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THE STATUS
OF
REFUGEE RIGHTS
IN
NIGERIA

A Report of the Civil Liberties Organisation

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INTRODUCTION

The high incidence of civil wars, natural disasters and absolutist political systems in Africa make refugees and exiles endemic issues in the continent. Their status, welfare and rights have, accordingly, been primary pre-occupations for various governments and non-governmental agencies in the continent. Yet refugees all over the continent suffer gross material deprivation, abuse of their fundamental human rights and other forms of maltreatment. These arise not only from the universal problem of inadequacy of funds and relief materials to cater for refugees, but also lack of coherent policy responses to the problem at national and continental levels. Hence whereas the phenomenon of refugees, being recurrent problems in the continent, ought to be anticipated and prepared for, most African countries are often caught unprepared when the problem comes calling. And despite the existence of continental, and, in many countries, national instruments relating to the status, rights and welfare of refugees, existing practices suggest a lack of continental consensus on the obligations of African governments in relation to these. These lead to contradictory practices often detrimental to refugees rights. There is also the problem of administrative lapses on the part of inter-governmental and non-governmental agencies directly involved in administering refugee camps or in some other ways affecting the lives of refugees on a day-to-day basis. The latter include the various offices of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the International Redcross in African countries. These often have serious consequences for refugees welfare.

Three refugee issues in Nigeria between 1990 and 1992 highlight some of these problems and form the basis of this report - conditions at the UNHCR Refugee Camp for Liberian refugees established in 1990 in Oru, Ogun State; the arrest and deportation, in the last quarter of 1991 and the first quarter of 1992, of Chadian refugees in Borno State; and the government's granting, in May 1992, of temporary asylum to Siad Barre, former despotic Head of State of Somalia.

The task of scripting this report fell on Paul Tiao, a law student at the Columbia University School of Law, New York, United States of America who did his internship with the CLO in the period May-August 1992. He was guided, from the on-set, by some background materials - a report titled *In the Camp of Liberian Refugees* published in the June-August 1991 edition of the CLO quarterly journal, *Liberty*; a 1991 sub-committee report by the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights (CDHR) on conditions in the Liberian Refugees Camp; a March 1992 CLO report on the *Massive Arrest and Deportation of Chadian Refugees in Borno State* and the case file on the suit instituted by the CLO on the matter; the suit filed by the Constitutional Rights Project (CRP) challenging the granting, by the Nigerian government, of asylum to Siad Barre; and several media reports, local and international, on the issues.

To these were added the investigative initiative of Paul which took him on several occasions to the refugee camp in Oru, Ogun State and Maidugiri in Borno State where the massive deportation of the Chadians took place. He made three trips to the Oru Camp, the first in July for two days, and the other two for one day each in August. He also made three research trips to Maidugiri, on two occasions to interview relations of deported Chadians and on the third occasion to attend a court session in the suit filed by the CLO to challenge the deportations. These afforded him the opportunity of updating the previous reports on the two situations. He was also able to interview officials of the Nigerian Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees UNHCR, some government officials and other relevant persons.

A surprising development in the course of his investigation was the lack of cooperation at a stage by the UNHCR. From the onset, the CLO made clear its intentions to work together with the agency to enhance the protection of the rights of refugees in Nigeria. However, as the investigation continued, UNHCR officials seemed progressively less cooperative.

Following his first two-day visit to the Oru Camp in July, Paul held a three-hour discussion with UNHCR officials in Lagos during which he informed them of his observations at the camp and arranged to visit the camp again in the company of an official of the UNHCR. Relations deteriorated from this point onward. Repeated phone messages he left with UNHCR officials, trying to fix a time to visit the camp with a UNHCR official as agreed were never returned. Twice, he visited the UNHCR office in Ikoyi in order to arrange meetings or meet with officials. Each time, he was stopped at the gate and told that UNHCR officials were too busy.

Finally, when he visited the refugee camp in late August he was denied entry and was informed that UNHCR's new policy was that only persons with prior authorization from the Ikoyi UNHCR office, or who were working under the umbrella of the Catholic Church or the National Commission For Refugees, were allowed into the camp. This policy was initiated on July 27, 1992, in a letter from the Chief of Mission, Chrysantus Ache, to

the Camp Administrator and other officials at the camp. The UNHCR Camp administrator told CLO that this policy was initiated in response to CLO's inquiry into conditions at the camp. Although CLO requested formal authorization in early August, UNHCR still had not responded by the time of writing this report.

All these investigations and experiences he synthesised into the report that follows which was finally edited by Chima Ubani, Head of Campaigns; Felix Morka, Head of Litigation; and Anselm Odinkalu, Co-ordinator of Projects and Planning. It is hoped it achieves the objectives of increasing public awareness of refugees' rights, drawing attention to current refugee practices in Nigeria and informing policy-formulation and implementation by agencies directly involved with refugees such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Government.

Olisa Agbakoba
President
October, 1992.

OVERVIEW

CHAPTER 1

Since it was established in 1990 by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the Camp for Liberian Refugees in Oru, Ogun State has afforded its inhabitants facilities which enable them to scrape a living on the fringes of survival. The camp population has peaked at 1,200 most of who are still alive thanks to the intervention of the Justice and Peace Commission of the Catholic Church.

Living conditions at the camp are harsh. Food is supplied in inadequate quantity. The refugees cook their own food using kerosene stoves from insufficient monthly rations handed out to them by the camp authorities.

The health care system at the camp leaves much to be desired. The only doctor available to the camp is provided by the Catholic Church. He, however, comes around only once weekly (on Thursdays) with two staff nurses. As a result, avoidable deaths have occurred. There is also an outbreak of tuberculosis which has claimed one victim at the camp. There are, in addition, no pre- and post-natal care facilities for expectant or nursing mothers in the camp. One of the refugees doubles as a mid-wife. Since July 1991, she has delivered some 19 children without the assistance of even a thermometer to help her in her work.

The only school in the camp is poorly maintained. It is staffed by 14 teachers paid N200.00 (two hundred Naira: about US\$9) each monthly. 6 of them are paid by the UNHCR while the remainder are on the payroll of the Catholic Church. Of 105 refugees who are eligible, only 5 have been able to secure admission into institutions of tertiary education in Nigeria on the sponsorship of the UNHCR. Another 25 are in higher institutions thanks to the intervention of families and friends. The remainder are without schools.

CHAPTER 2

Since late 1991, Chadian Nationals in Nigeria, mostly in the Northern States of Nigeria, have been indiscriminately ar-

rested and deported back to Chad to suffer persecution and death. Although these arrests have been justified on the basis that the deportees are Chadian subversives using Nigeria as a base, no evidence has been produced by the Nigerian security forces to back up this claim. On the contrary, there is evidence that most of the deportees have lived responsibly in Nigeria for several years on valid residence permits carrying on very legitimate businesses. Others had valid refugee status.

At several times in 1992, high level contacts, including summit meetings between the leaders of the two countries, took place. Although the specific discussions in these contacts were not officially disclosed, unconfirmed reports suggest that they sealed the fates of the deportees.

Though employable, most of the refugees are unemployed. The few who have managed to secure jobs generally earn below the National minimum wage of N250:00 (two hundred and fifty Naira: ~\$11). An undercurrent of antagonism towards the Liberians among Nigerians has confined the refugees to dangerous jobs in the course of which two refugees have been killed.

The refugees also suffer violations of their rights to personal liberty and the dignity of their persons. Many of them have been arrested and detained by the Police, sometimes at the instigation of camp authorities, for no cause. Usually, the arrest is accompanied with some form of torture or beating. The camp has also been infiltrated by security forces (disguised as refugees) at the invitation of the camp administration.

All this has been possible because the quality of personnel engaged to administer the camp is low. At present, the camp is under the control of its third administrator, a retired captain in the Nigerian Army. The frequent changes in camp administration hardly conduce to stability in the camp.

All the deportees being male, played critical roles in the survival of their families. In all, CLO ascertained the arrest of 244 Chadian Nationals who have so far been deported. Reliable reports suggest that many of them have been executed by Chadian security forces.

CHAPTER 3

When deposed Somali dictator, Siad Barre, arrived Nigeria on May 17, 1992, he was trailed by a disquieting reputation for crimes committed against his people during his tenure as the leader of that embattled country. Informed sources estimate that General Barre was responsible, during his tenure, for the death of about 50,000 (fifty thousand persons).

Despite this disclosure, the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria under, General Ibrahim Babangida, then also the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), decided to grant the deposed despot what the government described as "temporary asylum". This was in spite of the provision in the National Laws of Nigeria as well as international obligations binding on Nigeria prohibiting the grant of asylum to persons like General Barre.

CHAPTER I.

IN THE CAMP OF LIBERIAN REFUGEES

A. *BACKGROUND*

1. **General Information About the Camp**

Since late 1990, the Nigerian office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has administered a refugee camp in Oru, Ogun State, Nigeria. Formerly the grounds of the Muslim Teachers College, UNHCR began housing Liberian refugees there in November of 1990. Since that time, the camp has been home to approximately 900-1200 refugees who fled from Liberia because of the on-going civil war there.

In accordance with its mandate under Chapter II, Article 8 of the Statute of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner For Refugees (UNHCR Statute), UNHCR works to improve the situation of refugees through special agreements with governments; keeps in close contact with governments and inter-governmental organizations; and facilitates the coordination of efforts made by private organizations concerned with the welfare of refugees. Also, under Article 10 of the UNHCR Statute, UNHCR administers any funds which it receives for assistance to refugees, and distributes them among the private and public agencies which it deems best qualified to administer such assistance. With regards to costs borne on the UN itself, Article 20 of the UNHCR Statute limits the High Commissioner's expenditures to administrative costs, unless it has received authorization to make other outlays, from the UN General Assembly.

In view of its mandate under the UNHCR Statute, UNHCR in Nigeria coordinates and facilitates the efforts made on behalf of the refugees by the Justice and Peace Committee of the Catholic Church, the UN, the Nigerian Red Cross the Federal and State government; and the refugees themselves. The Catholic

Church has played an instrumental role in meeting the medical costs and educational needs of the refugees. Without the Church's assistance, there would be no school at the camp. If not for the Church, many refugees would have died because they could not afford medical treatment. Also, the only physician who visits the camp is sponsored by the Church. The Church also provided the funds necessary to help the refugees set up a home economics center, an agricultural project, and a carpentry shop.

The Nigerian Red Cross works with the UN to supply the refugees with drugs and food. The UN also helps cover education and housing costs. The Nigerian government provides the physical facilities of the camp itself, security in the form of an Ogun State Police Substation on the camp grounds, and limited health care for pregnant mothers and newborns. The government also grants the Liberians legal status as refugees (part of attestation) and began staffing an office of the National Commission for Refugees on the camp grounds in July of 1992.

Apart from those bodies which provide assistance for the refugees, the refugees themselves have been enterprising and resourceful in improving living conditions at the camp. In addition to keeping the grounds neat and orderly, many refugees grow cassava, corn, onions, potatoes, and other vegetables. Others raise rabbits and chickens. One woman and her husband built a large stone oven in which they bake bread for sale at the camp and on the roadside. The refugees themselves initiated the establishment of a home economics center and a carpentry shop with assistance from the Catholic Church. In terms of home improvements, many refugees have built bamboo partitions and cabinets with wood gathered in and around the camp. The camp has an open-door policy and refugees are free to come and go at any hour of the day or night. The refugees live in brick dormitories, 7-10 per room. Facilities at the camp include an elemen-

tary school, a health clinic, a church, a home economics center, a carpentry shop, numerous gardens, a volleyball net, a football field, and a basketball court. The camp's appearance is well-kept by the refugees who have invested tremendous amounts of human labor to renovate the camp from a deserted school with crumbling buildings, and overgrown, jungle-like vegetation to a livable, functioning community.

Overall, living conditions at the camp are better than the squalid, overcrowded and decrepit conditions for which refugee camps are infamous. The refugees are not malnourished and they are living in sturdy brick structures. From the standpoint of survival, these refugees are doing reasonably well. However, "survival" is not an appropriate yardstick by which their existence should be measured.

Instead, their conditions should be viewed in light of their legal rights as protected by laws in force in Nigeria. From this perspective the refugees are suffering substantial and widespread violations of their rights the details of which are set out in this chapter.

2. Legal Responsibility for the Refugees at the Camp.

Legal liability for the refugees rests primarily with the Nigerian government. Although the UNHCR in Nigeria is responsible for administering the camp, if it does not have adequate financial assistance, the refugees will not receive adequate care. In 1989, the Federal Government issued Decree 52 (National Commission For Refugees, Etc. Act, Cap. 244 Laws of the Federation, 1990; hereinafter referred to as the NCR Act) which established the National Commission For Refugees. Article 5(c) of the NCR Act states clearly that the Federal Commissioner for Refugees "shall ensure the provision of adequate facilities and services for the reception and care of refugees in Nigeria."

Therefore, inadequate care and violations of rights enjoyed by the refugees are attributable to the Nigerian Government, as long as they are not caused by

poor administration on the part of UNHCR.

As established in Article 15 of the NCR Act, refugees enjoy the rights protected in the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees; and the 1967 UN Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees which expanded the definition of refugee set out in the 1951 Convention by eliminating its geographic limitations and extending it to include people who became refugees because of events occurring after 1951. Article 15 also protects the rights established in the OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa; and any other laws in force in Nigeria. Most importantly, these Nigerian laws include the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria; and the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (Cap. 10 Laws of the Federation, 1990; hereinafter referred to as the African Charter). Within the African Charter, Article 18(3) makes binding on Nigeria, those rights of women and children that are stipulated in international treaties. Of these treaties, the 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, recently ratified by Nigeria, is the most important.

In Article 2(b) of the UNHCR Statute, the UN General Assembly calls on government to cooperate with UNHCR by entering into special agreements with UNHCR for the execution of measures calculated to improve the situation of refugees. Generally, when the rights protected in the above-mentioned laws are violated because of reasons other than poor camp administration, the responsibility lies with the Nigerian government. However, when their rights are denied because of shortcomings in camp administration, then UNHCR is responsible. What follows is a more detailed presentation of the state of affairs in the camp in relation to specific aspects of living conditions and human rights.

B. KNOWLEDGE OF THEIR RIGHTS AND DUTIES

The Liberian refugees have never been fully informed of their rights or duties as refugees in Nigeria. Teachers

at the school complained that in spite of their repeated requests, UNHCR failed to provide written information about their legal rights and duties. As a result, the refugees don't know when their legal rights are being violated. Consequently, they are unable to protect themselves against such violations. Similarly, the refugees don't know when their behavior is in breach of their legal duties as refugees in Nigeria. Therefore, they don't know how to constrain their behavior to fit within the parameters of the law. Officials at UNHCR maintain that they discussed refugee rights at the camp, but they admit that written information was never made available.

The failure to ensure that the refugees are adequately educated on their rights protected under the African Charter violates Article 25 of the Charter. Article 25 requires that States party to the Charter "promote and ensure through teaching, education and publication, the respect of the rights and freedoms contained in the present Charter and to see to it that these freedoms and rights as well as corresponding obligations and duties are understood."

In addition, in particular regard to children, it is a breach of Article 42 of the UN Convention On The Rights Of The Child which requires states to "undertake to make the principles and provisions of the Convention widely known, by appropriate and active means, to adults and children alike." Although this Convention has not been domesticated, the rights protected under it are made binding by Article 18(3) of the African Charter which mandates that every state "censure the protection of the rights of the woman and the child as stipulated in international declarations and conventions."

C. FOOD AND HOUSING

The refugees receive dry rations on a monthly basis, which they cook with small kerosene stoves and utensils provided by the UNHCR. These rations include rice, cooking oil, meat, fish, cornvita (a flour substitute), beans, salt, sugar and kerosene. Refugees complained that although the beans, salt and sugar are supplied in sufficient quantities, the other food products run out well

before the end of the month. The quantity of rice amounts to only one plate per person, per day. The volume of cooking oil is enough for only two weeks.

Kerosene shortages are a particularly serious problem because the refugees are only given enough for approximately one week. Because of these shortages, the refugees are reduced to begging for money or selling the beans in order to buy the necessary foodstuffs and kerosene. UNHCR officials oppose this practice of selling rations, and actively try to prevent it. For example, UNHCR established a practice of breaking the seal on supplementary baby food given to women with newborns, in order to prevent them from selling it at the market in Ijebu-ode. This policy has angered refugees who feel that UNHCR is insensitive to the food shortages at the camp. UNHCR officials maintain that the rations meet international standards for caloric intake.

Another food-related problem involves refugees who are denied dry rations altogether. In order to qualify for dry rations, a refugee must present identification establishing his/her status as a refugee recognized by the Nigerian government and the UNHCR (attestation); and as a resident at the camp. Those refugees who have attestation but who have jobs that force them to live outside the camp do not receive rations. Discussions with several such refugees revealed that many of them do not earn more than 300 naira per month, which does not cover their basic food and housing costs. Thus, they are faced with the unfortunate choice of working and going hungry or quitting their jobs and collecting rations. Such a choice creates a substantial disincentive to leading productive, working lives.

Many refugees complained bitterly about this situation. Mr. Roger Niles, Chairman of the Liberian Refugees Welfare Council, explained their position that as people with legal status as refugees, they are entitled to housing, food, medical care and transportation. He said that when a country grants an individual asylum as a refugee, that person should get all the accompanying entitlements regardless of whether they resided at a

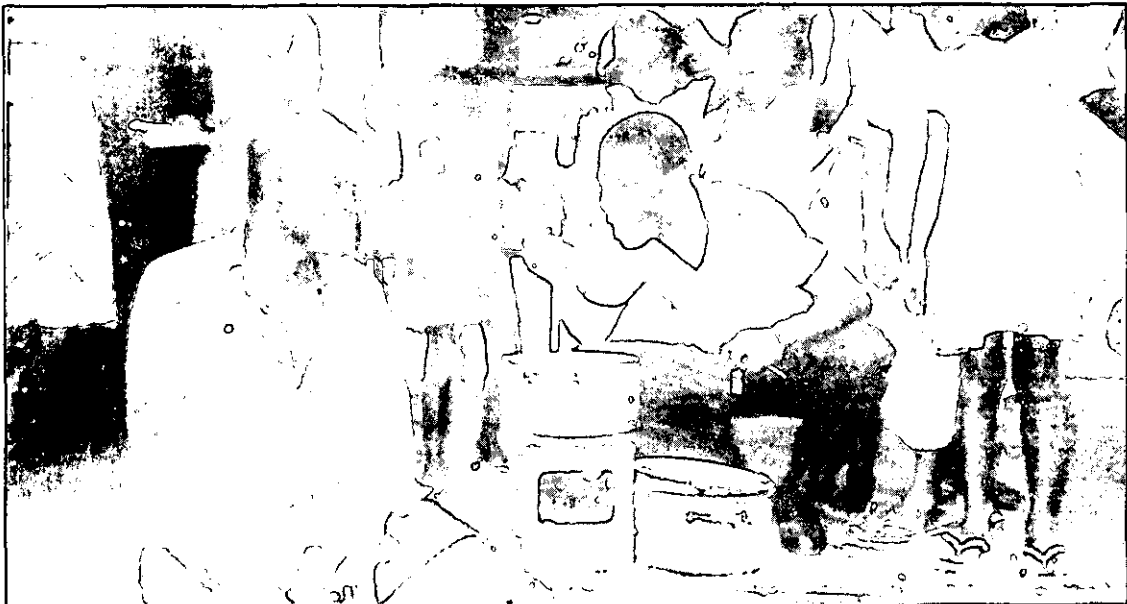
refugee camp. He cited Ghana, Cote d'Ivoire, and Cameroun as examples of countries that distribute dry rations to all individuals with refugee status. According to Mr. Niles, in these countries residence is immaterial because they don't even have refugee camps.

However, an official from UNHCR in Accra, capital of the Republic of Ghana, explained that in fact UNHCR has a refugee camp in Ghana and only those refugees residing there receive dry rations. The official explained that Mr. Niles' misconceptions were understandable in light of the Ghanaian UNHCR's reputation for being liberal with its rations, and the knack that Liberian refugees in Ghana had for getting around the residence requirement.

In response to the CLO's inquiry into this problem, UNHCR officials explained that since the dry rations system began, the number of refugees residing at the camp has increased from approximately 900 to 1200. UNHCR officials stressed repeatedly that they operate on a limited budget and that they did not have enough financial resources to cover the cost of feeding this growing population.

With regards to housing, the conditions vary from home to home. The refugees live in brick dormitories, in rooms with windows but no window panes. Many rooms do not have solid doors.

Some refugees live two persons to a room, while others endure overcrowded living arrangements. For example, Jo-



Refugees cook their own food from dry rations provided by UNHCR

Finally, Mr. Niles expressed concern and exasperation about the way the UNHCR office in Lagos fought the Liberian refugees on every request. He said that on July 26, 1992 Mr. Herman Cohen, Assistant Secretary of State of the US, told the Liberian community in Washington, D.C. that the US was contributing \$200 million to the UN for use on behalf of Liberian refugees all over the world. Mr. Niles felt that with this amount of funding available at UN Headquarters in Geneva, the role of UNHCR in Lagos should simply be to facilitate the distribution of these resources, not to create obstacles between the refugees and their entitlements.

seph Yancy's ten children all sleep in one room. The variation depends on the number of engagements refugees have outside of the camp. For example, a refugee might have a temporary employment contract in Lagos which forces her to stay there overnight. Alternatively, the refugee might be traveling on business or to see relatives. Thus, although every room houses 7-10 refugees, the actual number sleeping there on any given night varies depending on these engagements. This system works well for those refugees who live with people who have many outside commitments. However, Joseph Yancy's family and other families with many children endure overcrowded

and unhygienic conditions because the children have no excuse to leave the campgrounds.

To make matters worse, many refugees lack mattresses on which to sleep. Joseph Yancy's children all sleep on one old and thin straw mat on the concrete floor. Cecile Blamo's nine children sleep in similar conditions. In spite of repeated requests for mattresses, both families have lived in these decrepit conditions since their arrival in December of 1990. Members of the Refugee Welfare Council estimate that 75-100 refugees have lacked mattresses for two years.

When CLO presented these problems to an official at the UNHCR, she explained that the responsibility for maintaining housing conditions rests with the project assistant Captain Israel Ibok-ete (rtd), who lives at the camp. The official said that they had not received a request for such mattresses from Mr. Ibok-ete, and that they could not take action until such a request was made. Captain Ibok-ete was unavailable for comment because of UNHCR's policy of barring concerned parties who lacked prior authorization from UNHCR.

In addition to the overcrowding and the shortage of mattresses, refugees expressed concern about the camp's toilet facilities. The camp is overrun with poisonous snakes and nearly all of the toilets are outside. This is particularly serious at night when residents can't see and avoid snakes on the way to the toilet. These snakes are also a nuisance in the bathroom as Priscilla Pearson learned when she found a snake in her toilet.

In addition to the snake problem, the toilets have leaking roofs and the septic tanks have not been reconditioned in two years. When confronted with these problems, a UNHCR official said that the budget covered such things like the reconditioning of septic tanks, but that she needed a requisition from Mr. Ibok-ete and she had yet to receive one. Again, Ibok-ete was unavailable for comment because of UNHCR's new policy.

Furthermore, the refugees complained that they are not supplied with body

soap, detergent, or toothpaste. With no stipend and only limited job opportunities, the refugees are forced to beg or sell food in order to have money to buy these necessities.

A UNHCR official responded by saying that they are concerned with survival; and that they had no budget for such "luxuries."

The food shortages and housing deficiencies deny the refugees their "right to enjoy the best attainable state of physical and mental health" as protected by Article 16(1) of the African Charter; and their right to a "general satisfactory environment favorable to their development" as protected under Article 24 of the Charter. In addition, the lack of adequate food denies the refugees the ability to enjoy their right to "economic, social and cultural development" as protected under Article 22 of the Charter. The failure to ensure that the refugees are provided with adequate food compromises the health of the refugees and thereby violates Article 16(2) of the African Charter which requires that states "take the necessary measures to protect the health of their people." Also, the government's failure in this regard violates Article 22(2) of the Charter which requires that states "ensure the exercise of the right to development." If people are inadequately fed, then they cannot possibly exercise their right to development.

The government's failure to ensure that the camp's children are adequately nourished violates Article 27(1) of the UN Convention On The Rights Of The Child which protects the "right of every child to a standard of living adequate for the child's physical... development;" and Article 3(2) which requires that states "ensure the child such protection and care as is necessary for his or her well-being." Both articles are binding law on the Nigerian government through Article 18(3) of the African Charter which mandates that every state "ensure the protection of the rights of the woman and the child as stipulated in international declarations and conventions". These include those rights protected under the Convention On The Rights of the Child.

It is worthy of note, however, that although their living conditions are deficient in many ways, substantial improvements in food and housing have been made over the last two years. The refugees agree that the dry rations system is an improvement over the wet rations system that was in place prior to July 1992. Under that system, the Nigerian Red Cross cooked and served traditional Nigerian foods. The refugees were fed only twice daily and the food cooked often fell short of feeding all the residents in the camp. Volunteers from the Catholic Church explained that for the first one and half years of this wet rations system, malnourishment was a common problem.

With regards to housing, the refugees have been resourceful in collecting wood and building cabinets, bamboo partitions, and other furniture to improve their homes. Also, UNHCR and the Catholic Church recently joined forces and resources to repair leaking rooftops in residential buildings. The repairs were nearly completed when CLO field staff visited the camp in late July of 1992.

D. HEALTH CONDITIONS.

The refugees do not receive adequate medical attention, and the available medical facilities are deficient. The problems include: insufficient medical personnel and drugs, no emergency vehicle, and insufficient funds to support necessary medical expenditures. In addition to these problems, the camp is on the verge of a tuberculosis epidemic.

The approximately 1,200 refugees enjoy the services of a doctor for only one day per week. This doctor, sponsored by the Catholic church, visits on Thursdays, with two nurses. The Ogun State government does not sponsor a doctor but it does supply the camp with a nursing superintendent and a nurse's assistant, Monday thru Friday from 7:30 am to 3:30 pm. However, it is unclear how rigidly this schedule is adhered to. While visiting the camp, CLO field staff noted that neither the nursing superintendent nor his assistant arrived until some time after 11:30 am. Also, three Liberian refugees provide free medical care: Ms Churchi Bombo who is a mid-

wife and family planner; a physician's assistant; and a nurse's aide. Although the Nigerian Red Cross and the UNHCR supply the camp with drugs, neither organisation sponsors any medical personnel.

The lack of proper medical attention from trained physicians is a serious health problem for the refugees. For instance, on March 20, 1991, one - and - half - year old Emmanuel Lamandine died from a disease that had caused him joint pains and high fever. Emmanuel awoke with fever and body pains on March 19, and his mother brought him to the camp clinic. No diagnosis was made because no doctor was available. However, a nurse administered chloroquine and analgesics. Emmanuel's condition did not improve and he died the next day. Even then, no doctor was available, so his body was referred to the General Hospital in Ijebu-Ode where he was finally certified dead. Emmanuel's death was a violation of his "inherent right to life" as protected by Article 6(1) of the UN Convention On The Rights Of The Child. In failing to provide Emmanuel with even nominal attention from a physician, the Nigerian government failed in its duty to "ensure to the maximum extent possible, the survival and development of the child" as stipulated in Article 6(2) of this Convention. Both Articles 6(1) and (2) are made binding by Article 18(3) of the African Charter.

When asked why the UNHCR did not sponsor a doctor to visit the camp, an official said that until last April, the doctor who served the UNHCR staff also visited the camp once per week. However, the doctor left in April and a replacement has yet to be found. The UNHCR Chief of Mission thought that the Catholic Church sponsored a doctor to visit the camp three times per week. Such lack of first hand knowledge, within the organisation, of state of affairs in the camp is a likely source of the inattention to such urgent and basic needs as adequate medical care.

Such lapses in administration also contribute to the fact that the camp has never had an emergency vehicle for patients who need immediate hospital care. Currently, if a refugee needs hospital care, he or she must wait by the roadside

for a ride in a car heading in the right direction. Because the camp is relatively isolated, not many cars pass by and the sick refugee generally waits for a long time. This is particularly problematic at night when the number of passing cars drops off to near-zero.

When confronted with this problem, a UNHCR official explained that the money for fuel and a driver had been authorized in July of 1992. However, a car still needed to be procured and UNHCR was trying to sell one of its old cars in order to buy a new one for the camp. But, this transaction was delayed by administrative obstacles and the official thought that it would be some time before it would be completed. As an alternative, officials from the Nigerian National Commission on Refugees who visited in April 1992, offered to supply a government car but they said that it would be at least one year before the car materialized. For the time-being, UNHCR has offered to reimburse refugees for medical transportation costs, but this doesn't help if the sick refugee can't obtain a vehicle to begin with.

In addition to inadequate medical personnel and the lack of an emergency vehicle, the camp clinic lacks sufficient drugs. The Ogun State nursing superintendent informed CLO field staff that the drugs supplied by UNHCR and the Red

Cross are enough for 2-3 months, after which additional drugs must be requisitioned. Unfortunately, the time between requisition and delivery might stretch as long as 3 months. During this time, the refugees must scratch together enough money to buy drugs themselves. Most refugees do not have incomes so this is a difficult task. This is a particularly serious problem for Malaria, which is the most common ailment afflicting the refugees.

A UNHCR official blamed the long delays on several factors. First, the UN maintains tight control over UNHCR expenditures and authorizes spending only in instalment. Article 28 of the UNHCR Statute stipulates that unless UN Headquarters authorizes the expenditure, UNHCR expenditures are limited to administrative costs. Therefore, any money spent on additional drugs requires authorization from officials in Geneva, Switzerland. This long-distance authorization creates delays. Second, the camp has no telephone and no-one has a car, not even the project assistant. Therefore communication is difficult and inefficient. Third, the monthly medical reports from the Red Cross are sent only to the Red Cross Headquarters and not to the UNHCR. Thus, people at the UNHCR won't know if there is a drug shortage even if its documented in these reports. Fourth, the official strongly suspects



Overcrowding is a problem in the camp. These ten children sleep on one small piece of mat at night.

that the refugees and others at the camp are taking the drugs and selling them on the streets. This distrust results in heightened scrutiny of any such requests which in turn leads to further delays in the delivery of needed drugs.

In addition to the drug shortage, the camp is on the verge of a tuberculosis epidemic. In late 1991, Nimley Swengbe and Emmanuel Baker were diagnosed as having tuberculosis. In spite of physician's orders, UNHCR failed to quarantine either men. After much foot-dragging, UNHCR gave Mr. Baker a mere 50 naira to go to Lagos to have diagnostic tests. This money was supposed to cover the cost of transportation there and back, the tests, food and lodging. Unfortunately, medical equipment necessary for the tests were broken down and Mr. Baker was forced to stay in Lagos for several days waiting for the equipment to be fixed. The necessary repairs were not made before Mr. Baker's financial situation forced him to return to the camp. No additional assistance was provided and in February he reached terminal stage and passed away.

Fortunately, it appears that Nimley Swengbe is recovering and will not suffer the same fate as Mr. Baker. For his health care, Mr. Swengbe's family incurred over 700 naira in medical expenses in the first seven months after he was diagnosed. They have not received any reimbursement from the UN even though the receipts were given to a UN doctor months ago. However, after seven months, the Catholic Church began covering Mr. Swengbe's medical costs, without which he would not have survived.

Four additional cases of tuberculosis have been found in the last month, all in Cabral block, the same resident quarter that housed Mr. Baker and currently houses Mr. Swengbe. If something is not done immediately, many more people at the camp will contract this fatal disease. In response to the CLO's concerns, a UNHCR official explained that one of its counselors is working on the tuberculosis problem. However, UNHCR did not offer any details.

The UNHCR's reluctance to pay for

or reimburse medical expenses, as experienced by Nimley Swengbe, is a common problem among the refugees at the camp. When Augustine Dortu came to the camp in 1990 with 6 gunshot wounds, UNHCR gave him a mere 300 naira to cover all of his expenses. If not for assistance from the Catholic church and the wife of the Ogun State governor, Mr. Dortu would not have recovered. Mr. Niles complained that UNHCR has no real system for reimbursing the refugees for emergency medical care. At one point, he explained, UNHCR went as far as to tell the refugees that if they wanted a reimbursement for emergency costs, they were to request it from UNHCR in Lagos before receiving the necessary treatment. In response to these and other similar stories, a UNHCR official explained that the Catholic Church was in a better position than UNHCR to assist people in this regard. The official said that the UN Headquarters in Geneva responds to these requests very slowly, and UNHCR in Nigeria cannot afford to reimburse the refugees for all of these medical costs. Instead, UNHCR prefers to provide funding on an ad hoc basis, depending on who comes to the office in Ikoyi.

This haphazard approach to distributing funds is unfair and counter-productive. It rewards only those people who are aggressive and who have the financial means to come to Ikoyi to pressure the staff at the UNHCR office. It also leaves a sick refugee uncertain as to where he or she should go when in need of emergency medical funds. Many refugees wait on UN medical assistance or reimbursements for several months before finally turning to the Church. This harms their health and their financial well-being. The UNHCR would serve the refugee community far more effectively if it was forthright about its financial limits, and the refugees knew to go immediately to the church for money to cover emergency medical costs.

In view of the insufficient medical personnel and drugs, lack of an emergency vehicle, the tuberculosis outbreak and inadequate response to it, and the insufficient funds for necessary medical expenditures, the refugees are being denied their right to the best attain-

able state of physical and mental health" as protected by Article 16(1) of the African Charter. In addition without proper health maintenance, they are denied their right to a "general satisfactory environment favorable to their development," as protected by Article 24 of the Charter, and the right to "their economic, social and cultural development" as protected by Article 22(1) of the Charter.

The Nigerian government's failure to eliminate the above-mentioned problems is a breach of its duty to "take the necessary measures to protect the health of their people and to ensure that they receive medical attention when they are sick" as established by Article 16(2) of the African Charter. Without proper health maintenance, a person cannot enjoy the right to development, therefore the failure also violates Article 22(2) of the Charter which requires that states "ensure the exercise of the right to development."

For children, the deficient health care at the camp is a breach of their right to the "enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health and to facilities for the treatment of illness and rehabilitation of health" as protected by Article 24 of the UN Convention On The Rights Of The Child, and made binding by Article 18(3) of the African Charter. The Nigerian government's failure to ensure that the children have proper health care is a violation of a litany of duties established under Article 24, including: the duty to diminish infant and child mortality; to combat disease and malnutrition through various technologies and provisions; and to develop preventive health care systems. Finally, the government's failure violates Article 6(2) of this Convention which requires every state to "ensure to the maximum extent possible the survival and development of the child."

E. WOMEN AND CHILDREN-RELATED HEALTHCARE.

In addition to the problems described above which affect all individuals at the camp, the camp lacks virtually all childbirth equipment and facilities, and is also deficient in important pre-natal and post-natal drugs and supplements. A Discus-

sion with Ms Churchi Bombo, the Liberian mid-wife who has delivered 19 babies since July 1991, revealed that she has managed without a scale, scissors, clamps, stethoscope, fetal scope, sphygmomanometer (for measuring blood pressure), thermometer, and kidney dishes. Fortunately all of her deliveries have been free of complications so she has not required an emergency vehicle with which to take a pregnant woman to a hospital. When asked about these missing items, a UNHCR official explained that they had not received any such request from Mr. Ibok-ete and that they could not act on the problem until they had received one. Ibok-ete was unavailable for comment because of UNHCR's new policy of preventing concerned parties from visiting the camp.

In addition to the lack of childbirth equipment, pre-natal and post-natal care at the camp are problematic. Although pregnant women and newborns receive some special treatment, the camp lacks important supplies necessary for proper pre-natal and post-natal care. Currently, pregnant women receive three tetanus toxoid shots for free from the Oru Maternity Center, and newborn babies receive free BCG vaccinations from the Ogun State Health Center. To supplement the baby's diet, newborns receive 400g/week of powdered milk in the first six months and 400g/week of *Nutrend* in the second six months. Refugee women complained that their babies finished this supplement in 2-4 days.

When informed of their complaints however, a UNHCR official explained that not only would the supplement not be increased, but in fact it would be cut off in September of 1992. The official explained that the budget could not accommodate this expenditure and that women should breast-feed their babies instead. Besides which, she added, breast-feeding was better for the babies anyhow. Current scientific studies support her position, leaning towards breast-feeding as the preferred mode of feeding newborns. However, this is valid only to the extent that the nursing mother is well nourished herself. Even then, the need for supplementary food for breast-fed babies, would still exist as for those babies that are weaned of the breast.

Items that Ms Bombo mentioned as lacking include vitamins, iron, and Daraprin, (a prophylactic, anti-malarial preparation) for expectant mothers.

Cumulatively, the inadequate medical equipment and facilities, lack of necessary pre-natal drugs, and arguably the impending cutoff of the food supplement for newborns places the Nigerian government in violation of its duties to "diminish infant and child mortality" and to "ensure appropriate pre- and post-natal health care for expectant mothers" as established in Article 24(a) and 24(d) of the UN Convention On The Rights Of The Child, and made binding by Article 18(3) of the African Charter. The government's failure in this regard also violates its duty to "ensure to the maximum extent possible the survival and development of the child" as established under Article 6(2) of this Convention. Similarly, the government is in breach of its duty to mothers and children, to "take the necessary measures to protect the health of their people" as established in Article 16(2) of the African Charter.

In light of the government's failure to provide adequate health care for expecting mothers and their newborn children, the children and mothers are deprived of their right to "enjoy the best attainable state of physical... health" as protected under Article 16(1) of the African Charter. Similarly, the children are deprived of their "right to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health and to facilities for the treatment of illness and rehabilitation of health" as protected under Article 24 of the UN Convention On The Rights Of The Child, and made binding by Article 18(3) of the African Charter.

The inadequate medical attention given to pregnant women is consistent with the general lack of specialised health-care for, and special attention to the needs of, female refugees, in spite of their unique physical needs. Refugee women in the camp explained that they must sell dry food rations in order to buy necessary female health aides like sanitary towels etc.

F. EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

In violation of Article 17 of the African Charter, which protects the refugees' right to education, educational opportunities at all levels from Kindergarten through University, are severely deficient. A large number of students have no opportunity to attend school at all, while those who have the good fortune of attending school lack necessary facilities.

Currently, approximately 150 Liberian children attend a school established in the camp by the refugees with assistance from the Catholic Church and UNHCR. The refugees established classes for pupils in grades 1-3 in the Liberian school system immediately after their arrival in December of 1990. In August 1991, the refugees added grades 4-9 with substantial assistance from the Catholic Church and limited help from UNHCR. The school's teaching and administrative staff comprise of 14 Liberian refugees. These full-time teachers are paid a mere 200 naira per month. Six receive their stipend from UNHCR while the remaining eight are paid by the Church. The church also supplied the desks and blackboards for all grade-levels, while UNHCR supplied books for grades 1-6.

In spite of the resourcefulness of the refugees, the school has many deficiencies caused by the lack of adequate financial support. Interviews with the teaching staff revealed that there are insufficient chairs, desks and blackboards; and the school has virtually no books. From its inception, neither the teachers nor the students in grades 7-9 have had textbooks. The students in grades 1-6 have textbooks but very little else. The younger children lack picture books, coloring books, a playroom, toys, and other such necessary teaching aides. There is inadequate stationary, and no mimeograph machine. Also, the school building itself does not offer adequate protection from the elements. The roofs leak and there are no doors or windows to keep out the wind and rain.

In spite of the school's problems, the children attending grades 1-9 are for-



Liberian Refugee children in school

fortunate in comparison to the children who should be in grades 10-12. These have no school at all. They are yet to obtain authorization to attend Nigerian schools and sufficient monetary support from the Church and UNHCR has not been forthcoming.

Interviews with UNHCR officials revealed that they are prepared to finance the purchase of books and uniforms for grades 10-12 since April 1992. However, the school Principal, Mr. Simeon Zeon, has reservations about their offer. Mr. Zeon explained that he wants UNHCR to help the refugees find places for these students in Nigerian schools. Any secondary school set up with the nominal assistance offered by UNHCR would be horribly inadequate. There would be no library, laboratory or other necessities and, the education such can offer, therefore, grossly inadequate. Discussions with the school teachers and university-age refugees revealed that the approximately 100 university-age students suffered from a similar predicament as the students in grades 10-12. Most of these students have spent the last two years out of school. Liberian students face several obstacles in their efforts to enter Nigerian universities. Those students who brought proof of their Liberian university credentials could apply as transfer students, but those who left their papers behind were forced to start from square

one with the Joint Admission and Matriculation Board (JAMB) examination. For all 66 students who requested it, UNHCR paid for their examination fees.

Of those students who have been offered admission, many are unable to pay for the costs associated with attendance at a university. Thus far, UNHCR has sponsored only five students to attend Nigerian universities, while 20 others have found funding from friends and relatives. The remaining 75 are still desperately searching for ways to finance their education. Many of these unfortunate students complained bitterly about the way the UNHCR handled the situation. Anthony Wreh, a final-year student who has been offered admission but who has no financial support, explained that he is still waiting for UNHCR to come through on the promise it made over one and half years ago, to sponsor 90 university students at the camp. He still doesn't understand why he wasn't offered sponsorship and complains about the arbitrary way that UNHCR chose the five students who currently enjoy its sponsorship. Anthony explained that he was the third person in the camp to gain admission but he was denied sponsorship without an explanation.

When informed of these complaints, a UNHCR official said that the Federal

Government plans to sponsor 66 refugees for vocational training in 1992. If the government does come through on its promise, this will be an improvement. However, vocational training is not a substitute for a university-level education. Nor will it erase the two years lost because of administrative bottlenecks at UNHCR.

By failing to protect the Liberian refugee children's right to education and failing to provide adequate educational opportunities and facilities, the Nigerian government is in breach of its duties established in Article 28 of the UN Convention On The Rights Of The Child, and made binding by Article 18(3) of the African Charter. Among others, the government's duties under Article 28 include: the duty to encourage the development of different types of secondary education and make them available to every child; and the duty to make higher education accessible to all. The non-provision of educational opportunities for some categories of school age refugees while providing only for some of their colleagues, violates Article 22(2) of the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, which stipulates that in the context of educational opportunities, Nigeria must provide these children with treatment "not less favorable than that accorded to aliens generally in the same circumstances."

Even beyond the university, some of those students who are prepared to attend graduate schools abroad, have been blocked by UNHCR bureaucracy regarding travel documents. For example, John Arlington Kaska completed university education in Liberia, gained admission to a graduate school in the United States of America, and obtained the necessary financial support. But he was denied the necessary travel documents that would enable him travel out of Nigeria. UNHCR officials explained to Mr. Kaska that he was denied travel documents because he is a temporary, not a permanent, refugee. Apparently, only refugees with permanent status as such are entitled to travel documents. It is unclear how his status as a temporary or permanent refugee is related to his right to travel outside the country as protected in Article 12(2) of the African

Charter which protects his "right to leave any country"; and Article VI of the OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, Article 28 of the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, and Article 11(2) of the NCR Act, each of which oblige Nigeria to issue travel documents to refugees lawfully staying in its territory.

G. EMPLOYMENT

Interviews with refugees and observations made by CLO field staff revealed that very few of the refugees have regular jobs. The vast majority of refugees who are employed are unable to find regular jobs, and instead work on short-term contractual basis. Although there are no records documenting the number of refugees employed, CLO investigations show that a substantial number of employable refugees were unemployed. Interviews with members of the Liberian Refugee Welfare Committee revealed that a number of factors make gainful employment difficult to find. The camp is somewhat isolated and any effort to find a job incurs immediate transportation costs. These costs are problematic because the refugees do not receive financial assistance from UNHCR, the Church, or any other group. Also, most refugees have no friends or relatives in Nigeria, so they cannot turn to such sources to borrow money necessary for conducting a job search. To make matters worse, a number of refugees had money stolen out of letters sent to them from friends abroad and addressed to the UNHCR. C. Walter Paul had \$200 stolen out of a letter sent to him in December 1990. By the time he received the envelope, it had already been opened and the contents removed. In a similar fashion, Wilfred Wiah had \$100 stolen from him in January of 1991. Although this problem had been eliminated by having mail sent through the Catholic Church, these refugees will never regain the stolen money.

Those refugees who do have the means to search for a job outside of the camp face widespread resentment from potential Nigerian employers. The refugees found that that resentment stems from a number of sources including their opposition to the government's involve-

ment in the civil war in Liberia. Many Nigerians feel that Nigerian soldiers should not be sacrificing their lives in this war, and that the government's involvement is a waste of precious financial resources. The resentment against the Liberians also stems from the common misperception that they receive a stipend from the government, and the belief that the refugees in the camp live in better conditions than most Nigerians. In response to CLO inquiries about the high unemployment rate, a UNHCR official attributed it to the refugees' lack of employable skills.

In addition to the refugees' efforts to find work on their own, UNHCR acts as a clearinghouse for employers who are interested in hiring them. UNHCR sends letters to employers inquiring whether they are interested in employing refugees living at the camp. When a potential employer contacts UNHCR, a memo is forwarded to the camp informing residents of the job opportunity. Unfortunately, these employers often exploit the refugees. Several refugees complained about instances in which employers agreed to pay a certain amount for their labor, but at the end of the day they received far less than the amount agreed upon.

Other refugees expressed concern about safety conditions at the jobs offered by these employers. In 1991, two refugees, Keith Sebo and Phillip Wansay, lost their lives while working as security agents for *Bonfire Security Services*, a private security agency in Ijebu-Ode. Their employment at *Bonfire* was part of the UNHCR scheme of helping refugees obtain jobs. However, the job conditions were problematic. Their total monthly emoluments were lower than the national basic minimum of N250.00, thereby violating Article 15 of the African Charter which protects their "right to receive equal pay for equal work". The job also exposed them to physical violence that ultimately claimed their lives, thereby violating their "right to work under equitable and satisfactory conditions," also protected under Article 15 of the Charter.

Keith Sebo was killed on March 14, 1991, while on duty for the Agency. UNHCR officials did not learn of his

death until about two weeks later. When they eventually learnt of his death, camp officials were satisfied with the explanation from the General Supervisor of Bonfire Services, Mr. Adeleke Ogunyemi, that Mr. Sebo was shot dead by armed robbers who attacked his beat at night. However, Mr. A.T. Ikrecheruo, Divisional Police Officer in charge of Ijebu Division, whose men investigated the killing told CLO that their preliminary investigations point not to an attack by armed robbers but to murder, for which Sebo's beat mate was being held. Mr. Niles substantiated this theory when he told CLO that before his death, Sebo had endured anti-Liberian sentiment from his co-workers.

The second victim, Phillip Wansay, was stabbed in late February, 1991 by co-workers at Bonfire Services. Bonfire refused to take responsibility for his treatment, so he sought treatment at a chemist's shop where his wounds were sealed with seven poorly-done stitches. Approximately four weeks later on March 26, he reported ill at the camp clinic. Unable to diagnose his ailment, medical personnel referred him to Ijebu-Ode General Hospital where he died the next day. Doctors at the hospital attributed his death to infectious hepatitis. Although not scientifically proven, his earlier injury is the likely source of his fatal illness.

Refugees complained to CLO that more than a year later, UNHCR had done very little to press for investigations into their deaths. In violation of their "right to compensation for the death of a refugee resulting from employment injury" as protected by Article 24(2) of the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, the relations of the victims have not received any compensation from Bonfire Security Services for their deaths. These fall short of the most favorable treatment "accorded to nationals in the same circumstances, as regards the right to engage in wage-earning employment" as required by Article 17(1) of the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees.

H. OFFICIAL HIGH-HANDEDNESS, ABUSIVE DETENTIONS AND UNFAIR TRIALS

Since UNHCR began administering the camp in late 1990 some refugees have suffered official high-handedness from UNHCR camp administrators, abusive police detentions, and unfair trials.

On February 24, 1991, the former camp administrator, Charles Eluemuno, called the police into the camp to arrest three refugees: Perry Saydee, Kollie Doe Bonah, and Michael Baysah. These individuals were arrested, taken away from the camp, and detained at the Ijebu-Ode police station without trial for 4 days, in violation of Article 32(4) of the Constitution which requires that they be brought before a court of law within 24 hours. They were arraigned before an Ijebu-Igbo Magistrate Court on March 1, 1991, on charges of "stealing" and thereafter remanded in prison custody for another 7 days before the court granted them bail in the sum of N800 each and a surety in like sum. After they were granted bail, they spent another 11 days in custody before someone agreed to stand surety for them. On their first day in prison custody, Perry and Kollie were beaten by warders who accused them of abusing the hospitality offered them in Nigeria.

Their cruel and inhumane beatings violated their rights under Article 5 of the African Charter and Article 31(1) of the Constitution, both of which prohibit torture, inhuman or degrading treatment. Subsequently, Kollie developed skin rashes all over his body as a result of bad detention conditions.

The circumstances of their arrest and incarceration present an example of high-handedness by the camp administrator. The arrest stemmed from a disagreement between some refugees over the sharing of toys donated to the children of the refugees. Some refugees who felt cheated complained to Mr. Eluemuno about irregularities in the sharing of toys by Mr. Michael Baysah, then Chairman of the Liberian Refugee Welfare Council. Accused with Mr. Baysah were Perry Saydee and Kollie Doe Bonah, both of whom had assisted

in distributing the toys. Without attempting to resolve the problem internally, Mr. Eluemuno invited the police to arrest them and charge them with stealing. From then on, the refugees were at the mercy of the police, as UNHCR made no effort to withdraw the case for internal settlement, or to provide the detainees with legal assistance during the period of their detention and trial. However, bail was secured for them through the assistance of some public-spirited lawyers who handled their case, *pro bono*, until the charges against them were dismissed by the court in May 1991, following the failure of the prosecution to prove its case.

James Williams, another refugee, was not as lucky as these three. On March 4, 1991, a Magistrate Court sentenced him to one year imprisonment with hard labour and no option of fine, for allegedly stealing some louvre blades. Williams was detained for 5 days while awaiting trial, in violation of his right protected under Article 32(4) of the Constitution, to be brought before a court of law within 24 hours after his initial detention. In violation of his "right... to be defended by counsel" as protected by Article 7(c) of the African Charter, and his right "to remain silent or avoid answering any question until after consultation with a legal practitioner" as protected by Article 32(2) of the Constitution, Williams was sentenced without having had access to counsel during his detention or trial. This denial of his right to legal assistance also violates Article 16(2) of the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees which affords him the right to enjoy the "same treatment as a national in matters pertaining to access to the courts, including legal assistance."

Such incidence of injustice have continued under the supervision of the current camp administrator, Captain Israel Ibok-ete (rtd). In October of 1991, the Nigerian Red Cross abruptly reduced the bread and tea rations given to the refugees. The refugees protested violently and the situation got out of control as bread was stolen and some people were injured. One pregnant refugee had boiling water poured onto her legs by a Red Cross worker, after which her husband

retaliated by trying to pour boiling water onto the same worker who originally injured his wife. The refugees involved in the fighting violated Article 29(7) of the African Charter, which establishes that they have a duty to "preserve and strengthen positive African cultural values in [their] relations with other members of the society, in the spirit of tolerance, dialogue and consultation..." Similarly, these refugees also violated Article 2 of the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees which requires that they conform to Nigeria's laws and regulations as well as to measures taken for the maintenance of public order.

About five days after the "bread riot," four refugees - Fred Lamadine, George Gaye, Paul Lamadine, and Mike Maakundo were arrested. They were arrested at about 2:00 in the morning. The arresting officers informed the 4 refugees that they were arrested because they had threatened to kill the camp administrator Captain Ibok-ete. All four refugees deny having made such threats.

The four arrested individuals were detained for two days in a police cell and then brought to court. During their detention, six others came to the police station to inquire into their fate. While these six people were at the station, Captain Ibok-ete showed up and accused them of threatening his life as well. They were immediately detained with the four original detainees. The arrest of all ten refugees violated Article 6 of the African Charter which protects their right to liberty and their right to be free from arbitrary arrest or detention.

In the initial court appearance, the detainees pleaded not guilty and were granted bail. However, they could not leave because only a Nigerian was allowed to post bail, and they were unable to find a Nigerian who would take on the responsibility. In the second court appearance four days later, the judge ordered the detainees to promise not to disturb the peace for one year. After they promised, he dismissed the case because the charges were defective. The detainees were charged with "threatening the camp administrator's life" which was later changed to "dis-

turbing the peace."

A similar incident in late July of 1992, resulted in another refugee, Mr. Edwin Fahnbulleh, under-going torture in a police cell. Fahnbulleh, was arrested in connection with a disagreement he had with the Camp Commander over a wooden plank used by Fahnbulleh to prop his door shut. The Camp Commander had wanted the piece of wood for use in preparing accommodation for in-coming Somali refugees. However, Fahnbulleh refused to surrender the wooden plank which he constructed by himself. A pulling match over the plank ensued between Fahnbulleh and Ibok-ete who thereafter reported the incident to the police. The police arrested Fahnbulleh, placed him in a cell and sprayed him with teargas in there. This was in violation of Article 31(1) of the Constitution and Article 5 of the African Charter which both prohibit such cruel and inhuman treatment. He was, however, released the next day.

Apart from these cases of abusive detention and unfair trial, many refugees complain of incessant harassment in the camp by policemen invited by the camp administrators. One instance of this occurred on December 24, 1990, when policemen invited by the camp administrator, attacked the refugees with several canisters of tear gas. In another incident, on the night of March 29, 1991, large numbers of plainclothes security men infiltrated the camp on the invitation of the camp administrator. The refugees were particularly alarmed by the fact that many of the security men were disguised in Red Cross aprons. When CLO presented these complaints to Mr. Oruche, the camp's administrator at the time, he admitted that two policemen were invited to the camp on evening of December 24, to maintain order. However, he insisted that the teargas was not fired by the policemen but by some refugees he described as combatants. As for the plainclothes policemen, he said that they were sent by the Ogun State Assistant Commissioner of Police to investigate incessant reports of unruliness made by camp officials against some refugees, and that the disguise in Red Cross aprons was necessary to enable them do a thorough investigation without alerting the refugees of their presence. This

reference to disorderly behavior and unruliness by the refugees relate to the flouting of a ban on alcohol imposed by the administrator. It is not clear that the administrator has the authority to impose such a ban.

I. PROBLEMS WITH CAMP ADMINISTRATION

UNHCR's apparent inability to hire camp administrators with adequate training and relevant background in social work has been a constant source of problems at the camp. The first UNHCR project assistant, Mr Eluemuno, apparently was removed because of his administrative deficiencies. The second, Mr. Oruche, was a National Youth Service Corps member who had no better grasp of his duties as camp administrator than the first.

Two days of interviews with refugees at the camp, revealed that the current camp administrator, Captain Israel Ibok-ete (rtd), who is the third UNHCR project assistant, also was poorly prepared for his responsibilities at the camp. Captain Ibok-ete, who the refugees refer to as the "commander," is a retired military captain with no background in social work or work with refugees. Although he is well educated with an LL.B; BS in political science; MS in Education, and he tries to be a part of the camp by living there, Mr. Ibok-ete's inexperience and inappropriate training create problems.

Refugees complained that he is insensitive to their problems, does not respect the opinions of others, and prefers to give orders rather than listen to what refugees have to say. Teachers on the school board criticized his behavior as school board chairman. They accuse him of ignoring the views of teachers and school administrators, and acting as if he owned the school. They noted one particular incident when Mr. Ibok-ete kicked several teachers out of a school-board meeting, calling them names and issuing threats against them.

Refugees also protested his habit of barging into people's homes without knocking, and generally ignoring their right to privacy. Although he said it in a

half-joking manner, one refugee said that Ibok-ete ran the camp like it was a "plantation."

Some refugees complained that Mr. Ibok-ete and a former Red Cross camp official, Mr. Fashina, harbored ill will against Liberians. These refugees claimed that in the past, the two officials had expressed anger that Liberians were living off the good will of the Nigerian government while Nigerian soldiers were being killed as part of the ECOMOG forces in Liberia. Such unguarded utterances create an environment of hostility and alienation between the refugees and the camp authorities.

In its 1991 subcommittee report, the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights (CDHR) noted other instances of ill will on the part of camp administrators directed towards refugees. Specifically, CDHR noted complaints that Red Cross representatives made condescending statements about the "proliferation of pregnancies" among the refugees, and threatened to deprive the newborns of food and medical care.



Zeagbeh: Lost a tooth during a brawl with the camp commandant.

Such attitudes provide a partial explanation for the violent clash between Mr. Ibok-ete and Stanley Lasann Zeagbeh, a refugee in April, 1992. During the clash Mr. Ibok-ete knocked out one of Mr. Zeagbeh's two front teeth. Mr. Zeagbeh had gone to see him with a problem. He had been invited in, but when he began

explaining the problem, Ibok-ete began playing his guitar. When Zeagbeh refused to explain his problem unless Ibok-ete stopped playing, Ibok-ete grew angry and pulled his seat out from under him. When he tried to rise, Ibok-ete knocked him down again by butting his head against Zeagbeh's mouth and knocking out one of his teeth. After investigating the incident, the police reprimanded Ibok-ete and advised him to have Zeagbeh treated including the replacement of his tooth. However, Mr. Ibok-ete did not comply with the advise and the police did nothing further about the incident. In response to Zeagbeh's formal complaint, a UNHCR official said that he should have been in church, and not in Ibok-ete's residence at the time of the incident.

In response to the CLO's inquiry as to why a man with military training was selected to run a refugee camp, a UNHCR official explained that his military background was a positive attribute because it prepared him to deal with police harassment of the refugees. This response served as an indication of how little the UNHCR official knows of what life at the camp is like. In six trips to the camp by CLO and innumerable interviews, not one refugee ever recounted an instance in which a camp commander had protected them from police harassment.

J. SOMALI REFUGEES AT THE CAMP

On June 26, 1992, the UNHCR Chief of Mission, Chrysantus Ache, informed the Liberian refugees that those living in Nairobi Quarter and Iroquois Pastoral Quarter were to vacate the premises in order to make room for 30 Somalis. No Liberians were ever consulted on this issue, they were only given the order to move. In what seemed like a show of force to the refugees, Mr. Ibok-ete and two armed police officers walked around the affected quarters and informed residents that they must move immediately. When they refused, a second letter arrived on July 14 saying that if they did not move, "appropriate action would be taken to move them."

In response to this threat, the chairman of the Liberian Refugee Welfare Council, Mr. Roger Niles, wrote Ache a

letter saying that it was strange that a body like the UN would issue a letter that sounded so "autocratic and repressive". Only after receiving Niles' letter did Ache come to the camp to discuss the situation with the Liberians. This meeting led to a compromise resolution displacing only 13 Liberians who would double up with other Liberians in the camp.

Several affected refugees explained their refusal to move. First, many had invested hard work and large sums of money into renovating their homes (as much as 2000-3000 naira). Visits to numerous homes of refugees revealed sturdy bamboo partitions, cupboards and other such furniture that they had built with their own hands and money. Second, UN did not offer them adequate alternative housing. They were told to move into a building with a crumbling foundation. Upon their arrival in 1990, the Liberians had been told by UNHCR officials that this particular building was falling apart, and that they could live there but only at their own risk. No improvements had been made on the building, yet UNHCR was now telling them to move into it. Third, evicting the Liberians without providing alternative housing meant that the evicted refugees would have to invade the privacy of other refugees by moving into their homes.

Not only is such an invasion undesirable in and of itself, but refugees expressed concern that such intrusions would lead to heightened tension and possible altercations. Fourth, the Liberians felt that UNHCR could have moved the Somalis into a certain unrenovated building behind the camp's reservoir. They did not think that it was fair for the Somalis to move into housing units that they had renovated with their own money and hard work, while the same Liberians were evicted and forced to double up with others or move into unrenovated buildings.

The Liberians felt that the Somalis should renovate their own homes, the

same way that they had themselves. Fifth, the eviction would mean that people who received rations as a group and cooked their food together, would be spread out all over the camp. Logistically, this would make it very difficult for them to coordinate their feeding arrangements. Reverend Nathaniel Zarway, a refugee who is the camp's pastor, expressed this particular concern for his family of 13 people who faced dispersion to homes all over the camp.

Although UNHCR made all these elaborate preparations for the Somalian refugees, only six, part of the entourage of deposed Somali Head of State, Siad Barre, actually moved in in late July 1992; and these six moved out two weeks later. Although their stay was

short, their arrival created heightened tension between the Liberian refugees and UNHCR.

In addition to their complaints about unjustly being asked to move into different quarters, the Liberians complained that when the Somalians moved in they were immediately given new mattresses, whereas 75-100 Liberians had been denied mattresses for nearly two years. This preferential treatment violates Article 21 of the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees which requires that states accord to refugees "treatment as favourable as possible and, in any event, not less favourable than that accorded to aliens generally in the same circumstances."

THE WILL TO SURVIVE



A maize farm (above) and a rabbitry (below) established by the refugees under the Agricultural Project sponsored by the Catholic Church.



CHAPTER II.

REFUGEES FROM CHAD

A. BACKGROUND

In April 1992, CLO drew attention to widespread arrest, detention and eventual deportation, by Nigerian authorities, of hundreds of Chadian nationals resident in Maidugiri and Border communities in Borno state of Nigeria. Many of them were refugees who fled their country, Chad, to escape the civil war there. CLO estimated that over 300 Chadians were affected by the exercise in the six months preceding April 1992 although only the identities of 237 could be ascertained (see Appendix A). Following their deportation, many of them were believed to have been executed by the Idris Derby government in Chad on account of their support for opposition rebel groups in the country. Reliable inside sources in the country provided CLO with the names of some of those executed, 42 of which co-incided with some of those deported from Nigeria (see Appendix B). On June 8, 1992, a Nigerian daily, the *National Concord*, quoted the Chad Human Rights League as accusing the Chadian government of executing former exiles who had recently been returned from northeastern Nigeria.

The crackdown on Chadian nationals in Borno state began sometime in October 1991, when over 130 individuals were arrested by teams of soldiers and occasionally Borno State police. Between late January and early February of 1992 the security agents arrested an additional 99 while another 9 were rounded up between the 6th and 11th of March 1992. Leaders of the Chadian Community in Maidugiri claim that the agents searched for every Chadian male in the city. Those who escaped, did so only by avoiding familiar places for long stretches of time.

The Nigerian authorities alleged that each of these individuals was an active participant in the Chadian rebel movement. However, they provided no evi-

dence to support the allegation. What available evidence supports is that many of these individuals fled their country on account of the on-going civil war while others were immigrants who had resided in Nigeria for years and were unwilling to return because of the civil unrest. CLO contacted the families of several arrested Chadians, and obtained copies of their residence permits issued by the Federal Immigration Department. Many of these permits state clearly that the Chadian nationals had legal status as refugees in Nigeria.

At the time of their arrest, neither the individuals nor their families were informed of the reasons for their arrest or deportation. However, news reports indicate that the crackdown was in response to direct pressure on the Nigerian Government from the Chadian government. Armed encounters between rebels and Chadian government forces have been taking place along the border between Nigeria and Chad since late 1991. The Derby government feared that the rebels were using northeastern Nigeria as a place of refuge, and as a launching pad for armed offensives. It also feared that political exiles and wealthy and influential Chadians resident in Nigeria were providing material support for rebel groups in the on-going civil war. In response to these fears, Chadian President Derby and Nigerian President Babangida met two times in February to discuss, among other things, security issues.

News reports confirm that skirmishes between Chadian rebel and government forces took place near the Nigerian border last year. On January 8, 1992 the N'djamena *Radiodiffusion Nationale Tchadienne* (Chadian National Radio) reported that on December 3, 1991, government forces freed the town of Liwa from rebels who fled into Sid-Adi, a Nigerian town 15 km from the border. In a December 27, AFP (French News Agency) report, a Chad opposition group called the Movement for Democracy and

Development (MDD) claimed that the government forces suffered heavy losses while trying to attack the MDD on December 24, 1991 in the Lake Chad region. On February 25, *Reuters* reported that thousands of Chadians had fled into Nigeria since the government crushed a rebel offensive in January. In the same report, the former Nigerian Ambassador to N'djamena confirmed that Chadian rebels had escaped into Nigeria but denied that they had launched attacks from Nigerian territory. On April 13, the *BBC* reported that Chadian rebels had looted the border town of Titiwa, attacking from Maiduguri. However, the report also said that this offensive was not confirmed by the Nigerian border patrol officers, but that Nigerian border troops had been strengthened to check the Chadian rebels.

met with Babangida, who agreed to boost security and cooperation. On February 28, *AFP* reported that at a press conference on February 7, Nigerian Vice-President Augustus Aikhomu confirmed that Nigerian security agents had "arrested, disarmed and encamped" rebel supporters of former Chadian President Hissein Habre.

However, statements made in March by officials in the Nigerian Ministry of Justice and the Immigration Department conflicted with those made by the Vice President. In response to CLO inquiries, the officials denied authorizing the arrests and instead expressed ignorance of the exercise. On April 13, the *BBC* corroborated CLO's findings when it reported that in response to past rebel offensives, the Nigerian authorities had



Alhaji Moussa Muhammed, one of the deported Chadians. He is believed executed.

News reports also confirm that in response to these armed encounters high level meetings took place between Chadian and Nigerian officials. *PANA* reported on February 12 that Yusufu Abubakar, the Nigerian Commander of the 21st Armoured Brigade based in Maiduguri, on behalf of President Babangida and the Borno State Governor, met with the Chadian Minister of Internal Affairs. The Chadian Minister reportedly called for a joint border patrol team. On February 25, *Reuters* reported that twice in February, President Derby

arrested 244 rebels and was gradually deporting them back to Chad. According to the *BBC*, only 30 remained in detention. Other sources which confirm the CLO's findings include *Paris Radio France International*, which reported on February 16 that a Chadian armed opposition group called FAO (Western Armed Forces) denounced the wave of arrests of Chadians living in Nigeria.

In spite of their assertions that the deported Chadians were rebels, Nigerian authorities produced no evidence to

support their claims. In addition, the arrested Chadians were denied opportunities to defend themselves against accusations that they assisted the rebels. They were denied both public trials and access to legal counsel. Even if some of those arrested were actually rebels, the indiscriminate persecution of every male Chadian in Maiduguri was unjust because it is unlikely that each one of these persons was a rebel. Furthermore, their relations who were interviewed by the CLO deny that the arrested individuals were associated with the rebels.

Evidence suggests that the Nigerian military and the Borno state police conducted this operation in collaboration with the Chadian government, the Nigerian Immigration Department, and with individual Nigerians who have close business ties with the Derby government. Given that at least 43 were executed, there is a high probability that many others faced the same fate, or suffered some other form of political persecution for their relationship with wanted ex-Chadian government officials or their alleged support for, or tribal affinity with, members of opposing factions in the Chadian conflict.

The Derby government's dismal human rights record worsened with the drawn-out civil war, making it almost certain that many of the deportees would suffer extreme persecution at the hands of the Chadian government. Summary executions, unfair trials, protracted detentions without trial, imprisonment, and other forms of persecution are routinely meted out to suspected members of opposition rebel groups, their perceived supporters and loyal tribesmen, as well as domestic human rights workers. In February of 1992 Joseph Beyidi, the Deputy Chairman of the Chadian League for Human Rights, was murdered by assassins believed to be sponsored by the government. In April, a representative of the League had his passport seized while on his way to Tunis for a session of the African Commission on Human and People's Rights, thereby preventing him from traveling out of the country.

In addition to the dangers directly faced by the deported persons, their

families still suffer material and emotional difficulties resulting from these. Virtually all the deported persons are adult males whose separation left their families without bread-winners. Moreover, some of the arrests were accompanied by the extortion of huge monetary sums from the family, as ransom for their release from camps where they awaited deportation. Upon collecting the bribe, however, the security men did not fulfill their promise. For example, the family of Alhaji Isah Mohammed claims that they paid an army officer N40,000 as ransom to effect his release. He was not released however, and is one those believed executed.

B. LEGAL ANALYSIS

1. RELEVANT LAW

(a) Nigerian Law

The arrest and deportation of the Chadians by Nigerian authorities violated numerous individual rights that are protected by Nigerian Law and various International Instruments. The Chadian nationals find protection under the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (hereinafter referred to as the African Charter), which was domesticated into the body of Nigerian law under the African Charter of Human and Peoples Rights (Ratification and Enforcement) Act, Cap. 10 Laws of the Federation, 1990.

They are also persons within the meaning of Chapter IV of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, who shall be entitled to the fundamental rights and liberties guaranteed thereunder. Also, by virtue of Article 15 of the National Commission For Refugees, Etc. Act, Cap. 244 Laws of the Federation, 1990 (hereinafter referred to as the NCR Act), persons who qualify for refugee status in Nigeria shall be entitled to the individual rights contained in the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees.

Article 15 also incorporates the rights contained in the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees (hereinafter referred to as the Protocol), which expanded the definition of refugee set out in the 1951 Convention by eliminating its geographic limitations and extending it

to include people who became refugees because of events occurring after 1951. Lastly, Article 15 also incorporates those rights contained in the OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa.

(b) International Law

The Chadian nationals also find protection under several influential International Covenants, Declarations and Conventions that have not been domesticated into the body of Nigerian law. These include: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; and the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.

2. STATUS AS REFUGEES

The Chadian nationals qualify for legal status as refugees by virtue of Article 20, Section 1 of the NCR Act, which incorporates the definition of refugee as set out in the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and expanded in the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees; and the OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa.

On account of the on-going civil war in their country, the Chadian nationals fall within the definition of refugee as set out in Article 1, Section 2 of the OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, which states that the term 'refugee' shall also apply to every person who, owing to... events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality." Those Chadians who are relations of wanted ex-Chadian government officials, or who allegedly support or have tribal affinity with members of Chadian rebel groups also qualify for refugee status under Article 1, Section 2 of the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, as extended by the 1967 Protocol. This article establishes that "the term 'refu-

gee' shall apply to any person who... owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of... membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country..."

3. DENIAL OF THE RIGHT TO A FAIR HEARING

(a) Rights Under Nigerian Law

In the circumstances surrounding their arrest and detention, the Chadian refugees were denied their right to a fair hearing as established in Article 7 of the African Charter and in Section 33 of the 1979 Constitution. In the African Charter, Article 7(1) guarantees the right to an appeal against acts violating one's fundamental legal rights; the right to be tried within a reasonable time by an impartial court; the right to defense; and the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty by a competent court. Section 33(1) of the Constitution protects the right to a fair hearing within a reasonable time by an independent and impartial court. Each of these rights as detailed in the African Charter, and the 1979 Constitution were violated when the Chadians were arrested without explanation, denied access to counsel, and deported without trial.

In addition, by virtue of their status as refugees, the Chadian nationals were denied their right of "Access to Courts" as set out in Article 16 of the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, as extended by the 1967 Protocol. Section 2 of this article specifies that "a refugee shall enjoy... the same treatment as a national in matters pertaining to access to the courts..."

(b) Rights Under International Law

The Chadian nationals also find protection of their due process rights under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, as well as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Article 9 of the Covenant prohibit the deprivation of liberty "except on such grounds and in accordance with such procedure as

are established by law." It also entitles the Chadians "to trial within a reasonable time."

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights offers similar protection in Article 10 which guarantees the "right to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal."

These rights were violated when Chadians were arrested, denied a public hearing and legal representation, and deported back to Chad to face probable torture and execution.

4. VIOLATION OF PROVISIONS AGAINST WRONGFUL EXPULSION

(a) Rights Under Nigerian Law

The deportation without trial of the Chadian nationals violated Article 12(4) of the African Charter, which bars the expulsion of such individuals except by virtue of a decision taken in accordance with the law. Article 12(5), which prohibits mass expulsion aimed at national groups, was also violated when the Chadians were singled out and comprehensively persecuted by Nigerian security personnel.

The deportation of the Chadian refugees violated provisions governing the expulsion of refugees as set out in Articles 32 and 33 of the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, as extended by the 1967 Protocol; and Article 1 of the NCR Act. Article 32(1) of the UN Convention prohibits Nigeria from expelling a refugee except on the grounds of national security or public order. These Chadian exiles posed no proven threat to Nigeria's security nor was it shown that they created disturbances that threatened public order.

Article 32(2) of the UN Convention guarantees that each refugee be expelled only in pursuance of a decision reached in accordance with due process of law. It grants a refugee the right to submit evidence to clear himself or herself, and the right to appeal to and be represented before a competent authority. The Chadian nationals were denied each of these rights when they were arrested and deported without trial. Article 32(3) of the UN Convention requires that Nigeria

allow a refugee a reasonable period within which to seek legal admission into another country. The Chadians who were deported were not even allowed to contact their families or friends, much less contact anyone who could help them gain admission to another country.

Article 33 of the UN Convention and Article 1(1)(a) of the NCR Act prohibit the expulsion of a refugee to the frontiers of territories where his/her life or freedom would be threatened on account of her membership of a particular group or political opinion. Similarly, Article 16(1) of the NCR Act bars expulsion of a refugee to a country where he/she has reasons to fear persecution.

If the Chadian refugees were arrested because the Chadian government believed that they were active in the rebel movement, then the Nigerian government must have realised that the Chadian government would threaten or persecute the deported exiles on account of their political opinion. Therefore, the expulsion of the Chadians was a violation of these two articles. Similarly, Article 1(1)(b) of the NCR Act bars the expulsion of a refugee to the frontiers of any territory where his/her life could be threatened on account of events seriously disrupting public order. The on-going civil war in Chad clearly falls within the types of public disorder covered by this article.

Lastly, Article II, Section 3 of the OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa protects the Chadian nationals by barring the Nigerian government from subjecting any person to measures such as return or expulsion, which would compel him to return to a territory where his life, physical integrity, or liberty would be threatened because of his political opinions or because of events that seriously disturb the public order.

(b) Rights Under International Law

The Chadian nationals find protection under Article 13 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which states that an "alien lawfully in the territory of a State party to the

present Covenant may be expelled therefrom only in pursuance of a decision reached in accordance with law." This article also guarantees that the alien "be allowed to submit the reasons against his expulsion and to have his case reviewed by, and be represented for the purpose before, the competent authority..." The CLO confirmed the lawful presence of several of the deported Chadian nationals, by obtaining their residence permits as issued by the Nigerian Immigration Department. Although it is unclear how many of the 244 arrested individuals actually acquired legal status as residents or otherwise, it is clear that those with such status were denied their due process rights as established under Article 13 of this International Covenant.

The deported Chadians also find protection under Article 3 of the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. This article states that "no state party shall expel, return ("refouler") or extradite a person to another state where there are substantial grounds for believing that he would be in danger of being subjected to torture." Again, if we assume that these refugees were deported because the Chadian government suspected that they were associated with the rebels, then the Nigerian government must have known that these deportees would be subjected to either torture or execution upon their return to the Chadian authorities. Therefore, based on this premise the Nigerian government's act of deporting these alleged rebel supporters was a violation of Article 3 of this Convention.

5. LEGAL RAMIFICATIONS OF SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES BY THE CHADIAN NATIONALS

If the arrested Chadian refugees were in fact active participants in the rebel movement while residing in Nigeria, then they might have lost their status as refugees under the NCR Act which disqualifies persons who are guilty of acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the OAU or UN. More specifically, Article III of the OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, prohibits subversive activities by refugees. Sec-

tion 1 requires that refugees abstain from any subversive activities against any member state of the OAU; and Section 2 requires that Nigeria prohibit refugees residing in its territory from attacking any member of the OAU. Under these circumstances however, suspected violators enjoy due process rights established under Article 12 of the NCR Act, which entitles them to review by the Refugee Eligibility Committee. They also find similar protection under the 1979 Constitution; the African Charter; and the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees as extended by the 1967 Protocol, as explained in Chapter II(B)(3) above. Unfortunately, the Chadians were denied the protection of these laws when they were arrested and deported without a trial or hearing of any kind.

6. DENIAL OF THE RIGHT TO PERSONAL LIBERTY AND DIGNITY

(a) Rights Under Nigerian Law

By virtue of their illegal detention, the Chadian nationals were denied their right to personal liberty as set out in Section 32 of the 1979 Constitution and in Article 6 of the African Charter. In particular, the Charter specifies that "no one may be arbitrarily arrested or detained." Their unjustified arrest and detention also violates Section 31(1) of the 1979 Constitution and Article 5 of the African Charter, which guarantees for each person respect for the dignity of his person.

(b) Rights Under International Law

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights offer similar protection to that found in the 1979 Constitution and the African Charter. Article 9 of the Covenant and Article 3 of the Declaration both guarantee that all persons have the right to liberty and security of person. Article 9 of both the Covenant and the Declaration protect all individuals from arbitrary arrest or detention. Article 17 of the Covenant and Article 12 of the Declaration both declare that no one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family or home. All of these rights were

violated when the Nigerian authorities detained the Chadian nationals illegally.

7. DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE CHADIANS

(a) Rights Under Nigerian Law

The blanket persecution of only Chadian male refugees, but not Liberian refugees or members of any other social, ethnic or national group, is a violation of their right to be free from discrimination as established in Section 39 of the 1979 Constitution, and Article 19 of the African Charter.

(b) Rights Under International Law

The same right to be free from discrimination found in the Constitution and the African Charter, is protected under Article 26 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and article 7 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; both of which declare that all people are equal before the law.

8. DENIAL OF RIGHTS ASSOCIATED WITH FREEDOM

(a) Rights Under Nigerian Law

The illegal detention of the Chadian nationals also resulted in the violation of a whole litany of rights that can be enjoyed only by persons who are not incarcerated. Their rights to receive information (Art. 9(1)); to disseminate their opinions lawfully (Art. 9(2)); to assemble freely with others (Art. 11); to freedom of movement and residence (Art. 12); of access to public property and services in strict equality of all persons before the law (Art. 13); to work under equitable and satisfactory conditions (Art. 15); to enjoy the best attainable state of physical and mental health (Art. 16); to take part in the cultural life of his community (Art. 17(2)); and to the free practice of religion (Art. 8), as set out in the African Charter, were all violated because of their detention.

In addition, their incarceration violated several individual rights set out in the Constitution including: Section 36 which protects the freedom to express or hold opinions, and the freedom to

receive or impart ideas and information without interference; and Section 37 which protects the freedom to assemble freely and associate with other persons.

By virtue of their status as refugees, their right of Association (Art. 15); to wage-earning employment (Art. 17); to self-employment (Art. 18), and to housing (Art. 21), as set out in the UN Convention on the Status of Refugees as extended by the 1967 Protocol were all denied on account of their detention.

(b) Rights Under International Law

The illegal incarceration of Chadian nationals also violated rights that can be enjoyed only by free persons, as protected by several international laws including: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

As protected under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the rights denied the incarcerated Chadian nationals include: the right to hold opinions without interference; the freedom of expression including the freedom to seek, receive and impart information; the liberty of movement; the right of peaceful assembly with others; the freedom of association with others; and the freedom to manifest one's religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance;

Also denied were those rights protected under the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights including: the right to work; the right to enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health; the right to take part in cultural life; the right to enjoy the benefits of scientific progress and its applications; the right to an education; the right of all peoples to enjoy and utilize fully and freely their natural wealth and resources; and in general, entitlement to the economic, social, and cultural rights indispensable for his/her dignity and the free development of his/her personality.

9. DENIAL OF THE RIGHTS OF THE FAMILIES OF THOSE ARRESTED

(a) Rights Under Nigerian Law

The relations of the arrested individuals suffered material losses due to the Nigerian government's persecution of the Chadian refugees. Virtually all of the persons arrested were adult males, who were usually each family's primary source of income. The Nigerian government's failure to prevent these losses is a violation of the State duties mandated in Article 18 of the African Charter. Article 18(1) requires that the state take care of the physical and moral health of the family, and Article 18(2) requires that the state assist the family. By arresting, detaining and deporting the breadwinners of these households, the Nigerian government failed to uphold its duty to these families. The government also failed to uphold its duty, under Article 18(3), to protect the rights of the woman and child as stipulated in International Declarations and Conventions. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child includes among others: the right to life; the right to enjoy a standard of living adequate for the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development; and the right to an education. Each one of these rights was placed in serious jeopardy when the family's source of income was taken away.

(b) Rights Under International Law

The families of the incarcerated Chadian nationals also find protection under provisions contained in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

All three international laws establish that the family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the state. Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Article 11 of the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights also establish a right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of a person and his family. The Nigerian government's illegal in-

carceration of the breadwinners of each family made it impossible for these family's to maintain an adequate standard of living; and was therefore a blatant violation of its duty to protect the family unit.

C. EFFORTS OF THE CIVIL LIBERTIES ORGANISATION TO REDRESS THE PLIGHT OF THE CHADIANS

The CLO actively tried to stop these violations. On March 24, 1992 the CLO petitioned the External Affairs Minister General Ike Nwachukwu, Minister of Justice, Mr. Clement Akpamgbo, and Internal Affairs Minister, Dr. Tunji Olagunju who heads the Immigration Department, to prevent the deportation of the Chadians. On March 27, 1992, CLO secured an interim order from a Maiduguri High Court restraining the relevant Nigerian authorities from deporting the affected persons. Also in March, the CLO held a press conference to draw media attention to the plight of the Chadian nationals and garner public concern over this problem. None of these efforts proved successful in stopping the action, as the aforementioned government officials failed to use their substantial influence to prevent the Chadians from being deported, and the government disobeyed the court order to prevent the deportation.

After the CLO learned that virtually all of the 244 detainees had been deported, it sent a letter to General Babangida asking him to use his good offices as President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to halt further deportations and as Chairman of the OAU to verify the reports of execution of the deportees by the Chadian government, and prevail on President Idris Derby to guarantee the safety of the remaining deportees who were still alive. No response was received from the president to date and the National Concord report citing the alleged execution of 300 returned exiles from Nigeria indicates that General Babangida did not take up the issues.

D. THE GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSE

The government's response has been

sharply contradictory. On February 28, 1992 *AFP* reported that at a press conference on February 7, Nigerian Vice-President Augustus Aikhomu confirmed that Nigerian security agents had "arrested, disarmed and encamped" rebel supporters of former Chadian President Hissein Habre. Yet, in response to CLO inquiries in March, officials in the Federal Ministry of Justice and in the Immigration Department denied having authorised these actions of the Police and Army in Borno state, and purported complete ignorance of this problem. Similarly, in a counter affidavit filed on May 5 in response to the CLO's legal action on behalf of the arrested Chadians, Yusufu Abubakar the Commander of the 21st Armored Brigade in Maiduguri claimed that he was not aware of the arrest or detention by military officers of any of the Chadian refugees. This is hard to believe because Abubakar is the same individual who met with the Chadian Minister of Internal Affairs in February to discuss security issues and a possible joint border patrol.

In the same counter affidavit the Police Commissioner of Borno State claimed that all of his officers denied that any of the applicants had been arrested or detained under their command. Yet, family relations of several of the arrested Chadians assert that Borno State police had been involved in the arrest. Also in this counter affidavit, the Immigration Controller of Borno State claimed that he was unable to obtain records establishing that the arrested Chadians had been issued residence permits or given some other authorization to reside in Nigeria. However, CLO obtained the residence permits of several of the arrested Chadians and their families.

On June 20, 1992, the *Saturday Punch*, a Nigerian weekly, reported that Justice Victor J.O. Chigbue, Chairman of the National Commission on Refugees (NCR), a government body, denied the validity of reports that 300 Chadian nationals were deported from Nigeria to Chad. He explained that the NCR and the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees (UNHCR) had conducted "extensive" investigations into the matter and had found no evidence of such deportations. However, discus-

sions with the Chief of Mission of the UNHCR revealed that this "investigation" included only consultations with immigration officials, local police, and other authorities. These authorities are, however, prone to the same official insincerity displayed by the government over the matter. By contrast, the CLO obtained its information from sources who had firsthand contact with those individuals who were deported and those who were executed as well. The government's contradictory statements in the face of political pressure, and its failure to conduct a thorough investigation, serve only to confirm its guilt in the matter.

E. BROADER IMPLICATIONS

The treatment of Chadian nationals in Nigeria violated fundamental rights provisions in numerous Nigerian laws and International Conventions governing the rights of refugees. Horrifying in and of itself, the fact that these violations occurred during General Ibrahim Babangida's tenure as Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) reflects the government's disregard for the rights of fellow Africans who suffer from persecution by oppressive regimes in neighbouring countries.

Granted, it was an embarrassment to the Nigerian government when the Chadian government made accusations that rebels were using its territory for their subversive activities. And, this sensitive situation was made worse by virtue of President Babangida's role as Chairman of the OAU at the time the accusations were made. But, this embarrassing situation did not justify the complete abrogation of fundamental rights enjoyed by the Chadian refugees. By violating the due process rights of these refugees, deporting them illegally, denying them their freedom and the rights that accompany freedom, singling them out for persecution, and violating the rights of their families, the Nigerian government discarded humanitarian concerns in order to stay on good terms with the government in Chad.

In the process, the government disobeyed a court order issued by the Maiduguri High Court enjoining it to refrain from deporting the Chadian refugees. To choose political expedience at

the expense of the rule of law and the fundamental rights of African brothers is unjust and inexcusable. It only serves, as another example of government by rule of force instead of rule of law. As Chairman of the OAU, President Babangida's persecution and deportation of the Chadian-refugees was particularly unacceptable. The Chairman not only had a responsibility to the interest of his own country persons, but also an important responsibility to all African peoples. Not only did President Babangida shirk his duty to follow the rule of law in Nigeria, but he also disregarded his duty as Chairman to protect his defenseless African brothers.

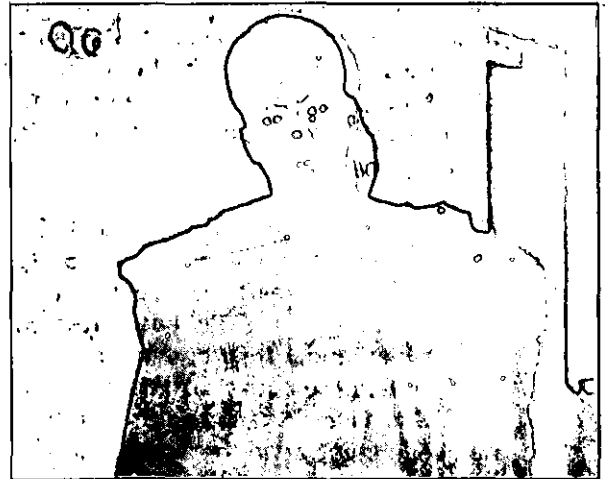
In particular, the Chairman has a special duty to ensure that the rights of refugees are protected because they enjoy no protection from their own gov-

ernment. This duty is very real in Africa, where many countries are experiencing civil unrest which have resulted in millions of refugees all over the continent. When an OAU Chairman ignores the plight of refugees in his own country, he is effectively signaling the demise of millions of other refugees in other African countries since other African leaders are likely to follow his example. Thus, President Babangida's persecution of the Chadians is likely to result in similar treatment of defenseless refugees in other parts of Africa as well.

Further, the illegal extortion of large sums of money from innocent and helpless people provides yet another example of the corruption and lawlessness that the Nigerian people have learned to associate with their "security" forces.



The Household of Alh. Nakouru Soughi, another deported Chadian believed executed.



Mallam Adoum Moussa, Deported.



Wives of Isah Mohammed, another deportee feared dead



Mallam Moussa's wives and babies

CHAPTER III.

ASYLUM FOR A DESPOT

A. BACKGROUND.

On May 17, 1992 former Somali Head of State, Siad Barre, arrived Nigeria on what the Nigerian authorities described as "temporary political asylum." Notorious for its widespread human rights violations, the Barre regime's indiscriminate murder of innocent people, summary execution of opposition figures, detention without trials, and other such abuses are well documented by various international human rights organisations.

Siad Barre's 21 years as the ruler of Somalia can only be described as a subjugation of his own people. The human rights violations that occurred under his regime have been well documented by prominent human rights organisations and other international agencies. The 1990 United States Department of State Country Reports has the following to say about the Barre regime's record on human rights:

"Widespread severe violations of human rights occurred in Somalia in 1990, most of them attributable to the Government and its security forces. There were repeated, credible reports of army units attacking villages and murdering suspected opponents, and presidential guards were implicated in robberies and killings. In July, presidential guards (Red Berets) shot and killed 60 to 100 people fleeing a Mogadishu stadium after fans at a soccer match booed the President. There is no evidence of serious attempts by the Government to investigate these abuses or punish those responsible..."

Other extra-judicial killings mentioned in the DOS Report include the massacre of about 100 civilians, including women and children, in Belet Weyne (Central Somalia) following a rebel attack on nearby government installations. In its report released in early 1990, *"Somalia: a Government at War with Its Own People,"* Africa Watch charged the Barre regime with responsibility for the deaths

of 50,000 to 60,000 civilians since the conflict with the Somali National Movement began in 1988. In its Critique of the 1990 DOS Country Reports, the Lawyer's Committee on Human Rights reported that 50 unarmed civilians including the Mayor of Bulu Burti, several clan elders, and an Islamic judge were executed by military and paramilitary forces.

In this critique, the Lawyers Committee also substantiated the DOS' report that clan-related violence had risen. It attributed this rise to the Barre regime, explaining that "the blame for clan-related violence rests with the Somali government, which pursued a deliberate policy of arming clans and encouraging them to attack civilians and opposition groups." The DOS Report noted that "such groups, once armed, were under no effective control," and that "by the end of the year, clan-related violence between security forces and armed opponents escalated considerably in Mogadishu, resulting in hundreds of civilian deaths."

Lastly, Lawyer's Committee reported that by the time of Barre's ouster from power in January of 1991, the capital city of Mogadishu had been largely destroyed and half of the city's 800,000 inhabitants had fled to neighboring countries.

These are crimes against humanity and peace which ought to disqualify Barre from obtaining refugee status in Nigeria. Furthermore, granting Barre asylum in Nigeria angered major militant factions in the current Somali conflict, thus creating a potential threat to Nigeria's national security. This situation also disqualifies Barre from obtaining refuge Nigeria under relevant international instruments and domestic law.

B. LEGAL ANALYSIS.

The Constitutional Rights Project (CRP), a Nigerian human rights organisa-

tion was the first to raise legal objections to the granting of asylum to the Somali dictator. It filed suit in the High Court of Lagos State seeking a declaration that the Federal Military Government's decision to grant political asylum to General Siad Barre violates Sections 1(2)(a) and 20(2)(a) of the National Commission for Refugees, Etc Act, Cap. 244 Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 1990, (NCR Act) which forbid the granting of political asylum to persons who have committed crimes against peace, war crimes, or crimes against humanity; or who may be a danger to national security.

Section 20(2)(a) of the NCR Act precludes the granting of refugee status to an individual "when there are serious reasons to believe that he has committed a crime against peace, a war crime, or a crime against humanity, as defined in any international instrument to which Nigeria is a party." As is evident from the brief overview above, Barre's flagrant human rights violations fall within the definitions for "crime against humanity" or "crime against peace." Similarly, Section 1(F)(a) of the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, which is incorporated into the NCR Act, contains precisely the same provision as Section 20(2)(a) of the NCR Act. Section 1(F)(c) of the same UN Convention also provides that the "provisions of the convention shall not apply to any person with respect to whom there are serious reasons for considering that he has been guilty of acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the UN." Article 1(5) of the OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, which has also been domesticated, provides for disqualification on all of the grounds enumerated in the UN Convention, as well as for "acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the OAU."

In addition to being disqualified because of his terrible human rights record, Barre ought not to be given refugee status under Section 1(2)(a) of the NCR Act. This section declares that an individual is ineligible for asylum if he or she constitutes a "danger to the security of Nigeria." Shortly after Barre's

arrival in Nigeria, the United Somali Congress (USC), a former militant rebel group and currently a leading political faction in Somalia's government, criticised the Nigerian government's decision as an "unfriendly gesture given the crimes he committed against the Somali nation." The USC's statement was an indication that it perceived Nigeria as an enemy nation. This could have serious security implications, and provided further grounds to deny Barre asylum under Section 1(2)(a) of the NCR Act. However, the Nigerian government went ahead to grant him asylum.

C. HUMAN RIGHTS IMPLICATIONS.

The Nigerian government claimed that it granted Barre asylum on "humanitarian" grounds based on a request made by the fleeing dictator. It justified its action by claiming that the decision was to remove him from the trouble scene so as to facilitate a solution to the Somali crisis. In reality however, the decision to grant Siad Barre temporary political asylum would seem an implicit acceptance of his terrible human rights record. Not only was this act supportive of the former Somali ruler in his brutalisation and pauperization of his people, but providing refuge for the former dictator would seem also to send a signal to other African leaders that they too can brutalize their nation and then find sanctuary in Nigeria! This was capable of encouraging greater repression and human rights abuse in the continent and damaging Nigeria's reputation as a country that ought to show better example in the continent.

The fact that Barre's asylum was granted while Nigeria held the Chairmanship of the Organisation of African Unity further draws attention to the Babangida regime's policy disposition to human rights issues in the continent. This act also reflects poorly on the state of human rights in Africa as a whole. It tells other African leaders that even the head of the OAU does not have a duty to obey the African Charter or to act in a manner that discourages the abuse of human rights and deters despotism in the continent.

This action can only be remedied by extraditing Siad Barre to Somalia as quickly as possible to face the crimes he committed against peace and humanity. At the time of writing this report, however, it was not known whether this had been done.

APPENDICES

A. Names of the Chadians Who Were Arrested and Deported

Ahmat Allatchi	Mbodou Mohamat	Djibrine Fodoul
Hassane Tchitchaou	Djimi Dadi	Barkadei Molli
Hemchi Birze	Toyin Barkaye	Dachou Drya
Brahim Hassane	Moussa Bechir	Ali Awi
Djimi Kidei	Sougin Chidi	Ngouli Moussa
Moussa Nouri	Mohamat Sougindi	Issa Toko
Hassane Annaf	Alafuza Issa	Mohamat Tcoui
Houma Issa	Koreimi Kaoussa	Lorin Hissein
Goukoumi Kamai	Boko Brahim	Mahamat Kalikorei
Bougindi Brahim	Yahya Gourbal	Djossoubou Norri
Yahya Tchadjouwo	Mahamat Norri	Adoum Allanga
Cherif Gorou	Moussa Guihimi	Adigueye Alafuza
Hisseine Chidi	Hassane Hisseine	
Salah Chidi	Hassane Maide	Idriss Galmi
Goukouni Goudja	Goukouni Saleh	Togou Djehil Hamid
Wordugu Mouhouma	Brahim Djimi	
Kelan Hamid	Wordugu Bidi	Haggar Tchoui
Mahamat Issaka	Mahamat Ali Hemchi	Ousmane Malli
Moussa Saleh		Djimi Mahamat
Rozi Tchou	Souleymane Ahmat	Ali Ousmane
Alhadi Sougin	Mht Zen Mahamat	Salah Bachar
Mht Zen Nahar	Abakar Goukouni	Manamat Nour Hisseini
Moussa Mahamat	Abakar Ahmat	Hassane Abaker
Djibrine Mahamat	Ali Mahamat	Mahamat Lori
Mahamat Chidi	Wordugu Ali	Outmane Ali
Issa Guinassou	Alafuza Nima	Adoum Yahya
Tchozi Bokor	Hisseine Sougou	Midde Nartama
Kosso Chaha	Mht Asbala	Djehil Asbala
Tahar Korema	Abakar Idriss	Maide Mahamat
Youssef Adoum	Hamid Djokoya	Brahim Mahadi
Gounda Drya	Mht Tahar Zeni	Hisseine Moussa
Mahamat Yeskou	Abakar Hassane	Saleh Hilli
Ahmat Ali	Barkai Fouzari	Barkai Kibir
Oroji Mahamat	Hakouma Ali	Tahar Tchou
Mahamat Hamid	Nokour Saleh	Ousmane Djokoya
Moussa Tahar	Hassane Hamid	Hassane Mahamat
Derehim Asbala	Youssef Arabi	Ousmane Mahamat
Saleh Asbala	Mahamat Abdramabe	Abakar Choukou
Idriss Hisseine	Issa Brahim	Issaka Senoussi
Adoum Saleh	Mahamat Mustapha	
Hakouma Ali	Mahadjir Zeni	Ali Youssef
Alh Soumaila Adoum	Mai Kari Alimi	Sougui Youssef
Mahamat Mala Mustapha	Moussa Anjami	Mousse Mahammed
Abdulkareem Mohammed	Hamid Sanda	Amoudu
Mohammed Saleh Isah	Mohammed Tahir	Ali
Moussa Mustapha	Mohammed Bidoum	Adoum
Mohammed Tinai	Isah	Mohammed
Uraru Ahmed Usman	Ali	Kabashi Mohammed
Hajia Fatima	Hajia Hadizah	Sitoum
Tijari	Ibrahim	Alhaji Sherrif
Mishara	Sherrif Yusuf	Adoum Moussa
Isah Moussa	Celestine	Nerci
Anadif	Hassan Kokoi	Jimi Darr

Abdullahi Darri	Mohammed Gnasou	Goukin Weddai
Ibrahim Mohammed	Ahmed Gwari	Isah Daddi
Gouda Diria	Moussa Ali	Mamasaleh Isah
Ahmat Haddao	Mohammed Adoum Saleh	Ousmana Abai
Houssa Mustapha	Abdoulaye Uahamat	Issa Mahamat
Hahamat Saleh Issa	Hahamat Tohir	Idriss Youssuf
Mustapha Mohamat	Ali Mohamat	Aluadji Ali Mohamat
Adoum Mahamat	Ahdenamanu Mohamat	Mahamat Prechi
Hassane Idriss	Ei. Hadji Soumaila Adam	Tehani Kalle
Abeka Soni	Mousa Ant Chami	Bruhan
Amid	Oumar Tahar	Mahamat Sakhaer Predon
Oumar Ahmat Ousman	Issa Prigdon	Raji Mahamat
Aboubaka Hassane	Ali Ousmane	Salet Abakar
Mahamat Zine	Bougoudi Ibrahim	Igani Kelon
Djzobou Ojrubou	Abalar Saleh	Ramasane Adoum
Ouadougou Ali	Adedji Olossou	Alhaji Imaila
Aboubakar Mahamat	Abdoulaye Seadik	Alhadj Issa
Yousoug Abba	Oumar Ousmane	Hassane Solomon
Mustapha Francis	Louca Garda	Yassouf Alimahadjiu
Mohammed Abdoulaye	Ahmed Adhady	Mohammed Allafouza
Mahamat Moustapha	Aboubakar Koni	Ibrahim Mohammed
Sadik Ajibri	IYallaj Bichara	Mahamat Non Ali
Adoum Ali Haggai	Prechi Souleyman Mahamat	Ali Mahamat
Abdrahaman	Oumar Tahir Yaide	Mahamat Bouhari Abdet
Hassan Gijeje	Isah Mohammed	Oumar Kachalani
Ahmed Haddad	Nokouru Soughi	Umar Tahir
Yousouf Dahab	Annar Hadjar	Okar Kodi
Adoum Adoulaye		

B. Names of Deported Chadians Believed Executed

Mbodou Mohamat	Djibirine Fodoul	Hassana Tchitchaou
Djimi Dadi	Barkidei Molli	Itemchi Birze
Moussa Bechir	Ali Awi	Djimi Kidei
Issa Toko	Abakar Goukouni	Abakar Ahmat
Hassane Abakar	Alafuza Nima	Adoum Yahya
Mht. Asbala	Annar Hadjar	Barkai Fouzari
Nokour Saleh	Moussa Anjami	Mousse Mohammed
Mohammed Tahir	Houma Issa	Koreimi Kaoussa
Goukoumi Kamai	Mahamat Norri	Goukouni Goudja
Hamid Wordugu Mouhouma	Brahim Djimi	Wordougou Mohamat
Rozi Tchou	Goukin Weddai	Mohammed Adoun Saleh
Issa Mohammed	Adoum Adoulaye	Mahamat Sakhaer Predon
Alhaji Issa	Adoum Ali Haggai	Nokoru Soughi
Adoum Allanga	Idriss Galmai	Alafuza Issa Mohamat Tcoui

The Civil Liberties Organisation is a non - governmental, non-partisan human rights Initiative based In Lagos, Nigeria.

It was founded on October 15, 1987.

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Notes Talks about Refugee Rights focusing
on Liberian and Chad Refugees