



## 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 registered non-governmental and nonprofit human rights, democracy, rule of law and public security and safety advocacy group in Nigeria since 2008. It is based in Onitsha (430003), Eastern Nigeria (+234). **Intersociety** thematically campaigns for respect, observance, promotion and advancement of *democracy and good governance, civil liberties and rule of law and public security and safety*. It has also earned a name in research, investigation, documentation, and publications. **Intersociety** is led by professionals and grassroots activists including criminologists, security studies experts, lawyers, journalists and peace and conflict resolution practitioners, etc. See our website for more details at [www.intersociety-ng.org](http://www.intersociety-ng.org).

### **Note: this special report was updated in Jan 2020**

**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(km<sup>2</sup>) involving: (a) Enugu-7,161km<sup>2</sup>, (b) Abia-6,320km<sup>2</sup>, (c) Ebonyi-5,670km<sup>2</sup>, (d) Imo-5,630km<sup>2</sup> and (e) Anambra-4,844km<sup>2</sup>). These five core Igbo States have combined sedentary or home population of 28m to 30m and are 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 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> 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 Chekwas 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 60m (within country, 54m and outside country, 6m); 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 Justice System & Noble Ways Of Life Of The Igbo People Of Africa: a comprehensive account of the origin, kingship and original ways of life of the Igbo People (unpublished)**

The People of Igbo Nation have since 1937 (Katsina Railway anti Igbo riots) and 1945 (Jos anti Igbo massacre) 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 1937 and 1945. The Judeo-Christian dominated Ethnic Nationality 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 1937 in Katsina, now in Katsina State; called 'Katsina Railway anti Igbo riot of 1937'. Other anti Igbo killings included the Jos killings of 1945 and 1953; Mubi anti Igbo massacre of Jan 1966, the Asaba, Benin, Agbor, Sapele and Warri anti Igbo massacres of 1968 (state actor atrocities) and the May 1967 anti Igbo pogrom in Northern Nigeria (state and non state actor atrocities).

Other anti Igbo killings in the past are Kano 1980, Maiduguri 1982, Jimeta (now in Adamawa) 1984, Gombe 1985, Zaria 1987 and those of Kano, Kaduna, Kafanchan, Bauchi and Katsina 1991. They also included Zangon-Kataf anti Igbo killings of 1992, Funtua 1993, Kano 1994, Kaduna 2000, Kaduna 2001, Jos 2001, Maiduguri 2001, Kaduna 2002, Jos 2004, Jos 2008, Christmas Eve anti Igbo killings Jos 2010, Kano and Kaduna anti Igbo bombings of 2010, 2011 and 2012; the Madalla-Suleja Catholic Church Charismas Day bombing of 2011 (with death of 25 Igbo worshippers),.

There were also the 2011 post Presidential Poll riot leading to death of dozens of Igbo citizens including 10 Igbo graduate-corpers serving in Northern Nigeria; the Damaturu (Yobe) Igbo Church bombing of 2011 (with death of 25 Igbo worshippers), the Mubi killings of Jan 2012 (with death of 20 Igbo citizens) as well as the Yola Igbo Church massacre of 2012 (with death of 43 Igbo worshippers).

Other anti Igbo killings took place in 2005, 2006, 2008 and 2009 in Northern Nigeria. They included Miss World riots of 2002 in Kaduna and other parts of Northern Nigeria, claiming up to 200 lives who were mainly Igbo citizens. The rest included those of 2005 (i.e. APO 6) and 2006 (i.e. anti Prophet Mohammed cartoon riots in Northern Nigeria claiming dozens of Igbo lives) and the 'Boko Haram riots' of 2009 in Maiduguri, Bauchi, Kano, Kastina, Zamfara, etc.

Most of these butcheries took place in different parts of Northern Nigeria and claimed tens of thousands of Igbo lives. Between Jan 2011 and Jan 2012, for instance, no fewer than 510 Igbo lives were lost in various bombings carried out in Northern Nigeria by Boko Haram terror group. Today, out of over 37,500 lives lost to Boko Haram terror group since 2009 and over 22,000 cases of disappearances, the Igbo Nation was likely to have lost at least 6000 lives most of whom resided in Northern Nigeria. These are just to mention or cite but very few.

In the 1966 state and non state actor organized 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 29<sup>th</sup> 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"

Over 6000 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 between 80 and 100 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.

The Government of Muhammadu Buhari/Prof Yemi Osinbajo which came to power on 29<sup>th</sup> 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 30<sup>th</sup> August 2015 and 14<sup>th</sup> 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 8<sup>th</sup> March 2017 which submitted its report on 15<sup>th</sup> 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; with more updates in Jan 2020) 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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 9<sup>th</sup> of 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 14<sup>th</sup> February 2016 while Amnesty Int'l visited on 18<sup>th</sup> February 2016. We also visited for investigation major crime scenes including hospital morgues following the 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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 30<sup>th</sup> August 2015 and 14<sup>th</sup> September 2017. The first phase of the massacre operations (30<sup>th</sup> August, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> December 2015; and 18<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> January and 9<sup>th</sup> February, 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> May 2016; as well as 20<sup>th</sup> 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 (15<sup>th</sup> September-14<sup>th</sup> October 2017, commenced on 8<sup>th</sup> 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 date.

The massacre operations were the crude and deadly response of the Buhari/Osinbajo Government to renewed nonviolent campaigns by disenfranchised 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 during 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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 because 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 12<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> 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 **122-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 **26 recommendations** to local and international actors including recommended sanctions for the perpetrators, reparations for the victims and a litany of deterrant measures.

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 Niger Delta also left their economic, insecurity and psychological scars on faces and lives of the innocent citizens of the two Regions in the past four years and two months (August 2015-Oct 2019) or past 50 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 the Niger 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 N901b or \$2.95b (at official exchange of N306 per \$USD) must have been lost in the past 50 months or between August 2015 and Oct 2019.

While N306b was lost to sundry roadblock extortion in the hands of military and police personnel stationed in the two Regions and their major link roads between August 2015 and Oct 2019; N16b (\$53m) was lost to other roadblock extortions mounted by paramilitary formations strictly in the Southeast including Customs Service, FRSC, NAFDAC, and NDLEA between August 2015 and Dec 2018 or in a period of 40 months. 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 Southeast 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 and the South-south also lost the sum of N255b through their eleven Governors in futile efforts to aid or support the military and police personnel and formations stationed in the two Regions.

### **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 1<sup>st</sup> 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 204m (UN estimates 2020) with general labour force of 60.08m; 923, 768 km<sup>2</sup> 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 of railway 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 26<sup>th</sup> 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 27<sup>th</sup> 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 conflicts 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 26<sup>th</sup> 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).

Others are 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 considering 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 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 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 meddling interlopers in the referenced. This is*

*more so when the same Nigerian Army recently said 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 8<sup>th</sup> 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 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> December 2015 killing of not less than 12 jubilant Pro Biafra activists by soldiers at the Onitsha Niger River Bridge; in Aba during the 9<sup>th</sup> 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 29<sup>th</sup> and 30 May 2016; in Port Harcourt during the 20<sup>th</sup> 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 11<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> September 2017 which led to death of not less than 180 and injuring of over 130 others.

In the case of 17<sup>th</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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 21<sup>st</sup> 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 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> 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 30<sup>th</sup> 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 on the 30<sup>th</sup> of 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 26<sup>th</sup> 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 must be hurriedly rescued and moved out of Anambra State to neighboring States for safety and treatment. For instance, among those wounded during the 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> 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. Azubuikwe (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 while 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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 9<sup>th</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> 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 Emmanuel Maduka of Onicha LGA in Ebonyi State. Late Emmanuel Obasi Maduka was shot dead on 30<sup>th</sup> August 2015 by personnel of the Nigerian Navy at Niger Bridgehead, Onitsha. 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 Daniel Chukwualue, Christian Okechukwu George from Abia State who died from a brain injury sustained while running from a rain of bullets during a street protest on 21<sup>st</sup> Oct 2015 in Port Harcourt and Christian Agwunta Eke from Imo State who died of gun shot fired by soldiers in the 5<sup>th</sup> Nov 2015 Yanagoa mega protest.

### **Mega Pro Biafra Protests Of 2<sup>nd</sup> December 2015**

The peaceful protest started in the evening of 1<sup>st</sup> December 2015 as "vigil/picketing" leading to the occupation of the roadsides of the Niger Bridgehead. The protest continued on 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 82<sup>nd</sup> 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 2<sup>nd</sup> December 2015. They were later moved away by personnel of the Nigeria Police Force under the Onitsha Area Command Division.

### **2<sup>nd</sup> 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), Umunze 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 1<sup>st</sup> December 2015, technically represent the “dark figures of crime” or unrecorded casualty figures.

**17<sup>th</sup> 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.

#### **17<sup>th</sup> 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 11<sup>th</sup> of March 2016); Peter Chukwuma Nwankwo (26) (from Ezza South LGA) in Ebonyi State; buried on 11<sup>th</sup> of March 2016), Mathew Ndukwe Kanu (25) (from Akanu-Ohafia LGA) in Abia State; buried on 12<sup>th</sup> 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 2<sup>nd</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> 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.

#### **9<sup>th</sup> 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 9<sup>th</sup> 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 12<sup>th</sup> February 2016 in two burrow pits along the Aba-Port Harcourt Road.

Thirteen of the dumped corpses were discovered on 12<sup>th</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> 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 18<sup>th</sup> 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.

### **9<sup>th</sup> 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 18<sup>th</sup>, and 29<sup>th</sup> 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.

**29<sup>th</sup> And 30<sup>th</sup> 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 24<sup>th</sup> 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 23<sup>rd</sup> and signed on 24<sup>th</sup> 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 30<sup>th</sup> 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 82<sup>nd</sup> 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 29<sup>th</sup> 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 30<sup>th</sup> May 2016 along Nkpor-Umuoji Road (main scene of the massacre).

The massacre and other atrocity crimes continued in the morning of 30<sup>th</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> 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 82<sup>nd</sup> 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.

### **29<sup>th</sup> And 30<sup>th</sup> 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 30<sup>th</sup> 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 26<sup>th</sup> 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 31<sup>st</sup> 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 to call her 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 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> 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 Nwabuibie, Kingsley Onwo, Onyeka Chukwu Ekwe, Sunday Ogbonna, Sunday David, Patrick Anyika, Raphael Agwu, Chukwudi Mmadu, Bartholomew Nwosu, Levy Okwudiri Ejiofor, Chukwueke Kalu, Onyeka Promise Chukwuekwe (Nnewi North) 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 45<sup>th</sup> 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 6<sup>th</sup> 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.

### **20<sup>th</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup> February 2017, (2) Ndubueze Johnson Okoli (20yrs) from Orumba South LGA, Anambra State; buried on 3<sup>rd</sup> February 2017 and (3) Kingsley Mathew Essien (17yrs) from Ikono LGA, Akwa Ibom State; buried on 3<sup>rd</sup> March 2017.

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

**30<sup>th</sup> 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

**30<sup>th</sup> 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.

**30<sup>th</sup> August 2015 In Onitsha:** Those shot and critically injured on 30<sup>th</sup> 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. Eucharia and Mrs. Patricia.

**30<sup>th</sup> 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

**9<sup>th</sup> Nov 2015 Igweocha (Port Harcourt) Protest:** Among the wounded were Agwasi Anthony, Meshak Emmanuel, Onyemachi Amarachi (had her leg amputated), Nwabunne Odogwu, Chimaobi Nwoye, Iwu Solomon Chinedu, Kingsley Okere, Paulinus Onyema Uwaga, Uzochi Ugwojialili, Chidiebere Dike, Chinonye Ibe, Simeon Ugbede and Kenechi Nwaeze (shot and injured at his legs and eyes during the 22<sup>nd</sup> Oct 2015 protest in Port Harcourt).

**2<sup>nd</sup> & 17<sup>th</sup> December 2015 In Onitsha:** Among those shot and critically injured by soldiers, Police and Navy in Onitsha on 2<sup>nd</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> December 2015 included: Citizens Jonah Kelechi, Nwode Friday, Ogodo Monday, Nwankwo Ejike, Onuigbo Paul, Mbonu Izunna, Obiora Innocent, Amadi Chinonso, Chukwu Miracle Daberechi, Alo Amechi, Nwaele Chigozie, Okonkwo Felix, Eneje Emeka, Uchekukwu Kingsley, Igwebuike Chinonso, Onyemaechi Ikeagu, Nwaoba Emeka, Nwajioha Chinonso, Nwaele Chinonso, Ijeoma Chukwu, Nzube Emmanuel, Ifeanyi Uffo, Ephraim Okwudili Uzoabalum, Francis Ikechukwu, Ejike Jideoffor, Makuochukwu Ozobi and Okechukwu Okonkwo.

**9<sup>th</sup> February 2016 At Aba:** Among innocent and unarmed citizens shot and critically injured in Aba on 9<sup>th</sup> 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.

**29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> May 2016 At Nkpor & Onitsha:** Some names of over 80 critical injured citizens at Nkpor and Onitsha massacre of 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> May 2016 were: Obi Nkemakonam (shot at his chest), 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.

Others are 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 Azubuikwe, Adigwe Chukwudi, Ogochukwu Mbam, Obiora Chukwueme, Ugochukwu Samuel, Onuoha Chigozie, Maduka Egwela, John Onuchukwu, Maduabuchi Onwukanjo, Izuchukwu Nwaogba, Nnamdi Okonkwo, Ibekwe Okechukwu, Felix Odianwu, Okafor Moses Madukasi, Chibuikwe Osuagwu, Johnson Egbe, Ability Ugorji, Ifeanyi Iroh, Agugbara Eleonu, Egwu Joseph, Iteshi Celestine Chukwuka, Igwe Patrick Anayo, Monday Clement Oduu, Nnamdi Immanuel and Alor Ozoemena (shot at his chest).

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. Azubuikwe (later died) and Ugochukwu Nnamu, and some of those rescued and taken to Enugu State for safety is Ifeanyi Ogumma and Arinze Aja.

**30<sup>th</sup> 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.

**20<sup>th</sup> 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 20<sup>th</sup> January 2017 were Udo Effiong Asukuah, Mrs Ojeanya, Wisdom Ugochukwu Agor, Mrs Sandra Nwachukwu (lost one of her eyes), Tizath Brownson Israel, Gideon Basse, Dr. Chinyere Sunday, Basse Ben, Friday Nsofor, Ibemera Ugonma, Samuel Orji, Chikaodinaka Obasi, Magboh Nkeiruka and Okoye Sunday Collins, Uchenna Ajogwu.

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 (11<sup>th</sup> -14<sup>th</sup> September 2017)**

As contained in the first, second and third parts of **Intersociety's** report, first released on 4<sup>th</sup> 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 15<sup>th</sup> September 2017 and ended on 14<sup>th</sup> October 2017. The massacre and associated mass injuries were perpetrated in four days: 11<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> 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 15<sup>th</sup> September 2017 and got President Muhammadu Buhari to hurriedly and vindictively proclaim same on Sunday (Nigeria's unofficial working day), 17<sup>th</sup> 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. During 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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 Ukwa 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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, 14<sup>th</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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 12<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup>, and 14<sup>th</sup> September 2017. Among those killed in the raids of 13<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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 11<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup>, and 14<sup>th</sup> 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 13<sup>th</sup> and early hours of 14<sup>th</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> September for early morning businesses were also not spared. Areas of Aba that were affected by soldiers’ late night and early morning’ raids of 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> 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.

**Victims Of Sept 12-14 Massacre In Abia State:** (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, (30) Chukwueke Kalu, (31) Paul Chinonso David (abducted and later killed on 7<sup>th</sup> Sept at Ubakala Army Checkpoint) and (32) Ebubechukwu Ogbu (he was arrested with three other members in Enugu and tortured to death in police detention on 4<sup>th</sup> Nov 2017).

**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 Odeku and Basil Nwaogu

**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 12<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> September 2017 during the Army massacre operation at Afara-Ukwu, near Umuahia and Isiala-Ngwa and arraigned on 18<sup>th</sup> 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, Chibuike 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 Ejiekwe. Those still in Port Harcourt since Jan 20, 2017, till date (Oct 2019) include Chidinma Godwin, Uchenna Innocent Iroh, Ikenna Igwe and Bright Sunday Okoro

**Other Detainees:** Ms. Ada Uche, Chukwudi Eugene, Nzubechukwu Odinanwa and Chukwuemeka Ogbodo held in Enugu Maximum Prison; Sunday Okafor held in Umuahia Prison. There are also Yadieube Victor, Chisom Nwankwo, Frank Iwuchukwu Igwu, Ifeanyi Nwankwo, Oforbike Ogbonnaya, Nwaogu ThankGod, Udodinma Christian, Sunday Udofia and Ndifreke Achibong all still held in Port Harcourt Prison since 23<sup>rd</sup> 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 Nnude (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 14<sup>th</sup> August 2018. Undeterred, another search party comprising five members of the print media and pro Biafra activists was organized to storm the forest on 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> 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, 19<sup>th</sup> 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) Uguwuachi 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 Uguwuachi 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 11<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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. Among the wounded are Nkechi John and Ibekwe Jacinta.

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 14<sup>th</sup> September 2017. Mr. Nnamdi Kanu later surfaced in Jerusalem, Israel on Friday, 19<sup>th</sup> October 2018 after he was last sighted in his hometown on 10<sup>th</sup> 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 22<sup>nd</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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 because of the arraigning Chief Magistrate lacks trial jurisdiction. The remaining 15 others were separately arraigned on 22<sup>nd</sup> 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 24<sup>th</sup> August 2018.

The 127 Igbo mothers had during 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 Udegbunam (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 23<sup>rd</sup> 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).

### **Names Of 170 Pro Biafra Activists Arrested & Arraigned For “Terrorism” In Enugu**

The 140 Pro Biafra Mourners were barricaded on their way to a funeral at a military roadblock in Nsukka area of Enugu State, arrested and later arraigned on 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2019 before the Enugu Magistrate Court for “terrorism” and “treason”. Their arraignment was filed via Magistrate Court Number: [CME/3059/2019](#)(CP, Enugu v. Nnanna Okonkwo ‘M’ 36yrs & 139 Ors). They were subsequently remanded in the Enugu Prison. Owing to public outcries and condemnations, they were later granted bail.

Their names and ages are: 1. Nnanna Okonkwo (36yrs), 2. Kenneth Azubuike (25yrs), 3. Mmali Chukwuani (25yrs), 4. Isu Ejali (20yrs), 5. Nwankwor Sunday (27yrs), 6. Chukwudi Peter (27yrs), 7. Ani Emmanuel (28yrs), 8. Chijioke Ithemehi (25yrs), 9. Edeh John (45yrs), 10. Nwinya Ndubuisi (25yrs), 11. Ugwu Ugochukwu (31yrs), 12. Chukwu Edward (42yrs), 13. Uzochukwu Obi (27yrs), 14. Ifeanyi Simon (31yrs), 15. Chukwudi Ugwu (27yrs), 16. Chijindu Ezekwueme (47yrs), 17. Ogbonna Anthony (45yrs), 18. Chinedu Ugochukwu (30yrs), 19. Onweri Sunday (27yrs), 20. Udeh Abraham (17yrs), 21. Onyeka Okoro (30yrs), 22. Nweke Tuesday (27yrs), 23. Sunday Nwafor (adult), 24. Uzochukwu Aneke (30yrs), 25. Eche Ikechukwu (27yrs), 26. Ozoemena Ogbu (54yrs), 27. Eyiuche Chinemerum (22yrs), 28. Agbo Chijioke (28yrs), 29. Ahuji Nومه (41yrs), 30. Okoro Chimezie (26yrs), 31. Nwankwo Chukwuemeka (26yrs), 32. Ikechukwu Igwe (27yrs), 33. Humphrey Onweh (27yrs), 34. Emeka Igwe (26yrs), 35. Chikwendu Ogbodo (36yrs), 36. Nwafor Friday (33yrs), 37. Chinedu Okonkwo (24yrs), 38. Okoro Chukwuebuka (18yrs), 39. Iluga Joshua (28yrs) and 40. Daniel Agbor (45yrs).

They also included: 41. Emeka Offorbuisi (27yrs), 42.Nwani Chukwuebuka (32yrs), 43.John Edeh (adult), 44.Orunna Okechukwu (28yrs), 45.Ezeh Uchenna (40yrs), 46. Egwuatu Chimezie (26yrs), 47.Nebечи Chimezie (24yrs), 48.Collinus Chukwu (29yrs), 49.Amegu Nnaemeka (25yrs), 50.Onyekachi Onyia (32yrs), 51.Precious Ogiyi (58yrs), 52.Udeh Sunday (26yrs), 53.Okorie Uche (34yrs), 54. Okeke Chukwuebuka (25yrs), 55.Umeh Afamefuna (24yrs), 56.Sunday Chukwu (39yrs), 57.Chimamanda Amechi (33yrs), 58.Ekwumba Clement (38yrs), 59.Iganga Sunday (34yrs), 60.Ezeh Godwin (30yrs), 61.Nwankwo Sunday (39yrs), 62.Uchenna Ugwu (44yrs), 63. Nnaji Afam (42yrs), 64.Benjamin Chukwu (38yrs), 65.Edufu Ifeanyi (20yrs),66.Ugwuoke Simon (64yrs), 67.Anthony Usulor (50yrs), 68.Ikechukwu Aguh (35yrs), 69.John Ezeh (40yrs), 70.Omezi Sopuruchim (37yrs), 71.Gabriel Akabueze (61yrs), 72.Sunday Akam (28yrs), 73.Aguh Okwudilichukwu (42yrs), 74. Okonkwo Frankln (34yrs), 75.Ocho Chijoke (43yrs), 76.Ibeh Ifeanyi (35yrs), 77.Nworie Onuabuchi (24yrs), 78.Idima Onyedikachi (35yrs), 79.Onovo Chukwuneme (21yrs) and 80.Ogbonnaya Okereke (32yrs).

Others are: 81.Okorie Odunakachukwu (27yrs), 82.Emeka Oguenyi (38yrs), 83.Okechukwu Ogbonna (40yrs), 84.Egwuatu Kizito (26yrs), 85.Emmanuel Edeh (49yrs), 86.Ifeanyi Okeke (39yrs), 87.Nnaji Chiemerie (38yrs), 88.Cheta Chibuzo (19yrs), 89.Okwudiri Odoh (33yrs), 90.Mirah Eneje (female-55yrs), 91.John Okoro (44yrs), 92.Okwudiri Nwatu (44yrs), 93.Ejike Nnamani (25yrs), 94.Ani Joseph Sunday (38yrs), 95.Eze Emmanuel (30yrs), 96. Ozoemena Ani (adult), 97.Ayogu Emeka (32yrs), 98.Okonkwo Nonso (24yrs), 99.Igwesi Chukwuemeka (37yrs), 100.Emeka Ujam (40yrs), 101.Odinaka Ani (25yrs), 102.Nmaduodi Okorie (30yrs), 103.Ikechukwu Nweke (34yrs), 104.Oge Simon (32yrs), 105. Chinyere Edeh (female-31yrs), 106.Ndu Okwudiri (48yrs), 107.Chima Aguh (23yrs), 108.Akachukwu Daniel (33yrs), 109.Chisom Ogadinma (29yrs), 110.Chidi Nsiegbe (30yrs), 111.Ottah John (36yrs), 112.Ikechukwu Emeka (27yrs), 113.Sunday Nworah (25yrs), 114.Eze Ikenna (31yrs), 115. Francis Nwaigwe (29yrs), 116.Chukwuebuka Okafor (30yrs), 117.Chidi Nwunah (35yrs), 118.Eze Emeka (23yrs), 119.Ogbuagu Okechukwu (33yrs) and 120.Ani Ike Henry (28yrs).

The rest are: 121.Okoro Everistus (52yrs), 122.Idoko Felix (30yrs), 123.Okoye James (43yrs), 124.Ugwuanyi Nnaemeka (27yrs), 125.Paul Etako (40yrs), 126.Ogbonna Chinedu (27yrs), 127.Aniago Ogbonna (42yrs), 128.Augustine Oguamalam (28yrs), 129.Ifeoma Umeh (female-31yrs), 130.Ogechi Abiara (female-15yrs), 131.Nkiruka Nnajinwaogbu (female-44yrs), 132.Light Nwachukwu (female-55yrs), 133.Offor Adaeze (female-25yrs), 134.Igwebuike Nnenna (female-55yrs), 135.Onyinye Nnamani (female-37yrs),136. Bassey Okon (33yrs), 137.Sunday Oreaka (25yrs), 138.Anthony Amuchi (52yrs), 139.Eneh Ifeanyi (52yrs) and 140.Ofonume Sunday (30yrs).

**Names Of Other Unarmed Pro Biafra Activists Detained At State CID, Anambra:** They are (1) John Ibe, (2) Clement Offorbike, (3) Eugene Osita, (4) Anusionwu Christian, (5) Okoro Onyekwere, (6) Emma Udoka, (7) Cyril Sylvester, (8) Okonkwo Ubah, (9) Felix Okeke, (10) Damian Christian, (11) Obi Okpara, (12) Ifeanyi Ononuju, (13) Tochukwu Ogenyi, (14) Amarachukwu Obiagwuna (female), (15) Onuma Oliver-Jackson, (16)Onyesoro Chinwe (female), (17) Friday Ugwu, (18) Ambrose Nwachukwu, (19) Pius Igwe, (20) Okafor Chukwunwegbu, (21) Egbochukwu Chuka, (22) Nnadozie Ndubuisi, (23) Mbam Ifeanyichukwu, (24) Emeka Opiaka, (25) Umunnakwe Emeka, (26) Obiorah Chinecherem, (27) Celestine Nwauzo, (28) Chibuike Nwagwu and (29) Chima Ugwu

### **Surviving Victims Fleeing Nigeria To Escape State Persecution**

Surviving victims of the military massacre operations in Eastern Nigeria particularly members and supporters of the nonviolent Indigenous People of Biafra and other leading pro Biafra movements have been and are still fleeing Nigeria in droves to escape state persecution and false or vindictive prosecution. The state persecution and false or vindictive prosecution had been on since August 2015, three months after the central Government of Mohammodu Buhari was sworn in as the country's sixth elective Presidency of Nigeria.

The state persecution and false or vindictive prosecution got heightened or escalated in Sept 2017 when the central Administration issued a false proclamation, tagging the Indigenous People of Biafra, a leading unarmed and nonviolent statehood campaigner as “a terrorist organization”, leading to further violent crackdowns on its leaders, members and supporters. The violent crackdowns have resulted in shooting, killing, maiming and torturing of multiple hundreds. Multiple hundreds of others have also been arrested and held or detained incommunicado amidst torture while scores were made to disappear in security custodies without traces till date. In other words, several cases of disappearances including abductions from sick beds of bullet-injured members, arrest and long detention without trial, trumped-up charges, psychological and physical torture and other degrading treatments; persecutions and failed prosecutions have been reported since August 2015.

Criminal cases filed in courts by the Federal Government against the arrested and long detained victims have been riddled with discontinuances or discontinuations, withdrawals and dismissals, etc, all for lack of evidence, diligent investigation and prosecution; to the extent that Government of Nigeria has not secured a single conviction against any of the vindictively arrested and accused victims since August 2015.

The Nigerian Government is also using false terror tag to evade local and int'l justice or accountability. The authorities apart from failing the litmus test of *the int'l law's principle of complimentarity and no impunity* or inability and unwillingness to fish out and punish the perpetrators using the instrumentalities of the country's municipal laws have also come up with reckless use of 'terror tag' against unarmed civil entities that have their unarmed and defenseless members including women and children (i.e. members of IPOB, IMN and innocent others) massacred or maimed or made to disappear without traces in their thousands by the country's security forces led by Nigerian Army.

The Nigerian Defense Headquarters had on 15<sup>th</sup> Sept 2017 after receiving the intelligence reports that its soldiers had massacred many (later found to be over 180) unarmed and defenseless citizens in Abia State in execution of its 'Operation Python Dance 11', caused steps to be taken apparently to retroactively justify the massacre and escape or evade local and int'l justice or accountability by designating 'IPOB' as a 'terror organization' and on Sunday, 17<sup>th</sup> Sept 2017, President Muhammadu Buhari issued a proclamation tagging 'IPOB' a terrorist organization. This was followed by a retroactive ex parte court order issued by the now retired Justice Abdul Kafarati, then Acting Chief Judge of the Federal High Court in Nigeria. The court order ex parte was made on Wednesday, 20<sup>th</sup> Sept 2017.

Two years later, the same Federal Government of Nigeria on Friday, 26<sup>th</sup> July 2019 approached an Abuja Division of the Federal High Court presided over by Justice Nkeonye Maha for purpose of declaring the nonviolent Islamic Movement in Nigeria or Shiites a “terrorist group” through an ex parte court order. The ex parte application was made via Suit No: **FHC/ABJ/CS/876/2019**, urging the Court to proscribe 'IMN' or 'Islamic Movement in Nigeria' and declare same as 'terrorist organization'. The Judge granted the application as unilaterally canvassed.

Days later, the Nigerian Government pronounced Shiite Muslims as “terror group” and banned same; with consequent crackdown on their members including death in police custody of three of their bullet-injured members and invasion of hospitals treating the wounded and their abduction to unknown destinations, etc. The nonviolent Islamic Movement in Nigeria or Shiites have lost over 1300 of their members since Dec 2015 to Nigerian security forces particularly the Nigerian Army. Their



leader (Ibrahim El-Zaky) and his wife (Zenat) have been held without trial or court conviction for four years or since Dec 15, 2015.

### **Fears Of Persecution & Death Threats: Okechukwu, Ugwu, Nwobodo, Nnaji, Egbo & Ors Speak Out**

The ordeals of Citizens Okechukwu Joshua, Godwin Eze Nwobodo, Emmanuel Obumneke Egbo, Ifeoma Hannah Egbo, Nnaji Emmanuel Chigozie, Victor Ugwu and others represent the hardships, traumas and humiliations suffered by fleeing leaders, members and supporters of leading nonviolent pro Biafra groups particularly the Indigenous People of Biafra or 'IPOB'.

- **Citizen Okechukwu Joshua** is an Igbo-Nigerian citizen and indigene of Owerri North in present Imo State, old Eastern Nigeria. Married to late Julie Ugochi Okechukwu with four children, Citizen Joshua Okechukwu, alongside his late wife, was actively involved in the nonviolent activities of his group-Indigenous People of Biafra where he rose to become one of the group's 'Coordinators'. On 29<sup>th</sup> May 2016, Citizen Okechukwu Joshua and his late wife-Julie Ugochi, joined thousands of others to converge peacefully at Nkpor, a semi urban community near Onitsha in Anambra State.

The convergence was for purpose of marking the 'Biafra Heroes Day' at a hired community field. Owing to their late arrival and in his capacity as one of the coordinators, Citizen Joshua Okechukwu and his late wife-Julie Ugochi joined others in squatting at St Edmund's Catholic Primary School, along Nkpor-Umuoji Road and in the late night of same day, soldiers and Police SARS stormed the primary school's classrooms where they were sleeping and opened fire. Citizen Okechukwu Joshua and others miraculously escaped through the windows while his wife and others got shot and killed on the spot. The corpses of those killed including late Julie Okechukwu's body were taken away by soldiers and remained missing till date.

Days later, Citizen Okechukwu Joshua and others organized a search party and combed every known police station and hospital and others in the area in search of the body of his late wife, all to no avail. The search continued for weeks until he became a target of military and secret police arrest or elimination. Citizen Okechukwu moved his four kids to his in-laws and hurriedly relocated from his Owerri base to Onitsha where he joined trade at Onitsha Main Market.

Not done, he was further subjected to series of security surveillance, monitoring and threats. After narrowly escaped from being killed at the pro Donald Trump Rally in Port Harcourt on 20<sup>th</sup> Jan 2017, he hurriedly left Nigeria by road and landed in Togo and later Ivory Coast also by road from where he traveled by plane to Turkey and finally landed in Ireland where he later fought and won an international asylum tribunal case back in May 2019 in **Decision No. 1879766-IPAP-18**.

- **Citizen Godwin Eze Nwobodo**, 49, is a native of Amodu-Akwunanwu (Akwunanaw) in Nkanu West Council Area of Enugu State. He suffered similar fate. Married to Ngozi Eze Nwobodo with five children, Citizen Godwin Eze Nwobodo has been an active member of the Indigenous People of Biafra and supporter of pro Biafra statehood campaign using nonviolence. He was actively involved with his nonviolent group's activities in Enugu State part of old Eastern Nigeria until state security threats forced him to relocate to Bauchi State in the Northeast and later Abuja in the North-Central where he relocated his family and business.

At Abuja, Citizen Godwin Eze Nwobodo also got actively involved in his group's activities such as cash donations and payment of dues, attending meetings and participating in peaceful street protests. He severally featured discretely in 2016 and 2017 in peaceful rallies within the premises of the Federal High Court in the FCT or Abuja where the leader of his group, Citizen Nnamdi Kanu was standing phantom trial.

He also attended the Jan 20, 2017, pro Donald Trump Rally in Port Harcourt where he was lucky to have escaped unhurt to dodge the raining military and police bullets. No fewer than 20 unarmed and defenseless citizens were shot and killed at the Rally while 70 others sustained various degrees of bullet wounds.

Citizen Godwin Eze Nwobodo was later trailed severally by secret police or SSS, forcing him to travel to England through discretely secured means. As it stands, Citizen Godwin Eze Nwobodo is working hard to save his own life and safety and those of his wife and five male children by means of legitimate and permanent relocation to England and initiation of asylum processes. Citizen Godwin Eze Nwobodo told **Intersociety** during phone interview that he runs the high risks of being killed or facing state persecution in Nigeria or any part thereof except he leaves the country.

- **Citizen Emmanuel Obumneke Egbo** is another fleeing surviving victim of the Nigerian Military massacre operations in old Eastern Nigeria. He was born in 1992 and is an indigene of Amechi-Akwunanwu (Awkunanaw) in Enugu South Council Area of Enugu State as well as active member of his group-the Indigenous People of Biafra. Citizen Emmanuel Egbo has been a target of state persecution and death threats owing to his involvement in his group's nonviolent activities; forcing him to be shuttling between Nigeria and Ghana so as to stay alive and safe. He told **Intersociety** recently that he fears for his life and safety because he is already in the Government's 'death list'.
- **Citizen Ifeoma Hannah Egbo (Miss)** is 31yrs old indigene of same Amechi, Akwunanwu (Awkunanaw) in Enugu South Council Area of Enugu State. An active Member of the Indigenous People of Biafra, Miss Hannah Egbo also fears for her life and safety following her involvement in her group's nonviolent activities. Presently in undisclosed private clinic receiving treatment, she was attacked, assaulted, humiliated and badly bruised on 26<sup>th</sup> Oct 2019 when soldiers invaded their meeting venue in Enugu and opened fire.

As she was struggling to escape, soldiers of the 82 Division, Enugu went after her, grabbed her and unleashed serious violence on her. She was inflicted with bruises and cuts in various parts of her body including head, legs and fingers using gun butts, etc. Miss Hannah Egbo told **Intersociety** from her hiding that her life and safety are at high risk in the country. Both Citizens Emmanuel and Hannah Egbo are also surviving victims of the Afara-Ukwu Army massacre of Sept 14, 2017, near Umuahia in Abia State during which not less than 105 were shot dead and over 70 seriously injured.

- **Citizen Nnaji Emmanuel Chigozie, 39yrs**, an indigene of Obeagu-Akwunanwu (Awkunanaw) in Enugu East Council Area of Enugu State, has been on the wanted list of the Enugu and Abuja

units of Nigeria's secret police and Army. He was being accused of involvement in his group's nonviolent activities. Citizen Nnaji Chigozie, presently, is an active member of the Indigenous People of Biafra. Way back in Nigeria before he left the country for United Kingdom in 2013 through an admission to study Business Management at Birmingham City University Int'l College, he was involved in pro Biafra movement activities with other pro Biafra groups. This was when he lived in Abuja as a private businessman.

After his university education pursuit in the United Kingdom was shattered owing to financial difficulties occasioned by his elder brother/financier's protracted ill-health, Citizen Nnaji Emmanuel Chigozie settled for hustling in the UK and got deeply involved in the nonviolent activities of his new group-the Indigenous People of Biafra. His elder brother, Mr. Paul Nnaji, who offered to train him in the said UK University Int'l College, was poisoned back home, leading to his protracted illness and defraying of their family's financial strength.

In late 2017 after the Muhammadu Buhari led Federal Government of Nigeria vindictively and 'persecutorially' declared his group a 'terror group' which received widespread rejections by members of the international community including US, Canada, UK, Spain, France and the EU; Citizen Nnaji Emmanuel Chigozie and other key members and officials of the Indigenous People of Biafra both in Nigeria and overseas became blacklisted and accused of 'terrorism activities and terrorism financing'.

This was followed by violent crackdown, massacre, maiming, mass arrests, torture, long captivity without trial and disappearances of members of the group as well as members of the Igbo general population. The erstwhile Government of Dr. Goodluck Jonathan had in 2011 enacted 'the Nigerian Terrorism and Terrorism Financing Prevention Act' to checkmate and tackle the terrorist activities of Boko Haram Jihadists and ISWAP. But the Act is now misused and applied vindictively against dissenting voices and democratic forces including journalists, lawyers, human rights activists, opposition political actors, nonviolent religious groups like Nigerian Shiite Muslims and ethnic and minority groups such as the Indigenous People of Biafra.

Citizen Nnaji Emmanuel Chigozie is therefore among those accused of "Terrorism Financing" and "Terrorism Activities" using "the proscribed Indigenous People of Biafra". The false accusation claims that "he, among others known and unknown, is funding the activities of the Indigenous People of Biafra from money he made in the United Kingdom". Citizen Nnaji Chigozie Emmanuel told **Intersociety** that he fears for his life and safety and is at high risk of being a victim of state terrorism and persecution should he set his feet on the soil of Nigeria. He further complains of constant surveillance and threats against his family members back in Nigeria by the Nigerian Army and secret police service.

- **Citizen Victor Ugwu: 47yrs**, an indigene of Ikem in Isi Uzo Council Area of Enugu State and a resigned Army Lance Corporal. He has been on the wanted list of the Enugu and Abuja units of Nigeria's secret and conventional police since late 2015. He was accused of involvement in his group's nonviolent activities and now labels an "IPOB terrorism sponsor in the United Kingdom" where he presently lives. The latter was on account of his featuring in various UK cities' street protests organized by IPOB during which the Nigerian Government's offshore

intelligence outfit, the National Intelligence Agency profiled him and others as 'participants' and labeled as "IPOB terrorists and terrorism sponsors in the Government wanted lists". Citizen Victor Ugwu is an active member of the Indigenous People of Biafra, a Nigerian self-determination group based in the United Kingdom. Way back in Nigeria before he left the country for United Kingdom in 2013 to pursue his master's degree in Int'l Relations, he was involved in pro Biafra movement activities with other pro Biafra groups. This was after he resigned out of frustration from the Nigerian Army in 2006 as a Lance Corporal.

He had joined the Nigerian Army in 1990 after his secondary school education and only rose to become 'a Lance Corporal' as against his mates from the northern part of the country and the country's southwest who were severally promoted ahead of him. This was sadly the case despite his excellent performances in various 'in-service' and professional exams. He also featured in several legitimate onshores and offshore military combat, overt and covert operations and served no fewer than two military administrators in the 1990s. Citizen Victor Ugwu's service frustration heightened when before his very eye, a colleague of his and service/course mate was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant while he remained a 'Lance Corporal'. This is even though he never received any service query or reprimand associated with service misconduct.

During his seventeen years in the Nigerian Army, he counted not less than twenty promotion exercises involving his colleagues and course mates, yet he was excluded and treated leprously; all because he is an Igbo man. During his service in the Nigerian Army, Citizen Victor Ugwu also earned a university degree so as to qualify for such promotions; all to no avail. He is a victim of state's structural and cultural violence and was discriminated against because of his religious belief and ethnic background.

Citizen Victim Ugwu resigned out of frustration from the Nigerian Army in 2006, forcing him to suffer traumatic stress disorder, leading to a litany of medical challenges and treatments. After his recovery, he ventured into banking as a staff and a private security firm as a consultant. He also got involved in the nonviolent activities of some pro Biafra movements, years before the Indigenous People of Biafra, his present group, was formed. He later traveled to the United Kingdom in 2013 to pursue a master's degree course in Int'l Relations and resolved to settle in the country following mounting state threats back home.

In late 2017 after the Muhammadu Buhari led Federal Government of Nigeria vindictively and 'persecutorially' declared his group a 'terror group' which received widespread rejections by members of the international community including US, Canada, UK, Spain, France and the EU; Citizen Victor Ugwu and other key members and officials of the Indigenous People of Biafra both in Nigeria and overseas became blacklisted and accused of 'terrorism activities and terrorism financing'.

This was followed by violent crackdown, massacre, maiming, mass arrests, torture, long captivity without trial and disappearances of members of the group as well as members of the Igbo general population. The erstwhile Government of Dr. Goodluck Jonathan had in 2011 enacted 'the Nigerian Terrorism and Terrorism Financing Prevention Act' so as to checkmate and tackle the terrorist activities of Boko Haram Jihadists and ISWAP. But the Act is now

misused and applied vindictively against dissenting voices and democratic forces including journalists, lawyers, human rights activists, opposition political actors, nonviolent religious groups like Nigerian Shiite Muslims and ethnic and minority groups such as the Indigenous People of Biafra.

Citizen Victor Ugwu is presently among those accused by the Government of Nigeria of “Terrorism Financing” and “Terrorism Activities” using “the proscribed Indigenous People of Biafra”. The false accusation claims that “he, among others known and unknown, is funding the activities of the Indigenous People of Biafra from money he made in the United Kingdom”. He told **Intersociety on** phone recently during **our research updates** that he fears for his life and safety and is at high risk of being a victim of state terrorism and persecution should he set his feet on the soil of Nigeria.

Generally, scores of pro Biafra activists or campaigners have been made to disappear after being abducted and taken into military and police custodies. Others have been trailed to their sleeping abodes by soldiers and secret police, shot at close range and incapacitated before being arrested and taken to undisclosed locations. As a matter of fact, over 480 unarmed citizens of Igbo extraction including members and supporters of IPOB have been shot and killed and over 500 others maimed or crippled for life by Nigerian security forces between 2025 and 2017.

Recently, on 2<sup>nd</sup> Dec 2019, ancestral homes and house-hold properties of the lead-counsel to the IPOB and its leader, Nnamdi Kanu, and his neighbors were destroyed or set ablaze by the Nigerian Government. No fewer than six persons including two police officers and four unarmed civilians lost their lives. The Lead-Counsel, Barr Ifeanyi Ejiofor was also targeted for assassination same day, luckily he was not around. He had remained in hiding as at 20<sup>th</sup> Jan 2020. The Government invasion and arson took place barely a day after the Lawyer and his nuclear and extended families marked a thanksgiving service marking the end of funeral rites of his elder stepbrother, an Anglican Reverend.

### **Killings In Barr Ifeanyi Ejiofor’s House & Burning & Destruction Of Family Properties**

Barr Ifeanyi Ejiofor is a licensed legal practitioner of at least Fifteen Years in Nigeria having been called to the Nigerian Bar in 2004. Professionally, he is the Lead-Counsel to the controversially proscribed Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) and its Leader, Mr. Nnamdi Kanu. He is also the National Legal Adviser of the “Otu-Eke” Oraifite Masquerade Group, among his numerous other professional engagements as a lawyer. Barr Ifeanyi Ejiofor is also a successful legal practitioner with offices in Abuja and Anambra State. It is trite that under the Nigerian Legal Practice and System, any Legal Practitioner called to the Nigerian Bar has the right and indeed a duty to represent all manner of person(s) accused of any offence(s), the nature of the offence notwithstanding. This is commonly referred to as the “**CAB RANK RULE**”, which is covered by Rule 24(1) of the Rules of Professional Conduct for Legal Practitioners, 2007.

Barr Ifeanyi Ejiofor’s late elder brother- Reverend Louis Chukwukpelum Ejiofor died on the 9<sup>th</sup> day of October 2019, following an unsuccessful neurosurgery and his interment was fixed for 27<sup>th</sup> Nov 2019. The Barr, his late elder brother and others are children of late Nze Okolie Ejiofor of Umunakwa kindred, Ifite-Oraifite in Ekwusigo Council Area of Anambra State and as tradition demands, Barr Ejiofor left his Abuja base and relocated to his ancestral Oraifite Community on 24<sup>th</sup> Nov 2019.

The burial and interment took place on 26<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> Nov, with outing service on Sunday, 1<sup>st</sup> Dec 2019. As a popular lawyer, the funeral attracted numerous friends and well wishers including scores of youths who volunteered to make the funeral event successful. The week-long funeral rite ended successfully on Sunday, 1<sup>st</sup> Dec 2019 with a Thanksgiving service and recorded zero hitches. In a different incident reported on Sat 30<sup>th</sup> Nov 2019, there was a rivalry clash involving the “Otu-Eke” and the “Otu-Afor” Masquerade groups in Oraifite.

Barr Ifeanyi Ejiofor is the lawyer to the “Otu-Eke” Masquerade group. The clash resulted from a funeral outing elsewhere in the Community, leading to a fight and ‘momentarily’ disappearance of one person apiece from the two groups and destruction of funeral tents, drinks, chairs and foods. It was from the minor communal incident or ‘cultural group-affray’ that the Nigeria Police made an uninvestigated allegation of “abduction”, “assault occasioning body harm” and “malicious damage to properties” which the Force curiously and wrongly leveled against Barr Ifeanyi Ejiofor.

It must be stressed or pointed out that Barr Ifeanyi Ejiofor was never seen around or at the scene of the funeral ceremony attended by the rival masquerade groups on Sat 30<sup>th</sup> Nov 2019. He was busy in his family compound attending to hundreds of friends and well wishers who visited to sympathize with him over the loss of his elder brother (Rev Louis Chukwukpelum Ejiofor).

Between 5.30am and 6am on Monday, 2<sup>nd</sup> Dec 2019, the Oraifite Area Commander and his DPO with sixteen other armed police personnel had stormed the Barr’s family house, with unclear mission. Having met the Barr’s absence, his immediate elder brother, Evangelist Emeka Ejiofor and other family members were handy and met with them. Barr Ifeanyi Ejiofor had left late evening of the previous day for his Nnewi office law firm. In the end, the Barr spoke with the Area Commander on phone through his immediate elder brother and during the phone conversation, the Area Commander claimed, “they came to pick one of his volunteers wanted for a communal violence”. An understanding was reached, and the Barr promised to see the Area Commander on or before 11am.

Surprisingly at about 10.30am same morning, truckloads of armed police personnel comprising of the operatives of the Special Anti Robbery Squad (SARS), Ichi Unit and others had besieged the Lawyer’s family compound and violently broke into same. As a result, verbal exchanges ensued between them and handful of domestic staff and volunteers who were tidying up the compound and watching over the environment. They were all unarmed. The armed SARS operatives and other personnel drawn from the Area Command opened fire after being told that the Lawyer was not at home and likely on his way to honor the invitation from the same Area Commander. Police bullets rained in all directions, forcing many including members of the neighborhood to run for safety.

Resisted by some of the volunteers through anti bullet charms, the armed police personnel became deadlier and resorted to grabbing and hitting them with metals and thick planks. In the end, four defenseless citizens were killed and others sustained various degrees of gunshot wounds. Eyewitnesses said two of the dead victims were rescued by their colleagues and hidden while the police made away with two others who were later set ablaze with a police van hundreds of meters away from Barr Ifeanyi Ejiofor’s family compound. Police also said they lost two officers (an ACP and an ASP) during the attack. This claim has not been independently authenticated. Police have also not told the public where they kept their bodies if truly killed as well as who killed them and how, where and when they were killed.

As stated in the Anambra State Police Command's statement same day, reinforcements comprising armed PMF and police anti cult, anti robbery and anti terrorism squads and soldiers were drafted to the scene, leading to war-like siege of the area. The drafted armed security personnel further became barbarous and engaged in wanton burning and destruction of properties including six family houses belonging to Ejiofor's family, sixteen others within the neighborhood, ten street trading stores, domestic livestock, automobiles and house-hold properties; all independently valued at not less than N700m or \$2.3m. The aged mother of the Lawyer, Lolo Joy Udenkwo Ejiofor and scores of others were also hit with live bullets. Among the houses burnt was a newly completed duplex where the widow wife of late Rev Louis Chukwu Ejiofor, Mrs. Chinwe Ejiofor was mourning and receiving sympathizers. The widow wife and her children also nearly escaped being shot dead.

As if these were not enough, the culpable Commissioner of Police, Anambra State, CP John Abang, turned around in a public notice declaring Barr Ifeanyi Ejiofor "wanted", accusing him of 'burning his own house and properties'. The CP also claimed that Barr Ejiofor "is wanted for sundry felonies" including "murder, arson, terrorism and treason". The embattled Lawyer had since approached the Awka Federal High Court via suit number **FHC/AWK/CS/133/19** for the enforcement of his fundamental human rights to life, dignity of human person, liberty, privacy and family and fair hearing as well as his right to freedom of movement, association, assembly and expression. In response, the Mr. Justice Quadri led Court 2 on Friday, 14<sup>th</sup> Dec 2019 ordered all the Respondents in the Suit including the Anambra CP and the IGP to 'maintain status quo and warned not to arrest the Lawyer until the Originating Motion on Notice is determined'.

### **Key Issues Begging For Determination Following the Invasion, Burning & Killings**

The following are the key issues begging for determination: (1) If it has become a crime for a lawyer to defend his or her client(s) in Nigeria, the offence gravity notwithstanding and if there is *any law in Nigeria that makes a practicing lawyer a party (or a criminal) to an offence accused of committed by his or her client(s)*. (2) *If the Nigeria Police Force including the Anambra State Police Command and the Nigerian Army have become the NBA and its Legal Practitioners Disciplinary Committee and taken over their functions.*

*(3) If lawyers defending Boko Haram and ISWAP terrorists or Herdsmen jihadists in the Northeast or North-central have had their houses and properties burnt to ashes by security forces anywhere in Nigeria.* (4) *If it has become a police or military operational or law enforcement guide or ethic for service personnel that died in the line of duty to be retaliated by wrecking havoc such as burning down houses and other properties or shooting and killing at will.* (5) *If the Nigeria Police was hired to kill and destroy or invited to investigate and prosecute the said "abduction", "assault occasioning body harm" and "malicious damage to properties".*

*(6) To ascertain the mission of the Oraifite Area Commander and his DPO to the Family House of Barr Ifeanyi Ejiofor between 5.30am and 6am on Monday, 2<sup>nd</sup> Dec 2019 and the Police summons hours later that "they received a formal complaint against Barr Ifeanyi Ejiofor at about 11.30am".* (7) *If it has become the business of Police SARS, an anti armed robbery outfit, to meddle into "affray", "malicious damage to properties" and "assault occasioning body harm".* (8) *If it is true that two police officers, an ACP and an ASP were killed and who killed them if true, where and when were they killed and how were they killed (i.e. whether it is by strangulation or by gunshot or by lynching or by clubbing to death or by machete or by poisonous substance)*

*(9) To also be determined is if it is true that the two police officers were killed by the angered domestic volunteers clearing the Lawyer's family compound, the use of force and proportionality of same, extent of provocation and the principles of self defense as clearly defined by Section 60 (1) of the Criminal Code Act 2004 applicable in Southern Nigeria including Anambra State. (10) The whereabouts of the corpses of the two police officers if truly they were killed and those of two defenseless citizens shot dead by Police at Barr Ifeanyi Ejiofor's compound and taken away. (11) Identities of the 'Service' Police Officers that set ablaze the two corpses with a police van, perpetrated hundreds of meters away from the Ejiofors' compound to blame the arson on the Barrister and his family.*

*(12) To ascertain why the Anambra State Police Command and the State Commissioner of Police are shielding themselves or keeping criminal mute over the mayhem perpetrated by their personnel and soldiers including burning of six modern houses belonging to Ejiofors and sixteen others within the neighborhood and other multimillion naira properties as well as killing and maiming that took place. (13) If it is no longer part of police and military morals and ethics to value and respect the dead including those mourning their dead ones such as Barr Ifeanyi Ejiofor and his aged mother, Lolo Joy Udenkwo Ejiofor (in her 80s); the widow wife of Barr Ejiofor's late elder brother, Mrs. Chinwe Ejiofor, Barr's immediate elder brother, Evangelist Emeka Ejiofor and other members of their nuclear and extended family<sup>99\*</sup>, their neighbors and well wishers.*

## **Profiles Of The Police Officers Involved**

### **CP John Abang**

Known to the Nigeria Police Force as 'Abang B. John, fdc', he hails from Boki in Cross River State and was born on 29<sup>th</sup> Feb 1962. Joined the NPF with enlistment number AP30468, CP Abang B. John, fdc is also the number 46 in the list of serving Commissioners of Police in Nigeria. Promoted last to CP on 4<sup>th</sup> Dec 2017 with a retirement date of 29<sup>th</sup> Feb 2022, CP Abang B. John, fdc, holds a B.Sc. in Internet Science and was posted to Anambra State as CP on 5<sup>th</sup> July 2019.

### **ACP Oliver Inoma-Abbey**

Known to the Nigeria Police Force as 'Oliver I. Inoma-Abbey', he hails from Bonny in Rivers State and was born on 15<sup>th</sup> July 1963. Joined the NPF with enlistment number AP36037 on 1<sup>st</sup> July 1986, ACP Oliver I. Inoma-Abbey is also the number 167 in the list of serving ACPs in Nigeria. Promoted last to ACP on 21<sup>st</sup> Nov 2016 with a retirement date of 1<sup>st</sup> July 2021, ACP Oliver I. Inoma-Abbey holds HND in Estate Management and was posted to Anambra State Police Command as AC, Oraifite Area Command on 11<sup>th</sup> Dec 2017.

### **CSP Alexander Chigozie Onwuka**

Known to the Nigeria Police Force as 'Alexander Chigozie Onwuka', he hails from Nkwere in Imo State and was born on 10<sup>th</sup> Dec 1965. Joined the NPF with enlistment number AP62796 on 1<sup>st</sup> Jan 1990, CSP Alexander Chigozie Onwuka is also the number 694 in the list of serving CSPs in Nigeria. Promoted last to CSP on 1<sup>st</sup> August 2015 with a retirement date of 1<sup>st</sup> Jan 2025, CSP Onwuka holds LLB in Law and was posted to Anambra State Police Command since 23<sup>rd</sup> Dec 2014, from where he was made the Divisional Police Officer of Oraifite Divisional Command.

### **ASP Joseph Akubo**

He is the current Unit Officer-in-Charge of the Special Anti Robbery Squad, SARS, Ichi Unit in Ekwusigo Local Government Area of Anambra State. The Ichi SARS Unit is a subunit of Anambra Police SARS headquartered at Awkuzu and under the State Criminal Investigation Department, SCID, Awka.



## 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 29<sup>th</sup> 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: Sept 2019

#### Northern Muslim Occupation Of 18 Of The 22 National Defense, Policing & Justice Positions

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. Alhaji Maigari Dingyadi	Minister of Police Affairs	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. Retired Major Bashir Salihi Magashi	Minister of Defense	Northern Muslim
7. Adamu M. Abubakar	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. Bboye Olayemi Oyeyemi	Corps Marshall Federal Road Safety Corps	North-central Xian
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 DEFENSE, SECURITY & JUSTICE APPOINTMENTS FOR 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 Rauf Alegbosola	Minister of Police Affairs	Southwest Muslim
4. Alhaji Musiliu Smith	Chairman, Police Service Commission	Southwest Muslim
<b>TOTAL KEY SECURITY/PARAMILITARY APPOINTMENTS FOR SOUTH= 4</b>		

**Total Top Defense, Security & Justice Appointments=22**  
**North=18, South=4. NW/NE/NC=18. SW=3, SS=1, SE=Nil**  
**Total Muslims=18, Total Christians=4**

#### Tables Of Sectionalized Headship Of Top Military & Policing Formations In Eastern Nigeria

##### Lopsided Headship Of Top Military Formations In Southeast Region (Igbo Land)

NAME	POSITION	RELIGION
1. Brig Gen Lasisi Adegboye (preceded by Major Gen Abubakar Maikobi). Note that same Brig Gen Adegboye was the Garrison Commander of the 82 Div from Jan 2017 to Jan 2019	Acting GOC, 82 Division, Enugu since 11 <sup>th</sup> Sept 2019	Southwest Muslim
2. Brig Gen S. Oloyede (preceded by Brig Gen Lasisi Adegboye)	Garrison Commander, 82 Division	Southwest Xian
3. Brig Gen Yusuf Ibrahim Tukura (preceded by Brig Gen I.H. Bature)	Commander, 34 Brigade, Obinze-Owerri	Northern Muslim

4. Brig Gen Solomon Babatunde Kumapayi (preceded by Brig Gen Abdul Kalifah Ibrahim)	Commander, 14 Brigade, Ohafia	Southwest Xian
5. Brig Gen Mark Mamman	Commander, 44 Engr. Brigade, 82 Div, Enugu (as at Dec 2018)	Northern Xian
6. Brig Gen E.A. Anaryo	Commander, Army Transport, 82 Div, Enugu (as at Dec 2018)	Northern Xian
7. Brig Gen A.I. Adegboye	Commander, Army Supply, 82 Division, Enugu (as at Dec 2018)	Southwest Xian
8. Brig Gen L.A. Lawoyin (as at Dec 2018)	Commander, 54 Signal Brigade, 82 Division, Enugu (as at Dec 2018)	Southwest Muslim
9. Brig Gen Aminu Goni	Director of Education, 82 Division, Enugu	Northern Muslim
10. Brig Gen Clement Apere	Chief of Staff, 82 Division, Enugu	South-south Xian
<u>11. Col Aliyu Yusuf (preceded by Col Sagir Musa)</u>	Deputy Director, Army Public Relations, 82 Division, Enugu	Northern Muslim
12. Lt Col Mohammed Awali	Deputy Director of Islamic Affairs, 82 Division, Enugu	Northern Muslim
13. Col Yakubu Bwala	Cantonment Commandant, 302 Artillery Regiment, Onitsha	Northern Muslim
14. Lt Col Sa'aad Sadiq	Commanding Officer, 24 Engineering Support Regiment, Abakiliki	Northern Muslim
15. Lt Col Mohammed S. Muktar	Commanding Officer, 103 Battalion, Akwunanwu, Enugu	Northern Muslim
16. Lt Col Mohammed Momoh	14 Engineering Regiment, 302 Cantonment, Onitsha	Northern Muslim
17. Lt Col Waya Kore	Commander, 82 Division Provost Group, Enugu	Northern Xian
18. Major Isaiah Sunday Fejo	Acting Commanding Officer, 144 Battalion, Asa-Abia State	Southwest Xian
<u>19. Major A. Ashiru (preceded by Lt Col C.O. Ibrahim)</u>	Commanding Officer, Onitsha Cantonment Military Police	Northern Muslim
20. Major A. Gado	Commanding Officer, 14 Brigade Military Police, Ohafia	Northern Muslim

21. Major Aliyu Kadiri	Assistant Director, Army Public Relations, 14 Brigade, Ohafia	Northern Muslim
22. Captain A.S. Seidu	Commanding Officer, Military Police, 24 Engineering Support Regiment, Abakiliki	Northern Muslim
23. Captain Adamu Usman	Operation Officer, 103 Battalion, Akwunanwau (Akwunanaw), Enugu	Northern Muslim
24. Navy Capt A. Abdu (preceded by Navy Capt K. Mohammed)	Commanding Officer, Nigerian Navy Outpost, Ogbaru, Anambra State	Northern Muslim
25. Navy Capt Omotala Omotayo Olukoya (preceded by Navy Capt Abdullahi Aminu)	Commanding Officer/Rector, Nigerian Naval School of Finance & Logistics, Owerre-Nta, Abia State	Northern Muslim
26. Air Vice Marshall Idi Amin	Air Officer, Commanding Ground Training, Nigerian Air Force Base, Enugu	Northern Muslim

### **Lopsided Headship Of Top State & Zonal Police Commands In The Southeast (Igbo Land)**

NAME	POSITION	RELIGION
1. AIG Tijani Ahmed Baba	AIG, Zone 9, Umuahia, Abia State	Northeast Muslim
2. CP John Bassey Abang	CP, Anambra State (preceded by CP Mustapha Dandaura)	South-south Xian
3. CP Okon Etim Ene	CP, Abia State	South-south Xian
4. Ahmad Abdulrahman (preceded by CP Suleiman Balarabe)	CP, Enugu State	Northeast Muslim
5. CP Rabiun Ladodo (preceded by CP Dasuki D. Galadinchi)	CP, Imo State	Northwest Muslim
6. CP A. Awotinde (preceded by CP Musa Kimo)	CP, Ebonyi State	Southwest Muslim or Xian

### **Lopsided Headship Of State Directorates Of SSS In The Southeast (Igbo Land)**

NAME	POSITION	RELIGION
1. A. Adeleke	Director of SSS, Anambra State	Southwest Muslim

2. A.J. Ibrahim	Director of SSS, Abia State	Northern Muslim
3. H.E. Abdullahi	Director of SSS, Ebonyi State	Northern Muslim
4. Abdullahi Denja	Director of SSS, Imo State	Northern Muslim
5. Bimbo Likinyo (Mrs.)	Director of SSS, Enugu State	Southwest Xian or Muslim

### **Lopsided Headship Of Top Military Formations In The South-south (Niger Delta)**

<b>NAME</b>	<b>POSITION</b>	<b>RELIGION</b>
1. Major Gen Jamil Sarham	GOC 6 Division, Port Harcourt, Rivers State	Northern Muslim
2. Real Admiral D. Adeniran	Flag Officer Commanding Eastern Naval Command, Calabar	Southwest Muslim
3. Real Admiral Akinjide Akinrinade	Commander, Joint Taskforce, Operation Delta Safe	Southwest Xian or Muslim
4. Major Gen Thompson Lagbaja	Commander, 2 Mechanized Brigade, Uyo	Southwest Xian
5. Brig Gen Adesola Kaleaiye	Garrison Commander, 6 Division, Port Harcourt	Southwest Muslim
6. Brig Gen Benbella Raji	Commander, 4 Battalion Brigade, Delta State	Southwest Xian
7. Brig Gen U.M. Bello (preceded by Brig Gen M.H.B. Manu)	Commander, 63 Brigade, Asaba	Northern Muslim
8. Brig Gen J.Y. Nimyel	Commandant, Amphibious Training School, Calabar	Northern Muslim
9. Brig Gen Valentine Okoro	Commander, 16 Brigade, Yanagoo	Southeast Xian
10. Brig Gen Greg Omorogie	Commander, 4 Brigade, Benin	South-south Xian
11. Brig Gen O.T. Olatoye	Commander, 13 Brigade, Calabar (under 82 Division, Enugu)	Southwest Xian
12. Col Habib Baba Manu	Commanding Officer, Sector One, Operation Delta Safe, Efurun, Delta State	Northern Muslim
13. Col Aminu Illiyasu	Deputy Director, Army Public Relations, 6 Division, Port Harcourt	Northern Muslim
14. Lt Col Salim Hassan	Commanding Officer, 3 Battalion, Efurun, Delta State	Northern Muslim
15. Lt Col Usman Ahmad	Commanding Officer, 130 Battalion of the 82 Division, Ogoja (as at mid 2018)	Northern Muslim
16. Lt Col Murtala Idris	Commanding Officer, 341 Battalion of the 82 Division, Ogoja (as at mid 2018)	Northern Muslim
17. Lt Col S.A. Abimbola	Commanding Officer, 343 Battalion, Elele, Rivers State	Southwest Muslim
18. Major Bashir Jajira	Assistant Director, Army Public Relations, 2 Mechanized Brigade, Uyo	Northern Muslim

19. Major Ibrahim Abdullahi	Army Spokesman, JTF, 3 Battalion, Efurun, Delta State	Northern Muslim
20. Major Jonah Danjuma	Assistant Director, Army Public Relations, 16 Brigade, Uyo	Northern Xian
21. Air Vice Marshall Charles Akpochai Ohwo	Air Officer Commanding, Tactical Air Command, Port Harcourt	South-south Xian
22. Air Commodore Shehu Bakari	Chief of Staff, Tactical Air Command, Nigerian Air Force, Port Harcourt	Northern Muslim

**Note:** There are other military formations in Eastern Nigeria not captured in the above tables. They include new Amphibious Battalions in Koko and Oleh and Regimental Brigade in Agbor all in Delta State as well as about-to-be created Naval Base in Oguta, Imo State. The rest include scores of Artilleries, Battalions and Engineering Regiments all located in the two regions; with the positions of their commanding officers dominated by the North.

#### **Lopsided Headship Of Top State & Zonal Police Commands In The South-south (Niger Delta)**

NAME	POSITION	RELIGION
1. AIG, Musa H. Kimo	AIG, Zone 6, Calabar	Northeast Muslim
2. AIG, Dibal P. Yakadi	AIG, Zone 5, Benin	Northeast Xian
3. CP Mustapha Dandaura	CP, Rivers State	Northwest Muslim
4. CP Zaki M. Ahmed	CP, Akwa Ibom	Northwest Muslim
5. CP Uche Anozia	CP, Bayelsa State	Southeast Xian
6. CP Austin Iwero Agboniahor	CP, Cross River State	South-south Xian
7. CP Adeleke Adeyinka	CP, Delta State	Southwest Muslim
8. CP Mohammed DanMallam	CP, Edo State	Northwest Muslim

#### **Lopsided Headship Of State Directorates Of SSS In The South-south (Niger Delta)**

NAME	POSITION	RELIGION
1. Mohammed Waziri	Director Of SSS, Edo State	Northern Muslim
2. Hussein Abdullahi	Director of SSS, Rivers State	Northern Muslim
3. Stanley Azodo	Director of SSS, Akwa Ibom State	Southeast Xian
4. Yusuf Yakubu	Director of SSS, Bayelsa State	Northern Muslim
5. Mary Otubu (Mrs.)	Director of SSS, Delta State	South-south Xian
6. Adebayo Ilupeju	Director of SSS, Cross River State	Southwest Muslim

(Updated In Sept 2019)

## Southeast (Igbo) Senior Police Officers Facing Elimination In The NPF

### Findings (Dec 2019)

- **IGP: Total No=One:** Mohammed Abubakar Adamu (Muslim), Nasarawa State-North-Central (retires on 1<sup>st</sup> Feb 2021)
- **DIG: Total No=Seven: Regional Average: One:** Northwest, Two, Northeast One, North-Central One, Southwest One, South-South One and Southeast One (Celestine Okoye; he retires on 22<sup>nd</sup> Dec 2020). In the DIG allocation, regional balancing principle for the country's six geopolitical zones or regions was maintained or adhered to.
- **AIG: Total No=36: Regional Average: 6:** Northwest 9, Northeast 14, North-Central 4, Southwest 5, South-South 4 and Southeast Nil. Here the Igbo-Southeast is constitutionally deprived of six Assistant Inspectors General of Police.
- **12 Police Zonal AIGs: Regional Average: 2:** Northwest 3 (AIGs for Zone 1-Sokoto, Zone 2-Lagos and Zone 6-Calabar), Northeast 7 (AIGs for Zone 8-Lokoja, Zone 7-Abuja, Zone 4-Makurdi, Zone 3-Yola, Zone 5-Benin, Zone 10-Sokoto and Zone 9-Umuahia), North-Central 1 (Zone 12-Bauchi), Southwest 1 (Zone 11-Oshogbo), South-South-Nil and Southeast-Nil. Here the Igbo-Southeast and the South-South are constitutionally deprived of two Zonal Assistant Inspectors General of Police apiece.
- **37 Serving State CPs: Regional Average: 6:** Northwest 12 (Katsina-four, Kebbi-three, Sokoto-two, Zamfara-one, Kano-one and Kaduna-one), Northeast 8 (Adamawa-two, Taraba-two, Borno-one, Gombe-one, Bauchi-one and Yobe-one), Southwest 7 (Osun-three, Lagos-two, Ogun-two, Ekiti-one, Oyo-one and Ondo-one), South-South 3 (Cross River-one, Akwa Ibom-one and Edo-one) and Southeast 1 (Imo State-one). The only Igbo-Southeast State Commissioner of Police is CP Uche J. Anozia (CP, Bayelsa State), who retires on 19<sup>th</sup> Sept 2020. Here the Igbo-Southeast is constitutionally deprived of five additional State Commissioners of Police.

### Others

- **85 Serving CPs (as at 20<sup>th</sup> Dec 2019): Regional Average: 14:** Northwest 21, Northeast 20, North-Central 14, Southwest 16, South-South 11 and Southeast 4 plus One Acting CP=5. The four serving Igbo-Southeast CPs and their exit dates are: Uche Anozia, exit date-19<sup>th</sup> Sept 2020, Joseph Egbunike, exit date-4<sup>th</sup> June 2022, John Ogbonnaya Amadi, exit date-10<sup>th</sup> June 2023, Cyril Okoro, exit date-1<sup>st</sup> Feb 2021 and Acting CP, Josephine Nneka Anyasinti, exit date-27<sup>th</sup> Dec 2022. Here the Igbo-Southeast is constitutionally deprived of ten substantive Commissioners of Police. Also CP Cyril Okoro, who will retire on 1<sup>st</sup> Feb 2021, is the same course and enlistment mate with the Inspector General of Police, Mr. Muhammed Adamu Abubakar, who retires on same 1<sup>st</sup> Feb 2021.
- **112 Serving CPs As At End Of Jan 2020: Regional Average: 18:** Out of the 40 CPs promoted on 21<sup>st</sup> Dec 2019, studied and analyzed by Intersociety, 17 came from the Southwest Region where the PSC Chair comes from; out of which Ogun got six, Lagos four, Oyo two, Ondo two, Osun two and Ekiti one while Southeast (the most marginalized) got only five. With this, Southwest now has 29 serving CPs in the country. This further shows that the Region overshoots its regional average of 18 CPs with 11, while Southeast is under allocated or shortchanged with seven CPs; having only ten instead of 18.

The five Southeast CPs promoted on 21<sup>st</sup> Dec 2019 and their retirement dates are Okoli C. Michael (Arondizogu, Imo State), retirement date: 25<sup>th</sup> July 2021; Ngozi Onadeko Vivian (Mbaise, Imo State), retirement date: 15<sup>th</sup> March 2023; Godwin Nwachukwu Enweonwu (Onitsha, Anambra State), retirement date: 6<sup>th</sup> June 2022).

The rest are Josephine Ogechi Nna (Ideato, Imo State), retirement date: 5<sup>th</sup> June 2022 and Egbuka Edward Chuka (Mbaise, Imo State), retirement date: 15<sup>th</sup> March 2023. Among those promoted to the rank of CP are two Igbo-Delta citizens: namely Eboka Friday (Ika South, Delta State) and Celestine Amaechi Elumelu (Aniocha North, Delta State).

- **248 Serving DCPs: Regional Average: 41:** Northwest 34, Northeast 21, North-Central 46, Southwest 66, South-South 44 and Southeast 22. The 22 serving Igbo-Southeast DCPs and their exit dates are: Michael Okoli, exit date-27<sup>th</sup> August 2021, Ngozi Vivian Onadeko, exit date-15<sup>th</sup> March 2023, Joe Nwachukwu Enweonwu, exit date-6<sup>th</sup> June 2022, Edward Chuka Egbuka, exit date-15<sup>th</sup> March 2023, Josephine Ogechi Nna, exit date-15<sup>th</sup> June 2022, Benjamin Nebo Okolo, exit date-24<sup>th</sup> Dec 2025, Arungwa Udo, exit date-3<sup>rd</sup> March 2025, Nnamdi Onyeka, exit date-10<sup>th</sup> Nov 2023, Stanley Ude, exit date-6<sup>th</sup> May 2024, Charles Ifeatu Mozie, exit date-2<sup>nd</sup> July 2023, Ambrose Onah, exit date-20<sup>th</sup> June 2024. Updated on 2<sup>nd</sup> Dec 2019 and excluded those promoted on 21<sup>st</sup> Dec 2019

Others are Ndu Innocent Anene, exit date-3<sup>rd</sup> Jan 2024, Benneth Igweh, exit date-1<sup>st</sup> May 2023, Augustina Ogbodo, exit date-3<sup>rd</sup> March 2025, Ploycarp Chilaka, exit date-23<sup>rd</sup> Dec 2023, Emeka Frank Mba, exit date-18<sup>th</sup> June 2027, Joe Ndubuisi Ibezim, exit date-25<sup>th</sup> July 2022, Remi Okwor, exit date-15<sup>th</sup> March 2023, Kenechi Onwuemeli, exit date-18<sup>th</sup> May 2027, Uzuegbu Kanayo, exit date-26<sup>th</sup> Nov 2026, Chukwudi Ariekpere, exit date-30<sup>th</sup> Oct 2026 and Godwin Iguh Eze, exit date-27<sup>th</sup> July 2026. Here the Igbo-Southeast is constitutionally deprived of 19 Deputy Commissioners of Police.

*The list of the serving DCPs clearly shows further that eleven of the 22 (half) have between two and three years and half (2021-2023) to stay in the NPF, thereby making them potentially unfit to rise before their statutory retirements above the rank of CP. Three, out of the 22 with 2024 as their terminal date are likely not to rise above AIG, except the ugly trend is reversed very urgently. Technically speaking, the Igbo-Southeast presently is left with only eight Police DCs with considerable long service age (2025-2027).*

- **581 Serving ACPs: Regional Average: 98:** Northwest 100, Northeast 90, North-Central 96, Southwest 106, South-south 89 and Southeast 64. Of the number of Police ACs allocated to the Igbo-Southeast, three have retired in the outgoing year (2019), four will be out by Jan 2020, one by June 2020 and three by Jan 2021. Out of the remaining 64 Igbo-Southeast ACPs, 12 will leave the Force by May 2023 and one by May 2022. Technically, they may likely end up as “DCPs” or at most “CPs”, unless the ugly trend is totally and urgently reversed. Only 51 of the 64 Igbo-Southeast ACPs have between five years and ten years to stay in the NPF. Totality of these is because of systematic and coordinated policy of ‘promotion stagnancy’ sustained against police officers of Igbo-Southeast over the years particularly since mid 2015. In all, the Igbo-Southeast is constitutionally deprived of 34 additional Assistant Commissioners of Police. Updated on 2<sup>nd</sup> Dec 2019 and excluded those promoted on 21<sup>st</sup> Dec 2019
- **1,738 Serving CSPs: Regional Average: 290.** Out of the 1,738 Police CSPs serving in the NPF including the recently promoted 230 CSPs, Igbo-Southeast is allocated with 150, instead of 290. This is as our investigation found that Northwest, Northeast, North-Central and Southwest got far more than their supposed regional average of 290 each. Some of the named States got as much as 350 each. Here, again, the Igbo-Southeast is constitutionally shortchanged and deprived of additional 140 serving Police CSPs. Updated on 2<sup>nd</sup> Dec 2019 and excluded those promoted on 21<sup>st</sup> Dec 2019



## Demanding For Special Promotions

Since 'special recruitment and commissioning' have become a precedent in the country's security forces including the Nigeria Police Force (i.e. recruitment, commissioning and promotion of "gallant" members of the Civilian JTF and others in the Northeast into Nigerian security forces), there shall be 'special recruitment, commissioning and promotion in the Nigeria Police Force for purpose of filling the vacancies and lopsidedness in the Force particularly those meant for Igbo-Southeast.

This is more so when by the *spirit and letters* of Section 6 (1) of the PSC Act of 2001 and Paragraph 30 of Part 1 of the Constitutional Third Schedule under Section 153, the PSC can 'promote any serving member of the senior police officers in Nigeria to the next two ranks or three in the Force'. Instances include recent promotion of former AIG Muhammed Adamu Abubakar, 'from the rank of AIG to IGP' (two steps) and former CP Celestine Okoye, from 'CP to DIG' (two steps).

**226 Additional Senior Police Officers From The Southeast Must Be Promoted:** Specifically, there shall be promoted and appointed under 'special circumstances' the following number of Igbo senior police officers: six new AIGs and two Zonal AIGs; ten CPs and five State Commissioners of Police; 19 additional DCPs, 34 ACPs and 150 CSPs. This is to fill the 'shortages' in the Region's lists of AIGs and their zonal headships, CPs and their State Command headships, DCPs, ACPs and CSPs. Similar vacancies belonging to the Region and existing in the ranks of Constable to Superintendent shall be identified and filled up to bring same at par with those of other four geopolitical regions or regions of the Northwest, the Northeast, the North-Central and the Southwest.

The *spirit and letters* of the sectional or regional balancing (federal character) are that: *where there are 36 State CPs, there must be six for each of the six geopolitical regions; with Northwest or FCT giving additional one. Where there are 85 serving CPs, each region must be given 14 and where there are 36 AIGs and 12 Zonal AIGs, each region must be given six and two respectively. Where there are 37 State Commissioners of Police, every State must have one CP of its origin promoted or appointed and posted as 'a State CP' in Nigeria.* These must be replicated from Police Superintendent down to Constable. Other than the acutely marginalized Igbo-Southeast, any other geopolitical region that is shortchanged in any of the police junior and senior ranking or promotion and posting, such as the Northeast in the area of DCPs, such region must be given special promotion. To ensure this, the so called "seniority principle", which has never been judiciously kept, must be waived.

## Economic Costs Of The Military Massacre In Eastern Nigeria: N901B Lost In 50 Months

The Nigerian Military Massacre Operations in Igbo Land or Southeast including the Niger Delta Regions have left their economic, insecurity and psychological scars on faces and lives of the innocent citizens of the two Regions in the past four years and two months (August 2015-Oct 2019) or in 50 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 including Delta and Edo States and been quantitatively put at \$2.95b or N901b in the past 50 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 and Niger Delta populations. Many communities in Igbo Land including 139 communities, areas and towns scattered in Enugu, Anambra, Ebonyi, Imo, Abia, Delta and Rivers States have also 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 and the South-south 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 takeover 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 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.

## **Citizens Of Southeast & South-south Paid N306B (\$1B) At Roadblocks In 50 Months (August 2015-Oct 2019)**

### **Executive Summary**

(Onitsha, 16<sup>th</sup> Oct 2019): The staggering sum of N306b or \$1b (at official exchange rate of about N306 per US\$) had been paid at gunpoint in the past 50 months or between August 2015 and Oct 2019 by citizens of Southeast and South-south or old Eastern Nigeria including Delta and Edo States to estimated 600 military and 6,300 police roadblocks in the two regions. This was because of the military massacre operations in Eastern Nigeria and total militarization and police siege in the two Regions since August 2015.

The extra increase or additional N206b from our Dec 2018 research figure of N100b was because of extension of our field trip research to the South-south or Niger Delta Region where additional 400 military and 3000 police roadblocks were discovered and examined. This is in addition to further increase of military roadblocks in the Southeast from 150 and police roadblocks from 3000, as at Dec 2018, to 200 and 3,300 respectively. The research, therefore, covered the eleven States of Edo, Delta, Rivers, Akwa Ibom, Cross River, Bayelsa, Anambra, Abia, Enugu, Ebonyi and Imo, covering August 2015 to Oct 2019 or total of 50 months. In our Dec 2018 report, only the five Southeast States of Anambra, Abia, Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo were covered and examined.

While the 6,300 police roadblocks illicitly collected N250b from Easterners, the 600 military roadblocks criminally took home N56b. The report further showed that average of N6.4b was illicitly collected monthly, out of the N306b and N76b yearly in the said past four years and two months.

The N250b illicitly taken by the Police constitutes over 80% of the previous annual budget of the Force, which stood at N300b or over 20% annually in the past four years at annual average of N61.5b. The proposed budget of the Force for 2020 is N398b. The forceful payments and their illicit collection took place between August 2015 and Oct 2019 at various roadblocks manned by not less than 34,000 armed personnel of the Nigerian Army, Navy, Air Force and Nigeria Police Force stationed on old Eastern Roads and other public arenas in the two regions.

The special report was built on our 2018 report which concentrated on Southeast. The latest referenced report is strictly concentrated on military and police roadblock extortion in the Southeast and the South-south and did not include police, military and other security custody-based extortionist practices including “bail fees” and commercialization of criminal investigations. The report also did not include aviation (airport’s arrival and departure wings), waterway, railway and border extortionist practices by concerned security personnel as well as roadway extortion by paramilitaries such as Federal Road Safety Corps, National Drug Law Enforcement Agency, Immigration and Customs Services and the Nigeria Security & Civil Defense Corps, etc.

### **Reasons For This Special Research Report**

This special report further exposes the real motives behind incessancy of military build-up and police siege in the two regions. It will be recalled that August 2015 marked the beginning of militarization and police siege of Southeast and South-south regions. This took place barely three months after Mr. Mohammad Buhari, a retired army major general was sworn in as Nigeria’s sixth elective or civilian president on 29<sup>th</sup> May 2015.

The report is also in response to the proposed military operations in Eastern Nigeria, code named: “Operation Python Dance IV” and “Operation Crocodile Smile IV”, scheduled for 1<sup>st</sup> Nov to Christmas Eve of Dec 2019 as well as planned flooding of the two regions particularly the Southeast with alleged greater number of “Federal Road Tollgates”. This is even as it is found that 70% of all Federal Roads in Eastern Nigeria are a death trap.

### **Militarization & Roadway Robbing Of Citizens Of Eastern Nigeria Must End**

The report restates the strong opposition by **Intersociety** to (a) militarization and police siege in Southeast and South-south, (b) targeted disruption through needless military operations (python dance and crocodile smile) and police siege, of socio-economic activities of the citizens of the two regions particularly disruption of their peaceful movements during Christmas and New Year festivities and deliberate entrapment on their fundamental rights to freedom of movement and religion

Others are: (c) seeming execution of ethnic and religious agenda in the two regions including deliberate gross lopsidedness in the location, composition, manning and management of key military and policing formations in the two regions, (d) brutal economic exploitation of the two regions and their peace loving and industrious people through series of unjustifiable and unwarranted war-like military and “internal security operations” and their attendant official roadway robberies and other corrupt practices, (e) needless, militant and provocative embarkation of the so called “Army Python Dance IV” and “Crocodile Smile IV” in the two regions.

The rest are (f) further threats to the lives and properties of the People of the two regions and militarization and radicalization of their psyches with “gun-culture mentalities and (g) planned flooding of the two regions with alleged greater number of Federal Tollgates and (g) acute neglect of the federal road, railway and aviation facilities in the two regions particularly the fact that 70% of the federal roads in the two regions are in deplorable, if not in acute deplorable state. **Intersociety** seeks for total accountability for the N306b criminally collected at gun point from the peace loving and defenseless citizens of the Southeast and the South-south and their collectors or perpetrators as well as an end to the age long systematic and well oiled criminal practices

### **How We Came About The N306B Roadblock Total Extortion Figure**

**Police Roadblocks In The Southeast:** From Anambra State where N26.1b was illicitly collected from 250 roadblocks (August 2015-August 2016), 500 (August 2016-August 2017) and 800 (August 2017-Dec 2018), N7.7b, at average of N40,000 per roadblock daily was added from 800 roadblocks found between Jan and Oct 2019; totaling N33.8b in 50 months. Abia State recorded N22b from 200, 400 and 700 roadblocks under the same period at same N40,000 per roadblock daily, in addition to N7.7b from 800 roadblocks found between Jan and Oct 2019; totaling N29.7b. Under the same period, Imo, at average of N30, 000 per roadblock daily, recorded N16b while Enugu and Ebonyi, at N25, 000 per roadblock daily, recorded N10.5b each; bringing the grand total to N99.6b. Extra “dark figure” of N2.6b was added, landing the total to N102.6b for the Southeast in 50 months.

**Police Roadblocks In The South-south:** Delta State, at average of N40, 000 per roadblock daily for 450 police roadblocks found in the State between August and Dec 2018 or in forty months, N21.6b was illicitly collected and between Jan and Oct 2019 (past ten months), at same N40, 000 for each of the 600 police roadblocks found in the State, N7.2b was added, bringing the total to N28.8b.

In Edo State, same N28.8b was illicitly collected in the same period as well as in Rivers and Cross River States with N28.8b each. The above-named States possess high number of extortionist items including high volume of trade and road transport commercial activities as well as movements of oil and gas products and associated roadblock extortion. They are more of ‘blue-collar’ than ‘white-collar’. But in Akwa Ibom and Bayelsa States, it was N30,000 for each of 350 projected police roadblocks in each of the two States, between August 2015 and Oct 2018; totaling N12.6b each. Between Jan and Oct 2019, additional N3.6b was illicitly collected by each of the 400 roadblocks mounted in the two States; totaling N16.2b each (N32.4b for the two States). The two States have lower extortionist items and bear semblance of relatively ‘white-collar’ status. In summation, therefore, it is likely correct to say that the projected 3000 police roadblocks in the South-south had illicitly collected total of N147.6b in the past 50 months or four years and two months. When this is added to N102.6b illicitly collected by 3,300 police roadblocks in the Southeast, the two totals come to N250b.

**600 Military Roadblocks In Southeast & South-south Regions:** The flat benchmark of N60, 000 per military roadblock daily was used. The N60, 000 illicit military toll benchmark used is strictly

conservative and may likely raise to as much as N100, 000 per military roadblock daily which was why we added extra N7.5b as “dark figure” or a must include sum representing ‘untracked extortion’.

In our Dec 2018 field research and report during which we found 150 military roadblocks in the Southeast, average criminal toll benchmark of N50,000 per roadblock daily was used and, in the end, we found that the 150 military roadblocks then illicitly collected N7.5m daily, N225m monthly and N9b in 40 months or from August 2015 to Dec 2018. Since Jan to Oct 2019 (past ten months), the 200 military roadblocks found in the region must, therefore, have illicitly collected additional N3.6b at N60,000 basic per roadblock daily; bringing the total to N12.6b as having been illicitly collected in 50 months or since August 2015.

The figure of 600 military roadblocks was also used across board in the calculations. That is to say that in the past fifty months or between August 2015 and Oct 2019, at flat benchmark of N60, 000 per military roadblock daily, the 600 military roadblocks found in Southeast and South-south illicitly collected N36m per day, N1.08b per month and N48.6b in 50 months of August 2015 to Oct 2019. This further means that the 400 military roadblocks found in the South-south criminally became richer with total sum of N36b, collected between August 2015 and Oct 2019, at single sum of N60, 000 and total sum of N24m per roadblock daily and N720m per month. When added to N250b illicitly collected by the 6,300 police roadblocks in the two regions, the grand total comes to N306b or about \$1b (using the official exchange rate of about N306 per US\$).

### **Extortion, Ethnic & Religious Soldiering & Policing Fuel Extra Judicial Killings In Eastern Nigeria**

The combined effects of roadblock extortion, ethnic and religious soldiering and policing are also responsible for high rate of extra judicial killings, unlawful and extra-legal executions, indiscriminate arrests, long captivity without trial, torture and disappearances. Cases of extra judicial killings and unlawful or extra-legal executions are very high in the Southeast and the South-south particularly since August 2015.

Multiple hundreds have fallen victims. Multiple hundreds have also been shot at close range, lacerated and incapacitated. Hundreds have disappeared without traces till date. Those tortured openly or in police and military custodies are in thousands; likewise, those falling victim to indiscriminate arrests and long captivity without trial including victims of late night and leisure arena arrests. As a matter of grounded statistics, dozens are killed at police and military roadblocks on monthly, if not weekly basis in Eastern Nigeria and thousands tortured including being inflicted with fragmented body wounds. Their killings or torture are strongly linked to collection at gunpoint of illicit roadblock tolls and refusal, inability or disagreements associated with them. In the area of ethnic and religious soldiering and policing, multiple hundreds have been shot and killed and multiple hundreds shot, lacerated and incapacitated.

Hundreds have also been abducted and disappeared without traces till date. The victims include not less than 480 killed in Eastern Nigeria by the military and police between August 2015 and Sept 2017 and over 500 others shot, lacerated and incapacitated. Multiple hundreds have been unlawfully arrested and held in long captivity amidst torture, without trial. Most, if not all victims of the above highlighted crimes against humanity are unarmed and defenseless citizens of the South-south and the Southeast.

## Techniques/Methods Used

Modern techniques in social research were applied during this research. They include sampling techniques such as random sampling, field trips, monitoring and evaluation. Media reports (literature review) and series of interviews with the victim population (i.e. private car owners and commercial transporters including drivers of long lorries, tippers, SHUTTLE and L-300 buses as well as tricycle and motorcycle riders, passengers and roadway property owners and other road users) were also used. In modern social research, too, rooms are allowed for approximations, estimations and projections. These were applied where necessary during this special research report.

Above all, **Intersociety** has also made a name especially in the monitoring and report of police and military roadblock and other forms of roadway extortion in Nigeria particularly in the Southeast. This feat even predates our organization and had been on since early 2000s when Chair of Board of **Intersociety**, Emeka Umeagbalasi, now a Criminologist and Graduate of Security Studies with a post graduate speciality in Peace Studies & Conflict Resolution, held sway as Anambra State Chairman of the Civil Liberties Organization.

Umeagbalasi also earned a field experience when he assisted a foremost US based Human Rights group, the **Human Rights Watch** when it conducted its own field survey on "Police Corruption & Human Rights Violations in Nigeria" in mid 2010, leading to its international report of 17<sup>th</sup> August 2010. That is to say that Emeka Umeagbalasi and **Intersociety** have monitored patterns and trends of military and police roadblock and other roadway extortion since 2010.

Consequently, copies of the special report have been sent for follow-up actions to the Sec Gen of Amnesty Int'l, UK and the group's Country Director in Nigeria and the Executive Director of Human Rights Watch, USA. Other recipients are Prof Anthony Ejiofor, President of World Igbo Congress, USA, Prof Justin Akujieze, President of Ekwenche Research Organization, USA, Prof Uzodimma Nwala, President of Ala-Igbo Dev Foundation, Enugu, Barr John Nnia Nwodo, President-Gen of Oha-Na-Eze Ndigbo, Enugu; and Senate Minority Leader, Barr Enyinnaya Abaribe.

The rest are Dr Mrs. Joe-Okei Odumakin, founder, Women Arise, Nigeria and blossom friend of **Intersociety**, Mr. Peter Obi, former Gov of Anambra State, Mr. Oseloka Obaze, renowned diplomat and former SSG, Anambra State., Mr. Geoffrey Onyema, Minister of Foreign Affairs & (nominal) member, Nigeria's National Security Council, Mr. Emeka Diwe, President, Association of Southeast Town Unions, Governor Dave Umahi, Gov of Ebonyi State & Chairman of the Southeast Govs Forum and Governor Seriake Henry Dickson, Gov of Bayelsa State & Chairman, South-south Govs Forum. Relevant rights and media bodies were also copied for their advocacy notice and further actions.

The latest report, therefore, followed recent field trips and investigations in the Eastern Nigeria conducted by Emeka Umeagbalasi, assisted by some research assistants led by Comrade Samuel Kamanyaoku. In furtherance of our policy of *collectivism or teamwork*, the report is co-signed by Lawyers Chidimma Udegbonam, Head of Campaign & Publicity, Chinwe Umeche, Head of Democracy & Good Governance, Obianuju Igboeli, Head of Civil Liberties & Rule of Law and Ndidiamaka Bernard, Head of Int'l Justice & Human Rights. Attached in this special research report are the Sampling Graphic Tables showing the number and locations of military and police roadblocks in Eastern Nigeria. Photos catching some perpetrators in the act are also attached. See the last page of this report for full details.



## General Details Of The Report: Understanding Roadblock Bribery/Extortion

Extortion is the practice of obtaining something, especially money, through force or threats. It is also the act of obtaining tangible benefit through coercion. In most jurisdictions including Nigeria, extortion, an element of corruption, constitutes a criminal offense and breach of service or professional ethics and codes. Bribery, on the other hand, is the act of giving or receiving something of value in exchange for some kind of influence or action in return, that the recipient would otherwise not offer.

Extortion thrives in a social setting with **blue-collar** culture or high cash carriage driven by voluminous commercial activities. It involves offering of cash payment usually at gunpoint or against the payer's will and at behest of payee's compulsion. Bribery, on its part, involves **white-collar** (wired or 'unseen) and **blue-collar** briberies (receiving criminal cash offer). Military and Police Roadblock Extortion, therefore, is forcing motorists and other road users at roadblocks or checkpoints to pay imposed cash amount under duress or at gun point for purpose of covering crimes or personal enrichment or getting the recipient to offer no legitimate services in return.

## Background

Intersociety's field trip and research on Service Roadblock bribery and other forms of roadway extortion in Nigeria dates to 2010. The field research was first conducted in the Southeast with Anambra State as a case-study and in the end, it was found that there were not less than 1,500 police roadblocks with Anambra and Abia States accounting for not less than 400 each: Imo 300 and Enugu and Ebonyi 100 each. The lower number of police roadblocks in the latter States was owing to their *white-collar culture*. The field survey was later extended to other geopolitical zones with findings showing the existence of not less than 3,500 police roadblocks, out of which, Southeast accounted for not less than 1,500 or 45%.

Consequently, on 11th December 2011, **Intersociety** released a report of its national investigation across the country including Southeast Region. The national investigation covered a period of two-and-half years; June 2009 to December 2011 and in the end, it was found that the not less than 3,500 police roadblocks had illicitly or criminally fetched the Force the sum of N53.4b.

The geopolitical breakdown then indicated that 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 international report of **the Human Rights Watch**, USA released on August 17<sup>th</sup>, 2010 (**Everyone is in on the Game: Corruption & Human Rights Abuses by the Nigeria Police Force**) in which **Intersociety** prominently featured. The naira benchmark used as criminal toll fee then was N20 note as against today's basic of N50 and N100 notes. Most of the 3,500 roadblocks including many in the Southeast were then dismantled in January 2012 when retired IGP M.D. Abubakar became the IGP and made skeletal police roadblocks one of his major policy trusts.

## Opposing The Use Of Roadblocks In Nigeria Including The East

It must be pointed out that roadblock extortion in Nigeria was first introduced by the Nigeria Police Force and the Nigerian Customs Service. Today, it has spread like wild fire and particularly caught the operational attention of the Nigerian Military including the Army, Navy and Air Force and Paramilitaries like Federal Road Safety Corps, Immigration, Nigerian Security & Civil Defense Corps, etc.



Use of 'roadblock' in the security of a country or for purpose of safety of lives and properties is very archaic and outdated. As a matter of fact, it is an attribute of a failed state or system. Roadblock is also synonymous with war ravaged countries or enclaves run by drug cartels or illegal mineral mining barons. **Intersociety** remains opposed to use of 'military and police roadblocks' in Nigeria or any part thereof. This is more so when it is now "the more the roadblocks, the more the crimes against persons, properties and the state".

### Excluded

Excluded from this special report are **(a)** police and military custody extortion including police bail fees and illicit payments for recovery of impounded vehicles, tricycles, motorcycles and other seized personal belongings; 'mobilization for arrest and criminal investigation' or commercialization of criminal investigation and seizure, confiscation and possession of suspected proceeds of crimes including vehicles, cash and other juicy personal belongings, **(b)** roadblock extortion by personnel of Customs and Immigration Services, Drug Law Agencies and Federal Road Safety, the Nigerian Security & Civil Defense Corps, etc, **(c)** railway extortion by personnel of the Nigerian Railway Police, **(d)** marine water extortion including oil and gas related extortion by personnel of the Nigeria Marine Police and the Military including Nigerian Navy.

Others are: **(e)** border extortion by personnel of the Nigeria Police border patrols, Customs, Immigration, Military and Intelligence Agencies and **(f)** alleged over N10b, illicitly generated monthly by the Nigeria Police High Command for "Special Services" including 'posting of senior officers such as CPs, AIGs and Unit and MOPOL Commanders' as well as rendering of special protection or security services to oil firms, banks, multinational companies and VIPs-which are not reflected in the annual budgets of the Nigeria Police Force. Source: Senator Isa Misau (August 2017), a retired Deputy Police Superintendent and Senator representing Bauchi South District.

### Included

Included in this special report are **(a)** sums illegally collected by roadblock police personnel from passenger-loaded tricycles, motorcycles, SHUTTLE and L-300 buses (N50-N100 each) and N200-N500 each if loaded with passengers and wares, **(b)** N2000-N5000 collected at 'mobile roadblocks mounted by plain clothed police personnel from each of the victims of "wettin-you-carry", **(c)** N3000-N6000 collected at police roadblock from each of the victims of "incomplete vehicular particulars" or "expired driver's license" or "stolen vehicle", **(d)** N10,000-N30,000 collected at police roadblock from each of the victims of "carriers of contraband" or "exhibits" including registered and non substandard drugs, **(e)** N50,000-N200,000 collected at police roadblock from each of the marketers of hard drugs such as Indian Hemp, Cocaine, Condeine and Tramadol as well as substandard drugs.

Others are: **(f)** N200-N500 collected at Military Roadblock/Checkpoint from each Tipper Lorry or 911 Lorry or Daina/Datsun Truck or L-300 Bus or Tricycle loaded with wares (i.e. at Atani Road Junction Navy Checkpoint), **(g)** N1000-N2000 collected at Military Roadblock/Checkpoint from each Trailer or Container body loaded with wares, **(h)** N5000-N20, 000 collected at Military Roadblock/Checkpoint from each oil and gas Tanker-Trailer (i.e. along Owerri-Egbema-Elele-Port Harcourt Road and other roads linking oil and gas producing communities in South-south and Southeast), **(i)** N100 daily payment compulsorily imposed and collected from every tricycle, motorcycle, L-300 and SHUTTLE bus driver called "Ego Ndi Navy" or "Ego Ndi Army" (Navy or Army Money).

This is a routine at Atani Road Junction Navy Roadblock/Checkpoint, Onitsha Bridgehead Army Checkpoint and other major military checkpoints in the two regions. "Ego Ndi Navy" of N100 per day

is also collected at Onitsha Upper Iweka and Onitsha-Owerri Expressway where they maintain roadblocks. Such illicit sum is collected by civilian agents jointly raised by the Army/Navy and the leaders of the affected commercial transport unions with agreed commissions for leaders of the commercial unions, (j) N3000-N5000 “sales spot Navy/Army approval fees”, collected once from each of the new roadside petty traders including mobile advertisers and ‘professional beggars. This is the case at Onitsha Niger Bridgehead area including Atani Road and Uga Junctions courtesy of Nigerian Navy, which also collects N50 per day from every roadside petty trader and N1000 from anybody that crosses himself or herself or wares over the two major lanes of the Asaba-Onitsha Expressway.

The rest are (k) daily “loading permit fee” of N100 collected from every Tricycle/SHUTTLE Bus/L-300 Bus driver for loading at rush hours. This is also the case at Onitsha Niger Bridgehead area particularly at Atani Road Junction Navy Checkpoint/Roadblock, (l) N100 per “turn” collected indirectly in the daytime and directly from 7pm by soldiers from every tricycle or motorbike or SHUTTLE bus or L-300 bus driver plying intercity roads or streets in commercial cities located in Southeast and South-south particularly Aba in Abia State.

Also included are: (m) “essential commodity daily returns” (involving tens of thousands to hundreds of thousands of naira, as case may be, for each of the military checkpoints per day). This is perpetrated by each of the Military Checkpoints located close to arenas where such commodities are mined or excavated or extracted. These include oil and gas, gravels, stones, red and river sands and other solid minerals or industries producing “special products”. A typical example is the river sand excavators along Atani-Ogwuikpere Road in Ogbaru and Niger Street in Onitsha where agreed returns are paid on daily or weekly basis to the Ogbaru Naval personnel and possibly the Army. Disagreement over same led to public protests by the payers in 2018.

### **Southeast & South-south Have Become Headquarters Of Military & Police Corruption**

Going by our recent field research findings, it is an established fact that the two regions are now the ‘headquarters of military and police corruption’ in Nigeria, accounting for 60%, if not more, of non-bureaucratically generated corruption proceeds. Of the two regions, too, Southeast is the largest generator of commerce related corruption proceeds for the Nigerian Army and the Nigeria Police Force, while South-south emerges as the largest generator of oil and gas land conveyance corruption proceeds. Till date, the two regions are the most peaceful and not in a state of war, yet ulterior reasons including false security alarms and service created artificial insecurity have steadily been hidden under by the country’s lopsidedly composed security providers as excuses to lay military and policing siege on the two most peaceful regions in Nigeria. The citizens of the two regions, both sedentary and pastoral are also the largest sources of Military and Police roadblock, or commerce related corruption proceeds in Nigeria. That is to say that the largest sources of Military and Police roadblock or checkpoint corruption proceeds come from citizens of Southeast and South-south living and doing business including trade and transport businesses in Southwest, Northeast, North-central including FCT and Northwest regions of Nigeria. These corruption proceeds and their practices are hardly checkmated or tracked or linked to government office corruption in Nigeria. The sharp practices are rigidly syndicated and scholarly called “police and military returns culture” or police and military roadway corruption in Nigeria.

Military and Policing custody and roadblock generated corruption proceeds are the largest in Nigeria, followed by ‘service welfare’, ‘capital budgetary’ and ‘special intervention funds allocation’ corruption proceeds; otherwise called ‘bureaucracy (white-collar) corruption’. It is generally estimated that

through the former or *blue-collar* corruption proceeds, not less than N300b is illicitly collected by the Nigeria Police Force from Nigerians across the country on annual basis. This runs neck to neck with the total annual police budget of N300b. As noted somewhere above, the focus of this research is the Military and Police roadblock extortion and did not include six other forms of service blue-collar corruption, generally described as 'custody' and 'special services' related corruption. The third largest Military and Police corruption proceeds come from corruption associated with rendering of 'special services' to oil and gas firms, banks, multinational companies and VIPs, which are never reflected in the annual police or military budgets.

### **Ethno-Religious Dimension Of Corruption Breeding Military & Police Siege In Eastern Nigeria**

The military and police siege in Southeast and South-south Nigeria including Delta and Edo States is long found to have strong ethno-religious influence particularly since August 2015. This is clearly evidential in our recent field research work where it was found that 'out of 73 top military and policing commanders manning top military and policing formations in Eastern Nigeria, only eight are from the two regions: with the remaining 65 coming from Muslim North and Southwest and few non Muslim others from outside the two regions'.

The research also found such formations including their roadblocks or checkpoints being made to wear the look of "Islamic security forces of Nigeria stationed in Eastern Nigeria" including conversion of most, if not all the military roadblocks or checkpoints in the two regions into 'Islamic praying grounds or mobile mosques'.

### **Fulani Settlement Increases In Eastern Nigeria Through Military Siege & Python Dance**

The ethno-religious dimension to the corruption breeding military siege in Eastern Nigeria including the so called 'Army Python Dance IV' for Southeast and 'Army Operation Crocodile Smile IV' for South-south; scheduled for Nov to Christmas Eve of Dec 2019 is strongly and widely suspected to be driven by ulterior motives. Apart from the handling styles of the military exercises being ethno-religiously lopsided and enmeshed in corruption, concerns are further rife that one of the ulterior motives behind such exercises is creation of new settlements for Fulani Herdsmen from which jihadist elements among them cash in to attack, kill, maim, abduct, rob, extort, rape and torture defenseless indigenous citizens of Eastern Nigeria including travelers, rural dwellers, businessmen and businesswomen, priests, farmers, women and children.

From our various investigations, it is likely safe to conclude that each time a military 'python dance' exercise is carried out in the Southeast or during 'operation crocodile smile' in the South-south, new settlements for Fulani Herdsmen are created. This is more so when it was strongly alleged that the Nigerian Army had in late 2015 carried out 'forest mapping' exercise throughout Nigeria, arming itself with data pertaining to number and locations of forests across the country's six geopolitical zones. "Counterinsurgency measures" was reportedly cited as reasons for the mapping exercise. But contrarily, our case in point is the Asa-Ogwe Forest and its Fulani settlement, located in Umu-Ura Village of Ogwe Community in Ukwu West LGA of Abia State. It is widely feared that by the end of the "Army Python Dance IV" and "Crocodile Smile IV" in the two regions, 100 new Fulani settlements are likely to be created with additional 100 permanent military checkpoints or roadblocks to protect them.

We had in August 2018 made a trip to the area following discovery of over 30 decomposed bodies strongly believed to be defenseless citizens of old Eastern Nigeria arrested and secretly killed by soldiers of 144 Battalion, Asa, then commanded by Lt Col Umar Sidi Kassim and Brig Gen Abdulkalifah

Ibrahim (then Brig Commander, 14 Brigade, Ohafia). The victims were strongly suspected to have been secretly killed and dumped during the Army 'Python Dance 11' in Sept 2017 in Abia State. The forest specifically located in Umu-Ura Village, was discovered to have a new Fulani settlement surrounded by two Army Checkpoints/Roadblocks (one is the Ugwuachi Army roadblock very close to or about 500 meters from the forest and the second one is the Asa main Army checkpoint, which is about 1.2kilometers from the forest and its new Fulani settlement).

Generally, both old and newly created Fulani settlements in Eastern Nigeria particularly the Southeast are located near major military or police formations such as MOPOL and SARS squadrons and military roadblocks or checkpoints. The pattern is the use of such military operations to create them with new military roadblocks or checkpoints erected to permanently protect them; to the extent that such newly created roadblocks are left or stationed permanently at the end of the said military operations.

It is estimated that not less than **50 new Fulani settlements** are likely to be created in the Southeast at the end of the proposed "Army Python Dance IV"; thereby further increasing the number of military roadblocks in the region. It is our projection that 50 additional military roadblocks are likely to be created in the South-south with possibility of creation of another 50 new Fulani settlements in the region, using 'Operation Crocodile Smile IV'. Fulani grazing activities under military surveillance are also a routine around such military roadblocks or checkpoints in the two regions. We sighted at least two near military checkpoints mounted by Nigerian Army and Navy along Elele-Port Harcourt Road when we visited on 27<sup>th</sup> August 2019.

#### **Patterns Of Military & Police Extortion In Eastern Nigeria**

In addition to different forms of roadblock collection highlighted above, for today's soldiers and other members of the Nigerian Military mounting roadblocks and extorting money from commercial drivers and other road users on Southeast and South-south roads, the basic is N500-N1000 from every victim driver. For trailer drivers of oil and gas, it is N5, 000 and above for every driver per roadblock and for those involved in oil and gas theft, it is between hundreds of thousands of naira and above N1m for each military taskforce or squad.

The least amount collected by roadblock police personnel is N50 or N100 per victim. Passengers with loads attract N200-N500 per victim. For police anti cult, terrorism, kidnap and robbery at roadblocks, the least is N100-N200 per victim; and tens of thousands of naira if a victim is falsely accused and arrested and he or she, against his or her will, opts for random "settlement".

#### **Method Of Collecting Roadblock Bribes In Eastern Nigeria**

Method of collection varies. At Atani Road Junction Navy Checkpoint and Onitsha Niger Bridgehead Army Checkpoint as well as Isiala-Ngwa and Osisioma Army Checkpoints and Owerre-Nta Naval Checkpoint in Abia State, direct and indirect civilian agents are recruited and used. Direct civilian agents are those armed with sticks or planks or used metals and stationed in front of such military checkpoints or roadblocks or few meters away from them. They block the victim drivers and their vehicles loaded with wares and issue them facial threats, forcing them to part with specified amounts. Those who refused or delayed in payment will have their vehicles and wares impounded by the roadside with their tyres leaked until they "settle". They also run high risk of being frog-jumped or meted with other forms of torture to compel them to "pay".

This mode of collection is the case in many Army and other military roadblocks particularly those located in densely populated urban cities including Port Harcourt, Benin, Asaba, Warri, Uromi, Agbor,

Ugheli, Ekpoma, Uyo, Ogoja, Abakiliki, Afikpo, Umuahia, Yanagoo, Calabar, Enugu, Owerri, Onitsha, Elele, Okigwe, etc. Also hired direct agents are those who mount surveillance by roadside to monitor the passing of trailers and other long Lorries loaded with wares or products including oil and gas. Drivers of such long Lorries, to avoid troubles with the military personnel, alight and locate the civilian agents, part with N1000 and above for each trailer before continuing their journeys. This form of extortionist collection is also common tactics in some cities mentioned above.

For indirect civilian agents collecting bribes including “returns” and extortion proceeds for the military on Eastern Nigerian roads, they involve those working for the victim commercial transport unions or associations such as river sand tippers’ drivers’ associations or river sand excavators’ associations or oil and gas tankers’ drivers associations or local city commercial bus or ‘Keke’ drivers’ unions, etc. They are charged with responsibilities of retiring the agreed daily or weekly or monthly “returns” to the Army or Navy points-men. All the agents collect their “commissions” at the end.

Another form of extortion and its pattern common among the military personnel at roadblocks is “event security” involving soldiers or other military personnel stationed at military checkpoints being hired to maintain presence at wedding, traditional marriage, naming and funeral ceremonies and other special outings. Between N100, 000 and N200, 000 is usually charged per function. Cases also abound where soldiers and other military personnel at roadblocks illegally get hired and paid for purpose of debt recovery or intervention in marital, family and business disagreements.

In places like Aba metropolis presently flooded with not less than 28 Army roadblocks, soldiers indirectly (through civilian agents) collect bribes from commercial motorists and operators of commercial motorcycles and tricycles in the day time and collect directly once it is 7pm and above. Recall that a middle-aged citizen was recently shot dead by a soldier in Aba over his refusal to part with N100 roadblock bribe.

For Nigeria Police Force, direct or open collection is rampantly used. They also “give change” no matter the amount. In some places, “numbers” are given to payers in coded form to avoid being forced to pay doubly. There are some cases where police personnel at roadblocks engage in ‘indirect collection’ of roadblock bribes. This is usually the case along Owerri-Egbema-Elele-Port Harcourt Road, Asaba-Ozoro-Ugheli-Warri Road and other ‘juicy’ police roadblocks including those located at boundary posts and “contraband” routes. At such police roadblocks, the victim drivers usually alight from their vehicles, locate the designated officers, part with huge sums before continuing their journeys.

#### **Why Military & Police Roadblocks Are Juicy In Eastern Nigeria**

There are five major types of military and police roadblocks or checkpoints in Eastern Nigeria; namely (1) roadblocks mounted on Federal or Trunk A Roads, (2) roadblocks mounted on State or Trunk B Roads, (3) roadblocks mounted on Local Government/Community or Trunk C Roads, (4) roadblocks mounted on Urban city Streets and Intercity Roads and (5) roadblocks mounted on key public or private facilities or monuments usually converted to scenes of military and police extortion.

There are also permanent and mobile or “appear-and-disappear” police roadblocks. The former are mounted by the military and police mobile squads and highway, “anti bunkering” and “anti terrorism” “special” squads while the latter are mounted by police special anti robbery, operational patrol teams and General Duty police personnel of various police area, divisional commands and posts. Police roadblocks also go with “peak” periods and “juicy” routes or arenas which attract a greater number of roadblocks.

“Oil and gas” and “contraband routes” usually attract high number of police and military roadblocks; likewise, “blue-collar” routes or routes noted for high presence of commercial activities including commercial road transport activities. For instance, one of the shortest federal road distances in Eastern Nigeria is Owerri-Umuagwo-Egbema-Elele-Port Harcourt Road with not more than one hour journey. We counted 44 roadblocks on 29<sup>th</sup> August 2019, out of which 10 are military roadblocks (34 were mounted by police) by Army and Naval personnel. Another is Asaba-Kwale-Ozoro-Ugheli-Warri Road where we counted 25 roadblocks on 16<sup>th</sup> August 2019.

Generally, it is found that on urban city and intercity roads or streets in places like Aba, Onitsha, Nnewi, Enugu (commercial trade and transport parts), Abakiliki (same), Umuahia (same), Okigwe, Afikpo, Awka (same), Owerri (same), Orlu, Nsukka, Port Harcourt, Asaba, Benin, Uromi, Ekpoma, Ugheli, Warri, Agbor, Uyo (same), Yanogoa (same), Ogoja, Calabar (same), etc; extortionist police roadblocks are generally maintained but increase doubly during “rush” or peak morning hours and end of business peak evening hours.

The increase is fueled by “peak” morning hour and “peak” evening hour erection of roadblocks by “appear-and-disappear” roadblocks mounted by General Duty personnel and operational patrol teams of various police area commands, anti cult and robbery, divisional commands and police districts and posts. Every area command, division, post and district of the Nigeria Police Force in Eastern Nigeria now erects or mounts roadblock, strictly to extort.

On Trunk A (federal) and Trunk B (state) Roads, “rush”, “peak” and “juicy” hours for extortionist police roadblocks are divided into 6am-10am in the morning and 3pm to 8pm in the evening. In community roads or rural areas, “juicy hours” for extortionist police roadblocks is the day of their weekly markets. In the “oil and gas”, “contraband” and blue-collar routes, the volume of military and police roadblocks is very high and steadily maintained 24hrs daily. It was also found that the most “lucrative” of the military and police roadblocks are those located in ‘oil and gas” and “contraband” routes, followed by the urban city and intercity extortionist police roadblocks, and those located at inter-state boundaries. The poorest extortionist police roadblocks are those located in rural areas targeting local transporters and petty traders on days of their community markets.

It is further found that police roadblocks are scanty or totally absent in road routes abandoned by motorists and other road users on account of being in acute deplorable conditions or hit by incessant attacks by jihadist Fulani Herdsmen. The scanty police roadblocks presently found along Awka-Oji River-Enugu Expressway are as a result of deplorable condition of the Road. Ayamelum-Adani-Nsukka old Federal Road presently maintains near-total absence of police roadblocks particularly the Enugu side of the Road following incessant attacks by jihadist Fulani Herdsmen. Those roads in bad shape which are still well used by transporters and other road users still attract high presence of police roadblocks, with reverse being the case once abandoned by motorists. It was also found during our recent field trips that 70% of federal roads in Eastern Nigeria are a death trap.

### **Number Of Military & Police Roadblocks In Eastern Nigeria**

High presence of extortionist Military and Police roadblocks is found or recorded on the following federal roads: Enugu-Onitsha (Express), Onitsha-Awka-Oji/River-Enugu (Old Road), Enugu-Nsukka-Oturkpa, Enugu-Abakiliki, Abakiliki-Ogoja, Onitsha-Owerri (Express), Onitsha-Nsugbe-Adani (Old Road), Atani-Ogwuikpere-Ndoni, Enugu-Umuahia-Port Harcourt, Oba-Nnewi-Okigwe, Owerri-Umuagwo-Egbema-Elele-Port Harcourt, Abakiliki-Abaomege-Ugep-Calabar, Abakiliki-Mbork-Ogoja and Aba-Akwa Ibom, etc.



State Roads with high presence of extortionist police or/and military roadblocks include: Osisioma-Aba-Isiala-Ngwa-Umuekah-Owerri, Okigwe-Orlu-Owerri, Aba-Ikot-Ekpene, Uturu-Okigwe-Abakiliki, Ekwuluobia-Oko-Ibinta, Umuahia-Ariam-Ikot-Ekpene, Umuahia-Obowo-Owerri, Umuahia-Bende, Igbo-Ukwu-Ezinifite-Uga-Umunze, Oba-Nnewi-Nnobi, Amawbia-Nise-Agulu-Ekwulobia-Uga, Nnewi-Nnobi-Orakwu-Agulu, etc. In the South-south, the list endlessly includes Asaba-Kwale-Ozoro-Ugheli-Warri, Agbor-Auchi-Okene, Igbanke (Igbo-Akiri)-Agbor-Asaba, Ore-Okada-Benin-Abudu, Ogoja-Otukpo, Mbork-Ogoja, Port Harcourt-Yanagoa, Calabar-Uyo, etc.

### **We Counted 168, Out Of 600 Military Roadblocks In Eastern Nigeria**

During our recent field trips in Southeast and South-south regions, between August and October 2019, for purpose of gathering sampling statistics, we counted not less than 168 military roadblocks. They were mounted and are still mounted by personnel of Nigerian Army, Navy and Air Force. From *open-source* and reliable *service-information* gathered including interviews, pictorial analysis, fact-finding, credible independent media and rights reports, etc, there are average of 55 military roadblocks per State and total of 600 in the eleven States that make up old Eastern Nigeria including Delta and Edo States; out of which we counted 168. There are also average of 570 police roadblocks per State and total of 6,300 in the eleven States of the two regions, out of which we counted not less than 700.

As represented in the sampling graphic tables attached, we counted fourteen military roadblocks on Aba-Port Harcourt Road; seventeen on Umuahia-Enugu-Abakiliki Road, twelve on Abakiliki-Abaomege-Ugep-Calabar Road, nine on Okigwe Junction-Abakiliki Road, nine on Abakiliki-Mbork-Ogoja Road, twenty-seven on Aba-Akwa Ibom-Calabar Road, ten on Osisioma-Aba-Isiala-Ngwa-Umuekah-Owerri Road, five on Atani-Ogwuikpere Road, ten on Onitsha Niger Bridgehead-Awka-Enugu Road, six on Onitsha-Owerri Road, six on 9<sup>th</sup> Mile-Nsukka-Otukpo Road, ten on Owerri-Umuagwo-Egbema-Elele-Port Harcourt Road and four on Asaba-Kwale-Ozoro-Ugheli-Warri Road.

There are not less than 28 military roadblocks in Aba metropolis. They were counted when we visited on Saturday, 12<sup>th</sup> Oct 2019. The field trip was between the “peak” evening hours of 4pm and 5.30pm. The spots where they were mounted included (1) Osisioma Port Harcourt Highway, (2) Ariaria Market Junction, (3) Osisioma Depot/Ekeakpara Market, (4) Osisioma-Aba-Owerri Road, (5) Umuojimma Village, (6) Urata Junction, (7) Seven Decks/Faulks Road, (8) MCC Road, (9) Abia Poly/Brass Road.

Others are (10) Okpu-Umuobo Road by Ama Double, (11) Ahiankwo Village Market, (12) Umuogele Road, (13) Aba Mosque by School Road, (14) Ngwa Road by Ahia-Ohuru, (15) Alaoji Market, (16) Aba-Port Harcourt Road, (17) Obikabia Junction, (18) Bata Junction, (19) Ohanku-Owerri Road, (20) Aba Park, (21) Azummini-Opobo Road, (22) Glass Force, (23) Seven-Up/Glass Industry, (24) Opobo Junction, (25) Umu-Eze Road by Primary School, (26) Umu-Imo, (27) Ohanze and (28) Onicha Ngwa.

In some, a military team mounting roadblock can split into two or three targeting the ‘returning’ and ‘traveling’ road users and transporters. The number above is just a graphic sampling and did not capture all the military roadblocks in the two regions including those along Ore-Okada-Benin-Agbor-Ibusa (Igbo-Uzo) and Agbor-Uromi-Auchi-Okene Federal Roads, etc. From available facts, therefore, there are not less than 600 military checkpoints or roadblocks in Eastern Nigeria including Delta and Edo States; out of which, not less than 400 are in the South-south and 200 in the Southeast.

The higher number of military roadblocks in the South-south is majorly owing to oil and gas and their “juicy” extortion while that of Southeast is majorly attracted by high volume of commercial activities and associated blue-collar crimes such as service roadblock extortion and service custody criminalities.

Deployment of military and police and their siege on Southeast and South-south are also done and syndicated for purpose of execution of ethnic and religious agenda.

### **We Counted Over 700, Out Of 6,300 Police Roadblocks In Eastern Nigeria**

We counted not less than 700, out of 6,300 police roadblocks, projected to exist in the two regions. They included nineteen on Aba-Port Harcourt Road, twenty-six on Umuahia-Enugu-Abakiliki Road, twenty-two on Abakiliki-Abaomege-Ugep-Calabar Road, twenty-five on Port Harcourt-Yanagoa Road, eleven on Okigwe-Abakiliki Road, seven on Abakiliki-Mbok-Ogoja Road, twenty-two on Aba-Akwa Ibom-Calabar Road, twenty-eight on Osisioma-Aba-Isiala-Ngwa-Umuekah-Owerri Road, thirty-four on Owerri-Umuagwo-Egbema-Elele-Port Harcourt Road, twenty-four on Asaba-Kwale-Ozoro-Ugheli-Warri Road.

Others are thirty on Onitsha-Owerri Road (from Electrical Market to Owerri), seventy around Onitsha Niger Bridgehead-Upper Iweka and environs including Owerri Road to Electrical Market, Obodo-Ukwu Road, Borromeo Roundabout, Peace and Abuja Parks, seventy from other parts of Onitsha metropolis, one hundred and fifty in Aba metropolis, one hundred from Ore-Okada-Benin-Agbor-Issele-Ukwu-Asaba Expressway to Asaba end of the Niger Bridgehead, forty on 9<sup>th</sup> Mile-Nsukka-Obolo-Afor-Otukpo Road, twenty on Nkpor-Awka-Enugu Expressway and Awka-Oji River-Enugu old Road and thirty on Agbor-Uromi-Auchi-Okene Federal Road; totaling 728.

### **There Are Likely 3,300 Police Roadblocks In Southeast & 3000 In South-south**

Presently, there are likely to be as much as 3,300 police roadblocks in the Southeast and 3000 in the South-south. The increase in the number of police roadblocks in the two regions was originally fueled by violent crackdowns on street protesters particularly by members of the Indigenous People of Biafra and their supporters. The sharp increase started way back in August 2015 and has skyrocketed since then. "Election" is another reason that fuels the sharp increase as well as quest for criminal proceeds fueled by "oil and gas" exploration and movement in the Niger Delta.

There were additional deployment and erection of at least 500 police roadblocks in the South-south for purpose of controversial general elections of 2019. Prior to the said poll, total number of police roadblocks in the region was projected at 2,500. Other ulterior reasons used in flooding old Eastern Nigeria with tens of thousands of armed military and police personnel are "IPOB terrorism" and "protection of national security interest" and "terrorism". Lately, it has been strongly suspected that a key under-cover reason fueling such militarization and siege is likely to include possible aiding of 'pro jihadist Fulani Herdsmen agenda', done under different names such as "RUGA", "Rural Livestock Settlement", "Military Ranching", "Open Grazing", etc.

In all, there are more numbers of military roadblocks in the South-south than in the Southeast whereas there are more numbers of police roadblocks in the Southeast than in the South-south. In the Southeast, there were not less than 750 police roadblocks between August 2015 and August 2016, out of which, Anambra accounted for at least 250, Imo 150, Abia 200, Enugu 100 and Ebonyi 50. Between August 2016 and August 2017, the number increased to not less than 1500 police roadblocks, out of which, Anambra accounted for at least 500, Imo 200, Abia 400, Enugu 200 and Ebonyi 150. The number further increased to 3000 by September 2017 with Anambra State accounting for 800, Imo 500, Abia 700, Enugu and the Ebonyi States 800 or 400 police roadblocks each.

The increase in the number of police and military roadblocks in the Southeast followed the Sept 2017 Military Python Dance 11 massacre and the Nov 2017 Anambra Governorship poll. Presently, the



number has increased to about 3,300 (Anambra, 800, Abia, 800, Imo, 700, Enugu, 500 and Ebonyi, 500) manned by 14,000 stationed officers. The about 200 military roadblocks in the Southeast are manned by not less than 3000 personnel of the Army, Navy and Air Force. The military roadblocks in the Southeast had further increased from about 100-150 in 2018 to not less than 200 as at this October 2019. The newest increase is deliberately done for clear execution of hash socio-economic and ethnic agenda including possible creation and protection of 'Fulani settlement' policy.

This is even though the landmass of Southeast region put together is less than the landmass of Kogi State which is one of the States with least landmass in the North. A clear example of Government infantile excuses for increasing military and police roadblocks in Eastern Nigeria including Delta and Edo States was the public announcement made by Anambra State Commissioner of Police, Alhaji Garba Umar on 30<sup>th</sup> October 2017 of deployment of "16,000 police personnel, 10,000 soldiers, 5,000 naval personnel and 3,000 air force personnel for the 18<sup>th</sup> November 2017 Governorship Poll in the State".

### **State By State Breakdown Of Number Of Military & Police Roadblocks In Eastern Nigeria**

**Southeast: Military Roadblocks** are divided into average of 40 per State, or Anambra, 40 military roadblocks, Abia, 40, Imo, 40, Enugu, 40 and Ebonyi, 40. For the 3,300 police roadblocks, it is Anambra, 800, Abia, 800, Imo, 700, Enugu, 500, Ebonyi, 500; totaling 3,300. **For South-south**, military roadblocks are divided into average of 67 per State; with Delta, Rivers, Akwa Ibom and Bayelsa taking the lion's share. In the area of 3000 police roadblocks, it is Delta, Rivers, Edo and Cross Rivers with as much as 600 police roadblocks each and Akwa Ibom and Bayelsa 400 each; totaling 3200 (but we chose to use 3000). It is also N40, 000 illicit daily take-home for every extortionist police roadblock in Delta, Edo, Rivers and Cross River and N30, 000 for Akwa Ibom and Bayelsa States respectively.

### **34,000-Armed Security Personnel Likely To Be Present On Eastern Roads**

While the projected 3,300 police roadblocks in the Southeast are manned by 13,000 police officers on average of four officers per roadblock, the 200 military roadblocks in the region are manned by 3000 military personnel on average of 15 officers per roadblock (i.e. on account of half day "Beat-handover"). On the other hand, the 3000 police roadblocks in the South-south are manned by 12,000 officers on average of four officers per roadblock while the 400 military roadblocks in the region are manned by 6000 personnel on average of 15 military officers per roadblock.

It is also not forgotten that South-south, owing to "lucrative" or "juicy" nature of oil and gas and nonviolent "Biafra sentiments" is heavily militarized since August 2015, to the extent that each State in the region has at least one Army Brigade, among other military formations. In the end, there are presently not less than 9000-armed military and 25,000 armed police personnel on Eastern Roads: totaling 34,000-armed security personnel. These exclude other armed internal security personnel deployed at various roads and other open spots in the two regions including personnel of Customs, Immigration and Nigerian Security & Civil Defense Corps.

### **Illicit Daily Take-Home For Each Extortionist Military/Police Squad On State By State Basis**

**Southeast:** In Anambra and Abia States, each extortionist police roadblock squad retires daily with at least N40, 000. This is owing to their blue-collar culture, high volume of extortionist items and little or no resistance among the victims dominated by citizens with limited education or exposure. The two States are closely followed by Imo State, a semi blue-collar State that also shares boundaries with the

two States-where not less than N30, 000 is illicitly collected and pocketed by each extortionist police roadblock squad.

Enugu and Ebonyi States are relatively white-collar States with a smaller number of sedentary commercial activities. The bulk of roadblock extortion proceeds come from those involved in inter-state and urban city and intercity commercial transport activities in the two States. It is projected that average of N25, 000 is illicitly pocketed by each extortionist police squad.

In the area of military roadblock extortion and illicit daily take-home, the projected average for each of the 200 military roadblock squads in the Southeast region and 400 in the South-south region is N100, 000. The Nigerian Naval Checkpoint at Atani Road Junction in Onitsha makes not less than N300, 000-N500, 000 on daily basis. Sources of its roadblock extortion have already been disclosed above. Military roadblocks located in “oil and gas” or “contraband” routes or at inter-state boundaries including those of Asa in Abia, Orji River in Enugu, Nsukka-Obolo-Afor-Oturkpa in Enugu, Abakiliki-Ogoja, Aba-Ikot-Ekpene, Etche-Obigbo, Okene-Auchi, Port Harcourt-Yanagoa, Ore-Okada-Benin, Ogoja-Otukpo, Owerri-Egbema-Elele-Port Harcourt, etc and mega others such as Isiala-Ngwa and Osisioma Army Checkpoints and Owerre-Nta Naval Checkpoint are noted to be the most “juicy” or “lucrative” military checkpoints east of the Niger. Each of them likely criminally retires home on daily basis with not less than N200, 000.

In the area of 3000 police roadblocks in the South-south, it is projected that each extortionist police roadblock in Delta, Edo, Rivers and Cross River States illicitly retires on daily basis with not less than N40, 000. Edo State is found “lucrative for extortionist police roadblocks not only on account of its middle-class oil and gas producing status but also because it hosts three most “lucrative” boundaries (Lagos-Benin-Ore, Onitsha-Asaba-Benin and Uromi-Okene). Delta State, apart from being a major oil and gas producer, is also turning into a major commercial hub, owing to its boundary with Onitsha. Cross River State is strengthened by its multiple boundaries’ sharing, serving as a gateway to the North, South-south, Cameroon and Southeast. Rivers State serves as “oil and gas” industrial capital of old Eastern Nigeria with attendant high volume of commercial activities. Akwa Ibom and Bayelsa States remain the “poorest” or less “lucrative” for extortionist police and military roadblocks on account of the named States’ sole status as “oil and gas” tigers but with largely white-collar social settings.

### **N56B Likely Collected Illicitly At Military Roadblocks In 50 Months (August 2015-Oct 2019)**

**Southeast & South-south:** Using a flat benchmark of N60, 000, the 200 military roadblocks in the Southeast must have illicitly made N18b in the past 50 months or between August 2015 and Oct 2019, with a shortfall of N3b, if calculated with N50, 000 average benchmark used as at Dec 2018 for 150 military roadblocks in the region. The shortfall is incorporated into the “dark figure” of N7.5b or a must include figure representing “untracked extortion”.

Presently, daily average of N60, 000 per military roadblock is applied since Jan, translating to N12m per day for 200 of them now found in the region, N360m per month, N4.3b per year and N18b in the past 50 months. For the estimated 400 military roadblocks in the South-south, it is same average of single sum of N60, 000 and total sum of N24m per day, N720m monthly, N8.64b yearly and N36b in 50 months. When added to N15b originally taken by 150 (August 2015-Dec 2018) and 200 (Jan-Oct 2019) military roadblocks in the Southeast plus the “dark figure” of N7.5b, the grand total comes to N56b or about \$190m in the past 50 months.

## **N250B Likely Collected Illicitly At Police Roadblocks In 50 Months (August 2015-Oct 2019)**

As a build up from our 2018 report, N102.6b was projected to have been illicitly collected by estimated 3,300 police roadblocks in the Southeast. The breakdown shows that in Anambra State where N26.1b was estimated to have been illicitly collected from August 2015-Dec 2018, on average of N40, 000 for each extortionist police roadblock per day; extra sum of N7.6b was added, making it N33.8b illicitly collected in the State in past 50 months.

Police roadblocks in Abia had also illicitly collected N29.6b at N40, 000 for each roadblock per day from 800 roadblocks. Others are N16b from 700 roadblocks in Imo at N30,000 for each roadblock, N10.5b from 500 roadblocks in Enugu at N25,000 for each roadblock per day and N10.5b from 500 roadblocks in Ebonyi at N25,000 for each roadblock per day; totaling N99.6b. When N2.6b is added as “dark figures of crime”, it brings the grand total to N102.6b.

In the South-south: Delta State, at N40, 000 for each of 450 police roadblocks in the State between August and Dec 2018, N21.6b was illicitly collected in forty months and between Jan and Oct 2019, at same N40, 000 for each of 600 existing police roadblocks, N7.2b was added, bringing the total to N28.8b in 50 months or between August 2015 and Oct 2019. In Edo State, same N28.8b was illicitly collected; likewise in Rivers (N28.8b) and Cross River States (N28.8b). But in Akwa Ibom and Bayelsa States, it was N30,000 for each of 350 projected police roadblocks in each of the two States, between August 2015 and Oct 2018; totaling N12.6b each.

When added with N3.6b illicitly collected by each of the 400 police roadblocks between Jan and Oct 2019, each of the two States had lost N16.2b in the past 50 months or between August 2015 and Oct 2019. In other words, the projected 3000 police roadblocks in the South-south had illicitly collected total of N147.6b in the past 50 months or four years and two months and when added to N102.6b illicitly collected by 3,300 police roadblocks in the Southeast, the two totals come to N250b. The grand total comes to N306b or about \$1b (using the official exchange rate) when the N56b or \$190m illicitly collected by 600 military roadblocks in the two regions is added.

### **Explaining The Attachments**

Attached are the Sampling Graphic Tables showing the number and locations of military and police roadblocks recently encountered and counted in Eastern Nigeria and photos of police officers extorting money from transporters and other road users on Eastern Roads and those of civilian agents hired and paid by the roadblock military personnel to collect criminal tolls for them at military checkpoints across the two regions. The photos were taken between Sept 2017 and Oct 2019.

**Photo (1) shows one of the hired civilian agents armed with stick forcing commercial motorists to part with roadblock bribe for the military (photo taken in late 2018 at Aba), photo (2) shows the outlook of the Atani Road Junction Naval Checkpoint in Onitsha, one of the most “lucrative” military checkpoints in Eastern Nigeria (photo taken in mid 2018 at Uga/Atani Road Junction in Onitsha), photo (3) shows a police SARS operative collecting N1000 bribe at Eastern roadblock (photo taken in Oct 2019), photo (4) shows a roadblock police team leader collecting N100 in two N50 notes at Eastern roadblock (photo taken in late 2017).**

**The rest are photo (5) shows a MOPOL police officer collecting N200 in two N100 notes from a Lorry driver at Eastern roadblock (photo taken in late 2016), photo (6) shows a MOPOL police officer pocketing bribe he collected from a KEKE rider at Aba metropolis (photo taken in late 2018), photo**

(7) shows a police officer demanding for bribe along Aba-Port Harcourt Road (photo taken on 14<sup>th</sup> Oct 2019), photo (8) shows another police officer pocketing bribe he collected (photo taken along Aba-Port Harcourt Road on 14<sup>th</sup> Oct 2019), photo (9) shows same police officer collecting N200 bribe from a commercial motorist (photo taken along Aba-Port Harcourt Road on 14<sup>th</sup> Oct 2019) and photo (10) shows the criminal toll ticket of N50 imposed by the Nigerian Army in Enugu on every KEKE rider (photo taken in Dec 2018).

### Sampling Graphic Tables Of Military & Police Roadblocks In Eastern Nigeria (August-Sept-Oct 2019)

#### Military & Police Roadblocks From Aba -Port-Harcourt

S/N	Military	SARS	Police/MOPOL
1	Osisioma Junction, Aba, Abia State	Ngwa-iyiekwe Junction	Before Ihie Junction
2	Ariaria Market Junction, Ukwa, Abia State	Obehie Junction	After Ihie Junction
3	Ngwa-iyiekwe Junction, Abia State	Ogbo Rubber	Before Ihie Burrow Pit
4	Obehie Village	Asa Highway	After Burrow Pit, Ukwa West
5	Ogbo Rubber, Aba-Port Harcourt Highway	Obunkwu	Before Ogwe Junction
6	Asa High School	(After) Oil Serv.	Close to Obehie Junction
7	Obunkwu City, along PH Highway		Imo Gate
8	Imo Gate Junction		Before Bridge
9	Oil Service Post		Bridge
10	To Imo Bridge		After Imo River
11	Boundary		Obigbo Junction
12	Bridge		
13	After Imo River		
14	Obigbo(Oyigbo) Junction		

#### Military & Police Roadblocks From Umuahia-Enugu-Abakiliki

	MILITARY	POLICE/MOPOL/SARS
1	Ubakala Road before L.G.A Headquarters	Before Ubakala Junction
2	Abia Tower Umuahia	After Ubakala Junction
3	NNPC Filling Station Umuahia-Enugu Highway	Before Abia Tower
4	New Gariki Okigwe	Umulolo
5	Okigwe Roundabout (2 checkpoints)	Before Ihube Junction (2 checkpoints)
6	Camp of Faith (3 checkpoints)	Nneru Junction
7	Umulolo Junction	Lokpa-Ukwu
8	Ihube Junction	Lokpa-Nta
9	Lokpa- Ukwu (2 checkpoints)	Isoji junction
10	Lokpa-Nta (2 checkpoints)	Before Better Life Junction
11	Better Life	Isiagu (Enugu - 2 checkpoints)
12	Aki-na-Ukwa Junction	Aninri/Imuno Junction

13	Ogbo-Ogu Junction	Aki-na-Ukwa
14	Isuawa Junction	Lenwe Junction
15	17 Miles	Nkwogu
16	Palm Site, Ezzamgbo	Ndiuno
17	133 Artillery Izzi Community	Ogbaku Junction
		Ituku before NNPC Junction
		St. Jane
		Oruka Community
		Idodo (Enugu)
		Nkalagu ( Ebonyi)
		Guest House Ntezi
		Isieke

### Military & Police Roadblocks From Abakiliki-Abaomege-Ugep-Calabar

	MILITARY	POLICE/MOPOL/SARS
1	Nkwagu	Nkwoagu (2 checkpoints)
2	Abaomege	Abaomege Flyover
3	Egboronyi (3 checkpoints)	Egboronyi (2 checkpoints)
4	Adadama Junction	Adadama (2 checkpoints)
5	Adiba Community (2 checkpoints)	Adiba (3 checkpoints)
6	Ugep	Ugep
7	Okomita (Palmo Estate Akamkpa-3 checkpoints)	Abini/Baise L.G.A Junction
8		Pamo Akamkpa
		Akpewong
		Small Iwuru
		Uyanga Junction
		Uyanga Estate
		Okomita Akamkpa
		Udukpam
		Pamo Estate
		Calabar Boundary
		Technical Roundabout

### Police Roadblocks From Port-Harcourt-Bayelsa

	MILITARY	POLICE/MOPOL/SARS
1		See for Eye
2		Obakiri Junction
3		Emeoha L.G.A (3 checkpoints)
4		Water Land (Emeoha)
5		Udeoha (Emeoha)
6		Evaco (Emeoha)
7		Umuji
8		Ndele (2 checkpoints)
9		Ndele Pipeline
10		Elele (3 checkpoints)
11		Elele Hospital Junction
12		Elele Pipeline
13		Elele Junction

14		Before Mbiama Bridge
15		Ulo-Okobo
16		Mbiama (2 checkpoints)
17		Ikpogene (2 checkpoints)
18		Ikpogene Gate

### Military & Police Roadblocks From Okigwe Junction- Abakiliki

	MILITARY	POLICE/MOPOL/SARS
1	Abia State University Uturu (2 checkpoints)	Police Station Okigwe
2	Master Energy by Indomie Company	Before Uturu Park
3	Master Energy by Estate Uturu	Before Master Energy Company
4	Akaeze L.G.A Headquarters (Ebonyi State)	Akaeze Roundabout
5	Before Amasiri Junction	Oso Edda Junction
6	Afikpo/ Abakiliki Junction	Before Amasiri Junction
7	After Abaomege Junction	After Amasiri Park
8	Military Barrack Isieke	Afikpo Junction
9		Abaomege
10		Onueke
11		Nkwoagu

### Military & Police Roadblocks From Abakiliki-Mbok- Ogoja LGA

	MILITARY	POLICE/MOPOL/SARS
1	Onu Ebonyi (after the River)	Onu Bridge
2	After Iboko Junction	Iboko Junction, izzi
3	Aru-Nwakpa Checkpoint	Before Ebonyi Boundary
4	Boundary between Ebonyi and Cross River	After Nfuma Junction
5	Nfuma Junction	Iyahe Roundabout
6	Nfuma Market	Opposite Mbok Market
7	3 Gun Checkpoint	Mbok Roundabout
8	Iyahe Junction	
9	Mbok Junction	

### Military & Police Roadblocks From Aba-Akwa-Ibom-Calabar

	MILITARY	POLICE/MOPOL/SARS
1	Obikabia Junction	Umuobiakwa Junction
2	Federal Highway (2 checkpoints)	Umuahia-Ikot-Ekpene Road
3	Magic FM (Ovom Village)	Calabar-Itu Road (5 checkpoints)
4	Umuahia-Ikot-Ekpene Highway(2 checkpoints)	Ikot-Ekpene to Uyo Junction (4 checkpoints)
5	Itukpa Junction	Olukpani Road (3 checkpoints)
6	Itu Highway (3 checkpoints)	Akirika Road (2 checkpoints)
7	Itu Bridge	Azunmiri (2 checkpoints)
8	Olukpani Highway (3 checkpoints)	After Itu Bridge (2 checkpoints)
9	Azummiri Junction (2 checkpoints)	Enemekai (2 checkpoints)
10	Akirika Junction (2 checkpoints)	
11	Etimekpo Junction (2 checkpoints)	
12	Enemekai (2 checkpoints)	
13	No Man's Land before Akirika (3 checkpoints)	
14	Afagago Junction (2 checkpoints)	

## Military Roadblocks In Aba Metropolis

	<b>Military</b>
1	Osisioma by Port Harcourt Expressway
2	Ariaria Market Junction,
3	Osisioma Depot/Ekeakpara Market
4	Osisioma-Aba-Owerri Road
5	Umuojimma Village
6	Urata Junction
7	Seven Decks/Faulks Road
8	MCC Road
9	Abia Poly/Brass Road
10	Okpu-Umuobo Road by Ama Double
11	Ahiankwo Village Market
12	Umuogele Road
13	Aba Mosque by School Road
14	Ngwa Road by Ahia Ohuru
15	Alaoji Market
16	Aba-Port Harcourt Road
17	Obikabia Junction
18	Bata Junction

	<b>Military</b>
19	Ohanku-Owerri Road
20	Aba Road
21	Azummini-Opobo Road
22	Glass Force
23	Seven-Up/Glass Industry
24	Opobo Junction
25	Umu-Eze Road by Primary School
26	Onicha-Ngwa
27	Ohanze
28	Umu-Imo

## Military & Police Roadblocks From Osisioma-Aba-Isialangwa-Umuekah-Owerri

	<b>MILITARY</b>	<b>POLICE/MOPOL</b>	<b>SARS</b>
1	Osisioma Junction	Osisioma Junction	Umuobom
2	Arungwa Junction (2 checkpoints)	Before TONIMAS Company	Ihite
3	Umuekah (3 checkpoints)	Opposite TONIMAS Company	Umuhu
4	Isialangwa (2 checkpoints)	After TONIMAS Company	Ngor-Okpa-ala
5	Imo River	Before Arungwa Junction	After Airport Junction
6	Airport Junction	After Arungwa Junction	
7		Umuaguru Junction	
8		Old Toll Gate	
9		Umuekah	
10		After Umuekah junction (Cherubim & Seraphim)	
11		Isialangwa Junction	
12		Ntigha Junction	



13		Ugba Junction	
14		Imo River	
15		After Imo River	
15		Ngor-Okpa-ala Junction	
16		Umudim Junction	
17		Before Airport Junction	
18		Airport Junction	
19		Air Force Hospital	
20		Ulakwo	

### **N16B (\$53m) Extortion By Customs Service, Federal Road Safety & Ors (from August 2015-Dec 2018)**

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.

### **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 wharfs 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 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.

Because 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 2<sup>nd</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> 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).

### **N255B (\$850M) Spent In Past 50 Months By Eastern Govs In Aid Of Military & Policing Formations In Eastern Nigeria**

By our independent conservative estimates, Your Excellencies, the Eleven Govs of Eastern Nigeria are likely to have spent not less than N255b or about \$850m (going by official exchange rate) in the past four years and two months (August 2015-Oct 2019) in aid of military and policing formations and their operations in Eastern Nigeria. It is further estimated that not less than N460b (\$1.5b) in all had been withdrawn in the past four years from the Consolidated Revenue Funds of the Eleven Eastern States as Governors' 'monthly security votes'; out of which not less than N255b was spent in aid of the military and policing formations located in the two regions. Instances also abound where some Govs in the two regions collect and spend as much as N1.3b each as monthly 'security votes.

The N450b 'security votes' withdrawn and spent gives average of N800m per month, out of which average of N400m had been spent monthly since August 2015 by each of the Eleven States in aid of the said Federal military and policing formations in the two regions. The huge sum can comfortably tar or reconstruct 25 federal roads in Eastern Region at N10b and 60 kilometers each. The N255b was spent through "the Joint Security Taskforce" or "Operation Delta Safe" or "Operation Python Dance", etc and excluded 'election security funding'. Yet, despite spending such huge sums from the meager public funds of the Peoples of the Eastern Nigeria in the last four years, the two regions are still shut out and treated leprously when it comes to appointment and posting of key officers manning the military and policing formations in the two regions. This, therefore, is totally condemned and unacceptable.

### **Grand Loss Of N901b (\$2.95b) 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 N901b or \$2.95b (at official exchange of N306 per \$USD) must have been lost in 50 months or between August 2015 and Oct 2019.

While N557.8b or \$1.85b was lost to sundry roadblock extortion in 50 months by military and police personnel as well as the N16b extorted by paramilitary formations including Customs Service, FRSC, NDLEA, and NAFDAC between August 2015 and Dec 2018. Others included N48b 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 N255b in futile efforts to aid or support the military and police personnel and formations stationed in the Region between August 2015 and Oct 2019 or past 50 months; bringing the total to N901b or \$2.95b.

### **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 11<sup>th</sup> 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 twinkling 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 post 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; 12<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> 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, 25<sup>th</sup> November 2018, of 33 members of the Igbo population arrested on Friday, 23<sup>rd</sup> 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 28<sup>th</sup> 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 Nwajobi, 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, 28<sup>th</sup> November 2018 (published in the evening of Tuesday, 27<sup>th</sup> November 2018), the unlawful arrest, detention and criminal parading of the traders later on Tuesday, 27<sup>th</sup> 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, 25<sup>th</sup> 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, 1<sup>st</sup> December 2018 (few minutes past 11pm). **Intersociety** called the Agbaedo



Market Motor Spare Parts Dealers in the morning of Sunday, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 30<sup>th</sup> of August 2015 to 20<sup>th</sup> January 2017 and 12<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> September 2017 that led to not less than 480 deaths is as follows: six (6) deaths in the 30<sup>th</sup> of August 2015 protests at Awka and Onitsha, nine (9) in the Uyo and Port Harcourt mega protests of 30<sup>th</sup> August 2015, twenty-five (25) in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> December 2015 protest and jubilation killings at Onitsha Niger Bridgehead and environs. Others are: fifteen (15) in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> January 2016 killings in Aba, thirty (30) in the 9<sup>th</sup> February 2016 massacre at Aba National High School, one hundred and ten (110) in the 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> May 2016 Biafra Heroes Day massacre at Nkpor, Ogidi and Onitsha and thirty (30) in the Asaba spill over massacre of 30<sup>th</sup> May 2016. The rest are: twenty (20) in the 20<sup>th</sup> January

2017 pro Trump Rally in Igweocha or Port Harcourt, 180 in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> 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, 110 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 investigated 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 29<sup>th</sup> 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 un-captured. 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 Yenagoa (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 30<sup>th</sup> August 2015; 2<sup>nd</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> December 2015 protest and jubilation match killings in Onitsha; 18<sup>th</sup>

and 29<sup>th</sup> January and 9<sup>th</sup> February 2016 massacre in Aba; 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> May 2016 Biafra Heroes Day massacre at Nkpor, Onitsha and Asaba.

The rest were the 20<sup>th</sup> January 2017 pro-Trump rally killings in Port Harcourt and 12<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> 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 Yenegoa, 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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 (14<sup>th</sup> 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 15<sup>th</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> September 2017.

What took place at Afara-Ukwu on 14<sup>th</sup> 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 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 12<sup>th</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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 firsthand 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 12<sup>th</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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 12<sup>th</sup> September. In the late night of 13<sup>th</sup> and early hours of 14<sup>th</sup> 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, Osisioma, 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 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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 13<sup>th</sup> 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 (14<sup>th</sup> 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 18<sup>th</sup> 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 12<sup>th</sup> 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 12<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> 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 18<sup>th</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> September. No fewer than 20 deaths were also recorded at Isiala-Ngwa on 12<sup>th</sup>, and 14<sup>th</sup> September, and no fewer than 25 deaths were recorded in Aba on 11<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup>, and 14<sup>th</sup>

*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 13<sup>th</sup> and early hours of 14<sup>th</sup> 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 18<sup>th</sup> 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 scenes 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 8<sup>th</sup> 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 24<sup>th</sup> November 2016, **Intersociety** on 16<sup>th</sup> 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 29<sup>th</sup> 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:** Apart from the staggering sum of over N255b given by the Southeast and the South-south Governors including the 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 50 months or between August 2015 and Oct 2019; in aid or support of their military massacre operations, the Southeast 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 30<sup>th</sup> August 2015 and 14<sup>th</sup> 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 during 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 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

	<b>NAME</b>	<b>POSITION HELD</b>	<b>ATROCITY CRIMES COMMITTED</b>
1	<i>President Muhammadu Buhari and his office (vicarious &amp; 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 &amp; repeat perpetrator)</i>	<i>Chief of Army Staff since 13<sup>th</sup> 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."</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 &amp; repeat perpetrator)</i>	<i>Governor of Abia State since 29<sup>th</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> February 2021.</i>

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

	<b>NAME</b>	<b>POSITION HELD</b>	<b>ATROCITY CRIMES COMMITTED</b>
1	<i>Major Gen Adamu Baba Abubakar (direct perpetrator)</i>	<i>Then GOC, 82 Division of the Nigerian Army, Enugu</i>	<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.</i>
2	<i>Then Brig Gen, but now Major Gen Abdul Kalifah Ibrahim (direct perpetrator)</i>	<i>Then Brigade Commander, 14 Brigade, Ohafia, and now Deputy</i>	✓

		<i>Director, Veteran Affairs at Army Hqtrs</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 Commander, 34 Brigade, Imo State and now Director of Exams at Training &amp; Doctrine Command, Army Hqrs</i>	✓
7	<i>Lt Col Sidi Kasim Umar (direct &amp; 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 &amp; Logistics, Owerre-Nta, Abia State</i>	✓
9	<i>Col Sagir Musa (direct &amp; repeat perpetrator)</i>	<i>Then Deputy Director of Information, Army Public Relations 82 Division, Enugu &amp; now Director, Nigeria Army Public Relations</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 14<sup>th</sup> 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 2<sup>nd</sup> Dec. 2015, 30<sup>th</sup> May 2016 & 20<sup>th</sup> Jan. 2017**

	<b>NAME</b>	<b>POSITION HELD</b>	<b>ATROCITY CRIMES COMMITTED</b>
1	<i>President Muhammadu Buhari &amp; his office (vicarious &amp; 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 those 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 advise against the massacre and ensures that same is brought to end.</i>
3	<i>Lt Gen Tukur Yusuf Buratai ((direct &amp; repeat perpetrator)</i>	<i>Chief of Army Staff since 13<sup>th</sup> 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 2<sup>nd</sup> December 2015 to 30<sup>th</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> December 2015 and 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> May 2016 massacre operations in Onitsha, Nkpor and Asaba (Delta State). He proceeded in 2017 to the National Institute for Policy &amp; 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 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> 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</i>	<i>Then Commissioner of Police, Anambra State and now Police AIG, in</i>	<i>He administratively supervised, on behalf of the Nigeria Police Force, the 2<sup>nd</sup> December 2015 and 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> May 2016 massacre operations at</i>

	<i>appointment number: AP30479) (direct perpetrator)</i>	<i>charge of Zone 9, Umuahia (Abia State)</i>	<i>Nkpor and Onitsha. He will retire from the Nigeria Police Force on 8<sup>th</sup> 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</i>	<i>He headed the police field operations during the 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> May 2016 massacre in Onitsha and Nkpor. He will statutorily retire from the Nigeria Police Force on 15<sup>th</sup> 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 2<sup>nd</sup> December 2015 and 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> May 2016 street protests and related events, leading to massacre or mass killings that occurred in Onitsha, Nkpor and Asaba, resulting to over 150 deaths and 140 injuries. He retired from the Nigeria Police Force as IGP on 21<sup>st</sup> June 2016.</i>
10	<i>Retired IGP Ibrahim Kpotum Idris (with NPF enlistment number: AP24246) (direct &amp; 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 15<sup>th</sup> January 2019)</i>	<i>He led the federal police field operations during the 2<sup>nd</sup> December 2015 and 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> May 2016 pro-Biafra street protests’ massacre, killing over 150 defenseless citizens and injuring 140 others. He also partook vicariously and operationally in the 20<sup>th</sup> 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 &amp; 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 9<sup>th</sup> 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 &amp; 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 9<sup>th</sup> February 2016 National High School massacre in Aba, Abia State and partook as DIG F/OPS in the 20<sup>th</sup> January pro-Trump rally killings in Port Harcourt. He will retire statutorily from the NPF on 15<sup>th</sup> 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 9<sup>th</sup> 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 13<sup>th</sup> July 2023. He must be tried and convicted.</i>

14	<i>Retired SSS Director, Lawal Musa Daura (direct &amp; 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 7<sup>th</sup> August 2018. He must be tried and convicted</i>
15	<i>Governor Okezie Victor Ikpeazu (vicarious &amp; repeat perpetrator)</i>	<i>Present Governor of Abia State since May 29<sup>th</sup> 2015.</i>	<p><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 18<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> January and 9<sup>th</sup> February 2016 particularly those that gathered for prayer rally at the National High School, Aba on 9<sup>th</sup> February 2016.</i></p> <p><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 1<sup>st</sup> 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></p>
16	<i>Governor William Mmaduabuchukwu Obiano (direct perpetrator)</i>	<i>Governor of Anambra State since 17<sup>th</sup> March 2014</i>	<p><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 2<sup>nd</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> December 2015 and 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> June 2016 in one of the two military cemeteries located in the Onitsha Military Barracks.</i></p> <p><i>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</i></p>



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

### Principal Perpetrators In The 20<sup>th</sup> January 2017 Pro Trump Rally Killings In Port Harcourt, Rivers State

	<b>NAME</b>	<b>POSITION HELD</b>	<b>ATROCITY CRIMES COMMITTED</b>
1	<i>Major Gen Enobong Okon Udo(direct perpetrator)</i>	<i>Then GOC, 6 Division of the Nigerian Army, Port Harcourt &amp; 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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 &amp; 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 1<sup>st</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> January 2019</i>	✓

### Int'l Reactions Concerning This Special Report

#### Nigerian Laws Do Not Support The Killings: Intersociety Tells UN's Dr Agnes Callamard

The 2-weeks visit to Nigeria (18<sup>th</sup> August to 2<sup>nd</sup> Sept 2019) by the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Extra Judicial, Arbitrary and Summary Killings or Executions, Dr Agnes Callamard is commendable and deeply appreciated, but we are seriously concerned over some missing points found in the UN Chief's End of Visit Statement, released in Abuja on 2<sup>nd</sup> Sept 2019. The statistics as presented was acutely below factuality and inconsistent with the realities on the ground.

It is totally reprehensible and morally damning to misrepresent or under-represent the numbers and names of the defenseless citizens or nationals killed or maimed or traumatized outside the confines of universally standardized State or non-State actor excuses or defenses. It amounts to setting fire on their cosmic world and mocking and disrespecting the dead; particularly those violently sent to their early graves by the atrocious State actors.

Recognizing them in dead by their names and numbers is one of the best ways of immortalizing them and reminding the posterity that they once existed and paid supreme prize for safety, security and decency of human society.

#### **Intersociety States As Follows:**

1. That Dr. Agnes Callamard's visit to Nigeria despite all odds; was a courageous and bold step and timely in the right direction. Her team's findings as contained in her **End of Visit Statement** are just a tip of the iceberg compared to what is on the ground. Two weeks are not enough to unearth litanies of state actor and non-state actor atrocities enveloping the country in industrial scale.
2. That it is recalled that **Intersociety** had during the UN Chief's visit made an oral presentation before her (Dr. Agnes Callamard) specifically on Wednesday, 28<sup>th</sup> August 2019. The presentation bordered on extra judicial, summary and arbitrary killings or executions; specifically, on the 'Nigerian Military Massacre Operations In Eastern Nigeria: 30<sup>th</sup> August 2015-14<sup>th</sup> Sept 2017' and was backed up with some written research reports and findings made by Intersociety.
3. That however, we felt deeply concerned over some missing points found in the UN Chief's **End of Visit Statement**, released on 2<sup>nd</sup> Sept 2019. We also rose in strong disagreement concerning the UN Chief's statement, implying that "the broad nature of the country's legal provisions particularly the existing 1999 Constitution have made it possible for the perpetrators to exploit such loopholes or ouster clauses to kill and maim defenseless and unarmed citizens at will and go scot free". This is contained in Paragraph 57 of the referenced statement.
4. That we totally disagreed and still disagree with the UN Chief on this and make bold to say that "Nigerian laws do not support killing and maiming of defenseless and unarmed citizens including those in religious sanctuaries or those in peaceful street protests or those in religious processions or those inside perimeter fenced compounds singing and praying or those in their sleep, etc. Concrete facts to support this are provided below.
5. That as it concerns the **Arbitrary Killings of Members of the Indigenous People of Biafra**, contained in Paragraphs 47-52 of the UN Chief's **End of Visit Statement**, the statistics given with respect to casualty figures were brutally under-represented. It must be pointed out that our opinion on this and the correct position as it ought to be; have since been transmitted to the UN's Anti Extra Judicial Killings Chief, for purpose of having them reflected correctly in her subsequent reports as well as guiding her factually to take correct positions on the subject matter.
6. **480 Deaths & 500 Injuries In All, Not "250"**: That the UN Chief had in her statement said the following: "*Between 2015 and 2016, it is alleged that law enforcement officials killed at least 100 IPOB members in different events in Aba (Abia State) and, Awka and Onitsha (Anambra State). On 29 and 30 May 2016, during a demonstration, the Nigerian military opened fire on IPOB members and bystanders in Onitsha. At least 60 persons were killed and over 70 injured,*

*mainly shot in the back. The exact number of deaths remains unknown. Between 12 and 14 September 2017, IPOB followers gathered at the family home of their leader, Nnamdi Kanu, in Afara-Ukwu (Abia State) to take part in a peaceful vigil. The military operation (as part of Python Dance II) carried out in the afternoon of 14 September 2017 is alleged to have resulted in the killing of 150 persons”.*

7. That contrarily, by the account of AI Report, issued on 24<sup>th</sup> Nov 2016, ‘150 IPOB Members were killed and others injured’. The UN Chief said “between 2015 and 2016, not less than 100 killed”. It must be noted that the Amnesty International Report covered only 9<sup>th</sup> Feb 2016 killings in Aba and 30<sup>th</sup> May 2016 massacre in Onitsha and Nkpor and did not include 2015 killings (i.e. 2<sup>nd</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Dec Onitsha killings), Asaba spillover killings of 30<sup>th</sup> May 2016, the Pro Donald Trump Rally killings in Port Harcourt on 20<sup>th</sup> Jan 2017 and the Army Python Dance 11 massacre in Abia State on 12<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> Sept 2017.
8. That broadly, by the account of Intersociety research-investigations, covering 30<sup>th</sup> August 2015 (Onitsha, Awka, Port Harcourt, Yanagoa, Uyo and Asaba killings), 2<sup>nd</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Dec 2015 (Onitsha killings), 18<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> Jan, and 9<sup>th</sup> Feb 2016 (Aba killings) and 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> May 2016 (Onitsha, Nkpor, Ogidi and Asaba massacre); a total of not less than 250 (including 25 added dark figures of crimes) IPOB activists, bystanders and others were killed and 300 maimed.
9. That also between 20<sup>th</sup> Jan (pro Donald Trump rally killings) and 12<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> Sept 2017 (Army Python Dance massacre in Abia State), not less than 200 (excluding 30 additional dark figures of crimes arising from injury-deaths) were killed and 200 others maimed; which brings to not less than 480 killed and over 500 maimed or wounded in the entire killings and injuries between 30<sup>th</sup> August 2015 and 14<sup>th</sup> Sept 2017.
10. That it is therefore not correct for the respected UN Chief to have concluded that “the exact number of death remains unknown” rather, it is likely correct to say that ‘independent research sources (i.e. Nigeria’s Intersociety report) put the total deaths and injuries in the shootings and killings to not less than 480 and 500, respectively’.
11. **Breakdown Of The Casualty Figures (From Intersociety Report):** That not less than six (6) deaths were recorded in the 30<sup>th</sup> of August 2015 protests at Awka and Onitsha, nine (9) in the Uyo and Port Harcourt mega protests of 30<sup>th</sup> August 2015, twenty-five (25) in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> December 2015 protest and jubilation killings at Onitsha Niger Bridgehead and environs.

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

The rest are: twenty (20) in the 20<sup>th</sup> January 2017 pro Trump Rally in Igweocha or Port Harcourt, 180 in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> 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 later died of injuries and associated complications after being shot and critically injured by the military and the police, totalling 485 deaths.

12. That it is not only that the Nigerian Government refused and failed to treat the wounded in the killings, numbering over 500, but also dozens have died because of untreated injuries with dozens more crippled for life. It was also documented in the report how Nigerian security forces particularly Police SARS and Army personnel invaded at late night and in broad day light the hospitals and clinic treating the wounded, disrupted their treatments and abducted them to unknown destinations, without traces till date.

The wives and children of the victims have not only been abandoned by the Nigerian Government to wallow in abject poverty and deprived of education or access to same, but also the Government has refused and failed to offer commensurate compensations to the survivors including the wounded and nuclear family members of the slain.

13. **Number And Names Of The Slain & The Injured Cited:** That out of the not less than 480 death tolls cited, 110 names were mentioned including 16 lifeless bodies dumped in two burrow pits along Aba-Port Harcourt Road, Aba in February 2016 and four persons that later died in Dec 2015 of gunshot wounds at a Hospital (names withheld) at Nkpor in December. The remaining 370 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.

The referenced number of the slain and the maimed was credibly obtained from several sources including discreet hospital and mortuary sources, eyewitnesses and survivors as well as some concerned security officials who wish not to be named. Those pieces of credible information were obtained during our field trips, scene of crime visits and general research-investigations, conducted between Dec 2015 and Dec 2018. It is our firm belief that the 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 or international inquiries by concerned international bodies.

A typical case in point was the setting up of Hon Justice G.C.M. Onyiuke Tribunal of 1968 that investigated 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 29<sup>th</sup> May 1966 to December 1967; with estimated 1,627,743 (IDPs) Easterners fleeing back to Eastern Nigeria as a result of the 1966 pogrom.”*

**Difference Between Amnesty Int’l & Intersociety Reports:** That the AI Report was narrower in coverage, space, time and casualties; having covered the 9<sup>th</sup> Feb killings in Aba and 30<sup>th</sup> May 2016 massacre in Onitsha and Nkpor.

On the other hand, the Intersociety Report broadly covered phase one involving the 30<sup>th</sup> August 2015 (Onitsha, Awka, Port Harcourt, Yanagoa, Uyo and Asaba killings), 2<sup>nd</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Dec 2015 (Onitsha killings), 18<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> Jan, and 9<sup>th</sup> Feb 2016 (Aba killings) and 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> May 2016 (Onitsha, Nkpor, Ogidi and Asaba massacre); and phase two involving the 20<sup>th</sup> Jan 2017 (pro Donald Trump rally killings in Port Harcourt) and the 12<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> Sept 2017 (Army Python Dance massacre in Abia State).

14. **Locations Of The Killings Including Seven Graveyards As Contained In Intersociety Report:** That 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.

15. **Local Laws Do Not Support The Killings:** That contrary to the UN Chief's position as contained in Paragraph 57 of her **End of Visit Statement**, local laws led by the 1999 Constitution do not empower or support the security forces to open fire and kill or wound unarmed and defenceless citizens in Nigeria including those in religious sanctuaries, places of work or those in perimeter fenced compounds singing and praying or those engaged in peaceful street protests. From our monitoring and findings, the pro Biafra and Shiite Muslim Street protests and processions are the most peaceful and best organized in Nigeria; yet the security forces open fire at close range, killing and wounding them in their hundreds at each of such protests.
16. That exceptions provided in Section 33 of the Constitution in the context of use of force have nothing whatsoever to do with shooting and killing those classified above. The exceptions are strictly meant for violent criminals who are violent in the time of their arrest or in custody (i.e. suspected armed robbers, kidnappers, arsonists or murderers, etc). Others that fall into this category include violent criminal entities such as armed opposition groups (i.e. Boko Haram and Jihadist Fulani Herdsmen) or battlefield combatants in the circumstances of internal conflict or insurrection.

Totality of the above is also governed by proportionality of force and military necessity. By Section 1 (3) of the Constitution, any local legal provision or supplementary provision such as Police Order 237 which is inconsistent with the provisions of the Constitution is instantly unconstitutional, null and void.

By Section 315 of the same Constitution, such Laws of the Federation and of the 36 States and their Supplementary Provisions or Enactments are subject to and must be brought under the existing Constitution of the country. Nigeria is also a Party to a litany of international rights treaty laws, duly ratified and domesticated variously by the country.

In all these, no derogation is allowed. In other words, Nigeria is not an animal kingdom, but democratic country. Its leaders' conduct-policies and conduct-actions as well as the provisions of its laws must always conform with the international best practices under the UN System.

17. That it is also important to point out the following: 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.
18. That 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 26<sup>th</sup> June 1983 (African Charter).

19. That 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.
20. That 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 stated in the UN Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance, signed and ratified by Nigeria on 27<sup>th</sup> July 2009.
21. That 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.
22. That 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 and above who violates the criminal laws of a country or a defined political territory such as Nigeria. 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***.
23. ***That 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 scenes of religious processions, peaceful street protests or rallies, picketing, meeting, night vigils, at sleep, workplaces, etc; all amount to victims of unlawful killings and extrajudicial executions.***
24. ***That 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 accusation of 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.***
25. ***That 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, now criminalized by the newly enacted anti Torture Act of 2017. 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 or States' Houses of Assembly".***
26. ***That 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).***
27. That that is to say that any killing of unarmed or defenseless 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***.

28. That 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.
29. That 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 credibly and circumstantially accused of committing capital offence such as in the offences of 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.
30. That 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), the *code of conduct and the rules of engagement for personnel and officers of the Nigerian Army, Air Force, Navy and SSS* 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.
31. That therefore, we in summation make bold to say that the massacre of members of the Indigenous People of Biafra, bystanders and those in their places of work and religious sanctuaries, etc all amounted to crimes against humanity because there was no armed resistance or armed opposition group in the area affected by the military massacre. Which explains why there was no single loss of a soldier; yet hundreds were massacred, and hundreds maimed.
32. That the massacre was also perpetrated outside the existing local laws (Constitution and its auxiliaries), regional (i.e. African Rights Charter) and international (i.e. ICCPR & ICESCR) laws, etc. None of the perpetrators, till date, has been brought or made to account for atrocities perpetrated. That is to say that whatever defense put up by the present Government of Nigeria as per the massacre is dead on arrival as it was perpetrated beyond excuses and defenses known to the local Constitution and international best practices.
33. That there also have been several cases of disappearances, arbitrary arrest and detention without trial, trumped-up charges, psychological and physical torture and other degrading treatments. Criminal cases filed in courts by the Federal Government against the arrested and long detained victims have been riddled with discontinuances or discontinuations, withdrawals and dismissals, etc., all for lack of evidence, diligent investigation and prosecution; to the extent that Government of Nigeria has not secured a single conviction against any of the vindictively arrested and accused victims since August 2015.
34. **Use Of Terror Tag For Purpose Of Evading Local & Int'l Justice:** That the Nigerian authorities apart from failing the litmus test of ***the int'l law's principle of complementarity and no impunity*** or inability and unwillingness to fish out and punish the perpetrators using the instrumentalities of the country's municipal laws have also come up with reckless use of 'terror tag' against unarmed civil entities that have their unarmed and defenseless members



including women and children (i.e. members of IPOB, IMN and innocent others) massacred or maimed in their thousands by the country's security forces led by the Nigerian Army.

35. That specifically, the Nigerian Defense Headquarters had on 15<sup>th</sup> Sept 2017 after receiving the intelligence reports that its soldiers had massacred many (later found to be over 180) unarmed and defenseless citizens in Abia State in execution of its 'Operation Python Dance 11', caused steps to be taken apparently to retroactively justify the massacre and escape or evade local and int'l justice by designating 'IPOB' as a 'terror organization' and on Sunday, 17<sup>th</sup> Sept 2017, President Muhammadu Buhari issued a proclamation tagging 'IPOB' a terrorist organization. This was followed by a retroactive ex parte court order issued by the now retired Justice Abdul Kafarati, then Acting Chief Judge of the Federal High Court in Nigeria. The court order ex parte was made on Wednesday, 20<sup>th</sup> Sept 2017.
36. Two years later, the same Federal Government of Nigeria on Friday, 26<sup>th</sup> July 2019 approached an Abuja Division of the Federal High Court presided over by Justice Nkeonye Maha. The ex parte application was made via Suit No: **FHC/ABJ/CS/876/2019**, urging the Court to proscribe 'IMN' or 'Islamic Movement in Nigeria' and declare same as 'terrorist organization'. The Judge granted the application as unilaterally canvassed. Days later, the Nigerian Government pronounced Shiite Muslims as "terror group" and banned same; with consequent crackdown on their members including death in police custody of three of their bullet-injured members and invasion of hospitals treating the wounded and their abduction to unknown destinations, etc.

### What Must Be Done To Ensure Justice & Deterrence

- *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) as well as indicted direct and vicarious 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 as well as general disruption and suppression of the economic activities in the Southeast and the South-south Regions.
- 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 South-south 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.
- 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 further 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. Continuing 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 do not have expiring dates.*

- *The int'l justice organizations and concerned others, on the other hand, shall now or later do the needful with respect to Muhammadu Buhari, Yemi Osinbajo, Wiiliam Obiano and Victor Okezie Ikpeazu. The named in the atrocity crimes shall also be arrested and prosecuted in Nigeria when they must have lost their office immunities.*
- *The 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.*
- *Law Enforcement and Rule of Law in Nigeria must be evenly or uniformly enforced irrespective of ethnic, religious, economic and cultural origins or affiliations by 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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 who are languishing in various police and SSS detention facilities or prison custodies across the country. These 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.*
- *All military roadblocks in Igbo Land or Southeast Region and South-south, presently numbering not less than 600 and their police counterparts, numbering not less than 6300 as at Jan 2020 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 and rest of the old Eastern Nigeria.*
- *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 and the South-south Regions to return the N306b criminal roadblock or extortion proceeds and general economic damages of N901b to the coffers of the Governments of Anambra, Abia, Imo, Enugu, Ebonyi, Delta, Rivers, Edo, Akwa Ibom, Cross River and Bayelsa States.*
- *In returning the criminal proceeds of N306b, the authorities of the Nigeria Police Force shall return a total of N250b extorted, the Nigerian Military N100b and the named Paramilitary formations (Custom, FRSC, NDLEA and NAFDAC) N16b previously extorted; totalling N306b or \$1b.*
- *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 Jan 2020.*

- *The purpose of fishing out the names of officers and personnel of the affected security agencies shall be to have the N306b criminal proceeds deducted from their monetized remunerations including pensions of those already retired including the past IGPs since August 2015; 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), retired or still serving.*
- *The Governors of the Southeast and the South-south Regions and other top political office holders and leaders from the two Regions 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 their States or the two Regions. 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 abolished*
- *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, updated in Jan 2020) 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. These shall be exercised under the 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 Eastern Nigeria,” covering August 2015-September 2017 and into 2019. The Panel of Enquiry shall be set up by the Eastern Governors Forums in the two Regions.*
- *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 them and their families, freezing of their accounts and seizure or confiscation of their assets abroad, 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 leading 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.*

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## Profile Of Emeka Umeagbalasi

**Birth & Education:** Born Emeka Godfrey (Benjamin) Umeagbalasi on 21<sup>st</sup> Feb 1969, he hails from Ezinifite in Aguata Local Government Area of Anambra State in Eastern Nigeria. Mr. Umeagbalasi is Igbo Nigerian born criminologist and graduate of security studies; private businessman and a leading rights and democracy campaigner based in Onitsha, Eastern Nigeria. He also holds Master of Science Degree in Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution and has been a grassroots rights defender and democracy campaigner in Nigeria since 1995. His criminological and securitization background gives him an edge in social research and investigative activism.

**Positions In Human Rights & Democracy Leadership:** Mr. Emeka Umeagbalasi 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. 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 convener of the Southeast Based Coalition of Human Rights & Democracy Organizations (SBCHROs), a group of over twenty rights and democracy organizations operating in Southeast Nigeria and had attended several trainings, workshops and seminars bordering on torture, extra judicial killings or summary executions or unlawful killings: involuntary disappearances and public security and safety and general defense of human rights and democracy. He had also featured as participant and a resource person in several of them both within Nigeria and beyond.

**Publications & Media Links:** Umeagbalasi has authored several human rights, security, justice and democracy advocacy publications; spearheaded campaigns and been awarded numerous human rights certificates and merit awards. Among special reports in his authorship name are: **Welcome To Bleeding Republic of Nigeria: March 2017**, **The Ezu River Massacre: June 2017** and **The Military Massacre In Eastern Nigeria: August 2015-Sept 2017** (above), released in Jan 2019 and updated in Jan 2020. He is presently working on: **The Noble Ways Of Life Of The Igbo People Of Africa**.

Mr. Emeka Umeagbalasi had written over one thousand advocacy letters, press releases and research statements on matters of general and specific human rights, rule of law, security including faith violence (i.e. killing and persecution of Christians in Nigeria) and defense of democracy in Nigeria and beyond. These had taken place in the past 12 years or since 2008 when his **Intersociety** was founded. He had also featured in several print, electronic and audio-visual or radio interviews or programs including the Int'l Christian Post, CNN, BBC, VOA and numerous local television and radio stations and newspapers. He maintains a robust working relationship with the US Embassy, the Canadian High Commission, the British Council and the European Union Mission in Nigeria.

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