

**Refugee Review Tribunal
AUSTRALIA**

RRT RESEARCH RESPONSE

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Questions

- 1. Please provide some information on the Ogoni people. For example, specify defining periods or events of the Ogoni people, important people, if relevant particular food, or anything defining.**
- 2. Please provide information on the relationship between the Ibos and Ogoni people generally.**
- 3. Anything else of relevance.**

RESPONSE

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- 2. Please provide information on the relationship between the Ibos and Ogoni people generally.**

The official website of the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) provides the following general information on the geography, population, culture and language of the Ogoni people:

The Geography:

Ogoniland is situated in an area of about 100,000 km², east of Port Harcourt in Rivers State. Because of their agricultural economy and an increasing population, most of the rain forest that once covered the area has been cleared for farming. The area forms part of the coastal plains, featuring terraces with gentle slopes intersected by deep valleys that carry water intermittently.



Population:

The Ogoni are a distinct people numbering more than 500,000, who have lived in the Niger Delta for more than 500 years. The Ogoni are an agricultural and fishing society, living in close-knit rural communities in one of the most densely populated areas of Africa. The true origins of the Ogoni people are not very well-known. One theory is that they migrated into the area from across the Imo River. A second theory is that the Ogoni came in boats from Ghana and settled in the southern part of the area. Believers in this theory point to the name by which most of the Ogoni peoples call themselves (Khana) as a pointer to the Ghana origins of the Ogoni people.

Culture and language:

Ogoniland consists of six kingdoms: Babbe, Eleme, Gokana, Ken-Khana, Nyo-Khana, and Tai. Within Ogoniland four main languages are spoken, which, although related, are mutually unintelligible. Linguistic experts classify the Ogoni languages of Khana, Gokana, and Eleme as a distinct group within the Beneu-Congo branch of African languages or, more particularly, as a branch in the New Beneu-Congo family.

Despite the introduction of Christianity, many aspects of the indigenous Ogoni culture and religion are still evident. The land on which they live and the rivers that surround them are very important to the Ogoni people. They not only provided enough food, they are also believed to be a god and are worshiped as such. This explains why the Ogoni people have so many difficulties with the degradation of the environment as a result of oil pollution.

The fruit of the land, especially yams, are honoured in festivals. The annual festival of the Ogoni people is held during the period of the yam harvest.

The planting season is not just a period of agricultural activity, but it is a spiritual, religious and social occasion. 'Tradition' in Ogoni means in the local tongue (doonu kuneke) the honouring of the land. The Ogoni people believe that the soul of every human being has the ability to leave its human form and enter into that of an animal, taking on the shape of that animal. These characteristics show that nature is very important for the Ogoni people.

... History: Archaeological and linguistic evidence suggests the Ogoni have inhabited the Niger Delta for up to 500 years. They established an organized social system which worked under a monarchy and under which men and women of courage and ability enjoyed a special status. During the slave trade, Ogoniland lay on the slave route from the hinterland to the

coastal slave markets. However, no Ogoni man or woman was taken as a slave. Marriage with a neighbour, except the Ibibio, was forbidden by Ogoni customs and tradition. This way, the Ogoni people were able to live in relative isolation during the era of the slave trade. When other forms of trade were introduced into the region in the second half of the 19th century, weapons were purchased and wars became the order of the day. After the Berlin Treaty of 1885, Nigeria came under British colonial rule, but it was not until 1901 that British forces arrived in Ogoniland. The cultural differences (sic) led to resistance on the side of the Ogoni people, but as they were not strong enough to resist the British patrols the Ogoni people were finally subjugated in 1914. The British saw Nigeria in terms of three major ethnic groups: the Hausa-Fulani, the Yoruba and the **Igbo**, thereby ignoring more than 250 smaller peoples, including the Ogoni. The Ogoni were regarded with contempt by all other groups in the Delta region and were often positioned at the bottom of the social ladder ('Ogoni Kingdom' 1993, Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) website, sourced from Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO) website, 19 January <http://www.mosop.net/MOSOPOgoniK.htm> – Accessed 13 November 2007 – Attachment 1).

This page of the MOSOP website goes on to describe in detail the origins and history of the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People itself, including significant events and leaders involved:

Organisations: The Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP) was founded in 1990, to unite all the Ogoni people. **First president of MOSOP was the well-known Nigerian writer and poet Ken Saro-Wiwa, until he was brutally executed by the Federal government on November 10, 1995.** The Ogoni Bill of Rights (OBR) outlines the demands of the Ogoni people for environmental, social and economic justice. The OBR opposes the revenue allocation formula under which the federal, state and local governments have almost complete power over the distribution of oil revenues. The Ogoni people feel they were not adequately compensated for the take-over of their land by the oil companies and the environmental damages they suffered. MOSOP became a member of UNPO in January 1993.

... **History of the conflict:** In 1958 Shell Oil Company struck oil in Ogoniland, which set in motion a process that dramatically affected not only Ogoni society, but Nigeria as a whole. Today, oil accounts for over 90% of Nigeria's export earnings and some 80% of government revenue, controlling the entire Nigerian economy. The land of the Niger Delta is the source of over 90% of Nigeria's oil. For the Ogoni, who live in this region, the environmental and social costs of oil exploitation were painfully high. In 1990, the Ogoni organized themselves in the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP). The President of MOSOP was the well-known Nigerian writer and poet Ken Saro-Wiwa. The Ogoni Bill of Rights (OBR) outlined their demands for environmental, social and economic justice. The OBR opposed the revenue allocation formula under which the federal, state and local governments have almost complete power over the distribution of oil revenues. The Ogoni felt they were not adequately compensated for the take-over of their land by the oil companies and the environmental damages they suffered.

In 1993, Shell withdrew from Ogoniland, because of the hostile attitude of the local community to the company's activities. Later that year Shell went back under the protection of the Nigerian military. The peaceful protests of the Ogoni against the building of yet another pipeline were answered with gunfire. Several conflicts occurred between July 1993 and April 1994 between Ogoni and their neighbours. Available evidence, including the sophisticated weaponry that was used by the adversaries of the Ogoni, indicate that governmental authorities were probably behind these supposedly "ethnic conflicts". Following the second such conflict, in April 1994, a huge military operation was launched by the government, supposedly to restore order, but in fact destroying Ogoni lives and property.

On May 21, 1994, four conservative Ogoni leaders were murdered in Gokana Kingdom, reportedly by angry youths. Ken Saro-Wiwa, Ledum Mitee and a number of other MOSOP leaders were arrested and accused of involvement in the murders. The day after the

murders, the Internal Security Task Force, a military unit set up especially to “restore order” in Ogoniland, under command of Lt. Col Okuntimo, stormed into Ogoniland raiding, burning and looting villages. While thousands of Ogoni villagers took refuge in the bush, hundreds were detained and tortured. Many Ogoni died in the weeks that followed.

In February 1995, after eight months of being detained without official charges, Ken Saro-Wiwa and the other Ogoni leaders were brought before a special tribunal, established by the military government. While in detention, the accused were often denied access to lawyers, medical care and family members. Independent international observers expressed their deep doubts about the fairness of the trial in protest of the Tribunal’s failure to meet Nigeria’s own standards of fairness.

On October 31, 1995, Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other Ogonis were sentenced to death by the Special Tribunal. In blatant defiance of numerous appeals by the international community, Ken Saro-Wiwa and his eight fellow Ogoni were brutally executed on Friday, November 10, 1995. Ken Saro-Wiwa had been a prominent figure within UNPO.

In March 1996, non-partisan elections were held in Nigeria to fill all local government seats with elected civilian Chairs and Councillors. It was widely reported that all persons associated with MOSOP were prevented from participation, and those who presented themselves were either beaten or detained and later disqualified. Since the election of Obasanjo, the situation of the Ogoni people has somewhat improved. The Obasanjo government seems to be more committed towards the principles of democracy, human rights and good governance. At the moment government sponsored development projects and projects initiated by Shell are organized in Ogoniland.

In the first months of 2001, MOSOP participated at the Oputa Human Rights Investigation Panel hearings in Port Harcourt, Nigeria. MOSOP called on the Nigerian military to accept responsibility for grave human rights violations by its officer corps against the Ogoni, committed between 1994 and 1998. Senior officers appearing for the Oputa Panel played down and even denied any involvement in the arbitrary shootings, rapes, assaults and detentions. These testimonies, thus, seem to be nothing less than a disgrace to the whole purpose of the Panel; to bring justice to the victims of these human rights violations. Another important development was the US Supreme Court ruling that Shell International and its subsidiary Shell Transport and Trading can be prosecuted for their alleged involvement in the Ken Saro-Wiwa murder case (‘Ogoni Kingdom’ 1993, Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) website, sourced from Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO) website, 19 January <http://www.mosop.net/MOSOPogoniK.htm> – Accessed 13 November 2007 – Attachment 1).

The MOSOP website also gives the following persons as “past heroes” and “distinguished Ogoni sons and daughters”:

Highlights only on the past heroes and other distinguished Ogoni sons and daughters, etc:

Past Heroes Ken Saro Wiwa, Dr. Barinem Kiobel, Baribor Bera, Nordu Eawo, Saturday Dobe, Daniel Gbokoo, Paul Levura, Mr. Felix Nuate, Chief Theophilus Orage, Mr. Samuel Orage, Mr. Albert Badey, Chief Edward Kobani, John Kpuinen, Dr. G. B. Leton (‘Ogoni past heroes’ (undated), Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) website, <http://www.mosop.net/MosopHeroes.htm> – Accessed 13 November 2007 – Attachment 2).

Further details on the history and farming methods of the Ogoni are provided on the Ogoni Forum website. This history includes references to the “first graduate and political leader” of Ogoniland, Mr. Timothy Naakue Paul Birabi:

Brief History of Ogoni: Who are the Ogoni people?

The Ogoni people have a predominant and popular historical myth about their origin and nativity. This is that the Ogoni people were nomadic traders and peasants that may have originated from other African nations.

They may have settled in the present day Volta Region of Ghana for many unknown numbers of years ago. Contemporary history confirms the fact that the Volta Region of Ghana once played host to some nomadic people who were extracts of the African Jews. Recently, Ahmadiel Ben Yehuda, the Minister of Information and National Spokesman for the African Hebrew Israelites of Jerusalem has been researching on African Jews in the West African Region. He confirms that there are numerous traces of Jewish customs, traditions and practices in the Volta Region where the Ogoni people are believed to have settled years ago.

There is also another version of the Ogoni history that claims that the Ogoni people may have migrated from across the Imo River, this later theory basis its argument on the ground that the Ogoni people have a lot in common with neighboring tribes that lives across the Imo River. This theory is flawed by the fact that it fail to note that the similarities between the Ogoni people and their neighbors have to do with their interactions with the Ibibio, Igbani and Igbo people. The Ogoni people obviously had elements of other tribes in their culture as a result of interaction and that does not change the fact that they migrated from Ghana.

Comparing the customs and ways of life in the Volta Region of Ghana to those of the Ogoni people, it has been discovered that:

The method of farming in the Volta Region of Ghana and that of the Ogoni people are almost the same. **The Volta Region of Ghana farms cassava and yams as their chief crops and so does the Ogoni people.** And these two crops are planted in the same ways in the Volta Region of Ghana and in Ogoniland.

There are several villages and communities, whose names are the same as common names, villages and communities in the Ogoniland e.g. (Eleme, Kpone and Bakpo) The alphabets and pronunciation of some Volta peoples and those of the Ogoni people are the same.

The method and style of building native huts with mud and thatches are the same.

... The first village that was formed by the Ogoni people is called Nama in Keh Khana Kingdom.

... The Ogoni people occupy a geographical area measuring about 400 square miles and numbering about 500,000. The population density in Ogoniland as at 1993 was 1,250 persons per square mile, which is almost five times the Nigerian average number of persons per square mile. Hence, **the Ogoni people are the smallest ethnic group in the Nigerian geo-political configuration, and the most condensed people living in Nigeria.** The Ogoni people are already in short supply of land for both habitation and economic activity .It therefore behooves the Ogoni people to fight for the protection of their land against the mechanization by the government to completely dispossess the Ogonis of their heritage. It appears that the wars that were waged against the Ogoni people for their lands in those days is being re-enacted through modern methods, politics and globalization facilitated by Western nations and their Trans national companies.

... **Ogoniland had her first graduate and modern political leader in the person of Mr. Timothy Naakue Paul Birabi.** A graduate of Mathematics in 1953, late Birabi was a teacher by profession, he organized the Ogoni people to build their own schools and health centers, which included the Birabi Memorial Grammar School (BMGS), the premier high school in Ogoniland. Birabi was the first man to give the Ogoni people the sense of modern

organization of the Ogoni affairs. He died in a mysterious circumstance that was linked to his political activities and co-ordination of the Ogoni people. Paul Birabi taught the Ogoni people to build their own schools and social amenities and it has thus become a tradition that the Ogoni people are still building their own schools. While the government takes over the management of these schools from them and imposes high school fees that the Ogoni people cannot pay.

The first missionary that came to Ogoni land was Rev. Paul Kingston of the Methodist church in 1926. He studied the Khana language and then went back abroad to develop the alphabets. This enabled him to translate the bible into Khana in 1929. Today the Lutheran Church is about to complete work on the Gokana bible translation as well as the Eleme bible translation. This early foundation played a very key in giving the Ogoni people a realization and need to acquire modern education, and they embraced it according to their resources and strength, depending on community and missionary scholarships to train the first sets of graduates in the land. This history of organizing a common destiny through the giving of scholarship to deserving persons, community businesses, community projects is what Ken Saro Wiwa argued extensively. Stressing the need to recognized and encouraged as ethnical governance and organization as part of the Nigerian state using a fair proportion of the natural resources in the land for the development of the people as way of protecting the Ogoni as minority group as well other groups. It is this struggle led by Ken Saro Wiwa is what brought the Ogoni people to the world political map ('Brief History of Ogoni – Who are the Ogoni people?' (undated), Ogoni Forum website, http://72.14.253.104/search?q=cache:f2ZUJTSkZBIJ:www.ogoniforum.org.za/index.php%3Foption%3Dcom_content%26task%3Dview%26id%3D26%26Itemid%3D29%26date%3D2007-12-01+%22ogoni+people%22+nigeria&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=105&gl=au – Accessed 13 November 2007 – Accessed 13 November 2007 – Attachment 3).

A July 2007 news article from Nigeria's *The Guardian* points out that the Ogoni and the Igbo communities are considered neighbours by sharing a common boundary. The article also goes on to discuss other Ogoni cultural practices especially related to masks and masquerades:

THE Ogoni occupy an alluvial plain bounded on the north by the Imo River and their Igbo neighbours, on the South, by the littoral flats inhabited by the Obolo (Andoni), on the east, by the Opobo River and the Ibibo, and on the west by the Ikwere which stretches into the large city of Port Harcourt, Rivers State. Their occupation consist mainly of farming and fishing.

Socially, the Ogoni is endowed with a large variety of cultural practices. These include masks and masquerades, human figure representation of the ancestors, as maybe used in Ka-elu performances and the puppet shows which are performed exclusively by the Amanikpo Society. Majority of these cultural performances in this relatively small region are extraordinarily varied. Most if not all, Ogoni villages have their own festivals, some of long standing, others introduced within living memory. The festivals are mainly held to commemorate the founding of the villages, to pay allegiance to particular ancestral land or water spirits, to mark the planting and harvesting seasons, for the fertility deity, to recognise the taking of titles, to restore peace in troubled community, to maintain cohesion within social groupings and for general entertainment.

The Karikpo Mask/Masquerade

Of all their known festivals and masquerades, the mask style for which the Ogoni are probably most renowned is the one called Karikpo. The Marikpo mask represents animals and is worn on the front of the face by men and boys. It is used for vigorous acrobatic play, performed originally during planting and harvesting seasons for fertility, new yam festivals, burial ceremonies of members and recently for Christmas and New year celebrations, including reception for a distinguished guest or an illustrious son. The masquerade

performance is believed, especially in Khana to have originated in a certain community known as Bien-Gwara. Although there may not be substantial proof to this, but it is believed the community's interaction with the Ibibios of Akwa Ibom State, where Ekpo mask has its provenance, may have influenced its adaptation and modification hence its name Kari (Carved) Kpo (Ekpo). Membership into the Karikpo Society does not require an elaborate ritual or initiation, but an intending member is made to provide items like a bottle of gin, palm wine, a plate of oiled fish. These would be eaten by the members who then accepts him as one of them (Otuka, V. 2007, 'Karikpo masquerade of the Ogoni', The Guardian (Nigeria) website, 14 July http://www.guardiannewsngr.com/life_style/article18/140707 – Accessed 14 November 2007 – Attachment 4).

Igbo or Ibo:

The Igbo or Ibo are one of the major ethnic groups of Nigeria at 18% of the population (the other major ethnic groups include the Hausa and Fulani 29%, the Yoruba 21%, and the Ijaw 10%) (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2007, *Country Fact Sheet – NIGERIA*, Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada website, August http://www.irb-cisr.gc.ca/en/research/publications/index_e.htm?docid=358&cid=161&version=printable&claimer=show – Accessed 14 November 2007 – Attachment 5).

The Igbo live mainly in five southern states of Nigeria and a majority are Christian, according to the 2004 Minorities at Risk report on the Center for International Development and Conflict Management (CIDCM) website:

The group is concentrated mainly in the southern states of Rivers, Imo, Anambra, Cross River, and Akiwibom, although some have moved throughout the country ... The majority of the group is Christian, and they have different customs and traditions compared to the other large ethnic groups in the country ('Assessment for Ibo in Nigeria' 2004, Center for International Development and Conflict Management (CIDCM) website, <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/mar/assessment.asp?groupId=47503> – Accessed 13 November 2007 – Attachment 6).

A large map showing the distribution of ethnic groups across Nigeria, including the location of the Igbo and the Ogoni populations is provided in Attachment 7 ('Nigeria, ethnic groups' areas' (undated), ARTHEOS website, <http://www.artheos.org/cgi-bin/get.pl?c0=&c1=&c2=&lang=eng&pg=8&O=5393&P=2015> – Accessed 14 November 2007 – Attachment 7).

Human Rights Watch indicated in 1999 that "there are large numbers of Igbo immigrants into the minority areas [of the Niger Delta] especially to the British-created town of Port Harcourt" (Human Rights Watch 1999, 'Oil Companies and the Oil Producing Communities' Human Rights Watch website, <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/nigeria/Nigew991-06.htm> – Accessed 14 November 2007 – Attachment 8).

The US Department of State comments in its most recent religious freedom report on the religious and employment characteristics of the Igbo:

In the East, where the Igbo ethnic group is dominant, Catholics, Anglicans, and Methodists are the majority, although many Igbos continue to observe traditional rites and ceremonies in tandem with Christianity.... Religious differences often mirror regional, tribal-ethnic, and occupational differences. For example, in many areas of the Middle Belt, Muslim Fulani tend to be pastoralists, while the Muslim Hausa and most Christian Igbo and other ethnic groups tend to be farmers or work in urban areas. Consequently ethnic, regional, economic, and land use competition often correlate with religious differences between the

competing groups (US Department of State 2007, *International Religious Freedom Report – Nigeria*, 14 September – Attachment 9).

3. Anything else of relevance.

The Ogoni Youth Council has a website – <http://ogoniyouthcouncil.org/contact.htm>. The website contains little information; it is said to be still under construction. The following information is provided on the beginnings and aims of the Youth Council and contact details:

Welcome to the Official Website of the Ogoni Youth Council

The Ogoni youth council (OYC) was formed in the year 1989 through effort of some great persons. Among these is Marvin Yobana (current president OYC) and others. It is geared towards making the Ogoni youths better youths than they are in society by dragging their attention from being thugs, violence and all sorts of nuisance in society. Since it was formed, the attitude of the Ogoni youth has changed drastically from what it was known for. We urge all Ogoni youths to abstain from drugs, violence, cultism, prostitution and any other indulgence that will result in reproach to Ogoni. There is a lot to do out there that is far better than all these.

CONTACT

OGONI YOUTH COUNCIL NATIONAL HEADQUARTER #32 Hospital Road Bori, Ogoni, Rivers State.

Tel: 08036757502, 08033043338, 08025462130, Fax: 084-235016 (Official Website of the Ogoni Youth Council (undated), <http://ogoniyouthcouncil.org/index.htm> – Accessed 14 November 2007 – Attachment 10).

In 1996, the historian and the Director of the African Research Institute at La Trobe University, Dr David Dorward, commented on both the Igbo and Ogoni people of Nigeria, including on the “definition” of an Ogoni:

Dr David Dorward is a historian and the Director of the African Research Institute at La Trobe University. Between 1962-64 he was in the Peace Corps in Nigeria, where he taught at Nigerian secondary schools. He completed a PhD on Nigerian Society in the School of Oriental and African Studies at London University and undertook research in Nigeria in 1968, 1974, 1976 and 1982-83. His last fieldwork in Nigeria was in 1985, although he maintains an awareness of Nigerian affairs through contacts, reading and teaching. He currently teaches a postgraduate course at La Trobe in African history, focussing on Nigeria and Kenya.

Dr Dorward was asked about the language(s) spoken by the Ibo (Igbo). He stated that the language of the Ibo is Ibo. The Ibo, until early this century, were not a single political entity but a series of kingdoms and village democracies. The fragmented nature of their society meant that linguistically the Ibo dialects were quite different. With the translation of the Bible into Ibo a union or Bible Ibo was created and the Ibo language was standardised. Although at the local level variation between dialects remains.

Dr Dorward was asked whether it is possible to ascertain a Nigerian’s ethnicity on the basis of their name. He stated that, although there are ideal naming structures amongst ethnic groups, in reality it is not possible to determine an individual’s ethnicity by their name. There are 450 languages in Nigeria. Nigerians often believe that names mean something and that they can impart characteristics on an individual and determine their fate. For example, during the post war period, some children were named after Hitler or Stalin as a protest against British colonialism and as a nationalistic statement. Also individuals would often be named after

local missionaries or incorporate a bit of European material culture into their name. For example they may take the word 'bicycle', translated into their local language as their surname. Also, in Nigeria a lot of name changing occurs. Individuals have the name their parents gave them. If something goes wrong they may change that name to ward off the evil eye or to avoid witchcraft. In some areas an individual may have multiple names because of name avoidance systems. This means they will be called different names by different individuals depending on their relationship.

Dr Dorward was asked about the likelihood or reality of non-Ogoni involvement in Ogoni groups. He said it depended on what you meant by an Ogoni. It is difficult to define an Ogoni, like it is difficult to define an Australian Aboriginal. For example, it is possible that an individual may not be an ethnic Ogoni but because of intermarriage with an Ogoni they may be accepted by the Ogoni community. Also Ogoni parents may live outside Ogoni land and have a child and that child would still be an Ogoni. Dr Dorward stated that Ogonis do live outside Ogoniland. A lot have moved to the state capital Port Harcourt for work or school opportunities. Nigeria is a fluid and highly urbanised society and people are very mobile.

Dr Dorward added that given the current political reality in Nigeria, it would seem unlikely that an ethnic non-Ogoni would be involved in an Ogoni group unless he or she had demonstrated his commitment to the Ogoni cause or had interrelations with Ogonis. He added that if an individual was accepted as a member of an Ogoni cultural group you could be pretty sure they were Ogoni.

I agree that the record of conversation above is an accurate reflection of my comments. I have been advised that the information I provide may be used by the Tribunal to review applications for refugee status. The information and my identity may be disclosed to refugee applicants, their advisers, the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs or otherwise become publicly available (Dorward, D. 1996, 'Comments provided to the RRT by Dr David Dorward On Ibos, Ogonis And Language In Nigeria', 24 May – Attachment 11).

List of Sources Consulted

Internet Sources:

Government Information & Reports

United Nations (UN)

Non-Government Organisations

International News & Politics

Region Specific Links

Topic Specific Links

Search Engines

Google search engine <http://www.google.com.au/>

Online Subscription Services

Library Networks

University Sites

Databases:

FACTIVA (news database)

BACIS (DIMA Country Information database)

REFINFO (IRBDC (Canada) Country Information database)

ISYS (RRT Country Research database, including Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, US Department of State Reports)

RRT Library Catalogue

List of Attachments

1. 'Ogoni Kingdom' 1993, Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) website, sourced from Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO) website, 19 January <http://www.mosop.net/MOSOPOgoniK.htm> – Accessed 13 November 2007.
2. 'Ogoni past heroes' (undated), Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) website, <http://www.mosop.net/MosopHeroes.htm> – Accessed 13 November 2007.
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4. Otuka, V. 2007, 'Karikpo masquerade of the Ogoni', The Guardian (Nigeria) website, 14 July http://www.guardiannewsngr.com/life_style/article18/140707 – Accessed 14 November 2007.
5. Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2007, *Country Fact Sheet – NIGERIA*, Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada website, August http://www.irb-cisr.gc.ca/en/research/publications/index_e.htm?docid=358&cid=161&version=printable&disclaimer=show – Accessed 14 November 2007.
6. 'Assessment for Ibo in Nigeria' 2004, Center for International Development and Conflict Management (CIDCM) website, <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/mar/assessment.asp?groupId=47503> – Accessed 13 November 2007.
7. 'Nigeria, ethnic groups' areas' (undated), ARTHEOS website, <http://www.artheos.org/cgi-bin/get.pl?c0=&c1=&c2=&lang=eng&pg=8&O=5393&P=2015> – Accessed 14 November 2007.
8. Human Rights Watch 1999, 'Oil Companies and the Oil Producing Communities' Human Rights Watch website, <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/nigeria/Nigew991-06.htm> – Accessed 14 November 2007.
9. US Department of State 2007, *International Religious Freedom Report – Nigeria*, 14 September.
10. Official Website of the Ogoni Youth Council (undated), <http://ogoniyouthcouncil.org/index.htm> – Accessed 14 November 2007.
11. Dorward, D. 1996, 'Comments provided to the RRT by Dr David Dorward On Ibos, Ogonis And Language In Nigeria', 24 May. (CISNET Nigeria CX18698)