

PETROLEUM IN NIGERIA 2003

1. TOTALFINAELF EVACUATES NIGERIA OILFIELD

By Daniel Balint-Kurti. Reuters

March 22, 2003

http://biz.yahoo.com/rb/030322/energy_nigeria_unrest_2.html

WARRI, Nigeria (Reuters) - France's TotalFinaElf shut its oil production facilities in Nigeria's western delta and evacuated workers on Saturday because of spiralling tribal unrest in the area, company officials said.

"We decided to shut our production and evacuate the area because of the deteriorating situation," a company official said in Lagos. In the same region, other workers were stranded in a major ChevronTexaco oil export terminal as angry villagers prevented them from leaving, industry sources said.

The leaders of the Ijaw ethnic community, which has been clashing with the army since Thursday, raised their death toll estimates from 14 to 58, all allegedly killed in army raids on villages.

At least 55 others have died, including 10 soldiers, in the political and ethnic violence, according to community leaders and security sources.

A Reuters correspondent saw a helicopter land in the oil city of Warri, bringing the first group of workers fleeing fighting in oilfields around the Escravos export terminal.

The group was accompanied by armed soldiers. Company officials said the helicopters were ferrying frightened worker from the Opumami tank farm, the French oil firm's most important facility in the Obodo district where it produces just 7,500 barrels per day of crude.

But there was no immediate official confirmation that militants had set fire to part of the tank farm. "We are still getting reports from the area. We are following the situation," the Lagos-based official said.

A surge in ethnic conflict in the Nigerian delta has forced oil majors Shell and ChevronTexaco to shut down their operations. The two companies, which have declared force majeure on some export commitments, say they are losing a total of 315,000 bpd of crude, or 16 percent of Nigeria's output.

The Niger Delta, which accounts for most of Nigeria's just over two million bpd crude output, has been on the boil for years, with oil multinationals getting caught in a deadly struggle for oil benefits by local ethnic groups.

a) ELECTIONS THREATENED

The latest flare-up pits ethnic Itsekiri against the Ijaw, who are spearheading a campaign in the delta for a greater share of Nigeria's oil wealth. The increasingly violent campaign has added to nationwide political unrest threatening the country's national elections next month.

Scores of people, including 10 soldiers quelling unrest, have died in the past one-week alone. Nationwide, well over 10,000 people have died in ethnic, religious and political violence since President Olusegun Obasanjo's election in 1999 ended 15 years of military dictatorship.

The unrest is raising fears over a series of elections, including a presidential poll on April 19. Disruption to key oil exports could add economic hardship to the political crisis.

A source at an oil contracting company in Warri town said villagers were preventing her firm's employees from leaving ChevronTexaco's Escravos export terminal. "Our staffs are stuck there. They said they have no way have getting out from there. They said they are just living by God's will," she said, adding that Ijaw youths were shouting threats at those behind the terminal's fences.

"They came toward them, shouting that they will kill them because Chevron has invited the police to fight them," she said. ChevronTexaco denied requesting any action on the part of the police or the army. Company spokesman Sola Omole said in Lagos there was an "uneasy calm" around the terminal.

Port agent GAC said on Friday that the 340,000 bpd Escravos export terminal was expected to close on Saturday after the army ordered its evacuation, but Omole said the only evacuation so far had been of villagers sheltering there from the unrest.

Source: RESISTANCE OILWATCH NETWORK BULLETIN Number 37 – April 2003

2. NLNG DESTROYS MANGROVE FOREST IN THE NIGER DELTA AGAIN

Bonny Kingdom, a calm island situated at the southern edge of Rivers State in the Niger Delta of Nigeria, since the early 90s when the Federal Government of Nigeria in Collaboration with its international partners started the multi-billion dollar project, Nigeria Liquefied Natural Gas Limited (NLNG) had known no peace.

There are complex social and ecological problems associated with the project. The rural community of the Ijaw ethnic nationality is currently under severe and serious threat. Over 6,000 local residents are being affected by the clearing of 35 ha. of mangrove forest with more mangrove destruction from the controversial gas line project forthcoming.

The latest threat to the people is coming from NLNG. The company with its consortium of International partners have just resumed the mindless and wanton destruction of a large expanse of virgin mangrove forest located in the area. Wilbros (American), Sodexo Nigeria (French) and Daewoo (South Korea) are contractors (or partners) undertaking the plundering of the environment of the people.

Bonny people had protested against the devastation, but the act is done under the watchful eyes of heavily armed security operatives. The firms are contracting access canal for pipelines to connect oil and gas from other oil fields in other parts of the Niger Delta to the NLNG plant.

Please help stop further destruction of mangrove forest in Niger Delta; write letters of concern to the following government official:

The Rivers State Ministry Of Environment and Natural Resources First floor,
Podium block, Secretariate complex,
P.M. B. 5544,
TEL; 234-84-238238
FAX; 234-84-234460
E-Mail; environs@infoweb.abs.net
For more information, contact - nigerdeltaproject@yahoo.com

Source: RESISTANCE OILWATCH NETWORK BULLETIN Number 38 - May 2003

3. RENEWAL OF SHELL OIL PIPELINE LICENSES

Right now in Nigeria, shell has begun the process of application to the department of petroleum resources for the renewal of its oil pipeline licenses. The licenses are valid for a period of twenty years.

There are few choices available for those communities that wish to oppose the renewal of the licenses. The process of objection is too cumbersome and expensive for communities (which are very poor) to successfully utilise in their fight for justice. In fact more often than not the government officials whose duty it is to enable communities register and enforce their objection, collude with shell to ensure that the objections are not recorded, much less heard.

The NGO Environmental rights action has been struggling to alert communities, to enable them register their objections, but they are hampered by lack, or at least shortage of funds.

Is there no way pressure can be brought to bear on Shell in Europe and America, in order to compel it to adopt better practices instead of going back to its normal operating pattern which is so detrimental to the communities' interests?

web: www.eranigeria.org

alt email: delightsomeplace@yahoo.co.uk

Source: *RESISTANCE OILWATCH NETWORK BULLETIN Number 39. - June2003*

4. VIOLENCE IN WARRI, NIGER DELTA

On April 19th, almost 300 oil workers were retained as hostages by striking Nigerian employees, in the oil fields in the Nigerian coast. Almost 40 British workers and 20 Americans were among the retained people. Only two, later started to be released.

Only a week after this occurred the facts were released because the American oil company, Transoceanic was hoping to keep this secret.

On April 28th, the militants also threatened to destroy the Sea Eagle, a huge boat owned by Shell that picks up over 1.700 daily oil barrels from several off shore dwells. The Sea Eagle, which has a capacity to store 1.4 Million barrels is stationed at 15 Km of the Nigerian coast. This ship started to work in December of 2002, as is part of a new generation of ships and floating terminals known as FPAD, due to its versatility to Float, Produce, Store and Download. The Sea Eagle can also process 100 million cubic feet of natural gas per day.

This strike stimulated a rise in violence, which two months ago started at the west of the Niger Delta. In the Warri conflicts eight military members died, five oil workers and 12 other people have been killed.

The Warri army projectiles in the Ogbogbene community wounded tens. Nigeria is the major African oil producer and the 6th oil exporter in the world, with an OPEC account of almost 2'000.000 daily oil barrels of premium quality crude. The greatest part of this crude is transported to the United States, being Nigeria its 5th oil provider.

Almost 40% of the oil production was stopped. To face the crisis, the United States decided to support one of its main crude providers, and so the Pentagon donated 40m.long patrol boats, which were immediately sent to the Delta to look after the interests of the oil industry. As in other occasions, the Nigerian army provided military support to Shell, distributing hundreds of men in the Delta. In the most difficult point of the conflict, Shell and ChevronTexaco evacuated hundreds of their workers.

After several days, a tense calm returned to Delta, restarting Shell and Chevron Texaco production. A few days ago, the companies declared returning to the two thirds of their extraction capacity.

Despite the huge oil and gas wealth of the Niger Delta, this region is one of the poorest in the country.

Schools have neither teacher, nor books, hospitals and health centres are not equipped to face malaria and other tropical disease outbreaks, and many communities do not have electric supply. Unemployment reaches the 80% and the rate of child death is extremely high.

Before this the Ijaw people have raised because of their marginal situation, and the government's oppression, and oil companies. Shell claims that this is not about an Ijaw uprising, but a problem with some Ijaw militants. Oil companies claim having created about 120 jobs in the nearby towns for surveillance and security -but not how many job sources they have destroyed-, and having delivered 150 boats, 3 buses, 21 motorcycles, and around 160.000 dollars for microenterprise credits, as if that would somehow compensate for the cultural and economic loss suffered by this people, because they have ruined their lands and polluted their water sources, therefore it is impossible for them to fish or saw.

On their side, community members claim that Shell and ChevronTexaco companies, jointly with the Federal Government have fired the division in the communities, specially the Itsekiri people. They also complain that the Government has supported an internal colonialism, affecting the Ijaw majority, as well as the Itsekiri, people also being exploited.

In last july, Gbaramatu, Esaba, Ogbe-ljoh and Egbema women, along with their fellow Itsekiri, Urhobo, Ilaje and Isoko members staged one of the most important protests in the history of the Niger Delta. Chevron, Shell and Elf were forced to close their facilities.

This time the Warri Ijaw demands are:

1. Unrestricted access for Ijaw to their lands and resources.
2. Local democracy, good governance and selfdetermination for the Warri Ijaws and other peoples affected similarly.
3. Immediate and unconditional demilitarisation of the area.
4. Environmental protection, Environmental remediation, and compensation to Ijaws for the damages.
5. The conformation of a Warri Commission of Reconciliation and Truth to solve the conflict among the Itsekiri, Urhobo and Ijaws.
6. The cease of oil production while the political crisis reaches a solution and the WARri resources.
7. United Nations delegation intervention, or from the African Union.

Source: *RESISTANCE OILWATCH NETWORK BULLETIN Number 39. - June2003*

5. REP CALLS FOR PROSECUTION OF REFINERY TAM CONTRACTORS

Emmanuel Aziken
Vanguard (Lagos)
July 5, 2003

Abuja .- Rep. Leo Ogor (Isoko, Delta State) has called for the prosecution of all those involved in the failed Turn Around Maintenance projects of the country's oil refineries estimated to have gulped \$700 million.

Briefing newsmen in Abuja Thursday, Mr. Ogor lamenting that the ensuing fuel crisis has exposed the incompetence of the Nigerian nation warned that the N40 per liter price of petrol would soon be jacked up unless the fundamental issues bedeviling the sector were addressed.

Lamenting that \$700 million had been poured down the drain in the turn around maintenance of the refineries, the legislator observed with disdain that the contractors and agents of the companies that executed the rehabilitation were walking freely in the society.

"Why are we in this mess? The people that are supposed to be doing their jobs are not doing their jobs those jobs were not done and these people are walking about as free men probably around the corridors of power wanting to get more jobs from the system."

Mr. Ogor asserted that the government approach to the issue through increasing prices of petroleum products to check smuggling would in itself turn again to hurt the economy warning that inflationary pressures would sooner or later upset present government projections.

"This will lead to inflation which will again lead to depreciation of the naira which will in turn lead to more smuggling and then new pressures to push up prices of the petroleum products". He affirmed that the only way out was for the government to look inwards and build more refineries warning that failure to do so would lead to escalation of prices. "I can assure you that in the next two years we will also be faced with another petrol increase because the main issue has not been addressed."

"The idea of concentrating on imports should be stopped, so we have to come out with policies on looking inwards, because if we do not look inwards we won't go anywhere."

Look at all the oil producing countries, none of them is importing petrol. According to Mr. Ogor, the basic flaw in the oil sector was traceable to the import orientation syndrome of the society which has made the citizenry to be subjected to import as a way of life.

"The first refinery came in the sixties and that was the time that Indonesia, Malaysia also built their first refinery. Forty years after, go to Indonesia you will be amazed that their refineries are functioning effectively, they are able to build their own refineries but today instead of addressing the main issue we are talking about importation of petrol."

Source: *RESISTANCE OILWATCH NETWORK BULLETIN Number 41. – September 2003*

6. PIPELINE EXPLOSION; NNPC BLAMED FOR NEGLIGENCE

a) DESPATCHLINE: Amaokwe Village In Isuikwuato Local Government Area Of Abia State

b) FROM: Patrick B. Naagbantou & Murphy Akiri

c) DATE: June 25, 2003

d) HIGHLIGHTS

- Over 200 Persons Roasted Beyond Recognition
- Death Toll Rises
- More NNPC Pipelines still leaking in the area
- Fear Of another possible fire outbreak mounts

e) FRONTLINE: The tragic pipeline explosion which resulted into fire and roasted about 200 villagers on Thursday, June 19, 2003 at about 8.30 p.m. occurred at Amaokwe community in the Isuikwuato Local Government Area of Abia State from NNPC/Pipeline PE-IG-109, kilometer 126. The pipelines, which run through the community, are used by NNPC to convey refined petroleum products from Port Harcourt refinery via Enugu to some Depots in Northern Nigeria. Wilbros Nigeria Limited laid the NNPC/PPMC pipelines in 1976, while Spibat laid others in 1992.

f) COMMUNITY INFORMED GOVERNMENT, DPR, NNPC, POLICE BEFORE THE DISASTER

ERA's Field Monitor investigation reveals that in the early hours of Wednesday, June 4, 2003, a minor rupture occurred on the NNPC pipeline PE-IG-109 and oozing out petroleum products such as kerosene, fuel, and diesel into the nearby farmlands, river and surrounding forests.

Mr. Innocent Ugoagha, who is the head of Ugoagha family in Amaokwe community, informed ERA that as soon as the incident occurred he wrote a letter entitled, Oil spillage at Oghuighe NNPC pipeline, to the Caretaker Chairman of the Isuikwuato Local Government Council, Abia State. The letter, which was dated June 4, 2003, was copied to The Executive Governor of Abia State, Dr. Uzor Kalu and received on June 15th 2003.

On June 9, 2003, the same leader, Innocent, frustrated that nothing happened to their earlier complains to the local and state government, wrote another letter to the Operation Controller, Department of Petroleum Resources (D.P.R.) and NNPC in Port Harcourt. The letter, which was entitled: The Degradation of my family farmland Due to Oil Spillage at Oghuighe NNPC pipeline was also widely circulated to government officials, who were supposed to respond swiftly and plug the ruptured pipelines.

An official of the government of Abia State and staff of the office of the Controller of D.P.R. in Port Harcourt in separate interviews confirmed to ERA monitor that they received letters complaining about the earlier leakage from the pipeline. ERA is in

possession of the letters written by the community people and duly received and with official stamps (acknowledging receipt), by the concerned authorities.

At the NNPC Zonal Office, in Port Harcourt, officials who spoke to ERA also confirmed receiving the letters, but regretted not acting on time.

g) HOW THE UNFORTUNATE INCIDENT OCCURRED

For some days, villagers and visitors had been trooping to the site of the leaking pipeline to scoop the free-flowing fuel. The story was different on Thursday, June 19, 2003 when villagers from neighboring communities rushed with plastic containers of different sizes.

Local people told ERA that the explosion occurred when a motorcyclist attempted to start his motorbike parked around the scene of the ruptured pipeline. It was gathered from community people that the spark from the motorcyclist's bike ignited a huge fire, which eventually burnt down the entire area and the villagers who were scooping the petroleum products.

When ERA Field Monitors visited the scene of the incident, the corpses have already been buried in shallow graves. The mass burial exercise was undertaken by local health officials and officials of the Red Cross Society of Nigeria.

i) NNPC AND GOVERNMENT RESPONSES TO THE TRAGEDY

On Saturday, June 21, 2003, NNPC fire service visited the community, when a heavy rainfall had already doused the inferno. On that same day, Dr. Chima Nwafor, the Deputy Governor of Abia State also visited the community.

Also, on Tuesday, June 24, 2003, Dr. Uzor Kalu, the Executive Governor of Abia State visited the scene of the incident. ERA field monitor was on hand when the Governor got to the scene of the incident. Governor Kalu declared at the scene, "This is not a disaster. This is a case of a people trying to cheat government. It is unfortunate that human beings are involved. The President (Obasanjo) is angry. It is unfortunate that poverty has made our people like this. I have warned traditional rulers in the area to guard against this. But you can't blame the hungry people. May the souls of the dead rest in peace".

Although the action of those scooping petrol from ruptured pipelines is condemnable however in a land where sources of livelihoods have been destroyed, widespread poverty and neglect the temptation to fetch fuel may be totally inevitable to make ends meet. The situation is compounded by the failure of NNPC to plug the pipeline on time, 10 days after receiving letters alerting them of the spill.

The criminalisation of a people over the years remains a ready excuse to shy away from responsibilities under the guise of sabotage.

j) ANOTHER INFERNO IN SIGHT

As at the time of filling this report, ERA field monitors found two separate leakages in Ine and Ogboko communities all in Amachara, in the Isuikwuato Local Government Area of Abia State. Something needs to be done to avert an Amaokwe-type calamity. Clearly the NNPC/DPR have failed in their responsibility to monitor oil pipelines.

Source: *RESISTANCE OILWATCH NETWORK BULLETIN Number 41 – September 2003*

7. SHELL IN NIGERIA

Since the government of Nigeria hung 9 activists in 1995 for speaking out against the exploitation of Royal Dutch/Shell and the government of this country, indignation has grown all over the world. The tribunal that sentenced the men was part of a joint effort between the government and Shell in order to repress the growing movement of the Ogoni people: a movement for environmental justice, for the recognition of human rights and for economic justice. Shell had brought extreme devastation and irreparable damage to the Ogoniland. It should be taken into account that even though the Ogoni case is the most well known of the communities where Shell operates, dozens of other groups have suffered the same exploitation of their resources and the same injustice.

a) THE PROBLEM

“The most conspicuous aspects in the life of the Ogoni at this time are poverty, malnutrition and sickness and disease.” - Ben Naanen, *Oil and Socioeconomic Crisis in Nigeria*, 1995, Pg. 75-6.

Although the oil company had planned to contribute 30 billion dollars to Nigerias economy, the Ogoni has seen very little of this contribution. Emanuel Nnadozie, in writing about the contributions of the oil company to Nigeria’s national economy, observed that “oil is punishment that only means poverty, hunger, disease and exploitation” for those who live in areas of oil production. Shell has done almost nothing to help the Ogoni: since 1996, Shell employed only 88 Ogoni (0,0002% of the Ogoni population and only 2% of Shell’s employees in Nigeria). The Ogoni population does not have clean water, has very little electricity and very few telephones, minimal health conditions and there is no work for peasants and displaced fishermen, and on top of all of this, they must face, every single day, the torment of Shell operations.

b) ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION

When crude touches a cassava or ñame leaf, or any other productive tree, it dries it immediately and is very dangerous. "Someone once came to me and I said that Shell arguments that you are an engineer, you have been to university and I have not been to university, but you have not slept here, so you cannot be more qualified than I am in the topic of oil because I sleep with oil", Chief GNK Gininwa of Korokoro, "The Drilling Fields", Glenn Ellis (Director), 1994.

Since Shell began taking oil from Ogoniland in 1958, the Ogoni have watched them build oil pipeline through their farms and in front of their houses, and have suffered constant oil spills from these pipelines and have been constantly forced to live in an environment filled with gas.

This environmental aggression has choked the earth, has killed many fish and other aquatic species, and has brought acid rain that has devastated Ogoni land. They depend on their crops and on fishing. The poisoning of their lands and waters has devastated their economy and has had severe consequences on their health.

Shell says that they have cleaned up spills, but such "cleaning" consists in techniques such as burning crude, which leaves a permanent layer of oil several meters thick, and putting crude into holes (a temporal solution, since the crude eventually flows out during the frequent rainfalls in the Niger Delta).

c) BURNING OF NATURAL GAS

Ken Saro-Wiwa called the burning of gas as Shell and Chevron's "most notorious action". In Ogoniland, 95% of natural gas is burned (compared with 0.6% in the United States). It is estimated that in Nigeria, due to the burning of CO₂ and methane, oil exploration is responsible for the effects of climate change.

d) OIL SPILLS

Shell has wells in 28 countries, and 40% of these are in Nigeria. Because of Shell, there have been 2976 spills in the Niger Delta, just between 1976 and 1991. In the 70s the spills were over four times that of the Exxon Valdez tragedy in 1989. Ogoniland has experienced severe problems due to oil spills, including the water contamination, loss of valuable plants and animals, etc. A small investigation carried out by the World Bank found contamination levels of hydrocarbons in water in Ogoniland more than six times that the limits permitted in the United States, and a study carried out by Project Underground in 1997 found in the community of Ogoniland, hydrocarbon levels 360 times more than those permitted in the European Union, Shell's origin.

e) PIPELINES AND CONSTRUCTION

Ogoniland is one of the densest regions in Africa. Oil extraction has meant the construction of oil pipelines and other installations in agriculture lands and through towns. Shell has compensated farmers with sums that do not represent the real

value of land, and sometimes don't even pay farmers. The military protects Shell with firearms, resulting in many deaths.

f) HEALTH IMPACTS

The team of Environmental Action Studies in Nigeria observed an increase in "poverty and misery" due to the burning of gas, as well as the increase of diseases in Ogoniland. This destruction has not been relieved by Shell or by the government. A medical doctor, Owens Wiwa, observed high rates of diseases and sicknesses such as bronchial asthma and other respiratory problems, stomach problems and cancer in people that live in areas where oil is being exploited.

g) SHELL POLICE AND SPECIAL INTERNAL SECURITY IN RIVERS STATE

Shell and the government admit that Shell contributed to financing the military in the Niger Delta. Under the guise of "protecting" Shell from peaceful demonstrations in the town of Umechem (16 Km. from Ogoni), the killed 80 people and destroyed houses and crops, in 1990. Shell paid the military on two occasions in order to repress people. Although they state that the objective was to calm the public, in both missions Ogonis were killed. The two incidents were: a demonstration in 1993, protesting the destruction of several farms because of the construction of oil pipelines, and in the same year, a demonstration by the people of Korokoro.

Shell has admitted to having purchased weapons for the police force in order to protect its installations, and it is believed that Shell financed a large portion of the military. In 1994, the military sent permanent security forces to Ogoniland, occupying what was once a peaceful area.

Members of the special internal security force at Rivers State are the main suspects for the death of 2000 people. In a classified memorandum, the leaders describe their plans for "psychological tactics for weakening and displacing the population" and declared, "it would be impossible for Shell to operate without military operations ". Since the special forces occupied Ogoniland in 1994, the Ogoni have lived under constant vigilance, threat and violence. The government intensified its military presence in January 1997 and after celebrations for Ogoni Day in 1998.

h) THE TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF KEN SARO-WIWA AND 8 OGONI: THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

Ken Saro-Wiwa and another 8 Ogoni were leaders of MOSOP, the Movement of the Survival of the Ogoni People. As environmental spokespeople and human rights activists, they made it clear that Shell was not welcome in Ogoniland. On November 10, 1995, the accused were hung after a military hearing (whose decisions cannot be appealed). The defense lawyers were badly treated and were denied access and the right to see their clients.

Although none of them were close to the town where they were accused of committing crimes, they were sentenced to death in a trial that many heads of state (including Bill Clinton) strongly opposed because there was not sufficient evidence, and the accusation was partial and the sentence extremely fast. The executions were carried out only eight days after the decision. Two witnesses who were against the MOSOP leaders admitted that Shell and the military bribed them to testify against Ken Saro-Wiwa with promises of money and employment with Shell.

The final words of Ken Saro-Wiwa were: "The fight continues!"

i) 20 Ogoni AND MORE...

On September 7, 1998, the 20 detained Ogoni were set free (with bail). They were jailed for almost four years under the same accusations as Ken Saro-Wiwa and the other 8 Ogoni. It is still not clear if in the future they will also be called to trial. Unfortunately, another 25 people were arrested in January 1998 for organizing a peaceful celebration for Ogoni Day.

There is an unknown number of detained Ogonis, for supporting the Ogoni cause and for supporting the memory of Ken Saro-Wiwa.

j) NOT JUST THE Ogoni

The majority of oil in Nigeria comes from the Niger Delta in the southeast of the country. Along the length of the Delta, ethnic minorities suffer the same environmental devastation and oppression from oil multinationals and the military. In 1990, Shell, specifically requested military protection for its installations, due to non-violent protests, in the town of Umeuchem. 80 townspeople were assassinated in two days. Afterwards, a legal tribunal demonstrated that these people did not pose any threat to the installations. There were also armed military accusations to order to avoid increasing organized groups like MOSOP.

However, communities such as Ijaw, Ekwerre, Oyigba, Ogbia and others along the Delta have taken measures to reclaim land and human rights. Since October 1998, Ijaw groups have occupied oil platforms, transfer stations and oil pipeline pumps to a point that they have been able to block a third of all Nigerian oil exportations.

Since the beginning of 1998, the Ijaw have closed valves and have demanded economic and environmental justice.

Source: RESISTANCE OILWATCH NETWORK BULLETIN Number 42. –
November 2003