



Centre for
Human Rights and
Restorative Justice

HISTORY REFERENCES

Nigeria Truth Commission

Abstract

Notes on discussions of history, as well as a list of coding themes and references to history in the Nigeria Truth Commission.

Chelsea Barranger

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Researcher Notes

Report details:

- published in 2002
- pdf has 1492 pages
- section dedicated to the political and social history of Nigeria
 - section is 63 pages
- according to NVivo's text search, the word history (using stems) is referenced 72 times, representing 0.14% coverage
- after deleting references from the bibliography, notes or headers, there are **61 broad references** to history in the content of the report
- history usually mentioned in terms of historical context

History is referenced in the report in the following's ways:

- commissions about breaking silences and laying to rest the ghosts of a painful and dark national history
- commission wants the report to be a road map for the future
- commission concluded that progress has been made since post-independence history
- history full of contradictions showing discrepancy between what colonial government sought and Nigerians themselves wanted
- elites in post colonial state saw role as inheritors of power
- first few years of independence political parties were made along regional and ethnic lines
- head of state during dark military years is accountable and should give an account to the people of the violations committed during their time in power
 - heads of state did not take part so the commission is leaving a blank space on record against them
- seek root causes of human rights abuses and violations / identify and categorize them
- wrong to assume no history of culture, politics, interactions etc. pre colonization
- focus on political and national history of the country
- commission redefining prevailing notions of what a human rights violation is
- Niger Delta region underdeveloped, marginalized, and impoverished despite oil there
- discussion of Ogoni fight against Shell Oil and the effects of oil on land ownership and environment
- need to study ethnic and interstate history and dynamics
- conclude that the police, military and state overzealous in their rule
- need to teach constitution of Nigeria
- ongoing hatred and persecution of the Igbo
- idea the war was fought to keep the country unified
- targeting minority groups and fears of extermination led to migration and displacement
- discussion of violent interactions with the police
 - police accused of torture and surveillance

History and truth are discussed in the following ways:

- no explicit mention of true history but the idea of not knowing their history and needing to bring it to light

*All references or history and truth are highlighted

Links to Data Visualization

This section contains links to all data visualization for the Nigeria report.

Word Frequency Cloud

- [word frequency cloud](#)
- [excel sheet of word frequency cloud findings](#)

Word Trees

- [history](#)
- [women](#)
- [children](#)
- [youth](#)
- [forgive](#)
- [victim](#)
- [truth](#)
- [reconciliation](#)
- [land](#)

*NVivo software can only edit word trees by changing the central search term and branch sizes. Word trees includes references from bibliography, headers, and notes that cannot be edited out using NVivo software. Researchers will need to manually remove unsightly branches using editing software (e.g., paint, photoshop, etc.)

History Hierarchy Coding Chart

- [history hierarchy coding chart](#)
- [excel sheet of history hierarchy coding chart results](#)

History Coding for the Nigeria Report

The following chart breakdowns the child nodes used for coding history references based on themes and discussions surrounding history in the Nigeria report.

History	All references or discussions of history in the Nigeria report
Colonialism	References or discussions of colonialism
Discrimination	References or discussions of discrimination
Economy	References or discussions of economy, economics, trade, goods etc.
Education	References or discussions education, teachers, curriculum etc.
Ethnic groups	References or discussions of ethnic groups, ethnicity, ethnic lines or division
Human rights	References or discussions of human rights, human rights codes and human rights violations
Migration	References or discussions of migration, diaspora, etc.
Military	References or discussions of the military, armed forces, generals etc.
Nation	References or discussions of nation, nations, nationalism and national history
Politics	References or discussions of politics, political parties and governments
Recommendations	References or discussions of recommendations of the TC Nigeria
Reconciliation	References or discussions of reconciliation
Truth Commission	References or discussions of truth commissions and the mandate of the TC Nigeria
Violence	References or discussions of violence, violent acts, etc.

History References

This section contains all references to history from the Nigeria report.

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Nigeria.HRVIC_.Report-FULL> - § 61 references coded [0.94% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.02% Coverage

The return to democratic civilian rule on 29 May 1999 provided the opportunity for us to rise above this decay, to break the silence of the past and to forge ahead, determined to lay to rest the ghost of this dark and painful period in our national history.

But we must be prepared to confront this history, if we are to forge ahead. We need to understand it, even if it means asking unpleasant questions and offering blunt answers. Where did we make the wrong turn? Who was responsible for what? What opportunities did we miss and why? What are the major lessons to be learnt? What do we now need to do to put the past behind us and to look to the future with renewed hope and patriotic zeal? What are the basic conditions for us to effect national catharsis?

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

We, therefore, hope that the Report will offer a credible perspective on our past, while also serving as a road map for our future. We do not claim that we have said all there is to be said about our past and our future. Much, perhaps, remains to be said, and will be said by present and future chroniclers. This is as it should be, if only because history is forever unfolding itself, as new evidence arises, as new interpretations confront old

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

These interrelated citizenship aspects of our constitutional and political history—their origins and trajectories, and how best to confront them at the constitutional and policy levels are extensively covered in Chapters Two and Three of Volume One, and in Volumes Three and Seven.

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission has attempted in this Report, to capture the faltering if slippery threads of Nigeria's chequered history. Africa's most populous nation has faced challenges of enormous proportions. It has been battered and bruised. Its national history reflects an undulating landscape, made up of curves, hillocks, valleys and little mountains.

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

This ethnicised anger focused on the negative and did not give much thought to the substantial progress in many other areas that the country and the communities had made together in earlier periods of our national history.

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

We are of the view that a more consistent and objective reading of the country's history will lead to the inevitable conclusion that much progress had been made in the country's earlier post-independence history. For example, despite the excesses of military rule, we heard very commendable stories among various communities relating to what some patriotic and imaginative military administrators or governors had done when they governed States that were outside their own immediate States.

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

After consultations with a broad spectrum of the stakeholders, it became clear to the Commission that the nature of Nigeria's chequered and fractured history demands that the Commission's work should serve as a mirror to reflect the trials and tribulations of our country. This was not easy.

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

This is why, as we have already indicated in this Volume, members of the Commission believed that, in spite of its limitations, the Commission offered the country one of the best chances of resolving some of the thorniest and seemingly intractable issues in its political and social history.

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

Volume Three of this Report, Research Reports, attempts to capture this neglected aspect of the country's history and politics. The Volume summarized the findings of the commissioned researchers by compressing them [the findings] into one volume.

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

It is easy to argue that colonialism was not peculiar to Nigeria and that indeed, many other nations, which had their own colonial experiences, have since moved on. However, Nigeria's peculiar regional, religious and cultural history sets it apart from other nations. But this is not an excuse.

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

Our constitutional and political history is replete with many inherent contradictions, which show very clearly that there were discrepancies between what the colonial government sought and what Nigerians themselves wanted. Having inherited this skewed arrangement, our political class is responsible for not quickly addressing these visible discrepancies.

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

The result is that we have continued to tinker with the inherited system. Unfortunately, our national history has followed the logic of postcolonial states in many respects. The inheritance elites in many post-colonial states have tended to see their roles as being merely inheritors of the apparatus of power from the departing colonial masters. This is why we ended up with a situation whereby local elites took up residences in what is

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

We noted, while examining the texture of Nigerian history, that not much effort was made in the first years of independence to form broad based political parties. The fact that parties were largely formed along regional and ethnic lines bears witness to this observation.

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

Beyond the recitation of the National Pledge and the National Anthem, there is an urgent need for Nigerians to come to grips with the dynamics of their history, emphasising

Reference 15 - 0.04% Coverage

The Commission reviewed the evidence submitted before it and concluded that there was really only one central question which was: Do proceedings before a Commission of Inquiry constitute a suit at law or a judicial proceeding? In its wisdom, the Commission came to the conclusion that: In a Commission of Inquiry under the Act, there does not exist an adversary situation. There is no litigation, and as such, there are no parties properly so called. No judgment is entered or can be even entered for or against the parties that do not in law exist. Everyone who appears before the Commission appears as a witness whose evidence will enable the Commission gather all the facts and make recommendations to the Proper Authority contemplated in Section 14 of the Act.... From our Terms of Reference, every President or ex-President, every top government functionary from January 15th, 1966 to May 28th 1999 is a relevant and necessary witness, whether or not he is specifically mentioned or implicated in any petition before the Commission. It is therefore no defence for failure to attend to say that any particular official was not mentioned in any particular petition. It is also erroneous to suggest that questions ought to be limited to the averments in a particular petition... That being so, every Head of State during those dark military years will be held accountable. He has to give account to the people of Nigeria, give account of his stewardship in respect of all gross human rights violations committed during his period of office. He is also accountable to history.

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

Since they did not avail themselves of the opportunity to come and tell their own side of the story, as the President and some former and serving senior governments functionaries did, we leave a blank space on our records against each and everyone of the three former Heads of State as evidence that we are leaving them and their side of the story in the court of human history.

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

provided the opportunity for us to rise above this decay, to break the silence of the past and to forge ahead, determined to lay to rest the ghost of this dark and painful period in our national history.

1.6 But we must be prepared to confront this history, if we are

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

perspective on our past, while also serving as a road map for our future. We do not claim that we have said all there is to be said about our past and our future. Much, perhaps, remains to be said, and will be said by present and future chroniclers. This is as it should be, if only because history is forever unfolding itself, as new evidence arises, as new interpretations confront old ones and as the ineluctable march of science brings forth new tools for unscrambling the past.

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

Nigeria's political and constitutional history, lies in the fact that, against the background of historically deep-rooted contradictions generated by the dialectics of conflict and cooperation among the various peoples and social movements in the country, dating back to pre-colonial times, its establishment was an attempt to lay the groundwork for an enduring and sustainable peace and development in the country, founded on the concepts and principles of human rights, equality, justice and reconciliation.

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

seek the root causes of human rights violations and abuses in the country in more historically deep-rooted cultural, political and socioeconomic sources than the country's recent or postcolonial political and constitutional history would unravel. This is why it is important to distinguish between the remote or predisposing causes and the immediate or precipitating causes of human rights violations or abuses in the country, and, therefore, of the reasons for the establishment of the Commission.

Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

Commission was an attempt to come to grips with developments in Nigeria's recent political history— its colonial inheritance; the collapse of the First Republic; the descent into and prosecution of the country's civil war; the inherent violent and arbitrary logic of military rule, especially between January 1984 and May 1999, involving the use of public policy

Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

purpose of helping the country, in the words of President Obasanjo, "to scale over an unprecedented wicked and oppressive era in our history and [to] propose measures for such an era not to repeat itself."

Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

media. To fill this lacuna or gap in our national history, we decided to commission researchers to address this problem.

Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

chapter, decided to commission research into the country's history of human rights violations before and during the period covered by the Commission's mandate.

Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

categorize the history and pattern of human rights violations in the country.

Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

political and social history of Nigeria, since the amalgamation of northern and southern Nigeria in 1914. In doing so, we hope to highlight a number of salient and recurring issues, trends and perspectives which provide the broader historical canvass for contextualizing and understanding recent political developments, including gross violations of human rights in the country.

Reference 27 - 0.02% Coverage

brought together by the British colonial administration under a dual administrative structure, through the amalgamation of the two Protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria in 1914, it would be wrong to assume that its peoples had no history of cultural, economic, political or social history before country's boundaries were negotiated by Britain, France and Germany at the turn of the twentieth century. Indeed, there was much more cultural, economic and political contact and interaction among the various and diverse peoples of pre-colonial Africa than has been admitted by colonial apologists and historians who tend to argue, with respect to Africa generally that, the continent had no history prior to colonization.

Reference 28 - 0.03% Coverage

kingdom of Kanem-Borno, with a known history of more than a thousand years; the Sokoto Caliphate, which for nearly a hundred years before its conquest by Britain had ruled most of the savannah of northern Nigeria; the kingdoms of Ife and Benin, whose works of art had become recognized as amongst the most accomplished in the world; the Yoruba Empire of Oyo, which had once been the most powerful of the states of the Guinea Coast; and the city states of the Niger Delta, which had grown partly in response to European demands for slaves and later palm-oil; and the largely politically decentralized and acephalous political systems of the Igbo-speaking peoples of southeastern Nigeria. We wish to emphasize the point made earlier that these kingdoms and the political structures and the sociocultural and legal institutions that sustained them had their own internal contradictions, had undemocratic features and, from the perspective of modern concern with human rights, institutionalized practices and customary laws, some of which are still subsisting, that fundamentally derogated from human rights.

Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

institutions in most of the communities were based on a combination of the cultural values of the Fulani Jihadists, the basic principles of the Quran and the cultural values of the Hausa Sarauta system. Among the Yorubas, the institutions were based on indigenous sociocultural values, while among the so-called decentralized political communities of the Igbos and Tiv, there legal and political institutions were similarly the product of their cultures and history.

Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

and political history during this period, 1914-1960 and an assessment of their impact on our checkered attempts at national integration.

Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

The geo-political importance of Nigeria is deep-rooted in history and has impacted variously, negatively and positively, on her relations with countries in Africa and the rest of the world.

Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

It in the context of achieving such a healing process and reconciliation that at least nineteen countries in the world [as at 2001], including Argentina, Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nigeria and South Africa established Truth Commissions or similar commissions or panels, as temporary bodies, with official status and sometimes quasi-judicial truth-finding functions and powers, to investigate past histories of human rights abuses and violations in the various countries in which they were set up.

Reference 33 - 0.03% Coverage

The end-product of this undertaking is an extensive documentation of virtually all the variegated and ramified dimensions of human rights violations in Nigeria in that sad period of the country's national history as a post-colonial entity ravaged by unbridled and reckless misrule under a succession of military regimes, which presided over a profoundly prebendal and patrimonial state. The research reports provide essential details of a range of violations of individual as well as group/communal rights, some of which are often not factored into current discourses of rights violations in Nigeria, and many of which have not found their way to the Commission in form of petitions and pleas for intervention. The documentation would certainly serve as a constant reminder to citizens about what has been wrong and how. But it will be especially helpful to generations to come, to better position and equip them to draw the appropriate lessons and safeguard the future from such crude manifestations of trampling of people's fundamental rights.

Reference 34 - 0.03% Coverage

RE-CONCEPTUALIZING HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS One of the most noteworthy contributions of the commissioned research reports is the lucid articulation of the need to redefine the prevailing notions and perspectives of what constitute human rights violations in Nigeria, given the profound nature of the evidence which suggests a disturbing tendency to

showcase certain categories of violations while relegating others to insignificance and virtual irrelevance. These prevailing perspectives, which have evolved in the context of the emergence and growing activism of the human rights NGOs against brutally suppressive military regimes in Nigeria's recent history, have tended to narrow down and restrict an understanding and appreciation of the complex character and dimensions of what actually constitute human rights and their violations in the postcolonial Nigerian polity. They have tended to focus upon the more visible, and elite-driven notions, especially freedom of speech, association, and so on. The significance and range of social, cultural and economic rights and their violations are only rarely and even then only selectively and in an off-tangent way, focused upon.

Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

For example, ASCHR's submission argues that these perspectives fail to take into account the abundant evidence of human rights violations in the history of Nigerian political development, which are clearly attributable to, or associated with, political dynamics in pressure groups, and political parties that engage in electoral contest for power. But, even more significantly, they fail to take into account the fact that systematic denial of opportunities for the nurturing of civilian

Reference 36 - 0.04% Coverage

and North-East zones, which resonates up to today." This is essentially because of the peculiar nature and distinguishing characteristic of the manner in which the violence was meted out: For the first time in Nigeria's history, there was a "premeditated, planned and deliberate killing of particular individuals, holding particular official positions, in order to attain specific political goals." Notable examples of these are as follows: 1. The killings of Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, Hajiya Hafsatu Ahmadu Bello (his senior wife), Baba Zarumi and Ahmed Ben Musa on 15th January, 1966 at Arewa House, Kaduna. Proven evidences are given by: The foreword, the preface and pages 105 – 124 of the book *Hafsatu Ahmadu Bello: The Unsung Heroine*, by Ladi S. Adama, Adams Books, Kaduna: 1995. The preface and pages 74 – 78, 82 – 89 of *Nigeria's Five Majors: Coup D'Etat of 15th January 1966, First Inside Account*, by Ben Gbulie, Africana Educational Publishers, Onitsha. There are also various individual accounts of how these killings were executed. Such accounts include those of Abubakar Umar (Principal Private Secretary to the Sardauna), Jabbo Sallama of Rabah (an old man of 86, the sole male survivor of the Premier's immediate entourage when the murder was committed), Amina, Larai Fatima Ali, Mohammed Sani and Ali Sarkin Mota.

Reference 37 - 0.04% Coverage

states historically referred to as the Niger Delta. These states are Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross-River, Delta, Rivers and Edo. It is an area inhabited by about 12 million people with different cultures, languages and histories who, united by their historical status in Nigeria, now share a common identity as southern minorities. Historically, the peoples of the area were at the forefront of minority agitation in the colonial and the immediate post-independence periods. Their situation has not changed as their demands and position in the Nigerian federation remain unaltered despite the different commissions that have been set up by successive administrations to look at the question of the minorities. What has exacerbated the problem of the Niger Delta is

the question of oil. Oil, which is the mainstay of the Nigerian economy, contributing about 90% of the nation's foreign exchange earnings and revenue, is produced in the region. However, the Niger Delta region remains grossly underdeveloped, pauperized, marginalized, and largely a poverty zone. The basic facilities and infrastructure of a modern society like potable water, electricity, health care facilities, good roads, cottage industries and employment are lacking in the area. It is this paradox and apparent tragedy of poverty in the midst of wealth of the Niger Delta people that forms the political economy of human rights violations in the area. This issue shall be dealt with in greater detail in the subsequent section of the report that deals with the background and context of human rights violations in the Niger Delta region.

Reference 38 - 0.03% Coverage

perhaps one of the most sordid cases of human rights violations in the Niger Delta. Their plight has attracted attention and sympathy worldwide. The Ogoni is a minority ethnic group in South-South Nigeria. The problem of the Ogoni began in the late 1960s when oil was struck in Ogoniland in commercial quantity, and the subsequent incursion of the oil companies into the area for oil exploration and exploitation. The company that secured oil mining leases for the area was Shell. Oil exploration succeeded in disrupting the socioeconomic and cultural life of the Ogoni. For over thirty years, the people of Ogoni protested against the seizure of their land and the degradation of their environment. Nineteen hundred and ninety was a turning point in the history of the struggle of the Ogoni. The Ogoni adopted a Bill of Rights, which was presented to the president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The Ogoni Bill of Rights, inter alia, demanded the right to self-determination for the Ogoni as a distinct people of the Nigerian federation; adequate representation of Ogoni

Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

discriminatory practices. Many of these are embedded in histories of unequal relations between groups, which have been perpetuated over the years by authoritarian regimes of colonialism and military rule.

Reference 40 - 0.03% Coverage

experiences are reinforced by other historical and cultural commonalities in the zone that have implications for human rights. The first of these is that the Middle Belt, especially the outlying areas of the Niger-Benue confluence, has witnessed massive population movements, migrations and displacements. This explains the rather high-tension ethnic mixes and endemic conflicts among groups in the region, which have long histories of contestations over boundaries, ownership of territory for farming and other economic purposes, over who is "indigenous" and "stranger" or "foreigner", and over which groups are "superior", "core" "marginal" and "peripheral". Another important strand of this history involved the administrative and territorial reorganizations undertaken by the colonial authorities. This was done as a matter of administrative expediency and to facilitate indirect rule, but the reorganizations had lasting and mostly negative consequences for inter-group relations.

Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

local level, the indigene/non-indigene cleavages are embedded in contested histories of migration, settlement and territoriality. This is most clearly dramatized in the North-Central zone, which has been a centre of massive migrations, population displacements, and resettlements. The following cases show the nature of human rights problems that have arisen from this situation.

Reference 42 - 0.02% Coverage

the North-Central zone based on the report submitted by AFRIGOV, what can be said by way of conclusion? First is that by the very nature of the complex ethnic composition of the zone and a history of migrations and displacements, which are still on-going, it was an area of endemic conflicts. Secondly, tradition was a very strong component of human rights deprivations. Third, the excesses of the police, military and security agencies, as well as the excesses of overzealous and highly partisan state officials, which were facilitated by military authoritarian rule, were the major sources of human rights violations.

Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

2. Steps should be taken to study the nature, history and dynamics of ethnic groups and inter-group relations, for an adequate understanding of the conflicts among the groups, with a view to promoting interethnic harmony.

Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

constitution of Nigeria should be integrated into the syllabi of subjects like Government, History, and Social Sciences.

Reference 45 - 0.02% Coverage

from the federation. The war consequently had the southeast as the main battlefield, and was ostensibly fought to keep the country one. Although the federal authorities declared at the end of the war that there was no 'victor' and no 'vanquished', most Igbo believe they were the vanquished, and attribute the problems they have suffered in the country since then, including what is perceived to be systemic marginalization and transmutation from a major group to a minority group, to deliberate efforts to punish them for the 'sins' of the war. Indeed, the war, which was preceded by a pogrom of genocidal proportions against Igbo and Easterners in different parts of the then Northern region, was seen as the height of a history of hatred and persecution against the Igbo.

Reference 46 - 0.04% Coverage

Human Rights Violations Investigation Commission to ascertain or establish the causes, nature and extent of all gross violations of human rights committed in the southeast zone between January 15 1966 and May 28 1999. Dr Nwankwo's investigations and findings are contained in a two-volume report: volume one covers the period between 1966 and 1980, while volume two

covers that between 1980 and 1999. The report relies heavily on secondary data on the Igbo and its relations with the rest of Nigeria from colonial records, anthropological accounts by Simon Ottenberg, Daryle Forde and G.I. Jones, extant works on Nigeria's political history, especially those by Alexander Madiebo, and Emma Okocha on the civil war, accounts of contemporary political events in British and Nigerian newspapers and magazines, the Report of the GCM Onyuike Panel of Enquiry into the Massacre of the Ndigbo in Northern Nigeria, 1966, Report of the International Commission of Jurists and the Report of the International Commission on Genocide in Biafra, and annual reports and other publications of the Civil Liberties Organization (CLO), Committee for the Defence of Human Rights (CDHR) and the Constitution Rights Project(CRP). Primary data was obtained from interviews with various categories of Ndigbo, personal accounts of those who witnessed and/or were victims of the 1966 pogrom, civil war, and riots in which the Igbo were major targets, and the qualitative analytical insights of the author, who is himself a notable human rights activist and Ndigbo leader, public affairs commentator, and publisher.

Reference 47 - 0.03% Coverage

abrogated the federal system and established a unitary system in its place and seemed to confirm northern fears of Igbo "take over" of the federation, provided the alibi the northern conservatives needed to unleash what most Ndigbo believe were long conceived and well orchestrated plans to annihilate them. This began with spontaneous riots in which Ndigbo were the target, and was followed by the so-called Northern counter-coup of July 1966 whose immediate goal was to avenge the killings of Northerners in the January coup, and finally a full-scale pogrom against Ndigbo that lasted till September 1966. Ndigbo and other Easterners were forced to relocate to the safety of the Eastern region. It was the deterioration of this situation, especially the failure of the new federal military government headed by General Yakubu Gowon to halt the massacre of Igbos, that led to the declaration of the sovereign state of Biafra and civil war. As was pointed out earlier on, the civil war marked the critical dividing line in the human rights history of the southeast zone in that the war and its aftermath became the backdrop for discussing human rights issues.

Reference 48 - 0.02% Coverage

distinct from civil society, is a creation of colonial rule. The police began their history and functions in the interest of British colonial government. It is important to underline the motive for the establishment of the modern Nigeria Police Force as it has a direct influence on the functions, which the police have performed in Nigeria up till the present dispensation. Orthodox literature on the police reveal that the first modern police force in the world, Metropolitan Police Force, London, was established in 1829, partly in response to popular outrage in Britain against the brutality of soldiers in dealing with social dislocations occasioned by the industrial revolution.⁴⁰ Thus the modern British police forces were established with the principle of being "in tune with the people, understanding the people, belonging to the people and drawing its strength from the people."⁴¹

Reference 49 - 0.03% Coverage

The second witness, Major Hamza Al-Mustapha, denied arresting the petitioner, but that he was arrested by two officers. The witness testified that all the meetings the petitioner held with other coup plotters were taped and transcribed by the witness. He said he had two different interviews with the principal actors and it was videotaped secretly. He affirmed that the petitioner was arrested with a shirt during which the first interview was conducted. The second interview was held with the petitioner wearing another dress. He testified that after the petitioner was arrested, the computer used in typing the 1997 coup speech was found. A copy of the coup speech was also found under the pillow of the petitioner's bed. Under cross-examination by Counsel to Mohammed Abacha, he testified that there was no torture group headed by him and Mohammed Abacha. He reiterated that the coup that had the most overwhelming evidence in the history of coup making in Nigeria was the 1997 coup and it was master-minded by General Diya. Under cross-examination by counsel to the petitioner, the witness confirmed that the government, via the SSS, put Diya and the coup suspects under surveillance.

Reference 50 - 0.02% Coverage

tagged it "the Ogoni Peace Accord". The New Nigerian of February 16, 2001 in its editorial observed: "The Peace Accord signed by the warring factions in Ogoniland will go down in the socio-political development and history of our country as one of the landmark achievements of the Human Rights Violations Investigations Commission". That is the editorial and it continued: "The New Nigerian is enamoured by the series of warm embraces, huggings and back-slappings which permeated the signing proceedings of the Peace Treaty. They were symbolic expressions of the grace and magnanimity of a sober people willing to forget a bitter past and forge ahead."

Reference 51 - 0.02% Coverage

The eighth witness Jolly Baba Ayok, lived at Masamiya in Zango Local Government Area [ZLG] as a retired Assistant Commissioner of Police, held a public office as Chairman of ZLG with effect from January 1990. In his capacity as Chairman, he was also the Chief Security Officer [CSO] of ZLG at the time of the Zango riots. The counsel for the petitioners stressed the need to give the background into the remote and immediate causes of the Zango riots. However, the Chairman remarked that these were matters of history. He pointed out that after the riot, a committee was set up consisting of seven members from either side, which made recommendations and signed.

Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

Emmanuel (Emmason) Okorafor, the respondent and second witness, maintained that the deceased was an armed robber, who was killed during exchange of gun fire between the Police and a gang of five armed robbers. He added that the deceased had a history of armed robbery, a charge denied by the petitioner.

Reference 53 - 0.01% Coverage

Action Committee of the Middle Belt (JACOM) Rivers State Government, the Ogbakor Ikwere Convention and the South-South Consultative Forum. All of them insisted that the Commission

should give them time to respond to the Ohaneze petition because it is central to the history of Nigeria and bringing out the truth will enhance reconciliation, which the Commission sought to achieve. Individual respondents to the Ohaneze petition include General Yakubu Gowon, Alhaji M.D. Yusuf, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, Alhaji Maitama Sule and Alhaji Inuwa Wada.

Reference 54 - 0.02% Coverage

PETITION NO 289: PETITIONER: MRS. R. A. AKINYODE The petitioner, a widow of late Lt. Col. Oluwole Akinyode and mother of four children sent this petition alleging gross violations of the rights of her husband in connection with the coup plot of December, 1997 which subsequently led to his death in Makurdi Prisons on the 28th of December, 1998. The petitioner recalled to the Commission her late husband's military career and good medical history and also the circumstances leading to his arrest, detention, investigation, trial, conviction and sentence to life imprisonment of his alleged role in the

Reference 55 - 0.03% Coverage

evidence-in-chief before the Commission, the petitioner reiterated the facts contained in her petition (Exhibit 1), emphasising that her late husband was a loyal officer with a good record of service in the military and could not have been involved in a coup plot. She maintained that her husband enjoyed good health and never had a history of heart or eye problem. Yet, her late husband started using eye glasses in prison while the Authority Report (Exhibit 4) indicated that he died of Hypertensive Heart Disease and Acute Myocardia Infraction. She insisted therefore that it was the severe torture of her husband in Jos that resulted in his health problems, culminating in his death in prison. The petitioner charged the prison authorities of negligence, claiming that they kept him for six hours before taking him to hospital. She accused Col. E.F. Zamani of high-handedness and finally urged the Commission to assist in recovering her personal properties from him.

Reference 56 - 0.02% Coverage

tendered his petition (Exhibit 1) and supplementary petition (Exhibit 2) which he read before the Commission. The petitioner also tendered the offensive publication of the Conscience International magazine (Exhibit 3) and narrated how it was effectively distributed world – wide by one Emmanuel Agbeji on the instructions of Chief Tom Ikimi, then Minister of Foreign Affairs. He further recounted the many instances of the late Abacha regime's abuse of the rights of hundreds of innocent people whose only crime was their association with him. He said he deprecated the manner of the attack on his person, his life history,

Reference 57 - 0.03% Coverage

The petitioner also made an extensive submission of his formation and membership of an organisation called The Pirates Confraternity, explaining that the association was a perfectly loyal and open organisation that was founded in 1952 while he was a student at the University College, Ibadan, in order to raise social and political consciousness among Nigerian students in the colonial days. He referred to the documented history of victimization of its members by the

various security agencies ranging from routine harassment, arrest, tortures to murders as in the Umuluku massacre, merely on account of deliberate disinformation as to the activities and objectives of the organisation and its members. While enumerating the achievements of the organisation, the petitioner deplored the tendency of the illinformed public and even the media to fall victims of mass hysteria and sweeping generalization by routinely demonising the organisation and confusing it with the notorious campus killer-cults.

Reference 58 - 0.02% Coverage

in its various ramifications, while Kano featured various cases of communal clashes between the Jukun – Kuteb; Kataf – Hausa/Fulani and Sayawa-Hausa/Fulani. In Enugu, it was the resounding echo of the 15th January, 1966 coup de'tat and the resultant Civil War and its aftermath that filled the hearing hall. While the echo of the communal rancour started in Kano continued in Abuja (II) and (III) The two sittings here were however dominated by reactions and responses by various sectional groups to the Ohaneze Ndigbo's version of the history of the Civil War and the claim of Igbo marginalization in the Nigerian Federation.

Reference 59 - 0.01% Coverage

Recommendations In the light of its findings above, the Commission recommend as follows; a) It is hereby recommended that the Federal and Rivers State Government facilitate the recovery of the bodies of all the 13 persons who lost their lives one way or the other in the era best described "s dark age" in the history of Ogoni people for state burial.

Reference 60 - 0.02% Coverage

perpetrated by Officer's of the Rivers state internal Security Task Force deployed troops to maintain peace in Ogoni land at the request of MOSOP, when the entire Ogoni, Community was at the point of extinction owing to her involvement in communal war with her neighbouring communities like the ADONIS, AFM and the OKRIKAS. He stated further that but for the timely intervention of the Task Force, Ogoni community would have be history. It was also part of his evidence that the allegation of looting, burning of properties, rape etc made against his officers were the handiwork of the ADONIS in the course of the communal war between them and the Ogonis.

Reference 61 - 0.01% Coverage

Recommendations In the light of its findings above, the Commission recommend as follows; i) It is hereby recommended that the Federal and Rivers State Government facilitate the recovery of the bodies of all the 13 persons who lost their lives one way or the other in the erra best described "s dark age" in the history of Ogoni people for state burial.

History Child Node References

The following section contains history references from the Nigeria report organized by the child nodes outlined in History Coding for the Nigeria Report. Some references appear under several subheadings since they contained discussions of multiple themes.

Colonialism

References or discussions of colonialism

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Nigeria.HRVIC_.Report-FULL> - § 10 references coded [0.19% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

It is easy to argue that colonialism was not peculiar to Nigeria and that indeed, many other nations, which had their own colonial experiences, have since moved on. However, Nigeria's peculiar regional, religious and cultural history sets it apart from other nations. But this is not an excuse.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

Our constitutional and political history is replete with many inherent contradictions, which show very clearly that there were discrepancies between what the colonial government sought and what Nigerians themselves wanted. Having inherited this skewed arrangement, our political class is responsible for not quickly addressing these visible discrepancies.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

Nigeria's political and constitutional history, lies in the fact that, against the background of historically deep-rooted contradictions generated by the dialectics of conflict and cooperation among the various peoples and social movements in the country, dating back to pre-colonial times, its establishment was an attempt to lay the groundwork for an enduring and sustainable peace and development in the country, founded on the concepts and principles of human rights, equality, justice and reconciliation.

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

Commission was an attempt to come to grips with developments in Nigeria's recent political history— its colonial inheritance; the collapse of the First Republic; the descent into and prosecution of the country's civil war; the inherent violent and arbitrary logic of military rule, especially between January 1984 and May 1999, involving the use of public policy

Reference 5 - 0.02% Coverage

brought together by the British colonial administration under a dual administrative structure, through the amalgamation of the two Protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria in 1914, it

would be wrong to assume that its peoples had no history of cultural, economic, political or social history before country's boundaries were negotiated by Britain, France and Germany at the turn of the twentieth century. Indeed, there was much more cultural, economic and political contact and interaction among the various and diverse peoples of pre-colonial Africa than has been admitted by colonial apologists and historians who tend to argue, with respect to Africa generally that, the continent had no history prior to colonization.

Reference 6 - 0.03% Coverage

among others the following: the kingdom of Kanem-Borno, with a known history of more than a thousand years; the Sokoto Caliphate, which for nearly a hundred years before its conquest by Britain had ruled most of the savannah of northern Nigeria; the kingdoms of Ife and Benin, whose works of art had become recognized as amongst the most accomplished in the world; the Yoruba Empire of Oyo, which had once been the most powerful of the states of the Guinea Coast; and the city states of the Niger Delta, which had grown partly in response to European demands for slaves and later palm-oil; and the largely politically decentralized and acephalous political systems of the Igbo-speaking peoples of southeastern Nigeria. We wish to emphasize the point made earlier that these kingdoms and the political structures and the sociocultural and legal institutions that sustained them had their own internal contradictions, had undemocratic features and, from the perspective of modern concern with human rights, institutionalized practices and customary laws, some of which are still subsisting, that fundamentally derogated from human rights.

Reference 7 - 0.04% Coverage

states historically referred to as the Niger Delta. These states are Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross-River, Delta, Rivers and Edo. It is an area inhabited by about 12 million people with different cultures, languages and histories who, united by their historical status in Nigeria, now share a common identity as southern minorities. Historically, the peoples of the area were at the forefront of minority agitation in the colonial and the immediate post-independence periods. Their situation has not changed as their demands and position in the Nigerian federation remain unaltered despite the different commissions that have been set up by successive administrations to look at the question of the minorities. What has exacerbated the problem of the Niger Delta is the question of oil. Oil, which is the mainstay of the Nigerian economy, contributing about 90% of the nation's foreign exchange earnings and revenue, is produced in the region. However, the Niger Delta region remains grossly underdeveloped, pauperized, marginalized, and largely a poverty zone. The basic facilities and infrastructure of a modern society like potable water, electricity, health care facilities, good roads, cottage industries and employment are lacking in the area. It is this paradox and apparent tragedy of poverty in the midst of wealth of the Niger Delta people that forms the political economy of human rights violations in the area. This issue shall be dealt with in greater detail in the subsequent section of the report that deals with the background and context of human rights violations in the Niger Delta region.

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

discriminatory practices. Many of these are embedded in histories of unequal relations between groups, which have been perpetuated over the years by authoritarian regimes of colonialism and military rule.

Reference 9 - 0.02% Coverage

distinct from civil society, is a creation of colonial rule. The police began their history and functions in the interest of British colonial government. It is important to underline the motive for the establishment of the modern Nigeria Police Force as it has a direct influence on the functions, which the police have performed in Nigeria up till the present dispensation. Orthodox literature on the police reveal that the first modern police force in the world, Metropolitan Police Force, London, was established in 1829, partly in response to popular outrage in Britain against the brutality of soldiers in dealing with social dislocations occasioned by the industrial revolution.⁴⁰ Thus the modern British police forces were established with the principle of being “in tune with the people, understanding the people, belonging to the people and drawing its strength from the people.”⁴¹

Reference 10 - 0.03% Coverage

The petitioner also made an extensive submission of his formation and membership of an organisation called The Pyrates Confraternity, explaining that the association was a perfectly loyal and open organisation that was founded in 1952 while he was a student at the University College, Ibadan, in order to raise social and political consciousness among Nigerian students in the colonial days. He referred to the documented history of victimization of its members by the various security agencies ranging from routine harassment, arrest, tortures to murders as in the Umuluku massacre, merely on account of deliberate disinformation as to the activities and objectives of the organisation and its members. While enumerating the achievements of the organisation, the petitioner deplored the tendency of the illinformed public and even the media to fall victims of mass hysteria and sweeping generalization by routinely demonising the organisation and confusing it with the notorious campus killer-cults.

Discrimination

References or discussions of discrimination

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Nigeria.HRVIC_.Report-FULL> - § 2 references coded [0.03% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

discriminatory practices. Many of these are embedded in histories of unequal relations between groups, which have been perpetuated over the years by authoritarian regimes of colonialism and military rule.

Reference 2 - 0.02% Coverage

from the federation. The war consequently had the southeast as the main battlefield, and was ostensibly fought to keep the country one. Although the federal authorities declared at the end of the war that there was no 'victor' and no 'vanquished', most Igbo believe they were the vanquished, and attribute the problems they have suffered in the country since then, including what is perceived to be systemic marginalization and transmutation from a major group to a minority group, to deliberate efforts to punish them for the 'sins' of the war. Indeed, the war, which was preceded by a pogrom of genocidal proportions against Igbo and Easterners in different parts of the then Northern region, was seen as the height of a history of hatred and persecution against the Igbo.

Economy

References or discussions of economy, economics, trade, goods etc.

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Nigeria.HRVIC_.Report-FULL> - § 2 references coded [0.07% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.04% Coverage

states historically referred to as the Niger Delta. These states are Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross-River, Delta, Rivers and Edo. It is an area inhabited by about 12 million people with different cultures, languages and histories who, united by their historical status in Nigeria, now share a common identity as southern minorities. Historically, the peoples of the area were at the forefront of minority agitation in the colonial and the immediate post-independence periods. Their situation has not changed as their demands and position in the Nigerian federation remain unaltered despite the different commissions that have been set up by successive administrations to look at the question of the minorities. What has exacerbated the problem of the Niger Delta is the question of oil. Oil, which is the mainstay of the Nigerian economy, contributing about 90% of the nation's foreign exchange earnings and revenue, is produced in the region. However, the Niger Delta region remains grossly underdeveloped, pauperized, marginalized, and largely a poverty zone. The basic facilities and infrastructure of a modern society like potable water, electricity, health care facilities, good roads, cottage industries and employment are lacking in the area. It is this paradox and apparent tragedy of poverty in the midst of wealth of the Niger Delta people that forms the political economy of human rights violations in the area. This issue shall be dealt with in greater detail in the subsequent section of the report that deals with the background and context of human rights violations in the Niger Delta region.

Reference 2 - 0.03% Coverage

perhaps one of the most sordid cases of human rights violations in the Niger Delta. Their plight has attracted attention and sympathy worldwide. The Ogoni is a minority ethnic group in South-South Nigeria. The problem of the Ogoni began in the late 1960s when oil was struck in Ogoniland in commercial quantity, and the subsequent incursion of the oil companies into the area for oil exploration and exploitation. The company that secured oil mining leases for the area was Shell. Oil exploration succeeded in disrupting the socioeconomic and cultural life of the Ogoni. For over thirty years, the people of Ogoni protested against the seizure of their land and the degradation of their environment. Nineteen hundred and ninety was a turning point in the history of the struggle of the Ogoni. The Ogoni adopted a Bill of Rights, which was presented to the president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The Ogoni Bill of Rights, inter alia, demanded the right to self-determination for the Ogoni as a distinct people of the Nigerian federation; adequate representation of Ogoni

Education

References or discussions education, teachers, curriculum etc.

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Nigeria.HRVIC_.Report-FULL> - § 1 reference coded [0.01% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

constitution of Nigeria should be integrated into the syllabi of subjects like Government, History, and Social Sciences.

Ethnic groups

References or discussions of ethnic groups, ethnicity, ethnic lines or division

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Nigeria.HRVIC_.Report-FULL> - § 7 references coded [0.14% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

We noted, while examining the texture of Nigerian history, that not much effort was made in the first years of independence to form broad based political parties. The fact that parties were largely formed along regional and ethnic lines bears witness to this observation.

Reference 2 - 0.03% Coverage

perhaps one of the most sordid cases of human rights violations in the Niger Delta. Their plight has attracted attention and sympathy worldwide. The Ogoni is a minority ethnic group in South-South Nigeria. The problem of the Ogoni began in the late 1960s when oil was struck in Ogoniland in commercial quantity, and the subsequent incursion of the oil companies into the area for oil exploration and exploitation. The company that secured oil mining leases for the area was Shell. Oil exploration succeeded in disrupting the socioeconomic and cultural life of the Ogoni. For over thirty years, the people of Ogoni protested against the seizure of their land and the degradation of their environment. Nineteen hundred and ninety was a turning point in the history of the struggle of the Ogoni. The Ogoni adopted a Bill of Rights, which was presented to the president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The Ogoni Bill of Rights, inter alia, demanded the right to self-determination for the Ogoni as a distinct people of the Nigerian federation; adequate representation of Ogoni in all national institutions; the

Reference 3 - 0.03% Coverage

experiences are reinforced by other historical and cultural commonalities in the zone that have implications for human rights. The first of these is that the Middle Belt, especially the outlying areas of the Niger-Benue confluence, has witnessed massive population movements, migrations and displacements. This explains the rather high-tension ethnic mixes and endemic conflicts among groups in the region, which have long histories of contestations over boundaries, ownership of territory for farming and other economic purposes, over who is “indigenous” and “stranger” or “foreigner”, and over which groups are “superior”, “core” “marginal” and “peripheral”. Another important strand of this history involved the administrative and territorial reorganizations undertaken by the colonial authorities. This was done as a matter of administrative expediency and to facilitate indirect rule, but the reorganizations had lasting and mostly negative consequences for inter-group relations.

Reference 4 - 0.02% Coverage

of human rights abuses in

the North-Central zone based on the report submitted by AFRIGOV, what can be said by way of conclusion? First is that by the very nature of the complex ethnic composition of the zone and a history of migrations and displacements, which are still on-going, it was an area of endemic conflicts. Secondly, tradition was a very strong component of human rights deprivations. Third, the excesses of the police, military and security agencies, as well as the excesses of overzealous and highly partisan state officials, which were facilitated by military authoritarian rule, were the major sources of human rights violations.

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

2. Steps should be taken to study the nature, history and dynamics of ethnic groups and inter-group relations, for an adequate understanding of the conflicts among the groups, with a view to promoting interethnic harmony.

Reference 6 - 0.02% Coverage

from the federation. The war consequently had the southeast as the main battlefield, and was ostensibly fought to keep the country one. Although the federal authorities declared at the end of the war that there was no 'victor' and no 'vanquished', most Igbo believe they were the vanquished, and attribute the problems they have suffered in the country since then, including what is perceived to be systemic marginalization and transmutation from a major group to a minority group, to deliberate efforts to punish them for the 'sins' of the war. Indeed, the war, which was preceded by a pogrom of genocidal proportions against Igbo and Easterners in different parts of the then Northern region, was seen as the height of a history of hatred and persecution against the Igbo.

Reference 7 - 0.03% Coverage

abrogated the federal system and established a unitary system in its place and seemed to confirm northern fears of Igbo "take over" of the federation, provided the alibi the northern conservatives needed to unleash what most Ndigbo believe were long conceived and well orchestrated plans to annihilate them. This began with spontaneous riots in which Ndigbo were the target, and was followed by the so-called Northern counter-coup of July 1966 whose immediate goal was to avenge the killings of Northerners in the January coup, and finally a full-scale pogrom against Ndigbo that lasted till September 1966. Ndigbo and other Easterners were forced to relocate to the safety of the Eastern region. It was the deterioration of this situation, especially the failure of the new federal military government headed by General Yakubu Gowon to halt the massacre of Igbos, that led to the declaration of the sovereign state of Biafra and civil war. As was pointed out earlier on, the civil war marked the critical dividing line in the human rights history of the southeast zone in that the war and its aftermath became the backdrop for discussing human rights issues.

Human Rights

References or discussions of human rights, human rights codes and human rights violations

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Nigeria.HRVIC_.Report-FULL> - § 19 references coded [0.41% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.04% Coverage

The Commission reviewed the evidence submitted before it and concluded that there was really only one central question which was: Do proceedings before a Commission of Inquiry constitute a suit at law or a judicial proceeding? In its wisdom, the Commission came to the conclusion that: In a Commission of Inquiry under the Act, there does not exist an adversary situation. There is no litigation, and as such, there are no parties properly so called. No judgment is entered or can be even entered for or against the parties that do not in law exist. Everyone who appears before the Commission appears as a witness whose evidence will enable the Commission gather all the facts and make recommendations to the Proper Authority contemplated in Section 14 of the Act.... From our Terms of Reference, every President or ex-President, every top government functionary from January 15th, 1966 to May 28th 1999 is a relevant and necessary witness, whether or not he is specifically mentioned or implicated in any petition before the Commission. It is therefore no defence for failure to attend to say that any particular official was not mentioned in any particular petition. It is also erroneous to suggest that questions ought to be limited to the averments in a particular petition... That being so, every Head of State during those dark military years will be held accountable. He has to give account to the people of Nigeria, give account of his stewardship in respect of all gross human rights violations committed during his period of office. He is also accountable to history.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

Nigeria's political and constitutional history, lies in the fact that, against the background of historically deep-rooted contradictions generated by the dialectics of conflict and cooperation among the various peoples and social movements in the country, dating back to pre-colonial times, its establishment was an attempt to lay the groundwork for an enduring and sustainable peace and development in the country, founded on the concepts and principles of human rights, equality, justice and reconciliation.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

seek the root causes of human rights violations and abuses in the country in more historically deep-rooted cultural, political and socioeconomic sources than the country's recent or postcolonial political and constitutional history would unravel. This is why it is important to distinguish between the remote or predisposing causes and the immediate or precipitating causes of human rights violations or abuses in the country, and, therefore, of the reasons for the establishment of the Commission.

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

chapter, decided to commission research into the country's history of human rights violations before and during the period covered by the Commission's mandate.

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

categorize the history and pattern of human rights violations in the country.

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

political and social history of Nigeria, since the amalgamation of northern and southern Nigeria in 1914. In doing so, we hope to highlight a number of salient and recurring issues, trends and perspectives which provide the broader historical canvass for contextualizing and understanding recent political developments, including gross violations of human rights in the country.

Reference 7 - 0.03% Coverage

among others the following: the kingdom of Kanem-Borno, with a known history of more than a thousand years; the Sokoto Caliphate, which for nearly a hundred years before its conquest by Britain had ruled most of the savannah of northern Nigeria; the kingdoms of Ife and Benin, whose works of art had become recognized as amongst the most accomplished in the world; the Yoruba Empire of Oyo, which had once been the most powerful of the states of the Guinea Coast; and the city states of the Niger Delta, which had grown partly in response to European demands for slaves and later palm-oil; and the largely politically decentralized and acephalous political systems of the Igbo-speaking peoples of southeastern Nigeria. We wish to emphasize the point made earlier that these kingdoms and the political structures and the sociocultural and legal institutions that sustained them had their own internal contradictions, had undemocratic features and, from the perspective of modern concern with human rights, institutionalized practices and customary laws, some of which are still subsisting, that fundamentally derogated from human rights.

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

It in the context of achieving such a healing process and reconciliation that at least nineteen countries in the world [as at 2001], including Argentina, Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nigeria and South Africa established Truth Commissions or similar commissions or panels, as temporary bodies, with official status and sometimes quasi-judicial truth-finding functions and powers, to investigate past histories of human rights abuses and violations in the various countries in which they were set up.

Reference 9 - 0.03% Coverage

The end-product of this undertaking is an extensive documentation of virtually all the variegated and ramified dimensions of human rights violations in Nigeria in that sad period of the country's national history as a post-colonial entity ravaged by unbridled and reckless misrule under a succession of military regimes, which presided over a profoundly prebendal and patrimonial state. The research reports provide essential details of a range of violations of individual as well

as group/communal rights, some of which are often not factored into current discourses of rights violations in Nigeria, and many of which have not found their way to the Commission in form of petitions and pleas for intervention. The documentation would certainly serve as a constant reminder to citizens about what has been wrong and how. But it will be especially helpful to generations to come, to better position and equip them to draw the appropriate lessons and safeguard the future from such crude manifestations of trampling of people's fundamental rights.

Reference 10 - 0.03% Coverage

RE-CONCEPTUALIZING HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS One of the most noteworthy contributions of the commissioned research reports is the lucid articulation of the need to redefine the prevailing notions and perspectives of what constitute human rights violations in Nigeria, given the profound nature of the evidence which suggests a disturbing tendency to showcase certain categories of violations while relegating others to insignificance and virtual irrelevance. These prevailing perspectives, which have evolved in the context of the emergence and growing activism of the human rights NGOs against brutally suppressive military regimes in Nigeria's recent history, have tended to narrow down and restrict an understanding and appreciation of the complex character and dimensions of what actually constitute human rights and their violations in the postcolonial Nigerian polity. They have tended to focus upon the more visible, and elite-driven notions, especially freedom of speech, association, and so on. The significance and range of social, cultural and economic rights and their violations are only rarely and even then only selectively and in an off-tangent way, focused upon.

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

For example, ASCHR's submission argues that these perspectives fail to take into account the abundant evidence of human rights violations in the history of Nigerian political development, which are clearly attributable to, or associated with, political dynamics in pressure groups, and political parties that engage in electoral contest for power. But, even more significantly, they fail to take into account the fact that systematic denial of opportunities for the nurturing of civilian

Reference 12 - 0.04% Coverage

states historically referred to as the Niger Delta. These states are Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross-River, Delta, Rivers and Edo. It is an area inhabited by about 12 million people with different cultures, languages and histories who, united by their historical status in Nigeria, now share a common identity as southern minorities. Historically, the peoples of the area were at the forefront of minority agitation in the colonial and the immediate post-independence periods. Their situation has not changed as their demands and position in the Nigerian federation remain unaltered despite the different commissions that have been set up by successive administrations to look at the question of the minorities. What has exacerbated the problem of the Niger Delta is the question of oil. Oil, which is the mainstay of the Nigerian economy, contributing about 90% of the nation's foreign exchange earnings and revenue, is produced in the region. However, the Niger Delta region remains grossly underdeveloped, pauperized, marginalized, and largely a poverty zone. The basic facilities and infrastructure of a modern society like potable water, electricity, health care facilities, good roads, cottage industries and employment are lacking in

the area. It is this paradox and apparent tragedy of poverty in the midst of wealth of the Niger Delta people that forms the political economy of human rights violations in the area. This issue shall be dealt with in greater detail in the subsequent section of the report that deals with the background and context of human rights violations in the Niger Delta region.

Reference 13 - 0.03% Coverage

perhaps one of the most sordid cases of human rights violations in the Niger Delta. Their plight has attracted attention and sympathy worldwide. The Ogoni is a minority ethnic group in South-South Nigeria. The problem of the Ogoni began in the late 1960s when oil was struck in Ogoniland in commercial quantity, and the subsequent incursion of the oil companies into the area for oil exploration and exploitation. The company that secured oil mining leases for the area was Shell. Oil exploration succeeded in disrupting the socioeconomic and cultural life of the Ogoni. For over thirty years, the people of Ogoni protested against the seizure of their land and the degradation of their environment. Nineteen hundred and ninety was a turning point in the history of the struggle of the Ogoni. The Ogoni adopted a Bill of Rights, which was presented to the president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The Ogoni Bill of Rights, inter alia, demanded the right to self-determination for the Ogoni as a distinct people of the Nigerian federation; adequate representation of Ogoni

Reference 14 - 0.03% Coverage

experiences are reinforced by other historical and cultural commonalities in the zone that have implications for human rights. The first of these is that the Middle Belt, especially the outlying areas of the Niger-Benue confluence, has witnessed massive population movements, migrations and displacements. This explains the rather high-tension ethnic mixes and endemic conflicts among groups in the region, which have long histories of contestations over boundaries, ownership of territory for farming and other economic purposes, over who is “indigenous” and “stranger” or “foreigner”, and over which groups are “superior”, “core” “marginal” and “peripheral”. Another important strand of this history involved the administrative and territorial reorganizations undertaken by the colonial authorities. This was done as a matter of administrative expediency and to facilitate indirect rule, but the reorganizations had lasting and mostly negative consequences for inter-group relations.

Reference 15 - 0.02% Coverage

of human rights abuses in the North-Central zone based on the report submitted by AFRIGOV, what can be said by way of conclusion? First is that by the very nature of the complex ethnic composition of the zone and a history of migrations and displacements, which are still on-going, it was an area of endemic conflicts. Secondly, tradition was a very strong component of human rights deprivations. Third, the excesses of the police, military and security agencies, as well as the excesses of overzealous and highly partisan state officials, which were facilitated by military authoritarian rule, were the major sources of human rights violations.

Reference 16 - 0.04% Coverage

Human Rights Violations Investigation Commission to ascertain or establish the causes, nature and extent of all gross violations of human rights committed in the southeast zone between January 15 1966 and May 28 1999. Dr Nwankwo's investigations and findings are contained in a two-volume report: volume one covers the period between 1966 and 1980, while volume two covers that between 1980 and 1999. The report relies heavily on secondary data on the Igbo and its relations with the rest of Nigeria from colonial records, anthropological accounts by Simon Ottenberg, Daryle Forde and G.I. Jones, extant works on Nigeria's political history, especially those by Alexander Madiebo, and Emma Okocha on the civil war, accounts of contemporary political events in British and Nigerian newspapers and magazines, the Report of the GCM Onyuike Panel of Enquiry into the Massacre of the Ndigbo in Northern Nigeria, 1966, Report of the International Commission of Jurists and the Report of the International Commission on Genocide in Biafra, and annual reports and other publications of the Civil Liberties Organization (CLO), Committee for the Defence of Human Rights (CDHR) and the Constitution Rights Project(CRP). Primary data was obtained from interviews with various categories of Ndigbo, personal accounts of those who witnessed and/or were victims of the 1966 pogrom, civil war, and riots in which the Igbo were major targets, and the qualitative analytical insights of the author, who is himself a notable human rights activist and Ndigbo leader, public affairs commentator, and publisher.

Reference 17 - 0.02% Coverage

tagged it "the Ogoni Peace Accord". The New Nigerian of February 16, 2001 in its editorial observed: "The Peace Accord signed by the warring factions in Ogoniland will go down in the socio-political development and history of our country as one of the landmark achievements of the Human Rights Violations Investigations Commission". That is the editorial and it continued: "The New Nigerian is enamoured by the series of warm embraces, huggings and back-slappings which permeated the signing proceedings of the Peace Treaty. They were symbolic expressions of the grace and magnanimity of a sober people willing to forget a bitter past and forge ahead."

Reference 18 - 0.02% Coverage

PETITION NO 289: PETITIONER: MRS. R. A. AKINYODE The petitioner, a widow of late Lt. Col. Oluwole Akinyode and mother of four children sent this petition alleging gross violations of the rights of her husband in connection with the coup plot of December, 1997 which subsequently led to his death in Makurdi Prisons on the 28th of December, 1998. The petitioner recalled to the Commission her late husband's military career and good medical history and also the circumstances leading to his arrest, detention, investigation, trial, conviction and sentence to life imprisonment of his alleged role in the

Reference 19 - 0.02% Coverage

tendered his petition (Exhibit 1) and supplementary petition (Exhibit 2) which he read before the Commission. The petitioner also tendered the offensive publication of the Conscience International magazine (Exhibit 3) and narrated how it was effectively distributed world – wide by one Emmanuel Agbeji on the instructions of Chief Tom Ikimi, then Minister of Foreign

Affairs. He further recounted the many instances of the late Abacha regime's abuse of the rights of hundreds of innocent people whose only crime was their association with him. He said he deprecated the manner of the attack on his person, his life history,

Migration

References or discussions of migration, diaspora, etc.

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Nigeria.HRVIC_.Report-FULL> - § 4 references coded [0.08% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.03% Coverage

experiences are reinforced by other historical and cultural commonalities in the zone that have implications for human rights. The first of these is that the Middle Belt, especially the outlying areas of the Niger-Benue confluence, has witnessed massive population movements, migrations and displacements. This explains the rather high-tension ethnic mixes and endemic conflicts among groups in the region, which have long histories of contestations over boundaries, ownership of territory for farming and other economic purposes, over who is “indigenous” and “stranger” or “foreigner”, and over which groups are “superior”, “core” “marginal” and “peripheral”. Another important strand of this history involved the administrative and territorial reorganizations undertaken by the colonial authorities. This was done as a matter of administrative expediency and to facilitate indirect rule, but the reorganizations had lasting and mostly negative consequences for inter-group relations.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

local level, the indigene/non-indigene cleavages are embedded in contested histories of migration, settlement and territoriality. This is most clearly dramatized in the North-Central zone, which has been a centre of massive migrations, population displacements, and resettlements. The following cases show the nature of human rights problems that have arisen from this situation.

Reference 3 - 0.02% Coverage

of human rights abuses in the North-Central zone based on the report submitted by AFRIGOV, what can be said by way of conclusion? First is that by the very nature of the complex ethnic composition of the zone and a history of migrations and displacements, which are still on-going, it was an area of endemic conflicts. Secondly, tradition was a very strong component of human rights deprivations. Third, the excesses of the police, military and security agencies, as well as the excesses of overzealous and highly partisan state officials, which were facilitated by military authoritarian rule, were the major sources of human rights violations.

Reference 4 - 0.03% Coverage

abrogated the federal system and established a unitary system in its place and seemed to confirm northern fears of Igbo “take over” of the federation, provided the alibi the northern conservatives needed to unleash what most Ndigbo believe were long conceived and well orchestrated plans to annihilate them. This began with spontaneous riots in which Ndigbo were the target, and was followed by the so-called Northern counter-coup of July 1966 whose immediate goal was to

avenge the killings of Northerners in the January coup, and finally a full-scale pogrom against Ndigbo that lasted till September 1966. Ndigbo and other Easterners were forced to relocate to the safety of the Eastern region. It was the deterioration of this situation, especially the failure of the new federal military government headed by General Yakubu Gowon to halt the massacre of Igbos, that led to the declaration of the sovereign state of Biafra and civil war. As was pointed out earlier on, the civil war marked the critical dividing line in the human rights history of the southeast zone in that the war and its aftermath became the backdrop for discussing human rights issues.

Military

References or discussions of the military, armed forces, generals etc.

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Nigeria.HRVIC_.Report-FULL> - § 7 references coded [0.14% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

We are of the view that a more consistent and objective reading of the country's history will lead to the inevitable conclusion that much progress had been made in the country's earlier post-independence history. For example, despite the excesses of military rule, we heard very commendable stories among various communities relating to what some patriotic and imaginative military administrators or governors had done when they governed States that were outside their own immediate States.

Reference 2 - 0.04% Coverage

The Commission reviewed the evidence submitted before it and concluded that there was really only one central question which was: Do proceedings before a Commission of Inquiry constitute a suit at law or a judicial proceeding? In its wisdom, the Commission came to the conclusion that: In a Commission of Inquiry under the Act, there does not exist an adversary situation. There is no litigation, and as such, there are no parties properly so called. No judgment is entered or can be even entered for or against the parties that do not in law exist. Everyone who appears before the Commission appears as a witness whose evidence will enable the Commission gather all the facts and make recommendations to the Proper Authority contemplated in Section 14 of the Act.... From our Terms of Reference, every President or ex-President, every top government functionary from January 15th, 1966 to May 28th 1999 is a relevant and necessary witness, whether or not he is specifically mentioned or implicated in any petition before the Commission. It is therefore no defence for failure to attend to say that any particular official was not mentioned in any particular petition. It is also erroneous to suggest that questions ought to be limited to the averments in a particular petition... That being so, every Head of State during those dark military years will be held accountable. He has to give account to the people of Nigeria, give account of his stewardship in respect of all gross human rights violations committed during his period of office. He is also accountable to history.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

Commission was an attempt to come to grips with developments in Nigeria's recent political history— its colonial inheritance; the collapse of the First Republic; the descent into and prosecution of the country's civil war; the inherent violent and arbitrary logic of military rule, especially between January 1984 and May 1999, involving the use of public policy

Reference 4 - 0.02% Coverage

of human rights abuses in

the North-Central zone based on the report submitted by AFRIGOV, what can be said by way of conclusion? First is that by the very nature of the complex ethnic composition of the zone and a history of migrations and displacements, which are still on-going, it was an area of endemic conflicts. Secondly, tradition was a very strong component of human rights deprivations. Third, the excesses of the police, military and security agencies, as well as the excesses of overzealous and highly partisan state officials, which were facilitated by military authoritarian rule, were the major sources of human rights violations.

Reference 5 - 0.02% Coverage

from the federation. The war consequently had the southeast as the main battlefield, and was ostensibly fought to keep the country one. Although the federal authorities declared at the end of the war that there was no 'victor' and no 'vanquished', most Igbo believe they were the vanquished, and attribute the problems they have suffered in the country since then, including what is perceived to be systemic marginalization and transmutation from a major group to a minority group, to deliberate efforts to punish them for the 'sins' of the war. Indeed, the war, which was preceded by a pogrom of genocidal proportions against Igbo and Easterners in different parts of the then Northern region, was seen as the height of a history of hatred and persecution against the Igbo.

Reference 6 - 0.02% Coverage

PETITION NO 289: PETITIONER: MRS. R. A. AKINYODE The petitioner, a widow of late Lt. Col. Oluwole Akinyode and mother of four children sent this petition alleging gross violations of the rights of her husband in connection with the coup plot of December, 1997 which subsequently led to his death in Makurdi Prisons on the 28th of December, 1998. The petitioner recalled to the Commission her late husband's military career and good medical history and also the circumstances leading to his arrest, detention, investigation, trial, conviction and sentence to life imprisonment of his alleged role in the

Reference 7 - 0.03% Coverage

evidence-in-chief before the Commission, the petitioner reiterated the facts contained in her petition (Exhibit 1), emphasising that her late husband was a loyal officer with a good record of service in the military and could not have been involved in a coup plot. She maintained that her husband enjoyed good health and never had a history of heart or eye problem. Yet, her late husband started using eye glasses in prison while the Authority Report (Exhibit 4) indicated that he died of Hypertensive Heart Disease and Acute Myocardia Infraction. She insisted therefore that it was the severe torture of her husband in Jos that resulted in his health problems, culminating in his death in prison. The petitioner charged the prison authorities of negligence, claiming that they kept him for six hours before taking him to hospital. She accused Col. E.F. Zamani of high-handedness and finally urged the Commission to assist in recovering her personal properties from him.

Nation

References or discussions of nation, nations, nationalism and national history

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Nigeria.HRVIC_.Report-FULL> - § 10 references coded [0.12% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.02% Coverage

The return to democratic civilian rule on 29 May 1999 provided the opportunity for us to rise above this decay, to break the silence of the past and to forge ahead, determined to lay to rest the ghost of this dark and painful period in our national history.

But we must be prepared to confront this history, if we are to forge ahead. We need to understand it, even if it means asking unpleasant questions and offering blunt answers. Where did we make the wrong turn? Who was responsible for what? What opportunities did we miss and why? What are the major lessons to be learnt? What do we now need to do to put the past behind us and to look to the future with renewed hope and patriotic zeal? What are the basic conditions for us to effect national catharsis?

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission has attempted in this Report, to capture the faltering if slippery threads of Nigeria's chequered history. Africa's most populous nation has faced challenges of enormous proportions. It has been battered and bruised. Its national history reflects an undulating landscape, made up of curves, hillocks, valleys and little mountains.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

This ethnicised anger focused on the negative and did not give much thought to the substantial progress in many other areas that the country and the communities had made together in earlier periods of our national history.

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

The result is that we have continued to tinker with the inherited system. Unfortunately, our national history has followed the logic of postcolonial states in many respects. The inheritance elites in many post-colonial states have tended to see their roles as being merely inheritors of the apparatus of power from the departing colonial masters. This is why we ended up with a situation whereby local elites took up residences in what is

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

Beyond the recitation of the National Pledge and the National Anthem, there is an urgent need for Nigerians to come to grip with the dynamics of their history, emphasising

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

provided the opportunity for us to rise above this decay, to break the silence of the past and to forge ahead, determined to lay to rest the ghost of this dark and painful period in our national history.

1.6 But we must be prepared to confront this history, if we are

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

media. To fill this lacuna or gap in our national history, we decided to commission researchers to address this problem.

Reference 8 - 0.03% Coverage

among others the following: the kingdom of Kanem-Borno, with a known history of more than a thousand years; the Sokoto Caliphate, which for nearly a hundred years before its conquest by Britain had ruled most of the savannah of northern Nigeria; the kingdoms of Ife and Benin, whose works of art had become recognized as amongst the most accomplished in the world; the Yoruba Empire of Oyo, which had once been the most powerful of the states of the Guinea Coast; and the city states of the Niger Delta, which had grown partly in response to European demands for slaves and later palm-oil; and the largely politically decentralized and acephalous political systems of the Igbo-speaking peoples of southeastern Nigeria. We wish to emphasize the point made earlier that these kingdoms and the political structures and the sociocultural and legal institutions that sustained them had their own internal contradictions, had undemocratic features and, from the perspective of modern concern with human rights, institutionalized practices and customary laws, some of which are still subsisting, that fundamentally derogated from human rights.

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

and political history during this period, 1914-1960 and an assessment of their impact on our checkered attempts at national integration.

Reference 10 - 0.03% Coverage

The end-product of this undertaking is an extensive documentation of virtually all the variegated and ramified dimensions of human rights violations in Nigeria in that sad period of the country's national history as a post-colonial entity ravaged by unbridled and reckless misrule under a succession of military regimes, which presided over a profoundly prebendal and patrimonial state. The research reports provide essential details of a range of violations of individual as well as group/communal rights, some of which are often not factored into current discourses of rights violations in Nigeria, and many of which have not found their way to the Commission in form of petitions and pleas for intervention. The documentation would certainly serve as a constant reminder to citizens about what has been wrong and how. But it will be especially helpful to generations to come, to better position and equip them to draw the appropriate lessons and safeguard the future from such crude manifestations of trampling of people's fundamental rights.

Politics

References or discussions of politics, political parties and governments

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Nigeria.HRVIC_.Report-FULL> - § 21 references coded [0.32% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

These interrelated citizenship aspects of our constitutional and political history—their origins and trajectories, and how best to confront them at the constitutional and policy levels are extensively covered in Chapters Two and Three of Volume One, and in Volumes Three and Seven.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

This is why, as we have already indicated in this Volume, members of the Commission believed that, in spite of its limitations, the Commission offered the country one of the best chances of resolving some of the thorniest and seemingly intractable issues in its political and social history.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

Our constitutional and political history is replete with many inherent contradictions, which show very clearly that there were discrepancies between what the colonial government sought and what Nigerians themselves wanted. Having inherited this skewed arrangement, our political class is responsible for not quickly addressing these visible discrepancies.

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

We noted, while examining the texture of Nigerian history, that not much effort was made in the first years of independence to form broad based political parties. The fact that parties were largely formed along regional and ethnic lines bears witness to this observation.

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

Nigeria's political and constitutional history, lies in the fact that, against the background of historically deep-rooted contradictions generated by the dialectics of conflict and cooperation among the various peoples and social movements in the country, dating back to pre-colonial times, its establishment was an attempt to lay the groundwork for an enduring and sustainable peace and development in the country, founded on the concepts and principles of human rights, equality, justice and reconciliation.

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

seek the root causes of human rights violations and abuses in the country in more historically deep-rooted cultural, political and socioeconomic sources than the country's recent or postcolonial political and constitutional history would unravel. This is why it is important to

distinguish between the remote or predisposing causes and the immediate or precipitating causes of human rights violations or abuses in the country, and, therefore, of the reasons for the establishment of the Commission.

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

Commission was an attempt to come to grips with developments in Nigeria's recent political history— its colonial inheritance; the collapse of the First Republic; the descent into and prosecution of the country's civil war; the inherent violent and arbitrary logic of military rule, especially between January 1984 and May 1999, involving the use of public policy

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

purpose of helping the country, in the words of President Obasanjo, “to scale over an unprecedented wicked and oppressive era in our history and [to] propose measures for such an era not to repeat itself.”

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

political and social history of Nigeria, since the amalgamation of northern and southern Nigeria in 1914. In doing so, we hope to highlight a number of salient and recurring issues, trends and perspectives which provide the broader historical canvass for contextualizing and understanding recent political developments, including gross violations of human rights in the country.

Reference 10 - 0.02% Coverage

brought together by the British colonial administration under a dual administrative structure, through the amalgamation of the two Protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria in 1914, it would be wrong to assume that its peoples had no history of cultural, economic, political or social history before country's boundaries were negotiated by Britain, France and Germany at the turn of the twentieth century. Indeed, there was much more cultural, economic and political contact and interaction among the various and diverse peoples of pre-colonial Africa than has been admitted by colonial apologists and historians who tend to argue, with respect to Africa generally that, the continent had no history prior to colonization.

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

institutions in most of the communities were based on a combination of the cultural values of the Fulani Jihadists, the basic principles of the Quran and the cultural values of the Hausa Sarauta system. Among the Yorubas, the institutions were based on indigenous sociocultural values, while among the so-called decentralized political communities of the Igbos and Tiv, there legal and political institutions were similarly the product of their cultures and history.

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

and political history during this period, 1914-1960 and an assessment of their impact on our checkered attempts at national integration.

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

The geo-political importance of Nigeria is deep-rooted in history and has impacted variously, negatively and positively, on her relations with countries in Africa and the rest of the world.

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

For example, ASCHR's submission argues that these perspectives fail to take into account the abundant evidence of human rights violations in the history of Nigerian political development, which are clearly attributable to, or associated with, political dynamics in pressure groups, and political parties that engage in electoral contest for power. But, even more significantly, they fail to take into account the fact that systematic denial of opportunities for the nurturing of civilian

Reference 15 - 0.04% Coverage

states historically referred to as the Niger Delta. These states are Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross-River, Delta, Rivers and Edo. It is an area inhabited by about 12 million people with different cultures, languages and histories who, united by their historical status in Nigeria, now share a common identity as southern minorities. Historically, the peoples of the area were at the forefront of minority agitation in the colonial and the immediate post-independence periods. Their situation has not changed as their demands and position in the Nigerian federation remain unaltered despite the different commissions that have been set up by successive administrations to look at the question of the minorities. What has exacerbated the problem of the Niger Delta is the question of oil. Oil, which is the mainstay of the Nigerian economy, contributing about 90% of the nation's foreign exchange earnings and revenue, is produced in the region. However, the Niger Delta region remains grossly underdeveloped, pauperized, marginalized, and largely a poverty zone. The basic facilities and infrastructure of a modern society like potable water, electricity, health care facilities, good roads, cottage industries and employment are lacking in the area. It is this paradox and apparent tragedy of poverty in the midst of wealth of the Niger Delta people that forms the political economy of human rights violations in the area. This issue shall be dealt with in greater detail in the subsequent section of the report that deals with the background and context of human rights violations in the Niger Delta region.

Reference 16 - 0.03% Coverage

abrogated the federal system and established a unitary system in its place and seemed to confirm northern fears of Igbo "take over" of the federation, provided the alibi the northern conservatives needed to unleash what most Ndigbo believe were long conceived and well orchestrated plans to annihilate them. This began with spontaneous riots in which Ndigbo were the target, and was followed by the so-called Northern counter-coup of July 1966 whose immediate goal was to avenge the killings of Northerners in the January coup, and finally a full-scale pogrom against Ndigbo that lasted till September 1966. Ndigbo and other Easterners were forced to relocate to the safety of the Eastern region. It was the deterioration of this situation, especially the failure of

the new federal military government headed by General Yakubu Gowon to halt the massacre of Igbos, that led to the declaration of the sovereign state of Biafra and civil war. As was pointed out earlier on, the civil war marked the critical dividing line in the human rights history of the southeast zone in that the war and its aftermath became the backdrop for discussing human rights issues.

Reference 17 - 0.03% Coverage

The second witness, Major Hamza Al-Mustapha, denied arresting the petitioner, but that he was arrested by two officers. The witness testified that all the meetings the petitioner held with other coup plotters were taped and transcribed by the witness. He said he had two different interviews with the principal actors and it was videotaped secretly. He affirmed that the petitioner was arrested with a shirt during which the first interview was conducted. The second interview was held with the petitioner wearing another dress. He testified that after the petitioner was arrested, the computer used in typing the 1997 coup speech was found. A copy of the coup speech was also found under the pillow of the petitioner's bed. Under cross-examination by Counsel to Mohammed Abacha, he testified that there was no torture group headed by him and Mohammed Abacha. He reiterated that the coup that had the most overwhelming evidence in the history of coup making in Nigeria was the 1997 coup and it was master-minded by General Diya. Under cross-examination by counsel to the petitioner, the witness confirmed that the government, via the SSS, put Diya and the coup suspects under surveillance.

Reference 18 - 0.02% Coverage

tagged it "the Ogoni Peace Accord". The New Nigerian of February 16, 2001 in its editorial observed: "The Peace Accord signed by the warring factions in Ogoniland will go down in the socio-political development and history of our country as one of the landmark achievements of the Human Rights Violations Investigations Commission". That is the editorial and it continued: "The New Nigerian is enamoured by the series of warm embraces, huggings and back-slappings which permeated the signing proceedings of the Peace Treaty. They were symbolic expressions of the grace and magnanimity of a sober people willing to forget a bitter past and forge ahead."

Reference 19 - 0.02% Coverage

tendered his petition (Exhibit 1) and supplementary petition (Exhibit 2) which he read before the Commission. The petitioner also tendered the offensive publication of the Conscience International magazine (Exhibit 3) and narrated how it was effectively distributed world – wide by one Emmanuel Agbeji on the instructions of Chief Tom Ikimi, then Minister of Foreign Affairs. He further recounted the many instances of the late Abacha regime's abuse of the rights of hundreds of innocent people whose only crime was their association with him. He said he deprecated the manner of the attack on his person, his life history,

Reference 20 - 0.03% Coverage

The petitioner also made an extensive submission of his formation and membership of an organisation called The Pyrates Confraternity, explaining that the association was a perfectly

loyal and open organisation that was founded in 1952 while he was a student at the University College, Ibadan, in order to raise social and political consciousness among Nigerian students in the colonial days. He referred to the documented history of victimization of its members by the various security agencies ranging from routine harassment, arrest, tortures to murders as in the Umuluku massacre, merely on account of deliberate disinformation as to the activities and objectives of the organisation and its members. While enumerating the achievements of the organisation, the petitioner deplored the tendency of the illinformed public and even the media to fall victims of mass hysteria and sweeping generalization by routinely demonising the organisation and confusing it with the notorious campus killer-cults.

Reference 21 - 0.02% Coverage

in its various ramifications, while Kano featured various cases of communal clashes between the Jukun – Kuteb; Kataf – Hausa/Fulani and Sayawa-Hausa/Fulani. In Enugu, it was the resounding echo of the 15th January, 1966 coup de'tat and the resultant Civil War and its aftermath that filled the hearing hall. While the echo of the communal rancour started in Kano continued in Abuja (II) and (III) The two sittings here were however dominated by reactions and responses by various sectional groups to the Ohaneze Ndigbo's version of the history of the Civil War and the claim of Igbo marginalization in the Nigerian Federation.

Recommendations

References or discussions of recommendations of the TC Nigeria

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Nigeria.HRVIC_.Report-FULL> - § 2 references coded [0.02% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

Recommendations In the light of its findings above, the Commission recommend as follows; a) It is hereby recommended that the Federal and Rivers State Government facilitate the recovery of the bodies of all the 13 persons who lost their lives one way or the other in the era best described "“s dark age” in the history of Ogoni people for state burial.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

Recommendations In the light of its findings above, the Commission recommend as follows; i) It is hereby recommended that the Federal and Rivers State Government facilitate the recovery of the bodies of all the 13 persons who lost their lives one way or the other in the erra best described "“s dark age” in the history of Ogoni people for state burial.

Reconciliation

References or discussions of reconciliation

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Nigeria.HRVIC_.Report-FULL> - § 2 references coded [0.03% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

It in the context of achieving such a healing process and reconciliation that at least nineteen countries in the world [as at 2001], including Argentina, Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nigeria and South Africa established Truth Commissions or similar commissions or panels, as temporary bodies, with official status and sometimes quasi-judicial truth-finding functions and powers, to investigate past histories of human rights abuses and violations in the various countries in which they were set up.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

Action Committee of the Middle Belt (JACOM) Rivers State Government, the Ogbakor Ikwere Convention and the South-South Consultative Forum. All of them insisted that the Commission should give them time to respond to the Ohaneze petition because it is central to the history of Nigeria and bringing out the truth will enhance reconciliation, which the Commission sought to achieve. Individual respondents to the Ohaneze petition include General Yakubu Gowon, Alhaji M.D. Yusuf, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, Alhaji Maitama Sule and Alhaji Inuwa Wada.

Truth Commissions

References or discussions of truth commissions and the mandate of the TC Nigeria

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Nigeria.HRVIC_.Report-FULL> - § 12 references coded [0.19% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.02% Coverage

1.4 1.5

The return to democratic civilian rule on 29 May 1999 provided the opportunity for us to rise above this decay, to break the silence of the past and to forge ahead, determined to lay to rest the ghost of this dark and painful period in our national history.

But we must be prepared to confront this history, if we are to forge ahead. We need to understand it, even if it means asking unpleasant questions and offering blunt answers. Where did we make the wrong turn? Who was responsible for what? What opportunities did we miss and why? What are the major lessons to be learnt? What do we now need to do to put the past behind us and to look to the future with renewed hope and patriotic zeal? What are the basic conditions for us to effect national catharsis?

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

We, therefore, hope that the Report will offer a credible perspective on our past, while also serving as a road map for our future. We do not claim that we have said all there is to be said about our past and our future. Much, perhaps, remains to be said, and will be said by present and future chroniclers. This is as it should be, if only because history is forever unfolding itself, as new evidence arises, as new interpretations confront old

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission has attempted in this Report, to capture the faltering if slippery threads of Nigeria's chequered history. Africa's most populous nation has faced challenges of enormous proportions. It has been battered and bruised. Its national history reflects an undulating landscape, made up of curves, hillocks, valleys and little mountains.

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

We are of the view that a more consistent and objective reading of the country's history will lead to the inevitable conclusion that much progress had been made in the country's earlier post-independence history. For example, despite the excesses of military rule, we heard very commendable stories among various communities relating to what some patriotic and imaginative military administrators or governors had done when they governed States that were outside their own immediate States.

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

After consultations with a broad spectrum of the stakeholders, it became clear to the Commission that the nature of Nigeria's chequered and fractured history demands that the Commission's work should serve as a mirror to reflect the trials and tribulations of our country. This was not easy.

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

This is why, as we have already indicated in this Volume, members of the Commission believed that, in spite of its limitations, the Commission offered the country one of the best chances of resolving some of the thorniest and seemingly intractable issues in its political and social history.

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

Volume Three of this Report, Research Reports, attempts to capture this neglected aspect of the country's history and politics. The Volume summarized the findings of the commissioned researchers by compressing them [the findings] into one volume.

Reference 8 - 0.04% Coverage

The Commission reviewed the evidence submitted before it and concluded that there was really only one central question which was: Do proceedings before a Commission of Inquiry constitute a suit at law or a judicial proceeding? In its wisdom, the Commission came to the conclusion that: In a Commission of Inquiry under the Act, there does not exist an adversary situation. There is no litigation, and as such, there are no parties properly so called. No judgment is entered or can be even entered for or against the parties that do not in law exist. Everyone who appears before the Commission appears as a witness whose evidence will enable the Commission gather all the facts and make recommendations to the Proper Authority contemplated in Section 14 of the Act.... From our Terms of Reference, every President or ex-President, every top government functionary from January 15th, 1966 to May 28th 1999 is a relevant and necessary witness, whether or not he is specifically mentioned or implicated in any petition before the Commission. It is therefore no defence for failure to attend to say that any particular official was not mentioned in any particular petition. It is also erroneous to suggest that questions ought to be limited to the averments in a particular petition... That being so, every Head of State during those dark military years will be held accountable. He has to give account to the people of Nigeria, give account of his stewardship in respect of all gross human rights violations committed during his period of office. He is also accountable to history.

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

Since they did not avail themselves of the opportunity to come and tell their own side of the story, as the President and some former and serving senior governments functionaries did, we leave a blank space on our records against each and everyone of the three former Heads of State as evidence that we are leaving them and their side of the story in the court of human history.

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

perspective on our past, while also serving as a road map for our future. We do not claim that we have said all there is to be said about our past and our future. Much, perhaps, remains to be said, and will be said by present and future chroniclers. This is as it should be, if only because history is forever unfolding itself, as new evidence arises, as new interpretations confront old ones and as the ineluctable march of science brings forth new tools for unscrambling the past.

Reference 11 - 0.03% Coverage

RE-CONCEPTUALIZING HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS One of the most noteworthy contributions of the commissioned research reports is the lucid articulation of the need to redefine the prevailing notions and perspectives of what constitute human rights violations in Nigeria, given the profound nature of the evidence which suggests a disturbing tendency to showcase certain categories of violations while relegating others to insignificance and virtual irrelevance. These prevailing perspectives, which have evolved in the context of the emergence and growing activism of the human rights NGOs against brutally suppressive military regimes in Nigeria's recent history, have tended to narrow down and restrict an understanding and appreciation of the complex character and dimensions of what actually constitute human rights and their violations in the postcolonial Nigerian polity. They have tended to focus upon the more visible, and elite-driven notions, especially freedom of speech, association, and so on. The significance and range of social, cultural and economic rights and their violations are only rarely and even then only selectively and in an off-tangent way, focused upon.

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

Action Committee of the Middle Belt (JACOM) Rivers State Government, the Ogbakor Ikwere Convention and the South-South Consultative Forum. All of them insisted that the Commission should give them time to respond to the Ohaneze petition because it is central to the history of Nigeria and bringing out the truth will enhance reconciliation, which the Commission sought to achieve. Individual respondents to the Ohaneze petition include General Yakubu Gowon, Alhaji M.D. Yusuf, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, Alhaji Maitama Sule and Alhaji Inuwa Wada.

Violence

References or discussions of violence, violent acts, etc.

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Nigeria.HRVIC_.Report-FULL> - § 12 references coded [0.28% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.04% Coverage

and North-East zones, which resonates up to today.” This is essentially because of the peculiar nature and distinguishing characteristic of the manner in which the violence was meted out: For the first time in Nigeria’s history, there was a “premeditated, planned and deliberate killing of particular individuals, holding particular official positions, in order to attain specific political goals.” Notable examples of these are as follows: 1. The killings of Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, Hajiya Hafsat Ahmadu Bello (his senior wife), Baba Zarumi and Ahmed Ben Musa on 15th January, 1966 at Arewa House, Kaduna. Proven evidences are given by: The foreword, the preface and pages 105 – 124 of the book Hafsat Ahmadu Bello: The Unsung Heroine, by Ladi S. Adama, Adams Books, Kaduna: 1995. The preface and pages 74 – 78, 82 – 89 of Nigeria’s Five Majors: Coup D’Etat of 15th January 1966, First Inside Account, by Ben Gbulie, Africana Educational Publishers, Onitsha. There are also various individual accounts of how these killings were executed. Such accounts include those of Abubakar Umar (Principal Private Secretary to the Sardauna), Jabbo Sallama of Rabah (an old man of 86, the sole male survivor of the Premier’s immediate entourage when the murder was committed), Amina, Larai Fatima Ali, Mohammed Sani and Ali Sarkin Mota.

Reference 2 - 0.02% Coverage

from the federation. The war consequently had the southeast as the main battlefield, and was ostensibly fought to keep the country one. Although the federal authorities declared at the end of the war that there was no ‘victor’ and no ‘vanquished’, most Igbo believe they were the vanquished, and attribute the problems they have suffered in the country since then, including what is perceived to be systemic marginalization and transmutation from a major group to a minority group, to deliberate efforts to punish them for the ‘sins’ of the war. Indeed, the war, which was preceded by a pogrom of genocidal proportions against Igbo and Easterners in different parts of the then Northern region, was seen as the height of a history of hatred and persecution against the Igbo.

Reference 3 - 0.04% Coverage

Human Rights Violations Investigation Commission to ascertain or establish the causes, nature and extent of all gross violations of human rights committed in the southeast zone between January 15 1966 and May 28 1999. Dr Nwankwo’s investigations and findings are contained in a two-volume report: volume one covers the period between 1966 and 1980, while volume two covers that between 1980 and 1999. The report relies heavily on secondary data on the Igbo and its relations with the rest of Nigeria from colonial records, anthropological accounts by Simon Ottenberg, Daryle Forde and G.I. Jones, extant works on Nigeria’s political history, especially those by Alexander Madiebo, and Emma Okocha on the civil war, accounts of contemporary

political events in British and Nigerian newspapers and magazines, the Report of the GCM Onyuke Panel of Enquiry into the Massacre of the Ndigbo in Northern Nigeria, 1966, Report of the International Commission of Jurists and the Report of the International Commission on Genocide in Biafra, and annual reports and other publications of the Civil Liberties Organization (CLO), Committee for the Defence of Human Rights (CDHR) and the Constitution Rights Project(CRP). Primary data was obtained from interviews with various categories of Ndigbo, personal accounts of those who witnessed and/or were victims of the 1966 pogrom, civil war, and riots in which the Igbo were major targets, and the qualitative analytical insights of the author, who is himself a notable human rights activist and Ndigbo leader, public affairs commentator, and publisher.

Reference 4 - 0.03% Coverage

abrogated the federal system and established a unitary system in its place and seemed to confirm northern fears of Igbo “take over” of the federation, provided the alibi the northern conservatives needed to unleash what most Ndigbo believe were long conceived and well orchestrated plans to annihilate them. This began with spontaneous riots in which Ndigbo were the target, and was followed by the so-called Northern counter-coup of July 1966 whose immediate goal was to avenge the killings of Northerners in the January coup, and finally a full-scale pogrom against Ndigbo that lasted till September 1966. Ndigbo and other Easterners were forced to relocate to the safety of the Eastern region. It was the deterioration of this situation, especially the failure of the new federal military government headed by General Yakubu Gowon to halt the massacre of Igbos, that led to the declaration of the sovereign state of Biafra and civil war. As was pointed out earlier on, the civil war marked the critical dividing line in the human rights history of the southeast zone in that the war and its aftermath became the backdrop for discussing human rights issues.

Reference 5 - 0.03% Coverage

The second witness, Major Hamza Al-Mustapha, denied arresting the petitioner, but that he was arrested by two officers. The witness testified that all the meetings the petitioner held with other coup plotters were taped and transcribed by the witness. He said he had two different interviews with the principal actors and it was videotaped secretly. He affirmed that the petitioner was arrested with a shirt during which the first interview was conducted. The second interview was held with the petitioner wearing another dress. He testified that after the petitioner was arrested, the computer used in typing the 1997 coup speech was found. A copy of the coup speech was also found under the pillow of the petitioner’s bed. Under cross-examination by Counsel to Mohammed Abacha, he testified that there was no torture group headed by him and Mohammed Abacha. He reiterated that the coup that had the most overwhelming evidence in the history of coup making in Nigeria was the 1997 coup and it was master-minded by General Diya. Under cross-examination by counsel to the petitioner, the witness confirmed that the government, via the SSS, put Diya and the coup suspects under surveillance.

Reference 6 - 0.02% Coverage

The eighth witness Jolly Baba Ayok, lived at Masamiya in Zango Local Government Area [ZLG] as a retired Assistant Commissioner of Police, held a public office as Chairman of ZLG with effect from January 1990. In his capacity as Chairman, he was also the Chief Security Officer [CSO] of ZLG at the time of the Zango riots. The counsel for the petitioners stressed the need to give the background into the remote and immediate causes of the Zango riots. However, the Chairman remarked that these were matters of history. He pointed out that after the riot, a committee was set up consisting of seven members from either side, which made recommendations and signed.

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

Emmanuel (Emmason) Okorafor, the respondent and second witness, maintained that the deceased was an armed robber, who was killed during exchange of gun fire between the Police and a gang of five armed robbers. He added that the deceased had a history of armed robbery, a charge denied by the petitioner.

Reference 8 - 0.02% Coverage

PETITION NO 289: PETITIONER: MRS. R. A. AKINYODE The petitioner, a widow of late Lt. Col. Oluwole Akinyode and mother of four children sent this petition alleging gross violations of the rights of her husband in connection with the coup plot of December, 1997 which subsequently led to his death in Makurdi Prisons on the 28th of December, 1998. The petitioner recalled to the Commission her late husband's military career and good medical history and also the circumstances leading to his arrest, detention, investigation, trial, conviction and sentence to life imprisonment of his alleged role in the

Reference 9 - 0.03% Coverage

evidence-in-chief before the Commission, the petitioner reiterated the facts contained in her petition (Exhibit 1), emphasising that her late husband was a loyal officer with a good record of service in the military and could not have been involved in a coup plot. She maintained that her husband enjoyed good health and never had a history of heart or eye problem. Yet, her late husband started using eye glasses in prison while the Authority Report (Exhibit 4) indicated that he died of Hypertensive Heart Disease and Acute Myocardia Infraction. She insisted therefore that it was the severe torture of her husband in Jos that resulted in his health problems, culminating in his death in prison. The petitioner charged the prison authorities of negligence, claiming that they kept him for six hours before taking him to hospital. She accused Col. E.F. Zamani of high-handedness and finally urged the Commission to assist in recovering her personal properties from him.

Reference 10 - 0.02% Coverage

tendered his petition (Exhibit 1) and supplementary petition (Exhibit 2) which he read before the Commission. The petitioner also tendered the offensive publication of the Conscience International magazine (Exhibit 3) and narrated how it was effectively distributed world – wide by one Emmanuel Agbeji on the instructions of Chief Tom Ikimi, then Minister of Foreign

Affairs. He further recounted the many instances of the late Abacha regime's abuse of the rights of hundreds of innocent people whose only crime was their association with him. He said he deprecated the manner of the attack on his person, his life history,

Reference 11 - 0.03% Coverage

The petitioner also made an extensive submission of his formation and membership of an organisation called The Pyrates Confraternity, explaining that the association was a perfectly loyal and open organisation that was founded in 1952 while he was a student at the University College, Ibadan, in order to raise social and political consciousness among Nigerian students in the colonial days. He referred to the documented history of victimization of its members by the various security agencies ranging from routine harassment, arrest, tortures to murders as in the Umuluku massacre, merely on account of deliberate disinformation as to the activities and objectives of the organisation and its members. While enumerating the achievements of the organisation, the petitioner deplored the tendency of the illinformed public and even the media to fall victims of mass hysteria and sweeping generalization by routinely demonising the organisation and confusing it with the notorious campus killer-cults.

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

Recommendations In the light of its findings above, the Commission recommend as follows; a) It is hereby recommended that the Federal and Rivers State Government facilitate the recovery of the bodies of all the 13 persons who lost their lives one way or the other in the era best described "s dark age" in the history of Ogoni people for state burial.