

Welcome To Bleeding Republic Of Nigeria

A Land Flowing With Blood And Tears

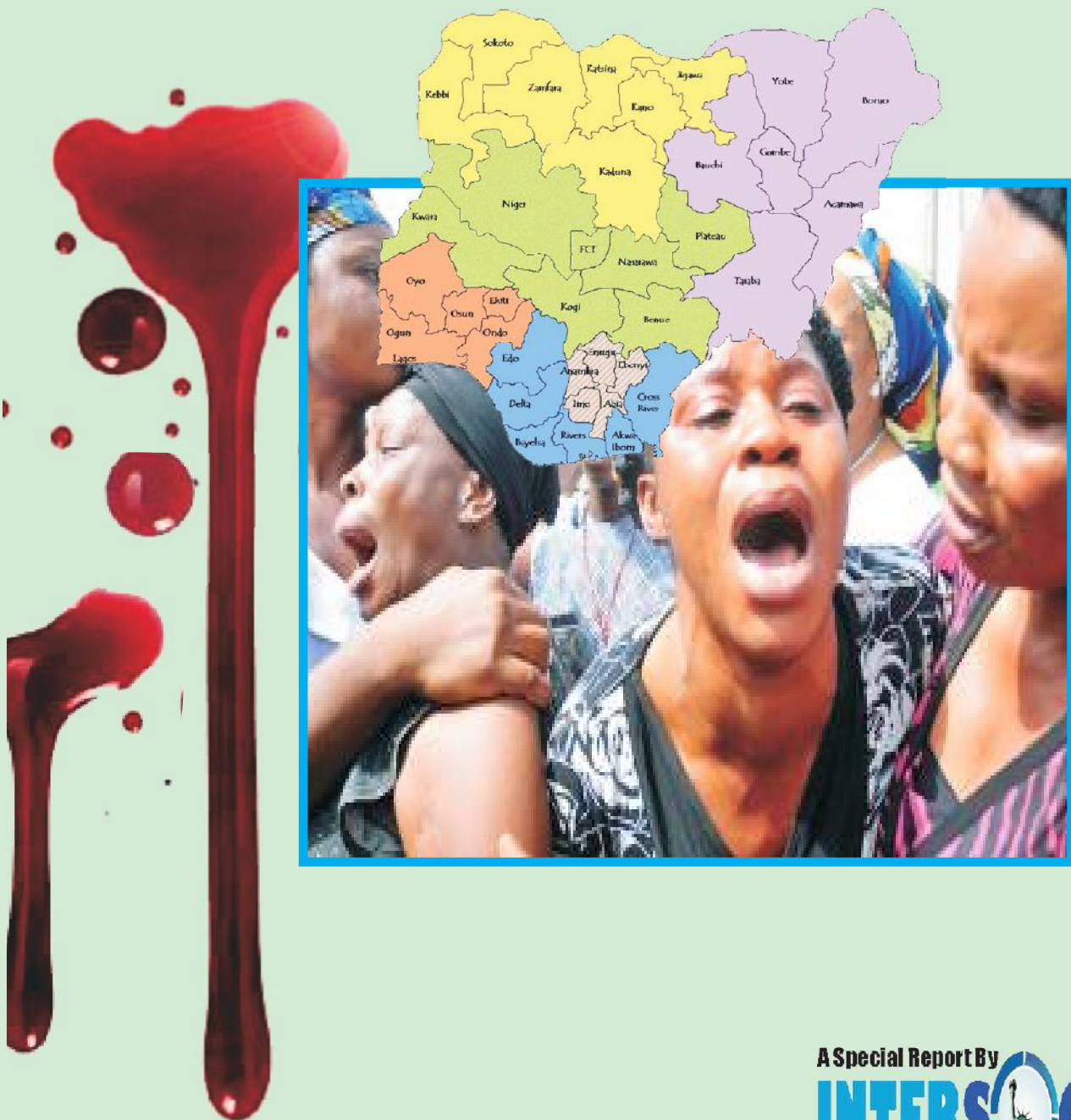


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1.0 Introduction

This Special Report (Welcome to Bleeding Republic of Nigeria: A Land Flowing with Blood and Tears) is a compilation of widespread human rights abuses in Nigeria in the past 20 months of the four-year tenure of the central Government of Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari; covering 1st June 2015 to 31st January 2017. The Report is majorly focused on Civil and Political Rights; which is one of the four internationally existing generations of human rights. These fundamental liberties include citizens' constitutional and legal rights as well as regional and international rights provided in Sections 33-46 of Nigeria's 1999 Constitution and several regional and international legal and rights instruments or treaties accepted and assented to by the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

The Civil and Political Rights are also regarded by the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 amended in 2011 as living rights or justiciable; which legally and constitutionally means that they are governmentally observable, protectable and enforceable, and can be compensated in the event of their breaches. This is by virtue of Section 46 of Nigeria's 1999 Constitution. Those holding judicial, executive and legislative offices in Nigeria are also mandatorily required in Section 13 of Nigeria's 1999 Constitution to conform to, observe and apply these constitutional liberties in discharge of their constitutional duties.

President M. Buhari's military background and his grossly poor human rights antecedents including 20 months of his maximum military rulership (January 1984-August 1985) was critically assessed and compared with past 20 months of his present civilian Presidency in Nigeria.

2.0 About InterSociety

We are International Society for Civil Liberties and the Rule of Law; abbreviated as Intersociety; incorporated in Nigeria as a nongovernmental and non-profit human rights, democracy and good

governance advocacy organization. Our advocacy activities are thematically focused on: civil liberties and rule of law; democracy and good governance; and public security and safety. Intersociety is based in Onitsha, Southeast Nigeria. We address issues of local, national, regional and global human rights, democracy and governance, citizens' security and safety concerns. For more details about our advocacy activities, see our website: www.intersociety-ng.org

3.0 Executive Summary

Welcome To Bleeding Republic of Nigeria: A Land Flowing With Blood & Tears; is a compilation of the State of Widespread Rights Abuses covering the past 20 months of the central civilian Government of Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari or from 1st June 2015 to 31st January 2017. The present central Government of Nigeria headed by Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari was elected and sworn in on 29th May 2015 for a four-year term (May 29th 2015-May 29th 2019).

The Special Report is saddening but unique in that it found that regime atrocities, abuse of office and gross contempt for constitutionalism and human rights principles; which were widespread in 20 months of Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari (as he then was) military's inglorious epoch or from January 1984-August 1985; have also become widespread in the past 20 months of his current civilian Presidency or from 1st June 2015- 31st January 2017.

Of the existing four generations of human rights locally and internationally, the civil and political rights; constitutionally tagged living rights or justiciable are the worst violated by the current civilian Presidency of Muhammadu Buhari. Our Report, which is divided into text and photo segments, empirically found that average of 5500 defenceless and unarmed citizens were slaughtered, butchered or shot dead in each of the past 20 months of the Buhari's civilian Presidency covering June 2015 to January 2017.

A total of over 11,000 criminal or unlawful deaths were also recorded in the said past 20 months. This is the highest in the history of democratic Nigeria; particularly under a non war

situation. The most shocking part of it is that the central Government of Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari and its security agencies particularly the Army, Police and Air Force are collectively responsible for about 52% or over 5700 while the Nomad Fulani and the Boko Haram terrorists accounted for the remaining 48% or over 5300 others.

Over 2000 Christian lives were also lost to Nomad Fulani Jihadists in Nigeria in 2016 alone, with at least 850 killed in Southern Kaduna while over 1200 others took place in Benue, Enugu, Taraba, Nasarawa and Plateau States, etc. Over 800 criminal deaths associated with killing of Christians took place in the last six months of 2015. Even the Buhari Administration through its National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) and its Kaduna State counterpart-SEMA, had on their part, claimed that 376 persons were killed in Southern Kaduna between May and December 2016. They also labelled the killing of Christians by untouchable Nomad Fulani Jihadists as “communal clashes”.

In January 2017 alone, over 350 defenceless citizens lost their lives to wilful air bombing by the Nigerian Air Force, Pro Trump Rally killing by Nigerian Army and Nomad Fulani and Boko Haram Jihadism. The Buhari Administration's warped report with mangled figures on Southern Kaduna Christian butcheries is contained here: <http://www.dailytrust.com.ng/news/general/376-killed-in-southern-kaduna-in-6-months-report/183924.html>.

Through custodial killings arising from torture and wilful custodial shootings, not less than 4000 criminal deaths may most likely have been recorded in the hands of Police SARS, SCIDs and the Army across the country in the said past 20 months; on average of 200 per month or six per State monthly. A clear case of custodial killings in Nigeria was the Ezu River saga of 19th January 2013 in Anambra State of Nigeria where between 30 and 40 lifeless bodies strongly believed to be victims of Anambra State Police SARS extra judicial executions were found floating in Ezu River.

Another newest case is contained in the recent Amnesty International Special Report for 2016/7 in

which it found that “not less than 240 civilians including 29 children and babies, aged between new born and five years, died in 2016 in the Nigerian Army detention custody at the Giwa Military Barracks in Maiduguri, Borno State and were secretly buried in Maiduguri's cemetery by the Borno State Environmental Protection Agency staff”. Reference:<http://sunnewsonline.com/29-children-211-others-die-in-military-cells-in-nigeria-amnesty/>

Yet another case in point was the recent arrest of six operatives of the Special Anti Robbery Squad (SARS) of the Anambra State Police Command at Awkuzu: namely- Adolphosus Dimgba, Gabriel Imafidon, Chukwudili Oyenka, Pat Amadike, Usman Bala Hamza, Theodore Igiede and Amechi Ebere Okonkwo. The torture and murder culprits were arrested on IGP's order for torture and murder in custody of Citizen Ejike Bob-Manuel on 16th February 2016. The deceased was arrested, detained, tortured and murdered in captivity following a business dispute with the mastermind, Mr. Jerome Aghachukwu; leading to a petition written to Nigeria Police Headquarters by the Joint Legal Action Aids (JLAA) led by Barr Kingsley Ughe.

The Nigerian Army, the Nigeria Police Force and the Nigerian Air Force and their chiefs and commander-in-chief; on the other hand, are collectively, vicariously and individually responsible for the State murder of at least 1750 between 30th August 2015 and 31st January 2017 including the Rann IDP bombing by the Nigerian Air Force that killed at least 236 defenceless citizens on 17th January 2017. These State killings did not include 240 persons including 29 children and babies that died in the custody of the Nigerian Army in 2016 in Borno State, as exclusively reported by Amnesty International. When added, the number of State murders under the Buhari Administration in the said past 20 months will be 1990 deaths.

Other documented State murders contained in this Special Report are the mass killing of 1120 defenceless Shiite Muslims and massacre of at least 270 unarmed Pro Biafra Campaigners in the periods between August 2015 and January 2017

including 15-20 unarmed citizens or more killed at the Pro Trump Solidarity Rally on 20th January 2017. Over 870 members and supporters of IPOB and Shiite Muslim sect were also terminally shot and wounded by Nigerian security forces in the said past 20 months.

Three genocides (i.e. mass killing in droves of unarmed and defenceless members of a particular ethnic or religious group whether in war or non war situations) and two war crimes have also been recorded in the past 20 months of the Buhari Government or between June 2015 and January 2017. They are Shiite Muslim Procession Genocide, Pro Biafra Campaign Genocide and Southern Kaduna Christian Genocide; as well as two war crimes involving the Rann IDP Bombing and the Maiduguri Giwa Military Barracks Custody Killing of 240 Civilians (including 29 children and babies). The number of citizens arrested and dumped into several months of detention without trial in the past 20 months of the Buhari's Government is also alarming and shocking. The authorities of SSS are substantially responsible for this aspect of gross abuse of the citizens' constitutional and legal rights; likewise muzzling of press freedoms and democratic free speeches and reckless disobedience to court orders and other judicial pronouncements. Incidences of harassment and intimidation of independent journalists and bloggers have also gone viral in the past 20 months of the Buhari Government in Nigeria. In all, the state of human rights violations under the Buhari civilian Government is horribly and alarmingly widespread.

4.0 Research Methodology

This Special Report was compiled by the Research Team of International Society for Civil Liberties and the Rule of Law headed by Emeka Umeagbalasi-a Criminologist & Graduate of Security Studies with post graduate expertise in Peace & Conflict Studies. It was largely built on previous reports on security and human rights issues in Nigeria; issued by respected international rights organizations and research institutions such as Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, the Committee for the Protection of Journalists (CPJ), the Global Terrorism Index of the Institute

for Economics and Peace; and the (Christian) Open Doors International, among others. Those reports were technically aggregated, congregated, studied and updated in this Special Report.

The Special Report was further built on previous publications of Intersociety and credible media reports on the subject matter by leading local and international print and web media. Intersociety also gathered reliable data and information from leading victim-groups such as IPOB, Shiite Muslim sect and the authorities of the ECWA Church and the Catholic Archdiocese of Kafanchan in Kaduna, etc. Data gathered were independently verified.

We also conducted series of interviews with accompanied legal certifications from members of some dead victims' families and the shot and wounded victims or survivors. All the photos used in the photo segment of this Report were carefully verified and traced to the crime victims, crime scenes and crime perpetrators. In all, it is a hybrid based Special Report.

Various citizens' constitutional and legal rights and safeguards in Nigeria as well as their regional and international counterparts which the Federal Republic of Nigeria willingly assented to and accepted to be bound by, were also studied and applied in the course of this Special Report. Pieces of useful information from security establishments and other agencies of the Government of Nigeria available at open sources were considered as well.

5.0 Emergence Of M. Buhari As Sixth Civilian President Of Nigeria

Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari's emergence as sixth civilian President of Nigeria follows the conduct of highly divisive and tension-filled Presidential poll on the 11th of April 2015, in which over 12 million registered voters dominated by Southern registered voters were denied electronic voters cards and their right to vote.

Barriers were further created by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) headed by President Buhari's kinsman of Fulani Muslim background, Prof Attahiru Jega; depriving millions of eligible Southern voters from being captured as registered voters. There was also electronic manipulation of card readers, leading to

hundreds of thousands of southern voters' card bearers being disenfranchised on voting day. It should be noted that the Southern part of the country is predominantly Christian. Millions of under-age Muslim children in the north were also unconstitutionally and unlawfully issued with electronic voters' cards by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and allowed to vote particularly in the April 2015 Presidential Poll.

At the end, the ratio of people who voted; between predominant Muslim northerners and predominant Christian southerners was projected at 80/40; leading to declaration and swearing in of Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari as the sixth civilian President of Nigeria; which further deepened the existing ethno-religious divisions and tensions in Nigeria till date.

6.0 Birth And Education Of President Muhammadu Buhari

Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari was officially born on 17th December 1942 (74yrs) in Daura of Muslim Fulani background, located in present Katsina State, Northwest Nigeria. His civil and formal education (primary and secondary school) records are mired in controversy till date but there is a credible record that he was enrolled into then Nigerian Military Training College (now Nigerian Defence Academy), Kaduna in 1961 from where he rose to the rank of Lieutenant/Brigade Major in 1966. He was said to have attended the Katsina Government College, but the records associated with same are strongly unconvincing and utterly controversial; suggesting that he may have never earned or obtained a West African School Certificate (WASC).

7.0 Muhammadu Buhari's Marriage And Children

Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari's first wife is Sufinatu Buhari who got married to him at the age of 18 in 1971, a year after the Nigeria-Biafra Civil War ended (1967-70). Sufinatu Mani (as she then was) fell in love with Muhammadu Buhari in 1966 when she was 14 years having been born on 11th December 1952. Then, Muhammadu Buhari

was a brigade major in the Nigerian Army and met young Sufinatu when he, in company of his late friend and military colleague; Shehu Yar'adua, visited Sufinatu's father, Alhaji Yusuf Mani; then a private secretary to Major Shehu Yar'Adua's father, Alhaji Musa Yar'Adua who was then Federal Minister of Lagos Affairs.

Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari's second wife, Aisha Buhari was born on 17th February 1971 and got married to Muhammadu Buhari in 1989. They have five children. She holds a master's degree in International Affairs and Strategic Studies. In all, Retired Major Gen Muhammadu married two wives in 1971 and 1989 respectively and his two marriages were blessed with ten children.

8.0 Buhari As A Serial Coupist

His journey to military incursion in politics in Nigeria started on 28th July 1966 when he actively participated in a counter- bloody coup that got the then Head of State, Major Gen Aguiyi Ironsi and other senior military officers assassinated. Then he was a commissioned Lieutenant in the Nigerian Army, which subsequently made him a serial coupist and war monger.

Apart from his active participation in the bloody counter coup of 28th July 1966, Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari also participated actively in the Nigeria-Biafra Civil War of 1967-1970; which led to the genocidal killing of about two million mostly old Eastern Nigerian citizens or more; out of which over one million died of starvation. Specifically, Retired Major Gen Buhari, with others, was actively involved in perpetration of several war crimes (i.e. massacre of hundreds of thousands of civilians or non combatants particularly women and children) with particular reference to Owerri pogroms of 1968.

As a serial coupist, Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari participated further and actively in the 30th July 1975 palace coup, as a Lieutenant Colonel, which ousted the then military government of Retired General Yakubu Gowon, leading to his appointment between 1st August 1975 and 3rd February 1976 as the military governor of the North Eastern State, after which he briefly held

sway as military governor of Borno State from 3rd February to 15th March 1976.

Having also participated in foiling the failed bloody coup of February 13, 1976 that got then military Head of State, Gen Murtala Ramat Mohammed assassinated, Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari was named in March 1976 by Gen Olusegun Obasanjo (who succeeded late Gen Murtala Mohamed as head of State) as the Federal Commissioner (now Minister) for Petroleum and Natural Resources and later doubled as the Chairman of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) until 1978.

Prior to his 31st December 1983 main military coup, Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari was the General Officer Commanding, 4th Infantry Division of the Nigerian Army between August 1980 and January 1981. He was also the General Officer Commanding, 2nd Mechanized Infantry Division between January 1981 and October 1981; and the General Officer Commanding, 3rd Armored Division of the Nigerian Army, between October 1981 and December 1983. He rose to become a Major General as at December 1983.

9.0 Buhari's 1983 Coup And His Violent Military Presidency

Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari (as he then was) led other recalcitrant and coupist soldiers to overthrow the democratically elected presidency of Alhaji Shehu Aliyu Shagari on 31st December 1983; accusing the ousted civilian administration of corruption, favouritism and nepotism. As a result, all democratic structures particularly the 1979 civilian Constitution and its Fundamental Human Rights Chapter, were suspended indefinitely or abolished; leading to state of terror and perpetration of motley of regime atrocities.

Several anti democracy, human rights and press military laws or decrees were hurriedly enacted with stiff sanction provisions through Special Military Tribunals. The two most notorious of such military decrees were Decrees No.2 and 4 of 1984. Decree 2 was cited as the Nigerian State Security (Detention of Persons) Decree No. 2 of 1984, which allowed for indefinite and incommunicado detention of Nigerian citizens.

The Decree No 2 of 1984 suspended the constitutional freedoms or Fundamental Human Rights Chapter of the then 1979 civilian Constitution outright and empowered the chief of staff, Supreme Headquarters, to detain indefinitely (subject to review every three months) anyone suspected of "acts prejudicial to state security or contributing to the economic adversity of the nation." The Decree also authorized any police officer or a member of the armed forces to arrest and detain such a person at will and without trial.

Another most heinous of over twenty harsh and regime atrocious decrees of the Buhari's military era was Decree No 4 of 1984 or anti press freedom military decree. It was drafted on March 29, 1984 and became operational in April 1984. Decree No. 4 was the most dreaded and repressive press law to be enacted in Nigeria. The law was drafted to punish "authors of false statements and reports" that exposed the Buhari military administration and or its officials to ridicule or contempt.

Section 1, sub-sections (i), (ii) and (iii) of the obnoxious law - the most harmful section - provided that: Any person who publishes in any form, whether written or otherwise, any message, rumour, report or statement, being a message, rumour, statement or report which is false in any material particular or which brings or is calculated to bring the Federal Military Government or the Government of a state or public officer to ridicule or disrepute, shall be guilty of an offence under this Decree.

It further provides that: Any station for wireless telegraphy which conveys or transmits any sound or visual message, rumour, report or statement, being a message, rumour, report or statement which is false in any material particular or which brings or is calculated to bring the Federal Government or the Government of a state or a public officer to ridicule or disrepute, shall be guilty of an offence under this Decree. It shall be an offence under this Decree for a newspaper or wireless telegraphy station in Nigeria to publish or transmit any message, rumour, report or statement which is false in any material particular stating that any public officer has in any manner been engaged in

corrupt practices or has in any manner corruptly enriched himself or any other person.

By July 1984, the Buhari's military junta had issued twenty-two decrees, including two backdated to December 31, 1983, prescribing the death penalty for arson, drug trafficking, oil smuggling, and currency counterfeiting. In a related attempt to combat public indiscipline, Buhari's chief of staff, Brigadier General Tunde Idiagbon, launched a largely symbolic and ineffective nationwide War Against Indiscipline (WAI) campaign in spring of 1984, which further landed several political actors and other opponents of the military junta to harsh and anti-human rights treatments.

As a result of these, the then National Security Organization (NSO), the Nigeria Police Force and other members of the Nigerian Armed Forces became an outlaw and untouchable. By the end of 1984, over 500 political detainees and several human rights and media activists had been arrested and thrown into indefinite detention without trial. (Reference: <http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-9485.html>).

The most dreaded armed unit of the Buhari's security establishment used in perpetrating the regime atrocities under reference was the National Security Organization (NSO), which is now split into the State Security Services (SSS), the Directorate of Military Intelligence (DMI) and the National Intelligence Agency (NIA) by virtue of the National Security Agencies Act of 1986, which formally disbanded the NSO. Under Buhari's atrocious and tortuous 20 months military era (January 1984 - August 1985), NSO was responsible for the arrest and indefinite detention and disappearances of several opponents of his military regime.

The Buhari's atrocious military regime was ousted in a palace military coup of 27th August 1985, which named Major Gen Ibrahim Babangida (as he then was) as the new military head of State; leading to forceful retirement of Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari from the Nigerian Army. It is on record, till date, that since his forceful retirement from the Nigerian Army on 27th August 1985, Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari had never attended any

refresher or democratic leadership course or professional program locally or internationally till date. He has also not attended any formal education training or tutorship locally or internationally till date.

Till date, too, he knows little or nothing about civil leadership, democratic and human rights values and principles; thereby retaining his old military character of crudity, intolerance, primordialism, hate, divisiveness, vindictiveness, crude religiosity and violence; which have collectively made him a serial human rights abuser and avid intolerant politician till date.

10.0 Buhari's Civilian Presidency: A Replica Of His Brute Military Regime

The present civilian administration of Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari is substantially, if not totally a replica of his military's inglorious epoch. The advancements and gains recorded by Nigeria as a democratic country in the areas of rule of law and democratic free speeches and freedoms have been badly damaged and dragged to the mud on account of the emergence of the administration of Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari and its crude governance styles.

Prior to the emergence of the Buhari Administration in late May 2015, Nigeria's poor human rights records were largely non-State actor oriented or driven; with the State and its coercive agencies accused of not competently rising to the occasion to protect the rights, lives and properties of the citizens from malicious non State actors or criminal citizens. In some cases, the Nigerian State was accused of aiding and abetting the criminal conducts of the malicious non State actors and; in other cases, criminal and malicious elements within the State coercive establishments were accused of corroding with or aiding the malicious citizens and entities in the perpetration of such atrocious conducts.

But the situation got compounded or out of hand in the present Buhari Administration, to the extent that Nigeria's human rights records have dangerously plummeted and dualized into State and non State actor dimensions. That is to say that the State of Nigeria under the Buhari

Administration, which ought to preserve and protect the citizens' rights and democratic freedoms has become the lead violator and perpetrator of regime atrocities of various dimensions.

11.0 Buhari's Government Contempt For Constitutionalism And Human Rights Principles

Apart from the mandatory provisions in the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999, particularly its Sections 10, 14 (3) & (4) and 33-46 which prohibit domination of federal and State political appointments and institutions by one religion or tribe and guarantee secularism or adoption of non State religion, freedom from discrimination, freedom of association, expression, movement and religion as well as rights to life, dignity of human person, personal liberty, fair hearing and fair trial, peaceful assembly, right against indiscriminate arrest and long detention without trial and freedom of the press; Nigeria is till date, a State Party to several regional and international rights and humanitarian treaties particularly under UN and African Union Systems.

These include the United Nations Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1976; which Nigeria ratified in 1993. The State of Nigeria is also a State Party to the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights of 1981; which it ratified and domesticated in 1983. Nigeria, too, is a State Party to UN Genocide and Torture Conventions of 1948 and 1985 respectively as well as the UN's Women and Child's Rights Conventions of 1984 and 1990 respectively.

On humanitarian and use of force aspects, Nigeria is a party to UN Statute on Refuge of 1951 and the Statute of the International Criminal Court of 1998. Nigerian armed forces and police are also 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.

Nigeria as a member of the United Nations is mandatorily bound by the Principles of the UN, which are to save future generations from war, reaffirm human rights, and establish equal rights for all persons; in addition to promotion of justice,

freedom, and social progress for the peoples of all of its member states. Nigeria is also obligated by the Fundamental Rules of the international law, its human rights and humanitarian principles particularly the Ten Basic Standards of the International Law for management by members of the armed forces and police of every Member-State of lawful and unlawful assemblies other than armed rebellions.

The UN's new concept of sovereignty as a responsibility and maintenance of international peace and security as the core foundation of the Purposes of the 193-member Organization; is also inviolably binding on Nigeria as a key Member-State. In the area of intra or inter-State armed conflict, Nigeria is bound by the Geneva Conventions or Laws of War of 1949 and its three Protocols.

Nigeria is again bound by the Customary International Law under UN System particularly those that are inviolable by virtue of their doctrine of "substantial uniformity by substantial number of States" or "Opinio Juris" (i.e. a general belief binding on all Member-States that a non-treaty is legally binding on States); and importantly, the principle of "Jus Cogens" (i.e. absolute rules of general international law binding on UN Member-States for which no derogation is permitted). These include prohibition on the use of force, genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity, massacre of unarmed and defenceless citizens in non war situations, slavery, torture, etc.

Sadly, the Buhari Administration has observed these in gross breach and with reckless abandon. The Administration's contempt for constitutionalism and human rights principles knows no bounds and its preference to policies of militarism and militarization is widely known and sticky. In June 2015, one of the closest allies of President Muhammadu Buhari and former Police Affairs Minister, Dr. Yakubu Lame issued a press statement calling for suspension of the Nigeria's 1999 Constitution or skeletal retention of same and issuance of emergency powers to the President.

In mid 2016, the President sent an executive bill to Nigeria's National Assembly, seeking to be given emergency or militarist powers at the disastrous

expense of the country's mother law-the 1999 Constitution and its regional and international rights and humanitarian obligations. The President has also through his executive or legislative cronyism, introduced several anti human rights and Islamist bills and where such bills fail legislatively, the President resorts to enforcing such policies informally or through a military fiat.

A clear case in point is a stalled bill aimed at institutionalization and nationalization of Islamist Nomad Fula or Fulani ranching and grazing practices throughout Nigeria; a policy with clear Jihadist intent. When the bill got stalled legislatively, the President resorted to use of military fiat by which the Nigerian Army announced its readiness to establish Fulani Muslim nomadism or cattle grazing and ranches throughout Nigeria by force.

Three attempts have also been made presidentially to introduce anti press freedom bills; reminiscent of infamous Decree No 4 of 1984. Presently, there exists hash cyber crime law, called Cyber Stalking Act of 2015; targeted at muzzling social media users and practitioners who criticize Nigeria's Public Office Holders at its Federal, State and Local Government levels. The "defaulters" of the law risk three years imprisonment and payment of equivalent of \$22,000.

The spiral increase in the number of armed opposition groups in Nigeria is also linked to the Buhari Administration's poorest human rights records and its policies of militarism and militarization. A recent finding by Intersociety showed that the number of armed opposition groups has dangerously risen from two before June 2015 to 18 excluding Boko Haram and Fulani terror groups as at the end of January 2017; making the country the 4th in Africa with largest number of armed opposition groups, after Democratic Republic of Congo (36), Libya (28) and South Sudan (26).

There is also a sharp increase in the number of illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALWs) in wrong hands in Nigeria as at January 2017; which is now projected at 5million, on citizen's average of one SALW per 40 Nigerian citizens using the country's current estimated population of

174million.

The increases in SALWs, group violence and citizen militancy/violence or reprisal radicalism; is expertly linked to Buhari's contempt to human rights principles, rule of law and constitutionalism as well as intensification of physical and structural violence; which have either forced several citizens to flee the country or made them to resort to self help or reprisal radicalism(Reference: Intersociety publication 14th of August 2016, published by the Premium Times on 18th of October 2016 <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/213051-18-new-armed-groups-spring-nigeria.html>).

There are strong circumstantial and info numeracy evidence showing that Boko Haram Terrorism, which started as a rag tag group in 2002 in Borno State, Northeast Nigeria, was later hijacked, heavily funded and made sophisticated by northern Muslim politicians and other radical Islamists for purposes of Jihadism and crooked ascendancy to Nigeria's Presidency; the two tasks which seem to have been accomplished under the present Buhari Administration.

Today, Boko Haram terrorism appears abandoned (except ISIS faction) by the named fundamentalist Islamists and more energy and resources are being channelled into Nomad Fulani Terrorism for widespread and violent Islamism project; which has resulted in systematic, sustained and increased anti Christian violent attacks and deaths in the Christian dominated and populated areas of Nigeria particularly since Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari became Nigeria's sixth civilian President on 29th May 2015. The remnants of ongoing Boko Haram terror attacks are carefully and substantially, if not totally targeted at Christian populated areas of the Northeast.

12.0 Instances Of Buhari's Regime Atrocities And Gross Rights Abuses

The regime atrocities and human rights abuses under the civilian Administration of Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari are a long list and have risen to an apogee. The Administration is grossly vindictive, intolerant and violent. Most victims of

its human rights abuses are the opponents of the Administration mostly drawn from the immediate past Goodluck Jonathan's Administration, independent critics and Christian populations of the Northeast, Southeast and South-south regions of Nigeria as well as members of Shiite Muslim sect.

Major areas of the Buhari Administration's widespread rights abuses include abuse of office and regime lawlessness, late night invasion and violent arrest of citizens and their long detention without trial; trumped up charges, torture, custodial killings, forced disappearances, mass killing and wounding of unarmed and defenceless citizens engaging in religious processions and street protests or rallies, regime falsehood and media censorship and muzzling.

Others are harassment, physical assault, arrest and detention of journalists and other media users and practitioners; non protection of citizens from malicious or criminal citizens and entities; reckless disobedience to court pronouncements, disregard to citizens' constitutional and legal rights; undermining and disrespect to constitutional secularism, fundamental human rights and geopolitical spread or equality principles, etc.

Section 15 (5) of the Nigeria's 1999 Constitution forbids abuse of office and corruption by Public Office Holders in Nigeria's Executive, Legislative and Judicial organs of government.

Using anti corruption as a cover, scores of the political opponents of the Buhari Administration have been violently attacked, arrested in their sleep and detained outside the law. Just few months into the last quarter of 2016, eight serving judges in the country's high, appellate and apex courts were violently attacked in their sleep and arrested using the notorious State secret police called State Security Services (SSS).

The Buhari Administration claimed that the serving judges "were corrupt". While about two of the judges had already been disciplined by the National Judicial Council (NJC) for misconducts, the rest had never been invited for investigation by any security or criminal investigation agency or informed of pendency of any criminal complaint against them bordering on corruption.

It was credibly found that the affected judges were embarrassed and humiliated by the Buhari Administration for giving judgments or making orders against the State interests, such as election petition tribunal judgments and court orders directing the SSS to produce or release its held suspects after they were detained for long periods without charge or trial.

Corruption, expertly and legally speaking, is globally considered as a "white-collar crime" or a non street crime (blue-collar), owing to difficulties associated with its tracking and prosecution of its offenders. It is in recognition of this that the United Nations Convention Against Corruption of 2004, which Nigeria is a State Party; strongly recommends that 70% of policies towards curbing it should be given to moral decency and institutional reforms.

In Nigeria, corruption is not a capital offence that attracts death sentence or life imprisonment but a misdemeanour or lower felony; attracting three years imprisonment on conviction or slightly more as case may be (see Nigeria's Criminal Code, Economic and Financial Crimes and ICPC Acts of 2004).

All the laws above mentioned are mandatorily subject to the provisions of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 as amended in 2011. This is by virtue of Sections 1 (3) and 315 of the same Constitution. Under these laws in Nigeria, suspects arrested in connection with corruption are constitutionally entitled to administrative bail within 48hrs of their arrest and detention while in the custody of the Nigeria Police Force or the EFCC, etc.

As a matter of fact, Section 35 of the Nigeria's 1999 Constitution outlaws detention beyond maximum of 48hrs without trial or administrative bail of citizens accused of non-capital punishment offences such as corruption, assault and stealing; while its Section 35 (4) limits detention of citizens accused of committing capital offences such as treason, treasonable felony, terrorism, armed robbery, murder and kidnapping, etc to maximum of 60 days without trial or bail and 90 days with bail, but without formal trial.

However, under the present Buhari

Administration, these constitutional provisions are grossly observed in breach and the reverse is disastrously the case. In the so called "fight against corruption", the Buhari Administration is utterly selective, violent and vindictive. It also lacks moral latitude to curb corruption menace in Nigeria. This is on account of its reckless recourse to abuse of office and application of unconstitutional and unlawful methodologies in processing and prosecuting citizens arrested and detained over corruption allegations.

The Buhari Administration also recklessly applies prosecutorial vindictiveness with reckless abandon to ensure that those it maliciously accused are dumped in long detention without trial or non release on bail or slammed with spurious criminal charges. It also stigmatizes and criminalizes anti-corruption in the country with utter alacrity.

In the Buhari's Government so called "anti-corruption war", its supporters and apologists are shielded from corruption investigation and prosecution while those in opposition or dissent voicing are chased about and labelled "corrupt". Many, if not most of the supporters and cabinet members of the Buhari Administration are strongly and widely believed to be living ten times above their statutory incomes, with several of them owning private universities, private jets, multimillion dollar houses and billions of naira worth of properties; yet President Buhari has shied away from investigating them till date. The election of Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari, too, including private jets with which he was flown around during campaigns, was heavily funded by those informed Nigerians referred to as "doyens of corruption".

Where court orders are made for release on bail of detained suspects in connection with corruption allegations, such orders are disobeyed with reckless abandon particularly by the SSS. Arrested suspects are also taken into detention custodies and held for over two-three months before being vindictively arraigned in court. A clear case in point is the former National Security Adviser, Retired Sambo Dasuki, who has been detained incommunicado since his arrest in July 2015.

The Buhari Administration has defiantly

disobeyed several court orders for his release on bail till date. In all these, human rights principles and constitutionalism are treated with utter disdain and gross contempt. The worst of the Buhari's undoing is the use of State security forces to massacre and maim defenceless and unarmed Nigerian citizens in their thousands. This is the first of its kind in a democratic Nigeria and under a non war situation.

Similar sad experience was witnessed in 2000 and 2001 during which the then Obasanjo Administration ordered soldiers to invade Odi and Zakibiam communities in Bayelsa and Benue States respectively to avenge for abduction and killing of scores of soldiers by armed men. The invasion cost the lives of over 3000 defenceless and nonviolent rural citizens.

But that of the present Buhari Administration is totally inexcusable, shocking and abominable. Under one year of the Buhari Administration, between August 2015 and May 2016, over 1500 unarmed and defenceless citizens were massacred by soldiers, police and navy in about ten different locations in Nigeria.

The massacred are those in nonviolent religious processions and street matches or protests for assertion of their constitutional, regional and international rights to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; ethnic identity, development and self-determination as well as rights to freedom of movement, association, expression and personal liberty.

We had on 26th September 2016, issued a national awareness publication on managing and policing lawful and unlawful assemblies in Nigeria and internationally, other than armed rebellions. The UN and constitutional legal frameworks for members of the armed forces and the police of the UN Member-States for managing same particularly in the area of use of force and crowd control were fully explored and showcased.

The statement is contained in the following link:

<http://nigeriamasterweb.com/Masterweb/breakingnews-28916-public-awareness-managing-peaceful-assemblies-nigeria-and-dangers-posed-security>.

13.0 Statistics Of Rights Abuses

Among over 1500 citizens massacred by Government of Muhammadu Buhari are 1,120 members of Shiite Muslim and over 250 members of the nonviolent Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) and other pro Biafra activists or campaigners. While over 1,120 Shiite Muslims were massacred in two days of 12th -14th of December 2015 as well as on 7th October and 14th November 2016 in Zaria, Kaduna State, Northwest Nigeria; over 250 pro Biafra activists got massacred on 30th August, 2nd December and 17th December 2015 as well as on 18th and 29th January, 9th February, 29th and 30th May 2016 in Anambra, Abia, Delta and Rivers States in Southeast and South-south regions of Nigeria.

For instance, four Pro Biafra Campaigners were killed on 30th August 2015 in Awka; thirteen on 2nd December 2015 in Onitsha; fifteen in Onitsha on 17th December 2015 including Citizens Michael Nweke, Mathew Kalu Ibeh (Ndukwe) and Chukwuma Nwankwo whose corpses were taken away by soldiers and dumped four days later at the Onitsha General Hospital morgue.

Others are eight in Aba on 18th January 2016; ten in Aba on 29th January 2016; thirty-five in Aba on 9th of February 2016 including thirteen lifeless bodies of Pro Biafra Campaigners found dumped in a burrow pit by soldiers of 144 Battalion of the Nigerian Army on 13th February 2016; and not less than one hundred and forty killed in Nkpor, Onitsha and Asaba in the late night of 29th May and 30th of May 2016 following violent disruption of the Biafra Heroes Anniversary by security forces. The remainders represent those killed in Port Harcourt in Rivers State as well as dark figures of crime.

That is to say that the referenced slaying of over 250 Pro Biafra Campaigners by the Nigerian Army, the Nigeria Police Force and the Nigerian Navy took place in nine different locations in Onitsha, Awka and Nkpor-Anambra State; Port Harcourt-Rivers State, Aba-Abia State and Asaba-Delta State all located in the Southeast and the South-south regions of Nigeria.

The Pro Biafra butcheries were culpably directed and executed by President Muhammadu Buhari, Nigerian Army COAS, Lt Gen Tukur Yusuf Buratai, former Police IG, Solomon Arase and their

sub commanders particularly in Anambra and Abia States as well as Governors Willie Obiano of Anambra State and Okezie Ikpeazu of Abia State; who culpably aided the Federal Government's security officials in butchering the unarmed and defenceless citizens.

As if these were not enough and as recently as on 20th January 2017, not less than twenty (20) unarmed Pro Biafra Campaigners were shot and killed with seventy (70) others terminally injured and another seventy (70) arrested and detained by the Joint Security Taskforce comprising soldiers, police, SSS and other members of the Nigerian Armed Forces. The latest killings took place in Igweocha (Port Harcourt) in Rivers State, South-south Nigeria during a pro Donald Trump solidarity rally organized by the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) in support of the new United States President who was sworn in same day.

After the said Pro Trump Rally shootings and killings, the soldiers of the Nigerian Army in their usual criminal and sadistic manner, took away ten dead bodies of the slain activists while the Police took away not less than three others. Four dead bodies; namely Citizens Ndubuisi Okoli, Uwakwe Justus Ikechukwu, Celestine Chukwudobelu and Kenneth Mathew have so far been recovered and deposited at hospital mortuaries and more are still being located as at 31st January 2017. With this killing, the number of unarmed Pro Biafra Campaigners killed and terminally wounded by the Government of Muhammadu Buhari between August 2015 and January 2017 has risen to over 270 and 370 respectively.

In all, the total number of members of the IPOB and Shiite Muslim sect and other defenceless civilians killed and terminally injured by the Nigerian Army and other security agencies including the Nigerian Air Force; across the country in the past 20 months or since June 2015 has risen to not less than 1750 and 870 respectively. That is to say over 270 slain unarmed IPOB and other Pro Biafra activists with over 370 others terminally

Ref:<http://newsexpressngr.com/news/detail.php?news=33615>,<http://www.thetrentonline.com/pro-trump-rally-intersociety-nigeria/>

wounded; 1120 slain Shiite Muslims with over 400 others terminally wounded; and 236 slain civilians bombed by the Nigerian Air Force in the Rann IDP camp on 17th January 2017 with over 90 others wounded.

The links below contain the names of at least 705 members of the Nigeria's Shiite Muslims who went missing or dead since 12th-14th December 2015 mass killing of their members by the Nigerian Army and its Chief of Staff:

<https://ournaijablog.wordpress.com/2016/01/26/zaria-massacre-full-list-of-names-and-photos-of-705-missing-people>.
<http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/197360-zaria-massacre-nigeria-shia-group-releases-705-names-photos-of-missing-members-full-list.html>.

In the case of over 250 Pro Biafra Campaigners massacred and over 300 others terminally shot and injured between August 2015 and May 2016, the following links contain more information investigated and released by our Organization including our letter to the Federal Government of Nigeria, dated 16th February 2016; regarding their names and how they were massacred by Buhari's Government and its killer security forces:

<https://www.thenigerianvoice.com/news/206303/ceaseless-killing-of-unarmed-citizens-in-nigeria-why-security.html>,
<https://www.thenigerianvoice.com/news/206499/ceaseless-killing-of-unarmed-citizens-in-nigeria-pictures.html>.

<http://www.premiumtimesng.com/investigations-special-reports/204902-special-report-inside-massive-extra-judicial-killings-nigerias-south-east.html>.
<http://nigeriamasterweb.com/Masterweb/breakingnews-7416-butcher-y-across-niger-how-jubilant-ipobpro-biafra-activists-were-shot-abducted>.

Further, while the authorities of Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch held that “at least 300 Shiite Muslims were killed”, the leadership of the Islamic Movement of Nigeria (IMN) have pictorially and statistically recorded over 800 deaths and over 180 missing till date as well as over 120 killings in the 7th of October and 14th of November 2016 massacre by soldiers and police

of its members in Kaduna, Kano and Plateau States.

In the area of the massacred nonviolent pro Biafra activists; Amnesty International found that “at least 150 of them were killed”, while further facts and statistics gathered by this Organization showed that over 270 were massacred and over 370 others terminally shot and injured including the shootings and killings at Pro Trump Rally of 20th January 2017 where at least 20 were killed and 70 others wounded.

References: (1) Amnesty International Report on killing of unarmed Pro Biafra Protesters by Nigerian Security Forces, 24th November 2016: https://www.amnesty.org/ng/sites/default/files/Nigeria_bullets_were_raining_everywhere%20web.pdf, (2) <https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/12/22/nigeria-army-attack-shia-unjustified> (HRW Report on Shiite Massacre in Zaria: 22nd December 2015), (3) (<https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/09/nigeria-crackdown-and-shrinking-civic-space/>) Amnesty International Statement on killing of over 300 Shiite Muslims September 2016,

(4) <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/04/nigeria-military-cover-up-of-mass-slaughter-at-zaria-exposed/> (Amnesty International statement exposing Nigerian military cover-up of mass slaughter of unarmed and defenceless Shiite Muslims in Zaria, Kaduna State).

Custodial killings, forced disappearances and torture are also common place under the Buhari Administration. In the 11th December 2016 report jointly issued by this Organization and the Southeast Nigeria Based Coalition of Human Rights Organizations (SBCHROs), which was updated in January 2017, we found that out of 102,600 unlawful or criminal killings in Nigeria since 1999 or in the past seventeen years, over 11,000 unlawful deaths or killing outside the law have been recorded under the 20 months of the present Government of Muhammadu Buhari or between June 2015 and January 2017.

By criminal death or killing outside the law, it is the act of taking a citizen's life using processes and procedures not recognized by law (i.e. 1999 Constitution, regional and international rights

PHOTOS OF THE VICTIMS OF RIGHTS ABUSES UNDER THE PRESENT CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT OF MUHAMMADU BUHARI IN NIGERIA COVERING JUNE 2015 – JAN. 2017 PERIOD

(Exclusively Compiled By Intersociety)

ALBUM A:

**SHOT AND WOUNDED
VICTIMS OF NIGERIAN ARMY
MASSACRE OF MAY 30, 2016
DURING PRO BIAFRA HEROES
DAY IN ANAMBRA STATE,
SOUTHEAST NIGERIA**

(In the massacre, the Nigerian Army led by Army Chief of Staff, Lt Gen Tukur Yusuf Buratai, massacred over 140 unarmed and nonviolent Pro Biafra Campaigners and terminally shot and wounded over 130 others who gathered to mark the Biafra Heroes Day at Nkpor and Onitsha (110 deaths) and Asaba (30 deaths)



A female shot victim receiving treatment at a private hospital in Onitsha



A young male victim of the massacre shot at his head.



Hospital workers attending to a badly wounded victim of the massacre



A victim of the massacre shot at his leg.



Another victim of the 30th May 2016 massacre shot at his neck.



Battered and lacerated body of another victim of the massacre



A victim of the massacre shot in his leg.



Sympathizers battling to save the life of a shot and wounded victim of the massacre



Another victim of 30th May 2016 massacre shot and injured in his head.



Operated victim of the massacre shot at the back of his head.



Hospital workers battling to save the life of another victim of 30th May 2016 massacre.



A victim of the massacre shot in his leg.



Another shot victim of the 30th May 2016 massacre lying helpless.



Sympathizers battling to save the life of another victim of the massacre



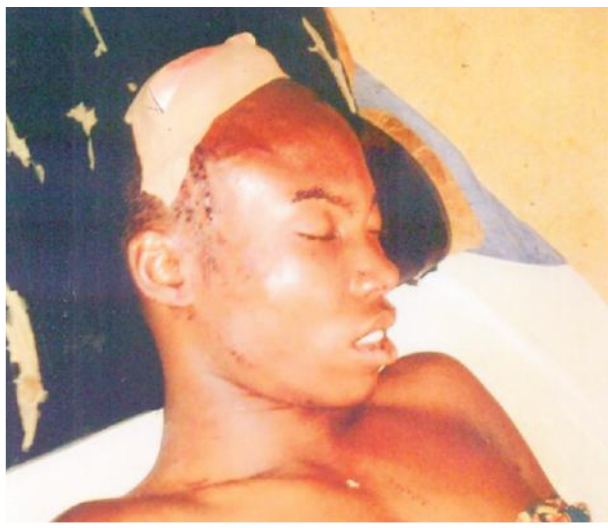
Another victim of the massacre shot at his waist region.



A victim of 30th May 2016 massacre with part of his body shattered by bullet.



Yet another victim of the 30th May 2016 Army massacre shot at his back



Another victim of the massacre shot in his head.



Another shot and wounded victim of the 30th May 2016 Massacre.



Another victim of the 30th May 2016 massacre shot and wounded at his head and stomach regions.



Another victim of the massacre shot at his lung.



Another victim of the 30th May 2016 massacre shot in his manhood region.

ALBUM B:
BODIES OF THE DEAD VICTIMS OF 30th MAY 2016 MASSACRE IN ANAMBRA STATE IN THE NIGERIAN MILITARY TRUCKS BEING CONVEYED TO SECRET MASS GRAVES FOR CRIMINAL INTERMENT



A Nigerian military truck conveying bodies of pro Biafra campaigners killed by soldiers and police on 30th May 2016 in Nkpor and Onitsha, Nigeria



Another military truck of the Nigerian Army conveying bodies of slain Pro Biafra Campaigners on 30th May 2016 to its own cemetery where they were criminally interred on 2nd June 2016



Another military truck of the Nigeria Army conveying more dead bodies of Pro Biafra Activists it killed on 30th May 2016 in Onitsha to its own cemetery for criminal interment.



Soldiers of the Nigerian Army cannibalistically smashing while conveying to secret mass graves the dead bodies of slain Pro Biafra Activists they massacred in Nkpor and Onitsha, Anambra State, Nigeria on 30th May 2016.

**ALBUM C:
PHOTOS OF 13 UNARMED PRO
BIAFRA CAMPAIGNERS
SHRUNK WITH RAW ACID
COMPRISING THOSE
ARRESTED ALIVE AND THOSE
KILLED BY NIGERIAN ARMY ON
9th FEBRUARY 2016 IN ABA,
NIGERIA. THEY WERE FOUND
DUMPED ON 13th FEBRUARY
2016 IN A BURROW PIT
LOCATED ALONG ABA-
PORTHARCOURT ROAD, NEAR
ABA IN ABIA STATE,
SOUTHEAST NIGERIA.**



Another part of the bodies of 13 Pro Biafra Statehood campaigners killed by Nigeria Soldiers on 9th Feb 2016 and found dumped in a burrow pit in Aba, Nigeria.



Part of the 13 Pro Biafra campaigners killed by Nigerian Army and dumped in a burrow pit



Another angle of the photos of 13 pro Biafra campaigners killed by soldiers on 9th Feb. 2016 in Aba, Nigeria and dumped in a burrow pit on 13th of February 2016.

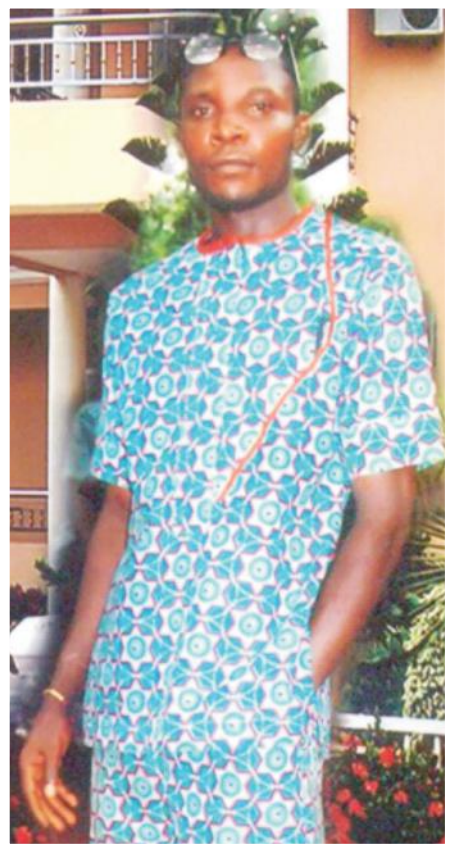
ALBUM D:
SOME DEAD VICTIMS OF
30th MAY 2016 NIGERIAN
ARMY MASSACRE IN
ONITSHA AND NKPOR,
ANAMBRA STATE,
SOUTHEAST NIGERIA



Citizen Ifeanyichukwu Christian Azubuikwe shot and killed by Nigerian Soldiers in Onitsha, South East Nigeria on 30th of May 2016 during anniversary remembering Biafra Heroes



Citizen Chinedu Udoye shot and killed by Nigerian Soldiers in Onitsha, South East Nigeria on 30th of May 2016 during anniversary remembering Biafra Heroes



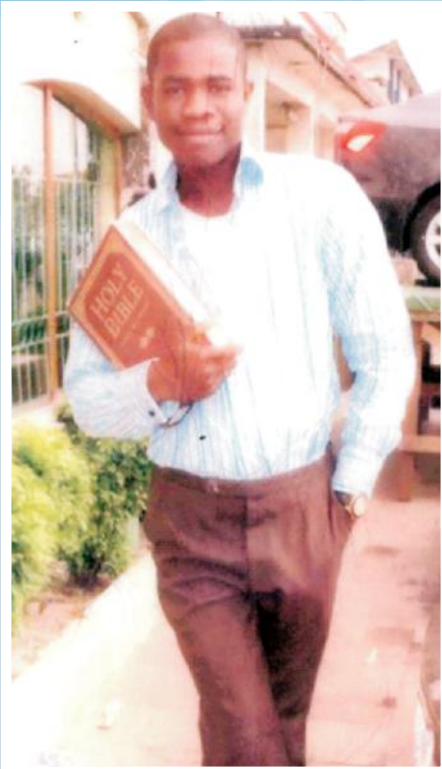
Citizen Ozioko Chidiebere shot and killed by Nigerian Soldiers in Onitsha, South East Nigeria on 30th of May 2016 during anniversary remembering Biafra Heroes



Citizen Ogechi Ejiogu shot and killed by Nigerian Soldiers in Onitsha, South East Nigeria on 30th of May 2016 during anniversary remembering Biafra Heroes Day.



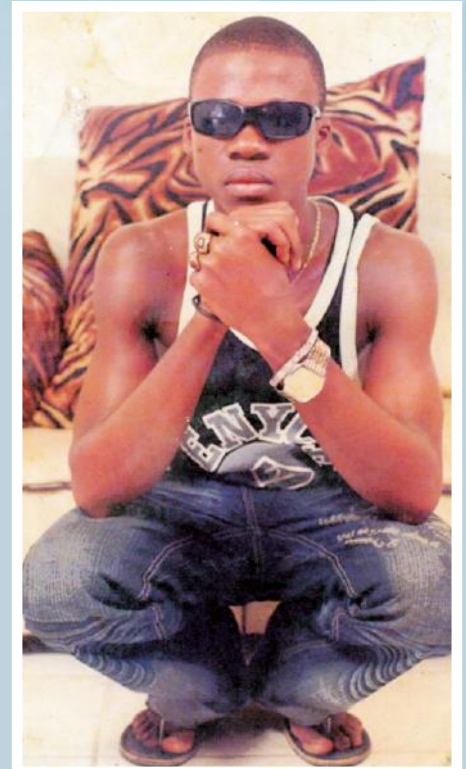
Citizen Chima Ezechiugo shot and killed by Nigerian Soldiers in Onitsha, South East Nigeria on 30th of May 2016 during anniversary remembering Biafra Heroes.



Citizen Ifeanyichukwu Kalu shot and killed by Nigeria Soldiers in Onitsha, South East Nigeria on 30th of May 2016 during anniversary remembering Biafra Heroes.



Citizen Daniel Kalu shot and killed by Nigeria Soldiers in Onitsha, South East Nigeria on 30th of May 2016 during anniversary remembering Biafra Heroes.



Citizen God's Power Pius Etukudo shot and killed by Nigeria Soldiers in Onitsha, South East Nigeria on 30th of May 2016 during anniversary remembering Biafra Heroes.



Citizen Ernest Uzor shot and killed by Nigerian Soldiers in Onitsha, South East Nigeria on 30th of May 2016 during anniversary remembering Biafra Heroes



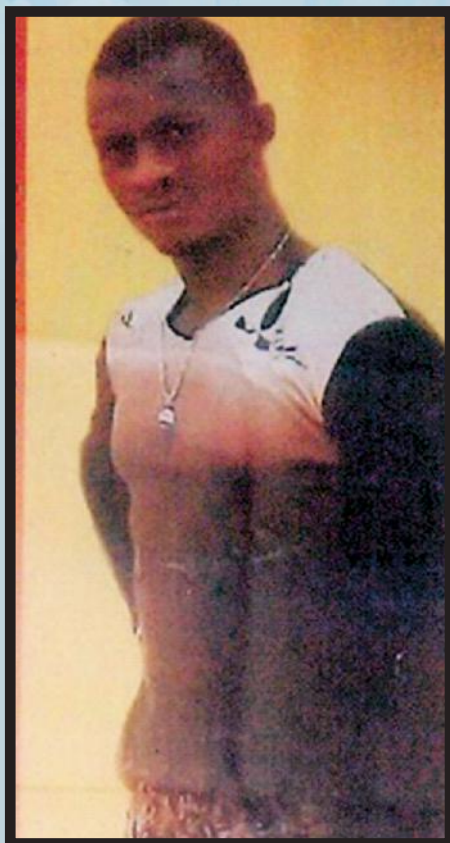
Citizen Chikaodi Uka Ume shot and killed by Nigeria Soldiers in Onitsha, South East Nigeria on 30th of May 2016 during anniversary remembering Biafra Heroes.



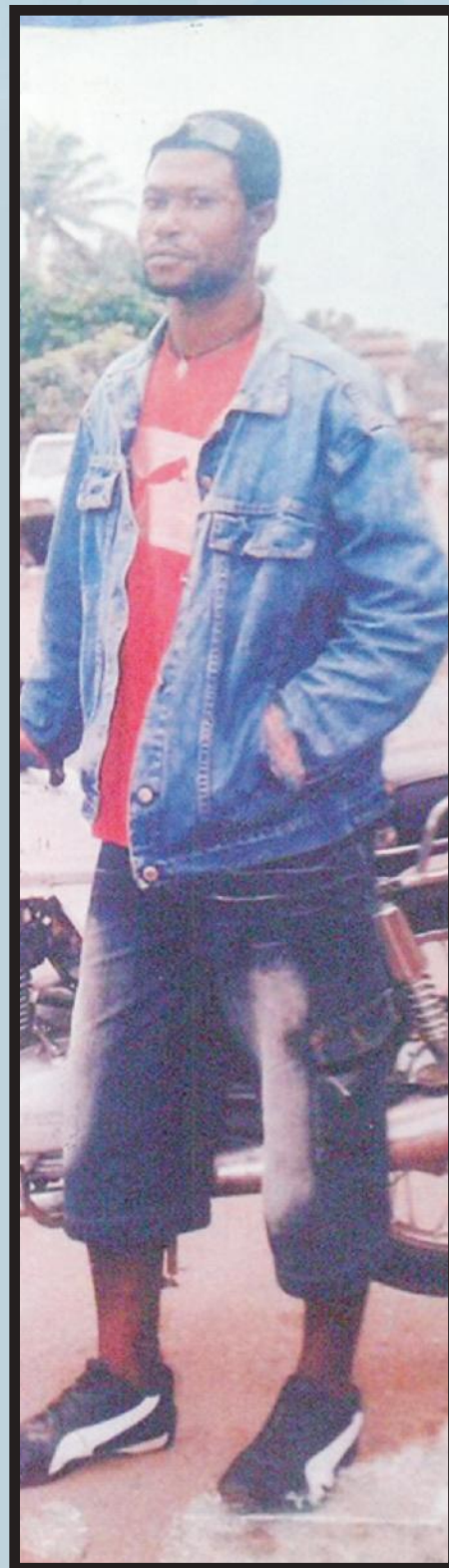
Citizen Sunday Ogudo shot and killed by Nigeria Soldiers in Onitsha, South East Nigeria on 30th of May 2016 during anniversary remembering Biafra Heroes.



The remains of Citizen Emeka Ekpemandu, killed by Nigerian soldiers in Aba, Nigeria on the 9th of February 2016 during IPOB's prayers and rally at the Ngwa National High School.



Funeral poster of Citizen Mathew Ibeh Kalu (Ndukwe), shot and killed in Onitsha on 17th December 2015 during jubilation match over the said court judgment. His corpse was among those taken away by soldiers and later dumped at the Onitsha General Hospital morgue on 21st December 2015.



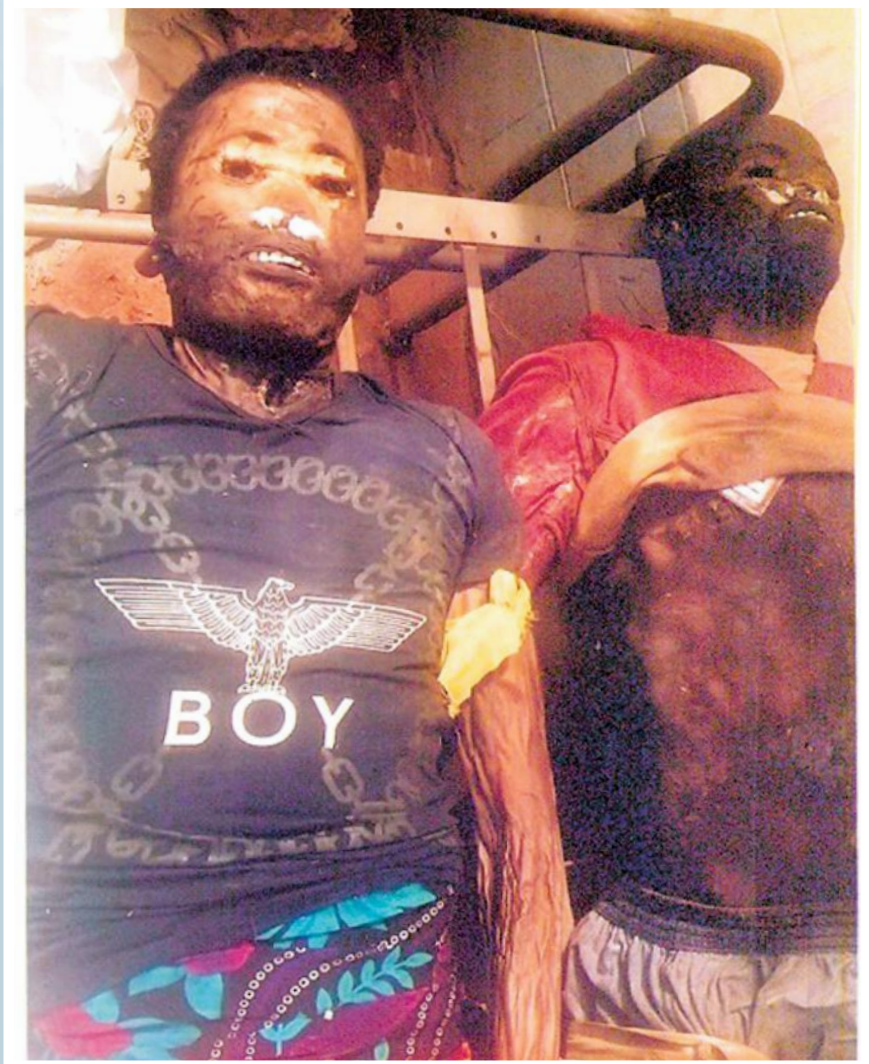
Live picture of Citizen Michael Nweke, shot dead by Nigeria Army on 17th December 2015 at Onitsha Niger Bridgehead for jubilating over a Federal High Court judgment, ordering the unconditional release of IPOB leader, Citizen Nnamdi Kanu. His corpse, alongside others was taken away by soldiers and later dumped at the Onitsha General Hospital mortuary on 21st December 2015.



Another dead victim of the Nigerian Military violent crackdown on unnamed and defenseless Pro Biafra Campaigner shot and killed on 30th of May 2016 in Anambra State, Southeast Nigeria.



Funeral poster of Citizen Chigozie Ezeji, shot dead by the Nigerian Army in Onitsha on 17th December 2015 during IPOB jubilation match following a court judgment ordering for unconditional release of Citizen Nnamdi Kanu (IPOB leader).



The remains of Citizen Michael Nweke and Chukwuma Nwankwo, found dumped by the Nigerian Army at the Onitsha General Hospital morgue pictured in February 2016 after they were shot, killed and their corpses taken away on 17th December 2015 by the Nigerian Army.



Funeral poster of Miss Nkiruka Ikeanyionwu (an under graduate), shot and killed by the Nigerian Army and the Nigeria Police Force on 2nd December 2015 in Onitsha, Anambra State, Southeast Nigeria during Pro Biafra Campaign peaceful street protest.



Yet another dead victim of the Nigerian Military violent crackdown on unnamed and defenseless Pro Biafra Campaigner, shot and killed on 30th of May 2016.

**ALBUM E:
NAMES AND PHOTOS OF
UNARMED AND
NONVIOLENT CRITICS
CURRENTLY DETAINED
INCOMMUNICADO BY SSS
(State Security Services)
FOR SEVERAL MONTHS IN
NIGERIA WITHOUT TRIAL**



Citizen Ekene Onuoha: Arrested by SSS since early morning of 24th August 2016 and still detained incommunicado without trial as at the end of January 2017 (five months or 150 days).



Citizen Bright Chimezie: Arrested by SSS since the noon of 16th September 2016 and still detained incommunicado without trial as at the end of January 2017 (four months or 120 days).



Citizen Moses Agbo: Arrested by SSS since 25th December 2016 and still detained incommunicado without trial as at the end of January 2017 (over one month or 30 days).



Citizen Asochukwu Boniface Ugochukwu: Arrested by SSS since early morning of 24th August 2016 and still detained incommunicado without trial as at the end of January 2017 (five months or 150 days).



Justice O. Udo: Arrested by SSS since late night of 13th July 2016 and still detained incommunicado without trial as at the end of January 2017 (six months or 180 days).



Citizen Ikechukwu Ugwuoha: Arrested by SSS since early morning of 24th August 2016 and still detained incommunicado without trial as at the end of January 2017 (five months or 150 days).



Citizen Sunday Okafor: Arrested by SSS since early morning of 24th August 2016 and still detained incommunicado without trial as at the end of January 2017 (five months or 150 days).



Citizen Ndubuisi Arum (High Chief Oko): Arrested by SSS since early October 2016 and still detained incommunicado without trial as at the end of January 2017 (three months or 90 days).



Sheik Ibrahim Zaky El-Zaky, leader of Nigerian Shiite Muslims or IMN: shot and battered by the Nigerian Army on 14th December 2015 and detained incommunicado by SSS without trial as at the end of January 2017 (thirteen months or 390 days).



Malama Zeenatu El-Zaky: Wife of Sheik Ibrahim El-Zaky, shot and battered by the Nigerian Army alongside her husband on 14th December 2015 and detained incommunicado with her husband by SSS without trial as at the end of January 2017 (thirteen months or 390 days).

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conventions and laws) and it includes citizens taking into detention custodies alive but killed while being held, road killings associated with police extortion and killings over minor infractions or simple offences; killing of unarmed and defenceless citizens engaging in church vigil and street protests/rallies and religious processions; election day killings, military invasion and massacre of unarmed and defenceless rural citizens in troubled local communities.

Others are raiding and killing by security forces of unarmed and defenceless citizens in their homes, holy places of worship and work places; any form of killing of civilians or non combatants by government forces or armed opposition groups outside military necessity in wartimes; killings arising from inter-communal and religious violence particularly as they concern uninvolved or innocent and defenceless citizens; and culpable or wilful homicides. These do not include deaths arising from battle-field related clashes between government and opposition forces other than non combatants; or road, aviation, marine or other mishaps; or hunger or starvation related deaths, etc.

For instance, not less than 236 defenceless and hunger stricken citizens quartered in IDP camp, located in Rann Community of Kala-Balge Local Government Area in Borno State, Northeast Nigeria were massacred in the 17th January 2017 jet bombing carried out by the Nigerian Air Force; which claimed "it was a mistake bombing originally targeted at Boko Haram terrorists".

The massacre is nothing short of war crime by act of wilful bombing of a known IDP camp and civilian settlement, which is a non military necessity; forbidden by the Geneva Conventions of 1949. That is to say that with the latest killings in the Port Harcourt pro Trump rally by Nigerian security forces and the wilful Rann civilian jet bombing by the Nigerian Air Force, the total number of State murders perpetrated by the Government of Muhammadu Buhari has risen to over 1750 in 20 months or from June 2015 to January 2017.

Sadly, most, if not all the perpetrators of these constitutional crimes, treaty crimes, war crimes, crimes against humanity crimes and genocide in Nigeria are still on the prowl with the Buhari

Government practically doing little or nothing to bring them to justice; except aiding and condoning them till date and with reckless abandon. It is elementary and fundamental part of the International Law under the UN System that when a State Party or a UN Member-State fails woefully to uphold its sovereignty under the Principle of Complementarity by not punishing severely and fairly perpetrators of heinous crimes and adequately compensating and rehabilitating the victims; it automatically loses its jurisprudential sovereignty and hands off and surrenders to regional or international criminal justice remedies and sanctions. This is also provided in the Rome Statute for International Criminal Court of 1998, signed and ratified by Nigeria on 27th September 2001.

Statistical highlights of these heinous crimes in Nigeria:

That Nigeria has recorded over 102,600 criminal deaths in seventeen years or since 1999 when it returned to civil rule, on average of 6,030 for each of the seventeen past years

That over 54,000 criminal deaths took place in Nigeria between June 1999 and December 2011 on average of 4500 for each of those past twelve years as at December 2011

That over 48,600 additional criminal deaths took place in five years or since January 2012, on average of 9,720 for each of the five years

That Boko Haram accounted for not less than 17,000 criminal deaths in five years or since December 2011 on average of 3400 for each of the five years and the year 2014 was the bloodiest year for Nigerians particularly Christians who lost not less than 4,028 lives, out of 4,480 killed and over 1000 lives out of 1229 killed by Nomad Fulani terrorists.

That Boko Haram and Nomad Fulani Jihadists massacred a total of 5,709 mostly Christians in

(R e f e r e n c e : <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/221343-236-people-buried-idp-camp-bombing-nigerian-jet-official.html>), <http://www.intersociety-ng.org/component/k2/item/214-killing-bombing-of-236-citizens-in-borno-idp-camp>

Nigeria in 2014 (Global Terrorism Index 2015)

That Custodial deaths or deaths in detention custodies mostly perpetrated by Police SARS, SCIDs and Army (during counter insurgency operations) accounted for not less than 21,500 in five years or since 2011 on average of 4300 for each of the five years and 350 monthly.

That over 7000 citizens lost their lives to Fulani Terrorists in five years or since 2011 on average of 1400 for each of the five years.

That a variant of Fulani Terrorists (officially called cattle rustlers) accounted for at least 600 deaths in Zamfara State as at 2015

That Boko Haram killed not less than 2500 in twenty months of the Buhari Administration or from June 2015 to January 2017, on average of 125 for each of the twenty months.

That Nomad Fulani Terrorists killed not less than 2800 mostly Christians under twenty months of the Buhari Administration on average of 140 for each of the twenty months and the year 2016 was the bloodiest year for Nigerian Christians with loss of over 2000 lives to Nomad Fulani Jihadism.

That not less than 4000 custodial deaths perpetrated by Police SARS and SCIDs may most likely have occurred under 20 months of the Buhari Administration (June 2015-January 2017) on average of 200 for each of the twenty months and six deaths per State monthly.

That over 1750 State murders mostly perpetrated by the Nigerian Army; occurred under twenty months of the Buhari Administration including over 1120 Shiite Muslims, 270 Pro Biafra activists and over 236 IDPs bombed in the Rann IDP camp following non-military necessity bombings by the Nigerian Air Force on 17th January 2017; all on monthly average of 87.5 defenceless citizens for each of the twenty months. This criminal death figure is the highest in non war situation and in the history of democratic Nigeria.

That over 870 cases of attempted murder or criminal wounding abounds under the Buhari's Administration representing IMN, IPOB and IDPs members shot and terminally injured or bombed courtesy of the Nigerian Army, Nigerian Air Force, the Nigeria Police Force, etc.

That over 11,000 criminal deaths had taken

place in twenty months of the Buhari Administration on average death of 550 defenceless citizens for each of the twenty months

That criminal deaths arising from inter-communal violence, election killings and dark figures of crime accounted for not less than 1200 since January 2012; bringing the grand total to 102,600 criminal deaths in the past seventeen years of June 1999 to January 2017 or 48,600 in the past five years of 2011 to January 2017.

Apart from over 1750 direct State murders perpetrated by the Administration of Muhammadu Buhari in the past 20 months, there are also not less than 4000 custodial killings most likely recorded under his violent Presidency on monthly average of 200 custodial killings. Custodial killings are very rampant in Nigerian Security sector particularly among the operatives of the Special Anti Robbery Squad (SARS) of the Nigeria Police Force; which majorly result from torturing and wilful shooting of their held suspects accused of committing street crimes.

Custodial killings arising from torture and wilful shootings are also common among the operatives of the Federal and State Criminal Investigation Departments (FCID/SCID). Torture, too, is a routine particularly among the Police SARS and general duty police personnel, SSS operatives and the army. Scores of unarmed citizens who were arrested by SSS have been held incommunicado without trial for several months till date with strong suspicion that they undergo grave torture and other inhuman and degrading treatments in custodies.

Amnesty International, for instance, had in its 2014 and 2016 Reports, gravely indicted Nigeria Police SARS operatives as grossly involved in torturing arrested citizens under their custodies; which usually lead to high incidences of pre-trial or custodial deaths. It is credibly estimated that not less than 200 detained citizens die monthly in Police SARS custodies across the 36 States of Nigeria and the Federal Capital Territory and 12 Zonal Commands of the Force in Nigeria; or six citizens per State monthly.

Further, long detention without trial or bail is very common and reckless under the present

central Government of Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari in Nigeria. For instance, Citizens Nnamdi Kanu, Benjamin Madubugwu, David Nwawuisi and Chidiebere Onwudiwe have been in detention without trial or bail for over one year and six months respectively. The four citizens are currently undergoing pre-trial proceedings and yet to be tried properly.

They agitate non-violently for “Biafra independence from Nigeria” using the instrumentality of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) and Radio Biafra London (RBL) and Pacifism.

The following are names of at least thirteen IPOB members and dates of their arrest. They have, till date, remained detained under solitary conditions without trial (1) Citizen Justice O. Udo. He was arrested by SSS in Port Harcourt, Rivers State in the mid night of 13th July 2016 and thrown into indefinite detention without trial till date; a period of over six months or 180 days. (2) Citizen Sunday Chukwuka Obasi was arrested by SSS in the late night of 16th August 2016 in Nnewi, Anambra State; shot at his two legs and thrown into indefinite detention without trial as at December 2016; a period of over four months or 120 days.

(3) Citizens Ikechukwu Ugwuoha, (4) Asochukwu Boniface Ugochukwu, (5) Sunday J. Okafor, (6) Ekene Onuoha and (7) Joseph Okorie (Ogbuawa) were arrested by SSS on 24th August 2016 at Ugba Junction, near Aba in Abia State at about 7.30am on their way back from Kuje Prison (where they had gone to see their leader, Nnamdi Kanu) and thrown into indefinite detention without trial till date; a period of almost five months each or 150 days.

(8) Citizen Bright Chimezie. He was arrested by Police in Akwa Ibom State at business hours of 16th September 2016 and handed over to the SSS, which took him into incommunicado detention without trial till date; a period of four months or 120 days. (9) Citizen Ndubuisi Arum (High Chief Oko) was arrested by SSS in Aba, Abia State in October 2016 and detained incommunicado without trial till date; a period of over three months or 90 days.

(10) Citizen Eta Stephen Bassey is a 45yrs old

Principal of the Wisdom Child International School in Bokokiri area of Port Harcourt in Rivers State. He is also the Financial Secretary of IPOB in Bundu Unit Town Zone 1 of the organization in Rivers State and hails from Abi Local Government Area of Cross River State. Citizen Eta Stephen Bassey was abducted by SSS at the business hours of 3rd November 2016 around Victoria Street/Aggrey Road area of Port Harcourt in Rivers State where he had gone to buy “suya” meat and till date; a period of 72 days, he has remained in solitary detention of the SSS. His mobile phone number as released by his close associates is +2348034284857.

(11) Citizen Moses Agbo is a member of the Biafra Family Writers. He was arrested by SSS on the Christmas Eve of December 2016 after he visited Citizen Nnamdi Kanu in Kuje Prison and till date; a period of 30 days, he is still held incommunicado by the SSS without trial. (12) Citizen Udochukwu Nelson, (13) Citizen Echeie Osten and (14) Citizen Rose... were arrested at their market shops at the business hours of 13th January 2017 by SSS in Rumuola area of Port Harcourt in Rivers State and they are still being held incommunicado as of today.

Information available at our advocacy disposal also clearly indicates that all of the SSS detainees are gravely tortured to incriminate themselves and confess to spurious allegations of their involvement in “terrorism” and “treasonable felony”. Citizen Bright Chimezie, for instance, is said to have had his two legs broken by his SSS torturers in the Akwa Ibom State Directorate of the Service in Uyo, South-south Nigeria.

The leader of the Islamic Movement of Nigeria or Shiite Muslims, Ibrahim Zaky El-Zaky and his wife, Malama Zeenatu are the longest serving detainees without court trial in the history of democratic Nigeria or since 1999. The Shiite leader and his wife have been held incommunicado by SSS for over 13 months or 390 days. They were shot and battered by soldiers after a thousand of their followers were killed or went missing between 12th and 14th December 2015 in Zaria, Kaduna State during their road-way religious procession on 12th December 2015 and subsequent violent invasion

and destruction of their holy places of worship on 14th December 2015.

While the IMN leader had 18 bullets reportedly removed from his body, his wife had four bullets removed from her body as well. Sheik Ibrahim El-Zaky's three sons were also shot and killed in his presence as well as his young nephew and 70yrs old sister who was burnt alive by soldiers. His legitimate abode or residence was also destroyed and burnt beyond recognition by soldiers of the Nigerian Army. This is a clear and gross violation of Section 43 of the Nigeria's 1999 Constitution which guarantees and empowers citizens to "acquire and own immovable property anywhere in Nigeria".

Since Sheik Ibrahim Zaky El-Zaky and his wife were shot half dead by Lt Gen Tukur Buratai-led Nigerian Army and taken into SSS custody on 14th of December 2015, they have not been brought to public or allowed access to be seen by their biological relatives. The Government of Muhammadu Buhari has also flouted and disobeyed an Abuja Division of the Federal High Court order of 2nd December 2016; mandating the Government to free the Islamic cleric and his wife unconditionally with monetary compensation of about \$100,000. Over 300 of his members are currently being held in various detention facilities in Kaduna State over trumped offences.

14.0 The Return Of Jihadism And Persecution Of Christians In Nigeria

Christians and the Christian faith are also gravely endangered in Nigeria particularly under the Buhari Administration, which has been accused of running an Islamist government and policy in the country. According to the Christian Open Doors International, in its Report of 2015, a total of not less than 11,500 Christians lost their lives from 2000 to 2014 to Boko Haram terrorism in the northern Nigeria. It also found that 1.3 million Christians fled to escape being killed by Boko Haram terrorists during the period.

The Open Doors International is an international advocacy group against persecution of Christians worldwide. It further found that 13,000 churches and 1500 Christian schools were destroyed between 2000 and 2014. The Religion of

Peace Organization International, another anti Christian persecution watchdog, had also documented the loss of 2,528 Christian lives in Nigeria in 2014 alone. On our part, we held that over 13,000-14,000 Christians were killed, out of over 20,000 killed between 2009 and 2015 in the anti Christianity insurgency in northern Nigeria.

The Open Doors International further disclosed in its 2015 Report that Christians lost 4,028 lives to Boko Haram Jihadists in Nigeria in 2014 alone. The Global Terrorism Index of the Institute for Economics and Peace had also in its 2015 Report disclosed that 5,709 lives were lost to Boko Haram and Nomad Fulani terrorism in Nigeria in 2014, with Boko Haram accounting for 4,480 while Nomad Fulani terrorists accounted for 1229. Most of those killed are Christians. In the 2016 Report of the Christian Persecution Watchdog International based in Washington DC, USA; Nigeria was identified as one of the three "worst of the worst" out of 12 countries with notoriety in the persecution of Christians.

It is recalled that Boko Haram terrorism was believed to have been used extensively by northern radical Muslim politicians and other fundamentalist Islamists to decimate most, if not all Christian communities in the Northeast and parts of Northwest Nigeria. Boko Haram terrorist group started in 2002 in a remote part of Borno State, Northeast Nigeria, but was later hijacked after 2011 by the named radical Islamists to ground the then central government headed by a Christian southerner, Dr. Goodluck Jonathan and Islamize the north in line with the ideology of the Islamist terrorist group.

(References: <http://www.thetrentonline.com/pro-biafra-activists-dss/>), <http://www.intersociety-ng.org/component/k2/item/206-silent-genocide-in-nigeria>, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/09/nigeria-special-police-squad-get-rich-torturing-detainees/>, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/04/nigeria-military-cover-up-of-mass-slaughter-at-zaria-exposed/>).

The year 2014 was the bloodiest year for Nigeria and its Christian populations; owing to the nearness of the 2015 general elections particularly the presidential election. A total of 5,709 lives were lost to Boko Haram and Nomad Fulani terrorism within the year (GTI Report 2015), out of which Christians were about 70% or more.

Since the emergence of Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari as Nigeria's sixth civilian President in late May 2015, an alarming dimension has been added to safety and growth of Christian faith and religion in Nigeria. There appears to be a radical shift and channelling of huge material and military resources from Boko Haram terrorism to Nomad Fulani terrorism by northern Islamist politicians and their likes in the Armed Forces of Nigeria.

That is to say that the named Islamist radicals of the northern Nigeria have technically abandoned Boko Haram terrorism and focused their attention and energy to Nomad Fulani terrorism for the purpose of sustaining their Jihadist campaigns against Christian dominated populations in Nigeria's Southeast, South-south and old Middle Belt regions. The Nomad Fulani terrorist group operates legally in Nigeria under "the Miyatti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria", which has President Muhammadu Buhari as its national grand patron till date.

According to the Global Terrorism Index of the International Institute for Economics and Peace, Nomad Fulani terrorist group, commonly called Fulani Herdsmen, killed 1229 people in 2014 alone with most of them being rural Christians. Over 2000 Christian lives were lost to the Nomad Fulani Jihadists in 2016 alone; the bloodiest year in Fula terrorism in Nigeria in recent times. It is also recalled that the rise of Islam in Nigeria was in the 19th Century spearheaded by a group of Fulani Jihadists led by Shehu Othman Dan Fodio.

The attacks by the Nomad Fulani terrorists on Christians and their holy places of worship in Nigeria radically increased following the emergence in late May 2015 of President Muhammadu Buhari; a prince of Fulani Muslim dynasty in Daura, Katsina State, who remains the

national grand patron of "the Miyatti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria"; the group strongly and popularly believed to have been vicariously and collectively behind ongoing Fulani terrorism and Jihadism in Nigeria.

In the twenty months of the Buhari Presidency or between late June 2015 and January 2017, over 2800 Christians have lost their lives to Nomad Fulani terrorism across Nigeria with over 30 churches destroyed. Apart from attacking and killing of Christians, their attackers also take over, occupy and Islamize their conquered communities.

Thousands of Christians have also been forcefully converted to Islam in northern Nigeria in the past six years and scores of Christian teenage girls have been forcefully married and converted to Islam as well. In late 2016 alone, not less than 850 Christian lives were lost in Southern Kaduna part of Kaduna State, Northwest Nigeria including 808 killed by Nomad Fulani terrorists in late December 2016 as publicly disclosed on 30th December 2016 by the Catholic Archdiocese of Kafanchan in Kaduna State and 38 killed in the first six months of 2016 as disclosed by the leadership of ECWA Church in Kaduna State.

The Catholic Archdiocese of Kafanchan in Kaduna State had in their 30th of December 2016 press conference disclosed that "a total of 808 mostly Christians were killed by Fulani Herdsmen in Kaduna State in December 2016 in which 57 others were wounded, 16 churches destroyed and 53 villages attacked". The authorities of the Catholic Archdiocese of Kafanchan also described their attackers as Jihadists. The Archdiocese further accused the Kaduna State Government headed by Malam Nasiru el-Rufai and soldiers of the Nigerian Army of complicity. The authorities of ECWA Church in the State had earlier addressed a press conference saying that the church lost 38 members in the first six months of 2016 to Nomad Fulani Jihadists.

Also in 2016 alone, over 350 mostly Christians

R e f e r e n c e :
<http://religionnews.com/2017/01/04/christian-persecution-watchdog-releases-2016-hall-of-shame-report>.

were killed in Benue State in the hands of same Nomad Fulani Jihadists. In Enugu State, Southeast Nigeria, over 50 Christian lives were lost in 2016. Several Christian lives have also been lost to Nomad Fulani terrorists in Imo, Delta, Edo, Anambra and Abia States in 2016; likewise in Nasarawa, Taraba and Plateau States.

In these butcheries, not even a single perpetrator from the Nomad terror group or its parent body (Miyatti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria) has been arrested and put on trial till date; in a country where over 1500 citizens were massacred for expressing themselves non-violently. More information are contained in our recent publications in the links below: <http://www.intersociety-ng.org/component/k2/item/210-intersociety-names-buhari-el-rufai-buratai-nigerian-army-fulani-terror-group-and-christian-leaders-as-major-threats-to-the-safety-and-growth-of-christianity-in-nigeria>, <http://www.thetrentonline.com/killing-christians-rise-state-jihadism-nigeria-read/>, <http://www.newsexpressngr.com/news/32953-Kaduna-Killings-Catholic-Bishops-have-sold-out-Intersociety>

15.0 The Buhari Government's Widespread Attacks On Media Activists

The freedom of the press and democratic free speeches are also gravely endangered by the present civilian Government of Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari in Nigeria. It is feared and credibly suspected that the infamous anti press freedom Decree No 4 of 1984 is being secretly operated presently in Nigeria. Of various reports of the Buhari Administration's widespread anti press freedom policies, those of the Committee for Protection of Journalists (CPJ); a New York, USA based anti press persecution advocacy group is our guide.

Instances abound. On July 27, 2016, the CPJ reported that nine armed agents of the Nigerian secret police (SSS) have arrested and detained the publisher of the Weekly Source, Citizen Jones Abiri in his Yenagoa office in Bayelsa State, South-south

Nigeria. The operatives searched Abiri's office and confiscated documents.

The DSS had on July 23 emailed a statement to Nigerian journalists accusing Abiri of being the leader of the Joint Revolutionary Council of the Joint Niger Delta Liberation Force, an armed separatist group. The CPJ also quoted the SSS as claiming that the publisher had confessed to bombing oil pipelines, planning attacks in the capital Abuja, sending threatening messages to international oil companies, and to having been the mastermind of a hoax military coup against President Muhammadu Buhari; charges the publisher strongly denied (See <https://cpj.org/2016/07/nigerian-secret-police-detain-publisher.php#more>).

On 29th September 2016, the CPJ through its West African Representative, Peter Nkanga, reported that 13 journalists, bloggers and media workers were arrested and detained by security forces in Edo State, South-south Nigeria. The CPJ noted that "the impunity with which Nigerian security forces have recently attacked the press is reminiscent of Nigeria's darkest days of military rule," and called on "President Muhammadu Buhari's administration to reverse this alarming slide and let journalists do their jobs without fear of reprisal."

The CPJ further reported that "at around 1:45 a.m. on September 21, military soldiers and officers of Nigeria's special police, the State Security Service, arrested 10 journalists and media workers from the independent news website Watchdog Media News at the Douban Hotel in Benin, the capital of the southern Nigerian state of Edo". The CPJ further reported that "the crew was in the city to cover gubernatorial elections scheduled to take place today, according to news reports and that the journalists were brutalised and were arrested wearing only their underwear".

The CPJ quoted witnesses as saying that the crew were beaten with barbed wire and had cold water poured on their bodies before they were arrested. The CPJ gave the names of the arrested journalists as production manager Tony Abulu; reporters Richard Hasley, Opara Uche, and Handy Romeo Eze; video editor Kelvin Toryila;

information technology specialists Lanre Ogunleye, Balogun Ehigie, and Kenneth Danpome; a logistics manager identified only as Mathew; and driver Joe Epi” (<https://cpj.org/2016/09/nigeria-detains-13-journalists-bloggers-and-media.php#more>).

On 21st September 2016, the CPJ through its West African Representative, Peter Nkanga reported how Nigeria's cybercrime law is being used to try to muzzle the press. The report has it that since Nigeria's cybercrime act was voted into law in May 2015 authorities have used the accusation of cyber stalking to harass and press charges against at least five bloggers who criticized politicians and businessmen online and through social media.

It further observed that Cyber Stalking, which falls under Section 24 of the act, carries a fine of up to 7 million naira (USD\$22,000) and a maximum three-year jail term for anyone convicted of knowingly sending an online message that "he knows to be false, for the purpose of causing annoyance, inconvenience danger, obstruction, insult, injury, criminal intimidation, enmity, hatred, ill will or needless anxiety to another.". It noted that the law was cited in the August 20 arrest of Musa Babale Azare who was detained in the capital, Abuja, by police from Bauchi State and that Musa Babale Azare was accused of allegedly criticising the State governor, Muhammad Abdullah Abubakar, on social media.

Mr Musa Azare, who uses Facebook and Twitter as platforms to criticize the actions and policies of Abubakar and his administration, said he was denied access to his lawyer, and that police did not have authority to arrest him outside Bauchi State jurisdiction. Several other instances were cited in the CPJ report. (<https://cpj.org/blog/2016/09/how-nigerias-cybercrime-law-is-being-used-to-try-t.php#more>)

On 6th September 2016, the CPJ reported the arrest of a Nigerian online journalist, Citizen Emenike Iroegbu by three armed agents of SSS. Citizen Iroegbu runs the news website Abia Facts, from his home in Uyo, the capital of the southern State of Akwa Ibom, on suspicion of libelling the governor of neighboring Abia State, Dr Okezie Ikpeazu. The operatives searched Iroegbu's house

and took away his laptops, his phones, and his wife's phones, according to the CPJ (<https://cpj.org/2016/09/nigerian-secret-police-arrest-online-journalist.php#more>).

The CPJ had also in November 2015 reported that at least 10 people, including officers of the Nigerian Prisons Service, reportedly beat Emmanuel Elebeke, a journalist with the independent daily Vanguard, at the premises of a high court in the capital Abuja on November 12, 2015. The CPJ further noted thus “the reporter, who also takes photographs for the paper, told CPJ he was attacked after taking a photograph of three of the six suspects in a murder trial. According to reports citing Elebeke, the journalist said he was beaten by uniformed officers and a group he believes were family members of the suspects on trial.

Elebeke added that he was handcuffed after refusing to hand over his camera. In an account of the attack published in Vanguard, Elebeke said one official hit him with a gun butt and the others kicked him with their boots. He added: "They stopped the beating when they finally got hold of the camera and made away with it in a prison bus. Elebeke told CPJ he had injuries, including to his legs, and was hospitalized”

Amnesty International, UK, had on 28th September 2016 frowned at and strongly condemned crackdown on journalists and violent assaults on protests by the Buhari Administration through his security forces, particularly the SSS, Army and Police. It observed that such anti democratic and human rights policies shrink civic space and muzzle press freedom and democratic free speeches. In its press release of the said date, it noted that “the continuing spate of arrests and detentions of journalists and bloggers amid the security forces' violent disruption of peaceful protests underscores how the Nigerian government appears determined to crush dissent and suffocate freedom of expression”.

The organization called on the authorities “to ensure the rights of Nigerians to freedom of peaceful assembly and freedom of expression, as guaranteed by international human rights law and the Nigerian Constitution” and observed that “the

escalation in the intimidation of journalists and bloggers over recent months seems to be little more than a barefaced attempt by the Nigerian government to muzzle dissenting voices in the country”

In the CPJ's 2016 Report (2016 Global Impunity Index) with spotlights in countries where journalists are slain and the killers go free; Nigeria was ranked 12th out of 13 countries with worst records of anti press freedoms As recently as on Thursday, 19th January, the Abuja Office of the Premium Times; a leading Nigerian online newspaper, was raided by some plain-clothed police officers of the Nigeria Police Force leading to arrest of its Publisher, Mr. Dapo Olorunyomi and its Judicial Correspondent, Ms Evelyn Okakwu. They were taken away and later released after about three hours and mandated to report back the next morning being Friday, 20th January 2017 for their possible arraignment before a Magistrate Court.

The police officers informed them that they acted based on a complaint lodged against the online Newspaper by the Chief of Army Staff (COAS), Lt Gen Tukur Yufus Buratai, in connection with a story ran by the Newspaper regarding alleged invitation of the COAS by the Code of Conduct Bureau over alleged illicit choice properties purchased by the COAS in Dubai while still in office as a serving soldier and COAS. The arrest has received local and international bashings particularly from the US based Committee for the Protection of Journalist (CPJ) Instances are too many to mention.

We, therefore, submit safely that the state of human rights and related issues under 20 months of the present civilian Government of Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari in Nigeria is nothing to write home about. The human rights abuses and associated regime atrocities are far from being isolated cases. They are widespread and have worsened day in day out; making the citizens of the country endangered species in their own country.

The number of Nigerians that have left the country in the past twenty months of the Buhari Government is in torrents and alarming. In our recent field advocacy visit to Old Market Road in Onitsha Nigeria, it was empirically observed that

Nigerians are leaving their country in droves. The area named is noted for “wait and take” passport and other photographs.

We had found during the visit that the business is now dominated by “Embassy Passport” and that out of every six persons that come to take passport photograph, three-four are for “Embassy Passport”. Embassy Passport is the size of passport photograph demanded from prospective travellers at foreign embassies. We were further told that the demand went viral since late 2015.

Most of the Diaspora Nigerians who are critical of the present Buhari Government have also been found to be afraid of coming home and had avoided returning for 2015 and 2016 Xmas and New Year feasts. A database of most, if not all of them on web media is strongly believed to be constantly maintained and updated by the SSS.

Few months ago, printed and pasted names of key members and supporters of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) who are of local and foreign residency, were leaked to online media from SSS office in Abuja, Nigeria. As we write, those of them in Nigeria are being tracked and arrested by SSS. The arrest and detention is indefinite and without trial.

For instance, Citizen Nnamdi Kanu, who operates the Radio Biafra London (RBL), a major critic of the Buhari Administration, was arrested by SSS in mid October 2015 in his hotel room in Lagos Nigeria, hours after he returned to Nigeria from UK. Since then he has remained in detention without trial or court bail. Despite the fact that he had never used or advocated for violence, he has been subjected to prosecutorial vindictiveness for the purpose of ensuring that he rots in jail at all costs or under trumped up charges.

Barrister Emeka Ugwuonye is a known critic of the Buhari Government since 2015, based in New York, USA. He was monitored by SSS, arrested and detained for days sometime in 2015 on his arrival from USA at an international airport. Dr. John Danfulani, a former lecturer of the Kaduna State University has undergone a series of persecution in

(Ref: <https://cpj.org/2015/12/in-nigeria-journalist-beaten-outside-court-has-cam.php>).

the hands of Nigerian security agencies and the Government of Kaduna State since 2015.

He was suspended from the Kaduna State University after being accused of “hate speech” through his Facebook page. First arrested and detained in January 2016, he was again arrested and remanded in prison custody for 13 days before he was granted bail on account of public outcries. Instances are a long list and too numerous to mention.

In Nigeria, many of the human rights activists have run away and abandoned mainstream rights activism; and slumbered on account of the Buhari Government's intolerant and militarist governing styles. Over 70% of rights activists and groups particularly those located in the Lagos/Southwest region of Nigeria have since abandoned mainstream and grassroots rights activism to government mouthpiece activism on account of immorality and fears of the Buhari Government's militarist governing styles. The few who remain focused and defiant are constantly at higher risk and endangered. Till date, there is no state of rights abuse report under Buhari Government by any Nigerian rights organization.

16.0 Role of SSS In Buhari Government's Gross Rights Abuses

The dastardly role of the SSS in President Muhammadu Buhari Government's grossly poor human rights records and widespread abuses is a total replication of its inglorious epoch in the 1980s when the same Muhammadu Buhari held sway as Nigeria's maximum military ruler. The SSS then operated as “the National Security Organization (NSO)”. In the said Buhari's military era and subsequent military regimes in Nigeria, then NSO served as private armies or terror squads of the then military heads of State. Most of the forced disappearances or perfect killings and long detention of citizens without trial then were factually linked to the Secret Police Service.

Today, the SSS (as it is now called) accounts for substantial part of the regime atrocities beclouding the present Government of Retired Gen Muhammadu Buhari. The recent late night attacks and violent invasion of the sleeping abode of

serving Judges of the Federal and State High Court and those of the Appeal Court and the Supreme Court were carried out by the SSS under the vicarious seal of the President. Most of the indiscriminate arrests and long detention of citizens without trial under the present Government of Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari are carried out by the SSS.

Most, if not all the court orders and judicial pronouncements flouted or disobeyed under the current Government of Muhammadu Buhari is linked to the authorities of the SSS. The over 13 months detention without trial of Sheik Ibrahim Zaky El-Zaky of the Islamic Movement of Nigeria and his wife-Malama Zeenatu is carried out by the SSS; likewise the ongoing violent crackdown and indiscriminate arrest and detention without trial of over a dozen IPOB members. The SSS is also extensively involved in the harassment, attacks, arrest and detention of independent media activists, opposition voices, bloggers and people who criticise his government; including those living abroad.

Apart from being used whimsically and capriciously by President Muhammadu Buhari just as he did during his military's inglorious epoch in the 1980s, the SSS appears to have totally become an outlaw and untouchable. The law creating the SSS—the National Security Agencies Act of 1986 clearly specifies its core function as “intelligence gathering within Nigeria” among other non essential functions; yet the SSS operates amorphously and without bounds or limits.

Under the present Buhari Government, the SSS is now a law enforcement and street crimes' fighting security agency. It now fights and combats street crimes, terrorism, kidnapping, corruption, treason, treasonable felony, arson, burglary, homicide, rape, oil theft, stealing, secure VIPs, keeps databases of “enemy citizens” and monitors their movements and arrest them at will; akin to “jack of all trades”. SSS also invades whimsically

(R e f : <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/09/nigeria-crackdown-and-shrinking-civic-space/>)

and capriciously the citizens' homes in the dead of the night; tortures and detains them for several months without trial in its under-ground cells and surface cells across the country.

As a member of various joint security taskforces maintained in various States of Nigeria including the Southeast and the South-south regions of the country, the SSS participated directly or indirectly in the massacre and other violent crackdowns on unarmed and defenceless protesters particularly the Pro Biafra Campaigners massacred and maimed in their hundreds in the Southeast and the South-south Nigeria between August 2015 and May 2016; and 20th January 2017.

17.0 General Summary

In summary, therefore, the foregoing analysis and accompanied empirical facts and highlighted local or constitutional, regional and international legal instruments mandatorily binding on Nigeria have clearly and unarguably shown that the Buhari's democratic Nigeria is intensively and extensively lawless and has made the country a land flowing with blood and tears with over 11,000 criminal deaths or killings outside the law in just 20 months including over 1750 State murders.

By the findings of this Report, Nigeria under the presidency of Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari has recorded three genocides in 20 months. They are Shiite Muslim Procession Genocide (by Nigerian Army) of 12th-14th December 2015; Pro Biafra Campaign Genocide (by Nigerian Army, joined by the Nigeria Police Force) of February and May 2016 and others; and Southern Kaduna Christian Genocide (by Nomad Fulani Jihadists circumstantially and vicariously backed by the Buhari's Government) of December 2016. There is also Rann War Crime of 17th January 2017 following wilful bombing of an IDP camp in Borno State, Northeast Nigeria by Nigerian Air Force, killing not less than 236 and injuring over 90 others believed to be dominated by women and children.

Also by the findings of this Report, widespread human rights abuses and abuse of office are the major policy direction of the Buhari Government. The constitutional freedoms of the press, expression, association and movement and rights to personal liberty, life, fair trial and hearing and

dignity of human person have received widespread abuse and contempt.

The muzzling of democratic free speeches and press freedom by the Government of Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari has also made media practice in Nigeria difficult and dangerous particularly in the area of print, online and visual media. Despite the fact that Section 22 of the Nigeria's 1999 Constitution tasks "the press; radio, television and other agencies of the mass media to at all times be free to uphold the Fundamental Objectives contained in the Constitution and uphold the responsibility and accountability of the Government to the People"; this is hardly the case in the Buhari's democratic Nigeria till date.

This explains why the press, aided by media corruption; particularly the print and visual, hardly covers widespread human rights abuses including extra-judicial killings carried out by the Buhari Government and its killer security agencies. This Report, therefore, is geared towards presenting the true sorry state of human rights and other regime atrocities in Nigeria in the past 20 months of the Buhari Government to the attention of regional and international communities and their non-State actors.

Human rights situations and regime atrocities in Nigeria have dangerously deteriorated and deepened to the extent that citizens of Nigerian have left and are still leaving the country in droves while those already abroad, particularly the media and rights activists who want to return to Nigeria are doing so at high risk of their lives and liberties. Till date, Nigeria has no crime victims support welfare or scheme or effective compensatory justice scheme or policy; thereby leaving thousands of victims of the State crimes or regime atrocities to undergo various traumas and repeat attacks with accompanied impunities from the perpetrators of such crimes.

(R e f : <https://cpj.org/reports/2016/10/impunity-index-getting-away-with-murder-killed-justice.php#12>).

18.0 Recommendations

1. International Society for Civil Liberties and the Rule of Law (Intersociety), is calling on the central civilian Government of Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari/Federal Government of Nigeria to end the senseless and wicked massacre by both security forces and armed opposition groups particularly the Nomad Fulani and Boko Haram Jihadists of unarmed and defenceless citizens individually and massively, as well as other forms of regime atrocities that had pervaded the Buhari Administration in the past 20 months. There should also be total policy reversal including unconditional release of all political detainees and end to policy of militarism and militarization.

2. The Buhari Administration/Federal Government of Nigeria should set aside \$5 Billion for adequate compensation of over 1750 victims of State murders and 4000 victims of Police SARS/Army custodial killings as well as not less than 2800 unarmed Christians killed by Nomad Fulani Jihadists between June 2015 and January 2017.

The *\$5 Billion State Crime Victims Compensation Scheme*, which will be subject to 50% upward review every five years if unpaid; should be divided into four categories of: \$1 Billion to members or families and group-victims (IPOB) of over 270 slain members of IPOB and other Pro Biafra Campaigners; \$500 Million to over 370 terminally shot and injured Pro Biafra Campaigners; \$1.5 Billion to 1120 slain members of the Shiite Muslims and their IMN as well as \$500 Million for 400 of their members terminally shot and wounded.

The sum of \$500 Million should be set aside by the Buhari Government/Federal Government of Nigeria through its Ministry of Police Affairs for compensation of 4000 victims who may most likely have been slain in the past 20 months, by way of custodial killings arising from torture and wilful custodial shootings. This should be done on the basis of proper identification of dead victims by their immediate families and lawyers. The remaining \$1 Billion should be paid by the Buhari Government to the families and the churches of over 2800 dead Christians who are victims of the Nomad Fulani Jihadism in Nigeria since June 2015.

This is on account of the Buhari Government's vicarious culpability, by way of aiding and abetting. As the national grand patron of "the Miyatti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria", President Muhammadu Buhari appeared to have allowed personal sentiments to becloud his official position as the father of the country and protector of every citizen irrespective of his or her ethno-religious and age background or identity. Till date, no investigations into the killing of Christians have been carried out and concluded and the perpetrators are still on the prowl.

3. The Buhari Government/Federal Government of Nigeria must arrest and prosecute all the perpetrators of the above mentioned heinous crimes perpetrated between June 2015 and January 2017. Those to be arrested and prosecuted include the current Army Chief of Staff, the former IGP of Police (August 2015-May 2016), the current IGP of Police, the Chief of Air Staff, the Chief of Defence Staff, the GOC 82nd Division of the Nigerian Army, Enugu (from August 2015 to May 2016); the Commanders of 302 Artillery Regiment, Onitsha, 144 Battalion of the Nigerian Army, Aba (August 2015 to May 2016 or till date) and current Commander of the 6th Division of the Nigerian Army, Port Harcourt; as well as Major M.I. Ibrahim of the Nigerian Military Police, who militarily led the May 29th and 30th Biafra Heroes Day massacre in Nkpor, Onitsha and Asaba.

Others are Commissioners of Police of Anambra and Abia States (August 2015 to May 2016), the Aba Area Commander (between January and February 2016), the Deputy Commissioner of Police for Operations in Anambra State between December 2015 to May 2016 (now CP Johnson Babatunde Kokomo), etc; as well as the present Governors of Anambra, Abia and Kaduna States (for aiding the State security agencies and criminal entities in the mass killing of unarmed and innocent Pro Biafra Campaigners and Christian/Shiite faithful;

(Reference: <http://huhuonline.com/hunew/index.php/huhuonline-more-news/9040-police-raid-premium-times-office-arrest-publisher>).

respectively in their States).

The principal officers of the "Miyatti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria" should be arrested and charged for manslaughter as well as immediate proscription of the registered organization and presidential declaration of same as a terrorist organization. Where the Buhari Government/Federal Government of Nigeria fails in 90 days to bring to justice the above mentioned public office holders and their sub commanders and foot perpetrators, as well as named non State actor perpetrators; then the international community and other international non State actors particularly the ICC, the UN Security Council and African regional criminal courts, etc should act without further delays in accordance with the International Law's Principles of Complementarity and No Impunity.

These can be done through **establishment of the UN Special Criminal Court for Nigeria or through ICC or African Special Criminal Court for Nigeria or foreign countries' municipal courts with international criminal and civil jurisdictions.** Those covered by local constitutional immunities by virtue of their present political offices such as the perpetrator-President of Nigeria and the three named serving Governors should be internationally investigated and prosecuted for *genocide or war crimes or crimes against humanity* or community of same.

4. The UK and other members of the European Union; the USA, Russia, Canada, Japan, China, Brazil and India should raise a serious concern about gross or widespread rights abuses in Nigeria particularly the mass killing of unarmed and defenceless civilians by the Government of Retired Major Gen Muhammadu Buhari and its security forces as well as aiding and abetting of the mass killing of Christians and perpetration of other forms of regime atrocities.

Beyond raising of serious diplomatic concerns, the leaders of the countries under reference should also consider placing travelling ban on those named serving public office holders including the immediate past Inspector General of Police as well

as other serving political appointees who are complicit. Placing embargo on supply of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALWs) used by the Buhari Government to perpetrate the widespread rights abuses and other regime atrocities should also be seriously considered by leaders of the named countries; likewise tying the release of \$682million recently pledged for humanitarian assistance in the insurgency infested Northeast to mandatory arrest and prosecution of all those mentioned. The redemption of the humanitarian pledge by world leaders to the Government of Nigeria must also be tied to the payment of \$5Billion compensations by Government of Nigeria to immediate families and associates of the State crime victims under reference.

5. The Government of Muhammadu Buhari/Federal Government of Nigeria should re-organize and restructure Nigeria's security establishments and their headships and revert to the constitutional geopolitical equity and fairness in accordance with Section 14 (3) of Nigeria's 1999 Constitution.

To this effect, there shall be mass sack of the present heads and strategic commanding officers of the Nigerian Armed Forces including the Army, SSS and the Police so as to rid them of their present gross lopsidedness and northern Muslim grips and dominations; which have brought about the present grossly lopsided citizens' policing representation and protection along divisive ethno-religious lines.

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A group of South East women crying over the murder of innocent pro-Biafra activists by Nigerian security agents.

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