

# British lords are behind the destabilization of Nigeria

by Joseph Brewda

A network of British-run non-governmental organizations (NGOs) led by Amnesty International and Greenpeace, has dramatically accelerated its campaign against the Nigerian government of President Gen. Sani Abacha, following Nigeria's suspension from the British Commonwealth on Nov. 11. The purpose of the campaign is to aid the overthrow of the Nigerian government. The pretext for the British Crown's successful organizing of the suspension was the Nov. 10 execution of Nigerian playwright Ken Saro-Wiwa, who led a self-avowedly secessionist and terrorist movement in Nigeria centered among the Ogoni people.

Ever since the mid-19th century, British imperial intervention has operated along the principles set down by Lord Palmerston, prime minister and foreign minister of Great Britain from 1830 to 1865. Under Palmerston's extremely successful tenure, Britain appeared to intervene in global affairs, not on its own imperial behalf or that of the oligarchy headquartered there, but on behalf of a defense of "human rights," especially those of ethnic and religious minorities. Since 1970, defending the environment has been added to the list.

The case of the London-headquartered Saro-Wiwa includes all these elements. Dubbed an "environmental warrior" for his fight against oil exploration and extraction, Saro-Wiwa was the self-styled leader of a half-million-man Christian tribal minority, the Ogonis. However, Saro-Wiwa's ascension to become the premier leader of the Ogoni tribe, came only after the elder chiefs of the tribe had been murdered—the murders for which he and co-defendants stood trial in Nigeria.

Saro-Wiwa's advancement onto the international stage was also predicated upon the powerful backing of the multi-billion-dollar-financed environmental and human rights lobbies operating on his behalf internationally. The operation was coordinated directly out of the British House of Lords by Lord Avebury (Eric Lubbock), chairman of the British Parliamentary Committee on Human Rights, and the recently deceased Lord Ennals (David Ennals).

The idea of a separate "Ogoniland" is an artificial creation of Amnesty International, Greenpeace, and the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO), and it has the support of Human Rights Watch, the Duke of Edinburgh's (Prince Philip's) World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), and PEN (Poets, Editors, and Novelists) International. On the Ogoni case, according to an Ogoni source, the British news

agency Reuters, Ted Turner's Cable News Network (CNN), the *New York Times*, and the British Broadcasting Corp. (BBC) played the major role in boosting Saro-Wiwa's profile around the world.

The Ogoniland case was first placed on the international human rights agenda in July 1992 when Saro-Wiwa appeared as a featured speaker at a conference of the U.N. Working Group on Indigenous Populations, which had been established in the early 1980s to oversee and coordinate claims (emanating from British intelligence outlets, including the U.N. itself) that modern technology, education, and the nation-state were guilty of "ethnocide," through changing the way of life of indigenous peoples.

After Saro-Wiwa's debut at the U.N., Greenpeace made its first visit to "Ogoniland," purportedly to investigate charges that oil company exploitation of the region was destroying the environment and the Ogonis' way of life.

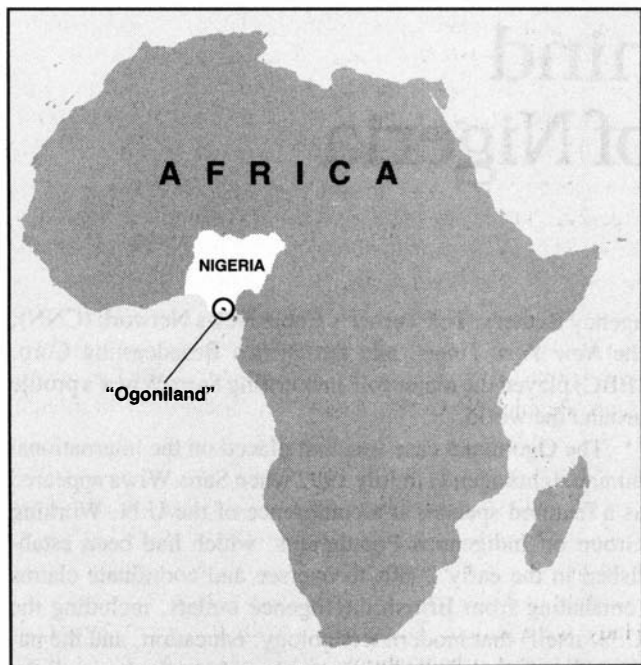
In January 1993, the Netherlands-based UNPO ruled that the Ogonis were one of 43 peoples throughout the world, comprising 100 million people, which were being denied their rights to self-determination; in the Ogoni case, by the Nigerian government. The group accepted Saro-Wiwa's Movement for the Salvation of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), as the representative of this people, and elected Saro-Wiwa one of its vice chairmen. UNPO's action opened up international media access for Saro-Wiwa for the first time, and the case of "Ogoniland" found its way onto CNN, and onto the pages of *Time* magazine. Meanwhile, the UNPO served as the main channel of information on the Ogoni issue for governments, international organizations, and the NGOs.

The dominating personality in the UNPO at the time was Lord Ennals, a former British foreign minister and, for decades, director of the Labour Party's foreign policy. To some he was known as "Mr. Tibet," for his unstinting work in support of the Dalai Lama. Lord Ennals's brother, Martin Ennals, ran Amnesty International for 20 years, until his founding of another human rights outfit, International Alert.

## Enter Greenpeace

After the Ogoni chiefs and elders who had founded MOSOP were murdered in May 1994 on Saro-Wiwa's order, the human rights and environmental lobbies descended on Ogoniland. In July 1994, Greenpeace issued a report con-

## Location of Nigeria's 'Ogoniland'



demning Royal Dutch Shell's role in Ogoniland, and organized protests against Shell throughout Europe and the United States. Then, Amnesty International "Urgent Action" bulletins led to the deployment of a fact-finding mission to "Ogoniland" in December 1994, which then issued a report condemning the Nigerian government. Similarly, Human Rights Watch sent a mission to Ogoniland in February 1995, and condemned the Nigerian government for systematic human rights abuse.

PEN International, the organization created by former British intelligence chief H.G. Wells, has also been active. It claims that Saro-Wiwa was a victim of repression. Bodyshop, a commercial venture spun out of Greenpeace, has also become an important force in the "Ogoniland" campaign.

Through the sponsorship of these NGOs, the Ogoniland issue has been presented before various U.N. bodies, including the Human Rights Commission, the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, the Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, and the World Group on Indigenous Populations. The U.N. Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary, or Arbitrary Executions began an investigation in 1995 into the case.

At the same time, Saro-Wiwa and his London-based MOSOP were put on the covert payroll of these NGOs, with funds reportedly conduited by the UNPO, Greenpeace, and Bodyshop.

Outright racism may not be fashionable these days in justifying overthrowing the governments of former colonies, but such motives, and worse, can always be found lurking

around the human rights NGOs. A central implicit feature of their campaign is that indigenous people, so-called, would "prefer" crushing poverty, illiteracy, disease, and the early death of their children to industry, modern farming, and education. Ironically, some of the most powerful raw materials cartels can be found to covertly back such campaigns, in part because cartels are often looking for a pretext to shut down mines and oil fields, to maintain their choke-point cartel control.

This is how, for example, Greenpeace, run by Imperial Chemical Industries heir Lord Melchett, came to be a leading organizer of the Zapatista revolt in oil-rich Chiapas, Mexico (see *EIR Special Report*, "New Terror International Targets the Americas," Nov. 10, 1995). Greenpeace's targeting of oil exploitation in "Ogoniland" has provided Royal Dutch Shell a pretext for shutting down its oil production there. Ongoing efforts to organize a boycott of Nigerian crude, also tend very much to benefit British North Sea oil interests. Prince Philip's WWF was the mother organization of Greenpeace; Shell remains one of WWF's most powerful partners and funders.

The UNPO has a similar profile. Formed in 1990 by Michael van Walt, the son of Dutch diplomats, UNPO is a sister organization of the Washington, D.C.-based Institute for Asian Democracy run by Elsie Walker, the cousin of former President George Bush. In 1992, van Walt and Walker helped oversee an Anglo-American effort to overthrow the government of Thailand. Both have coordinated the international operations of the Dalai Lama, the would-be theocratic ruler of Tibet, aimed at the breakup of China. The UNPO has also been of critical importance in providing western support for bloody insurgencies in Abkhazia, Georgia and Chechnya, Russia, which have blocked the extraction and transport of oil from the vast oil fields of Azerbaijan.

## Kenule Saro-Wiwa: London's pawn in action

by Lydia and David Cherry

With a powerful supporting cast centered in London, playwright Kenule Saro-Wiwa functioned as an effective recruiter and director of London's plans for the destruction of Nigeria. While Saro-Wiwa was lavishly supported by the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO), Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch—Africa, TransAfrica, Greenpeace, and Friends of the Earth, a key but covert role was played by Royal Dutch Shell, a joint enterprise of the British and Dutch monarchies.

Saro-Wiwa professed to hate the oil companies, especially Royal Dutch Shell, and his terrorist youth movement de-

stroyed a great deal of Shell's equipment." The oil companies were accused of destroying the environment. For its part, Royal Dutch Shell professed no love for Saro-Wiwa and his movement. But the truth is more complex.

To fragment Nigeria, it was only necessary to achieve the breakaway of a single region—others would then follow. When one that is rich in one or more raw materials is targeted, the job of the multinational raw materials extraction companies, human rights organizations, and environmentalist movements is then to create an insurgent movement in the region. The minimum requirements for such a movement are: that it foresee a future for its region as an independent "country"; that it oppose the international raw materials companies; that it also oppose the country's central government; and that it be willing to resort to arms to get free of central government control.

The strategy is to build up the insurgent movement as a "worthy opponent" of the companies, so that "negotiations" between the companies and the movement appear credible. The raw materials companies will eventually obtain contracts much more favorable to themselves if they are negotiated with a mini-state rather than with a strong central government, such as Nigeria. So, the two parties work in parallel to break up the former national sovereignty—the precondition for the "Africa of the tribes" demanded by British intelligence outlets such as historian Basil Davidson (see his *The Black man's burden: Africa and the curse of the nation-state* (New York: Times Books, 1992).

A successful experiment in this strategy was carried out by Armand Hammer's Occidental Oil Company, which built up the National Liberation Army (ELN) in Colombia from a minor threat to a major narco-terrorist capability. In July 1985, Hammer told the *Wall Street Journal*, "We are giving jobs to the ELN. We give them work as suppliers . . . and they in turn protect us from other guerrillas."

This strategy defines Kenule Saro-Wiwa. In 1994, he had created a bloody confrontation over the construction of an oil pipeline in Ogoniland by the U.S. company Willbros International, a subsidiary of Shell under contract with the Nigerian government. He succeeded in halting the work, and wound up being paid \$50,000 (through one of his companies in London) by the Nigerian National Petroleum Corp. on Jan. 25, 1994, to carry out an environmental impact study for the project. (Nigerian sources say he never carried out the study.) Saro-Wiwa was in the process of positioning himself with respect to the Nigerian government and the oil companies. A leading member of his organization, Ledum Mitee, a barrister, is chief of security for Willbros.

### **Saro-Wiwa's rise to dictatorship**

Where and when was Ken Saro-Wiwa "picked up" and put on a trajectory for such international prominence? He was educated at Nigeria's premier university, the University of Ibadan, described by some Nigerians as a "cesspool"; Saro-Wiwa then continued his studies in England. The Uni-

versity of Ibadan is the one Nigerian university with extensive funding from the Ford, Rockefeller, and Carnegie Foundations—some of the same foundations that created and sustain such "human rights" entities as Human Rights Watch-Africa and Randall Robinson's TransAfrica. While at Ibadan, Saro-Wiwa spent most of his holidays with Chief Edward Kobani, later a founding member of the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP), the organization for which Saro-Wiwa was the first publicity director. Indeed, Nigerian sources say that it was Chief Kobani who fed Saro-Wiwa and gave him transportation and pocket money while he was at Ibadan. Later, Chief Kobani apparently got in Saro-Wiwa's way; Kobani was on Saro-Wiwa's late-1993 "News Flash" list as a "vulture" to be "eliminated" by Saro-Wiwa's MOSOP youth brigade called the National Youth Council of Ogoni People (NYCOP). And Chief Kobani was murdered by this youth corps on May 21, 1994.

Saro-Wiwa had organized his own Council of Ogoni Traditional Authority (COTRA) as a tribunal to sentence to death all those who got in the way, including those poor Ogoni who refused—or simply were unable—to meet the demands of extortion and blackmail. NYCOP carried out the sentences. Many were killed. The parallel with the Ibero-American narco-terrorist organizations and Pol Pot-style movements around the world is exact. (See, for example, "In Colombia, Life under Narco-Terrorist Dictatorship," *EIR*, Nov. 10, 1995, pp. 48-50.)

By at least the summer of 1993, Saro-Wiwa's youth wing had emerged as a problem. In June, the governor of Rivers State, in which Ogoniland is situated, had voiced the military's concern that 14-year-olds were being given military training in forest hideouts for guerrilla warfare. Saro-Wiwa had quite a youth following, particularly after schools were burned to the ground, law enforcement pulled out, and Ogoniland became more and more a land of anarchy (see p. 58). A police affidavit written by Dr. Garrick Leton, the first president of MOSOP who later resigned and left the country for a while because of fear for his life, noted that "between 3-4,000 youth were put through bizarre initiation rites and blood oaths of loyalty to the 'President of the Ogoni Nation' which, according to Saro, would have materialized by 31st of December 1993, but for the perfidy of the Elders who took billions of naira in bribes from the enemies of Ogoni in order to betray the Ogoni revolution."

Saro-Wiwa established total personal authority over the organizations he took over. He promised his followers that the U.N. would give Ogoniland independence by Dec. 31, 1993. When this did not materialize, he told them that it would not happen until the traditional leaders ("vultures") were physically "eliminated."

Saro-Wiwa seemed to believe that the battle for an independent Ogoniland did not just concern Ogonis. A letter from Saro-Wiwa to Albert Badey, another "vulture," dated Oct. 7, read: "You will do well to keep your prejudices in the background and work patiently for the triumph of Ogoni."

And please remember that the Ogoni issue is not merely local or national; international bodies are also involved in it and have given a lot of their time and energy to the cause. Their views matter!"

Some Ogoni elders say the UNPO (to whose National Assembly Saro-Wiwa was elected vice chairman) made the decisions. Dr. Leton noted that "Saro returned from his May overseas trip [on May 31, 1993] with a decision from UNPO that we boycott the June 12 Nigerian elections, and [he] proceeded to organize his NYCOP boys to see that this was achieved, despite the overwhelming opposition from the elders. The so-called decision to boycott the elections was reached on the night of June 1, 1993, by 11 votes for and 6 against. The 11 votes were mainly from youths, many of whom were not members of the steering committee. . . . History will record that it was his attempt to use the NYCOP boys to enforce this boycott that is the root of all our woes ever since. Saro, as usual, had left the country after making the arrangements for the destruction and terror which his lieutenant Goodluck Diigbo and his vandals unleashed on the Ogoni people on June 12, 1993."

It was at this point that then-president of MOSOP Dr. Leton, and Saro's earlier mentor, Chief Kobani, resigned from MOSOP in protest. On July 6, Saro-Wiwa elected himself the new president of MOSOP. On July 9, over 100 Ogoni people were reportedly murdered by the bordering Andoni tribe, beginning the Ogoni-Andoni war that continued through October. It is believed that this Ogoni-Andoni war was also the result of Saro's NYCOP vigilante band running roughshod over the neighboring Andoni tribe. Once a peace treaty was negotiated, Saro-Wiwa managed not to sign it by "making his exit through the State Executive Council Chambers toilet. His brother, Dr. Monday Wiwa, was to stealthily—likely by pre-arrangement—take Saro's things to him outside," writes Dr. Leton. Later Saro-Wiwa criticized the treaty and refused to follow it.

Concluded Leton in his police testimony: "The behavior of Saro-Wiwa appears to defy all rational analysis mainly because his actions and utterances do not fit into the norms of any civilized society. . . . Many have tried to explain away the unnatural behavior of Saro. Some say he is stark mad; others feel he is simply a sadist. . . ."

Saro-Wiwa attempted to stop every single development project attempted in Ogoniland. For example, he wrote a letter to the Oil and Minerals Producing Areas Development Commission (Ompadec), in which he stated that Ogoni people did not want any Ompadec project unless it was approved by Saro-Wiwa himself. He directed his boys to disrupt all ongoing Ompadec projects in Ogoni to the extent that a contract for Kaa was cancelled by Ompadec. Saro-Wiwa also wrote to the Federal Ministry of Works, warning that Ogoni did not want the Baen-Kpaen, Andoni-Bonney Federal road to pass through Ken-Khana. Because his men were not awarded the Chara-Dere-Bomy-Kpaen road contract, he condemned the road as of no consequence to the Ogoni, whereas

Ogoni leaders had fought for the construction of the vital road for years, Dr. Leton noted.

On May 14, 1994, the former leadership of MOSOP published the Giokoo Accord, which calls for the Gokana people within the Ogoni tribe to leave MOSOP. On May 21, four Ogoni leaders who had published the accord, Albert T. Badey, Edward Kobani, Samuel Orage, and Theophilus Orage, were brutally murdered, burnt, and partially eaten by members of NYCOP. On May 22, Ken Saro-Wiwa, Ledum Mitee, and others, were arrested for the crime. Ken Saro-Wiwa and nine others were convicted on Oct. 30 and 31, 1995, of murder by a Nigerian non-military tribunal that sat for eight months. On Nov. 10, Saro-Wiwa and his eight co-defendants were summarily hanged. Undoubtedly, few tears were shed for Saro-Wiwa in London. But the execution of their pawn, coming on the eve of the British Commonwealth heads-of-state summit, provided a new impetus for British intelligence's crusade to bring down the Abacha government, and to destroy Nigeria.

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## From A Saro-Wiwa Underling

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# 'We run the operation from London'

*The following is an interview with Lazaras Tamana, president of the Ogoni Foundation in London, and head of the Ogoni Community Organization in the U.K. The interview, on Nov. 20, was made available to EIR.*

**Q:** What is the Ogoni Foundation?

**Tamana:** The Foundation was set up fairly recently. We have a history of neglect. We set up this Foundation about three months ago to see what we can salvage out of the remaining people in Ogoni now.

**Q:** So some of the people trained under Ken Saro-Wiwa in Ogoni, established your Foundation?

**Tamana:** Yes. Myself being the president of the Ogoni community association here, we decided to set up a Foundation to . . . take care of the sympathy in terms of general donations for the victims.

**Q:** Did you work directly with Ken Saro-Wiwa? How long have you been in London?

**Tamana:** I was last in Ogoni in 1992, and then after that, it was not possible for me to go there, because I was a missionary, to publicize what the Nigerian government and Shell were doing in Ogoni.

**Q:** Did most of your people end up in London or are they distributed among the various western capitals?

**Tamana:** Well, as you know, London is nearer to Nigeria. It is easier for those of us who are stationed here in London to communicate with Nigeria and Ogoni directly. And here in London, we control the whole of Europe. And as you know, we are not that many. We don't have the manpower resources to spread our wings out all over Europe. So we decided to stay in London to control the rest of Europe from here.

**Q:** What did the elders want to do with the organization versus what Ken Saro-Wiwa wanted to do?

**Tamana:** All of them were together when they presented to the government the Ogoni Bill of Rights. The government then saw that this was a united front. Then, the government devised a means to divide the Ogoni people so that they couldn't stand. The government was part of the cause of the division. The Ogoni people boycotted the 1993 election in Nigeria. But previous to this 1993 time, when they submitted the Ogoni Bill of Rights in 1990, the government completely refused to talk to them; they refused to negotiate with Ogonis for their demands. So, in 1993, we decided to boycott the Nigerian elections.

**Q:** By this time, had the international community become interested in the Ogoni cause?

**Tamana:** Yes, exactly. We had already carried our case to the international community; to Geneva, to Vienna, and to all these other places. 1993 was the big year; this was the real beginning. We took our case to the international community, and then the Nigerian government suddenly realized that there was no way they could suppress us any more, because the case was now in the open and people were very interested. They [the government] started calling us terrorist organizations, giving us all sorts of names; they were trying to discredit this movement that the international community had already picked up as its own. The Nigerian government also came in to try to divide the people by calling some people moderates and calling some other people hard-liners. These were calculated tactics of the government to divide the so-called Elders against the youths, who had been *suffering for years!* Remember that these so-called Elders were part and parcel of the government; they all had high-level government posts at one time or another, or they were still holding government posts. What this meant was that their own aspirations were different than ours were.

**Q:** Going back to 1993, the international community fairly immediately responded to the Ogoni plight?

**Tamana:** As you know, international communities now are very sensitive about issues which relate to the environment and human rights. These two issues—we had them both—they were very, very interested. And you know, that we are also a member of the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples

Organization, which also promotes our cause. We are a minority; we are indigenous; that also helps our case. And also, the fact that a multinational company was involved in suppressing us for years, that was also another source of media attention for us, if you like.

**Q:** Which are the organizations that you think were the most helpful, from the beginning?

**Tamana:** UNPO, which is the Unrepresented Peoples Organization, [and] Greenpeace. Greenpeace early on came to Ogoniland to see for themselves the situation there; Friends of the Earth were also there. Of course, Amnesty International, they were constantly on the human rights aspect of it. And Human Rights Watch-Africa was also part of the *whole* thing. We also had Body-Shop International. . . . They do cosmetics and lotions, mostly for women; shampoos, and things like that. They are big here and in Vienna, and they are sympathetic to our cause. They are just a business, but they are interested in what we were doing, and how we were being suppressed, so they decided this was a case that they were interested in.

**Q:** Friends of the Earth, did they ever send a delegation to Ogoniland?

**Tamana:** They did not send a delegation. People who sent delegations were UNPO; Human Rights Watch-Africa; the Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative; this thing by Michael Bombom, a lawyer from the U.K., who went there to observe even the trial itself. He was sent by the Bar Council of England and Wales. After he went to the trial, he came out with a report, which is available.

**Q:** Who from the House of Lords tried to help you?

**Tamana:** There is Michael Bombom; he is independent, international, and he is not biased in his statements. Lord Avebury was also very helpful. We tried to work with him to get the Nigerian government to listen to us, but the Nigerian government refused. These are the people who have been working with us for years.

**Q:** But was the Labour Party your biggest support?

**Tamana:** Naturally!

**Q:** How did the change in Nelson Mandela's stance on Nigeria come about? Now he is calling for an oil embargo against Nigeria, when before he was not.

**Tamana:** Mandela has made a remarkable turn-around. He will be speaking to the U.K. prime minister soon. Mandela had to make this change in order for him to regain his position as the current leader of Africa.

**Q:** Have you been in contact with the African National Congress around this issue—before Mandela changed directions?

**Tamana:** Yes. We are in constant communication with the grass-roots of the ANC. They are equally powerful!

# From the diary of a murdered Ogoni elder

*The following are excerpts from a handwritten diary of Albert T. Badey, who was murdered on May 21, 1994, which reflect his attempts to "turn Ken Saro-Wiwa around" and have him correct himself and to act for the "common good." A founding member of the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP), Badey was also a former Permanent Secretary Commissioner and Secretary to the Rivers State Government and head of the civil service.*

*Badey was killed when 2,000 youths, ages 15-22, stormed the Gbenemene Palace, where a meeting of tribunal chiefs and elders was taking place. Approximately six months earlier, a "News Flash" from Nobel Prize writer Ken Saro-Wiwa had ordered the deaths of Ogoni leaders he considered "vultures," who he claimed were taking "billions of naira in bribes" from the enemies of Ogoni, in order to betray the Ogoni Revolution. Once the "vultures" were out of the way, the Ogoni "new kingdom" could come into being, financed by reparations.*

*All but one of those listed in the "News Flash" who attended the May 21 meeting of chiefs, received fatal blows. Others in the meeting, who were not marked for death, were released. According to witnesses, those killed, including Badey, were ceremoniously beheaded, and their bodies stomped and danced upon.*

**June 28, 1993**—Received a phone call from the State Governor today 28th June 1993, saying that the security situation in Ogoni is worsening; that the military have gotten the knowledge that fourteen-year-olds are being given military training in forest hideouts for guerrilla warfare; that I should speak to our youth about this. I responded by telling the Governor that if a situation like that exists, it is for him as the Chief Security Officer of the state and the State Governor to handle. Made him aware that my own efforts have been misinterpreted, to the extent that a meeting scheduled at my house was interpreted to have been an arrangement for the arrest of Saro-Wiwa. . . .

**September 27, 1993**—Meeting in my house on Monday 27/9/93 to advise Ken Saro-Wiwa on the effect of his actions. . . . Invited: Mr. Ken Saro-Wiwa and whoever else he wants. . . . Notes on what Badey was going to try to say (or did say) to Ken Saro-Wiwa. Introduction: motivated by a burning desire to avert cleavage in the ranks of Ogoni leadership; afraid of anarchy; worried about antagonizing all other ethnic groups. As an Ogoni man perennially interested in the wel-

fare of Ogoni; being a realist and a responsible citizen, I decided to talk to Ken Saro-Wiwa in love and in honesty for his own good, our common good, and with a view that if each person corrects himself and does what is right. It is left for Mr. Wiwa to see that the effort is honest, genuine, and that it prosper. As for me, I proceed on the principle that the truth must always be told.

This much must be told to Mr. Wiwa:

a) That the goal of MOSOP is good and right, and the potential of leading Ogoni to great heights is inestimable. But it has been derailed.

b) That the mobilization of the Ogoni people for genuine development on the principles of MOSOP as originally conceived was not Ken Saro-Wiwa's personal achievement. Indeed, Dr. [G.B.] Leton, Chief [E.N.] Kobani, and Senator [Dr. B.N.] Birabi were the joint forces that brought this successful mobilization about.

c) That, progressively, MOSOP has been converted into an aggressive organ, confrontational and antagonistic to government; to other ethnic groups, to even Ogonis themselves. . . .

e) That the personalization of the whole of MOSOP has led to the insult to very serious leaders to the extent that young people have been made to be unruly, blatantly discourteous, with serious results—the burning of houses, maligning of leaders. . . .

f) That Oganiland is now a land of anarchy: There are no functioning law enforcement agents; the youth have now become lawless; school houses have been burnt; it has become a reign of terror; there are few functioning schools in Ogoni; development projects have been derailed.

g) That it must not be forgotten that the custodians of MOSOP are the signatories on the original founding document, the Ogoni Bill of Rights, and it is these people who together can take legitimate decisions in the absence of a properly adopted constitution. . . .

i) That the *good* of MOSOP can still be salvaged. The following needs to be done/not done.

1) careful repair of image; to relationship with government;

2) rebuild image with police and army;

3) return all law enforcement agents to Ogonis to re-establish order and stem chaos in the bud. This is a very urgent matter;

4) return to the goal of MOSOP by using it as an instrument of development;

5) dismantle check points . . . ;

6) publicity—particularly foreign press to be downplayed.

**November 29, 1993**—Received information . . . that in a meeting I and three others were selected and "approved" as persons to be killed. Requested him to get more information regarding all who attended the meeting; and all of those billed to be killed; their agents and hit men if possible.