

Date Printed: 04/23/2009

JTS Box Number: IFES_68

Tab Number: 45

Document Title: Liberty

Document Date: 1992

Document Country: Nigeria

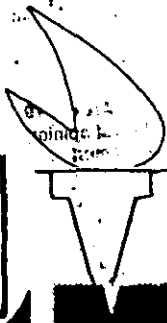
Document Language: English

IFES ID: CE01277



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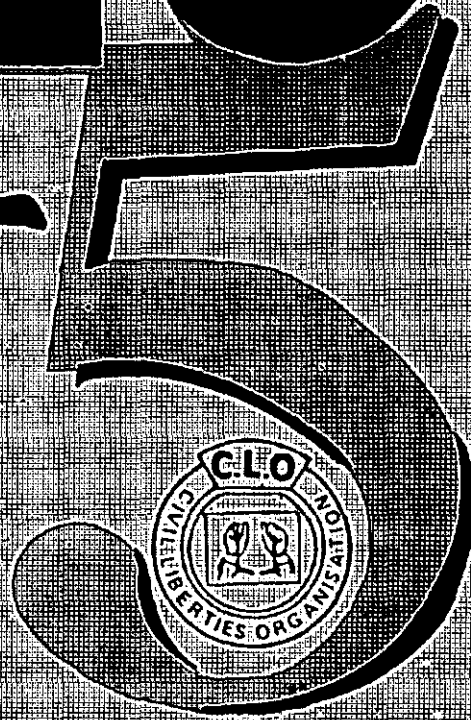


Quarterly Journal of the Civil Liberties Organisation

• Vol. 3 No. 3 July — September 1992 ISSN 1115-8522 Price: Five Naira

CLO

at



THE PARADOX OF REPARATIONS

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national, or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude: slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without the discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11

1. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

2. No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14

Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution. This right may not be invoked in the case of persecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

1. Everyone has the right to nationality.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16

1. Men and women of full age, without limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry to found a family. They are entitled to equal right as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17

1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right

includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching practice, worship and observance.

Article 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

2. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21

1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

2. Everyone has the right to equal access to public service in his country.

3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international cooperation and in accordance with the organisation and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23

1. Everyone has right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

2. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family and existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25

1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26

1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the Maintenance of peace.

3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27

1. Everyone has the right freely participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29

1. Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

2. In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

3. These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group, person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

LIBERTY

CIVIL LIBERTIES ORGANISATION

The Civil Liberties Organisation is a non-governmental, non-partisan, and voluntary Nigerian human rights league. Its purpose is the defence and expansion of the scope of the civil liberties of all residents in Nigeria. This is pursued by the investigation of human rights abuses and the publication of reports on them, as well as the use of the law courts to seek redress for persons whose rights have been violated.

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LIBERTY is the quarterly journal of the Civil Liberties Organisation (CLO) published with the general purpose of furthering the aims and objectives of the body. In more specific terms, LIBERTY aims to provide a forum for:

- * the dissemination of human rights news; and
- * the exchange of ideas and opinions on human rights questions. In addition, LIBERTY serves as a human rights educator with the objective of equipping its readers with the knowledge of their rights enshrined in the constitution of the country and in various international human rights instruments. Finally, LIBERTY publicizes the activities of the Civil Liberties organisation (CLO). Well-written news and opinion articles are welcome from the public. Due to space constraints, however, such articles should not exceed four quarto sheets typed double-space. Also, we welcome letters from our readers who may wish to react to any of the issues discussed in LIBERTY. Such letters should be addressed to The

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LIBERTY is published by:
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 Masha Road, Surulere, Lagos,
 Nigeria.

Tel: 840288, 842209
 Fax: 876876

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FELIX MORKA ARGUES THAT FOR ANY CALL FOR REPARATIONS TO BE MEANINGFUL, IT SHOULD BE BACKED UP WITH CALLS ON AFRICAN LEADERS TO PAY BACK ILL-GOTTEN WEALTH, STASHED AWAY IN FOREIGN BANKS.

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THE PARADOX OF REPARATION

The demand for reparation to Africa for the several decades of ravenous exploitation has gathered a good momentum. One needs only to take a peep into history to discover the enormous inextinguishable crimes committed against Africans which came in form of outright plunder of the continent, in terms of raw materials and other mineral and natural resources, and the suffocating domination and subjugation of the people accentuated by the obnoxious trafficking of Africans as slaves.

In fact, some historians have attributed the dismal showing of African Countries in socio-economic and political spheres

By Felix Morka

to the historical dislocation inflicted by the scramble and partition of the continent. It is the view of the protagonists for reparation that a continent that was the arena of nearly a century of torture and deprivations, unrivalled by no other in history and comparable perhaps, only to the Biblical account of the captivity of the Israelites in Egypt and the Nazi massacre of Jews in gas chambers, for which the latter have become recipient of reparation in expiation of the crimes committed against the Jewish race, is no less qualified for such reparatory payment.

However, the campaign for payment of reparation to Africa by the colonialists seems to have glossed over or completely relegated to irrelevance the conspiratorial role played by some African Chiefs in aiding and abetting the rape of the continent by foreign powers. For as little as a bottle of gin or a keg of gun powder (signifying the white man's magic), these chiefs sold out their kinsmen as slaves into the whiteman's plantations. Similarly, some of them allowed themselves to be used by these invaders to instigate inter-tribal wars to create a troubled atmosphere conducive to the taking of war prisoners who were later sold out into slavery.

The attainment of political independence by most African countries came with it the hope of total emancipation of African peoples from the shackles of foreign domination. Lamentably, this hope has been seriously truncated by a complete failure of the leadership required to lift the continent from the throes of poverty, hunger and disease to an egalitarian society envisioned by the liberation efforts, as the white overlords were immediately replaced by an even more vicious breed of local tyrants, whose despotic and dictatorial cravings have left the colonial masters with a feeling of generous benevolence towards Africa.

These leaders have presided over the persecution, massacre and enslavement of their own people, in some cases, with greater venom than that recorded by the colonialists.

Names such as Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, Idi Amin of Uganda, Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, Arap Moi of Kenya, Siad Barre of Somalia and others, immediately spark off bitter reminiscences of horror, pain and anguish in people who

have the exceptional misfortune of being citizens of their respective countries.

On the economic front, they have showed themselves grossly incompetent and incapable of managing their national economies, in spite of the abundance of human and mineral resources. Corruption and looting of the public treasury have remained the pastime of these rulers, some of who are reputed to be richer than the countries they lead and whose foreign accounts are fat enough to defray the several billion dollars of foreign debt.

It is from the perspective of this historical paradox that we consider the question of reparation somewhat naive. Reparation to who and for what? Assuming, reparation is something to be paid and is in fact paid, is it to these African leaders who have no business with public accountability and probity and who see power as their birth right and are prepared to spill the last drop of their blood in defence and consolidation of their positions, irrespective of the wishes of their people? Or is it leaders who have mortgaged their respective countries to foreign creditors all in the name of securing credit facilities? Where is the guarantee that whatever is paid to Africa as reparation will be genuinely applied for the benefits and development of the peoples and continent of Africa and will not go the way of all the wealth of our nations? It is simply perplexing to know the huge amount of capital that has been pumped into Africa by way of external aid and loans, quite apart from the gross national product of these countries, without a commensurate increase in the standard of living and development.

If we understand reparation in this context to mean some form of atonement for a wrong done to a people, then we are asking our erstwhile colonial masters to do justice and equity to Africa. But I dare say that our leaders must first demonstrate that they are no strangers to justice and fairplay in the allocation and distribution of their national wealth. African leaders must thoroughly and repentantly purge ourselves of base instincts and end exploitative lifestyles- trade marks of colonialism.

I submit therefore, that any talk about reparation should begin with the vital necessity of internal reparation. African leaders should first pay back their ill-gotten wealth stashed away in banks, at home and abroad. This way they would have eloquently and categorically expressed their revulsion and despise for colonialism and all its manifestations. It is only then that we can justifiably and confidently demand reparation from our colonisers. After all, it is said that charity begins at home.

Felix Morka is the Head of Legal Services

EXTORTION

FIVE POLICEMEN ARRESTED FOR EXTORTION

Five Policemen including an Inspector were arrested in August by the Lagos State Police Command for allegedly extorting money from expatriates based in Nigeria.

Briefing newsmen on the 16th of August, 1992, the state's Deputy Police Commissioner, Mr. Yekini Adeoye, said that the arrest was based on reports given to the Inspector-general of Police, Alhaji Aliyu Attah on foreigners guests paying "toll" to these policemen to avoid harrassments.

According to the Deputy Commissioner, the arrested men mounted their illegal road block along Oshodi-Apapa road, a busy area in Lagos, through which foreigners coming from Murtala Muhammed International Airport pass. The men, Mr. Adeoye said, were undergoing trial.

This brings to 13 the number of policemen arrested in the last two months for extorting money from members of the public. In July, eight policemen were similarly arrested at the Mile 12 area of Lagos State by the State's Police Command for extorting money from Commercial drivers.

17 POLICE CHIEFS HELD FOR EXTORTION

Seventeen Police officers in Edo State Police Command have been arrested for allegedly extorting money from suspects.

The State's Police Commissioner, Mr. Ralph Osanaiye, who disclosed this to newsmen on September 11, 1992 in Benin, the state's capital stated that the officers were being queried by a new Police Department, set up to fish out bad eggs in the force.

The suspects, whose names were not disclosed, were alleged to have seized the lawful property of some individuals, under the pretext that they were stolen property in a bid to extort money from the victims.

Also, some police officers were arrested for leaking information about informant to suspects for an undisclosed amount. One of them, the Police boss said, was nabbed for leaking information to a suspect in a case he was handling, while one woman Inspector and three other senior officers were arrested for extorting money from suspects before granting them bail.

Two other inspectors and one constable were also picked up for allegedly demanding consultation fee before handling complaints reported to them in the charge room, Mr. Osanaiye said.

EXTRA-JUDICIAL KILLINGS

TWO UNICAL STUDENTS KILLED

Two students of the Calabar Polytechnic in Cross River State were feared dead and three others severely injured as a result of a violent clash between the students of the Polytechnic and a contingent of the mobile police on Thursday, August 27.

The clash according to Newspaper reports, began when the Mobile Police in Calabar, the state capital, moved into the campus to send the students packing and to retrieve about 13 vehicles seized, over a period of two days by the students of Cross River State origin in the School, who were demanding for the payment of their 1992 annual bursary award from the state government.

When the mobile police moved in, the students who were supposed to be having their lectures, came out shouting that they were not going to vacate the campus, as their semester examination was at hand, but the police stepped up their efforts by using the tear-gas to force them out.

The students then left the campus and converged at the main junction in front of the institution leading to the town and erected barricade to prevent the police from moving to the town with the vehicles. For about for hours, a tear-gas battle raged on between the students and the police.

When the police later ran out of the tear-gas, they were said to have used fire arms which left the two students dead and three others fatally wounded. The names of the affected students were however not known as at the time of going to press.

ARMY COLONEL KILLED AT CHECKPOINT

A Colonel in the Nigerian Army was on the night of September 6 shot dead by the police at a road block in Lagos.

The victim, Colonel Ezra Rindam of the Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC) in Minna, Niger State was returning from a visit to an Army General in Ikoyi, Lagos. On getting to a police checkpoint on Herbert Macaulay road he was flagged down by one of the policemen on duty, who ordered his driver to park and the victim to get out of the car. But as he was stepping out in response to the order, bullets were alleged'y pumped into him, killing him on the spot. The Policemen later took to their heels when it dawned on them that their victim was an army officer.

Answering question from the newsmen on the issue, the Lagos State Commissioner of Police, Mr. Abdul Y. Adeoye confirmed that the army officer was shot in cold blood. He added that the three policemen implicated in the incident have been arrested. Following speculations that soldiers were mobilising for a retaliatory

attack on the police, the Inspector General of police, Alhaji Aliu Attah, swiftly ordered the immediate

dismantling of all police road-blocks nationwide on September 7, 1992, apparently to prevent an outbreak of hostilities between the two security



Late Col. Ezra Rindam

forces. The directive also ordered all Zonal Assistant Inspectors-General of Police (AIGS) to hold regular meetings with their state Police Commissioners and Divisional Police Officers (DPOs) to map out interim security measures for the country.

The indiscriminate killing of defenseless Nigerians by policemen has continued to plague the society. In August, a-22 year old police constable, Mr. Oladejo, attached to the Oyo State police command similarly shot dead one, Mr. Salisu Ajasa in Ibadan, the state capital. In the same vein a final year student of Government Technical College Port Harcourt, River State, Mr. Uduak Harry was gunned down by a policeman during a fracas at a football match in July 1992.

OTHERS**KATSINA LEGISLATORS WANT POLICE COMMISSIONER REMOVED**

The Katsina State House of Assembly has called for the removal of the State Police Commissioner, Alhaji Hanusa Alijos, because of his alleged unpopular approach to security matters in the state.

The request came after a member of the house Mallam Ibrahim Yadu, representing Mai' Adua North constituency, moved a motion for the commissioner's transfer from the state. During deliberation on the motion, the legislators accused the Commissioner of creating unnecessary panic among residents of the state's capital, citing examples of the recurring religious riots caused by members of the Shiite Muslim Sect in the state. The motion was unanimously adopted.

Consequently the State House of Assembly, appointed a six-member Committee, headed by the majority leader, Alhaji Sani Liti, to meet the state governor, Alhaji Saidu Barda whom, they believe could help solve the problem as the Chief Security Officer of the State.

PROBLEMS FACING THE POLICE FORCE: POLICE BOSS CRIES OUT

The Oyo state police commissioner, Mr. James Dababa on August 17, said that the facilities at his command were not adequate for the force to perform its duties effectively in an age of hi-tech crime.

Mr. Dababa expressed this concern during the Police Community Relation Committee (PCRC) meeting held at the conference hall of the state police headquarters, Eleyele, Ibadan.

The police boss noticed that the force had been neglected for long and was now in a sorry state trying to cope with the myriad of problems militating against its operations. According to him, "The yearly allocations for the police is not enough to cater for five percent of the problems at hand", pointing out that the Oyo state Police Command was owing the Nigerian Telecommunications Limited (NITEL) about N2million. Mr. Dababa said, "for instance, if a member of the public calls for police assistance while his neighbour is being attacked by hoodlums and the police could not arrive on the scene at a reasonable time, such a caller would undoubtedly give his confidence to a dog rather than the police". This he attributed to the economic crisis facing the country which has made the Federal Government not to provide enough for the needs of the police thus compelling them to look for help from members of the public through its community relations committee.

POLICEMEN TO UNDERGO MEDICAL CHECK

The Inspector General of Police, Alhaji Aliu Attah, has ordered all police officers to undergo a comprehensive examination im-

mediately. The order, which came in the third week of August, may not be unconnected with the sudden death of a deputy Inspector General of Police (DIG) Alhaji Saminu Daura on August 15th, 1992. The latest casualty in the death roll among police officers in the country was that of a police officer in Delta State, who collapsed in his office and died. It was also reported that as at the time of late Alhaji Saminu's death, the body of an Assistant Commissioner of Police in Oyo State was already in the mortuary.

POLICE ACCUSED OF KILLING INNOCENT NIGERIANS

The president of the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC), Mr. Paschal Bafyau, accused the Nigerian Police Force of killing more innocent Nigerians than armed robbers.

Speaking in Abeokuta, Ogun State Capital, at a three-day Seminar of the Senior Staff Consultative Associations of Nigeria (SESCAN), the NLC boss stated that "available statistics/ data show that a large percentage of people were killed and brutalised via gunshots by the police than by armed robbers".

He therefore called for a re-organisation of the force before the civilian fully take over, so as to ensure a stable third republic.

PSYCHIATRIC TEST FOR COPS

Officers and men of the Nigerian Police force will soon undergo psychiatric test as part of efforts to find out why some of them are always quick on the trigger against defenseless Nigerians.

Making this known at a news conference in Kaduna on September 17, the force's image maker, Mr. Frank Odita told newsmen that the step is necessary to determine factors responsible for the incessant killing of innocent Nigerians by policemen.

In his words: We want to find out whether some of us have psychiatric problem or whether it is frustration. He conceded that the deaths at checkpoints had not only given the police force bad publicity but had also become a source of friction between it and the Nigerian public.

Speaking on the new security measures being put in place following the withdrawal of policemen from check-points, Mr. Odita promised that under the arrangement man-on-ground and motorised patrol system by policemen would be used

He also assured that resources-vehicles and motor-bikes would be made available to all police commands nationwide to ensure a successful execution of the new security strategy.

C. L. O. A T F I V E

In the human realm, a child born five years ago, given all unforeseen circumstances must have started running, jumping or sent off to school.

And so like the human child, the Civil Liberties Organisation (CLO) in its five years

BY: UGOCHUKWU OKEZIE

has putting human rights on the national agenda.

Mr. Anselm Chidi Odinkalu, Coordinator of Projects and Planning, looks back "the idea behind setting up the organisation was purely accidental" A flash of insight so to speak.

The thrust of CLO's activities, since its birth, is hinged on its pristine aims and objectives which says: "The Civil Liberties Organisation is a non-governmental, non-partisan and voluntary Nigerian human rights league. Its purpose is the defence and the expansion of the scope of the civil liberties of all residents in Nigeria. This is pursued by the investigation of human rights abuses and the publication of reports on them, as well as the use of the law court to seek redress for persons whose rights have been violated"

Added to these laudable objectives is its zealous desire to rid our prisons of its monstrosity and murk which indisputably can pass for a death and torture chamber.

In the last five years, the CLO has exposed the plight of prisoners and the pathetic state of those who are unlawfully detained either via Decree 2 of 1984 (detention of persons decree as amended), or by way of police discretion and the popular awaiting trial detainees.

Also, in the last five years, the Civil Liberties Organisation (CLO) has taken the fight to the Nigerian Police Force which has perfected the art of extra-judicial killing of the citizens it is paid to protect.

The killings of Dr. Nwogu Ikere, the Dawodu brothers, the Oko_Oba Seven, Elechi Igwe and the recent felling of Colonel Ezra Rindam in cold blood, among many others speak volumes of the Nigerian Police Force vampirish instincts. How especially with the accidental discharge and trajectory theories always propounded by the Nigerian police, after extermination of the life of innocent citizens.

"One must not forget too soon the journey to and exposure of the infamous Ita-Iko detention Island, a four-hour journey from Epe shores of the Atlantic Ocean and infested with crocodiles, alligators, sharks, reptiles

and other dangerous forms of marine life"- 1988 annual reports of the CLO.

CLO has brought succour to many a detainee. The case of the eleven kid robbers whose sentences were recently commuted to prison terms by the Governor of Lagos State Sir Michael Otedola cannot be forgotten too soon amongst innumerable battles it had fought (and still fights) over illegal detention and incarceration.

It has fought relentlessly to ensure that basic freedoms and rights are guaranteed, given that these freedoms are continually and flagrantly being violated by the military authorities.

An example was the closure of press houses and detention of media personnel



Ollisa Agbakoba
President of CLO

over the alleged complicity of the press in the April 22nd 1990 coup attempt by Major Gideon Orkar. The Punch, Guardian and the Vanguard, had a fair share of the soured milk; inclusive is the slam among others on the so-called radical activists.

In the same vein, freedom of association and peaceful assembly which has been consistently abused by way of repression of trade unions, enchaining of academic freedom and students unionism have all come under the ambit of the Civil Liberties Organisation.

Women and children can now celebrate with the Civil Liberties Organisation because, the CLO has stopped at nothing in righting all the wrongs committed against these section of humanity.

At least in September 1990, Nigeria formerly signed the United Nation convention on the rights of the child at the end of the world summit on the rights of the child between September 29th and 30th 1990.

One other area the Civil Liberties Organisation has performed creditably well, is in confronting abuses against the rule of law as exemplified in the promulgation of absolutist decrees, illegal detention, visiting the iniquities of one person upon another (as in de-

taining relatives' of the April 22 coup suspects), executive disregard of the due process of the law, infusion of ouster clauses in decrees, the judiciary and judicial complacency, death penalties and minors on death row.

Over the past five years, the CLO has filed innumerable suits that traversed all aspects of human rights violations, some of which are still pending in different courts all over the country; inclusive is free legal aid services to members of the society who would have relapsed into complacency because they cannot afford the cost of litigation.

At present, it is doing a critical analysis of the transition to Civil Rule Programme with a view to ascertaining the how's, why's and the relevance viz-a-viz the peoples exercise of their political rights.

If there is one area the Civil Liberties Organisation has performed creditably well, it is in exposing various human rights abuses, the sensitising and conscientising of people their rights and options available for seeking redress.

Amongst its very notable publications are: "Human Rights Condition in Nigeria - Mid year report for November 1987 - May 1988; Violations of Human Rights in Nigeria - CLO Annual Report for 1988; Human Conditions in Ikoyi Prisons - 1989; Report on human Rights in Nigeria - CLO Report for 1989; Human Conditions and Human rights Abuses at the Kirikiri Maximum Security Prisons - 1990; special Report on Decree 2 - 1990"

Others are: "Human rights Abuses in the Refugee settlement of the Displaced Maroko people-A 1990 report hinged on man's inhumanity to man; Human rights in Crisis - October 1990; Don't let Them Die: Report on the Detention Condition of the Twelve Condemned Kids - 1990; The Forgotten Ones: Children Suffering mental illness in Benin City - October 1990" and "Behind the Wall", published in June 1991 which drew the ire of the international community against the Federal Military Government on the state of the Nigerian Prison Systems.

The CLO also received loudest ovation and accolades from the International Community and Human Rights group, notably the lawyers Committee in the US for the 1990 James Baldwin Award and the Amnesty International for the aptness and details presented in " Behind The Wall". In furtherance of its aims and objectives, the CLO publishes a quarterly Journal - "Liberty" which plays a triple role as a human rights educator, a disseminator of human

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HUMAN RIGHTS WORK IN NIGERIA

ORGANIZED human rights work in Nigeria is new. It's birthday is October 15, 1987. The first product was the Civil Liberties Organization (C.L.O.). The inspiration for its conception occurred quite by chance. It all began when a journalist referred a case of one Joseph Odogu, a long standing detainee, to our law firm in July 1987.

He requested we apply to the courts for bail pending Joseph's trial for alleged armed robbery. We accepted the case. We learned from Joseph that he was arrested in August 1980 and detained in prison without bail or trial for seven years. The conditions, he said, were unbearable. The food was unfit for human consumption. Congestion was so bad that inmates slept in shifts; half stood while the others slept. As many as three inmates died daily. On these facts a Judge was able to grant him bail. Joseph

By Olisa Agbakoba

regained his freedom. We were unprepared for what followed. We were inundated with appeals from prison inmates who learned about our work from Joseph. They wanted to be out too.

Their cases were not too dissimilar. Long stay in prison custody under inhuman conditions. We realized we had to start organizing to meet what was a major national problem. A law office was clearly inadequate. I then got together with one other lawyer to found the C.L.O. Happily the community of Human Rights N.G.O's has since grown, albeit slowly. There are now six human right groups in Nigeria.

Our first problem was how to get organized and raise funds. We realized the futility, on the outset of canvassing for public contributions. The environment simply did not exist for it. There is no culture of giving for human rights work in Nigeria. But the founders decided to plod along. We had no firm idea on how to build an organization, let alone run it. We simply took on case after case and hoped for the best. Success came early, not on account of any particular effort on our part. It was all due to a sympathetic Judge; (Mr. Justice I. Agoro) who gave very many rulings releasing long standing detainees from unlawful custody. Soon, we began to make some impact. There was a lot of media coverage particularly when the CLO uncovered the existence of a Prison Island (Ita-Oko Detention Camp) much like Robben Island and Al Catraz.

Early C.L.O. work concentrated on the shrivelled prisoners of long standing. After making a success of our prison litigation project, we were ready for the controversial issues - administrative detention laws, unconstitutionality of military governments, fair trial for coup plotters, corruption and political accountability. But we still had some learning as indeed we still do. We had the commitment but no funds. This is truly a major handicap for NGO's in Nigeria.

The first funding for the CLO came in the shape of a small grant from The Netherland Institute of Human Rights (SIM). It covered office accommodation and basic equipment. If human rights monitoring will be effective it is of first importance to have effective presence in the area. A good spread at the grassroots helps in reporting violations. The CLO has two regional offices in Kaduna and Cross River States.

We also have active branches in States but this is hardly enough to report human rights Violations across Nigeria's 30 States. One of our tasks is how to expand membership. It is very difficult. People are not inclined to join voluntarily and we continually think up ways of sustaining interest. A good approach is to locate local concerns and use it to mobilize new members. It is effective to build the membership base around relevant civil and economic rights readily understood by the community. One example was about the tragic Maroko case; 300,000 slum dwellers lost their homes when the Lagos State Government destroyed their community. It became a great national issue and evoked much concern because the intention of the government was to allocate the land to speculators and developers.

We gave the government a hell of a fight over their action. We went to court in three separate jurisdictions and finally obtained an injunction from the Court of Appeal restraining re-allocation of Maroko land. The embittered slum dwellers readily identified with our work for them. New members poured in as they could empathize with our cause. Special methods to reach the large illiterate population are kept in view. Some are street theater, illustrations, folk music and so on. At this time we are developing themes on poverty and homelessness. It is possible to pin down empowerment discussions on issues that directly affect the recipients. Our networking strategy encourages members of the human rights community to work together and stay close knit. It enhances the voice. A striking example occurred in July 1991 when the Federal Government shut down the Guardian Newspapers for "sensational" reporting about the murder of two Polytechnic students by the Police. Six Human Rights Groups filed suit which established definitive guidelines about executive interference with press freedom. Collective action had effect.

Another good reason why members of the human rights community must and do work together is that it enables each group focus and develop special skills and expertise. Limited resources are well spread and repetitive work avoided. Then we had to think through some strategies. We drew up a constitution, elected officers and went for members. We also thought it would be a good idea to publish an annual account of the human rights record in Nigeria. The first volume was published December 1987. We have followed on ever since. But we had a bit of trouble with the authorities over the first annual report. We were arrested and detained for four days for "activities inimical to the National Security". It was the first jolt but we have come to learn to deal with them. The government has also accepted our presence, albeit reluctantly. In 1988, the government denied our application for funding from the Ford Foundation. Happily, in 1989 the John Merck Fund of

the U.S. and the Netherlands Institute of Human Rights supported two projects. We suffered a major problem in the early days. A key member of the organization resigned on policy difference. But the CLO survived. This has allowed the CLO concentrate on campaigns while yet others look at Human Rights Education.

Another feature of our networking plan is getting plugged into the International Human Rights Community. This is so very important. The impact of human rights work at the local level is limited by organizational scope and funding. So it helps that we stay in close touch with the international community. This strategy proved useful to me once. It was all about my detention by the authorities on the night of June 8, 1990 because the CLO offered legal services to people detained because of the military coup of April 22, 1990. Our international network went to work on the night I was detained. I was out the following morning when news of it was carried by the BBC and VOA.

It is regretted that African NGO's are not as effectively linked to one another as they should be. There are lots of experiences that could be shared. I am sure that it will enhance the African democratization process. And so the CLO has just conceived a link - the African Monitoring Group (AMG) to enhance the many echoes into one loud voice.

CAMPAIGNS

One of the main products of campaigning is to excavate violations of human rights. If you want to bring an issue to the public glare, and keep it on the front burner, sustained campaigning is very effective. This creates impact. The CLO prison project is one good example. In 1987 no one knew about prison conditions but we forced it on to the national agenda. Between 1987 and now, no less than 13,000 prisoners regained their freedom on account of our work. The publication of our book on prison conditions ("Behind the Wall") forced the government to start looking at prison conditions very seriously. The second great campaign that the CLO waged (in collaboration with two other groups) was the "Campaign for Democracy".

Another illustration of the effect of campaigns concerned 12 persons sentenced to death for their alleged role in the unsuccessful coup of April 1990. They were not given a fair trial. The military trial was constituted in a manner that did not guarantee fair hearing. Choice of counsel was denied and the proceedings were conducted in secret. The CLO alerted the public that the 12 were to face a firing squad. International pressure followed. Amnesty International issued urgent action appeals. Happily the government commuted the death penalties to life terms.

The campaign procedures are also used to strengthen the democratization process. We run an empowerment programme for the state houses of parliament. The technique is simple.

We call attention to human rights concerns and urge that legislative action be taken in the form of committee hearings and in some cases votes of censure against executive misconduct. We have placed before legislators diverse issues; Police extra-judicial killings, the 12 kids on death row, the plight of slum dwellers and so on. We also urged that Human Rights Committees be established in Houses of Assembly.

LEGAL RESOURCES

The legal resources directorate offers assistance and representation in cases of human rights violations. The central strategy is not necessarily to win a case. The climate for judicial independence is too stifling. Many decrees oust the courts powers. So we use the instrument of litigation to bring rights abuses to public attention. The press is very circumspect to report human rights cases for fear of government reprisal but they show more willingness to do this if there is a suit in court. At least they can claim qualified privilege to report about public issues. So litigating is really an extension of our campaign techniques. But we do get favourable rulings from the courts. I earlier referred to the newspaper case. I might also mention that the CLO actively litigated on the matter of the coup plotters of 1990. In one of the cases (Gloria Mowarin vs The Nigerian Army) a court declared the detention of the applicant, a girlfriend of an alleged coup plotter, one Alex Aigbe, unlawful and unconstitutional. The government held Gloria hostage because it could not find Aigbe and reluctantly released her only after the Court of Appeal chastised it.

In 1985, the preventive detention law (Decree No.2) allowed the Military government detain any person for 3 months without trial. But following an avalanche of law suits (including Gloria Mowarin) by the human rights community the government was forced to amend the law by reducing the period of detention to 6 weeks. Not a bad result in a country where there is no respect for human rights. The CLO filed 62 lawsuits in 1991. One of the cases was about extra judicial killing of innocent people by the police. The situation was terrible. The police would shoot people and dump their bodies in the public morgue. The practice was completely out of hand until we started filing suits seeking exhumation orders. We obtained a string of decisions until the Inspector-General Police was forced to issue orders to his men restricting the use of firearms. Several obstacles exist in the way of litigating issues. The pervading one is the problem of locus standi (standing to sue). Locus standi is a threshold issue. A person who has no standing cannot in fact commence proceedings. The concept of standing to sue is extremely limited in Nigeria. This is because no distinction is made between public interest and private interest litigation. The doctrine of standing in private suits is understandably restricted to persons who can show special damage. But if this were applied in public law no human rights organization could ever file suit for victims of human rights abuses. This is one of the legal obstacles we are seeking to overcome as it will give us a wider latitude to intervene to protect human rights abuses. Public interest litigation in Nigeria is often without impact if media attention is not brought to bear on it. It is what compels the authorities to watch out. So we

combine public interest litigation with impact journalism for the best results. We also use on occasion, complaints procedures at the African Commission for Human and Peoples Rights although the results have been limited.

RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS AND DOCUMENTATION

As the name suggests, Research Publications and Documentation is about fact finding and documentation. Our documentation unit monitors and reports on the human rights situation in Nigeria. The result is published annually. The 1990 annual report covered diverse subjects as police abuse, prison conditions, the military coup d'etat, fundamental freedoms, economic rights, women's and children's rights, the rule of law, and the death penalty. The report enables the national authorities assess their performance and provides the International Community with an agenda of action. The regular quarterly newsmagazine of the CLO is produced by the research unit. This provides a forum for human rights ideals to be discussed. It also reports the findings of studies which have no chance of publication in the regular papers. It is useful that NGO's develop a mode of communication where the regular newspapers prove inadequate. Our Research Unit also publish books and journals to aid information flow on human rights. The high point of our effort remains our publication of Prison Conditions - "Behind the Wall". The government was forced to take action when the Report was released. 5,300 inmates were granted Presidential amnesty to help decongest the prisons. Food allowances were increased by 100%. We also produce a journal on human rights law - the Journal of Human Rights Law and Practice. We have five books on different subjects coming out this year and it is to be hoped that they will play a strong part in the strategy to inculcate human rights values in Nigeria.

SPECIAL PROJECTS

The special projects unit focusses on classes of rights that require special study. Some of our special projects include the National Prisons Project, Women's Rights project, Campaign for Democracy project, and the Legal Assistance Network. The impact of human rights work in Nigeria is being increasingly felt. No government wants to be seen violating human rights. We determine priorities by the level of abuses. In 1987 we concentrated on the prisons. In 1990 we turned to the police. And we have since focussed on politics and the democratization process. But constraints remain.

POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

The political environment is harsh for human rights work in Nigeria. Military dictatorships do not readily accommodate organized dissent. The Nigerian government is no different and show it in many ways:- banning orders against union activities like the students and workers; Proscription and closure of newspaper; malicious prosecution of human rights campaigners, harassment and detention of people and so on. The government also censors movement. No human rights campaigner was allowed to leave the country until very recently. So the choice we have made is how to strike that balance between getting the job done and avoiding pro-

scription. Sometimes we are compelled to leave well alone very sensitive issues. The abortive military coup of 1990 was one instance where we threaded carefully. We tried as we could to cover the very many problems about it without affording the government the excuse they so desperately want to take action against us. We got away with some bruises, harassments, detention and the like but we survived it all. We often play cat and mouse with the government managing to keep one step ahead. The lesson here is never give the authorities an opportunity but do not also compromise on policy principles. It is so very difficult.

LEGAL CONSTRAINTS

Emergency and administrative detention laws remain the most effective constraint for human rights work. The space for work is ever further restricted by a highly compromised and dependent judicial system. Legal action on behalf of victims of human rights abuses are not generally considered seriously by Judges. Enforcement of fundamental rights are severely limited by exclusion clauses. A bill of rights does not exist and there is simply no respect for the rule of law. Denial and cancellation of registration under the law is another weapon used by the government to harass NGO's. Although it is not mandatory to register a human rights organization under Nigerian law it enhance credibility to be recognized as corporate entity. The CLO was registered in 1987 but the license was cancelled. We have not bothered to make an issue out of it as we are perfectly entitled to carry on our work as an unincorporated association. Indeed one advantage is that we cannot in fact be banned. The CLO is represented by a body of five trustees and unless they all die at the same time, there is no way the government can move against it. There is therefore some point in not seeking registration but the choice will be with the particular NGO and the decision of government.

Human Rights work is still in it's early stages in Nigeria. Because of the pervading influence of government, people are generally not inclined to support human rights activities. As I said earlier there is no culture of support for NGO work in Nigeria. Support comes largely from overseas - the development agencies and the private trusts. We have no real problems with this, although the government had tried to discredit the human rights community during the campaign against the nomination of General Obasanjo and Mr. Ajibola for International Public office. The government made an issue of our funding sources. In a carefully planned strategy to win public support, the government questioned the loyalty and commitment of the human rights community to the national interest. I was amazed at the high level of debates in the newspapers. Happily the human rights NGO's won handily. The attempt at subterfuge was gone.

Human Rights work requires a lot of sacrifice if it must be sustained in Nigeria. The only way to prevent or at any rate resist violation of human rights in Nigeria, as indeed anywhere, is to support the democratization process.

Being excerpts from a lecture delivered by Mr. Ollsa Agbakoba in April, 1992 at the Novib Conference, at the Hague.

C L O A T F I V E

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rights news and a forum for the exchange of ideas and opinions on human rights questions and as an in-house journal.

It also publishes a *Journal of Human Rights Law And Practice in Nigeria and Abroad* - a legal exposition of human rights practices and laws with contributions from notable legal luminaries.

The Amnesty International -a similar human rights league relies heavily on CLO reports for its annual reports of human rights situations all over the world. "Index on censorship" based in the United Kingdom in its various publications has also made extensive use of reports by CLO and back home one must not fail to mention the copious

quotations of CLO reports by the Nigerian Institute of Advanced Legal Studies in its N.I.A.L.S. Research Series No. 1 titled : *Human Rights And The Administration Of Criminal Justice In Nigeria*". This re-echoes the claims of its President Mr. Olisa Agbakoba that "CLO is the most effective human rights group in Africa."

Just like any other field of human endeavour, the CLO has its own peculiar problems.

The President, Mr. Olisa Agbakoba explains: "We have tremendous problems of Organisation, funding, commitment and proper direction" but he has words of encouragement: "I put all these as the prob-

lems of evolution." Adding Odinkalu said "some of the problems are centered around inadequacy of money to be as effective as we wish to be, less cooperation from public authorities (as sometimes many CLO officials have been brutalized by security agents while their travelling passports have been seized by the agents of government.

Also, a pronouncement by the Vice-President, Augustus Aikhomu when the CLO was free summarises the disdain the CLO is held by the government. In his words "the CLO is a group of self-ap-

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A REVIEW OF CLO PUBLICATIONS IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS

To understand the expedience of the publications from the Civil Liberties Organisation (CLO) is to understand the objectives and activities of the CLO.

In the five years of its existence, CLO has, inspite of the paucity of resources, churned out volumes of publications aimed at sensitising and conscientising the people of Human Rights violations in Nigeria.

As in the "Liberty", the aims and objectives of all CLO publications are woven round the quest to disseminate human rights news and exchange ideas and opinions on the human rights question

Along this line of thought, the CLO has published annual reports on the state of human rights in particular years. The reports before the 1990 edition though scanty covered human rights violations by the government, the military, the State Security Service (SSS) and by the police. It is most disheartening to note that law makers are the greatest violators. The 1988 edition exposed prisoners' abuses and also exposed the existence of a detention island of Ita Oko which was created by the Obasanjo regime.

The 1989 edition was on general violations, arrests and detention without trial, extra-judicial killings by the police, congested police cells, torture in police cells and also the case of children in prisons.

In 1990, a more comprehensive report was written. In this report, the ugly face of police brutality was unveiled, gross abuses against women and children in police custody, police harassment at checkpoints and the hopeless, overcrowded, squalid, brutal and dehumanising state of the prisoners were also uncovered.

Other aspects treated in the 1990 report were: "in the shadow of April 22 (the abortive coup). Names of those detained and either released or executed were given. Freedom of expression and press freedom" led us into media houses being shut down and workers

detained for no reason than that they were connected with their professional duties. There was also "freedom of association and peaceful assembly". This affected certain assemblies in the society: the trade union, academia, students union, political associations and the transition programme.

The 1990 report also discussed extensively the abuse of economic rights which was tied to the abrupt withdrawal of subsidies on social welfare schemes and unemployment. A situation where the poor was getting poorer and the rich getting richer.

It went further to lend a support to women's and children's rights given that this group of human beings have had serious violations of their rights to be.

Coming closely at its heels is the wanton and reckless disregard for the rule of law by the powers that be, in what may be termed executive lawlessness, promulgation of absolutist decrees laced with ouster clauses.

Fair comment was also made of death penalty, given that those sentenced to death are not allowed the right to appeal against their conviction and the issue of minors on death row.

Among the quarterly publications, we have "Journal Of Human Rights Law And Practice. This journal is designed to "contribute to the development and systemisation of human rights jurisprudence particularly in developing countries and to enhance mutual exchange of experience in human rights law and practice across national boundaries. Volume 1 NO 1 and Volume 1 NO 2 are presently in circulation. Tied to this, is the annual litigation reports from the legal directorate.

Deserving mention is the explosive long term work and the only book that has ever been comprehensively written on the Nigerian male prisons- BEHIND THE WALL, a 262 paged-book published in 1991.

This is a thoroughly researched work which exposes the state of male prisons in Nigeria.

"Behind The Wall" was a brilliant attempt at not only knitting together all reports concerning

humans rights violations in Nigeria but also the unearthing of the horrendous dimensions of our prison systems. From the gory details, we learn that the reasons for which prisons were made have shifted greatly from being reformatory or rehabilitatory to being squarely, and purely punitive.

The book is broadly divided into two: part one gives a description of the prison conditions, testimonies of inmates as well as conditions of service of Nigerian prison staff. In part two, we see functions of prisons, their legal framework, prisoners rights in Nigeria, prison reforms with perspectives, possibilities and alternatives. Conclusions reached and suggestions given by the writer is found towards the end as well as further details on the prisoners given in the appendices.

Also, the CLO through its Campaigns Directorate now publishes a bulletin called "THE CAMPAIGNER" which is geared towards letting the people know their political rights and when these rights are violated viz-a viz the transition programme. This is in collaboration with similar human rights groups.

From "the Liberty" to "the campaigner", we see the handwork and product of a team with genuine concern for its people- an extremely dedicated and committed lot. As a result of these publications, there has been a tremendous impact on the readers and by extension the general public. Even the federal government must be commended here. There appear to have been a fair response on their part- perhaps a little bit hasty but favourable.

BY :
CHIDUBEM OSAKWE
(RESEARCH OFFICER)

THE CLIMATE OF HUMAN RIGHTS WORK IN NIGERIA IS ABYSMAL -AGBAKOB

LIBERTY: Where did you derive the inspiration to fight for the protection of civil liberties?

AGBAKOB: It's got to do with my experience during the civil war, when I was exposed to considerable hardship and privation. I was detained by the Biafran authorities because of the war. I assume it was because of my parents. My father was then the acting judge of Eastern Nigeria.

My time in prison brought me closer to the prisons. I was able to see the problems of the prisoners. After the war, the scar of the war remained and it has since formed a mental picture in my mind's eye. After the war, I secured admission to the University of Nigeria Nsukka, to read law. After my studies I began to work, once again, I felt the need to do something about the problem of the oppressed people in the society.

Sometime in 1981, at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (N.I.I.A.), I got together with friends to form the Congress of Concerned Citizens (C.C.C.). But, on hindsight, I realised its a failure. It is more of a talking-shop, so it died a natural death.

However, the desire to do something was latent. Legal practice provided the environment where you come in contact with many client, each having different cases. Then, Clement Nwankwo joined me. He also has a considerable interest in social work. In Enugu, where he had done his youths service, he played a significant role in the human rights community there. His coming provided a good meeting point. We then got together to do something about the prisoners.

At the beginning we ran the C.L.O. from my chambers. Later, we realised that there is the need for the Organisation to break away from my identity. We acquired a new office in 1989, and this marked the turning point. Today, C.L.O. is the most effective human rights group in Africa.

The ambition for the next five years

would be to ensure that the corporate identity of the C.L.O. is finally and fully established. That the National Expansion Programme (NEP) is pursued vigorously to ensure spread in all parts of Nigeria. And to ensure that we continue to excavate human rights abuses, the sole purpose of our existence. The first three years, we were very active in the prisons. Since then, we have expanded



Mr. Olisa Agbakoba
CLO President

into very controversial role like the unconstitutionality of the military government, political accountability, transition programme, and a whole gamut of rights, that if we had started in the beginning would not have assured the survival of the C.L.O.

LIBERTY: How did you arrive at the name Civil Liberties Organisation?

AGBAKOB: The name just came from my head. As I sat with Clement, Nwankwo thinking about the name to give to our pet idea, I just said C.L.O. I don't know how the name came to my head.

LIBERTY: Would you agree with the view of some people that C.L.O. is turning into an agent of the Federal Military Government, bearing in mind that you were not arrested during the May clamp-down on human rights activist?

AGBAKOB: Human Rights work is not about going to prison. It's about being effective. Usually, human rights work need not be confrontational, although, in some cases, its difficult not to be. But essentially, what human rights does is

to criticise and draw attention of the people to human rights abuses. What is important is how to manage the conflict in a way that one does not run foul of the law.

LIBERTY: What has been the impact of CLO in human rights work in Nigeria?

AGBAKOB: If you ask me which is the most effective human rights organisation in Nigeria, I would answer that C.L.O. is . The C.L.O. has produced several major works like *Behind The Walls*, *Annual Report*, *Liberty*, *The Campaigner*, *The Annual Litigation Report*, *Journal On Decree 2*, two editions of *Journal of Human Rights Law and Practice*. Besides, C.L.O. is the originator of the *Campaign for Democracy*.

LIBERTY: What would you say about the allegation that C.L.O. is deviating from its original focus on individual rights to political rights thereby turning itself into a sort of political party?

AGBAKOB: C.L.O.'s mandate is established by the constitution and it covers all aspects of rights as recognised by the two principal international bill of rights (The International Convention on Civil and Political Rights and The International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights). We adhere by these conventions. There are three broad rights: Civil Rights, Political Rights and Economic Rights. C.L.O. has been able to interface all the three broad aspect of rights. We are into civil rights (prisons) political rights (A Book On IBB.; Human Rights record is on the way), monitoring of the December election, women's rights and a programme on empowerment and popular participation. C.L.O. has come a long way from October 15, 1987. Right now, we have 23 major projects touching on human and people's rights. All human rights groups must necessarily participate in politics provided that is not partisan.

LIBERTY: It seems C.L.O. activities is restricted to Lagos, what has been the effort to reach out to other parts of Nigeria?

AGBAKOKA: The bulk of human rights work (among all the NGO's in Nigeria) appear to concentrate and converge in Lagos. The simple fact is that it takes a vast amount of resources (which we don't have) and the right type of people to expand the C.L.O. beyond the horizons of Lagos.

Under our National Expansion Programme (NEP), we have achieved modest gains, although I will admit we have not done as much as what we ought to have achieved. We now have two regional offices in Kaduna and Calabar, and branches in Onitsha, Benin, Abeokuta, Uyo, Kano, Jos and several units in the Universities.

At least, we have tried to respond to the allegation that we are Lagos bound. At least, we need to be more aggressive, we need to be seen to cover Nigeria. If the resources are available we will do it. It requires about 5million to establish a national spread. I therefore, call on all public spirited Nigerians to help the C.L.O. in its quest for National Expansion.

LIBERTY: What are the problems of human rights activists in the third world?

AGBAKOKA: Lack of focus! Not knowing what human rights work is really about. Human rights work is not about confronting government at every opportunity or turn. Although, I concede that in the process of human rights work, government is not the best of friends. In the third world, human rights work is fraught with dangers like military dictatorship and less accommodation for human rights activities.

But, I am of the view that we ought not to fall into the same mistake that third world governments make. We need to reach out to the government that our interest is not really to pool them down but to call attention to the vast violations of human rights.

Regrettably, most of the human rights work in the third world is confrontational, and this is off balance. It needs to strike a balance between how to get things done and how to keep the government off its back. Though it is difficult, there is the need to always strive to keep the balance. **My own Motto is : Be effective as much as possible and do not antagonise.** Though some people will say this is contradiction. It is better to be effective and alive than confrontational and dead. At the end of the day, it is up to each NGO to develop its own techniques to be relevant.

LIBERTY: Has the human rights situation in Nigeria fared better since

the founding of CLO?

LIBERTY: The climate of human rights in Nigeria is abysmal. This is made more so by the fact that majority of Nigerians are poor, hungry and diseased. The result is that they do not know their rights. If one were to record all the known cases of human rights abuses, particularly, extrajudicial killings and executive lawlessness, none will deny that this country has witnessed terrible times, particularly under the present military government. My summary is that it has never been so bad, and its due to the modest contribution of the human rights groups in Nigeria that the government pretends it has a policy on Human Rights.

QUES: Do you see human rights groups playing any role in the integration of Africa?

ANS: Yes. They can play a role. I think the most important area is in economic development. It is up to the human right groups to empower, by several programmes, what is truly a largely illiterate population in Africa. An highly developed human rights network in Africa can bring to bear, sufficient pressure on African governments to improve the living conditions of the people of Africa. One way of doing this is to attack the problem of corruption. If it were possible to reduce corruption by 50% across Africa, it is possible to free off about 40 billion dollars lying in the banks in Switzerland to the benefit of suffering Africans. With that kind of money, there is no doubt that the economic base will be revolutionized. In this way, human rights groups have a critical and primary responsibility to the African people.

Again, if human rights groups can find respect for the rule of law and democracy in Africa, considerable success will flow, because it means that people now have a choice of who governs them. In this and many other ways do African Human Rights Group have a role to play. This is the reason why the CLO will launch a network of African NGOs under the platform of the African Monitoring Group for the purpose of forging closer links and highlighting the need for our respective governments to respect human rights in all its ramifications.

LIBERTY: Do you think the third republic will usher in more respect for fundamental human rights?

AGBAKOKA: Its too early to say one can only conjecture what's going to happen. One can only look at the aspirants to ascertain whether there is going to be respect for human rights.

I would say that I have carefully examined the contending political aspirants and I regret to say that I do not see a single candidate at any level who has demonstrated respect for the rule of law let alone human rights issues. There will be far too much rigging in the electoral process to convince me that the Third Republic politicians will understand the principle of public accountability let alone human rights.

My position is that, there will be a fragile Third Republic, full of instability, inflation and disunity. One can only hope for the best.

C.L.O AT FIVE

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pointed messiahs who see nothing good whatsoever about the government."

Above all, the work of ensuring that the human rights flame is kept a-burning is "hazardous and unprofitable hence a high turn-off of skilled staff." Added to these is too much work-load which over-burdens the internal structures. And with the very rapid growth of the CLO these structures receive terrible pounding "says Mr. Odinkalu.

As if gazing into his crystal ball, Mr. Odinkalu says in future the CLO will do well to "re-focus its attention from opposing dictatorship to supporting democracy by devising a means of making it work."

Obviously, he envisages a situation where government will respect the basic rights of her citizens, where the rule of law will be followed to the letter and spirit.

Furthermore, CLO's President Olisa Agbakoba sees a C.L.O. that will touch the lives of all given the expansion programme of the organisation, and presently, the CLO has operational offices in Lagos, Kaduna, Calabar, Benin, Enugu among others and more will soon be opened.

Presently, the CLO has over 5000 registered members, the need for everyone's moral and financial support

cannot be over-emphasised.

As the Civil Liberties Organisation commemorates five years of its birth, one cannot but wish them well, as it journeys through these thorny and hilly paths in quest for a just and egalitarian society, where respect for human rights and rule of law will be society's guiding ethicss and lamp-post.

CLO LAUNCHES WOMEN'S RIGHTS PROJECT

How would you feel or react if you are physically present at the circumcision of your daughter with the pain and mental agony she is made to pass through?

Many a man would answer that question differently. Some who are deep-rooted in traditional beliefs wouldn't care a bit; some liberal-minded men would simply yell and curse.

But in whichever manner one reacts, viewing a film clip on the trauma and agony of female circumcision would simply re-inforce a resolve to erase that horrendous act from our system.

And that was how the inaugural women rights forum organised by the Civil Liberties Organisation (CLO) took off penultimate .

Amidst pockets of reactions from the gory details presented by the film clip, the co-ordinator of the forum, Mr. Anselm C. Odinkalu defined the purpose of the forum and what it intends to achieve saying it is geared towards bringing people to jaw-jaw on women's rights.

According to him, the essence of the forum is hinged on the fact that the Civil Liberties Organisation is not a repository of knowledge on the issues involved.

Consequently, the inaugural edition is geared towards devising strategies through which the issues raised and solutions proffered would be pursued.

The thrust of the forum, said Mr. Odinkalu, is targeted at "women and employment, women and the family, family law and women in confinement- purdah and imprisonment. With this brief introduction, the floor was opened for participants contributions.

Firing the first salvo, one of the participants Mr. Ralph Ugbelu of the Newbreed Magazine opined that the CLO should first identify all those rights enjoyed by men which are not enjoyed by women.

Responding, Miss Angela Agoamike of the Daily Times said that the society is basically controlled by men and as such have the laws in their favour. She cited the disparity in inheritance laws which stipulates that women cannot inherit their husbands property in event of his death and worse still tradition does not make matters easy for women when it comes to property. According to her, the marriage institution even works against women since they are meant to slave. She did not fail to mention the chasm entrenched in the tax laws which are unfortunately against women.

One of the participants said that for the forum to succeed, it must fight against tradition which has placed women at a very disadvantaged position in the society. To her, it is tradition that says a female child must be circumcised and be relegated to the background even in matters that concern her.

And to Mrs. Theresa Akumadu, Research Consultant to the Women Rights Project (WRP), "the issue of trampling on women's rights is a vicious cycle which was created by society itself.

The issue of trampling on women's rights is a vicious cycle which was created by society itself.

She anchored her argument on the issue of bride price where the girl is literally sold off as an article, single-parenthood- where the woman loses her dignity because she is mothering outside wedlock or where she is discriminated against in her place of work inspite of her efficiency or harassed sexually.

It is even worse when the girl is raped because she will always find it difficult to claim innocence since she will never be believed and the resultant effect is the loss of dignity and prestige.

Even when she is legitimately married, she is blamed for her inability to produce male children. She argued.

In proffering solutions, the participants opined that whatever strategies that may evolve from the forum should be directed at men, who they said are the "custodians of tradition".

One of the participants, Miss Rose Badejo of NIPOST Computers foresaw a fierce battle against the traditional belief system and its custodians. Thus she submitted that the forum should start with prayers, so that God will intervene in changing the situation. To her the traditional systems could be very diabolic.

To Mr. S. A. Aiyeyemi, an evacuee of Maroko, the CLO should bring together reli-

gious bodies, traditional rulers and market women at the next forum since they are the custodians of tradition. To him, these groups of people would be capable of effecting a change.

In the area of education, the participants were of the view that the women need re-orientation, to sensitize them of their rights. However, some argued that education must be directed at both men and women, after all, they are both dramatis personae in this theatre that thrives on flagrant abuse of womanhood.

It was also a general consensus that education and re-orientation should start from the family where abuses of womanhood are sown in the minds of the sons.

To them, sex gaps between female and male children must be bridged, stressing that house chores should be shared equally among both sexes and not in favour of any particular sex.

Furthermore, Mrs Akumadu argued that the quest for rights goes beyond sex. To her, "it is a question of being just and Godly, to allow the woman realise her potentials and give room for individual development irrespective of sex."

BY
UGOCHUKWU OKEZIE

BETWEEN TOKENISM AND FEMINISM

Feminism is hip. But most think it is for hippies. This is the Achilles heel of Feminism. The feminist movement suffers from an incurable paradox: It's most immediate beneficiaries do not want

By Anselm Chidi
Odinkalu

to identify with it. To most people, feminism is some kind of deviance. It's popular image is the face of the pant and bra-burning, white, middle class American Lesbian, an image that has conveniently and ingeniously been projected in order to discredit an otherwise credible and desirable cause.

If some people considered it necessary to discredit feminism, it can only be because the movement is a genuine force and a formidable threat to entrenched interests. The truth is that the Feminist Movement addresses injustices that the world has come to accept with comatose blindness. The injustices that feminism seeks to redress vary in their brozenness and subtlety in time and space. Always however, they are injustices committed and institutionalized by the male against the female gender. Because they have not been questioned seriously over the match of history, these injustices have become accepted, until most recently, an the Holy Ghost of gender relations.

Like all formidable socio-political forces, feminism had been attacked in tow ways. The first strategy is "branding". Branding is a form of labelling that thrives on stereotypes in order to discredit opposition or win arguments. The expression "feminist" is supposed to be a label. It is meant to identify a deviant woman who is considered "irresponsible: by the male-defined and male-dominated virtues of our world. The purpose of this strategy is to make the Feminist Movement unattractive to numbers sufficient to give it socio-political credibility. Thus weakened, the Movement is susceptible to "suggestions" which seek to redefine its essence. This is the second strategy in the attacks against feminism. It takes the form of gender appeasement.

The politics of gender appeasement is older than the shell as a medium of exchange. Gender appeasement here and everywhere is vintage puppetry. It masquerades under the face of a "responsible" woman, invariably a mother, married to some hyper-visible public officer. It's core programme is usually indexed on the "virtue" of the woman as a wife and a mother. It never projects the woman as an independent person capable of living her own life and, in a manner of speaking, running her own show. Through the medium of "wives associations" womanhood is thus destroyed as an appendage of the other gender.

This is why gender appeasement is much more than just puppetry. It is also an exercise in tokenism. What is tokenism? Stephanie Roth and Robinson Ferguson, writing in the context of race relations in the United States, define 'tokenism' denotatively. According to them "in it's more obvious manifestations, tokenism is something most people find offensive. When a corporation "allows" one person of colour to enter the ranks of management but never more than one, or when a Board of Directors has one position available for a representative of a particular group, the tokenism is clear." Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in his Third Annual Report on the State of Civil Rights in America in 1963, went much further than this to argue that "...tokenism can now be seen not only as a useless goal, but as a genuine menace. It is a palliative which relieves emotional distress, but leaves the disease and its ravages unaffected. It tends to demobilize and relax the militant spirit which alone drives us forward to real change."

Feminism advocates gender justice. Gender Justice is a composite concept comprising three distinct programmes and principles. The first is gender affirmative action. Gender affirmative action operates on the basis of the same principle which grounds our "federal character (or quota system) principle" to address wrongs of yore against womanhood. The second principle is the well known principle of gender equality. This

principle does not require the woman to apologise for her gender. Nor is it appeal to some Darwinian chemistry for the evolution of the female man. The third principle is that of non-discrimination. This is the principle entrenched in section 39 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1979 and section 41 of the 1989 Constitution.

The truth is that there is yet no articulate programme to address these units of the feminist agenda in Nigeria. The gender agenda in Nigeria is unbelievably paternalistic. Our apology for polygamy is culture while the name we give to gender inequality is "family unity". And in place of a gender affirmative action programme, we have "Better Life..."

All too often, we are told that the woman is her own worst enemy. And that women are the most vociferous in opposing programmes that advance their welfare. The truth is that the woman is the product of the system, of a scheme of values that makes her dependent. Dependency breeds insecurity and insecurity breeds fear of competition. Thus when she protests any programme that seems at first sight to open up her flanks to competition, the woman is actually protesting the injustices of the system that makes her the slaves of another gender.

This, for us, should define the path of the feminist agenda on the fringe of the next century. It must seek for the woman, economic independence as a person. To be able to do this, popular feminism must shed its garb as the pastime of some elitist cabal. It must reach out to the mothers in the rural areas who really fight the battles of life in the trenches of experience. They too are women and they too desire and deserve the benefits of freedom from artificial servitude. This is where tokenism ends and feminism begins.

PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES: PROLONGING A TRAGIC PROLOGUE.

Every thing pointed to the tragedy the Presidential Primaries have now become. The grand culprit, of course, is the entire transition Programmer. Within it may be found for blame, the Various organs, and

By E. Ogaga Ifowodo

their actions, set up to service the programmer. Thus, the National Electoral Commission (NEC) has done enough to earn it capital punishment were it a human being. For its Countless crimes against democracy and the political future of this country, it



President Ibrahim Babangida
....engineered the transition programme.

deserves to be proscribed this very minute. The two political structures set up to do everything within their powers diametrically opposed to party politics and democracy.

Thus, they have not been the engine-room of the democratic machine, as they should be. They have not been the floors of enlivening rich debates about the life-threatening problems of this over-abused Country the national question, a haemorrhaging economy, allocation of resources, a unitary-but-called-federal federalism, religious and ethnic fundamentalism and their power-backed causes, a crumbled social services sector and an annihilated poor majority etc. Neither have they been the grassroots mobilizing parties they were christened to as at their "immaculate conception" and birth of course, this aim was bound to be externally unrealisable given the oath of allegiance to the debilitating and demobilizing conditions mentioned above which their circumstances of birth imposed on them. And when the government completed the oath by asking MAMSER to draw up their basic documents

their Which grand tragedies are made was complete.

There was therefore no promise of things to change. Except if by change, We meant a leap nearer the bottom of the pit of our political sorrows. Which we have seen now to be the only fruit of an elaborate transition programmer that has witnessed everything but that remotely related to democracy, or if you insist, civil rule. Witness: imposed political parties, imposed constitutions and manifestoes; bans, more bans, and unbannings; Vetting of candidates, and their disqualification at the midnight hour; exclusion of full-blooded citizens from participation in their country's politics on account of their political beliefs; emasculation of the judiciary by way of ouster clauses in the infinitely numerous transition decrees; the encouragement (by doing nothing) and enthronement of money as the ultimate condition for running for elective office etc.

The result of the presidential primaries have now spoken, perhaps more eloquently than any radical or extremist would probably have said such a one, chosen to be so labelled so as to give an excuse for not listening to him, would have been hounded into detention and brought before the Transition To Civil Rule Tribunal, or the Criminal Court treason. We have seen now, how result of the first round in the earlier six-phase staggered primaries were roundly rejected by the contesting aspirants themselves. Allegations of rigging in methods more Worrisome for their Collaborationist aspect With the very agents that should ensure impartiality were made. They have not been rebutted, even if denied. the omnipresent role of money, in brazen openness too, towards subverting the already Untrustworthy will of the party membership, has also been decried by those who were outplayed. So also the portentous charge of a determination to impose a particular candidate on the party.

With the exception of the last allegation, both parties were guilty almost to the same extent. And for those who probably looked forward to some sanity in the repeated exercise, the shock of a lifetime must have come when the same ills were re-inacted. As usual, after the cancellation of the first round of the initial six-phase primaries, a lot of heat was expended on "eliminating" the errors and "plugging the loopholes" that characterized procedures and legis-

tics devised by the parte. short of actually conducting the rescheduled primaries, the



.... Accused of partiality
Baba Gana Kingibe,
erstwhile chairman of the SDP

NEC was actively involved.

Elaborate rules were again drawn to ensure the devil was kept at bay this time. The staggering of the primaries would now be into three, as opposed to six, phases. The first phase came, and still, there were embers of dissatisfaction. It appeared restraint, anchored on a wait-and-see attitude was still strong. But not Without a repetition of the earlier allegations: of rigging, of an intent to impose a particular candidate (from the social Democratic Party Camp), and again, of the influence of money. It should be noted that the leadership of the influence of money. It should be noted that the leadership of both parties, was in fact, accused of partiality by way of backing certain candidates. All the aggrieved aspirants



Accused of favouritism
Tom Ikimi, Former NRC Chief

thus called for the resignation of their party leadership, especially the chairman.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (SDP)

It would seem that bad as things were in both parties, the crisis was larger in the SDP. At the end of the second phase of the re-scheduled primaries, 9 presidential aspirants addressed a press conference at which they threatened to pull out of the primaries which had only phase remaining if the anomalies they had complained of were not resolved. They even called on General Babangida to cancel the results so far declared and to order fresh primaries to be conducted by NEC. They sought audience with Humphrey NWOSU, NEC'S chairman, who was at one point reported to have fled into hiding avoid the irate aspirants.

Eventually, it became clear to the public that the candidate sought to be imposed in the allegation of the other candidates, was Major-General Shehu Musa Yaradua. This became even clearer in his own remarks at an airport interview with reporters where he showed such haughtiness and arrogance that were his "Victory" in the primaries as concluded so far not even questioned by his co-contestants, he would have scored beneath zero in magnanimity and largeness of heart. Which a President-to-be must not be seen to lack so woefully. In effect, he was reported as saying to the whole nation that if those very people who rejected the idea of a concuss candidate when it was proposed have now "lost" the primaries, they could cry if they wished, but was not bothered

THE TRAGEDY

If what is happening to Nigeria now by way of these primaries were to be happening to an individual, he would probably end up in suicide. Or in some way, unleash some forces that would ensure his death, or utterly miserable end. A nation may not die before our eyes in that biologically certifiable way. Still a nation can die.

By when all its life forces become so fully expanded its heart beat stops. But just like it does not take death to make a tragedy the living on is the tragedy so dose it not have to take a final gasp to talk of a national tragedy. For in the event, the 9 SDP aspirants effectively boycotted the third phase, of the primaries. Even though Chief Olu Falae had said he would not boycott the last phase and thereby showed a fight-to-the-end spirit, it is quite clear that in the last phase, Shehu Musa Yaradua contested against himself. How else can the ridiculously low scores of hundreds, and at by Falae as against tens of thousands for Yaradua be explained.

Alhaji Umaru Shinkafi and Adamu Ciroma running neck-to-neck. In spite of the repeti-



Alhaji Adamu Ciroma - As prepared As Ever

tion of the same allegations here, and a call for cancellation of certain results, on NRC aspirant boycotted the primaries.

Still, it is clear beyond doubt that if anything voted, and so expressed a political preference during the primaries, it was the pocket, and the extent to which it was aided by Sunday influences. It is bad enough for a nation to be denied the democratic choice of its potential leaders. It is worse if the alternative is imposed without respect for basic rules of civilized political conduct.

THE HIDDEN AGENDA

The recent primaries, being for the last stage of the transition programmer ought to have put paid, or at least, diminished reasons for any ludden agenda theory. but rather than achieve this, the primaries have given the proponents and sympathizers of this theory added ammunition. the theory, if it need be repeated, if to this effect: that the transition programmer is deliberately made clumsy and cumbersome so as be unworkable. That it is also deliberately designed



Alhaji Umaru Shinkafi - Determined to conquer

with built-in crisis, and robbed of any democratic content. That either the programme would generate an unmanageable crisis before its ends, or it would lewisite to a civilian regime unable to last beyond a few months, not possessing the democratic forces strong enough to ride it above troubled waters. In any event, its tenure beyond January, 1993 -- a prospect covertly canvassed for by

paid adverts and press abatements by named and unnamed persons. Or usual compelling reasons for a "fellow Nigerians" early morning broadcast within the first year of the new civilian regime.

With events as they now stand, the hidden agenda theory seems vindicated. It at the level of mere primaries, where the parties are doing their own thing, tempers are already so high, what are we to expect when the real thing the presidential elections come?

At which time, the contest would have gone interparties, and real power is at stake? if for any reason, it becomes apparent that the elections can no longer go on as planned, what happens? Does Babangida stay on, or vacate office? if the latter, to who or what body?

MAJOR-GENERAL SHEHU YARADUA

This first shots against Yaradua's candidacy were fins by the Nobel laureate, professor wole soyinka. He had regarded the idea of a likening it to the military succeeding itself. He dismissed suggestions that under a democracy, anybody selected is fit being the popular choice with comparisons to a genuinely democratic setting in which such ex-soldiers credentials and record of performance would be subjected to the most thorough senetiny. the very example of General Franklin Roosevelt cited by the freeble critics of his own criticism became his best argument. And it needs be observed that a General Roosevelt emerged as a war hero, the very asset with which he rose to office being anchored on performance.

It was this angle, perhaps, that someone who it must be accepted is competent on the issue, looked at Yaradua's candidacy. Retired Lt. General T.Y danjuma, Chief of Army Staff when Yaradua was Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters, expressed the view recently that yaradua had no record of performances to qualify him for the highest office of the nation. He also mentioned the military question, adding that any party that fields a retired soldier may as well consider the elections as lost.

Alhaji Abubakar Rimi, second republic governor of Kano State took matters more seriously when he took up newspaper space in paid advertisements to campaign against Yaradua's election at the primaries.

ELECTIONS OR SELECTIONS?

Professor Soyinka, General Danjuma and Alhaji Rimi obviously knew one thing that in Nigeria, what goes by the sweet name of elections is actually selections. That the democratic process is not yet developed enough to on its own turn out such candi-

dates as retired soldiers in an era of mass distemper towards political soldiers and the military in government general.

Moreover, the mass poverty of most Third World Countries, among whom Nigeria is high-ranking members, the influence of money is almost unbelievable. People have been known to vote for a particular candidate for as little as five naira and a loaf of bread! In fact, a whole mass of unemployed and hungry persons, especially youths, have developed a career in professional voting. So on an election day, they simply trop to the polling station to join the queue whose candidate pays more:

Added to these is the famous partisanship of the leadership of the parties. This factor alone is reputed to have cost the SAP the Victory in the gubernatorial elections of last year. In the event, elections are devoid of any expression of democratic preference, leading the way wide peon to rigging, and consequently, selections. For wherever in spite of all these shortcomings, some popular (to the extent of the actual Votes cast) will emerge, election results have been known to be doctored in favour of the candidate sought to be selected.

NEWBREED OR OLDBREED?

At a time, Virtually all of the intolerable acts of banning and disenfranchising citizens were in order to wipe the state clean and make a break with the old and and discredited past. And so came the logic of the decrees that banned all former political office holders and armed forces personnel that held office in the past. Even civilian heads of MAMSER, NEC, NP (National population commission) and DFFRI were banned.

It was than possible to speak of some mystical beings called Newbreed, who would chart a totally new path in our political landscape. But with the rescion of the ban, the prime participants of the discredited past have emerged on centresage. Thus, Saraki, etc have emerged as the gladiators. So are we back to the past?

The question to be asked now is this: What magic, unknown to those people at their time of office, have they suddenly discovered to now embolden them to seek office? And why haven't they explained this to us? or are they seeking Office for the sheer grandeur and power that go with it? And, of course, the opportunities for self aggrandizement?

THE TRAGEDY OF IDEAS

About almost all the top contenders in the primaries lack any credible programme of



Maj. Gen. (Rtd) Shehu Musa Yar'Adua
Basking In The Shadow Of Victory.

recovery and reconstruction of the nation's political economy. Whereas it is clear to all and Sundry that the World Bank/IMP's sap if the gravedigger of any Third World economy, none of them has said a word about what they intend to do about it.

None seems to have heard of professor Adebayo Adedeji and the Economic Commission for Africa's (ECA) African Alternative Framework for Structural Adjustment Programme (AAF - SAP), now of the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) and Lagos Final Act (LPA). None of them seems to be bothered by the many frillitering results of SAP that even the World bank keeps bringing out, the one on Nigeria ranking her as the 13th, thirteenth poorest nation in the World!

None seems perturbed by what Chinua Achebe once Described ad the "rough beast of fanaticism" religious fundamentalism, which aims to exact a higher death toll Nigeria than



Chief Olu Falae - *It Is a Do Or Die Affair.*

the civil war, nor by the looming national question and problems of our warped Federalism. We do not hear aspirants to such high office as the presidency of a nation talk of how they hope to boast production and achieve an indigenous industrial technological know-how. We do not hear of a well-articulated foreign policy in as are of a uniting Europe (Which colonized us while dis-

united) and of the phenomenon of the world as global village, it was to be the axiom of these aspirants: seek ye first the presidential office, and every other thing shall work itself out!

THE TRAGIC PROLOGUE

The entire transition programme, was at a most charitable point, a prologue to some other transition. It was at best a transition from military rule, not to a democratic order. Being thus, some sort of prologue, the best hope for it was that it would reveal enough of the obstacles to good government that need to be corrected for that very purpose. And so the regime at very great monetary expense to the nation, and devastation of the national psyche rolled out a such a great tragedy, it was time, it was stopped.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE

It has proved beyond reasonable doubt that whatever step should be taken to end the on-going tragedy must be one that is radical and constructively potent enough to give this nation a new hope and lease of life. it must be one that will ensure popular participation and thus mobilize the entire citizenry for the task of reconstruction. It must lay down on an agreed an sacrosanct, thus inviolable condition, the basis of our collective existence. It is also clear that only a Sovereign National Conference (SNC) can do this. Its convening by the people though their agreed citizens-organization cannot be further delayed without added cost to a national debit already too large. Until the citizens of this country take its destiny into their own hands and decide how the country shall be run , tragedies such as the Presidential primaries will be an ever-recurring decimal in our national life. And in the context of the Third Republic, it would be wiser to heed Gani Fawehinmi's famous words in that equally famous interview with defunct New Horizon that their regime has aids and cannot bequeath an aids free Third Republic. These can be no stronger symptoms of acquired the immune deficiency than those that manifested so boldly during the presidential primaries. every tragedy has an end. Let this one end now. And let the question of a genuine democratic transition programme be resolved by Nigerians themselves at a sovereign national conference (SNC).

Ifowodo is a Staff Attorney (Research & Legal Services) with the CLO

NEW DIMENSIONS TO EXTRA-JUDICIAL KILLINGS IN LAGOS STATE

The Killing, in September 6, 1992, by the police in Lagos, of an Army Officer,

By Chima Ubani

Col. Domven Rindam, has once more brought to sharp public attention the phenomenon of extra-judicial killings in Nigeria. However, the speed with which the authorities reacted to the incident was uncharacteristic, contrasting sharply with their well known inclination to sweep under the carpet, previous cases involving ordinary citizens. The offending policemen were apprehended within a few hours of the killing, a panel of enquiry set up to investigate it and three suspected policemen arraigned before a court of law all within 72 hours. Against the background of the numerous unredressed cases of such killings, the impression has been created that some lives are more precious than others. It shows that the laws against extra-judicial killing and other police abuses can only be readily invoked and enforced when high ranking army officer, like the late Rindam or other such privileged persons are the victims. This selective enforcement of the laws undermine the concept of equality before the law which is the essence of justice.

CLO investigations over time show that police killings have eaten so much into the system that its full ramifications are far from known to the public. Apart from such well known cases as Umuechem, Oko-Oba 7, Dr Nwogu Okere, Segun Fakayode, Anthony Mbilitem, Wasiu Muniru, Larry Elechi Igwe, Dele Ojo, and Japhet Ezi, thousands of less known citizens are killed every day by the police without redress. Many of these are dumped in public mortuaries.

Although it is not possible to know the exact numbers and identities of such victims nation-wide or the circumstances of their death, investigations show that between January and September this year, the Ikeja General Hospital mortuary alone received about 400 corpses of persons whose death were shrouded in secrecy. These were brought in by policemen from various police stations in the state. The majority of them were believed to have been killed at checkpoints or in custody or tortured to death during interrogation. Our investigations show further that such corpses

are eventually disposed through periodic mass burials.

After the Civil Liberties Organisation (CLO) published a bulletin-titled **NEW DIMENSIONS TO EXTRA-JUDICIAL KILLINGS IN LAGOS STATE** containing a list of One Hundred and Eighty-Nine persons (189) suspected killed by the police and their corpses deposited at the Ikeja General Hospital Mortuary between January and April 1992, the Lagos State Police Command issued a rejoinder. In the release from the office of the State Commissioner of Police signed by the state Police Public Relations Officer, ASP Isaac O. Akinmoyede and distributed to various media houses, the police claimed that the CLO publication was "malicious and ill-conceived". However, the police rejoinder failed to address the substantive issues raised in the publication.

First, it made a generalised explanation that when the police deposit corpses in the mortuaries it does not follow that they killed them. Rather, these could be victims of fatal road accidents, murder, armed robberies etc or destitute and the police was often obliged to take their corpses to the mortuaries. Why that sounds plausible in theory, experience has showed that often, that such persons are victims of 'accidental discharge', imaginary "police robbers shoot-out" or other such euphemisms which the police used to explain away their reckless, unjustifiable killings of person at checkpoints or custody. This holds true of such well known cases as the Oko-Oba 7, Larry Elechi Igwe, Paul Okpioba, Dele Ojo, Segun Fakayode etc, in which the police murdered them and dumped their corpses in mortuaries most of them labelled "unknown" claiming they were armed robbers killed in a shoot out. In such circumstances it is impossible to know exactly what proportion of the deposited bodies were victims of road accidents, armed robberies, murder etc, picked up by the police or victims of extra-judicial killings except by means of a comprehensive judicial enquiry into the circumstances of the death of the affected persons. Hence when we begin to find such large numbers of corpses deposited in just one hospital mortuary within such a short period of time, it is nothing short of our duty to draw public attention to it and call for an enquiry. That is the crux of our position on the matter.

What we had expected the police to do if it

were sincere in its response to our publication was to account, case by case, for each of the names on the list since the identity of the police officers who deposited each corpse was given along with his duty station. Rather than contact the specific police station and ask them to explain the specific circumstances of each of the deposited corpses, the state police command embarked, as usual on a blanket clearance of its men. Our investigations confirmed indeed that serial number 36 on that list, though wrongly spelt in the records is Anthony Mbilitem, a 22-year old apprentice electrician who was tortured to death in custody in January this year by the police at the Isheri Police post. We wonder why the police rejoinder failed to address such ones.

Since the objective of the report is not to run down the police, the CLO took another look at it after the police rejoinder and found that corpses deposited by members of the Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC) and the Fire Service do not fall within the categories of concerns expressed in the report and ought not to have been included. Accordingly, seven such entries inadvertently included have been deleted. The focus is primarily on the police not on the Federal Road Safety Commission or the Fire Service. In addition CLO has also found it necessary to modify the caption of the table of victims to now read "List Of Corpses Deposited by the Police at the Ikeja General Hospital Mortuary" since only a judicial enquiry can establish whether they were killed by the police.

What now follows is an updated list which has been expanded to include all corpses deposited by the police at the Ikeja General Hospital Mortuary from January to September 1992. We call for a comprehensive enquiry into the circumstances surrounding the deposition of these corpses by the police into the mortuary.

LIST OF CORPSES DEPOSITED BY THE POLICE AT THE IKEJA GENERAL HOSPITAL MORTUARY BETWEEN JANUARY AND SEPTEMBER 1992.

S/NO	NAME OF VICTIM	DATE DEPOSITED	NAME AND FORCE NUMBER	POLICE STATION
1.	WUSU SEGUN	1/1/92	SEGUN CPL 136403	IDIMU
2.	LATEEF KEIJIHDE	1/1/92	PC CHRISTOPHER OKWORI 159933	IDIMU
3.	OKOYE BERNARD	2/1/92	WIPC 0870	ISOLO
4.	UNKNOWN	3/1/92	SGT EMMANUEL B 64048	SAIGO OTTA
5.	UNKNOWN	3/1/92	"	"
6.	AGBA MARTINS	3/1/92	SGT INNOCENT U. 4868	MAROKO
7.	UNKNOWN	3/1/92	FAJAI OLUDE 150823	IDIMU
8.	UNKNOWN	4/1/92	INSP DELE OGBURUHI	AREA 'G' OGBA
9.	UNKNOWN	10/1/92	SGT SAMUEL OWOLABI 11050	GID
10.	UNKNOWN	11/1/92	"	"
11.	UNKNOWN	11/1/92	SGT MOMOH ONALO 14852	"
12.	BADAOLU	11/1/92	CPL SEGUN ADEHINI 112898	IKAJA
13.	UNKNOWN	12/1/92	SGT EZEGBOR CHRIS 8702	AREA 'G' OGBA
14.	UNKNOWN	13/1/92	"	"
15.	UNKNOWN	13/1/92	"	"
16.	UNKNOWN	13/1/92	"	"
17.	UNKNOWN	13/1/92	"	"
18.	UNKNOWN	13/1/92	"	"
19.	UNKNOWN	13/1/92	"	"
20.	UNKNOWN	13/1/92	ANIKWE JAMES 11161	PEDRO
21.	UNKNOWN	15/1/92	SGT MATHIAS AGEUNOBI	OSHODI
22.	JIMOH OLUSEGUN	15/1/92	PC AWOYEMI TAIWO 180259	ISOLO
23.	EKPEREKUNMO FRIDAY	15/1/92	EKPEREKUNMO IGBALA 138811	IKAJA
24.	UNKNOWN	16/1/92	SGT JUBRIL OKPAAICHI 73183	GID SHO IKEJA
25.	"	"	"	"
26.	EBEKI SUNDAY	"	JERIMAHAR DANIEL 322905	RACCY BRKS
27.	AKPAN EDEM	"	CPL IYANG FRIDAY 141049	"
28.	OLUGBASAYE SAMUEL	17/1/92	ISAIAH ADEYEMO PROF 23	KEFFI LAGOS
29.	UNKNOWN	18/1/92	MATHEW KULIE	OLOGUN
30.	"	"	"	"
31.	SANNI ALLEM	19/1/92	TITUS AMUKO	IDIMU
32.	BALIGUN MUSTAPHA	"	SGT JOSHUA ADIKKI	ALAUASA
33.	SULE TIJANI	"	SGT S. ABEGUNSE 95877	ISOLO
34.	OKERE AUGUSTINE	20/1/92	CPL GODWIN 83135	IKAJA
35.	UNKNOWN	23/1/92	CPL OGBOLAHAN OSOKO 121529	IDIMU
36.	ANTHONY IBULITAN	24/1/92	PC SANNI MOSES 33480	"
37.	OSAGIE EMMANUEL	"	SGT NZEAKO	"
38.	UNKNOWN	25/1/92	SGT S. ADEBAYO	"
39.	"	"	"	"
40.	"	"	"	"
41.	OLUSEGUN WANDE	"	SGT A.YUSUF 75428	"
42.	UNKNOWN	27/1/92	PC 1581	IKAJA LOCAL GOVT.
43.	"	27/1/92	INSPT EKE	KETU
44.	MOH CLEMENT	30/1/92	PC LATEEF BABAJDE	PEDRO
45.	BANKOLE JIMOH	3/1/92	APATA AJESODI 113848	ELERE
46.	MORLU	3/1/92	SGT SAMUEL UDOBOR 23778	ISOKOKO
47.	AJAKA YEMISI	1/2/92	SGT OGBEENGBE UMUIGHO 19410	MUSHIN
48.	ALIKI ISMOILAI	1/2/92	SGT STEPHEN 78557	ISOKOKO
49.	OLADENI KAYODE	1/2/92	SGT GODWIN UGBAJE 19410	IDIMU
50.	UNKNOWN	2/2/92	PC CHRISTIANA O. 178171	ISOLO
51.	UNKNOWN	4/2/92	CHULE SOTIE 129219	IKAJA
52.	ALIMI BUSARI	6/2/92	PC ABIODUN SHITTU 150834	"
53.	ALANI ADEBAYO	6/2/92	SGR AYODELE 869	"
54.	SHITTU LUKEMAN	7/2/92	CPL AYENA 112795	ALAKUKO
55.	OPKOLOR JUDE	8/2/92	SGT AUGUSTINE ASERO 88880	"
56.	UNKNOWN	10/2/92	INSPT ETIM GEORGE	ALAUASA
57.	"	"	WPC ALE IBITOLA 04159	ALADE
58.	"	"	CPL JAMES ANIKWE 111813	SLERE
59.	"	"	CPL GRASPER DOTONU 136711	GID IKEJA
60.	"	"	"	"
61.	KOFI FELIX	11/2/92	SGT SIMON AJABO 58111	ITIRE
62.	UNKNOWN	11/2/92	INSPT SHODIPO GID	IKAJA
63.	ADEBAYO TAJUDEEN	12/2/92	PC IREWOLE	GID IKEJA
64.	AMUSA IMORU	13/2/92	INSPT M. SHODIPO	"
65.	OYEHIRAN OJO	13/2/92	PC MARTIN AJILO 180288	ILUPEJA
66.	UNKNOWN	13/2/92	SGT RAMON 32878	IDIMU
67.	UNKNOWN	15/2/92	PC JALOGUN BOLAJI 163174	ISOKOKO
68.	UNKNOWN	16/2/92	SGT MUFUTAU SOFOLUWE 1907	ILUPEJU
69.	KAREEM ALFU	17/2/92	SGT OKOH	OSHODI
70.	UNKNOWN	19/2/92	CPL JONAH ARMO 106948	KETU
71.	ABUDUNAMAH HARUNA	20/2/92	CPL CLAUDIUS MBAJA 129275	ALAUASA
72.	UNKNOWN	20/2/92	PC BALOAJI JOLAGUN 183174	ISOKOKO
73.	UNKNOWN	21/2/92	PC CHIDZENDU ANYOM 34149	IKAJA
74.	KAYODE SAMSON	22/2/92	SGT IBRAHIM ISAKA 14818	IDIMU
75.	UNKNOWN	23/2/92	SGT RICHARD SHOKERE 89535	ILASA
76.	"	"	EKERE SAMUEL 182804	"
77.	MUSTAPHA SODIO	24/2/92	SGT SODIMU ALBERT 58346	FESTAG
78.	UNKNOWN	24/2/92	"	"
79.	UNKNOWN	24/2/92	MUSTAPHA AMODO 44162	SLERE
80.	OHORU KINGSLEY	27/2/92	SGT RAYMOND ATTAM 83878	IDIMU
81.	JJC SUNKANA	1/2/92	CPL OHOYON KETU 82	"
82.	"	"	SGT O OUISANNI	ALAKUTO
83.	EODH ROHIT	2/3/92	INSPT AKHINILEWA FRANCIS	AREA DHO
84.	AZUAMA UZOUCHUKWU	3/3/92	PC SAEDI BASHORUN 159372	ALAKARA
85.	FRANCIS	5/3/92	SGT PETER DIKENW95716	ALAUASA
86.	SARA	"	PC OHOGBO JOHN 172728	IKAJA
87.	UNKNOWN	"	SGT EKPHANDEHOHO ADATAND 87312	FESTAG
88.	"	"	SGT USMAN ABUBAKAR 47832	KETU
89.	"	"	"	"
90.	FALEYE LALEKAI	6/3/92	SGT BONYFACE OHHIGBO 46492	ALADE
91.	JGBE ABURAKAH	"	PC - 172484	ALAKUTO
92.	BABA SABANA	"	CPL JOSEPH ATTAMA 112394	ALAUASA
93.	ADELEKE OMOTASE	"	PC CHRISTIAN OKPARA 478171	ISOLO
94.	MICHAEL ADEKEYE	6/3/92	CPL MARTINS AGUZU 144920	ALAKARA
95.	IGOSUN SURU	9/3/92	CPL FRIDAY EKALO 138187	OSHODI
96.	OKOLE ANTHONY	10/3/92	PROMISE OBIOGHA 112317	AFREA F
97.	INEGBODU DELE	"	"	"
98.	"	12/3/92	"	"
99.	TAGBETO IDOWU	"	"	"
100.	AMUSAN TAJUDEEN	13/3/92	GODWIN UGBAJE 19410	IDIMU
101.	OMELEBELE DIAMOND	"	OGBA EMMANUEL 135618	PEDRO
102.	ASIMI MUSBANU	14/3/92	SGT OGUNLEYE-58182	ALAKARA
103.	SHOLA POPOOLA	"	SGT SUNDAY ENHORELEM 128139	GID IKEJA
104.	DADA LATEEF	15/3/92	INSPT TALABI LATEEF	PEDRO
105.	AKHEM OLALEKAN	"	IREWOLE ABRAHAM 78575	GID IKEJA
106.	ADEKOLE MUKAILA	"	"	"
107.	UNKNOWN	16/3/92	CPL SIMON KUJE 124851	GIS IKEJA
108.	"	"	"	"
109.	"	"	RAYMOND UGWOKO 109518	GID IKEJA
110.	LASISI RASAKI	17/3/92	CPL OMLU 132815	AREA D
111.	KOGBE OLAIDE	18/3/92	198882	ELERE
112.	UNKNOWN	21/3/92	CPL JOSEPH ATTAMA 112394	ALAUASA
113.	OLANIRO JAMES	22/3/92	PC BOLAJI YALOGUN 163174	ISOKOKO
114.	SANNI AKHEM	24/3/92	CPL KAREEM SODEKE 135819	PEDRO
115.	IKPA OKE	25/3/92	CPL MARTINS ASUZU 144920	ALAKARA
116.	OKON W.	"	CPL MARTINS KEMI 70635	ILUPEJU
117.	UNKNOWN	"	PC TITUS AMOKO 35420	IDIMU
118.	"	"	JAMES ABUKHEGBE 86468	M.T.D IKEJA
119.	YISA MUHAMMED	26/3/92	SGT FRANKLIN OKORIE 87802	AREA 'D'
120.	SEGUN FATIMILEHIN	"	CPL GODWIN EZE 124358	GID
121.	UNKNOWN	"	INSPT OGUNWOLE OLA	ILUPEJU
122.	SAIDI	27/3/92	SGT YABA 37069	"
123.	UNKNOWN	28/3/92	PC ABAYOMI ELAREWE 28589	"
124.	"	29/3/92	SGT MOHAMMED ATIKU 85384	"
125.	"	"	"	"
126.	"	"	"	"
127.	ADEMOLA MATHEW	30/3/92	CPL VASPER MOKUN 136711	GID IKEJA

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126.	ATA MOSES	1/1/92	PC GABRIEL HUNSU 150004	MUSHIN
126.	AKANM NIYI	31/3/92	SGT ADEREMI JOHNSON 102092	OKOTA
130.	ADEOYE LUKMAH	"	"	"
131.	BALOGUN MUSTPFA	"	"	"
132.	UNKNOWN	"	SGT SAMUEL ADEBAYO 95391	"
133.	ODUNGBA GABRIEL	"	PC CHRISTIAN ALEBARAY 136200	GID
134	AMUSA SULE	"	"	"
135.	BENSON FRANK	"	SGT KARIRU AJIBORISHA 53734	"
136	UNKNOWN	"	INSPT MOSHOOD BELLO	IDIMU
137.	UNKNOWN	1/4/92	"	"
138	"	"	"	"
139.	SEDU GBENGA	"	CPL MARTIN KEMI 70635	ILUPEJU
140.	UNKNOWN	2/4/92	CPL OKON UWALI 134891	S.H.B. PAWTI
141.	BABALEGBE	"	SGT FESTUS NLEWMOQUN	KETU
			NLEWMOQU 47505	
142.	UNKNOWN	"	SGT OLAWALE 33841	OGBA
143.	SABU GANIYU	5/4/92	AKIN ABOMISHADE 40147	ALUASA
144.	UNKNOWN	7/4/92	SUNDAY BOSU 150848	ELERE
			"	"
145	"	"	"	"
146.	"	"	"	"
147.	"	"	"	"
148	"	"	"	"
149.	"	"	"	"
150.	IDOWU	"	SEMIYU SODIO 17248	ALAKUKO
151.	TUNDE	9/4/9	TALABI ADWOLE 175984	"
152.	UNKNOWN	10/4/92	SGT JONATHAN GODWIN 48841	PEDRO
153.	ADISA OLADEHINDE	11/4/92	SGT MOHAMMED 85118	ELERE
154	OLADPO OJO	12/4/92	SGT DADA SIMEDON 10540	ALAKUTO
155.	UNKNOWN	"	PC HRISTIAN OPARA 176171	ISOLO
156.	BADALOKA WASIU	"	SGT MATHEM K 14856	MUSHIN
157.	MAKINDE KAYODE	13/4/92	KAYODE 36905	SANGO
158.	UNKNOWN	"	"	"
159.	OKORO BESSON	14/4/92	R ANGBEDE 159396	GID
160.	UNKNOWN	"	CPL TAIWO KOLAWOLE 52308	"
161.	AJEMANG KWAKU	"	SGT A NBUD 95748	IDIMU
162.	AMBALI WASIU	18/4/92	SGT BOLAJI RAFIU 28934	KETU
163.	HASSAN SAHNI	20/4/92	SGT ANTHONY MBUDU 95748	IDIMU
164.	ABIODU BEGHI	22/4/92	CPL B SALUNU 147221	AREA F
165.	ADUSAKAR BUNHARI	"	"	"
166.	MUHAMMAD ABDULAH	"	"	"
167.	YUSUF SULE	"	"	"
168.	YAKUBU CHIMBA	"	"	"
169.	UNKNOWN	"	"	"
170.	FEHO	23/4/92	ALABARONYE CHRISTIAN 136280	"
171.	QUOMO MICHEM	25/4/92	PC GODWIN OKON 184084	ALAKUKO
172	AKINIRAN AKINKUMI	25/4/92	CPL CHRISTOPHER Y 147310	"
173.	RAYMORE SHOLA	25/4/92	SGT STEPHEN JULIUS 79557	ISOOKO
174.	AMUSA SULE	26/4/92	PC 147141	KETU
175.	UNKNOWN	"	PC OLUSEGUN ORADUN 183123	ISOLO
176.	UNKNOWN	"	PC SEMBUDEN SOOQ 172884	ALAKUKO
177.	ADEBAYO JOHNSON	27/4/92	SGT SUNDAY EDERMO 89817	ISOLO
178	ABIOGUN ABEY	"	PC 95718	ALUASA
179	ALABI NORUMU	"	CPL ADEWUNMI TOLUPE 128346	GID
180	DICKSON HENRY	"	"	"
181.	UNKNOWN	30/4/92	"	"
182.	UNKNOWN	1/5/92	JAMES ABUKHIGBE 864886	M.T.D
183	UNKNOWN	"	"	"
184.	UNKNOWN	"	"	"
185	MATHEW OJO	"	AJO UMOR 82314	SABO
186	AKEEM	"	CPL WALACEY EFFIOWG 145108	OSHODI
187.	VICTOR UCHE	2/5/92	CPL ADETUNJI M	FESTAC
188	SAMUEL ATIOSAN	"	MP M MOHAMMED EBHOKUM	PEDRO
189	UNKNOWN	3/5/92	PL JOSEPH AKPOJUBI 14713	MUSHIN
190.	UNKNOWN	4/5/92	CPL ALABI BIODUN 58177	ILUPEJU
200	UNKNOWN	4/5/92	PL OKON EMMANUEL 4443	IKAJA
201	KARIRU AHMED	"	INSPT ANEK	G.I.D.
202	ADEREMI ADEYEMO	"	"	"
203	FATAI ATANDA	"	"	"
204	OLAYINKA AKINTUNDE	7/5/92	INSPT M. SHODIPO	G.I.D
205	PETER EDUGHAME	"	"	"
206.	ABDULAH OMMOKPO	"	"	"
207	CHARLES DANKUWA	8/5/92	SGT AMOS GBAJI 69182	IDIMU
208	UNKNOWN	9/5/92	CPL EROMONSE AIDELOYE 147328	ISOLO
209	"	10/5/92	INSPT GANIU ADELEKE	OSHODI
210	BRALOHS EMEKA	"	CPL EROMONSE AIODEJE	ISOLO
211	UNKNOWN	11/5/92	PL ADEWALE ADEGBOYE 123802	ELERE
212	KINGSLEY ETIM	12/5/92	LUCKY LIGBO 14731	IKAJA
213	JUNIOR AYODELE JOSEPH	"	"	"
214	CHIDEI IHEANDI	"	"	"
			"	"
215	UNKNOWN	13/5/92	SGT ISAAC OMACHOHNU 23444	IKAJA
216	"	"	SGT LIVINUS IGWUT 46559	ITIRE
217	"	"	"	"
218	"	"	"	"
219	"	"	"	"
220	"	"	"	"
221	"	"	INSPT SIMON ODOH	OSHODI
222.	BASIL ENYI	"	CPL SUMARA 106553	KETU
223	LAWAL MUFUTAU	14/5/92	INSPT ABAM KING	G.I.D
224	UNKNOWN	"	SGT AUGUSTINE EGBON 103990	MAKINDE
225	EHIABHU EMOVON	"	CONST ANTHONY MWIDAE 33238	ALUASA
226	SAKOBA AWUNANSU	"	CPL CHURCHILL AKINJOBI	FESTAC
227	ANDOLA TOYIN	14/5/92	INSPT DAVID	G.I.D
228	HAZAC OJO	"	"	"
229	MUSA SAMASA	"	"	"
230	AHMED SIKIRU	"	WDSP ADEYEMI ELIZABETH	ALUASA
231	ADEWALE LAWAL	"	"	"
232	FRANCIS PHILLIPS	17/5/92	YAKUBU SALIU 163845	IKAJA
233	JIMOH AJAYI	18/5/92	INSPT SAMUEL AJOSE 13298	SHOMOLU
			"	"
234	UNKNOWN	20/5/92	PC YEKINI AMDO 8841	KETU
235	"	"	"	"
236	"	21/5/92	TITUS AMOKO 35420	SHOMOLU
237	OSHO MUSABIU	22/5/92	AKIN ABANSADE	ALUASA
238	ISOLA JULILI	"	SGT BELLO	MUSHIN
239	ORIYOMON OLUWASEUN	24/5/92	CPL AKINO UMOR	EGBE
240	WASIU ISAWU	"	"	"
241	UNKNOWN	"	I.P.O ADEYEMO JULIUS 21203	ALAKO
242	MATHEW OGUNFOLA	"	INSPT HENRY ADIGUA	IDIMU
243	CHITO OKAFOR	"	CPL ENIOLA 1099583	FESTAC
244	UNKNOWN	26/5/92	INSPT AMUSA MUSTAPHA	ALADE
245	AKPAN SUNDAY	"	CPL YEGEDE JOHN 180298	FESTAC
246	UNKNOWN	"	NICHODENRUS 69893	FESTAC
247	"	29/5/92	OLUSEGUN OMOSEBI 28091	"
248	"	30/5/92	SGT LIVINUS IGWUT 46559	KETU
249	"	31/5/92	SGT SUNDAY EDOMO 89817	"
250	UNKNOWN	"	CPL JAMES ABOLARIN 151081	ISOLO
251	"	1/6/92	"	"
252	ISLANUS	"	"	"
253	OTUNNYI ODUBAYODE	"	CPL EROMONSE AIDEDJE 147328	ISOLO
254	UNKNOWN	"	SGT ADEBAYO OGUNYEMI 59182	"
255	UNKNOWN	3/6/92	SGT CHRISTOPHER EZEGBOR 870	ALAKA
256	OLUSEGUN FADEYI	"	PROMISE OBIOSHA 112317	IKAJA
257	WASIU ADIO	"	"	"
258	AUGUSTUS SOWU	"	"	"
259	OMORUYI HENRY	4/6/92	CPL EFOLI EKAT 35938	FESTAC
260	AINA OLUSEGUN	5/6/92	"	"
261	DEKO AKIN	"	CPL EMMANUEL OGBA 13581	PEDRO
262	OGWO CHINEDU	5/6/92	W/PL JOSEPH AKHIGBE 0107674	ADEKUNLE
263	UNKNOWN	"	CPL JULIUS OLOKOJU 147314	PEDRO
264	SAKA WORI	6/6/92	SGT JOSEPH 13138	IDIMU
265	NWOKOYE	"	INSPT IDOWU SAHEED	ISOLO
266	TONY AZINIRO	"	CPL KUNLE ADENIRAN 130935	IKAJA
267	UNKNOWN	"	INSPT JOHN SINSIN	"
268	CHIKAN NUHU	7/6/92	CPL JACOB OGUIKE 19377	OGBA
269	MURIANA ALIMI	8/6/92	INSPT KALAJIYE OLUWOLE	IDIMU
270	UNKNOWN	9/6/92	PL SEMIYUN SODIO 172484	"
271	UNKNOWN	"	CPL ATEDI G 10655	ISOLO
272	ADAM IBRAHIM	10/6/92	INSPT N.A. ODOFIN	KETU
273	UNKNOWN	"	SGT MUIHAMMED ATIKU	ELERE
274	"	11/6/92	ERANSTUS AGO 29101	M.T.D
275	"	"	CPL BASSEY 134800	IKAJA
276	RUFUS AMEH	15/6/92	CPL BASINU SALIHU 14722	"
277	FAMOS TOLUOLO	"	CPL TOLUOPE	G.I.D
278	ANAFI TOYIN	16/6/92	SGT ISMAILA WAHAAB 26574	IDIMU

CLO GETS EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Mr. Abdul Oroh 32, a founding member of the Civil Liberties Organization (CLO) was in September, 1992 appointed as the Executive Director of the CLO.

Mr. Oroh, who until his appointment was an Assistant Editor with the African Guardian. A Political Analyst and a journalist with a wide



Mr. Abdul Oroh

experience, Mr. Oroh had worked as the head of political desk of the African Guardian for four years. He also worked as journalist with The Guardian, Vanguard and the defunct This week magazine.

NEW HANDS JOIN CLO

Four new staff attorney have been appointed by the organization. They are Messrs Babatope Ibitola Olalekan, Bob James, Ogaga Ifowodo and Cosmas Okafor.

Mr. Babatope Ibitola Olalekan, who has an LL.B (HONS) from the Rivers State University of Technology, did his Youths service with the CLO. Mr. Bob James had a brief stint with the Federal Polytechnic Bida Niger state as a Lecturer. He holds an LL.B (HONS) from the University of Jos and a B.L. Mr. Ogaga Ifowodo

MR. ABEGUNDE PASSES ON

The death was in September announced of Mr. Gbemiga Abegunde, a prominent member of the Nigerian Bar association (NBA) and a committed member of the



Late Abegunde Gbemiga

Civil Liberties Organization and a member of the board of governors. Late Mr. Abegunde who died in a motor accident was until his death the administrative secretary of the NBA and the pioneer chairman of the Kaduna State branch of the CLO with sorrowful heart, the CLO condoles his family and professional colleagues in the NBA. Mr. Abegunde has since been buried at his Ibadan home.

Cont. from p.19

276	UNKNOWN		CPL EROMONSE ADELOJE 147328ISOLO		328	IDOWU ADEBAYO		INSPT OSADOLOR OLALEYE	G.I.D.
279	OKE GREN OWYE		SGT ABARI OJO		329	CHIJORE NWACHUKWU		INPT ANKEE JOSEPH	G.I.D.
280	OKOJAN FRIDAY	17/8/92	SGT AROHO IRON 84648	ELERE	330	VICTOR OPUYE			
281	BAKKOLE JIMOH	18/8/92	CPL OLAWALE OMOROH 183237	OKO	331	SUNDAY GBEMISOLA			
282	SAMMI ADEDIRAN	19/8/92	CPL TAIWO AWUYEWI 18025		332	ILUJA HARUNA	15/7/92	CPL SAM WILLIA 134187	ISOKOKO
283	SHOMEFU		CPL ISAAC EDUNJOBI 80973	MUSHIN	333	MALAM ADAM		SGT GODWIN MOGON	ISOLO
284	UZORDINA		OLUSOJI ADELAKUN 35021	EDIMU	334	UNKNOWN	14/7/92	NICHOGEMOS ASOGWA 69893	ELERE
285	UNKNOWN	20/8/92	MOHAMMED E (INSPT)	"	335				
288	ZIPO AWUJODI	21/8/92	SGT NURRUDEEN AFOLABI 120085	IBAFOR	336				
287	UNKNOWN		SGT OGEDEGBE 102820	MUSHIN	337				
288					338				
292	SAMMUEL AUBESI		PL MATHEW LIMEHA 133422	G.I.D.	339				
290	CILBERT SARPONG	22/8/92			340				
291	HASSAN GARUBA				341				
292	ADEKUNLE OLUJUMIDE				342				
293	ABABAKH IDRIS				343				
294	UNKNOWN				344				
295	OLUBOWALE FEMI		CPL STANLEY IVOKO 172486	SABO	345				
298	IBRAHIM MOHAMMED		CPL SAMUEL OCHENJELE 182750	AKINPELU	346	AWOSANYA AMUA I		CPL BABA 129278	ALAUJA
297	SHOKUNLE	23/8/92	CPL GOODLUCK YOMI 147170	IKEJA	347	OJO BILALOY	18/7/92	PC IMO AFAMIDE 108055	KETU
298	UNKNOWN		CPL KAYODE OLAREWAJU 1551074	FESTAC					
300			CPL IME AFAMIDE 8055	KETU					
301	ZAKARIA MUKAILA	24/8/92	CPL ONGE HARISSAN 139532		348	UNKNOWN			
302	UNKNOWN	27/8/92			349	AYEDUN FELIX	23/7/92	W/SGT SANDE EYITENE 02813	SOKOKO
303	AKEM ADEWAYE	17/92	PL BORNUS 13135	IDIMU	350	LUKUMAN AZEEZ	23/7/92	INSPT ALEXANDER OGUNMOLA	HITER
304	FRIDAY OKOTIE		CPL 58177	ELUPEJU	351	KABORI	23/7/92	PL ABAYOME ELEREWE 28589	ILUPEJU
305	SALISU DARA		CPL JAMES AGBORIN 73843	M.T.D.	352	AKOJUNDU VICTOR	23/7/92	PL FELIX UDOMO 184455	AREA "F"
308	ANTHONY BIOLA				353	UNKNOWN	28/7/92	SGT ISAAC OLISEMEKE 83006	OSHODI
307	DAUDA BUSAN				354	UNKNOWN	27/7/92	RAYMOND ATTAM 83878	IDIMU
308	EMEKA AGI	3/7/92	CPL MUSEFIN OOLAADE 110436	ALAKARA	355	ABDUL SAMUEL	27/7/92	PL BONIFACE EKPE 25452	OSHOBI
309	UNKNOWN		INSPT EDET UDOFIA	PANTI	356	IBRAHIM MOHAMMED	27/7/92	CPL JONATHAN DIAS 98705	ISOLO
310	UNKNOWN	5/7/92	INSPT EDET UDOFIA	ALAUJA	357	RASHEED		INSPT KING ADAM	G.I.D.
311	UNKNOWN	8/7/92	INSPT A. ASEMOGURI	ALAUJA	358	UNKNOWN	28/7/92	INSPT MOHAMED EBOMU	PEDRO
312	ADIO TILARU	7/7/92	SGT STEPHEN INEKWEME 138403	QLOSAN	359	IHETUGO UGODUKWU	29/7/92	INSPT SAMUEL AJOSE	ALAKUKO
313	UNKNOWN	8/7/92	HASSAN AMOS 114598	IDIMU	360	UNKNOWN		SGT ALARI BENSON 83832	KETU
314	IBRAHIM ABUBAKAN		SGT ADEBAYO SAMUEL 68172	AREA "F"				SGT ADEYINKA SAMSON 65547	OGBA
316	ADEGBAYEQA MUYIWA		SGT A EKPEYONG	G.I.D.					
318	KWASH BULU	9/7/92	ASP OMOLODUN OLADOKUN	FESTAC					
317	OLOWOYE BUSAYO		INSPT ADEKUNLE ODU51	H.O IKEJA					
318	MATHEW BABATUNDE		SGT AYANGA ARIKPO 896518	OCUGA					
319	UNKNOWN	11/7/7/92	CPL DID MARY 610828	SABO					
320	MOMOH ISMAILA		CPL MOSES ADELEKE 150697	MAKINDE					
321	BRA MO PATRICK		CPL FRIDAY IKPE 19179	KETU					
322	ONGALAPO IFEDAYO	12/7/92	INSPT PIUS HINGO 39846	PEDRO					
323	UCHE JACKSON	13/7/92	SGT OGUONDARE RICHARD 89524	ISOKOKO					
324	UNKNOWN			G.I.D.					
325									
328	AKINTOMIDE OGENGA	14/7/92	CPL JACOB OGUKE 19377	ILUPEJU					
327	UNKNOWN		ABAYOMI ELEREWE 28591	ALAUJA					

CLO LAUNCHES UNIT AT EKPOMA

A unit of the Civil Liberties Organisation (CLO) was launched on the 2nd of October, 1992 at the Edo State University.

In the words of the Chairman, at the launching, "Nigerians should form units and rally round Human Rights Organisations with an aim to struggle for the entrenchment of Human Rights culture in our society".

Miss E. Dibofuri, the unit's Co-ordinator, in her welcome address, called on the members to always portray the ideals of the Organisation, in both their private and public endeavours.

The protem Chairman of Edo State branch of CLO Mr. Nnimmo Bassey who stood in for the CLO President, Mr. Olisa Agbakoba, in his own address thanked all the members for their efforts in establishing the Unit. He called for a reformation of the prison system. "One way of doing this", he added, "is the establishment of well equipped Libraries in each of the prisons".

Mr. Bassey, speaking further, condemned the current politics of money. He urged Nigerians to come together in a round-table conference to discuss the future of the country.

Mr. Emma Edigheji, CLO's Organisation Officer, who was the guest lecture at the launching urged that "in Nigeria, just like in other societies, the type of rights entrenched in our constitutions from the colonial period to date are rights which when pursued to their logical conclusion will threaten the very existence of the ruling elite". "For people to enjoy basic human rights without any hindrance", he opined, "people must collectively fight for them."

Over 200 students from the institution attended the launching. It would be recalled that another unit of the Organisation was launched at Irua recently.

Cont. from p.19

LIST OF CORPSES DEPOSITED BY THE POLICE AT THE IKEJA GENERAL HOSPITAL MORTUARY BETWEEN JANUARY AND SEPTEMBER 1992.

381	ABU BAKARE	2/8/92	SGT ELET EFFIONG	IKIJA	437	SAIDI ADEDAYO		SGT OGUNSHOLA FOLASHADE 02983	ALADE
382	UNKNOWN		AKUJOBI CHURCHILL 159898	FESTAC	438	ONAKOMAYA SUNDAY		CPL SAM WILLIAMS 138187	IDIMU
383	ONLIE MACAULAY		CPL AUTHING NWIDAE	ALAU SA	439	LAWAL BAKARE	8/9/92	SGT F ADESANYA 103697	ISOKOKO
384	ADEMU MEFINDA	3/8/92	INS P DAVID ANIN	G.I.D.	440	SHOMEYE YEKIHI		SGT SOLOMON IYASELE 83305	OSHOBI
385	ANTHONY ERUBOR				441	ADEOLA OLAWIJU	7/9/92	CPL OODWIN ABESHOTA 139789	EDIMU
386	SUNDAY AGBOKHOMI				442	LAWRENCE MACLONS		CONST. YOKUBU BALIU 183845	KETU
387	UNKNOWN	4/8/92	CPL ANDREW W EKPUDU 147188	OSHODI	443				KETU
388		8/8/92	SGT ARDN IRON 548	ELERE	444	RAYOD MATANU	8/9/92	JONATHAN DIASE	IKIJA
389		7/8/92	CPL MOSES ADELEKE 150897	KETU	445	NNAGBARA NAPOLEON	9/9/92	CPL LANRE AFUWAPE 3022	ISOKO
390		8/8/92	CPL EFFIONG MALACHY 145108	OSHODI	446	OLADELE SAHEED		OLUSEGUN OMOSEBI 28091	ALADE
391			SGT DANLADI PARBONG 7328	ISOLO	447	ALAGBE WAHEED		CPL OLUSEGUN OMOSEBI 28091	KETU
392	LAMIDI TAORIDI	9/8/92	CPL ADEOLA OLABREWAIJU 8520	PEDRO	448	ADEOLU MALON	9/9/92	SGT JAMIYU AYELE 7985	ISOKOKO
393	ELUDKU JOHNSON	10/8/92	CPL MICHAEL YAHANA 114902	G.I.D	449	UNKNOWN	10/9/92		OTTA
394	EMMARUEL NKWOR				449	ONINYEFA		SGT ALAYSIUS AYELELEHIN 47789	
395	ESEMEY MIKE								
396	UNKNOWN	11/8/92	SGT EKPENYONG EDEM 82170						
397		13/8/92	SGT PAULADAN 102782	OSHODI					
398			CPL DANIHAN BABAFEMI 6228	PEDRO					
399	DOSUNU OLATUKI	13/8/92	CPL OADRSDORGE HENRY 82884	ELERE					
400	AKPAN TUESDAY	14/8/92	CPL MUSTAPHA ALUSA 2883	DOPEMU					
401	UNKNOWN		CPL AKIN ABORISADE 4017	ALAU SA					
402	GOODWIN SYBASTINE	15/8/92	SGT HANSON UDOH 80157	SABO					
403	IBRAHIM MUSM		INS P AJAMI LATEEF	KETU					
404	OLAYE		RAMOND ATTAM 63878	IDIMU					
405	CHARLES		RUFAL BOLAJI 28934	KETU					
406	ABU HAMZA	17/8/92	SGT MUHAMMED BELLO 102135	MUSHIN					
407	ADEKUN O.	18/8/92	CPL S. OZIGBO 145218	ISOKOKO					
408	UNKNOWN	19/8/92	SGT ISAAC EDUM 80973	OLOSAN					
409									
410									
411									
412	OJE CHRISTOPHER	22/8/92	DAVID ONYUGHA	G.I.D.					
413	UCHE FELIX		STEPHEN ALAM 44071	OJO					
414	MUSA OYELEKE		SGT CLEMENT UZOR 54402	IDIMU					
415	UNKNOWN		SGT PAUL ADAM 102782	PEDRO					
416	RAFIU ARIYO	25/8/92	INS P O. SARUNI	ALAU SA					
417	AKPAN ARIYO		CPL LONGE HARRISON 138532	KETU					
418	MUSA YAKUBA		INS P KING ABAM	G.I.D.					
419	OMORIYI BOLARINWA	28/8/92	SGT ADEBAYO OOMAHRYI 59418	IKIJA					
420	IMENHAMILAJI	27/8/92	SGT OODWIN MOWOH 50125	ISOLO421					
421	JUDON OIWA	30/8/92	SGT THEOPHILUS IBECHUDE 78453						
422	UNKNOWN		NSPT JOHN BULL EDWIN	OLOSAN					
423			SCOPION M						
424									
425									
426	BABA DELE	31/8/92	CPL ELLIAH UDOH 132990						
427	AKPAN WILLIAM		CPL EROMONSE AIOELOJE 147328	KETU					
428	UNKNOWN		NICHODEMUS ODAWNO 88488	ISOLO					
429	CHINEDU AKPOGBEWE	1/9/92	INSPT ANEKE	ELERE					
430	MOMODU ABU		PL HENRY ONYIKHUALI 158908	G.I.D.					
431	UNKNOWN	3/9/92	SUPR IHOLA FAGANISE	ALADE					
432				PANTI					
433									
434									
435									
436		4/9/92	ASP BAROYDOP OOI D						

by
Chima Ubani

DO YOU WANT TO BECOME A MEMBER OF THE CLO? THEN FILL AND RETURN THIS COUPON TO CLO OFFICE NEAREST TO YOU.

Civil Liberties Organisation

24, Mbonu Ojike Street, Off Alhaji Masha Road
Surulere, Lagos, Nigeria. Tel: (0) - 840288

Other Branches
1A Junction Road,
P.O. Box 8982,
Kaduna.
Tel: 062 - 211458

4, Mayne Avenue
Calabar.
Tel: 087 - 224737.

Name:.....

Postal Address:.....

AFRICAN CHARTER ON HUMAN AND PEOPLES' RIGHTS

Article 1

The member States of the Organisation of African Unity parties to the present Charter shall recognize the rights, duties and freedoms enshrined in this Charter and shall undertake to adopt legislative or other measures to give effect to them.

Article 2

Every individual shall be entitled to the enjoyment of the right and freedoms recognized and guaranteed in the present Charter without distinction of any kind such as race, ethnic group, colour, sex, language, religion, political or any other opinion, national and social origin, fortune, birth or other status.

Article 3

1. Every individual shall be equal before the law.
2. Every individual shall be entitled to equal protection of the law.

Article 4

Human beings are inviolable. Every human being shall be entitled to respect for his life and the integrity of his person. No one may be arbitrarily deprived of this right.

Article 5

Every individual shall have the right to the respect of the dignity inherent in a human being and to the recognition of his legal status. All forms of exploitation and degradation of men particularly slavery, slave trade, torture, cruel, inhuman or degradation punishment and treatment shall be prohibited.

Article 6

Every individual shall have the right to liberty and to the security of his person. No one may be deprived of his freedom except for reasons and conditions previously laid down by law. In particular, no one may be arbitrarily arrested or detained.

Article 7

1. Every individual shall have the right to have his cause. This comprises:
 - a) The right to an appeal to competent national organs against acts of violating his fundamental rights as recognized and guaranteed by conventions, laws, regulation and customs in force;
 - b) the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty by a competent court or tribunal;
 - c) the right to defence, including the right to be defended by counsel of his choice;
 - d) the right to be tried within a reasonable time by an impartial court or tribunal.
2. No one may be considered for an act or omission which did not constitute a legal punishable offence at the time it was committed. No penalty may be inflicted for an offence for which no provision was made at the time it was committed. Punishment is personal and can be imposed only on the offender.

Article 8

Freedom of conscience, the profession and free practice of religion shall be guaranteed. No one may, subject to law and order, be subjected to measures restricting the exercise of these freedoms.

Article 9

1. Every individual shall have the right to receive information.
2. Every individual shall have the right to express and disseminate his opinions within the law.

Article 10

1. Every individual shall have the right to free association provided that he abides by the law.
2. Subject to the obligation of solidarity provided for in Article 29 no one may be compelled to join an association.

Article 11

Every individual shall have the right to assemble freely with others. The exercise of this right shall be subject only to necessary restrictions provided for by law in particular those enacted in the interest of national security, health, ethnics and rights and freedoms of others.

Article 12

1. Every individual shall have the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of a State provided he abides by the law.
2. Every individual shall have the right to leave any country including his own, and to return to his country. This right may only be subject to restrictions, provided for by law of the protection of national security, law and order, public health or morality.
3. Every individual shall have the right, when persecuted, to seek and obtain asylum in other countries in accordance with the law on those countries and international conventions.
4. A non-national legally admitted in a territory of a State party to the present Charter, may only be expelled from it by virtue of a decision taken in accordance with the law.
5. The mass expulsion of non-nationals shall be prohibited. Mass expulsion shall be that which is aimed at national, racial, ethnic or religious groups.

Article 13

1. Every citizen shall have right to participate freely in the government of his country, either directly or through freely chosen representatives in accordance with the provisions of the law.
2. Every citizens shall have the right of equal access to the public service of his country.
3. Every individual shall have the right of access to public property and services in strict equality of all persons before the law.

Article 14

The right to property shall be guaranteed. It may only be encroached upon in the interest of public need or in the general interest of the community and in accordance with the provisions of appropriate laws.

Article 15

Every individual shall have the right to work under equitable and satisfactory conditions, and shall receive equal pay for equal work.

Article 16

1. Every individual shall have the right to enjoy the best attainable state of physical and mental health.
2. States parties to the present Charter shall take the necessary measures to protect the health of their people and to ensure that they receive medical attention when they are sick.

Article 19

1. Every individual shall have the right to education
2. Every individual may freely, take part in the cultural life of his community.
3. The promotion and protection of morals and traditional values recognized by the community shall be the duty of the State.

Article 20

1. The family shall be the natural unit and of society. It shall be protected by the State which shall take care of its physical health and moral.
2. The State shall have the duty to assist the family which is the custodian of morals and traditional values recognized by the community.
3. The State shall ensure the elimination of every discrimination against women and also ensure the protection of the rights of the woman and the child as stipulated in international declarations and conventions.
4. The aged and the disabled shall also have the right to special measures of protection keeping with their physical or moral needs.

Article 21

All peoples shall be equal; they shall enjoy the same respect and shall have the same right. Nothing shall justify the domination of a people by another.

Article 22

1. All peoples have right to existence. They shall have the unquestionable and inalienable right to self-determination. They shall freely determine their political status and shall pursue their economic and social development according to the policy they have freely chosen.
2. Colonized or oppressed peoples shall have the right to free themselves from the bonds of domination by resorting to any means recognized by the international community.
3. All peoples shall have the right to the assistance of the State Parties to the present Charter in their liberation struggle against foreign domination, be it political, economic or cultural.

Article 23

1. All people shall freely dispose of their wealth and natural resources. This right shall be exercised in the exclusive interest of the people. In no case shall a people be deprived of it.
2. In case of spoliation the disposed people shall have the right to the lawful recovery of its property as well as to an adequate compensation.
3. The free disposal of wealth and natural resources shall be exercised without prejudice to the obligation of promoting international economic cooperation based on mutual respect, equitable exchange and the principles of international law.
4. States parties to the present Charter shall individually and collectively exercise the right to free disposal of their wealth and natural resources with a view to strengthening African unity and solidarity.
5. States parties to the present Charter shall undertake to eliminate all forms of foreign economic exploitation particularly that practiced by international monopolies so as to enable their peoples to fully benefit from the advantages derived from their national resources.

Article 22

1. All people shall have the right to their economic, social and cultural development with due regard to their freedom and identity and in the equal enjoyment of the common heritage of mankind.
2. States shall have the duty, individually or collectively to ensure the exercise of the right to development.

Article 23

1. All peoples shall have the right to national and international peace and security. The principles of solidarity and friendly relations implicitly affirmed by the Charter of the United Nations and reaffirmed by that of the Organisation of African Unity shall govern relations between States
2. For the purpose of strengthening peace, solidarity and friendly relations, States parties to the present Charter shall ensure that:
 - a) any individual enjoying the right of asylum under Article 12 of the present Charter shall not engage in subversive activities against his country of origin or any other State party to the present Charter;
 - b) their territories shall not be used as bases for subversive or terrorist activities against the people of any other State party to the present Charter.

Article 24

All peoples shall have the right to a general, satisfactory environment favourable to their development.

Article 25

State parties to the present Charter shall have their duty to promote and ensure through teaching, education and publication, the respect of the rights and freedoms contained in the present Charter to see it that these freedoms and right as well as corresponding obligations and, duties are understood.

Article 26

States parties to the present Charter shall have the duty to guarantee the independence of the Courts and shall allow the establishment and improvement of appropriate national institutions entrusted with the promotion and protection of the rights and freedoms guaranteed by the present Charter.

PAST WRONGS, PRESENT RIGHTS: ANY FUTURE FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS?

Karimatu Yakubu is a woman. She is Nigerian. And, is real. In 1985, She was 19 years old, and a virgin. At that tender age and with all her lack of sophistication, Karimatu appreciated the worth of her freedom. To earn it, She had to fight for it. Her opponent was her father and the issue was whether or not she had a prerogative to choose or to have a say in who to marry. The ultimate arbiter in the fight was the Court of Appeal (of Nigeria) sitting in Kaduna.

The background was briefly this. In 1984, three suitors made known to Karimatu's father, Alhaji Yakubu Tafida Paiko, their intentions to marry Karimatu. They were Aminu Shuaibu, Umatu Gwagwada and Mahmoud Ndatsu. Karimatu's father disliked Shuaibu and made his feelings known to her. In deference to her father's wishes, Karimatu wrote off Shuaibu immediately. Her options were thus narrowed to two. While she was away to Sokoto (from Kaduna) to consult family friends on her choice, her father married her off to Umaru Gwagwada.

Shortly after she learnt of this, Karimatu started efforts to break off the bond. It was to prove a long but worthwhile battle. First, She wrote one of her uncles making a case for herself and her right to choose who to marry. Her words were instructive. Referring to the action of her father and those who acted to deprive her of choice to choose her spouse, she argued:

"They should take note that it is important to allow the girl to know the type of person to marry her before the marriage is concluded. So, I would like you to leave me to choose the person of my choice for marriage as (sic) the case of all my sisters. And I prefer to choose the person my mind accepts for peaceful living."

When this and other letters did not win her freedom, she went ahead to break off the marriage to Gwagwada. Thereafter, she married Mahmoud Ndatsu. Perhaps, feeling that his authority was threatened, Karimatu's father, in league with Umaru Gwagwada, sued her. Karimatu lost in the trial (Area) Court. Her appeal to the Sharia Court of Appeal was unsuccessful. Next, she proceeded to the Court of Appeal, the second to the highest Court in Nigeria in Appeal No. CA/K 805/85. Although she was

vindicated in the Court's judgement given on December 11, 1985, on some technical point of Sharia Law, the opinion of the Court of Appeal was a sad day for women and women's rights everywhere. According to the Court:

"[O]ne conclusion on which there is consensus of opinion in the Maliki School of Islamic Law is that a father has the right to compel his virgin daughter in marriage without her consent and even if she has attained puberty (defined by the Court to begin at 14 years)..."

The learned Justices of the Nigeria Court of Appeal affirmed this most degrading and disparaging enslavement of womanhood in spite of the provision of section 39 of the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1979 which proscribes discrimination on grounds of sex. It is not only in Islam that women are consigned to play second fiddle. The situation is not very different in Christendom. Few misogynists in history match the authority and venom of Saint Paul. Nor is the situation peculiar to Nigeria. Until recently in Peru, South America, women could not even maintain actions in Court in their name. In United Kingdom, like in Botswana, Citizenship Laws, until recently, favoured Men. And the U.S.A., women who seem to have more intelligence and life than a foot-mat are called "Feminists".

All these instances reflect the tendencies of a world that has accepted the man as the embodiment of the woman. Because she is largely regarded as a non-person, the woman is therefore depersonalized and discriminated against. These trends manifest themselves in employment discrimination (against women), unequal access to employment and unequal remuneration for equal work, violence against women (physical, psychological and emotional); as well as sexual exploitation.

Mankind is perhaps only just beginning to make amends for the enslavement of women. But it is proven to be one hell of a drag. In 1967, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Declaration of the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women. Eight years later in 1975, the General Assembly declared the Decade for Women. And on December 18, 1979, the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) which came into force on September 3, 1981, was adopted, also by the United Nations. In adopting this

convention, the Contracting Parties expressed conviction "that the full and complete development of a country, the welfare of the World and the cause of peace require the maximum participation of women on equal terms with men in all fields".

CEDAW is the most comprehensive articulation of gender perspectives of human rights known to the World. It captures the three components of women's rights as human rights namely; Gender Affirmative Action (to remedy age-old injustices), the principle of equality and the complementary principle of non-discrimination. Together these three principles constitute the composite and evolving concepts of "Gender Justice", which translates the Golden

Rule in the context of gender relations. CEDAW has probably attracted more ratification than any other U.N. Convention or Treaty. It is a measure of the hypocrisy of the male dominated world that, in spite of this, the woman's voice is heard only in the deafening silence of enforced servitude. The conclusion can only be that the State Parties to CEDAW failed to subscribe to it with any measure of conviction.

This is not surprising for, as history abundantly shows, Freedom is never donated on a platter of platinum to the oppressed. It has never been in the character of dominant classes anywhere to commit *sepuuku* for the sake of the dominated. Which is why legal documents

like constitutions and treaties are insufficient to win any measure of self-respect for women and womanhood. Ultimately, the battle to liberate womanhood will be fought through organized agitation involving the mobilization of our grand-mothers and forgotten sisters who, in those dark spots lost on the map of the world, fight live's daily battles with bare knuckles. Unless we involve them, the virtues of women's rights will be forgotten and buried in the narcissism of the elite, urban women.

It needs however, to be said, that men have a part to play in the chemistry of women's rights. In the end, oppression is as debilitating to the oppressed as it is destructive of the oppressor. This is good enough reason for all to rise up to the challenges of righting the wrongs of yore; and giving women's rights a distinct socio-political agenda.

By Anselm Chidi
Odinkalu