



International Society For Civil Liberties & The Rule Of Law



Phone: +2348182411462, +2348174090052

E-mail: info@intersociety-ng.org

Website: www.intersociety-ng.org

Follow Us:     

Special Report

Under Buhari & Osinbajo: Many Have Gone & Crippled For Life In Eastern Nigeria

(Detailed Chronology of Nigerian Military Massacre Operations in Eastern Nigeria: August 2015-Sept. 2017)

About Intersociety

International Society for Civil Liberties & the Rule of Law is a registered non-governmental and nonprofit human rights, security and democracy advocacy group based in Onicha-Mmili (Onitsha), Southeast Nigeria; thematically advocating for promotion and advancement of *democracy and good governance, civil liberties and the rule of law and citizens' security and safety*. See our website for more details at www.intersociety-ng.org.

General Background: The Igbo Ethnic Nationality (group victim of the grisly crimes against humanity in Eastern Nigeria) is one of over 370 ethnic groups in Nigeria and among the three largest tribes of Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo in the country. The People of Igbo Nation ancestrally occupy five States in Nigeria, namely: Anambra, Enugu, Imo, Abia and Ebonyi with combined land mass of 29, 525 square kilometers(km²) involving: (a) Enugu-7,161km², (b) Abia-6,320km², (c) Ebonyi-5,670km², (d) Imo-5,630km² and (e) Anambra-4,844km²). These five core Igbo States have combined sedentary or home population of over 30m and are located in old Eastern Nigeria, now called "Southeast Nigeria."

There are also outpost Igbo populations in the present Delta State (40%), Edo State (fraction), Kogi State (sizeable), Kwara State (fraction), Benue State (sizeable), Rivers State (60%), Cross Rivers State (sizeable) and Akwa Ibom State (fraction) with estimated landmass of 25,000 square kilometers or more. There are *lost tribes* of the Igbo population cutting across some countries in Africa, South and North America and European continents and the Caribbean; likewise several *assimilated or igbonized Igbo populations* (i.e., Agbor and Arochukwu Kingdoms,etc).

Part of the original Igbo People are several migrants and Igbo settler populations in Northern Nigeria with their settlement areas retaining their host place names; dating back to the 17th and 18th centuries. Most of these Igbo settlers retain their ancestral roots and culture with their original homeland including language, tribes, dialects, names, and religions till date.

According to Chekwes Okorie (2017), there are several Igbo settlements in Northern Nigeria with their settlement areas named after Hausa and other host languages. These ancient Igbo settlers include the Igbo People of Gusau in present Zamfara State who migrated to the area in 1600 AD. He further informed that in the year 2000 when the Fulani People marked 200 hundred years of their Jihadist incursion into Northern Nigeria, the Igbo People of Gusau also marked 400yrs of their migration and settlement in Gusau.

Igbo People presently have a combined population of over 50m; comprising sedentary, outpost and pastoral Igbo populations. People of Igbo Nation are presently found in over 80 countries of the world. Source: **Emeka Umeagbalasi (2018): the Return of Igbo Justice System in Nigeria: a comprehensive account of the origin, kingship and original ways of life of the Igbo People of Africa (unpublished)**

The People of Igbo Nation have since 1945, starting from Jos in Plateau State faced or suffered several mass killings (grisly crimes against humanity) and extermination policies (structural, physical and cultural violence) particularly in the hands of violent members of the Hausa-Fulani Muslim population and their military and political actors.

Top among these systematic butcheries as well as Government coordinated *physical, structural and cultural violence* was the Nigeria-Biafra Civil War of 1967-70; which resulted to the death of over 3m citizens dominated by citizens of Igbo Nation. About half of the deaths occurred on account of hunger, diseases, malnutrition, sickness, famine and deliberate war starvation policy including air, land and sea and border blockades imposed by the then Gen Yakubu Gowon Federal military regime.

The Igbo Ethnic Group had also before and after Nigeria's independence in 1960 undergone countless butcheries in the hands of violent members of other ethno-religious groups particularly violent elements within Hausa-Fulani Muslim populations and other violent ethnic nationalities in Nigeria.

By independent estimates, the People of Igbo Nation have lost no fewer than 3.5m of their defenseless brothers and sisters and over \$50b worth of properties to their violent neighbors since 1945. The Judeo-Christian Race is also home to largest Christian population in Nigeria with second largest Catholic faithful in Africa lesser only than those in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

The killings commonly referred as *anti Igbo pogroms* or *Igbo massacres* started way back in 1945 in Jos in present Plateau State and extended up to 1953, 1966, 1967, 1980, 1982, 1984, 1985, 1987, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2011, 2012 and 2014 all in different parts of Northern Nigeria.

Over 4000 innocent Igbo lives were also lost to Islamist Boko Haram insurgents between 2009 and 2014. Islamist Fula or Fulani Jihadists have between 2015 and 2016 massacred no fewer than 70 innocent Igbo citizens across Igbo Land particularly in Enugu State where no fewer than 48 people were slaughtered in April 2016 in Uzo Uwani area.

In the 1966 anti Igbo massacre that swept the length and breadth of Northern Nigeria and other parts of the country, perpetrated by Northern Muslim security and political actors and other organized Muslim fanatics, no fewer than 50,000 Igbo traders, civil servants, students, and some non-Igbo citizens were massacred; with over 1.6m mostly Igbo IDPs generated and forced to leave their Northern Nigerian locations. Scores of Igbo military and police officers serving in Northern Nigeria were also tracked down and massacred.

According to a book: ***the Massacre of Ndigbo in 1966: Report of the Justice G.C.M. Onyiuke Tribunal {Tollbrook Limited, Ikeja, Lagos}***"...between 45,000 and 50,000 civilians of former Eastern Nigeria were killed in Northern Nigeria and other parts of Nigeria from 29th May 1966 to December 1967 and not less than 1,627,743 Easterners fled back to Eastern Nigeria as a result of the 1966 pogrom"

The Government of Muhammadu Buhari/Prof Yemi Osinbajo which came to power on 29th May 2015 also ordered and supervised its security forces to kill no fewer than 480 unarmed and defenseless Igbo young men and women and few other non-Igbo members of the South-south population. Their killing took place between 30th August 2015 and 14th September 2017 or within two years.

No fewer than 500 others were shot and critically injured (with dozens crippled for life) in the shootings perpetrated majorly in Anambra, Delta, Rivers, Akwa Ibom, and the Abia States. While this special report covers the massacre and other atrocity crimes perpetrated in significant parts of the Southeast and some parts of South-south (jointly called old Eastern Nigeria), the part dealing with *the economic costs* of the massacre operations is concentrated in the Southeast and Igbo areas of Delta State (Igbo Delta).

Research Methodology

Findings made in this special report were derived from general and specific investigations; covering visits to the crime scenes by **Intersociety** investigators, media reports and their analysis, victims' relatives/survivors' interviews and analysis of same, analysis of government, military and police statements on the massacre operations including the kangaroo Military Special Board of Inquiry set up on 8th March 2017 which submitted its report on 15th June 2017.

Pieces of video and photo evidence were obtained and technically analyzed; likewise identification and analysis of relevant national, regional and international legal instruments and procedures and verification of witnesses' statements and their deposition as affidavits of facts in the relevant High Courts of Justice where necessary.

Intersociety investigations into the massacre operations started in December 2015 (and ended in December 2018 or a period of three years) following the killing by soldiers of the Nigerian Army of the 302 Field Artillery, Onitsha, of scores of jubilant pro Biafra activists who jubilated and marched to Onitsha Niger Bridgehead in the afternoon of 17th December 2015 following an Abuja Federal High Court order for unconditional release of a leading pro Biafra campaigner, Mr. Nnamdi Kanu.

Our investigations also covered the 9th February 2016 massacre by the Army and the Police in the school premises of the Aba National High School and dumping of 16 lifeless bodies of slain pro Biafra activists by soldiers in Aba-Port Harcourt burrow pits. We visited the burrow pits on 14th February 2016 while Amnesty Int'l visited on 18th February 2016. We also visited for investigation major crime scenes including hospital morgues following the 29th and 30th May 2016 military and police massacre of not less than 140 unarmed and defenseless pro-Biafra celebrants at Nkpor and Ogidi as well as Asaba in Delta State.

In the case of the Nigerian Army Python Dance 11 massacre in September 2017 in Abia State, our investigation was also extensive, thorough and yearlong. **Intersociety** investigations also extended to the military and police violent crackdown on thousands of pro-Biafra activists who staged a solidarity rally for President Donald Trump in Port Harcourt, Rivers State on 20th January 2017; leading to the death of as much as 20 and injuring of not less than 70 others.

Also investigated were the economic costs or effects of the Nigerian Military Massacre operations on general economic activities of the sedentary People of the Southeast and Delta Igbo or Igbo Nation. Contacts were made and useful and "non-official-secret" information obtained from friendly and concerned personnel within the military, police and paramilitary establishments.

Some field trips were made around the Southeast and Igbo Delta areas for on-the-spot assessment and obtainment of useful information. Eyewitnesses' accounts and official information from security agencies concerning the deployment of security forces in the Southeast and Igbo Delta were used in working out the projected number of roadblocks in the Region.

Field counting was also used to obtain the sampling number of existing roadblocks of specific or targeted extortionist security agency. Patterns of extortions at the roadblocks were indiscreetly studied during which some victims and other road users being extorted were interviewed or positioned and used in simulated context.

Executive Summary

This special report involves several investigations and findings by **Intersociety**. It contains statistical and shocking details of the massacre operations and other atrocity crimes perpetrated in Eastern Nigeria or the heartland of Igbo Nation (Southeast and parts of South-south) in Nigeria. The heinous crimes were committed by the authorities of the Nigerian Military and Police, on orders of President Muhammadu Buhari, his office and security service chiefs whom he controls as “Commander-in-Chief.”

The massacre operations are officially characterized as “Nigerian Army Python Dance Series or internal security operations in Southeast Nigeria.” The perpetrators, identified in this special report by their names and official positions held at the time of the horrendous crimes; vicariously or directly carried out their dastardly acts in the guise or under the color of “internal security operations in Southeast and parts of South-south Regions of Nigeria.” The perpetrators also committed the heinous crimes on account of unspeakable violent crackdowns targeted at unarmed and defenseless pro-Biafra activists and their leaders as well as other defenseless members of the Nigerian population of ethnic Igbo Christian background.

The referenced military massacre operations and other atrocity crimes specifically took place between 30th August 2015 and 14th September 2017. The first phase of the massacre operations (30th August, 2nd and 17th December 2015; and 18th and 29th January and 9th February, 29th and 30th May 2016; as well as 20th January 2017) was carried out by the joint military and police operations under President Buhari’s secret lethal code disguised as “internal security operations”; while the second phase (15th September-14th October 2017, commenced on 8th September 2017) was done under “Nigerian Army Python Dance 11 Exercise in the Southeast”. Soldiers of the Nigerian Army accounted for about 75% of the entire killings while personnel of the Nigeria Police Force perpetrated 20% and others (i.e., navy and SSS) 5%.

The segment of the general Igbo and other non-Igbo Christian Population affected by the massacre operations are those exercising their rights to self-determination using nonviolence or through democratic assemblies such as street protests, religious processions, picketing, prayers and worship, night vigils and street marches, etc; as well as other defenseless Igbo citizens shot and killed or wounded or abducted at their places of work, or on their way home or to work or those at sleep in the dead of the night.

Most, if not all the slain, wounded or abducted victims are members of the Nigerian Christian Faith and other non-Muslim religions. Hospitals, where the wounded were taken to for treatment, were also invaded by soldiers at night or late evening during which some of them were abducted to unknown locations where they must have been shot dead and remained untraced till sate.

The massacre operations were the crude and deadly response of the Buhari/Osinbajo Government to renewed nonviolent campaigns by disenchanted People of the old Eastern Nigeria calling or agitating for the restructuring of Nigeria and end to their age-long political exclusion and persecution or total independent statehood for the “Biafra People.”

Despite being nonviolent and never resorted to armed resistance, the central Government of Muhammadu Buhari/Yemi Osinbajo went ahead and unleashed unspeakable State violence on the unarmed and defenseless population by ordering and supervising full military massacre operations; accompanied by the order to shoot and kill any agitator on sight; during which other members of the public were shot and killed or shot and critically wounded or crippled for life.

In the course of several investigations by **Intersociety**, ten locations or scenes of crime were identified, in addition to seven major locations (graveyards or dumping sites) where the slain were shallowly buried, or burnt to ashes, or lacerated with suspected raw acid substances and dumped in the open or thrown off the bridge into the river or dumped and left in secret or isolated places to decompose and eaten by vultures or scavengers.

We further found that most of the slain bodies were taken away from the scenes of their killing by soldiers and police personnel attached to the massacre operations; with no traces of their locations or whereabouts by their families and other associates till date. There are also reported cases of dozens of unarmed citizens, many of whom unarmed pro-Biafra activists abducted in their sleep or at their workplaces by soldiers and Police SARS and SSS operatives with no traces of their whereabouts till date.

We had in the course of our investigations identified the ten killing or massacre locations as (a) Asaba (Delta State), (b) Onitsha (Anambra State), (c) Nkpor/Ogidi (Anambra State), (d) Aba (Abia State), (e) Umuahia (Abia State), (f) Isiala-Ngwa (Abia State), (g) Asa-Ogwe (Abia State), (h) Port Harcourt (Rivers State), (i) Uyo (Akwa Ibom State) and (j) Awka (Anambra State).

The seven significant graveyards or dumping sites identified in the course of our investigations are (1) Asaba Swamps, (2) River Niger (Onitsha), (3) Onitsha Military Cemetery, (4) Umuahia Forests, (5) Isiala-Ngwa Forests, (6) Umu-Ura (Ogwe) Forest and (7) Aba National High School/Aba-Port Harcourt Road Burrow Pits.

Defenseless Igbo women, many of them young mothers, were not spared. While scores were among those killed or wounded in the massacre operations, others were forced to run and abandon their husbands and children or got arrested and detained for months without trial. In August 2018, no fewer than 127 Igbo mothers dominated by young mothers in ages of 22yrs to 45yrs and a lesser number of others in ages of 50-64 were arrested in Imo State by the Nigeria Police Force, detained for days and arraigned in court for the phantom offense of terrorism, among other felonies.

They had staged a street protest in Owerri, Imo State on 17th August 2018, calling for the end of persecution of the People of Igbo Nation and bad governance in the country including Igbo Land. It took sustained public outcries including media campaigns by **Intersociety** and other rights bodies and lawyers for them to be freed and released from prison and acquitted of the phantom "terrorism" charges.

Also in the course of President Muhammadu Buhari ordered military massacre operations, hundreds of unarmed and defenseless citizens of Igbo Christian and Jewish religious backgrounds were arrested and clamped into indefinite detention, from where they were arraigned in court on spurious charges of terrorism and other felonies.

Up till November 2018, dozens of them were still languishing in various maximum prisons located in Enugu, Awka, Umuahia, Aba and Port Harcourt. The Buhari/Osinbajo Government also made reckless use of “prosecutorial vindictiveness” and “racial profiling” to arrest defenseless Igbo citizens in their hundreds at will or indiscriminately and clamp them into extended detention without trial.

Torture and custodial deaths were also very rampant with several cases of scores of unarmed pro-Biafra citizens and others arrested alive by soldiers and tortured or killed in custody. Instances were documented in this special report where those arrested alive and taken away by soldiers were later found tied and blindfolded, before being shot dead and dumped inside forests particularly in Umuahia and Aba areas of Abia State.

The military massacre operations and other atrocity crimes were perpetrated and perpetuated in flagrant disobedience to or breach of the Fundamental Human Rights Charter in Nigeria’s 1999 Constitution (Sections 33-46) including those that guarantee citizens’ rights to life (s.33), dignity of human person (s.34), personal liberty (s.35), fair hearing (s.36), privacy and family (s.37) as well as rights to freedom of worship (s.38), expression (s.39), assembly and association (s.40), movement (s.41), freedom from discrimination (s.42); and rights to acquisition and ownership of immovable properties (s.43) and legal remedies and compensations (s.46).

The Nigerian authorities also immorally and gravely breached their constitutional obligations and duties to the citizens (collective rights) including protection, safety, security and welfare of the citizens contained in Chapter Two of the Constitution (Sections 13-21) otherwise called *the Fundamental Objectives & Directive Principles of State Policy*.

The regional and international law including rights and humanitarian treaties’ obligations of the Nigerian Government of Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari/Prof Yemi Osinbajo were also abused and breached with reckless abandon. The massacre operations were an apparent act of commission of *crimes against humanity* having been perpetrated in a non-war situation.

As at the time the atrocity crimes were committed, till date, the Igbo Land or the affected Region of Nigeria was not and still not at war and has no armed resistance or armed opposition group anywhere in the Region. In all the killings, too, no single soldier lost his or her life.

The Government atrocities against the People of Eastern Nigeria were also perpetrated or done in clear breach of *the African Rights Charter of 1981, the UN Covenant on Civil & Political Rights (1976); the UN Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1976); the UN’s Women and Children’s Rights Conventions of 1984 and 1990; the UN anti Torture and Genocide Conventions of 1985 and 1948; the UN Convention against Enforced Disappearances of 2009; the UN Convention against All Forms Of Racial Discrimination of 1969; the Int’l Criminal Court Statute of 1998; and the Geneva Conventions or Laws of Armed and Non-Armed Conflicts of 1949*. These international rights and humanitarian treaties and laws are duly signed and ratified by Nigeria.

Statistically, a total of 480 unarmed and defenseless citizens of the Igbo Christian and Jewish religious backgrounds and other non-Igbo members of the Nigerian Christian Faith were massacred; with no fewer than 500 others shot and critically injured and scores crippled for life. No fewer than 60 of those shot and wounded including four that died at Multicare Hospital, Nkpor in 2015 have also died as a result of injuries and allied complications.

Between August and December 2015, no fewer than 40 unarmed and defenseless persons were shot and killed in Onitsha, Awka and Aba and between January, February and May 2016, no fewer than 200 were killed in Aba and Onitsha with over 200 others injured.

In January 2017, specifically on 20th, as much as 20 were shot and killed in Port Harcourt, Rivers State during Pro Trump rally, with over 70 others shot and injured and 65 arrested. Between 12th and 14th September 2017, no fewer than 180 were shot and killed in Asa-Ogwe and Isiala-Ngwa Military Checkpoints as well as Aba and Umuahia-Ibeku, all in Abia State. Over 130 others were shot and critically injured.

Also accompanying this **85-page** special report is a **62-page victims' album** containing photos and other pictorial details of the slain, the injured and the incarcerated as well as **tables of statistics** showing domination of the present Nigeria's national and regional (Southeast) top security and justice establishments or offices by citizens of the Fulani-Hausa Muslim background as well as names of the **vicarious** and **direct perpetrators** in the military massacre operations.

The **62-page victims' album** also included photos of police personnel; soldiers and their hired civilians caught engaging in roadblock corruption (i.e. extorting money from motorists) on Southeast Roads. This was found as one of the **socio-economic consequences** of the military massacre operations in Eastern Nigeria.

The skewed or lopsided security architecture is done in brazen disregard to the country's multi-ethnic and religious composition. The lopsided security establishments' composition is deliberately designed and responsible for the military massacre of unarmed and defenseless citizens of the Igbo Nation and scores of non-Igbo citizens of South-south extraction. The special report also contains **22-point recommendations** to local and international actors including recommended sanctions for the perpetrators and reparatory justice for the victims.

In summation, the special report contains graphic accounts or details of the massacre operations including (a) characterization of the atrocity crimes (e.g., extrajudicial killing, torture, destruction of properties, loss of businesses, etc), (b) approximate time, dates and places of the atrocity crimes, (c) names of the victims or other description of victim(s), (d) detailed description of the atrocity crimes, (e) sources relied upon for the detailed description of the atrocity crimes (e.g., witnesses, newspaper reports, videos, photos etc).

Others are: (f) names of sources or witnesses of the atrocity crimes, (g) known or suspected perpetrators of the atrocity crimes including names and official positions in the federal or state government in Nigeria, (h) description of involvement or suspected knowledge of President Muhammadu Buhari and Vice President Yemi Osinbajo or identified Nigerian military or security officer(s), (i) failure of the Government of Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari/Prof Yemi Osinbajo to apply or invoke universally acceptable measures or sanctions to punish the perpetrators or hold them to account including the atrocious military and police commanders.

It is also on record that no single perpetrator or security operative or officer including military or police officer who ordered or carried out the massacre operations has been arrested, detained, investigated, tried and convicted for the atrocity crimes. All the direct and vicarious perpetrators involved in the massacre operations are not only on the prowl till date but also shielded or protected by the Government of Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari/Prof Yemi Osinbajo. Cases of evidence destruction or erasure of traces of culpability were also high and rampant.

Lastly, the Military Massacre Operations in Eastern Nigeria particularly in the Southeast and Igbo Delta also left their economic, insecurity and psychological scars on faces and lives of the innocent citizens of the Region in the past three years and four months (August 2015-December 2018) or past 40 months.

These losses have arisen as a result of *mobility insecurity (military and police insecurity)* generated by unchecked corrupt practices and brutalities of thousands of armed military and police personnel drafted or stationed on all major roads in the Southeast Region and Igbo Delta areas. The military and police siege on Southeast and Igbo Delta roads has further given rise to unchecked *road tout insecurity and sundry extortion* in the Region- another nightmare to the road users in the Region.

The aftermath effects and losses incurred on account of the massacre operations have taken a heavy toll on the economy and other social lives of the People of old Eastern Nigeria. The total quantification of economic losses incurred by People of Southeast and Igbo Delta on account of the Buhari/Osinbajo Administration's ordered Military Massacre Operations and security siege on the Region clearly indicates that not less than N336b or \$1.1b (at official exchange of N306 per \$USD) must have been lost in the past 40 months or between August 2015 and December 2018.

While N84b or \$280m was lost to sundry roadblock extortion in the hands of military and police personnel stationed in the Region and its major link roads; N16b (\$53m) was lost to other roadblock extortions mounted by paramilitary formations including Customs Service, FRSC, NAFDAC, and NDLEA as well as custodial extortion arising from inter custodial suspects' transfer (i.e., between Police and NDLEA/NAFDAC).

Other economic losses suffered are N48b lost to drastic drops in daily bank deposits, N120b lost to diversion and loss of direct investments and N55b lost to trapped and unpaid *trade-debts* (bad debts) arising from goods supplied by over 1m Igbo traders in 40 months to their "unseen" and "scared away" customers trading outside the Region; totally projected at N300b, on average of N300, 000 per trader with N50,000 loss each; out of which over N50b must have been lost or gone into "bad debts" not capable of repayment. These are on account of raging *mobility insecurity or military and police insecurity* ravaging the Region.

Total of N1.8b represents minimal losses (N18b maximum losses) incurred by the families of the victims of the military massacre operations lost in various expenses in 40 months. The People of the Southeast also lost the sum of N12b through the five Southeast Governors in futile efforts to aid or support the military and police personnel and formations stationed in the Region. Totality of these brings the total to over N336b or \$1.1b as total monetary worth of economic losses or socio-economic consequences suffered by the People of Southeast Region and Igbo Delta in the course of the Nigerian Military Massacre Operations in Eastern Nigeria.

Short Profile Of The Nigerian Military

The Nigerian Army (parent body of the Nigerian Military) was formed in 1863 when Lt Glover of the British Royal Navy selected 18 indigenes from the Northern part of Nigeria to perform both police and military duties for then Lagos colonial government. Today (2018), the Nigerian Military including Army, Navy and Air Force is ranked 43 of 136 out of the countries currently considered for the annual Global Fire Power (GFP) review by GFP reviewers.

The Nigerian Military presently has officers and personnel totaling 181, 000; comprising active personnel of 124,000 and reserve personnel of 57,000 (reservists). It also has total military aircraft of 124, made up of 9 fighters, 21 attack planes, 52 military transport planes, 47 trainer aircraft and 42 helicopters including 11 attack helicopters. The Nigerian Military further has in its custody 148 combat tanks, 1,420 armored fighting vehicles, 25 self-propelled artillery tanks, 339 towed artillery tanks, and 30 rocket projectors.

In its Navy branch, it has a total of 75 Navy assets including zero aircraft carriers, 4 frigates, zero destroyers, zero converters, zero submarines, zero mine warfare, and 93 patrol vessels. Nigeria also maintains average annual defense and security (including police) budgets of \$4b; ranked after Algeria and Angola with Sudan and South Africa as five top military spenders in Africa.

Short Profile Of The Nigeria Police Force

The Nigeria Police Force was first created in 1820 by the British colonial authorities. On 1st April 1930, the colonial authorities enacted the Nigeria Police Ordinance of April 1930. The Force presently has 6,900 field formations and governed by the Nigeria Police Act & Regulations, Cap P19, Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 2004.

The Force is divided into seven administrative organs, with each headed by a DIG, 12 zonal commands, each headed by an AIG and 36 State commands, each headed by a CP; in addition to the Federal Capital City or FCT Police Command also headed by a CP. The Nigeria Police Force is operationally divided into *administration, anti-fraud section, special anti-robbery squad, x-squad (in-service anti-corruption squad), general investigation, anti-fraud unit, legal section, forensic science laboratory, Interpol liaison, homicide, anti-human trafficking, special branch (criminal and special investigation bureau) and the force CID.*

By the account of the immediate past Inspector General of Police, Ibrahim Koptum Idris, disclosed during the NPF 2018 budget defense at the National Assembly in December 2017, the Nigeria Police Force is presently populated by 300, 892 officers and personnel with 6,900 police formations including 12 zonal commands, 36 state commands, one FCT command, 128 area commands and 1, 388 divisional commands.

Others are 1,579 police stations and 3, 756 police posts; in addition to 14, 306 operational vehicles as well as dozens of APCs and couple of police helicopters. The sworn officers and personnel of the NPF, as at December 2017, included one IGP, seven DIGs, 29 AIGs, 111 CPs, 236 DCPs, 577 ACPs, 980 CSPs, 2,690 SPs, 4, 522 DSPs, 3, 044 ASPs (1), 10, 287 ASPs (11), 49, 026 Inspectors, 62, 681 Sergeants, 128, 656 Corporals and 19, 043 Constables. More of these numbers have been added, bringing the NPF's total staff strength to 300, 892 as of 2018.

With the above, the combined staff and numerical strength of the Nigerian Military and the Nigeria Police Force is presently put at 481, 892. The above police and military numerical strength did not include the staff strength of officers and personnel of SSS and NIA as well as paramilitary formations including Customs, Immigration, Fire and Prison Services, etc. The staff and numerical strength of officers and personnel of Nigeria's paramilitary formations are officially put at 100, 822 as at 2018.

Therefore, the total numerical strength of the Nigerian security forces and paramilitary formations created for securing and policing the country is put at between 650,000 and 700,000; with the military and police taking 181,000 and 300, 892 respectively. These named security forces; otherwise called "the Armed Forces of Nigeria" are generally entrusted with the country's aviation, border, marine, road and railway security or territorial security.

Nigeria's territorial securitization elements are made up of the country's estimated population of 190.6m (GFP 2018 estimates) with general labour force of 60.08m; 923, 768 km² of land mass, 853km of coastline, 8,600km waterways, 4,477km border coverage or distance, 198,200 kilometers of road network (trunk A, trunk B and trunk C) and 3,505km railway coverage or distance as well as 54 serviceable airports.

Legal Instruments For Protecting Unarmed Citizens In Time Of State Terror In Nigeria

By *extrajudicial executions*, they are defined by international law as unlawful and deliberate killings carried out by policing and other security agents including soldiers by order of a government or with its complicity or acquiescence.

By *unlawful killings*, they involve killings resulting from excessive use of force by law enforcement officials, which violate right to life guaranteed by Nigeria's 1999 Constitution (S.33), the Int'l Covenant on Civil & Political Rights (Article 6.1) and the African Charter on Human & People's Rights (Article 4), ratified and domesticated by Nigeria on 26th June 1983 (African Charter). By *summary or arbitrary executions*, they are executions in which persons are accused of a crime or crimes and immediately killed without benefit of a full and fair trial.

By *enforced disappearance(s)*, it is a situation where a person or persons are arrested, detained, abducted or otherwise deprived of liberty by the authorities or their agents, or people acting with their authorization, support or acquiescence, but the authorities do not acknowledge this or conceal the abducted persons' fate or whereabouts, placing them outside the protection of the law. These are provided in the UN Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance, signed and ratified by Nigeria on 27th July 2009.

By *torture*, it is any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating or coercing him or a third person, or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity.

By the provisions of international criminal and human rights laws as well as Nigeria's 1999 Constitution and its subsidiary criminal laws, **a criminal** is anybody that has attained 18yrs of age who violates the criminal laws of a country or a defined political territory such as Nigeria.

He or she must have been validly accused of breaching ***mala prohibita (crimes specifically defined so by specific country's legislation such as cybercrime or public nuisance crimes) or mala in se (crimes with universal uniformity and application such as violent crimes of armed robbery, abduction or murder or heinous political crimes such as insurrection, treason, armed resistance and terrorism or terrorism financing).***

Under such circumstances, the accused is not a criminal and must not be treated so until he or she completely goes through due processes of arrest, investigation, prosecution, fair trial, conviction and sentencing. A child usually under the age of 12, who is in conflict with the criminal law, is regarded by same as a **delinquent and treated under juvenile delinquency law**.

In other words, *any citizen arrested by security forces including soldiers and taken into custody and got killed by torture or starvation or any prejudicial or extrajudicial means, clearly amounts to a victim of extrajudicial, arbitrary or summary execution/killing and torture; while unarmed and defenseless citizens killed at the point of their arrest such as scenes of religious processions, street protests or rallies, picketing, meeting, night vigils, at sleep, workplaces, etc; all amount to victims of unlawful killings and extrajudicial executions.*

Those arrested or abducted and taken to undisclosed locations with their whereabouts unknown to their families and lawyers are victims of enforced disappearances. Under Nigeria's 1999 Constitution, **any person arrested and taken into police or security custody including military custody on the accusation of the crime of whatever gravity is presumed innocent until found guilty by a court of competent jurisdiction.** This is contained in Section 36 (5) of the Constitution.

Citizens arrested and detained in policing or military custodies are also exempted from torture and other cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment. This is contained in Section 34 (1) (a) of Nigeria's 1999 Constitution. By Section 1(1) and 1(3) of the Constitution, **"Nigeria's 1999 Constitution is supreme and above any other law created or deemed to have been created by the National Assembly of Nigeria"**.

Therefore, all forms of killings and maiming contrary to or in gross breach of the above local and international due processes and laws are technically or legally referred as **extra jus** (beyond the law), **extra-legal** (beyond what the written criminal law provides) and **extrajudicial** (beyond court or judicial pronouncement or verdict).

That is to say that any killing of human being, rightly or wrongly accused of being in conflict with criminal law, by a State actor or official security operative, official or officer of the law without the completeness of such unarmed slain citizen being subjected, before his or her killing, to the processes of **arrest, investigation, prosecution, fair trial, conviction and sentencing** by a criminal court of competent jurisdiction inexcusably amounts to **extra jus, extra-legal and extrajudicial killing**.

On the other hand, any such killing by a private individual amount to **murder or manslaughter** depending on the gravity of guilty mind or *mens rea* and other prevailing circumstances. **Corporate bodies or bodies corporate** through their incorporated trustees or principal officers; that facilitate the murder of individual citizen(s) are criminally held to account for the offense of **manslaughter**. In the area of torture, which can be physical or mental, torturers whether State-actors or non-State actors are legally culpable and if convicted, they face same punishment according to jurisdictions or as internationally prescribed or defined or sanctioned.

By Section 36 (8) of Nigeria's 1999 Constitution, nobody shall be held to be guilty of a criminal offence if such act or omission did not constitute a criminal offence as at the time of his or her arrest and detention and no penalty heavier than that in force as at the time the alleged offence was committed shall be imposed on him or her. By Section 36 (12) of the Constitution, nobody shall be convicted of a criminal offence if the act or omission is not defined and the penalty, therefore, is prescribed in written law.

By Section 35 (4) (a) of the same Constitution, nobody shall be arrested and detained for more than 60 days without trial or court bail in the case of any citizen or citizens accused of committing capital offence such as armed robbery or abduction or murder or rape or terrorism or terrorism financing or treason or treasonable felony; or 24hrs/48hrs in the case of any citizen or citizens accused of non capital and leniently bailable offenses.

By Nigeria's criminal laws and the Constitution, too, omission to act when the law so requires him or her to do so is a criminal offence; likewise aiding and abetting of crimes by public office holders. Put in place in Nigeria too, are *the trio of code of conduct for personnel and officers of the Nigeria Police Force* (for purpose of checkmating police corruption and brutality or rights abuses in the course of their official duties), *code of conduct and rules of engagement for personnel and officers of the Nigerian Army, Air Force and Navy* or all members of the Nigerian Armed Forces; principally designed to checkmate perpetration of human rights abuses and violations in the conduct of their official duties. However, in practice, the three ethical codes only exist on paper and hardly put to practical use.

Group Or Collective Rights & Their Protection

The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999, as amended, also provides for *group or collective rights and their protection* to be undertaken by the country's elected and appointed public office holders especially those holding federal elective and appointive offices including President Muhammadu Buhari and his security service chiefs as well as Vice President Yemi Osinbajo.

These are fully incorporated into the *Social Contract Principles* or the *Service to Humanity obligations in the Constitution (core duties and obligations of Nigeria's public office holders)*; otherwise called "*the Fundamental Objectives & Directive Principles of State Policy.*" The Constitution specifically provides in its Section 13 as follows: "it shall be the duty and responsibility of all organs of government, and all authorities and persons, exercising legislative, executive or judicial powers, to conform to, observe and apply the provisions of this Chapter (Two) of this Constitution."

These *group or collective rights* and their protection are constitutionally provided as follows: by Section 17 of the Chapter Two, "the State Social Order is founded on ideals of Freedom, Equality, and Justice"; 17(2) "in furtherance of this social order: (a) every citizen shall have equality of rights, obligations, and opportunities before the law"; 17 (2) (b) "the sanctity of human person shall be recognized and human dignity shall be maintained and enhanced"; 17 (2) (c) "government actions shall be humane"

By its Section 17 (2) (d) "exploitation of human and natural resources in any form whatsoever for reasons, other than the good of the community, shall be prevented"; and 17 (2) (e) "the independence, impartiality, and integrity of courts of law, and easy accessibility thereto shall be secured and maintained".

By its Section 14, "the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be a State base on Principles of Democracy and Social Justice"; 14 (2) "it is hereby declared that sovereignty belongs to the People of Nigeria from whom government through this Constitution derives all its powers and authority"; 14 (2) (b) "the security and welfare of the People (human security) shall be the primary purpose of the Government"; and 14 (2) (c) "the participation by the People in their Government shall be ensured in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution".

By its Section 14 (3), "the composition of the Government of the Federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity, and also to command national loyalty, thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from a few States or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in that Government or any of its agencies."

By its Section 15 (1), “the motto of the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be Unity and Faith, Peace and Progress”; 15 (2) accordingly, “national integration shall be actively encouraged, whilst discrimination on the grounds of place of origin, sex, religion, status, ethnic or linguistic association or ties shall be prohibited”. By Section 10 of the same Constitution, “*the Government of the Federation or of a State shall not adopt any religion as State Religion.*”

The totality of these, in the instant case, is tied to Section 2 (1) of the Constitution which provides as follows: “Nigeria is one indivisible and indissoluble sovereign state to be known by the name “Federal Republic of Nigeria.” That is to say that the question of indivisibility and indissolubility of Nigeria is holistically dependent on fulfillment or otherwise of the collective rights and social contract obligations in the Constitution by the country’s public office holders.

In the instant case, the indivisibility and indissolubility of Nigeria are very untenable and unrealizable on account of the failure of the country’s federal public office holders to ensure the realization of the named sacred constitutional tasks or obligations; hence renewed non-violent agitations for self-determination as well as rampancy of signs of a divided society. In the instant case, too, all the highlighted collective rights and social contract obligations were monumentally not ensured or protected by the present Nigerian public office holders. They have all been observed in the gross breach.

Regionally, Nigeria is a key member of the African Union and as such, bound by its key treaties and obligations especially the African Charter on Human & Peoples Rights of 1981. The African Rights Charter which is fully part and parcel of Nigeria’s body of laws is comprehensively in agreement with the Chapter Four (Fundamental Human Rights) of the Constitution and further fills the existing human rights gaps or lacunas inherent in the Constitution (i.e. right to self determination using nonviolence as well as indigenous people’s rights to existence, ethnic identity and development).

The African Rights Charter, ratified and domesticated by Nigeria on 26th June 1983, is presently cited in the country as *African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights (Ratification and Enforcement Act, Cap A9, Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 2004)*. The Charter in its Section 20 guarantees right to democratic self-determination using nonviolence and democratic assemblies.

The said *domesticated Law of Nigeria* also provides for rights to ethnic identity or indigenous existence, religion or faith as well as individual and collective development. African Rights Charter not only coherently operates with Nigeria’s 1999 Constitution but also takes over from where the Constitution stops in matters of individual and group rights.

The operability and enforceability of the African Rights Charter in Nigeria’s municipal laws or legal system was also decided affirmatively by the country’s Supreme Court in *Gen Sani Abacha & Ors v. Chief Gani Fawehinmi* (2000) 4 FWLR 533. The relationships between a Member-State of AU and its citizens are also clearly spelt out in Article 19 of the important Rights Charter.

The **African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights** (also known as the Banjul **Charter**) is a regional and international **human rights** instrument, designed to promote and protect **human rights** and fundamental freedoms in the **African** continent. Its Civil and Political Rights version recognizes most of what is regarded as universally accepted civil and political rights.

The civil and political rights recognized in the Charter include the right to freedom from discrimination (Article 2 and 18(3)), equality (Article 3), life and personal integrity (Article 4), dignity (Article 5), freedom from slavery (Article 5), freedom from cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment (Article 5), rights to due process concerning arrest and detention (Article 6), the right to a fair trial (Article 7 and 25), freedom of religion (Article 8), freedom of information and expression (Article 9), freedom of association (Article 10), freedom to assembly (Article 11), freedom of movement (Article 12), freedom to political participation (Article 13), and the right to property (Article 14)

The Charter also recognizes certain economic, social and cultural rights, and overall the Charter is considered to place considerable emphasis on these rights. The Charter recognizes right to work (Article 15), the right to health (Article 16), and the right to education (Article 17). Through a decision by the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, *SERAC v Nigeria* (2001), the Charter is also understood to include a right to housing and a right to food as "implicit" in the Charter, particularly in light of its provisions on the right to life (Art. 4), right to health (Art. 16) and to development (Art. 22).

In addition to recognizing the individual rights mentioned above the Charter also recognizes collective or group rights, or peoples' rights and third-generation human rights. As such the Charter recognizes group rights to a degree not matched by the European or Inter-American regional human rights instruments. The Charter awards the family protection by the state (Article 18), while "peoples" have the right to equality (Article 19), the right to self-determination (Article 20), to freely dispose of their wealth and natural resources (Article 21), the right to development (Article 22), the right to peace and security (Article 23) and "a generally satisfactory environment" (Article 24).

Internationally, Nigeria is also a key member of the international community including the United Nations and bound by enabling international treaties and obligations. Among numerous international rights and humanitarian treaties signed and ratified by Nigeria are the Int'l Covenant on Civil & Political Rights and the Int'l Covenant on Economic, Social & Cultural Rights of 1976, signed and ratified by Nigeria in 1993.

The **Int'l Covenant on Civil & Political Rights** in its **Part 1** (Article 1) recognizes the rights of all peoples including the Igbo People of Nigeria to self-determination through nonviolence, including the right to "freely determine their political status, pursue their economic, social and cultural goals, and manage and dispose of their own resources".

The **Int'l Covenant on Social, Economic & Cultural Rights**, also signed and ratified by Nigeria in 1993, in its **Part 1** (Article 1) recognizes the rights of all peoples to self-determination, including the right to "freely determine their political status, pursue their economic, social and cultural goals, and manage and dispose of their resources".

Generally, Nigeria, till date, is a State Party to *the UN Covenant on Civil & Political Rights and the UN Covenant on Economic, Social & Cultural Rights of 1976; the UN anti Genocide and Torture Conventions of 1948 and 1985, the UN Convention for Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance of 2009, the UN Women & Child Rights Conventions of 1984 and 1990, the UN Convention against All Forms of Racial Discrimination of 1969, the UN Statute on Refuge of 1951, the Rome Statute of the Int'l Criminal Court of 1998 and the UN Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials of 1979.*

Others are: *the UN Basic Principles on the Use of Force & Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials of 1990, the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948, the African Charter on Human & Peoples Rights of 1981, the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People of 2007; and the Geneva Conventions or Laws of War of 1949* (enacted to regulate inter State and intra State conflicts and treatment of non combatants including refugees and IDPs affected by either of the conflicts). Nigeria is a State Party to all the above and also legally and morally bound by them till date.

Nigerian Government Obligations To Its Citizens Under UN System

The UN's new concept of **sovereignty as a responsibility or citizens' sovereignty** and **maintenance of international peace and security** as the core foundation of the Purposes of the 193-member Organization; is inviolably binding on Nigeria as a key Member-State. Nigeria is also bound by **the Customary International Law** under UN System particularly those that are inviolable under their doctrine of "substantial uniformity by a substantial number of States" or "Opinio Juris."

The UN's principle of *Opinio Juris* binding on its 193-Member States including Nigeria literally means a general belief binding on all Member-States that a non-treaty is legally binding on States. This is in addition to another essential principle of UN called "Jus Cogens" (i.e., absolute rules of general international law binding on UN Member-States for which no derogation is permitted).

Instances of the latter include rules against use of crude or deadly force on vulnerable and unarmed populations; perpetration of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity; massacre of unarmed and defenseless citizens in small or large numbers and in non-war situations, slavery, mass rape, torture, depopulation or forced migration, economic pillage, etc.

Int'l Procedures For Policing Democratic Assemblies

Numerous regional and international procedures binding on Nigeria abound. Specifically, Nigeria as a leading member of the UN and the international community is bound by the Basic Standards or Procedures of International Law & Humanitarian Principles.

Under this are the ten basic rules *or standards for policing violent and peaceful assemblies in any member-State*; which expressly recognize the rights of the citizens of all Member-States of the UN including Nigeria, to peaceful assemblies and expressions other than armed conflict or resistance- and strictly outline ways through which these assemblies shall be managed or policed by policing agencies of member State other than their armies.

The ten basic standards of the international law put in place for policing agencies of Member-States of the UN for management of democratic assemblies and free speeches as well as arrest, detention, and prosecution of citizens accused of the commission of municipal crimes of relevant municipal code definitions are:

(1) everyone is entitled to equal protection of the law without discrimination on any grounds, especially against violence or threat...; (2) treat all victims of crime with compassion and respect, and in particular protect their safety and privacy; (3) do not use force except when strictly necessary and to the minimum extent required under the circumstances.

Others are (4) avoid using force when policing unlawful but nonviolent assemblies; (5) when dispersing violent assemblies, use force only to the minimum extent necessary (i.e. in line with proportionate use of force and avoidance of application of excessive force on unarmed (i.e. not bearing automatic rifles or firearms) but violent or aggressive assemblies), (6) lethal force should not be used when arresting nationals suspected of committing municipal or local crimes except when strictly unavoidable in order to protect your life or lives of others.

Note: peaceful or provoked violent assemblies do not amount to commission of municipal crimes other than insurrection, mutiny or armed struggle; (7) arrest no person unless there are legal wounds to do so and ensure that the arrest is carried out in accordance with lawful arrest procedures; (8) ensure that all detainees have access, promptly after arrest to their families and legal representatives and any necessary medical assistance.

The rest are (9) all detainees must be treated humanely and avoid infliction, instigation or toleration of any act of torture in any circumstance and refuse to obey order to do so; (10) do not carry out, order or cover up extrajudicial executions or disappearances of the arrested or the detained and refuse to obey any order to do so; and report all breaches of these basic standards to your senior officers and to the office of the public prosecutor and do everything within your powers to ensure steps are taken to investigate these breaches.

In policing or managing such democratic assemblies and free speeches, particularly if they become uncontrollable and capable of breaching public peace and safety, policing agencies and their officers must apply or use the following modern crowd control methods or approved kits: *tear gas, rubber bullets, pepper spray, electric tasers, batons, whips, water cannons, long-range acoustic devices, aerial surveillance, police dogs, etc; with their handlers bodily aided or protected by body protective devices such as anti crowd helmets, face visors, body armor (i.e. vests, neck protectors, knee pads, etc), gas masks and anti crowd shields.*

Int'l Rules Of Engagement For Protecting Civilians In Violent Conflicts

Under circumstances of war or situations of internal conflict, the military and humanitarian handling or management of same are strictly regulated regionally and internationally. On humanitarian and use of force aspects, Nigeria is a party to UN Statute on Refuge of 1951 and allied rules for treatment of IDPs. Nigeria is also a State Party to the Statute of the International Criminal Court of 1998. Nigerian armed forces and police are further strictly bound by the UN's Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials of 1979 and the UN Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials of 1990.

Under war or conflict situations, Nigeria is bound by the Geneva Conventions or Laws of War of 1949 and their Four Protocols including the doctrine of rules of engagement and its principles of use of force, self-defence, and related others. Nigeria is also a State Party to anti Genocide and anti-Torture Conventions of 1948 and 1985 respectively. The Rules of Engagement, traditionally and universally associated with internal and inter-State violent or armed conflicts or wars, are an integral part of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 or Laws of War and their Four Protocols of 1977.

They originally came from the three war-related doctrines of Jus Ad Bellum (justification and ground for going to war); Jus In Bellum (ethical rules of conduct during war, such as ethical standards expected of soldiers or combatants in wartime or rules of engagement); and Jus Post Bellum (regulations on how wars are ended and facilitation of transition from war to peace including war crimes tribunals or permanent war and atrocity crimes courts such as ICC).

These are also called the *Standard Rules for the People of the War*. The People of the War here literally means parties in the conflict who occupy the conflict areas such as fighting parties, non-combatants or civilians or IDPs and refugees as well as other third parties directly or indirectly participating or affected by the conflict.

There are ten key features of the internationally standardized Rules of Engagement strictly applicable in war or conflict situations and they are (1) *legitimate use of force*, (2) *proportionality of use of force*, (3) *legitimate self defense*, (4) *treatment of prisoners of war or conflict*, and (5) *avoidance of attacks on non-military necessity or civilian targets or properties*, (6) *avoidance of attacks on civilians or non-combatants*, (7) *treatment of the wounded*, (8) *avoidance of attacks on culture symbols or places of worship*, (9) *avoidance of attacks on humanitarian agencies and personnel/human rights activists*; and (10) *legitimate treatment of other peoples of the war (i.e. spies and journalists)*.

Other regional and international basic principles and rules of criminal justice management including criminal arrest, investigation and custodial treatments binding on Nigeria and its Police Force and other security agencies are: the UN Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officers, the UN Basic Principles for the Use of Force by Law Enforcement Officials, the UN Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crimes & Abuse of Power, the UN Principles on the Effective Prevention & Investigation of Extra-Legal, Arbitrary & Summary Executions.

The rest are: the UN Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners and other prison inmates and custodial detainees, the UN Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law; and the Law Enforcement Oath of Honor, Code of Ethics, Code of Conduct and Canons of Police Ethics, issued by the International Association of the Chiefs of Police in 2001, etc.

There are also internalized *codes of conduct* and *rules of engagement* for personnel of the Nigerian Armed Force (including Nigerian Army) and Police, designed for their internal security operations; bordering professional ethics and respect for human rights, but they only exist on paper and hardly put into practice.

In all the above mentioned constitutional provisions and regional and international rights treaties or conventions and principles, rules and ethics; the rights of the arrested and detained citizens *against extrajudicial, summary and arbitrary executions and prolonged detention without trial as well as torture* are entirely provided and guaranteed.

Article seven of the UN or International Covenant on Civil & Political Rights (ICCPR) guarantees that *no one shall be subjected to torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment*. The UN Convention against Torture also explicitly requires Nigeria to prevent acts of torture and other ill-treatments by State agents and ensure that there is a prompt and impartial investigation into such acts and those involved by direct involvement, complicity or participation are punished by criminal penalties.

Other constitutionally, regionally and internationally guaranteed custodial rights are rights of the detained citizens to have access to their families, doctors or adequate medical attention; lawyers, including proper legal preparations, legal defence, interrogation and cross-examination in the language of their choice; decent shelter, clothing, sanitized environment, drinkable water and dietary feeding; dignity of human person; biological visibility, freedom of thought, conscience and worship; and right to presumption of innocence until judicially convicted as well as right to be told in understandable language within 24hrs of their arrest, offences alleged to have been committed warranting their arrest and detention.

The rights of the detained citizens to be charged to court or released on bail or discharged (if found not indicted) within 24/48hrs if the offenses are non-capital imprisonment or less than fourteen years imprisonment; and not more than 60 days if the offenses attract capital punishment; are also fully provided and guaranteed. The military massacre operations under report were totally conducted in *flagrant disobedience or total defiance or breach of the above named and highlighted constitutional, regional and international legal instruments*.

Note: *The involvement of Nigerian Army and two other branches of the Armed Forces: Nigerian Navy and Nigerian Air Force in matters of policing or management of democratic assemblies or free speeches through exercise of right to self determination by way of street protests or religious processions, is an aberration, especially in the context of the above highlighted legal instruments and procedures. The three branches of the Armed Forces, therefore, are meddlesome interlopers in the referenced. This is more so when the same Nigerian Army said recently that “it does not have rubber bullets in its arsenal to control public protests and religious processions in Nigeria.”*

Detailed Chronology Of The Military Massacre Operations: The referenced military massacre operations and other atrocity crimes took place between 30th August 2015 and 14th September 2017. The first phase of the massacre operations (30th August, 2nd and 17th December 2015; and 18th and 29th January and 9th February, 29th and 30th May 2016; as well as 20th January 2017) was carried out by the joint military and police operations under President Buhari’s secret death code disguised as “internal security operations”; while the second phase (15th September-14th October 2017, commenced on 8th September 2017) was done under “Nigerian Army Python Dance 11 Exercise in the Southeast”.

The Nigerian Army had consistently dished out the litany of lies to cover up its atrocities in the massacre operations. One of such lies was contained in a report emanating from the Army’s kangaroo Special Board of Inquiry set up on 8th March 2017 (submitted in June 2017) to look into allegations of gross rights abuses against its key personnel and commanders in Northeast, Southeast, and parts of South-south Nigeria, perpetrated in the course of its “counterinsurgency operations in the Northeast and other internal security operations in non-war regions of Southeast and South-south Nigeria”. The Nigerian Army had in the report falsely and atrociously claimed that “no single citizen was killed during the military operations against secessionists and other internal security operations in Southeast and South-south Nigeria.”

Also as severally observed and stated in our previous findings, the Nigerian Army headed by Lt Gen Tukur Yusuf Buratai is responsible for 75% of the entire killings and maiming while the Nigeria Police Force through its SARS and Anti Riot units is responsible for 20%; with the Nigerian Navy, SSS and others accounting for the remaining 5%. The worst of it all is that the present formation and leadership structures of the Nigerian Army are ethnically and religiously lopsided both at national and geopolitical levels (i.e., Igbo Land). Their sectional composition or ethnoreligious lopsidedness made the Nigerian Army a willing tool for the massacre operations and fueled same till date.

During the 29th and 30th May 2016 pro Biafra heroes day massacre at Nkpor and Onitsha (Anambra State) and its spillover in Asaba-Delta State, some survivors interviewed, who were arrested and held for weeks without trial at the Onitsha Army Barracks; narrated how soldiers and civilians of the northern Muslim background jubilated noisily and reigned curses on Igbo People on sighting military truck-loads of slain and injured pro Biafra activists and other innocent citizens of the Nigerian Christian and Jewish Faith.

While the northern Muslim soldiers and their civilian brothers and sisters of same faith jubilated amid a shout of “Allah is great” and in a jihadist tone; the Igbo-Christian soldiers and other citizens of same faith busted into uncontrollable tears. Instances also abound during the military massacre operations where the operational commanders of the Nigerian Army and Police Force made several attempts to turn such nonviolent and peaceful rallies, processions and protests or meeting venues into violence by provocatively opening fire with live bullets at unarmed protesters so as to find grounds to turn them into violence and inflict massive fatalities or casualties for the purpose of justifying their murderous acts. Despite the refusal of such peaceful campaigners to be provoked, the drafted soldiers and police personnel still went ahead and killed them in their dozens in each of the protests.

Military Invasion Of Hospitals/Clinics Treating Shot & Wounded Citizens

Against all known local, regional and international humanitarian and human rights laws highlighted above on the treatment of wounded citizens mainly unarmed and defenseless citizens shot and wounded by security forces resulting from State terror in non-war situations; cases were rampant during the violent crackdowns on Pro Biafra activists and others in Southeast and South-south Nigeria where soldiers invaded hospitals and clinics treating the wounded in their intensive care units and have them, alongside their friends, relatives and medical staff treating them; abducted and taken to unknown locations.

Such cases were rife particularly in Onitsha during the 17th December 2015 killing of not less than 12 jubilant Pro Biafra activists by soldiers at the Onitsha Niger River Bridge; in Aba during the 9th February 2016 massacre of over 30 Pro Biafra activists at the Aba National High School; at Nkpor, Onitsha and Asaba during the massacre and spillover massacre of not less than 140 Pro Biafra activists on 29th and 30 May 2016; in Port Harcourt during the 20th January 2017 Pro Trump solidarity rally resulting in the killing of as much as 20 Pro Biafra activists; and in Aba, Isiala-Ngwa, Asa-Ogwe and Afara-Ukwu, all in Abia State during the Nigerian Army Python Dance 11 Massacre of 11th to 14th September 2017 which led to death of not less than 180 and injuring of over 130 others.

In the case of 17th December 2015 army killing at the Onitsha Niger Bridgehead, the murderous soldiers also traced the Multicare Hospital in the night of same day where the injured were taken for treatment and raided it around 10.8pm, abducted 17 persons including the critically injured receiving treatment in the Hospital's intensive care units. Among the abducted were their friends, relatives and some medical staff of the Hospital as well as unharmed passersby arrested by soldiers at the scene of the killing arrested after the shooting.

The soldiers of the Onitsha 302 Field Artillery Regiment then led by Col Isah Abdullahi Maigari were forced by a barrage of calls to return eleven of the abducted to the Hospital two hours after invading the Clinic in the night of 17th December 2015. The returned were those at the point of death requiring essential life-saving treatments before they were abducted. Their return followed distress calls made to relevant quarters by the Chief Medical Director of the hospital. Four of them later died in the hospital due to loss of so much blood and soldiers' disruption of their treatments.

Those held back at the Onitsha Army Barracks were further detained for days until our advocacy intervention leading to their administrative bail at the State CID where soldiers dumped them. Three out of those killed and taken away by soldiers were also dumped at the Onitsha General Hospital on 21st December 2015. Their corpses were secretly recovered and moved to their families in February 2016 through the joint efforts of the leadership of **Intersociety**, local officials of the Biafra Indigenous People and relatives of the slain. Their bodies were moved to their communities in Ebonyi and Abia States for interment successfully done in February and March 2016.

In the case of 29th and 30th May 2016 massacre at Nkpor, Onitsha, and Asaba, the story was not different. Many clinics and hospitals where the wounded and slain were admitted or deposited were also invaded by soldiers leading to the removal of some corpses and abduction of the wounded from their intensive care units to unknown locations till date. The affected medical staff and relatives of the slain and the injured were also not spared by the invading soldiers.

At the Nnewi Teaching Hospital or Nnamdi Azikiwe University Hospital, its intensive care units were invaded by soldiers in the evening of 30th May 2016 (hours after the massacre). The atrocious invasion was carried out by soldiers and other security operatives under the code of "JTF" or joint security task force in the color of the Government of Anambra State.

During the invasion, 19 defenseless citizens including 12 of them, critically shot and injured, and seven other unharmed relatives were abducted and taken to the then Anambra State Commissioner of Police, now Police AIG Hosea Hassan Karma who ordered the wounded to be returned to the teaching hospital and seven unharmed be handed over to the Special Anti Robbery Squad (SARS) of the Nigeria Police Force for detention and routine torture.

In Asaba, Delta State where not less than 30 unarmed and defenseless citizens were shot and killed in the 30th May 2016 massacre with scores of other injuries; dead bodies of the victims deposited at the Federal Medical Center, Asaba was put under massive security surveillance to prevent access to them by their families.

Cases of hospital invasion by soldiers for abduction of the wounded were also reported in other clinics located in the capital city, Asaba; causing panics and forcing relatives of the slain, the wounded and some medical staff to flee; to the extent that over a dozen corpses of the slain, dumped at the FMC, Asaba were abandoned by their families till date.

The corpses were reportedly removed from the morgue of the FMC as “unclaimed corpses” and secretly buried somewhere around the Asaba Airport Road on 26th June 2016. Widow of one of the “unclaimed corpses” told **Intersociety** that she and her husband family later organized his funeral without his corpse recovered and interred till date. The funeral was organized using a coffin containing a banana, or plantain stem as traditionally allowed or done in many places in Igbo Land.

It also got so bad that some of the wounded taken to safety by their families and friends have to be hurriedly rescued and moved out of Anambra State to neighboring States for safety and treatment. For instance, among those wounded during the 29th and 30th May 2016 massacre who were hurriedly taken out of Anambra State for safety were Citizens Chidi Nwaigwe, Uchenna Odaa, Ezeaka Ejike, Chima Anamuasonye, Nwaowe John, Ifeanyi C. Azubuike (he later died) and Ugochukwu Nnamu. They were all moved to Abia State; while Citizens Ifeanyi Ogumma and Arinze Aja were moved to Enugu State.

An unreported number of the wounded Pro Biafra activists also died in the course of going into hiding with their gunshot injuries to escape their search by soldiers and police SARS. In the pro-Trump solidarity rally army and police killing of 20th January 2017 in Port Harcourt, Rivers State, out of eight, shot and critically wounded by soldiers and taken to the University of Port Harcourt Teaching Hospital, three were rescued alive before soldiers and SSS invaded the Hospital in search of the wounded and the slain.

Five of them died as a result of severe injuries and lack of adequate medical treatments and security monitoring. Only two bodies out of the five were rescued while the remaining three were abandoned without their identity traces and bodies’ recovery till date. Cases also abound whereby after such hospital invasions by soldiers, some medical staff still got haunted, traced and threatened or faced out-right arrest, detention, and torture; forcing some of them to shut down their clinics or flee to overseas.

The Nigerian military and other culpable government officials have also become more desperate at erasing traces of their culpability. For instance, after 13 corpses of the slain Pro Biafra activists killed in the 9th February 2016 at the Aba National High School and after the massacre, were discovered by local whistleblowers in Aba-Port Harcourt burrow pits, **Intersociety** raised the alarm and wrote the Governor of Abia State, only for the corpses to be set ablaze specifically on 1st March 2016, about one day after our letter successfully made it to the Abia State Government House.

Also part of the evidence destruction and criminal attempts to escape responsibility was the hasty, vindictive and racial proscription of the leading pro-Biafra group by the central Government of Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari and Prof Yemi Osinbajo. This is the first time in the world an unarmed and defenseless self-determination group is dubbed “terror group.” The intents and purposes for same were for *intensification of the Government’s racial profiling and attempts to cover the massacre and escape from being held to account.*

Military & Police Crackdowns In Onitsha, Awka & Nnewi: 30th August 2015: Several peaceful street protests were held, and the combined team of armed soldiers, Police SARS and Mobile Police units responded violently by opening fire at the peaceful protesters with live bullets leading to instant death of not less than six citizens. Similar protests took place in Asaba, Delta State, Enugu, Enugu State, Yenegoa, Bayelsa State, Uyo, Akwa Ibom State, Igweocha or Port Harcourt, Rivers State and Aba, Abia State. Those protests also recorded scores of deaths and dozens of injuries.

30th August 2015 Death Toll

Among the six citizens that were shot dead by soldiers and police were Citizens Ebuka Nnorom of Ufuma in Anambra State and Obasi Maduka of Oshiri-Ebonyi State. The bodies of four others were recovered and taken away by soldiers and police. Over ten persons were injured in the protests. In Yenegoa and Port Harcourt protests, among those killed were late Citizens Christian Okechukwu and Daniel Chukwualue.

Mega Pro Biafra Protests Of 2nd December 2015

The peaceful protest started in the evening of 1st December 2015 as “vigil/picketing” leading to the occupation of the roadsides of the Niger Bridgehead. The protest continued on 2nd December 2015 and extended to Onitsha Upper Iweka, Owerri Road and Obodoukwu Road, etc. The protest, observed by the leadership of our organization, was peaceful and well organized with leaders of the Biafra Indigenous People hand-walling themselves by the roadsides ensuring the free flow of vehicular and human movements.

Hours into the mega rally/protest, red signals were given to the soldiers of the 302 Artillery Regiment Onitsha by the then GOC of the Enugu 82nd Division and the Army headquarters in Abuja as well as the then Inspector General of Police (Solomon Arase) for the protesters to be violently crushed or quelled; leading to instant death of not less than 13 persons and injuring of 30 others. The then Inspector General of Police specifically directed the senior police commanders in the Southeast and South-south zones to “apply maximum force to quell the protests and crack down on the protesters.”

Also, from the accounts of motor park operators and night hawkers around the area, there was late night shooting and killing by soldiers drafted to the scene of the night vigil/picketing, leading to the possible death of dozens and scores of injuries. During the late night army shooting, many picketers scampered for safety and later regrouped and continued their picketing/vigil while the affected including the slain and the wounded suddenly disappeared, suggesting that the slain were drowned in the River Niger by soldiers or taken away to undisclosed locations alongside the wounded.

The material evidence seen at the scene of the Onitsha Niger Bridgehead was over a dozen private and commercial motorcycles belonging to the “unknown” and “un-located” protesters/pickers; abandoned and scattered at the scene after the mega protest on 2nd December 2015. They were later moved away by personnel of the Nigeria Police Force under the Onitsha Area Command Division.

2nd December 2015 Death Toll

A total of not less than 13 persons were killed and among them were: Miss Anthonia Nkiruka Ikeanyionwu (a student of the Federal College of Education (Technical), Umuoze in Anambra State); Kenneth Ogadinma (from Abia State), Chima Onoh (from Enugu State), Angus Chikwado (from Anambra State) and Miss Felicia Egwuatu (from Anambra State).

The remaining eight citizens shot and killed by drafted soldiers and police personnel were taken to undisclosed locations by soldiers of the Onitsha Military Cantonment led by Col Isa Abdullahi Maigari. Dozens of others, likely to have been killed in the late night of 1st December 2015, technically represent the “dark figures of crime” or unrecorded casualty figures.

17th Dec. 2015 Post Judgment Jubilation Massacre At Onitsha Niger Bridgehead: Hours, after an Abuja Federal High Court presided over by Hon Justice Ademola Adeniji, delivered a ruling ordering for unconditional release of Citizen Nnamdi Kanu, jubilant IPOB members numbering between 60 and 100 went into spontaneous celebration and marched from Nkpor to Ojukwu Statue at Onitsha Niger Bridgehead where they met some soldiers of northern Muslim extraction who opened fire at them, killing not less than 12 and injuring 15 others.

Most of the dead bodies and others injured were taken away by soldiers to Onitsha Army Barracks and other secret locations. Few others including late Chigozie Ezeji were rescued and saved by friends and relatives and later deposited/admitted at some private hospital including the Multicare Hospital at Nkpor and the White Chapel Hospital in Fegge area of Onitsha. Late Chigozie Ezeji was one of those rescued alive by friends after being shot and battered, but he died on the way to the White Chapel Hospital in Onitsha, Anambra State.

17th December 2015 Death Toll

Not less than 12 persons were killed and among them were Citizens Okwu Friday, Michael Nweke (37) (from Ezza North LGA) in Ebonyi State; buried on 11th of March 2016); Peter Chukwuma Nwankwo (26) (from Ezza South LGA) in Ebonyi State; buried on 11th of March 2016), Mathew Ndukwe Kanu (25) (from Akanu-Ohafia LGA) in Abia State; buried on 12th of March 2016) and Chigozie Ezeji (32) (from Idemmili North LGA) in Anambra State.

The names above mentioned did not include four others that died in the hospital during treatments. A total of 27 persons critically shot and wounded were taken to the Multicare Hospital for treatment following the 2nd and 17th December 2015 massacre in Onitsha; out of which 4 died. Several others with serious bullet wounds also ran away from hospitals where they were earlier admitted; to their private homes for self-medication, fearing raids and abductions by soldiers. Among them, some must have died.

9th February 2016 Massacre At Aba National High School

Members of the Biafra Indigenous People in their hundreds had gathered in the premises of former Igbo National College now renamed *National High School*. The gathering was for prayers and singing rally for the release of Citizen Nnamdi Kanu and others. Few hours before noon of 9th February 2016, the Abia State Police Command and its Aba Area Command then headed by CP (now DIG) Habila Joshak (DIG-OPS) and ACP Peter Nwagbara ordered their personnel to storm the place; saying they received a distress call, red alert and matching order from then IGP, Solomon Arase to quell the prayer rally.

About thirty minutes later, soldiers of 144 Battalion of the Nigerian Army, located in Asa Community in Ukwa West LGA near Aba, then commanded by Lt Col Sidi Umar Kasim and the personnel of SSS and Nigerian Navy as well as other members of the Abia State Joint Security Taskforce mobilized by Governor Okezie Ikpeazu; stormed the place in their large numbers using more than 12 security vans donated by the Government of Abia State. Moments after their arrival, soldiers took battle positions and corked their rifles loaded with live bullets and seconds later, they opened fire at the gathered crowd, killing dozens instantly and injuring over 30.

As the survivors were scampering for safety and escaping through the School's perimeter fence, soldiers again opened fire on them and gunned down scores. Police personnel also joined them in the shooting spree; leading to the instant death of at least 30 excluding 16 members of the group whose lifeless bodies were later dumped on 12th February 2016 in two burrow pits along the Aba-Port Harcourt Road.

Thirteen of the dumped corpses were discovered on 12th February by local whistleblowers while three others were found days later in another burrow pit behind a Mosque near Aba. The thirteen corpses were set ablaze on 1st March 2016 by suspected agents of the Government of Abia State or the murderous soldiers of the 144 Battalion.

Amnesty Int'l had during their visit to the burrow pit on 18th February 2016 discovered that the lifeless bodies of the slain IPOB members were tied with cut pieces of Biafra flags. The corpses went up in flames 24hrs after we wrote and delivered a letter to the Government of Abia State over the public health hazard of the dumped corpses and need for Coroner's inquest same. Amnesty Int'l researchers met the corpses burning to ashes during their returned visit same day.

9th February 2016 Death Toll

Not less than 30 persons were killed in the Aba prayer/singing rally and among them were: Citizens Uche Friday (30yrs) (Abia State), Emeka Ekpemandu (35yrs) (Imo State), Chiavoghlefu Chibuikem (Abia State), Nzubechi Onwumere (Imo State), Peter Chinecherem Ukasoanya (27yrs) (Abia State), Chigozie Cyril Nwoye (23yrs) (Enugu State), Chukwudi Onyekwere (26yrs) (Imo State) and Uchechukwu Nwachukwu (Abia State).

Scores of defenseless citizens numbering about 15 were also shot and killed in Aba during similar street protests of 18th, and 29th January 2016 and one of those killed was Citizen Chibuzor Maduagwu Paul (28yrs) from Imo State. Some bodies of the slain and the wounded were moved by the drafted soldiers and police personnel to undisclosed locations.

Some of the slain bodies found in the Aba-Port Harcourt Road burrow pits have had their hands tied behind their backs with cut pieces of Biafra flags which technically suggest that they must have been taken to the burrow pits alive before being shot and killed while others that have only their eyes tied were likely killed elsewhere before being dumped in the burrow pits. It is also likely that the former was forced to carry the lifeless bodies of the latter to the burrow pit after which they were tied and shot dead.

29th And 30th May 2016 Igbo Heroes Day Massacre In Onitsha, Nkpor & Asaba: Of all the massacres highlighted above, the Nkpor and Onitsha massacre and its Asaba spillover were the second bloodiest after the September 2017 Army Python Dance 11 in Abia State. The latter massacre recorded not less than 140 casualties and over 130 injuries. The leadership of the Biafra Indigenous People and other pro-Biafra campaigners had chosen Nkpor part of Anambra State as the venue for their 2016 Biafra/Igbo Heroes Day Anniversary; having nonviolently and successfully marked same in Enugu and Umuahia in 2015 and 2014 respectively.

On 24th May 2016, the leadership of the Biafra Indigenous People addressed a letter to the Government of Anambra State through the then State Commissioner of Police, CP (now AIG Zone 9) Mr. Hosea Karma. The letter was dated May 23rd and signed on 24th of May 2016 by Mr. Uchenna Asiegbu; the group's head of the Directorate of State. The CP was constitutionally charged in the letter to ensure that the anniversary was a hitch free and the event venue provided with security. The letter was successfully sent to the CP four days to the anniversary.

The then CP and the Government of Anambra State, on receipt of the letter, neither invited the signatories to the letter/their representatives, nor made any public pronouncement concerning the status of the letter; and unknown to organizers of the event, the letter became a countermeasure and a ploy for visiting unspeakable State violence and crackdown on the organizers, their supporters and other defenseless members of the public including early morning travelers and those returning from early morning church services who were trapped, killed or maimed in the massacre on 30th May 2016.

The written notification given to the duo was also used for mobilization of the Anambra State Joint Security Taskforce and massive deployment of more troops and armaments from the 82nd Division of the Nigerian Army in Enugu. Through the inter-State security cooperation between Anambra and Delta States, the Delta State Police Command was also reached and placed on alert. The soldiers of the Onitsha Military Cantonment also secured the nod of the Delta State Government to extend the violent crackdowns to Abraka Junction and Asaba Airport end of the Onitsha-Asaba-Benin-Lagos Dual Carriage Way in the State.

The violent crackdowns including late-night raids, mass arrests, abductions and shootings by Anambra Police SARS operatives and soldiers were also extended and targeted at local leaders of pro-Biafra bodies, their friends and relatives. Citizens who arrived Nkpor and Ogidi in the late night of 29th May for the event and squatted in the classrooms of St Edmunds Catholic Primary School, Nkpor were also targeted, shot dead or critically injured in their sleep. At least, three Catholic faithful returning from early morning service (morning mass) held at St Edmunds Catholic Church, Nkpor were among those shot dead by soldiers in the morning of 30th May 2016 along Nkpor-Umuoji Road (main scene of the massacre).

The massacre and other atrocity crimes continued in the morning of 30th May 2016 and extended to noon hours of the same day; leading to the death of not less than 110 citizens at Nkpor, Ogidi, and Onitsha; with over 30 others massacred at Asaba spillover massacre same day. In Anambra State, the murderous operation was extended to Umuoji and Nnewi parts of the State. A total of over 130 unarmed and defenseless citizens were also shot and critically injured; out of which, some died of injuries. Scores of others have been crippled for life.

Most bodies of those shot and killed were picked by soldiers on the spot using their military trucks and taken to undisclosed locations till date. Their whereabouts have remained unknown to their families and other relatives including friends, lawyers, and doctors. Some security sources and survivors/eyewitnesses interviewed later disclosed that most of them were lumped together and criminally interred on Wednesday 1st June 2016 in shallow graves located in one of the two military cemeteries inside the Onitsha Military Barracks. A source further disclosed that the Government of Anambra State partook in the criminal mass burial through a Commissioner for Information who supervised same.

In Asaba, soldiers of the Onitsha 302 Artillery Regiment operationally led by one Major (now Lt Col) C.O. Ibrahim of the military police unit of the Regiment and others drafted from the 82nd Division in Enugu; in conjunction with the Delta State Police Command; armed with automatic weapons loaded with live bullets took part and conducted the Asaba spillover massacre; killing not less than 30 and critically injuring over 60 others.

Those trekking down to Onitsha for the event and ordinary passersby and bystanders were blocked at the Asaba and Onitsha end of the Onitsha-Asaba-Benin Dual Carriage Way and rained with live bullets. One of the casualty victims was an innocent woman who was about eight months' pregnant and on her way to the hospital in Asaba for her medical appointment. She had parked her car by the roadside to escape being hit by raining bullets of the soldiers and police personnel only for soldiers to come close to her car and open fire hitting her sensitive parts. She later died in hospital in Asaba alongside her unborn child.

29th And 30th May 2016 Death Toll

The death toll arising from Nkpor and Onitsha massacre was estimated at not less than 110 with over 80 injuries. Most of the dead bodies were seized and taken away by soldiers and later interred in secret Army graves already mentioned above. The Asaba spillover massacre of same 30th May 2016 also led to not less than 30 deaths and over 50 injuries.

A total of no fewer than 140 defenseless citizens were killed in all, and over 130 others were shot and critically injured. Many of those killed in Asaba were deposited at the Federal Medical Centre morgue from where they were ordered by the authorities to be criminally interred on 26th June 2016 at a secluded location around the Asaba Airport area.

This was according to the revelation made by one of the widows who lost her husband in the spillover massacre. The widow had told **Intersociety** that this was confided in her by one of the mortuary attendants working in the Medical Center during her futile efforts to retrieve the body of her husband. She had on 31st May 2016, a day after the Asaba spillover massacre, successfully made it to the Morgue of the Federal Medical Center through an insider contract where she saw the lifeless body of her slain husband lying in the middle of 14 others massacred by soldiers.

She was subsequently disallowed or denied access to the Morgue owing to massive security surveillance and ‘orders from above’ left to the management of the Federal Medical Center. She told **Intersociety** that she spoke with her husband on the phone before his last breath. Her husband managed to call her to bid her goodbye, urging her to be strong and take proper care of herself and their only daughter.

The widow said it was a soldier who asked her dying husband, battered with live bullets to make his last call when her husband and bodies of seven slain others were being conveyed in a military truck to an unknown location, later found to be the Federal Medical Center in Asaba. The husband told her how and where he was shot by soldiers and that among seven of them inside the military truck, he was the only one still alive and was asked to make his last call before “joining others.”

She said the phone calls stopped abruptly and was disrupted by the sound of a gunshot; indicating that he had been shot dead while still on call and that despite several shouts of his name, nothing more was heard. The corpses including that of her husband were later classified as “State property” and were at the time of their criminal interment dubbed “unclaimed corpses.” Some others shot and killed in the Asaba spillover massacre also got drowned or thrown inside swamps in Asaba.

Names Of Slain Citizens Of Nkpor & Onitsha Massacre

Names of some slain citizens in Nkpor and Onitsha massacre of 29th and 30th May 2016 were given as: Nicodemus Azubuike, Chikaodi Uka Ume, Ernest Uzor, Chukwudi Ozioko, God’s Power Etukudo, Ifeanyichukwu Kalu, Sunday Ogudo, Ogechi Ejiogu, Daniel Kalu Ukagha, Chima Ezechiugo, Onuoha Jude Nnamdi, Chikezie Nwodo, Chibuzor Nwabuike, Kingsley Onwo, Onyeka Chukwu Ekwe, Sunday Ogbonna, Sunday David, Patrick Anyika, Raphael Agwu, Chukwudi Nmadu and Ugochi Juli Okechukwu (female).

Names Of Slain Citizens Of Asaba Spillover Massacre

Among no fewer than 30 persons killed in the Asaba spillover massacre were Chinedu Udoye, Oluchukwu Odanibe, Ikechukwu Enebeli, Henry Nzekwe, Hero Vincent, Ojo Chimezie, Ogbuefi Obi, Ogochukwu Ijogo, Apam Oyi, Okeke Obiora, and Nwabueze Uzonna.

Pro Trump Rally Massacre Of 20th January 2017 At Igweocha (Port Harcourt): Members of the Biafra Indigenous People had gathered in their thousands in Port Harcourt for a solidarity rally in support of the new Donald Trump Government of the United States. The date was also the same with the swearing in of Donald Trump as the 45th President of the United States. Letters of notification were sent and delivered to relevant security agencies including the Rivers State Police Commissioner and the Government of Rivers State.

Despite the notification, the soldiers of the 6th Division of the Nigerian Army in Rivers State particularly those from the 29 Battalion as well as other security agencies including Police SARS operatives were deployed and armed with assault rifles loaded with live bullets.

The drafted soldiers stormed the scenes of the rally and moments after, opened fire on the organizers of the rally and its participants which resulted to the death of as much as 20 with over 70 others injured. Eyewitnesses said soldiers took away 10 dead bodies while the rest were picked and taken away by Police SARS and other personnel of the Rivers State Police Command.

Among the shot and injured ones, and out of five who were rushed to the University of Port Harcourt Teaching Hospital, two survived, and three died, and out of the three that died, one was rescued and relocated to another hospital morgue, while the bodies of the remaining two got entrapped in the hospital till date. Of 10 slain Pro Biafra activists whose bodies were picked in different parts of Port Harcourt by soldiers and taken away, one was picked at GRA/Mummy Road and two along Ada George Road by Garrison area, while seven others were picked around Okporo Road, all in Port Harcourt, Rivers State.

20th January 2017 Pro Trump Rally Death Toll

Names of three slain pro Biafra activists recovered and buried by their families were given as (1) Uwakwe Justus Ikechi from Ezinihite-Mbaise LGA of Imo State; buried on 16th February 2017, (2) Ndubueze Johnson Okoli (20yrs) from Orumba South LGA, Anambra State; buried on 3rd February 2017 and (3) Kingsley Mathew Essien (17yrs) from Ikono LGA, Akwa Ibom State; buried on 3rd March 2017.

Names Of The Shot & Wounded Victims Of The Military Massacre Operations

30th August 2015 In Port Harcourt: Among those shot and critically injured in Rivers by Nigerian Army and the Police were Citizens Sunday Udegbe, Nwabunne Udo, Agwasi Anthony, Meshach Emmanuel, Chinwendu Ogbonna, Amanda Onyekachi, Emmanuel Arinze, Okwudiri Ojah, Chibuikwe David, Uzochi Ugwojialili, Chukwuma Igwe, Kingsley Okere, Chinedu Solomon Iwu, Okon Emmanuel Udo, Kelechi Uwaeze, Dominic Uwalaka, Solomon Chikwe, Ikenna Ezekwem, Thomas Ubani, Amarachi Onyemachi and Chukwudi Ofoegbuliwe. Scores of others were killed including those shot and got drowned inside swamps

30th August 2015 In Asaba: Those shot and critically wounded in Delta State included: Chinedu Abel, Onovo Michael, Kingsley Anuife, Amechi Ojieh, Ogbonna Kanayo, David Ogbu, Charles Chukwuka, Elochukwu Uzor, Chinedu Chukwuma, and Onyekanna Ifechukwudebelu.

30th August 2015 In Onitsha: Those shot and critically injured on 30th August 2015 in Anambra State included: Sampson Kalu, Chidiebere Nnaji, Onyekwelu Ovute, Felix Ndianaefo, Ikechukwu Okafor, Chimaobi Okafor, Christopher Oforah, Sunday Nwazugbo, Stanley Eze, Mrs. Eucharika and Mrs. Patricia.

30th August 2015 In Enugu: In Enugu State, the following were shot and critically injured: Mr. Godswill Ojikeme, Mrs. Chinyere Godswill Ojikeme, Ogbodo Monday, Jonah Kelechi, Onuigbo Paul and Obiorah Innocent

2nd & 17th December 2015 In Onitsha: Among those shot and critically injured by soldiers, Police and Navy in Onitsha on 2nd and 17th December 2015 included: Citizens Jonah Kelechi, Nwode Friday, Ogodu Monday, Nwankwo Ejike, Onuigbo Paul, Mbonu Izunna, Obiora Innocent, Amadi Chinonso, Chukwudi Dabelechi, Alo Amechi, Nwaele Chigozie, Okonkwo Felix, Eneje Emeka, Uchechukwu Kingsley, Igwebuikwe Chinonso, Onyemaechi Ikeagu, Nwaoba Emeka, Nwajioha Chinonso, Nwaele Chinonso, Ijeoma Chukwu, Francis Ikechukwu, Ejike Jideoffor, Makuochukwu Ozobi and Okechukwu Okonkwo.

9th February 2016 At Aba: Among innocent and unarmed citizens shot and critically injured in Aba on 9th of February by the Nigerian Army, joined by other security agencies included: Mrs. Charity Ahuruonye (40yrs) Abia State; Chibuzor Akabueze (29yrs) Imo State, Chukwuemeka Iwuoha Imo State, Chibuzor Chukwu Ebonyi State, Innocent Chinedu Okoro (52yrs) Abia State, Obinna Emmanuel Alaribe (26yrs) Abia State, Uchenna Ihuoma (28yrs) Imo State, Ekene Uzor (29yrs) Anambra State, Sunday Kalu (63yrs) Abia State; Mrs. Nnenna Okebe (55yrs) Abia State; Mrs. Comfort Kingsley (32yrs); Mrs. Ngozi Paul (34yrs) Imo State; and Ifioke Alexandra Ibanga Akwa Ibom State.

29th and 30th May 2016 At Nkpor & Onitsha: Some names of over 80 critical injured citizens at Nkpor and Onitsha massacre of 29th and 30th May 2016 were: Obi Nkemakonam, Ubani Nwenneakonam, Nwuzo Friday, Ilo Friday, Olisama Chukwuemeka, Awah Sopuruchi, Okoye Chinedu, Ezeilo Chuka, Onyeduna Ifesinachi, Nnamani Sunday, Chinonso Amadi, Tagbo Chibuzo, Anyanwu Chika, Egbe Johnson, Osukwe Ijeoma, Nkechukwu Ikechukwu, Kenneth Eni, Orjichukwu Chigozie, Solomon Izundu, Ebili Edward, Gabriel Onyedikachi, Ilo Ozoemena, Nwauju Charles, Onuoha Chidozie, Onyemaechi Nwaezeoma, Innocent Obodoekwe, Ifeanyi Azubuike, Adigwe Chukwudi, Ogochukwu Mbam, Obiosa Chukwueme, Ugochukwu Samuel, Onuoha Chigozie, Maduka Egwela, John Onuchukwu, Maduabuchi Onwukanjo, Izuchukwu Nwaogba, Nnamdi Okonkwo, Ibekwe Okechukwu, Felix Odianwu, Okafor Moses Madukasi and Egwu Joseph.

Some of the shot and critically wounded victims who ran away from hospitals to their homes through the help of their friends and relatives to escape constant military raids in hospitals to abduct them from their sick beds were: Chidi Nwigwe, Uchenna Odaa, Ezeaka Ejike, Chima Anamuasonye, and Nwaowe John. Some who were rescued by their friends and relatives and taken to Abia State for safety and adequate treatments included Ifeanyi C. Azubuike (later died) and Ugochukwu Nnamu, and some of those rescued and taken to Enugu State for safety is Ifeanyi Ogumma and Arinze Aja.

30th May 2016 At Asaba: The following 29 names were among over 50 shot and critically wounded by soldiers and police personnel in Asaba: Ichoku Ndu, Ebere Obidike, Nwabueze Uzonna, Okey Roland, Chukwudi Ifenna, Isaac Uzochukwu, Eberima Aguh, Henry Gideon, Efion Apani, Abuchi Obi, Ozoemena Chukwuma, Lotenna Ifeajuna, Ifebuchi Okenwa, Wisdom Omota, Ejike Abunchukwu, Ozobu Ogbonna, Emeka Madueke, Paschal Gideon, Afam Onyeburu, Izu Onwubiewe, Okey Agubata, Celestine Nnamdi, Obieke Lotenna, Nwabueze Oti, Chijioke Ozoro, Nwadike Chibuzo, Azuka Ifeake, Chioma Nkemjika and Obiora Okonkwo.

20th January 2017 In Igweocha (Port Harcourt): Names of some of over 70 pro Biafra activists shot and critically injured at pro Trump Rally in Port Harcourt, Rivers State on 20th January 2017 were Udo Effiong Asukuah, Mrs Ojeanya, Wisdom Ugochukwu Agor, Mrs Sandra Nwachukwu (lost one of her eyes), Tizath Brownson Israel, Gideon Bassey, Dr. Chinyere Sunday, Bassey Ben, Friday Nsofor, Ibemera Ugonma, Samuel Orji, Chikaodinaka Obasi, Magboh Nkeiruka and Okoye Sunday Collins.

Names of others were given as: Stanley Okechukwu, Oforegbu Victoria, Martin Anochirim, Emmanuel Chikwe, Daniel Friday Ukeh, Odinakachi Chinyere Ekeh (27yrs), Peter Etim Ebe, Arinze Uju, Uko Herald, Ifeanyichukwu Benson, Kingsley Ahamuefula, Ifeanyichukwu Okoli Imo State, Uchenna Ajogu Enugu State, Ugwuagbo Emmanuel Enugu State, Emmanuel Ike Imo State; and Odinakachi Chinyere. The degrees of injuries so inflicted range from loss of eyes, limbs, fingers, legs to wounding and piercing of chest, brain, heart, armpit, waist, face, buttocks, stomach, intestine, lung, and reproductive regions or parts of their bodies.

Nigerian Army Python Dance 11 Massacre In Abia State (11th -14th September 2017)

As contained in the first, second and third parts of **Intersociety's** report, first released on 4th June 2018, the Nigerian Army and President Muhammadu Buhari led Federal Government ordered and executed the Army Python Dance 11 Massacre Operation in Abia State and hurriedly labeled the frontline nonviolent pro Biafra group as "terror group" so as to cover their criminal liability or escape local and international justice.

The massacre was also hurriedly perpetrated and completed a day before the official commencement of the so-called "Army Python Dance 2 in Southeast", which was officially flagged off on 15th September 2017 and ended on 14th October 2017. The massacre and associated mass injuries were perpetrated in four days; 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th September 2017.

The Federal Government and its Nigerian Army also deceived Nigerian public and members of the international community by hiding under the cover of "Army Python Dance 2 in Southeast for 2017" to engage in unspeakable atrocities such as mass murder, attempted mass murder or maiming, extrajudicial killings, laceration or torture, abductions and enforced disappearances, late-night raids, unlawful detention, sexual harassment and violence, confiscation of properties, extortions, etc.

These were targeted and perpetrated against the law-abiding and innocent People of Abia State and other people of old Eastern Nigeria coming into the State or other parts of Igbo Land. Having obtained intelligence report on unspeakable casualty figures following the massacre, the Defense Headquarters (administrative headship of the armed forces) hurriedly designated the frontline nonviolent pro Biafra group as "terror group" on 15th September 2017 and got President Muhammadu Buhari to hurriedly and vindictively proclaim same on Sunday (Nigeria's unofficial working day), 17th September 2017; followed by procurement of a controversial court order four days later to back up the atrocious act of the State.

Some of those shot and killed in Aba (during late night raids) and at Asa-Ogwe and Isiala-Ngwa Military Checkpoints were innocent and law-abiding members of the public going about their legitimate businesses including those coming into Southeast or Igbo Land through Port Harcourt-Enugu Dual Carriage Way or traveling outside the Region through same Federal Road. Scores were also shot and killed or wounded in Aba in broad daylight and in front of their shops or places of work.

The Army massacre operation, deceitfully characterized as "Army Python Dance 2", was concentrated in Abia State targeting the home base of Mr. Nnamdi Kanu and his teeming followers, but disguised as "Army Python Dance 2" in Southeast or Igbo Land. In the course of our yearlong investigation into the so-called "Army Python Dance 11 in Southeast", little or zero number of civilian casualties or injuries were recorded in other parts of the Region; namely: Anambra, Imo, Enugu and the Ebonyi States.

In the end, the Army Python Dance 2 Massacre Operation in Abia State recorded no fewer than 180 deaths and 130 injuries including 105 deaths in Afara-Ukwu Ibeku, 20 deaths at Isiala-Ngwa Military Checkpoint and 55 deaths in Aba (25 deaths) and Asa-Ogwe (over 30 deaths) Military Checkpoint, near Aba; all in Abia States. Most of the civilian injuries occurred in Afara-Ukwu and Aba; with Afara-Ukwu alone recording no fewer than 70.

Scores of those killed or wounded were also hurriedly taken out of records and moved out of the shooting areas by their relatives to avoid being seized by soldiers and killed (in the case of the wounded) or decimated and buried in secret graveyards (in the case of those already shot and killed). Till today, there is no documentation regarding the names and number of such slain patriots including where they hailed from and where, how and when they were buried by their families.

In some cases, relatives of such slain citizens got so terrified that they buried them hurriedly without video or photo coverage. Such was the case with late Ms. Adaku Odoemenam, sister of the Traditional Prime Minister of Afara-Ukwu Ibeku and cousin to Mr. Nnamdi Kanu, who was among those shot and killed by soldiers inside the Afara-Ukwu Palace on 14th September 2017.

Many of those killed at Asa-Ogwe Boundary Military Checkpoint and Isiala-Ngwa Military Checkpoint, from eyewitnesses' accounts, were arrested alive and tagged "pro-Biafra campaigners", taken out of the two Military Checkpoints to 144 Battalion Headquarters and later shot dead at night; while those shot and killed in broad daylight including six corpses later dumped and abandoned at King Jerry's OO Mortuary at Isiala-Ngwa were dumped and abandoned at nearby private morgues.

Others such as over 30 corpses found inside Umu-Ura Village Forest in Ogwe Community near Aba, in August 2018, must have been some of those arrested alive at the Asa-Ogwe Military Checkpoint and moved to the 144 Battalion of Nigerian Army at Asa Community in Ukwu West LGA of Abia State, from where they were taken to the Forest in batches and executed by soldiers in late hours of the night.

At the Afara-Ukwu Ibeku, the Nigerian Army stormed the Palace of HRM, Eze Israel Okwu Kanu, and its environs at about 3.26pm on 14th September 2017. The soldiers, according to eyes witnesses interviewed by **Intersociety**, stormed the area with different types of military weapons or armaments including various types of assault rifles loaded with live bullets, armored personnel carriers, machine guns, military trucks loaded with soldiers and dozens of military Hilux vans, etc.

Moments after storming the area, the soldiers took battle positions and immediately opened fire at the gathered crowd comprised of several hundreds of pro-Biafra activists who were singing and dancing as well as palace staff and visitors. As the unarmed and defenseless citizens were scampering for safety amid raining live bullets, some soldiers continued shooting at close range while others kept picking the dead and severely injured citizens as well as expended and unexpended bullets; heaping them in their military Hilux vans and trucks.

Eight corpses of those who felled into ditches during the shootings were later recovered by sympathizers and other survivors. The massacre operation was conducted within three hours and ended before 6 pm on the same day, 14th September 2017; with not less than 105 deaths and over 70 injuries.

By the accounts of two of the survivors and witnesses interviewed by **Intersociety**, the Nigerian Army carried out the massacre operation against unarmed and defenseless citizens of old Eastern Nigeria in Abia State in September 2017 with varied types of lethal and heavy military weapons or armaments.

The two survivors/witnesses had told **Intersociety** that *"from the sounds of guns, going by our former military career experiences it clearly shows that the soldiers came with or were armed with AK47, AK49 and special machine guns as well as 48mm and 25 serial grenades and other lethal military weapons". "They also stormed the Afara-Ukwu Palace and its surroundings on 14th September 2017 with at least 15 military Hilux vans, 12 military trucks loaded with armed soldiers; another 5 military Hilux vans mounted with machine guns, AA type and at least six Armored Personnel Carriers (APCs)".*

In the Powerline area of Aba in Abia State, pieces of unexpended military bullets were also picked by some survivors/witnesses who survived the late-night military raids of 12th, 13th, and 14th September 2017. Among those killed in the raids of 13th/14th September 2017 were Citizens Ugochukwu Nwachukwu from Abo-Mbaise in Imo State and Celestine Aga from Nkanu East in Enugu State.

Sixty (60) unarmed citizens including survivors of the massacre and other members of the public were also arrested during and after the massacre and arraigned at Umuahia Magistrate Court on “terrorism charges.” They were later reminded at Aba Prison Custody. As it has become the despicable practice of the Nigerian Army since August 2015, approximately 80% of the bodies of those shot and killed in Afara-Ukwu, Isiala-Ngwa, Aba and Asa-Ogwe were taken away and dumped or buried in undisclosed locations or graveyards.

For instance, days after the Afara-Ukwu massacre, corpses numbering eight were found inside a bush at a location in Umuahia. The dumped dead bodies later identified as supporters of Biafra Indigenous People and its leader, Mr. Nnamdi Kanu by their surviving colleagues; had their hands tied behind their back with a meter-length of marine rope; technically suggesting that they were arrested alive and later taken into the bush where they were executed en masse.

There is also the possibility that they were forced by soldiers to bury their slain colleagues at blue law hours; after which they were tied, shot and killed. The corpses they were possibly forced to bury must have been those picked by soldiers at the scene of the Afara-Ukwu massacre; after which the eight executed citizens were forced while alive to carry them to designated hidden locations inside the bush usually in late hours of the night. They must have been shot dead and dumped by their captor-soldiers inside the bush to cover up their atrocities or erase traces.

Some photos of the slain citizens were also taken from morgues where they were deposited. The army torture video taken at Isiala-Ngwa Army Checkpoint was re-studied and one of the corpses of those killed at the scene and dumped by the roadside shown in the video was identified as Ifeanyichukwu (Ifechukwu) Agbayisi, who was shot and killed by soldiers on 12th September 2017 and later dumped and abandoned at King OO Jerry Mortuary, Isiala-Ngwa, from where he was retrieved and buried in his hometown in Anambra State on 19th October 2017.

Fears of military and other security reprisals including late-night raids, arrests, sex violence, torture, and extrajudicial killings also forced many families of the slain victims to refuse to publicly declare their beloved ones as “missing persons” since August 2015. Most Nigerians and members of the int’l community, till date, do not know or have full details of what transpired in Abia State in September 2017 during the so-called “Nigerian Army Python Dance II.” The so-called “Army Python Dance 11” was deceptively launched for the Southeast but solely targeted at innocent citizens of Abia State on account of nonviolent activities of Mr. Nnamdi Kanu and his pro-Biafra group.

By Section 36 (8) of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria, *no person shall be held to be guilty of a criminal offence on account of any act or omission, that did not at the time it took place, constitute such an offence, and no penalty shall be imposed for any criminal offence heavier than the penalty in force at the time the offence was committed.* This constitutional section was observed in breach when the Nigerian Army acting on orders of its C-in-C and COAS, supervised and carried out the massacre operation of 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th September 2017 and got the same C-in-C to label same unarmed group by proclamation as “a terror organization.”

Also there is nowhere in the Constitution or any other recognized law of Nigeria including the African Rights Charter (Ratification & Enforcement Act, Cap A9) Laws of the Federation 2004, the Criminal Justice Act of 2015 or Criminal Code Act of 2004 that empowers Mr. President of Nigeria or Chief of Army Staff or Chief of Defense Staff or any supervising security or defense or policing minister or adviser to order, supervise and justify the opening of fire with military live bullets on innocent and unarmed citizens that gather in a place for peaceful and nonviolent purposes or in their sleep or workplaces.

By Section 33 of the 1999 Constitution and the African Rights Charter Law of the Federation, no such atrocious act by any public office holder in Nigeria is permitted. This is also the first time in the history of Nigeria and its democracy that unarmed and defenseless citizens engaging in nonviolent self-determination campaigns; having never involved in armed resistance or armed struggle are massacred and maimed in their large numbers with their killers turning around to tagged them “terror group” or “terrorists.”

Scores of citizens shot and killed or wounded in Aba and environs were also found to have nothing to do with nonviolent pro-Biafra campaigns. Some were dragged out of their night sleep in the late night of 13th and early hours of 14th September 2017 and shot dead; after which their bodies were taken away by the soldiers. Some that ran out of their homes following the late night raids and others that left their homes in the early hours of 14th September for early morning businesses were also not spared. Areas of Aba that were affected by soldiers’ late night and early morning’ raids of 13th and 14th September 2017 included Ariaria, Umuode, Osisioma, Power Line and Abayi areas of the commercial city.

Threats of invasion, arrest, detention, torture, extrajudicial killings and sexual harassment or violence by soldiers and police SARS operatives also forced most families, friends, and associates of the slain victims to keep perpetual mute or sealed lips over their “missing” loved ones. These further forced them into mourning them in enforced silence, shock, frustration, anguish, sorrow and anger. Some of them willing to seek justice including open inquiries over the whereabouts of their loved ones also got hampered by teething poverty level in the country.

The totality of these further gave rise to the untimely death of some of them while others became victims of *traumatic disorder* and *post-traumatic stress disorder*. Many children of the slain victims investigated recently by our organization are either out of school or have been moved to substandard children’s schools; likewise the spouses or wives of many slain victims and the crippled who can barely feed or have decent three meals per day.

Names Of Massacred Pro Biafra Activists &Ors (12th -14th September 2017)

(1)Chinedu Uwandu (Imo State), (2) Ogochukwu Joseph Ogbah (Abia State), (3) Henry Ogar Ogoyi (Cross River State), (4) Kelechi Meshach Metu (Imo State), (5) Odika Osime Chukwuma (Anambra State), (6) Onyeka Ujam (Enugu State), (7) Celestine Aga (Enugu State), (8) Joseph Ifeanyichukwu Agbayisi (Anambra State), (9) Blessing Adaku Odoemena (Abia State), (10) Imo Emele Uduma Okemini (Abia State), (11) Emmanuel Ugochukwu Nwachukwu (Imo State), (12) Okwudiri Samuel Obika (Imo State), (13) Anayo Anyanwu (Imo State), (14) Udoette Miracle Udofia (Akwa Ibom State) and (15) MaCois Palibor (Bayelsa State).

Others: (16) Ogbogu Okoro (Abia State), (17) Chigozie Ikechukwu (Abia State), (18) Ikenna Okorie (Abia State), (19) Adiele Paul (Abia State), (20) Ahamuefuna Austin Nnamdi (Imo State), (21) John Akor (Benue State), (22) Emmanuel Ogbuh (Imo State), (23) Kevin Nnamdi Ikeme (Abia State), (24) Sunday Nnadozie (Imo State), (25) Iteshi Celestine Chukwuka (Ebonyi State), (26) Ndubuisi Arum (Abia State), (27) Sunday David, (28) Chukwudi Mmadu, (29) Levi Okwudiri and (30) Chukwueke Kalu.

Shot & Wounded Victims: Kingsley Olisakwe, Chinedu Okeke, Nzube Elekwa, Peter Ohiagu, Wisdom Joseph, John Evans, Peter Chukwu Blessing, Chibuisi Obialo, Obinna Nwaobasi, Ginika Basil, Uche Ikechukwu, Odinaka Onyeka, Michael Solomon, Eje Friday, Onwuabuchi Alozie Uwa, Moses Okeke, Isaiah Mmaduabuchi, Anayo John, Favor Ndudunachi, Innocent Odeke and Basil Nwagu

Names Of Pro Biafra Activists & Others Arrested & Arraigned On “Terrorism” Charges: Soldiers and police arrested no fewer than 60 pro-Biafra activists and other members of the public in Abia State and arraigned them for terrorism and other related charges. They were part of those arrested on 12th, 13th and 14th September 2017 during the Army massacre operation at Afara-Ukwu, near Umuahia and Isiala-Ngwa and arraigned on 18th September 2017 before an Umuahia Magistrate Court via Charge Nos **11/670 C/2017 (CP, Abia State vs. Ogonnaya Orji & Others and 11/676 C/2017 (CP, Abia State vs. Chinonso Kalu & Ors).**

Their names and ages: Ogonnaya Orji (22), Onyike Ogbah (39), Ada Nude, Chibuikwe Victor (45), Gabriel Isaiah (46), Eze Chita (46), Eze Monday (20), Samuel Nse (20), Nathaniel Friday (24), Gentle Odudu Dickson (35), Chukwudi Eugene (35), Ejim Monday (23), Emeka Umealor (37), Chidi Eze (40), Paul Uche (23), Victor Okafor (38), James Ogayi (38), Eze Nnanna (35), Godwin Ndukwe (27), Iheohakara Innocent (35), Ozoemena Sunday (24), Chika Okeh, Sunday Isaiah (32) and Kingsley Saturday (20).

Others: Chukwuemeka Onyeocha (33), Chukwu Ugonnaya (24), Chinonso Kalu (32), Ede David (35), Benjamin Ozoro (37), Uchenna Onyema (30), Tochukwu Ibeleme (33), Ndubuisi Lazarus (26), Uche Uka (34), Dandy Nwankwo (45), Tony Williams (47), Zeruwa Kalu (28), Ifeanyi Jeff (36), Ogadinma Iwuanyanwu Ejekwe (30), Prince Ehibe (26), Ogochukwu Obi (35), Livinus Nnanna (33), Prince Chukwuma (42), Samuel Eke (27), Christopher Ejilaugwuebo (32) and Osiba Mmaduabuchi (34).

Those Still In Aba Prison Since 2017: Victor Okafor, Gabriel Isaiah, Emeka Umelo, Nze Samuel, Onyeike Ogba, Godwin Ndukwe, Emmanuel Christian, Uchenna Onyema, Zeruwa Kalu, David Ede, Ogadinma Ejekwe.

Other Detainees: Ms. Ada Uche, Chukwudi Eugene, Nzubechukwu Odinanwa and Chukwuemeka Ogbodo held in Enugu Maximum Prison; Sunday Okafor held in Umuahia Prison; and Ikenna Igwe and Bright Sunday Okoro held in Port Harcourt Prison since January 20, 2017. There are also Yadiebube Victor, Chisom Nwankwo, Frank Iwuchukwu Igwu, Ifeanyi Nwankwo, Oforbike Ogonnaya, Nwaogu ThankGod, Udodinma Christian, Sunday Udofia and Ndifreke Achibong all still held in Port Harcourt Prison since 23rd May 2018.

Also as at April 2018, no fewer than 87 pro-Biafra activists were detained without proper court trial in various prisons located in Rivers, Abia, Anambra, and the Enugu States and among them were 15 detainees at Port Harcourt Maximum Prisons, 20 at Ahoada Prisons and 10 at Degema Prisons all in Rivers State. Others are one detainee with a severe eye injury at Amawbia Prisons in Anambra State; 33 detainees including minors and one Ms. Ada Nude (a female detainee) at Aba Prisons in Abia State and 4 detainees at Enugu Prisons.

Some leaders of pro-Biafra groups were also arrested in 2015 and 2016 and detained by SSS without trial for over two years. They were only granted court bail in June 2018 after spending two to three years in solitary detention. They included Benjamin Madubugwu (detained without proper trial from July 2015 to June 2018 and accused of conspiracy to commit the treasonable felony and unlawful possession of pump action or gaming guns), Dave Nwawuisi (held from October 2015 to June 2018 over the allegation of illegal importation of goods and conspiracy to commit a treasonable felony).

Others: Chidiebere Onwudiwe (held from June 2016 to June 2018 over the allegation of conspiracy to commit a treasonable felony) and Bright Chimezie (held from September 2016 to June 2018 over the allegation of conspiracy to commit a treasonable felony). Each of the offences carries a maximum of five years imprisonment on conviction and is leniently bailable and does not warrant being incarcerated for two years or more without a proper and speedy trial.

Discovery Of Over 30 Slain Bodies Of Pro Biafra Activists & Ors In Ogwe Forest

Defining Criminal Graveyard: This is a crime scene where unarmed or defenseless citizens are shot dead or a place (i.e., bush, forest, swamp, river or cremation spot) where corpses of the same category are dumped or dismembered through burning and use of acid substances; or buried in shallow graves. Such graveyard is abominable and criminal because due processes are never followed or applied from the circumstances of the victims' death to the disposal of their bodies in the criminal graveyards.

Apart from the fact that the victims are killed outside the law, the lawful and rightful processes of their interment including consent, cooperation and presence of their families/relatives, independent medical examinations (i.e. autopsy and corona inquest) into their killing and committing their corpses to mother earth through befitting interment are never followed or applied.

Dumping Of 38 Bodies Of Victims Of Army Python Dance 11

Background: A native and resident of Ogwe Community in Ukwa West LGA of Abia, who is also a pro-Biafra activist, had in early August 2018 raised the alarm over his shocking discovery of dozens of decomposed corpses inside the Umu-Ura Village Forest in Ogwe Community. He told his colleagues that his resolve to spy on the forest was as a result of suspicious movements of soldiers on patrol vans into the forest which have been on for past several months.

As Okada rider plying the area from Ogwe Junction along Aba-Port Harcourt Federal Road to Ogwe Community including its Umu-Ura Village, which is about three kilometers from Ogwe Junction; he was used to observing their suspicious movements into the forest and sometimes sounds of gunshots in late night and the same direction. Located close to the forest is the Ugwuachi Military Checkpoint, mounted by soldiers of 144 Battalion, located at Asa Community in the same Ukwa West LGA of Abia State.

His colleagues further quoted the whistleblower as having seen over 30 decomposed corpses in some ditches within the forest. As his fellow pro Biafra activists who had earlier after the Army Python Dance 11 of September 2017 in Abia State organized search parties for possible location of dozens of their missing colleagues; were getting ready to storm the forest for proper identification and documentation; most of the corpses were reportedly gathered and set ablaze by suspected authorities of the Nigerian Army and the Government of Abia State.

The corpses were said to have been set ablaze about three days after the pro-Biafra whistleblower raised the alarm. It was on account of the above that the leadership of the Biafra Indigenous People raised a global alarm via its statement of 14th August 2018. Undeterred, another search party comprising five members of the print media and pro Biafra activists was organized to storm the forest on 10th and 11th August 2018, but the pressmen reportedly cited security concerns and withdrew; forcing the pro Biafra activists to storm the forest later same day through Obiawon Village in the Community where they found five other corpses littered in different parts of the forest.

It was further discovered that four corpses found in a location in the same forest the previous day by a second eyewitness when he visited had also gone missing, suggesting strongly that the suspected authorities must have organized a field team to ransack the forest, retrieve all the corpses and burn them beyond recognition to erase traces of culpability. The five corpses met on the ground were videoed and pictured.

It is vividly recalled that the suspected agents of the Government of Abia State or those of the 144 Battalion of the Nigerian Army at Asa Community, near Aba had similarly on 1st March 2016 caused 13 corpses of slain pro Biafra activists dumped inside a burrow pit along Aba-Port Harcourt Federal Road to go up in flames. This occurred a day after the receipt of our public interest letter to Governor Okezie Victor Ikpeazu over the same issue. By the time we went back to the site in July 2016, we were told that the Government of Abia State brought a bulldozer and filled the spot with red sands.

Intersociety's Visit To Ogwe Forest Graveyard

On Sunday, 19th August 2018, Intersociety went to the forest for further crime scene analysis and found three corpses remaining. It is most likely correct to say that the remaining three corpses met when we visited must have been removed and possibly burnt days after our last visit. The first corpse seen was located about eight to ten meters away from two others located four to five meters apart.

One of the three corpses still bears shackle marks before being shot and killed; suggesting strongly that many must have been taken to the forest as slain or dead bodies while the rest including the former must have made it to the forest alive before they were shot and killed; after they must have been forced to carry their slain colleagues to the forest.

Facial and primary evaluation of the discovered corpses by independent medical experts especially their state of decomposition suggests that they must have been shot and killed eleven months ago. Field interviews were also conducted in four different locations: Ogwe Junction, Umu-Ura, Awaza and another village near Umu-Ura Village and among those interviewed are regular users of the link road and the forest such as Okada and Keke riders.

They collectively confirmed the frequent patrol and encroachment into the forest by soldiers using Hilux vans especially between the hours of 8 pm, 9 pm, 10 pm, 11 pm and 12 am and 2 am and that sometimes residents are awoken by military gunshots inside the forest as late as 2 am and 1 am lasting for 10-13minutes.

The forest is about a kilometer away from the residential area of the Community and very large as well. On the fate of burnt and disappeared corpses, it was linked to the said authorities by some of those interviewed with one of them querying "if we think Government will still allow them to be there after such alarm was raised and reported in the media."

Intersociety Findings: (1) *there is no evidence of intra or inter-communal conflict in the area; either stretching back to Aba and environs or up to Asa (Abia)/Obigbo (Rivers) boundary areas. (2) Ugwuachi Military Checkpoint located inside Ogwe Community is a searchlight checkpoint controlled by the Asa main Military Checkpoint located in Asa Community, Ukwa West LGA of the area of Abia State and situated along Aba-Port Harcourt Federal Road in the same Abia State.*

(3) There is 144 Battalion of the Nigerian Army located in Asa Community, Ukwa West LGA of Abia State; a community sharing boundary with Obigbo in Rivers State. (4) The 144 Battalion is a unit of 14 Brigade of the Nigerian Army, Ohafia, in Abia State, commanded as at September 2017 by Lt Col Umar Sidi Kassim (Commanding Officer).

We also found that: (5) *The 14 Brigade of the Nigerian Army, located in Ohafia is under the command of Brig Gen Khalifa Ibrahim (Brigade Commander). (6) The ethnoreligious or Fulani-Hausa Muslim identities of the heads of the two military formations in such part of Igbo Land are clear evidence of high risk of perpetration of hate killings or ethnic cleansing targeted at unarmed and defenseless Igbo citizens,*

(7) From Asa Community where 144 Battalion is located to Ogwe Community is about four to five kilometers and from Ogwe Junction by Aba-Port Harcourt Federal Road to Umu-Ura Village forest where the corpses were dumped is about 1.2kilometers. (8) There is a designated settlement in the same vast Community Forest for Fulani Herdsmen which is about 1.5kilometers from the crime scene within the Forest.

Discovered, too, are: (9) *There is steady heavy military presence and patrol for protection of the Herdsmen which must have prompted the setting up of Ugwuachi searchlight Military Checkpoint inside Ogwe Community. (10) The military policing architecture of the Area especially the Forest must have made it possible to serve as another criminal graveyard of the Nigerian Army where bodies of the murdered Igbo citizens are dumped late night or those arrested alive taken to and killed. (11) The over 30 burnt corpses and others found inside the Ogwe Forest are most likely those that went missing during the Army Python Dance 11 in Abia State.*

Included in the findings are: (12) *the bulk of them must have been those arrested at Asa main Military Checkpoint under stop and search especially those coming from Rivers and Akwa Ibom and traveling to the Umuahia residence of Mr. Nnamdi Kanu of the Biafra Indigenous People on 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th September 2017 or other parts of Igbo Land. (13) Others must have been those arrested alive or shot dead by soldiers in Aba and environs during the Army Python Dance 11.*

Others are:(14) *There are most likely other undetected or undiscovered criminal graveyards scattered in other forests and bushes located between Aba and Asa areas, Aba and Isiala-ngwa areas and Isiala-ngwa and Umuahia areas. (15) One of the un-revealed motives behind “Army Python Dance” in Igbo Land is most likely to be for the purpose of designating and securing forest locations for settlement and permanent occupation by the Fulani Herdsmen and their patrons.*

The rest of our findings are: (16) *Authorities of the Nigerian Army under Lt Gen Tukur Buratai (COAS) are chiefly held inescapably and undeniably responsible for all located and yet-to-be located criminal graveyards in Igbo Land and their associated atrocities, (17) the discovery of the corpses and hasty efforts of the suspected authorities of the Nigerian Army and the Government of Abia State to destroy evidence is not only the first or the last of such discoveries but also a clear vindication of Intersociety which had in its recent report on Army Python Dance 11 informed the global community that corpses of most of the slain victims were taken away by soldiers and either decimated with acid substances or dumped/buried in shallow graves inside bushes or forests; or thrown off bridges into the river to erase traces of culpability.*

Crackdown On 127 Igbo Women Over Pro Biafra Related Street Protest

A total of 127 Igbo mothers were on 17th August 2018 arrested by the Nigeria Police Force in Imo State, Southeast Nigeria. Their arrest was ordered by the Nigeria Police Force Headquarters in Abuja and executed by the Imo State Police Command headed by Commissioner of Police, Alhaji Dasuki Galandanchi.

The arrest and detention of the 127 Igbo mothers also have the backing of the Presidency, headed by Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari and deputized by Prof Yemi Osinbajo. The Nigerian Presidency has put in place *a lethal policy directive* against street protests and religious processions in Nigeria particularly those in connection with nonviolent self-determination organized by or in the name of a pro-Biafra movement or Islamic Movement in Nigeria (Shiites).

Over 80 of the arrested and detained mothers are between 22yrs and 45yrs while the rest are between 50yrs and 64yrs. Most of them are also married with some being grandmothers. They were arrested while embarking on peaceful street protest in the streets of Owerri in Imo State over some social anomalies or maladies afflicting the country’s political space; calling for the end of same, particularly in Igbo Land or Southeast.

One of the grouses that necessitated the street protest was the continued massacre of Igbo sons and daughters by Nigerian security forces and the military occupation of Igbo Land and their lopsided formational composition. They also demanded the whereabouts of Mr. Nnamdi Kanu and his royal parents (Eze Israel Okwu Kanu and Lolo Ugoeze Nnene Kanu), who escaped before the military invasion of their Palace on 14th September 2017. Mr. Nnamdi Kanu later surfaced in Jerusalem, Israel on Friday, 19th October 2018 after he was last sighted in his hometown on 10th September 2017.

The Igbo mothers further called for a referendum for the People of old Eastern Nigeria to decide their continued stay or otherwise in the Federal Republic of Nigeria. **Intersociety** played a leading advocacy role, vide our strong worded and detailed statements of 22nd and 24th August 2018 alongside other rights groups and lawyers; leading to their discharge and acquittal by the court and unconditional release from prison.

The Nigeria Police Force, Imo State Command had brutally responded to the mothers' street protest by clamping down on them on 17th August 2017, arresting 127 and detaining them for three days in the crowded detention facilities of the State CID, Owerri, Imo State. Out of the 127 arrested and detained Igbo mothers, 112 were later arraigned at the Owerri Chief Magistrate Court on 10-count charges of "terrorism" and other felonies. They were arraigned in charge number: **OW/430/2018: CP Imo State v Ijeoma Okorie (30yrs) & 111 others.**

The 112 arraigned Igbo mothers were remanded in the Owerri Prison custody riddled with inhuman and other degrading prison conditions. Their remand was on account of the fact that the arraigning Chief Magistrate lacks trial jurisdiction. The remaining 15 others were separately arraigned on 22nd August 2018 before the said Owerri Magistrate Court on the same phantom charges of "terrorism" and others.

The public uproar and outcries including broad condemnations from **Intersociety** and others as well as sustained media campaigns forced the Office of the Attorney General of Imo State to enter an application for discontinuation of their trial or "nolle prosequi"; leading to their discharge and acquittal from court and unconditional freedom from prison on 24th August 2018.

The 127 Igbo mothers had in the course of their detention alleged denial of food, water, toiletries, and drugs from the Prison authorities. They were also denied access to their families and other relatives including children; doctors, lawyers, and spiritual guardians. The detained mothers were cramped in crowded prison facilities with hash conditions including inadequate restrooms and bathrooms. Facilities where they were kept also lacked proper ventilation, visibility and mosquito nets to protect them from harmful mosquito bites.

Names & Ages Of 112 Women Arraigned For Terrorism On 20th August 2018 : *Afoma Umoh Wisdom (64yrs), Virginia Akwufube (62yrs), Ezike Emmanuela (62yrs), Uzoma Oraka (62yrs), Charity Obioha (60yrs), Chinyere Nwachukwu (55yrs), Udeogu Margret (58yrs), Ratchel Okengwu (58yrs), Angelina Felix (55yrs), Monica Anaelechi (54yrs), Esther Osuji (52yrs), Florence Olewembu (52yrs), Nkechi Ekwedisika (52yrs), Kosarachukwu Udegbumam (51yrs), Josephine Ogolo (51yrs), Monica Nwaeleke (50yrs), Mabel Okoire (50yrs), Chika Njoku (50yrs), Grace Nkemakolam (50yrs), Paulina Awunezi (50yrs), Christiana Muonwuba (50yrs), Margret Eze (50yrs), Florence Egede (50yrs), Rose Osuchukwu (50yrs), Comfort Uti (50yrs), Nnedinma Onuoha (49yrs), Agatha Nwachukwu (49yrs).*

Others are: *Ijeoma Okorie (30yrs), Uloma Ejiogu (30yrs), Victoria Jacob (45yrs), Vivian Ozuruigbo (30yrs), Chinenye Imo (40yrs), Chinyere Egbulom (38yrs), Cynthia Onyebuchi (31yrs), Chigbata Chinyere (38yrs), Egesi Josephine (41yrs), Hope Eze (45yrs), Ikejiofor Amechi (44yrs), Nkeiru Ajagba (45yrs), Ngozi James (46yrs), Nnene Nweke (46yrs), Lucy Mary Kanu (21yrs), Irole Goodness (30yrs), Ogechi Okechukwu (30yrs), Tochukwu Eze (38yrs), Onyemaechi Ijezie (38yrs), Ginika Awuzie (39yrs), Vero Nnamani (30yrs), Nkwoagu Chinenye (22), Ijeoma Victoria Nnadozie (43yrs), Blessing Udeme (25yrs), Nnewuchi Obiageli (31yrs), Ngozi Onyenwugo (22yrs), Ruth Onwumere (45yrs), Nkeiruka Ohanebo (45yrs), Nzube Uwaigwe (22yrs), Eberechi Iheanacho (39yrs), Ego Nwafor (40yrs), Chinyere Eze (32yrs).*

Also incarcerated are: *Adaku Inyama (45yrs), Ndidi Uchenna (45yrs), Nneka Kingsley (38yrs), Nkeiru Nwankwo (37yrs), Chinwendu David (38yrs), Juliet Nwaiwu (42yrs), Juliet Innocent Onwuka (40yrs), Chinyere Nwankwo (25yrs), Nkeiru Orji (34yrs), Joy Uwabunike (47yrs), Nnene Ibeneli (38yrs), Jane Isaac (25yrs), Kelechi Emmanuel (40yrs), Ngozi Nwajiaku (34yrs), Ugochi Okwum (32yrs), Ifeoma Emmanuel (42yrs), Nkeiru Onyegbari (35yrs), Eucharia Eke (42yrs), Ijeoma Onyedinefu (33yrs), Blessing Nnedede (26yrs), Iheanyichukwu Ogueri (35yrs), Ogochukwu Alaribe (35yrs), Uchechukwu Okoro (48yrs), Iheomachi Ejiaku (40yrs), Uchchukwu Ahamuefula (32yrs).*

The rest are: *Evelyn Usulo (38yrs), Joy Chimezie (45yrs), Precious Ogbonna (40yrs), Obiageli Nwite (48yrs), Ginika Ndibe (20yrs), Chinelo Ugwueze (38yrs), Nwachukwu Blessing (22yrs), Rita Edet (29yrs), Nnenna Okorie (36yrs), Chinyere Eze (43yrs), Iwuneme Bibian (45yrs), Onuoha Ogechi (no age), Peculiar Nwachukwu (28yrs), Felicia Ike (42yrs), Obiageli Obumsolu (39yrs) Ugonne Godwin (45yrs), Kalunwoke Ekemiri (28yrs), Nwauwa Cecelia (44yrs), Igboka Ngozi, Angela Okeke, Blessing Aguama, Oguchim Chinedu and Mary Okorie(classified in their charge sheet as “adults” but possibly in their 70s). Names of three young women including a sick patient and a pregnant woman who collapsed in the presence of Magistrate S.K. Durumba during their arraignment are not included in the above.*

Names Of Remaining 15 Women Arraigned But Discharged On 23rd August 2018

(1) Chinyere Ubani (35yrs), (2) Precious Anyanwu (45yrs), (3) Nwakaego John (43yrs), (4) Nwadike Chinyere (29yrs), (5) Chika Uruagwu(38yrs), (6) Florence Ifeanyi (25yrs), (7) Cynthia Okoroagwu (40yrs), (8) Chinedu Chibuzo (25yrs), (9) Paulina Iroanya(38yrs), (10) Josephine Ntizi (45yrs), (11) Blessing Nwelele (45yrs), (12) Chinyere Achonna (48yrs), (13) Nneka Okoro (38yrs), (14) Margret Eze (36yrs) and (15) Ijeoma Nwafor (43yrs).

Nigeria's Imbalanced Security Appointments Fueling The Military Massacre

Tables below show clearly the lopsided or imbalanced appointments into Nigeria's security, police and other paramilitary and justice establishments. President Muhammadu Buhari also doubles as the Commander-in-Chief of the Nigerian Armed Forces since 29th May 2015.

The country's security, police and other paramilitary and justice establishments are presently dominated by top officers and civilian appointees of the Fulani-Hausa Muslim background; in a country with over 370 tribes and roughly 50-50 Christian and Muslim populations excluding other religions. The imbalanced appointments are grave breaches of equity and other laws of natural justice. They also breach Nigeria's pluralistic composition and its constitutional federal character provisions or principles contained in Section 14 (3) of the 1999 Constitution.

The imbalances in the country's security and paramilitary establishments and compositions have also fueled the named massacre or have been responsible for intensification and escalation of atrocity crimes perpetrated by lopsidedly composed Nigerian Armed Forces especially the Nigerian Army, the Nigeria Police Force, and the SSS; against the innocent and law-abiding citizens of the Igbo Nation-State or Southeast Nigeria.

(1) National List Of Security Service Chiefs & Other Heads Of Paramilitary & Justice Establishments In Nigeria Dominated By Northern Muslims: December 2018

NORTHERN TABLE

NAME	POSITION	RELIGION
1. Lt Gen Tukur Buratai	Chief of Army Staff	Northern Muslim
2. Yusuf Magaji Bichi	DG-SSS	Northern Muslim
3. Retired Lt Gen A. Dambazzu	Minister of Interior	Northern Muslim
4. Air Marshal Sadique Baba Abubakar	Chief of Air Staff	Northern Muslim
5. Retired Major Gen Babagana Monguno	National Security Adviser	Northern Muslim
6. Mansur Dan Ali	Minister of Defense	Northern Muslim
7. Ibrahim Kpotum Idris	Inspector Gen of Police	Northern Muslim
8. Ahmed Rufai Abubakar	Director Gen National Intelligence Agency	Northern Muslim
9. Retired Col Hameed Ali	Comptroller Gen Nigerian Custom Service	Northern Muslim
10. Mohammed Babandede	Comptroller Gen Nigerian Immigration Service	Northern Muslim
11. Ahmed Ja'afaru	Comptroller Gen Nigerian Prisons Service	Northern Muslim
12. BOBOYE OLAYEMI OYEYEMI	Corps Marshall Federal Road Safety Corps	Northern Xian or Muslim
13. Anebi Garba Joseph	Controller Gen Federal Fire Service	Northern Xian
14. Abdulahi Gana Muhammadu	Commandant Gen Nigerian Security & Civil Defense Corps	Northern Muslim
15. Abubakar Malami	Attorney General of the Federation	Northern Muslim
16. Muhammadu Buhari (Retired Maj. Gen)	Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Nigeria	Northern Muslim
17. Ibrahim Magu	Chairman of EFCC	Northern Muslim
18. Muhammad Mustapha Abdallah	Chairman/CEO National Drug Law Enforcement Agency	Northern Muslim
TOTAL KEY SECURITY/PARAMILITARY APPOINTMENTS NORTH 18		

SOUTHERN TABLE

NAME	POSITION	RELIGION
1. Lt Gen Abayomi Gabriel Olanishakin	Chief of Defense Staff	Southwest Xian
2. Vice Admiral Ibok-Ete Ekwe Ibas	Chief of Naval Staff	South-south Xian
3. Alhaji Abdul Jelili Oyewale	Minister of Police Affairs	Southwest Muslim
4. Alhaji Musiliu Smith	Chairman, Police Service Commission	Southwest Muslim
TOTAL KEY SECURITY/PARAMILITARY APPOINTMENTS SOUTH 4		

Total Top Security & Paramilitary Appointments=22, North=18, South=4, NW/NE/NC=18, SW=2, SS=1, SE=Nil; Total Muslims=19, Total Christians=3

(2)Ethno-Religious & Six Geopolitical Allocation Of 30 Serving Police AIGs In Nigeria: December 2018

NORTH-WEST TABLE

NAME	STATE OF ORIGIN	RELIGION
1. Mohammed Musa Katsina (promoted to DIG)	Katsina	Northern Muslim
2. Tili Abubakar	Kebbi	Northern Muslim
3. Umaru Shehu	Sokoto	Northern Muslim
4. Abdul Bube	Kebbi	Northern Muslim
5. Ibrahim Adamu	Zamfara (just retired)	Northern Muslim
6. Abdul Dahiru	Kano	Northern Muslim
7. Salisu F. Abdulahi	Kano	Northern Muslim
8. Lawal Shehu	Katsina	Northern Muslim
9. Abubakar Marafa	Kebbi	Northern Muslim
10. Dahiru Mohammed	Katsina	Northern Muslim
TOTAL AIGs N/W 10		

NORTH-EAST TABLE

NAME	STATE OF ORIGIN	RELIGION
1. Mohammed Usman Sani (promoted to DIG)	Bauchi	Northern Muslim
2. Aminchi Samaila Baraya	Taraba	Northern Muslim
3. Usman Ankali Baba	Yobe	Northern Muslim
4. Tijani Baba	Yobe	Northern Muslim
5. Karma Hosea Hassan	Taraba	Northern Xian
TOTAL AIGs N/E 5		

NORTH-CENTRAL TABLE

NAME	STATE OF ORIGIN	RELIGION
1. Abdul Salami Ayaji	Kogi	Northern Muslim
2. Dorothy Gimba	Plateau	Northern Xian
3. Usman Yakubu	Niger	Northern Muslim
4. Abdulmajid Ali	Niger	Northern Muslim
5. Abubakar A. Mohammed	Nasarawa	Northern Muslim
6. Yakubu Jibrin	Nasarawa	Northern Muslim
7. Dan Bature	Plateau	Northern Xian or Muslim
8. Augustine Iornongu	Plateau	Northern Xian
TOTAL AIGs N/C 8		

SOUTH-WEST TABLE

NAME	STATE OF ORIGIN	RELIGION
1. Agboola Oshodi-Glover	Lagos	Xian or Muslim
2. Kayode Aderanti	Osun	Xian
3. Felix Ogundeji	Ondo	Xian
4. Fredrick Taiwo Lekanu	Lagos	Xian
5. Rashidi O. Akintude	Ogun	Muslim
6. Samuel Adeyemi	S/W	Xian
TOAL AIGs S/W 6		

Note: Two new CPs from this zone were recently (October) promoted to AIG: Adekunle Oladunjoye and Adeyemi Samuel Ogunjemelusi.

SOUTH-SOUTH TABLE

NAME	STATE OF ORIGIN	RELIGION
1. Hilda Idiruro Harrison	Edo	Xian
TOTAL AIGs S/S 1		

SOUTH-EAST TABLE

NAME	STATE OF ORIGIN	RELIGION
Godwin Nwobodo	Enugu	Xian
TOTAL AIGs S/E 1		

Total Serving Police AIGs in Nigeria=30

North= 23, Northwest=10, Northeast=5, North-central=8

South=5, Southwest=6, South-south=1, Southeast=1

Total Muslims=22, Total Christians=8

(3) Ethno-Religious & Six Geopolitical Allocation Of 12 Police Zonal Commands & Their AIGs In Nigeria (December 2018)

NORTH-WEST TABLE

NAME	STATE OF ORIGIN	RELIGION	PHONE NO.	E-MAIL
1. Lawal Shehu: AIG Zone 2 Lagos	Katsina	Muslim		
2. Salisu A. Fagge: AIG Zone 7 Abuja	Kano	Muslim		safaen@yahoo.co.uk
TOTAL ZONAL COMMAND AIGs N/W 2				

NORTH-EAST TABLE

NAME	STATE OF ORIGIN	RELIGION	PHONE NO.	E-MAIL
1. Karma Hosea Hassan: AIG ZONE 9 Umuahia	Taraba	Xian		Hzkarma@yahoo.com
2. Tijani Baba: AIG Zone 12 Bauchi	Yobe	Muslim		babtyjani@yahoo.com

3. Alkali Baba Usman: AIG Zone 5 Benin	Yobe	Muslim		
TOTAL ZONAL COMMAND AIGs N/E 3				

NORTH-CENTRAL TABLE

NAME	STATE OF ORIGIN	RELIGION	PHONE NO.	E-MAIL
1. Dan Bature Zone 1 Kano	Plateau	Muslim or Xian		
2. Jibrin A. Yakubu : AIG Zone 8 Lokoja	Nasarawa	Muslim	08081775358	
3. Usman Yakubu : AIG Zone 10 Sokoto	Niger	Muslim		yak.usman@yahoo.com
TOTAL AIGs N/C 3				

SOUTH-WEST TABLE

NAME	STATE OF ORIGIN	RELIGION	PHONE NO.	E-MAIL
1. Kayode Aderant i: AIG Zone 3	Lagos	Xian		alizimbo50@yahoo.com
2. Agboola Oshodi Glover: AIG Zone 11 Oshogbo	Lagos	Xian or Muslim		sammyglover59@yahoo.com
3. Samuel Adeyemi: AIG Zone 6 Calabar		Xian		
TOTAL ZONAL COMMAND AIGs S/W 2				

SOUTH-SOUTH TABLE

NAME	STATE OF ORIGIN	RELIGION	PHONE NO.	E-MAIL
1. Ibifuro Harrison Hilda: AIG Zone 4 Makurdi	Edo	Xian		wdharrison@yahoo.com
TOTAL ZONAL COMMAND AIGs S/S 1				

SOUTH-EAST TABLE

NAME	STATE OF ORIGIN	RELIGION	PHONE NO.	E-MAIL
Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
TOTAL ZONAL COMMAND AIGs S/E None				

Total Serving Zonal AIGs in Nigeria=12

North=9, South=3, SE=Nil, Total Muslims=8, Total Christians=4

(4) Military Formations In Igbo Heartland (Southeast/Igbo South-south) Dominated By Northern Muslim & Other Non-Igbo Senior Officers (December 2018)

NAME	POSITION	RELIGION
1. Major Gen Abubakar Maikobi	GOC 82 DIVISION, ENUGU	Northern Muslim
2. Major Gen Jamil Sarham	GOC 6 Division, Port Harcourt	Northern Muslim
3. Brig Gen M.H.B Manu	Ag. Commander, new 63 Brigade, Asaba	Northern Muslim
4. Col Sagir Musa	Deputy Director of Information, 82 Division	Northern Muslim
5. Lt Col C.O. Ibrahim	Commanding Officer, Onitsha 302 Cantonment Military Police	Northern Muslim
6. Lt Col Sidi Kasim Umar(moved and replaced by Lt Col M. Amatso)	Commanding Officer of 144 Battalion (sector), Asa-Ukwa-West of the 14 Brigade-Ohafia, Abia State	Northern Muslim (successor Northern Xian)
7. Brig Gen I.H. Bature	Commander, 34 Brigade, near Owerri, Imo State	Northern Muslim
8. Brig Gen Mark Mamman	Commander of 44 Engineering 82 Division	Northern Xian
9. Brig Gen A.I. Adegboye	Commander, Army Supply, 82 Division	Southwest Muslim
10. Brig E.A. Anaryo	Commander, Army Supply & Transport, 82 Division	Northern Xian or Muslim
11. Brig Gen Abdul Kalifah Ibrahim	Commander, 14 Brigade, Ohafia	Northern Muslim

12. Navy Captain Abdulahi Aminu	Commander, Nigerian Naval School of Finance & Logistics, Owerre-Nta, Abia State	Northern Muslim
13. Lt Col Mohammed Momoh	Commanding Officer, 14 Fielding Engineering Regiment of Onitsha Military Cantonment	Northern Muslim
14. Navy Captain K. Mohammed	Commander, Nigerian Naval Outpost, Ogbaru, Anambra State	Northern Muslim
15. Brig Gen L.A. Lawoyin	Commander, 54 Signal Brigade, 82 Division	Yoruba Muslim
16. Brig Gen Lasisi Adegboye	Garrison Commander, 82 Div, Enugu	Yoruba Muslim
17. Lt Col Waya Kore	Acting Commander, 82 Div. Provost Group, Enugu	Nothern Xian or Muslim
18. Lt Col A. Sadiq	Commanding Officer, 24 Engineer Support Regiment, Abakiliki, Ebonyi State.	Northern Muslim

(5) **List Of State Commissioners Of Police (CPs) & Directors Of SSS In Southeast & Delta State Dominated By Northern Muslim Officers: December 2018**

NAME	POSITION	RELIGION
1. Garba Umar	CP, Anambra State	Northern Muslim
2. Chris Okey Ezike	CP, Abia State (retires on 30th April 2019)	Igbo-Xian
3. Musa Kimo	CP, Ebonyi State	Northern Muslim
4. Mohammed Danmallam	CP, Enugu State	Northern Muslim
5. Dasuki D. Galadinchi	CP, Imo State	Northern Muslim
6. Muhammad Mustafa	CP, Delta State	Northern Muslim
State Directors Of SSS	State Directors Of SSS	Religion
1. Yusuf Ishaku	Director, SSS, Anambra State	Northern Xian
2. A.J. Ibrahim	Director, SSS, Abia State	Northern Muslim
3. H.E. Abdullahi	Director, SSS, Ebonyi State	Northern Muslim
4. Mrs. Bimbo Likinyo	Director, SSS, Enugu State	Southwest Xian or Muslim
5. Abdullahi Denja	Director, SSS, Imo State	Northern Muslim
6. Mary Otubu	Director, SSS, Delta State	South-south Xian

Note: The lists of Deputy or Assistant Commissioners of Police in charge of Operations and State Criminal Investigations Department, Police Area Commanders and Divisional Police Officers as well as Commanders of Police Mobile Squadrons, Special Anti Robbery, Anti Cult and Anti Bunkering Squads, Special Protection Unit, etc presently posted to the Southeast and Igbo South-south are also dominated by officers of Northern Muslim and other non Igbo backgrounds. For want of space, their names and positions being held cannot be displayed here as done above.

Economic Costs Of The Military Massacre Operations In Southeast & Igbo Delta

The Nigerian Military Massacre Operations in Igbo Land or Southeast Region including Igbo Delta have left their economic, insecurity and psychological scars on faces and lives of the innocent citizens of the Region in the past three years and four months (August 2015-December 2018) or in 40 months.

The aftermath effects and losses incurred on account of the massacre operations have taken a heavy toll on the economy and other social lives of the People of old Eastern Nigeria and been quantitatively put at \$1.1b or N336b in the past 40 months (using a current official exchange rate of 306 per \$USD).

The huge economic costs or losses incurred are technically characterized as *mobility insecurity* caused by criminal activities of thousands of armed police personnel and tens of hundreds of armed soldiers permanently stationed on major Southeast roads; in addition to thousands of road and street touts who go about with reckless abandon; extorting sundry levies and tolls on Southeast and Igbo Delta roads.

Through lopsided composition of the military and police formations and their leadership at national and Southeast/Igbo Delta levels, *Fulani insecurity* has also been added in the *insecurity list* of the People of Southeast Region including Igbo Delta population. Many communities in Igbo Land have become victims or potential victims of *Fulani terrorism*.

The Lagos-Benin-Asaba-Onitsha Expressway which links the Region to Southwest and North is also hellish and nightmarish for the People of Igbo Nation, going by the unspeakable number of *official criminal activities* by the drafted soldiers, police and customs personnel; all targeted at innocent, defenseless and law-abiding citizens of the Southeast and Igbo Delta.

The menace of road touting and associated criminal activities including extortion and other forms of *street crimes* is a direct offshoot of recent militarization and associated corrupt practices on Southeast and Igbo Delta Roads. The militarization and police siege in the Southeast have further given rise to intensification and escalation of *four-layered insecurity* in the old Eastern Region; in addition to *Fulani terrorism* in rural Igbo communities.

The *four-layered insecurity* are: (a) *military insecurity* including roadblock and off roadblock extortion, terrorization of Igbo rural communities and coercive isolation of communal lands and forests for Fulani Herdsmen, sexual harassment, extrajudicial and unlawful killings, abductions, disappearances and physical and psychological torture; and (b) *police insecurity* including roadblock and off roadblock extortion, extrajudicial killings and torture, aiding and abetting criminal activities of street urchins and road touts, commercialization of criminal investigation and breeding of youth militancy or violence.

The rest are: (c) *road tout insecurity* including road, street and marketplace extortion, thuggery, stealing, drug abuse, armed robbery, robbery and kidnapping; and (d) *street and white-collar criminality or insecurity* including armed robbery, robbery, kidnapping, carjacking, burglary, housebreaking, arson, murder, sexual violence, ritualism, drug trafficking as well as cybercrimes such as fraud and fraudulent money transfer, advance fee fraud, etc.

Street urchins and road criminals including those involved in snatching bags, cash and other personal valuables as well as those in random or targeted robberies (robbery and armed robbery) are presently on a rampage on major Southeast Roads particularly in Anambra State; operating uncaught and with reckless abandon. Sometimes, if not in many cases, they share their loots with the drafted police personnel and soldiers in order to be protected or shielded uncaught. At other times, they are hired by military personnel to collect criminal tolls for them; in their presence and under their protection or cover.

Dangers of innocent road users or travelers losing their lives and properties in the hands of the drafted armed police personnel and soldiers or military personnel are also very high; unless such travelers are capable of “buying their freedoms” with cash sums demanded at gunpoint.

Private vehicle owners are routinely extorted or framed if they resisted. Some of them also run the risk of being shot dead or wounded; or arrested, in the case of drafted police personnel; or have their vehicles impounded, frog-jumped, tortured and extorted or even shot, in the case of soldiers and other members of the armed forces (i.e., navy personnel) at a roadblock.

Commercial vehicles and their drivers and conductors are worst hit or treated. In the case of police personnel, load-carrying vehicles with passengers are made to “pay” double (i.e., for loaded wares and passengers). For instance, each load-carrying L300 bus with passengers is forced to part with at least N250 at each police roadblock.

Patterns of police roadblock extortion on Southeast Roads also bear blue-collar outlook (direct extortion using stationed police personnel). In the case of drafted soldiers and other military personnel as well as paramilitary bodies like the Federal Road Safety Corps, patterns of their extortion are different; bearing white-collar outlook (indirect extortion using hired third party or civilian touts or points-men).

In this case (military extortion), 608 buses, Datsun, Lorries, and trailers loaded with wares are mostly targeted. For trailers and Lorries loaded with wares or goods, N1000 is collected from each of them at every military checkpoint; and for lesser others, N500 is collected from each of them. As severally stated and highlighted in our previous reports, soldiers and other military personnel are now in the habit of hiring the services of touts and street urchins on daily and percentage basis to collect criminal tolls for them from targeted motorists and other road users.

Such is rampantly the case at the Asaba and Onitsha Niger Bridgehead Army roadblocks and the Uga Junction/Atani Road Navy roadblock; all in Anambra State. Others are the Ugwuoba Old and New Roads Army roadblocks in Enugu State and the Asa Boundary, Osisioma and Isiala-Ngwa Army roadblocks as well as the Owerre-Nta Navy roadblock; all in Abia State, etc.

The Uga Junction/Atani Road Navy roadblock is so “lucrative” and expansive that it now extends its extortionist network to the *payment of permission fee for roadside trading and begging* as well as *vehicular loading and offloading*; jointly called “Navy fee.” It is so bad that Navy Personnel stationed at the Junction and its environs now allocate sales portions at roadsides for new roadside petty traders and mobile hawkers for fees ranging from N3, 000 to N5, 000 from each of the new petty traders or mobile hawkers.

Sand excavators excavating sand at the Ogbaru and Fegge sides of the River Niger banks are also not spared. One of the Ogbaru Navy’s patrol vans is permanently stationed along Niger Street by Creek Road at Fegge part of Onitsha, close to River Niger bank; to collect “daily returns” from sand excavators and sand tipper drivers.

Other roadblocks created by the Ogbaru Naval Base are Okpotu-Uno and St Gregory Catholic Church Junction Navy Roadblocks along Atani Road in Ogbaru; Enamelware Plastic Industry Navy Roadblock, located along Onitsha-Owerri Expressway in Onitsha, Niger Street by Creek Road Navy Roadblock and Harbour Industrial Navy Roadblock.

The stock in trade of these roadblocks mounted by the Onitsha/Ogbaru Naval Base is torture, extortion, and other military corrupt practices. At the Enamelware Navy Roadblock along Onitsha-Owerri Road, once it is 7pm, the dual carriage way is totally blocked with the road users and motorists subjected to untold gridlock and other hardships as well as sundry extortions.

As published by Daily Sun Newspaper of 18th March 2018, the Sand Dealers Association and their members, numbering over 50 in Onitsha and Ogbaru had on 24th February 2018 staged a peaceful protest against the personnel of the Nigerian Naval Base in Ogbaru, Anambra State. The protest was against sundry extortion suffered by the Association and the Sand Tipper Drivers Union in the hands of the Ogbaru Naval Base personnel.

The protesters had alleged constant extortion and harassments by Navy Personnel against their members including recent shut down of their sites and chasing away of their workers; causing several boats bringing sands to them to capsize. The authorities of the Ogbaru Naval Base had claimed that “one of the tipper drivers knocked down one of their personnel and ran away.” It is likely the tipper driver was being persecuted for refusing to pay another “navy toll” after he must have paid same to different navy personnel at their roadblock.

Each of the sand dredgers is forced to part with imposed huge sums running into thousands of naira daily while each tipper Lorry moving sands from Ogbaru or Onitsha to another is forced to part with N200 per trip at each of the two Navy roadblocks along Atani Road. This further means that each tipper Lorry parts with at least N4000 daily at the two roadblocks on average of ten trips a day and N200 per trip.

From our recent investigations and calculations, the Uga Junction/Atani Road Navy roadblock illicitly collects from Onitsha residents not less than N200, 000 per day. The Asaba, Onitsha Niger Bridgehead, Asa Boundary, Osisioma, IsialaNgwa, Ugwuoba New Road, Ugwuoba Old Road, and Oturpa-Ninth Mile Army roadblocks and juicy others are firmly believed to be illicitly collecting or milking not less than N100, 000 each per day. In all, an average of N50, 000 is illicitly collected on a daily basis by each of the existing 100 military roadblocks on Southeast and Igbo Delta Roads.

Some Lorry and Trailer drivers plying the roads located around the Military roadblocks mentioned above told **Intersociety** recently that refusal to part with such demanded sums at each of the military roadblocks could instantly attract violent reprisal from soldiers or navy personnel. Such violent reprisal includes impounding of their Lorries or busting of their tyres or shattering of their windscreens, in addition to being frog-jumped, beaten to a pulp or tortured or even shot.

The drivers also complained of selectiveness or “racial consideration,” whereby drivers of Fulani-Hausa Muslim background are made to suffer less extortion and highlighted animalistic treatments as against their Igbo or other Southern counterparts who are worst hit. These, they attributed to the fact that “most of the military personnel drafted or stationed on Southeast roads are officers and personnel of Fulani-Hausa Muslim background.”

Presently, there are as much as 100 military checkpoints drafted to major roads in the Southeast and Igbo Delta. During the said military massacre operations, characterized as “Army Python Dance or Internal Security Operations in the Southeast,” over 200 military roadblocks existed. Each of these military roadblocks is manned by the average of five military personnel and maximum of ten military personnel or more. At major military roadblocks, military personnel deployed in each of them are not less than ten with some having as much as 20 personnel each.

Consequently, there are between 500 and 1000 military personnel or more presently drafted or stationed on Southeast and Igbo Delta Roads. With N50, 000 projected daily extortion average, the 100 military roadblocks in Igbo Land had illicitly collected from the People of the Southeast and Igbo Delta in the past three years and four months or from August 2015 to December 2018 (40 months) a total sum of not less than N6billion or \$20m; translating to N5m daily, N150m monthly and N1.8b per year or N6b in 40 months.

From our recent studies, too, the Nigeria Police Force responded to the militarization of Southeast and Igbo Delta by raising or creating not less than 750 police roadblocks between August 2015 and August 2016, 1500 police roadblocks between August 2016 and August 2017 and 3000 police roadblocks between August 2017 and December 2018. An average of five police personnel mans each of the police roadblocks; while others as “mobile patrol roadblocks” are usually manned by two police personnel or members of each police patrol team using a pickup or Hilux van.

In all, therefore, there are presently about 15,000 drafted armed police personnel on Southeast and Igbo Delta roads with about 3000 police roadblocks; 7,500 between August 2016 and August 2017 with 1500 police roadblocks; and 4,750 between August 2015 and August 2016 with 750 police roadblocks.

These military and police roadblocks have been created and maintained since August 2015 by the country’s military and high police commands. The color under which they were drafted (Army Python Dance and Internal Security Operations) was approved by the central Government of President Muhammadu Buhari and Vice President Yemi Osinbajo.

The drafted military and police personnel include those stationed on the following critical Federal and State roads: Enugu-Onitsha (Express), Onitsha-Awka-Oji/River-Enugu (Old Road), Enugu-Nsukka-Oturkpa, Enugu-Abakiliki, Abakiliki-Okigwe, Abakiliki-Ogoja, Onitsha-Owerri (Express), Onitsha-Nsugbe-Adani (Old Road), Atani-Ogwuikpere-Ndoni, Umuahia-Port Harcourt and Oba-Nnewi-Okigwe Federal Roads.

Others are Okigwe-Orlu-Owerri, Aba-Ikot-Ekpene, Uturu-Okigwe-Abakiliki, Ekwuluobia-Oko-Ibinta, Umuahia-Ariam-Ikot-Ekpene, Owerri-Elele-Port Harcourt, Umuahia-Obowo-Owerri, Umuahia-Bende, Igbo-Ukwu-Ezinifite-Uga-Umunze, Oba-Nnewi-Nnobi, Amawbia-Nise-Agulu-Ekwulobia-Uga, Nnewi-Nnobi-Orakwu-Agulu Roads, etc.

The roadblocks and extortions are sustained in the Southeast and Igbo Delta using *blue-collar* and *white-collar* classifications. Anambra and Abia States are worst hit owing to their *blue-collar* classification or high commercial activities. As a result, most, if not all federal and state roads linking them are flooded with extorting police personnel; likewise many, if not most of their city and inter-city roads and adjoining routes. Major roads linking Agbor and Asaba and environs to Southeast are also not spared or freed from menaces of the drafted military, police and customs personnel.

Police extortions in the Anambra and Abia States are sundry or come in various forms including those arising from private vehicle owners over vehicle papers, intra and intercity as well as inter and intra-State commercial vehicles carrying passengers and goods; likewise trucks, motorcycles, and tricycles conveying wares or goods from places to places within each of the two States.

For every SHUTTLE or L300 bus loaded with passengers (only) in Anambra State, it is N50 at every police roadblock, and extra N200 is paid if loaded with goods and passengers. For every commercial motorcycle or tricycle or Datsun or medium range truck loaded with goods, it is N200 at every police roadblock, and for every private vehicle owner accused of “incomplete” vehicle particulars, the least demanded extortionist sum is N4, 000 or more, which must be paid randomly or on the spot to avoid being dragged to police station and have his or her vehicle impounded and indented as “stolen vehicle”. The owner, in many cases, is also detained and bailed with illegal bail fees, ranging from N10, 000 and above.

Police extortions in Enugu and Ebonyi States, and to an extent, Imo State, are not as “lucrative” as those of Anambra and Abia States. Such extortions are majorly concentrated on critical Federal and State roads as well as few commercial areas of the three States, such as Ogbete, Abakpa, and Nsukka in Enugu State; Abakiliki and Afikpo in Ebonyi State, Orlu and commercial parts of Owerri in Imo State. The same non-uniformity applies to many roadblocks in the five Southeast States, as well as those in Agbor, Asaba and their environs; all in Delta State; a State with approximately 40% Igbo population.

The average amount illicitly collected daily from each police roadblock on Southeast Roads also differs according to their *blue-collar* and *white-collar* classifications. This is determined by the available number of persons and vehicular capable of being extorted. Persons and items under extortion are found more in Anambra and Abia, and to an extent, Imo State (i.e., because it shares a boundary with two blue-collar States of Anambra and Abia), than Enugu and Ebonyi States.

While Anambra and the Abia States are presently dominated by persons engaged in commercial activities with large concentration of “persons with limited education” and “cash carriage”; Enugu and the Ebonyi States are largely “civil service” or white collar State with large concentration of “persons living with literacy” and “salary earners”; likewise Imo State to a large extent.

This is also the case going by differences in amounts being criminally pocketed on a daily basis by each of the police roadblocks drafted on Southeast and Igbo Delta roads. For instance, an average of N40, 000 is illicitly collected daily by each of the police roadblocks in Anambra and Abia States while that of Imo State is less with N30, 000. Enugu and the Ebonyi States have a lesser sum of N25, 000 as minimum sum criminally collected on a daily basis by each of the police roadblocks in the two States.

Cases also abound in Anambra and Abia States where some police roadblocks illegally collect on a daily basis as much as N70, 000 each. These roadblock extortions under calculation do not include thousands of naira unlawfully collected daily as “bail fee” from each of the arrested and detained citizens. The likes of Special Anti Robbery Squads of the Nigeria Police Force criminally collect as low as N100, 000 or as much as N500, 000 and above from each of their arrested, detained and tortured persons. Similar situations are the case with Police Anti Cult Personnel or Anti Bunkering Police and Navy Personnel or Squads.

Further, between August 2015 and August 2016, out of not less than 750 police roadblocks in the Southeast, Anambra accounted for at least 250, Imo 150, Abia 200, Enugu 100 and Ebonyi 50. Between August 2016 and August 2017, out of not less than 1500 police roadblocks in Igbo Land, Anambra took at least 500, Imo 200, Abia 400, Enugu 200 and Ebonyi 150; and out of not less than 3000 police roadblocks presently deployed in the Region since September 2017, Anambra accounts for 800, Imo 500, Abia 700, Enugu and the Ebonyi States 800 or 400 police roadblocks each.

The recent increase in police roadblocks in Enugu and Ebonyi States was done using “Fulani Herdsmen attacks” and “Ebonyi and Cross River boundary/communal disputes” as cover. Flooding of the Southeast with the heavy presence of armed military and police personnel and associated indiscriminate roadblocks is fueled by corrupt practices by the military and police high commands. These corrupt practices are characterized as “police beat or roadblock returns.” Such deployment and creation of roadblocks are usually done using “insecurity” in the Southeast Region as a cover.

In recent years, especially since August 2015, the old Eastern Region has been thrown into police and military siege; with “election security,” “Fulani Herdsmen attacks,” “internal security operations” and “Biafra secessionist agitations” as excuses. A clear case in point was the public announcement made by Anambra State Commissioner of Police, Alhaji Garba Umar on 30th October 2017 of deployment of “16,000 police personnel, 10,000 soldiers, 5,000 naval personnel and 3,000 air force personnel for the 18th November 2017 Governorship Poll”.

Such massive deployment of security personnel is usually turned into an avenue for criminal enrichment through sundry extortion and other corrupt practices. Apart from massive casualty figures and injuries inflicted on hundreds of unarmed and defenseless citizens of the Region, the robust economic activities in the Region have also been brutally disrupted and shattered.

Intersociety had on 11th December 2011 released a report of its national investigation concerning the Police Roadblock Extortion across the country including Southeast Region, where over 1,500 police roadblocks were identified, out of over 3,500 police roadblocks across the country. The national investigation covered a period of three years; June 2009 to December 2011.

Anambra State was used as a case-study State; with Southeast Region as a case-study zone. This followed the largest concentration of the police roadblocks and their graft practices in the State and the Zone respectively. Anambra and Abia States as at then had 400 police roadblocks each, followed by Imo State with 300 and Enugu and the Ebonyi States with 200 each. The naira note benchmark used as criminal toll fee then was N20 note as against today's N50 and N100 notes.

In the end, we found that the over 3,500 police roadblocks across the country criminally fetched the Nigeria Police Force a total sum of N53.4Billion in three years; out of which the Southeast accounted for the lion's share of N32.2Billion, followed by Southwest and South-south with N8.2Billion each; North-central N2.1Billion; and Northeast and Northwest with N1.2Billion each. The national investigation was built on the report of **the Human Rights Watch, USA** of August 17th, 2010 (**Everyone is in on the Game: Corruption & Human Rights Abuses by the Nigeria Police Force**) in which **Intersociety** prominently featured.

The outcome of **Intersociety** investigation led to the dismantling of most of the over 3,500 police roadblocks across Nigeria including over 1,500 in the Southeast and 800 in Anambra and Abia States. They were majorly dismantled in January 2012 when retired IGP M.D. Abubakar became the IGP and made skeletal police roadblocks as his important policy trust.

The random police roadblocks, especially in the Southeast and its States of Anambra and Abia, were restored by retired IGP Solomon Arase on assumption of office in 2015 with most of them stationed in the Southeast including its two major link roads of the Lagos-Benin-Asaba-Onitsha Express Way and the Port Harcourt-Aba-Umuahia-Enugu Expressway. The former IGP Arase had hidden under "police operation or internal security operations against Biafra secessionist violent protests" to flood the Region with thousands of police extortionist roadblocks till date.

Generally, at N40, 000 per day, the 250 police roadblocks on Anambra roads between August 2015 and August 2016 illicitly collected N10m per day, N300m per month and N3.6b per year. At N40, 000 per day, the 200 police roadblocks in Abia State during the period unlawfully milked the People of the Southeast a total of N8m per day, N240m per month and N2, 88b per year; with N30, 000 per day for each of the 150 police roadblocks then in Imo State, a total of N4.5m was illicitly netted per day, N135m per month and N1, 62b per year.

Also with N25, 000 per day for each of 100 police roadblocks in Enugu then, N2.5m was unlawfully collected per day, N75m per month and N900m per year; and with N25, 000 for each of the 50 police roadblocks in Ebonyi State then, a total of N1, 25M was illegally collected per day, N37.5m per month and N450m per year.

Between August 2016 and August 2017, at N40, 000 per day, the 500 police roadblocks on Anambra roads then illicitly collected N20m per day, N600m per month and N7, 2b per year. At N40, 000 per day, the 400 police roadblocks in Abia State then unlawfully milked the People of the Southeast a total of N16m per day, N480m per month and N5, 76b per year; with N30, 000 per day for each of the 200 police roadblocks then in Imo State, a total of N6m was illicitly netted per day, N180m per month and N2, 16b per year.

Also with N25, 000 per day for each of 200 police roadblocks in Enugu then, N5m was unlawfully collected per day, N150m per month and N1.8bm per year; and with N25, 000 for each of the 150 police roadblocks in Ebonyi State then, a total of N3, 75m was illegally collected per day, N112.5m per month and N1, 35b per year.

Between August 2017 and August-December 2018, at N40, 000 per day, the 800 police roadblocks on Anambra roads must have by the end of December 2018 illicitly collected N32m per day, N960m per month and N15, 36b in sixteen months. At N40, 000 per day, the 700 police roadblocks in Abia State must have by the end of December 2018 unlawfully milked the People of the Southeast a total of N28m per day, N840m per month and N13, 44b in sixteen months; with N30, 000 per day for each of the 500 police roadblocks in Imo State in the named period, a total of N15m must have been illicitly netted per day, N450m per month and N7.2b in sixteen months.

Also with N25, 000 per day for each of 400 police roadblocks in Enugu in the named period, N10m must have been unlawfully collected per day, N300m per month and N4.8b in sixteen months; and with N25, 000 for each of the 400 police roadblocks in Ebonyi State in the named period, a total of N10m was illegally collected per day, N300m per month and N4.8b in sixteen months.

The remaining 200 police roadblocks making the total projected number of police roadblocks in Igbo Land including Igbo Delta State to 3000; are those stationed in different Igbo parts of Delta State (from Agbor to Asaba and environs) as well as those manned by “police-stop-and-move” teams using Hilux or Pickup vans; usually manned by personnel of Police SARS and the Regular ranks and file of the Force.

At an average of N20, 000 per “police-stop-and-move” roadblock since August 2015, the People of the Southeast or Igbo Nation including Delta Igbo have lost in the hands of such “mobile roadblocks” N4m per day, N120m per month and N4.8b in 40 months or August 2015 to December 2018.

Among the “police-stop-and-move” patrol teams caught by **Intersociety** field under-covers mounting roadblocks and extorting money from motorists and other road users was a police patrol van marked “NPF 8527 C” belonging to the Anambra State Police Command; caught at POKOBROS by Atani Road Junction in Ogbaru Local Government Area of the State. The police patrol team had six police officers: three Inspectors and three Sergeants; and operationally led by Inspector Nnana Uchenna. They were caught collecting N50 and N100 notes at gunpoint from motorists including operators of tricycles and SHUTTLE buses on 17th December 2018.

N16B (\$53m) Extortion By Customs Service, Federal Road Safety & Ors

From informed sources, there are not less than 20 roadblocks mounted by the Personnel of the Nigerian Customs Service on Southeast and Igbo Delta roads. These Customs roadblocks are mounted or operated inside the Southeast and on major roads leading to the Region; particularly the Lagos-Benin-Asaba-Onitsha and the Port Harcourt-Obigbo-Asa-Aba-Umuahia-Enugu Expressways; targeting Igbo businessmen and women and their goods and services.

There are four State Commands of the Nigerian Customs Service in Igbo Land or Southeast; namely: Imo-Abia Command, Anambra Command, Enugu-Ebonyi Command and the Zone C Command located in Owerri. There is also “Federal Operations Unit” of the Service operating in Igbo Land. Personnel of the Lagos, Edo (Benin) and Rivers (Port Harcourt) Commands of the Nigerian Customs Service are majorly part of those in charge of the Customs roadblocks mounted on the named two federal roads; targeting Igbo businessmen and women and their wares for extortion.

There are three major types of roadblock extortion going on at the 20 Customs roadblocks; with one of them called “officer-on-duty” extortion; involving bribes given to “officers-on-duty” at each Customs roadblock by drivers of container or lorry-loaded goods so as not to be subjected to “delay tactics or deliberately designed time wasting”. Extortions by the Personnel of the Nigerian Customs Service do not include legitimately confiscated or impounded offensive or legitimate contraband goods or loss of same; whether their seizure was done selectively or out of malice or vindictiveness.

The “officer-on-duty” form of extortion is targeted at container or Lorry drivers carrying “non-contraband goods” who do not want to pass through tedious paper checks and delay tactics by Customs personnel at a roadblock. Minimum of N10, 000 per driver is given to stationed “officers-on-duty” at each Customs roadblock, and such amount is incorporated into sums charged by drivers from the owners of the goods; called “money for Custom.”

There is also similar one charged by drivers from owners of “old clothes and shoes” (okirika products). This is shared according to the number of Customs roadblocks on a particular route and given to designated points-men holding extortionist briefs for the stationed “officers on duty” at each Customs roadblock.

The third Customs roadblock extortion is the act of compromising the laws of the land for a criminal fee; involving collection of huge sums from owners or drivers of seized or impounded contraband goods and getting them released; or advance payment of huge sums (settlement) by each of the cartel members involved in importation of contraband or legally prohibited goods. Such legally prohibited goods include firearms and ammunition, certain harmful drugs and other items legally prohibited from being imported.

In summation, each of the 20 roadblocks mounted by Personnel of the Nigerian Customs Service in Igbo Land or those outside the Region but targeting Igbo businessmen and women and their goods are validly projected to be illegally collecting at least N400, 000 per day; translating to N8m per day for the 20 Customs roadblocks; N240m per month and N11, 52b in 40 months. Some of the roadblocks make as much as over N1m each per day.

Personnel of the Federal Road Safety Corps (FRSC), the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency and the National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC) operating in Igbo Land or Southeast and Igbo Delta are also not free from the raging crime of extortion ravaging the Region.

The Federal Road Safety (FRSC) extortion does not include fines validly charged and receipted by the Corps from defaulters of road traffic offenses but includes such collected from commercial drivers as bribes particularly the “load” and “overload” (loaded with passengers and wares) carrying buses and others. In this, civilian points-men are hired and strategically positioned meters away from each of the FRSC roadblocks to collect extortionist sums ranging between N200 and N500 or more per driver and for each roadblock.

For NAFDAC, illicit or prohibited drug dealers such as importers of Tramadol and Codeine, etc, are their major extortionist customers done through advance payment or settlement running into millions of naira per month and per illicit importer or dealer; amounting to billions in the past 40 months. NDLEA Personnel is not in the habit of creating and operating indiscriminate roadblocks but routinely engaged in operational patrols and raids. Most of those arrested are usually extorted or charged if they refused to “cooperate.”

Some corrupt Personnel of the NDLEA operating in the Region are also found to be working hand in hand with corrupt personnel of the Nigeria Police Force in the area of “suspects’ transfer or handover”; whereby those arrested by Police in drug-related cases, rightly or wrongly, and who failed to meet the exorbitant and illegal bail fees demanded, are transferred to NDLEA for harsher bail conditions or prosecution for drug offenses.

Sometimes, such arrested and detained suspects held by Police are doubly extorted by the personnel of the Nigeria Police Force and the NDLEA; especially when initially arrested by the Police and extorted before handed over to the NDLEA for further extortion.

In all, not less than N4.5b is generally projected to have been extorted in 40 months from the People of Southeast and Igbo Delta by the trio of NDLEA, FRSC, and NAFDAC; on average of N115m per month and N4.5b in 40 months. This N4.5b projection is likely to be on the low side and could be much higher.

N100B (\$330M) Criminal Tolls In 40 Months

A total of N84.02b or about \$280m must have been illicitly collected and pocketed in 40 months or between August 2015 and December 2018 by the 1000 soldiers and other military personnel and their 100 roadblocks as well as the 15,000 police personnel and their 3000 roadblocks drafted to the Southeast and its roads and other major roads linking the Region (i.e. Igbo Delta).

The total sum of N16b (\$50m) was also projected to have been illegally collected and pocketed in 40 months from Southeast and Igbo Delta Roads by the stationed Personnel of the Custom Service, FRSC, NAFDAC and NDLEA; bringing the combined total to N100.02b (\$330m) as illicit sums collected from the People of Southeast and Igbo Delta by various roadblocks in Igbo Land mounted by Military (army, navy and air force), Police, Customs, NDLEA, FRSC and NAFDAC formations in the Region.

Breakdown of the total projected sums illegally made by Military and Police shows that the 100 military roadblocks illegally collected n6b in the Southeast and from the People of the Region in 40 months or August 2015 to December 2018. The Nigeria Police Force, on their part, are also projected to have in the same 40 months collected a total of N78.02b from States of Anambra, Abia, Enugu, Ebonyi, Imo and Igbo Delta parts of Delta State illegally.

That is to say that in 40 months, N26, 16b was illegally pocketed by police roadblocks from defenseless and law-abiding citizens of Anambra State; N22.08b from Abia State, N10.98b from Imo State, N7.5b from Enugu State, N6.5b from Ebonyi State; and N4.8b from innocent citizens of Igbo Delta and other victims in the Southeast.

The N4.8b was projected to have been illegally collected in the hands of police personnel manning “police-stop-and-move” roadblocks in Southeast and Igbo Delta. When adding together, it is likely safe to say that a total of N100.02b or about \$330m was illegally collected and pocketed in 40 months by the named military and police personnel from road users in the Southeast and Igbo Delta parts of Delta State.

The military and police extortion segment of this special report is backed by or supported with sixteen photos of military and police extortionists and a video clip of same caught in different parts of the Southeast and Igbo Delta harassing, torturing and extorting motorists and other road users at gunpoint. The photos were majorly taken in the first and second weeks of December 2018 by **Intersociety** field under-covers in Anambra and Abia States, etc. They are separately attached.

Loss Of N222b Investments To Military Massacre Operations

The People of Southeast and Igbo Delta also incurred more economic losses on account of the Military Massacre Operations ordered by President Muhammadu Buhari. Owing to the *four-layered insecurity* (military, police, road tout and street criminalities) highlighted above; in addition to *Fulani terrorism* ravaging or potentially ravaging Igbo rural communities, investments quantitatively worth over N222b have been lost in 40 months.

On 28th August 2018, for instance, N90b (\$300m) international brewery investment belonging to **AB InBev (Anheuser-Busch InBev SA/NV)**, a multinational drinks and brewery holdings company, based in Leuven, Belgium with global net value of \$115 billion was lost to Ogun State in the Southwest or moved out of the Southeast. One of the remote reasons informally cited by the owners of Budweiser and Hero Beer breweries was *military, police and street insecurity* and other unsafe conditions in Igbo Land. The diversion and loss of the large investment and attendant loss of thousands of jobs were also fueled by insensitivity and selfishness of Governors of the Southeast including Governor William Obiano of Anambra State.

From independent estimates, commercial banks operating in Igbo Land have continuously lost not less than N40m deposits on a daily basis since August 2015; with Anambra State alone accounting for not less than N10m daily loss. The loss of daily deposits has been attributed to harmful or insecurity activities of the soldiers and police personnel drafted to Igbo Land and its roads.

This is more so when armed robbery which includes bank robberies that used to be very rampant and a major security challenge facing the Banking industry in Nigeria including Southeast and Igbo Delta; has been drastically curtailed by the introduction of electronic banking and electronic security. Bank robbery and other forms of armed robbery rarely take center stage in nowadays Nigeria and Southeast Region and only occur under target.

Billions of naira are paid monthly, with nothing concrete to show for it, in the form of “corporate security services” to heads of strategic police formations in the Region particularly the commanders of Mobile Police squadrons, their supervising DPOs, Commissioners of Police and AIGs. Not less than N10b must have been paid in 40 months (August 2015 to December 2018) to the Nigeria Police Force by banks operating in the Southeast and Igbo Delta under the guise of “corporate security services.”

These harmful activities fueled by *official insecurity* have also chased away many customers out of the Region and forced them to divert to other parts of the country or resort to “ware bill” and “indebtedness”; which in turn, have led to incurring of huge debts by the “unseen” and “scared customers”; with reasonable percentage of same not capable of being repaid in the course of such businesses or transactions.

From our independent estimate, out of every N300, 000 worth of goods way-billed by a southeast or Igbo Land-based trader to his or her customer outside the Region, expecting payment through money transfer; at least N50, 000 will never be repaid or must be sacrificed to retain his or her customer. Such money automatically goes into “bad debt”; capable of not being repaid again. A good number of Southeast-based traders have also relocated to overseas or other parts of Nigeria on account of the loss of their core customers or collapse of their businesses.

In the past 40 months, over 1m traders in the Southeast and Igbo Delta have ware-billed goods worth over N300b to their “unseen” and “scared away” customers, on average of N300, 000 worth of goods per trader; hoping to be paid after receipt of such goods by their customers through bank transfers; out of which 20% or over N50b was never paid. These unpaid debts totaling over N50b are characterized as “dead debts” or “bad debts” capable of not being repaid.

Cases of “capital flight” and “brain drain” are also presently on the increase in Igbo Land; leading to a commensurate increase in the number of Igbo citizens requesting for “embassy passports” in local photo stores. The age-long policy by federal government aimed at denying the People of Igbo Nation “industrial” wharves or seaports has remained unchanged till date; likewise a denial of access to quality, available, affordable, comfortable and convenient international traveling routes.

Such facilities are never allowed to be located in Igbo Land till date; and selectively sited and located in Lagos, Abuja, Kaduna, Kano and Maiduguri where billions of naira are pumped into their respective economies by Igbo international businessmen and women and holidaymakers. Igbo businessmen and women pay over 60% of import duties generated in Lagos wharves and major international airports and borders outside Igbo Land.

This is not to mention indiscriminate extortion, seizure, impoundment and auctioning of imported goods belonging to the citizens of the Region; all in the guise of “contraband goods”; yet same goods are not “contraband” if imported by non-Igbo importers in other parts of the country. From December 2017 to date, prices of foreign rice have remained at wide margins in open markets located between Southeast; and Southwest and Northern parts of Nigeria.

In December 2017, for instance, a bag of foreign rice was sold as low as N13, 000 in Lagos and Abuja and as high as N19, 000 in the Southeast and Igbo Delta. Attempts by some traders in Igbo Land to buy them in large quantity from Lagos or Abuja and bring them into Southeast and Igbo Delta markets to be resold at cheaper rates; sharply attracted instant seizure or bribery of N5, 000 per bag or confiscation and auctioning of same by police and custom personnel mounted on the Abuja-Lokoja-Okene-Auchi-Uromi-Agbor and the Lokoja-Ajaokuta-Oturkpa-Nsukka-Ninth Mile Federal Roads and the Lagos-Benin-Asaba-Onitsha Expressway.

In all, a total of N222b investments have been lost by the People of Southeast Region including Igbo Delta population. The loss, which occurred in 40 months or August 2015 to December 2018, followed the effects or aftermath effects of the Military Massacre Operations in Igbo Land (August 2015 to September 2017 and continued police siege and military occupation).

While N48b was lost in the area of loss of daily bank deposits (N40m per day, N1.2b per month and N48b in 40 months), over N120b was lost to diversion and loss of direct investments including the N90b (\$300m) Hero & Budweiser Brewery investment lost to Ogun State and Southwest in August 2018.

The remaining N55b was lost to trapped and unpaid sums (bad debts) arising from goods supplied by over 1m Igbo traders in 40 months to their “unseen” and “scared away” customers trading outside Igbo Land and Igbo Delta areas. It is further projected that each of the one million Igbo traders supplied or ware-billed goods worth average of N300, 000 to his or her “unseen” customer, out of which N50, 000 is lost to “bad debts.”

Loss Of N1.8b (N18b maximum) By Victims Of The Military Massacre Operations

Not less than N300m was lost or spent by families and relatives in the funerals of about 300 slain citizens or those shot and killed in the military massacre operations. From our findings, about 300 families, out of over 480 slain citizens including those that recovered the corpses of their beloved ones shot and killed by the Nigerian Military; have organized funerals for their slain relatives.

In Igbo Land, where bodies persons such as those shot and killed or permanently disappeared by the Military outside justness and due process, cannot be found or retrieved by their families; funerals for the repose of their souls are performed using local banana or plantain stems or sands extracted from the scene of their violent death.

On account of this, many families, numbering not less than 300 have performed the funerals usually done outside fanfare or publicity, to avoid military reprisals. In each of these funerals, not less than N600, 000 is spent. In some, over N1m was spent for each of them. At N600, 000 per funeral, N180m was spent, and at N1m, over N300m was spent. It is likely safe to say that for those whose funerals have so far been performed by their families, as much as N300m must have been entirely spent.

For about 100 whose bodies were found and retrieved by their families and deposited in the mortuaries or have same moved from one mortuary to the other before funeral; in addition to those found and retrieved unrecorded and deposited in the mortuaries before funeral, not less than N10m must have been spent on their mortuary and transport services on average of N100, 000 each.

For about 440 surviving victims of the military massacre operations, shot and wounded, not less than N70m must have been spent in hospital treatments, with each of the victims spending at least N150, 000. Each of those with complicated wounds must also have been spent N1m and above.

On basic upkeep including feeding, school fees, and healthcare, over N1b must have been spent in 40 months (August 2015-December 2018) to take care of children and spouses of the 480 slain citizens, shot and killed in the military massacre operations. This did not include school fees and upkeep of the children and spouses of those who died from wounds sustained and those crippled or incapacitated for life; numbering 100 or more.

At N100, 000 per month for each of the incapacitated, his or her children's school fees and other upkeep, a total of N400m must have been lost; translating to N100, 000 per month and N4m in 40 months per family and N400m for all of them.

Average of N100, 000 is spent monthly for children and spouses of each of the slain citizen and the cheapest school fees paid for each child is N20,000 per term whether in public, missionary or private nursery, primary and secondary schools including sundry school management extortion. Cases abound where N50, 000 or more is spent per child and per term by legal guardian or parent victimized and partly orphaned by the massacre operations.

Over 60 wounded victims of the military operations must have died owing to health complications arising from their wounds. Of 48 wounded victims of 2nd and 17th December 2015 Onitsha military and police killings, admitted at the Multicare Hospital at Nkpor, for instance, four later died.

The totality of this brings to N1.8b as minimal losses incurred by the families of the victims of the military massacre operations. The general losses incurred by the families could maximally be quantified at the cost of N18b or \$60m excluding legal remedies and rewards (for the slain victims alone).

Loss Of N12b From Southeast Governors To Fund The Massacre Operations

The five Governors of the Southeast have in the past 40 months or August 2015 to December 2018 collected from their States Consolidated Revenue Funds Accounts not less than N160b "monthly security votes" on average of N4b (for the five States) per month. Governor William Obiano of Anambra State collects over N1b monthly as security votes while the four governors of Imo, Abia, Enugu, and the Ebonyi States must have collected an average of N700m per month; totaling N4b on monthly average and N160b in 40 months.

Out of the N4b collected monthly by the five Southeast Governors, excluding Governor Ifeanyi Okowa of Delta State, average of N300m must have been given on monthly basis to heads of Police, Army, Air Force (i.e. Enugu), Navy (i.e. Abia and Anambra), SSS and Police SARS formations in the five Southeast States. Breakdown of the N300m monthly logistical or operational subventions further indicates that average of N60m is deducted monthly from the public coffers of each of the five States in aid or support of the named security agencies.

It is also likely that some State Governors spend more than N60m per month in that regard. In the past 40 months, therefore, not less than N12b must have been spent or lost by the People of the Southeast in aid or support of military and police personnel drafted to the Region; only for them to turn around and become a nightmare against the same population, they are paid or aided to protect.

The N12b loss did not include hundreds of patrol vehicles and other operational kits procured and donated to military and police formations and their heads by People of the Region through their Governors. The costs of these patrol vehicles and other operational crime control kits must have been running into billions of naira in the past 40 months; deducted from the Consolidated Revenue Funds Accounts of the five Southeast States.

Grand Loss Of N336b (\$1.1b) To Military Massacre Operations In Igbo Land

In summary, the total quantification of economic losses incurred by People of Southeast and Igbo Delta on account of the Buhari/Osinbajo ordered Military Massacre Operations and security siege on the Region clearly indicates that not less than N336b or \$1.1b (at official exchange of N306 per \$USD) must have been lost in 40 months or between August 2015 and December 2018.

While N100b or \$330m was lost to sundry roadblock extortion in 40 months by military and police personnel as well as paramilitary formations including Customs Service, FRSC, NDLEA, and NAFDAC; drafted to the Region and its major roads, N48b was lost by commercial banks to daily bank deposits, N120b lost to diversion and loss of direct investments; and N55b lost to trapped and unpaid sums (bad debts) arising from goods supplied by over 1m by Igbo traders in 40 months to their “unseen” and “scared away” customers trading outside the Region.

Total of N1.8b represents minimal losses (N18b maximum losses) incurred by the families of the victims of the military massacre operations. The People of the Southeast also lost the sum of N12b in futile efforts to aid or support the military and police personnel stationed in the Region; bringing the total over N336b or \$1.1b.

Panics, Commotions & Fears Generated By The Military Massacre Operations

The Nigerian Military Massacre Operations also caused general panics, fears, and commotions among the Southeast general population especially the vulnerable segment such as women and children. A clear case in point was the “monkeypox vaccine commotion of 11th October 2017”.

The general fears and commotions had arisen on account of the announcement by Nigerian Army during its so-called “Python Dance 11 Exercise” to commence “Monkey Pox vaccine” in public, mission and private nursery/primary and secondary schools across the Southeast especially in Anambra, Enugu, and the Abia States.

The announcement led to panics, commotions, and confusions across the Region and in a twinkle of an eye, the entire schools named, starting from Anambra State were abruptly shut down and deserted; with parents and guardians running from pillar to pole to fetch their children. Schools remained shut the next day as a result.

The panics and commotions were chiefly caused by fears that “monkey pox vaccine” and other Army medical palliatives could be a disguise to engage in ethnic cleansing by other means. They were further fueled by the shocking news of horrible massacre and wounds that later caused 180 deaths and over 100 injuries in Abia State during the so-called “Army Python Dance 11”.

The lopsided composition (domination by officers and personnel of Fulani-Hausa Muslim background) of the Nigerian Army leadership and its formations in the old Eastern Region also contributed to the panics, fears, and commotions.

Government Selective Law Enforcement & Racial Profiling Against Igbo Citizens

The Buhari/Osinbajo Government of Nigeria and its security agencies particularly the authorities and personnel of the Nigeria Police Force and the Nigerian Army are undeniably and steadily using *hate policy*, *racial profiling* and *selective enforcement of the law* against the citizens of the Southeast or Igbo Nation.

These, in addition to lopsided composition of the country's security establishments are also responsible for fuelling and escalating the recent military massacre operations in Eastern Nigeria particularly in Igbo Land; leading to countless killings and injuries; to the extent that in three days alone; 12th, 13th and 14th September 2017 in Abia State; not less than 180 defenceless Igbo citizens and over 130 others were massacred or shot and critically injured.

By government *hate policy*, it is a policy that makes the citizens of a particular ethnic or religious group target of state violence and other discriminatory treatments; perpetrated on the grounds of ethnicity, race or religion of the target population. This is done through the instruments of criminal labeling, false accusations, and other extrajudicial methods. *Racial profiling*, on its part, is discrimination against an ethnic or racial group based on the presumption that all members of the group share criminal traits or tendencies.

Selective enforcement of the law is arbitrary punishment of particular individuals or groups for legal violations or crimes or unsubstantiated others, rather than the equal punishment of all known offenders. *Hate policy, racial profiling and selective law enforcement* are unspeakably visited against members of the Igbo population in Nigeria on the grounds of their ethnicity, religion, economic and cultural possession, and affiliation.

The three despicable policies are so entrenched in present Nigeria that crude and deadly arm of the law including indiscriminate arrests, false labelling, prosecutorial vindictiveness, unlawful killings, enforced disappearances, torture and other inhuman or degrading treatments or punishments are maximally visited or let loose on any member or members of the Igbo population accused circumstantially wrongly or rightly of being in conflict with the country's criminal law.

It is so sad and unspeakable to the extent that Nigerian security agencies go all out outside the legally provided channels or processes to falsely label or accuse Igbo citizens and subject them to extrajudicial killing or torture as well as prolonged and solitary detention without trial and allowing them to be presumed innocent until a court of competent jurisdiction says otherwise; as explicitly provided in Section 36 of the Constitution and the African Rights Charter Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 2004.

While hundreds of Boko Haram insurgents who have massacred thousands of soldiers and police personnel; slaughtered tens of thousands of civilians and destroyed properties worth hundreds of billions of naira in Nigeria are indiscriminately being amnestied and released into the society, innocent members of the Igbo Population in Nigeria; unarmed and defenceless, are haunted, hunted and hounded with reckless abandon for no just cause. Members of the Nigerian Igbo population go through hell in the hands of the authorities and personnel of the Nigerian Army, State Security Services and the Nigeria Police Force.

Apart from being labelled and treated as "terrorists" even without having been caught armed or engaged in armed resistance, the country's security agencies go to the extent of cooking up unsubstantiated and unpardonable lies as a cover to unleash unspeakable state violence and prolonged detention without trial against members of the Nigerian Igbo population.

In most, if not in all cases, those arrested and held incommunicado for years or several months without proper trial end up being discharged and acquitted by courts for want of evidence to sustain spurious felonious charges such as “terrorism” and “treason” slammed against them by the Police or Federal Ministry of Justice.

It is on record that the Buhari/Osinbajo Government of Nigeria has not secured a single conviction against any member of the Igbo population racially and vindictively arrested and labelled “terrorist” since July 2015. This is due to lack of evidence to sustain spurious charges slammed against them and inability of the Federal Government to prove such spurious charges. The 1999 Constitution and criminal laws of Nigeria unambiguously forbid all forms of jungle justice including *trial-by-ordeal* and retroactive criminalization and sanctions.

A clear case in point was the criminal parade on Sunday, 25th November 2018, of 33 members of the Igbo population arrested on Friday, 23rd November 2018 at their workplaces (markets) in Nnewi. The arrested citizens were accused of involvement in the “2019 election boycott street campaign” in Nnewi organized same day by one of the pro-Biafra movements, during which a police Inspector was reportedly or allegedly beaten to death with three others seriously injured.

From independent sources including journalists on the ground, the arrest and criminal parade was a clear case of *mistaken identity and transfer of criminal responsibility*; which breach the Constitution and others Laws of the Federation of Nigeria. This also formed the backbone of Intersociety’s **media statement on the issue, dated 28th November 2018, titled: *Police Invasion Of Nnewi Market: Racial Profiling, Mistaken Identity And False Labeling Gone Too Far*; calling for their immediate and unconditional release.**

The immediate past Inspector General of Police, Mr. Ibrahim Kpotum Idris had hurriedly flown to Awka, Anambra State Capital, the immediate past Police Force Public Relations Officer, ACP Jimoh Moshood and directed him to parade the arrested citizens before the media as “killers of a Police Inspector,” “terrorists” and “snatchers of two AK-47 rifles and a Barreta Pistol” as well as “arsonists”. The arrested and detained citizens were not only criminally paraded and controversially accused, but also their pleading of innocence and revelation of being arrested in front of their market shops within Agbaedo Nnewi Market did not mean anything to the authorities of the Nigeria Police Force.

All the arrested and detained citizens paraded were independently identified as shop owners and their servants arrested while leaving their shops at closing hours of their markets. They were further labeled “terrorists” who must be arraigned for “terrorism.” The criminally paraded citizens cried profusely, pleaded innocence and denied any involvement; disclosing that they were leaving their shops for their respective homes when arrested and had no idea whatsoever concerning the alleged beating to death of a police Inspector and snatching of the said rifles and Barreta Pistol.

Shocking, too, according to some journalists that attended the criminal parade of the 33 traders, was a drama that ensued before the criminal parade where the 34 persons pencilled initially down for the criminal parade, were suddenly reduced to 33 when the former IGP’s rep and others discovered that among them was a Fulani-Hausa Muslim, named *Abubakar Mohammed*. He was not only instantly separated from the rest but also have his name deleted from the list. This is a height of *racial profiling and selective enforcement of the law* being complained.

Names of the innocent traders arrested and paraded are: Uche Amos, 65yrs (Nnewi North), Eliazer Emmanuel, 24yrs (Umunneochi, Abia State, trading in Nnewi), Eliazer Chima, 23yrs (Umunneochi, Abia State, trading in Nnewi), Mmaduabuchi Obeta, 19yrs (Nsukka, trading in Nnewi), Somtochukwu Okafor, 17yrs (servant trader in Nnewi), Agboma Jude, 35yrs (Nsukka, trading in Nnewi), Kelechi Ezeh, 20yrs (Nnewi), Okafor Chiemerie Olisa, 20yrs (Nnewi North), Raphael Ogoh, 27yrs (Nnewi South), Chisom Okeke, 19yrs (Nnewi North), Daniel Nwakpu, 35yrs (Ikwo, Ebonyi State, trading in Nnewi), Friday Nwafor, 34yrs (Ishielu, Ebonyi State, trading in Nnewi), Onyeka Nwajiobi, 49yrs (Nnewi North), Obeta Uwakwe, 25yrs (Igboeze, Enugu State, trading in Nnewi), Festus Odika, 41yrs (Nnewi North) and Emmanuel Okoye, 22 (Nnewi North).

Others are: Sunday Umeh, 41 (Aguata, trading in Nnewi), Ike Chimezie Samuel (trading in Nnewi), Sunday Ilonze, 43 (Nnewi North), Emeka Nwaese, 32yrs (Nnewi North), Odogu Chima, 23yrs (Nnewi North), Jacob Monday, 48yrs (Nnewi South), Vincent Okoroafor, 39yrs (Owerri North, trading in Nnewi), Jude Eke, 32yrs (Igboeze South, Enugu State, trading in Nnewi), Charles Ukazu, 35yrs (Ideato North, Imo State, trading Nnewi), Eziokwu Ernest.

The rest are: 17yrs, (Nnewi North), Chibuike Ozoemena, 30yrs (Ikeduru, Imo State, trading in Nnewi), Chigozie Onyeogaziri, 46yrs (Nnewi North), Nwankwo Donatus, 48yrs(Orumba South, trading in Nnewi), Okafor Olisa, 20yrs (Nnewi North), Peter Nwankwo, 25yrs (Nnewi South), Ezezonna Oduagu (trading in Nnewi) and Ebegboni Geoffrey, 43yrs (Ika South, Delta State, trading in Nnewi).

As reported by the Punch Newspaper of Wednesday, 28th November 2018 (published in the evening of Tuesday, 27th November 2018), the unlawful arrest, detention and criminal parading of the traders later on Tuesday, 27th November 2018, sparked off a peaceful protest in and around Nnewi.

The protest, involving about 10,000 traders of the Nkwo-Nnewi Market, including wives of the arrested traders, was organized by the leadership of eight market unions in the Nkwo-Nnewi Market including the Agbaedo Nnewi Motor Spare Parts Dealers Association, whose members were wrongly arrested, unlawfully detained and criminally paraded by the rep of the Inspector General of Police. The peaceful protest also led to all the shops in the affected markets shut and put under lock and key.

Journalists were taken around the shops of the arrested and criminally paraded traders and their apprentices which remained shut and locked. The Anambra State Commissioner for Trade and Commerce, Dr. Christian Madubuko was also present during the protest and confirmed that “he saw the locked stalls belonging to the arrested traders” and that “the traders were wrongly arrested and accused.”

The Chairman of the Agbaedo Nnewi Motor Spare Parts Dealers Association, Mr. Gabriel Chibueze had while addressing the media during the protest disclosed that the main entrance gate into the Market, locked to safeguard the Market and protect the lives of his traders from the Pro Biafra street campaign and Police fracas; was forcefully broken by a combined team of soldiers and police personnel, who forced their way into the Market; leading to mass arrest of 43 traders inside and around the Market.

The leadership of the markets who vowed to continue to shut down their shops in protest until their colleagues are released unconditionally; further disclosed that the total number of their arrested colleagues were 43, out of which 33 were (criminally) paraded on Sunday, 25th November 2018; with whereabouts of ten others unknown to them till date.

The unlawful arrest and detention, as well as criminal labelling and parading of 33 out of the 43 traders, were greeted with public outcry, extensive publicity and condemnations from **Intersociety** and concerned others; forcing the Nigeria Police Force Headquarters in Abuja to launch investigation into same, leading to their unconditional release in the late night of Saturday, 1st December 2018 (few minutes past 11pm). **Intersociety** called the Agbaedo Market Motor Spare Parts Dealers in the morning of Sunday, 2nd December 2018 and he confirmed their release and loss of N1.2m to police extortionists.

Four of the 43 traders were later confirmed to have lost N1.2m (N300, 000 each) to police extortionist racketeers operating within Anambra State Police Command. They were among ten traders whose names were excluded from the list of those criminally paraded. Their exclusion must have arisen following their “willingness” to part with huge sums or “buy their freedom” from their captor-police officers. This is clear evidence of police extortion and other forms of police corruption ravaging the present Nigeria Police Force.

Intersociety also issued another statement upon the release of the traders, dated Sunday, 2nd December 2018, picking holes in the NPF’s claims that “a police Inspector was beaten to death” and “three others hospitalized.” The Anambra State Police Command was called upon to come clean and publicly provide concrete evidence of where and how the killing and beating took place as well as full identities of the police officers, if any, said to have been affected.

While **Intersociety** is not condoning the criminal act of attacking police officers on duty resulting in their death or injury anywhere in Nigeria, but the rush with which the immediate past Inspector General of Police responded and flew the immediate past Force Public Relations Officer to Anambra State for effecting the criminal parade of the arrested citizens before the media without comprehensive and conclusive investigations was and still roundly viewed with utter shock and condemnation. It is also a clear confirmation of “selective enforcement of the law” and “racial profiling” of citizens of Igbo Nation under complaint.

Countless number of police officers have been targeted and killed in the North particularly in the Middle Belt by Fulani jihadists, yet the former IGP did not shut down the Force Information Bureau or relocated same to the crime scene the way and manner he responded to the alleged beating to death of a Police Inspector in Nnewi or in the case of hundreds of defenceless civilians that are killed on basis monthly in the Middle Belt of Nigeria.

By the recent account of the Government of Benue State, no fewer than 50 police personnel were killed in recent violent attacks in the State by Fulani jihadists; with no single culprit (Fulani jihadist) arrested, prosecuted and convicted till date. The Nigeria Police Force has also failed woefully in securing ordinary Nigerians and turned the Force into a cult; interested or responding only when its personnel is said to have been killed or attacked.

It was also the handiwork of failed intelligence, bias and hates policy that led to the mistaken identity and transfer of criminal responsibility in the instant case; whereby innocent traders retiring off their market stalls were unlawfully rounded up or arrested and detained and-criminally paraded as “murderers,” “arsonists” and “terrorists.”

Grand Summary (480 Total Death Tolls In The Military Massacre Operations):

The breakdown of the killings starting from 30th of August 2015 to 20th January 2017 and 12th-14th September 2017 that led to not less than 480 deaths is as follows: six (6) deaths in the 30th of August 2015 protests at Awka and Onitsha, nine (9) in the Uyo and Port Harcourt mega protests of 30th August 2015, twenty-five (25) in the 2nd and 17th December 2015 protest and jubilation killings at Onitsha Niger Bridgehead and environs.

Others are: fifteen (15) in the 18th and 29th January 2016 killings in Aba, thirty (30) in the 9th February 2016 massacre at Aba National High School, one hundred and ten (110) in the 29th and 30th May 2016 Biafra Heroes Day massacre at Nkpor, Ogidi and Onitsha and thirty (30) in the Asaba spill over massacre of 30th May 2016.

The rest are: twenty (20) in the 20th January 2017 pro Trump Rally in Igweocha or Port Harcourt, 180 in the 12th and 14th September 2017 Army Python Dance 11 massacre in Aba, Asa-Ogwe, Isiala-Ngwa and Afara-Ukwu, all in Abia State; and sixty (60) deaths arising from those who died of injuries and associated complications after being shot and critically injured by the military and the police, totaling 485 deaths.

Out of the 480 death tolls highlighted in this special report cited, 107 names were mentioned including 16 seen lifeless bodies dumped in two burrow pits along Aba-Port Harcourt Road, Aba in February 2016 and four persons that later died of gunshot wounds at the Multicare Hospital at Nkpor in December 2015.

The remaining 373 names, in addition to said sixteen lifeless bodies found in Aba-Port Harcourt Road burrow pits, constitute those killed and taken away or buried or dumped in undisclosed secret graves or sites by soldiers, police and other security personnel. It is our firm belief that the actual names and number of those killed or wounded will surge and be fully identified when the time is apt or appropriate for the constitution of panels or judicial commissions of enquiry by relevant government authorities.

A typical case in point was the setting up of Hon Justice G.C.M. Onyiuke Tribunal that looked into the Igbo pogrom of 1966, which later found that “... *between 45,000 and 50,000 civilians of former Eastern Nigeria were killed in Northern Nigeria and other parts of Nigeria from 29th May 1966 to December 1967; with estimated 1,627,743 (IDPs) Easterners fleeing back to Eastern Nigeria as a result of the 1966 pogrom.*”

60 Additional Dark Figures Of Crime: In Criminology, **dark figures of crime** represent circumstantially ascertainable or compelling statistics of killings or wounds that take place but are never recorded or reported or documented. In the instant case, there must have been more unrecorded deaths arising from those who died from gunshot wounds or killings that went uncaptured. It is a clear act of wickedness and conspiratorial culpability for State actors or non-State actors to under-report or under-represent the statistics of the dead or the wounded especially in matters involving “industrial scale” rights abuses and violations by Government or its security forces.

In the instant case, therefore, there were clear cases of killings that went un-recorded as well as deaths arising from those that were shot and critically injured. These included unrecorded or unreported killings that took place in the 2015 and 2016 Yenogoa (mega protest), Uyo and Port Harcourt protests, among others. Owing to the prevalence of State violence and widespread fears so created, relatives of those slain patriots have been unable to speak out or formally report cases of their slain or missing ones to relevant quarters since August 2015.

Which is why we have resolved to add, at least, 60 more figures (i.e., to represent **dark figures of crime**) to safely and validly represent the true semblance of the actual number of unarmed, defenceless and innocent citizens of Igbo Christian and Jewish backgrounds and other non-Igbo Christians killed. This now brings to 480 as the total number of unarmed and defenceless citizens killed in old Eastern Nigeria by the Administration of President Muhammadu Buhari and Vice President Yemi Osinbajo and the country's security forces between August 2015 and September 2017.

Over 500 Injured Victims Of The Military Massacre Operations: The over 500 injured citizens were those shot and critically wounded in the Port Harcourt, Asaba, Onitsha, Awka and Enugu protests of 30th August 2015; 2nd and 17th December 2015 protest and jubilation match killings in Onitsha; 18th and 29th January and 9th February 2016 massacre in Aba; 29th and 30th May 2016 Biafra Heroes Day massacre at Nkpor, Onitsha and Asaba.

The rest were the 20th January 2017 pro-Trump rally killings in Port Harcourt and 12th to 14th September 2017 Army Python Dance 11 massacre operation in Aba, Asa-Ogwe, Afara-Ukwu and Isiala-Ngwa, all in Abia State as well as killings arising from other protest matches held in 2015 and 2016 in Yenogoa, Port Harcourt and Uyo; out of which 214 names are mentioned or cited in this special report

Testimonies From Survivors Of The Army Python Dance 2 Massacre

Survivor (1): *I am--, and 49yrs old voluntarily retired serviceman and resident of--, in --LGA of --State. I hail from--community in --LGA of --State. On 14th September 2017, I was at Umuahia in Afara-Ukwu Ibeku (Nnamdi Kanu's house) with other subordinate volunteers I came with from--, who work under me in our group's Emergency Management Volunteer Section, which I happen to be a key official.*

The subordinate volunteers that I came with from-- are Okwudiri Obika, Ogbogu Okoro, MaCois Palibor and Chigozie Ikechukwu. I am also one of the principal officers in our pro-Biafra Independence group.

As one of the principal officers of our unarmed and nonviolent group, I was inside the palace of Nnamdi Kanu's father, and at about 3.26pm same 14th September 2017, we started hearing sounds of military shooting. On account of my Service experience, I instantly recognized or detect the kinds of weapons used in the shooting which included AK-47 and AK-49 rifles, special machine guns; the AA type apart from armored tanks. I later picked and preserved some of the bullets I found on the shooting and shelling arena, and they are still with me as we speak.

As a result of the sounds of guns, we heard we all rushed out of the Palace and on reaching the Palace Gate, behold dead bodies of our slain comrades had littered everywhere around the Gate. However, because live bullets were raining everywhere, I had to take cover by jumping inside a protective corner from where I observed the goings on. From where I was, I sighted no fewer than six dozen or 72 corpses of our slain comrades as they were being picked by soldiers and dumped inside dozens of their Hilux vans.

It was in the process that I managed to come out from where I was taking cover owing to my Service or military background and experience; in search of the four guys I came with (MaCois, Okwudiri, Ogbogu, and Gozie); but I could not find any of them alive. Because of the commotion, confusion and terror in place, everybody was running helter-skelter and in different directions. The situation got so sick and out of hand, forcing me to run and take a different direction within.

It was at that point that I saw one of my good friends, Anayo Anyanwu in the pool of his blood and I had to lift him and escape with him from the shooting scene. With the help of others, he was taken to the Federal Medical Center (formerly Queen Elizabeth Hospital), Umuahia, where he later died after an unsuccessful surgery to extricate some bullets that pierced and penetrated his sensitive body parts.

Late Anayo Anyanwu was shot at his back three times, and the bullets pierced and lodged at his heart region. Doctors at the FMC managed to remove two of the three bullets, and he later died the same day (14th September 2017) around 9.45pm.

After admitting late Anayo Anyanwu at the FMC, Umuahia, I had to rush back to the shooting and killing scene, and on reaching there, I saw the dead bodies of my cousin Okwudiri Obika, Onyekachukwu Ujam, Henry Ogadi Ogoyi and another with an unknown identity. I had to drag their bodies one after the other with the help of courageous others to a hidden place inside a nearby brick structure to prevent them from being picked by soldiers as was the case with dozens of others.

I also covered them with plantain leaves to preserve them till the next morning, and in the early morning of 15th September 2017 we arranged and took their corpses to the FMC Mortuary in Umuahia. The four corpses were also pictured and videoed and in my possession till date; likewise those I shared them with.

I could not till date set my eyes on the trio of MaCois Palibor, Ogbogu Okoro and Chigozie Ikechukwu, all of whom were my boys I travelled to Afara-Ukwu Ibeku in Umuahia with from---. It is most likely that they were among those shot and killed by soldiers with their bodies taken away on 14th September 2017.

What took place at Afara-Ukwu on 14th September 2017 was better seen than imagined. It was a clear case of genocide by genocidal soldiers acting on a cleansing script from their COAS and C-in-C as the shouts of "kill the pigs" rent the air throughout the shooting hours of the massacre operation.

I noticed during the shooting and killing that almost all the soldiers involved removed their service badges, names, and numbers; except one of the shouters of "kill the pigs," who I was able to identify via his military badge as "Utsman Mustafa." He also had or bore a tribal face mark by the left side of his face and a dark spot on his forehead.

The corpse of my late cousin, Okwudiri Samuel Obika was retrieved from the FMC Mortuary, Umuahia on 2nd January 2018 and interred same day in his hometown, -- in--LGA of --State. He was the only son and an orphan which was why I took him into my care as part of my family.

Some bodies of our slain comrades were also hurriedly removed from Umuahia and environs and relocated by their families and friends from mortuaries where they were initially deposited and re-deposited in undisclosed mortuaries from where they were retrieved, taken home and buried off records to prevent being traced and taken away by soldiers of the Nigerian Army.

We demand justice over the killing by the Nigerian Army of my late cousin, Okwudiri Samuel Obika and our unarmed and defenseless members in their hundreds in Umuahia, Isiala-Ngwa, and Aba. The justice under demand must include the arrest, prosecution, and conviction of those who ordered supervised and carried out the killing and maiming.

Survivor (2): *I am--, 34yrs of age and graduate. I reside at--Street, --LGA, in --State and hail from--Community in--Local Government Area of --State.*

On 12th September 2017, we were informed that Director, Nnamdi Kanu, wanted to see his followers and journalists at his Afara-Ukwu Ibeku house in Umuahia, Abia State. We got further information from his group's members and supporters who had left earlier to Umuahia that the Nigerian Army had blocked Isiala-Ngwa end of the Aba-Umuahia-Enugu Express Way and embarked on massive and reckless stop and search; with torture and indiscriminate shooting.

The information also had it that all road users in that area including those going to the Director's house were thoroughly searched, flog-jumped, forced to swim inside mud water and drink it. The soldiers were also reported to be shooting indiscriminately with some shooting innocent people at close range.

We got further information that no fewer than five persons who refused to be drowned inside the mud and dirty water and drink same had so far been shot and killed on the spot at close range by soldiers at Isiala-Ngwa Military Checkpoint. The death toll at Isiala-Ngwa Army Checkpoint later rose to no fewer than twenty as at evening of 14th September 2017.

On account of tensions and panics raised by the above and my insistence on embarking on the on-the-spot assessment and fact-finding as an independent investigator; I resolved to use other safer means of transport to access Isiala-Ngwa and Afara-Ukwu Ibeku to get first hand and verifiable facts of the whole matter.

When I got to Isiala-Ngwa, I saw many innocent citizens forced to be swimming inside nearby dirty or muddy water and drinking same. The soldiers also blocked Obeakala Junction, and Umuahia Tower Junction with no single vehicle allowed access.

When I finally got, on the same 12th September 2017, to the Palace of the Director's father, which is also his ancestral house, everywhere was crowded with over 700 pro Biafra activists and other members and supporters shouting solidarity songs and brandishing Biafra flags and other insignias like chaplets, bangles, flyers, etc. I later found also that this number of people at Director Kanu's house tripled as at noon of 14th September 2017 leading to heavy casualties or death toll recorded during the military shooting that followed later in the evening of same day.

I later left the Palace and trekked a long distance to Umuahia Tower Junction where I saw seven military lorries loaded with soldiers entering Umuahia from the Enugu 82 Division of the Nigerian Army. I also saw three machine gun carriers accompanying the troops with another machine gun carrier heading towards Director Kanu's house.

I sensed danger and immediately found my way back to Aba that same evening of 12th September. In the late night of 13th and early hours of 14th September 2017, I was woken up by distress calls from pro Biafra activists and other members of the public including friends and neighbors that soldiers have embarked on late night house to house search and killing operation against the sleeping population in some parts of Aba including Ariaria, Umuode, Osioma, Power Line and Abayi.

The military's late-night operation included forcing children, women, men, the sick, the aged, infants and the disabled out of their homes and sleep as well as torture and shooting at close range; forcing them to take refuge outside their homes including nearby bushes and road corners. I also heard the sounds of different types of military guns. The sounds continued for several hours until daybreak.

In the end, no fewer than 15 innocent citizens were shot dead in the late night military terror operation, which also led to others seriously injured with gunshots. The bodies of those shot and killed on the spot that late night were taken away by soldiers. We also recovered some unexpended military bullets abandoned by soldiers in one of the invaded areas in Aba.

Late Mr. Celestine Aga from Nkanu East Local Government Area in Enugu State and late Mr. Ugochukwu Nwachukwu from Mbaise Local Government Area in Imo State were among those shot dead in the early hours of 14th September 2017 during the operation. They were shot and killed by soldiers at Power Line in the Ariaria area of Aba.

Late Celestine Aga had barely opened his fast food store to patronize his early morning customers including night travel returnees when soldiers shot him alongside Mr. Peter Ohiagu who was his first early customer of the day. While Celestine Aga died on the way to the hospital, Peter Ohiagu who was shot in the stomach survived miraculously.

I later assisted in depositing the bodies of Celestine Aga and Ugochukwu Nwachukwu at St Francis' Mortuary, along Aba-Owerri Road in Aba. The likes of Mr. Obinna Nwaobasi, 52yrs old tailor and father of four children were among those shot and seriously injured by soldiers. He was shot at his right arms inside his tailoring shop after the midnight of 13th September 2017. He had stayed back to work overtime to meet his customers' deadline when soldiers sighted his store open and opened fire at him.

I later returned to the St Francis Mortuary where bodies of Ugochukwu Nwachukwu and Celestine Aga were deposited and St Anthony's Mortuary where the remains of Emole Okemini (tailor) who was earlier shot dead in the day (14th September 2017) in front of his shop in Aba, were deposited.

I also visited other mortuaries in Aba where other innocent citizens killed by soldiers in Aba were deposited but found that they have been moved by their relatives to undisclosed mortuaries within and outside Aba for fear of their bodies being taken away by soldiers. Soldiers also took away some of those they killed on the spot especially those at places of their work or those going about their legitimate businesses.

On 18th September 2017, I continued my independent investigation visit in the company of an Amnesty Int'l research assistant and we re-visited some mortuaries and incident scenes. At King Jerry OO Mortuary, Isiala-Ngwa, we saw and pictured six slain bodies of pro-Biafra campaigners, and two of them were later identified as Udoette Miracle Udofia from Akwa Ibom State and Ogochukwu Joseph Ogba from Ohafia in Abia State.

Other bodies of slain comrades killed by soldiers at Isiala-Ngwa Army Checkpoint were taken to unknown destinations by soldiers. This was also confirmed by a female mortuary attendant at the King Jerry OO Mortuary the day the body of Ifeanyichukwu Agbayisi was brought and dumped by soldiers at the Mortuary on 12th September 2017.

It is firmly believed that soldiers slew no fewer than 20 pro-Biafra activists and other members of the public at Isiala-ngwa on 12th and 14th September 2017, out of which about 10 were seen or recovered while soldiers took away the remaining 10 and possibly dumped them in undisclosed and isolated locations within or outside Isiala-Ngwa.

At the FMC (formerly St Elizabeth Hospital), Umuahia, which we also visited on 18th September 2017, we saw and pictured eight slain bodies of pro-Biafra activists and other members of the public. Some of them were later identified, retrieved and buried by their families.

From my conclusion and field findings, the total death toll recorded during the Nigerian Army's anti Igbo and Biafra violent crackdown of September 2017, code-named "Army Python Dance 11 in Southeast Nigeria" is no fewer than 150 (excluding over 30 bodies later discovered inside Umu-Ura Village Forest in Ogwe Community of Abia State); with hundreds of others injured. There were also reports of the discovery of dumped bodies of pro-Biafra activists in bushes located in and around Umuahia.

The above further shows that no fewer than 105 deaths or more were likely recorded at Afara-Ukwu in Umuahia on 14th September. No fewer than 20 deaths were also recorded at Isiala-Ngwa on 12th, and 14th September, and no fewer than 25 deaths were recorded in Aba on 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th September 2017, bringing the total to not less than 180 when added to over 30 later found inside Umu-Ura Village Forest; out of which soldiers took away about 80% of the slain corpses in the three areas mentioned.

Out of no fewer than 25 deaths recorded in Aba during the Nigerian Army's "Python Dance 11", 15 were killed during the military's late night of 13th and early hours of 14th September 2017 house to house shooting operation.

It is also a fact that some bodies of slain comrades were hurriedly removed and relocated by their families and friends from mortuaries where they were initially deposited in Aba, Isiala-Ngwa, and Afara-Ukwu and re-deposited in undisclosed mortuaries from where they were retrieved, taken home and buried off records to prevent being traced and taken away by soldiers of the Nigerian Army.

Also in some hospitals I and others visited to ascertain the number and identities of the slain comrades so deposited, the authorities of such hospitals or mortuaries denied us access or ever having such slain victims. This was on account of fears of soldiers tracing and invading morgues or places where they were kept or deposited and whisking the bodies away to undisclosed locations.

Another reason arose from firm instructions to such hospitals or morgues by families and friends of the slain not to disclose any information about them to any third party. One of the hospitals visited under such circumstances based on substantial evidence that it was holding some of the slain comrades is Madonna Hospital in Umuahia which we visited four days after the Afara-Ukwu massacre on 18th September 2017. The Hospital denied us access and falsely denied having corpses brought and deposited in its morgue in connection with the Army Python Dance 11 massacre

Breach Of Int'l Law Principle Of Complementarity & Zero Impunity: The Government of Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari and Prof Yemi Osinbajo was severally, by formal and informal channels, put on notice over the named military massacre operations but it chose not to stop or end it but to intensify and escalate it.

The Government also despicably engaged in shielding the named perpetrators and aided and abetted the destruction of evidence. Under the international law, killing of unarmed civilians particularly in a non-war situation and taking away their bodies to unknown locations or secret graveyards; alongside the wounded, likely to be shot and killed, is an apparent criminal act of evidence destruction and one of the crimes against humanity.

It also amounts to evidence destruction when a Government undertakes the despicable role of setting up a kangaroo inquiry board(s) with behind the scene target of tracking the victims and relatives of the slain for profiling and subsequent threats, material inducement and distortion of facts.

The so-called "Report of the Army or Military Rights Abuse Board of Enquiry of June 2017, set up on 8th March 2017" and the "Federal Government Panel of Enquiry on Army Rights Abuse of August 2017" typically represent attempts in that direction; likewise unpardonable lies contained in the kangaroo Army Rights Abuse Board of Enquiry Report which falsely reported that "no single pro Biafra activist or any member of the public was killed during the Army's internal security operations in the Southeast".

The two kangaroo rights abuse enquiry panels were also attempts by the Government of Nigeria to engage in self-exoneration, shield the perpetrator-security personnel, mislead the international community and distort and pervert the international law principle of complementarity and zero impunity.

Apart from several outcries, documentation and local and international media reports arising from the military massacre operations, the Government of Nigeria was specifically written severally by the duo of **Amnesty Int'l** and **Intersociety**, etc; all to no avail. The Government also resorted to the use of "terror" tag to retroactively justify its roles in the butcheries and escape local, regional and international criminal responsibility. Even in a war situation, killing and wounding of civilians are forbidden and criminalized, not to talk of such atrocities perpetrated in a non-war situation.

While **Amnesty Int'l** wrote the Buhari/Osinbajo Government ahead of the release of its report (150 Pro Biafra Activists Killed in the Rain of Bullets) on 24th November 2016, **Intersociety** on 16th February 2016, wrote the duo of Minister of Interior, Retired Gen Abdulrahman Bello Dambazzau, Ph.D and Chief of Defense Staff, Lt Gen Abayomi Gabriel Olonisakin; titled: ***Ceaseless Killing of Unarmed Citizens in Nigeria: Why Security Chiefs Must Desist from Bleeding More Insurgencies...***

Intersociety also wrote a second letter, dated 29th June 2017 to then Acting President Yemi Osinbajo, titled: ***Gross Abuses of Human Rights In Nigeria: Demanding For FEC Approved Special Independent Criminal Investigations Board And 3-in-One Judicial Commissions Of Enquiry & Other Allied Actions In 90 Days.*** The two letters were duly received with proof of delivery duly sent back to us, yet nothing useful came from the recipients till date.

The Role Of Southeast Governors In The Military Massacre Operations: Apart from the staggering sum of over N12b given by five Governors of the Southeast to the authorities of Nigeria Police Force, Nigerian Army, Nigerian Navy, Nigerian Air Force, SSS and paramilitary formations in the Region including military and police contingents sent to the Region in the past 40 months or between August 2015 and December 2018; in aid or support of their military massacre operations, the Governors were also vicariously and directly involved in the massacre.

They further demonstrated unwillingness and inability to stop the massacre in their capacities as “Chief Security and Executive Officers” of their States. Governors William Obiano and Victor Okezie Ikpeazu of Anambra and Abia States were mainly and directly involved by planning, organizing and funding the massacre operations in their States.

Throughout the massacre operations till date, the Southeast Governors have kept a sealed lip and refused to speak or rise in condemnation or do the other needful including rehabilitation of the victims and their families. They watched by and said nothing when soldiers and police SARS operatives invaded hospitals where the shot and wounded were admitted for treatments and abducted them to unknown locations.

The Southeast Governors also colluded with President Muhammadu Buhari and his office in unleashing military and police siege on the Region leading to disruption of economic activities and endangering of lives of the citizens of the Region. The rapacious militarization of the Southeast Region was done without putting into consideration the collective security, safety, and welfare of the People of the Region. It was done in disguise to flood the Region with violent Fulani marauders and other violent citizens; thereby making the Region a “conquered territory” or a “Region under conquest or siege by an army of occupation.”

By granting blanket and cowardly approval to militarization of the Southeast Region including Army Python Dance exercises without resistance or rising in strong opposition to the imbalanced ethnoreligious composition of those manning the commanding positions and rank and file of the military and police formations in the Region, the Governors of the Southeast have traded and sold off the security and safety of the Region.

These the Southeast Governors have done in return for presidential protection and sustenance of their selfish political, pecuniary and parochial interests including reelection bids and protection from criminal prosecution for graft practices and heinous rights crimes after leaving office. By the above, too, they have abandoned their people, abdicated their sacred social contract obligations and reneged from their election campaign promises to their people. The Southeast Governors also collectively and individually failed to set up independent panels or judicial commissions of enquiry, despite being severally called upon to do so, to investigate the massacre including identification of the victims and the perpetrators for severe punishment.

Defining Victims Of Atrocity Crimes: By the United Nations Declaration on Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crimes and Abuse of (Political) Office, 1985, "Victims of Crimes are persons, who, individually or collectively, have suffered harm including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, economic loss or substantial impairment of their fundamental rights, through acts or omissions that are in violation of criminal laws operative within member-States, including those laws prohibiting abuse of power. The victims include, where necessary, the immediate family or dependant of the direct victim and persons who have suffered harm in intervening to assist people in distress or to prevent victimization".

Defining Direct & Vicarious Perpetrators Of Crimes

Perpetrators: In the course of naming or identifying the perpetrators of the **Military Massacre Operations** including the Nigerian Army Python Dance 11 in the Igbo Land State of Abia in September 2017, **vicarious and direct perpetrators** were identified.

This is by the universal best practices and law. In this case, also, most of the *vicarious perpetrators* were found to have played the roles of direct perpetrators having ordered, supervised and executed the massacre; facilitated or attempted to facilitate the destruction of evidence-and protected and still protect *command structure* and *rank and file* culprits and refused and still refuse to bring them to justice till date.

By **direct perpetrators**, they are perpetrators or atrocity criminals that ordered, supervised and executed the massacre; facilitated or attempted to facilitate the destruction of evidence-and colluded in protecting the *command structure* and *rank and file* culprits resulting in them not being fished out and brought to justice till date.

By **vicarious liability or responsibility**, it is concisely defined as *the responsibility of the superiors for the acts of their subordinates or, the responsibility of any third party that had the "right, ability or duty to control the activities of a violator, but failed or declined to do same."* It is also a liability assigned to an employer or other principal for his agent's or employee's acts performed in the course of employment or other duty.

Thirty-Two (32) top security and political officials or public office holders, in addition to one "Utsman Mustafa" (representing perpetrator-combatants or ordered shooters and killers) have been identified as *vicarious and direct* perpetrators of the Military Massacre Operations in Eastern Nigeria, perpetrated between 30th August 2015 and 14th September 2017; leading to *gun-death* of no fewer than 480 unarmed and defenseless citizens and *gun-injuring* of not less than 500 others.

Technically speaking, the *vicarious perpetrators* are involved having ordered, authorized, directed and sponsored the massacre and shielded the perpetrators from being brought to justice. On the other hand, the *direct perpetrators* are involved having operationally organized, authorized, supervised, coordinated and executed the massacre and declined to refuse the order to do so in accordance with the fundamental principles of the international law. The two sets of *perpetrators or offenders* perpetrated and perpetuated the atrocity crimes in Nigeria in their official capacities as **public office holders** or as sworn elected public office holders and appointed top security officials of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

We had also in the course of our investigation into the massacre identified some perpetrators as *repeat-perpetrators or repeat-atrocity perpetrators*. **Intersociety's** investigation into the massacre lasted for three years or from December 2015 to December 2018. The 32 perpetrators were found to have ordered or authorized the massacre; or organized, funded, supervised, coordinated and executed the massacre. Others were found to have colluded in perpetrating the massacre or refused to act to stop the massacre or shielded or attempted to shield the perpetrators or engaged or attempted to engage in the destruction of evidence so as to erase traces of the atrocity crimes and culpability of the perpetrators.

Further details concerning the above named perpetrators are scientifically and statistically provided in the four tables below. The information contained in the four tables include the names of the perpetrators, their titles/ranks and positions held as at the time the atrocity crimes were perpetrated and their degrees of involvement in the atrocity crimes. Also included are the appointment numbers and exit dates of the serving senior police officers involved and those already retired as well as dates or periods of the commission of the atrocity crimes

Vicarious Perpetrators In The September 2017 Army Python Dance 11 Massacre In Abia State

	NAME	POSITION HELD	ATROCITY CRIMES COMMITTED
1	<i>President Muhammadu Buhari and his office (vicarious & repeat perpetrator)</i>	President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria	<i>Just as he did in the previous massacres (August 2015-January 2017), he gave all the orders in his capacity as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces; leading to the September 2017 Army Python Dance 11 massacre in Abia State. He also refused to fish out his top security officers involved for punishment and rehabilitate and compensate the victims and release the bodies of most of the slain seized and taken away by security forces for pathological examinations and befitting interment.</i>
2	<i>Vice President, Prof Yemi Osinbajo (vicarious perpetrator)</i>	<i>Vice President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria</i>	<i>As Nigeria's acting President in 2017, he constituted or assented to the setting up of kangaroo investigative panels with intent to destroy evidence and erase traces of Government and its security officers' involvement. As vice president of Nigeria, professor of law and Senior Advocate of Nigeria, Prof Osinbajo also failed woefully in his duty and constitutional obligations to advice against the massacre or ensures that same is brought to end. He vicariously supported the Nigerian Army Python Dance 11 massacre of September 2017 in Abia State</i>
3	<i>Lt Gen Tukur Yusuf Buratai (direct & repeat perpetrator)</i>	<i>Chief of Army Staff since 13th July 2015</i>	<i>He made all the operational orders and supervised the entire massacre operations from August 2015 to September 2017. He was specifically the chief of operations in the Army Python Dance 11 massacre of September 2017 in Abia State. He must be tried and convicted.</i>
4	<i>Lt Gen Abayomi Gabriel Olonisakin (CDS) (direct perpetrator)</i>	<i>Nigeria's Chief of Defense Staff</i>	<i>In his capacity as Nigeria's Chief of Defense Staff, he administratively coordinated the Army Python Dance 11 massacre and went further to cover the atrocities following same by hurriedly designating the main victim group and its followers as "terror group" or "terrorists." He should be tried and convicted.</i>

5	<i>Major Gen John Enenche (direct perpetrator)</i>	<i>Immediate past Defense Headquarters Spokesman and now Director, Technical Support Services at Defense Headquarters, Abuja</i>	<i>He made all the public pronouncements leading to the Army Python Dance 11 massacre of September 2017 and criminally attempted to cover the atrocities or absolve the Army of same even when the contrary was the case. He should be tried and convicted.</i>
6	<i>Governor Victor Okezie Ikpeazu (vicarious & repeat perpetrator)</i>	<i>Governor of Abia State since 29th May 2015</i>	<i>He is inescapably an accomplice in the Army Python Dance 11 Massacre; in addition to his roles in the previous massacre in Aba. He should be tried and convicted beyond local borders while in office or within borders once he loses his constitutional immunity.</i>
7	<i>DIG Anthony Michael Ogbizi (with NPF enlistment number AP25055) (vicarious perpetrator)</i>	<i>Immediate past CP and Commissioner of Police, Abia State</i>	<i>He should be held guilty for the offense of accessory after the fact and charged for crimes against humanity; for attempting to use his office as newly posted Commissioner of Police for Abia State, after the massacre, to cover the Government atrocities, defend same and destroy evidence. He will retire from the Nigeria Police Force on 1st February 2021.</i>

Direct Perpetrators In The September 2017 Army Python Dance 11 Massacre In Abia State

	NAME	POSITION HELD	ATROCITY CRIMES COMMITTED
1	<i>Major Gen Adamu Baba Abubakar (direct perpetrator)</i>	<i>Then GOC, 82 Division of the Nigerian Army, Enugu</i>	Major Gen Adamu Baba Abubakar and other senior military officers mentioned below played key operational roles during the Army Python Dance 11 massacre. They operationally organized, led, coordinated, supervised and executed same resulting in the heinous atrocities highlighted above. They must internationally be investigated and charged for crimes against humanity as well as domestically for mass murder and related felonies; among other non-judicial and diplomatic sanctions.
2	<i>Brig Gen Abdul Kalifah Ibrahim (direct perpetrator)</i>	<i>Then and still Brigade Commander, 14 Brigade, Ohafia in Abia State</i>	✓
3	<i>Brig Gen E.A. Anaryo (direct perpetrator)</i>	<i>Then and still Commander, Army Transport, 82 Division, Enugu</i>	✓
4	<i>Brig Gen A.I. Adegboye(direct perpetrator)</i>	<i>Then and still Commander, Army Supply, 82 Division, Enugu</i>	✓
5	<i>Brig Gen Mark Mamman(direct perpetrator)</i>	<i>Then Commander, 44 Army Engineering, 82 Division, Enugu</i>	✓

6	<i>Brig Gen I.H. Bature(direct perpetrator)</i>	<i>Then and still Commander, 34 Brigade, Obinze, near Owerri, Imo State</i>	✓
7	<i>Lt Col Sidi Kasim Umar(direct & repeat perpetrator)</i>	<i>Then and immediate past Commanding Officer, 144 Battalion, Asa-Ukwa West, Abia State</i>	✓
8	<i>Navy Captain Abdullahi Aminu(direct perpetrator)</i>	<i>Then Commander, Nigerian Navy School of Finance & Logistics, Owerre-Nta, Abia State</i>	✓
9	<i>Col Sagir Musa (direct & repeat perpetrator)</i>	<i>Then and still Deputy Director of Information, Army Public Relations & Spokesman for 82 Division of the Nigerian Army, Enugu</i>	✓
10	<i>Utsman Mustafa (lead-shooter and one of the killer combatants/direct perpetrator)</i>	<i>An Hausa-Fulani Muslim combatant soldier</i>	<i>The combatant soldiers who carried out the massacre are represented here by one of them mentioned above and then identified via his service badge/identity on 14th September 2017 during the Army massacre at Afara-Ukwu (Umuahia) as “Utsman Mustafa”. He was seen by key witnesses/survivors opening fire, alongside others, at unarmed and innocent gatherers at the Afara-ukwu Palace; shouting “kill the pigs”! “Kill the pigs”!! “Kill the pigs”!!! All the combat soldiers that perpetrated the massacre must be identified, arrested, prosecuted and convicted accordingly</i>

Vicarious & Direct Perpetrators In The Military Massacre Operations Of 2nd Dec. 2015, 30th May 2016 & 20th Jan. 2017

	NAME	POSITION HELD	ATROCITY CRIMES COMMITTED
1	<i>President Muhammadu Buhari & his office(vicarious & repeat perpetrator)</i>	<i>President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria</i>	<i>He gave all the orders in his capacity as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces; leading to the massacre that occurred between August 2015 and January 2017 and that of September 2017. He also shielded the perpetrators by refusing to fish out his top security officers involved for punishment and rehabilitate and compensate the victims and release the bodies of most of the slain seized and taken away by his security forces for pathological examinations and befitting interment.</i>
2	<i>Vice President, Prof Yemi Osinbajo(vicarious perpetrator)</i>	<i>Vice President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria</i>	<i>As Nigeria’s acting President in 2017, he constituted or assented to the setting up of kangaroo investigative panels with intent to destroy evidence and erase traces of Government and its security officers’ involvement.</i>

			<i>As Vice President of Nigeria, professor of law and Senior Advocate of Nigeria, Prof Osinbajo failed woefully in his duty and constitutional obligations to advice against the massacre and ensures that same is brought to end.</i>
3	<i>Lt Gen Tukur Yusuf Buratai ((direct & repeat perpetrator)</i>	<i>Chief of Army Staff since 13th July 2015</i>	<i>He was the chief of operations and made all the operational orders and supervised the entire massacre operations from August 2015 to September 2017. He must be tried and convicted.</i>
4	<i>Major Gen Ibrahim Attahiru(direct perpetrator)</i>	<i>He was then GOC of the 82 Division of the Nigerian Army, Enugu and now Chief of Defense Logistics at Defense Headquarters, Abuja</i>	<i>He carried out to the letter the orders of his boss, the Chief of Army Staff in the massacre operations of 2nd December 2015 to 30th May 2016 in Anambra and Delta States. He must be tried and convicted.</i>
5	<i>Col Isa Maigari Abdullahi(direct perpetrator)</i>	<i>Then Col and Commander of the Onitsha 302 Artillery Regiment of the Nigerian Army, Onitsha, Anambra State</i>	<i>He supervised the 17th December 2015 and 29th and 30th May 2016 massacre operations in Onitsha, Nkpor and Asaba (Delta State). He proceeded in 2017 to the National Institute for Policy & Strategic Studies in Kuru, near Jos, Plateau State for study. He must be tried and convicted.</i>
6	<i>Lt Col C.O. Ibrahim(direct perpetrator)</i>	<i>Then Army Major and now Commander of the Military Police Unit of the Onitsha 302 Artillery Regiment</i>	<i>He was operationally in charge or troops leader of the 29th and 30th May 2016 massacre in Onitsha, Nkpor and Asaba (Delta State). He must be tried and convicted.</i>
7	<i>Hosea Karma Hassan (with NPF enlistment or appointment number: AP30479) (direct perpetrator)</i>	<i>Then Commissioner of Police, Anambra State and now Police AIG, in charge of Zone 9, Umuahia (Abia State)</i>	<i>He administratively supervised, on behalf of the Nigeria Police Force, the 2nd December 2015 and 29th and 30th May 2016 massacre operations at Nkpor and Onitsha. He will retire from the Nigeria Police Force on 8th January 2021. He must be tried and convicted.</i>
8	<i>Babatunde Johnson Kokomo (with NPF enlistment number AP30527) (direct perpetrator)</i>	<i>Then DCP in charge of Operations, Anambra State Police Command and now a State Commissioner of Police in Nigeria</i>	<i>He headed the police field operations during the 29th and 30th May 2016 massacre in Onitsha and Nkpor. He will statutorily retire from the Nigeria Police Force on 15th March 2023. He must be tried and convicted.</i>
9	<i>Retired IGP Solomon E. Arase (with NPF enlistment number AP16474) (direct perpetrator)</i>	<i>Then Inspector General of Police</i>	<i>He issued written and published orders to his senior police officers in the Southeast and the South-south to apply “maximum force” to quell the 2nd December 2015 and 29th and 30th May 2016 street protests and related events, leading to massacre or mass killings that occurred in Onitsha, Nkpor and Asaba, which resulted to over 150 deaths and 140 injuries. He retired from the Nigeria Police Force as IGP on 21st June 2016. He must be tried and convicted.</i>

10	<i>Retired IGP Ibrahim Kpotum Idris (with NPF enlistment number: AP24246) (direct & repeat perpetrator)</i>	<i>Then Police AIG in charge of Federal Operations and now Nigeria's immediate past Inspector General of Police (overstayed for 12 days in office and retired on 15th January 2019)</i>	<i>He led the federal police field operations during the 2nd December 2015 and 29th and 30th May 2016 pro-Biafra street protests' massacre, killing over 150 defenseless citizens and injuring 140 others. He also partook vicariously and operationally in the 20th January 2017 pro-Trump rally killings in Port Harcourt, Rivers State and the September 2017 Army Python Dance 11 massacre in Abia State, leading to no fewer than 200 deaths and 200 injuries. He must be arrested, tried and convicted.</i>
11	<i>Lt Col Umar Sidi Kasim(direct & repeat perpetrator)</i>	<i>Then Commander of the 144 Battalion of the 14 Brigade of the Nigerian Army, located in Asa Community, Ukwa West LGA, near Aba in Abia State</i>	<i>He led the massacre operation of 9th February 2016 at the Aba National High School in Aba and actively participated in the September 2017 Army Python Dance (11) massacre operation in Abia State. He was transferred as the Commanding Officer of the 144 Battalion in January 2018. He must be tried and convicted.</i>
12	<i>Habila Joshak (with NPF enlistment number AP24255) (direct & repeat perpetrator)</i>	<i>Then Commissioner of Police, Abia State Command and immediate past (retired) Police DIG in charge of Operations at Force Headquarters, Abuja</i>	<i>He supervised the 9th February 2016 National High School massacre in Aba, Abia State and partook as DIG F/OPS in the 20th January pro-Trump rally killings in Port Harcourt. He will retire statutorily from the NPF on 15th July 2019. He must be tried and convicted.</i>
13	<i>COMPOL Peter W. Wagbara (with NPF enlistment number AP36625) (direct perpetrator)</i>	<i>Then ACP and Area Commander of the Aba Area Command of the Nigeria Police Force, Abia State Command</i>	<i>He operationally led the police personnel that partook in the 9th February 2016 massacre at the Aba National High School. He was transferred to Nasarawa State in 2017 as an Area Commander and will retire from the Nigeria Police Force on 13th July 2023. He must be tried and convicted.</i>
14	<i>Retired SSS Director, Lawal Musa Daura(direct & repeat perpetrator)</i>	<i>He was then Director-General of SSS (Nigeria's secret police or spymaster).</i>	<i>He supplied all the intelligence used by the Federal and named State Governments in the entire military massacre operations from August 2015 to September 2017. He ordered his agency to track down especially in late hours of the night, leaders of unarmed pro-Biafra groups in their sleep, leading to arrest of scores of them and their incarceration without trial or release for one year, two years or above. He was removed as Nigeria's DG of SSS on 7th August 2018. He must be tried and convicted.</i>
15	<i>Governor Okezie Victor Ikpeazu(vicarious & repeat perpetrator)</i>	<i>Present Governor of Abia State since May 29th 2015.</i>	<i>In his capacity as the Chief Security Officer of Abia State, he supervised and funded the military and police violent crackdowns and killing of over 60 defenseless pro Biafra protesters on 18th and 29th January and 9th February 2016 particularly those that gathered for prayer rally at the National High School, Aba on 9th February 2016.</i>

			<i>Governor Ikpeazu also did nothing lawful when 16 lifeless bodies of slain pro Biafra activists were dumped in Aba-Port Harcourt Road burrow pits and later set ablaze on 1st March 2016. As Chief Security Officer of Abia State, Governor Okezie Ikpeazu also acted during the massacre operations as the Chairman of Abia State's Joint Security Taskforce or JTF; with monthly funding from his Government through the Governor's Security Votes. He further refused to set up a judicial panel of enquiry to look into the killings when severally called to do so. He should be tried and convicted beyond local borders while in office or within borders once he loses his constitutional immunity.</i>
16	<i>Governor William Mmaduabuchukwu Obiano (direct perpetrator)</i>	<i>Governor of Anambra State since 17th March 2014</i>	<i>He supervised and funded the military and police violent crackdowns and killing of over 170 unarmed and defenseless pro-Biafra protesters, gatherers and others in Onitsha and Nkpor on 2nd and 17th December 2015 and 29th and 30th May 2016; using the instrument of Anambra State Joint Security Taskforce or JTF. Governor Obiano went further by sending one of his commissioners to witness the secret burial of no less than 90 slain pro Biafra activists and others on Wednesday 1st June 2016 in one of the two military cemeteries located in the Onitsha Military Barracks. As Chief Security Officer of Anambra State, Governor Obiano also during the massacre operations acted as Chairman of the State's Joint Security Taskforce or JTF; with monthly funding from his Government through the Governor's Security Votes. Gov Obiano further refused to set up a judicial panel of enquiry to look into the killings when severally called to do so. He should be tried and convicted beyond local borders while in office or within borders once he loses his constitutional immunity.</i>

Principal Perpetrators In The 20th January 2017 Pro Trump Rally Killings In Port Harcourt, Rivers State

	NAME	POSITION HELD	ATROCITY CRIMES COMMITTED
1	<i>Major Gen Enobong Okon Udo(direct perpetrator)</i>	<i>Then GOC, 6 Division of the Nigerian Army, Port Harcourt & now Nigerian Army's Chief of Logistics at Army Headquarters, Abuja</i>	<i>Major Gen Enobong Okon Udo as then GOC and three other security chiefs mentioned below operationally and administratively supervised and executed the Pro Trump Rally killings and maiming, perpetrated in Port Harcourt, Rivers State on 20th January 2017; leading to death of at least 20 defenseless citizens and injuring of over 70 others. The four key perpetrators must be arrested, tried and convicted while still alive or in dead for crimes against humanity, etc.</i>

2	<i>Col Aminu Illiyasu(direct perpetrator)</i>	<i>Deputy Director, Army Public Relations & Spokesman for the 6 Division of the Nigerian Army, Port Harcourt, Rivers State</i>	✓
3	<i>Late CP Francis Mobolaji Odesanya (with NPF enlistment number AP25086) (direct perpetrator)</i>	<i>Then Commissioner of Police, Rivers State, who, but for his untimely death, should have retired from the Nigeria Police Force on 1st February 2021. He died of a kidney ailment in late January 2017, about ten days after the killings</i>	✓
4	<i>Ahmed Magaji (with NPF enlistment number AP12715) (direct perpetrator)</i>	<i>Then Deputy Commissioner of Police in charge of Operations, Rivers State Police Command. DCP Ahmed Magaji has statutorily retired or left the Nigeria Police Force since 1st January 2019</i>	✓

Recommendations

- *Int'l Society for Civil Liberties & the Rule of Law* is demanding from the central Government of Muhammadu Buhari and Yemi Osinbajo (sponsor of the massacre) and two categories of the perpetrators a total compensation or reparatory payment of \$4.1b.
- The \$4.1b payment under demand is for the vicarious and direct involvement of the named Government and the security chiefs and other public office holders involved in the mindless, wicked, ruthless, brutal, rapacious, genocidal, ethnocidal, atrocious, grisly, unlawful and indefensible and inexcusable massacre of no fewer than 480 unarmed and defenseless citizens and injuring of over 500 others during the military massacre operations in Eastern Nigeria between 30th August 2015 and 14th September 2017.
- While \$3b of the \$4.1b under demand represents general damages and costs inflicted or incurred by the victims of the massacre operations, \$1.1b represents the economic losses incurred during the massacre and its aftermath by the People of Southeast Region and Igbo Delta owing to widespread disruption of the economic activities occasioned by military and police insecurity and out-station and in-station police and military corruption including roadblock and custodial extortions.
- The \$1.1b or N336b should be refunded by the present central Government of Nigeria to the five States in the Southeast Region and Delta State using the following sharing formulas: 30% to Anambra State Government, 30% to Abia State Government, 15% to Imo State Government, 12.5% to Enugu State Government, 12.5% to Ebonyi State Government and 5% to the Government of Delta State.
- It is also the strong recommendation of **Intersociety** that the named perpetrators must face life jails and other harsh sentences or sanctions within Nigerian borders or at regional and international borders. No perpetrator shall be sentenced to less than 25yrs and above life jail. **Intersociety** opposes death penalty in all its ramifications.

- *There shall also be national written apology from the central Government of Muhammadu Buhari and Yemi Osinbajo to the People of Eastern Nigeria especially the Igbo Race and Nigerians in general. The national apology shall subsequently be transformed into a “National Sorry Day” and a remembrance day to immortalize the slain or crime scene and off crime scene dead victims.*
- ***Intersociety** is calling on the central Government of Nigeria to fish out and bring all the named perpetrators in the military massacre operations in Eastern Nigeria to book. Those still in the service or perpetrator-members of the Nigerian Military and the Nigeria Police Force (i.e. COAS and ors) must be identified and weeded out of the Armed Forces and the Police, arrested and prosecuted. Continued failure of the named Government to do so clearly amounts to breach of the Int’l Law Principles of **Complementarity & No Impunity** and forfeiture of such sovereignty rights before the international justice system. In law and criminology, such horrendous crimes are not statute barred or have no expiring dates.*
- *The int’l justice organizations and concerned others, on the other hand, should now or later do the needful in respect of Muhammadu Buhari, Yemi Osinbajo, William Obiano and Victor Okezie Ikpeazu. The named quadruplet in the atrocity crimes can also be prosecuted in Nigeria when they must have lost their office immunity.*
- *Nigerian Government must end its brutal crackdown; likewise physical, structural and cultural violence and persecution of People of the Igbo Nation in Nigeria or any part thereof. All forms of hate and discriminatory policies against the People of the Nation-State in Nigeria including “terror stigmatization,” selective enforcement of the law and racial profiling must be discontinued and abolished.*
- *Law Enforcement and Rule of Law in Nigeria must be evenly or uniformly enforced irrespective of ethnic, religious, economic and cultural origins and affiliations of those citizens found or suspected to have been found to be conflict with the criminal laws of Nigeria.*
- *The Federal Government of Nigeria is strongly called upon to de-proscribe and delist from its so-called “terror list” the leading nonviolent and unarmed pro-Biafra group; vindictively and racially proscribed and labelled a “terror group” on 17th September 2017 for sole but failed purpose of retroactively evading or escaping from the horrendous crimes perpetrated against the group, its members and supporters and other citizens of the Judeo-Christian People (Igbo) of Nigeria. There shall also be immediate decriminalization of members of the group and their lawful activities.*
- *The Attorney General of Nigeria is specifically urged to file motions for discontinuation of all ongoing pretrial and trial (nolle prosequi) of all members of the group vindictively arrested and detained or languishing in various police and SSS detention facilities or prison custodies across the country. They include those spuriously accused of “terrorism and terrorism financing” or “treason and treasonable felony.” The Attorneys General of States jurisdictionally handling such spuriously slammed charges in their States are also called upon to follow suit or be directed accordingly by the appropriate authorities.*
- *All military roadblocks in Igbo Land or Southeast Region and Igbo Delta, numbering not less than 100 and their police counterparts, numbering not less than 3000 as at January 2019 must permanently be dismantled; with military and police personnel manning them withdrawn and moved out of the Region.*
- ***Intersociety** is also calling for total discontinuation and end of police and military roadblock extortions and commercialization of criminal investigation and other police duties in Igbo Land.*
- *The Nigeria Police Force must revert and return to professionalism and intelligence policing including mental and electronic policing intelligence or mental-machine policing intelligence*

- *There shall be a presidential directive by the central Government of Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari and Prof Yemi Osinbajo, which says it is fighting corruption, to the authorities of the Nigerian Military, the Nigeria Police Force and Paramilitary formations operating in the Southeast Region and Igbo Delta to return the whopping N100b criminal or extortion proceeds to coffers of the Governments of Anambra, Abia, Imo, Enugu, Ebonyi and Delta States.*
- *In returning the criminal proceeds, the authorities of the Nigeria Police Force shall return a total of N78.02b extorted, the Nigerian Military N6b and the affected or named Paramilitary formations (Custom, FRSC, NDLEA and NAFDAC) N16b; totalling N100b or \$330m.*
- *The percentage ratios for the return shall be 30% to Anambra State Government, 30% to Abia State Government, 15% to Imo State Government, 12.5% to Enugu State Government, 12.5% to Ebonyi State Government and 5% compensation to the Government of Delta State.*
- *The present Buhari and Osinbajo Government shall issue further directives to the authorities of the Nigeria Police Force, the Nigerian Military and the affected Paramilitary formations to fish out the lists containing names of their officers and personnel posted to the Southeast Region and road routes linking it between August 2015 and December 2018.*
- *The purpose of fishing out the names of officers and personnel of the affected security agencies shall be to have the N100b criminal proceeds deducted from their monetized remunerations including pensions of those already retired; in addition to commensurate deductions from the remunerations of the immediate past IGP; the COAS, the Chief of Defense Staff, the Chief of Naval Staff and central heads of the affected Paramilitary formations (Custom, FRSC, NDLEA and NAFDAC).*
- *The Governors of the Southeast and Delta State and other top political office holders and leaders from the Region are called upon to immediately and strongly rise to the occasion to effectively checkmate the militarization and northernization of top military, police and other critical security formations and command structures in Igbo Land. Their present lopsided composition as graphically represented in the table segment of this special report is not only rejected and unacceptable but must also be reversed and equitably reconstructed or rebalanced.*
- *There shall be constituted “an international criminal enquiry” by the United Nations via its Security Council into the Nigerian Military Massacre Operations in Eastern Nigeria (August 2015-September 2017) with a view to exposing the atrocities, fishing out their in-service, out-service and ex-service perpetrators and referring them to ICC or ad hoc UN or regional or domesticated crimes tribunal(s) for trial under Chapter VII of the UN or referral powers of the UN Security Council (UNSC).*
- *At the appointed or appropriate time, there shall also be constituted “Panel of Enquiry into Military Rights Abuses & Violations in Southeast or Eastern Nigeria,” covering August 2015-September 2017. The Panel of Enquiry shall be set up by the Southeast or Eastern Governors Forum; with legislative inputs (resolutions) from all the eight or five of the eight States Houses of Assembly in the Region.*
- *Members of the international community especially the western democracies and the UN as well as international human rights organizations are particularly called upon to take diplomatic and other international justice notice of the named perpetrators and their atrocity crimes for purpose of declaring them “persona non gratae” including arrest and prosecution in their respective countries or at regional and international borders.*
- *The named perpetrators both retired and serving members of the Nigerian security establishments and public office holders shall also be slammed with appropriate international sanctions including being blacklisted and made ineligible in all regional and international military, policing and other security or diplomatic engagements including corporate and individual or intergovernmental consultancies, contracts, partnerships, exchange visits etc. Such sanctions shall be invoked using int’l legal instruments like the Leahy Law of USA 1966 as amended; among other international deterrent measures.*

- *Other non judicial sanctions under recommendation against the perpetrators include denial and withdrawal of visas from the perpetrators and their families, freezing of their accounts and seizure or confiscation of their assets abroad; exposing their cash and properties stashed abroad, if any, etc.*
- *The apostles or advocates of international justice around the world including the “CIVITAS Maxima” of Switzerland are again called upon to open global campaigns against the named humanity or atrocity crimes’ perpetrators that would lead to their arrests in foreign soils to face the named crimes against humanity perpetrated by themselves or in their names or under their authorization.*
- *The perpetrators can arrested and charged locally, regionally and internationally through the instruments of **municipal, active personality, passive personality and universal or international criminal jurisdictions** or sued through the instruments of **civil claimant litigations**; such as **the Torture Victims Protection Act of 1992** of the United States of America, etc.*

Authored By:

Emeka Umeagbalasi

(B. Sc., (Hons), CSS, M.Sc., PCR)

Short Profile Of The Author: Emeka Umeagbalasi, born in 1969, is Igbo-Nigerian born criminologist and graduate of security studies. He also holds Master’s Degree in Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution and has been a grassroots rights defender and democracy campaigner in Nigeria since 1995. He has authored several human rights, security, and justice advocacy publications, spearheaded campaigns and been awarded numerous human rights certificates and merit awards. He is former Anambra State Chairman of the Civil Liberties Organization (CLO)-2001-2007 and Vice Chair of its Southeast Zonal Management Committee-2005-2007.

A fellow of Int’l Visitor(s) Leadership Program (IVLP) of the US State Department on NGO Management in USA (Class of June 2013), Umeagbalasi is presently the lead-director (board chair) of Int’l Society for Civil Liberties & the Rule of Law-INTERSOCIETY, founded in 2008 and located in Southeast Nigeria. Intersociety which he founded and presently heads, advocates for promotion and advancement of democracy and public governance accountability, civil liberties and rule of law; and citizens’ security and safety. Mr. Umeagbalasi is also the convener of the Southeast Based Coalition of Human Rights & Democracy Organizations (SBCHROs), a group of twenty rights and pro-democracy organizations based in Southeast Nigeria.

Acknowledgment:

Research Assistants: Ifeoma Chidozie (Onitsha, Anambra State), Chike Umeh (Onitsha, Anambra State), Ebuka Udemmadu (Onitsha, Anambra State), Samuel Kamaranyaoku (Aba, Abia State), Promise Ndukwe (Onitsha, Anambra State), Michael Okoro (Omoku, Rivers State), Alex C. Olisa (Onitsha, Anambra State) and ThankGod Ekene Chima (Onitsha, Anambra State)

Intellectual Contributors: Prof Adrienne LeBas (American University, Washington DC, USA), Prof Justin Akujieze (Chicago State University, Chicago, USA), Iloanya Emeka, Ph.D (Houston-Texas, USA), Jerry Chukwuokoro, Ph.D (Enugu, Nigeria), Prince Emeka Onyeso (Enugu, Nigeria), Mr. Bruce Fein (fmr. Assistant Attorney Gen of USA, Washington DC, USA), Ekwe Nche Research Institute/Organization (Chicago, USA) and Departments of Criminology & Security Studies (CSS) and Peace Studies & Conflict Resolution of the National Open University of Nigeria, NOUN, Abuja, Nigeria.

Legal Assistance: Barr Uche Wisdom Durueke (Owerri), Barr Uche Justus Ijeoma (Onitsha), Barr Uju Joy Igboeli (Onitsha), Barr Chinwe Umeche (Abuja), Barr Chinaza Ndidiamaka Bernard (Port Harcourt) and Barr Evangeline Chidinma Udegbunam (Enugu)

References:

- <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/194275-nigeria-police-chief-orders-anti-riot-force-to-maximally-restrain-pro-biafra-protesters> (IGP Arase orders use of maximum against pro-Biafra protesters in Eastern Nigeria)
- <http://www.nairaland.com/2722903/arase-issues-final-warning-pro-biafra> (IGP Solomon Arase threatens violence and issues final warning to Pro Biafra activists against their street protests)
- <http://www.informationng.com/2015/11/pro-biafra-protests-army-warns-ipob-massob-others-against-secession.html> (Army warns Pro Biafra activists, others against secessionist street protests)
- <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/09/nigeria-crackdown-and-shrinking-civic-space/>
- <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/research/2017/02/amnesty-international-annual-report-201617/>
- https://www.amnesty.org.ng/sites/default/files/Nigeria_bullets_were_raining_everywhere%20web.pdf (AI's report on the killing of 150 unarmed pro-Biafra activists)
- <http://www.intersociety-ng.org/site-administrator/downloads/category/17-special-report>, <http://www.intersociety-ng.org/video-gallery/item/235-welcome-to-bleeding-republic-of-nigeria-a-land-flowing-with-blood-and-tears-1> (Intersociety's 2017 report: welcome to the bleeding republic of Nigeria: a land flowing with blood & tears)
- <https://www.olisa.tv/2016/12/why-we-killed-pro-biafra-protesters-buratai-speaks/> (why we killed pro-Biafra activists-Buratai).
- <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/09/army-commences-full-scale-operation-python-dance-ii-accuses-politicians-incitement/> (Army commences Python Dance 11 operation in the Southeast)
- <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/10/army-ends-python-dance-11-south-east/> (Army ends Python Dance 11 operation in Southeast)
- <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/225572-amnesty-international-report-nigerian-army-sets-committee-investigate-rights-violations.html> (Army sets up rights abuse board of enquiry)
- <https://sundiatapost.com/2017/06/14/human-rights-abuse-army-special-board-of-inquiry-submits-findings/> (Army rights abuse inquiry board submits its report)
- <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/239297-just-osinbajo-sets-judicial-commission-probe-human-rights-abuses-nigerian-military.html> (Osinbajo sets up rights abuse panel of enquiry)
- <https://punchng.com/court-grants-bail-to-nnamdi-kanus-co-defendants/> (Nnamdi Kanu's co-defendants granted bail after two-three years of detention)
- <https://punchng.com/police-parade-33-ipob-members-over-inspectors-killing/> (wrongful arrest and criminal parade by Police of 33 traders labeled "terrorists," "murderers" and "arsonists)
- <https://punchng.com/ipob-anambra-traders-protest-members-arrest-shut-markets/> (mass protest in Nnewi over the detention of 43 traders)
- <https://www.thenigerianvoice.com/news/273107/police-invasion-of-nnewi-market-racial-profiling-mistaken.html> (How Police Arrested 43 innocent Nnewi traders & labeled them "terrorists," "arsonists" and "murderers" and over crimes they never committed)
- <https://www.thenigerianvoice.com/news/273244/beyond-the-release-of-detained-nnewi-traders-what-nigeria-p.html> (unlawfully arrested and detained Nnewi traders regain freedom)
- <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/12/detained-nnewi-traders-regain-freedom/> (Four of the 43 unlawfully arrested and detained Nnewi traders lost N1.2m to police extortionist racketeers)

- <http://www.nigeria-law.org/ConstitutionOfTheFederalRepublicOfNigeria.htm>(Constitution of Nigeria 1999)
- <http://www.achpr.org/instruments/achpr/>(African Rights Charter of 1981)
- <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/ccpr.aspx> (Int'l Covenant on Civil & Political Rights of 1976)
- <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/cescr.aspx> (Int'l Covenant on Social, Economic & Cultural Rights of 1976)
- <https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/war-and-law/treaties-customary-law/geneva-conventions/overview-geneva-conventions.htm> (the Geneva Conventions of 1949 & their Protocols of 1976)
- <https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/fein--delvalle-pllc-report-on-trip-to-enugu-nigeria-to-gather-facts-and-to-conduct-research-for-lawsuit-300509798.html>(Bruce Fein & Bruce DelValle visit to Enugu, Nigeria on the massacre of unarmed Pro Biafra activists and other innocent citizens)
- <http://saharareporters.com/2017/08/26/us-lawyers-file-suit-against-buratai-gov-obiano-extra-judicial-killing-torture-people> (US Law Suit against Buratai & others over the massacre of unarmed Igbo citizens)
- <https://punchng.com/profs-sans-others-disagree-on-court-order-banning-ipob/> (divergent views from legal pundits trailed banning of leading pro-Biafra self-determination group)
- <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/243351-nigerian-military-declares-ipob-terrorist-organisation.html> (Nigerian Military declares leading pro-Biafra self-determination group a terror organization)
- <https://www.legit.ng/1125913-buhari-signs-proclamation-proscribing-ipob.html> (Buhari signs proclamation proscribing leading pro-Biafra self-determination group)
- <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/09/ipob-remains-terrorist-group-eu-us-should-mind-their-business-presidential-aide/>(Presidency fumes over EU, US, and others refusal to a leading pro-Biafra self-determination group as a terror organization)
- <http://dailypost.ng/2018/01/18/biafra-ohanaeze-rejects-courts-judgment-ipob/> (Ohanaeze rejects tagging of a leading pro-Biafra self-determination a terror group)
- <https://www.thenigerianvoice.com/news/267453/how-nigerian-army-massacred-150-pro-biafra-activists-hurri.html> (Nigerian Army massacred 150 pro-Biafra activists & others and hurriedly labeled them “terrorists”)
- <https://www.hrw.org/report/2010/08/17/everyones-game/corruption-and-human-rights-abuses-nigeria-police-force>(Everyone’s in on the Game: Corruption & Human Rights Abuses by the Nigeria Police Force: HRW Report: 17th August 2010)
- <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/investigationspecial-reports/204902-special-report-inside-massive-extrajudicial-killings-nigerias-south-east.html>(Inside the massive extrajudicial killings in Nigeria’s Southeast: Premium Times, June 2016)
- <https://oraclenews.ng/onitsha-sand-dealers-accuse-navy-drowning-members/>(How personnel of the Ogbaru Naval Base extorts money and torture tipper drivers and sand dealers)
- <https://globalnews.ca/news/3197026/pro-donald-trump-rally-in-nigeria-leaves-20-dead-many-missing/>(Pro Trump rally in Nigeria leaves 20 dead, others missing)
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aDDZL2okLg0> (Police denies killing pro-Biafra activists during Pro Trump Rally)
- <https://www.legit.ng/1083232-ipob-invites-dss-police-trump-solidarity-rally-see-evidence.html>(Leading pro-Biafra group writes Nigerian security agencies of its planned peaceful rally in support of President Donald Trump)
- <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/regional/ssouth-east/247916-anambra-police-deploy-28-000-personnel-nov-18-governorship-polls.html>(Police, Army, others deploy 28,000 personnel for November 18th Anambra Governorship Poll)

- <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/12/nigeria-to-un-perpetrators-of-heinous-crimes-have-no-hiding-place-in-nigeria/> (Nigerian Government pledges cooperation with ICC and UN against heinous rights violations)
- <http://dailypost.ng/2018/12/05/sagir-musa-nigerian-army-allegations-human-rights-abuses/> (Nigerian Army & Allegations of rights abuses by Col Sagir Musa)
- <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/11/we-dont-have-rubber-bullets-military-issues-fresh-warning-to-shiites/> (We do not have rubber bullets to police democratic assemblies-Nigerian DHQ)

Caution: Publication or reproduction of this special report, in part or whole, without authorization or according required intellectual right or credit to the author/researcher is strongly advised against and strictly forbidden

Intersociety Publications: December 31st, 2018, Updated In January 2019. All Rights Reserved.

www.intersociety-ng.org