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# NIGERIA COUNTRY REPORT

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Country Information & Policy Unit
IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY DIRECTORATE
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# 1. Scope of Document

- 1.1 This Country Report has been produced by the Country Information and Policy Unit, Immigration and Nationality Directorate, Home Office, for use by Home Office officials involved in the asylum / human rights determination process. The Report provides general background information about the issues most commonly raised in asylum / human rights claims made in the United Kingdom. It is not a detailed or comprehensive survey.
- 1.2 The Report is compiled from a wide range of recognised sources and does not contain any Home Office opinion or policy. All information in the Report is attributed, throughout the text, to original source material, which has been made available to those working in the asylum / human rights determination process. The Report aims to provide only a brief summary of the source material quoted. For a more detailed account, the relevant source documents should be examined directly.
- 1.3 The information contained in this Country Report is, by its nature, limited to information that we have been able to identify from various well-recognised sources. The contents of this Report are not exhaustive and the absence of information under any particular heading does not imply that any analysis or judgement has been exercised to exclude that information, but simply that relevant information on the subject has not been identified from the sources that have been consulted. Equally, the information included in the Reports should not be taken to imply anything beyond what is actually stated.
- 1.4 The great majority of the source material is readily available in the public domain. Copies of other source documents, such as those provided by government offices, may be provided upon request.
- 1.5 All sources have been checked for currency, and as far as can be ascertained, contain information which remained relevant at the time this Report was issued. Some source documents have been included because they contain relevant information not available in more recent documents.
- 1.6 This Country Report and the accompanying source material are publicly disclosable. Where sources identified in this Report are available in electronic form the relevant link has been included. The date that the relevant link was accessed in preparing the report is also included. Paper copies of the source documents have been distributed to nominated officers within IND.
- 1.7 It is intended to revise this Report on a six-monthly basis while the country remains within the top 35 asylum producing countries in the United Kingdom. Information

contained in Country Reports is inevitably overtaken by events that occur between the 6 monthly publications. Caseworkers are informed of such changes in country conditions by means of Country Information Bulletins.

# 2. Geography

2.1 The Federal Republic of Nigeria is the fourth largest and most populous country in Africa. Benin borders Nigeria to the west, Niger to the north, Cameroon to the east and the Bight of Benin to the south. The terrain varies from coastal swamps in the south, through tropical forests and savannah to semi-desert in the north. The highest regions are the Jos plateau (1200-2000 metres above sea level) and mountains along the border with Cameroon. Nigeria is the most populous African nation, in 1999 its population was estimated to be 120 million, but as the last census was in 1991 estimates vary considerably. [1]

# 3. Economy

- 3.1 Nigeria is the leading sub-Saharan oil producer, 1.84 million barrels of oil per day, and oil accounts for 98.6 percent of all exports. Nigeria has a vast but largely unfulfilled economic potential. As a result annual income per head in Nigeria is amongst the lowest in the world at \$375, and two thirds of the population live on less than a dollar per day. Institutionalised and pervasive corruption, has hindered economic development. General Abacha, a former head of state, siphoned off an estimated personal fortune of \$4.3bn. [2]
- 3.2 Driven by rising oil prices and high levels of government spending, growth in real GDP grew by 3.89 percent in 2001, up from 3.83 percent in 2000. However, poor budgetary controls and inadequate monetary management contributed to rising inflation that reached an estimated 21.8percent by March 2002. Inflation had led to an unsustainable disparity between the official and parallel exchange rate for the currency, the Naira. The poor economic performance has also reflected fundamental structural problems in the Nigerian economy. The key factors include corruption, the poor state of infrastructure, especially in the power sector, and the independence of state governments, which has made implementation of national economic policy difficult. These problems have prevented diversification of the economy from the hydrocarbon sector. One area of relative success in structural reform has been the privatisation programme. However the timetable suffered a significant set back with the collapse in early 2002 of the flagship sale of the national telecom carrier NITEL. [2]
- 3.3 Nigeria is a highly indebted country owing approximately \$28bn to external creditors. The overwhelming majority of this debt (\$22bn) is owed to official bilateral creditors, other governments, which are members of the Paris Club. The United Kingdom is by far the largest official creditor, being owed approximately \$6 billion. The remainder is owed in roughly equal amounts to private creditors and multilateral institutions (the World Bank and African Development Bank). Nigeria and the Internal Monetary Fund (IMF) approved a one-year Standby Arrangement on 4 August 2000, however, this lapsed by mutual consent in October 2001 due to inadequate performance on some of the major areas for economic reform. Nigeria cannot come to the Paris Club of official creditors for a programme of debt rescheduling or relief until such time as an IMF programme is in place and a satisfactory track record of reform is established. [2]

For further information on geography and the economy, refer to Europa yearbook source. [1]

# 4. History

- 4.1 President Sani Abacha died in office on 8 June 1998. On 20 July 1998, his successor General Abdulsalami Abubakar, the military head of state, announced a detailed plan leading to the restoration of a democratic, civilian government by 29 May 1999. He emphasised democracy, respect for human rights and the early withdrawal of the military from politics. He created an Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), which announced a timetable for elections beginning with local elections on 5 December 1998 and culminating in presidential elections on 27 February 1999. The turnout for the local elections was good, and there was no violence. Following these, INEC gave full registration to three parties, the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), the All Peoples Party (APP) and the Alliance for Democracy (AD). The PDP and APP both have a national support base, but the AD's support is predominantly from the Yoruba in the six south-west states. [2]
- **4.2** The local elections, State Assembly and Gubernatorial elections on 9 January 1999 and National Assembly elections on 20 February 1999 were all judged credible by monitors. PDP had the best results throughout the elections. AD and APP therefore agreed to field a joint candidate for the Presidential elections. Olusegun Obasanjo (PDP) with 62 percent of the vote won the 1999 presidential election. Chief Olu Falae, the joint AD and APP candidate, gained 37percent of the vote. Local and international monitors witnessed irregularities in the poll, but judged that the result broadly reflected the view of the Nigerian people. [2]

[For further information on history, refer to Europa yearbook source]. [1]

#### THE 2003 ELECTION

- **4.3** April's Presidential election was the first to be run by civilians for 20 years and was presented as a milestone in the country's return to democracy after years of military rule. Mr Obasanjo's sweeping victory was announced by the electoral commission after long delays and reports from election monitors alleging widespread fraud and intimidation in several states across the country. The official result showed 24.5 million votes for Mr Obasanjo against 12.7 million for his main rival, Muhammadu Buhari.
- **4.4** Speaking at a joint news conference after meeting other opposition parties in the capital, Abuja, Mr Buhari called the results the "rape of democracy" and "the most rigged in history", but he held back from calling for immediate mass action, as he had earlier threatened. [197]
- **4.5** Most foreign observers praised the organisation of the elections across much of the country, but criticised polls in the south and east especially in the oil-rich Niger Delta.
- **4.6** A monitoring team from the EU gave a particularly negative assessment saying their observers "witnessed and obtained evidence of widespread election fraud in 13 states".

"The presidential and a number of gubernatorial elections were marred by serious irregularities and fraud - in a certain number of states, minimum standards for democratic elections were not met," the group said in a statement. The head of the EU mission, Max van den Berg, added that if these problems are not addressed, Nigerian democracy is in trouble. [197]

4.7 Commonwealth observers gave a more positive assessment however saying: "In most of Nigeria a genuine and largely successful effort was made to enable the people to vote freely". But they added that in some states like Enugu and Rivers State "proper electoral processes appear to have broken down and there was intimidation". [197]

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS - 19 April	1 2003 *	
Candidate	Party	perc ent
Matthew O.F.A Obasanjo	People's Democratic Party	61.9
Buhari Muhammadu	All Nigeria People's Party	32.2
Ojukwu Chukwuemeka Odumegwu	All Progressives Grand Alliance	03.3

<sup>\*</sup> turnout of 69.1percent [198]

Party	Abr	perce	/360	perc	/109
		nt		ent	
People's Democratic Party	PDP	54.5	213	53.7	73
All Nigeria People's Party	ANPP	27.4	95	27.9	28
Alliance for Democracy	AD	.9.3	31	9.7	6
United Nigeria People's Party	UNPP	2.7	2	2.7	-
National Democratic Party	NDP	1.9	1	1.6	-
All Progressives Grand Alliance	APGA	1.4	2	1.5	-
People's Redemption Party	PRP	0.8	1	0.7	-

<sup>\*</sup> turnouts 50.0percent/49.3percent

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## 5. State Structures

### The Constitution

- 5.1 The 1999 Constitution was based closely on the 1979 Constitution. Basic political rights are enshrined in the Constitution, and these include the right to personal liberty, the right to a fair trial, the right to freedom of expression and of the press, and the right to dignity of the human person. [7]
- **5.2** The 1999 Constitution prohibits torture and the mistreatment of prisoners. The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "the

<sup>\*\*</sup> National summary of votes and seats as at 2 May, with 346 of 360 resp, 107 of 109 constituencies declared.
[198]

Constitution protects individual rights before the judiciary, including a presumption of innocence, the right to be present, to confront witnesses, to present evidence, and to be represented by legal counsel". [3a] (p27-28)

**5.3** The President has set up a Commission to review the Constitution. It held public hearings around the country and it has now reported to the President; the National Assembly set up a parallel Commission. [2]

## Citizenship and Nationality

- 5.4 The 1999 Constitution set out the requirements for Nigerian citizenship in Chapter III. Citizenship by birth would appear to be acquired by birth in Nigeria, with one parent or one grandparent being a Nigerian citizen. Citizenship by decent would be acquired by a person born outside Nigeria, with one parent being a Nigerian citizen. [7]
- **5.5** There are provisions to acquire citizenship by both naturalisation and registration. The President has the power to make regulations regarding citizenship, but these must be in accordance with Chapter III. [7]

## **Political System**

- **5.6** Nigeria is a democratic federal republic. Local, parliamentary and presidential elections have been held, and the hand-over to the elected civilian President Olusegun Obasanjo took place on 29 May 1999 without incident. The President, subject to the confirmation of the Senate, nominates the cabinet. The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that the Constitution allows the free formation of political parties,. The Constitution requires parties to demonstrate that they have a nation-wide following. [3a] (p27-28)
- 5.7 The INEC had of March 2003 registered 30 parties, and these were free to contest the elections in April 2003. [11] However, some of these have challenged the fees required for registration; these are related to administrative charges, and would not appear to be a bar to participation in the political process. [12]
- **5.9** The assassination of prominent politicians has been an aspect of Nigerian politics, and is in part attributable to the widespread human rights abuses under previous military regimes; which led to erosion in respect for the democratic process. This violence usually occurs during times of heightened political tension, such as the periods leading up to local or parliamentary elections. The motivation for these crimes is often attributed to an individual's political stance, and supporters of political opponents are usually suspected of being responsible. As a result of the political patronage system in Nigeria, winning elections to gain positions of political power can be seen as an important way to make money. These murders are not supported by the Government, or ruling party, they are seen as crimes, and are investigated accordingly. [15]
- **5.10** Over a four-week period that began on 18 February 2003, every Nigerian aged 18 years and above is required to register for a national identity card. According to officials

of the Department of National Civic Registration, which is in charge of the programme, at least 60 million Nigerians are estimated to be eligible for registration. [196]

- **5.11** The main objective of issuing ID cards to Nigerians, according to the government, is to create a national database of information, that will aid effective government. That information will include fingerprints, blood groups and other personal details which a string of censuses since independence in 1960 have been unable to provide. [196]
- **5.12** President Olusegun Obasanjo was more specific about the expected benefits when he kicked off the exercise by becoming the first person to be registered. "Firstly, it serves as a medium of identification of Nigerian citizens, and as an effective control of illegal immigrants," he said. "It also avails the government with comprehensive and reliable data for planning purposes." [196]

## Judiciary

- 5.13 The 1999 Constitution enshrined basic political rights including the right to a fair trial. The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that President Obasanjo has committed his government to a review of human rights abuse under previous military governments. Under the Constitution, the court system is composed of federal and state trial courts, state appeals courts, the Federal Court of Appeal, and the Federal Supreme Court. There are also Shari'a (Islamic) and customary (traditional) courts of appeal for each state and for the federal capital territory (Abuja). The courts include magistrate or district courts, customary or traditional courts, Shari'a courts, and for some specified cases, the state high courts. The nature of the case usually determines which court has jurisdiction. In principle customary and Shari'a courts have jurisdiction only if both plaintiff and defendant agree. However, in practice fear of legal costs, delays, and distance to alternative venues encouraged many litigants to choose the customary and Shari'a courts over the regular venues. [3a] (p14)
- 5.14 The extension of Shari'a law in many northern states has generated a public debate on whether Shari'a punishments such as amputation for theft, caning for fornication and public drunkenness constituted "torture or inhuman or degrading treatment" as stipulated in the Constitution. The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "Caning as a punishment is available under Nigerian common law, the Northern Nigerian Penal Code, and Shari'a law and has not been successfully challenged in the court system as a violation of the cruel and inhuman punishment clause of the Constitution. While the expanded Shari'a laws do not apply to Christians, the Christian minority, especially in Zamfara and Sokoto States, are subjected to many of the social provisions of the law". [3b] (p14)
- 5.15 Criminal justice procedures call for trial within three months of arraignment for most categories of crimes. The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "Understaffing of the judiciary, inefficient administrative procedures, petty extortion, bureaucratic inertia, poor communication between police and prison officials, and inadequate transportation continued to result in considerable delays in bringing suspects to trial, often stretching to several years". [3b] (p14-15)

5.16 Trials in the regular court system are public and generally respect constitutionally protected individual rights in criminal cases, including a presumption of innocence, and the right to be present, to confront witnesses, to present evidence, and to be represented by legal counsel. However, the US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "there is a widespread perception that judges are easily bribed or "settled", and that the courts cannot be relied on to render impartial judgements. Most prisoners are poor and cannot afford to pay the costs associated with moving their trials forward, and as a result they remain in prison. Wealthier defendants employ numerous delaying tactics and, in some cases, use bribes to persuade judges to grant numerous continuances. This, and similar practices, clogged the court calendar and prevented trials from starting. Many courts are understaffed, and personnel are paid poorly. Judges frequently fail to appear for trials, often because they are pursuing other means of income". In addition the report adds "court officials often lack the proper equipment, training, and the will to perform their duties, again due primarily to their inadequate pay and poor conditions". [3a] (p14)

### Shari'a Law

- 5.17 Shari'ah has been practised in some form, particularly in parts of northern Nigeria, since the 1500's, when Islam gained a firm foothold in the north. During the colonial era, the British instituted a system of indirect rule in northern Nigeria, co-opting Muslim rulers into the colonial system. Most of Nigeria's post independence regimes maintained the separation of religion and state, at least as far as the national constitution was concerned. Hence Chapter 1 Part II Article 10 of the Nigerian Federal Constitution of 1999 prohibits the establishment of a state religion. [100] (p6)
- **5.18** As of April 2002, 12 northern states have adopted, variations of Shari'a law, theses are Zamfara, Sokoto, Kebbi, Niger, Kano, Katsina, Kaduna, Jigawa, Yobe, Bauchi, Borno, and Gombe. Adherence to the new Shari'a provisions is compulsory for Muslims in some states and optional in others. [3a] (p1) Zamfara State carried out the first judicial amputation under Shari'a on 23 March 2000, and further sentences have subsequently been carried out. [113]
- 5.19 Some the 12 northern states have administered punishments such as amputations and caning. The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that Shari'a courts delivered "hadd" sentences such as amputation for theft, caning for fornication and public drunkenness, and death by stoning for adultery. As no case has reached the Nigerian Federal Court, federal appellate courts have yet to decide whether such punishments represent impermissible "torture or...inhuman or degrading treatment" as defined by the Constitution. [3a] (pg)
- **5.20** In both common law and Shari'a courts, the poor, who are often without legal representation, were more likely to have their sentences carried out immediately. The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "...the Government has instituted a panel of legal scholars to draft a uniform Shari'a criminal statute for all northern states to replace divergent Shari'a statutes adopted by the individual states; however, states continued to apply their own individual codes. Convicted Muslims in Shari'a law states have been subjected to public caning for various offences, such as petty theft, public consumption of alcohol, and engaging in

prostitution. Caning as a punishment under common law, the Northern Nigerian Penal Code, and Shari'a law has not been challenged in the court system as a violation of the cruel and inhuman punishment clause in the Constitution". [3a] (p2)

5.21 Non-Muslims are not subject to Shari'a statutes. However, many aspects of the Shari'a code directly affects the lives of Christians living in the states where the code has been introduced. The Christian minorities in Shari'a states, especially in Zamfara, have been affected by many of the social provisions of the laws, such as the separation of the sexes in public transportation vehicles and bans on the sale of alcohol and alcohol consumption. Niger State has also enforced a ban on the selling of alcohol. In Zamfara State, Christian associations have arranged private transportation services for Christian females so that they are not forced to wait for female only transportation provided by the Zamfara State government. Sokoto State's transportation system is run completely by private operators. Sokoto State governor Dalhatu Bafarawa said that the state couldn't compel private operators to carry female passengers if doing so violates their religious convictions. In Zamfara State school children continued to be segregated by gender in schools. The Governor of Zamfara also disbursed public funds to refurbish mosques and pronounced that only persons with beards would win government contracts. There is a long tradition of separating schoolchildren by gender in the north; this practice was codified in Kebbi and Sokoto States in May 2000. [64]

5.22 In Zamfara, laws proposed during 2001, included a dress code for women that bans short skirts and trousers, and the mandatory closing of shops on Fridays. The Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) branch in Zamfara State has protested about these new laws to the Zamfara State government. Reportedly they were told that the first law was proposed on public decency grounds, and that the second law only would apply to Muslim businesses. A number of state sanctioned and private vigilante Shari'a enforcement groups have formed in states with expanded Shari'a law. In Zamfara State, the Governor vested the local vigilante group with full powers of arrest and prosecution because he believed that the police were not enforcing the new Shari'a laws. The Governor of Jigawa State also mobilised a statewide Shari'a enforcement committee to arrest, detain, and prosecute Muslim offenders. In Kano State, an unofficial vigilante group known as Hisbah began taking action against both Muslims and Christians who violate the new Shari'a laws. [64]

**5.23** Muslim proponents of full Shari'ah initially stated that Shari'ah would only be applicable to Muslims. However, in practice Christians and traditional believers, or Pagans (as they are known locally), have found themselves bound by Shari'ah strictures. [100] (p10)

### **Anti-Drug Legislation**

5.24 According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, Decree 33 of 1990 remains in operation. Its Nigerian Country Profile states that "The existing drug control laws in Nigeria are primarily four decrees: Decree 48 of the 1989 which established the NDLEA, which is responsible for the prevention of Illicit cultivation, production, manufacture and trafficking in and abuse of drugs; Decree 33 of 1990 which targeted Nigerians convicted overseas for drug offences and provides for prison sentence and forfeiture of assets and properties on 'bringing the name of Nigeria into disrepute'; Decree 15 of 1993 which set-up the NAFDAC, a parastatal under the Federal Ministry of

alth to authorize (control) the importation and exportation of narcotic drugs, /chotropic and other controlled substances, to ensure that their use are limited to dical and scientific purposes. NAFDAC is also mandated to collaborate with NDLEA measures to control drug abuse in the country; and Decree 3 of 1995, which dresses the problem of drug money laundering". [6] (p2)

Decree 33 allows for the detention of a Nigerian who has brought the country into repute. This decree is aimed at those who traffick in illicit drugs, and is subject to dicial oversight. However, this decree allows for the detention of people, who may we already completed a sentence abroad, upon their return to Nigeria. [107] This pasure is a response to the serious drug trafficking problem that exists in Nigeria. The oblem of the illicit drug trade, is one that the Nigerian authorities are attempting to eless. [6] (p2)

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## gal Rights/Detention

The US State Department reports that the Federal Nigeria Police Force (NPF) is body tasked with law enforcement. The Constitution prohibits local and state police res. Internal security is the duty of the State Security Service (SSS). The SSS's file has declined under the present Government. Rapid Response Teams remained most states, these are staffed by regular policemen. The Obasanjo Government sened its reliance on the army to quell internal disorder. Members of the security res, including the police, anti-crime squads, and the armed forces are still accused of anmitting serious human rights abuses. [34] (p1 & 11)

The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states at the police and security forces were empowered to make arrests without warrants sed on a reasonable suspicion that a person had committed an offence; they often sed this power. Under the law, police may arrest and detain persons for 24 hours are charging them with an offence. The law requires an arresting officer to inform the sused of charges at the time of arrest and to take the accused to a police station for specific policy. [3a] (p11)

By law, police must provide suspects with the opportunity to engage counsel and bail. However, The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in aria states that "police generally did not adhere to these procedures. Suspects mely were detained without being informed of the charges, denied access to usel and family members, and denied the opportunity to post bail for bailable acces. Detainees often were kept incommunicado for long periods of time. The assign for bail often was arbitrary or subject to extra-judicial influence. In many parts to country, there was no functioning system of bail, so suspects were held in tigative detention for sustained periods of time. Numerous suspects alleged that demanded payment before they were taken to court to have their cases heard. If members attended court proceedings, police often demanded an additional ment". [3a] (p11)

Penalty

- **5.29** Since Obasanjo's election in 1999 ended more than 15 years of military rule in Africa's most populous country of 120 million, no executions have been authorised save for that of Sani Rodi, hanged on the orders of a Katsina State shari'ah court for the murder of a woman and her two children in January 2002. [114]
- **5.30** Obasanjo recently expressed his opposition for capital punishment, indicating a personal desire for reforms of the penal system. Scores of people are currently on death row in prisons across Nigeria, awaiting either appeals against their sentences or execution orders. [114]
- **5.31** In November 2003 it was announced on the IRIN news website that Nigeria has appointed a special panel to review the application of the death penalty and determine if it should be abolished. [114]
- **5.32** The panel comprises a wide variety of experts including legal experts, human rights activists, police and prison officials, is expected to conduct a study of the death penalty, coordinate a national debate on the matter and review arguments for and against capital punishment, according to a justice ministry statement. The panel intends to produce a position paper that will guide President Olusegun Obasanjo's government to arrive at a new policy on capital punishment. [114]
- 5.33 This panel will be Chaired by Yomi Dinakin, a law professor, its members include Saudatu Mahdi of the Women's Rights Advancement Project and Bukhari Bello, who heads the National Human Rights Commission. Members were also drawn from religious groups such as the Catholic Church's Justice and Peace Commission and the National Council for the Propagation and Defence of Shari'ah. [114]
- **5.34** Offences that currently attract capital punishment in Nigeria's statutes, according to the IRIN article are murder and armed robbery, with execution either by firing squad or hanging. But under the strict Islamic or Shari'ah legal codes introduced in 12 states in Nigeria's predominantly Muslim north, offences attracting the death penalty were expanded to include adultery, with stoning as the prescribed mode of execution. [114]
- **5.35** Two women sentenced to death for adultery under Shari'ah have had their sentences quashed on appeal. Three others, including two men and one woman, are still awaiting verdicts to their appeals [114]
- **5.36** Most executions for murders in Nigeria were carried out in prison gallows by hanging. But under a succession of military rulers beginning from 1966, condemned armed robbers were executed by firing squad, sometimes publicly. [114]

## **Internal Security**

**5.37** Nigeria is a major regional power, and as such is a prominent member of the Economic Community of West African States and contributes a large military contingent to its monitoring force in Liberia and Sierra Leone (ECOMOG). There is a longstanding dispute with the Cameroon over the Bakassi peninsula, which lies to the extreme south of their shared border. [1] The issue was decided before the International Court of

Justice in The Hague in October 2002. The court decided that Cameroon had sovereignty over the Bakassi peninsular. Both Nigeria and Cameroon appear to be committed to reaching an agreement on this issue through negotiation. [25]

5.38 The Nigerian army has been deployed to deal with internal unrest on numerous occasions. This has often been in response to incidents of extreme violence, and the deployment of the military was often proportionate and necessary to address unrest that was beyond the capacities of the local police. However, the army has been repeatedly criticised for its handling of violence in the Niger Delta, the oil-producing region of Nigeria, which has been the scene of much violence under both the present Government and previous military regimes. [30] There have been two much publicised incidents where the army have been accused of human rights abuses, Odi in 1999 and Benue in 2000, when a group of soldiers killed about 200 unarmed villagers. A presidential enquiry on the latter incident has yet to publish its report. [32]

## **Prisons and Prison Conditions**

**5.39** The US State Department report states that most of Nigeria's prisons were built 70 to 80 years ago and lack functioning basic facilities. There is a lack of potable water, inadequate sewage facilities, and severe overcrowding results in unhealthy and dangerous sanitary conditions. Some prisons hold 200 to 300 percent more persons than their designed capacity. The Government has acknowledged overcrowding as the main cause of the harsh conditions common in the prison system. The Gontroller-General of Prisons stated on 23 September 2003 that 40,447 inmates were held in a system of 148 prisons and 83 satellite prisons, and he redesignated prisoner capacity, declaring the new capacity to be 44,556 prisoners. Some human rights groups estimated a higher number of inmates, perhaps as many as 60,000. Excessive pre-trial detention contributed to the overcrowding. [3a] (p10-12)

**5.40** According to the Constitution, persons charged with offences have the right to an expeditious trial. [7] The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that on September 23, the Controller-General of prisons stated that 25,380, approximately 63 percent, of prisoners were detainees awaiting trial who had not been charged; other sources placed the number as high as 80 percent. Some had been waiting as long as 12 years, while many had approached the maximum length of their sentences. Multiple adjournments in some cases had led to serious delays. The National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) urged the courts, the Ministry of Justice, and police to expedite cases awaiting trial. Police cited their inability to securely transport detainees to trial on their trial dates as one reason why so many were denied a trial. The NHRC reported that some detainees were held because their case files had been lost. Some state governments released inmates detained for significant periods of time without trial, including 100 inmates in Edo State and 17 inmates in Akwa Ibom, during 2003. [3a] (p12)

5.41 The US State Department report states that during 2003 the Government allowed international and domestic NGOs, including PRAWA and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), regular access to prisons. PRAWA and the ICRC published newsletters on their work. The Government admitted that there were problems with its

incarceration and rehabilitation programs and worked with groups such as these to address those problems. Unlike in previous years, no NGO's have reported problems with access to prisons. [3a] (p11)

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## **Military**

- 5.42 Nigeria has an army, navy and air force. Military expenditure accounts for 10percent of the nation's GDP. Nigeria was instrumental in the creation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and its armed forces play a major role in ECOWAS regional peacekeeping initiatives. [100]
- **5.43** President Obasanjo has vowed to reform the Nigerian Army and to turn it into an army that will support rather than usurp democracy. Following his inauguration all serving military officers were retired. [100]
- 5.44 Multinational oil companies and Nigerian oil producing companies subcontract police and soldiers from area units particularly to protect the oil facilities in the volatile Niger Delta region. There are credible reports that these groups engaged in extrajudicial killings and other human rights abuses, in some cases with the support of foreign oil companies states the US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria. [3a] (p3)There have been calls from states in the South for state controlled police forces, as opposed to the present federal controlled system, the reason given was that improved security would increase investors' confidence. However, this could also reflect a desire to set up police forces loyal to the local area. [165]
- 5.45 The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria (2003) states that there were no political killings by security forces; however, national police, army, and security forces committed extrajudicial killings or used excessive force to apprehend criminals and to disperse protestors during the year, when crowds were perceived by police as possibly becoming violent. Multinational oil companies and domestic oil producing companies subcontracted police and soldiers from area units particularly to protect the oil facilities in the volatile Niger Delta region. Freelance security forces and former security forces accounted for a portion of the violent crime committed during the year. [3a] (p3)

### **Military Service**

**5.46** There is no conscription in Nigeria, but university graduates are required to do civilian service for one year. This does not involve military training, and relates to civilian community project work, outside of a person's home state. It is not known if there is any punishment for failure to perform this. [23]

#### Police

[also see Vigilante Groups - Human Rights, Specific Groups]

5.47 The police are widely seen as being undisciplined, badly trained and poorly led,

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and unable to deal with the level of violent crime that they have to face. The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "police numbers are also low for the population that they have to police, and they are underresourced. The police have often resorted to the use of lethal force to defend themselves, and the public, from criminals who are quite prepared to kill. The excessive use of force has been condemned by human rights organisations, as an abuse of power, and has resulted in the deaths of innocent bystanders". [3a] (p3 & 4) There are also reports of the use of torture against those suspected of crimes, and ill treatment has resulted in deaths of people while in custody. Police are also reported to use arrest and detention, or the threat of such action, as a means of soliciting bribes. [30][32]

**5.48** Despite Government commitment to improvements, conditions for the police remain poor, and arrears in pay resulted in a one-day strike on 1 February 2002. President Obasanjo responded by releasing funds to meet the welfare needs of the police. He also sacked the head of the police service Musiliu Smith, and a number of other senior officers. The police have threatened to resume industrial action, if they do not see a sustained improvement. [61][62]

5.49 The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "there are also reliable reports that some police officers have been involved in violent crime. Three police officers have been sentenced to death for their part in robbery and murder; but these sentences has yet to be carried out". [3a] (p3&4) Poor discipline, pay and conditions are cited as reasons for these crimes, but where they have come to light the Nigerian authorities have investigated, and where possible instigated criminal proceedings. [146][147]

**5.50** Human Rights Watch report that the police carried out many extra-judicial executions in 2002, often shooting suspected criminals on sight, and, in some cases, killing or injuring other individuals who were not suspected of any crime. The federal government and the inspector general of police promised to address these problems and to stamp out the widespread corruption in the police force. However, some of the initiatives they launched, such as "Operation Fire for Fire," which was intended to tackle the high rate of violent crime, seemed to have the opposite effect and resulted in further shootings of suspects by the police, many of them fatal. The police force itself stated that at least 225 criminal suspects had been shot dead between March and June 2002.

5.51 HRW also report that the police were frequently involved in arbitrary arrests and detentions in 2002, often motivated by attempts to collect bribes. Some of these problems could be attributed to the very poor working conditions of the police, including low rates of pay, insufficient resources and equipment, and inadequate training--all of which culminated in an unprecedented police strike in January. Perpetrators of human rights abuses were rarely successfully prosecuted. It was estimated that more than two thirds of detainees in prisons and detention centres around the country were held awaiting trial, sometimes without charge, in some cases for several years. Conditions of detention remained very poor and ill treatment and torture of detainees were widespread. [30]

### **Medical Services**

- 5.52 There is a Basic Health Service Scheme in Nigeria that aims to provide primary health care for the whole population. However, the quality and provision of care is still dependent on the ability of the patient to pay. There have recently been moves to introduce a National Insurance scheme, but details of this are still being worked out. [34][35][36][37][49] There is also provision for basic psychiatric care, but it appears to be confined to the major towns. [38][39] The United Kingdom's Department of International Development (DFID) has assisted the Nigerian authorities in identifying ways of organising access to health care, and in 2001 helped produced a seven year programme to address this. [142]
- 5.53 Sickle Cell Anaemia is a very common condition in Nigeria. This illness has many complications, the main ones being respiratory and circulation problems. The severity of its symptoms varies from case to case, and it is characterised by acute attacks of ill health and lethargy which are referred to as a "crisis". This condition is usually diagnosed in childhood, often before the sufferer is a year old. This condition can be life threatening, and limit the ability of a patient to lead a normal life. There are provisions for its treatment in Nigeria, but patients are usually expected to meet some of the costs of this care. [40][41][42]
- 5.54 While diabetes is also common in Nigeria, there are no reliable statistics regarding its prevalence, but estimates are that 2percent of the population have this condition. A larger number may also have this condition, but in these cases it remains undiagnosed. Diabetes can be life threatening, and, among other complications, is associated with renal problems and hypertension. Treatments for Diabetes are also available. [47][48]
- 5.55 Nigeria has a great many hospitals and specialist treatment is available. The National Hospital in Abuja was inaugurated in 1999 as the apex hospital in the Nigerian healthcare system. Despite problems with funding and staffing levels the hospital provides service for ENT, General Medicine, Obstetrics (pregnancy and childbirth) & Gynaecology, Oncology (treatment by surgery, radiotherapy or chemotherapy for malignant diseases such as cancer), Orthodontics/Dentistry, Ophthalmology (relating to the eye), Paediatrics (children), Surgery, Trauma and Orthopaedics. [203]
- 5.56 Lack of funds and staff has lead to disruption in the Nigerian health system. One of the complaints of Doctors in their four-month strike in late 2000, was the decline in the health service, as well as in their pay and conditions. The erosion of the health service has been attributed to its neglect by the military government. This decline in the health service, has led to many Doctors leaving the country for posts overseas, which in turn has led to problems relating to level of experience, retention of staff and training in the profession. [43][44] There was further industrial action in May and June 2001, because of a perceived failure by the government to address the issues raised in the earlier strike. [50]

**HIVIAIDS** 

5.57 HIV and AIDS are growing problems in Nigeria. The estimation of the population affected is over 5percent. [1][2][45][52] President Obasanjo has made tackling AIDS a priority of his government, and has instituted an education and treatment campaign to do so. The Nigerian government and voluntary bodies are attempting to address this problem. [45][46] DFID is helping with the fight against AIDS/HIV, and will provide funds for this purpose over the next few years. [2]

5.58 The Nigerian authorities have shown a determination to address the AIDS/HIV problem. They have actively sought to obtain appropriate drugs, at affordable prices, subsidise their cost and organise effective treatment programmes. However, the scale of the epidemic means that there are many problems to be addressed, and in places there appear to be few people coming forward for treatment. [51][52][53][54]

### Mental Health

5.59 In 1992 Nigeria formulated a mental health policy based on advocacy, promotion, prevention, treatment, and rehabilitation. Training, research and management information systems are components of this policy. [199]

**5.60** Nigeria treats mental health as part of the primary healthcare system and treatment for severe mental disorders is available at the primary level. Manpower has been a problem for the Nigerian health system but NGOs have been helping to relieve the manpower shortages in some areas. There exists an essential drugs list (for therapeutic drugs), first formulated in 1991. [199]

### People with disabilities

**5.61** The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "the Government has called for private business to institute policies that ensured fair treatment for persons with disabilities, but has not enacted any laws requiring greater accessibility to buildings or public transportation, nor did it formulate any policy specifically ensuring the right of persons with disabilities to work. In August 2001, the Federal Government established vocational training centres in Abuja to provide training to beggars with disabilities". [3a] (p29)

### **Educational System**

5.62 The Constitution's general provisions call for the Government, "when practical," to provide free, compulsory, and universal primary education. [7] However, despite the President's commitment to compulsory education, compulsory primary education was rarely provided, particularly in the north. The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "girls are discriminated against in access to education for social and economic reasons". The literacy rate for males is 58percent and 41percent for females. [3a](p32)

### **Student Cults**

- **5.63** Student cults, secret societies based on student fraternities, have been responsible for many crimes in Nigerian universities. In September 2001 there was a serious outbreak of cult-related violence in Enugu State University of Science, when 8 students were killed in clashes. Police were deployed to investigate this incident. [173]
- 5.64 Despite the efforts of the Government to address this problem, cult related violence still occurs. There have been further violent incidents in Enugu State in June 2002, when rival groups clashed, and these have resulted in a number of deaths. However, local police and the university authorities have taken action to investigate incidents of violence, and arrest and punish those responsible. [174][175]

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# 6. Human Rights

# 6A. Human Rights Issues

### Overview

- 6.1 The Abacha period in Nigeria, November 1993 until 8 June 1998, was marked by severe human rights abuses. During his period in office, Abacha's successor General Abubakar took several steps to improve the poor human rights record in Nigeria. He also released most of the political prisoners in Nigeria. [1]
- 6.2 President Obasanjo created a panel to investigate human rights abuses between January 1966 and 28 May 1999, and to identify the people responsible. [95] The panel has been sworn in under Justice Oputa, and has received approximately 10,000 petitions. The panel has held public hearings throughout the country. [96] President Obasanjo appeared before this panel to assist with questions regarding his presidency during the 1970's. Other former military rulers have shown little regard for this body, and have failed to appear when summoned. The present Nigerian authorities appear to respect the intentions of the panel, and to co-operate with it. [78]

## Freedom of Speech and the Media

- **6.3** The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "Nigeria has a long tradition of a vibrant and independently minded press. The Constitution provides for freedom of speech and of the press, and the Government generally respected these rights". [3a] (p16)
- **6.4** Decree 60 created the Nigerian Press Council, which is charged with the enforcement of professional ethics and the sanctioning of journalists who violated these ethics. The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "this Decree has attempted to put control of journalism in the hands of journalists who were appointed by, and received payment from, the Government. Decree 60 gives the Press Council the power to accredit, register, and suspend journalists; and requires that publications be registered by the Council annually through

a system entitled 'Documentation of Newspapers". [3a] (p16)

- 6.5 The Press Council opened an office in Abuja, and has hired staff; but it did not take any official action during 2002. The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "while the Decree has never been used to sanction any journalists, many journalists fear that its existence, and the formation of the Council, could place significant limitations on the freedom of the press." [3b] (p16-17)
- 6.6 On 4 February 2003, Senator Jonathan Zwingina announced that the Senate had repealed Decree 60 creating the Press Council, which was charged with the enforcement of professional ethics and the sanctioning of journalists who violated these ethics. However, on 14 July 2003, the House of Representatives announced new rules for journalists covering the National Assembly that requires all material to be cleared before publication. [3b] (p17)
- 6.7 There are two national, government-owned daily newspapers in English, the New Nigerian and the Daily Times. The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "the New Nigerian publishes an additional Hausa edition. Several states own daily or weekly newspapers, which are published in English". [3a] (p17)
- 6.8 The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "as newspapers and television are relatively expensive and literacy is not universal, radio remains the most important medium of mass communication and information. There is a national radio broadcaster, the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria, which broadcasts in English, Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo, and other languages. Fifty-one state radio stations broadcast in English and local languages. There are 6 private radio stations operating". [3a](p16-18) In February 2002, Nigeria's government granted television broadcast licences to five new television companies. The National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) approved Silver Bird, Monarch, Nagarta Communications, Unity TV and Chrome-Choffan Communications. The announcement came a day after the government said it had granted licences to 16 private radio stations.
- **6.9** International broadcasting, principally Voice of America and British Broadcasting Corporation, as well as Deutsche Welle and others, broadcast in English and Hausa and are an important source of news in the country. Several international broadcasting organisations reported that their accreditation renewals were initially refused in 2002, but they were later able to reapply. [3a] (p17)
- 6.10 The National Television Station (NTA) is federally owned, while 30 states also operate television stations. The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "there are nine privately owned television stations that broadcast domestic news and political commentary. There are two private satellite television services. The law requires local television stations to limit programming from other countries to 40percent. The 1993 Press Law also restricts the foreign content of satellite broadcasting to 20percent, but the Government does not restrict access to, or reception of, international cable or satellite television. The Government does not restrict Internet access, although an unreliable and costly digital telephone service limited access and hindered service providers". [3a] (p17)

- 6.11 The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "while private television and radio broadcasters remained economically viable on advertising revenues alone, despite the restrictions that the Government imposed on them, government-sponsored broadcasters complained that government funding and advertising were inadequate for their needs". [3a] (p17-18)
- 6.12 The Political Parties Registration and Activities Decree No 35 of 1998 was passed to ensure equal allocation of time and similarity of subject matter in political broadcasts by registered parties leading up to and during the period of the elections during the transition process. All stations were directed to set up a complaints committee to examine complaints and appeals from political parties. [97]

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### **Journalists**

- **6.13**. The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "editors have reported that government security officers sometimes demand information about a story or source; however, journalists and editors no longer feared suspension or imprisonment for their editorial decisions. Local NGO's suggested that human rights abuses have been under-reported due, in part, to self-censorship by newspaper editors and owners. State broadcasters and journalists remained important tools for civilian governors; these officials used the state-owned media to showcase the state's accomplishments and to promote their own political goals. Journalists complain that in many cases they are expected to rely on bribes as their only source of income". [3a] (p16)
- 6.14 A High Court in Kogi State ordered the arrest of the Daily Times' managing director and editor for contempt of court after the two ignored an order prohibiting them from publishing any further stories about Kogi State Governor Abubakar Audu. By the end of 2002, these arrest orders had not been enforced, and the newspaper has stopped publishing similar stories. The Zamfara State Government issued a "fatwah" imposing the death sentence on Isioma Daniels, one of the journalists responsible for an article about the Miss World Pageant, which resulted in violence in Kaduna during November 2002. The Government and most Islamic leaders criticised this action, and declared the fatwah invalid, but Miss Daniels, fearing for her safety, has left Nigeria. [145]
- 6.15 Foreign journalists who sought to enter Nigeria to cover political developments generally have been able to obtain visas. The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that in 2003 "the Government announced that Time (International) magazine reporter Stephen Faris was subject to arrest for publishing a "false" report alleging a bribery scandal in the country. The magazine accused the Minister of Information and National Orientation, Professor Jerry Gana, of offering bribes of \$400 (50,000 naira) to foreign journalists to write more positive reports on the country. President Obasanjo established an investigative panel, which concluded that the magazine report was false and was intended to damage the nation's international image, but no further action has been taken as yet". [3a] (p16)

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# Freedom of Religion

- **6.16** The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "the Constitution provides for freedom of religion, including freedom to change one's religion or belief, and freedom to manifest and propagate one's religion or belief in worship, teaching, practice, and observance". The report does note however that the Government restricted these rights in practice in certain respects. [3a] (p20)
- 6.17 The US State Department report on Religious Freedoms in Nigeria notes that "The Constitution prohibits state and local governments from adopting an official religion; however, it also provides that states may elect to use Islamic (Shari'a) customary law and courts. Since independence, the jurisdiction of Shari'a courts has been limited to family or personal law cases involving Muslims, or to civil disputes between Muslims and non-Muslims who consent to the courts' jurisdiction. However, the Constitution states that a Shari'a court of appeal may exercise 'such other jurisdiction as may be conferred upon it by the law of the State'. Some states have interpreted this language as granting them the right to expand the jurisdiction of existing Shari'a courts to include criminal matters". [64]
- 6.18 It adds that "Christians have alleged that through the adoption of an expanded Shari'a law in several states, the continued use of state funds to fund the construction of mosques, teaching of Alkalis (Muslim judges), and pilgrimages to Mecca (Hajj), Islam has been adopted as the de facto state religion of several northern states. However, state funds also are being used to fund Christian pilgrimages to Jerusalem. In general, states with a clear Christian or Muslim majority explicitly favour the majority faith. This is also the case in transactions between individuals and the local government, such as the awarding of contracts for example. There have also been accusations that religious minorities in some states have been denied access to services and police protection in the areas where they live. The Constitution permits the Federal Government to establish a Federal Shari'a Court of Appeal, but it has yet to set up such a Court". [64]
- **6.19** According to the Constitution, students are not required to receive instruction relating to a religion other than their own; [7] However the US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "...public school students throughout the country were subjected to mandatory Islamic or Christian religious instruction. State authorities claim that students are permitted to decline to attend these classes or to request a teacher of their own religion to provide alternative instruction; however, in practice the dominant religion of the state is taught in the school, and students cannot use these other mechanisms. There are reports that Christianity is taught in the same manner in Enugu and Edo States, and that Muslim students are unable to receive Islamic religious instruction in public schools". [3a] (p20)

### Religious Groups

**6.20** Religious differences often correspond to regional and ethnic differences. The northern region and much of the middle belt are overwhelmingly Muslim, as are the large Hausa and Fulani ethnic groups of that area. Many southern ethnic groups are

predominantly Christian. Consequently it is often difficult to distinguish between religious conflict, and ethnic conflict. Religious tensions often underscored what were predominantly ethnic confrontations. [64]

- **6.21** Christian Solidarity Worldwide in their Country Report on Nigeria note that both Islam and Christianity are represented by umbrella organisations or co-ordinating bodies, namely, the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs, and the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN). In certain circumstances Muslims also tend to look to the Sultan of Sokoto for both religious and political guidance. [100] (p29)
- **6.22** Religious and ethnic tensions have, according to the report, led to periodic outbreaks of violence throughout Nigeria's history, with Christians complaining of the increasing Islamisation of Nigeria and marginalisation of Christians, and Muslims bemoaning the permeation of Christianity into all aspects of public life. Successive Federal Governments have at times sought to defuse these tensions by fostering the ideal of national unity. [100] (p29)

#### Islam

- 6.23 Muslims make up roughly 45percent of Nigeria's population and form an overwhelming majority in the north of the country. Sunni Islam predominates in Nigeria, as does the Maliki School of Islamic law. However, not all Nigerian Muslims are Sunni. Until recently most Muslims were members of such Sufi brotherhoods such as the Qadiriyya and the Tijaniyya. There are also a number of Muslims in south-western Nigeria belonging to the Ahmmadiya sect. [100] (p28)
- **6.24** Since independence, Islam in Nigeria began to take on a more radical and Islamist character. In 1978, the Izala movement came into being. This movement began in Jos and was also known as the Jama'at Izalatil Bidawa Iqamatus Sunnah (Movement Against Negative Innovations and for Orthodoxy). Izala is ultra orthodox and seeks the abolition of practices that are not contained in the Qur'an, the Sunnah or Hadith. [100] (p28)
- **6.25** Another movement founded in the late 70s is known as Maitatsine. The Maitatsine movement was, according to Christian Solidarity Worldwide (CSW) extremely influential in the 1960s and 1970s until its brutal suppression in the early 1980s. This movement, which has its stronghold in Kano and appealed primarily to the unemployed, exhibits deep antipathy for the federal state and its agents. During the 80s the Maitatsine movement was responsible for a series of violent riots in northern states. It has been more or less underground since 1985. [100] (p29)
- **6.26** Another Islamist group detailed by the CSW is the Muslim Brotherhood, led by Ibrahim Zakzaky. This group practices Sunni Islam but its followers are also known as the Shi'ites, since the organisation took inspiration from the advent and activities of Ayatollah Khomeini and the establishment of an Islamic state in Iran. The Shi'ites reject the Nigerian constitution, flag and legal institutions, accepting only Shari'ah as a source of law and authority. [100] (p29)

#### Christians

**6.27** According to the CSW, Christians form approximately 45 percent of the Nigerian population and are in the majority in the South. They hail from every denomination - Anglicans, Baptists, Methodists and an increasing number of Pentecostal churches - with Catholicism dominating the south-east of the country where the Igbo form the largest ethnic group. However, the Yoruba heartland in the south-west is divided between Christians, Muslims and Traditional believers. The latter are found throughout the country. There are also some urban-based religious movements such as Krishna Consciousness, the Grail Message Lodge and the Guru Maharaji. [100] (p29)

### **Traditional Faiths**

- **6.28** Information obtained from the Committee for the Scientific Investigation of Claims of the Paranormal (CSICOP) states that Nigeria is a very religious country with many people adhering to traditional beliefs largely based on superstition. This is not limited to the illiterate and rural but is also applicable to the urban elite and literati. In Nigeria there is a strong and widespread belief in juju and charms, witchcraft, ghosts, astrology, divination, reincarnation, miracles, private revelation, fortune-telling, etc. These beliefs are fostered and reinforced by the many prophets and prophetesses, gurus, miracle workers, faith healers, and soothsayers the Nigerian cities and countryside.
- **6.29** Socio-economic problems and tensions reflected in the collective consciousness as acts of witchcraft. Everyday problems arising from the dislocation and disintegration of society were blamed on witches and therefore protection must be sought from a "witch doctor". The fear of witchcraft is not peripheral; it touches virtually all segments of society. It is deeply rooted in the collective consciousness according to an article on the website Marxist.com. [116]
- **6.30** Problems related to witchcraft often make the headlines in Nigeria according to CSICOP. At least twenty-five people suspected of being witches were killed in Akwa Ibom state in southern Nigeriain 2001. A report credited to the Akwa Ibom state police command says that, in February 2003 alone, fifteen suspected witchcraft practitioners were killed in different parts of the state. According to press reports, some of the victims were clubbed to death based on their confession while others were killed simply because of suspicion by their relatives. [115]
- 6.31 This killing of suspected witches started after some members of the Christian Pentecostal churches accused their congregation's parents and relatives of allegedly practising witchcraft and being responsible for poverty, diseases, business failure, infertility, and other calamities. As a result, some children attacked their parents and other relatives to elicit confessions for their alleged participation in witchcraft. In one of the communities, Itam, there was so much chaos and confusion that the village head had to shut down churches accused of making anti-witchcraft prophecies and pronouncements. Reacting to the whole incident, the governor of Akwa Ibom State, Obong Victor Atta, denounced the belief in witchcraft as superstitious and without rational or scientific basis says the CSICOP article. [115]
- **6.32** However, the nature of witchcraft related crimes, can make investigations difficult, as they are often random, with few links between the perpetrators and the victims. A

recent case in the United Kingdom covered by the BBC News team has highlighted this. In this case, which bears many indications of being a ritualistic killing, the victim was a young boy (given the name 'Adam' by the police), who is believed to be from the south of Nigeria. The reason for this murder may have been to obtain body parts for the use in rituals. The Nigerian police have readily assisted in this investigation, and have allowed their British colleagues to pursue enquiries within Nigeria, under their supervision. They have also provided personnel and facilities to assist in this investigation. The local communities, in the area where it is believed that the boy may have come from, have also assisted, by providing information and forensic evidence to help identify the victim and establish his place of origin. [176]

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## Freedom of Assembly & Association

6.33 The Constitution provides for the right to associate freely with other persons in political parties, Trade Unions, or special interest associations, [7] and the US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that the Government generally respected this right in practice; with some exceptions. [3a] (p18)

## **Employment Rights**

- **6.34** The Constitution provides for the right to assemble freely and associate with other persons, and to form or belong to any trade union or other association for the protection of their interests. [7] However the US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "several statutory restrictions on the right of association and on trade unions remained in effect despite repeals of parts of the military-era antilabour decrees. Only a single central labour federation (NLC), is permitted, and the Government recognises only 29 trade unions. Trade Unions must be registered formally by the Federal Government, and a minimum of 50 workers is required to form a Trade Union. Non-management members of senior staff are prevented from joining Trade Unions, and senior staff associations are denied a seat on the National Labour Advisory Council". [3a] (p19 & 35)
- 6.35 The International Labour Organisation (ILO) Committee of Experts has repeatedly cited several of these restrictions; however the US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "the Government had not addressed these problems by the end of 2002. Workers, except members of the armed forces and employees designated as essential by the Government, may join Trade Unions. Essential workers include members of the armed forces and government employees in the police, customs, immigration, prisons, federal mint, central bank, and telecommunications sectors. Employees working in a designated export-processing zone may not join a union until 10 years after the start-up of the enterprise". [3a] (p35-36)
- **6.36** The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "there are no laws prohibiting retribution against strikers and strike leaders, but strikers who believe that they are victims of unfair retribution may submit their cases to the Industrial Arbitration Panel (IAP) with prior approval of the Labour Ministry. The

IAP's decisions are binding on all parties but may be appealed to the Nigerian Industrial Court (NIC)". Union representatives have described the arbitration process as cumbersome and time consuming and as an ineffective deterrent to retribution against strikers. [3a] (p35-36)

## **People Trafficking**

6.37 The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that trafficking in Nigerian children remains a serious problem, both within Nigeria, and outside its borders. The economic reasons that underlie child trafficking may be reflected in the fact that families who employ children also pay their school fees. Child traffickers also take advantage of a cultural tradition of "fostering" under which it is culturally accepted to send one's child to live and work with a family in an urban centre for educational and employment purposes. There are also reports of poor families selling their daughters into marriage, in order raise money. Often the children in these situations only work and do not get any formal education. They are forced to serve as domestics or to become street hawkers selling nuts, fruits, or other items. According to reports from the media and the International Labour Organisation (ILO), there is also an active trade in children to work as labourers. Some are sent to Cameroon, Gabon, Benin, and Equatorial Guinea to work in agricultural enterprises, and others are forced into prostitution. Authorities also have identified a trade route for traffickers of children for labour through Katsina and Sokoto to the Middle East and East Africa. The eastern part of the country and some southern states such as Cross River and Akwa Ibom have been the focus of trafficking of children for labour and, in some cases, it is claimed for human sacrifice. The country remains a destination point for the trafficking of Togolese children to serve as domestic or agricultural workers. The Government is investigating allegations of the collusion of customs officials in trafficking. Some of the returnees have alleged that immigration officials actively connive with syndicates. The Assistant Inspector General of Police is investigating allegations of the collusion of customs officials in trafficking. [3a] (p41)

6.38 There have also been reports of young Nigerian women being trafficked to Europe through the United Kingdom, mostly to Italy, to be exploited for the purposes of prostitution. This abuse is increasing in some European countries. Some of these girls, who have been rescued, complain that violence, intimidation, threats against them or their families, and the use of voodoo practices, have all being used to control them. The United Kingdom authorities are attempting to address this problem, by taking action against those involved in this trade. [128][129]

6.39 A recent widely reported crime has highlighted another, and highly disturbing, aspect of trafficking. In this case, a young boy, who it is believed to have been from the south of Nigeria, would appear to have being trafficked into the United Kingdom, and then ritually murdered. The reason for this murder may have been to obtain body parts for the use in rituals. The British police and their Nigerian colleagues are co-operating to investigate this crime. [167][168]

6.40 The Nigerian authorities have taken action when suspected cases of child

trafficking have occurred. President Obasanjo has set up two commissions to investigate these crimes. Their remit is to look into both the trafficking of women and that of children, and will examine issues related to repatriation and rehabilitation. [130][131]

### Freedom of Movement

6.41 The Constitution entitles citizens to move freely throughout the country, and to reside where they wish. [7] In general the US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that the Government has respected this right, "but the police occasionally restricted this right by setting up roadblocks and checkpoints where security and law enforcement officials routinely engaged in extortion, violence, and excessive use of force. One of the reasons for the use of roadblocks and checkpoints is to search for criminals and to prevent the transport of bodies from areas of ethnic or religious conflict to other parts of the country where their presence might instigate retaliatory violence. However, there were no reports of government officials restricting mass movements of individuals fleeing ethnic or religious unrest". [3a] (p23)

**6.42** Since 2001, over 750,000 people have been displaced because of violence in various areas of Nigeria. Religious, ethnic or tribal differences are often the cause of this violence. The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "this has lead to a cycle of violence as one group seeks to take action against another, often in areas quite distant from that of the original fighting. This can result in one mass displacement of people, being rapidly followed by another into what are seen as safe areas". The Nigerian Government has taken action to assist those displaced, and has tried to mediate between groups in conflict, but the scale of the problem means that it lacks the resources to fully address this. [3a] (p24)

6.43 The Constitution also prohibits the denial of exit or entry to any citizen, [7] and the Government generally respected this law; however the US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that the law also provides that women are required to obtain permission from a male family member before having an application for a passport processed. Some men take their wives and children's passports and other identification documents with them while travelling abroad to prevent their family from leaving the country. [3a] (p23)

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# 6B. Human Rights - Specific Groups

### **Ethnic Groups**

**6.44** There are over 250 ethnic groups with different languages and dialects in Nigeria, which accounts for its cultural diversity. In descending order the Muslim Hausa-Fulani centred on the north, the Yoruba centred on the south-west, and the predominately Christian Ibo (or Igbo) centred on the south-east are the largest ethnic groups. Yet no single tribe encompasses a majority of the population. The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "there is no federal policy of

discrimination against any of Nigeria's ethnic groups and legislation is designed not to favour one group over another. This is largely respected provided that a group does not pursue secessionist demands. An alleged dominance in the military and government is occasionally levelled at Hausa-Fulanis, with the converse claim that other ethnic groups are discriminated against. Ibos formed the Biafran rebels during the 1967 to 1970 civil war, but are prominent in the professions and commerce. Ibos have also been prominent in politics, and do not encounter government repression". [3a] (p22 & 33)

**6.45** The Tiv, who are a minority in Nasarawa, fled in large numbers to neighbouring Benue State where they form the majority. Local newspapers citing Red Cross sources said more than 40,000 displaced Tivs were camped in and around the Benue capital, Makurdi. Many others sought refuge further north in Plateau State. The fighting quickly spread from Nasarawa to nearby Taraba State, where the Tiv, once again in the minority, were attacked around the town of Wukari by the Fulani and the Kutebs, with whom they had also had violent clashes in recent years. The Nigerian police acted quickly to contain this violence, and have been even handed in their approach. However, those who were displaced have faced healthcare and supply problems. [74]

6.46 Around 23,000 Fulani herders from Nigeria's eastern Taraba State fled to Cameroon after clashes with farming communities at the beginning of 2002. The Miyetti Alla Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN) claimed that 23,647 nomads had fled, and blamed the local authorities for not acting to protect them. Officials of the Sarduana local government, the council in the area of Taraba where the violence occurred, disputes the claims of MACBAN and accuse the Fulanis of inviting "mercenaries" from neighbouring countries who launched attacks on farming communities. The local government also accuses the herders of attempting to drive other groups off the land, and monopolising it. Clashes between pastoral and farming communities revolving around disputes over grazing land have become frequent in various parts of Nigeria's central and northern regions in recent years. Some analysts have blamed the clashes on the spread of desert conditions further north, which has been pushing herders south in search of fresh pasture, often putting them in conflict with farming communities. These clashes are part of a pattern of violent conflicts between so-called settlers and indigenous people, that have plagued the north and centre of Nigeria in recent years. [76] In March 2003 there were further clashes in both Plateau and Adamawa States between Fulani cattle-herders and local tribes, which has resulted in a number of deaths. man

**6.47** The Nigerian authorities have generally acted rapidly to curb violence between ethnic groups, and in such conflicts have generally been even handed, trying to restore order and mediate between the groups in conflict. There have recently been talks between the Federal Government and local groups, in an attempt to secure peace in the troubled Plateau State, but these remain at a very early stage. [77]

## O'odua People's Congress (OPC)

**6.48** The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "the present Nigerian government has taken action against groups thought to be pursuing an agenda of independence for their particular ethnic group. The O'odua People's Congress (OPC) is a Yoruba group, led by Dr Frederick Fasheun. The OPC is

widely believed to advocate an independent Yoruba State; although Dr Fasheun has denied this. In Lagos State, the OPC clashed repeatedly with the police during 2002, over their protection of Yoruba neighbourhoods, and other political issues. The OPC continued to function as a vigilante anti-crime force. During 2001, there were fewer OPC vigilante killings than in previous years; however, on 16 August 2001, the OPC reportedly beheaded four suspected robbers and set their bodies on fire in Lagos State. The OPC also reportedly crucified a man in the Surelere district of Lagos. In 2000 the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights reported that 302 OPC members were arrested following clashes with the police in Lagos. Of those detainees, 95 were released in 2000. The remaining detainees were not able to obtain legal representation and either could not make bail or were not eligible for bail due to the charges brought against them". [3b] (p33)

- 6.49 The OPC has split into two factions, one under the leadership of Dr Frederick Fasheun and the other under the leadership Mr Ganiyu Adams, and these factions clashed in January 2000, resulting in at least 6 deaths. In another incident in January 2000 a senior police officer in Lagos was kidnapped and killed by OPC members attempting to free a member accused of robbery. This incident resulted in a crackdown by the police in which 100 people were killed, and over 200 OPC members were detained on criminal charges. [158]
- **6.50** The Adams faction has been identified as being involved in most of this criminal activity, and has also acted as a vigilante organisation in Lagos. [153] The, Nigerian government has set up an ad hoc Senate committee to investigate both factions of the OPC, and present proposals as to how this organisation should be dealt with in the future. [158]
- **6.51** The OPC appears to be generally able to pursue its political objective without interference from the authorities. However, if any of its members are involved in violence, the authorities have acted to curb this violence, and bring those suspected of responsibility to trial. An example of the OPC freedom to operate is that Dr Fasheun is taking action against the Nigerian authorities over President Obasanjo's actions regarding the OPC, especially his directive that its members should be shot on sight. However, OPC members have been detained, where at all possible, but only when suspected of committing a crime. [169]
- **6.52** The OPC continues to be involved in clashes with the police, and contributes to the difficulties in law enforcement in and around Lagos. [170] In August 2001, Ganiyu Adams was arrested, and has denied 23 charges against him, which included murder, robbery and illegal possession of arms. The case has since been adjourned. He had been on the run for 20 months, after police declared him wanted in November 1999, following the clashes, allegedly spearheaded by his group, between Yorubas and Hausas in Lagos. [171] During this period he was able to hold rallies in several south-western towns in a show of defiance and impunity. His faction of the OPC has stated that it will halt all vigilante activities. [172]
- **6.53** Following a fire and explosion on 27 January 2002 there was wide spread rioting in Lagos. There have been accusations that elements of the OPC were involved in the unrest. Shops were looted, people robbed and Hausas were attacked; thousands

seeking safety in military barracks in the city. There were many injured, and a number of people were killed. A curfew was imposed to restore order, and army units were deployed in Lagos. [20]

**6.54** Members of the Oodua People's Congress (OPC) continued to be arrested and detained without trial in 2003 according to the US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria. Although relations with police were markedly improved and OPC operated freely, they reported that 30 to 50 members were placed in custody during the year. Others were charged as armed robbers and tried accordingly. [3a](p13)

## Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB)

**6.55** MASSOB is a mostly Ibo (or Igbo) group who advocate greater autonomy for the south-east of Nigeria, where most of the Ibo population live. MASSOB appears to be generally able to pursue some of its political objectives without interference from the authorities. [90] However, the authorities have acted against members of MASSOB involved in politically motivated criminal activity. [91]

6.56 In light of the civil war in the south-east in the late 1960's and early 1970's, which sought to create a Biafran State, the Nigerian authorities are sensitive to any assertions of nationalism within the south-east of the country. As MASSOB is associated with a separatist agenda, by supporting a Biafran State, its members have faced some harassment from the security services, especially at meetings and protests. However, some of their activities have also been provocative, such as the raising of the Biafran flag and chanting pro-Biafran songs. [94] MASSOB activists continue to be targeted by police, and in March 2003 at least seven were killed at a political rally in Imo State. The police claim that they were attacked, but MASSOB has denied this saying the police's actions were unprovoked. [195]

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### The Ogoni

6.57 Many of the minority tribes of the Niger Delta have in recent years expressed their discontent over their local environmental, economic and social infrastructure problems. Much of the ethnic unrest has centred on Ogoniland, a densely populated area of approximately 400 square miles in Rivers State on the Niger Delta. [132] The Ogonis have been involved in occasionally violent disputes with other local minority groups. This situation was heightened by demands from the Ogoni political movement founded in 1990, the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP). In particular MOSOP has campaigned for political autonomy and a greater share of oil revenue in compensation for the environmental degradation allegedly caused by on-shore oil production in Ogoniland. [566] Although MOSOP initially appeared to command strong support among the Ogoni it was clear by 1993 that some of its leaders were more disposed to compromise with the federal Military Government and the authorities of Rivers State than others. The renowned author Kenule ("Ken") Saro-Wiwa led the MOSOP demands became more uncompromising from 1993 opposing faction. onwards under his leadership. [56a] There is some evidence that some MOSOP activists

and particularly those of its youth wing the National Youth Council of Ogoni People (NYCOP) resorted to intimidation of their fellow Ogonis. In April 1994, spurred by this escalation in unrest, the Abacha Government deployed an "Internal Security Unit" inside Ogoniland comprised of large numbers of police and military. [566]

6.58 On 21 May 1994 a meeting was held at the Palace of Gbenemene of Gokana (a traditional ruler) in Giokoo. A number of Saro-Wiwa's opponents attended. The meeting was attacked by a large mob and four chiefs were killed. In the days and weeks after the killings, the security forces arrested a large number of people. Among those arrested in late May were Saro-Wiwa, Ledum Mitee and Dr Kiobel. Fifteen members of the Ogoni ethnic minority were brought to trial before the Ogoni Civil Disturbance Special Tribunal for their alleged roles in the killings of the four Ogoni chiefs. On 31 October 1995, the Tribunal announced guilty verdicts and death sentences for Saro-Wiwa and eight other activists, and all nine were executed on 10 November 1995. [56a]

6.59 MOSOP and NYCOP activists were subjected to harassment and persecution by the Nigerian authorities during the Abacha regime. After General Abubakar became head of state in June 1998 the situation in Ogoniland improved. General Abubakar withdrew the Internal Security Task Force from Ogoniland in the Rivers State of the Niger Delta. Free movement is now possible after years of restriction on travel in the area. Many Ogoni exiles have been able to return, and MOSOP have been able to hold rallies once again. The oil company, Shell, was driven from Ogoniland in 1993 after MOSOP activists sabotaged installations demanding compensation for pollution. MOSOP says Shell must meet their demands before they will permit its return. General Abubakar promised reform of a commission that was set up to develop oil-producing areas but which local people believe has been ineffectual. ISBI

6.60 On 14 August 1999 it was reported that Ogoni leaders and MOSOP had attended a meeting with Royal Dutch Shell (RDS), the company that was forced out of the Ogoni region in 1993. This meeting was seen as a sign that both the Ogonis and RDS wished to reach an accommodation regarding the future development of the region. RDS has said that it will only return to the region with local approval, and in the interim has offered to sponsor development projects. [133] President Obasanjo has attempted to deal with some of the underlying problems in Niger Delta region, and on 12 July 1999 he presented a Bill to the National Assembly proposing to set up a development fund for the region together with a Commission to oversee development. [102] The oil companies operating in the region would contribute to this fund. This was rejected by MOSOP on 4 August 1999, after a meeting at Bori in Ogoniland. The proposals, in their opinion, would make the situation worse, and they believe that the proposed Commission would be a tool of the central government and not act in the interest of local people. [134]

6.61 Amnesty International has accused the police of using this violence as a means of harassing and detaining Ogoni activists. [137] In May 2000 Nwibari Obani claimed leadership of a rival faction of MOSOP. Ledum Mitee has challenged the legitimacy of Obani's election. In July 2000 MOSOP reiterated its opposition to RDS operating in the region, and accused it of attempting to re-start operations clandestinely, without addressing the concerns of the local people or paying compensation. [140]

- **6.62** In February 2001, following the Oputa Panel hearings in Port Harcourt, the relatives of the 4 chiefs killed in 1994 signed an agreement with MOSOP, pledging themselves to the organisation. During the hearings, MOSOP and Shell also agreed to hold further talks. [141]
- **6.63** No new Ogoni refugees arrived in Benin during 2003, which has a population of approximately 235 Ogoni refugees. The UNHCR stated that there was "violence, insecurity, and a discrepancy in sharing resources, but it is not directed at the Ogoni", and it is safe for the Ogoni to return. [3a] (p24)

### The Niger Delta

- **6.64** Nigeria produces two million barrels of oil per day and is the world's eighth largest oil exporter. The US \$18 billion earned from oil shipments each year accounts for more than 95 percent of the country's foreign exchange earnings. [200]
- **6.65** But the oil rich Niger Delta is riven by tribal wars and bitter conflicts between the local people and government in the distant capital Abuja. There is also deep-seated resentment against the foreign oil companies. They are accused of filling the government coffers with petro-dollars and repatriating fat profits to their shareholders while leaving the inhabitants of the delta in miserable poverty. [200]
- 6.66 Warri was previously a small town where people from all over Nigeria lived together peacefully until oil was discovered nearby in the 1950s. It was only two decades later that ethnic conflicts by rival tribes seeking to corner the benefits of the oil boom emerged. [200]
- **6.67** The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "the situation in the Niger Delta in recent years has become increasingly volatile. Disaffected youths were involved in taking oil workers hostage and sabotaging pipelines; they have accused the oil companies of indifference to their economic plight and demanded compensation from the oil companies for the environmental impact of their operations. The Security Forces operating in the Delta have been accused of using excessive, and sometime lethal, force on many occasions". [3a1 (p3)]
- **6.68** This illicit trade in stolen oil is believed to be the source of funds for guns which are now awash in the Niger Delta, said Colonel Ganiyu Adewale, the defence ministry spokesman. [201]
- **6.69** For centuries the peoples of the area, the Ijaws, the Itsekiris and the Urhobos lived in relative harmony in the western delta, intermarrying with one another. But the Itsekiris made early contact with Portuguese traders in the 16th century and many acquired a Western education. That gave them a head-start against other ethnic groups in gaining influence with the British colonial administrators, who ruled Nigeria from the 19th century until independence in 1960. [200]
- **6.70** The situation took a turn for the worse in 1996 following a dispute over the location of a nearby local council headquarters near Warri. This was first sited in an Ijaw area and was later relocated to an Itsekiri community. [200]

- 6.71 The ljaws saw an opportunity to bring government and amenities such as schools and health centres closer to home "slipping through their fingers" and resisted the move. The two sides engaged in battles that spilled over into Warri itself. Hundreds died in the fighting, [200]
- 6.72 Throughout early 2003 there were clashes between Ijaws, Urhobos and Itsekiris in Warri area. The dispute was ostensibly over electoral boundaries, and hence political representation in the region, after the forthcoming elections. But underlying this is the issue of access to the region's oil wealth. The army and Nigerian naval force have been deployed to the area, but have been accused of being heavy handed in their approach to this conflict. This violence has also resulted in oil production being disrupted, as oil companies have suspended production and evacuated their staff from the areas where clashes have occurred. [193]
- 6.73 Fighting between Ijaws and Itsekiris in March 2003 left at least 100 people dead and forced oil companies operating in the swamps of the Niger Delta to shut down facilities that produce 40 percent of Nigeria's oil exports. [201]
- 6.74 At the heart of the violence are claims and counter-claims to the ownership of oil-rich land in a region whose inhabitants are still mostly poor. Ijaws accuse Obasanjo's government of favouring the Itsekiris, giving them the best of government patronage and most of the few amenities given to the impoverished region. [201] The individuals and communities who control the land mop up the many benefits that can be extracted from the oil companies whose wells have been drilled there. [200]
- **6.75** These include rent and compensation payments, access to jobs, a quota of which are reserved for local people and the provision of social amenities such as clean drinking water, schools and health centres. Such benefits in an environment of widespread poverty and mass unemployment are considered well worth fighting over.
- **6.76** Rival local communities frequently fight each other over their claims to oil-rich land and sometimes they disrupt the operations of the oil companies themselves to back demands for greater benefits. [200]
- **6.77** Tension has floated close to the surface in Warri for the past decade, but disputes over the demarcation of electoral boundaries fuelled a new outbreak of fighting in the run-up to general elections in April. [200]
- **6.78** The Ijaw, the largest tribe in the Niger delta, numbering an estimated five to eight million people, accused the smaller but influential Itsekiri tribe of rigging the boundaries of electoral wards, in connivance with the government of President Olusegun Obasanjo, to win undue political advantage. [200]
- **6.79** Fighting first erupted between the Urhobo, a small delta tribe, and the Itsekiri in February. This resulted in the death of more than two dozen people. Over 5,000 more were made homeless after their houses were burned in the ethnic clashes. [200]
- **6.80** After the Ijaws joined forces with the Urhobo against the Itsekiri during March and April, the death toll topped 100, more villages were set alight and thousands more

people were forced to abandon their homes. [200]

- **6.81** Ijaw militants declared a boycott of the presidential, parliamentary and state assembly elections in April and set out to disrupt them through a campaign of violence. They were only prevented from carrying the fight into Warri itself by the heavy deployment of troops. [200]
- **6.82** The ljaw, who are mostly fishermen, are to be found throughout the 70,000 square kilometre Niger delta, wherever there is water. Many live in deep poverty in remote villages where they lack access to the most basic government services. Consequently they have suffered the worst effects of oil operations. Their waterways and fishing grounds have been polluted by oil spills, which have disrupted their traditional way of life, and they have received little in exchange. [200]
- **6.83** Young, educated ljaw youths complain that the oil companies are employing not enough ljaws. They accuse the companies of hiring people from other smaller, but more influential ethnic groups, such as the Itsekiri. [200]
- **6.84** This new and dissatisfied generation provides the brains for groups such as the Federated Niger Delta Ijaw Communities (FNDIC) and the Ijaw Youths Council. Both have been at the forefront of demands for greater Ijaw control of oil resources. [200]
- **6.85** However, the Ijaws are not the only ones to complain. Other ethnic groups in the delta, such as the 500,000-strong Ogoni, have voiced similar complaints about the oil companies. [200]
- **6.86** Amid this confusion, and abetted by the notorious inefficiency of the state-owned Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), oil industry experts reckon that well organised gangs of thieves siphon off up to 200,000 barrels of oil per day to sell on the black market. Some of the proceeds from this racket are used to flood the delta with guns that are making its complex web of conflicts even more deadly. [200]
- **6.87** The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "the disruption of oil production and kidnapping of employees of oil companies has continued in the region; most of those kidnapped are released unharmed after a short period of time. Oil pipelines have also been vandalised, either by local people or by criminals intent on stealing oil. These incidents have resulted in a number of explosions and fires, which have killed or injured many local people. The Nigerian government is attempting to address this problem and has expressed its intention to deploy security forces to protect pipelines". [3a] (p3)[104]
- **6.88** On 23 June more than 40 unidentified gunmen boarded a tugboat in a creek near Warri and took hostage a German and two Filipinos who were working for an oil service company contracted to Shell, Nigeria's biggest oil producer. The kidnappers sent a ransom note demanding 25 million naira the equivalent of nearly US \$200,000 for the hostages' release. [200]
- **6.89** The following day in the eastern Niger delta, near the oil industry capital Port Harcourt, an armed gang which was siphoning off crude oil from a pipeline engaged

navy troops in a 40-minute firefight before fleeing. [200]

- 6.90 Tapping into pipelines to steal oil has become a common practice in the delta. On June 24, more than 125 were burned to death when a leaking pipeline ignited after fuel thieves had bored into it. Those who died, and more than 200 people, who were injured in the conflagration, were all trying to scoop up leaking petrol. [200]
- **6.91** Earlier, in April, saboteurs used explosives to blow up a major pipeline transporting crude oil from the Escravos crude oil terminal of ChevronTexaco to refineries in Warri and the northern city of Kaduna. Both refineries have remained shut since then, aggravating Nigeria's chronic fuel shortage and creating lucrative opportunities for black market suppliers. [200]
- **6.92** In May the main pipeline supplying gas from Escravos to Nigeria's biggest power station, near Lagos, was similarly blasted. This act of sabotage reduced the country's electricity generation capacity by a quarter. [200]
- **6.93** No one has claimed responsibility for any of these incidents, but nearly all occurred in areas close to Ijaw communities. The Nigerian navy has, not surprisingly, accused armed Ijaw militants of being responsible for the attacks. [200]
- **6.94** Shell estimates some 200,000 barrels of oil per day about 10 percent of Nigeria's total output is lost through the sabotage of pipelines. It reckons that about half this volume is stolen by powerful and well-organised gangs with high level connections. [200]
- **6.95** More than 19 vessels believed to have been used in the illegal business known locally as "bunkering" have been seized by the navy this year. Military sources said this trade had financed the purchase of guns, which are now awash in the region. [200]
- **6.96** The FNDIC, the only militant Ijaw group in the western delta with a public face, denies any involvement in the blasting of pipelines and the theft of oil, but its leaders decline to discuss the source of their weapons. [200]
- 6.97 One outbreak of violence involved a three-sided firefight between government troops and Ijaw and Itsekiri militants and briefly shut down 40 percent of Nigeria's oil production as oil companies pulled key staff out of the area. Following their withdrawal, Ijaw gunmen attacked oil facilities belonging to Shell and TotalfinaElf, killing several soldiers and civilian guards who had been posted to protect them. [200]
- **6.98** Following the attacks of 2003, the government deployed troop reinforcements both within Warri and at key oil facilities in the outlying swamps. The city is dotted with checkpoints where soldiers, navy marines and police search vehicles and pedestrians for arms. [200]
- 6.99 Following the violence associated with the 2003 General Election, Obasanjo set up a special presidential committee to find a permanent solution to the increasingly violent disputes in the delta. It is headed by a former defence minister, retired General Theophilus Danjuma and includes members from the rival ethnic groups. [200]

#### Women

**6.100** The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "...there are no legal impediments to political participation or voting by women. Men continued to dominate the political arena. NGO's continue to protest about the under representation of women in the political process. In President Obasanjo's first cabinet, 6 women were appointed. There were 3 women among the Senate's 109 members, and only 12 women were elected to the 360 member House of Representatives. Women's rights groups pushed local, state, and the Federal Government to adopt a 30 percent affirmative action program; however, these efforts were unsuccessful". [3a] (p31)

**6.101** "Women are not barred from seeking redress through the courts, although the expense precludes many. There are no legal provisions barring women from testifying in a civil court of law. However the testimony of women is given less weight in a Muslim Shari'a court" states the report. [3a] (30-31)

**6.102** The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "There are no legal impediments relating to either female employment or political participation, although women frequently have to encounter prejudice in male dominated fields such as law and politics. While some women have made considerable individual progress, both in the academic and business world, women remain underprivileged. Women are not barred legally from owning land, but under some customary land tenure systems only men can own land, and women can gain access to land only through marriage or family. In addition many customary practices do not recognise a woman's right to inherit her husband's property, and many widows are rendered destitute when their in-laws take virtually all of the deceased husband's property. Widows are subjected to unfavourable conditions as a result of discriminatory traditional customs and economic deprivation. "Confinement" is the most common rite of deprivation to which widows are subjected; this practice occurs predominately in eastern Nigeria". [3a] (p31)

**6.103** Reports of abuse are common, especially wife beating. The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "the police normally do not intervene in domestic disputes, which seldom are discussed publicly. The Penal Code permits husbands to use physical means to chastise their wives as long as it does not result in "grievous harm," which is defined as loss of sight, hearing, power of speech, facial disfigurement, or life threatening injuries. Women's rights group has estimated that spousal abuse occurs in 20percent of relationships. In more traditional areas of the country, courts and police are reluctant to intervene to protect women who accuse their husbands formally if the level of alleged abuse does not exceed customary norms in the areas. Rape and sexual harassment continue to be problems. Prostitution is rampant, particularly in urban areas". [3a] (p30)

**6.104** A number of states, including most northern states that have begun the enforcement of Shari'a law, have begun to enforce existing laws or to introduce new laws to combat prostitution. [3a] (p31)

**6.105** A growing problem is the cross border trafficking of Nigerian women for the purpose of forced prostitution in Europe. Mrs Titi Abubakar, wife of the Vice-President Atiku Abubakar, has set up the Women-trafficking and Child Labour Eradication Foundation (WOTCLEF). This organisation intends to combat this trade and help rehabilitate victims of this traffic who have been deported back to Nigeria, by providing vocational training, and financial assistance to set up businesses at the end of this training. The Nigerian authorities are aware of this exploitation and are attempting to stop this trade; they are also seeking international assistance to address this problem.

**6.106** Large numbers of women and young girls have migrated to Europe in response to job offers as domestic workers or waitresses. Upon arrival, many were forced into prostitution in order to pay off debts, but it appears that some are aware that this was the purpose for them being trafficked. In addition, there is evidence that Nigerian crime syndicates may use debts, threats of beatings and rape, physical injury to the victim's family, arrest, and deportation to persuade those forced into sex work from attempting to escape. The Government deplores this trade, and is looking at ways to prevent it.

6.107 The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "the Nigerian police attempts to stem the trafficking of persons include extended jail sentences and public humiliation; however, such actions focused primarily on victims, and traffickers have not been punished. Awareness campaigns, often conducted by NGO's and others, have only recently begun to generate widespread attention". [3a] (p30-31) President Obasanjo has set up a committee to address this problem, to receive those who are victims of this abuse, and provide rehabilitation and assistance. The Nigerian authorities are taking this abuse seriously, and are attempting to arrest those who organise and profit from it. [131]

#### Female Genital Mutilation (FGM)

**6.108** The government publicly opposes female genital mutilation (FGM). The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "the Ministry of Health and non-governmental organisations has sponsored public awareness and education projects informing communities of the health hazards associated with FGM. FGM is a traditional practice within local communities, and consequently it has proved difficult for federal government to effectively confront. Communities from all of Nigeria's major ethnic groups and religions practise FGM, although adherence is neither universal nor nation-wide". [3a] (p30-31)

**6.109** The age at which women and girls are subjected to FGM varies from the first week after birth, until after a woman delivers her first child. The Ministry of Health, women's groups, and many NGO's sponsored public awareness projects to educate communities about the health hazards of FGM, and the media has repeatedly criticised its practice. [3a] (p30-31)

**6.110** The Nigerian Government does not approve of FGM, but there are no federal laws banning it, and the authorities have taken no legal action to curb it according to the

US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria. As this is viewed by some communities as a long-standing tradition, the government may have difficulty in discouraging FGM, while being seen to respect the traditions of the groups involved. Anti-FGM groups, because of the inability to take action at the federal level, are attempting to challenge FGM at the state and local government area (LGA) level. Edo State banned FGM in October 2000. Ogun, Cross River, Osun, Rivers, and Bayelsa states also banned FGM. However, the punishments imposed are minimal; in Edo State the punishment is a 1,000 Naira fine and 6 months imprisonment. Once a state legislature criminalises FGM, NGO's have found that they must convince the LGA authorities that state laws are applicable in their districts. [32] (p30-31) [178]

6.111 The Women's Centre for Peace and Development (WOPED) estimated that at least 50percent of women are mutilated. Studies conducted by the United Nations and the World Health Organisation estimated the FGM rate at approximately 60percent among the nation's female population. However, according to local experts, the actual prevalence may be as high as 100percent in some ethnic enclaves in the south. While practised in all parts of the country, FGM is more predominant in southern and eastern areas. Women from northern states are less likely to be mutilated; however, those affected are more likely to undergo the severe type of FGM known as infibulation. [3a] (p30-31)

**6.112** WOPED believes that the practice is perpetuated because of a cultural belief that uncircumcised women are promiscuous, unclean, unsuitable for marriage, physically undesirable, or potential health risks to themselves and their children, especially during childbirth. The Government and NGOs have worked to eradicate the practice and to train health care workers on the medical effects of FGM; however, contact with health care workers remains limited. Nevertheless, most observers agree that the number of women and girls who are subjected to FGM is declining. [3a] (p30-31)

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### Children

6.113 Cases of child abuse, abandoned infants, child prostitution, and physically harmful child labour practices remain common throughout the country. The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "the Government only occasionally criticises child abuse and neglect, and it has made little effort to stop customary practices harmful to children. It is reported that poor families sell their daughters into marriage as a means of supplementing their income. Young girls are often forced into marriage as soon as they reach puberty, regardless of age, in order to prevent the "indecency" associated with premarital sex". [3a] (p32)

6.114 UNICEF has welcomed a stated intention of the Nigerian House of Representatives to look again at a Child's Rights Bill. This will incorporate the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child into domestic law. The Bill had failed in October 2002, despite Government support, because of objections in some quarters to raising the minimum marriage age to 18. [179] The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "private and government initiatives to stem the growing incidence of child employment continue but have not been effective.

UNICEF operated a programme that sought to remove young girls from the streets where they hawked petty goods and relocate them to an informal educational setting. UNICEF reported that despite the narrow focus on young girls, the programme only began to address the problem during 2001. In conjunction with the ILO, the Government formulated a national programme of action in support of child rights, survival, protection, development, and participation. In August a formal agreement between the ILO and the Labour Ministry established the programme; however, it has yet to show results due to logistical problems and changing personnel in the Ministry". [3a] (p32)

**6.115** The treatment of children detained for a crime was criticised, following the arrest and ill treatment of a 4 year old boy while in detention in Lagos. The US State Department report on Human Rights and Practices in Nigeria states that "the provisions for children in detention remain poor and they are often detained with adults. The introduction of Shari'a law in some States has also affected children convicted of crimes, as under this law code the age of criminal responsibility, in some cases, is less than 18 years old". Children convicted under Shari'a law have already been subjected to corporal punishments. [3a] (p32)

### **Child Care Arrangements**

**6.116** There appears to be little central Government provision for orphanages in Nigeria. The Government is active in dealing with some childcare related issues, and appears to register orphanages, but a lack of funding appears to prevent it doing more to address this issue. In major towns and cities there appear to be orphanages run by charities, some of these are connected to religious groups. [186]

#### Homosexuals

- **6.117** Nigerian law prohibits male homosexual conduct, and homosexuals can be subject to prosecution. The penalty for convicted homosexual behaviour varies from 3 months to 14 years imprisonment or a fine and/or corporal punishment. [82a]
- 6.118 Homosexual males in Nigeria are likely to face discrimination and occasional violence if they are overt about their sexual orientation, but not on an organised or systematic scale. Society is not openly hostile but homosexuals can be subject to ridicule. There are some areas in Nigeria where it is possible to live openly as a homosexual such as in a large city like Lagos. There have been instances of homosexuals being subjected to violence, but they usually keep themselves to themselves and are usually left alone. [82b]
- **6.119** In February 2002, the Shari'a code in Gusau, Zamfara State, was used to sentence a man to one hundred strokes of the cane and one year imprisonment for sodomy. The Shari'a code, as applied in some Nigerian states, has specifically proscribed homosexuality, both male and female. It is possible that these laws will be strictly applied, as other laws governing personal conduct are being enforced in states with a Shari'a code. [84]

## 6C. Human Rights - Other Issues

## The Ogboni

- 6.120 There are many cults in Nigeria. Probably the best known is the Ogboni. The Ogboni are a secret society of the Yoruba tribe, and it is therefore hard to obtain reliable information about them. [85][86] As a secret society it has been banned in Nigeria, and its power curtailed. However this ban is hard to enforce, and it is still active and alleged to be involved in satanic practices. [86][87]
- **6.121** The title Ogboni is only conferred on the elders, i.e. senior members of the society. These are usually men but women, usually six in number, were traditionally included to represent the interests of women in the community. Membership of the society is usually, but not always, passed through patrilineal descent. [85][86]
- 6.122 The Ogboni traditionally played a significant role in Yoruba religion and society, and were involved in the installation of new Kings. Historically an Ogboni could be said to have combined the powers of a local magistrate, with those of a member of the local government and a religious leader. [85][86]
- 6.123 The Ogboni engaged in animal sacrifice. There is no firm evidence to suggest that they engaged in human sacrifice. However, in the event that a King abused his power they could compel him to commit suicide. They could also impose sanctions against other members of the community if they believed that these were justified. The Ogboni are reputed to threaten its members with death should they break their oath of secrecy regarding its rituals and beliefs. It is still regarded as being a powerful organisation throughout Nigeria. [87]
- 6.124 The Ogboni is believed to be a purely Yoruba cult, but there are a number of Yoruba sub tribes who also may be involved. [85]

### The Reformed Ogboni Fraternity (ROF)

- **6.125** The ROF was founded in 1914, and is not a religious organisation, although the members believe in God. The ROF is not a secret organisation, it is not banned, and is open to men and women regardless of race, colour, creed, religion, or political opinion. [89]
- 6.126 The ROF is an indigenous African organisation that promotes African culture, advocates charitable and good works, believes in the brotherhood of man and self-improvement. It disassociates itself from cults, specifically the Ogboni, and does not participate in politics. However, it should be noted that members of the ROF can also be Ogboni, due to their position within Yoruba society, as was the case with the late leader Sir Adetokunbo Ademola, which may imply that the reputation of the Ogboni as a sinister cult has been exaggerated. [88][89]

# **ANNEX A: Chronology of Events**

- **1861-1914** Britain consolidates its hold over what it calls the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria, governs by "indirect rule" through local leaders.
- **1922** Part of former German colony Kamerun is added to Nigeria under League of Nations mandate.
- **1960** Independence, with Prime Minister Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa leading a coalition government.
- 1962-63 Controversial census fuels regional and ethnic tensions.
- **1966** January Balewa killed in coup. Major-General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi heads up military administration.
- 1966 July Ironsi killed in counter-coup, replaced by Lieutenant-Colonel Yakubu Gowon.
- 1967 Three eastern states secede as the Republic of Biafra, sparking bloody civil war.
- 1970 Biafran leaders surrender, former Biafran regions reintegrated into country.
- **1975** Gowon overthrown, flees to Britain, replaced by Brigadier Murtala Ramat Mohammed, who begins process of moving federal capital to Abuja.
- **1976** Mohammed assassinated in coup attempt. Replaced by Lieutenant-General Olusegun Obasanjo, who helps introduce American-style presidential constitution.
- 1979 Elections bring Alhaji Shehu Shagari to power.
- **1983** January The government expels more than one million foreigners, mostly Ghanaians, saying they had overstayed their visas and were taking jobs from Nigerians. The move is condemned abroad but proves popular in Nigeria.
- 1983 August, September Shagari re-elected amid accusations of irregularities.
- 1983 December Major-General Muhammad Buhari seizes power in bloodless coup.
- 1985 Ibrahim Babangida seizes power in bloodless coup, curtails political activity.
- **1993** June Military annuls elections when preliminary results show victory by Chief Moshood Abiola.
- 1993 August Power transferred to Interim National Government.
- 1993 November General Sani Abacha seizes power, suppresses opposition.
- 1994 Abiola arrested after proclaiming himself president.
- **1995** Ken Saro-Wiwa, writer and campaigner against oil industry damage to his Ogoni homeland, is executed following a hasty trial. In protest, European Union imposes sanctions until 1998, Commonwealth suspends Nigeria's membership until 1998.

- 1998 Abacha dies, succeeded by Major-General Abdulsalami Abubakar. Chief Abiola dies in custody a month later.
- **1999** Parliamentary and presidential elections. Olusegun Obasanjo sworn in as president.
- **2000** Adoption of Islamic, or Sharia, law by several northern states in the face of opposition from Christians. Tension over the issue results in hundreds of deaths in clashes between Christians and Muslims.
- **2001** Tribal war in Benue state, in eastern-central Nigeria, displaces thousands of people.

Safiya Husseini, acquitted after death sentence for adultery

In October, army soldiers sent to quash the fighting kill more than 200 unarmed civilians, apparently in retaliation for the abduction and murder of 19 soldiers.

**2001** October - Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo, South African President Thabo Mbeki and Algerian President Bouteflika launch New Partnership for African Development, or Nepad, which aims to boost development, encourage open government and end wars in return for aid, foreign investment and a lifting of trade barriers which impede African exports.

2002 January - Blast at munitions dump in Lagos kills more than 1,000.

**2002** February - Some 100 people are killed in Lagos during bloody clashes between Hausas from the mainly-Islamic north and ethnic Yorubas from the predominantly-Christian southwest. Thousands flee their homes. The oity's governor suggests retired army officials stoked the violence in an attempt to restore military rule.

**2002** March - An appeals court reverses a death sentence handed down to a woman found guilty of adultery. An Islamic court in the north had ordered that the woman be stoned to death, but the sentence provoked an international outcry including a plea for clemency from the EU.

**2002** October - International Court of Justice awards the disputed Bakassi peninsula to Cameroon, but Nigeria is adamant that it will defend its right to the valuable land mass.

**2002** November - More than 200 people die in four days of rioting stoked by Muslim fury over controversy surrounding the planned Miss World beauty pageant in Kaduna in December. The event is relocated to Britain.

**2003** 12 April - First legislative elections since end of military rule in 1999. Polling marked by delays, allegations of ballot-rigging. President Obasanjo's People's Democratic Party wins parliamentary majority.

**2003** 19 April - First civilian-run presidential elections since end of military rule. Olusegun Obasanjo elected for second term with more than 60percent of vote. Opposition parties reject result. EU observers say polling marred by "serious irregularities".

2003 July - Nationwide general strike called off after nine days after government agrees to lower recently-increased fuel prices.

**2003** August - Nigeria says it will not hand over Bakassi peninsula - awarded to Cameroon in 2002 - for at least three years.

Violence between Ijaw and Itsekiri people in Delta town of Warri kills about 100 people, injures 1,000.

**2003** September - An Islamic appeals court in the northern state of Katsina acquits a woman who had been sentenced to death by stoning for alleged adultery. Amina Lawal's case had attracted international concern from human rights campaigners.

2003 September - Nigeria's first satellite, NigeriaSat-1, launched by Russian rocket.

**2004** January - UN-brokers talks between Nigeria and Cameroon about disputed border: Both sides agree to start joint security patrols.

**2004** March - Spate of high-profile political killings and attacks by armed bandits in runup to local elections.

**2004** March - Suspected coup attempt. President Olusegun Obasanjo's government announced on 2 April 2004 that security agencies were investigating several Nigerian army officers and civilians in connection with "serious security breaches". The government has so far refused to call it a coup plot.

## **ANNEX B: Political Organisations**

The main Nigerian political organisations are as follows.

Social Democratic Party (SDP) and National Republican Convention (NRC)
The SDP and NRC were created by the Babangida regime in October 1989 following the lifting of the ban on political parties in May 1989. In March 1993 following the National party congresses Chief Moshood Abiola was selected to stand in the presidential elections which took place on 12 June 1993. Initial results indicated that Abiola had won the majority of the vote, however on 23 June the results of the election were declared invalid which led to unrest. General Abacha, the newly installed military ruler, dissolved all democratically elected institutions and banned both parties in November 1993. Abiola declared himself President in a symbolic ceremony on 11 June 1994 and was arrested on 23 June 1994 on charges of treason. He died in prison in July 1998 whilst still awaiting trial, and just when it was widely believed that he was about to be released.

### Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP)

MOSOP was formed in 1990 and has campaigned for political autonomy and a greater share of the oil revenue derived from their land. It has its origins in the Ogoni Bill of Rights produced in 1990. Ken Saro Wiwa led MOSOP since 1993 however he was arrested in 1994 for his involvement in the murder of 4 Ogoni chiefs. On 10 November 1995 he and 8 others were executed following a highly criticised trial. Its leader Ledum Mitee, acquitted at the trial in which Saro Wiwa was convicted is leader of MOSOP.

### **National Conscience Party (NCP)**

Although a named party this organisation is unregistered, its leader is Gani Fawehinmi.

### Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC)

A body made up of an affiliation of trade unions. Taken over in August 1995 by the Abacha regime. Handed back to the Nigerian unions in September 1998 by the Abubakar regime.

Three registered parties were able to contest the 1999 election: -

### All People's Party (APP)

Leader Alhaji Yusuf Garbah Ali, founded 1998. In the 1999 elections it won 23 seats.

### Alliance for Democracy (AD)

Leader Alhaji Adamu Ahmed Abdulkadir, founded in late 1998. In the 1999 elections it won 19 seats.

## People's Democratic Party (PDP)

Chair Audu Ogbeh, founded August 1998. The PDP candidate Olusegum Obasanjo won the presidential election with 62percent of the vote. In the 1999 elections it won 66 seats.

NB: The AD and the APP contested the 1999 elections in coalition. Chief Olu Falae, the joint AD and APP Presidential candidate, gained 37percent of the vote.

## **ANNEX C: Prominent People**

**General Sani Abacha -** army chief of staff in Babangida's regime. Took power on 17 November 1993. Died 8 June 1998.

**General Abdusalam Abubakar -** head of state between 8 June 1998 until 29 May 1999.

Chief Moshood Abiola - presidential candidate for Social Democratic Party (SDP). Arrested 24 June 1994 after he declared himself President of Nigeria on 11 June 1994. Died whilst still in custody on 7 July 1998.

Kudirat Abiola - senior wife of Chief Abiola. Campaigned for his release, and for him to be President. Arrested in May 1996 just prior to her assassination on 4 June 1996.

**Nnamdi Azikiwe** - leader of National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC). Following independence became first President of Nigeria in 1963 deposed in coup 1966, now deceased.

Major General Mohammed Buhari - took power following coup on 31 December 1983.

General Ibrahim Babangida - succeeded Buhari on 27 August 1985.

Chief Yabuku Gowon - army chief of staff chosen to head government (1966-75) overthrown in peaceful coup on 29 July 1975.

**Ledum Mitee** - vice president of MOSOP prior to Ken Saro Wiwa's death. Now its leader, was acquitted at the same trial as Saro Wiwa. Ledum Mitee returned to Nigeria from exile in London in late 1998.

**General Murtala Mohammed -** succeeded Gowon, died as result of attempted coup on 13 February 1976.

**General Olusegun Obasanjo** - as chief of army staff succeeded General Murtala Mohammed. Returned country to civilian rule in 1979. Arrested on 13 March 1995 and sentenced to life for concealment later commuted to 15 years. Released by General Abubakar in June 1998. Won 27 February 1999 presidential election, and took office on 29 May 1999.

**Ken Saro Wiwa** - President of Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP). Arrested on 22 May 1994 in connection with murder of 4 Ogoni chiefs. Executed on 10 November 1995 along with 8 other MOSOP members.

**Shehu Shagari -** leader of National Party of Nigeria (NPN) and last civilian President of Nigeria (1979-83).

**Wole Soyinka -** on 16 June 1995 founded National Liberation Council (NALICON). Left Nigeria in November 1994. General Abubakar dropped charges that had been made

against him by General Abacha. He returned to Nigeria for a visit in October 1998.

**Malam Ibrahim El ZakZaky** - leader of militant group the Islamic Liberation Movement which was involved in the religious disturbances in April 1991. Imprisoned from 1996 until late 1998.

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