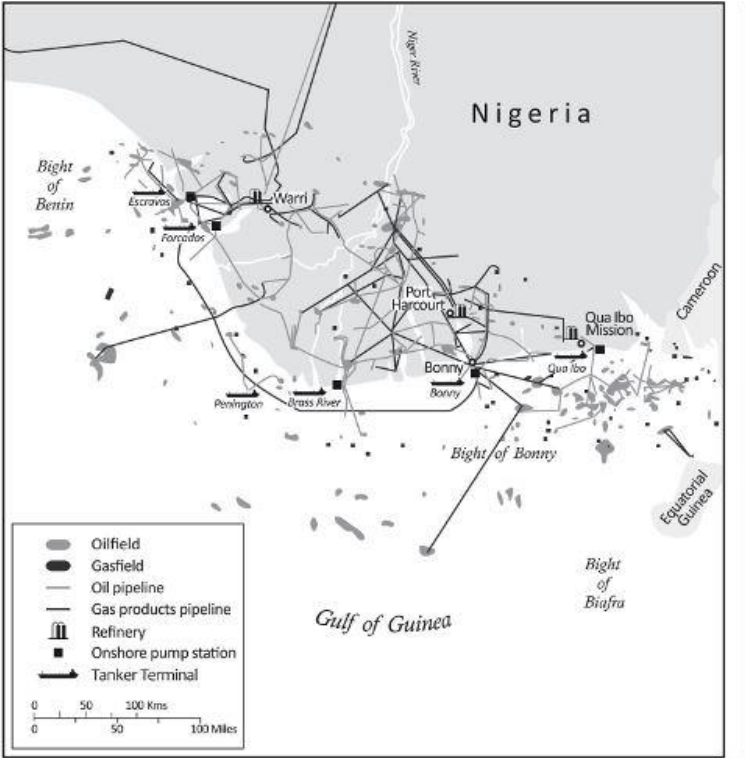
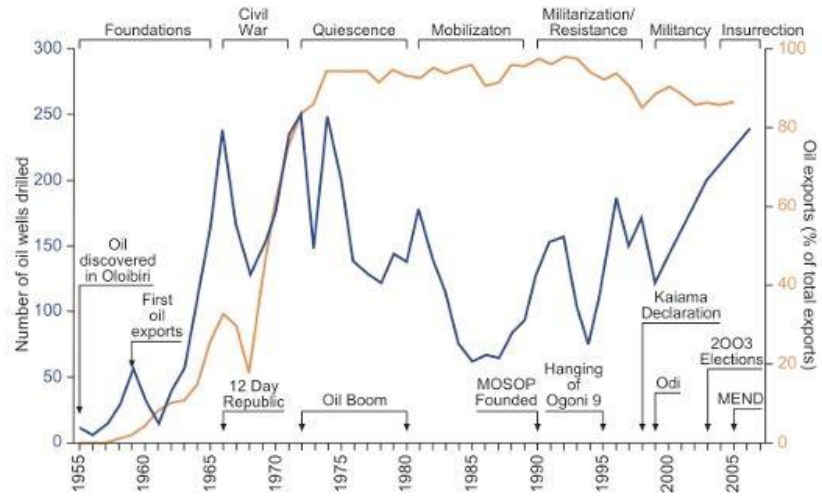


Insurgency in the Niger Delta 1998-2009



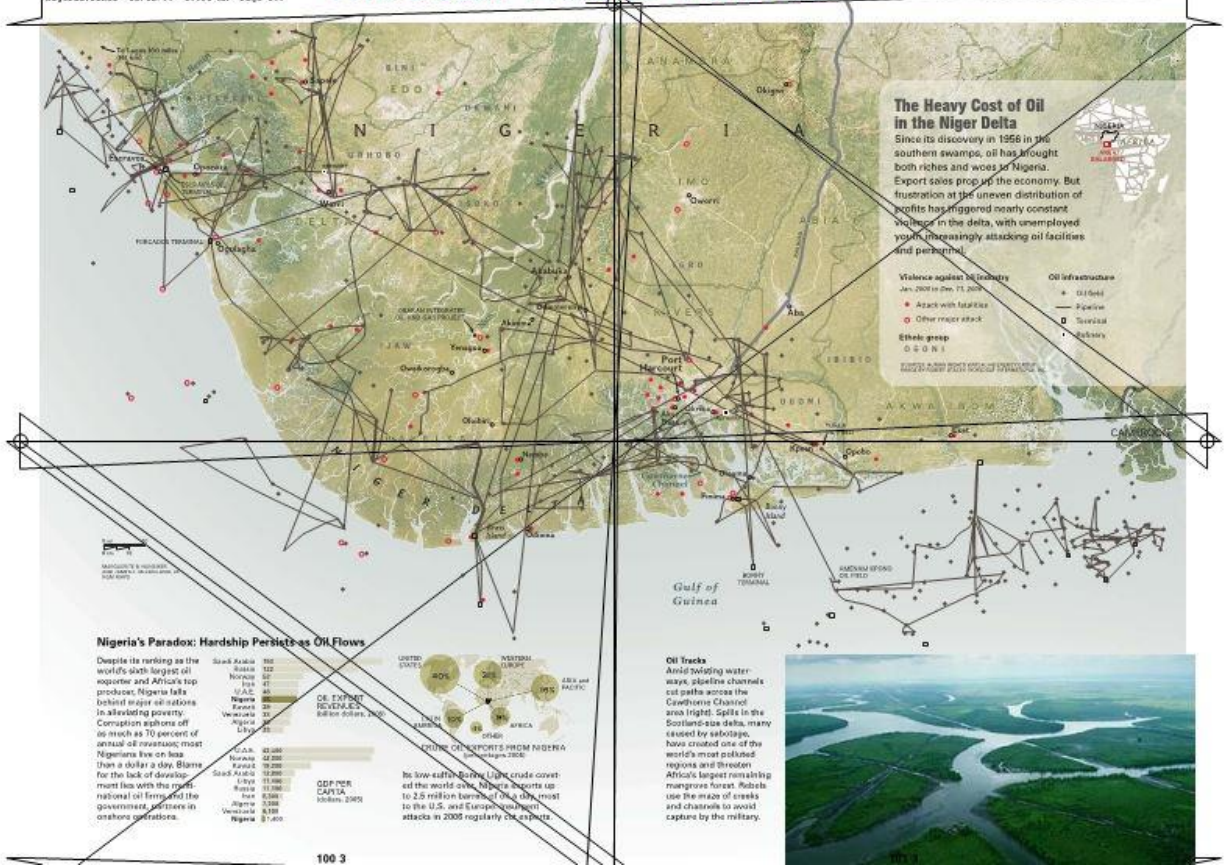
The Delta Oil Infrastructure across Nine States





The Social Field of Violence

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MEND: 2006-2009 (?)



January 11, 2008.

The Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) confirms that its Freelance Freedom Fighters (FFF) working inside the oil industry detonated a remote explosive device that caused the fire on a tanker in Port Harcourt, Rivers state of Nigeria today, January 11, 2008. How can the government of Nigeria fight an enemy that is within and can not be seen? MEND salutes the patriotic agents and also use this opportunity to commend our friends inside the military and secret service for valuable information and resources. We call on all oppressed citizens of the Niger Delta to do your own bit in your own way to regain freedom and win the fight against injustice. Even if it means to poison the drinks and food sold to the soldiers that rape our women and brutalize and kill our youths, just do it. Again, we are appealing to residents inside the Niger Delta to avoid milling close to military vehicles and check points as we want to avoid the loss of civilian lives. The military seems to be deliberately using civilians as human shields.

Long live the Niger Delta!

Jomo Gbomo



Nigeria's shadowy oil rebels



A Panoply of Militias: MEND, NDPVF, NDV.....







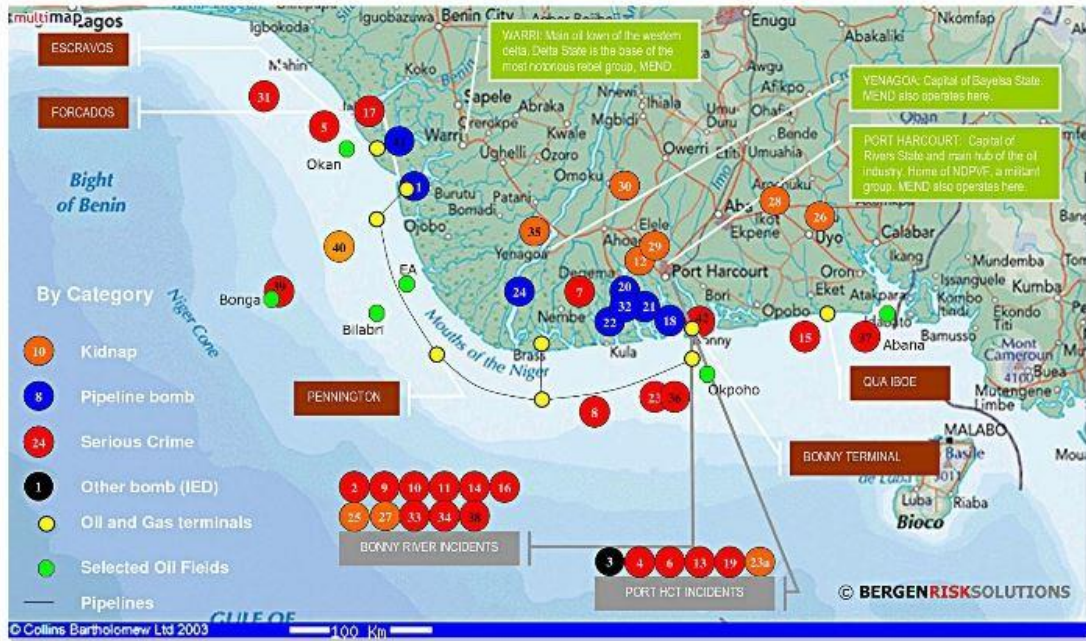
The Cast of Characters



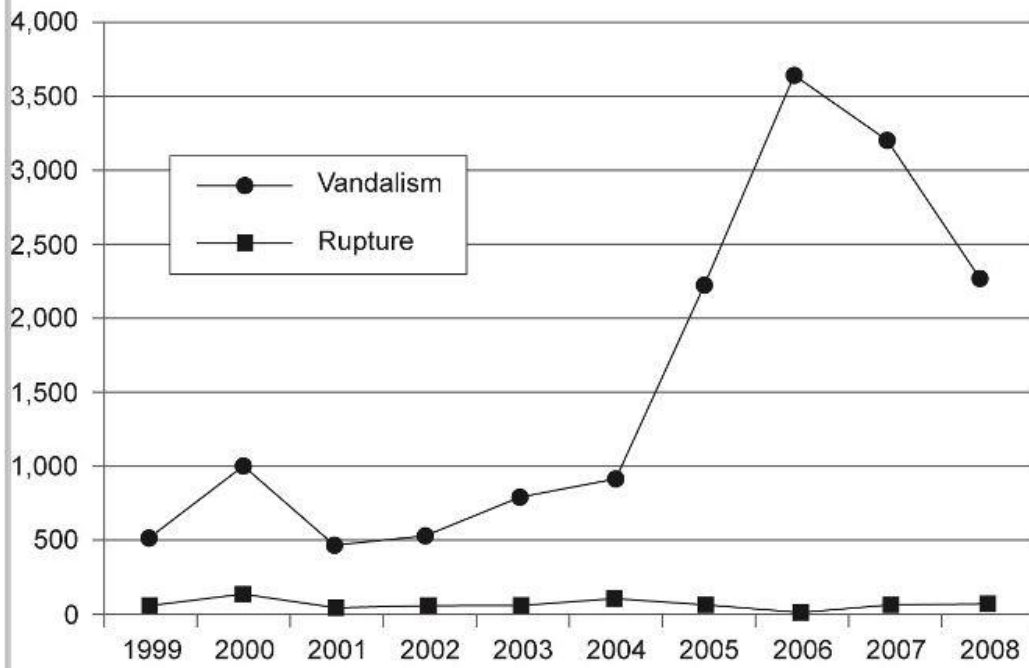
Tom Polo (MEND)
Assri Dokubo (NDPVF)
Ateke Tom (NDV)
Boyloaf (MEND)
Farah Dagogo (NDSF)
Henry Okah (MEND)
John Togo (NDLF)



Niger Delta Attacks: October 2008

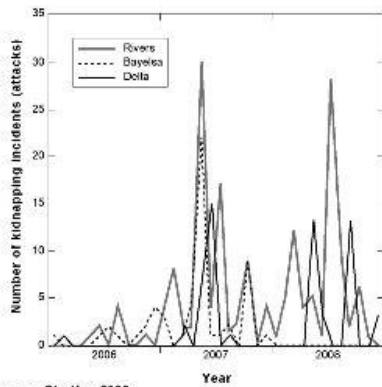


Pipeline Breaks in Nigeria, 1999-2008



Source: NNPC Annual Statistical Bulletin 2008, pg 14.

Kidnapping Incidents in the Niger Delta, 2006-2009



source: Stratfor, 2009

Total Abductions, Niger Delta: 2006-2009

Year	Expatriates	Nigerians	Total
2006	72	53	125
2007	172	51	223
2008	81	48	129
2009	87	14	101
TOTAL	322	166	478

* 2009 covers the period January to August

Source: Oyibos Online: www.oyibosonline.com/html/opinion/abduction

Security Incidents: Maritime and Land Based 2007-2008

Year	Kidnapping		Serious Crime*		Pipeline and other bombs		Attempted assaults	
	Marine	Land	Marine	Land	Marine	Land	Marine	Land
2007	11	46	34	20	NA	4	8	NA
2008	3	19	29	34	NA	18	8	NA
TOTAL	14	65	63	54		22	16	

Source: BergenRisks 2008

* Assault/murder/armed robbery



Oil 'Bunkering' (theft)

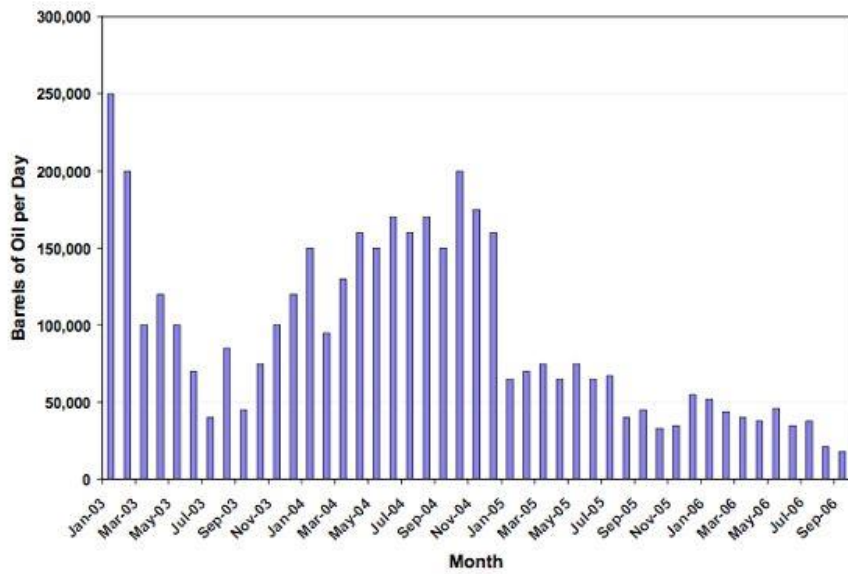


Figure 13 Level of Crude Oil Theft in the Niger Delta 2003 to 2006

Source: Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation NNPC





**Value of Nigeria's Average Daily Oil Production
Stolen and Shut-in 2000-2008 (at September
2008)**

Year	Price Bonny Light	Volume Stolen bpd	Value of Oil Stolen (USD)	Assumed Production Shut-in bpd	Value of Shut-in production (USD)	Total Annual Value (USD)
2000	28.49			250,000	\$2.6 billion	
2001	24.50			200,000	\$1.8 billion	
2002	25.15			370,000	\$3.4 billion	
2003	28.76	300,000	\$3.2 billion	350,000	\$3.7 billion	\$6.9 billion
2004	38.27	300,000	\$4.2 billion	230,000	\$3.2 billion	\$7.4 billion
2005	55.67	250,000	\$5.1 billion	180,000	\$3.7 billion	\$8.8 billion
2006	66.84	100,000	\$2.4 billion	600,000	\$14.6 billion	\$16.6 billion
2007	75.14	100,000	\$2.7 billion	600,000	\$16.5 billion	\$19.2 billion
2008	115.81	150,000	\$6.3 billion	650,000	\$27.5 billion	\$33.8 billion

The Niger Crude Oil Production, 1983 - 2009



Source: OPEC Statistical Bulletins

MEND and Boko Haram Compared: The Politics of Precarious Classes

		RECOGNITION POLITICS	
		Redistribution	Representation
ORIENTATION OF STRUGGLE	Inclusivist MEND	Allocative Equality Resource Control Increased derivation Community reconstruction Collective Consumption	Insurgent Citizenship Community governance Self determination Indigenous rights
	Exclusivist BOKO HARAM	Islamic Popular Justice Economic Insecurity Regional Equality State violence/corruption Community Reconstruction	True Sharia & Community Restoration State protection of Islam Anti-Yan Boko Full Sharia implementation

Adapted from Paret (2012)