



Australian Government
Refugee Review Tribunal

Country Advice

Nigeria

Nigeria – NGA35982 – Ijaws – Ijaw
Militias – Joint Task Force – Camp 5 –
Gbaramatu – Ethnic Conflict – Housing –
Land Ownership
12 January 2010

- 1 Please provide a brief background about the Ijaw militia: who are they; when were they formed; what are their objectives; whether they are still operational; and if they force young Ijaw males to join them.**

The Ijaw are the fourth largest ethnic group in Nigeria and the largest in the oil-rich Niger Delta. Since the late 1990s there have been a number of predominantly Ijaw militia groups operating in the Delta. All of these militias claim that their primary aims are to achieve a greater proportion of the revenue generated by gas and oil extraction in the Delta for the Ijaw people, as well as end the environmental damage inflicted on the Delta by oil and gas extraction.¹ Some observers have accused these militias of operating as mafia organisations, using the pretext of equity and environment for their own economic gain.²

In recent years the most prominent of the Ijaw militias has been the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND). A December 2009 RRT Research Response has examined the formation and operations of MEND, including the question of whether MEND forcibly recruits young Ijaws.³ A June 2009 research response produced by the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (IRB) also found no sources indicating that MEND forcibly recruits Ijaws. However, the IRB does quote a PhD student researching militias in the Delta as stating that some young Ijaw males might experience “some pressure” to volunteer.⁴

A January 2009 RRT Research Response provides useful information on a selection of Niger Delta based Ijaw militias, including Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF), Niger Delta People Volunteer Force (NDPVF), Egbesu Boys, Federated Niger Delta Ijaw Communities (FNDIC), The Niger Delta Vigilantes (NDV), as well as the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND). The response also examines the question of whether the Ijaw community experiences greater discrimination and levels of poverty than other ethnic groups in Nigeria.⁵

¹ Freedom House 2009, ‘Freedom in the World Nigeria 2009’, 17 July – Attachment 1; Marquardt, E. 2006 ‘The Niger Delta Insurgency and its Threat to Energy Security’, *Terrorism Monitor*, Volume IV, Issue 16, 10 August, Jamestown Foundation – Attachment 2

² Beaumont, P. 2008, ‘Civilians and oil firms flee Niger Delta as guerrilla attacks worsen’, *Guardian Unlimited*, 20 July <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/jul/20/nigeria.oil/print> – Accessed 21 July 2008 – Attachment 3; Stratfor 2009, ‘Nigeria’s MEND: Connecting the Dots’, 17 March; Stratfor 2009, ‘Nigeria’s MEND: Odili, Asari and the NDPVF’, 18 March; Stratfor 2009, ‘Nigeria’s MEND: A different militant movement’, 19 March, p.2 – Attachment 4

³ RRT Country Advice 2009, *Research Response NGA35738*, 3 December – Attachment 5

⁴ Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2009, *NGA103175.E – Nigeria: Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND); whether it forcibly recruits its members and, if so, how; whether members are only from the Ijaw ethnic group (2006-May 2009)*, 16 – Attachment 6

⁵ RRT Research & Information 2009, *Research Response NGA34249*, 8 January – Attachment 7

According to the International Crisis Group (ICG), militant attacks on the oil industry in the Niger Deltas in recent years has caused Nigeria's oil exports to fall from 2.6 million barrels per day in 2006 to 1.6 million by March 2009. Lost production, theft and sabotage has meant that during the first nine months of 2008 alone Nigeria lost "at least \$23.7 billion" in revenue and "about 1,000 people were killed".⁶ The *Financial Times* states in a September 2009 article that production fell in the middle of 2009 to "as low as 800,000 barrels a day".⁷

In July 2009 the Nigerian government announced an amnesty for all militants in the Niger Delta. According to *BBC News*, the amnesty includes "[a] presidential pardon, rehabilitation programme, education and training are being offered to militants taking part."⁸ The amnesty was offered with a pledge by the Nigeria President to work to improve the living standards of the various peoples in the Delta and increase the Delta people's share of oil revenue. On the eve of the expiration of the amnesty the primary military commander of MEND, Government Tompolo, aka Chief Government Ekpemupolo, surrendered to authorities. Nigeria's *Vanguard Media* reported on 18 October 2009 that in addition to the surrender of Tompolo, major political leaders of the Ijaw people have also embraced peaceful means to pursue what they see as a more equitable distribution of oil revenue and investment; "Chief Edwin Clark and Henry Okah are also rallying against fresh hostilities in the area. They want the people and MEND to give government at least six months to prove its sincerity before it can be taken on its promises." However, *Vanguard Media* also reported that while Edwin Clark, Henry Okah and Tompolo and over 8000 militants have accepted the amnesty, others within MEND have not accepted the terms and announced on 18 October 2009 that they will resume hostilities.⁹ Nigeria's *The Guardian* also states that a number of factions within MEND have not surrendered. Jomo Gbomo, described as a MEND spokesman, states that "[t]he amnesty is seen as a failure by those who are sincere about seeking genuine long-term peace but a pyrrhic victory for government and its sycophants who believe in deceit."¹⁰

In September 2009 militant leader General John Togo accepted the amnesty offer and surrendered a cache of arms.¹¹ In January 2010, Mujahid Dokubo-Asari¹², the former head of the Niger Delta Peoples Volunteer Force (NDPVP) was reportedly in Cameroon. A highly subjective report in *The Tribune* (Nigeria) wrote on 6 January 2010 that "[h]e is a lion of indomitability. He has merely gone to Cameroun to coach the Indomitable Lions for the Nations Cup and the World Cup."¹³ The ICG reported that as early as 9 February 2009 the

⁶ International Crisis Group 2009, *Nigeria: Seizing the Moment in the Niger Delta*, ICG website, 30 April, p.2 http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/africa/west_africa/b60_nigeria_seizing_the_moment_in_the_niger_delta.pdf – Accessed 1 May 2009 – Attachment 8

⁷ Peel, M. 2009, 'Into the heart of the Niger Delta oil war', *Financial Times*, 12 September <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/2/69fbae48-9da3-11de-9f4a-00144feabdc0.html> – Accessed 4 December 2009 – Attachment 9

⁸ 'Nigeria offers militants amnesty' 2009, *BBC News*, 26 June <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8118314.stm> – Accessed 1 December 2009 – Attachment 10

⁹ 'Stakeholders oppose Niger Delta militants' threat to resume hostilities' 2009, BBC News Monitoring, source: *Vanguard Media*, 18 October – Attachment 11

¹⁰ Oliomogbe, H. et al 2009, 'Amnesty period ends', *The Guardian* (Nigeria), 5 October <http://www.nguardiannews.com/news/article01//indexn2.html?pdate=051009&ptitle=Amnesty%20period%20ends> – Accessed 6 January 2010 – Attachment 12

¹¹ Onabu, O.J. 2009, 'Militant leader surrenders arms, accepts amnesty offer in Delta State', BBC Monitoring Service, source: *This Day* (Lagos), 27 September – Attachment 13

¹² Marquardt, E. 2007, 'Mujahid Dokubo-Asari: The Niger Delta's Ijaw Leader', *Terrorism Monitor*, Jamestown Foundation website, vol. 5, no. 15, 2 August, pp.1-4

<http://www.jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2373587> – Accessed 11 January 2008 – Attachment 14

¹³ 'Dokubo-Asari Disappears' 2010, *The Tribune*, 6 January <http://www.tribune.com.ng/06012010/edit.html> – Accessed 7 January 2010 – Attachment 15

Ijaw Youth Council (IYC) had “called on all militant groups in Bayelsa State (the only entirely Ijaw state) to shut down their eight camps in the deep mangrove swamps.”¹⁴

A *BBC News* article written prior to Tompolo’s surrender suggests that his decision may prove decisive in determining the future of the rebellion in the Delta. Andrew Walker wrote in May 2009 that “Government Tompolo, a Nigerian militant leader currently on the run from a military offensive, is one of the most important figures in the swamps of the oil-rich Niger Delta... What happens to Mr Tompolo in the next few weeks may determine not only the future of the conflict in the Delta but possibly Nigeria’s prospects for long-term stability and prosperity.”¹⁵

The Austin, Texas based strategic forecasting agency Stratfor stated in June 2009 that the amnesty may be part of a strategy by the ruling People’s Democratic Party to limit the Delta militias influence on voting; “More than a means of reducing violence, the amnesty offer could be part of the early preparations for a national election in April 2011. Politicians throughout Nigeria — and certainly in the Niger Delta — have long relied on armed gangs as a tool to ensure their election victories. Gangs are hired to carry out attacks (including assassinations) against rival politicians during campaign season. Violence occurs not only between political parties but within parties as incumbent and upstart politicians fight — literally — to win the nomination for a particular post. During elections, gangs are used to intimidate voters and to attack gangs hired by rival politicians.”¹⁶ The US Department of States *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices 2008 – Nigeria* states that “criminal gangs” have been used by politicians to “intimidate opponents and aid election rigging”.¹⁷

- 2 Are there any reports about a ‘Camp 5’ group of Ijaw militia?**
- 3 Are there any reports of an aerial attack on the township of Gbaramatu (Delta State) by the Joint Task Force on 13 May 2009? If so, were Ijaws in general targeted, or only Ijaw militia?**

Until May 2009 ‘Camp 5’ was a large base of the predominantly ethnic Ijaw MEND militia and subsequently the term Camp 5 has been employed by both the media and locals as shorthand for the branch of the MEND militia in the small Gbaramatu kingdom. The leader of Camp 5 and the primary military commander of MEND is Government Ekpemupolo, aka Tompolo, who surrendered in October 2009.¹⁸ Camp 5 has been occupied by the Joint Task Force (JTF) since May 2009.¹⁹

Reuters reported that in June 2009 that “[t]he military offensive in Delta state last month focused on Camp 5 and the community of Oporoza, the base and home respectively of Government Tompolo, accused by the military of profiting from a lucrative trade in stolen

¹⁴ International Crisis Group 2009, ‘Nigeria: Seizing the Moment in the Niger Delta’, ICG website, 30 April – Attachment 8

¹⁵ Walker, A. 2009, ‘Profile: Nigeria’s militant kingpin’, *BBC News*, 27 May
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8068862.stm> – Accessed 29 May 2009 – Attachment 16

¹⁶ Stratfor 2009, ‘Nigeria: The Double Meaning of Amnesty for Militants’, 25 June, p.2
http://www.stratfor.com/analysis/20090625_nigeria_double_meaning_amnesty_militants – Accessed 1 December 2009 – Attachment 17

¹⁷ US Department of State 2009, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices 2008*, 25 February, Section G – Attachment 18

¹⁸ ‘Excitement in Warri as Tompolo surrenders’ 2009, *The Nation*, 5 October
<http://thenationonlineng.net/web2/articles/20827/1/Excitement-in-Warri-as-Tompolo-surrenders/Page1.html> – Accessed 6 January 2010 – Attachment 19

¹⁹ Top Nigerian militant “expected” to surrender 3 October’ 2009, BBC Monitoring Service, source: *Vanguard Media*, 3 October – Attachment 20

oil.” According to *Reuters*, “local rights groups” have accused the armed forces of targeting ethnic Ijaws, something the military denies. No figures are provided in the report on the number of militant and civilian casualties; however, the report does state that “[t]housands of civilians are thought to have fled their villages after helicopter raids on Camp 5 and Oporoza, though witnesses said they fled out of fear that surveillance aircraft would open fire again rather than from actual fighting.”²⁰

A May 2009 press release by Amnesty International UK states that “[t]he JTF – which comprises members of the army, navy, air force and police – have carried out daily attacks on communities in the area, including the Okerenkoko and Oporoza communities, reportedly because they believe armed groups are hiding there.” “The JTF offensive began on 13 May after armed groups in Delta State reportedly attacked the Task Force. The JTF have been conducting land and air strikes on communities across the Warri south and south-west local government areas where the Nigerian government believes the camps of the armed groups are located. Hundreds of people are feared dead.” Thousands more were displaced.²¹

According to the *Cameroun & Africa on TV* website, the JTF attacks on 13 May 2009 took place on Oporoza, described as “the traditional headquarters of Gbaramatu Kingdom”, as well as on the towns of Kunukunuma, Kurutie and Camp 5, “all in the Warri South-west Local Government Area of Delta State”. According to the author, a Filipino held hostage by MEND was killed “by stray bullets” during the attack. An “eyewitness” quoted in the article states the JTF used 14 gunboats and 4 helicopters in the attack on Camp 5.²²

According to the *Somali Press*, the attacks “left no fewer than 65 persons dead and over 100 persons, including traditional chiefs injured.” The attacks on Gbaramatu received condemnation from Ijaw leaders and groups such as Chief Edwin Clark and the Ijaw Monitoring Group, who described the attacks as a “holocaust agenda”. Furthermore, a number of Nigerian senators from the ruling PDP also criticised the behaviour of the JTF.²³

Michael Watts of the Department of Geography, University of California, Berkeley, wrote in an October 2009 paper that the 13 May 2009 JTF offensive in Gbaramatu displaced thousands of “dirt-poor villagers” and killed “hundreds of innocent civilians”. Most of the casualties, writes Watts, were ethnic Ijaw. In response, militant Ijaw groups launched “ferocious reprisal attacks gutting Chevron’s Okan manifold which controls 80% of the company’s shipments of oil.” According to Watts, the subsequent fighting that began on 13 May 2009 went on for two months, from “mid-May to mid-July”, with Ijaw militias launching twelve attacks on Nigeria’s oil infrastructure. Consequently “Agip was forced to declare force majeure on its Brass fields while Shell, following several devastating attacks on well-heads and pipelines near Escravos (in the west) and the Cawthorne channel (in the east), was losing \$20 million per day in deferred production from its onshore operations.” Watts also reports that in July

²⁰ ‘How bad is insecurity in Nigeria’s oil heartland?’ 2009, *Reuters Alert Net*, 18 June

<http://www.alertnet.org/thenews/newsdesk/LI32684.htm> – Accessed 22 June 2009 – Attachment 21

²¹ Amnesty International UK 2009, ‘Nigeria: Hundreds feared dead and thousands trapped in Niger Delta fighting’, AIUK website, 22 May http://www.amnesty.org.uk/news_details.asp?NewsID=18217 – Accessed 5 January 2010 – Attachment 22

²² Onabu, O.J. 2009, ‘Nigeria: Bloodbath in Escravos As JTF Launches Attack On Militants’, *Cameroun & Africa on TV* website, 17 May <http://www.africaontv.com/Members/rebecca/news/nigeria-bloodbath-in-escravos-as-jtf-launches-attack-on-militants-africa-news/> – Accessed 6 January 2010 – Attachment 23

²³ ‘War in the Creeks of Nigeria – Stop This Carnage, Say Niger Delta Leaders’ 2009, *Somali Press* website, p.1 <http://www.somalipress.com/news/2009-may-18/war-creeks-nigeria-stop-carnage-say-niger-delta-leaders.html> – Accessed 6 January 2010 – Attachment 24

2009 15 MEND gunboats launched an attack on the Atas Cove oil facilities in Lagos, hundreds of kilometres from their bases in the Delta.²⁴

It has since been reported that various Ijaw communities in Gbaramatu have filed a lawsuit in Nigeria's Federal High Court against President Umaru Yar'Adua over the military attacks that began on 13 May 2009, seeking N100 billion in damages.²⁵ Some Ijaw are also blaming the energy giant Chevron for the attack.²⁶ The Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada has written that both MEND and the Ijaw National Congress argue that the JTF indiscriminately targeted Ijaw communities.²⁷ It was reported in the *Vanguard News* that the palace of the King of Gbaramatu was also damaged in the JTF attack.²⁸

4 Are there reports of Ijaws in general being discriminated against and denied basic human rights such as access to housing, freedom of expression and work rights? Is most land in Ijaw areas owned by Muslims?

While there are few objective sources that are prepared to state that ethnic Ijaws are discriminated against in basic human rights and the distribution of state services, it is clear that the Ijaws of the Niger Delta acutely believe they have not benefited from the vast revenue generated by gas and oil exploitation in the Delta. Writing in the Jamestown Foundation's *Terrorism Monitor* in 2006, Erich Marquardt states that the distribution formula for oil and gas revenue is a major grievance of the Ijaw. According to Marquardt, 13 percent of state revenue is designated for the people of the Delta under the 1999 constitution. The Ijaw would like to see this proportion rise to between 20 and 25 percent and also demand "ownership and management of the resources located on their land, including offshore oil fields". Marquardt states that the Ijaw live in poverty and their lands suffer from "extensive environmental degradation as a result of frequent oil spills and gas flaring operations."²⁹

Human Rights Watch wrote in 2006 that in the Warri region of the Delta, where many Ijaws reside, the ethnic Itsekiri control "[a]ll three of Warri's Local Government Areas" and that "Warri's representative in the federal National Assembly is also an Itsekiri, a fact that the town's Urhobo and Ijaw residents believe has resulted in the economic and political marginalization of their communities." Ijaw and other minorities frustrations have been exacerbated by the corruption and widespread fraud involved in Nigeria's elections:

²⁴ Watts, M. 2009, 'Crude Politics: Life and Death on the Nigerian Oil Fields', University of California Berkeley website, 6 October, pp.2-3

http://geography.berkeley.edu/ProjectsResources/ND%20Website/NigerDelta/WP/Watts_25.pdf – Accessed 6 January 2010 – Attachment 25

²⁵ Ehiremen, N. 2009, 'Tompolo's kinsmen sue Yar'Adua for N100bn', Niger Delta Solidarity website, 25 June <http://nigerdeltasolidarity.wordpress.com/tag/gbaramatu-kingdom/> – Accessed 5 January 2010 – Attachment 26

²⁶ Ganagana, M. 2009, 'Niger Delta war: Pa Juweigha, 102, oldest man in Gbaramatu bombed to death', Online Nigeria website, 25 May <http://news.onlinenigeria.com/templates/?a=3792> – Accessed 5 January 2010 – Attachment 27

²⁷ Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2009, NGA103175.E – Nigeria: Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND); whether it forcibly recruits its members and, if so, how; whether members are only from the Ijaw ethnic group (2006-May 2009), 16 June <http://www2.irb-cisr.gc.ca/en/research/rir/?action=record.viewrec&gotorec=452413> – Accessed 1 December 2009 – Attachment 6

²⁸ 'Gbaramatu leaders didn't sponsor Tompolo—Chief Gbenekama' 2009, *Vanguard News*, 13 June <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2009/06/13/gbaramatu-leaders-didn%E2%80%99t-sponsor-tompolo%E2%80%94chief-gbenekama/> – Accessed 6 January 2010 – Attachment 28

²⁹ Marquardt, E. 2006, 'The Niger Delta Insurgency and its Threat to Energy Security', *Terrorism Monitor*, Volume IV, Issue 16, 10 August, Jamestown Foundation, p.4 – Attachment 2

The 2003 elections in Delta State were tainted by widespread fraud, and many Ijaw and Urhobo simply do not believe that they would ever be permitted to win control over any of Warri's local governments in a free and fair election. As is true of other parts of Nigeria, these assumptions are lent legitimacy and force by the increasingly widespread notion that only the indigenes of any given place have the right to hold political power.³⁰

The Human Rights Watch report echoes a 2003 report by Minorities at Risk entitled *Assessment for Ijaw in Nigeria*. The report argues that the democratisation of Nigeria in 1999 has yet to pay social and economic dividends for the Ijaw, with the Ijaw remaining “excluded from the mainstream of Nigerian politics, economy and society.” Minorities at Risk also accused the Nigeria security forces of engaging in “torture, killings and confiscation of property.”³¹ The Minority Rights Group wrote in 2008 that “little money goes into schools or hospitals. Public services are in a pitiable condition.”³²

Nigeria's *The Guardian* states that most Ijaws' livelihoods are based on “peasant farming, fishing and hunting”, adding that “all of which have come under tremendous threat by oil exploration and exploitation. The traditional means of livelihood of the people have been grossly abbreviated by the new-found oil economy, yet in the allocation of the accruing profit and benefits, the people have been made by processes outside their control, to remain perpetual onlookers.”³³

Land Disputes

No sources indicate that most land in the predominantly Christian Ijaw areas are owned by Muslims. A number of sources suggest that ethnic and religious conflict in Nigeria often relate to the control of land rather than religious beliefs and practices. The US Department of State's *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices 2008* states that religion in Nigeria is often associated with tribe and therefore competition for land between tribes can cause inter-religious tension.³⁴ *IRIN* expands on this nexus between land ownership and religion in a recent profile of Nigeria, stating that this competition has been exacerbated by years of corruption and economic mismanagement. *IRIN* quotes Nigerian sociologist Ekenna Nwafor who states that “[y]ears of misrule, massive corruption and squandering of development opportunities by successive governments have not only pauperised large segments of the population...[t]hey have also left frayed nerves, forcing frustrated Nigerians to bare fangs against erstwhile peaceful neighbours at the individual and communal levels.” *IRIN* states that some of the worst inter-communal violence is associated with land ownership, particularly in the south “where land ownership attracts compensation payments and amenities from oil multinationals.”³⁵

³⁰ Human Rights Watch 2006, *They Do Not Own This Place: Government Discrimination Against non-Indigenes in Nigeria*, April, p.61 – Attachment 29

³¹ Minorities at Risk 2003, *Assessment for Ijaw in Nigeria*, 31 December

<http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/mar/assessment.asp?groupId=47506> – Accessed 6 January 2009 – Attachment 30

³² Minority Rights Group 2008, ‘Nigeria’, *State of the World's Minorities 2008 – Events of 2007*, 11 March, p.74 – Attachment 31

³³ Ugwoha, Chibuzor 2009, ‘Challenges of infrastructural development in the Niger Delta’, *The Guardian*, 19 November

http://cwww.nguardiannews.com/focus_record/article02//indexn3_html?pdate=191109&ptitle=Challenges%20of%20infrastructural%20development%20in%20the%20Niger%20Delta&cpdate=191109 – Accessed 1 December 2009 – Attachment 32

³⁴ US Department of State 2009, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices 2008*, 25 February, Section C – Attachment 18

³⁵ ‘NIGERIA: A History of Conflicts’ 2010, *IRIN*, 10 January

<http://www.irinnews.org/InDepthMain.aspx?InDepthId=30&ReportId=70458> – Accessed 11 January 2010 – Attachment 33

Sources Consulted

Government

Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada <http://www.irb-cisr.gc.ca/>

UK Home Office <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/>

US Department of State <http://www.state.gov/>

United Nations (UN)

UN Refugee Agency – Refworld <http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/rsd>

Non-Government Organisations

Amnesty International <http://www.amnesty.org/>

International Crisis Group

Freedom House <http://www.freedomhouse.org/>

Human Rights Watch <http://www.hrw.org/>

Minorities at Risk <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/mar/>

Minority Rights International Group <http://www.minorityrights.org/>

Jamestown Foundation <http://www.jamestown.org>

International News

BBC News <http://news.bbc.co.uk>

Silobreaker <http://www.silobreaker.com/>

The Guardian (UK) <http://www.guardian.co.uk>

The Financial Times <http://www.ft.com>

Reuters AlertNet <http://www.alertnet.org>

The Somali Press <http://www.somalipress.com>

ABC News www.abc.net.au/news

The Sydney Morning Herald www.smh.com.au

The Age www.theage.com.au

Nigerian News

Vanguard Media

The Guardian (Nigeria) <http://www.nguardiannews.com>

The Tribune <http://www.tribune.com.ng>

The Nation <http://thenationonlineng.net>

Other

allAfrica.com <http://allafrica.com/>

Online Nigeria <http://news.onlinenigeria.com>

Stratfor <http://www.stratfor.com>

List of Attachments

1. Freedom House 2009, 'Freedom in the World Nigeria 2009', 17 July. (CISNET Nigeria CX230350)
2. Marquardt, E. 2006 'The Niger Delta Insurgency and its Threat to Energy Security', *Terrorism Monitor*, Volume IV, Issue 16, Jamestown Foundation, 10 August.
3. Beaumont, P. 2008, 'Civilians and oil firms flee Niger Delta as guerrilla attacks worsen', *Guardian Unlimited*, 20 July

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/jul/20/nigeria.oil/print> – Accessed 21 July 2008. (CISNET Nigeria CX205779)

4. Stratfor 2009, 'Nigeria's MEND: Connecting the Dots', 17 March; Stratfor 2009, 'Nigeria's MEND: Odili, Asari and the NDPVF', 18 March; Stratfor 2009, 'Nigeria's MEND: A different militant movement', 19 March. (MRT-RRT Library)
5. RRT Country Advice 2009, *Research Response NGA35738*, 3 December.
6. Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2009, *NGA103175.E – Nigeria: Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND); whether it forcibly recruits its members and, if so, how; whether members are only from the Ijaw ethnic group (2006-May 2009)*, 16 June <http://www2.irb-cisr.gc.ca/en/research/rir/?action=record.viewrec&gotorec=452413> – Accessed 1 December 2009.
7. RRT Research & Information 2009, *Research Response NGA34249*, 8 January.
8. International Crisis Group 2009, 'Nigeria: Seizing the Moment in the Niger Delta', ICG website, 30 April.
9. Peel, M. 2009, 'Into the heart of the Niger Delta oil war', *Financial Times*, 12 September <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/2/69fbae48-9da3-11de-9f4a-00144feabdc0.html> – Accessed 4 December 2009.
10. 'Nigeria offers militants amnesty' 2009, *BBC News*, 26 June <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8118314.stm> – Accessed 1 December 2009.
11. 'Stakeholders oppose Niger Delta militants' threat to resume hostilities' 2009, BBC News Monitoring, source: *Vanguard Media*, 18 October. (CISNET Nigeria CX235226)
12. Oliomogbe, H. et al 2009, 'Amnesty period ends', *The Guardian* (Nigeria), 5 October http://www.nguardiannews.com/news/article01//indexn2_html?pdate=051009&ptitle=Amnesty%20period%20ends – Accessed 6 January 2010.
13. Onabu, O.J. 2009, 'Militant leader surrenders arms, accepts amnesty offer in Delta State', BBC Monitoring Service, source: *This Day* (Lagos), 27 September. (CISNET Nigeria CX234183)
14. Marquardt, E. 2007, 'Mujahid Dokubo-Asari: The Niger Delta's Ijaw Leader', *Terrorism Monitor*, vol. 5, no. 15, Jamestown Foundation, 2 August <http://www.jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2373587> – Accessed 11 January 2008.
15. 'Dokubo-Asari Disappears' 2010, *The Tribune*, 6 January <http://www.tribune.com.ng/06012010/edit.html> – Accessed 7 January 2010.
16. Walker, A. 2009, 'Profile: Nigeria's militant kingpin', *BBC News*, 27 May <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8068862.stm> – Accessed 29 May 2009. (CISNET Nigeria CX227186)

17. Stratfor 2009, 'Nigeria: The Double Meaning of Amnesty for Militants', 25 June http://www.stratfor.com/analysis/20090625_nigeria_double_meaning_amnesty_militants – Accessed 1 December 2009.
18. US Department of State 2009, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices 2008 – Nigeria*, 25 February.
19. 'Excitement in Warri as Tompolo surrenders' 2009, *The Nation*, 5 October <http://thenationonlineng.net/web2/articles/20827/1/Excitement-in-Warri-as-Tompolo-surrenders/Page1.html> – Accessed 6 January 2010.
20. Top Nigerian militant "expected" to surrender 3 October' 2009, BBC Monitoring Service, source: *Vanguard Media*, 3 October. (CISNET Nigeria CX234441)
21. 'How bad is insecurity in Nigeria's oil heartland?' 2009, *Reuters Alert Net*, 18 June <http://www.alertnet.org/thenews/newsdesk/LI32684.htm> – Accessed 22 June 2009. (CISNET Nigeria CX228407)
22. Amnesty International 2009, 'Nigeria: Hundreds feared dead and thousands trapped in Niger Delta fighting', AI UK website, 22 May http://www.amnesty.org.uk/news_details.asp?NewsID=18217 – Accessed 5 January 2010.
23. Onabu, O.J. 2009, 'Nigeria: Bloodbath in Escravos As JTF Launches Attack On Militants', Cameroun & Africa on TV website, 17 May <http://www.africaontv.com/Members/rebecca/news/nigeria-bloodbath-in-escravos-as-jtf-launches-attack-on-militants-africa-news/> – Accessed 6 January 2010.
24. 'War in the Creeks of Nigeria – Stop This Carnage, Say Niger Delta Leaders' 2009, Somali Press website <http://www.somalipress.com/news/2009-may-18/war-creeks-nigeria-stop-carnage-say-niger-delta-leaders.html> – Accessed 6 January 2010.
25. Watts, M. 2009, 'Crude Politics: Life and Death on the Nigerian Oil Fields', University of California Berkeley website, 6 October http://geography.berkeley.edu/ProjectsResources/ND%20Website/NigerDelta/WP/Watts_25.pdf – Accessed 6 January 2010.
26. Ehiremen, N. 2009, 'Tompolo's kinsmen sue Yar'Adua for N100bn', Niger Delta Solidarity website, 25 June <http://nigerdeltasolidarity.wordpress.com/tag/gbaramatu-kingdom/> – Accessed 5 January 2010.
27. Ganagana, M. 2009, 'Niger Delta war: Pa Juweigha, 102, oldest man in Gbaramatu bombed to death', Online Nigeria website, 25 May <http://news.onlinenigeria.com/templates/?a=3792> – Accessed 5 January 2010.
28. 'Gbaramatu leaders didn't sponsor Tompolo—Chief Gbenekama' 2009, *Vanguard News*, 13 June <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2009/06/13/gbaramatu-leaders-didnt-sponsor-tompolo-chief-gbenekama/> – Accessed 6 January 2010.
29. Human Rights Watch 2006, *They Do Not Own This Place: Government Discrimination Against non-Indigenes in Nigeria*, April.

30. Minorities at Risk 2003, *Assessment for Ijaw in Nigeria*, 31 December
<http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/mar/assessment.asp?groupId=47506> – Accessed 6 January 2009.
31. Minority Rights Group 2008, 'Nigeria', *State of the World's Minorities 2008 – Events of 2007*, 11 March.
32. Ugwoha, Chibuzor 2009, 'Challenges of infrastructural development in the Niger Delta', *The Guardian* (Nigeria), 19 November
http://cwww.nguardiannews.com/focus_record/article02//indexn3_html?pdate=191109&ptitle=Challenges%20of%20infrastructural%20development%20in%20the%20Niger%20Delta&cpdate=191109 – Accessed 1 December 2009.
33. 'NIGERIA: A History of Conflicts' 2010, *IRIN*, 10 January
<http://www.irinnews.org/InDepthMain.aspx?InDepthId=30&ReportId=70458> – Accessed 11 January 2010.