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Issue Paper NIGERIA CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS JANUARY 1992-FEBRUARY 1995 June 1995

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MAP

See original.

Source: Amnesty International. 11 November 1994. *Nigeria: Military Government Clampdown on Opposition*. (AI Index: AFR 44/13/94). London: Amnesty International.

GLOSSARY

AFRC

Armed Forces Ruling Council

ASUU

Academic Staff Union of Universities

CD

Campaign for Democracy

CDHR

Committee for the Defence of Human Rights

CLO

Civil Liberties Organization

ING

Interim National Government

MOSOP

Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People

NADECO

National Democratic Coalition

NANS

National Association of Nigerian Students

NDSC

National Defense and Security Council

NEC

National Electoral Commission

NLC

Nigeria Labour Congress

NRC

National Republican Convention

NUPENG

National Union of Petroleum and Gas Workers

PENGASSAN

Petroleum and Natural Gas Senior Staff Association

SDP

Social Democratic Party

SSS

State Security Service

INTRODUCTION

Once considered "Britain's showcase of democracy in West Africa" (*Revue des droits de l'homme* 1974, 62), Nigeria has not lived up to the promise it showed at independence in 1960 (*New African Yearbook 1993-94* 1994 274-93; *Africa South of the Sahara* 1990 1989, 763-74). Elected leaders have governed the country for about 10 of the last 35 years, with a series of military regimes holding power for the balance of the period (*ibid.*).

In part Nigeria's difficulties are rooted in the political structure left by the British colonial administration (*ibid.*, 762-63). The former rulers divided Nigeria into three administrative regions, each dominated by one of the major ethnic groups (*ibid.*; *New African Yearbook 1993-94* 1994, 273). The northern half of the country is dominated by the mainly Muslim Hausa-Fulani people, the southeast by the Ibo, who are mostly Catholic, and the southwest by the largely Protestant Yoruba (*ibid.*; HRW Dec. 1993, 28; *Revue des droits de l'homme* 1974, 62). This tripartite structure has had a substantial impact on how the country's 250 ethnic groups compete for access to the state apparatus, and therefore to political and economic power (*New African Yearbook 1993-94* 1994, 271, 274).

Successive military regimes have had to contend not only with ethnic rivalries, but with vigorous opposition from organized labour and political groups, and a public disenchanted with a steadily declining standard of living (*New African* Feb. 1995). As noted by *New African*, Nigeria's military rulers have reacted to opposition with increasingly repressive measures, including the imposition of decrees that outlaw political activity and circumvent the judicial system (*ibid.*). These measures have caused additional social and political unrest, which has aggravated the nation's economic problems (*ibid.*; *Human Rights Watch Africa* Oct. 1994).

This chronology focuses primarily on events in Nigeria between 1992 and 1995. As the transition to democratic rule is one of the central themes of the paper, events from the 1985-1991 period related to this theme have been included as background. While it is outside the scope of the chronology format to provide in-depth discussion of shifting political alliances, ethnic relations and socio-cultural considerations, further information on these issues may be relevant to a comprehensive understanding of the current situation. For further information on Nigeria, please consult the March 1993 DIRB Question and Answer Series paper entitled *Nigeria: Religion and Conflict*, the *Indexed Media Review*, the Refinfo database and other sources available at Regional Documentation Centres.

CHRONOLOGY

1985

27 August

In the seventh *coup d'état* since independence, General Ibrahim Babangida takes control of the Nigerian government. He establishes the Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) and takes the title of president (*Freedom in the World 1993-94* 1994, 434; *New African Yearbook 1993-94* 1994, 292; *Africa South of the Sahara* 1990 1989, 771-72).

1986

13 January

Babangida announces that Nigeria will return to democratic rule by 1 October 1990 (*Africa South of the Sahara* 1990 1989, 772; *New Africa Yearbook 1993-94* 1994, 292)

1987

1 July

Babangida announces that the transfer to civilian rule will be delayed until 1 October 1992 (*Constitutional Rights Journal* July-Sept. 1993a, 4; *Africa South of the Sahara 1990* 1989, 773).

28 July

The military government announces its transition program (*Africa South of the Sahara 1990* 1989, 773; *Country Reports 1987* 1988, 230; *Africa Watch* Oct. 1991, 3). It calls for the drafting of a new constitution, the banning of all independent political parties and the creation of two new government parties (*ibid.*, 1; *Country Reports 1987* 1988, 230). Many former and present politicians and military leaders are ineligible to run for office until after the transition has been completed (*ibid.*; *Africa Watch* 1 Oct. 1991, 1).

1989

3 May

The government lifts the ban on political activity to allow political parties to form and register (*Country Reports 1989* 1990, 277; *Afrique contemporaine* Oct.-Dec. 1989, 52).

11 May

The military leadership approves a draft constitution, which is scheduled to become law 1 October 1992 (*ibid.*; *Country Reports 1989* 1990, 268).

1991

14 December

Elections for civilian state governors and state assembly representatives take place (*Afrique contemporaine* Apr.-June 1992, 85; *Africa Research Bulletin* Dec. 1991, 10384-85). Although widespread fraud in November's gubernatorial primaries caused the military to cancel results in nine states (*ibid.*, 10385; *Country Reports 1991* 1992, 297), *Country Reports 1991* describes only "isolated" reports of violence and manipulation in the elections themselves (1992, 297). The National Republican Convention (NRC), one of the two parties created by the military in 1990, wins 16 of 30 states (*ibid.*; *Africa Research Bulletin* Dec. 1991, 10385).

18 December

The military government rescinds the 28 July 1987 decree banning former politicians running for office, although politicians convicted of committing offences while in public office continue to be prohibited (*Africa Research Bulletin* Dec. 1991, 10385; *Country Reports 1991* 1992, 294). Within days, 13 prominent former politicians arrested for violating the decree are released (*ibid.*; HRW Dec. 1991, 90).

1992

1 January

Babangida announces that voters will select a president by open ballot, in this case by lining up behind a photograph of their candidate (*Afrique contemporaine* Apr.-June 1992, 85; HRW Dec. 1992, 37). About this time the managing editor of the *Daily Times* is fired because of a 31 December 1991 article in which Nobel laureate Wole Soyinka criticized the open-ballot system (*ibid.*, 39; LCHR July 1993, 275).

25 January

Babangida publishes the final version of his transition program, naming 5 December 1992 as the date for presidential elections (*Afrique contemporaine* Apr.-June 1992, 85).

February

Mobile police units-the feared "kill-and-go" squads-are withdrawn from checkpoints across the country after a police sergeant in Lagos shoots a bus driver, causing a small riot (LCHR May 1992, 3; Reuters 4 Apr. 1993; *Country Reports 1992 1993*, 196). The units are redeployed before the end of the month (*ibid.*). Two truck drivers are shot at checkpoints in June and July, sparking strikes in Lagos (*ibid.*). The mobile police units are again removed in September after an army colonel is shot and killed at a checkpoint in Lagos (*ibid.*).

11 February

Violence between the Muslim Hausa ethnic group and the minority Christian Katafs in Kaduna state, northern Nigeria, leaves at least 30 people dead and approximately 50 injured (*New African Yearbook 1993-94 1994*, 293; *Afrique contemporaine* Apr.-June 1992, 85; *News from Africa Watch* 30 Mar. 1993, 2). The violence is reportedly set off by government plans to relocate a town market from a Hausa to a Kataf district. Disagreements between the two groups over land ownership are long-standing (*ibid.*).

March

Eleven civilians are released after nearly two years' detention in connection with an April 1990 coup attempt. Nine of the eleven are relatives of suspects and have been held without charge (*Country Reports 1992 1993*, 199; AI 1993, 227). Nine army officers continue to be held incommunicado (*ibid.*; HRW Dec. 1992, 37).

20 March

Nigerian Tribune editor Folu Olamiti is arrested and charged with "incitement, defamation and publication of false news" for publishing an article entitled "Ibadan under Police Siege" (*Country Reports 1992 1993*, 200; *Afrique contemporaine* July-Sept. 1992, 77).

9 April

Police and security forces close down the *Concord* group of 13 publications. The newspaper group is charged with "undermining the national interest and security" (*Country Reports 1992 1993*, 200; *Constitutional Rights Journal* Apr.-June 1994b, 37), and is only reopened after company chairman M.K.O. Abiola publicly apologizes to the president (*ibid.*; LCHR July 1993, 275; *Country Reports 1992 1993*, 200).

4 May

Riots break out in Lagos due to an increase in public transportation fares (HRW Dec. 1992, 38). Government economic policies and steep price increases spark widespread demonstrations and riots. Hundreds of people are arrested and at least 80 killed in various parts of the country over the next several weeks (AI 1993, 226; HRW Dec. 1992, 38).

18 May

In Zango-Kataf, Kaduna state, clashes between Christian Katafs and Hausa Muslims lead to ethnic and religious riots that spread to the cities of Kaduna and Zaria (*Afrique contemporaine* July-Sept. 1992, 77; HRW Dec. 1992, 38; *News from Africa Watch* 30 Mar. 1993, 3). The death toll is estimated at under 300 by the government and a "few thousand" by human rights organizations (*ibid.*; HRW Dec. 1992, 38; *Country Reports 1992 1993*, 202). Two tribunals are set up to try 70 people suspected of involvement in the riots. One of those detained is retired general and Kataf leader Zamani Lekwot, also

the former military governor of Rivers state and ambassador to Senegal (CDHR 12 Oct. 1992; HRW Dec. 1992, 38; *News from Africa Watch* 30 Mar. 1993, 1). After being released and rearrested, Lekwot and five others are found guilty of culpable homicide and sentenced to death (also see entries for Aug. 1993 and 18 Mar. 1994) (*ibid.*, 5). Human rights monitors criticize the tribunal for political and ethnic bias (*ibid.*, 3-4; CDHR 12 Oct. 1992; *Country Reports 1993 1994*, 217); one tribunal member resigns in protest, alleging that judgements are being rendered without his participation (*ibid.*).

19 May

Dr. Beko Ransome-Kuti, president of the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights (CDHR) and leader of the Campaign for Democracy (CD), is arrested at home in Lagos by 200 State Security Service (SSS) members (AI 1993, 226; *Country Reports 1992 1993*, 198; HRW Dec. 1992, 40). Two other CD members are arrested the same day, including Femi Falana, president of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (HRW Dec. 1992, 40; AI 1993, 226). A lawyer and CD member acting for them, Gani Fawehinmi, is arrested 29 May (*ibid.*; HRW Dec. 1992, 40). All of the men are held incommunicado, and the military refuses court orders to produce them in court. On 29 June they are charged with conspiracy to commit treason and released on bail (*ibid.*; AI 1993, 226; *Constitutional Rights Journal* July-Sept. 1993b, 19).

20 May

The government bans ethnic, religious and regional associations that support political candidates (HRW Dec. 1992, 38; LCHR July 1993, 276; *Country Reports 1992 1993*, 201).

June The Social Democratic Party (SDP) and National Republican Convention hold primaries for the 4 July elections to the Senate and House of Representatives (*Country Reports 1992 1993*, 202-03). In late June the National Electoral Commission disqualifies more than 30 candidates from both parties, reportedly for security reasons (*ibid.*; *Constitutional Rights Journal* July-Sept. 1993a, 7).

1 July

The High Court in Lagos orders the government to pay Dr. Ransome-Kuti 50,000 naira (US\$2,500) in damages for unlawful arrest and detention (AI 1993, 226; *Country Reports 1992 1993*, 199). The government ignores an order by the Ikeja High Court in July to produce 50 other detainees held since the May riots, as it does several similar orders (LCHR July 1993, 275; *Country Reports 1992 1993*, 199-200).

4 July

The SDP wins the legislative elections, obtaining 47 of 91 seats in the Senate and 310 of 598 seats in the House of Representatives (*Afrique contemporaine* Oct.-Dec. 1992, 283; *Freedom in the World 1993-94 1994*, 434). Of women candidates, one wins a seat in the Senate and six are elected to the House of Representatives (*Country Reports 1992 1993*, 203).

22 July

The government bans the striking Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) (*Constitutional Rights Journal* July-Sept. 1993c, 12; *Country Reports 1992 1993*, 201).

August

The military releases Jennifer Madike, a prominent decree N^o. 2 detainee implicated in a government corruption scandal in 1991 (LCHR July 1993, 275; *Country Reports 1992 1993*, 199). Issued in 1984, decree N^o. 2 allows the government to detain without charge anyone deemed to be a threat to state security or the economic well-being of the nation (*ibid.*).

The Delta state police commissioner announces that in the first six months of 1992, his officers killed 53 armed robbery suspects, 12 more than they arrested. According to some sources, such figures demonstrate the propensity of Nigerian police to use deadly force (*Country Reports 1992 1993*, 197; LCHR July 1993, 274).

1 August

The first in a series of presidential election primaries is marked by widespread fraud, bribery and irregularities. The parties and the government agree to annul the results (*Constitutional Rights Journal* July-Sept. 1993a, 5; *Freedom in the World 1993-94* 1994, 434-35; *Country Reports 1992 1993*, 203).

4 September

The ASUU agrees to end its strike for increased wages, more autonomy and increased funding for universities (*Constitutional Rights Journal* July-Sept. 1993c, 12; *Afrique contemporaine* Oct.-Dec. 1992, 284; CDHR 31 Dec. 1993, 19). The strike ends on 9 September but the organization remains banned (*ibid.*; *Country Reports 1992 1993*, 201).

19 September

Widespread fraud mars the second round of primaries. On 16 October the government voids the results a second time and appoints caretaker committees to replace political party executives at all levels (*Constitutional Rights Journal* July-Sept. 1993a, 5-6; *Freedom in the World 1993-94* 1994, 434-35; *Country Reports 1992 1993*, 203).

17 November

Babangida announces that the presidential election, scheduled for December 1992, is postponed until 12 June 1993 (*Country Reports 1992 1993*, 203; *Freedom in the World 1993-94* 1994, 435). Each party will select a candidate through a series of congresses that culminate in a national convention (*ibid.*; *Constitutional Rights Journal* July-Sept. 1993a, 6). The transition process is extended until 27 August 1993 (*Country Reports 1992 1993*, 203; *Afrique contemporaine* Jan.-Mar. 1993, 79). Citing widespread corruption, the military government also bans from further involvement all 23 presidential candidates who took part in earlier primaries (AI 1993, 226; *Freedom in the World 1993-94* 1994, 435; *Country Reports 1992 1993*, 203).

December

Several people protest in Kano, northern Nigeria, against postponement of the return to civilian rule and call for Babangida's resignation. Among those arrested and charged with subversion are former Kano state deputy governor Wada Abubakan, former Kano state SDP president Inuana Ammam, and former trade union leader Wada Waziri (AI 1993, 226-27; LCHR July 1993, 276).

1993

4 January

The Civilian Transitional Council is established to replace the Council of Ministers. Chaired by businessman Ernest Shonekan, it will function until the transition to civilian rule is completed on 27 August (AI 1994, 228; *Constitutional Rights Journal* July-Sept. 1993a, 8; *Afrique contemporaine* Apr.-June 1993, 92).

5 January

Lagos state governor Otedola orders the release of 12 "kid robbers" condemned to death in 1988 (CDHR 31 Dec. 1993, 29). Their sentences had earlier been commuted to life imprisonment and then to 10 years, after pressure from domestic and international human rights groups (*ibid.*; *Victims* Mar.

1993, 1).

7 January

The AFRC is dissolved and replaced by the National Defence and Security Council (NDSC) (*Freedom in the World 1993-94* 1994, 435; *Afrique contemporaine* Apr.-June 1993, 92). Although Shonekan runs the day-to-day affairs of government, the NDSC retains effective control, with defence minister Abacha playing a prominent role (*ibid.*; AI 1994, 228).

February

Police and security agents raid the offices of the Civil Liberties Organisation (CLO), confiscating financial statements, membership lists and the manuscript of a report on women and children held in Nigerian prisons (HRW Dec. 1993, 31; *Country Reports 1993* 1994, 221-22). Security agents also search the homes of CLO president Olisa Agbakoba and CDHR member Chima Ubani (*ibid.*, 222). According to *Country Reports 1993*, harassment of human rights organizations is reported to be "routine" (*ibid.*, 213).

1 March

The government steps up its efforts to silence the press when SSS members arrest the editor of the Kaduna state-based newspaper *Reporter* and seal its premises (HRW Dec. 1993, 30; CDHR 31 Dec. 1993, 5; *Country Reports 1993* 1994, 218). In the following three months security forces arrest the editors of or suspend operations at several other newspapers and magazines critical of the regime (*ibid.*; CDHR 31 Dec. 1993, 5-7).

1 May

The six-year-old ban on the National Association of Nigerian Students (NANS) is lifted (*Afrique contemporaine* July-Sept. 1993, 95; HRW Dec. 1993, 30-31).

2 May

The government issues the Treason and Treasonable Offences Decree, which permits the death penalty for anyone who disrupts the "general fabric" of the country (HRW Dec. 1993, 30; AI 1994, 229; *Country Reports 1993* 1994, 218). The decree is believed to be aimed at the Ogoni ethnic group, human rights activists and journalists (HRW Dec. 1993, 30). The decree is suspended on 21 May after a national and international outcry, but it is not repealed (*ibid.*; AI 1994, 229; *Country Reports 1993* 1994, 218).

3 May

The still-banned ASUU calls a strike over the lack of autonomy of academic staff and the terms and conditions of their service (*Afrique contemporaine* July-Sept. 1993, 95; HRW Dec. 1993, 31; *Constitutional Rights Journal* July-Sept. 1993c, 12). In response, the government declares teaching an essential service and makes it legal to fire teachers and educational staff who absent themselves for more than one week (*ibid.*, 12-13; HRW Dec. 1993, 31). The decree is set aside following a public outcry (*ibid.*).

22 May

The News, a new and "outspoken" magazine is closed, its premises sealed by police and its journalists declared "wanted" (CDHR 31 Dec. 1993, 7; HRW Dec. 1993, 30). Thousands of issues of *The News* and the magazine *Tell* are seized in April and May, and vendors selling the magazines are often detained without charge (*Country Reports 1993* 1994, 218).

10 June

The government withdraws the accreditation of eight American election observers and expels Michael O'Brien of the US Information Agency. O'Brien had stated earlier that postponing the election would cause "grave concern" to the US government (HRW Dec. 1993, 32).

12 June

Although the process leading up to the election was marked by "extensive manipulation" (*Country Reports 1993 1994*, 213) and voter turnout is low (*Africa Research Bulletin* June 1993, 11041), national and international observers describe voting as "the freest and fairest in Nigeria's history" (*Country Reports 1993 1994*, 212-13; AI 1994, 228; *Constitutional Rights Journal* July-Sept. 1993a, 9). The election is boycotted by the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), which is protesting abuses against Ogonis and the destruction of oil-rich Ogoni land in Rivers state by multinational oil companies in conjunction with military forces (HRW Dec. 1993, 29; *Human Rights WatchAfrica* Oct. 1994, 15).

14 June

Interim election results indicate that Chief Moshood K.O. Abiola, the SDP presidential candidate and a Yoruba Muslim millionaire from the south (EarthAction Dec. 1994; *Freedom in the World 1993-1994* 1994, 435), is on his way to a landslide victory, having "swept the polls" in 11 of the 15 declared states, including the home state of his NRC rival (*Africa Research Bulletin* June 1993, 11041). Later reports indicate that Abiola is victorious in 21 of 30 states and that his support cuts across ethnic, geographic and religious lines (*Freedom in the World 1993-1994* 1994, 435; HRW Dec. 1993, 28).

16-17 June

The National Electoral Commission (NEC), having ignored an Abuja High Court order not to proceed with the election, announces that it will observe a second Abuja High Court order not to release the final results (*Africa Research Bulletin* June 1993, 11041). The following day the NEC decision is reversed by two court orders, including one from Lagos High Court justice Moshood Olugbani, who orders the results released within 24 hours (*ibid*). Amid an outcry from the general public, politicians and social critics, Dr. Ransome-Kuti announces that the CD will release the election results within 24 hours if the NEC does not (*ibid*).

22-23 June

On 22 June the Abuja High Court reportedly declares the election "null and void" because the NEC had ignored its original injunction not to conduct the polls (*Africa Research Bulletin* June 1993, 11041). The following day Babangida annuls the elections, claiming widespread irregularities, but no evidence of fraud is offered to the Nigerian public (*Freedom in the World 1993-94* 1994, 435; *Country Reports 1993 1994*, 213; AI 1994, 228). Further, the NEC itself is suspended, as is the decree on the transition to democracy (*Africa Research Bulletin* June 1993, 11041).

5 July

Demonstrations turn violent in Lagos and other towns following Babangida's annulment of the election (HRW Dec. 1993, 28; *Country Reports 1993 1994*, 213; AI 1994, 229; *Constitutional Rights Journal* July-Sept. 1993a, 10). Shops and business are looted, cars stolen and set afire, and bonfires of burning tyres erected to block access to the central business district (*The Times* 6 July 1993; *ibid*. 7 July 1993; *Le Devoir* 7 July 1993; *The New York Times* 9 July 1993). Gangs of unemployed youths known as "area boys" are responsible for most of the violence (*ibid*.; *Constitutional Rights Journal* July-Sept. 1993a, 10), although students are reportedly involved as well (*The Times* 7 July 1993). The police and military kill hundreds of people between 5 and 9 July, sometimes firing randomly into crowds. Hundreds more are arrested (*Country Reports 1993 1994*, 214; CDHR 31 Dec. 1993, 2; *Human Rights WatchAfrica* Oct.

1994, 3). Hundreds of human rights and pro-democracy activists, labour leaders and students are harassed, arrested and detained without access to their families (HRW Dec. 1993, 31). The CLO reports that 250 protesters are held for four weeks at one detention camp (*ibid.*, 28). No effort is made by the government to investigate the conduct of security forces during or after the July riots (*Country Reports 1993 1994*, 214; HRW Dec. 1993, 30). Britain, the US, the European community and Canada cut off aid to Nigeria to protest the annulment (*ibid.*, 28; *Human Rights Watch Africa* Oct. 1994, 3).

13 July

After one month in detention, MOSOP spokesperson Ken Saro-Wiwa and two others are charged in connection with the Ogoni boycott of the June election (AI 1994, 229; HRW Dec. 1993, 29). All three are released later in the month (*ibid.*; *Human Rights Watch Africa* Oct. 1994, 15). Saro-Wiwa was also twice detained in April (*Country Reports 1993 1994*, 216).

22 July

Six media houses are closed by the government: *Punch*, *Concord Press*, *Sketch*, *Abuja Newsday*, Ogun State Broadcasting Corporation and *The Observer* (*Constitutional Rights Journal* July-Sept. 1993a, 10; CDHR 31 Dec. 1993, 8; *Country Reports 1993 1994*, 219). All were critical of the government's annulment of the election (*ibid.*).

29 July

Nigeria signs the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (AI 1994, 229; *Constitutional Rights Journal* Apr.-June 1994c, 13). It ratifies neither the first optional protocol, which grants individuals the right to appeal to the UN Human Rights Committee, or the second optional protocol, which aims to abolish the death penalty (*ibid.*).

August

In response to a suit brought by the Constitutional Rights Project, an NGO, Babangida commutes to 5 years' imprisonment the death sentences of General Lekwot and 12 others convicted after the May 1992 Kaduna riots (also see entries for 18 May 1992 and 18 Mar. 1994) (HRW Dec. 1993, 30; AI 1994, 230).

9 August

Forty security officers raid CD offices, removing files and arresting everyone present, including visitors (HRW Dec. 1993, 31).

12 August

The government lifts the ban on the ASUU (*Constitutional Rights Journal* July-Sept. 1993c, 13; *Country Reports 1993 1994*, 219). The following day Omotoye Olorode, a professor at the Obafemi Awolowo University in Ile-Ife, is arrested in connection with pro-democracy activities (CDHR 31 Dec. 1993, 20; *Victims* Sept. 1993, 6).

Lagos is paralysed by strikes and demonstrations organized by the CD, the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC), the striking oil workers unions and other organizations (*Afrique contemporaine* Oct.-Dec. 1993, 261; HRW Dec. 1993, 28). Security forces arrest 200 activists staging a sit-in to protest military rule and nullification of the 12 June election results (*Country Reports 1993 1994*, 216; *Constitutional Rights Journal* July-Sept. 1993a, 11). The protests, which continue into September and October, are well supported in Lagos and Ibadan but less so in northern and eastern areas (HRW Dec. 1993, 28).

16 August

The government institutes decree N^o. 43, which imposes severe restrictions on the press, including a maximum 10-year prison sentence and a fine for publishing "false information" (HRW Dec. 1993, 30; *Country Reports 1993 1994*, 219).

17 August

The military government dissolves the executive boards of the Nigeria Labour Congress and the oil workers unions (*Human Rights WatchAfrica* Oct. 1994, 7).

26 August

Babangida resigns. Although he maintains that his military government is handing over power as scheduled (AI 1994, 228), some sources attribute his resignation to the widespread strikes, demonstrations and pressure from General Sani Abacha and others in the military (HRW Dec. 1993, 28; *Freedom in the World 1993-94 1994*, 435). Businessman Ernest Shonekan, widely perceived to be Abacha's puppet (*ibid.*), takes over as leader of the interim national government (ING) (AI 1994, 228; *Country Reports 1993 1994*, 212). He promises to hold new presidential elections and transfer power to a civilian government before 31 March 1994 (*ibid.*; AI 1994, 228; HRW Dec. 1993, 29).

September

A High Court in Borno State grants 244 Chadians refugee status and prevents the government from deporting them. It also rules that their arrests and detention in 1991 and 1992 were illegal (AI 1994, 230). The refugees, reportedly fleeing fighting in the Lake Chad region (*Country Reports 1992 1993*, 202), were arrested by security forces in the northeastern city of Maiduguri at the request of Chadian authorities (AI 1993, 227). They were held without charge or trial at a Nigerian military camp (*ibid.*). Reports indicate that over 200 were secretly deported to Chad in 1992 (*ibid.*; *Country Reports 1992 1993*, 202), and that upon arrival at least three were tortured to death or extrajudicially executed by Chadian authorities, while another 40 died in detention (AI 1993, 227).

The ASUU ends its strike and all universities closed since May are reopened (HRW Dec. 1993, 31).

8 November

In a surprise move, Shonekan's government increases fuel prices by 600 to 700 per cent (HRW Dec. 1993, 29; *Freedom in the World 1993-94 1994*, 437; CDHR 31 Dec. 1993, 23). One week later, in response to the hike and a 10 November High Court ruling declaring the interim national government illegal, the NLC calls a nationwide strike (*ibid.*; *Afrique contemporaine* Jan.-Mar. 1994, 78).

17 November

Amid massive strikes and demonstrations, the military launches a *coup d'état*, forcing Shonekan to resign. Former defence minister General Abacha assumes the titles of head of state and commander-in-chief of the army (HRW Dec. 1993, 28, 29; *Country Reports 1993 1994*, 212; AI 1994, 228; *Human Rights WatchAfrica* Oct. 1994, 3). He also replaces all civilian officials with military commanders, dissolves the national assembly, the electoral commission and all state, local and federal governments (*ibid.*; *Freedom in the World 1993-94 1994*, 434; AI 1994, 228). The country's two political parties and other associations are banned indefinitely (*ibid.*; *Freedom in the World 1993-94 1994*, 434). The military-dominated Provisional Ruling Council (PRC), which rules by decree, is established (AI 1994, 228-29; *Country Reports 1993 1994*, 212). Abacha lifts the ban on the news media but warns journalists to watch what they publish (HRW Dec. 1993, 30).

18 November

Abacha announces that a constitutional conference will be held to decide the future form of government in Nigeria (*Country Reports 1993 1994*, 212; *Constitutional Rights Journal* Jan.-Mar. 1994a, 5). Only

273 of 369 delegates will be elected-the others will be military appointees-and the areas in which the body may deliberate will be determined by the military (*ibid.*; *Human Rights WatchAfrica* Oct. 1994, 3). One source describes most of the constitutional conference organizing commission members as "inept and corrupt" former politicians (*Constitutional Rights Journal* Jan.-Mar. 1994a, 5).

16 December

Afrique contemporaine reports that 30 are killed and 400 injured in clashes between Ogonis and Okrikas in eastern Nigeria (Apr.-June 1994 87)

20 December

The military government promulgates 10 new decrees, including one preventing any legal challenge of decrees made during the 31 December 1983 to 26 August 1993 period of military rule (LCHR July 1994, 255; *Constitutional Rights Journal* Jan.-Mar. 1994b, 32; CDHR 31 Dec. 1993, 26).

30 December

Human Rights Watch reports that between July and September 1993, approximately 1,000 Ogonis were killed and thousands more displaced in attacks in Rivers state believed to have been sanctioned by government authorities (HRW Dec. 1993, 29).

1994

3 January

A special task force created by the Lagos state government to clean up the city of Lagos razes 300 new street vendor stalls in Mushin (*Constitutional Rights Journal* Apr.-June 1994a, 5). Two journalists covering the incident are beaten (*ibid.*).

30 January

The Champion newspaper reports that environmental task force members arrest approximately 20 women in Owerri, the capital of Imo state, for being "indecently" dressed (*Constitutional Rights Journal* Apr.-June 1994a, 8). The CDHR reports that young women in Rivers and Edo states and Lagos are sometimes stripped naked as punishment for the way they dress (*Victims* Mar. 1994, 2).

10 February

Clashes between Christian and Muslim students in Kano state leave close to 65 injured (*Afrique contemporaine* Apr.-June 1994, 87).

March

Referring to Nigeria's deteriorating standard of living, the Constitutional Rights Project states that "for millions of Nigerians, life has become much worse than it was a few years ago. Unemployment is on the rise, public utilities including electricity, water supply, roads and telephone function in fits and starts" (*Constitutional Rights Journal* Jan.-Mar. 1994a, 7).

18 March

General Lekwot and five others convicted in a widely-criticized trial after the May 1992 Kaduna ethnic riots are released from prison (also see entries for 18 May 1992 and Aug. 1993) (*West Africa* 17 Apr. 1994).

16 April

The 12th annual meeting of Women in Nigeria (WIN) ends with a call for the military to lift the ban on political activities (*Liberty* Jan.-Apr. 1994, 9).

22 April

Abacha announces that the ban on political activity will be lifted on 17 January 1995 (*Afrique contemporaine* July-Sept. 1994, 88; *Human Rights WatchAfrica* Oct. 1994, 3).

May

The National Democratic Coalition (NADECO) is created. Composed of politicians, retired army officials and members of the pro-democracy movement, it has four primary demands: first, that the military government give up power; second, that Chief M.K.O. Abiola be named president; third, that the constitutional conference be cancelled and a national conference organized to plan the country's future; and fourth, that the country be restructured as a true federation (*Human Rights WatchAfrica* Oct. 1994, 4; *Manchester Guardian Weekly* 26 June 1994; *West Africa* 26 June 1994b). One source indicates that NADECO is an attempt by the political class to create a broad alliance linking the north and south (*Africa Research Bulletin* 25 July 1994, 11461).

22 May

MOSOP president Ken Saro-Wiwa is arrested by security forces in Ogoniland (HRW Dec. 1994, 36; AI 27 June 1994). He is detained the day after four Ogoni government officials are killed by youths at a rally (Inter Press Service 27 Dec. 1994; *Africa Research Bulletin* 21 Sept. 1994, 11557). According to Amnesty International, "the accusations against [Saro-Wiwa] are unfounded ... and his most recent detention, as on several occasions in the past, is solely because of his campaign on behalf of the Ogoni people" (29 June 1994). Human rights groups later report that at least 50 Ogonis are killed in 1994, beginning in April when police and military forces are ordered to "restore and maintain" law and order in Rivers state (AI 11 Nov. 1994; HRW Dec. 1994, 37-38). Women and girls are reportedly raped, villages looted and burned, and 600 Ogonis arrested and held in military camps (*ibid.*, 38; AI 11 Nov. 1994). Shell suspends its operations after more than \$2 million worth of equipment is destroyed (Inter Press Service 27 Dec. 1994).

23 May

The first round of elections for delegates to the constitutional conference takes place (*Afrique contemporaine* July-Sept. 1994, 89). NADECO calls for a boycott, a call heeded by many in the Yoruba-dominated southwest, Chief Abiola's homeland. There is a general lack of interest among the electorate (*West Africa* 5 June 1994a; *Human Rights WatchAfrica* Oct. 1994, 4). Fifteen pro-democracy and human rights activists are temporarily arrested, allegedly for attempting to disrupt the election (*ibid.*).

31 May

NADECO is declared an illegal political organization by the inspector general of police (*Human Rights WatchAfrica* Oct. 1994, 4). Many NADECO members have been arrested by the security forces in the weeks since its formation (*West Africa* 26 June 1994b).

June

Lawyer and CLO co-founder Olisa Agbakobaof wins the 1993 *Deutscher Richterbund* (German judges association) human rights award, for risking his personal safety in defence of human rights in Nigeria (*West Africa* 5 June 1994b).

2 June

Former Senate president Ameh Ebutte is arrested the day after declaring that the Senate would resume sitting. The legislature had been holding secret meetings. Other former legislators, governors and other politicians, many of them belonging to NADECO, are also detained in June (AI 21 July 1994a; *Africa Research Bulletin* 25 July 1994, 11461; HRW Dec. 1994, 35). At least 13 are charged with treason and held for nearly two months (*ibid.*).

9 June

Human rights lawyer and CD chairman Beko Ransome-Kuti is detained incommunicado for 19 days, charged with treasonable felony and released on bail (*Victims* June 1994, 5; AI 21 July 1994a).

11 June

Chief Moshood Abiola declares himself president before 3,000 supporters (*West Africa* 26 June 1994a; *Index on Censorship* Sept.-Oct. 1994, 245; *Human Rights WatchAfrica* Oct. 1994, 4). Abacha offers a reward of 50,000 naira (US\$2,500) for information leading to Abiola's arrest, and his home and *Concord* publishing company are sealed off (*ibid.*; *Africa Research Bulletin* 25 July 1994, 11459). Abiola goes into hiding (*Jeune Afrique* 28 June 1994, 10; *West Africa* 26 June 1994a; *The Economist* 24 June 1994). The editor of *Punch* magazine is arrested and held until 15 June and the *Punch* building sealed off (*Index on Censorship* Sept.-Oct. 1994, 245).

14 June

Policemen attack workers and students protesting in Ile-Ife in Osun state (*Human Rights WatchAfrica* Oct. 1994, 7-8). Demonstrators disperse after a military convoy led by the state's military administrator arrives, but several of them are followed and attacked in their homes and places of work. Others are robbed and their property vandalized. The principal of a grammar school is beaten and whipped, reportedly for not sending students home before the demonstration began (*ibid.*, 8; *Victims* June 1994, 4).

23 June

Chief Abiola is arrested at his home in Lagos after addressing a rally of supporters. He is charged with "treasonable felony" and detained in an undisclosed jail (*Liberty* May-Aug. 1994, 14; *Africa Research Bulletin* 25 July 1994, 11460; *Index on Censorship* Sept.-Oct. 1994 245; AI 21 July 1994b).

27 June

The government opens its constitutional conference (*Africa Research Bulletin* 25 July 1994, 11462; AFP 27 June 1994). Nearly 400 delegates from the country's 30 states attend, as do military government officials and representatives of the diplomatic corps. Missing from the conference are representatives of the Ogoni community from Rivers state (*ibid.*). NADECO boycotts the gathering, calling it a "ruse and a distraction" (*Africa Research Bulletin* 25 July 1994, 11460; *West Africa* 5 June 1994a). Some southern and western traditional rulers endorse the conference, viewing it as step down the road to civilian rule (*ibid.*).

4 July

The National Union of Petroleum and Natural Gas Workers (NUPENG) goes on strike, demanding Abiola's unconditional release, his inauguration as president and the restoration of Nigeria's democratic political structures (*Human Rights WatchAfrica* Oct. 1994, 5; Xinhua 25 Aug. 1994; *West Africa* 24 July 1994). The union is also unhappy with how the government redistributes oil revenues (*The Economist* 19 Aug. 1994), and wants foreign oil companies to be paid the hundreds of millions of dollars owed to them. Non-payment has created a downturn in the industry that threatens future production (*ibid.*; *Africa Research Bulletin* 21 Sept. 1994, 11556).

6 July

After twice ignoring orders by the High Court in Lagos, and after the minister of justice is threatened with contempt of court, the authorities finally present Abiola in court to justify his detention. On 14 July the Abuja High Court refuses to grant him bail (AI 21 July 1994b).

12 July

The Petroleum and Natural Gas Senior Staff Association (PENGASSAN) joins the NUPENG strike with similar demands (*West Africa* 24 July 1994; *Human Rights WatchAfrica* Oct. 1994, 5). Unions from the banking, air transportation and public sectors also join the strike (*ibid.*, 6).

18 July

At least 20 protesters are killed when police open fire during pro-democracy demonstrations in Lagos and Ibadan. Young demonstrators, also angry about the lack of gas since the oil workers strike began earlier in the month, lit bonfires, erected barricades and threw rocks at police (AI 21 July 1994a; *Libération* 19 July 1994; Reuters 25 July 1994). Police reportedly kill about 100 protesters between June and early August (AFP 5 Aug. 1994).

The Nigerian Labour Congress calls a general strike that paralyzes Lagos. Police use tear gas to disband protesters (AFP 3 Aug. 1994). The strike is less well supported outside Abiola's Yoruba homeland (*ibid.*; *Human Rights WatchAfrica* Oct. 1994, 6).

27 July

Police beat reporters, including a Voice of America journalist, who are covering demonstrations outside the court house where Abiola is being tried (*Index on Censorship* Sept.-Oct. 1994, 245-46; VOA 1 Aug. 1994). Earlier in the week security forces used tear gas to break up gangs of area boys, who took control of a peaceful demonstration by hundreds of women demanding Abiola's release (*Le Devoir* 31 July 1994; Reuters 25 July 1994; HRW Dec. 1994, 36).

Six senators held since being charged with treason in early June are released on bail, but their passports are impounded. Some are put under surveillance, while others are subsequently rearrested (*Human Rights WatchAfrica* Oct. 1994, 4). Several more Nigerians have their passports seized around this time, including Dr. Doyin Abiola, wife of Chief Abiola, and Nobel laureate Wole Soyinka (*ibid.*, 11; *Liberty* May-Aug. 1994, 15; *Constitutional Rights Project* Oct. 1994, 4). According to Human Rights Watch, seizing the passports of dissidents is a harassment technique favoured by both the present and past military regimes (*Human Rights WatchAfrica* Oct. 1994, 11).

28 July

Deji Giwa and one other person are killed by police while leading a peaceful protest of the CD's Shomulu branch (*Human Rights WatchAfrica* Oct. 1994, 7).

2 August

Thirty-eight prisoners are publicly executed in Enugu, southeastern Nigeria (AI 11 Aug. 1994). At least 97 people have been executed in Akwa, Ibom, Enugu, Imo, Kano and Lagos states since February (*ibid.*).

3 August

The NLC calls a general strike in support of the oil workers' demands to free Abiola. The strike leaves Lagos streets deserted but has little impact in the north and east. It is called off two days later (*The Economist* 19 Aug. 1994; AFP 3 Aug. 1994; *Africa Research Bulletin* 21 Sept. 1994, 11555).

10 August

Abiola is granted bail on condition that he refrain from speaking at political meetings and from actions that "undermine the peace and security of the country" (*The Economist* 19 Aug. 1994; *West Africa* 8 Jan. 1995a). Abiola, who did not apply for bail, refuses to accept these terms (*ibid.*).

15 August

Police close all five publications of the *Guardian* newspaper group after the *Guardian*, Nigeria's most

influential national daily, publishes a front-page article about a power struggle within the military (*Index on Censorship* Sept.-Oct. 1994, 246; *Human Rights WatchAfrica* Oct. 1994, 11). Four employees are arrested and later released without charge (*ibid.*).

16 August

After ruling that the court has jurisdiction in the matter, the Federal High Court judge trying the Abiola case withdraws (*Liberty* May-Aug. 1994, 14; UPI 30 Aug. 1994; *Africa Research Bulletin* 21 Sept. 1994, 11556). The presiding judge claims he has lost the confidence of the defence, but some critics believe the move is a delaying tactic by the military government (*ibid.*).

17 August

In an effort to end the strike, the government dissolves the executive boards of NUPENG, PENGASSAN and the NLC (*Human Rights WatchAfrica* Oct. 1994, 7; Xinhua 25 Aug. 1994; *The Economist* 2 Sept. 1994; *Africa Research Bulletin* 21 Sept. 1994, 11556). Daily output of crude oil, which accounts for more than 80 per cent of government revenue, has dropped by 25 per cent since the strike started (*The Economist* 19 Aug. 1994). Oil revenues declined 15 per cent, representing a loss of about \$56 million, in the strike's first two weeks (*West Africa* 8 Jan. 1995a). Sabotage of gas plants, pipelines and depots in Anambra, Rivers and some western states exacerbates the oil shortage (*Impact* Jan. 1995, 40).

20 August

NUPENG general secretary Frank Kokori is arrested in Lagos by SSS agents and taken to Abuja (*Human Rights WatchAfrica* Oct. 1994, 5; *Africa Research Bulletin* 21 Sept. 1994, 11556). The military crackdown on the unions and the arrest of several prominent government critics from the north results in the strike expanding to the north and east (*ibid.*).

26 August

Gasoline bombs are thrown and gunmen open fire at the home of Gani Fawehinmi, a well-known human rights lawyer representing the oil unions (*Africa Research Bulletin* 21 Sept. 1994, 11557; *Human Rights WatchAfrica* Oct. 1994, 8). The bombing is one of five such attacks against the regime's opponents; another attack targets the CDHRCD headquarters (*ibid.*, 8-9). Regime opponents reportedly had bombed the homes of the transport minister on August 13, and of the labour minister on August 17 (*Africa Research Bulletin* 21 Sept. 1994, 11556).

29 August

An attempt to restart Abiola's trial fails when the government is unable to find a judge to preside (UPI 30 Aug. 1994).

31 August

Close to 100 people are reported killed when security forces in Edo state clash with demonstrating students who are demanding Abiola's release (*Africa Research Bulletin* 21 Sept. 1994, 11557).

September

The Nigerian Medical Association (NMA) requests that Abiola be removed from detention because of his deteriorating health, which it describes as critical (*Liberty* May-Aug. 1994, 14; *Human Rights WatchAfrica* Oct. 1994, 12-13). It states that he is suffering from high blood pressure and a painful neurological condition, which are aggravated by the unsanitary conditions in solitary confinement (*ibid.*; *Liberty* May-Aug. 1994, 14).

Late in the month regime opponents reportedly bomb the Kaduna facilities of the government-owned

Radio Nigeria and Nigerian Television Authority (*Human Rights WatchAfrica* Oct. 1994, 8).

4 September

Oil workers end their two month-old strike at the request of their fired union leaders (Reuters 4 Sept. 1994; *Africa Research Bulletin* 25 Oct. 1994, 11575).

5 September

Abacha issues new decrees that effectively exempt his military government from the rule of law. For example decree N^o. 2 (see Aug. 1992 entry) is amended to allow detention for three months without trial of persons deemed to be security risks. Several of the new decrees are retroactive to 18 August, just prior to the round-up of government opponents. Another decree legalizes the shutdown of the *Punch*, *Concord* and *Guardian* newspaper groups (VOA 7 Sept. 1994; *Human Rights WatchAfrica* Oct. 1994, 13; *Africa Research Bulletin* 25 Oct. 1994, 11576).

7 September

Attorney-General and Minister of Justice Olu Onagoruwa holds a press conference in which he distances himself and his department from the "embarrassing" decrees and threatens to resign (Nigeria 7 Sept. 1994; VOA 8 Sept. 1994; *Africa Research Bulletin* 25 Oct. 1994, 11576; *Human Rights WatchAfrica* Oct. 1994, 13-14). He is fired on 12 September (*ibid.*, 14; *The Boston Globe* 30 Sept. 1994).

27 September

Abacha fires the remaining civilian members of his executive and announces a new, all-military Provisional Ruling Council with a membership increased from 11 to 25 (*The Boston Globe* 30 Sept. 1994; *Africa Research Bulletin* 25 Oct. 1994, 11576; *West Africa* 8 Jan. 1995a).

October

Human Rights Watch publishes a report calling attention to the "rampant" human rights abuses under Abacha's military regime. It warns that the regime's abuses may be "contributing directly to the creation of a climate of ethnic and regional mistrust and violence" (*Human Rights WatchAfrica* Oct. 1994, 2).

1 October

Gani Fawehinmi is arrested for violating the ban on political activity when he launches a new political party called the National Conscience (Reuters 1 Oct. 1994; Inter Press Service 4 Oct. 1994).

2 October

The military hikes fuel prices 400 per cent, sparking peaceful demonstrations throughout Nigeria (Inter Press Service 4 Oct. 1994; *Libération* 5 Oct. 1994).

4 October

The Federal High Court in Abuja postpones Abiola's trial indefinitely. The presiding judge also rejects Abiola's application for bail (Inter Press Service 4 Oct. 1994).

12 October

Ken Saro-Wiwa wins the Right Livelihood Award-the "alternative Nobel"-for his human rights work on behalf of the minority Ogoni people (*The Ottawa Citizen* 13 Oct. 1994). Awarded in Stockholm at the same time as the Nobels, the Right Livelihood Awards honour work not covered by the Nobel categories (*ibid.*).

21 October

Lagos High Court justice Gbolahun Jinadu grants Abiola bail, ruling that his continued detention is

"reckless, irresponsible and an excessive show of executive power" (*Impact* Dec. 1994, 20; *West Africa* 6 Nov. 1994). He also awards one million naira (US\$50,000) as compensation (*ibid.*). Two weeks later a Federal Court of Appeal justice concurs with the ruling, but stays the ruling on condition that the solicitor general appeals it in the Supreme Court before 6 February 1996 (*West Africa* 18 Dec. 1994a). In the meantime Abiola remains in jail (*Impact* Dec. 1994, 20).

November

Wole Soyinka, chairman of the African Democratic League, winner of the 1986 Nobel prize for literature and an outspoken critic of the regime, flees the country after the military seizes his *laissez-passer* on 3 November, one day before his scheduled departure for a writers conference in France (*The Ottawa Citizen* 30 Dec. 1994; *West Africa* 8 Jan. 1995a; *The Globe and Mail* 29 Nov. 1994; AFP 20 Nov. 1994). In an effort to prevent Soyinka's travel abroad, Nigerian authorities had twice seized his passport, most recently on 22 September (*ibid.*; *The Globe and Mail* 29 Nov. 1994).

8 November

At the conclusion of its seventh annual general meeting, the CLO calls for international economic sanctions against the Abacha government (AFP 8 Nov. 1994).

9 November

The military detains CD leader Beko Ransome-Kuti and searches his house. He is questioned about an alleged plot to sabotage government installations (VOA 10 Nov. 1994; Reuters 9 Nov. 1994).

19 November

The constitutional conference adopts a proposal to have three vice-presidents, one to represent each of the northern, southern and eastern regions of Nigeria, in any future civilian government (VOA 19 Nov. 1994).

20 November

Soyinka meets in France with Frederico Mayor, secretary-general of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Soyinka is a goodwill ambassador for UNESCO. It is his first public appearance since evading the Nigerian authorities' travel ban (AFP 20 Nov. 1994).

22 November

The Senior Staff Consultative Association of Nigeria (SESCAN), which represents the country's white-collar unions, states that it will not concede the right to stage political strikes "on any grounds" (AFP 22 Nov. 1994). SESKAN says the right to stage political strikes is recognized by the International Labour Organization (ILO). The association's members include PENGASSAN, one of the oil unions that struck in July (*ibid.*).

29 November

The government issues a decree suspending the right of *habeas corpus*, which requires that arrestees be presented before a judge (AI 19 Dec. 1994; *The New York Times* 11 Dec. 1994). Another decree prevents the courts from hearing any legal challenge to the practice of indefinitely detaining arrestees (Inter Press Service 29 Nov. 1994).

December

A plot to overthrow Abacha is uncovered and several military officers are arrested (*Africa Confidential* 20 Jan. 1995). Junior officers are reportedly disgruntled about their low and irregular pay, corruption among their leaders and the army's declining prestige (*The New York Times* 11 Dec. 1994; *Africa Confidential* 4 Nov. 1994). Sixty-five per cent of officers are reported to be from the predominantly

Christian south and middle belt regions, leaving Abacha with a "dangerously narrow" base of support within the military (*Africa Confidential* 20 Jan. 1995).

4 December

West Africa reports that the chairman of the constitutional conference's defence committee has proposed a reduction in the size of the army to 50,000 soldiers as the best way to prevent military coups (*West Africa* 4 Dec. 1994).

5 December

The Nigerian Medical Association warns that Abiola could die or suffer permanent neurological damage if not treated immediately. According to the NMA, the necessary facilities are not available in Nigeria (AFP 5 Dec. 1994).

6 December

Amid reports of military attempts to influence its deliberations, the constitutional conference recommends a return to civilian rule and new elections by 1 January 1996 (*The New York Times* 11 Dec. 1994; *West Africa* 18 Dec. 1994b; *Le Monde* 11 Jan. 1995). They also propose creating about 50 new territories for the different ethnic groups (*ibid.*).

Impact reports that "every facet of the national life is crisis ridden" (Dec. 1994, 20). Inflation is reported to be running at between 150 and 600 per cent (*ibid.*; *The New York Times* 11 Dec. 1994), average per capita annual income has fallen from \$1,000 in 1980 to less than \$250 in 1993 (EarthAction Dec. 1994), and some Lagos workers, unable to afford the cost of transportation, are reporting to work only three days per week (*The New York Times* 11 Dec. 1994). An investigation discovers that about \$12 billion in oil revenue earned during the 1991 Gulf War is unaccounted for. The missing amount represents nearly half of the country's foreign debt (*The Ottawa Citizen* 30 Dec. 1994; *Africa Confidential* 4 Nov. 1994).

Amnesty International representatives visiting Nigeria for 10 days are prevented from meeting with detained union leaders, members of the Ogoni community and pro-democracy activists, including Abiola (AI 19 Dec. 1994). A government representative denies the existence of prisoners of conscience, claiming they are terrorists or economic saboteurs (*ibid.*).

9 December

At a news conference in the Washington offices of Amnesty International, Wole Soyinka calls on the US to launch an economic boycott against Nigeria (*International Herald Tribune* 9 Dec. 1994). The US government, which earlier ended all economic aid to Nigeria except for food and medicine, signals that it may freeze all Nigerian assets in the US (*ibid.*).

16 December

The military releases Chief Anthony Enahoro, a former government minister who has been held without charge since August (AI 19 Dec. 1994).

19 December

Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku, Nigeria's most senior international civil servant, in a speech in Abuja states that "the army should have no place in politics.... A military government is in the nature of things a hidden government" (*Africa Confidential* 20 Jan. 1995).

1995

2 January

The wife of Israeli diplomat David Arnon is stabbed to death while on a sightseeing trip in Ondo state. Seven people are arrested in connection with the murder. According to a Radio Nigeria report, the motives for the murder are unclear (BBC Summary 7 Jan. 1995a; Radio Nigeria Network 5 Jan. 1995).

7 January

Muslim fundamentalists and students clash in Kano, a mainly Muslim northern city, after three female students try to gain entry to a men-only university hostel (BBC Summary 7 Jan. 1995b). Authorities ban student union activity on campus (*ibid.*). Three days earlier the severed head of a Christian man had reportedly been paraded around the streets of Kano (BBC World Service 4 Jan. 1995). A Radio France Internationale broadcast reports that the banned Maitatsine fundamentalist sect is making a comeback in the north (BBC Summary 7 Jan. 1995b).

8 January

West Africa reports on the imminent trial of suspects arrested in connection with the 21 May 1994 murder of four Ogoni government officials (*West Africa* 8 Jan. 1995b). MOSOP president Ken Saro-Wiwa, one of those arrested for the crime (HRW Dec. 1994, 36; AI 27 June 1994), is reported to be "extremely sick" after seven months in prison (*Libération* 23 Dec. 1994).

9 January

The leader of the Israel Defence Force's anti-terror academy and 50 Israeli officers and soldiers are reported to be training the Nigerian presidential guard (*Africa Confidential* 20 Jan. 1995; BBC Summary 9 Jan. 1995). An Israeli television broadcast states that the Nigerian government is financing the training (*ibid.*).

11 January

Le Monde reports that the adjournment of the constitutional conference until 6 March will delay the transition to civilian rule (11 Jan. 1995). According to *Africa Confidential*, the 1 January 1996 deadline for a military handover to civilian rule is "practically untenable" (20 Jan. 1995).

12 January

Security forces arrest three CD members: Femi Falana, Beko Ransome-Kuti and Sylvester Odhion-Akhaine (AFP 12 Jan. 1995; ICHRDD 19 Jan. 1995). Falana had returned from a speaking tour of the United States and Canada where, on behalf of the Campaign for Democracy, he had received the International Freedom Award from the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development (ICHRDD) in Montreal (*ibid.*). He is also a defence lawyer for jailed MOSOP president Ken Saro-Wiwa (AFP 15 Jan. 1995). Beko Ransome-Kuti had been attending a human rights meeting in India (ICHRDD 19 Jan. 1995). Both men are charged with "illegal travelling" and released on bail on January 20 (CD 27 Jan. 1995). CD secretary-general Odhion-Akhaine remains in custody, his place of detention unknown (*ibid.*).

14 January

Britain's *Guardian* claims to have seen a secret Nigerian military memo ordering a "ruthless military operation" to eliminate Ogoni opposition to Shell Oil's drilling in Ogoniland. According to AFP, the *Guardian* reports that the May 1993 military offensive against civilians in the Rivers state region began 10 days after the memo was sent to the region's military administrator. The memo also allegedly recommends forcing oil companies operating in Ogoniland to compensate the military for the cost of the operation (AFP 14 Jan. 1995). The oil companies deny involvement in the affair (*ibid.* 15 Jan. 1995).

16 January

The trial of Ken Saro-Wiwa and other MOSOP leaders allegedly responsible for the 21 May 1994 deaths of four Ogoni leaders during protests in Gokana is scheduled to begin (AFP 15 Jan. 1995). Military authorities have established a special court for the trial. It is reported that the accused, jailed since May 1994, will not have recourse to appeal, and that guilty verdicts could lead to the death sentence (ibid.).

26 January

The military arrests more than 20 Lagos airport customs and immigration officers for participating in a segment on the US television documentary program *60 Minutes* (Radio Nigeria Network 26 Jan. 1995; Reuters 26 Jan. 1995). The 11 December 1994 broadcast showed Nigerian confidence men using false documents and identities to defraud foreigners of large sums of money in questionable business deals (ibid.).

27 January

Two Nigerian journalists working for the BBC and Voice of America (VOA) are arrested for airing inaccurate reports about an attack on a Christian said to have blasphemed against Islam. The incident occurred in Sokoto, in predominantly Muslim northern Nigeria (AFP 27 Jan. 1995).

30 January

The military continues to hold union leaders Frank Kokori, Wariebi Agamene and F.A. Addo without charge and incommunicado. The men were arrested during the oil workers strike in August (*Africa Fund* 30 Jan. 1995).

February

New African reports that delegates to the constitutional conference agree the presidency should alternate between northern and southern Nigeria (*New African* Feb. 1995, 28). A formula for sharing oil revenues is also agreed upon. The central government will receive 33 per cent, the state governments 22.5 per cent, the local government 20 per cent and the producing state 11 per cent, while 14.5 per cent will be put into an ecological fund (ibid.)

ADDENDUM

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