days" (Yar'dua, 2009).

The offer of amnesty in this case was predicated on the willingness and readiness of the militants to give up all illegal arms in their possession, and completely renounce militancy in all its ramifications unconditionally and depose an undertaking to that effect. The announcement was made shortly after a meeting between the president Yar'dua and the National Council of States, comprising former Head of states, Senate president, Speaker (head) of the lower house of Parliament, State Governors, and the Chief justice of the federation. In line with the United Kingdom's amnesty programme asserted above, the Nigerian amnesty proclamation was made after its proclamation, with hundreds of exmilitants of the various groups, surrendering their weapons to the federal authorities, with the nation second to be sliding to square ones.

Niger Delta crisis is, without doubt, the most potent expression of the failure of the Nigerian states' inability to resolve the crisis of nationhood that has held the country down since independence - four decades ago. The region's crisis has become the sore of the nation's cancer that may erode the fragile bounds that hold this polytechnic nation together. This is because the nation is endowed with ample petroleum resources and is the goose that lays the golden egg for the country. Unfortunately, the people from the Niger Delta have benefited the least from the oil wealth. A rapacious ruling elite have reduced the people of the Niger Delta to a life of penury, surviving on less than one dollar a day, in spite of the wealth from oil wells. Consequently, the Delta region has remained one of the most underdeveloped, povertyridden, and crisis prone regions of Nigeria. Rosenthal and Burg, (1991) cited in (Mark, 2010) outline a broader concept of crisis in that, the concept of crisis relates to situations featuring severe threat, uncertainty, and a sense of urgency. Crisis in these scholars' opinion can be the threatening situation that stresses urgency in the nature and impact of the crisis. Admitting this stand point, Barton (1993) finds a crisis condition to be a major unpredictable event that has potentially negative results. The event, according to Barton, its aftermath may significantly be damaging to an organization and its employees, its products, services, financial conditions and reputations. Extending the impact of a crisis situation further, Barton includes, the reputation of the people and Organizations and the need to support communication dialogue management and images. Green (1992) on his part noted that a characteristic of crisis management is that, one starts from a position in which control of events or incidents has been lost". Once in crisis mode, according to Green (1992), the damage limitation will be the major concern while time is also critical. In Green's opinion, the mission of Crisis managers is to prevent loss of control when and where possible, to limit the damage during the crisis situation, and to regain control when loss of control happens. Observing the phenomena further, Mitroffand Pearson (1993) found that gathering, analyzing and dissemination of information is the immediate effort for managing crisis. The Nigerian

Volume 03, Issue 05 "September - October 2022"

ISSN 2583-0333

Rulers have failed in this aspect. The first few hours (or days for crisis that may last for long periods of time) like that of Niger Delta, would have been used to simultaneously perform a number of activities associated with the critical responsibilities of crisis analysts or managers. These responsibilities include those of fact finding, analysis, damage control and communication (Mark, 2010).

The Niger Delta region is part of what is known as the Gulf of Guinea, rich in offshore oil deposits. The region has undergone several metamorphoses. Indeed, one has to go back many centuries as to truly understand the historical significance of the people-a region that was once called the Oil Rivers City states of West Africa (ORCSWA). Notably, the region is significant in four ways. It is a commercial centre, first for its trans-Atlantic scare trade and later for its facilitating efforts in trade for palm oil and other natural resources; secondly, its waterways provided the ready access for the British and other colonial powers to gain entry into pre-colonial Nigeria; and third, the region is a bedlam-the starting point for social movement and political activism. According to the (Guardian newspaper of Monday, August 28th, 2006), the first set of the traditional rulers who opposed the shenanigan and the in humane behaviour of European powers, work, dethroned, killed and some sent on exiled by the early years of century rulers, thus the region's significance had begun to wane. Its notable significance was later reorganized in 1956 when oil well was discovered in Oloibiri, the present Bayelsa state, and more so, the mid-1970s, when oil replaced agriculture as the main stay of the Nigerian economy. Today, oil exports of the country account for over 90 percent of export receipts and about 70 percent of revenue. But in spite oil this wealth and its position on the nations bread basket, the Niger Delta region, especially the oil producing communities have remained severely under developed, the river-rine areas in particular, bear the negative brunt of extractive activities. Its rich endowment of oil and gas resources feed methodically into the international economic systems, in exchange for massive revenues that carry the promise of rapid socio-economies transformation within the Delta itself, yet the region has no industrial base, and suffers severe ecological damage and the observe of basic infrastructures and basic human needs. In reality, the Niger Delta is a region suffering from administrative neglect, crumbling social infrastructures and services, high level of unemployment, social deprivation, object poverty, filth and squalor, and endemic conflict".

The aforementioned gave rise to the social tension and social dislocation i.e. youth restiveness and the formation of militant and justice-seeking groups-all in an effort to stem the tide of unemployment, political-exclusion, and continued environmental damage. Thus the several years of indifference and half-hearted attempts at finding solutions to the inhumane condition of the region led to what has now come to be known as "the Niger Delta crisis", a crisis that ultimately led to the low intensity conflict (LIC) that began in 2005, with the entry of the "movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) into the Nigerian political space, and subsiding at the conclusion of Amnesty programme in October 2007. Development of the Niger Delta is imperative for its traditional rulers who opposed the shenanigan and the in humane behaviour of European powers, work, dethroned, and killed

Volume 03, Issue 05 "September - October 2022"

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3.3 Analyzing the Efficacy of the Niger Delta Amnesty Model

For an analysis of the Amnesty programme to be done, we are to discuss its purpose. An Amnesty deal, in its purpose to manage crisis in a region, might extend its umbrella when the authority deems it fit to bring its citizens into compliance with a law that is more important than to punish them for past offenses. In crisis resolutions, amnesty is often used to get people to turn away from or in contraband, as in the case of China's gun restrictions, or the Kansas City ban on pit-bulks. The use of amnesty programme in a nation-organization to manage crisis, may result in avoiding expensive prosecution devices, especially when massive numbers of violators are involved. Amnesty too can prompt violators to come forward who might otherwise have excluded authorities; and thus promote reconciliation

Volume 03, Issue 05 "September - October 2022"

ISSN 2583-0333

process between offender and the society or organizations. In order to heal war wounds, and resolve the crisis in its organization, president Carter in the wake of the Vietnam War in the 1970s between the conscientious and draft dodgers granted an amnesty and used same to calm the situation(Pastin, 2010). A study of immigration integration Centre in California shows that amnesty Programmes were used when they benefited about 16 billion dollars, and immigrants were further allowed for higher paying jobs, scholarships, and other services, with amnesty Programmes, immigrations sourced out higher educations. A RAND study found that, by 36, a Mexican immigrant woman wholater became a legal resident was able to obtain a college degree and paid \$5,300 more in taxes and cost \$3,900 less in government expenses each year when compared to a high-school dropout with similar characteristics. According to the study, workers who lacked a high-school diploma in 2006 earned an employment rate of 6.8 percent,in contrast, workers with a bachelor's degree earned \$1,441 and had an employment rate of only 1.4 percent, (Gonzales, 2010)

To analyze Amnesty, we to also discuss its benefits. Recently, in Nigeria after the amnesty offer announcement, Militants have actually turned in many guns and across the Niger Delta region, much of the tension and violence, which peaked earlier in 2009 in bottles between the "Joint Task force and MEND militants, has seemingly ebbed. With many militants participating in the amnesty programme as a benefit from the presidential pardon, federal government has announced its oil production and output increase as against the sharp contrast of oil output dropped of half in the first quarter of 2009. Again, the previously destroyed pipelines have now been fixed and have been operational since October, 2009. More so, 5 illegal bunkering vessels were said to have been detained; it is reported that arms accumulation by militants and others are on a fast decline rate in the region, whereas MEND also extended its ceased fire pleas till further notice. Federal Government as a result of these positive outcomes has reversed its previously reneged promises on power generation goals. The nation's electricity operator "power holding corporation of Nigeria (PHCN) then says it will in fact reach its 6000mw target by December, 2009. In a further affirmation its promise, federal government again restated its aims of 60,000mw plans by 2020. Despite these benefits from the amnesty programme and the cooperation of certain militants, most scholars are in doubt if the programme would be able to fool hardly assume that the years of violence, pipeline vandalization, Kidnapping, hostage taking, oil bunkering and insecurity of life and property are over in the Niger Delta region.

3.4 Amnesty and the Development of Niger Delta Region

The Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) was established by President Olusegun Obasanjo, with the sole mandate of developing the petroleum-rich Niger Delta region. Since its inauguration, the NDDC has focused on the development of social and physical infrastructures, ecological/environmental remediation and human development in the area. This same Obasanjo, knowing the developmental needs of the Niger Delta region, offered amnesty programme to militants in 2004 which included MujalidDokubo, Asari, whose Niger

Volume 03, Issue 05 "September - October 2022"

ISSN 2583-0333

Delta people's volunteer force turned over thousands of weapons in return for amnesty. Although, the deal later broke down when some faction accused others of profiting from disarmament at their expense; Asari was later arrested and charged with treason. This is why some persons now think that the recent amnesty might not result in a serious attempt at resolving the crisis in the Niger Delta region; rather, the attempt is to win political currency for the ruling party in the region. According to Sokari, (2010), the offer lacks the resources and the political will that is needed as to ensure the longer-term development of the Niger Delta and to prevent a resurgence of the cycle of the frustration, unemployment and violence that has characterized the region for decades ago.

4.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

This paper discussed the adoption of the Amnesty model and its success as one of the Crisis Management tools by the Government of Nigeria in resolving the Niger Delta Crisis. The Crisis dimensions and models which unveiled the Amnesty model as one of the options for managing Crisis in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria was also analyzed. The paper equally discussed Crisis genesis through a schematic representation of the processes involved with particular reference to the Niger Delta Region. The potency of the Amnesty model was examined, using the instrumentality of available literature and Journalistic writings from related discourses. The result of the discussion was that the Amnesty model, rather than solving the crisis as expected, has temporarily quietened the Niger Delta Agitators. The Paper concludes that the Amnesty model is a subtle means designed by the Federal Government intelligence unit to quieten the region from her prayers (reduction of the political marginalization and repression; economic marginalization and exploitation; and social marginalization and rejection of the residents). The paper then argues, content-wise, and adopting Marx's conflict theory on crisis management, that the Niger Delta agitations can only be controlled by addressing her fundamental issues of resource-control. The paper recommends that the Government should put a design in place to address the key resource control issues in the Region.

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