

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Content	Page
Abstract.....	2
Contents.....	4
Acknowledgement.....	7
Acronyms.....	9
PART ONE –INTRODUCTION.....	11
Chapter 1: Historical Context: The Niger Delta before 1960	
Introduction.....	24
Definition of Concepts.....	26
Political History.....	27
Economic History.....	31
Oil in the Niger Delta.....	34
The Bases of Persistent Violence in the Niger Delta.....	37
Chapter 2: Nigerian Federalism, Fiscal Policy, and the Minority Question.	
Introduction.....	47
The Evolution of ethnic majority Politics.....	49
The National Question in Nigeria.....	53
Revenue Allocation and the Minorities Question in the Niger Delta.....	58
The Military, Oil and Ethnic Minorities of the Niger Delta.....	64
Regional Hegemony and the Minorities Struggle in the Niger Delta.....	69

PART TWO: THE ROLE OF MNOCs AND OTHER ACTORS IN THE NIGER DELTA

Chapter 3: Main Actors in the Niger Delta Crisis

Introduction.....	76
The Nigerian State.....	78
The International Oil Multinationals (Shell) in the Niger Delta.....	83
NGOs and INGOs.....	95
Civil Groups/Social Movements in the Niger Delta.....	97

Chapter 4: The Impact of Oil Exploration on the People of the Niger Delta

Introduction.....	103
Oil Production in the Niger Delta.....	107
Environmental Factor.....	111
Economic Factor.....	119
Social Factor.....	124
Human Rights Factor.....	131

PART THREE: THE INTERNATIONAL DIMENSIONS OF THE NIGER DELTA STRUGGLE

Chapter 5: MOSOP and IYC: A Case Study of Local Resistance since 1990s.

Introduction.....	140
MOSOP.....	146
State and Shell Repression against Ogoni Resistance.....	155
IYC.....	163

Democratic Setting and resource control agitation in Niger Delta.....	170
---	-----

Chapter 6: Local NGOs and the Niger Delta Crisis Since 1990s

Introduction.....	179
NGOS and Social Movements of the Niger Delta.....	182
NGOS and the State/Shell.....	189

Chapter 7: The Involvement of the International Civil Society in the Niger Delta Struggle

Introduction.....	197
The International Community and the Niger Delta Crisis.....	201
MOSOP & IYC Strategies of Entering International Arena.....	206
The Dwindling Fortunes of Internationalization through MOSOP and the rise of IYC.....	210
The International Community reaction.....	214
The Nigerian state and oil communities.....	221
The oil multinationals (Shell) and their host communities.....	228

Chapter 8: Conclusion: Resolving the Niger Delta Crisis.....237

The Obasanjo regime and the Niger Delta crisis.....	240
The way forward.....	248
Bibliography.....	259
Appendices.....	274