

**APPENDIX I: THE PRINCIPLE OF DERIVATION AS APPLIED TO REVENUE ALLOCATION BETWEEN 1953 AND 2004**

| Year      | %Derivation | Head of Government              |
|-----------|-------------|---------------------------------|
| 1953      | 100         | Chicks Constitution             |
| 1960      | 50          | Alhaji Balewa                   |
| 1972      | 45          | General Gowon                   |
| 1975      | 20          | General(s)<br>Muhammed/Obasanjo |
| 1982      | 2           | Alhaji Shehu Shagari            |
| 1984      | 1.5         | General Buhari                  |
| 1986-1991 | 0           | General Babangida               |
| 1992      | 3           | General Babangida               |
| 1999      | 13          | General Abubakar                |

Source: The Headquarters of Movement for the survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP) in Port Harcourt, Nigeria.

## APPENDIX II: FOREIGN OIL COMPANIES AND THEIR SHARES

| Nigerian company                    | Share holders | Operator | National production |
|-------------------------------------|---------------|----------|---------------------|
| Shell petroleum Development (SHELL) | NNPC 55%      | SHELL    | 42%                 |
|                                     | SHELL 30%     |          |                     |
|                                     | ELF 10%       |          |                     |
|                                     | AGIP 5%       |          |                     |
| MOBIL                               | NNPC 60%      | MOBIL    | 21%                 |
|                                     | MOBIL 40%     |          |                     |
| CHEVRON                             | NNPC 60%      | CHEVRON  | 19%                 |
|                                     | CHEVRON 40%   |          |                     |
| AGIP                                | NNPC 60%      | AGIP     | 7.50%               |
|                                     | AGIP 40%      |          |                     |
| ELF                                 | NNPC 60%      | ELF      | 2.60%               |
|                                     | ELF 40%       |          |                     |
| TEXACO                              | NNPC 60%      | TEXACO   | 1.70%               |
|                                     | TEXACO 20%    |          |                     |
|                                     | CHEVRON 20%   |          |                     |

Source: Environmental Rights Action (ERA), 1999

**APPENDIX III: CAUSES AND VOLUME (IN THOUSAND BARRELS) OF SHELL'S OIL SPILLS IN NIGERIA'S DELTA STATE (1991-1994)**

|                        | 1991         |                  | 1992         |                  |
|------------------------|--------------|------------------|--------------|------------------|
|                        | No of spills | volume of spills | No of spills | volume of spills |
| Corrosion of equipment | 17           | 266              | 24           | 183              |
| Equipment failure      | 22           | 178              | 20           | 126              |
| Sabotage               | 7            | 26               | 9            | 642              |
| Other                  | 23           | 233              | 19           | 269              |
| Total                  | 69           | 705              | 72           | 1220             |

|                        | 1993         |                  | 1994         |                  |
|------------------------|--------------|------------------|--------------|------------------|
|                        | No of spills | volume of spills | No of spills | volume of spills |
| Corrosion of equipment | 26           | 131              | 25           | 124              |
| Equipment failure      | 17           | 275              | 15           | 89               |
| Sabotage               | 13           | 161              | 13           | 235              |
| Other                  | 16           | 50               | 20           | 65               |
| Total                  | 72           | 617              | 73           | 515              |

Source: World Bank, Defining an Environmental Development Strategy for the Niger Delta Volume II, Industry and Energy Operations Division, West Central Africa Department of the World Bank, 25 May 1995, Annex M. (Adapted from J.D. Frynas' article on the Niger Delta.)

#### **APPENDIX IV: OIL SPILLAGE IN RIVERS STATE (1990)**

|                       |                   |
|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Total Number of Cases | 5                 |
| Sabotage, Total       | 21                |
| Non-Sabotage, Total   | 54                |
| Quantity Spilled      | 10,375.55 Barrels |
| Quantity Recovered    | 1,163.3 Barrels   |

Source: Ministry of Petroleum Resources, Rivers State

**APPENDIX V: SHELL ASSISTANCE IN THE EDUCATION SECTOR  
(1996-1998)**

| Projects                        | 1994  | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 |
|---------------------------------|-------|------|------|------|------|
| University Scholarships         | 430   | 430  | 427  | 430  | 430  |
| Post Primary Scholarships       | 1,852 | 2589 | 2600 | 2600 | 2600 |
| Science Teachers                | 20    | 66   | 66   | 252  | 383  |
| Schools with Science Teachers   | 4     | 14   | 14   | 57   | 63   |
| Youth Training Programs         | -     | 5    | 4    | 7    | 2    |
| Youth Oil & Gas Training Scheme | -     | -    | -    | -    | 1    |

Source: People and Environment, Shell Petroleum Development Company of Nigeria Ltd. 1998.p.9

**APPENDIX VI: SHELL'S ASSISTANCE IN THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR  
(1996-1998)**

| Agricultural<br>Suppliers<br>Farmers to | 1996        | 1997        | 1998      |
|-----------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|
| Cassava cuttings                        | 5.2 million | 6.4 million | 7 million |
| Pineapple Suckers                       | 225,000     | 219,000     | 200,000   |
| Cooking Banana                          | 35,000      | 31,000      | 17,000    |
| Fish Fingering                          | 195,000     | 256,000     | 280,000   |

Source: Shell, 1998, *ibid*, P.10

**APPENDIX VII: RANKING OF ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES IN THE NIGER DELTA BY THE WORLD BANK**

| Category                       | High Priority                                                                        | Moderate Priority                                                                      | Lower Priority                           |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| Land Resource Degradation      | Agricultural Land Degradation. Flooding(Moderate-high)                               | Coastal Erosion Riverbank erosion                                                      | Sea Level Rise                           |
| Renewable Resource Degradation | Fisheries Depletion Deforestation. Biodiversity loss, Water Hyacinth Expansion       | Fisheries Habitat Degradation                                                          | Mangrove Degradation Nypa Palm Expansion |
| Environmental Pollution        | Sewage, Vehicular Emissions, Municipal Solid Wastes. Toxic and Hazardous Substances. | Oil Pollution, Industrial Effluents Industrial Air Emissions, Industrial solid wastes. | Gas Flaring                              |

Source: World Bank Report, 1995, P.VIII

## APPENDIX VIII: SUMMARY OF POTENTIAL IMPACTS OF OIL OPERATIONS ON THE ENVIRONMENT OF OIL PRODUCING AREAS

| Oil Operations                                                                | Potential impact on the Environment                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Exploration                                                                | Destruction of vegetation and farmland/human settlement                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 2. Geographical investigation<br>a. Geological survey<br>b. Drilling          | Noise Pollution and vibration from seismic shooting. Effects on animals and hereby settlers(onshore) and on fisheries (offshore)<br>Distribution of a flora habitat.<br>Accumulation of toxic materials from drilling materials. Oil pollution of the sea, beaches or land. Destruction of fisheries production. Destruction of breeding ground for marine fishes. Alteration of the taste of fishes. Killing of bottom dwellers. Pollution of underground water (waste pits) |
| 3. Production /processing<br><br>1. Platform and tank farms<br>2. gas flaring | Water Pollution from long term cumulative effects of produced water (with high salinity)<br>Water and land pollution from sanitary waste, used lubricating oil and solid waste.<br>Air pollution from gas and oil processing evaporation and flaring. Production of heat kills vegetation around the area. Suppress the growth and flowering of some plants.<br>Diminish and reduce agricultural production.                                                                  |
| 4. Tanker Loading, location (onshore and Offshore)                            | Water pollution from ballast and tank washing. Deck drainage, Spillage during loading operation with its accompanying effects on the fauna and flora. Distribution of seabed by dredging.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |

Source: Department of Petroleum Resources (1996). The petroleum Industry and the Nigerian Environment, Lagos, P.88

## **APPENDIX IX: Ogoni Bill of Rights**

### **PRESENTED TO THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF NIGERIA NOVEMBER 1990**

We, the people of Ogoni (Babbe, Gokana, Ken Khana, Nyo Khan and Tai) numbering about 500,000, being a separate and distinct ethnic nationality within the Federal Republic of Nigeria, wish to draw the attention of the Government and people of Nigeria to the undermentioned facts:

1. That the Ogoni people, before the advent of British colonialism, were not conquered or colonised by any other ethnic group in present day Nigeria.
2. That British colonization forced us into the administrative division of Opobo from 1908 to 1947.
3. That we protested against this forced union until the Ogoni Native Authority was created in 1947 and placed under the then Rivers Province.
4. That in 1951 we were forcibly included in the Eastern Region of Nigeria where we suffered utter neglect.
5. That we protested against this neglect by voting against the party in power in the Region in 1957, and against the forced union by testimony before the Willink Commission of Inquiry into Minority Fears in 1958.
6. That this protest led to the inclusion of our nationality in Rivers State in 1967, which State consists of several ethnic nationalities with differing cultures, languages and aspirations.
7. That oil was struck and produced in commercial quantities on our land in 1958 at K. Dere (Bomu oilfield).
8. That oil has been mined on our land since 1958 to this day from the following oilfields: (i) Bomu (ii) Bodo West (iii) Tai (iv) Korokoro (v) Yorla (vi) Lubara Creek and (vii) Afam by Shell Petroleum Development Company (Nigeria) Limited.
9. That in over 30 years of oil mining, the Ogoni nationality have provided the Nigerian nation with a total revenue estimated at over 40 billion Naira (N40 billion) or 30 billion dollars.
10. That in return for the above contribution, the Ogoni people have received NOTHING.
11. That today, the Ogoni people have:

(i) No representation whatsoever in ALL institutions of the Federal Government of Nigeria.

(ii) No pipe-borne water.

(iii) No electricity.

(iv) No job opportunities for the citizens in Federal, State, public sector or private sector companies.

(v) No social or economic project of the Federal Government.

**12.** That the Ogoni languages of Gokana and Khana are undeveloped and are about to disappear, whereas other Nigerian languages are being forced on us.

**13.** That the ethnic policies of successive Federal and State Governments are gradually pushing the Ogoni people to slavery and possible extinction.

**14.** That the Shell Petroleum Development Company of Nigeria Limited does not employ Ogoni people at a meaningful or any level at all, in defiance of the Federal government's regulations.

**15.** That the search for oil has caused severe land and food shortages in Ogoni - one of the most densely populated areas of Africa (average: 1,500 per square mile; national average: 300 per square mile.)

**16.** That neglectful environmental pollution laws and sub-standard inspection techniques of the Federal authorities have led to the complete degradation of the Ogoni environment, turning our homeland into an ecological disaster.

**17.** That the Ogoni people lack education, health and other social facilities.

**18.** That it is intolerable that one of the richest areas of Nigeria should wallow in abject poverty and destitution.

**19.** That successive Federal administrators have trampled on every minority right enshrined in the Nigerian constitution to the detriment of the Ogoni and have by administrative structuring and other noxious acts transferred Ogoni wealth exclusively to other parts of the Republic.

**20.** That the Ogoni people wish to manage their own affairs.

Now therefore, while reaffirming our wish to remain a part of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, we make demand upon the Republic as follows:

That the Ogoni people be granted **POLITICAL AUTONOMY** to participate in the affairs of the Republic as a distinct and separate unit by whatever name called, provided that this Autonomy guarantees the following:

- (a) Political control of Ogoni affairs by Ogoni people.
- (b) The right to the control and use of a fair proportion of OGONI economic resources for Ogoni development.
- (c) Adequate and direct representation as of right in all Nigerian national institutions.
- (d) The use and development of Ogoni Languages in Ogoni territory.
- (e) The full development of Ogoni Culture.
- (f) The right to religious freedom.
- (g) The right to protect the OGONI environment and ecology from further degradation.

We make the above demand in the knowledge that it does not deny any other ethnic group in the Nigerian Federation of their rights and that it can only conduce to peace, justice and fairplay and hence stability and progress in the Nigerian nation.

We make the above demand in the belief that, as Obafemi Awolowo has written:

"In a true Federation, each ethnic group no matter how small, is entitled to the same treatment as any other ethnic group, no matter how large."

We demand these rights as equal members of the Nigerian Federation who contribute and have contributed to the growth of the Federation and have a right to expect full returns from that Federation.

Adopted by general acclaim of the Ogoni people on the 26th day of August, 1990, at Bori, Rivers State.

Signed on behalf of the Ogoni people by:

**BABBE**

1. HRH Mark Tsaro-Igbara, Gbenemene Babbe
2. HRH F.M.K. Noryaa, Menebua Ka-Babbe
3. Chief M.A.N. Tornwe III, JP
4. Prince J.S. Sangha
5. Dr. Israel K. Kue
6. Chief A.M.N. Gua

**GOKANA**

1. HRH James P. Bagia, Gberesako XI, Gbenemene Gokana
2. HRH C. A. Mitee, JP, Menebua Numuu
3. Chief E.N. Kobani, JP, Tonsimene Gokana
4. Dr. B.N. Birabi
5. Chief Kemte Gidaom, JP
6. Chief S.N. Orage

**KEN-KHANA**

1. HRH M.H.S. Eguro, Gbenemene Ken Khana
2. HRH C.B.S. Nwikina, Emah III, Menebua Bom
3. Mr. M.C. Daanwii
4. Chief T.N. Nwieke
5. Mr. Ken Saro-Wiwa
6. Mr. Simeon Idemyor

**NYO-KHANA**

1. HRH W.Z.P. Nzidee, Gbenemen Baa 1 of Nyo-Khana
2. Dr. G.B. Leton, JP
3. Mr. Lekue Lah-Laolo
4. Mr. L.E. Mwara
5. Chief E. A. Apenu
6. Pastor M.P. Maeba

**TAI**

1. HRH B.A. Mballey, Gbenemene Tai
2. HRH G.N.K. Gininwa, Menebua Tua Tua
3. Chief J.S. Agbara
4. Chief D.J.K. Kumbe
5. Chief Fred Gwezia
6. HRH A. Demor-Kaani, Menebua Nonwa Tai

## **APPENDIX X: Addendum to the Ogoni Bill of Rights (1991)**

We, the people of Ogoni, being a separate and distinct ethnic nationality within the Federal Republic of Nigeria, hereby state as follows:

A. That on October 2, 1990 we addressed an "Ogoni Bill of Rights" to the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, General Ibrahim Babangida and members of the Armed Forces Ruling Council;

B. That after a one-year wait, the President has been unable to grant us the audience which we sought to have with him in order to discuss the legitimate demands contained in the Ogoni Bill of Rights;

C. That our demands as outlined in the Ogoni Bill of Rights are legitimate, just and our inalienable right and in accord with civilized values worldwide;

D. That the Government of the Federal Republic has continued, since October 2, 1990, to decree measure and implement policies which further marginalize the Ogoni people, denying us political autonomy, our rights to our resources, to the development of our languages and culture, to adequate representation as of right in all Nigerian national institutions and to the protection of our environment and ecology from further degradation;

E. That we cannot sit idly by while we are, as a people, dehumanized and slowly exterminated and driven to extinction even as our rich resources are siphoned off to the exclusive comfort and improvement of other Nigerian communities, and the shareholders of multinational oil companies.

Now, therefore, while re-affirming our wish to remain a part of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, we hereby authorize the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP) to make representation, for as long as these injustices continue, to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, the Commonwealth Secretariat, the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, the European Community and all international bodies which have a role to play in the preservation of our nationality, as follows:

1. That the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria has, in utter disregard and contempt for human rights, since independence in 1960 till date, denied us our political rights to self-determination, economic rights to our resources, cultural rights to the development of our languages and culture, and social rights to education, health and adequate housing and to representation as of right in national institutions;

2. That, in particular, the Federal Republic of Nigeria has refused to pay us oil royalties and mining rents amounting to an estimated 20 billion US dollars for petroleum mined from our soil for over thirty-three years;

3. That the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria does not protect any of our rights whatsoever as an ethnic minority of 500,000 in a nation of about 100 million people and that the voting power and military might of the majority ethnic groups have been used remorselessly against us at every point in time;

4. That multinational oil companies, namely Shell (Dutch/British) and Chevron (American) have severally and jointly devastated our environment and ecology, having flared gas in our villages for 33 years and caused oil spillages, blow-outs etc., and have dehumanized our people, denying them employment and those benefits which industrial organizations in Europe and America routinely contribute to their areas of operation;

5. That the Nigerian elite (bureaucratic, military, industrial and academic) have turned a blind eye and a deaf ear to these acts of dehumanization by the ethnic majority and have colluded with all the agents of destruction aimed at us;

6. That we cannot seek restitution in the courts of law in Nigeria as the act of expropriation of our rights and resources has been institutionalized in the 1979 and 1989 Constitutions of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, which Constitutions were acts of a Constituent Assembly imposed by a military regime and do not, in any way, protect minority rights or bear resemblance to the tacit agreement made at Nigerian independence;

7. That the Ogoni people abjure violence in their just struggle for their rights within the Federal Republic of Nigeria but will, through every lawful means, and for as long as is necessary, fight for social justice and equity for themselves and their progeny, and in particular demand political autonomy as distinct and separate unit within the Nigerian nation with full right to (i) control Ogoni political affairs, (ii) use at least fifty per cent of Ogoni economic resources for Ogoni development; (iii) protect the Ogoni environment and ecology from further degradation; (iv) ensure the full restitution of the harm done to the health of our people by the flaring of gas, oil spillages, oil blow-outs, etc. by the following oil companies: Shell, Chevron and their Nigerian accomplices.

8. That without the intervention of the international community, the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the ethnic majority will continue these noxious policies until the Ogoni people are obliterated from the face of the earth.

Adopted by general acclaim of the Ogoni people on the 26th day of August 1991 at Bori, Rivers State of Nigeria.

Signed on behalf of the Ogoni people by:

BABBE: HRH Mark Tsaro-Igbara, Gbenemene Babbe; HRH F.M.K. Noryaa, Menebua, Ka-Babbe; Chief M.A.M. Tornwe III, JP; Prince J.S. Sangha; Dr. Israel Kue; Chief A.M.N. Gua.

GOKANA: HRH James P. Bagia, Gberesako XI, Gberemene Gokana; Chief E.M. Kobani, JP Tonsimene Gokana; Dr. B.N. Birabi: Chief Kemte Giadom, JP; Chief S.N. Orage.

KEN-KHANA: HRH M.H.S. Eguru, Gbenemene Ken-Khana; HRH C.B.S. Nwikina, Emah III, Menebua Bom; Mr. M.C. Daanwii; Chief T.N. Nwieke; Mr. Ken Saro-Wiwa; Mr. Simeon Idemyor.

NYO-KHANA: HRH W.Z. P. Nzidee, Genemene Baa I of Nyo-Khana; Dr. G.B. Leton, OON, JP; Mr. Lekue Lah-Loolo; Mr. L.E. Mwara; Chief E.A. Apenu; Pastor M.P. Maeba.

TAI: HRH B.A. Mballey, Gbenemene Tai; HRH G.N. Gininwa, Menebua Tua Tua; Chief J.S. Agbara; Chief D.J.K. Kumbe; Chief Fred Gwezia; HRH A. Demor-Kanni, Menebua Nonwa.

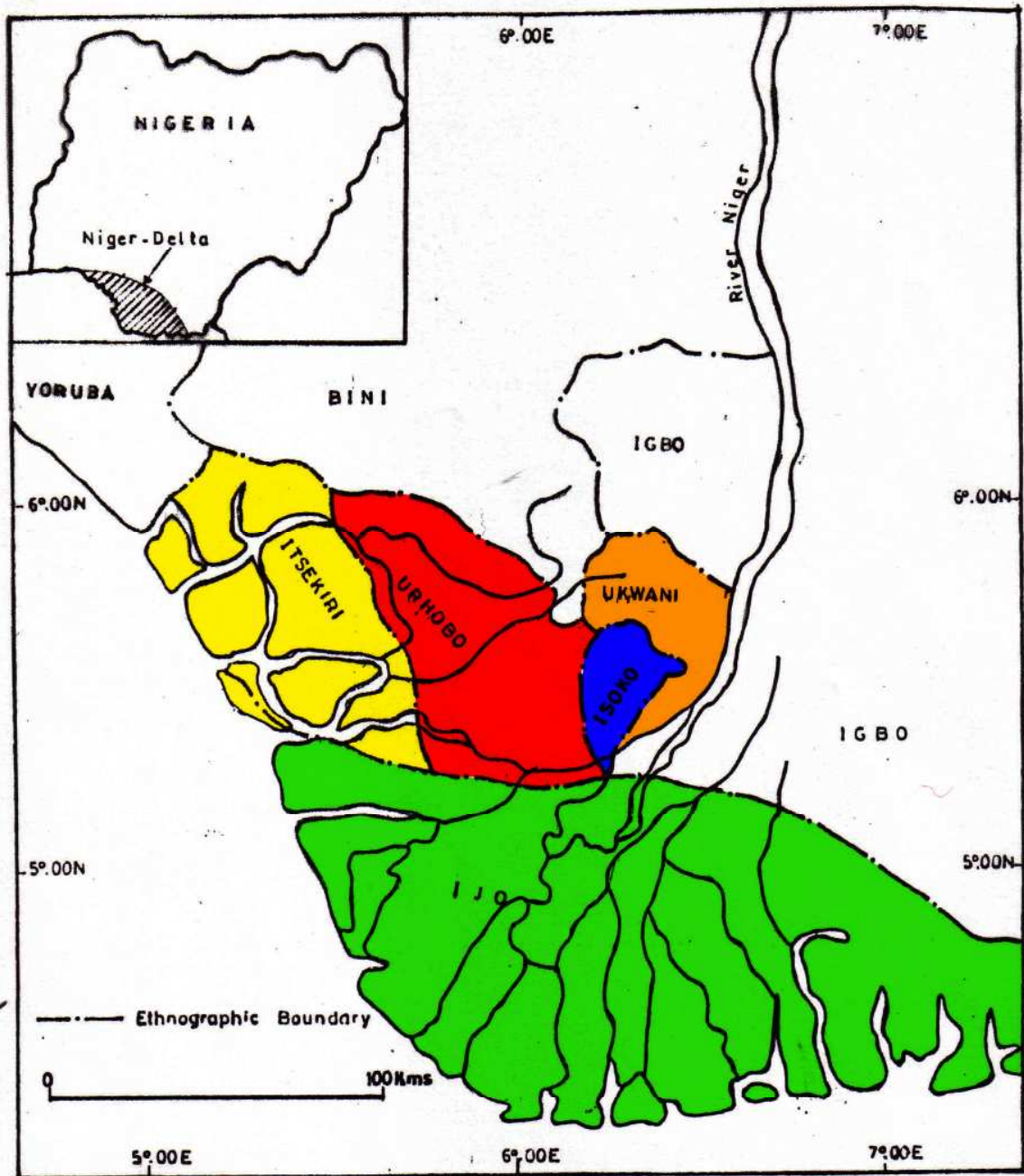


Fig.1: The Main Ethnic Nationalities of the Niger Delta.

Map drawn by Prof. Albert Aweto.  
University of Ibadan, Nigeria  
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## **APPENDIX XII: THE KAIAMA DECLARATION**

### **THE KAIAMA DECLARATION**

**by**

### **IJAW YOUTHS OF THE NIGER DELTA**

**BEING COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT THE END OF THE ALL IJAW YOUTHS**

**CONFERENCE**

**WHICH HELD IN THE TOWN OF KAIAMA THIS 11TH DAY OF DECEMBER**

**1998.**

### **INTRODUCTION**

We, Ijaw youths drawn from over five hundred communities from over 40 clans that make up the Ijaw nation and representing 25 representative organizations met, today, in Kaiama to deliberate on the best way to ensure the continuous survival of the indigenous peoples of the Ijaw ethnic nationality of the Niger Delta within the Nigerian state.

After exhaustive deliberations, the Conference observed:

- a.** That it was through British colonization that the IJAW NATION was forcibly put under the Nigerian State
- b.** That but for the economic interests of the imperialists, the Ijaw ethnic nationality would have evolved as a distinct and separate sovereign nation, enjoying undiluted political, economic, social, and cultural AUTONOMY.
- c.** That the division of the Southern Protectorate into East and West in 1939 by the British marked the beginning of the balkanisation of a hitherto territorially contiguous and culturally homogeneous Ijaw people into political and administrative units, much to our disadvantage. This trend is continuing in the balkanisation of the Ijaws into six states- Ondo, Edo, Delta, Bayelsa, Rivers and Akwa Ibom States, mostly as minorities who suffer socio-political, economic, cultural and psychological deprivations.
- d.** That the quality of life of Ijaw people is deteriorating as a result of utter neglect, suppression and marginalization visited on Ijaws by the alliance of the Nigerian state and transnational oil companies.
- e.** That the political crisis in Nigeria is mainly about the struggle for the control of oil mineral resources which account for over 80% of GDP, 95 %of national budget and 90% of foreign exchange earnings. From which, 65%, 75% and 70% respectively are derived from within the Ijaw nation. Despite these huge contributions, our reward from the Nigerian State remains avoidable deaths resulting from ecological devastation and military repression.
- f.** That the unabating damage done to our fragile natural environment and to the health of our people is due in the main to uncontrolled exploration and exploitation of crude oil and natural gas which has led to numerous oil spillages, uncontrolled gas flaring, the opening up of our forests to loggers, indiscriminate canalisation, flooding, land subsidence, coastal erosion, earth tremors etc. Oil and gas are exhaustible resources and

the complete lack of concern for ecological rehabilitation, in the light of the Oloibiri experience, is a signal of impending doom for the peoples of Ijawland.

**g.** That the degradation of the environment of Ijawland by transnational oil companies and the Nigerian State arise mainly because Ijaw people have been robbed of their natural rights to ownership and control of their land and resources through the instrumentality of undemocratic Nigerian State legislations such as the Land Use Decree of 1978, the Petroleum Decrees of 1969 and 1991, the Lands (Title Vesting etc.) Decree No. 52 of 1993 (Osborne Land Decree), the National Inland Waterways Authority Decree No. 13 of 1997 etc.

**h.** That the principle of Derivation in Revenue Allocation has been consciously and systematically obliterated by successive regimes of the Nigerian state. We note the drastic reduction of the Derivation Principle from 100% (1953), 50% (1960), 45% (1970), 20% (1975) 2% (1982), 1.5% (1984) to 3% (1992 to date), and a rumored 13% in Abacha's 1995 undemocratic and unimplemented Constitution.

**i.** That the violence in Ijawland and other parts of the Niger Delta area, sometimes manifesting in intra and inter ethnic conflicts are sponsored by the State and transnational oil companies to keep the communities of the Niger Delta area divided, weak and distracted from the causes of their problems.

**j.** That the recent revelations of the looting of national treasury by the Abacha junta is only a reflection of an existing and continuing trend of stealing by public office holders in the Nigerian state. We remember the over 12 billion dollars Gulf war windfall, which was looted by Babangida and his cohorts We note that over 70% of the billions of dollars being looted by military rulers and their civilian collaborators is derived from our ecologically devastated Ijawland.

**Based on the foregoing, we, the youths of Ijawland, hereby make the following resolutions to be known as the Kaiama Declaration:**

**1.** All land and natural resources (including mineral resources) within the Ijaw territory belong to Ijaw communities and are the basis of our survival.

**2.** We cease to recognize all undemocratic decrees that rob our peoples/communities of the right to ownership and control of our lives and resources, which were enacted without our participation and consent. These include the Land Use Decree and The Petroleum Decree etc.

**3.** We demand the immediate withdrawal from Ijawland of all military forces of occupation and repression by the Nigerian State. Any oil company that employs the services of the armed forces of the Nigerian State to "protect" its operations will be viewed as an enemy of the Ijaw people. Family members of military personnel stationed in Ijawland should appeal to their people to leave the Ijaw area alone.

**4.** Ijaw youths in all the communities in all Ijaw clans in the Niger Delta will take steps to implement these resolutions beginning from the 30th of December, 1998, as a step towards reclaiming the control of our lives. We, therefore, demand that all oil companies stop all exploration and exploitation activities in the Ijaw area. We are tired of gas flaring; oil spillages, blowouts and being labelled saboteurs and terrorists. It is a case of preparing the noose for our hanging. We reject this labelling. Hence, we advice all oil

companies staff and contractors to withdraw from Ijaw territories by the 30th December, 1998 pending the resolution of the issue of resource ownership and control in the Ijaw area of the Niger Delta

5. Ijaw youths and Peoples will promote the principle of peaceful coexistence between all Ijaw communities and with our immediate neighbors, despite the provocative and divisive actions of the Nigerian State, transnational oil companies and their contractors. We offer a hand of friendship and comradeship to our neighbors: the Itsekiri, Ilaje, Urhobo, Isoko, Edo, Ibibio, Ogoni, Ekpeye, Ikwerre etc. We affirm our commitment to joint struggle with the other ethnic nationalities in the Niger delta area for self-determination.

6. We express our solidarity with all people's organizations and ethnic nationalities in Nigeria and elsewhere who are struggling for self-determination and justice. In particular we note the struggle of the Oodua peoples Congress (OPC), the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP), Egi Women's Movement etc.

7. We extend our hand of solidarity to the Nigerian oil workers (NUPENG and PENGASSAN) and expect that they will see this struggle for freedom as a struggle for humanity

8. We reject the present transition to civil rule program of the Abubakar regime, as it is not preceded by restructuring of the Nigerian federation. The way forward is a Sovereign National Conference of equally represented ethnic nationalities to discuss the nature of a democratic federation of Nigerian ethnic nationalities. Conference noted the violence and killings that characterized the last local government elections in most parts of the Niger Delta. Conference pointed out that these electoral conflicts are a manifestation of the undemocratic and unjust nature of the military transition program. Conference affirmed therefore, that the military are incapable of enthroning true democracy in Nigeria.

9 We call on all Ijaws to remain true to their Ijawness and to work for the total liberation of our people. You have no other true home but that which is in Ijawland.

10 We agreed to remain within Nigeria but to demand and work for Self Government and resource control for the Ijaw people. Conference approved that the best way for Nigeria is a federation of ethnic nationalities. The federation should be run on the basis equality and social justice.

Finally, Ijaw youths resolve to set up the Ijaw Youth Council (IYC) to coordinate the struggle of Ijaw peoples for self-determination and justice.

Signed for the entire participants by:

**Felix Tuodolo  
and Ogoriba, Timi Kaiser-Wilhelm.**

### **APPENDIX XIII: LETTER OF RESIGNATION**

**From Claude Ake**

**Centre for Advanced Social Science (CASS)**

**Port Harcourt, Nigeria**

November 15, 1995

Mr Gamaliel Onosode

The Chairman

Steering Committee

Niger Delta Environmental Survey

Dear Mr Onosode,

In the light of the demise of Ken Saro-Wiwa and his colleagues, I have had to rethink NDES. For me agreeing to serve in the Steering Committee of NDES was a leap of faith. For if past experience is any guide, there is no reason to assume that the Petroleum industry in Nigeria is the least concerned about the plight of the oil producing countries including their susceptibility to environmental hazards and it was not reasonable to fear that NDES might be a cover-up.

In the end I decided to serve and allow for the possibility that the Petroleum industry in Nigeria might have finally recognized the need to reconcile the profit motive with social responsibility. I have always felt that until this reconciliation is achieved, the oil producing communities will be increasingly alienated and hostile and all stake holders will suffer in a rising tide of violent conflict. This is why I have been trying to initiate dialogue between them. The distinguished representative of the Oil companies in the NDES Steering Committee can testify to these efforts.

Unfortunately the efforts did not succeed and conflict escalates with unfortunate consequences. It is clear now that NDES is too late and does not represent a change of

heart. To begin with, it does not enjoy the enthusiastic support of the oil industry at large. Clearly there is nothing in the recent performance of the oil companies notably Shell, NAOC, Elf and Mobil to suggest that NDES is associated with increasing sensitivity to the plight of the oil producing communities. It is telling that as the tragedy unfolded in Ogoniland, Shell, whose perceived insensitivity engendered the conflict in the first place did not intervene forcefully for conciliation. And when the disaster occurred, Shell expressed regrets but pointedly stated, according to the British press, that it was not considering any change in its current practices.

Considering the tragic enormity of recent happenings, and the crisis of conscience arising from them, NDES now seems to my mind diversionary and morally unacceptable. By all indications, what we need now is not an inventory of pollutants, but to look ourselves in the face, reach down to our innermost resources and try to heal our badly damaged social and moral fabric.

Please be so kind as to accept my resignation

Yours sincerely,

Prof. Claude Ake  
Director

#### APPENDIX XIV: DISTRIBUTION OF SOLID MINERALS IN NIGERIA

| STATE       | MINERAL RESOURCES                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|-------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Abia        | Glass sand, limestone, salt, shale, ball clay, galena, granite, marble, laterite, bentonite, phosphate, kaolin, pyrite, feldspar, petroleum, lignite, gypsum, sphalerite, clay                                                                                                                                                         |
| Adamawa     | Granite, clay, gypsum, limestone, uranium, kaolin, coal, trona, barite, salt, marble, magnesite, laterite                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Akwa Ibom   | Clay, glass sand, salt, silica sand, granite, coal, petroleum, natural gas, kaolin, limestone, lignite                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Anambra     | Clay, iron stone, natural gas, petroleum, sand stone, kaolin, pyrite, lignite                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| Bauchi      | Kaolin, trona, gypsum, cassiterite, mica, clay, tantalite, galena, iron ore, gemstone, sphalerites, silica sand, barite, columbite, zinc, lead, muscovite, quartz, columbite, tin, glass sand, salt, monazite, feldspar, graphite, wolfram, coal, agate, tantalum, rutile, tungsten, copper, talc, ilmenite, zircon                    |
| Bayelsa     | Salt, petroleum, natural gas, silica sand                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Benue       | Bentonite, crude salt, petroleum, limestone, glass sand<br>Gemstone, barites, feldspar, marble, mica, silica sand, quartz, galena, lead, zinc ore, silica sand, clay, coal, gypsum, kaolin, anhydrite, calcium, sulphate, brick clay, crushed and dimension stone, fluorspar, wolframite, bauxite, shale, magnetite, ilmenite, brenite |
| Borno       | Silica sand, natural salt, sapphire, topaz, mica, quartz, gypsum, uranium, iron ore, magnesite, feldspar, granite, aquamarine, nepheline, limestone, kaolin, bentonite, laterite clay, refractory clay, trona, gold, tin, potash                                                                                                       |
| Cross River | Salt, limestone, coal, manganese, mica, ilmenite, gold, quartz, glass sand, tourmaline, petroleum, natural gas, kaolin, tin ore, mica, sharp sand, clay,                                                                                                                                                                               |

|             |                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|-------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|             | spring water, salt deposits, talc, granite, galena, lead zinc, tin ore, goethite, Muscovite, uranium, barites                                                                              |
| Delta       | Kaolin, lateritic clay, gravel, silica sand, natural gas, petroleum, ball clay, bauxite, granite, river sand, clay, spring water                                                           |
| Ebonyi      | Lead/Zinc ore, salt, limestone, ball clay, refractory clay, gypsum, granite                                                                                                                |
| Edo         | Charnockite, copper, gold, marble, granite, gypsum, petroleum, diorite, lignite, limestone, ceramic clay                                                                                   |
| Ekiti       | Clay, charnockite, quartzite, lignite, limestone, granite, gemstone, bauxite, cassiterite, columbite, tantalite, feldspar, kaolin                                                          |
| Enugu       | Lateritic clay, crude oil, kaolinitic clay, ball clay, iron-ore, glass sand, petroleum, gypsum, coal, silica sand, ceramic clay                                                            |
| FCT – Abuja | Kaolin, limestone, granite, marble, feldspar, mica, dolomite, clay, sand, talc                                                                                                             |
| Gombe       | Graphite, kaolin, limestone, silica sand, uranium, coal, halites, clay, gypsum, diatomite, granite                                                                                         |
| Imo         | Crude oil, shale, natural gas, kaolin, laterite sand, limestone, salt, marble,                                                                                                             |
| Jigawa      | Glass sand, granite, laterite clay, silica, kaolin, iron ore, quartz, potash, talc, limestone                                                                                              |
| Kaduna      | Muscovite, granite, gold, manganese, clay, graphite, sand, zircon, kyanite, tin ore, ilmenite, gemstone, columbite                                                                         |
| Kano        | Clay, laterite, cassiterite, columbite, ilmenite, galena, phyrochlorite, kaolin, gemstone, silica, tin ore, monazite, wolframite, thorium, granite, hyalite, kaolin, beryl, amethyst, gold |
| Katsina     | Gold, Manganese, lateritic clay, feldspar, black tourmaline, amethyst, quartz,                                                                                                             |

|           |                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|-----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|           | kaolin, mica, gypsum, silimanite, clay, granite sand, uranium, asbestos, tourmaline, serpentine (chresolite asbestos), chromites, ilmenite, diamond, graphite, iron ore, potash, silica sand |
| Kebbi     | Salt, iron ore, gold, feldspar, limestone, quartz, bauxitic clay, manganese, kaolin, mica                                                                                                    |
| Kogi      | Clay, iron ore, gemstone, marble, limestone, feldspar, dolomite, phosphate, mica, cassiterite, granite, ornamental stone, coal, kaolin                                                       |
| Kwara     | Clay, kaolin, silica sand, quartz, dolomite, marble, feldspar, gold, tantalite, cassiterite, granite, limestone                                                                              |
| Lagos     | Silica sand, bitumen, sharp sand, gravel, petroleum, laterite                                                                                                                                |
| Nassarawa | Cassiterite, gemstone, amethyst, beryl, chrysolite, emerald, garnet, sapphire, topaz, barites, galena, monazite, zircon, glass sand, coal                                                    |
| Niger     | Ball clay, kaolin, limestone, granite, glass sand, iron ore, red clay, feldspar, gold, graphite, cyanite, silica sand, quartz, asbestos, marble, talc, gemstone                              |
| Ogun      | Kaolin, feldspar, silica sand, mica, granite, clay, phosphate, gypsum, limestone, quartz, tar sand                                                                                           |
| Ondo      | Marble, gold, gemstone, clay, diorite, lignite                                                                                                                                               |
| Osun      | Clay, granite, talc, dolomite, ilmenite, feldspar, quartz, limestone, mica, clay                                                                                                             |
| Oyo       | Clay, feldspar, granite, ilmenite, iron ore, kaolin, quartz, talc, marble, dolomite, tourmaline, aquamarine, amethyst                                                                        |
| Plateau   | Monazite, columbite, feldspar, clay, cassiterite, gemstone, kaolin, dolomite, mica, zircon, marble, ilmenite, barites, quartz, talc, galena                                                  |
| Rivers    | Petroleum, natural gas, silica sand, glass sand, clay                                                                                                                                        |

|         |                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|---------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Sokoto  | Silica sand, clay, salt, limestone, phosphate, gypsum, kaolin, laterite, potash, granite                                                                                            |
| Taraba  | Fluorspar, garnet, tourmaline, sapphire, zircon, tantalite, columbite, cassiterite, barite, galena, gypsum, limestone, laterite, calcite, bauxite, magnetite, pyrite, lead/zinc ore |
| Yobe    | Salt, trona, diatomite, clay, gypsum, kaolin, silica sand, limestone, epsomite, iron ore, trona, shale, uranium, granite, bentonitic clay                                           |
| Zamfara | Gold, Alluvial gold, granite, chromites, charnockite, clay, feldspar, spring water                                                                                                  |

*Source: Raw Materials Research and Development Council (RMRDC), Abuja, Nigeria. Ikpat and Ibanga also used this table in their article on, Nigeria's mineral resources: A case for resource control, March 2003.*

### **Profile of Solid Minerals Deposits in Nigeria**

| MINERAL              | QUANTITY           |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| Talc                 | 40 million tonnes  |
| Gypsum               | 1 billion tonnes   |
| Iron Ore             | 3 billion tonnes   |
| Lead/Zinc            | 10 million tonnes  |
| Bentonite and Baryte | 700 million tones  |
| Bitumen              | 42 billion tonnes  |
| Coal                 | 3 billion tonnes   |
| Rock Salt            | 1.5 million tonnes |
| Kaolin               | 3 billion tonnes   |

*Source: Nigerian Investment Promotion Commission (NIPC) Abuja, Nigeria. See [http://www.nipc-nigeria.org/solm\\_pro.htm](http://www.nipc-nigeria.org/solm_pro.htm)*

## **APPENDIX XV: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS**

- 1. What do you understand by the phrase “oil producing communities”?**
- 2. What do you perceive as the problems of the oil producing areas?**
- 3. How have the oil communities vented their anger towards the state and oil companies?**
- 4. What do you perceive as the roles of the government, oil companies, local communities and youths in perpetrating the crisis?**
- 5. What is the relationship between your ethnic group/social movements/organization and foreign bodies?**
- 6. How can the Niger Delta crisis be resolved**

## APPENDIX XVI: Questionnaire (2003)

Dear respondent, I am doing PHD research (International Relations) on the topic “*THE INTERNATIONALISATION OF A DOMESTIC CRISIS: A CASE STUDY OF THE NIGER DELTA IN NIGERIA, 1993-2003*” at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. The main objective of the research is to investigate why oil-communities of the Niger Delta have been aggrieved and what are the reactions of the locals to the consequences of oil exploration, what role specific local and international civil society actors played in the process; and why government’s and oil companies’ policies changed overtime.. Your responses to the questions that follow will be highly appreciated. All your answers will be kept COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL. Very many thanks!

- A. Age** [Please indicate into which of the following age ranges you belong.]  
18-25 ☐                      26-30 ☐                      31-35 ☐                      36-40 ☐  
41-45 ☐                      46-50 ☐                      51-55 ☐                      56-60+ ☐
- B. Gender** [Please check the box which describes your gender]  
Male ☐                      Female ☐
- C. Education** [Please indicate the highest level of education you have attained.]  
None ☐                      Primary ☐                      Secondary ☐                      Tertiary ☐
- D. What is your occupation?**  
Farming ☐                      Fishing ☐                      Trading ☐                      Civil Servant ☐  
Unemployed ☐                      Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
- E. How long have you lived in the Niger Delta?**  
Below 10years ☐                      Over 10 years ☐                      20 years and above ☐                      30years and above ☐
- F. Are there any presence of oil-mining activities in your community?**  
Yes ☐                      No ☐                      I don’t know ☐                      If “yes”, what are the effects on your land and the people?  
☐ Destruction of farmlands  
☐ Destruction of aquatic lives  
☐ Destruction of wildlife  
☐ Pollution of water and the general environment  
☐ Poor living conditions  
☐ All of the Above.
- G. Following from above (if answered), do your observations affect other oil-bearing communities?**  
Yes ☐                      No ☐                      I don’t know ☐

**H. If “yes” in G above, have the communities reacted in one way or the other?**

Yes ☐ No ☐ I don't Know ☐

**I. If “yes” in H above, what is the general mode of such reactions?**

- ☐ Making representation to the government and oil-companies
- ☐ Embracing dialogue
- ☐ Peaceful demonstrations
- ☐ Violent demonstrations/Taking hostages
- ☐ All of the above

**J. In case there are local protests, are interest groups or resistance movements involved?**

Yes ☐ No ☐ I don't know ☐ . If yes describe their mode of operations

- ☐ Making representation to the government and oil-companies
- ☐ Embracing dialogue
- ☐ Engaging in peaceful demonstrations
- ☐ Violent demonstrations/Taking hostages
- ☐ Engaging in armed confrontation
- ☐ Reaching out to the international community to arouse sympathy for their cause
- ☐ All of the Above.

**K. In all, describe government and oil companies' response to the unfolding issues in the Niger Delta questions.**

- ☐ Prompt, timely and encouraging
- ☐ Very lukewarm, at times non-challant, and discouraging
- ☐ Not satisfactory to the oil-bearing communities

**L. Are you aware of the indiscriminate use of arms by the ethnic militia in the current crisis in the Niger Delta?**

Yes ☐ No ☐ I don't Know ☐

**M. If “yes” above, could this be attributed to your answers in K above ?**

Yes ☐ No ☐ I don't know ☐

**N. Which section of the Niger Delta society is much more identified with the armed confrontation in the region?**

Youths ☐ Elderly people ☐ Both the youths and the elderly people ☐  
Very difficulty to specify ☐ I don't know ☐

**O. Whom would you blame for the current armed conflict in the Niger Delta?**

Government ☐ Oil companies ☐ Ethnic Militia ☐ Leadership  
of the oil communities ☐

**P. Describe the government's response to the activities of ethnic militia in the Niger Delta**

Very moderate ☐ Heavy presence of the military in the region ☐  
Difficult to describe ☐

**Q. How would you describe the attitude of some local leaders and elite in the Niger Delta struggle?**

Moderate ☐ Militant ☐ Compromising and selfish ☐  
Uncompromising and resolute ☐ Very difficult to specify ☐ All of the above ☐

**R. Are you aware of the involvement of international civil society in the Niger Delta crisis?**

Yes ☐ No ☐ I don't Know ☐

**S. If "yes" above, how would you rate their role(s) or impact(s) on the Niger Delta crisis?**

Very Well ☐ Moderately Well ☐ Not at all well ☐ Not familiar ☐

**T. How could the Niger Delta crisis be resolved?**

- ☐ Meaning dialogue
- ☐ Provision of master development plan for the Niger Delta and serious commitment to its implementation
- ☐ Convening a sovereign National Conference
- ☐ De-militarization of the Niger Delta
- ☐ Payment of adequate compensation in terms of execution of real projects
- ☐ All of the above.

**Thank you.**

## **APPENDIX XVII**

### **Isaac Adaka Boro's address to his troops**

"Today is a great day, not only in your lives, but also in the history of the Niger Delta. Perhaps it will be the greatest day for a very long time. This is not because we are going to bring heaven down, but because we are going to demonstrate to the world what and how we feel about oppression. Before today, we were branded robbers, bandits, terrorists or gangsters but after today, we shall be heroes of our land.

"For this reason, and for the good name of the Ijaws, do not commit atrocities such as rape, looting or robbery. Whatever people say, we must maintain our integrity. Moreover, you know it is against Ijaw tradition to mess about with women during war. You have been purified these many days. Be assured that if you do not get yourselves defiled within the period of battle, you shall return home safe even if we fail".

The men of the Niger Delta Volunteer Force each took the following oath before the revolution: "I...a Niger Delta citizen from the town of...today herein sworn in at the Revolutionary Camp of the Niger Delta Volunteer Service, as (an officer, warrant officer, non-commissioned or a serviceman) do solemnly declare to uphold the natural rights and integrity of the Niger Delta peoples and fight with my life for the restoration of same. So help me God."

Isaac Adaka Boro