

"Nigeria: Prospects for Peace in the Niger Delta"

Canon Dr Stephen Davis

**The CSIS Africa Program
Washington DC**

15 June 2009

**Information from this presentation may
be reproduced with acknowledgement to
the author.**

Current Situation in the Niger Delta

Systematic destruction of oil and gas infrastructure

Daily kidnapping

Piracy

Widespread military action

No media access

Unverifiable but reportedly high civilian death toll

Current volume of oil production shut in and stolen

... approx. 1,100,000 bpd;

Current annual value of oil production shut in and

stolen ... between US\$20billion and US\$25billion

Current Positions

The Federal Government of Nigeria

Our offer of amnesty to militants in the region who lay down their arms remains on the table. I urge them to avail themselves of this offer and join hands with us and their peaceful and law-abiding compatriots to develop the Niger Delta for the benefit of its people.

President Umaru Yar'Adua 29 May 2009

Non-State Forces

We are willing to cease fire and enter into internationally mediated peace discussions.

MEND Spokesman Jomo Gbomo 30 May 2009

Militia Statement

Our message is that even though we crave for peace, this has to be done with mediators we can trust from the international community.

We are not criminals as portrayed but men who wish for justice.

There can be no lasting peace without justice.

We want to make it clear that root issues must be addressed.

MEND 28 May 2009

Roots of Conflict in the Niger Delta



Manifestations

Riots, protests, military engagement, militia assaults, killings, property destruction, kidnappings.

Triggers

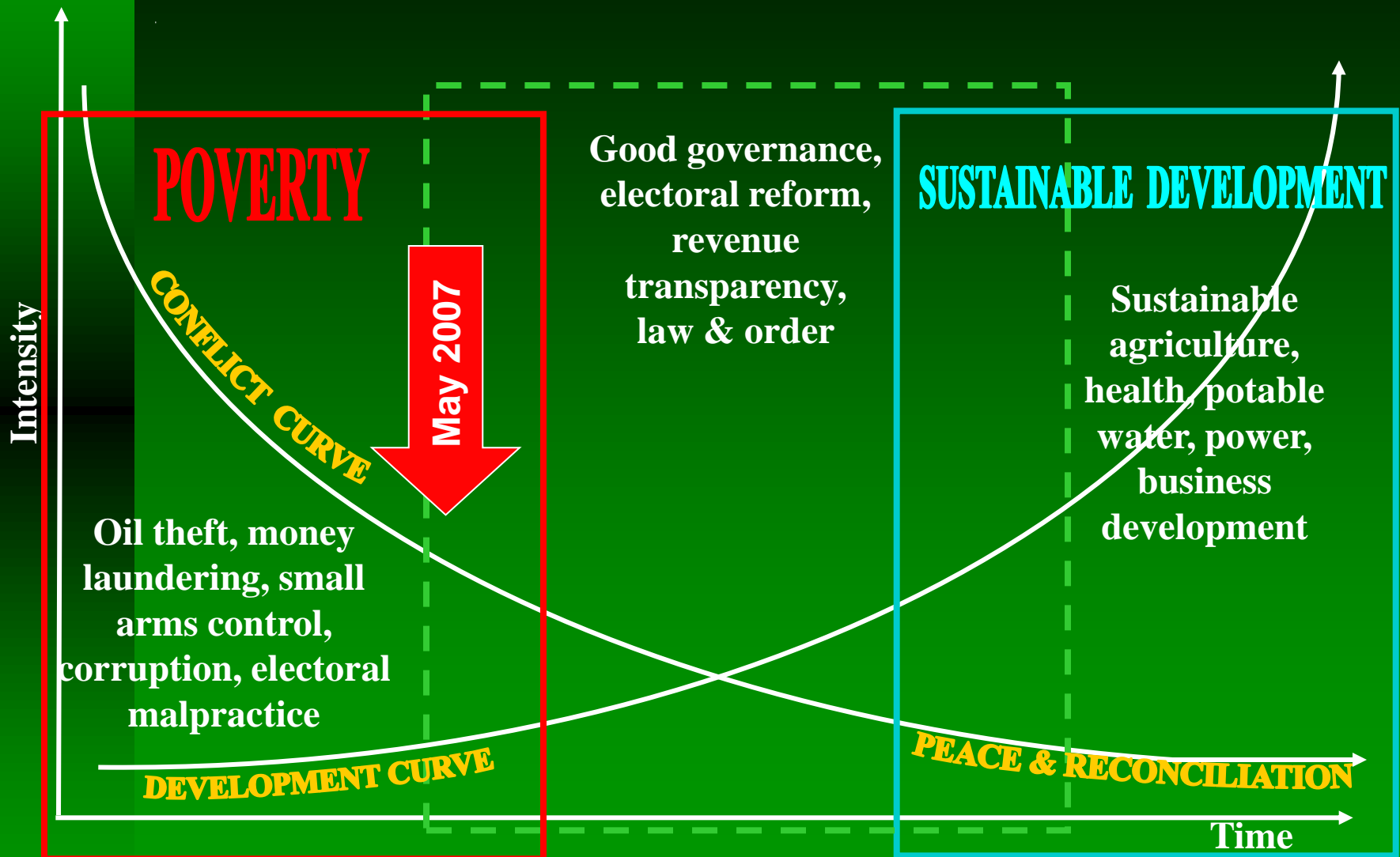
Community development allocation, police action, boundary disputes, elections, oil spill compensation.

Roots

Ethnic differences, poverty, high unemployment, corruption, revenue distribution

Based on Davis 2002

Nigeria's Transition from Conflict to Peace

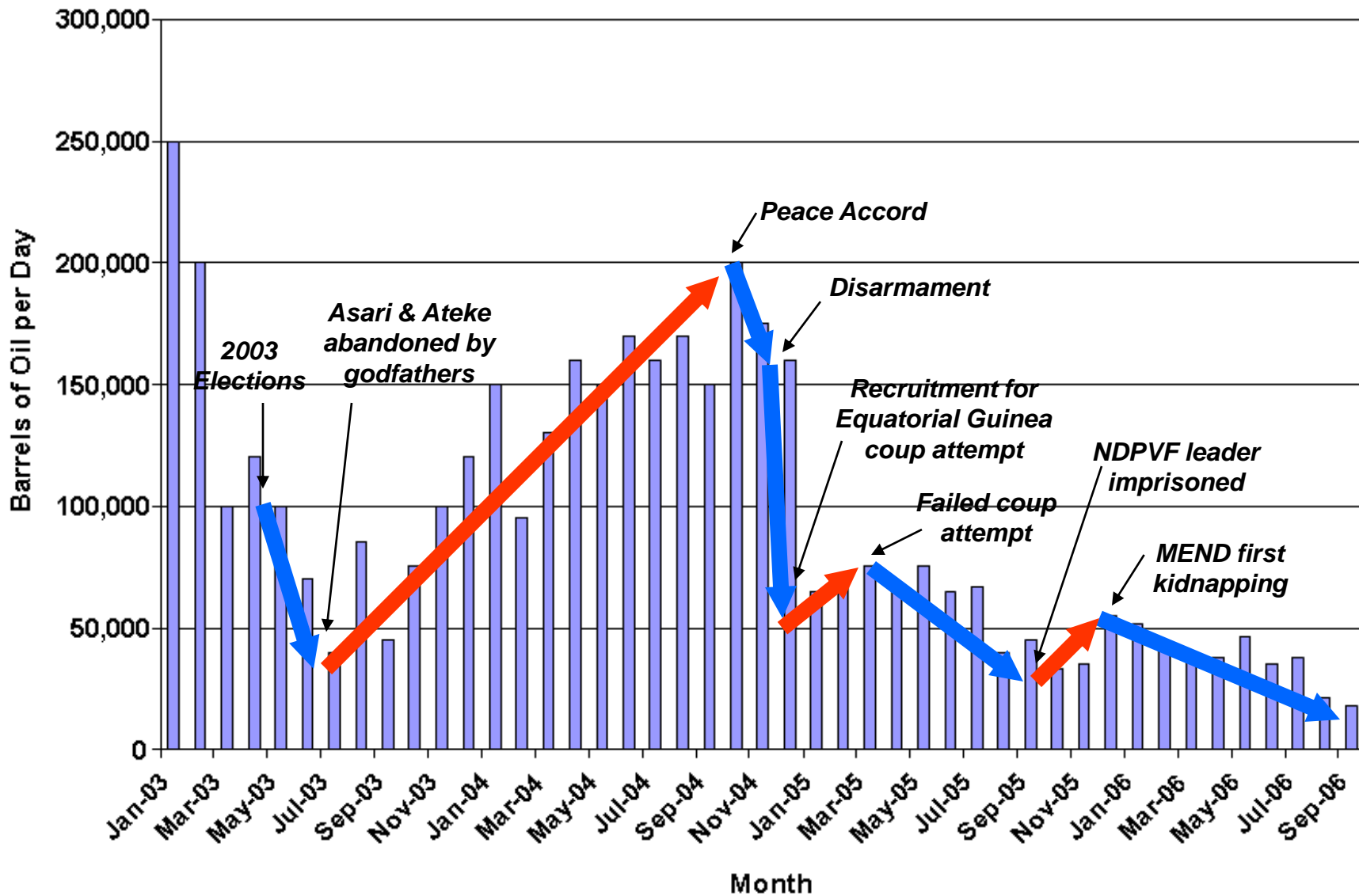


Based on Davis 2002

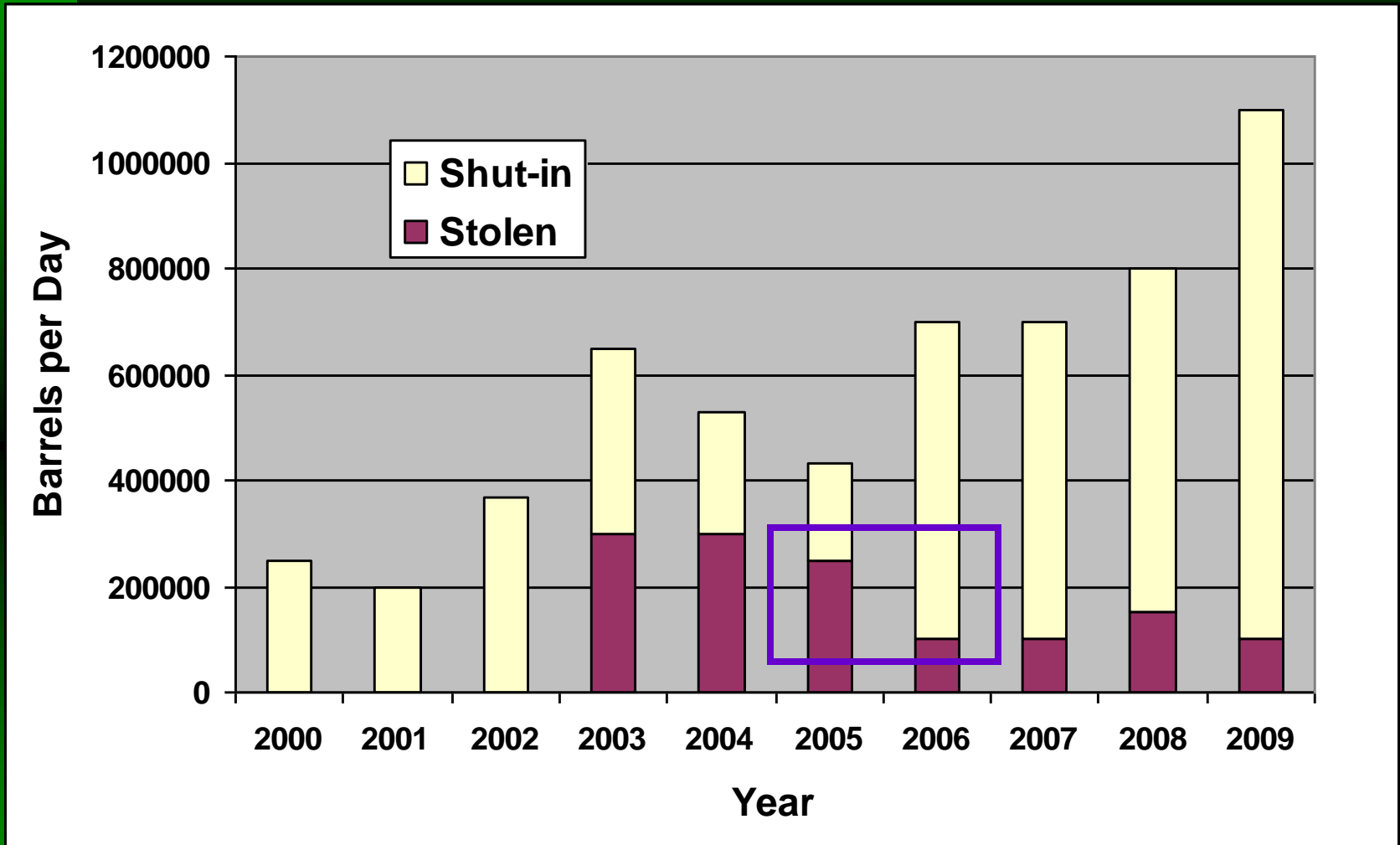
Value of Nigeria's Average Daily Oil Production Stolen & Shut-in 2000-2008

Year	Av. Price Bonny Light Crude (USD)	Volume Stolen bpd	Value of Oil Stolen (USD)	Assumed Production Shut-in bpd	Value of Production Shut-in (USD)	Daily Av. Stolen & Shut-in	Total 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	650,000	\$6.9 billion
2004	38.27	300,000	\$4.2 billion	230,000	\$3.2 billion	530,000	\$6.4 billion
2005	55.67	250,000	\$5.1 billion	180,000	\$3.7 billion	430,000	\$8.8 billion
2006	66.84	100,000	\$2.4 billion	600,000	\$14.6 billion	700,000	\$17.0 billion
2007	75.14	100,000	\$2.7 billion	600,000	\$16.5 billion	700,000	\$19.2 billion
2008	115.81	150,000	\$6.3 billion	650,000	\$27.5 billion	800,000	\$33.8 billion

Level of Crude Oil Theft in the Niger Delta & Conflict Events 2003 to 2006

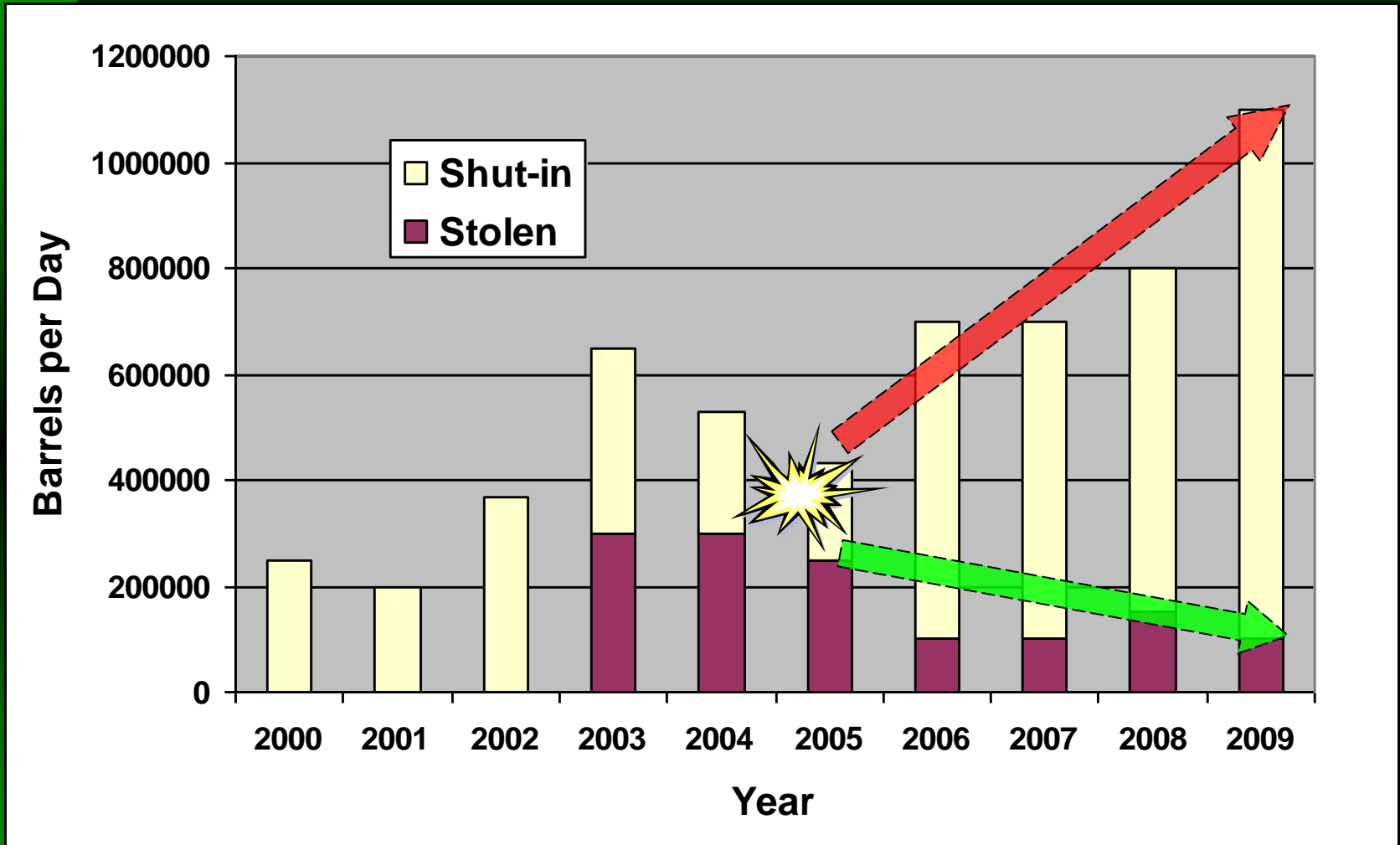


Trend in Oil Stolen and Shut-in 2000-2009



Militia coincident with shift in emphasis from stolen oil to production shut-in

Trend in Oil Stolen and Shut-in 2000-2009



Rise of militia coincident with shift in emphasis from stolen oil to production shut-in

Niger Delta Militia Cycle



Transition from Conflict to Peace

1. A sustained peace requires **genuine commitment from both sides**;
2. The **peace deal must stick** – a Niger Delta peace deal needs public scrutiny and international accountability to make it stick;
3. Both sides must have **confidence in the peace process**. This requires construction of a realistic, balanced agenda that is neither provocative nor unobtainable;
4. Confidence building is essential if both sides are to reasonably expect the other side to honour its undertakings. The involvement of third party, independent international mediation is essential to **bridging the “confidence gap”**;
5. Mediated discussions will likely not carry all non-state forces but the combination of MEND and its affiliated groups in Delta, Bayelsa, Rivers and Ono states including Tompolo’s group should form **a core group**;
6. The militia leadership is intelligent, well-read, well educated and articulate. So **there is no gap between the militia leadership and the government representatives** when it comes to peace discussions;
A successfully mediated and sustained peace will not restore the status quo. It will likely precipitate some changes to the political dispensation that will address society’s concerns.

MEND Commitment

1. MEND will cease all militia activity

MEND will guarantee a complete cessation of all militia activity including activity by non MEND militia units. This would not extend to criminal activity such as bank robberies which MEND says is unrelated to militia and is a local policing matter.

2. MEND will enter into a constructive dialogue with the Federal Government

This will commence as soon as a draft agenda for mediated discussions can be agreed. The discussions must be mediated by a neutral, high profile international person with the support of the international community.

3. MEND will disarm

MEND disarmament will occur in three stages. First MEND forces will relinquish light weapons, then heavy weapons and finally the surface to air capability. The disarmament and weapons destruction is tied to the demobilisation and rehabilitation of the militia back into community life and the demilitarization of the Niger Delta.

Twelve Point Disarmament Process

1. Set up a secure weapons and ammunition storage facility;
2. Plan weapons and ammunition collection process including registration of all weapons collected;
3. Coordinate transport of weapons to storage facility and transport to site for destruction of collected weapons and ammunition;
4. Coordinate activities with the state and national security agents;
5. Training in identification and registration process; basic safety precautions; handling of weapons and ammunition;
6. Institute weapons handed in;
7. Description of weapon, serial number, manufacture recorded. Weapons registered;
8. Register cross checked against current listing to ensure it is a new weapon;
9. Payment made at market/agreed rate;
10. Weapons and ammunition destroyed;
11. Destruction documented and independently verified;
12. Report written and made available to state and national security agencies.

Proposed Agenda for Peace Discussions (1-7)

1. Henry Okah is to be held in good conditions with access afforded to his legal representatives, family, pastor and independent international observers;
2. In return Henry Okah will assist the new peace process in the Niger Delta;
3. MEND will declare a period of grace in which it will halt all militia action in the Niger Delta;
4. In return military forces will halt all actions and no further troops will be deployed;
5. During the grace period a demobilization plan will be agreed between militia, the Federal Government of Nigeria and international observers with an emphasis on education, rehabilitation, counselling, training, apprenticeships, employment and small/medium scale business opportunities that will constructively engage the militia;
6. The Federal Government of Nigeria will begin a staged military withdrawal from the Niger Delta;
7. In return MEND will agree a staged disarmament to United Nations standards commensurate with military withdrawal from the Niger Delta;

Proposed Agenda for Peace Discussions (8-11)

8. In the interest of public safety, the Federal Government of Nigeria will match military withdrawal with the increases in police wages, training, orientation, equipment and improvements in police living conditions. This will assist in moving Nigeria from a military regime to a true democracy with a civilian government;
9. The Federal Government in conjunction with the State Governments of the Niger Delta states will announce details of a plan to deliver greater transparency in revenues from Federal Governments, to State Governments and on to Local Government, and application of those funds to relieve the suffering of villages (through improvement to health services, provision of potable water, etc.) and give hope (through stimulating local economies, providing teachers wages, etc);
10. The Federal Government will announce increased funds to specific programmes in communities aimed at relieving the suffering of the poor and disadvantaged citizens;
11. The Federal Government must propose a time table for the practice of true federalism in the equitable, fair and just control of resources by every state in the federation.

President-led Initiative

Achieving and sustaining peace in the Niger Delta requires Presidential **control of the military forces** as the Commander-in-Chief and controlling the influence of **high ranking government officials** and **politicians** who have capacity to destabilize the Niger Delta.

An intervention is required in the Niger Delta conflict that will allow the process of reconciliation to begin. This will necessarily be a public act and one hopes that it comes from the President of Nigeria.

Restorative Social Justice

A restorative social justice plan as distinct from criminal justice will increase the opportunity for a sustained peace and should be designed to strengthen democracy and peace in the Niger Delta. The plan should include:

- Peace agreement;
- Amnesty guarantees;
- Security system reform;
- Macroeconomic plan;
- Sustainable development;
- Reconciliation; and a
- Truth Commission.

The International Community

The international community should:

1. **Facilitate the negotiations** among the parties through the appointment of an international mediator/facilitator as a credible third party;
2. **Monitor the implementation** of the peace agreement with personnel from outside Nigeria and consultative mechanisms;
3. Provide:
 - a. **Training** for the state police and riverine patrols,
 - b. **Project implementation support** for development projects through NGOs;
 - c. **Project monitoring support** through transparent international monitoring tools and capacity building for state and local government officers;
 - d. **Capacity building** for state governments to implement sustainable development and revenue transparency.
4. **Interdict illegal oil bunkering, arms trafficking and piracy** through an enhanced maritime security strategy, working with both the Federal Government and the militias engaged in the peace process.
5. **Apply sanctions** to individuals identified by an enhanced EFCC type operation as having failed to cooperate with the peace process.

Next Steps

- 1. The appointment of an independent international facilitator acceptable to all parties;**
- 2. The facilitator will secure agreement of the parties to an agenda for peace discussions;**
- 3. Immediately upon agreement for such an agenda being reached the militia will cease all conflict and the military will cease all offensive action and further deployment of troops and equipment;**
- 4. The peace discussions will commence within 10 days of an agreed agenda being reached and published;**
- 5. Immediately an agenda is agreed and published the FGN will begin a staged military withdrawal from the Niger Delta and immediately commence replacing military with well trained and well equipped state police;**

Next Steps

- 6.** In return MEND will agree a staged disarmament commensurate with military withdrawal from the Niger Delta. The disarmament must be conducted to UN standards and under credible international scrutiny;
- 7.** The details of the disarmament process and timing will be agreed as part of the peace discussions;
- 8.** The Federal Government in conjunction with the State Governments of the Niger Delta states will announce details of a plan to deliver greater transparency in revenues from Federal Governments to State Governments and on to Local Government, and application of those funds to improve the quality of life in Niger Delta communities;
- 9.** The Federal Government must agree that the question of the percentage allocation of oil revenues to the Niger Delta oil producing states will be part of the constitutional review process and must propose a time table for the review process.