

UNIVERSITY OF PIRAEUS
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL & EUROPEAN
STUDIES



MASTER PROGRAM IN
ENERGY: STRATEGY, LAW & ECONOMICS

Security Issues in Relation to Energy in Nigeria,
Case Study: M.E.N.D

Tolis Vasileios-Marios

Master Thesis submitted to the Department of International & European Studies of the University of Piraeus in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Energy: Strategy, Law & Economics

Piraeus, Greece, September 2019

Copyright 2019 [Tolis Vasileios-Marios]

Abstract

The oil-rich Niger Delta region of Nigeria has been for years the epicenter of conflicts between local communities, the Federal Government and Multinational Oil Companies. This master thesis argues that the socioeconomic situation of Nigeria and its high levels of corruption triggered this conflict. The operation of the Multinational Oil Companies and their impact on the environment and the local communities are researched in order to understand which way they correlate with the Niger Delta violence cycle. The case study of the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta participates in the debate on how insurgencies are emerging in these situations, which are the causes, the pretexts, their way of operation, their targets, their status and which is the optimal way to counter them.

Keywords

MEND, insurgency, corruption, Niger Delta, oil looting, violence, multinational oil companies, terrorism, environmental catastrophe

Dedication

This master thesis is dedicated to the people of the Niger Delta.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Dr. Mary Bossi for her helpful comments and her excellent research assistance by providing me with exceptional research materials. I would also like to thank University of Piraeus for allowing me to utilize tools that made the formation of this master thesis viable.

Abstract	iii
Dedication	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Table of Contents	vi
Abbreviations	8
Chapter I. Introduction	9
A. Introduction	9
B. International Relations Theories & Research Methods	10
Chapter II. Historical Aspects	13
A. Brief History of Nigeria and the Niger Delta.....	13
B. History of Struggle in the Niger Delta.....	15
Chapter III. State Aspects	17
A. Nigeria’s Oil Situation	17
B. Corruption Impact in Nigeria.....	19
Chapter IV. Multinational Oil Companies.....	22
A. MNOC’s Relationship with the Local Communities	22
B. Environmental Damage	24
Chapter V. Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta.....	27
A. Overview.....	27
B. Reasons of Creation	27
C. The Pretext	28
D. The Beginning.....	28
E. Operation	28
i) Oil Looting.....	29
ii) Hostages.....	30
F. Attacks on Oil Facilities 1997-2010	31
G. MEND as a Terrorism Organization.....	38
H. Countering MEND.....	41
I. MEND and Boko Haram	43
Chapter VI. Conclusion	45

References.....46

Abbreviations

MEND: Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta

MNOC: Multinational Oil Company

LNG: Liquefied Natural Gas

IR: International Relations

NNPC: Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation

KPMG: Klynveld Peat Marwick Goerdeler, (Multinational Professional Service Network Company)

EGGS: Eastern Gas Gathering System

IS: Islamic State

FBI: Federal Bureau of Investigation

ETA: Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (Basque Country and Freedom)

NDA: Niger Delta Avengers

Chapter I.

Introduction

“Those who do not move, do not notice their chains”

Rosa Luxemburg

A. Overview

In the late 2005 emerged in the Niger Delta the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta. The socioeconomic environment of Nigeria, the unfair share of oil profits between the local ethnic groups of the region, the Federal Government and the Multinational Oil Companies, as well as the environmental catastrophe from the oil extraction were the primary motives of this development. MEND's main target is to address this inequality utilizing asymmetric warfare. Ijaw people, the inhabitants of the oil rich Niger Delta region are the main source of recruitment of MEND, they are estimated around 13 million people (Clifford 2005) making them the fourth biggest ethnic group in the region (worldatlas.com).

For the purpose of this master thesis in the field of international relations and energy security, there will be analyzed the theories of the IR and the best research approach will be applied. State aspects are of major importance in order to understand how the socio-economic environment of Nigeria and its high corruption levels trigger violence against energy installations, especially in the oil sector. An insight on the way Multinational Oil Companies operate in the Niger Delta region, their relationship with the local communities and the impact of their actions in the fragile environment of the Niger Delta will also be examined. Lastly, there will be analyzed in a case study the emergence and operation of MEND, the reasons for its creation, the pretext, their first steps as an insurgency and their primary actions against energy. Concerning MEND, there will be further research about their status as a terrorism organization and the ways to counter such a group, affiliations and conflicts with other terrorist groups such as Boko Haram will strengthen our information about the insurgency.

This theoretical master thesis will try to answer the question on how violence in Nigeria is related to energy, what it triggers it and how can this situation be resolved. MEND will be the primary subject of this hypothesis, and even if MEND is not active right now, the reasons that created the insurgency were never addressed, therefore a new insurgency of similar characteristics may arise in the future. That is the reason this question needs further research, in order to confront not only the violence but the cause behind it. This master thesis emphasizes on

the specific characteristics of MEND which emerged primary due to the social, economic and environmental misfortune of the Niger Delta. Nowadays, research on violence is mainly focused on religious fundamentalism causes and therefore political, there are very few insights on violence formed from ecological and socioeconomic injustices, something that in the future due to climate change and environmental refugees will change.

The references that are being used in this master thesis are reliable in the essence that they are provided from international academic journals, articles and papers. Also, trustworthy journalistic articles have been used as well as data from international organizations. Most of the researchers that are being cited are of Nigerian origin, which provides them with insights of the country that other researchers may have difficulty acquire.

B. International Relations Theories & Research Methods

This master thesis is a theoretical research work based on the major theories of international relations, Realism, Liberalism, Marxism and Empiricism. Aspects of each theory have been used with purpose of understanding the complex socioeconomic and political situation in Nigeria between the Federal State the MNOCs and the local tribes. Although, all the theories will be analyzed briefly, I will try to use an Eclecticism approach combining all these theories in purpose of avoiding dogmatic results. Eclecticism is an approach that appeared for the first time in the 70s and became popular in the 80s, it argues that by uniting all the theories one can get scientific results with a more social sensitivity (Kouloumpis 2008).

Realism is the older IR theory having roots in Thucydides and Kautilia whose work date in the ancient times of Greece and India (Kouloumpis 2008). Later, other theorists enriched Realism with their approaches, like Machiavelli, Hobbes, Morgenthau, Schelling, Waltz, Kissinger and others (Jackson & Sorensen 2006). The most important characteristics of Realism but not the only ones according to Kouloumpis, Jackson and Sorensen are:

Realism
• Pessimistic interpretation of the human nature
• Conflict is an inherent element of the IR
• National security is the most important goal of every state
• Pursuit of power and national interest
• Prudence in politics
• Balance of power

Liberalism is the exact opposite of Realism and often these two schools of thought clash. Some notable liberals were Henri de Saint-Simon, M. Gandhi, W. Wilson B. Russell. Kouloumpis, Jackson and Sorensen point the following as the key aspects of Liberalism:

Liberalism
• Optimistic interpretation of the human nature
• Everything starts from the person
• Cooperation instead of conflict
• Institutions and International Organizations
• Pacifism
• International Law

Marxism is a theory of IR that the last decades has not been so relevant mostly because of the fall of Communism in the U.S.S.R. It would be naïve thought to fully reject some of its characteristics and that's because even if communism is not so popular anymore the core of the theory is widely accepted by groups of people (Kouloumpis 2008). K. Marx, F. Engels and V. Lenin were the major representatives of this approach. Kouloumpis sums up the major characteristics of Marxism:

Marxism
• Class struggle
• Working class control on the means of production
• Imperialism is the last level of capitalism
• Wars are an outcome of capitalism/imperialism for new markets
• Classless society and peace

Another IR theory is Empiricism which is based on scientific research and results. According to Kouloumpis the most vital characteristics of this approach are:

Empiricism
• Systematic observation of human behavior
• No generalization, and if they exist, they should be inspected
• No recognition for abstract concepts only scientific definitions

These theories are most important in the IR studies, but they are not the only ones. Most of them have their own sub theories which emerged from years of research in different political environments and times and from different people. Also, these characteristics that are being mentioned are not the only ones and their negative approaches are not being mentioned at all. The reason for this development is that the point of this master thesis is not to deepen into IR epistemology, but to emphasize on the socioeconomic environment of Nigeria which indirectly affected the energy sector of the country with international complications. To analyze this situation all four theories are needed at some point, that's why an eclecticism approach is used by the author of this master thesis.

Chapter II.

Historical Aspects

A. Brief History of Nigeria and Niger Delta

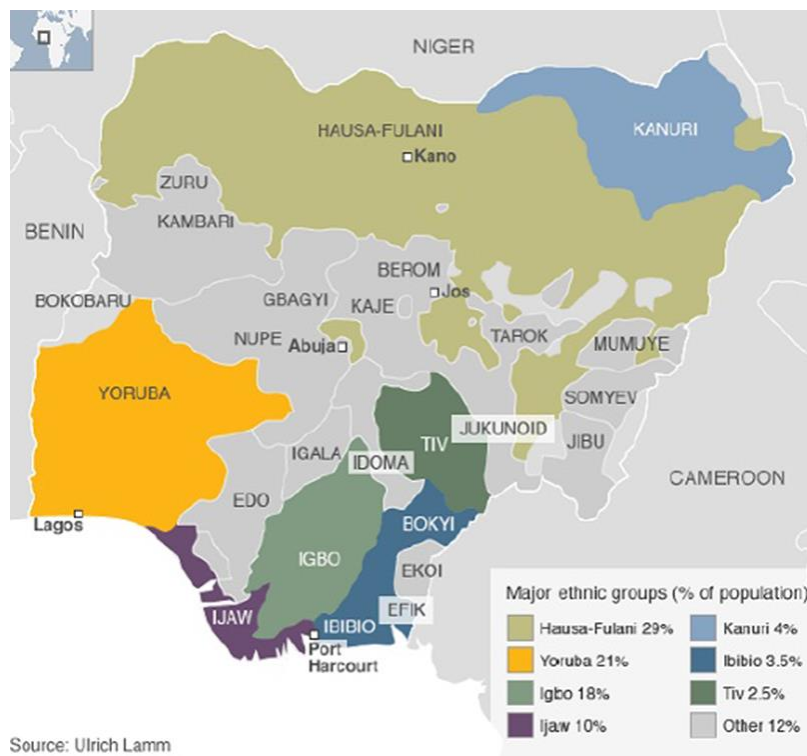
Nigeria is a country located in the West Africa the troubled history of the region has roots in the colonization period. The British Empire was the first to lay claims on the region in the 19th century by enforcing the prohibition of slave trading (An Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade 1807). The year 1884 in the oil rich region of the Niger Delta was created the Oil Rivers Protectorate later to be named Niger Coast Protectorate in 1893 (Pakenham 1991). Nigeria lost colonial status in 1960 and became a sovereign and independent state.

Shortly after the decolonization, in the year 1967 the Biafran War or the Nigerian Civil War emerged, between the Igbo tribe and the federal government of Nigeria, with the first party demanding independence from the Nigerian state. This war underlines the ethnic and religious diversities of Nigeria especially between the south tribes of the Niger Delta like the Igbo people and the North. This war ended with many casualties mainly for the Igbo's and the win for the Federal Government.

Nigeria contains many tribes just like other African countries, but the impact of the tribalism is exceptional in relation to other tribe-countries. First, we need to clarify what tribe really is. According to Murdock: *A tribe may be defined as any group of people numerically larger than the community to which members of an extended kinship group belong* (Murdock 1950). Tribes tend to support political parties of the same tribe, this development is usually an aftermath of non-existing established democratic order, or in the case of Nigeria a corrupted one (Akiwowo, Akinsola 2006). The rivalry of tribes in Nigeria is often confused to minor differences but most of the times the essence of this rivalry is the struggle for power to national level. According to Murdock, *Tribalism is therefore characteristic of the formative years of the consociated society, that is, a society which in its formative stage is based upon the political unification of hitherto culturally related but politically independent tribal groups formerly administered by a colonial government*. In the case of Nigeria tribalism can also be addressed as a kind of nationalism far more powerful than the typical definition of nationalism which concerns the pride for the nation. In tribal nationalism the people take a greater pride in their own tribe in comparison with pride for the nation as an entity (Schwarz 1966). The three larger tribes, Hausa in the north, Yoruba in the west and Igbo in the east extend over 10 million people each with their own language, historical, religious and cultural differences. The religious rivalry of the Muslim north and the Christian south is not the only component of this dynamic relationship between the tribes. Although, religion is not the only obstacle of Nigerian national identity it is of great importance. When religion is confused with political parties a perception of dominance from one party to another occurs (Kopelen 2013). Yet 21% of the Nigerian population identify themselves with

religious criteria (Osaghee and Suberu 2005). Competition for power since the early beginnings of Nigerian state in 1960 and the forming of the constitution was a terrain for trilateral violence between the dominant tribes which sometimes erupted into wars like the Biafran War. In this antagonistic environment the three tribes tried to manipulate smaller tribes into their sphere of influence even if they were in a different region than their own domain (Schwartz 1966). The Nigerian constitution intended to alleviate ethnic conflict, religious oppression, economic disparity but the representative system aligned political forces and their competition increased tensions and violence (Kopelen 2013).

Figure 1: Major Ethnic Groups in Nigeria



Source: Ulrich Lamm

B. History of Struggle in the Niger Delta

Nowadays in the region of the Niger Delta find residence approximately 31 million people. The region is ethnically diverse with over 40 ethnic groups living there, some of them are the Ijaw, Bini, Efik , Ibibio, Annang, Oron, Itsekiri, Isoko, Urhobo, Ukwuani and Kalabari. Language differences also exist with nearly 250 dialects spoken (Okoli 2013).

The struggle in the Niger Delta region dates to 19th century and the colonial era. The inhabitants of the region maintained a status of middlemen in the trade system of the period, which was seriously disputed by the European imperialistic powers. This dispute led to clashes between Europeans and the Niger Delta people (Alao 2005). Niger Delta according to (Joab-Peterside, Porter and Watts, 2012) experienced in relation to world and trans-Atlantic economy three phases which had social cultural and political consequences.

Slavery	Palm Oil	Petroleum
---------	----------	-----------

In the case of palm oil, the British empire secured its economic hegemony in the world by forced labor to its colony, Nigeria, utilizing the regions great amounts of this product (Olutayo 2009). Against the colonialism resisted regional Kings like Nana of Itsekiri, Jaja of Opobo and Koko of Nembe (Ilagha 2007).

In 1914 the North and the Southern protectorates of Nigeria were united and divided in provinces, in the south the eastern Ijaws were placed in Owerri and Calabar province, from the western Ijaws who were in Delta province (Ikalama 2006). This separation was unacceptable for the Ijaws, who demanded a province for the whole ethnic tribe, they achieved this goal in 1947 with the establishment of Rivers province (Amodu 2012). Key role in this development had The People's League which emerged in 1942 (Obi & Rustad 2011), an association whose main objective was to support the Ijaw struggle.

The Ijaw resistance continued in 1966 a few years after Nigerian independence from Britain and Shell's early exploiting operations in the Niger Delta. An unsuccessful rebellion from the Niger Delta Volunteer Force was orchestrated by Isaac Boro to achieve independence for the Ijaw tribe, this rebellion is identified in Nigeria as "The 12th day Rebellion" (Obi 2009), (Watts 2009). In the following years some peaceful initiatives took place to improve the Ijaw subsistence in Nigeria but never paid off, like petitions which demanded an autonomy recognition (Ukiwo 2007). Another turning point to the Niger Delta struggle was the manifestation of the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) in the early 1990s, led by Ken Saro-Wiwa. MOSOP was the first group in the history of Niger Delta

struggle, threatening to disrupt oil extraction and the way the MNOCs were operating. Their demands were ethnic and environmental rights, in return they were confronted by the Federal Government with great repression and violence (Okoli 2013). It is vital to understand that the military rule that was established in Nigeria from 1966-1999 led to the militarization of the region, which also led to the justification of violence (Tilly 2001). In the region of the Niger Delta the socioeconomic dysfunctions, where the youth population also faces unemployment and poverty make them to resist against the government (Agbibo 2013). A critical point on the tribe's emancipation was the establishment of the Ijaw Youth Council in 1998 and their implementation of the Operation Climate Change a non-violent act with the purpose of limiting gas flaring. This initiative met with brutal counteract which led to the "Odi Massacre" and 2.483 Ijaw citizens dead as an outcome (Environmental Rights Action 2002). Following this incident groups with violent intentions started to emerge which altogether contributed to the creation of MEND in 2005 (Obi 2010).

Chapter III

State Aspects

A. Nigeria's Oil Situation

In order to understand what cause the conflict in Niger Delta and how this affects the energy security of Nigeria, it is vital to examine some characteristics of the Nigerian state, starting from the oil situation. Nigeria is a key player in the oil business, by being a major oil exporter to the USA and the rest of the world. The country is the thirteenth larger producer of oil internationally according to OECD data excluding non-state actors (OECD 2017), and slowly moving to the LNG market. Nigeria is also the most populous member of OPEC since 1971. In over sixty years of crude oil and gas exploitation, the sector has accounted for over 80% of Nigeria's foreign exchange earnings (Jack, Akujobi, Uchechukwu, Azubuike 2016). Nigeria's oil is vital of the U.S. interests, as Princeton Lyman a former U.S. ambassador to Nigeria have stated this situation makes Nigeria a desirable target of terrorists, in order to disrupt the oil flows to the U.S. (Ajibola, 2015) Petroleum exports revenue represents almost 83% of total exports revenue in the state (OPEC). In 1980s 47% of the oil revenues came from the Niger Delta (Obi 2009), in contrast with the 1970s where the percentage was higher approximately 50% (Obi 2010). In 1970s there was a rise in the oil prices due to initiatives taken by OPEC, this development brought a major economic profit to the country. The disruption of oil flows during the 70s due to the Arab-Israeli war was of great importance to Nigeria's economy (Ogunrotifa, 2013). But this new wealth wasn't used in a way to support and enrich the economy, rather it was used by military and political decision makers to expand their influence and benefits by collaborating with MNOCs (Dudley 1982). Oil exports are a blessing for Nigerian state and by the same time a curse for the Niger Delta region mostly due to the negative aftermath of oil extraction (Olorode 1998). The oil production in Nigeria has almost no positive development in the livelihood of the Nigerian people because the country is a victim of the resource curse phenomenon (Joab-Peterside, Porter and Watts, 2012). Despite the high performance on oil exports the country faces huge problems with its socio-economic profile, Nigeria ranks 157 out of 189 countries in the United Nations Human Development Index in 2017 (UN Human Development Index 2017). The oil sector in Nigeria employs workers who are high-skilled and well-paid, but this kind of labor "oligarchy" undermines the local workforces who are disadvantaged in skill (Jack, Akujobi, Uchechukwu, Azubuike 2016). The destruction of the environment from oil extraction in coexistence with poverty and unemployment have played a major role in the militarization of the communities in the Niger Delta and the creation of insurgencies. These armed groups utilize kidnaping, car bombing, extortion, murder and other violent forms of resistance against the government and the MNOCs (Bello 2013). The economists have worked extensively on theories related to oil and the misfortune that it brings, below are analyzed three main theories of the political economy of energy that apply in Nigeria's situation:

Resource Curse

The core of the Resource Curse theory is the assumption that developing countries gaining a considerable amount of their national revenue from explicit natural resources, such as crude oil, natural gas, diamond and other minerals have high probability to experience negative economic growth and development generally, especially compared to non-rich in natural resources countries (Jack, Akujobi, Uchechukwu, Azubuike 2016). States affected by resource curse are characterized by their inability to utilize their natural resource revenues to support their economy, instead their other economic sectors are seriously undermined (Harford & Klein 2005). Resource Curse's aftermath usually leads to civil wars and conflicts, (Collier & Hoeffler 2001) notice that the 23% of states depended on oil exports have experienced a civil war in a 5-year period, just like in the Niger Delta region.

Dutch Disease Phenomenon

The submergence of other sectors of the economy due to the major profits from oil in the oil rich states is what is called Dutch Disease in the literature of energy economics (Otaha, 2012). Furthermore, the massive exports of oil or another resource appreciate the local currency and that result, weaken the ability of the state to export other products besides natural resources. This dependence in one sector of the economy makes the state's economy vulnerable to the penetration of international market prices, therefore public expenditure that aim to tackle socio-economic misfunctions is decreasing. States, victims of the Dutch Disease like Nigeria tend to borrow capital more than non-oil rich countries, just to address this anomaly of the economy. Dutch Disease victims usually needs to apply austerity measures, which further the socio-economic misfortune, results are weak environmental regulations, unbalanced taxation, cheap and unproductive labor. This situation allows the MNOC's to operate indifferently for the costs that the local communities must pay (Otaha 2012)

Rentier State Theory

States that derive most of their national revenues from external rent are called Rentier States. *High oil revenue raises exchange rates, promote adverse balance of payment as the cost of imports rises. In short, it kills incentive to risk investment in non-oil sectors, the competitiveness of all non-oil sectors such as agriculture and manufacturing industries have been crowded out* (Ross 2001). Nigeria is one of these states, all the resources are rented to MNOCs to exploit (Otaha 2012), the national oil company of Nigeria, NNPC, operates in cooperation with the major MNOCs via memoranda of understanding (Watts 2010).The rentier state theory supports

the idea that states reliant on external rent like, grow a different bond of relationship between government and their citizens from those that rely mainly on taxation such countries are unlikely to be democratic compared to those who are tax reliant (Ayodele 2004).

B. Corruption Impact in Nigeria

Although oil has brought misfortune to Nigeria, the natural resource alone is not capable for making the country “bleed”, other countries like Norway are blessed from oil. In the case of Nigeria corruption have played a major role in radicalizing the people against the state and the MNOCs, that is another aspect of the state that is vital to examine in order to understand the conflict dynamics of the Niger Delta. Furthermore, Nigeria’s failure to address the social and financial challenges is a result of corruption in all ranks of the public administration. This corrupted system avoided for years the diversification of the economy and as consequence Nigeria is highly depended on oil exports which in 2008 accounted for 95% of its total foreign exchange revenues (Adebajo 2008). The Commission for Africa mentioned in 2005 that “Africa has suffered from governments that have looted the resources of the state; that could not or would not deliver services to their people; that in many cases were predatory, corruptly extracting their countries’ resources, that maintained control through violence and bribery; and that squandered and stolen aid.” (Commission for Africa 2005 p.106). Politicians are often involved in oil revenue looting schemes. After the election of president Buhari, the Nigerian Anti-graft Agency and the Economic & Financial Crimes Commission, has been cooperating with authorities in the US, Switzerland and UK to investigate crimes regarding oil revenue theft which concern previous ministers, like Diezani Alison-Madueke former oil Minister (Hildyard 2018). One of the keys to MEND’s success was the ability to control high state officers with money from oil looting, which is the main source of the organization’s income. The collaborators of the insurgencies like MEND vary from admirals and junior officers in the navy, police officers assigned with anti-looting operations and politicians and majors of the Niger Delta (Ocakli & Scotch 2017). Between 1970 and 2007 it is estimated that the oil revenues of the state are approx. \$400 billion, but from this amount \$100 billion cannot be traced, due to illegal money flows (Watts 2007).

Corruption though even if it is recognized in the developed countries as an evil practice which by utilizing unethical means destroys the social and economic foundations of a country, in some developing countries on the other hand it is part of a general cultural perception in their tradition (Egiegba, Agbibo 2012) As Maduagwu in 1982 noted “Corruption thrives in Nigeria because society permits it. No Nigerian official would be ashamed, let alone condemned by his people because he or she is accused of being corrupt. The same applies to outright stealing of

government or public money or property. On the contrary, the official will be hailed as being smart. He would be adored as having “made it”; he is a “successful man”. And any government official or politician who can enrich himself corruptly but failed to do so will, in fact, be ostracized by his people upon leaving office. He would be regarded as a fool, or selfish, or both” (Maduagwu 1982).

The question that arises is why corruption exists in states like Nigeria blessed with so many natural resources. A simple assumption is that public workers even in the higher ranks will not earn enough money by practicing their profession, so as a result they find shelter in illegal activities which corrupt the state (Mbaku 1999). Yet again the answer is the mismanagement of the oil industry, (Ross 2003) notices that: *Had each year’s oil rents [In Nigeria] been invested in a fund that yielded just five percent real interest, at the end of 1999 the fund would be worth \$454 billion. If divided among the general population, every man, woman, and child would receive about \$3,750, equivalent to about 15 years of wages*

According to (Egiegba 2012) there are five main reasons Nigeria is suffering from corruption. The first reason is that authorities spend too much resources trying to counter corruption rather to understand its roots. Second reason is that public sector is the only career opportunity which provides a basic income. This situation almost eliminates every chance for a Nigerian to seek a lawful activity outside the state’s institutions. Relevant with the second reason is also the third, which underlines that many citizens use the public sector employment to earn an income which they will use to create their own private businesses. The fourth reason concerns Nigeria’s poor social system which creates insecurity, especially for the elderly. The last reason using Egiegba’s own words is that, national values embolden corrupt behavior, as those who acquire affluence and buy influence through corrupt enrichment also command national and local respect and honors. People also believe that the state has always paid lip-service to its anticorruption crusade, hence the perceived absence of any useful deterrence against corrupt behavior.

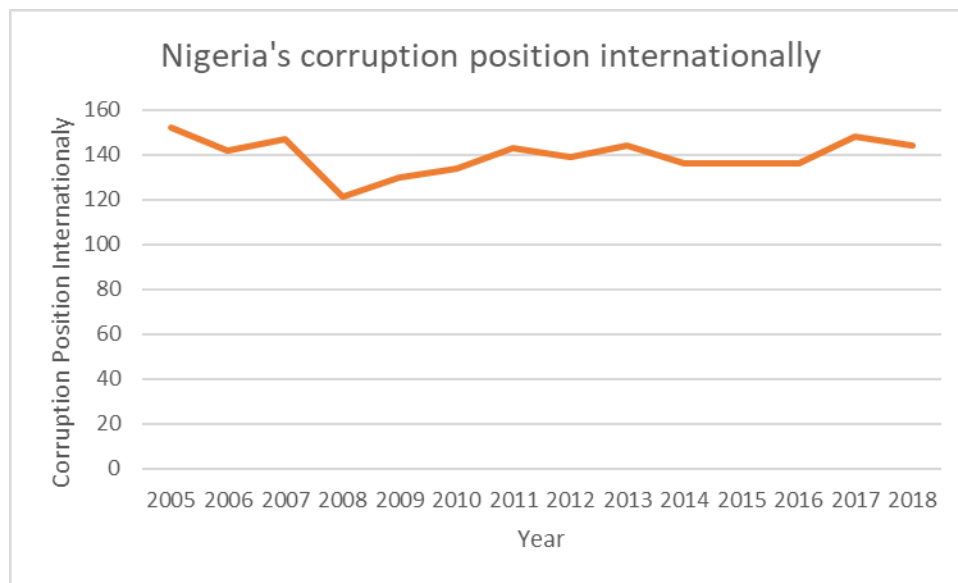
The NNPC is not an exception, multiple allegations suggest the corruption is dominant also inside the National Petroleum Corporation of Nigeria, some of the most famous cases are analyzed below:

- **ABB Vetco Gray:** In July 2004, ABB Vetco Gray, a US company, and its UK subsidiary ABB Vetco Gray UK Ltd, self-confessed paying over \$1 million in bribes to officials at NNPC subsidiary NAPIMS in exchange for gaining confidential bid information and advantageous recommendations from Nigerian government agencies (Department of Justice 2004).
- **Willbros Group Inc.:** In May 2008, Willbros Group Inc, a US company, admitted to making unlawful payments estimated over \$6.3 million to officials of the NNPC and its subsidiary NAPIMS, in return for support in acquiring and retaining contracts for work on the Eastern Gas Gathering System (EGGS) (Department of Justice 2008)

- **KPMG Report:** In December 2011, the Nigerian government authorized KPMG to publish a forensic report. The review, commissioned by the Ministry of Finance curious over the NNPC's transparency, detailed the NNPC's unlawful business practices, violation of regulations, illegal deductions of state funds, and failure to account for several billions of naira that should go to the federation account. Inspectors found that between 2007 and 2009 alone, the NNPC over-deducted funds in subsidy claims to the tune of 28.5 billion naira (Musikilu 2011), (Federal Ministry of Finance 2010).
- **Trafigura and Vitol:** In November 2013 after a report was published by a Swiss Non-governmental advocacy organization, Erklärung von Bern, allegations of heavy fraud surfaced, The organization claimed that \$6.8 billion of unjustifiable subsidies were paid out in 2009 and 2011, this sum is equal to nearly four times the Nigerian budget for health 2013. It says that the trading companies Vitol and Trafigura had “exclusive and non-transparent partnerships” with the NNPC, which had granted them over 26% of the total market share (swissinfo.ch 2013).

Transparency International has some very information considering Nigeria’s position internationally in the Corruption Ranking. It is obvious that in the period 2005-2018 Nigeria remained one of the most corrupted states in the world with almost no prospect of improvement.

Figure 2: Transparency International Corruption Rankings 2005-2018



Due to the alteration of the number of countries participating in the survey every year, 175.3 (approx. 175) was used as the average number of the countries that participated throughout 14 years

Chapter IV

Multinational Oil Companies in Nigeria

A. MNOC's Relationship with the Communities

Another key player in the Niger Delta conflict are the Multinational Oil Companies, they need to be extensively examined in order to understand how their operations fuel the socio-economic dysfunction of the Nigerian state. Furthermore, the oil sector in Nigeria operates under the principle of cooperation between the Federal Government and the MNOCs, this joint management translates in 60%-40% share between the Federal Government via the NNPC and the MNOCs (Jack, Akujobi, Uchechukwu, Azubuike 2016). Nigeria Shell the subsidiary of Royal Dutch Shell was the first company that started exporting oil from Nigeria in 1958 followed by other companies in 1959 (Chevron-Texaco, Exxon Mobil, Total, Agip-ENI). All of them combined produce every day approximately 2 million barrels of oil (Eweje, 2006). These companies have been targeted as the root of problems caused in the fragile region of the Niger Delta along with the state government. Karl Marx noted that in capitalism people tend to be alienated due to inequality and injustice. This system includes two classes the owners and the workers. The primary inequity of the system refers in the core of the production relations, in relative terms, the worker contributes more to the production process, but on the one hand the owner gains a far greater benefit. Marx also pointed out that alienation is the unavoidable result of private ownership. This development is often in societies in which people are discriminated into owners and non-owners (Marx 1844). In Niger Delta the traditional working activity of agriculture was slowly decreased due to the oil production which was the fundamental reason of worse living standards and declined income for the citizens of the region who couldn't find employment in this new sector (Odera & Scott & Gow 2018). The external influence that these companies wield in Nigerian economy, led the country to lose sovereignty, the USA and other countries can nowadays play a significant role in Nigeria's domestic affairs via their MNOCs (Otaha 2012). Amodu (2012) categorized the negative impact of the MNOCs in five points:

1. *Supporting regressive regimes: the oil companies in Nigeria have been accused of collaborating with the government to suppress the communities in the Niger Delta (Akinola, 2008; Ogbogbo, 2004). One of the major incidents in Nigeria that boosted this accusation was the execution of Ken Saro-wiwa and his other Ogoni comrades. There was a popular opinion that Shell was instrumental to, or at least supportive of the military government of late Gen. Abacha in the execution. The assumption was further reinforced by Shell's swift announcement to continue with its \$4.3 billion LNG project, just three days after the execution (Adefemi, 1998).*

2. *Paying bribes to secure political influence: in the Niger Delta, it is believed that the oil companies pay off the individuals they either identify as threats or has major influence on the rest of the communities. Adefemi (1998) reports an interview with an individual who admitted he*

became a “small millionaire” by establishing the Council for Concerned Indigenes (CCI) specifically to secure personal gratification from the oil companies. Edafejirhaye & Edafejirhaye in 2008 also cite an investigation which revealed that oil companies connive with some individuals in the oil industry and security outfits to promote illegal bunkering activities.

3. *No respect for human rights: The Civil Liberty Organization (2002) narrates an incident that occurred in 1999 in one of the communities in the Niger Delta. The youths in the community shut down Agip’s operation due to alleged high level of pollution and degradation of the environment. The company reportedly dispatched a combined team of navy and army personnel to the community, resulting in the disappearance of 15 people, and the arrest of the traditional ruler. Another example of the abuse of human rights was given by Adefemi (1998). According to him, Shell headquarters in London decided in 1993, as documented by a memo, to monitor the activities of Ken Saro-wiwa in respect of his Ogoini struggle to “avoid unpleasant surprises;” Ken was arrested 16 days later. This exemplifies the human rights challenges in the Niger Delta.*

4. *Paying protection money to terrorist groups.*

5. *Destabilizing national governments of which they don’t approve.*

The same author observes that a small percentage of the population has a positive opinion about the MNOCs, this differentiation of ideas is analyzed through this table:

Figure 3: Perception of public opinion on MNOCs

Positive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development • Employment
Negative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of Respect • Pollution • Neglect • Humiliation • Unemployment • Poor Infrastructure

}

Violence

Source: Amodu 2012

It is noticeable that the negative perception of the local population is far more dominant than the positive. This outcome strengthens the argument that even if the MNOCs are trying somehow to

change their image on how the local communities see them, the environment is still hostile for them.

B. Environmental Damage

The way foreign corporations in the energy sector operate in the Niger Delta region often establish environmental insecurity, ecological imbalance and in no way promote sustainable development (Uwuigbe, Ranti 2008). The environmental catastrophe is strongly correlated with the deprivation of the life standards in the region, which again are an aftermath of the MNOCs operation (Ibeanu, Luckham 2006).

Figure 4: The Impact of Oil Operations on the Niger Delta Environment

<p>Exploration including geological survey, and geophysical investigations</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Destruction of forest land, vegetation and farmland as well as human settlement • Noise pollution and vibration from seismic shooting • Adverse effects on animals and human population (on shore) and on fisheries (near/offshore) • Disturbances/destruction of flora and fauna habitats. • Dislocation of economic activity • Tension on social environment as a result of disagreement arising from compensation
<p>Product/Process</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Water pollution from long term effects of produced water (with high salinity) • Air pollution from gas and processing evaporation and flaring • Production of heat that kills vegetation of the area, suppresses the growth and flowering of plants and reduces agricultural productivities and wildlife concentration in the area
<p>Drilling</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accumulation of toxic materials, oil pollution in the sea, beaches or land • Destruction of fisheries production • Destruction of breeding ground for marine fisheries • Alteration of the taste of fish • Killing of bottom dwellers • Pollution of underground water (waste pots) • Adverse health effects on humans • Social tension arising from compensation disagreements, etc.
<p>Refining</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Air pollution and wastewater impacting negatively on human health and ecosystem

Oil spillage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Destruction of farmland, fishery, and aquatic resources and mangrove ecosystem • Water pollution • Social tension as a result of disagreements overcompensation
Tanker loading location	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Water pollution from ballast and tank washing • Deck drainage, spillage during loading operation
Storage depot	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land pollution from effluent water and solid waste of chemical cans, drums, etc. • Destruction of farmland for the establishment of storage depots • Water pollution from effluent water • Air pollution from gaseous fumes during loading
Transportation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disruption of seabed by dredging for pipeline installation. • Sedimentation along pipeline routes • Water pollution from consequences of leaks from fracturing or breaking pipes • Air pollution by transport tankers • Destruction of environmentally sensitive area • Erosion and flooding of the area exposed to activity
Marketing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pollution of immediate environments from retail routes • High hazard potential where located near residential building

Source: Adapted from Orubu and Ehwarime (2004).

The dimensions of the environmental degradation from the MNOCs in the Niger Delta include:

Gas Flaring

One of the most hostile practices for the environment of the region is gas flaring. It is said that in Nigeria 75% of the total gas production is fled, making Nigeria the most flaring country in the world. Gas flares have low efficiency and that's why much of the gas is released in the form of methane rather than carbon dioxide. Gas flares in Nigeria are estimated to produce 35 million tons of Co2 and 12 million tons of methane, more than the rest of the world making the country's oil industry a major contributor to global warming and climate change (Onuoha, 2008). Shell points out that there are justifications for this situation but admits that serious concerns are raised, and action is mandatory. According to the MNOC's the rapid development of LNG will reduce the damage of gas flaring (Eweje 2006).

Pipelines

Pipelines have been the most important transportation facility of oil in Nigeria and the riskiest in terms of oil looting. Most of the pipelines are located above the land mainly in agriculture areas and not below as it used in other developed states. To their defense MNOC's argue that pipelines above the surface are safe for the environment unless there is an attempt for oil theft or some

other kind of vandalism. The local communities however claim that the same companies apply different policies regarding the burying of pipelines in developed countries, implying that the environmental degradation could be avoided if other standards were applied (Eweje 2006).

Oil Spills

Oil spills are not only very dangerous for the environment but also for the living standards of the local communities. The oil spills are responsible for water and land poisoning which leads to infertile soil and less agricultural production. This situation has been the cause of many demonstrations and sabotages against the MNOC's. A paradox where local communities create these spills also occurs, their goal is to receive reimbursement. In Nigeria, 50% of the total oil spills are due to corrosion, 28% to vandalism and 21% to oil production procedures. 1% is due to engineering drills (Onuoha 2008). Nevertheless, oil spills affect the areas of economy that Niger Delta residents are occupied with, not only in terms of livelihood but in terms of work (Eweje 2006).

Deforestation

Nigeria has one of the largest mangrove forests in the world, this forest and its biodiversity are deeply affected from operations related with oil, transportation mainly and installations. Oil activity made the mangrove forest of Nigeria the most exploited in the world (Jack, Akujobi, Uchechukwu, Azubuikwe 2016).

Chapter V

Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta

A. Overview

The oil industry and its misfortune for the people in the Niger Delta have led to the creation of multiple social movements some of them with militia characteristics such as the Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF) in 1966/67, the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP) in 1992/93, the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) in 2005, the Federated Niger Delta Ijaw Communities (FNDIC), which operates under MEND's umbrella and lastly, the Niger Delta Avengers in 2015/16 (Tantua, Devine and Maconachie, 2018). The insurgencies emerged from the lack of social justice and by the same time offering a livelihood to the resident of the region (Boas 2012). In 2007 it was estimated that the major militia groups of the Niger Delta account to 100,000 people (Obi 2009). The geographical overview of the Niger Delta is favorable for the emergence of such groups. The area is described as one of the world's largest wetlands, and certainly the largest in the African continent: it covers an area of 20,000 square kilometers. It is a huge floodplain created by the accumulation of centuries of silt washed down the Niger and Benue Rivers, it includes four main ecological zones – coastal barrier islands, mangroves, freshwater swamp forests and lowland rainforests whose limits differ according to the patterns of seasonal flooding. In the Niger Delta exists the third largest mangrove forest of the world and the largest of Africa (Eweje 2006).

B. The Reasons of Creation

- i) *Socioeconomic Deprivation:* The main reason for the creation of MEND, the Ijaw people hold the MNOC's and the state accountable for their financial distress and the catastrophe of their working activities (agriculture fields, river pollution etc.) without at the same time being eligible to work in the oil fields
- ii) *Environmental Catastrophe:* The oil activity has polluted the land and the rivers, making hard for people to cultivate, fish, have access to clean water
- iii) *State Violence:* The Ijaws have always been receivers of excessive violence on behalf of the state, especially during the military regimes
- iv) *Corruption:* The fact that the Ijaw people suffer so much and gain so little from the oil production and at the same time some people enrich themselves illegally from this situation played a significant role in MEND's creation
- v) *Tribal extermination:* MEND is mainly consisted by Ijaws, who believe themselves as always mistreated by other tribes and the federal government
- vi) *Illegitimacy:* Ijaws never accepted the fact that Nigeria is a unified country and always hoped for an autonomous Niger Delta country

- vii) *Incapacity*: According to Ijaws the state is so focused on the oil industry that does not try to find alternative sources of development
- viii) *Demographics*: Niger Delta is overpopulated and as consequence less people find employment, this fact indirectly empowers the emerging of insurgencies

(Zelinka 2008)

C. The Pretext

The Federal Government's attempt to end the illegal oil bunkering brought bloodshed in the village of Okerenkoko located in the western Delta. The village and other villages in the region were alleged to be the epicenter of this illegal practice, as a result they were targeted by armed helicopters in the morning of 15 February 2006. The violence continued for three more days and many innocent Ijaws were murdered. The necessity for revenge was dominant in the Ijaw community, therefore MEND emerged (Okonta 2006).

D. The Beginning

Despite the previous violent initiatives MEND in the early 2006 came into the foreground of the violence scene with impressive success. At first the movement chose to aggressively communicate the struggle of the Niger Delta people and the wrongdoings of the MNOC's via internet. Armed militia with masks, and oil workers as hostages challenged the ecological reflexes of the western societies, as well as the oil prices, in the end the hostages were free to go (Okonta 2006). By the end of 2006 the Minister of Petroleum Resources of Nigeria came to acknowledge their actions by estimating that MEND's operations were to blame for the total loss of 58.4\$ millions per day from oil revenues (Watts 2007). Opus so the ¼ of the total oil profits were lost between 2006 and 2009 owed to MEND (Ocakli & Scotch 2017). More specifically MEND achieved to cut the Nigerian oil production by 30% which was one of their primary goals, with relative convenience in the first weeks of 2006. Their success is even greater if we consider that according to the Nigerian government between 1995-2005 the loss of oil accounted only in 6.8 billion USD in comparison with the first nine months of 2008 in which MEND managed to steal 23.7 billion USD, again according to official report of the Nigerian government (Joab-Peterside, Porter and Watts, 2012).

E. Operation

The main pillars for MEND's accomplishments according to Okonta are four.

- i) The members of the group enjoyed the support of the local villages and residents, which meant they could move with relative ease without being afraid of being arrested. The pursuit of social and environmental justice as well as the dream of redistribution of oil wealth led almost all the Ijaw people to support MEND

- ii) Another factor of their success is that the leaders and the people responsible for the operations are not some random guerillas motivated by greed, but well-educated young people with international and local academical backgrounds. The leadership embraces also tactics that provide decisions of each group of action independently, which they can later coordinate. Using this strategy, the security forces are unable to counteract
- iii) The terrain is familiar to MEND's members, as it was their previous workplace, considering that Ijaw tribesmen are fishermen and farmers. On the other hand, the security forces both Federal Government's and the private of the MNOC's are unfamiliar with swamps and forests, something that leads to fatalities on their side
- iv) MEND is a master user of the media, their aggressive campaign utilizing the media brought international attention to their cause, by highlighting the MNOC's injustice, the Federal Government's corruption and their cooperation in history. Many environmental and human rights activists were delighted by MEND's stance although they urged for more peaceful means to achieve victory. The highlight of their media campaign that brought vast international attention was the threat to "cripple the Nigerian oil exports" (Obi 2009)

(Okonta 2006)

The two main practices of MEND are Oil Looting and Hostage taking:

I) Oil Looting

Oil looting is a fundamental practice of MEND to earn money, this money is mostly used for the continuation of the insurgency by buying sophisticated weapons, supplies and covering every need concerning the organization. Also, that sum provides a wage for the members of the group and their family approximately \$60-70 per day, which in comparison with the \$1,430 in 2012, GNI per capita is more than enough. It must be said though, that oil looting ideologically is for MEND a way to redistribute the oil wealth to the Niger Delta people, and not a method to strengthen their geopolitical position and prosperity as it is for the IS (Ocakli & Scotch 2017). In some instances, researchers disagree in the way MEND is using oil earnings, there are accusations that MEND sells the stolen oil for cash, weapons and drugs mostly cocaine (Brinkel and Ait-hida, 2012). For years researchers tend to support the idea that oil is not lootable like other products, but this trend is now under serious doubt. Shell argued that 60% of the oil spills were due to sabotage. At the end of the 20th century sabotage on oil pipelines was very common practice for the people of the Niger Delta, this was the way to oppose the MNOC's and their damage (Eweje 2006). This sabotage practice was the beginning of the operation which later evolved to oil looting, which had economic value apart from political value. Aside from attacks utilizing kidnaping procedures, this an action that MEND and other smaller insurgencies operating under MEND used frequently. The operation of oil looting or according to others oil bunkering has a primitive motive the theft oil as a product and the sale of it later (Okoli & Orinya 2013). MEND though is not the only active insurgency in the Niger Delta, others who are

acting under MEND are not solely politically motivated, their motive sometimes is greed (Ocakli & Scotch 2017).

Figure 5: Probability of Oil being Looted in different Stages

Stage	Extraction	Transportation	Refinement	Transportation	Distribution
Infrastructure	Oil Wells	Pipelines, Tankers	Refineries	Tankers, Trucks, Trains	Retail
Spatiality	Concentrated	Dispersed	Concentrated	Dispersed	Dispersed
Defensibility	High	Low	High	Low	Varies*
Product	Untreated Crude Oil	Crude Oil	Crude & Refined Oil	Refined Oil, Oil Products	Refined Oil, Oil Products
Price	Low	Medium	Medium	High	High
Lootability	Low	High	Low	High	Varies*

*Retail outlets contain relatively little oil and looting them involves armed robbery.

Adapted from Ocakli and Scotch 2017

According to Ocakli and Scotch, the probability of oil being looted is higher on transportation stage, in the case of MEND it is easier, because the insurgency does not control territory rich in oil as the IS had. At this stage, oil is either crude or refined and its price varies from medium to high, more importantly it is very difficult for security forces to protect oil when it is being transported. If the government or the MNOCs want to protect oil when they transport it, they must invest a huge amount of money. Even in this case the outcome is uncertain, for example in the Dagestan region in Russian Federation only in 2008 27.000 tons of oil were stolen from a 480km pipeline owned by Transneft the state's oil company. To address this situation 700 guards were deployed throughout the region near the pipeline, but the results were the same (Coalson 2012). The Dagestan example proves that oil looting in the transportation stage is not something related to the ability of a country to defend its oil facilities, instead it underlines the vulnerability of huge length pipelines to every kind of threat.

II) Hostages

Except the oil looting, hostage taking is MEND's other method of achieving the goals set by the movement. Foreign oil workers are the best target because MEND accomplishes not only to take ransom something vital for the continuity of the organization but also to bring international attention to their cause. Only between January of 2006 and March 2007 over 100 oil workers were captivated and released for ransom, along with the repairs for the damaged facilities the cost reached levels like 600,000 barrels a day of oil production (Obi 2009). The countries related

to this bargain situation are mostly USA, UK, France and Italy. Hostages under MEND were unharmed until they are released, there are instances that hostages are reported mistreated or dead, but these people were captivated from other insurgencies of the Niger Delta. MEND's leadership understands that to achieve communicational victory in the west via media needs to not harm the hostages, since the balance between activism and terrorism is very fragile (Okonta 2006). J. T. Badey has noticed that:

“An abduction is evaluated differently from a common criminal than from a terrorist who has political motives. The motive of the criminal is the ransom, the motive of the terrorist is the political message which he wants to send to the audience who is watching his action”

(Bossi 2000)

ChevronTexaco, Elf, ENI and Shell are usually the targets for these kinds of operations, especially Shell, which in the eyes of the Ijaw people was a collaborator with the state to many violent actions against their tribe. This situation brought the international markets under serious confusion and oil prices were vulnerable to MEND's attacks. That's why Chevron, which with Shell have always supported brute force from the security forces for these instances, changed course of action and via their head of Chevron's West Africa operations Fred Nelson, announced a new approach, one which communicates with the local communities and tackles the misfortune in cooperation (Okonta 2006).

The earnings of these operations are used in different ways as it is mentioned before, it is important however, to underline the available data on guns trafficking. Moreover, the group is involved in illegal transactions with state officials for army equipment even before 2009. Some of the weapons that allegedly came into MEND's possession included rocket launchers, UMGs, GPMGs, G3 and Mark IV rifles, Barretta rifles, AK 47 and ammunitions (Saharareporters 2010). In 2008 a Major and five soldiers were convicted for illegal weapon trafficking, over 7000 AK 47 rifles, machine guns and rocket launchers were objects of investigation (Onuoha, 2011). It is noticeable that these weapons are sophisticated army weapons and not amateur equipment. MEND has carried out 70 attacks and killed approximately 280 since its creation in the mid-00s (START, 2014).

F. Attacks on Oil Facilities 1997-2010

Attacks on oil facilities have a long history in Nigeria, some of them happened before the appearance of MEND but they surely increased after. MEND's activities and operations continued officially until 2013 the year that the amnesty program was set in motion. Further action was taken from insurgencies after 2013 against oil installations, but under other names and groups. Utilizing data from (Kashubsky 2011) we notice the way insurgencies targeted the oil facilities from 1997 to 2010 in Nigeria.

Figure 6: Attacks on Oil Facilities 1997-2010

Date	Details of Attack/Incident
13 Dec 1997	Employees and villagers kidnapped one US citizen, one Australian, and two British oil workers, and at least nine Nigerian staff members of Western Geophysical, a US-owned oil exploration company off the coast of Nigeria. The victims were released in stages on 17 and 18 December 1997
25 May 1998	Over 100 unarmed and peaceful Ilaje protestors went to the Chevron's Parabe oil production platform about nine miles offshore. Nigerian Navy and Mobile Police stationed at the platform, who were armed, allowed the protestors aboard. The protestors occupied the platform to protest environmental and distribution issues, and to demand monetary compensation for environmental and economic grievances and jobs. After two days of negotiations, Chevron used its contracted helicopters to fly Nigerian security forces to the platform. Security forces opened fire at the protestors which resulted in the death of two protestors and several others were wounded.
27 Jun 1999	Armed youth militants (local antioil industry activists) stormed a Shell oil platform in Port Harcourt, Nigeria. The attackers caused damage to the platform and kidnapped three foreign platform workers, including an Australian. The attackers then hijacked a helicopter and forced the hostages to fly them to a village near Warri. The hostages were released unharmed on or about 16 July 1999 for an undisclosed ransom. A group calling itself Enough is Enough in the Niger River (EENR) claimed responsibility.
20 Jul 1999	Armed men stormed a Royal Dutch Shell operated oil rig in Osoko and held seven British nationals and 57 Nigerians hostage. On 22 July 1999, the youths released the hostages unharmed.
10 Aug 1999	Three British nationals were kidnapped by armed youths from a US operated oil platform in the Niger Delta region. No one was injured, and no one claimed responsibility. On 11 August the youths released the hostages unharmed.
31 Jul 2000	About thirty-five armed young men from a village in Bayela State used a rowboat to reach two oil platforms off the coast. They boarded the rig and took 165 oil workers hostage, including 20 foreigners. They demanded that Shell employ more Nigerian nationals and that it pays a fee to the local community for exploiting its petroleum resources. Shell made a deal with the hostage-takers and the employees were released four days later
23 Aug 2001	The local community group of antioil activists boarded a Shell's production platform and the nearby <i>Trident VIII</i> jackup drilling rig. The rig's crew was safely evacuated to Port Harcourt and the activists had withdrawn

Apr 2003	About 100 oil workers were held hostage aboard offshore installations off the coast of Nigeria by striking Nigerian workers complaining about redundancies and unfair dismissal of Nigerian employees. The hostages included over twenty Americans and over thirty British nationals
12 Jun 2005	A group of armed men boarded FPSO Jamestown in Warri Region and took hostage all 45 crew members. After lengthy negotiations, the gunmen released all hostages unharmed three days later
22 Sep 2005	More than 100 armed militants stormed a Chevron-operated Idama oil production platform in the southern Niger Delta in response to the arrest of an ethnic militia leader on treason charges and forced it to shut down operations. Armed with assault rifles, militants attacked the platform using about eight boats, each carrying 15 gunmen, and occupied the Idama flow station. Six government security forces had their weapons taken from them. Production of 8,000 bpd shut down.
10 Jan 2006 – 11 Jan 2006	Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND) rebels attacked Shell's EA offshore oil platform located about 15 km offshore and kidnapped four foreign oil workers from a support vessel anchored at the platform. The company shut down 115,000 bpd EA platform. MEND demanded the immediate and unconditional release of Dokubo- Asari and Governor D.S.P. Alamieyeseigha. Insurgents also blew up crude oil pipelines, cutting supplies to Forcados offshore export terminal by 100,000 bpd. Some sources claim that EA platform was not attacked, but a support vessel in the vicinity of the platform was attacked. Hostages were released on or about 30 January 2006.
15 Jan 2006	MEND insurgents, travelling in speedboats, attacked Shell's Benisede flow station. They burned down staff accommodation and damaged the processing facilities, killing at least 16 people in the process, including fourteen soldiers and two civilians. Shell's operations were reduced by about 106,000 bpd as a result of the attack and the company was forced to consider evacuating
18 Feb 2006	MEND insurgents in speedboats bombed the Forcados offshore oil loading terminal and abducted nine workers from the nearby offshore barge at the Escravos coast, and they also damaged oil platform equipment. Six workers were released on 1 March and the remaining three on 27 March
2 Jun 2006	About 30 armed militants boarded a semi-submersible rig, the Bulford Dolphin, about 65 km offshore and abducted eight offshore workers. Hostages were released a couple of days later. About 20 non-essential personnel were evacuated to shore and the rest of the rig crew was safe, but operations were temporarily halted. The attack also contributed to the rise of oil prices by about \$1 to \$71.50 per barrel

22 Nov 2006	FPSO Mystras was attacked by armed men while anchored off Port Harcourt. Ten gunmen boarded the facility and kidnapped seven workers. Their boat was intercepted by the authorities and engaged in a shoot-out during which one worker was killed, one injured, and five others were rescued.
31 Mar 2007 – 1 Apr 2007	<i>Bulford Dolphin</i> mobile offshore drilling rig was attacked again by gunmen about 65 km off the coast of Nigeria. One British expatriate worker was abducted and taken ashore from the platform. The attackers, believed to be pirates, boarded the rig via an offshore support vessel, which was secured alongside the platform at the time of the incident. Hostage was released on 4 April 2007
19 Apr 2007	An offshore security vessel that was supporting <i>Trident VIII</i> drilling rig, was attacked and three Nigerian sailors were abducted and another six were injured. The gunmen also seized weapons and equipment. <i>Trident VIII</i> rig was later shut down as a result of this incident and the staff of <i>Don Walker</i> oil rig, which was within a 10-minute boat ride from the incident, had requested security reinforcements from the nearest naval base
1 May 2007	Chevron's Oloibiri floating storage and offloading (FSO) unit was reportedly attacked by MEND at offshore Pennington field off southern Bayelsa state. One Nigerian sailor was killed during the attack and six other foreign oil workers were abducted, but later released on 2 June 2007. The FSO was moored near Funiwa platform. The production at the 15,000 bpd Funiwa field and other fields supported by this vessel was shut down to avoid any additional security or safety incidents
3 May 2007	FPSO Mystras was attacked by gunmen believed to be pirates they boarded via the anchor chain. The intruders kidnapped eight foreign workers, including an Australian, from FPSO and an offshore support vessel. The workers were released the following day. FPSO was moored about 55 km off Port Harcourt (however, some sources report that it was 55 miles offshore). Force majeure was declared at a field capable of producing 50,000 bpd, and the production was shut down for several days. Some sources report that this attack was carried out by MEND, not pirates; and that six foreign workers were kidnapped, not eight
5 May 2007	<i>Trident VIII</i> offshore drilling rig was attacked and boarded by gunmen, believed to be pirates, near Brass oil export terminal. One crew member was kidnapped. The attack triggered a security lockdown of the Brass crude oil export terminal
22 Jun 2007	In the early hours three gunmen armed with AK-47s boarded the 159,000-dwt Cape Brindisi moored at Pennington Oil Terminal (also known as FSO Oloibiri) and proceeded to shoot up the vessel. No injuries to the crew were reported as they succeeded in going into lock-down mode, after which the gunmen left the ship. The militants reportedly took control of the FSO Oloibiri, where the Cape Brindisi had been loading

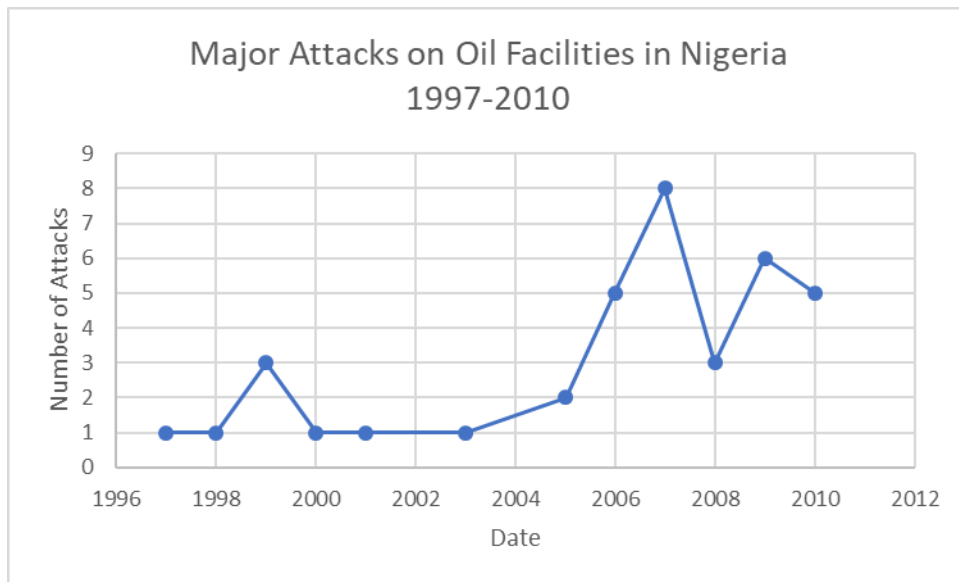
20 Oct 2007	Seven workers were kidnapped at the EA field (possibly from FPSO Sea Eagle) about 15 km off the coast of Bayelsa state by gunmen in speedboats including four Nigerians, a Russian, a British, and a Croatian. All workers were released two days later
26 Oct 2007	Gunmen in speedboats attacked FPSO Mystras about 85 km offshore at an oil production facility operated by Saipem, taking hostage six oil workers. MEND had claimed responsibility for the attack
10 Jun 2008	In the early morning, near Port Harcourt, Rivers, Nigeria, armed assailants in speedboats fired upon an oil facility, killing nine naval officers and wounding four civilians. No group claimed responsibility
19 Jun 2008	Royal Dutch Shell's Bonga floating production storage and offloading vessel (FPSO) was attacked by armed militants about 120 km offshore. It was reported that at about 1:00 am around two dozen armed men in speedboats stormed the floating facility and after failing to get access inside they started shooting at FPSO and those on board. Some people were wounded, but no lives were lost. The attack lasted for almost four hours, during which the militants also encountered and hijacked an offshore support vessel and kidnapped its US captain but released him later that day. The responsibility for the attack was claimed by MEND, the most high-profile militant group in the region. The facility was damaged in the attack, which forced the company to shut down the entire production at its main offshore oil field in Nigeria, interrupting production of approximately 200,000 bpd and 150 million standard cubic feet of gas
16 Sep 2008	Shooting was reported near Chevron-operated Idama offshore production platform, causing Chevron to evacuate offshore workers as a precaution
21 Jun 2009	In Rivers state assailants detonated explosives damaging two oil pipelines at Adamakiri and in Kula respectively as well as an offshore facility at the Afremo oil fields operated by Shell but causing no fatalities or injuries. MEND claimed responsibility
25 Jun 2009	MEND militants rejected the government's amnesty offer, arguing it did not address the fundamentals of the crisis in the region. MEND claims to have blown up the second remaining well head platform Jacket B of the Shell Afremo offshore oil fields in Delta state
26 Jun 2009	MEND claims that at least 20 soldiers were killed in one of its attacks on Shell's Forcados offshore terminal in Delta state. Chevron evacuated hundreds of workers from the Niger Delta after the attacks. At least six high-profile attacks by MEND on oil well heads, offshore platforms, major pipelines and oil pumping stations were reported
29 Jun 2009	MEND attacked Shell's Forcados offshore terminal facility in Delta state using explosives. Cluster 11 and 30 caught on fire after a massive explosion. A confrontation with a military gunboat patrol that stumbled upon heavily armed fighters resulted in the sinking of the gunboat with about 20-25 soldiers on board

5 Jul 2009	MEND attacked Shell's Well Head 20 platform located at Cawthorn Channel 1. The facility connects to the Bonny loading terminal in Rivers state. On the same day MEND militants attacked and blew up the strategic Okan manifold which controlled about 80 per cent of Chevron Nigeria Limited offshore crude oil to its BOP Crude Loading Platform in Delta state
12 Jul 2009	MEND conducted a raid on an oil offloading facility in Lagos. This was the group's first attack outside Niger Delta in several months. Five people were killed in the attack
5 Jan 2010	A group of pirates attacked FSO <i>Westaf</i> , off Lagos, Nigeria. Seven crew members were taken to hospital due to the attack including the master who was wounded in the stomach. The attackers stole cash, crew belongings and expensive ship equipment
22 Sep 2010	Armed men (believed to be pirates) attacked and attempted to take control of an offshore oil rig at an oil field operated by Addax Petroleum. The assailants became locked in a sustained gunfire with Nigerian Navy patrol boat after it intervened; later it kidnapped three French employees from an offshore supply vessel while retreating. A Thai employee may also have been taken hostage during the attack. The pirates nearly reached the platform by using a vessel which looked like the ships that routinely provide supplies to offshore rig workers
7 Nov 2010	A group of MEND insurgents attacked the High Island VII offshore drilling jack-up rig at the Okoro offshore field located about 12 km offshore and kidnapped 19 crew members including 12 Nigerians, two Americans, two Frenchmen, two Indonesians and one Canadian. Hostages were freed ten days later
8 Nov 2010	Gunmen attacked an offshore rig operated by Afren PLC, which was engaged in exploratory/survey work at the Okoro oil field about 11 km off the coast of Nigeria. Seven foreigner workers were kidnapped from an oil rig and the company reported that two workers were wounded in the attack and have been flown out by helicopter to receive medical treatment
15 Nov 2010	Armed men boarded ExxonMobil's Oso offshore platform on the Nigeria's southeast coast and abducted eight offshore workers. At the time of the attack there were 74 people aboard the platform. The company suspended 75,000 bpd production from the facility. The gunmen allegedly came in five speedboats; they beat up some crew members and cut electricity to the offshore facility. A previously unknown group, which identified itself as the Niger Delta Liberation Force (NDLF), claimed responsibility for the attack and threatened to target oil installations in fresh attacks

Adapted from Kashubsky Mikhail 2011

Using the data from Kashubsky's research I created a linear graph which shows how the number of attacks rose from 1997-2010 especially after the establishment of MEND. In this graph are only considered major incidents from Kashubky's work, these are not the only incidents that happened these years. The indicator would probably be even higher if minor attacks, statements from MEND, hostage situation resolutions and other MEND's operations were also included in the research.

Figure 7



G. MEND as a Terrorist Organization

There are many existing definitions of terrorism in the scientific literature for that reason only a one will be chosen in this master thesis as a guideline to understand the main concept of terrorism. The most interesting approach about the concept of terrorism is provided by the FBI and that's why it refers to the outcome of a terrorist act, according to the FBI:

Terrorism is the unlawful use of violence against persons or property for the purpose of corrupting or damaging a government, civilians or parts them, with a view to developing political and social objectives (Bossi 2000).

To understand how MEND can be countered we must first search out if there is any sort of relevance to terrorist groups. The primary terrorist ideological groups are:

- Far Left Terrorism
 - Far Right Terrorism
 - Islam Extremism
 - Terrorism on Demand
 - Single Issue Terrorism
- (Bossi 2000)

There is also another group, it concerns Ethnic Terrorism. D. Byman was the researcher that worked sufficiently with the topic. According to him Ethnic Terrorism is *deliberate violence used by subnational ethnic group to advance its cause* (Byman, 2008). Furthermore, according to Byman the characteristics of Ethnic terrorism which happens to apply to MEND are the following

- i) **Ethnic Homogeneity.** MEND is consisted from the Ijaw ethnic group
- ii) **Government Persecution against the Ethnic Group.** There are many examples about the mistreatment of the Ijaw people from the Federal Government, the most distinct is the Odi Massacre
- iii) **Violence Symbolizes the Preservation of the Ethnic Identity.** MEND's use of violence is forcing the state to negotiate with the Ijaw and the MNOCs to have a social responsibility for the ethnic group
- iv) **Violence Against other Ethnic Groups.** MEND has not been accused of attacking other ethnic groups, but there have been reports of exchanging threats with Boko Haram (Africa Report No216, 2014) which is not an ethnic based group
- v) **Those who Comprise with the Government are Traitors of the Tribe.** This has been the case in many instances for MEND, when ex-soldiers lay down their weapons in return for a compensation from the state (Zelinka 2008)

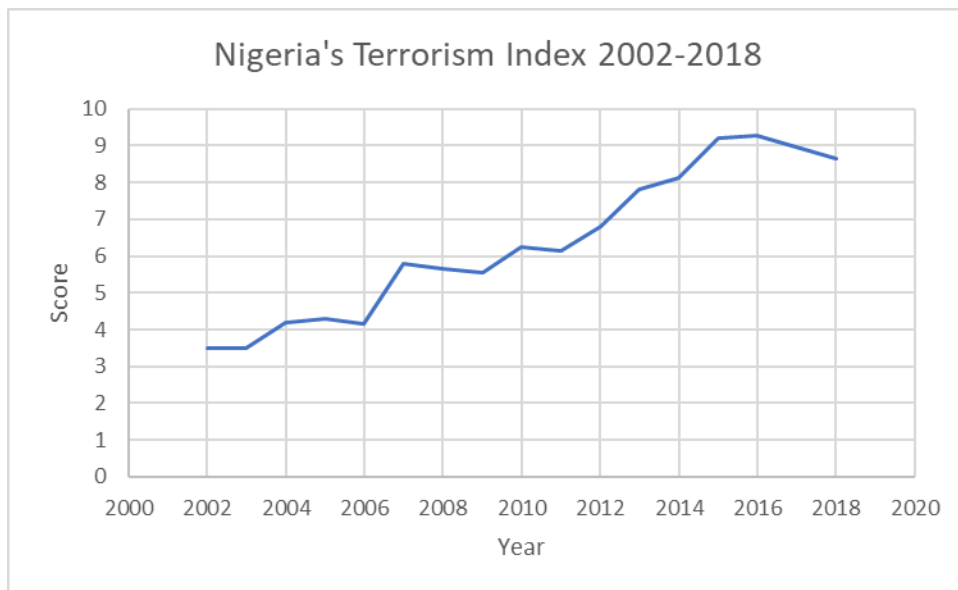
(Byman 2008)

- vi) **No Course of Action with Political Consequence.** This characteristic does not apply in MEND's case, MEND's actions have serious political consequences both in the internal of Nigeria as well as in the external, where the oil prices are penetrating due to the group's operations

(Bossi 2000)

There is a safe conclusion that MEND is an Ethnic Terrorism group with some strong elements of Single-Issue Terrorism. Utilizing data from the Global Terrorism Index I created a graph which shows that terrorism in Nigeria from 2005 and onwards is on the rise. It is possible that Boko Haram played a significant role in this development. Although Boko Haram was founded in 2002 and entered the internal terrorism scene in 2009. This information could lead to the conclusion that the rise of terrorism until 2009 was due to Niger Delta militants and mainly due to MEND's actions.

Figure 9



Global Terrorism Index 2002-2018

H. Countering MEND

The reasons that led to MEND's creation are inseparably connected with the complex situation of the Nigerian State and especially the Niger Delta region. For this conflict to be deescalated there are plenty of initiatives the state can undertake, it all depends on the political will of the government. The most profound are to address the socio-economic injustices, force the MNOCs to be socially responsible to the local communities and tackle the corruption in governmental level. Although, these actions might prove helpful in the resolution of the Niger Delta conflict, MEND and its descendants are defined by terrorism characteristics and a state is responsible for the safety and welfare of its citizens and properties. As a result, MEND could also be confronted with operations especially designed for terrorist organizations. According to Thomas, Kiser and Casebeer there are to options to counter MEND, disruption and transformation (Zelinka 2008).

Disruption: Communications among the organizations should be weakened and all kind of contact interrupted. The friendly environment that MEND is enjoying should transform to hostile and work against the organization. New recruits should be unwilling to support the cause of MEND and disorder should prosper in MEND's ranks. By the same time specific fighters of MEND should be targeted avoiding though civilian casualties. As this operation undergoes, initiatives of negotiation should occur. Education for the uneducated members of the Ijaw tribe should be a priority and unemployment should be tackled. The disruption plan needs perfect coordination from the state's side, the corruption levels in the country thought, are not encouraging.

Transformation: This option refers to the alteration of the group from violent to peaceful. It usually needs co-optation which has short term results, because the main roots of the conflict are not addressed, and the idea of resistance attracts the new generations who are willing to take up arms. Negotiations for better distribution of the oil wealth are also needed but the amounts of wealth proposed to the Ijaw communities do not satisfy them so far.

(Zelinka 2008)

Arquilla and Ronfeldt propose some initiatives on how to counter organizations like MEND, their approach emphasizes on the elimination of their network, the swarm attack.

Swarm Attack: This operation is a synchronized, strategic way to attack from all directions utilizing informational warfare and psychological means. In the case of MEND, swarming would consist of an all-out continuously strike which would eradicate its rightfulness and approval among the Ijaws. It will also disrupt its financial sources and minimize smuggling operations related to oil and weapons. Nigerian forces should be trained in these kinds of operations and they should be equipped with more sophisticated weapons than the ones MEND have. The difficulty of this initiative to be successful is yet again the high levels of corruption inside the state.

(Zelinka 2008)

These operations have many obstacles to be successful, the main reason for this situation is that MEND is an Ethnic Terrorism organization and these organizations have their own characteristics which makes them difficult to be addressed. Previous leaders of MEND that have been arrested and convicted are seen in the eyes of the Ijaws as heroes, any kind of attack against the organization is seen in the eyes of the people as an attack to themselves, something that empowers their motives even more (Byman 2008). Byman, proposes an approach that has been effective in similar situations, the “in group” policing.

In Group Policing: Is about cooperation between the authorities and the moderate members of the ethnic group, leaving the radicals aside. In the Basque region for example the Spanish authorities granted a status of autonomy to the Basque people which made the moderate citizens satisfied. ETA is still active, but the levels of terrorism have been greatly reduced due to the satisfaction of the moderate members of the population, who do not feel the need to support radical movements anymore. Similarly, the Indian authorities have cooperated with moderate members of the Assamese people, which eventually led to the end of the terrorism threat in the Assam region (Byman 2008). This practice could also be applied in the Ijaw case, especially because MEND and the other insurgencies of the region depend their very existence on the tribe. Nevertheless, the Nigerian government would have to meet some of their demands.

However, the government has taken initiatives to stop the violence in the Niger Delta from repressive measures to granting amnesty to MEND members, but the situation does not seem to change (Ofstedal, 2013).

The Amnesty Program: The amnesty program was the brainchild of President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua 2007-2010 of the Fulani tribe in the north. Even in his first address to the people he made clear the need of confrontation against the Niger Delta militants (Okoli 2013). The amnesty program is a subject that still is not clear whether it helped the peace process in the Niger Delta. Researchers like Okoli argue that it has a positive impact, mostly due to the reduction of the violence and the amnesty embrace from some militants. Moreover, nearly 200 ex-militants surrendered their weapons which included 2.760 sophisticated weapons, nearly 300.000 ammo, over 1.000 dynamite caps other explosives and armed pirate vessels (Okoli 2013) Although this is true, the violence has not stopped and even if MEND is inactive the past years, new groups emerge like the Niger Delta Avengers. This development comes as no surprise mostly because the amnesty program does not address the major socioeconomic complications neither offers a vision for a brighter future.

I. MEND and Boko Haram

It is interesting to examine if there is any relation between MEND and Boko Haram, which nowadays is the dominant terrorist group of Nigeria. Boko Haram was founded in 2002, it was described as a nonviolent group with main purpose to spread the right ways of Islam in Northern Nigeria. The group changed course of action in 2009 and since then is responsible for many casualties and violent attacks not only in Nigeria but in Chad, Niger and Cameroon. The U.S. Department of State has labeled Boko Haram as a terrorist organization affiliated with Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) (Bureau of Counterterrorism 2013).

Boko Haram is not ethnic based, even if its main stronghold remains in Borno in comparison with MEND that is an ethnic oriented group with clear purpose. The late first leader of Boko Haram Mohammed Yusuf was self-described as an opportunist and religious entrepreneur who succeeded in creating mass audiences which gave him rewards (Akpa, 2015). MEND on the other hand is ethnic based, just like previous organizations and movements had as a goal to tackle injustice, redistribute fairly the oil wealth and create a livelihood for its members. This situation has made the Niger Delta militants in the past to demand a separate state, to set themselves free from the unfairness of the Nigerian State the MNOCs. Boko Haram does not want a separate state, because their people in the north do not face any neglect neither from the state or some foreign companies. They want to enforce the Islamic Law in the whole country, a kind of a jihad (Nkechi, 2013).

There is an argument that insurgencies in Nigeria often shape the political dynamics of the country. According to some, Goodluck Jonathan an Ijaw Christian became president of Nigeria in 2010 until 2015, to help peace procedures with MEND as one of their tribesmen. Senator Chukwumerije a well-known politician of the Southeast Nigeria supported this theory by also adding that the election of the current president Muhammadu Buhari 2015- a Fulani Muslim is an aftermath of Boko Haram's emergence (Egbeleke, 2014).

These two groups are ethnic, religious and purpose different. This combination is an extremely great risk not only for national security but also international, taking into consideration that the vital for the U.S. energy sector of Nigeria could be under Islamic terrorist control. There have been threats of Boko Haram attacking the oil sector in the south. If MEND responds to these threats with violence a civil war is very likely to happen in the country (US Committee on Homeland Security, 2013). In April 2013 MEND threatened that from 31 May and in order to "save Christians from Boko Haram" will target Mosques and Muslim preachers who spread hate speech against Christians. This threat was later withdrawn, but the action alone shows how fragile the political stability is in the country and how likely a civil war to happen (Africa Report No216, 2014). On 17 March 2014 Boko Haram released a video in which vowed to attack oil refineries in Niger Delta and kill national leaders (Africa Report No216, 2014). There have been

some thoughts according to a member of Nigeria's National Intelligence Agency (NIA), that the U.S. might be planning to separate the north from the south or the Niger Delta region just to save the oil resources which are there, from the Islamic terrorists (Nkechi, 2013).

Nowadays Boko Haram gets far more attention than the insurgencies in the Niger Delta. Although, international interests were much more affected by the way MEND was operating rather Boko Haram which have a much more violent agenda but not of the same nature nor had the same economic impact (Pérouse de Montclos, 2014).

Chapter VII

Conclusion

This master thesis examined extensively the struggle of the Niger Delta since the years of the Nigerian independence. The fragile political situation of country, the corruption and the economic misfortunes due to oil exploitation have fueled the Niger Delta conflict for years. The MNOCs affected further with their actions this conflict, by also damaging the environment. Militias like MEND were a matter of time to emerge in this situation.

The question, whether violence in Nigeria is related to energy has been answered. Violence is indirectly related to energy, although, there are examples of countries exploiting natural resources without causing internal conflicts, like Norway. The Niger Delta example is different, the social and economic misfortune that oil brought to the country has not be efficiently addressed from the federal government. The oil sector of Nigeria has been the driving force of corruption in the country, which led to injustice from one social class to another, in the case of Nigeria from one ethnic group to another. The MNOCs have further radicalized the situation by operating without social responsibility standards, making the local communities hostile against them. Their actions led to unemployment, degradation of living standards, health issues in the Niger Delta and environmental pollution. This state of affairs triggered the Niger Delta conflict, from which MEND emerged, the group utilized assymetric warfare to tackle the injustice they felt. Their primary goal among others was to redistribute the oil wealth of the Niger Delta, which they believed that the state and the MNOCs have only used for their personal profit at their expense. The way to resolve this situation is to address the causes of the conflict. There are operational ways to only confront MEND and the other Niger Delta insurgencies, but this development will only lead to the Hydra effect, which means that other insurgencies empowered by the same causes will emerge in the future. Often in the bibliography MEND is referred as armed insurgency, this choice of words is not random, it represents the continuity of the struggle. MEND is temporary, the cause of its manifestation though is not and the armed groups will keep on appearing as far as the injustice is not addressed. An example of that is the Niger Delta Avengers, a relative recent insurgency which many believe it is created by former MEND members due to its sophistication. This allegation could very well be false, the reason is that the causes that led to MEND's creation could have easily led to the creation of the NDA by a new generation of mistreated Ijaw people.

This master thesis sheds light to many aspects of the Niger Delta conflict, the energy security issues of Nigeria, the Nigerian state malfunction, the role of the MNOCs and the impact of the environmental catastrophe. However, I would suggest further research on the outcome of these conflicts, the so called environmental refugees which are already emerging in the African continent. In the future this development will be a major concern for all the developed countries and only more scholar attention could possibly lead to better understanding of the cause.

References

Adebajo, A. (2008). Hegemony on a shoestring: Nigeria's post-Cold War foreign policy. In A. Adebajo & A. R. Mustapha (Eds.), *Gulliver's troubles: Nigeria's foreign policy after the cold war* (pp. 1–37). Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Agbiboa, D.E. (2013b). Armed Group, Arms Proliferation, and Conflict in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria. *Journal of Third World Studies*, XXX, 2, 39-64.

Africa Report No216 (2014) 'Curbing Violence in Nigeria (II): The Boko Haram Insurgency', International Crisis Working to Prevent Conflict Worldwide.

Ajibola, O. O. (2015) 'Terrorism and Insurgency in Northern Nigeria: A Study of the Origins and Nature of Boko Haram', 5(12), pp. 6–16.

Akcam, B. Asal, V (2014). "The Dynamics of Ethnic Terrorism" University of Albany

Akiwowo, Akinsola A. (2006) *The Sociology of Nigerian Tribalism?* Phylon

Akpa, J. I. (2015) *Boko Haram: Islamism, politics, security and the state in Nigeria*, African Security Review. doi: 10.1080/10246029.2015.996023.

Alao, O. A. (2005). "Impact of Niger Delta crises on Nigeria's national security". Unpublished master's dissertation, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria

Amodu, L.O. (2012), *Community Relations Strategies and Conflict Resolution in the Niger Delta: A Study of Three Major Oil Companies*, PhD Thesis, Covenant University, Ota, Ogun State

An Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade 1807

Abubakar, H. I. (2004). "Financial Management in Local Government Control and Accountability". Ministry of State and Government Affairs, Abuja.

Bossi, M. (2000). "On the Definition of Terrorism" Travlos Publications, Athens 2000

Byman, D. (2008) 'Studies in Conflict & Terrorism The logic of ethnic terrorism The Logic of Ethnic Terrorism', (September 2014), pp. 37–41. doi: 10.1080/10576109808436060.

Bello, A. H., Ph, D. and Studies, C. (2013) 'Boko Haram: The Greatest Security Threat to the Sovereignty of Nigeria', 2(2), pp. 66–72.

Boas, M., (2012). *Violent Islamic uprising in northern Nigeria: From the 'Taliban' to Boko Haram II*. Norwegian Resource Peacebuilding Centre (NOREF), Norway.

Brinkel, T. and Ait-hida, S. (2012) 'BOKO HARAM AND JIHAD IN NIGERIA', 40(2), pp. 1–21. doi: 10.5787/40-2-994.

Coalson, R. 2012. "Russia's Chechnya Invites Azerbaijan to Explore Oil Fields." Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, April 6.

Collier, P. Hoeffler, A. (2001): "Greed and Grievance in Civil War". Washington, DC: World Bank

Commission for Africa. (2005). Our common interest: Report of the Commission for Africa. London: HMG.

Clifford, B. (2005). The Marketing of Rebellion: Insurgents, Media, and International Activism. Cambridge University Press, 55

Department of Justice (6 July 2004). "ABB VETCO GRAY, INC. AND ABB VETCO GRAY UK LTD. PLEAD GUILTY TO FOREIGN BRIBERY CHARGES"

Department of Justice (14 May 2008). "WillBros Group Inc. Enters Deferred Prosecution Agreement and Agrees to Pay \$22 Million Penalty for FCPA Violations"

Dudley, B. J. (1982). An introduction to Nigerian Government and politics. London: Macmillan.

Egbeleke, A. (2014) 'Rethinking Boko-Haram: Contending Perspectives Among Nigerian in Diasporas and Youths', Ssrn. doi: 10.2139/ssrn.2497910.

Egiegba Agbibo, Daniel. 2012 "Between Corruption and Development: The Political Economy of State Robbery in Nigeria". Journal of Business and Ethics

Environmental Rights Action. "A Blanket of Silence: Images of the Odi Genocide." ERA Publications 7. 2002, 1-50.

Eweje, G. (2006) 'Environmental costs and responsibilities resulting from oil exploitation in developing countries: The case of the Niger Delta of Nigeria', Journal of Business Ethics, 69(1), pp. 27–56. doi: 10.1007/s10551-006-9067-8.

Federal Ministry of Finance (2010). "ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES" 22 November. "Current State Assessment Report on the Process and Forensic Review of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (Project Anchor)".

<http://globalterrorismindex.org/>

Harford, T. and M. Klein (2005). Aid and the Resource Curse. The World Bank Group, Private Sector Development Vice Presidency, Note # 291, Washington D.C

Hildyard, N. (2018). "The World Bank, Red Flags and the Looting of Nigeria's Oil Revenues" Corner House Research, United Kingdom

Ibeanu, O. Luckham, R. (2006). Niger Delta, Political Violence, Governance and Corporate Responsibility in A Petro-State. Abuja: Centre For Democracy and Development (Cdd).

Ikalama, C. (2006). "Grievances and the emergence of militant groups in the Niger Delta, its implication for Nigeria's national security" Unpublished master's thesis. Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria.

Ilagha, C. (2007), "Federalism and The Politics of Resource Control in Nigeria 1999 – 2005". An M.Sc. Thesis Submitted to Department of Political Science, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria (January).

Jack, J. Akujobi, C. Uchechukwu, D. Azubuike, B. (2016). "CRUDE OIL EXPLORATION AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA: A RESOURCE CURSE ANALYSIS". Technoscience Review, 7(1-2), Nov. 2016

Jackson R. Sorensen G. (2006). "Theory and Methodology of International Relations" Library of International and European Studies. Gutenberg

Joab-Peterside, S., Porter, D. and Watts, M. (2012) 'Rethinking Conflict in the Niger Delta: Understanding Conflict Dynamics, Justice and Security'.

Kashubsky, M. (2011) "A Chronology of Attacks on and Unlawful Interferences with, Offshore Oil and Gas Installations, 1975 – 2010" Perspectives on Terrorism. Vol. 5, No. 5/6 (December 2011), pp. 139-167. Terrorism Research Initiative

Kopelen, P. (2013). "Nigeria: A Study into the Causes of Internal Conflict and Instability" School of Advanced Military Studies United States Army Command and General Staff College Fort Leavenworth, Kansas (Monography)

Kouloumpis, T. (2008). "International relations: Power and justice" Papazisi Publications

Maduagwu, E. 1982. Problems of socialism: The Nigerian challenge. London: Zed books

Marx, K. (Ed.). (1844), Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts, Oxford University Press, Oxford. (1977).

Mbaku, J. M. 1992. Bureaucratic corruption as rent-seeking behavior. Konjunkturpolitik, 38, 247–265.

Musikilu, M. (9 December 2011). "Monumental Oil Subsidy Fraud And Corruption at the NNPC-The Damning KPMG Report: Premium Times". Sahara Reporters.

Murdock, George P (ed.), Outline of Cultural Materials (New Haven, 1950), I, p. 95, for codified characteristics of the concept tribe.

Nkechi, O. (2013) 'Boko Haram and National Security Challenges in Nigeria; Causes and Solutions', 4(5), pp. 12–24.

<https://data.oecd.org/energy/crude-oil-production.htm>

Obi, C. "Nigeria's Niger Delta: Understanding the Complex Drivers of Conflict." Nordic Africa Institute. Lecture Series on African Security. 2008, 1-22.

Obi, C. "Nigeria's Niger Delta: Understanding the Complex Drivers of Violent Oil-Related Conflict." *Africa Development*. 2009, 34(2): 103-28.

Obi, C. "Oil Extraction, Dispossession, Resistance, and Conflict in Nigerias's Oil-Rich Niger Delta." *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, 2010, 30 (1-2): 219-36

Obi, C. Rustad, S. (2011) "Oil and Insurgency in the Niger Delta: Managing the Complex Politics of Petro-violence". Nordic Africa Institute.

Ocakli, F & Scotch, M. (2017) "Oil-Fueled Insurgencies: Lootable Wealth and Political Order in Syria, Iraq and Nigeria" *Journal of Global Security Studies*, Oxford 2017 2 (1), 2017, 74-88.

Odera, O. Scott, A. Gow, J. (2018) "Community perceptions of Nigerian oil companies commitment to social and environmental concerns" *Journal of Global Responsibility*

Oftedal, E. (2013) 'Boko Haram : A Transnational Phenomenon ?', p. 111.

Ogunrotifa, A. B. (2013) 'Class Theory of Terrorism: A Study of Boko Haram Insurgency In Nigeria', 3(1), pp. 27–60.

Okoli. Al Chukwuma, Orinya Sunday (2013) 'Oil Pipeline Vandalism and Nigeria's National Security', *Global Journal of HUMAN SOCIAL SCIENCE Political Science* Volume 13 Issue 5 Version 1.0 Year 2013 Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA), 13(5), pp. 66–75.

Okoli, Al Chukwuma (2013) "The Political Ecology of the Niger Delta Crisis and the Prospects of Lasting Peace in the Post- Amnesty Period" *Global Journal of Human Social Science Political Science*, Vol 13 Issue 3 Version 1.0

Okonta, I. (2006) "BEHIND THE MASK Explaining the Emergence of the MEND Militia in Nigeria's Oil-Bearing Niger Delta" St.Peter's College Oxford University. Issue 11. Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley, USA. The United States Institute of Peace, Washington DC, USA. *Our Niger Delta*, Port Harcourt, Nigeria

Olorode, O. (1998). Imperialism, neocolonialism and the extractive industries in Nigeria. In O. Olorode, W. Raji, J. Ogunye & T. Oladunjoye (Eds). *Ken Saro Wiwa and the crises of the Nigerian State*. Lagos: Committee for Defense of Human Rights (CDHR)

- Olutayo, O.A. (2009) 'The Igbo Entrepreneur in the Political Economy of Nigeria'. African Study Monographs, Vol. 20 (3): 147-174
- Onuoha, F.C. (2008). "Oil Pipeline Sabotage in Nigeria: Dimensions, Actors and Implications for National Security" L/C. African Security Review, 17(3); 33-43
- Onuoha, F. C. (2011). "Small Arms and Light Weapons Proliferation and Human Security in Nigeria", Conflict Trends 1: 50-56.
- Orubu, O. And Ehwarieme (2004). 'The Nigerian Oil Industry: Environmental Diseconomies, Management Strategies And The Need For Community Involvement". Journal Of Human Ecology, 16 (3); Pp203-214.
- Osaghee, Eghosa E. and. Suberu, Rotimi T. A History of Identities, Violence, and Stability in Nigeria (Oxford: Univeristy of Oxford, 2005), 9.
- Otaha, J. (2012) 'Dutch Disease and Nigeria Oil Economy', African Research Review, 6(1), pp. 82–90. doi: 10.4314/afrev.v6i1.7
- https://www.opec.org/opec_web/en/about_us/167.htm
- Pakenham, T. "The Scramble for Africa" (Random House, 1991) 197–199
- Pérouse de Montclos, M.-A. (2014) Nigeria's Interminable Insurgency? Addressing the Boko Haram Crisis.
- Ross, M. (2001). "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" Cambridge University Press. World Politics, Vol. 53, No. 3 (Apr., 2001), pp. 325-361
- Ross, M. (2003) "Nigeria's Oil Sector and the Poor".UK Department for International Development "Nigeria: Drivers of Change" program. May 23.
- Saharareporters, 'Secret Army Report Implicates NSA Azazi, Ibori, Alamieyeseigha, Henry and Sunny Okah in Sale of Military Weapons to Niger Delta Militants', October 2010.
<http://saharareporters.com/2010/10/30/secret-army-report-implicates-nsa-azazi-ibori-alamieyeseigha-henryand-sunny-okah-sale>.
- Schwarz, W. (1966). Tribalism and Politics in Nigeria. The World Today. Vol . 22 , No. 460-467 Royal Institute of International Affairs
- START (2014) 'Boko Haram Recent Attacks', National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, (May), pp. 1–8.
- http://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/business/shady-business_traders-collude-in-oil-corruption--says-swiss-ngo/37260152

Tantua, B., Devine, J. and Maconachie, R. (2018) 'Oil governance in Nigeria's Niger Delta: Exploring the role of the militias', *Extractive Industries and Society*. Elsevier, 5(3), pp. 302–307. doi: 10.1016/j.exis.2018.03.013.

Tilly, C., Mcadam, Doug, Tarrow, S.G., 2001. *Dynamics of Contention*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

<https://www.transparency.org/research/cpi/overview>

Ukiwo, Ukoha. 2007. "From 'Pirates' to 'Militants': A Historical Perspective on Anti State and Anti-Oil Company Mobilization Among the Ijaw of Warri, Western Niger Delta." *African Affairs* 106(425): 587–610.

United Nations Human Development Index in 2017 (<http://hdr.undp.org/en/data>)

U.S. Department of State (2013), Bureau of Counterterrorism, Chapter 6. Foreign Terrorist Organizations, Country Reports on Terrorism 2013. <https://2009-2017.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2013/224829.htm>

U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Homeland Security (2013) "BOKO HARAM Growing Threat to the U.S. Homeland".

Uwuigbe, U. Ranti, O. (2008). 'Environmental Accounting: A Tool For Promoting Environmental Management In The Niger Delta', In International Conference On The Nigeria State, Oil Industry And The Niger Delta Conference Proceeding, Published By Niger Delta University, Wiberforce Island, Bayelsa State, Pp.854-862.

Watts, M. (2007) "Petro-Insurgency or Criminal Syndicate? Conflict & Violence in the Niger Delta" *Review of African Political Economy*, 34(114): 637-60

Watts, M. (2009). The rule of oil: Petro-politics and the anatomy of an insurgency. *Journal of African Development*, 11 (2), 27- 56

Watts, M. (2010). "Resource curse? governmentality, oil and power in the Niger Delta, Nigeria". Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley, California, USA. 37-41

<https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/largest-ethnic-groups-in-nigeria.html>

Zelinka, P. (2008). "Conceptualizing and Countering the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta". 67-83. October 2008, www.defenceandstrategy.eu

