

*communiqué would contain, apart from the scholarships?* Well, we emphasised that MOSOP will not be a political organisation, that MOSOP should not send any candidate for election. We decided that Ogoni languages should be taught in our schools and that we should try to maintain the Ogoni tradition and customs, and effect them in a curriculum of the schools, so that our youths and our children will know really what Ogoni has been and should be. Those are the points we discussed. [...] And the discussion from Accra, it was written down properly and was distributed.”

<sup>113</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Eleme, Chiefs Obekle Tenwaji and Ngei Nwakaji: “So, we still have that strong feeling that that follow-up of Accra meeting will come down to this Ogoniland, perhaps the next one. And that those who attended that meeting are not relenting. They are working towards what was discussed in Accra. [...] Well, we need to organise more conferences to bring this MOSOP International and MOSOP Ogoni together to discuss for a better understanding. And these conferences perhaps, when it takes place outside for some time and comes home and tries to bring the factions together for the unity of Ogoni people – because as it is now, Noble’s group cannot make Mitee’s group compromise, and Mitee’s group cannot compromise with Noble’s group in any way – so, but if these conferences are held regularly, and then carried home in Ogoniland, it can help us to bring people together.” About the faction and Mitee’s group see 7.1–7.9.

<sup>114</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Eleme, Chiefs Obekle Tenwaji and Ngei Nwakaji: “I was in Accra in the conference. You know, when you attend a conference and issue a communiqué, if you are not powerful to enforce your communiqué it cannot work. So, in the Accra conference, the aim was to bring the two parties, Mitee’s party and Noble’s party together. But Mitee’s group refused to come. Mitee himself refused to come. So, if there are any communiqués issued, it cannot work because all of us we are not together. When we issue any communiqué Mitee’s group will issue their own. And there are things that will need money: to carry out projects. But with us, we have no money. Even some of us who attended the Ghana conference suffered because of finance. We had no money and for the days we stayed there and came back we almost wept.”

<sup>115</sup> Videotape Ogoni Day, Interview 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari, Interview by Eric Komene, State Electoral Commission: “The Danish Peace Foundation gave MOSOP 16.000 dollars. And the money is supposed to be used for something tangible. There is no tangible thing I can think of than to invest into Ogoni people. Right now, I can tell you, we have taken seven Ogoni students in the university under MOSOP scholarship. Some of them are here.”

<sup>116</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Eleme, Chiefs Obekle Tenwaji and Ngei Nwakaji: “The little whatever, he [Noble Obani-Nwibari] has used to show, we give it as scholarship as I was telling you, in the public place, announce and say the source of the money, how much is the money in dollars, how much the change is, too, Kobo, Kobo. Particularly on some important days like the Ogoni 10<sup>th</sup> November or Ogoni Day when people assemble fine. [...] You account for what you receive and spend – you cannot account for what you did not get. Noble becoming president I don’t think he has received anything from anywhere except the little, little, two, two Naira, three, three Naira we contribute here towards the November 10<sup>th</sup> celebrations and generally for. Since Noble – And legal assistance, too, from brothers – Since Noble became president – except the money they received before he became president which he and [Idenyo] converted it to give scholarship, because that money was given by some group of people in U. S. for redevelopment, so they made this to serve as awarding scholarships to students. I think that is the only area they can account for what they received – since his becoming president he has not received any cover from any other group.”

<sup>117</sup> Interview 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bori, Beneficiaries MOSOP scholarship fund: “So, we heard about the information. Those people who are in our institution who don’t have money or sponsorship should indicate their interests and come and <applicat> for, so we went for it through our kingdom chapter it was the thing was arranged. So we entered our kingdom chapter, we go through, applied, take the form to the kingdom chapter, it will approve, then we come here to the central body, headquarter here, Afinimali Hall, there we were approved.”

<sup>118</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Eleme, Chiefs Obekle Tenwaji and Ngei Nwakaji: “They [the beneficiaries] signed documents [...] They are with the secretary [for scholarship] and the chairman. It gives a clear record. If you ask them, they will show you. Eight students signed for ten thousand Naira per session. It is there, with their passport photos.”

<sup>119</sup> A Shell official at a conference even talked of three factions. In a somewhat sneering way, he asked one of infoe’s representatives who was telling him that we are mandated by MOSOP: “What MOSOP do you mean? There are several MOSOPs.” As is reported here (6.16), the Ogoni residents assess the co-ordination with Noble Obani-Nwibari and his overseas friends as unsatisfactory. They talk of three parties explicitly: Mitee’s group, Noble’s group which corresponds to what they call the “overseas” party, and the Ogoni residents.

<sup>120</sup> When the Pressure Drops. An assessment of Shell’s progress in the Niger Delta, The Ecumenical Council for Corporate responsibility (ECCR), Bishop’s Stortford 2002, p. 6: “Some of the delegation met with Ledum Mittee, President of the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People [MOSOP].” Otherwise, this report is critical. – At a press conference on the Abacha money on 8<sup>th</sup> December 2000 in Zurich, the Swiss NGO Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker [Society for threatened nations] in its statement used the expression:

“Successor of Ken Saro-Wiwa, the committed barrister and leader of the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), Ledum Mitee”.

<sup>121</sup> The Punch 7<sup>th</sup> January 2002, p. 5: “According to the sources, news had reached him [Governor Peter Odili] that a faction of the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP), led by one Noble Obani-Nwibari, was also planning a parallel Ogoni Day at a different venue. Although the outlawed faction still went ahead to organise its own version of Ogoni Day, it was observed that even some council chairmen who sponsored the faction’s gathering, later joined the one organised by the core MOSOP, led by Mr. Ledum Mitee.” And the other article stating Mitee’s intention not to seek re-election at the end of 2002: “His [Mitee’s] election two years ago as president of MOSOP generated a crisis of confidence which on the other hand, he used to reposition MOSOP as an influential group in the Niger-Delta region.”

<sup>122</sup> Africa Today, April 2000, p. 27: “Let me quickly correct the wrong impression that Mitee’s clique is Mosop. His group is composed of questionable individuals who were bribed to testify falsely against Ken and the others and collaborated with Abacha. Some of them are regarded as traitors in Ogoni. Mitee’s faction of Mosop has prostituted Ken’s ideas and vision. Mr Mitee’s ‘Mosop’ is visible only on the pages of newspapers in Nigeria and is sustained by massive grants by Western governmental agencies whose intentions regarding our struggle against their companies <is> debatable.” Mitee’s interference into the restitution of the remains of the Ogoni nine to their families coincided with the procedure used to elect a new MOSOP president in 2000 which turned many MOSOP officials against Mitee. See endnote 129. As is described in detail in this same article, it were Owens Wiwa’s arrangements with the Ogoni nine’s families that Mitee thwarted by telling them they would lose their claim to compensation, if they agreed to the arranged burial.

<sup>123</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Eleme, Chiefs Obekle Tenwaji and Ngei Nwakaji: “And I know, even Mitee and Obasanjo say: ‘Ogoni is very great.’ They say Abuja is just like Ogoni. But, fortunately, [you] have come to see, we’re just living like – we are close to animal kingdom now, very close, just like animals. In the night, we no get light, nothing, no food, nothing, this, that, because all of the struggle.”

<sup>124</sup> The Nigerian newspapers are traditionally more independent than radio and television. In the periods of military government, the newspapers featured a degree of well-informed, overt criticism that is rarely found even in democratic countries. – The newspaper The Punch announced the Ogoni Day of Mitee’s group that was attended by government officials (Peter Odili’s representatives) as the “official MOSOP event”.

The resident officials confirm this notorious experience without having been asked to do so. Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Eleme, Chiefs Obekle Tenwaji and Ngei Nwakaji: “And what we saw is: [Ledum Mitee] he’s so interested in government, because [whatever programme he plans] the regional government Rivers will announce more than hundred times, it will even be in their news. And I remember when they observed Ogoni Day last year, even Governor was invited and they were all promised a MOSOP award of good governance. And I remember that many government people attended that place. And they were given 2’000’000. – 2’000’000 government gave to Mitee’s group. – Just to convince you that he’s doing certain things. But in MOSOP – because [we all are in a kind <in> MOSOP] – there is nothing you will send to publish – if you like pay 1’000’000, one second 1’000’000, they won’t publish it, nothing, none of our programme. *This Rivers media, is the radio station – and TV?* Radio station, Radio whatever and TV, can’t talk about it. *What about the newspapers?* Yes, newspapers, some that are not actually controlled. You [have] some that are controlled by government. And there are, once that government sees that they carry any important publication, they can go and arrest and pack all, carry and go. – So they will not. – So they will not. So, many times – they will not carry, not publish. – The invited press men, after all said and done, they will not publish. That’s what is happening. *What newspapers are critical in this regard?* These were national newspapers we were talking about. We have Ogoni papers, we have these, but most of the time some of them are not interested. Because they can – but we like do it national papers, so that they can buy and see. *So you’re talking about Vanguard, The Punch.* Vanguard, The Punch, Guardian, and some of these national papers. But Noble can carry, because he used to be very light in his statement. These papers cover his whatever programme, because he’s just like more or less government. But, he now aside, no programme can be carried by these national papers.”

<sup>125</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Eleme, Chiefs Obekle Tenwaji and Ngei Nwakaji: “Well, we know that the factions, for all I know, I think Noble’s faction is more realistic to the principles of MOSOP than Mitee’s group. *For what reasons?* Because Mitee’s group is recognised by the government, Nigerian government and every information Mitee gives, all information will be announced over the news media in Rivers State. But if we send any, they will reject to announce it, so that it appears that there is a secret deal between Mitee himself and the government. Either Mitee is working on intelligence of Ogoni people for government. E. g. now election is coming. Before Ken’s death we were not political-minded. We didn’t run to have elective pools. But now, even the highest officials of MOSOP, some of them, are putting in to become candidates of Senate, House of Assembly, Governor, and so on. You know, in 1993 we did not go in for election. But now, it appears Mitee has worked on some individuals to be interested in government activities. We should not be, because there is something we want from the government to do for us which they have not done. Even in this election of 2003

we should for all reasons boycott it. But, if you bring boycott of elections now, there will be a controversy. So, that is the problem. – I think I want to add more to what he’s saying about Mitee’s persistence for the unity of Ogoni and MOSOP. Mitee has a secret agenda, that’s what you saw. And at the same time he preached dialogue with government, he preached dialogue, first, that if we are discussing we would attract development, this and that. Now, you know, when there are poor, much poor, poverty in Ogoniland, people saw it as an avenue for sources. So because of this, some people started embracing the opinion of Mitee. And even some attached to him. But I know as of now they are disappointed, because, hence you are Ogoni man, government still regard you as Ogoni man. Even if you do anything [which you do singularly], as an individual. So, all that aims at: with dialogue they bring light, they bring road, there will be houses, all – they met with failure. They did not bring any water, any light [...] So, another one is, Mitee has been able to get some people interested in politics. Because he taught them that if they are in the government, holding political offices, they will use it to bring what we want – while we go about to say no, because that bag is with you, and I am with you: how can I be able to take the bag away? All we are fighting for. So, as it is now, Mitee is prominently attached to government. All his followers are now involved in political parties. Even the preachers will join so that we can get what we want. But we saw it impossible.”

<sup>126</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Eleme, Chiefs Obekle Tenwaji and Ngei Nwakaji: “O. K., Mitee knows what he’s doing anyway. Mitee knows his benefit for trying to convert people into party politics. But we know that no amount of entry into party politics can make government develop this place, down this struggle. That is it, where we are: down the struggle. Because before now, a body was set up, NDDC, for development. Then Mitee thought he was going to be appointed to be the president of NDDC, as he was attached to them, and from Ogoni. At the end of the day, they failed to appoint him, they refused to appoint him. So, any prominent position, as of now, because of he represented before the Oputa Panel fine, I mean, I am just saying something now. But after that, the government saw him as [a juggler], saboteur, because ‘at times we go into them, at times we say against them’. So, as of now, Mitee is trying to put people to enter party politics so that they can do one thing or the other. But if they go, they cannot do anything. That is one side of that, and is there till tomorrow. So, because of this, Mitee refused compromise.”

<sup>127</sup> Barisuatam Deeyeh, written comments to follow up questions on the Interview of 5<sup>th</sup> January 2003, 3<sup>rd</sup> June 2003: “Ledum Mitee was never recognized as the president of MOSOP but acting president. It was in 1996 that some of us called on him in his house in Port Harcourt, after his acquittal [from detention] to encourage him to continue with the struggle and that he should go abroad for proper medical check-up, to recuperate fine before taking over the leadership of MOSOP as acting president. He obliged to our request and eventually traveled abroad.”

<sup>128</sup> Barisuatam Deeyeh, written comments on follow-up questions on the Interview of 5<sup>th</sup> January 2003, 4<sup>th</sup> July 2003: “In another development, during the exhumation process of the bones of the “Ogoni 9” <Ledim> Mitee stood his grounds to ensure that the Pathologists never succeeded in their assignment. In collaboration with the governor of the state, Dr. Peter Odili, <Ledim> and his cohorts ensured that the human rights Pathologists’ efforts were frustrated. Off-course, we were very much in support of the process. In fact, we organized the Ogoni people who marched through the streets of Port Harcourt, which aroused the public attention to the process in Rivers State and beyond.”

<sup>129</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Eleme, Chiefs Obekle Tenwaji and Ngei Nwakaji: “Mitee’s group will find it difficult to accept any compromise, because during the burial of Ken Saro-Wiwa they did not participate. They did all they did to stop the burial and the assumption of the corpse. You know, some pathologists, one or two came, and after agreeing with the Ogoni eight’s families, Mitee brought in politics just to destroy the plan. So, they started to struggling at the end of the day, after everything. They did not participate in the burial of Ken Saro-Wiwa. And that has created almost a permanent enmity – disagreement. – Because [he is ashamed], they are ashamed to associate, because as it is, they cannot go to Ken’s father e. g., many of them, very close, cannot go, because they thought what Mitee were telling them was true, was right, and they boycotted the burial. – And the burial took place properly. And during the time we were planning for that burial Mitee put a committee in a place and called it burial committee, appointed people, just to deceive the public. – *Why pathologists?* – Pathologists came to exhume – to exhume the Ogoni nine – the corpses, to exhume the Ogoni nine, to find out whether Ken was actually there, buried. So, that [piece] government worked, this, that, Mitee was against it and at the end of the day these pathologists went away, human rights pathologists. It was of recent that after much pressure, they came and did and dug the place and so that Ken was not seen, up till now as we are talking. They saw the bones of those and they tried to test it with the family and discovered that those buried, those are the people buried, Ken himself, not even anything, even in the ground, was considered as being buried there. So, these things that Mitee did can never allow Mitee one day associate. At that Mitee will even like to resign. So that’s why he had this/his faction, because they were not with us. So that’s why. Even if you call him now he cannot come. Call his supporters, did no one come, because this our burial is a very important thing, it’s natural that when one dies at the stage as a leader, as a leader, he must be buried before appointing another leader, by

our culture. So, what happened there, when they had not been buried Mitee went on and trying to plan to become the president. And they were taken to court by us to stop him being – becoming president, should he remain actuary until the burial. The court, well, ruled in his favour. Not/Now once, we are not together, he could be. So, they elected him president when we have not buried. So that's the problem. So during the burial he was not [assumed], and they thought he would go and bury better after that. So, you see, the Ogoni bury, they bury once and for all. And that's the thing hindering Mitee. A group cannot do this thing. Every – I am just telling you to look at Mitee's faction [attachment] as impossible, because of this thing is permanent on the family of Ken Saro-Wiwa that such a man was with their son did not participate in the burial, see." – Interview with Owens Wiwa by Africa Today, April 2000, p. 26: "Another glaring example of Ledum's faction of Mosop opposing any issue that has anything to do with giving dignity to Ken's memory is the recent attempt to stop the exhumation and identification of Ken's body. It is an act that has defied our tradition. I pray to God to forgive the individuals, groups and institutions responsible for this."

<sup>130</sup> Mitee was the only captive who was released. By MOSOP members who stayed in touch with Ken Saro-Wiwa during his detention, he has been accused to have blackmailed Ken and collaborated with the military court. Barisuatam Deeyeh, written comments to follow up questions on the Interview of 5<sup>th</sup> January 2003, 4<sup>th</sup> July 2003: "Shortly before ken's hanging, <Ledim> had troubled him in detention over the Goldman award money won by him. Not until Ken had to ask that about ₦75,000 of his private money be given to <Ledim Mitoe>, was he satisfied. Also, he, <Ledim> secretly negotiated his freedom by implicating Ken in some ways, based on which he gained his freedom."

<sup>131</sup> See endnotes 127, 134, and 135.

<sup>132</sup> See [www.trocaire.org](http://www.trocaire.org). Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari: "Some people gave us money. For instance, we are aware of one time EU through Trocaire brought in £450,000. That's a lot of money. That is a lot of money. And £450,000 entered into Ogoniland. We should be able to get at least two equipped hospitals for our people. At least, we should be able to get drinking water in some communities in Ogoni, if not all. At least, the schools, the primary schools where our children study should be well equipped unlike the dilapidated buildings that we have everywhere – you saw it, some of the schools are collapsing. Such money should go into the development of these things."

<sup>133</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Eleme, Chiefs Obekle Tenwaji and Ngei Nwakaji: "So, the accountability on the Noble – then the problem with Mitee is that we have been calling for accountability, and Noble's stand is, Mitee we want to account for. That is why, that is [one of the fears that is keeping him off, because to account for – we land certain times the Trocaire. Particularly, there was that time in 1998 – I mean, 1999 or 98 when Trocaire came [on the premises] after we had all the money. The time that [our man Tamena] premised – [Tamena] gone. It was later we heard some money was bid. And that made us Lemana pressure on that accountability which admitted the faction permanent. We know that Mitee saw it as dangerous, that if it comes he has to account for all these moneys collected. And when The Body Shop would come with this Shell issue, all we were shouting for is Mitee to account for all he has done. I said: 'Leader, you must give account.' So the international community – those NGOs assisting us should see that, if he cannot account, and even if his account will be suspicious, that he cannot accept any condition given for unity for the fear of all here. So, that's the major problem. There's no, we cannot say any other thing, seriously on that accountability, because it has involved so much. And if those moneys were allowed to reach us by now we would have established one thing or the other. So I think NGOs are improbable to press for accountability on him."

<sup>134</sup> Barisuatam Deeyeh, written comments on follow-up questions on the Interview of 5<sup>th</sup> January 2003, 3<sup>rd</sup> June 2003: "Unfortunately, when he got to UK his mind changed for he stumbled over abandoned by fate, and he decided to ask after the MOSOP account which was being operated by Ken. He knew of the account right from when they (Ken and others) were in detention, before the hanging, for Ken had told him that all the money of the awards he (Ken) won were being lodged in that account awaiting when they would be released from detention it would be used for something tangible for the Ogoni people. – Unfortunately, Ken never came out again, so Ledum had all the cleverness to trick one Simeon Kpoturu (Treasurer) and one Lazarus Tamena (President) who were signatories to the MOSOP UK branch account to direct him on how to get access to the account. These people never hesitated, for they had thought he was a sincere person. So he went about it and finally got through. From then Ledum Mitee took control of the account, and also transferred the whole money from the account into another secret one of his. – He was not authorised to sign alone to the account. He was actually signing with the other two men previously mentioned above, until he went into the account some time without the treasurer. Before the treasurer knew what was going on, he had taken all the money from the account and that was how the Treasurer himself raised the alarm. Mr. Kpoturu, Tamena and Mitee come from the same kingdom in Ogoni. – Well, there has been no legal action so far against him because we intend to put our house in order first and then work as a team before taking any action, not only against him but also some other passions [persons] who may have assisted or joined him to defraud Ogo[ni] of our blood money and leadership."

<sup>135</sup> Interview 5<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Barisuatam Deeyeh: “Yes, ehm, MOSOP International. You see, when things ah, OK. Let me start from the time after, soon after the hanging. Immediately after the hanging, Ledum Mitee, we were working together. And at the point when pressures were on we didn’t know what transpired behind the scene before the hanging. So when the time for – there was a time we wanted to hold one of the Ogoni Days and the securities came and – then we told him, we got to him and we told him: ‘Man, you have to travel. You have to travel abroad. Go for medical check-up. So that by the time you get – you know – yourself. Having stayed in detention for four years is not a joke. You get properly orientated and come back. So that we can now begin to push our way forward with you at the hem of affairs.’ He went, after the whole thing. But, maybe when he got there, what he thought was something different and he saw something else. So, you know that – you know, money is something else, money is something that really, you know, can scatter and tear and all that. More so when you have greed in you. So when he got there he discovered that there was much money in our account. An account Ken was operating, with all this Goldmann award, you know, money which the man had pumped in there – and had not taken a dime out of it. So when he got there as the acting president now, you know, he would be the person to go in for, you know, people to sign and money will come out. So, all that kind of authority was given to him. But, little did we know what plans he had until this thing became [hashed] and he started doing some funny things and all that, as aligning people who were genuinely operating the accounts with Ken and all that. Then he went in with just one man called Tamana, you know, from his own area and they started dealing with the account and scooped out everything out of it. And then, the man who was there with him as the treasurer, right from time when the man noticed this thing – of course somebody wrote to him. Then the man raised an alarm, he called the people. You see, so, the issue of MOSOP International started from there. When we were thinking that, with his presence there, he will now man the international desk of MOSOP whereas at home, you know, we would be doing what we were doing. We didn’t know that he had a different intention. So, when all this thing came up and all the other people started asking questions: ‘What are you doing? Let’s meet together, let us talk over this thing, let us resolve! What is going on? This is not healthy for us!’ And that was it. And he refused. And he started telling lies, giving all this kind of things and all that. Documentations about all this are with me. They’re with most of Ogoni people. Because I took my time to give these things to virtually all the people I know who matter in this whole thing. So, until, I think – it was one of the meetings they were to hold in Atlanta or so and he was supposed to be there. He lied that he was going to treat his eye, thereafter, you know, only to – our people were in the meeting only to hear on BBC that this man was being fabulously received at home. Personally, you know, I didn’t even know what plans, you know, his very strong aids, his brother and some other people were doing until we heard so. We thought that maybe people who were outside were aware of it until news came: ‘There look, oh, we were expecting this man at the meeting!’ only to hear on BBC that the kind of reception he was accorded – be clear that he would not [be] able to have such a reception. You know, this thing touched us, we felt it. And they started bringing us materials, materials of how he had messed up <with> everything. So we confronted, you know, his people and others, and since from then – then our people who were there now, they tried to set up the international front of MOSOP with – I think what they did there was that Mr Meshach Karanwi who is the MOSOP general secretary MOSOP International will now be <the> co-ordinating, this thing, for MOSOP from outside. Meanwhile we have MOSOP US, we have MOSOP UK, we have MOSOP other what: this man will be the co-ordinator of all while at home we have a president, you know, [who has] more alliances with the international and this thing and then feeds the home people back.”

<sup>136</sup> Barisuatam Deeyeh, written comments to follow up questions on the Interview of 5<sup>th</sup> January 2003, 4<sup>th</sup> July 2003: “1.(i) Mr Ledum Mitee was only recognized as Acting president in 1996 following the demise of his mentor and president, to whom he was the deputy. There was no formal election into this office. He is no longer the acting president of MOSOP, hence, he had ceased to be acting president of MOSOP since 1998 when he was suspended and subsequently relieved of that appointment by MOSOP International. (ii)The acting president related to some one who acts in the stead of a president in his absence. Deputy president on the other hand is the second person in the organization of MOSOP. The man in this position assists or deputizes the president. The deputy also acts for the president in his absence. Of-course I am the Deputy president. (iii)Since 1999 Ledum has continued to call himself president, an office he acquired through a fraudulent election process. He has been competing with Noble. 2. Yes, the election of Noble and myself was on may 6<sup>th</sup> 2000 after ken was duly buried, as the custom of our people is. I am sure that chiefs Tenwaji and Nwakaji might have referred to 1999 and not 1996 when <Ledim> conducted his unrecognized fraudulent election, by which he kept calling himself president. In that year, we had gone to court to try to stop him but what do you expect of a court process that had to rule in favors of a government agent. We knew it so and that he paid so much of our money to the presiding judge, but we still attempted. <Became> our struggle was not the type to be intimidated by any court process, was the reason the entire Ogoni people (besides, <Ledim> Mitee himself and his cohorts) went ahead through a National Congress to, in principle and practice, dissolve all existing structures of MOSOP including that of Ledum Mitee led faction, and then move to conduct a fresh election on 6<sup>th</sup> June, 2000, just not to allow a

vacuum to exist. In Ogoni and all other civilized societies, if an incumbent of a post dies, no election to fill his vacant position can take place unless and until the man had been duly buried. So, the election of <Ledim> Mitee in December 1999 was against the value system of Ogoni. Our own election in May, five months after the burial was approved by the congress of the entire Ogoni people held earlier on April 25<sup>th</sup> 2000. It is better to watch the video tape on the congress decision on that day and judge for yourself what I am talking about. Like I mentioned earlier, we went to court to try to stop <Ledim's> election, but the state pressurised the court to rule in his favor, as its agent in destabilizing the struggle, which is what he almost succeeded doing, should we not maintain our stand in the struggle. [...] Finally the fraudulent election of Ledum was done by few clique of unclear understanding of the principles of the struggle, mostly from his Gokana Kingdom, who felt that it was the turn of the Gokana people to grab the presidency of the prestigious organization.”

<sup>137</sup> See endnote 146.

<sup>138</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari: “*Were there any new deals in leadership of MOSOP International? Presidency, Deputy Presidency, Secretary General, are they still the same persons?* No, what we did after the burial of Ken Saro-Wiwa in April 2000: May 6<sup>th</sup> I was elected President of MOSOP. So when I moved to the US – I went back to the US. So, the International, MOSOP International decided that they were not going to appoint or elect officials in the hierarchy of President, Secretary, Vice President, Deputy President, Assistancy, all that. Instead, we formed what we called international desk, as a house to co-ordinate everything that happens in the globe. And then, then [I'll] get all the information, and [clear], send it back to other regions like those in the Scandinavian countries, like Denmark, and Switzerland, those in London, those in Australia, those in South Africa, and those also in Germany. So, that is what we did. There was no office like – so, what we only have, is the Secretary General of MOSOP International, no President, no Treasurer, <no> of these things. It is just a co-ordination room, a co-ordination office.”

<sup>139</sup> This is confirmed by experience. When on the initiative of Charles Lock, the only white member of MOSOP, Greenpeace financed the Accra conference, Ledum Mitee had obviously got the information, called Greenpeace, introduced himself as MOSOP president, and tried to give instructions on where the money should be transferred to. This attempt to seize funds was thwarted by the due diligence of Greenpeace. – Oral communication by an infoe member.

<sup>140</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari: “When we talk about accountability, is elaborate, is so detail. It could be financial accountability, it could be activity accountability, I mean it is - telling the people what you are doing. It could be social, it could be political, it could be economical, it could be financial. But since Ken Saro-Wiwa died, he has not, he has not, and I repeat, he has not told us: ‘This is what has happened. This is the amount of money,’ they brought into the organisation through him. Instead, he decided to create a faction to avoid people asking him questions. [...] Well, his position is that, well, we shouldn't have asked him anything, any question about accountability. And we are saying no. [...] So, he is saying that we shouldn't have told him all this, and the people have said: No, MOSOP is all about justice, democratic rule, righteousness, anti-cheating, anti-oppression, anti-deceit. That is all MOSOP is about. So, if we are telling the world and government and Shell that ‘you are exploiting us and cheating us’, why should you [Mitee] do that to us? That is the bone of contention, that is the crux of the matter.” For the residents, see endnote 133.

<sup>141</sup> See endnotes 132 and 133. Videotape Ogoni Day, Interview 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari, Interview by Eric Komene, State Electoral Commission: “We are talking about sincerity, accountability, we are talking about honesty. Because MOSOP stands for justice, MOSOP stands for honesty, it stands for accountability. How should MOSOP receive, say, about 20 or – let me put it this way – how should MOSOP receive about, say, 500 million dollars – billion Naira and that money has no<t> impact on the Ogoni people. And what will the person do? He will like problem to remain. Because if we come together everyday, they will definitely ask: ‘Did you take our money?’ And any MOSOP person who is not prepared to give account of his [stewardship], that is no MOSOP. Let me give you an example. The Danish Peace Foundation gave MOSOP 16.000 dollars. And the money is supposed to be used for something tangible. There is no tangible thing I can think of than to invest into Ogoni people. Right now, I can tell you, we have taken seven Ogoni students in the university under MOSOP scholarship. Some of them are here. They have been addressed. Now, don't you think that 16.000 dollars which is about 1.7 million Naira, if this money, only that money alone is to take care of 37 students in the university – in September, my friend Ledum Mitee collected 1.5 million dollars from Maketo foundation. Quote me anywhere! 1.5 million. Which means, only the 500.000 dollars on top of the million can train our children and train our people a long way. – Forget about the education. Ogoni is a place without running water. We don't have hospitals, our womens – since I came back to the US – I came back from the US now, I tell you how many persons have driven to the hospital for just mere Cholera. Cholera is not a disease that should kill our people now, is a curable, preventive disease, but it kills, because no medication. So, why don't we use this money, buy medicine, instruments into our hospitals and lend – let me tell you, my brother, do you know that the money that has come into Ogoni through MOSOP into an individual hand, if it had been used to impact the life of Ogoni people, other oil regions in the whole of Nigeria would have protested more than what

they have done, because it would have been a challenge to them. So, that is the [bay] of the factions and the bickering and the acrimony you have in the group.”

<sup>142</sup> See endnote 134.

<sup>143</sup> Barisuatam Deeyeh, written comments to follow up questions on the Interview of 5<sup>th</sup> January 2003, 4<sup>th</sup> July 2003: “In actual fact, we do not seem to have any time fixed as limit for any legal action against embezzlement in Ogoni. I did mention the fact that we intend to put our house in order first before coming out with any such action. Besides, on the part of those of us at home, our hands appear a little tied in this matter. We had expected that by now some of those abroad who have a good knowledge of this matter with Ledum, should have initiated a matter or come home for us to consult with the elders on the matter. But this has become difficult because they would not want to spare their time for such. It is rather unfortunate.”

<sup>144</sup> Passim in all interviews. Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Eleme, Chiefs Obekle Tenwaji and Ngei Nwakaji; Interview 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bori, Beneficiaries MOSOP scholarship fund; Interview 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bori, Barido Nyodee, FOWA President and Theresa Akoba, FOWA Secretary General. Specifically, see 8.0.

<sup>145</sup> Videotape Ogoni Day, Interview 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari, Interview by Eric Komene, State Electoral Commission: “*Since 1993 up till now, the Ogoni have come a long way. And [to] look at it critically, you can see that the Ogoni people are at a crossroads now. We have a lot of factions, divisions, disagreements, and enemies all around us. Can you react to this?* Well, one thing we must realise is that we are in a revolution. Very many people join MOSOP because of popularity, they want to be popular in the area. Some people join MOSOP because if we show ourselves to government and to Shell they can always [call on] us and give us what we need. Some people also join MOSOP because: ‘My enemy is not supporting MOSOP. If I now belong to MOSOP, I can get some group to attack my enemies.’ But people who genuinely join MOSOP because of the sufferance of the Ogoni people, one, because of the marginalisation of the Ogoni people politically, two, and because of our environment that <have> been degraded – which is the whole vision of Ken through MOSOP, they are always resolute. Therefore, in a revolution, because of the type of opinion the individuals have can make us divide. For instance, Shell has taken money into Ogoni area which all of you know. Many have been bought over, many have been given money to say that there is no problem in Ogoni anymore. I know of an Ogoni people, I mean, the Ogoni people who said: ‘Oh, Shell is doing all they could, they are doing their best, they are doing that, they are doing that.’ The answer is no.”

<sup>146</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari: “*Did you stay in touch for some time with Ledum Mitee? Yeah, I do. So, from time to time you – . He’s my personal friend. We were friends right from the High School. We sat in the same class in the High School. We finished the same year in the High School. For five years we were friends, and after MOSO–, after five years of High School, we came together again as friends in Ogoni, and MOSOP really cemented our relationship, brought us so close, so intimate. So, whether MOSOP own or no MOSOP, that relationship is still there. We are not quarrelling because of friendship or he is tall or he is black or he is short – no, but we are talking of accountability. As a leader, he should be accountable to the people. In fact, that is the reason why the people neglected him and put me in place. Is this the single point that you are debating? Is this the most important or the single point about [which] you disagree with him?* Well, the disagreement is only about accountability.”

<sup>147</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Eleme, Chiefs Obekle Tenwaji and Ngei Nwakaji: “They did not participate in the burial of Ken Saro-Wiwa. And that has created almost a permanent enmity – disagreement. [...] A group cannot do this thing. Every – I am just telling you to look at Mitee’s faction [attachment] as impossible, because of this thing is permanent on the family of Ken Saro-Wiwa that such a man was with their son did not participate in the burial, see. [...] And that made us [Tamena] pressure on that accountability which admitted the faction permanent.”

<sup>148</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Eleme, Chiefs Obekle Tenwaji and Ngei Nwakaji: “There, the only thing that can help us is one: If the groups can agree to come together, Mitee’s group and Noble’s group, if they will agree to come together and we conduct a new election and choose a president who is interested in Ogoni affair, the only thing that can work us to success is interest in the condition of Ogoni people. [...] So, if Mitee’s group and Noble’s group can agree to come together for one united group of MOSOP activists, I think we can still put our effort to fight for our survival.”

<sup>149</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Eleme, Chiefs Obekle Tenwaji and Ngei Nwakaji: “So, in the Accra conference, the aim was to bring the two parties, Mitee’s party and Noble’s party together.”

<sup>150</sup> Videotape Ogoni Day, Interview 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari, Interview by Eric Komene, State Electoral Commission: “*Now, I can say that there are some antagonising – some antagonistic bodies in MOSOP. Is there any plan on the ground to either breach in two or clear the work individually?* Yeah. My intention is not for division, is not for disunity, because I know the divided will always fall. But let me tell you about nature. The conscience is the entire human being, the conscience. If you are a rogue, a rogue, and nobody knows you are a rogue, any time you see the person whose goods you stole, the conscience will tell you: ‘You stole that man’s property.’ And sometimes, [accordingly], people will begin: ‘My friend, you didn’t greet me –

why? You are not as sound as you were before – why?’ Your conscience is speaking more than your word.”

<sup>151</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari: “The faction in MOSOP, I think we sent our circulars to every faction to attend that conference, but the other faction refused to come. However, we set up a committee empowered to [liaise] with the two factions and bring everybody together to discuss a way forward which that committee is still working on.”

<sup>152</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Eleme, Chiefs Obekle Tenwaji and Ngei Nwakaji: “Because – [at the start of] Ghana meeting, there was all effort by Noble. He called in the general meeting, both Mitee and so on, and I am telling you that no, none of them attended, on the instruction of Mitee. Three occasions – nobody attended. *And for Accra, who invited Mitee?* Even this, Noble, too. When he had it – Though the organisation was – asked to do – was irresponsible, – Mitee refused to come up. – None of the prominent officers in his party, in his group came. *So the only contact that was between MOSOP here and Mitee was Noble? This was once, one contact?* You mean – *They talked once for the invitation?* Well, the time they talked when they appeared before the panel. Then, at the same time Mi– Noble found all means to meet with him to resolve. But, when Mi– Noble saw that he persisted, he refused to assist there or something.”

<sup>153</sup> See endnote 151.

<sup>154</sup> Videotape Ogoni Day, Interview 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari, Interview by Eric Komene, State Electoral Commission: “Do you know, the more stubborn you are, the more force of opposition you have in our system, the more people approach you to give you money. Let me tell you, upon all the Ogoni people, as far as MOSOP is concerned, I find a [position] to get the highest [money] from them, because they can not crack me. They believe that this man – even if we are few here, even the last word I am going to speak before I die, I tell you: ‘Ogoni people, as I am going to die now, do this, do this, do this, this man did this, this man did that, this man did that, this man did this,’ before I finally die. So, but because I want to lay a legacy, I have refused bribe from Shell, I have refused bribe from government. Do you know, I am the only Ogoni person – let me put it this way: by my exposure, by my interaction internationally wide. Don’t you think that government should be coming to my house every time to look for me? But government here don’t stop to come to me. Why? They know that they cannot convince me. They know that.” – It is interesting that Noble Obani-Nwibari’s statement that he had refused bribes from Shell contradicts another statement in the same interview that Shell had never knocked on his door anywhere. However, this denial of any contact with Shell is directed against a Shell media official’s allegation – and their complaint – that he has accepted money from them and is still not co-operating. Specifically, it is directed against allegations that his reluctance to compromise with Shell after receiving money had made them withdraw their contractors who were allegedly responsible for the electrification of the Ogoni villages. One can draw the conclusion that he has been offered money, but has refused it.

<sup>155</sup> See Appendix II point 8.

<sup>156</sup> Oral communications by participants of the Accra conference.

<sup>157</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari: “Well, PDP as a party the way I have seen and the way every Nigerian is talking about is that it has not addressed the issue of democracy. PDP under Obasanjo has not addressed the issue of democracy. One, democracy is all about justice, democracy is all about righteousness, democracy is all about equality, democracy is all about respect for human dignity irrespective of the persons, status, race, or creed.”

<sup>158</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari: “But, the PDP of Obasanjo government is still against – is still fighting, I mean is still anti-human rights. For instance, year 2000 they went to Odi in Yorla land. Simply because the women protested against Shell for environmental degradation, the whole community was completely destroyed. Over 200 people died, were killed by the police. In fact, when you were going around, you saw the soldiers, I mean, the Mobile Police at flowstations of Shell protecting their economic activities. That is not democracy. [...] The only thing we have found is that the military is not in power. But everything that happened to us when the military was there is still happening. Go to the roads here, you see the police on the road, extracting money from people. From one end of Ogoni to the other there are about police, three or four – I mean two or three police posts, getting money from people as they drive past. That is extortion of money, exploitation, and also oppression. It has some psychological problem on the people. So, where do we talk about democracy? Is that equality? Is that justice? Is that righteousness?” Even though this assessment leaves aside the important fact that prior to the massacre not only the Ogoni women protested but 12 policemen had been killed by youths, it is clear that to extinguish a community the culprits stem from instead of bringing them to court is a case of government criminality.

<sup>159</sup> Oral communication 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Bori, barrister Boniface.

<sup>160</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari: “No free speech, the Governor of the Rivers State Dr Peter Odili, Marshall Harry just opposed him, he found him, [this is it], he was arrested, jailed, put into court without trial. In this state, any man who speaks loudly against the government is being hunted for. In fact, what he has been doing is to assassinate his opponents. So, those are not attributes of a democracy at all.”

<sup>161</sup> Letter of MOSOP International, office of the General Secretary, to President Obasanjo dated 8<sup>th</sup> July 2001.

<sup>162</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari: “Come back to Ogoniland: The day Obasanjo came to Ogoniland and we asked him to address the issues in the Ogoni bill of rights, he said: If we want anything in the Ogoni bill of rights to be done we should go back to London, to England and ask the Queen to grant us what we wanted. There is humiliation, there is oppression, there is political victimisation, there is discrimination.” Email from Noble Obani-Nwibari, 25<sup>th</sup> September 2003: “President Obasanjo told the Ogoni people to direct their requests to the Queen of England, adding that he was not competent to grant anything in the Ogoni Bill of Right.”

<sup>163</sup> Videotape Ogoni Day, Interview 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari, Interview by Eric Komene, State Electoral Commission: “You see, as it stands now, if there had been real democracy, there had been honesty, at the primaries. For instance, I know a lot of people who wanted to go in for the senate who are not pro-government, who are pro-Ogoni. But they were denied. No chance was given to them. [...] For instance, a lot of parties, they all complain, or they put on them chancellors they don’t want, they put on them, House of Assembly members they don’t want, they put on them.”

<sup>164</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari: “Look at the recent primaries they conducted. They were imposing candidates on people against the wish of the people. O. K., the democracy we are talking about, too, here in Ogoni, not one single Ogoni son or daughter is in the Senate and nobody talks us, nobody represents us there. An Ogoni man is never a Governor, an Ogoni man is never a Deputy Governor, an Ogoni man is never a speaker of the House of Assembly, i. e. legislative house of Rivers State. And these are the key positions. Why? Because we don’t have the economic wherewithal to fight ourselves into power. But, in a true democratic society whether you have money or not, and we found you competent, somebody competent, we can vote for the person to go there. What they do is, well, they can <reek> election whoever they want to be there, just to protect their interest. And Shell is always part of it. Look at the Niger Delta Development Commission established purposely for the oil producing areas. The man who is the chairman now is Hugo who was former Shell staff and a shareholder in Shell. And up till now I am talking to you, there is not one single project [...] for the Ogoni people under NDDC. [Where] do we talk about democracy? So, democracy as far as Nigeria is concerned and as far as Ogoni is concerned, we don’t see democracy.”

<sup>165</sup> Oral communication 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Bori, barrister Boniface.

<sup>166</sup> Noble Obani-Nwibari addressed to barrister Boniface 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Bori, about his conversation with an advocator of local political offices: “When he said to me: ‘Let’s put our heads together,’ I said ‘No, I stretch my neck in vain, your head is too far away. Local politicians get peanuts from the government, and the people is left without.’”

Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Eleme, Chiefs Obekle Tenwaji and Ngei Nwakaji: “Because, this local government e. g. are controlled by the state, and from the state to the federal. So whatever money they [the federal and state governments] give to local government whether it does anything at all, the state government [does] nothing to us, because they are their agents. So some of these few privileged politicians, whatever they get they did take, because nobody will ask. Nobody will ask for the interest of the masses of Ogoni people. But you who is supporting them as your government, because we don’t regard that government as our government, as you see. *Since* ninety-three till now, we are just as an activist, don’t recognise them, our hands remain their enemy. So that’s the whole problem. Even if you die they don’t care. But, though their agents who are local government chairmen also, can take anything there and chop and take and <gout> and – they use to establish from their party outside, put in their pocket. They don’t do any development within our place at all. Nothing. And nobody will ask, because they’re agents. They see us as enemies. Even if we talk, nobody cares. And if we talk, tomorrow they can send you thugs to deal with you in the night or anywhere on the road.”

<sup>167</sup> Videotape Ogoni Day, Ogoni Day speech 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari: “Unfortunately, the Nigerian democracy is quite opposite development, justice, human rights’ protection – and [all forms] of vices. Instead of democracy, of societal and human development, what we see today is democracy of [sharing our part] to people. I want to tell the Ogoni people that Peter Odili does not love the Ogoni people. Peter Odili does not love the Ogoni people. Ladies and gentlemen, I think that is why, that is the most reason I have problems. Because some people want<s> to be dipl– diplomatic about the issues of Ogoni, but I te– I put it raw. Even, even, even the places he came to Gokana some times ago and promised [that] an agro-based industry – to day, he has never done anything in Ogoni – in Gokana land. Peter Odili has given clothes and 20 million Naira and what and what and what and what to other people. Even to the women, he has not given even this dash to the Ogoni women and the Ogoni people. [*Commotion.*] Above all these things, instead of democracy to be deciding who should lead us, they are imposing people on the Ogoni people. Instead they pick human beings who are surrogates to him or to them. The Ogoni people, I want you to be resolute. And each of these people have not any day gone to any of these Houses to talk about the Ogoni people. They have not at any time mentioned the environmental degradation caused by Shell activities in Ogoniland. They have not pointed out to government that we lack hospitals in Ogoni! They have not [told] Ogoni people that we lack drinking water in Ogoniland! They have not told government that we don’t have educational system in Ogoni no more! Go to our schools, our

primary schools. The children sit on floor, dusty floor. There are no benches in the class rooms. No black boards. No – no chalk. Even the teachers are not being paid regularly. Is that democracy? *Audience: No!* Is that politics? *No!*”

<sup>168</sup> Oral communication 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Bori, barrister Boniface.

<sup>169</sup> See Appendix II point 5, endnotes 112, 125.

<sup>170</sup> See 6.22 and 6.23.

<sup>171</sup> Videotape Ogoni Day, Interview 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari, Interview by Eric Komene, State Electoral Commission: “If you choose somebody who has the Ogoni people at heart – like I was saying, over there, we have at least one or two persons in the house of reps [representatives]. Have you heard at any time they talk about the Ogoni bill of rights? Even in the House of Assembly here. At least, we have about five Ogoni people who were there, or are still there. Have you heard [of any of those saying]: ‘Excuse me, Mr Governor, what and what and what do you do for the Ogoni people? My people don’t have this, my people don’t have that, my people don’t have that.’ You don’t hear anything like that. In fact, what <repents> me so much is the mind that the, <eh>, minority leader, the opposition party in the legislative house, he shapes the government, direct[s] the government how to go in compliance with the wish of the people. But that guy was neither there nor here. But that is how the nature works. Today, he [is kicked] out. [...] You can joke with man, but you can’t joke with nature.”

<sup>172</sup> See endnote 125. Note that the statement is from January 2003 when the presidential election was imminent.

<sup>173</sup> Videotape Ogoni Day, Interview 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari, Interview by Eric Komene, State Electoral Commission: “You know what happened? When I came in, I threatened that I want to run the Senate. You may have heard of it. It was a strategy I was playing. The government said: ‘Don’t run for the Senate, you will create commotion! And if you go to another party, too, you will create more commotion!’ What does that imply? They are not giving me even the chance on that platform, because if I am there, I won’t accept what they’re saying. If I go to another party to run this, it means, the full house will be behind me and they will not succeed. So they are [pursuing] me not to do any.”

<sup>174</sup> Videotape Ogoni Day, Interview 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari, Interview by Eric Komene, State Electoral Commission: “One thing I am working on now is the political system of Ogoniland. We have to be part of the politics – but the politics that should develop our people. And we are trying to encourage our people to get into politics, not to go there and then get the money at the expense of the people, but to go there and get the Ogoni bill of rights emphasised. Because the international community is telling us: ‘Oeh, you know, we, there is no longer military in the – in the country, and therefore you have to go through your legislative arms of government. Go to your government and tell them what you want.’ However, the Nigerian system, or we call Nigerian leadership, they are deaf, they are [...], they don’t have heart, no – they are not humane – no human sympathy in them. They don’t have human feelings, they only get there to amass wealth. But whatever happens, like I said earlier, darkness will always part to light.”

<sup>175</sup> Videotape Ogoni Day, Interview 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari, Interview by Eric Komene, State Electoral Commission: “You see, you know – oh man, I feel so bad sometimes, because, when I was a kid and people talked, they would hear that the European used to say the black people, they are monkeys, they are animals. I was so angry. But by the time I travelled out and came back and see the way we behave, sometimes they are justified to call us monkeys. For instance, look at what is happening. Go to the universities in Nigeria today. Three quarters of the lecturers went to overseas. But they came back to Nigeria and still demanded money from the students before they passed exams. They ally with the girls before they pass exams. Let me tell you, in the US, even when you have failed your exam, there is what we call ‘make up test’. They don’t want you to fail. They encourage you. They give you another test again to improve – if you don’t pass, they give another one until they collect all the results of the A, B, C, and D which they pass, and they give you a [degree] that will make you pass. None of them will ask you to copy. But our people: who is that governor, who is that president, who is that man who has never travelled overseas to see what happened there? See what they are doing here. It is not enough to call them animals, because if a goat comes to your house and eat[s] food the other day [you] beat it out! – No, two seconds after that the goat is coming inside again!”

<sup>176</sup> Videotape Ogoni Day, Ogoni Day speech 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari: “When we were praying, somebody mentioned politics in Nigeria. I want to address that issue. We did not see anything bad in politics as an organisation and as a people. In fact, one of the things MOSOP was advocating for is democracy. And I want to tell you unequivocally that, if you have anything MOS– I mean, democracy in Nigeria today – it is the work of MOSOP. Because MOSOP embarked on very, very heavy, very huge local, national, and international campaign for democracy in Nigeria. But the problem we have in democracy or in politics is that politics is supposed to be the wish of the people. It is supposed to be the development of the people. It is supposed to be the progress of the people. Democracy is all about justice. Democracy is about the rights of the individuals, of the people who live in that community. [...] [*Videotape cut.*] – protection of human rights, protection of our resources, and giving the sense of human being to every individual. [*According to the vice*

*president's translation where 'democracy' is mentioned, this obviously refers to the purpose of democracy as before.] But unfortunately – [...]*"

<sup>177</sup> He has recently lobbied with Seargent Awuse, an Ogoni candidate for governorship of Rivers State. Telephone interview 20<sup>th</sup> July 2003.

<sup>178</sup> Telephone interview 20<sup>th</sup> July 2003. Especially after the worst failure of international support when Trocaire, (Irish Catholic agency for world development, erroneously believed to be an organisation of the European Union), had paid hundreds of thousands of pounds to Ledum Mitee on behalf of MOSOP against MOSOP International's warnings.

<sup>179</sup> Ogoni land is not for sale, brochure by Reformational MOSOP youths On Exile, p. 4: "The Ogoni political class of the former generation was composed of men with sound educational standings. [...] The present political leaders know that their <livers> is now infinitesimal and that the present recruits are ill-educated. They know that the younger politicians are products of empty class rooms and laboratories of Community Secondary Schools."

<sup>180</sup> Videotape Ogoni Day, Interview 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari, Interview by Eric Komene, State Electoral Commission: "Eventually, if by manipulation – what I will advise the Ogoni people to do, is to demonstrate that: 'The man you put there, government you put there is not our wish and is not [one] to represent us.' Until we do that then the slogan: 'Arise, arise, great Ogoni people, arise,' we will not allow anybody to cheat us anymore. Until – let me tell you: it is not the man that leads that has the power, but it is the led that have the power. So, if the Ogoni people should keep silence over an undemocratic system, then the blood of Ken Saro-Wiwa will be in vain. That's what I am encouraging the Ogoni people to do now. [...] The people have the right to say: 'Hey, Mr Government, the guy you put there is not to our choice – this guy is our choice. And we'll resist it non-violently. If they want to <reek> election, we say: 'Hey man, you are not going to <reek> this election.' It is more or less telling you: 'We don't like your system, your policy.' [...] So, the Ogoni people, my advice to the Ogoni people is that: let us teach the world that what they play in other parts of the country, they cannot play it here."

<sup>181</sup> See endnote 219.

<sup>182</sup> Videotape Ogoni Day, Ogoni Day speech 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari: "But when the time for election comes, vote for whoever you know <that> has Ogoni at heart. If they want to use their resources to manipulate election for themselves to [get] into power, let me tell you, God will manipulate them out."

<sup>183</sup> Nigerian Spectator, 16<sup>th</sup> June 2003, p.1: "He [Mitee] went further to say that, for democracy to succeed in our country, viable organisations like Mosop could sponsor credible candidates in an [e]lection. 'At least it will increase competition and only the best shall be chosen'. [He] openly declared that his candidates will be chosen from the disciplined and God fearing class who have the interest of the masses at heart [...]" – The Hard Truth, June 2002: "Mitee [...] noted that the people of Ogoni had, in the past years suffered lack of development since they voted into office candidates who never had the people[']s welfare at heart. It is saddening to note, the activist quipped, that the Ogoni needed to look inwards to make their council chairmen accountable to the people for any kobo spent, rather than continue to accuse the federal government of neglecting the Ogoni. To see that best candidates are elected to run the affairs of the councils, Mitee said MOSOP would organise<d> a face-to-face debate among all aspirant[s]. According to him, it would afford the voters the opportunity to know and weigh the programmes and plans of each contestant. He criticised some immediate past council<s> chairmen in Ogoni kingdom for encouraging thuggery and terrorism in the area. He particularly condemned Chief Fred Kpakol the immediate past chairman of Gokana Local Government Area, for breeding an army of thugs, who have made the communities in Gokana unsafe."

<sup>184</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Eleme, Chiefs Obekle Tenwaji and Ngei Nwakaji: "And the progress now is, you cannot be just outside [packed openly] as you used to be before that you have seen MOSOP [killed and detained, beat up]. Even if they do, they do it secretly. The Ogoni, wherever he is, is recognised as people who have brought democracy e. g. And if you are between Rivers or anywhere and when you hear 'resource control', this and that, Ogoni struggle has been able to create the avenue for people to say what they want, anywhere here in Nigeria now. That is the most progress of MOSOP, not particularly – even though we are not feeling it here. All that communities, if a company go there they will ask for their right. If government want to take anything from them they ask for their right. This mass killing as they were doing to us before is not happening now. It is not happening now, there. Everybody has right now to ask for his right. That is the progress of MOSOP in Nigeria as a whole. And if democracy, now it was MOSOP that brought this democracy as we are talking in Nigeria now. So, even the Governors are asking for resource control, to use their own. And their own is: even if they use that, their own from here, you will not see it. E. g. Ogoni contribute a lot. All right, all these companies you are seeing here, we don't derive anything. But the Governor asked for their right. And when they give them, they do use it for another place, not for this place. – Though within the MOSOP itself, the whole of Ogoniland is stranded, is stranded, there is no progress. MOSOP has just enlightened other groups of people in the Niger Delta area. Even right down to the upland areas. But, the Ogoni itself, has not derived any benefit from MOSOP,

because MOSOP has served Ogoni as a means, a medium of punishment. It needs, within MOSOP, to get some projects to arouse the interest of the masses. E. g. attending MOSOP meetings: If there is a boss here in Eleme kingdom belonging to MOSOP – and tomorrow is Ogoni Day – there is a boss, standing boss belonging to MOSOP to carry people to Bori, it will awaken interest. So, progress for the Ogoni people, for the MOSOP, will begin in MOSOP itself. No other person except the international community will just assist us by whatever means and then Ogoni people will readily respond. Because poverty has made the interest for MOSOP die. When they call for a meeting and a woman or a man has no money for transport they will not go.” See also endnote 176.

<sup>185</sup> See endnote 203.

<sup>186</sup> Videotape Ogoni Day, Ogoni Day speech 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari: “It is easier to kill a dreamer – But it is not possible to kill the dream. They felt that by killing Ken Saro-Wiwa everything about Ogoni and MOSOP will die. But I can assure you that almost every corner in the whole world from the US to Britain to Australia – everywhere, the Scandinavian countries, you hear about MOSOP and Ken Saro-Wiwa. MOSOP under Ken Saro-Wiwa had been able to teach Nigeria and the investors in Nigeria the importance of environmental impact assessment studies. Before now, you can put your petrol station anywhere without environmental impact assessment studies, but now, they do it. Ken had been killed, but the dream is still alive. We were talking about resource control as embodied in the Ogoni bill of rights. Ken Saro-Wiwa had been killed. But today, the people of the Niger Delta, they talk about resource control.”

<sup>187</sup> See endnote 72.

<sup>188</sup> See endnote 184.

<sup>189</sup> See endnote 14.

<sup>190</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Eleme, Chiefs Obekle Tenwaji and Ngei Nwakaji: “Most [things], workers can buy always, some people are not working – but the masses are suffering.”

<sup>191</sup> See endnote 193.

<sup>192</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Eleme, Chiefs Obekle Tenwaji and Ngei Nwakaji: “Now, you know, when there are poor, much poor, poverty in Ogoniland, people saw it as an avenue for sources. So because of this, some people started embracing the opinion of Mitee. [...] So, all that aims at: with dialogue they bring light, they bring road, there will be houses, all – they met with failure.”

<sup>193</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Eleme, Chiefs Obekle Tenwaji and Ngei Nwakaji: “Because, if you call for elections now e. g. many can come within two days, because they don’t know what is inside. They will think that there is money inside like this and once they don’t see any they abandon it and run away. So, we’d like to lay hand on those who can carry out the MOSOP activities without money: they can use their money, they can use their sweat, they can even trek. Those activists, like as core, you know. Because, many of these boys on several occasions, they came in, we elected them as officers, within some time they abandon and run away, because they don’t find an existence, I mean, a source of living, just like politics where they can buy drinks – give them one hundred, two hundred, you see them jumping like Indians, <heh>. [...] Just see why: he went to Ghana. I was afraid that – how can he [Chief Tenwaji is addressed] survive and go to Ghana and come back? Well, just because he’s in spirit of MOSOP. So, MOSOP, our youths, they like MOSOP. But what I am now saying is, if anything happened, e. g. progress, you will be surprised to see that you will not – all of them will come immediately, they only want to see something done. And one thing from there ninety-three till now, our MOSOP they have not seen anything physically. They just think that it has died natural [death] – That we are deceiving them, you know. [...] Because Ken saw it as a very bad slight on the people of Ogoni and he started, he wasted money, time, and even his brain. He was working day and night. And that was why the whole of Ogoni, about 500’000 people came together and joined him. When they killed him, the zeal was still there. Up to the time Mitee came back from – the US – abroad – and [then] he started working with the government and interest began to die, plus poverty. Now, if there had been something to hold on the people of Ogoni, so that they can at least eat two good meals a day, they would still be interested. You know, our point of – what we are demanding for is Ogoni autonomy. But when the masses, the poor masses saw that Ogoni autonomy had died with Ken, many of them are changing opinions. They want to join government, so that they can eat. Not that they are interested in government, because government is not doing anything for us.”

<sup>194</sup> Interview 5<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Barisuatam Deeyeh: “We need things like – in a development we need something like pilot projects, some credit schemes for our women, you know, to get them busy. Because right now, to be very frank, poverty is just what is staring them on the face – and they’re very industrious. If they can get a small thing to take them out, you will see within a short time, you will know that these people are really very industrious. So, and the other projects, we need, eh, pilot projects, we need some projects that can really liven up people. *This credit project, is this running already?* Yes. We have had something like that sometimes for quite a long time, but right now there is nothing on ground, right now nothing on ground.”

<sup>195</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Eleme, Chiefs Obekle Tenwaji and Ngei Nwakaji: “And there are things that will need money: to carry out projects. But with us, we have no money. Even some of us who attended the Ghana

conference suffered because of finance. We had no money and for the days we stayed there and came back we almost wept. [...] When you hear MOSOP and how is their activities: activities of MOSOP is very much alive, but the poverty is disturbing us. [...] It's not easy. So, when somebody is seen that is thinking that the struggle is stranded or we are not fully known, that is because of the poverty that is controlling our movements."

<sup>196</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Eleme, Chiefs Obekle Tenwaji and Ngei Nwakaji: "They almost forget, they don't support, I mean, financially, I mean, to aid us [...]."

<sup>197</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Eleme, Chiefs Obekle Tenwaji and Ngei Nwakaji: "But, then, at the same time we thought that by now, that the international community must have come to do something. Even to establish companies, because – I don't know, even companies, I don't know, to open some industries. We have land we can give free. If it is [agric] for example, we have land. But we have no money to develop them. We can do fishponds, we can do the planting. We thought [that from] abroad some people will come and see. I know there have been series of interviews and discussions as regard to establishment of industries and companies, or farming something up till now. Because, that would have motivated us more. If we are having something doing that kind in Lagos – move, you know. So – not only that. Each time I think of the plans of UNPO e. g. Because I met with Ken [he was the vice president of UNPO] who told us pop and play. I want to tell you, look at him. We met him at the – Bori camp detention. – And when I asked him, I said: 'Look, you are here. What is happening in your office as president of, eh, vice president of UNPO? And as you are here, if they imprison you, what will happen?' He said: 'Look, we should pray that God should harden the mind of Abacha to do what he want[s] to do.' That if he imprisons him, he will start all our friends when he comes out of the prison – before you [addressed to Chief Tenwaji], not so? That he will – that if they should kill him, and that – [and] as soon as they kill him, it'll be faster. This is what he told us – face to face. So, I say all that this [as an official as] vice president of UNPO. He said when he, he himself is killed, that UNPO will take over, the thing will be easier. But, surprisingly, a vice president of an organisation like UNPO – all from 10<sup>th</sup> November ninety-five he was executed till now, we never heard a word across. [...] Or United – even if when we hear United Nations, all Ken appeared to them and everything, [I thought that] – no, everybody silent. I know that the Secretary General [Meshach Karanwi] is very friendly with Kofi Annan, very friendly with Nigeria. But, nevertheless, when somebody [went]– and when Ken was shouting that Nigeria is now competing with the international community, that Nigeria said: There is nothing they can do. – 'If we, they do so, so thing.' And yet, they killed him. And United Nations has not said anything. UNPO has not said anything. Even Commonwealth that suspended Nigeria, within some years this Obasanjo came, said: 'Everything's all right.'"

<sup>198</sup> Interview 5<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Barisuatam Deeyeh: "Right now, <on> the short run we are highly in need of, one, an office equipped with communication, you know, [these things], facilities with which we will be able to get to anywhere we want to get to."

<sup>199</sup> See endnote 197. Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Eleme, Chiefs Obekle Tenwaji and Ngei Nwakaji: "So, I want you, whatever you're doing to see, what the NGOs [is] – I know they're working hard by publishing, by telling people. I don't know whether they have any other activities than writing and informing people. If not, then you should say that at least there should be something to establish to enable [us] survive. Because I know, if government, if international community sit and see all of us dead, I don't know how they feel."

<sup>200</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari: "Now, we, in September last year [2001], we had an international conference in Washington DC to address the MOSOP activities as it relates to the democracy in Nigeria. And we issued a communiqué calling on Nigerian government to address the Ogoni bill of rights. We also, eheheh, in the same communiqué we asked Shell to come and clean up the mess, the oil spills, in the area and to stop gas flaring in the area. We also asked Shell to come to the aid of the Ogoni people in way of developing the place: electrification, water supply, hospitals, schools, and good roads. But, up to now, nothing has been done. [...] Back home to Nigeria again we have written by our communiqué from Accra conference that government should address the Ogoni bill of rights which is our views."

<sup>201</sup> Videotape Ogoni Day, Ogoni Day speech 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari: "We are talking about a state for the Ogoni people. [Applause.] Khana local government is the largest local government area in the whole of Nigeria. Khana local government is supposed to be about four LGAs, only Khana alone. I don't see any reason why communities less than Bodo is made an LGA, but Bodo is not an LGA. *Audience: Bodo!* There is no reason why a community less in population than Biara, a community less in population than Bane is made an LGA, but the whole of Ogoni put together, is only four LGAs. We are saying: that must stop. [Applause.]"

<sup>202</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari: "The pressing issue as now we have, the pressing issue we have now is an Ogoni State. We need an Ogoni State, because even in this present Rivers State the Ogoni people are financially incapacitated, and they cannot run for the Governorship of this state. They cannot become Deputy Governor of this state. Even the speakers of the House of Assembly, they cannot. But, we are hopeful and convinced that, if an Ogoni State is created, the [lee] oil money that is brought from the federal government for now – since the federal government utterly refuse[s] us to control our resources –, we can use that to develop our people. So, our priority, our priority, I think that if a state is created for the Ogoni people, we

have gone so far to solving the problems of the Ogoni people. State creation. Now, the long term could be a way of creating industries. The whole of Ogoniland, we do not have one single bank, no bank. [...] Because, if we have [that] state first, we can embark on industries and <to> create job opportunities to our restive youths.”

<sup>203</sup> Videotape Ogoni Day, Ogoni Day speech 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari: “Let me tell you one secret. We talk about economic resource control. The land use decree denied us of our resources. Even when the governors of the [South] South went to the court for resource control, the High Court of Nigeria ruled that the resource should belong to the federal government. Let me tell you the repercussion of that right now. When the Nigerian High Court is ruling that all the Nigerian resources be controlled by the federal government, the International Court is saying that Bakassi should not belong to Nigeria, it should belong to another country. Ba’kassi means: ‘Don’t go there.’ That is Ogoni language. *Single woman: Ba’kassi. Vice president: Great Ogoni people! Audience: Great!* We, the Ogoni people say: ‘Look, if you are paddling your canoe, if you are pulling your boat, if you go there you will be drowned. That is very dangerous,’ which means: ‘Ba’kassi ny’ayee!’ [*Vice president and audience laugh. Applause.*] It now means, even Bakassi is to Ogoni – is Ogoni’s oil. *Vice president: Great Ogoni people! Audience: Great!* And from federal government to take away our resources from us. God say: ‘OK, is that what you mean? I am taking this from you, please, [to another] country.’ *Audience: Yes.* Let me tell [another quote of] injustice in Nigeria. By the seismic <resort> of 19– I mean, of 2000, they have discovered a very, very large depot of oil in Lagos state which will serve the whole of this country for 40 years. [*The president corrects the vice president. Laughter.*] *Vice president: Great Ogoni people! Audience: Great! Great Ogoni people! Great!* The people of Yoruba, because their brother Obasanjo is the Head of State, is the president, they have stopped all oil companies to drill oil in Lagos state, [pending] the fact that probably Nigeria may be split one day, they have to use this. But they want the Ogoni oil to be served – to be serving other people. *Commotion.* The oil deposit there will serve the country for 40 years. But let me tell you, they will create an Ogoni state very soon. [*Applause.*]”

<sup>204</sup> See endnote 202. Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Eleme, Chiefs Obekle Tenwaji and Ngei Nwakaji: “You know, our point of – what we are demanding for is Ogoni autonomy.”

<sup>205</sup> Letter dated 16<sup>th</sup> October 2000 from Meshach Karanwi, General Secretary MOSOP International: “The present government of Obasanjo has directed that Ogoni not be paid any part of the so-called 13% oil derivation money recently approved for oil-producing areas for disallowing Shell from further oil drilling in the area.” Press statement, press conference 8<sup>th</sup> December 2000 in Zurich, Deebi Nwiado, MOSOP Denmark: “Thirdly, the Ogoni People is denied the 13% derivation money now paid to the other oil producing communities. The Nigerian State argues that currently oil production is not taking place in Ogoniland. This is not true since oil-carrying pipelines still criss-cross Ogoniland. In the recent past month, a Shell oil pipeline taking oil from Ogoniland, busted open in K. Dere and spilled ton<e>s of crude oil into farmlands causing further environmental problems.”

<sup>206</sup> Videotape Ogoni Day, Interview 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari, Interview by Eric Komene, State Electoral Commission: “Well, my plan for the Ogoni people, one, which I still maintain, until the Nigerian government tells us how we can manage – how we can use our resources for our development, no oil company will come into Ogoniland.”

<sup>207</sup> Interview 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bori, Beneficiaries MOSOP scholarship fund: “Actually, the money appeals, and we are soliciting that those of you that are helping, because, if it is only through your system that we can bring out more talents in Ogoniland, because we are somehow being [ashamed] of being that helpless. You see, if you go around you see much Ogoni rotting about, rotting for nothing. But we pray that through some external assistance like yours – and I also thank this, the university fees foundation who pumped in this money and they have been able, and I thank the grace of God, to produce here graduates like us. [...] I want to ask a question. My question goes as this. With the devaluation of the Naira as it is, the economic standard of living is hard. As compared to these our scholarships, 10’000 Naira, we’ve heard that even not be[en] able to register some of us, depending on the various investments we run. How and – is there any way we can from you, to improve our reimburse resource, so that we can maybe [be bettering up our lots that] we are getting from other scholarship fund. Is there anywhere, [...] Or, how are you going to do so that we can get more beneficiaries, more helps, and to improve, or maybe, increase our money, from 10’000 Naira to whatever, whatever. How do we expect that from you? That’s my questions to you.”

<sup>208</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Eleme, Chiefs Obekle Tenwaji and Ngei Nwakaji: “And maybe, please, we’re uncomfortable, as we are here now. You see, the whole of this place is polluted [...]”

<sup>209</sup> See endnote 200.

<sup>210</sup> <http://www.shell.com/home/Framework?siteId=nigeria>: “This is a hugely challenging process. SPDC has more than 90 oil and gas fields spread over some 30,000 square kilometres of oil mining leases in the Niger Delta. It is a massive operation involving a network of more than 6,000 kilometres of flowlines and pipelines, seven gas plants, 86 flowstations and other facilities. Associated gas is one of the most difficult gas sources to harness. It is produced at low pressure and has to be compressed and treated in purpose-built facilities before it

can be used. Individual fields do not produce enough associated gas to be economic on their own, so they have to be linked to each other by a network of compression facilities and pipelines to collect enough gas for a typical industry. Over several years, SPDC has developed gas gathering modules based on geographic catchment areas. These areas represent the sum total of associated gas production in adjacent fields and optimise the use of facilities required to collect and treat gas. By 2008, all SPDC flowstations and processing facilities will be provided with equipment to gather and harness their associated gas. SPDC's plans for flares out by 2008 are carefully matched to the realistic projections for the demand for gas from both the domestic and international markets and also to projected capital investment from the Government and other parties. In spite of the limited domestic markets and of a satisfactory infrastructure in Nigeria, we can report that gathering and marketing of associated gas is going well and that we can realistically hope to meet our flares out target of 2008. [...] A few years ago, meeting the 2008 flares-out deadline without closing oil fields, might have seemed an impossible task. Today, as the Nigerian Liquefied Gas Industry (NLNG) gas gathering projects progress, what was a major problem is steadily becoming a major opportunity - not just for Shell Companies in Nigeria but for Nigerian industry and for the country as a whole. The energy that is potentially available from Nigeria's flared gas is prodigious and in order to harness this opportunity, together with our Joint Venture partners and associated companies, we have put in place a network of planned projects across the Delta region to gather, process and deliver associated gas in the form of liquefied natural gas and to ensure that the 2008 flares out deadline will be met. New markets for this gas are being energetically pursued in Nigeria and gas sales increased by 15 per cent last year. [...] This contribution will also help create infrastructure which will ultimately see natural gas make a huge contribution to the economy, estimated to be worth around \$20 billion within 25 years. In 2001, over 620 million standard cubic feet of gas per day was sold - an increase of 15 per cent on the previous year. Continued investment to further develop Nigeria's oil and gas industry is currently under consideration by SPDC and its Joint Venture Partners. This additional investment will be the driving force in Nigeria's vision of producing 2.5 million barrels of oil per day, and utilising 2.5 billion standard cubic feet of gas by 2010."

<sup>211</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari: "You know, before Ken - when Ken died people were a kind of getting disappointed, they were so frustrated, there was apathy, there was discouragement. And very many people under oppression by Shell and government, they were intimidated, they were afraid. They couldn't come out. So, the Ghana conference, the Accra conference of March/April last year, we were able to address this issue of intimidation, and then emphasising our non-violent struggle to continue."

<sup>212</sup> See endnote 215. It is worth noting that Shell uses the very same expression "conducive environment" towards MOSOP. P. M. News (Lagos), 26<sup>th</sup> July 2001: "He [Shell Managing Director, Mr. Ron M. Van Den Berg] also called for a conducive environment for SPDC to return to Ogoniland for oil exploration to commence. According to him, this way, the company would be able to clean up the spillages and contribute to the development of Ogoniland."

<sup>213</sup> Interview 5<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Barisuatam Deeyeh: "You see, we have what are called sponsored crises. There we have pure violence orchestrated on the people, manipulations by these politicians. You know, this one wants to go, this one thinks and, besides that, government is always there. Like what happened in Jeghe, Bori. You know, where some hoodlums were hired. They were paid and they were given guns to come [...] as chasing people out, killing people."

Videotape Ogoni Day, Interview 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari, Interview by Eric Komene, State Electoral Commission: "And one thing is this - which I have to mourn - like the bible would say: Temptation will come, but war onto through whom the temptation will pass to tempt the son of man. Very many Ogoni people - like Ogoni is [now] shaking, shaking, you can agree with me - in a revolution when you see tremendous shaking of a people who have been oppressed that means God has intervened and sooner or later the [victory] will come up. You see this people fighting this people, this person fighting the other person, brothers will fight <his> own brother. Some people will be manipulated with money to go and kill their fellow human beings."

<sup>214</sup> Videotape Ogoni Day, Ogoni Day speech 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari: "Very early this morning, I received some threatening words. They said: 'If I come to this place, there is going to be trouble.' And very early this morning, a young man came to the deputy. And said he was invited for a war. And they have kept aside 200.000 Naira to be giving them, if they can come and scatter us, because they don't want two MOSOP in Bori. When we were coming from Jeghe, I saw a lot of people who were forced to get into BMGS. But that is not - big deal as far as God is concerned. But I told everybody who spoke to me that we must be here, even if we are only two, we want - we must be here. So, don't be af-, don't be af-, don't be worried about the, the, the, the population you have here. You are like this, because we try to speak the truth."

<sup>215</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari: "*What were the last negotiations with Shell - were there any?* As far as I am concerned as the President of MOSOP, I am not aware of any negotiation at all. They had not called the Ogoni people at any time to tell them: 'We want to negotiate with you.' Because, MOSOP says - up till now we are saying that: Before we go into any negotiation with Shell, there must be a conducive

environment. Because we don't trust Shell. They are always embarking on propaganda [blaze]. We don't trust them. The enabling environment, conducive environment we are talking about is an atmosphere where Shell and the Ogoni people can sit democratically. We sit, they sit down, and we tell them what are our problems. They should also tell us. And telling us when to implement those decisions as it relates the development of the area. Till now I have not, and no Ogoni people can stand up to say: 'We have mandated somebody or group of people to go and negotiate with Shell.' Nothing like that had happened. [...] That is why we are saying that before we go into negotiation with Shell there must be an enabling environment, a conducive environment. It must be based on honesty and sincerity. It must be based on honesty and sincerity. What Shell has embarked on over the years is to create division among the Ogoni people."

Videotape Ogoni Day, Ogoni Day speech 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari: "One thing I want to let us understand is that instead of Shell and Nigerian government to bring us together and have us tell them what are – what were our problems, even if they have refused to read what is in the Ogoni bill of rights, they have devised a means of dividing Ogoni people and ruling them, dividing and killing us, dividing and subjugating us more. My people, I want to say that no amount of threat from Shell and government will make us shift our grounds to let it in, Shell to come into Ogoniland to exploit our resources. Many people may ask: 'Why are we divided, why are we not coming together?' But my joy and happiness on behalf of the Ogoni people is that the divided we are, the strong to oppose Shell coming into the place. Because, if you and I were not here, if you and I were not at – at our respective posts, I am telling you Shell [would] be here to drain our resources."

<sup>216</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Eleme, Chiefs Obekle Tenwaji and Ngei Nwakaji: "Our position towards Shell in 2002. Yes, the opposition in the year 2002 here was still very strong against Shell. Even as we are here now, we are opposing, opposed to Shell for coming here for any operation, because our late leader gave conditions to Shell and Shell refused to follow the conditions, the conditions were that they should pay reparations and observe anybody where the gas comes from [at] the owner and that thing, and have a percentage, and to pay compensations, rents, you know. But Shell refused to do all this. So, since then, the opposition has been very hard. *So, there were the requests for a percentage, for reparations. Were there at any time any requests for co-operation in developing the area?* Yes, there was requests, – no, the requisition in the request then was that Shell should observe these conditions given to them and pay that money, but what Shell did, was to go to government and pay whatever we were asking into government coffer for government to come and develop the place. So, instead of government to come here and develop the place, government go to develop outside places. That is the problem with Shell. They paid in whatever they wanted to pay, reparations, call it anyhow, into government accounts, and government created that committee called NDDC. It is there they paid that money. So the NDDC in turn gave this money to use it for outside, so not here. – And Shell cannot develop this area. – The time it tried to develop this area was the time Ken was alive."

Interview 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bori, Barido Nyodee, FOWA President and Theresa Akoba, FOWA Secretary General: "The benefit we expect from them is, they should first of all bring our father alive. Ken Saro and all the people that was killed. We want them to come alive. Then, after that, they should come and clean our area. Before then, we will out them to talk with them. And what they destroyed then, before they do whatever thing that is written in the Ogoni bill of rights."

Interview 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bane, Chief Saro-Wiwa: "We want them to go and leave our oil. That they go and leave our oil. And they should pay all the penalty of those people who they killed. They should pay for our properties which they spoiled. Nigerian government and Shell should pay for the people they killed, they should pay for our property they damaged, our houses. All the people died in the bush, they should pay, pay us. They did not stay one month or two, they stayed with us, they shoot us. Many of us died in the bush. Many were killed by them. [Who has been satisfied really?] They killed nine in the tribunal court – have they paid for those people?"

<sup>217</sup> See 5.1.

<sup>218</sup> Interview 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari: "Ogoni communities should not fight themselves. You see, Shell and government, they are fond of doing that. They make two communities to fight over something very, very irrelevant. Meaningless things. They believe that when the Ogoni people fight themselves or the – our neighbours fight with us our attention will be diverted from the protest for – I mean protest against marginalisation politically, economic strangulation, environmental degradation. They believe that if there's disunity among the Ogoni people, or the Ogoni people fighting themselves or Ogoni people and their neighbours fighting themselves our attention will be diverted, we shall not be focused on our demand. So, they have been doing that over the years. In fact, in 1993 which right now I am working on, Shell and Nigerian government went through our Andoni brothers, Anokreka people and Ndoki which there was no quarrel, there was no dispute, there was no, I mean, there was no problem at all. And then, our Ogoni people were killed, destroyed houses, property, economic valuables were destroyed. So, we are working on it. My people, we're working on that, have set up a committee. On the 9<sup>th</sup> we are going to attend one committee – one meeting, 9<sup>th</sup> January 2003, we shall attend a meeting on how to handle this situation, because we wouldn't allow government to kill us,

Shell to kill us, even when we don't get any development from them." See also endnote 7.

<sup>219</sup> Videotape Ogoni Day, Ogoni Day speech 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari: "Let me also use this time [of the coming elections] to warn the Ogoni sons and daughters. You should not spill your blood because of somebody who wants to become a governor. Do not spill your blood – don't spill the blood of your brother or your sister because of someone who wants to become the president of Nigeria. Do not spill your blood – don't spill the blood of your brothers or your sisters because of someone who wants to become a senator or a member of House of Representatives. Because the governor and the president and all who are representing us know that they have not been able to impact the Ogoni people. What they are [prone in] now is how many violence they can create in Ogoni now in order to win election. They give you 5000 Naira to kill your brother and you kill your brother. They give you 2000, 3000 Naira to take in their [hem] – to take all sort of drug to kill your sister and your brother and you do it. But let me tell you. The effect of the blood of your brother, your sister you have spilled, the cause is behind you throughout life. Go home and tell your brothers to avoid thuggery. Tell your people to abstain from killing one another because of somebody's political [aspirations]."

<sup>220</sup> See endnote 145.

<sup>221</sup> Videotape Ogoni Day, Interview 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari, Interview by Eric Komene, State Electoral Commission: "Now, what I am embarking on now, is the peace between our neighbours and the Ogoni people, and we have almost succeeded. Because, there can't be any meaning for development, call it economical or social or political development without peace and unity. Andoni people, they are our brothers and our sisters and there must be peace there. I have been to Ndoki since I came in, the Oibo side, and have embraced them – I have told them the need why they should not be used by government and Shell to destabilise the place. I think we really need peace in the place."

<sup>222</sup> Videotape Ogoni Day, Ogoni Day speech 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bori, Noble Obani-Nwibari: "Another important issue I want to address. Shell is not sleeping. The Nigerian government that does not want the good and progress of Ogoni people, they don't also sleep. What they normally do is to incite our neighbours [against] us and pass through them to kill us [.]. 1993 Ada George used his people to kill the Ogoni people who were at the water front in Port Harcourt. And as he was doing that, Peter Odili deputised him. The same 1993, Shell and Nigerian Government passed through the Andonis to attack the Ogoni people. In 1994, they also po– passed through Ndoki – these are people who had been so peaceful with the Ogoni people, no quarrel, nothing at all. Simply because they want to kill us and they want to divide us, they want to force us and get our resources, they passed through them to kill us. More than 13 villages of Ogoni in that region were completely burnt and flattened. We want to appeal to the Ogoni people right now that, if you go on the sea and if you have any misunderstanding with any Andoni person, it is not the duty of you and your, your, your, your, your, – your, your peers to fight on the sea. Don't do that. Come and report it to us. We will go and meet the chiefs of those communities. And tell them: this is what happened, this is the report we have. Our Andoni brothers of recent, there was a problem along the sea, or on the coast. And an Andoni person did something wrong to an Ogoni person. We advised – and they went and reported to the chiefs of Andoni. The chiefs of Andoni handed over the, the, the, the, the – the criminals to the police. It is not wise for only two – I mean, for a misunderstanding between two persons escalating into tribal war. My happiness – which I want to announce as good news – my happiness is that the Andoni people, right now their chiefs have said the Ogoni people and them will no more fight. Since I came in, I have been to Andoni on several occasions, on, I mean, been with different groups. And very soon, the Andoni people and the Ogoni people, we will come together and resolve, and hug ourselves, we embrace ourselves, we eat together, we do everything together. Very soon, you will hear that news. When once you hear it, don't hesitate to come. On 9<sup>th</sup> January, that is on Thursday next week, there is going to be a meeting of all the church leaders and their members here in this very hall. So, please come on the, on the – on the 9<sup>th</sup>, Thursday. By this notice you are informed. Ladies and gentlemen – [*Question on scheduled time.*] <Er>, ten o'clock."

<sup>223</sup> See <http://www.dawodu.com/ngd1.htm>.

<sup>224</sup> Interview 4<sup>th</sup> January 2003, Bane, Chief Jim Saro-Wiwa. However, Ledum Mitee alleged that they had received a compensation directly from Obasanjo. The Wiwa family refutes this allegation.

<sup>225</sup> See endnote 134.

<sup>226</sup> See endnote 148.

<sup>227</sup> Ogonis as well as an Ibo, i. e. representants of minorities and majorities, have told the author in the very same words: "This country is not worth dying for, it has not done anything for me." In a lecture at the University of Berne, a delegate of the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), an organisation of the federal government, considered the following examples. A hospital surgeon left the emergency surgery without notice and reappeared only three days later. He had been called for by his clan to treat a baby who is a member of his family. He refuted accusations that he had left his workplace illegally and maintained that he had acted in good faith and in fulfilment of his clan duties. – A youth who had made a modest fortune intended to build a well in for his village. However, on returning, the elders of his community ordered that the money be used for a feast. He had to comply with this decision. – In the capital of Mozambique, the SDC established basic infrastructure in

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co-operation with the residents. However, the SDC made the condition that the residents first vote on the use of the project funds (for a mill, a well, streets, etc.). A second condition that was made was that the officials of the city be appointed from all different blocks in proportionate numbers. As a result, the infrastructure was established in accordance with the existing needs of all blocks. It is obvious that, as soon as an organisation or a government contributes relevant funds and material, conditions for and the monitoring of democratic funds use are accepted by the communities and that their own acts of law loyalty start to become meaningful for them.

<sup>228</sup> See point 5 of the Accra communiqué. Appendix II.