Social Conflict, Economic Development & Justice in a Global Economy:
Ken Saro-Wiwa

• Saro-Wiwa: Executed by Nigerian govt, Nov. 1995 for murder

• The story

• Continuation of colonial & independence themes
Nigeria & the Commodity Lottery
Oil Revenues

Oil Exports, % Total Exports

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>98%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Government revenues from oil

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ogoniland
Ken Saro-Wiwa
The story

• Colonialism & Nigerian federalism
• Ethnicity
• Limits of self-determination
• Re-allocation of oil wealth
Life in Ogoniland
Ogoni oil stream, lined with crude oil
The Curse of Oil in Ogoniland

"Oil is a curse which means only poverty, hunger, disease and exploitation"
- Emanuel Nnadozie in *Oil and Socioeconomic Crisis in Nigeria*
In November 1995, leading Ogoni activist Ken Saro-Wiwa, MOSOP's leader, and eight others, were convicted and later executed on charges of incitement to murder. Some have said that SPDC did nothing to stop this.

On the contrary, the facts are that, despite Ken Saro-Wiwa's criticisms of Shell in general and SPDC in particular, we said that he had a right to freely hold and air his views. During the trial, we consistently and publicly stated that all the accused had a right to a fair legal process. After the trial verdict was announced, Cor Herkstroter, the former chairman of Royal Dutch/Shell Group, also sent a personal letter appealing to the Nigerian Head of State to show clemency on humanitarian grounds. Regrettably, despite our appeal and those of others, the executions went ahead.

We also made our position clear on the Ogoni 20, who were detained in 1994 for the same murders as Ken Saro-Wiwa. They were released in September 1998. Like all Shell companies world wide, SPDC can not
The Ogoni Issue close *(from Royal Dutch Shell website)*

Prior to SPDC's enforced withdrawal from Ogoni territory in January 1993, in the face of threats made against staff, the area accounted for around 4% of its oil production. Various allegations have since been made about the company's activities in the area, one of which is environmental devastation of the area.

The Movement for Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP) have been campaigning for some years for the right to control and use a fair proportion of Ogoni economic resources for development purposes, and greater autonomy and control over their affairs, (including cultural, religious and environmental matters). MOSOP's demands were summarised in their 1990 'Ogoni Bill of Rights', which are mostly of a political nature and addressed to the Nigerian Government.

SPDC agrees that, in the past, not enough oil revenue has been returned to the oil producing areas for developmental purposes. But the company cannot dictate how its contribution to the national purse should be spent - this is a matter for Nigeria and is indeed at the heart of most Nigerian political discussion. We have made our views known and contributed to debates aimed at improving governance of the allocation of oil revenue to oil-producing communities, which includes the Ogonis. SPDC has been actively involved in the oil revenue issue since 1980 and participated in two local government reviews. Perhaps as a result of these efforts, allocation of oil revenues to oil-producing communities was increased from 3% to 13% in 1995. This increase only became effective in April 2000.
Shell's image
demonstration
Anti-Saro-Wiwa demonstration
Themes from colonial & independence periods

• Continuities
• Discontinuities