

THE VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS
OF *NDI IGBO* IN THE FEDERATION OF NIGERIA
(1966– 1999)

A CALL FOR REPARATIONS AND
APPROPRIATE RESTITUTION

A PETITION

TO

THE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS
INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE

BY

OHA-NA-EZE NDI IGBO

(The Apex Organization of the Entire Igbo People of Nigeria)

FOR AND ON BEHALF OF THE ENTIRE *NDI IGBO*

OCTOBER, 1999

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1. IGBO RACE IN NIGERIA

1.1 Preamble

This is a petition by OHA-NA-EZE **Ndi Igbo** (the apex organisation of the entire Igbo people of Nigeria) on behalf of Igbo people (hereinafter referred to as **Ndi Igbo**) articulating some of the many violations of the human and civil rights of the **Ndi Igbo** and other forms of injustices meted to them by groups and/or governments in Nigeria from 1966 to 1999. We are by this petition seeking reparations and appropriate restitution in compensation for the injuries which **Ndi Igbo** have suffered (owing to these injustices and violations of their rights), restoration and guarantee of all their rights, full reconciliation, and integration into the Nigerian Federation so as to give **Ndi Igbo** the necessary sense of belonging as Nigerians to enable them give their best for the overall development of our great country.

We have in this petition articulated some of the violations of human and civil rights of **Ndi Igbo** and other crimes and injustices against us as only illustrative of the numerous deprivations, discriminations and violations of rights which **Ndi Igbo** have suffered and continue to suffer in our country. This petition, containing our compendium of charges, is organised as follows:

1. Historical Background,
2. An overview of marginalisation in the Nigerian policy,
3. The violation of rights (the immediate pre-war period),
4. Violation of rights (the civil war period),
5. Violation of rights (the immediate post-war period),
6. Violation of rights (the later post-war period - 'mid-70s to date)
7. The reparations and appropriate restitutions sought.

1.2 Historical background

Ndi Igbo are one of the three largest ethnic groups in Nigeria. Pre-independence non-politicised census figures show that **Ndi Igbo** with a population of about 5.5 million constituting 16.6% of the country's population are the second largest ethnic group in Nigeria (Estimation from 1952/53 to 1991 population census, vide Table 1). Igbo land of South-East Nigeria is generally recognised as the most densely populated land area in the whole of Africa comparable only to the Nile Valley. For instance, an aerial survey (1989) gives the population density of Imo State at 700 people per square kilometre compared to 276 and 59 people per square kilometre for Niger and Bornu States respectively. (Ref: In-Nigeria **Profile of Agriculture Potential, Overseas Development Natural Resources Institute UK 1989**).

Ndi Igbo have common boundaries with the Igala of Kogi State and the Idoma of Benue State in the North, the Edo and Urhobo in the West, the Ogoja in the East, the Efik and the Ibibio in the South-east and the Ijaw in the South. **Ndi Igbo** are the occupants of the present Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo States. They partially occupy Delta State (7 LGAs) and Rivers State (8 LGAs). Of the six geopolitical zones of Nigeria, the five core Igbo-speaking

States make up one zone (South East). [LGAs – Local Government Areas].

Ndi Igbo have lived peacefully and in harmony with their neighbours, intermarrying and doing business without any history of war. The Igbo Ukwu archaeological finding of Professor Thurstan Shaw of the University of Ibadan and his associates (1976) [see **An account of Archaeological Discoveries in Eastern Nigeria, Faber Ltd, London**] showed artifacts which revealed Igbo association with the Hausa/Fulani since the 9th century AD.

Ndi Igbo are a dynamic people, democratic, freedom-loving and achievement-oriented. They are ever open to new ideas and initiatives and are also adaptable, hospitable, egalitarian and abhor injustice. It was, however, in the economic sphere that the Igbos were at their best in the game of competition. In industry, commerce, transportation and services, Igbo businessmen demonstrated unparalleled initiative. This drive is often misconstrued as undue aggressiveness by other Nigerians.

On January 6, 1914, the British colonial masters amalgamated the Northern Protectorate (later called the northern Region) with the Southern Protectorate (comprising the Eastern and Western Regions) into the polity called NIGERIA. By this amalgamation about 400 ethnic groups were brought into this state. The late 1930s marked the beginning of national consciousness in Nigeria. Although early activists were Yoruba (Herbert Macaulay and associates), those who spearheaded the struggle and sustained it until self-government in the 1950s and political independence in 1960 included educated Igbos, many of whom had returned from United States filled with the ideals of American war of Independence. Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, soon joined by other Igbo educated elite, was in the forefront of the struggle. He took over the leadership of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroon (NCNC) after the death of its founder Herbert Macaulay in 1946. NCNC was the only national party in the country, with strong support from every part of Nigeria while the other parties were essentially ethnic and regional.

However, Nigeria's journey to nationhood, which began on such a hopeful note on the wings of militant nationalism, was increasingly marred by an upsurge of ethnic irredentism. This upsurge heralded the rapid ascendancy of regionalist and sectionalist orientation as a dominant factor in the political struggle. Soon, Nigeria attained independence as a tripod of three ethnic - based regions. But the flames of ethnic/regional mistrust and rivalry continued unabated, to threaten a conflagration that could consume the Republic. The young state stumbled from crisis to crisis until the military staged a *coup d'etat* and seized political power in 1966.

This background draws attention to two noteworthy points. One is that the history of **Ndi Igbo**, like that of other ethnic groups in Nigeria, antedates the birth of Nigeria. **Ndi Igbo** are as indigenous to this Republic as other groups. The second is that **Ndi Igbo**, like other ethnic nationalities, have their cultural/political system and character traits. Our traditional republican system encapsules a spirit of individual freedom, drive and fair play which seemed to predispose **Ndi Igbo** more than many ethnic groups to easy absorption of the values of modern democracy and demands of nationhood. It is no surprise that **Ndi Igbo**, embracing these values, are the most widely travelled in Nigeria. It is also noteworthy that the first noteworthy public rebuke to these presumptions of nationhood about Nigeria came to **Ndi Igbo** (through tribally-inspired sabotage

of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe's electoral win of the Premiership of Western Nigeria, so early in the morning of national political evolution).

2. OVERVIEW OF MARGINALISATION IN NIGERIAN POLITY

2.1 Preamble

Marginalisation is the most topical issue in Nigerian Polity in recent times. There have been claims and counter claims of marginalisation from ethnic groups, States, and geopolitical zones of the polity. It is, therefore, necessary at this stage to define the following:

- ◆ What is marginalisation?
- ◆ Who is the marginaliser?
- ◆ Who is the marginalised and
- ◆ When was marginalisation introduced into Nigerian polity?

2.2 Marginalisation

We define Marginalisation as the deliberate disempowerment of a group of people in the federation politically, economically, socially and militarily, by another group or groups, who during the relevant time frame wield power and control the allocation of materials and financial resources at the Centre of the Federation. Therefore, it entails the apparent deliberate exclusion of any particular group(s) by another similar group or groups from either having access to and or taking due possession of common key positions and common resources, as manifested in the political, economic, military, educational, media and bureaucratic realms. (In other words, the five realms above could be seen as occupying commanding heights of any polity or society.) In essence, for a group to marginalise the other, that group must of necessity, have a functional apex control of combination of these commanding heights of the polity or society.

It is necessary to distinguish at this stage between **marginalisation** and **marginality**. The two are liable to be innocently, but dangerously, treated as though they were interchangeable. Adedeji (1993) has defined marginality as:

“The relative or absolute lack of power to influence a defined social entity while being a recipient of the exercise of power, by other parts of that entity.” [Ref: In Marginalisation and Marginality: Context, Issues and View points “in **Africa within the World**. Edited A. Adedeji].

Marginality, so defined, refers to the state of being peripheral, without attributing blame to any particular external factor or marginaliser. Thus, a group, which for instance, by systematically insulating itself from the forces of modernity (e.g. Western education) becomes peripheral in terms of such indices of social development as enrolment in tertiary educational institutions, and the supply of high level manpower to the system, and is appropriately described as marginal, if it is outstripped in terms of those parameters by other groups, which have embraced modernity in

manpower development. Such marginal groups will be hard put to identify an external marginaliser. The first step out of marginality is for the group to recognise that its status derives from its relative underdevelopment.

Unlike **marginality**, **marginalisation** necessarily presupposes the existence of an agent, group or groups, which possess the capacity to disempower others or systematically exclude them from the seat of power, where the group's decisions are made. In general, whereas any given group can attain a state of marginality endogenously, endogenous marginality, for a group, with respect to any given index of socioeconomic development derives, in the main, from the dynamics of that group's intrinsic or self-inflicted under-development. This lends credence to the view expressed by a prominent Northern politician, Balarabe Musa (former civilian Governor of Kaduna State) that the domination of power by the North has not bridged the gap in development which exists between the North and the South of the polity since independence in 1960. In an article entitled "The Tragedy of Power" he has this to say:

This is because the clique from the North which dominated and still dominates political power, is selfish, shortsighted, unpatriotic and corrupt, just like its counterpart in the south. It seems that the clique, in fact, wants the continuation of the relative backwardness of the North for its survival as a ruling class [TELL Magazine No. 46, November 14, 1994].

The author of this article concluded that the backwardness of the North is due to her leadership. This conclusion may also apply to many claims of marginalisation by some other ethnic nationalities where in fact self-induced weakness in some attributes caused marginality in the corresponding areas of public life.

It is clear from the clear distinction between **marginality** and **marginalisation** that the plight of **Ndi Igbo** differs in kind and scope from the claims of most ethnic nationalities in Nigeria. In the case of **Ndi Igbo**, there is no evidence of a deficit of attributes in any area of modern development. But for other entirely different and sinister reasons, the abortive attempt at ethnic cleansing directed at the race through a civil war has ever since transformed into an on-going policy of systematic disempowerment in all sectors.

2.3 Origins and Victims of Marginalisation

The process of marginalisation of **Ndi Igbo** is about to run a full circle. It began in earnest with the civil war which was concluded by Gen. Obasanjo's marine commandoes. It has hit an ugly climax with the most blatantly partial political appointments of President Obasanjo as elected leader of the Republic.

The history of Marginalisation in Nigeria divides neatly into two periods:

- ◆ the period up to 1960 and
- ◆ the period since 1970.

In the first period, pre-independence, marginalisation was perpetrated against all Nigerians irrespective of ethnic or regional affiliation by the colonial master, Britain. There were ethnic and regional rivalries, but no group(s) had the power to marginalise the other(s). All ethnic groups operated on a level playing field.

However, since 1970, the Igbo ethnic group has been jointly marginalised by the Hausa/Fulani and the Yoruba groups. It took the intervening period (1960-1970) for the forces of ethnic particularism, which had been artificially repressed during the colonial regime, to burst forth, gather momentum, and culminate in a civil war in 1967 which ended in 1970.

By the end of the civil war in January 1970 the control of power and the dispensation of economic resources at the centre had fallen absolutely into the hands of the concert of the war victors - a combination of the other ethnic groups, major and minor. The capacity acquired by the victors to marginalise the vanquished was total. Since then, in contravention of the official policy of “*no victor, no vanquished*” **Ndi Igbo** have been systematically disempowered in all spheres and **excluded from all top echelons of governance in the Nigerian polity, despite the popular slogan of the Nigerians during the civil war that “to keep Nigeria one is a task that must be done.”**

A cursory look at tables 2a, 2b and 3 clearly suggest that (a) the instruments of governance have been the preserve of Northern (mainly Tarawa Angas, Hausa- Fulani, Gwari and Kanuri ethnic groups, so far) and Western ethnic nationalities (Yoruba). **Ndi Igbo** were totally excluded from executive authority. The Alhaji Shehu Shagari’s civilian government (October 1979 to Dec. 1983) tried to reverse this ugly situation by giving due regard to federal character in the distribution of offices, but before this could take any root he was overthrown by the military and the agenda of marginalisation of **Ndi Igbo** was put in place once more.

With the advent of civilian democracy, once more, in Nigeria in 1999 **Ndi Igbo** heaved a sigh of relief, for they hoped that it would mean the end of marginalisation of **Ndi Igbo**. Dr. Alex Ekwueme, an eminent Igbo son and former Vice President of Nigeria (1979-83) and one of the founders of the People’s Democratic Party (PDP), invited all Nigerians to join the party. General Olusegun Obasanjo (Rtd) emerged as the Presidential candidate and won the Presidency on the PDP platform. **Ndi Igbo** of the South East political zone voted for him massively, and he obtained 70.29% of the votes cast in the zone. The zone was only second to the South-south Zone which gave 76.39% of the total votes cast in that zone. His ethnic group, the Yoruba of the South West Zone, gave him the least support and came last out of the six geopolitical zones with only 22.3% of the total votes cast in the zone.

Despite these political facts and the provisions made in the Nigeria 1999 constitution for appointments into the federal services to show the Federal character of Nigeria, it would appear that the present government has thrown these principles overboard once -more, and is determined to continue to marginalise the Igbo, thus reminding them that they were conquered and therefore must remain second class citizens in Nigeria, 30 years after a civil war in which General Gowon had declared “*No Victor no Vanquished.*”

3. VIOLATION OF THE HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS OF NDI IGBO DURING THE IMMEDIATE PRE-CIVIL WAR PERIOD

3.1 Preamble

We wish to believe that the setting up of the Justice Oputa panel on human rights abuses marks the dawn of a new era in addressing rights abuses in Nigeria. The regime of Gen. Abacha readily attracts attention as the era of worst rights violations partly because of the calibre of personalities whose rights were abused but to a large extent, we suspect, because of the ethnic origin of the persons involved. Condemnable as these violations are, they do not compare in magnitude and essence to the atrocities against the **Ndi Igbo** during the pogroms that proceeded the civil war. We earnestly hope as we present our case to the panel, that the extension of the period of its mandate to cover the era of these heinous atrocities would not be merely “to fulfill all righteousness.”

3.2 Misplaced Aggression

The pretext for the unleashing of mayhem on **Ndi Igbo** was an imaginary conjecture of a grand conspiracy by Igbo race. This is untrue. January 15, 1966 *coup d’etat* was a purely military event outside the knowledge of the civilian population. We denounce the anti-racial slander that the massacres were provoked by this *coup d’etat* and by Gen. Aguiyi Ironsi’s Unification Decree. The political crisis in the West in particular and the other political considerations that led to this coup are well known. We have it on good authority that the 15 January 1966 coup was in fact a counter-coup preemptive of another coup planned for 17 January, 1966. We also have it on good authority that the main aim of the coup planners was the installation of Chief Awolowo, a non-Igbo, as Prime Minister. Later accounts of the sad event have, finally, confirmed that the fact that the leading politicians of Eastern Nigeria escaped executions was due to a miscarriage of coup plan and the quick suppression of the revolt by the bulk of the Army, and not the outcome of an imaginary Igbo conspiracy.

We concede that this coup was poorly executed and that because of the ethnic origin of the persons killed as well as the eventual assumption of power by Gen. Ironsi (an Igbo) the *coup d’etat* was capable of being misunderstood as an ethnic-biased coup organised mostly by Igbo officers. We insist that the coup was purely a military affair and that Gen. Ironsi was not part of the coup plan and was only invited to office by the circumstance of his position as the most high-ranking military officer and the General Commanding the Nigerian Army at that time. We note that there have been subsequent coups in our history (some were abortive, yet the ethnic kinsmen of the perpetrators were not visited with pogrom). We also note that subsequent military governments—all, headed by non-Igbos—used exactly the same command structure of unitary system as Ironsi tried to do through the Unification Decree.

We contend that May 29, 1966 genocidal massacres are indefensible and unjustifiable.

3.3 Waves of Pogrom

We contend that what was supposed to be a revengeful response (the waves of pogroms of 1966 May 29, July 29, and September 29) to January 15 *coup d'état* and Decree 34, was in fact a grand plan of genocide against **Ndi Igbo**. In July 29, the ethnic cleansing which began with the murder of Gen. Aguiyi Ironsi and over 300 military officers and men of Igbo origin escalated into the massacre of surprised and unsuspecting Igbo civilians in many towns. Conservative Police estimate of casualties was 3,300. Following assurances of their safety, **Ndi Igbo** who fled the North as a result of May and July atrocities, returned to their Northern places of domicile, only to be lured two months later into more bloody massacres on September 29. About 50,000 Igbos were killed in the orgies.

Were the killings genocidal in intention and execution? Yes. Many independent sources clearly provide strong evidence. One is the report of the judicial Tribunal of Enquiry appointed by the Government of the then Eastern Nigeria. A Justice of the Court of Appeal, Hon. Justice G.C.M. Onyiuke, headed the Tribunal, which collected and collated evidence from 235 victims and eyewitnesses. The second source is Nigeria's political history, which has abundantly documented the genocidal declarations of some leaders of Nigeria. The third is the petition of the then Government of Biafra to the International Committee for the Study of the Crimes of Genocide.

We therefore summarise the genocidal attempts under the following headings—intentions, scope of the killings, methods, cost and character of the genocide—against the illuminating guidance of international law and civilized behaviour.

3.4 International Law

According to Article 11 of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide adopted on 9th December 1948, “genocide” means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, as:

- (a) killing members of the group;
- (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Article III of the same convention stipulates that the following acts should be punished:

- (a) Genocide
- (g) Conspiracy to commit genocide
- (c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide
- (d) Attempt to commit genocide
- (e) Complicity in genocide.

Nigeria's efforts to solve political and other differences with **Ndi Igbo** have invariably employed a combination of the measures listed in the above definition.

3.5 Genocide

3.5.1 Intentions

The public statements at the height of every political crisis have consistently revealed a predisposition of other Nigerian leaders to ethnic cleansing as a solution to any differences with **Ndi Igbo**. In the Northern Region, increasingly frequent threats of property dispossession and physical elimination by its leaders against **Ndi Igbo** reached a crescendo in the sabre-rattling of members of the House of Assembly in March 1964.

The Speech of the Minister of Lands and Survey, Alhaji Ibrahim Musa Gashash, was illustrative of the unanimous view of members. He declared:

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I do not like to take up much of the time of this House in making explanations, but I would like to assure members that having heard their demands about Ibos holding land in Northern Nigeria, my Ministry will do all It can to see that the demands of Members are met. How to do this, when to do it, all this should not be disclosed In due course, you will all see what will happen (Applause).

The situation in western Region was no less threatening. A booklet, entitled **UPGAISM** was published by the Western Government. In it were displayed photographs of stores and shops run by "*Igbo traders in Lagos*" and Western Nigeria were invited to accept the inflammatory lie that these "*(Igbo) strangers had expropriated Western land and the fruits thereof.*" The Government of Western Nigeria, like their counterparts in Northern Nigeria, "*organised and conducted a campaign of hate against (Igbos)*" (**Committee an Genocide, Ekwe Nche Organization, Chicago reporting Complaint by Biafra Government to International Commission of Jurists, 1969**).

3.5.2 Scope of the Genocidal Massacres

The pogroms of 1966 registered the first full determination of Nigeria to carry out her genocidal threats against **Ndi Igbo**. An outline of the scope is instructive. Besides the concentrated venom of many ethnic groups of Northern Nigeria, many southern ethnic nationalities were also involved.

On the involvement of rulers, Enoch Ejikeme, an Igbo businessman who lived in Katsina for 15 years, told the Onyiuke tribunal "*Round about 6 am. (on May 29, 1966) they all burst out from the palace carrying sticks, matchets, daggers, axes, etc and all other dangerous weapons, spread themselves all over the town, looting and burning houses and shops. Some of the NA Police took active part, while others made no attempt to bring the situation under control... While the attack continued, the Emir of Katsina, Usman Nagogo, the former Minister (of*

Education) Isa Kaita, Musa Tafida Yar' Adua, former Minister of Lagos Affairs, and Magajin Gari, the Emir's son, were parading the town up and clown cheering them up."

Mr. V. O. Ekwealor, an Igbo motor mechanic and motor transport owner on the role of the Emir and his aides at Gombe where he had lived for nine years (1957-1966): "*On the 1st of June the Emir of Gombe was collected by plane for a meeting in Kaduna. On his return he held a meeting of the councillors on the 3rd of June, which was attended by Waziri Jallo, the ex-Speaker of the Federal Parliament, Mohammed Kumoi, Isiaku Gombnor and the village Heads. After this meeting, at about 5.30 - 6 p.m. of the same day, as a person living in the centre of the town opposite the famous -Jubilee Bar, Gombe, I heard noise from the Victory Bar. I saw people with bow sand arrows machetes and guns shooting at the same time. Suddenly there was shooting on my windows ... N.A. lorries were transporting many people from the interior into the town, mainly hunters...*"

On foreign involvement, another eyewitness, Dr G. E. Ezekwe, an Igbo Senior Lecturer in Mechanical Engineering at Ahmadu Bello University, told the Tribunal: "*It was after the May (1966) visit of the British High Commissioner (Sir Francis Cumming-Bruce) ... that I realised how general must be the feeling among the English staff that the East should go out of the Federation... I was stunned to hear them declare that the Easterners resident in the North should go back to the East and apply their technical ability there...*"

On the involvement of other ethnic groups, another eyewitness, Mr Paul I. Okwara revealed to the Tribunal the plot behind the death train ride, reminiscent of the Jewish holocaust: "*...It was announced over Kano Rediffusion Network that a passenger train would be leaving Kano for Eastern Region on 2nd October (1966), and that all those wishing to travel should report on 1st of October at the Railway Station (the waves of pogroms of 1966--May 29, July 29, and September). George, the Senior Trainer Officer who is a native of **Idoma**... He was a member of Nasara Club, and attended all the meetings where it was decided to kill all the Ibos in Kano. They drove in to the Loco running shed: it was the same sad story of massacre... (Also), all the Ibo workers who had reported for duty were killed... (By) the 4th of October there were still isolated cases of shooting and beating up of people suspected of being Ibos. We went back to Sabon Gari, but the **Yorubas** we met refused to give me protection... I tried one or two European friends but each of them swore they would rather die than give me protection, since they were warned previously not to give any Ibo man or woman any protection...*"

Many Igbos who managed to escape from the far north were massacred in the thousands by **Idomas** and **Tivs** as they passed through the Middle Belt on their flight to Igboland. The Igbos met similar fate in the hands of the Yorubas in Western Region. In the second waves of massacres during the civil war, the **Binis** and **other non-Igbo** military officers of Mid-West origin led the murderous attacks on Ika Ibos (**Blood On The Niger**, E. Okocha).

On the involvement of the Army, we quote again Mr Paul I. Okwara: "*Exactly at 6.50 p.m. soldiers in green shirts and trousers invaded the Airport. I had a presentiment that something bad was in the air... Soon shots were heard everywhere. That day was declared a public holiday, and as usual many Ibos came to the Airport... One soldier ordered me outside and asked me where I came from. When I told him I was a Mid-Westerner he told me I was*

lying... what I heard was 'About turn! Quick March! I heard a shot behind me and I fell down and passed out...

...Somebody emerged from under the big table on hearing me. It was Mr Leketey, a Ghanaian who apparently was hiding from the savage soldiers. He was my uncle and I his nephew. This strategy worked wonderfully, and when the soldiers heard us out, they shouted in unison, 'why have you been hiding? We don't want to kill Ghanaians. We are after Okpara's brothers. We are going to finish them off. They took us upstairs, where we saw more dead bodies, some of whom I recognised. Leketey and myself gave them ten pounds for drink. They drank until 6.30 am the following morning, 2nd October. These soldier had some harsh things to say about Okpara and Ibos: 'Okpara was their arch enemy who must be destroyed... All other Igbos must be destroyed.' At 7 a.m. that same Sunday morning, they asked Mr Leketey and myself to get ready because they were going to show us how we have dealt with Okpara's brothers and sisters.' They took us to the Railway Station in an army landrover and there we saw a sight I would never like to see again till my dying day. Over 700 men, women and children had been mowed down - they had been killed while they were waiting for a train to take them to our Region. A few of the children were still creeping over their dead mothers, shouting, 'Mama, I am hungry; I want to drink.' Some were trying to suck their dead mothers' breasts...' Next we were taken round Sabon Gari. It was the same massacre of Ibos in Hotels where they had gone to relax because it was public holiday. All the hotels were literally filled up with dead bodies. In Sabon Gari, everywhere we went, we saw dead and dying Ibos. No tinge of compunction ever touched the conscience of these soldier, who on the night of October 1 "joined their civilian brothers to loot, pillage, and kill our kith and kin..."

Methods: The methods of the physical liquidation were more bestial and gruesome than the worst holocaust in history.

The **Report of the International Committee of Jurists on Genocide** recorded reports of cases involving the slitting of throats and the chopping of heads in the market place, the slitting open of stomachs of pregnant women and killing of unborn babies, and the plucking of eyes out of their sockets. A witness to Onyiuke Commission, Mr. S. I. Udeng, saw in Makurdi how Igbo victims "were buried alive in two deep wells. Each well was given a gun shot before it was actually closed up with stones and sand." Another, Daniel Agu, testified how one "Mai Yanka took his two-edged sword and cut his (the Igboman's head like a goat...and the man's blood spread all over our bodies like water spouting from a tap... we were all both horrified and gripped by fear." In Ikeja Barracks (Western Nigeria) Igbo captives were forcibly fed on a mixture of human urine and faeces.

One method was a throw-back to the infamous Inquisition of the Dark Ages: according to a witness, Dick Iwobi: "This punishment is one of the most dreadful ways of crucifying a person. A heavy rod is tied across the back of the chest of the victim with the hands stretched and secured firmly on the rod. While the victim may still be standing on his legs, he is as helpless as a man nailed to a cross. In this position, they then proceeded to torture the victim by plucking his eyes, cutting his tongue or cutting his testicles."

But the tormentors reserved the most horrendous dehumanisation for Eastern (mostly

Igbo) women. According to one witness (Erif Spiff) to the Onyiuke Tribunal: “*Many (Igbo) girls in the training school in Kano were collected and taken to the leper colony to live with the lepers.*” Many other young girls were abducted from their homes, workplaces and schools and forced into sexual intercourse with sick, demented men.

3.6 The Cost:

In its complaint to the International Commission, the then Biafran Government estimated as follows: “*Properties and investments worth over thirty million pound, owned by the then Easterners—hotels, churches, schools, shops, buildings—were damaged or set fire on after looting.*”

This covers the cost in only narrow material terms. The psychological cost is far higher. This sketch depicts the outline of the most heinous crimes in human history - crimes committed with such absolute impunity that even dangerous vermins that exist outside the law seem to enjoy more rights. The crimes were as wide in scope as the genocide against the Jews but more sadistic and inhuman in implementation than the holocaust.

3.7 The Refugee Problem and Federal Government Insensitivity

Sequel to the waves of pogrom, **Ndi Igbo** in the North fled to the East, many of them maimed and traumatised. They fled the North not because they wanted to but because they had to protect themselves from the massacres that were undoubtedly genocidal in scope. Over 2,000,000 Igbo were involved. This influx of dispossessed and destitute Easterners created an enormous refugee problem in Igbo land. All appeals to the then Federal Government to assist in the rehabilitation of the refugees yielded no results. The Federal Government made matters worse by refusing to pay the salaries of Federal Public Servants who had fled to the East. The obvious consequences of the fleeing of **Ndi Igbo** to the East include the loss of jobs and property. Many of the returnees died under these circumstances. The Aburi meeting (and accord) of the Supreme Military Council, the first after the July 29 1966 mutiny-massacre, and the subsequent collapse of the attempt to broker a *modus vivendi* through the instrumentality of an Ad Hoc constitutional conference agreed amongst many other things on the rehabilitation of the displaced persons:

“On employment and recovery of property, that civil servants and corporation staff (Including daily paid employees) who have not been absorbed should continue to be paid their full salaries until March 31, 1967, provided they have not got alternative employment and that the military governors of East, West and Midwest should send representatives (police commissioners) to meet and discuss the problem of recovery of property left behind by displaced person” [Ref: C Odumegwu Ojukwu, Biafra; Selected Speeches, Perennial Library, Harper & Row, New York, Vol. 1 (1969)].

That the Federal Government reneged on this agreement was obviously in very bad faith. The plight of Eastern Nigeria was worsened by the economic blockade of the Region by the Supreme Military Council on 24 April, 1967.

3.8 The 27 May, 1967 Creation of 12 States

The creation of the 12-States structure by Col. Gowon on May 27, 1967 was an act of expediency aimed primarily at completing their siege of **Ndi Igbo** and frustrating their survival and struggle for self-determination. It dismembered the Igbos as they were split into fragments and put into different non-Igbo States. Thus, there were **Ndi Igbo** of Port Harcourt, Ahoada, Ikwerre/Etche divisions placed into Rivers State, **Ndi Igbo** of Asaba, Aboh and Ika placed in the Mid-West, some other **Ndi Igbo** from Azumini and Opobo put in Cross River State. The rest of **Ndi Igbo** were isolated and land-locked into East Central State. This act was calculated to paralyse **Ndi Igbo** and incite our neighbours against us.

3.9 Prayers

We demand that:

1. The Federal Government of Nigeria render a public apology to **Ndi Igbo** for the genocidal pogroms of thousands of innocent unarmed Igbos killed in 1966. General Yakubu Gowon had in September, 1992, taken a lead in this direction on a personal capacity to purge his conscience. (Source, **Champion** Newspaper 26/10/99, pp. 30-31)
2. The individual perpetrators of the pogroms should be tried before courts of law.
3. Payment of N500,000 per person by the Federal Government of Nigeria, as compensation on behalf of the civil populace of **Ndi Igbo** for:
 - (a) Estimated 50,000 **Ndi Igbo** killed in the pogroms in the North
 - (b) Estimated 10,000 **Ndi Igbo** who were killed in other parts of Nigeria in 1966-1967, with the Federal Government's acquiescence
4. Payment of N1,000,000 per person by the Federal Government of Nigeria, as compensation on behalf of the civil populace of **Ndi Igbo** for:
 - (a) Estimated 30,000 **Ndi Igbo** who were maimed in the pogroms of 1966-67, in the North and other parts of Nigeria.
 - (b) Estimated 2,000,000 **Ndi Igbo** who were psychologically traumatized in the pogroms of 1966-1967 in the Northern and other parts of Nigeria.
5. Payment of N500,000 per person by the Federal Government of Nigeria on behalf of 2,000,000 Igbo refugees in lieu of Rehabilitation and resettlement.

6. Payment of N3.6 billion as compensation for properties and investments owned by **Ndi Igbo** in the North (These include Hotels, Churches, Schools, Shops, Cars, Lorries, Tippers, Buses, Homes) which were destroyed and looted.
7. Payment of
 - (a) N1,000,000 as per a person as compensation on behalf of Igbo women for 50,000 severely raped during the war.
 - (b) N500000 as per a person to 50,000 assaulted and maimed.

4. VIOLATION OF THE HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS OF NDI IGRO DURING THE CIVIL WAR

4.1 Preamble

After months of unbridled pogrom unleashed on Easterners, mostly **Ndi Igbo** by the Northerners, those who survived the pogrom ran back to the East for their safety. About 50,000 lost their lives and 2 million fled back to the East. With the threat of annihilation of Easterners in general and **Ndi Igbo** in particular through economic strangulation still looming large, the Eastern Region government declared the Independent Republic of Biafra on May 30 1967 essentially to protect the lives of Easterners and non-Easterners who were still in the East.

Consequently, a full scale war broke out on 6th July 1967. The Nigerian soldiers moved into the Eastern enclave to force the Easterners back to Nigeria. The war was largely fought on the Biafran soil particularly Igboland, with enormous wanton destruction of life and property including dislocation of people.

4.2 Continuation of Genocide

With these dislocations the Biafrans lost their food producing areas. The refugee problem was soon compounded: food shortages, hunger, malnutrition, starvation, disease and death ran riot. But of more deadly concern to the average Biafran, especially the Igboman, was the deep hatred of Igbo race and the reckless abandon and total disregard for any restraints of war convention with which the Nigerian soldiers pursued the war. They showed so much disdain for life and property and destroyed everything in sight with so much glee that **Ndi Igbo** were confirmed in their worst fears that the war was nothing but a continuation of Nigeria's genocidal pursuit.

Most of the atrocities committed by Nigerian troops during the civil war were evidently outside the legitimate demands of combat and conquest. Nigeria's "Code of Conduct" for her soldiers was a propaganda stunt designed to draw foreign attention away from the enormity of massacres and scorched earth destructions being perpetrated in the guise of war. Most foreign observers saw through this smokescreen in spite of the disinformation of Nigeria's own appointed and one-sided "International Observer Team" which never went behind the battle line. We outline here some of the atrocities which mock the Geneva Convention and violated all the Human Rights laws on war.

4.3 Concentration on Civil Targets

The Nigerian soldiers, in strict obedience to their genocidal objective of physical extermination, concentrated their attacks on civilian targets. Indeed their war slogan, used in daily broadcasts by government radio to motivate both the soldiers and the civilians, was an unabashed declaration of genocidal intentions: "*Let us go and crush them. We will pillage their property ravish their womenfolk, murder their menfolk and complete the pogrom of 1966.*"

A survey of some of the massacres is revealing: We attach affidavits by eye-witnesses of some of the wanton killings. We hereby describe a few—only a few—of the acts of inhumanity:

ABA: On entry into Aba, the Nigerian soldiers massacred more than 2000 civilians. Susan Masid of the **French Press Agency** reporting this horrifying incident had this to say: *“Young Ibos with terrifying eyes and trembling lips told journalists in Aba that in the villages Nigerian troops came from behind, shooting and firing everywhere, shooting everybody who was running, firing into the homes.”*

Another foreign journalist, McArthy William who visited the devastated area of Aba said he saw the Federal Army move in. This eye witness account says: “The villages were strewn with the corpses of the peasants caught unawares. The smashed bodies of children cast aside like broken dolls, lay on the rain ditches running alongside the main street. The women, old and young, lay huddled and dead among the wreckages, some with their hands tied behind their backs.”

Thus, Susan Garth, moved by what she saw in Biafra, remarked: *“We are all guilty of a murder of a million children in Biafra.”*

In Ogwe the *Newsweek* correspondent describes how a Nigerian, Lt. Lamurde treated a poor and lonely boy who went in search of his parents in Ogwe, Aba. This unfortunate victim of genocide had his hands tied to his legs. The boy pleaded: “I am not a soldier. Sweet Jesus, save me.’ This did not register any sympathy, instead Lamurde pumped bullets into his body...”

In **ONITSHA**, the 300 strong congregation of the Apostolic Church decided to stay on while others fled and to pray for deliverance. Col. Mohammed’s Second Division found them in the church, dragged them out, tied their hands behind their backs and executed them. This Onitsha massacre was also reported by another foreign journalist, William Morris, in the *Times* of London of Thursday, April 25, 1968. He wrote: *The Hydes... tell a horrifying story of the Apostolic Church near their home, where the congregation decided to stay and pray for deliverance instead of fleeing from Federal advance...*” One of the attached affidavits in the Appendix (I i-x) - from Frank Chukwuma Ibegba, an eye-witness - records the Onitsha atrocities.

CALABAR: Rev. David T. Craig, writing in the *Presbyterian Record* of December 1967 (Scotland) gave more revelation of Nigerian acts of genocide under the caption of ‘*Operation Calabar*’: *“A group of Efik people (the local inhabitants) brought two young men in civilian dress to the soldiers. The young lads looked like secondary school students. With the Northern soldiers was an Efik-speaking soldier. It was his duty to question prisoners In the Efik language. His job was to see if any spoke Efik with an Ibo accent. These two young lads did. The soldiers took aim and they were shot on the spot.”*

UYO: On entry into Uyo, the Nigerian soldiers embarked on systematic elimination of leaders of thought and their families in a scope reminiscent of the Asaba massacres.

OJI RIVER Killing of Hospital Staff and Patients: The *Times* of London 2nd August 1968 carried on pages 5 and 9 gruesome stories of Nigerian atrocities against **Ndi Igbo**. In these

it indicated that “*in a hospital outside Enugu, the soldiers shot all the fourteen civilian nurses who stayed behind and then went down the wards killing the patients as well.*”

OKIGWE: 30th September 1968: The Nigerian army that entered Okigwe, murdered two delegates of the International Committee of the Red Cross delegates, two missionaries, several other relief workers and over 100 Biafran civilian men, women and children.

ASABA MASSACRES. Asaba was one of the centres of mass killings. The soldiers lured out the civilians into an open field to welcome them. In a pre-meditated plan, they sprayed the civilians with bullets, killing over 700 males. The Asaba massacres were reported in *Observer* and documented in **E. Okocha’s *Blood On the Niger*** (Lagos, 1994). Jack Shepheredi the Senior Editor of *Look* Magazine said in November 26, 1968 that “perhaps 8000 Ibo civilians died when the Mid-West was ‘liberated’ by troops under Col. Murtala Mohammed. The Asaba massacres were replicated in **WARRI** and **SAPELE**. General Yakubu Gowon, the then Head of State, acknowledged this incident recently at an audience with the Asagba of Asaba (*Daily Champion*, 26 October 1999, pp. 30-31). He did also acknowledge and apologise to the Igbo for the atrocities, abuse of their human rights during the war at a function (*Nigeria Prays*) in Ebonyi State in 1998. Massacre of all was a general pattern of Nigerian troops whenever they entered a town.

A detailed and carefully documented account of the massacres in Asaba and the then Mid-West is **BLOOD ON THE NIGER** by Emma Okocha (Washington, 1994) - an account which a Jew, Naomi Siegel of New York, described as a “*reminder of my own people’s travail, the Jewish holocaust.*”

Emma Okocha concludes: “*Throughout the week in scattered locations the exterminations continued. Because it was beyond understanding, we shall close by inviting here David Astor who on the anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising explained that ‘mass exterminations are themselves related to lesser killings... We must learn more of the fatal fearful process of thought which makes people feel not only justified but that they have a duty to destroy others. We cannot tell what may excite this process of mass psychology. Its next form may not be racial or religious but political as has happened before in times of revolution or civil wars ... Indonesia, Asaba, My Lai, Pakistan... Asaba!’*” (page 72)

4.4 Bombing, Concentration on Civilian Targets

The testimony of **Ndi Igbo** that Nigerians have concentrated on non-military targets is well illustrated by the following records which are intercepts of coded messages from Nigerian communications revealing that the instruction to bomb civilian targets are official:

[1] “*Co/Calabar/Ca: Aba Airforce base. Co (Calabar - You go straight to Arochukwu. Do not allow anything to stand. Calabar Airforce Base: Roger All right, Sir. (Received 13.50 bra 30/5/68)*

[2] *Nigerian CO at Calabar (from) Calabar Airforce Base (to) Calabar CO Bombing*

should be done on **the fishing port area and all the areas of .Ikot-rfi-at and Ikot Offiong**. Calabar Airforce Base—Roger All Right Sir. (Received 11. 05 hrs 23/3/68).

[3] From: Lt. Col. Adekunle (PH) - To NAF Commander (Calabar) NAF (Calabar) - We will only do one mission because the bombs are not enough. Which is the important one? Lt. Col. Adekunle (PH): Go to Azumini and Aba: **Bomb the bastard civilians like mad**. (Received 10-30 hrs 18/6/68)

[4] NAF PH/NAF Calabar; NAF/PH.- What is the weather like? NAF/CAL: Fair, Sir. NAF/PH: Ok, go and bomb Azumini and Akwete and follow it until the river. NAF/CAL: Ok, Sir, Tiger-fighter bomber. NAF/PH: When you come back, the tiger should go to Aba area. NAF/CAL: What targets, Sir? NAF/PH: **The town itself. Chase them like mad**. They should run away. Received 09:08 hrs 18/6/68.

After the bombing of Aba on the 25/4/68, William Norris writing in the *Sunday Times* of London on April 26, page 12, under the caption **Nightmare in Biafra** had this to say: “I have seen things in Biafra this week which no man should have to see. Sights to search the heart and sicken the conscience. I have seen children roasted alive, young girls torn in two by shrapnel, pregnant women viscerated and old men blown to fragments. I have seen the ethingsandi have seen their cause.- high sounding Russian Ilynshin lets operated by Federal Nigeria, dropping their bombs on civilian targets throughout Biafra.”

As mentioned in the intercepted messages, the object of Nigerian daily bombing missions in the war is to destroy all civilian lives. **Itu Leper Colony** was razed to the ground by air attack on Jan 23 1968 (*International Herald Tribune* of Paris 1st Feb 1968). On 21/12/1967, two Nigerian jets bombed the heart of the residential area of Aba, killing 15 people including a prominent medical practitioner, Dr. Augustine Onyejiaka. A foreign journalist, Walter Partington of *Daily Express* reported on 23/4/68 issue of how 70 civilians died in a hit and run attack on Aba by the Nigerian bombers. In Onitsha (November 19-24, 1967) massive bombing by Nigerians targetted solely civilian institutions—Christ the King College, Dennis Memorial Grammar School, Anglican All Saints Cathedral Onitsha, General Hospital, the Magistrates Court and scores of various residential areas in the town.

4.5 Scorched Earth Policy

The famous order of the Commander of the Marine Commanders, Lt.Col. Adekunle, to his troops to shoot anything that moves summarises the Nigerian military attitude of total and indiscriminate destruction of Igboland during the war. As most of the affidavits attached here reveal, this Scorched Earth policy was religiously implemented. The report of the International Commission of jurists on Genocide observes (p.18): “A number of witnesses testified to the fact that especially In the villages predominantly populated by Biafran citizens, there was utter destruction of all structures for human habitation, livestock and farms, Witnesses mentioned villages around Onitsha, Owerri and Nsukka where this method of extermination was extensively used.”

The policy also had the underlining sinister objective of the Final Solution a la Nazi. The Report of the International Committee on Genocide records: *“There are witnesses who testified to the fact that in most areas where troops of the Federal Authority entered, peoples of Biafran (most Igbo) origin were loaded on to trucks and taken out of the towns. It was explained that these people were sent into jungles where the older ones were assembled and shot, and their bodies were left to be disposed of by the wild beasts that roam the jungles. The younger men were sorted out and posted to the units of the Federal Army where they were used as cannon fodder in attacks on Biafran positions. It was testified to me that the children were sent to the Northern region to be sold into slavery, and the women were made to serve in the camps of the Federal troops, where they were ravished.”*

The area where this method was first used was Nsukka. A number of other witnesses mentioned other places, such as Asaba, Onitsha, and Owerri.

4.6 Rape and Dehumanisation of Igbo Women

Some of the attached affidavits contain stories of rape and humiliation of women. Detective Police Corporal in Police Headquarters, Onitsha, Frank Chukwuma Ibegbu, saw women being raped on the streets before they were killed. In Lejja in Nsukka, Mr. Sylvester Mabubuattah certified that they (the soldiers) busied themselves burning houses, looting peoples’ property and raping women. The witness declared: *“One Omeke family comprising eleven people was met intact by the Hausa. They killed the husband and the wife of the family eliminated seven other children and relatives of the family and carried away two grown up girls from this very family. Till today, the whereabouts of these girls has not been known.”* In Unwana, another eye-witness, Samuel Inyang, deposed that in the village square *“near the salga latrine, I saw five women and eight children all lying down dead... each and everyone of the five women and three girls of the eight children had long sticks pushed through their external genitalia.”* This hostility, a part of large-scale massacre of the villagers, was discovered after a five-day conquest occupation of Unwana by Nigerian troops.

4.7 Maltreatment of War Prisoners

Igbo war prisoners received the most gruesome treatment from their Nigerian captors. The International Commission reports one witness as being *“the last of a queue of Biafran Prisoners-of-War who were having their eyes plucked out, and that he was able to run away with one eye because when it came to his turn, an alarm was given of a Biafran advance and the plucker had to run for his gun, thus making it possible for him to escape with one eye...”*

One of the factors that compelled Nigeria to draw a Code of Conduct for her soldiers was international outcry against the reckless killings. Before proclamation of the Code of Conduct, the International Red Cross had lodged protests with the Federal Military Authority in January 1968 and March 1968, with regard to the inhuman excesses of its army concerning treatment of Biafran prisoners of war and civilian population. Even after the proclamation of the Code, Nigeria’s International Observer Team had to admit allegation of *“treatment of Biafran prisoner*

of war in a manner inconsistent with the Geneva Convention.” It also admitted “some evidence of the non-observation of this Convention.” (Report of the **International Jury**, 30). It was Nigeria’s practice to kill her war prisoners).

4.8 Hunger

Nigeria’s famous policy that “starvation is a legitimate instrument of warfare, ensured the existence of condition of maximum food shortage in Igboland through capture of the food producing areas, wanton destruction of farmlands and crops, and obstruction of supplies of foreign aid. Consequently, mass starvation and death became the order of the day in Biafra. In *Daily Telegraph* (London) of 1st August 1968, a German doctor, shocked by the appalling famine situation in Annang Province said: “*I estimate that 30 percent of the children in Annang Province will die from disease caused by malnutrition. Other doctors with more experience of Africa that I put the figures as high as 80 percent.*” The relief that trickled from International Organisation into Biafra was insufficient. *The International Herald Tribune* (p.5, 12th July 1968) reported: “*The supplies for Biafra are only a fraction of those stored in Lagos a waiting distribution to needy persons on the Federal side of the battle fronts...*” A minimum of 1,000 persons died everyday in Biafra because of hunger, according to the Committee on Genocide.

Besides deliberate denial of food, Nigeria also tried food poisoning. In November 1967, the Biafran health workers and other scientists discovered arsenic acid in bags of salt, sugar and tins of milk and tomatoes infiltrated into Biafra through the Mid-West by the Nigerian Government.

4.9 The “Final Solution”

That all the bestialities sketched above have the character of the Final Solution is underlined by the style of disposing of the dead. The Investigator of Committee of the International Committee notes in the Report: “*I had evidence from eighteen witnesses who mentioned themselves as being eyewitnesses to burials From two of this number, I obtained the testimony that, especially in the mass graves at Asaba, the wounded and sick Biafrans, and a few suckling, were dumped together with the dead, and that during the sealing of these trenches with their loads of the dead, the cries and the waiting of the sick, the wounded and the babies, could be heard from a long distance away. In this testimony, It was also mentioned that, when these mass graves had been covered, the Federal soldier, danced native war dances over them.*”

Evidence of conduct of the war in a manner inconsistent with Geneva Convention is overwhelming. The International Committee in the Investigation of Crimes of Genocide carried out exhaustive investigation of the evidence, interviewing 1082 people representing all the actors in the dispute (the two sides of the civil war and international collaborators). After a thorough painstaking research, the Commission concludes, through its Investigator (Dr. Mensah of Ghana): “*Finally I am of the opinion that in many of the cases cited to me hatred of the Biafrans (mainly Igbos) and a wish to exterminate them was a foremost motivational factor.*”

4.10 Prayers

We demand that:

1. The perpetrators of the war crimes be tried before courts of law.
2. Payment of accumulated salaries and allowances due from May, 1966 to 1970, as well as N100,000 per person, as compensation by the Federal Government of Nigeria for unjustified inconveniences suffered by all Igbo who were forcibly displaced and lost their jobs.
3. Payment by Federal Government of N500 billion as compensation for investments and businesses owned by **Ndi Igbo** but destroyed in various parts of Igboland from 1967-70, including Enugu Market, Onitsha Market, Aba Market, Oguta Market, Orlu Market, Owerri Market, Umuahia Market, Nnewi Market, Afikpo Market, Otuocha Market, Abakaliki and Okigwe Markets, Industries, Factories and Corporate businesses, by the Federal Government of Nigeria.
4. Construction of at least fifteen (15) Secondary Schools, twenty (20) Primary Schools, one (1) Hospital, four (4) Markets, one (1) Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN)-recognised Church, in each of the one hundred and five (105) Local Government Areas of **Ndi Igbo** and Igbo-Speaking areas, by the Federal Government of Nigeria, as reparation for the bombing of these targets.
5. Payment by Federal Government of N500,000 for each of the estimated 600,000 Igbo civilians killed, from 1967-1970, as compensation for targeting unarmed civilians who were not involved with war.
6. Payment of N500,000 per child as compensation on behalf of an estimated 900,000 Igbo children who died as a result of malnourishment due to the economic blockage against the Biafrans, by the Federal Government of Nigeria.
7. Payment of N1,000,000 per child as compensation, on behalf of an estimated 2,000,000 Igbo children who suffered permanent intellectual retardation due to malnourishment, from 1967-1970, as a result of economic blockage against Biafrans, by the Federal Government of Nigeria.
8. A public apology and financial compensation at N1,000,000 each by the Federal Government of Nigeria for the unique and gruesome massacre of over seven hundred (700) unsuspecting **Ndi Igbo** of Asaba origin in Asaba, who were lured to a reception and massacred on the 7th of October, 1967, by the Nigerian soldiers.
9. (a) Payment of N1,000,000 per person by the Federal Government of Nigeria as compensation on behalf of other estimated three hundred (300) **Ndi Igbo** maimed in Asaba.

- (b) Payment of N500,000 per person by the Federal Government of Nigeria in respect of 700 Asaba indigenes killed on the 7th of October, 1968.
- 10. Payment of N500,000 per person by the Federal Government of Nigeria as compensation in respect of an estimated eight hundred (800) Igbo civilians killed by Nigerian soldiers in other parts of Mid-West State on 26th November, 1968.
- 11. Allocation of a special grant of N500,000 for the immediate completion of the reconstruction of University of Nigeria, Nsukka and its entire library destroyed during the civil war.
- 12. Payment of N1,000,000 per person as compensation by the Federal Government of Nigeria in respect of an estimated 500,000 raped and savaged women during the war.

5. VIOLATION OF THE HUMAN AND CIVILIAN RIGHTS OF NDI IGBO IN THE IMMEDIATE POST-WAR ERA

5.1 Preamble

The Gowon regime offered the world a cheerful hope of immediate return of peace, speedy reconciliation and purposeful healing of war wounds through its declared policy of “*No Victor No Vanquished*” and “*Reconciliation Rehabilitation and Reconstruction.*” But the activities on the ground clearly showed that the reconciliatory posture was a smokescreen behind which acts of injustices and cruelty against **Ndi Igbo** continued. Infact the barrage of atrocities raged with so much intensity after the ‘end’ of the war that observers concluded that the Federal authorities were continuing the war by other means and that the 3 R’s were indeed three S’s (Strangulation! Strangulation! and Strangulation!). We hereby itemise some of the atrocities beneath the cloak of 3 R’s in the following three S’s:

5.2 Social Strangulation

5.2.1 Physical Liquidation:

Although the Nigerian Civil War ended officially on January 15, 1970, the Nigerian troops continued to kill defenceless civilians in Igboland during the first few months of the post-war era. It was during this period of ‘reconciliation’ that our distinguished Political Scientist, Dr. Kalu Ezera, was killed by Nigerian soldiers. It was also in this peacetime that Col. Tim Onwuatuegu was killed in cold blood by Nigerian soldiers in the domain of the First Division commanded by then Col. Theophilus Danjuma (who incidentally is Nigeria’s Defence Minister today). These two instances are only illustrative. The widespread murder violated internationally accepted norms and ethics of civilised conduct of wars.

5.2.2 Continuation of Starvation Policy:

At the end of the war, Igboland lay prostrate, battered and devastated from the horrors of the war. Its social and economic infrastructure was in utter ruins. Massive food shortages and serious absence of medical facilities and services resulted in avoidable deaths. The destitution, famine and deprivation in the first months after the war were more distressing than during the war. This pathetic situation followed the insensitivity of the Federal Military Government. It rejected and turned away sources of foreign help; South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia (later Zimbabwe) and humanitarian organisations, perceived to have aided Biafra during the war, were turned down by the Federal Government (Ref. John d. Jorre: **The Nigerian Civil War-London 1972**. p. 403). The Federal Government seemed to be continuing to wage the war by other means, in accordance with its war policy that starvation is a legitimate weapon of war.

5.2.3 Mass Dismissal of Igbo Public Servants

By the “Public Officers (Special Provisions) Decree No. 46 of 1970,” thousands of Igbo officers were denied reinstatement in the Armed Forces, Prisons and the Police, were denied reabsorption into the Nigeria Public Service. In the Police Forces alone, 4000 personnel were dismissed. It is on record that in what can be regarded as a symbolic gesture, a Police officer, Charles Mashie, got his job back after he took his case to General Gowon who ordered his immediate reinstatement in accordance with the declared policy, yet thousands of others (many of them are still alive) lost their jobs. Besides mass dismissals, there was silent but evident policy of exclusion that ensured that no Igbo man emerged in any commanding position in the armed forces, police and other paramilitary forces.

5.2.4 Destruction of Education, Our Invaluable Heritage

Education plays a more critical role among the Igbo as a life source than in the world view of any other ethnic nationality. Aware of this, the Federal Government tried through various insidious means to destroy this heritage. University of Nigeria, Nsukka received total neglect - and has, to-date, been subjected to a policy of benign neglect. There was also silent embargo on new educational projects: during his first tenure of rule, Obasanjo established six polytechnics, sited them all over Nigeria and located NONE in East Central State (Igboland).

The war-time technological achievements of **Ndi Igbo** were allowed to rot away. The Federal Government took over Biafra’s war-time scientific outfit (which made such famous inventions as remote-control bombs (**ogbunigwe**), refined petrol and petroleum products and distilled wines and spirits, among other break-throughs) and stifled its growth.

A generation of Igbo youth, among them the most talented and skilled in Black Africa, was thus suffocated by victorious Nigeria.

In expression of this disposition, churches and foreign Christian educational institutions which owned and managed most of the post-secondary schools in Igboland, were not allowed to return to provide sorely needed rehabilitation. Furthermore, other channels of education and educational contacts were closed. The U.S Embassy was not allowed to reopen its library in Enugu. The same fate befell the consulate of U.K. High Commission in Enugu.

5.2.5 Social ostracism

Throughout the length and breath of Nigeria, Igbo citizens were treated as pariah, helpless objects of derision and discrimination. Traders and artisans had, like untouchables and third-class citizens, to beg to sub-rent shops and occupational facilities from other Nigerians, generally contracted as the legal and acceptable tenants.

5.3 Economic Strangulation

5.3.1 Denial of pre-war savings

The Civil War, writes Chinua Achebe (**The Trouble with Nigeria**, 1983, p. 45 and 46) gave Nigeria a perfect excuse to cast **Ndi Igbo** in the role of treasonable felons and wreckers of the nation. Some hard-liners in Gowon's regime, successfully got the regime to adopt a banking policy which nullified any bank account which had been operated during the war. A flat sum of twenty pounds was approved for each Igbo depositor of the Nigerian currency, regardless of the amount of deposit. It should be noted that only a microscopic fraction of Biafrans had Nigerian currency, and even of this number only few were able to deposit their money with the Central Bank of Nigeria representatives supervising the exercise. The injustice of the whole exercise is obvious. An equitable arrangement, if the period from 30 May 1967 to 15 January 1970 during which Biafra existed was assumed to be a period of illegality, would have been to restore all bank accounts to the **status quo ante**-Biafra that is, to their balances as at 29 May 1967.

5.3.2 Exclusion from the commanding heights of the economy

The indigenisation Decree which followed soon after the arbitrary award of N20 completed the routing of **Ndi Igbo** from the commanding heights of the Nigerian economy. Only two years after the war, when **Ndi Igbo** were still in their economic doldrums, the Finance Minister Chief Awolowo contrived to auction off the Nigerian economy to the "indigenes" via the so-called Enterprises Promotion Decree (1974). The timing of the policy ensured the effective exclusion of **Ndi Igbo** from ownership in Nigeria's industrial sector, as they lacked the financial muscle to participate. As the vanquished were dispossessed of what they had, the victors were deliberately empowered through the banks to purchase our national patrimony.

5.3.3 Abandoned Property Policy

Before the war, Port Harcourt was essentially an Igbo town, the original land having been owned by the Ikwere sub-group who had leased it to Britain. It was strongly occupied and developed mainly by hinterland **Ndi Igbo** who owned most of the houses in Port Harcourt. Politically, Port Harcourt and present Rivers State had been part of Owerri Province, until the creation of Rivers Province around 1946, with Port Harcourt as headquarters. So there was that feeling by **Ndi Igbo** that they were free to reside and pursue their life endeavours in Port Harcourt, as indeed all Nigerians should be free to reside and pursue their livelihood in any part of Nigeria. **Ndi Igbo** therefore threw their weight behind the development of Port Harcourt. The first Mayor of Port Harcourt municipality was Chief Richard Nzimiro of Oguta, the second Mayor was Chief Allagoa of Nembe while the third was Chief F.U. Ihekweba of Ikwere. In other words, **Ndi Igbo** were very deeply involved in the political and economic life of Port Harcourt.

When Port Harcourt eventually fell to the Federal troops, hinterland Igbo had no choice than to leave Port Harcourt because of the fear of continuing genocide. At the end of the war, the residents naturally returned to Port Harcourt to repossess their properties and businesses. To their surprise, the riverine people, hitherto residing mainly in their creeks and islands domains, had been instigated to come to the mainland and take possession of the houses belonging to **Ndi Igbo**. This was made possible by the initiative of the Rivers State Government with the active support of the Nigerian troops. Some of the Igbo landlords who went back to Port Harcourt to

argue their legal rights and insist on regaining their properties by resisting the possession of their houses, were either brutally assaulted or killed. Shocked by this violation of their rights, the property-owners turned to Federal Government to assist them to re-possess their houses.

The Abandoned Property Issue remained unresolved until the overthrow of General Gowon.

Upon the accession to power by General Murtala Muhammed, he set up the Col. S. F. Daramola Panel (September, 1975) to look into the issue. Many Igbo felt that General Murtala would be more humane than his predecessor because of his revolutionary utterances. The decision of Murtala's government as announced on 3rd February, 1976, shocked **Ndi Igbo**. The government arrived at the following decisions: The allocation of N14 million to enable Rivers and South-eastern States to pay a flat rate of N500 a year on every building property confiscated from the Igbo as rent arrears for a period of five years from 1970-1975. The Federal and State governments were to purchase compulsorily some of the building properties concerned for their respective use [Ref: "Former rulers found Guilty" *Lagos Daily Times*, February 4 1976, p 31. The remaining ones were to be sold to the indigenes of the state who would require to pay a fair price to respective owners. The government white paper also authorised the Rivers and South-eastern State which they have had to face since the end of the war. Those who dared return to claim their homes after the war were killed and buried in mass graves.

The Ikwerre Aros live as refugees in their own country, another arrow at the conscience of the nation, another reminder that **Ndi Igbo** do not live on the lee side of the law.

5.3.4. No Reconstruction

The 'R' for Reconstruction was, like all the other Rs, meant to deceive the outside world. No reconstruction of any facility - schools, road, health institution, communication network or any other infrastructural works - was undertaken by the Federal Government. The signal which the Federal Government and the rest of Nigeria pointedly gave to the defeated distressed Igbo people was "Good for you. Stew in your juice" - in spite of their loud rhetorics about reconciliation. The Administrator of East Central State, Mr. Ukpabi Asika, announced a conservative estimate of £400 million for reconstruction of war damages. The Federal Government did not release any substantial share because it claimed that it had no money. Yet, within the same period, the then head of the military Government, General Gowon, announced that revenue was not a problem for Nigeria (because of the oil boom), was lavishing money aids on foreign countries, and was spending colossal sums on preparations for the hosting of Festac. Evidently, the denial of economic reconstruction help to war-torn Igboland was prompted by reasons other than poor treasury.

5.3.5 Denial of source of livelihood to poor Igbo traders

The 1971 Federal government ban on the importation of second hand clothing and stockfish was calculated to throw the ordinary Igbo masses whose livelihood depended on the petty trade into

penury and disarray.

5.3.6 Excision of Igbo Mineral-Rich Areas from Igboland and Neglect of Mineral Finds in Igbo Areas

Through boundary adjustment, some mineral - rich areas of Igbo land were transferred to Rivers and former Cross Rivers State (now Akwa Ibom area). As the TSM (October 4, 1993) reported, the **Obasanjo** regime in its boundary adjustment exercise in 1976, pushed the Ndoni/Egbema area and parts of Ndoki South of the Imo River, which harbour the highest petroleum deposits in Nigeria, into Rivers State.

Besides this, the Federal Government ignored, as a non-issue, mineral finds within Igboland (probably because the sites could not be merged with non-Igbo areas). Oil find in Nsukka area by SAFRAP (a Federal Oil Company) was sealed up with the expulsion of the Company during the war, and to date the Federal Government has not ordered resumption of activities. Natural Gas find in Ugwuoba, the largest deposit in Nigeria, has been sealed up as strategic reserve.

5.4 Political Strangulation

5.4.1 Exclusion from Political Apex

With the exception of the Administrator of East Central State, Mr. Ukpabi Asika (1967-1975) **Ndi Igbo** had no representation in all the political and security organs which constituted the apex of political authority - Supreme Military Council and Security Council. Igbo “citizens” were to be seen, not heard.

5.4.2 Political Manipulation of Demographic Figures

A survey of Nigerian demographic exercises revealed a studied attempt to depress the population of Igbo race like the two other major ethnic groups.

In the 1952-53 non-politicised census (Table 1), organised by the British, **Ndi Igbo** were under-counted by 10-15% because of two factors (the unhealed alienation of the people as a result of the Aba riots and the general fear of taxation). **Ndi Igbo** suffered the same under- enumeration in 1963 census.

But from this period, political manipulation of census figures, to inflate the population of the North and the Yorubas of the West, and to reduce the population of Igbos, has become a standard practice. Table I points up certain absurdities:

- (i) the phenomenal rabbit-like increase of the population of the Northern tribes and

West's Yoruba, as against the growth performance of the population of **Ndi Igbo**.

- (ii) the increasing reduction of Igbo race to a minority ethnic group. Compare, for example, the demographic growth of two groups, Igbos and Yorubas. Figures in Table 1 show that the population of Igbos in Eastern Nigeria **decreased** from 17.16% in 1952/53, to 13.48% in 1991, of the total population of Nigeria. This represents a decrease of about 3.68% over a period of 38 years, a decrease of 0.10% per year. Therefore, in 1999, the figure is projected to **decrease** by 12.68%.

In the same period, the population of the Yorubas in Western Nigeria (including Lagos State) increased from 16.00% in 1952/53 to 17.60% in 1991, of the total population of Nigeria. This represents an increase of about 3.88% over a period of 38 years - an increase of about 0.05 = 0.1% per year. Therefore, in 1999, the figure is projected to increase by 20.68%.

5.5 Prayers

We demand:

1. A restoration of all Igbo land carved into Rivers State and Akwa Ibom State, by re-delineation of State boundaries, and to incorporate into the appropriate Igbo States all Igbo towns exercised from such States during the creation of States.
2. Payment of N500,000 per person by the Federal Government of Nigeria as compensation on behalf of 10,000 Igbo civilians and Biafran soldiers who surrendered and were killed within three months after the official declaration of the end of the war on 15 January, 1970.
3. A restoration of all bank accounts of the Igbo, with accrued interest, who had been operating account within Biafra, as at 29th May, 1967, by the Federal Government of Nigeria.
4. Payment of an average of N300,000 per adult Igbo, by the Federal Government of Nigeria, as compensation to two and half million adult war survivors, for either underpayment of a flat rate of C20 to depositors in 1970, irrespective of their war savings between 29th May, 1967 – 15th January, 1970, or non-payment of even the flat rate because of difficulties of access to CBN representatives.
5. Payment of N900 billion as compensation to **Ndi Igbo**, by the Federal Government of Nigeria, for the willful damage to their purchasing power, as a result of the flat rate P-20 payment and other savings irrespective of the amount in 1970, which gravely damaged their ability to compete fairly with other Nigerians in purchase of assets during the indigenisation exercise (1974 Enterprises Promotion Decree) and in all other spheres of the economy.

6. Payment of accumulated salaries and allowances due from 15th January, 1970 to date, to all public officers; reinstatement of displaced Igbo public officers; and formal disengagement of those not re-instated (including the payment of their retirement benefits) as the case may be, by the Federal Government of Nigeria.
7. Payment of accumulated salaries and allowances due from 15th January, 1970 to date, to all Igbo Military, Police and other para-military officers who were displaced as a result of the pogroms; re- instatement or formal disengagement of those not re-instated (including the payment of their retirement benefits) as the case may be, by the Federal Government of Nigeria.
8. For equity and balance, the creation of at least one more State and at least additional 50 Local Government Areas in the South-East Zone.
9. The repossession by **Ndi Igbo** of their properties which were compulsorily acquired in contradiction of the provisions of the 1963 Constitution, Section 31 (1), No. 20, which was in operation at that time, by the Rivers State Government, Cross River State Government, and the Federal Government of Nigeria after the Civil War.
10. Payment of rentable values including the interests thereof from 1970 until the repossession of these properties by their rightful owners by the appropriate Governments and other parties for properties compulsorily acquired.
11. Payment of N500,000 per child by Federal Government of Nigeria in respect of an estimated 250,000 Igbo children who died immediately after the war as a result of the continuation of the starvation policy.

6. VIOLATION OF THE HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS OF NDI IGBO IN THE LATER POST-WAR EPA (MID-SEVENTIES TO DATE)

6.1 Preamble

From the pattern of marginalisation of **Ndi Igbo** in distribution of employment and infrastructure since the end of post-war “reconstruction” to date, it seems that there is in place an unwritten policy of total disempowerment of **Ndi Igbo** in economic, political, military, bureaucratic, social and media spheres. The undeclared policy seems to enforce total exclusion of **Ndi Igbo** from all sensitive posts. Observed persistent pattern of appointments confirms the allegation that exclusion from high military command should last for at least fifty years from the end of the civil war (30 years after the civil war, army has not produced a high-ranking Igbo officers considered fit and safe to head a division).

Our constitution (1979, 1999) are most eloquent on administration of equity and justice in distribution of rights. Decree No. 34 of 1996 make elaborate provisions on equitable distribution of jobs and facilities. Under the fundamental objectives and directive principles of State policy, 1999 Constitution, Section 14. 3) states that *“the composition of the Government of the Federation or any of its parts and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the Federal character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity, and also to command national loyalty, thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from a few ethnic or Other sectional groups in that Government or any of its agencies.”* Pursuant to the above provision, the Federal Character Commission, which was set up, worked out a guideline which provides that:

at the national level the indigene,, of a state sl7all constitute not less than 2.5% and not more than 3% and the indigenes of a zone sl7all constitute not less than 15% and not more than 18%.

The distribution of employment and facilities in major sectors will show a consistent violation of the Federal Character provisions and a pattern of disempowerment against **Ndi Igbo**.

6.2 Political Disempowerment

6.2.1 States Creation

The process of marginalisation of **Ndi Igbo** was *ab initio* built into a gross injustice perpetrated through the creation of states and local governments, as they are the basic units of sharing of Federal amenities. The official mind-set of preemptive malice and genocidal siege strategy, which prompted the maiden national exercise of war-winning 12-states structure of 1967, has apparently continued to guide subsequent exercises. **Accordingly, Ndi Igbo of South East zone who rank in population with the Yoruba of South West zone and Hausa/ Fulani of North West zone have continued to be allocated a number of states pointedly lower than the shares of these zones.**

At present, the table below summarises the distribution of states and local governments among the six geopolitical zones in the country.

State and Local Government Area Distribution Amongst the Geo-political Zone.

S/ NO	ZONE	NO. OF STATES	NO. OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS
1	North-Central	6 (16.67%)	116 (15.19%)
2	North-East	6 (16.67%)	110 (14.36%)
3	North-West	7 (19.44%)	181 (23.69%)
4	South-West	6 (16.67%)	138 (18.01%)
5	South-South	6 (16.67%)	127 (16.58%)
6	South-East	5 (13.89%)	94 (12.27%)
	Total	36	766

Ndi Igbo have 5 States and 94 Local government areas, out of 36 States and 766 Local government areas. Clearly, **Ndi Igbo** of South East zone have the lowest number of states and local government areas, yet the zone is by no means the least populated. **From being one of the three main racial groups in Nigeria Ndi Igbo are being progressively reduced through geopolitical maneuvers and demographic manipulations to a minority status.**

6.2.2 Exclusion from Political Apex:

With the exception of Major-General Aguiyi Ironsi, no Igbo man has occupied the political apex of Nigeria (Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe was merely a ceremonial President). Table 2a tells the story of exclusion. Table 2b underlines the ethnic and regional character of this exclusion.

Two points are clear from these tables:

- (a) Of all the ethnic nationalities, major or minor, whose members have occupied the political apex, **Ndi Igbo**, acknowledged as one of the three majorities in Nigeria, have lagged behind a distant last.
- (b) Of all the former Ethno/Regional “Establishments,” the Hausa- Fulani/Northern Regional Establishment produced 8 executive heads and ruled for 34 out of the 39 years, the Yoruba/West produced 2 executive heads and ruled up to the time of this write-up) 31/2 years, the Igbo/East produced only one executive head and ruled 6 months less than one, year! Table 3, illustrating the pattern of distribution of other top political posts below the apex - governors and ministers - establishes

a similar truth.

6.2.3 New Heights in Marginalisation (Obasanjo regime):

If the history of skewed appointments since independence leaves any one in doubt about the emergence of a pattern, the Obasanjo regime has cleared such doubts. No regime has betrayed so much disdain for the rights of **Ndi Igbo** in its appointments as the Obasanjo regime. We review the appointment so far.

i National Security Council: -

South West (Yoruba)	4 (including the President)
North Central	3
North East	2 (including Vice-President)
North West	2
South South	1
South East (Igbo)	0

The absence of any person from the South-East zone contravenes section 14(3) of the 1999 constitution, especially as paragraph (1) of section 25 of part 1.1 3rd schedule of the 1999 constitution dealing with the composition of the National Security Council provides that two additional members may be appointed to the National Security Council at the President's discretion.

ii. Armed Forces:

The South East does not presently have any Major-General or the ranks above it in the Nigerian Army, or the equivalent rank in the Nigerian Air Force and the Nigerian Navy and therefore, cannot produce any of the Service Chiefs. Moreover, the number of officers of South-east zone is far short of the one sixth of the total as required by Section 14(3) of the 1999 constitution.

iii. Nigeria Police:

Out of 16 top Police officers, viz, IG, DIGS & AIGS, there is only one AIG of South-East origin, contrary to the constitutional requirements in Section 14(3).

Also, the South-East Zone under the present structure of the Nigeria Police Force, would appear to be a colonised territory because:

- ◆ Anambra State Command reports to the AIG based in Benin (South-south zone).
- ◆ Enugu State Command reports to the AIG based in Makurdi (North- central zone).
- ◆ Abia, Ebonyi and Imo States Commands report to the AIG in Calabar (South-south zone).

There is need for the zonal structure of the Nigeria Police Force to be changed so that the

Police State Commands in the South East Zone constitute its own zone with its zonal office based in the South-East zone, to which all the state commands of the 5 South Eastern States will report, as is the arrangement in other geopolitical zones.

iv. Allocation of Ministries

We quote the protest of South East Zone of ruling Peoples Democratic Party:

We note that in the allocation of Portfolios to the Ministers appointed, there is a gross imbalance against the South-East Zone in the number and importance of the portfolios. Persons from the South- East Zone were given 3 Cabinet Ministerial positions, which is the lowest number of all the Zones, and 4 Ministers of State.

For comparative purposes, it may be noted that

South-West has 5 Cabinet Ministers (excluding Petroleum under The President) and 4 Ministers of State.

North-West has 6 Cabinet Ministers and 4 Ministers of State.

North-Central has 4 Cabinet Ministers and 3 Ministers of State.

North-East has 4 Cabinet Ministers and 4 Ministers of State.

South-South has 4 Cabinet Ministers and 4 Ministers of State.

It is a matter of regret that the **President did not follow the zoning of ministerial offices as approved by the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the Party at its meeting of 18th May, 1999.**

The zoning was as follows:

<i>Group A</i>	<i>Group B</i>	<i>Group C</i>	<i>Group D</i>
1. <i>Petroleum</i>	7. <i>Internal Affairs</i>	13. <i>Education</i>	19. <i>Science & Tech</i>
2. <i>Finance</i>	8. <i>External Affairs</i>	14. <i>Health</i>	20. <i>Information</i>
3. <i>Defence</i>	9. <i>Communications</i>	15. <i>Water Resources</i>	21. <i>Aviation</i>
4. <i>Transport</i>	10. <i>Industries</i>	16. <i>Solid Minerals</i>	22. <i>Youth & Sports</i>
5. <i>Works</i>	11. <i>Agriculture</i>	17. <i>Commerce</i>	23. <i>Urban Affairs</i>
6. <i>F. C. T.</i>	12. <i>Power and Steel</i>	18. <i>Justice</i>	24. <i>Labour</i>

This would have ensured each geopolitical Zone getting a Ministry from each of the four groups of Ministries.

But as it turned out the Ministries allotted to the various Zones were as follows:

North-West

1. *Agriculture and Rural*
2. *Communications*
3. *Foreign Affairs*
4. *Solid Minerals*
5. *Water Resources*
6. *Women and Youths*

North-Central

1. *Commerce*
2. *Industries*
3. *Police Affairs*
4. *Sports and Soc. Devt*

North-East

1. *Defence*
2. *Environment*
3. *F. C. T.*
4. *Finance*

South-West

1. *Aviation*
2. *Education*
3. *Information*
4. *Internal Affairs*
5. *Power and Steel*

South-South

1. *Justice*
2. *Labour & Productivity*
3. *Science and Tech*
4. *Works and Housing*

South-East

1. *Culture and Tourism*
2. *Health*
3. *Transport*

From the above, it can be seen that not only has the South-,East been short-changed in the number of Cabinet Ministers allotted to it, but also from the Zonal distribution of Ministries, it has suffered as no ministry from Group 8 was allotted to it.”

The Igbo in absolute bewilderment are asking when they will be properly integrated back into the Nigerian Polity and given their rightful position in the running of the affairs of their beloved country?

6.3 Social Disempowerment

6.3.1 Employment in the Federal Sector

(a). In spite of this elaborate provision of the constitution that there should be no predominance of a few ethnic or other sectional groups and in spite of the powers given to the Federal Character Commission in this regard, some ethnic groups and some sectional groups have continued to have predominance in share of employment at the expenses of some other ethnic groups especially **Ndi Igbo**.

The deliberate under-representation in aggregation of States, effected by giving Igbo ethnic group less number of States than its population merits is a predictable ploy to ensure that **Ndi Igbo** will be permanently short-changed in the distribution of employment and other resources. Today, **Ndi Igbo** (South-East) lag, in the distribution of employment and amenities., behind the Yorubas (South-West) and the Hausa-Fulani (North-West), the two other major ethnic groupings with which **Ndi Igbo** rank in population.

The situation in representations and employments in International Organisations in Nigeria shows a similar pattern of marginalisation. Even among the three southern zones **Ndi Igbo** have been the worse off. It is a major part of the marginalisation plan and cynical divide-and-rule tactic that for all positions coming to the southern zones, those at the helm of affairs have always contrived to head such positions away from the Igbo zone (South East) in favour of the other two zones especially the South West (Yoruba) in furtherance of the marginalisation of **Ndi Igbo**.

Admittedly, some other zones from the north are also disadvantaged in terms of number of staff, but the reason, unlike the case of the South-East (where there is abundant and available relevant manpower in all fields of human endeavour), is that the zones have a paucity of the requisite manpower. In this respect, we had earlier made the distinction between marginality and marginalisation.

6.3.2 Racial Discrimination

(a) Exploitation

The presence of **Ndi Igbo**, a diaspora people, boosts the population figures of their resident States in census counts. Also, the contributions of the Igbo residents help the economy of the States. Yet, the Igbo residents are denied the full benefits of citizenship in all such States in many subtle but effective ways. Such ways include:

(i) Exclusion from the benefits of Federal Character Law:

Dispensations (such as scholarships and employments) which flow to States which means explicit geopolitical basis of States, **not** tribes) are shared by their governments **exclusively** to the indigenes, as against the stranger residents, normally Igbos.

(ii) Differential civil obligations:

Different tax assessments and school fees operate in favour of the indigenes, against the detriment of “stranger elements”, mainly Igbos. The heaviest loser in this legal network of exploitation is Igboland. In a country where population size is a vital variable in revenue sharing, Igboland loses the head-count of millions of her children in diaspora during national census (Igbos in diaspora constitute at least 50% of the overall **Ndi Igbo** population). Yet, she is made to bear and suffer the grim natal obligations for these millions whom Nigeria denies the full

protection of citizenship and residency rights through the manipulations of “State of origin” proviso.

(b) Discrimination and attacks in business

Igbo businesses suffer also from many other discriminating laws. In Katsina State, there was unprovoked molestation of Igbo entrepreneurs in August 1999, resulting in arson on Igbo hotels, restaurants and businesses. This was followed soon after by similar destruction in Zamfara State following the islamation of the State. Again, all these acts seemed to enjoy immunity from the law. The nearest which **Ndi Igbo** got to an official acknowledgement of injustice was President Obasanjo’s reply to the letter of protest of Dr Orji Uzo Kalu, Governor of Abia State, in which he expressed his satisfaction that Katsina State Government had taken measures against a recurrence of such incidents. Officialdom was, as usual, coldly silent on compensation for destroyed business or punishment of offenders.

(c) Society’s Scape-goats

Finally, the **Ndi Igbo** have always been the favourite scapegoats of the various ethnic political and religious conflicts and clashes in the country. The property of **Ndi Igbo** are frequently looted whenever there is group conflict, whether or not an Igbo is involved. Such conflicts and violent clashes include

- (i) The Kano Riots of December 1980 and October 1982;
- (ii) the Buluta Maiduguri riot of 1982;
- (iii) the Yola riot of February 1984;
- (iv) the Gombe riot of April 1985;
- (v) the Kaduna Religious crisis of March 1987;
- (vi) the Zaru Religious Crisis of May 1988;
- (vii) the ABU Religious crisis of June 1988,
- (viii) the Bauchi Riot of 1992;
- (ix) the Zango Kataf uprising of May 1992;
- (x) the June 12 1993 crisis, etc.

(d) Protection of the Law

In all these riots **Ndi Igbo** were made victims as they were killed and their property destroyed or looted. In the history of Nigeria, no government has ever offered compensation or any other form of redress to **Ndi Igbo** even in few cases of perfunctory official inquiries. **Ndi Igbo** enjoy less protection of the law than any other ethnic group in Nigeria. A blood-chilling celebration of the license of impunity to the rest Nigeria in their treatment of Igbo citizens was the confident action of the mob who hoisted the head of a murdered Igbo citizen, Mr. Akaluka on a pole in a macabre street procession of triumph right in the presence of law enforcement agencies, in Kano, during an orgy of days of Igbo racial-baiting and massacres.

6.4 Economic Disempowerment

6.4.1 Denial and delay of infrastructural facilities

The unwillingness of Federal Government to repair or reconstruct the bad infrastructural facilities damaged during the war hardened into cold indifference or indeed opposition to the existence of any infrastructures in Igbo land. The roads in the five states of South East have been acknowledged by all observers as the worst in the Federation.

The attitude of the Federal Government is clearly illustrated by one incident. The Onitsha market, the commercial knob of Nigeria with links of patronage to most states of West African sub-region, was burnt down in a fire disaster. The evident value of this market to the economy and foreign image of Nigeria should have been enough strong reason to move the Federal Government to remedial action. But she remained indifferent. The Onitsha market traders' request for federal assistance to Federal Government met with cold rebuff. The traders then asked for a loan in place of grant. This was also turned down. But at the same time, the Federal Government released mi.6b, more than the estimated cost of reconstruction of the Onitsha Market, for the Kaduna Trade Fair project.

This incident is typical of Federal Government's policy of cold indifference (indeed, subtle but outright antagonism) to the infrastructural development of Igbo states.

The few Federal utilities in Igbo suffer total neglect, even when their appropriate maintenance will have meant increased revenue to the Federal Government. Oji River Power Station has suffered virtual abandonment at a time of critical power shortage in Igboland and Eastern area. The Coal Corporation at Enugu has suffered the same fate.

The Federal Government's policy of total neglect of Igboland has become so glaring that some conscientious non-Igbo Nigerians have been shocked. Alhaji Balarabe Musa, an articulate conscience of the nation, publicly condemned it. Recently, the Speaker of the Federal House of Assembly, Alhaji Ghali Umar Na'Abba, was moved by his experience in a recent travel on the neglected roads of Igboland to observe: *"It is very sad that... this (Anambra State) still suffers federal neglect after 29 years of civil war... Let me use this opportunity to express our heartfelt sympathy with Anambra State and South-East zone for suffering such a very serious federal neglect..."* (**This Day**, Nov. 22, 1999, p. 42)

6.4.2 Inequitable Resources Transfer Through The Conduit-Pipe of The Petroleum Trust Fund (PTF)

The former Head of State, Gen. Sani Abacha, in his October 4, 1994, broadcast to the nation promised that the resultant gain accruing from the new pricing of petroleum products would be put into a special account to be "invested in Social and Infrastructural Projects for the Benefit of Nigerian People." The promulgation of the PTF Decree No. 25 of 1994 and the subsequent inauguration of the Board of Trustee on March 21, 1995 fulfilled this promise.

The PTF's distribution of funds to the States in the areas of:

- (i) Roads, road transportation and water ways
- (ii) Education
- (iii) Health
- (iv) Food Supply
- (v) Water Supply
- (vi) Other projects

can only be described as unequitable, and with total disregard of the geopolitical Zone II comprising the Igbo States-Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo. Geo-political Zone III got nearly twice as much of the allocation as given to the Igbo States, in all the areas enumerated above, for no obvious reasons; while the other Zones were favoured in all the aspects above the Igbo Zone.

Below are the figures supplied by PTF itself:

Zone	Index to Composition of Zones
1	Ekiti, Lagos, Ogun, Ondo, Osun, Oyo
2	Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu, Imo
3	Jigawa, Kaduna,.Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto, Zamfara
4	Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Tarabe, Yobe
5	Benue, Kogi, Kwara, Nassarawa, Niger, Plateau, FCT
6	Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo, Rivers
Source: PTF Sector Overview (March, 1999)	

TABLE 1 SUMMARY OF ROADS REHABILITATION PROJECTS		
Zone	Kilometers	Zonal Percentage
Zone 1	1,984.50	10.84%
Zone 2	977.9	5.34%
Zone 3	5,020	27.42%
Zone 4	4,299.44	23.48%
Zone 5	4,551.03	24.86%
Zone 6	1,478.03	8.07%
Total	18,310.9 km	
North	76%	
South	24%	
Source: PTF Situation	Report on PTF Programmes,	Vol. II (Dec, 1998)

TABLE 2 EDUCATION SECTOR – NATIONAL HEALTH AND EDUCATIONAL REHABILITATION PROGRAMME (NERP)								
	TERTIARY		SECONDARY		PRIMARY	VOCA- TIONAL	TOTAL NUMBER OF Contract Packages	
	Federal	State	Federal	State			No.	%
Zone	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Zone 2	4	-	-	-	-	-	39	4.4
Zone 3	13	12	14	8	126	-	336	34.82
Zone 4	13	-	3	22	32	14	212	21.97
Zone 5	13	9	4	-	37	17	139	14.40
Zone 6	5	-	12	14	27	1	188	19.48
Total	58	21	33	44	222	32	965	
North	6%	100%	64%	68%	88%	97%	71%	
South	33%	-	36%	32%	12%	3%	29%	
Source: PTF Situation Report on PTF Programmes, Vol. II (Dec. 1998)								

TABLE 3						
HEALTH SECTOR – NHERP						
NUMBER OF BENEFICIARY INSTITUTIONS						
	Teaching Hospitals	Specialist Hospitals	General/ State Hospitals	Health Clinics	TOTAL NUMBER OF CONTRACT PACKAGES	
					No.	%
Zone	-	-	-	-	-	0.00
Zone 2	2	3	-	-	31	6.53
Zone 3	5	9	19	47	263	55.37
Zone 4	1	-	-	-	2	0.42
Zone 5	2	3	19	13	116	24.42
Zone 6	3	2	30	-	63	13.26
Total	13	17	68	60	475	
North	62%	71%	56%	100%	80%	
South	38%	29%	44%	-	20%	

Source: PTF Situation Report on PTF Programmes, Vol. II (Dec. 1998)

TABLE 4		
SECTOR: FOOD SUPPLY SUMMARY		
ZONE	AMOUNT	ZONAL PERCENTAGE
Zone 1	1, 432,629,978.19	7.26%
Zone 2	792,359,989.20	4.02%
Zone 3	11,945,11,806.46	60.54%
Zone 4	2,322,171,532.81	11.14%
Zone 5	2,198,878,675.21	11.14%
Zone 6	1,039,920,544.49	5.27%
NATIONWIDE	19,731,080,510.00	
North	85.3%	
South	17%	

A survey of PTF's performance in all areas indicates that South-East Zone was placed a distant LAST - in the lowest rung of the ladder This deprivation is not only an unjust exclusion of one zone (South-East) from the share of federal resources, but also a cruel exercise in resources transfer.

To add insult to injury, the South-East States are now to share the burden of liquidation of PTF debt for development which was carried out in other Zones. On its liquidation at the advent of the democratic rule of President Obasanjo, PTF was said to be owing N25 billion (press report put the figure at N156.74 billion). The Imo State Governor, Chief Achike Udenwa, in an interview with **TELL** Magazine of September 6, 1999 stated that at their last Council of State meeting of June, 1999, it was decided **“that this money owed by the PTF would be deducted from the federation account, which means that all the States and Federal Government will pay this debt.”** What is most unjust is that the South-East Zone, which did not benefit from this project, will now share the liabilities of PTF equitably with the lion-share beneficiaries of the North-West, North-Central, North- East Zones!!!

So, what the preceding regimes perpetrated as an unjust exclusion of South- East Zone was turned by the successor regime into a cruel **RESOURCE- TRANSFER!**

The present democratic regime of President Obasanjo has set up an Interim Management Committee for the scrambled PTF. The Chairman, Malam H. Adamu, is from the North, five members of the Committee are from other geopolitical zones, but none from the South-East Zone. The Secretary, a civil servant, who is not a member of the Committee, is mischievously appointed from the South-East Zone. The whole scheme is a grand plan to exclude the South-East Zone, **Ndi Igbo**, from sharing in the benefits of this programme, which has benefited other zones, particularly the Northern zones. Thus, in accordance with the policy of continuity of marginalisation against **Ndi Igbo** by successive governments, the present successor government of President Obasanjo is perpetuating PTF's policy of Igbo exclusion through the Interim Management Policy.

6.4.3 Discriminatory Industrial Policy

The law of comparative advantage which should guide the Federal Government's industrial policy in overall development of the Federation and assignment of roles to the zones has never worked in favour of South East zone. In converse, the law is stood on its head whenever it threatens to work to favour the zone. A few examples will prove this point.

(a) Iron and Steel complex and Petrochemical industry

Igboland has so far been cheated out of at least two basic industries, which should ideally have been located in the zone, namely an iron and steel complex and the petrol-chemical industry. Studies have already shown that Igboland satisfies the raw material, transportation, market, and other requirements for the successful establishment of these industries. The artificial locations, in the North and the West, of these industries have been calculated to deny Igboland of the usual

linkage and other opportunities.

(b) Niger River Inland Port and Second Onitsha Bridge

The most potent catalyst which Nigeria can forge for a big industrial leap-forward is the release of the industrial potential of the Onitsha-Nnewi-Aba axis through the dredging of River Niger, construction of an inland port, and construction of the long proposed second bridge across the river. If the early establishment of the Cross River Export Zone and other facilities recommended by recent Eastern Economic Summit is made, Igboland will reassuringly be hooked once again into the national grill of Nigeria's economic development.

Studies have confirmed the wisdom of this vision. But the projects which have been on the drawing board seem to have received a quiet verdict of indefinite postponement.

**(c) Federal Boycott: There is no single Federal industry in the South East Zone!
It is a situation of silent boycott of this Zone.**

There is a depressingly deep cesspool of infrastructural destitution which has been brought about by the abysmally low level of federal provision and maintenance, since the end of the civil war, of roads, bridges, telecommunications, medical, educational and other facilities. Only lip service was paid to the post-war slogan of "reconciliation, rehabilitation, and reconstruction." **Thus, out of 91 national industries and business only 16 or a mere 17.7% were sited in the entire East and NONE in Igboland.** There has, of course, been an occasional token donations especially to educational institutions towards infrastructural provision/upkeep or an, equally, occasional adoption of an infrastructurally-deficient educational institution. These, however, pale into insignificance when put side by side with the massive infusion of federal funds into infrastructural projects located in the Yoruba and Hausa-Fulani Zones of the country.

(d) Double Standards

There has been a negligible federal concern for the major ecological problems of Igboland, erosion, as compared to the impressive desertification, locust and flood relief programmes sponsored by the Federal government in the North. The ban on wheat importation along with the pursuit of wheat production in the Northern states received the priority attention of the federation Government in contrast to virtual lack of interest in equivalent boost to the production of rice and cassava in the South East or the South generally.

6.4.4 Revenue Sharing

Manipulation of revenue -sharing arrangements is another of the means being used to economically disempower **Ndi Igbo.**

Between the Phillipson Commission Report (1946) and the Dina Committee Report (1968) the principle of derivation had always enjoyed pride of place among the criteria for revenue allocation in Nigeria. During this period agricultural produce was the major source of

revenue in the country; and it was very convenient for the West and the North, whose cocoa and groundnut were, respectively, bigger revenue-earners than the East's palm produce, to derivation. Since the late sixties, when petroleum, which was located in the East, showed signs of replacing agriculture as a major revenue source, the West and the North, in a dramatic volte-face, and to the embarrassment of the East, ensured the down-grading of the principle of derivation, to the point where, today, it has all but completely vanished as a criterion for revenue-sharing.

It is significant that in the same year that the war ended, the principle received its death-blow through Decree No. 13, 1970, which recognised only two equally weighted principles, namely population and equality of States. Of course, the principle of derivation has, since, been revived to appease the oil-producing areas (which now happen to be some of the minority States) but in a grossly attenuated form, and after the assurance of exclusion of **Ndi Igbo** through the excision of their oil-producing lands. Originally directed against the Igbo, prior to the dismemberment of the East in the name of State-creation, the distortion of the principle of derivation has unfortunately backfired into the current Ogoni debacle and, presently, into the Ijaw Youth problems.

The manipulation of revenue-sharing arrangements against the Igbo is clearly brought out in the following illustration. The contribution of the East to the national wealth rose steadily from the early fifties to well over 80% in 1972. Treinically, allocation to the East from the federal purse declined from 26.5% in 1954/55 to 23% in 1991; while, in contrast, the North's share rose from 34% in 1954/55 to 50% in 1991, even though its contribution to what revenue could be shared nose-dived! Again, in 1972, all the Eastern States were allocated 22.4% of what was shared, while the Northern States took the lion's share 55% of the national cake. The discriminatory manipulation of the principles of need and derivation has ensured that, at all times, the East in general, and the Igbo in particular, are down-trodden, and to that extent grossly marginalised.

The pattern of disempowerment and the cold indifference of the Federal Government to all pleas for remedy have planted in the minds of **Ndi Igbo** the conviction and fear that Nigeria has not yet drawn the final curtain on the civil war. Rather, Nigeria seems to be continuing the war by means of political, economic and social strangulation aimed at reducing **Ndi Igbo** to junior and unrecognised stake-holders of Nigeria - contributing their maximum to Nigeria's corporate development through virtual slave labour and reaping nought in return. The strongest reassurance which the Federal Government can give to **Ndi Igbo** is a complete reversal of the policy and practice of disempowerment along with redemptive correction of past injustices.

6.4.5 Prayers

We demand:

1. (a) Implementation by Federal Government of the report by a Commission of enquiry on the Kano religious riot of 1995, in which so many Igbos were killed and their properties were lost.

- (b) Implementation by Federal Government of all the other reports of enquiry of the various ethnic and religious riots which took place across the country in which Igbos were targeted from 1980-1999.
 - (c) Payment of N500,000 per person by the Federal Government of Nigeria, as compensation in respect of an estimated 5,000 Igbos killed in other ethnic and religious riots which took place across the country between 1980-1999.
 - (d) Payment of N100 million by the Katsina State Government to the affected **Ndi Igbo** in Katsina as compensation for losses and damages incurred by **Ndi Igbo** in the city of Katsina during the religious and ethnic riot of Friday, 20th August, 1999. A press release by the Commissioner of Police, Katsina State Police Command dated 23rd August, 1999, confirms these losses and damages (see attached report).
2. That employment in the public service should be fairly re-distributed by the Federal Government of Nigeria to reflect Federal Character and accord the Igbos their due share in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.
3. (a) The reversal of the discriminating siting of Federal Industries to the disadvantage of **Ndi Igbo** by:
- (i) siting of Steel Rolling Mill in the South-East Zone.
 - (ii) siting a Petrochemical Industry in the South-East.
- (b) The rehabilitation of the neglected industries in the South-East Zone such as the Science Equipment Manufacturing Centre at Akwuke in Enugu, and the Project Development Institute (PRODA) in Enugu.
- (c) The reversal of the discriminating siting of Federal Infrastructures to the disadvantage of **Ndi Igbo** by:
- (i) The construction of the second Niger Bridge across Otuocha.
 - (ii) The dredging of the River Niger, Imo River, and Oguta Lake.
 - (iii) Dualization of Onitsha-Calabar road;
Enugu-Abakaliki- Ogoja road;
Enugu-Cboloafor-Makurdi road.
- (d) Rehabilitation of all existing Federal roads in the South-East Zone.
4. The compensation for the discriminating PTF programme in Health and Educational sectors, Roads and Water projects, by providing these infrastructures in the South-East Zone to be commensurate with the provisions made in other geopolitical zones.
5. The release of an estimated sum of N3.8 million, by the Federal Government of

Nigeria, to the Onitsha Main Market Traders Association as repair assistance for the fire disaster of the Onitsha Main market, the Commercial knob of Nigeria, in 1997.

6. That the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria should take appropriate measures to make the necessary appointments in his government to apply equity and justice to **Ndi Igbo** as a marginalized and oppressed ethnic nationality, by doing the following:
 - (a) **National Security Council**
Appoint at least 2 persons from the South-East Zone into the Security Council in accordance with the 3rd schedule Part 1, Section 25, Paragraph (1) of the 1999 Constitution dealing with the composition of the National Security Council.
 - (b) **Armed Forces**
Appoint at least one officer of the South-East origin as Chief of one of the arms of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and General Officer Commanding (GOC's).
 - (c) **Nigerian Police Force**
Appoint at least one more Deputy Inspector-General of Police (DIG) and 2 more Assistant Inspector General (AIG) of South- East origin to satisfy the Constitutional requirements in Section 14 (3).
 - (d) That the Zonal structure of the Nigerian Police Force be changed so that the Police State Commands in the South-East Zone constitute their own reporting zone with its zonal office based in the South-East Zone.
 - (e) That the South-East be declared a militarily disadvantaged zone in terms of the Military personnel, Military hardware, installations and Military base and provisions made in these regard just like the educationally disadvantaged States. It is indefensible that thirty (30) years after the end of the Civil War, a geopolitical zone (the South-East Zone) is deficient in these areas.
7. The guarantee of Human Rights, Citizenship Rights and Residency Rights for **Ndi Igbo** in all parts of Nigeria.
8. The law on census should be amended to allow movement of Nigerians resident in States other than their States of origin to returning to their natal States for head-count during census. Alternatively, the full and effective enforcement of the citizenship and human rights of the Constitution, prayed for earlier, should also focus on equal treatment for ALL the Nigerian citizens living in a given State – indigenes or non-indigenes - in the areas of Federal Character dispensation, tax assessment, school enrolment and fees and other forms of state protection.

This will eliminate injustice and exploitation to which a diaspora people such as **Ndi Igbo** are exposed.

9. Consider a constitutional arrangement whereby a Nigerian who has lived in a State other than his State of birth can, after living for a stipulated period (say, 10 years), as a matter of choice, acquire an indigenous citizenship of that other State.

7. SUMMAPPY OF PRAYERS

7.1 Violations of the Human and Civil Rights of Ndi Igbo During the Immediate Pre-Civil War Period

We demand:

1. That the Federal Government of Nigeria render a public apology to **Ndi Igbo** for the genocidal pogroms of thousands of innocent unarmed Igbos killed in 1966. General Yakubu Gowon had in September, 1992, taken a lead in this direction on a personal capacity to purge his conscience. (Source: **Champion** Newspaper 26/10/99, pp. 30-31).
2. The individual perpetrators of the pogroms should be tried before court of law.
3. Payment of N500,000 per person by the Federal Government of Nigeria, as compensation on behalf of the civil populace of **Ndi Igbo** for:
 - (a) Estimated 50,000 **Ndi Igbo** kiled in the pogroms in the North;
 - (b) Estimated 10,000 **Ndi Igbo** who were killed in other parts of Nigeria in 1966-1067, with the Federal Government's acquiesance
4. Payment of N1,000,000 per person by the Federal Government of Nigeria, as compensation on behalf of the civil populace of **Ndi Igbo** for:
 - (a) Estimated 30,000 **Ndi Igbo** who were maimed in the pogroms of 1966-67, in the North and other parts of Nigeria.
 - (b) Estimated 2,000,000 **Ndi Igbo** who were psychologically traumatized in the pogroms of 1966-1967 in the North and other parts of Nigeria.
5. Payment of N500,000 per person by the Federal Government of Nigeria on behalf of 2,000,000 Igbo refugees in lieu of Rehabilitation and resettlement.
6. Payment of N3.6 billion as compensation for properties and investments owned by **Ndi Igbo** in the north (These include Hotels, Churches, Schools, Shops, Cars, Lorries, Tippers, Buses, Homes) which were destroyed and looted.
7. Payment of
 - (a) N1,000,000 as per a person as compensation on behalf of Igbo women for 50,000 severely raped during the period of the pogrom.
 - (b) N500000 as per a person to 50,000 assaulted and maimed.

7.2 Violations of the Human and Civil Rights of Ndi Igbo During the Civil War

8. The perpetrators of the war crimes be tried before the court of law.
9. Payment of accumulated salaries and allowances due from May, 1966 to 1970, as well as N100,000 per person, as compensation by the Federal Government of Nigeria for unjustified inconveniences suffered by all Igbo who were forcibly displaced and lost their jobs.
10. Payment of N500 billion as compensation for investments and businesses owned by **Ndi Igbo** in various parts of Igboland from 1967-70, including Enugu Market, Onitsha Market, Aba Market, Oguta Market, Orlu Market, Owerri Market, Umuahia Market, Nnewi Market, Afikpo Market, Otuocha Market, Abakaliki and Okigwe Markets, Industries, Factories and Corporate businesses, by the Federal Government of Nigeria.
11. Construction of at least fifteen (15) Secondary Schools, twenty (20) Primary Schools, one (1) Hospital, four (4) Markets, one (1) Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN)-recognised Church, in each of the one hundred and five (105) Local Government Areas of **Ndi Igbo** and Igbo-Speaking areas, by the Federal Government of Nigeria, as reparation for the bombing of these targets.
12. Payment of N500,000 for each of the estimated 600,000 Igbo civilians killed, from 1967-1970, as compensation for targetting unarmed civilians who were not involved with war.
13. Payment of N500,000 per child as compensation on behalf of an estimated 900,000 Igbo children who died as a result of malnourishment due to the economic blockage against the Biafrans, by the Federal Government of Nigeria.
14. Payment of N1,000,000 per child as compensation, on behalf of an estimated 2,000,000 Igbo children who suffered permanent intellectual retardation due to malnourishment, from 1967-1970, as a result of economic blockage against Biafra, by the Federal Government of Nigeria.
15. A public apology by the Federal Government of Nigeria for the unique and gruesome massacre of over seven hundred (700) unsuspecting **Ndi Igbo** of Asaba origin in Asaba, who were lured to a reception and massacred on the 7th of October, 1968, by the Nigerian soldiers.
16.
 - (a) Payment of N1,000,000 per person by the Federal Government of Nigeria as compensation on behalf of an estimated three hundred (300) **Ndi Igbo** maimed in Asaba.
 - (b) Payment of N500,000 per person by the Federal Government of Nigeria in respect of 700 Asaba indigenes killed on the 7th of October, 1967.

17. Payment of N500,000 per person by the Federal Government of Nigeria as compensation in respect of an estimated eight hundred (800) Igbo civilians killed by Nigerian soldiers in other parts of Mid-West State on 26th November, 1968.
18. Allocation of a special grant of N500,000,000 for immediate completion of reconstruction of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka and its entire library destroyed during the civil war.
19. Payment of N1,000,000 per person by Federal Government of Nigeria as compensation in respect of an estimated 500,000 Igbo women raped and savaged during the war.

7.3 Violation of the Human and Civil Rights Of Ndi Igbo in the Immediate Post-war Era

20. Payment of N500,000 per person by the Federal Government of Nigeria as compensation on behalf of 10,000 Igbo civilians and surrendered Biafran soldiers who were killed within three months after the official declaration of the end of the war on 15th January, 1970.
21. A restoration of all bank accounts of the Igbo, with accrued interest, who had been operating account within Biafra, as at 29th May, 1967, by the Federal Government of Nigeria.
22. Payment of an average of N300,000 per adult Igbo, by the Federal Government of Nigeria, as compensation to 2.5 million adult war survivors, for gross under-payment of a flat rate of £20 to each adult Igbo in 1970, irrespective of their war savings between 29th May, 1967 – 15th January, 1970.
23. Payment of N900 billion as compensation to **Ndi Igbo**, by the Federal Government of Nigeria, for the willful damage to their purchasing power, as a result of the flat rate £20 payment in 1970, which gravely damaged their ability to compete fairly with other Nigerians when the Enterprises Promotion Decree of 1974, indigenized and privatized assets.
24. Payment of accumulated salaries and allowances due from 15th January, 1970 to date, to all public officers; reinstatement of displaced Igbo public officers; and formal disengagement of those not re-instated (including the payment of their retirement benefits) as the case may be, by the Federal Government of Nigeria.
25. Payment of accumulated salaries and allowances due from 15th January, 1970 to date, to all Igbo Military, Police and other paramilitary officers who were displaced as a result of the pogroms; re- instatement or formal disengagement of those not re-instated (including the payment of their retirement benefits) as the case may be, by the Federal Government of Nigeria.

26. A restoration of all Igbo land carved into Rivers State and Akwa Ibom State, by re-delineation of State boundaries, and to incorporate into the appropriate Igbo States all Igbo towns exercised from such States during the creation of States.
27. For equity and balance, the creation by the Federal Government of at least one more State and at least additional 50 Local Government Areas, in equal in status with the earlier ones created by the Federal Government in the South-East Zone.
28. The repossession by **Ndi Igbo** of their properties which were compulsorily acquired in contradiction of the provisions of the 1963 Constitution, Section 31 (1), No. 20, which was in operation at that time, by the Rivers State Government, Cross River State Government, and the Federal Government of Nigeria after the Civil War.
29. Payment of rentable values including the interests thereof from 1970 until the repossession of these properties by their rightful owners by the appropriate Governments and other parties for properties compulsorily acquired.
30. Payment of N500,000 per child by Federal Government of Nigeria in respect of an estimated 250,000 Igbo children who died immediately after the war as a result of the continuation of the starvation policy.

7.4 Violations of the Human and Civil Rights of Ndi Igbo in the later Post-war Era

31. (a) Implementation of the report by a Commission of enquiry on the Kano religious riot of 1995, in which so many Igbos were killed and their properties were lost.
- (b) Implementation of all the other reports of enquiry of the various ethnic and religious riots which took place across the country in which Igbos were targeted from 1980-1999.
- (c) Payment of N500,000 per person by the Federal Government of Nigeria, as compensation in respect of an estimated 5,000 Igbos killed in other ethnic and religious riots which took place across the country between 1980-1999.
- (d) Payment of N100 million by the Katsina State Government to the affected **Ndi Igbo** in Katsina as compensation for losses and damages incurred by **Ndi Igbo** in the city of Katsina during the religious and ethnic riot of Friday, 20th August, 1999. A press release by the Commissioner of Police, Katsina State Police Command dated 23rd August, 1999, confirms these losses and damages, see attached report.

32. That employment in the public service should be fairly re-distributed by the Federal Government of Nigeria to reflect Federal Character and accord the Igbos their due share in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.
33. (a) The reversal of the discriminating siting of Federal Industries to the disadvantage of **Ndi Igbo** by:
- (i) siting of Steel Rolling Mill in the South-East Zone.
 - (ii) siting a Petrochemical Industry in the South-East.
- (b) The rehabilitation of the neglected industries in the South-East Zone such as the Science Equipment Manufacturing Centre at Akwuke in Enugu, and the Project Development Institute (PRODA) in Enugu.
- (c) The reversal of the discriminating siting of Federal Infrastructures to the disadvantage of Ndi-Igbo by:
- (i) The construction of the second Niger Bridge across Otuocha.
 - (ii) The dredging of the River Niger, Imo River, and Oguta Lake.
 - (iii) Dualization of Onitsha-Calabar road;
Enugu-Abakaliki- Ogoja road;
Enugu-Oboloafor-Makurdi road.
- (d) Rehabilitation of all existing Federal roads in the South-East Zone.
34. The compensation for the discriminating PTF programme in Health and Educational sectors, Roads and Water projects, by providing these infrastructures in the South-East Zone to be commensurate with the provisions made in other geopolitical zones.
35. The release of an estimated sum of 113.8 million, by the Federal Government of Nigeria, to the Onitsha Main Market Traders Association as repair assistance for the fire disaster of the Onitsha Main Market, the commercial knob of Nigeria, in 1997.
36. That the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria should take appropriate measures to make the necessary appointments in his government to apply equity and justice to **Ndi Igbo** as a marginalized and oppressed ethnic nationality, by doing the following:
- (a) **National Security Council**
Appoint at least 2 persons from the South-East Zone into the Security Council in accordance with the 3rd schedule Part 1, Section 25, Paragraph (1) of the 1999 Constitution dealing with the composition of the National Security Council.
 - (b) **Armed Forces**

Appoint at least one officer of the South-East origin as Chief of one of the arms of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and General Officer Commanding (GOC's).

(c) **Nigerian Police Force**

Appoint at least one more Deputy Inspector-General of Police (DIG) and 2 more Assistant Inspector General (AIG) of South- East origin to satisfy the Constitutional requirements in Section 14 (3).

(d) That the Zonal structure of the Nigerian Police Force be changed so that the Police State Commands in the South-East Zone constitute their own reporting zone with its zonal office based in the South-East Zone.

(e) That the South-East be declared a Military disadvantaged zone in terms of the Military personnel, Military hardware, installations and Military base and provisions made in these regard just like the educationally disadvantaged States. It is indefensible that thirty (30) years after the end of the Civil War, a geopolitical zone (the South-East Zone) is deficient in these areas.

37. The guarantee of Human Rights, Citizenship Rights and Residency Rights for **Ndi Igbo** in all parts of Nigeria, ensure protection to the lives and properties.

38. The law on census should be amended to allow movement of Nigerians resident in States other than their States of origin to return to their natal States for head-count during census. Alternatively, the full and effective enforcement of the citizenship and human rights of, the Constitution, prayed for earlier, should also focus on equal and the same treatment for ALL the Nigerian citizens living in a given State - indigenes or non-indigenes - in the areas of Federal Character dispensation, tax assessment, school enrolment and fees and other forms of state protection.

This will remove the injustice and exploitation to which a diaspora people such as **Ndi Igbo** are exposed.

39. The Federal Government considers arrangement where by a Nigerian who has lived in a State other than his State of origin can, after living for a stipulated period (say 10 years) as a matter of choice, acquire an indigenous citizenship of that other State.

7.5 **Grand Total Monetary Compensation**

The following Grand total Monetary Compensation does not include and is without prejudice to numbers 9, 11, 21, 24, 25, 29, 31 (a) and (b), and 34:

S/N	Description of Monetary Compensation	Total Amount (N)
3(a)	N500,000 x 50,000 Pogrom casualties	25,000,000,000
3(b)	N500,000 x 10,000 Pogrom casualties	5,000,000,000
4(a)	N1,000,000 x 30,000 Pogrom maimed	30,000,000,000
4(b)	N1,000,000 x 2,000,000 Pogrom trauma	2,000,000,000,000
5	N500,000 x 2,000,000 Refugees in lieu of rehabilitation and settlement	1,000,000,000,000
6	Properties and investments destroyed and lost in the North during the pogrom	3,600,000,000
7(a)	N1,000,000 x 50,000 Women raped in 1966	50,000,000,000
7(b)	N500,000 x 50,000 Assaulted and maimed in 1966	25,000,000,000
10	For investments and businesses destroyed in Igboland in 1967-70	500,000,000,000
12	N500,000 x 600,000 for Unarmed civilians killed between 1967-70	300,000,000,000
13	N500,000 x 900,000 Children due to malnourishment as a result of blockage	450,000,000,000
14	N1,000,000 x 2,000,000 for Intellectually retarded children due to malnourishment from 1967-70	21,000,000,000,000
16(a)	N1,000,000 x 30 Maimed at Asaba	300,000,000
16(b)	N500,000 x 700 Killed in Asaba in 1968	350,000,000
17	N500,000 x 8,000 Killed in other parts of the Mid-West in 1967	41,000,000,000
18	Special grant for the reconstruction of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka (UNN)	500,000,000
19	N1,000,000 x 500,000 Women raped and savaged during the war	500,000,000,000

20	N50,000 x 10,000 Civilians and soldiers killed on surrender after the war	5,000,000,000
22	N300,000 x 2,500,000 for Adult survivor underpayment for war savings	750,000,000,000
23	For Willful damage to the purchasing power of Ndi Igbo	900,000,000,000
30	N500,000 X 25,000 Igbo children who. died as a result of malnutrition, due to the starvation policy	125,000,000,000
31(c)	N500,000 x 5,000 Killed in ethnic and religious riots across the country, 1980-1999	2,500,000,000
31(d)	For Losses and damages during the religious and ethnic riot in Katsina on 20th August, 1999	100,000,000
35	Repair assistance for the fire disaster of the Onitsha Main Market in 1997	3,800,000,000
	GRAND TOTAL	N8,680,150,000,000

8. CONCLUSION

History is replete with the lessons that marginalisation of people is, in the final analysis, UNSUSTAINABLE; for marginalisation, if allowed to foster, is capable of eventually unleashing explosive reactions. Slavery could not endure beyond a certain point. The vast colonial empires of the European powers had had to be liquidated. The problems of the minorities in the United States of America are eventually being addressed through “affirmative action.” The Jewish holocaust continues to stain the presence of German race and haunt her future. Ian Smith’s Rhodesia yielded place to present-day Zimbabwe. Apartheid collapsed under the weight of suppressed tensions.

Marginalisation of **Ndi Igbo**, if allowed to foster in Nigeria, will resolve itself autonomously in the fullness of time, but not without untold bloodshed and social disruption. For ignoring these lessons of history, Yugoslavia, Somalia, Sudan and Burundi are, today, paying dearly with the blood of their citizens. The prospect of such a catastrophe is not far fetched for a country like Nigeria whose volatility has already been and underscored by a civil war.

Signed:

HRH IGWE ENGR. A. C. OKOYE
Chairman, Council of Elders

PROF. B. O. NWABUEZE
Secretary-General

EZEGO DR. A. EZIKPE

COMRADE UCHE CHUKWUMERIJE

DR. ALEX EKWUEME

DR. P. C. EZIFE

DP.OGBONNAYA ONU

CHIEF CHRIS NWANKWO

CHIEF C. C. ONOH

SENATOR ISIAH ANI

DR. SYLVESTER U. UGOH

CHIEF DR. E. C. IWUANYANWU

CHIEF P. O. C. OZIEH

DR.] .B. AZINGE

CHIEF SIR EMMANUEL AGUMA

For And On Behalf Of OHA-NA-EZE NDI IGBO

TABLE 1
POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN NIGERIA BY REGIONS AND ETHNIC GROUPS: 1952/53-1991

		1952/53		1963		1991	
	NIGERIA	30.42	100	55.67	100	88.51	100
	EASTERN NIGERIA	7.22	23.73	12.39	22.26	21.80	24.63
*	IGBOS IN EASTERN NIGERIA	5.22	17.16	8.30	14.91	11.93	13.48
	NON-IGBOS IN EASTERN NIGERIA	2.0	6.57	4.09	25.31	9.87	11.15
**	WESTERN NIGERIA (YORUBAS)	4.87	16.00	10.93	19.63	17.60	19.88
	NORTHERN NIGERIA	16.84	55.36	29.81	53.55	47.4	53.55
***	MID-WESTERN NIGERIA	1.49	4.89	2.50	4.49	4.80	15.42

* For 1991, figure includes the eight Igbo speaking Local Government Areas in Rivers State

** For 1952/53, 1963 and 1991, figures include Lagos State

*** For 1991, figure represents Edo State and Delta States

Source: Census News, A House Magazine of the National Population Commission, September 1992, Vol. 3, No. 1.

TABLE 2*
NIGERIA'S HEADS OF STATE/GOVERNMENT (ETHNIC TENURE)
OCT 1, 1960 – OCT 1, 1998

S/N	Name	Title	Period	Ethnicity	Ethnic Tenure	% of Whole Tenure
1.	General Yakubu Gowon	Head of State	29.7.66 - 29.7.75	ANGAS	9 years	23
2.	General Ibrahim Babangida	Head of State	28.8.85 - 26.8.93	GWARI	8 years	21
3.	General Sani Abacha	Head of State	17.11.93 - 8.6.98	KANURI	5 yrs 5 mths 8 days	16
4.	Alh. Abubakar Tafawa Balewa	Prime Minister	1.10.60 - 15.1.66	JARAWA	5 yrs 2 mths 15 days	13
5.	Alh. Shehu Shagari	President	1.10.79 - 31.12.93	FULANI	4 yrs 3 mths	12
6.	Maj. Gen. Muhammadu Buhari	Head of State	31.12.83 - 27.8.85	FULANI	4 yrs 3 mths	12
7.	General Olusegun Obasanjo	Head of State	13.2.76 - 30.9.79	YORUBA	3 yrs 4 mths 9 days	10
8.	Chief Ernest Shonekan	Head of State	26.8.93 - 17.11.93	YORUBA	3 yrs 4 mths 9 days	10
9.	General Olusegun Obasanjo	Exe. President	29.5.99 - Date	YORUBA	3 yrs 4 mths 9 days	10
10.	Gen. Abdusalami Abubakar	Head of State	8.6.93 - 29.5.99	HAUSA	1 yr 2 mths 13 days	5
11.	Gen. Murtala Mohammed	Head of State	29.7.75 - 13.2.76	HAUSA	1 yr 2 mths 13 days	5
12.	Maj-Gen. J. T. U. Aguiyi Ironsi	Head of State	16.1.66 - 29.7.66	IBO	6 mths 13 days	1

* This table is of executive heads of government. It excludes a ceremonial head of state like Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe.

TABLE 2b
NIGERIA'S HEADS OF STATE/GOVERNMENT (ETHNIC & GEOGRAPHICAL SPREAD)
OCT 1, 1960 – OCT 1, 1998

S/N	Name	Title	Period	Ethnicity	Zone	Region
1.	DR. NNAMDI AZIKIWE	PRESIDENT	1.10.60 - 15.1.66	IBO	S.E.	EAST
2.	ALH. ABUBAKAR TAFAWA BALEWA	PRIME MINISTER	1.10.60 - 15.1.66	JARAWA	N.E.	NORTH
3.	MAJ-GEN. J. T. U. AGUIYI IRONSI	HEAD OF STATE	16.1.66 - 29.7.66	IBO	S.E.	EAST
4.	GEN YAKUBU GOWON	HEAD OF STATE	29.7.66 - 29.7.75	ANGAS	N.C.	NORTH
5.	GEN. MURUTALA MOHAMMED	HEAD OF STATE	29.7.75 - 13.2.76	HAUSA	N.W.	NORTH
6.	GEN. OLUSEGUN OBASANJO	HEAD OF STATE	13.2.76 - 30.9.79	YORUBA	S.W.	WEST
7.	ALH. SHEHU SHAGARI	PRESIDENT	1.10.79 - 31.12.93	FULANI	N.W.	NORTH
8.	MAJ-GEN. MUHAMMADU BUHARI	HEAD OF STATE	31.12.83 - 27.8.85	FULANI	N.W.	NORTH
9.	GEN. IBRAHIM BABANGIDA	PRESIDENT	28.8.85 - 26.8.93	GWARI	N.C.	NORTH
10.	CHIEF ERNEST SHONEKAN	HEAD OF STATE	26.8.93 - 17.11.93	YORUBA	S.W.	WEST
11.	GEN. SANI ABACHA	HEAD OF STATE	17.11.93 - 8.6.98	KANURI	N.W.	NORTH
12.	GEN. ABDUSALAMI ABUBAKAR	HEAD OF STATE	8.6.93 - 29.5.99	HAUSA	N.C.	NORTH
13.	GEN. OLUSEGUN OBASANJO	EXECUTIVE PRESIDENT	29.5.99 - Date	YORUBA	S.W.	WEST

TABLE 3
GEOPOLITICAL DISTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL POWER IN NIGERIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

S/No	Key Public Officers in Areas	Total	East	E/M (Minority)	North	N/M (Minority)	West	W/M (Minority)
1.	Heads of Govt. (1960-99)	12	1 % (8.3)	0 % (0)	5 % (41.6)	3 % (25)	2 % (16.7)	0 % (0)
2.	Ministers (1960-62)	25	5 % (20)	1 % (4)	10 % (40)	1 % (4)	6 % (24)	2 % (8)
3.	Perm. Sec. (1960-1962)	20	3 % (15)	1 % (5)	2 % (10)	6 % (10)	6 % (30)	6 % (30)
4.	Parliamentary Sec. (1960-62)	16	4 % (25)	2 % (12.5)	5 % (12.5)	2 % (12.15)	2 % (12.15)	1 % (6.25)
5.	Shagari's Regime	42	4 % (9.52)	5 % (11.9)	16 % (38.1)	6 % (14.29)	9 % (21.42)	2 % (6.25)
6.	Perm. Sec. (Ironsi)	21	2 % (9.5)	0 % (0)	6 % (28.6)	2 % (9.5)	6 % (28.6)	5 % (23.8)
7.	SMC (Ironsi)	6	1 % (16.7)	0 % (0)	2 % (33.3)	1 % (16.7)	2 % (33.3)	0 % (0)
8.	SMC (Gowon)	5	0 % (0)	0 % (0)	1 % (20)	2 % (40)	1 % (20)	1 % (20)
9.	Ministers (Gowon)	12	1 % (8.3)	2 % (16.7)	4 % (33.3)	1 % (8.3)	4 % (33.3)	1 % (8.3)
10.	SMC (Mohammed)	22	1 % (4.5)	0 % (0)	9 % (41)	4 % (18.2)	7 % (31.8)	1 % (4.5)
11.	Governors (Mohammed)	12	0 % (0)	0 % (0)	5 % (41.3)	2 % (16.7)	2 % (16.7)	3 % (25)
12.	Governors (03/02/76)	19	1 % (5.26)	1 % (5.26)	7 % (36.85)	4 % (21.05)	4 % (21.05)	2 % (10.53)
13.	Ministers (03/02/76)	25	2 % (8)	4 % (16)	6 % (24)	5 % (20)	7 % (28)	1 % (4)
14.	Military Ads (24/02/76)	23	1 % (5.26)	0 % (0)	6 % (31.58)	4 % (21.05)	5 % (26.32)	3 % (15.19)
15.	Ministers (24/07/78)	20	2 % (10)	2 % (10)	5 % (25)	2 % (10)	6 % (30)	3 % (15)
16.	SMC (01/01/84)	18	1 % (5.56)	2 % (11.11)	6 % (33.33)	5 % (27.78)	2 % (11.11)	2 % (11.11)
17.	Governors (01/01/84)	19	2 % (10.53)	1 % (5.58)	6 % (31.59)	3 % (20.05)	5 % (26.32)	1 % (5.26)
18.	Ministers (01/01/84)	18	2 % (11.11)	2 % (11.11)	8 % (44.44)	2 % (11.11)	1 % (5.56)	3 % (16.67)
19.	AFRC (27/09/85)	30	1 % (3.33)	3 % (10)	7 % (23.38)	8 % (26.67)	8 % (26.67)	3 % (10)
20.	Governors (02/09/85)	19	2 % (10.53)	3 % (10)	7 % (23.38)	8 % (26.27)	8 % (26.27)	3 % (10)
21.	Governors (02/09/85)	19	2 % (10.53)	1 % (5.25)	5 % (26.23)	5 % (26.32)	4 % (21.05)	2 % (10.53)

S/No	Key Public Officers in Areas	Total	East	E/M (Minority)	North	N/M (Minority)	West	W/M (Minority)
1.	Heads of Govt. (1960-99)	12	1 % (8.3)	0 % (0)	5 % (41.6)	3 % (25)	2 % (16.7)	0 % (0)
22.	Ministers (10/09/85)	22	2 % (9.09)	2 % (9.09)	6 % (27.27)	6 % (27.27)	4 % (18.19)	2 % (9.09)
23.	Governors (19/12/87)	5	1 % (20)	0 % (0)	3 % (60)	0 % (0)	1 % (20)	0 % (0)
24.	Governors (21/07/88)	14	0 % (0)	0 % (0)	4 % (28.57)	4 % (28.57)	5 % (35.72)	1 % (7.14)
25.	Ministers	16	2 % (12.5)	2 % (12.5)	6 % (37.5)	3 % (18.75)	2 % (12.5)	1 % (5.25)
26.	AFRC (29/03/89)	11	1 % (9.09)	0 % (0)	4 % (36.36)	4 % (36.36)	1 % (9.09)	1 % (9.09)
27.	Governors (29/03/89)	5	0 % (0)	0 % (0)	3 % (60)	2 % (40)	0 % (0)	0 % (0)
28.	Ministers (08/01/90)	18	2 % (11.11)	2 % (11.11)	2 % (11.11)	7 % (38.89)	2 % (11.11)	3 % (16.67)
29.	Ministers (30/01/90)	10	1 % (10)	0 % (0)	6 % (60)	2 % (20)	1 % (10)	0 % (0)
30.	Governors (30/01/90)	21	2 % (9.52)	1 % (4.76)	7 % (33.33)	7 % (33.33)	3 % (14.29)	1 % (4.76)
31.	Mil. Ads. for new states (27/08/91)	9	1 % (11.11)	0 % (0)	3 % (33.33)	1 % (11.11)	2 % (22.22)	2 % (22.22)
32.	Ministers (13/01/92)	23	4 % (17.41)	1 % (4.35)	11 % (47.82)	1 % (4.35)	5 % (21.73)	1 % (4.35)
33.	AFRC (13/01/92)	18	1 % (5.55)	0 % (0)	5 % (27.78)	6 % (33.33)	3 % (16.67)	3 % (16.67)
34.	National Def. & Sec. Council (04/01/93)	14	1 % (7.14)	1 % (7.14)	3 % (21.43)	5 % (35.72)	3 % (21.43)	1 % (7.14)
35.	Transitional Council	30	4 % (13.33)	2 % (6.67)	14 % (46.67)	3 % (10)	4 % (13.33)	3 % (10)
36.	ING	32	4 % (13.33)	2 % (6.67)	14 % (46.67)	3 % (10)	4 % (13.33)	3 % (10)
37.	PRC (Nov 1993) Abacha	11	1 % (9.09)	0 % (0)	4 % (36.36)	2 % (18.18)	3 % (27.27)	1 % (9.09)
38.	Ministers (Dec. '93) Abacha	30	4 % (13.33)	3 % (10)	11 % (36.67)	5 % (16.67)	5 % (16.67)	2 % (6.67)
39.	Mil. Ad. (Dec. '93) Abacha	30	5 % (13.33)	3 % (10)	8 % (26.67)	8 % (26.67)	5 % (16.67)	2 % (6.67)
40.	Ministers (Mar. '95) Abacha	36	5 % (13.5)	3 % (8.33)	14 % (38.89)	4 % (11.11)	7 % (19.44)	3 % (8.33)

* AFRC – Armed Forces Ruling Council
** PRC – Provisional Ruling Council
*** Mil. Ad. – Military Administrator

FIGURE 1

**PTF - SUMMARY OF ROAD
REHABILITATION PROJECTS
[KILOMETERS OF ROADS]
(UP TO 1998)**

KILOMETERS OF ROADS

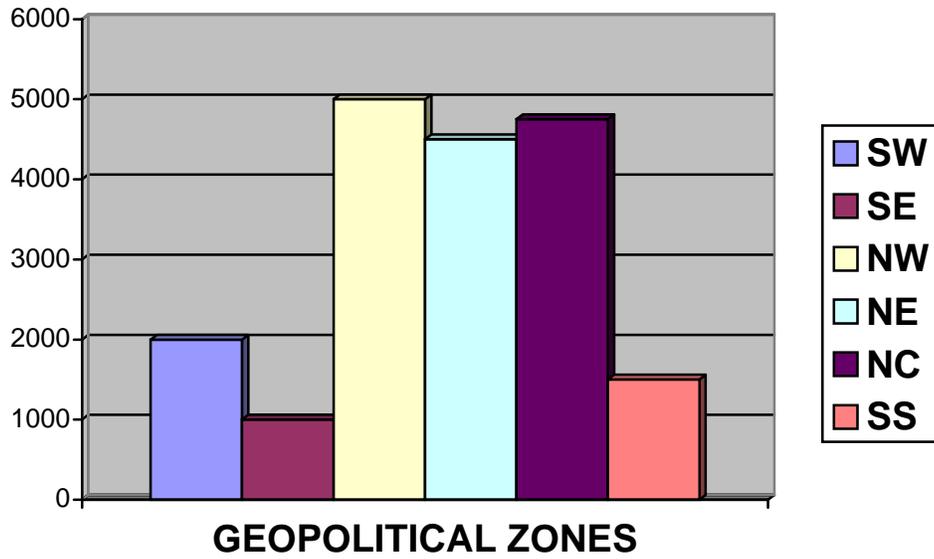


FIGURE 2

**PTF – FOOD SUPPLY SUMMARY
[AMOUNT SPENT IN NAIRA]
(UP TO 1998)**

NAIRA (BILLIONS)

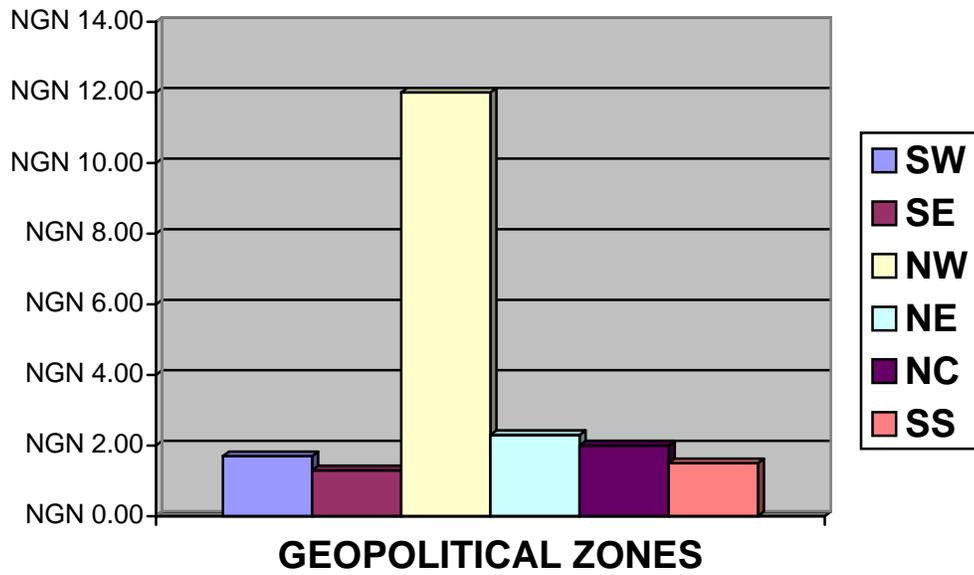


FIGURE 3

**PTF – NATIONAL HEALTH AND EDUCATIONAL
REHABILITATION PROGRAMME [NHERP]
EDUCATION SECTOR
[NO. OF SCHOOLS REHABILITATION]
(UP TO 1998)**

SCHOOLS REHABILITATED

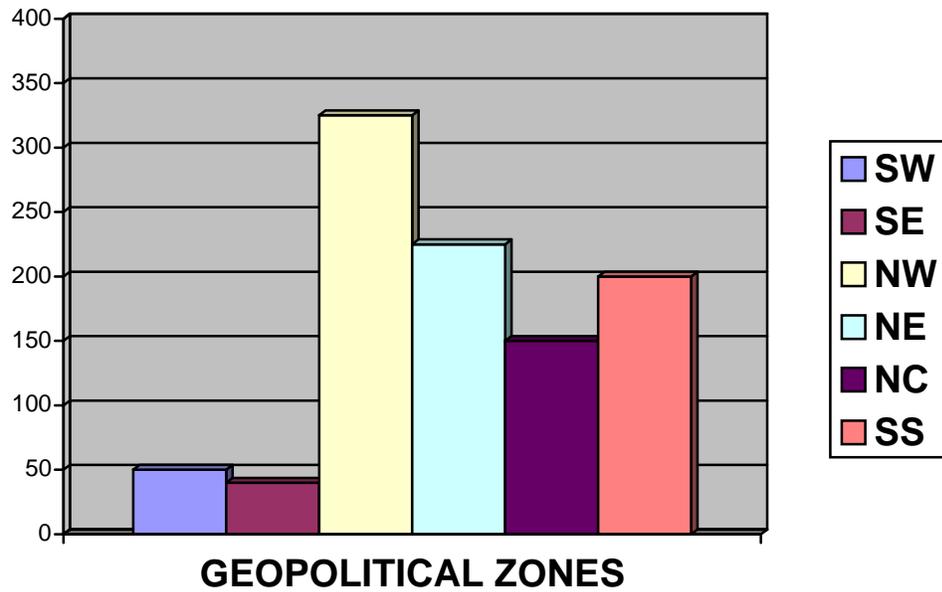


FIGURE 4

**PTF – NATIONAL HEALTH AND EDUCATIONAL
REHABILITATION PROGRAMME [NHERP]
EDUCATION SECTOR
[NO. OF HEALTH REHABILITATION]
(UP TO 1998)**

HEALTH REHABILITATED

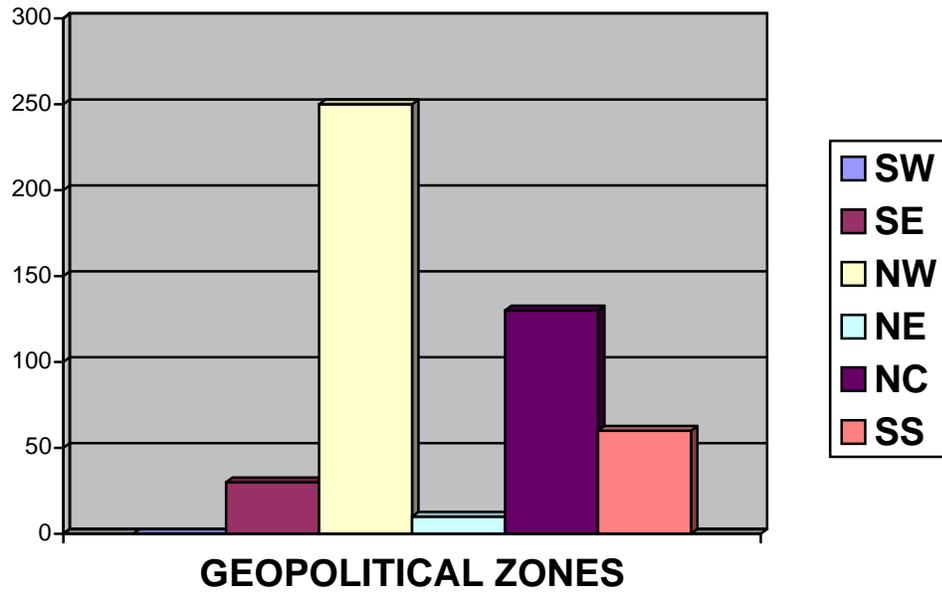
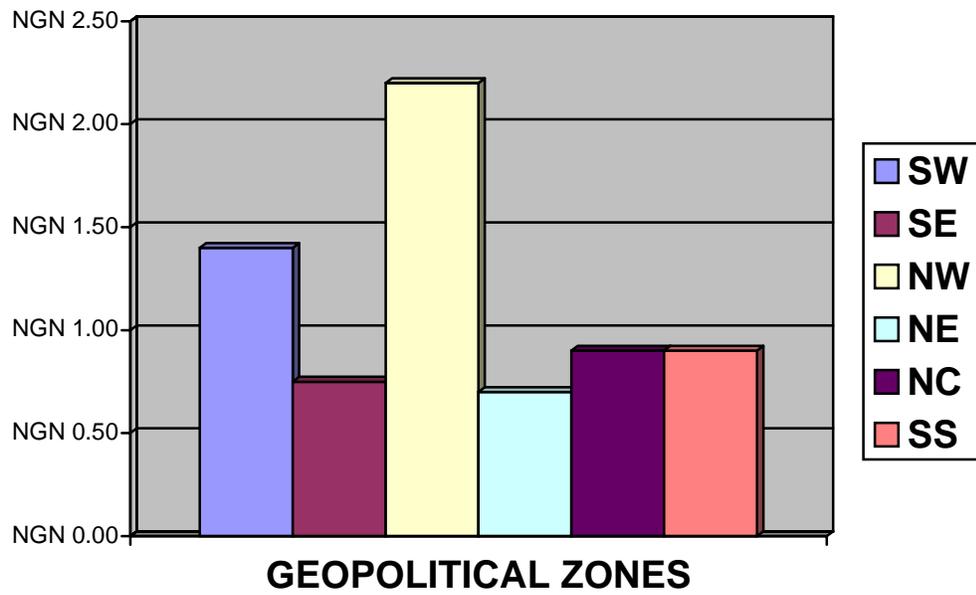


FIGURE 5

**PTF – EDUCATIONAL AMOUNT
[AMOUNT SPEND IN NAIRA]
(UP TO 1998)**

NAIRA (BILLIONS)



PRESS RELEASE

1. The State Command and members of the general public in Katsina are aware of the apparent threat to law and order of law-abiding citizens of the State on Friday, 20th August 1999, through the wanton destruction of properties in Katsina Metropolis.
2. It could be recalled that Katsina Local Government enacted a Bye-law in June 1999 prohibiting sale of alcohol and prostitution in Katsina Local Government Area. Hoteliers who are affected by this Bye-law took the Local Government Council to Court challenging their constitutional powers to enact such law. The case after several adjournments has been adjourned to October 14th, 1999 for hearing at Katsina High Court 3.
3. Under the present political dispensation and in our democratic setting the Court alone has the authority to clarify all issues dealing with the law and its interpretations. Every reasonable law abiding citizen are expected to await the out come of the case in Court.
4. Unfortunately, a group of miscreants and misguided individuals decided to take the laws into their hands by looting and burning Hotels and peoples properties on Friday, 20th August, 1999. My assessment of the destruction on arrival from special duty to Kano on Saturday revealed in all:
 - (i) Seven Hotels namely:
 - (a) Peoples Palace Hotel
 - (b) Old Peoples Palace Hotel
 - (c) Capital Hotel
 - (d) Liberty Hotel
 - (e) Havana Hotel
 - (f) Goma Guest Inn Accommodation and Lodging.
 - (g) Olympia Hotel and Restaurant.
 - (h) New City Hotel, Restaurant and Lodging
 - (ii) Celestial Church of Christ.
 - (iii) Several individual properties and two residential houses were looted and burnt.
5. The State Command has arrested Seventy-three (73) suspects including one Babalawo Ali who led the group of miscreants to wretch havoc by looting and burning people's properties. Others associated with this act of law-less-ness are being sought and will be brought to justice. All those arrested will soon appear in Court.
6. Members of the public and all law-abiding citizens in this State are assured of their safety and security. The incident of Friday, 20th August, 1999 has no religious or ethnic under

tones because all major religion abhor violence and looting of others properties. Every well-meaning citizen of the State condemns this lawlessness which cannot be condoned under this dispensation. While assuring every one of the Command's preparedness to protect lives and properties in the State, parents and guidance are advised to warn their children and wards from being lured and used by any misguided individual or groups who have no fear of Allah under any guise.

7. The Command has made adequate arrangement to deal with ruthlessly with any threat to law and order in the State.
8. I also wish to inform the general public of the arrest of some dealers of hard drugs suspected to be Indian hemp on Sunday, 22nd August, 1999. Eighteen Bags of substance suspected to be Indian Hem being conveyed to Jibia in a Peugeot 505 Station Wagon has been recovered and one Hassan Salisu arrested. The case will be transferred to the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) immediately for investigation and prosecution.
9. Once more I wish to seize this opportunity to appeal for useful information on crime and on any issue that will threaten law and order and security of the peace loving people of this State.

Thank you.

(OSARETIN BAKARE) CP.
COMMISIONER OF POLICE
KATSINA STATE COMMAND.

23rd August, 1999.

AFFIDAVIT

I, John Samuel Akpaidick of Utu Abak in Abak Division of Annang Province, aged 29 years and a teacher by profession do hereby solemnly and sincerely declare as follows:

1. That I had been a Refugee among others at Urua Inyang since April, 1968. The population of the Refugees at Orua Inyang was increasing every day and by the end of September, it had risen to about 20, 2000. These were made up of the Annangs, Ibibios, the Ogonis and the Ndokkis.
2. That on the 4th of October, 1968, at about Eleven O'clock in the morning the Urua Inyang market was already thickly peopled, others were still going and returning from the market. The aged refugees were sunning themselves outside and children were playing about while I attended a Red Cross (the Abak Local Red Cross) meeting in one of the School's rooms. Suddenly, we heard, at very close quarters, firing of guns and mortaring sounds. The sounds became unbearable, we could not know what was happening. Biafran troops were at this time 4 1/2 miles in front of Urua Inyang.
3. That amidst there confusions the Local Red Cross meeting was closed by members panicking outside, some jumping through the windows while others scramble through the doors.
4. That by the time I found myself outside the Nigerian Troops were already a few yards to the camp. I saw three tall Nigerian soldiers hanging up special guns on their necks and spraying bullets as they advanced forward. Other soldiers flanked the two sides of the camp firing their guns indiscriminately. I also saw a land rover mounted with a heavy artillery following the troops behind and mortaring as it drove slowly forward.
5. That many of the Refugees were killed in the camp before I ran out through the market. At this time, the market was flooded with bloods and pieces of human flesh.
6. That before my escape into a nearby bush my left leg was hit by a bullet. I could not rest until I had reached Abala where I saw some Biafran Troops.
7. That before this time a second cousin of mine, who escaped from Abak in July had told me that the vandals had gunned down my aged father, Chief Samuel Akpaidick after they had burnt down our compound, for the old man not being able to say where his children had been.
8. That I made this declaration conscientiously believing same to be true and by virtue of the Oaths Acts of 1963 and that I fully understand that if I have made my statement which is to my knowledge false in my material issue, I am guilty of felony under Section 192 of the Criminal Code and liable to imprisonment for three years.

DECLARANT

Sworn before me this 15th day of January 1969
At the Provincial Office, Umuahia.

Declaration fee of 12/6 paid
R/C/R/ No. 2 341391 dated
15th January 1969

Commissioner for Oaths

STATUTORY AFFIDAVIT

I, Frank Chukwuma IBEGBU, Biafran citizen, Det. Police Corporal No. 3684, Police Officer, Biafra Police HQs. Onitsha aged 41 years make oath and state as follows:

1. That I am a Biafran citizen aged 41 years.
2. That I was present at Onitsha on 20th March, 1968 when Nigerian troops suddenly entered the Township about 3 p.m.
3. That I was detailed as my duty by my Commission to stay behind in order to observe the conduct of Nigerian troops in Onitsha.
4. That at the time of the said entry, Biafran soldiers had evacuated from Onitsha and very few civilians, old men and women and some few individuals who believed on Nigerian radio assurances of safety stayed behind.
5. That of the total Onitsha population of about 200,000 people about 2,000 stayed behind.
6. That I was hiding from house to house in my attempt to observe what was happening and helping some trapped civilians to escape.
7. That I saw Nigerians troops shooting down every man, woman and child found on the street,
8. I saw Nigerian troops breaking into houses dragging out old men and women forcing them at gun point to shout "one Nigeria" and thereafter lining them up and shooting them down with automatic weapons.
9. That I saw women being raped on the streets before they are killed.
10. That in a church in Inland Town Onitsha several worshippers (about 500 strong) who were praying were besieged by Nigerians troops, the men were separated from the women and all the men were shot dead.
11. That it took me two days of hiding and dodging the Nigerian troops from one part of the town to another before I could escape by bush paths out of the enemy occupied areas.
12. That I make this affidavit truly by virtue of the Oaths Act 1963.

(Sgd.) ??
D e p o n e n t

DATED this 22nd day of January 1969
Sworn before me

(Sgd.) C.N. Obiadi
Commissioner for Oaths

AFFIDAVIT OF ROBERT WELE

I, Robert Wele of Owaza a farmer and Biafran citizen make oath and say as follows:

1. That I am a citizen of the Republic of Biafra now a refugee at Ezicama Ntigha Northern Ngwa.
2. That the Nigerian Army invaded my village of Owaza on the 12th of August 1968.
3. That I was present at the said Owaza when the invasion took place.
4. That the enemy entered Owaza through a narrow bridge very close to my house.
5. That the whole village was taken unawares, and several people were trapped by the enemy.
6. That during the stampede most of the villages fell to the enemy.
7. That the following who were with me were deliberately shot by the Nigerian soldiers that is to say: Wele Ololue my aged father, Lazarus Worgu and Joseph Okoro.
8. That I managed to escape by plunging into the swamp.
9. That at last I discovered that over one thousand people were killed at Owaza.
10. That many of the dead were refugees from Ogoni, Eleme, Etche, Ndoki who were then camped at Owaza.
11. That the village was burnt down as the enemy attacked every thing that moved.
12. That I make this affidavit conscientiously believing same to be true to the best of my knowledge.

DECLARANT

Sworn at the J.P.'s Office Okpualangwa this
20th day of January 1969.

Before me,

Commissioner for Oaths

AFFIDAVIT OF CHIEF MARK OSONDU EKE

I, Mark Osondu Eke of Ozuaku Asa a farmer and Biafran citizen take oath and say as follows:

1. That I am a Biafran citizen and the clan head of Ipu South Clan.
2. That I was at my village of Ozuaku in Asa when the Nigerian soldiers invaded the village by 1 p.m. on the 15th of August 1968 through Owaza.
3. That the village was cut off from the Imo River gate and the entire village was indiscriminately shelled and mortared.
4. That in the confusion that followed the villagers could not escape from the enemy.
5. That the following among others were killed, that is to say Cathy Eke my daughter, Worie Eke my sister, Nwanyiogu Amadi, Wobiafra Amadi, Okechukwu Amadi, Wogu Woke, Agajuo Nwosu, Wigwe Azu, Nnete Iwelaa, Mama Azu and Dingba Ekwe.
6. That refugees from Ndoki, Ogoni, Eleme and Afam were camped in the village at the same time.
7. That the enemy raided the camps and burnt down several houses which were not destroyed by shelling.
8. That the village was virtually sacked and the villagers scattered.
9. That I took refuge at Ovungwu and inquiries have since revealed that over 500 persons including refugees lost their lives.
10. That I make this affidavit conscientiously believing the contents to be true to the best of my knowledge.

DECLARANT

Sworn at the J.P's Office Okpualangwa this 20th day
of January 1969.

Before me,

Commissioner for Oaths

AFFIDAVIT

I, Mr. Jackson Okure, of Ikot Obong Edong, Ikot Ekpene, Annang Province, formerly Native Administration Driver, now a refugee at Nto Edino Sick-bay, Ikot Ekpene, do hereby solemnly and sincerely declare as follows:-

1. That when the Nigerian soldiers entered Ikot Ekpene in March 1968, I was unable to come out from the area.
2. That some time in August, 1968, Biafran soldiers entered Ikot Ekpene. I was liberated by Biafran soldiers who first took me to Udo Bassey's house, in Abiakpo. From there I was taken to Obot Akara, and on the following day, I was taken to Mbiabong in Ikono area in Uyo Province. After my one week's stay at Mbiabong, Ikono, I was taken to Ikwen Refugee Camp in Annang Province.
3. That I was a member of Ikot Obong Edong Local Council. My house was at the junction between Ito and Umuahia Roads and Market Road where the Provincial Police Office was. I was not a member of this tribunal who tried and shot dead Biafran sympathisers - Ibibios, Annangs, Ibos, etc.
4. That from my house I observed Nigerian troops shooting both the Ibibios and Ibos etc. who passed through that point and who did not identify themselves as Nigerians.
5. that when the shooting became indiscriminate, I left my house to Abiakpo mentioned in paragraph 2 above.
6. That the number of people killed was great especially among the Ibos.
7. That I make this declaration conscientiously, believing same to be true and by virtue of the Oaths Acts of 1963; and that I fully understand that I have made any statement which is to my knowledge false in any material issue, I am guilty of felony under Section 192 of the Criminal Code and liable to imprisonment for three years.

DECLARANT

Sworn before me this 15th day of January 1969.

Commissioner for Oaths

Declaration Fee of 15/-

R.C.R. No. Z 341389 dated 15th January 1969

A F F I D A V I T

I, Francis Dike Okwudiafor, a citizen of the Republic of Benin/West Niger area resident as a refugee in Ojike Refugee Camp, Orlu, Biafra, do hereby make oath and state as follows:-

1. That I was present in my home town of Asaba when the Federal troops entered on the 5th of October, 1967.
2. That I was an eye witness of some of the looting, burning of houses and killing of innocent civilians which took place on a massive scale during the period 5th October to 7th October, both dates inclusive, 1967.
3. That I hereby attach annexure (c) counter-signed by me as the true story of what happened.
4. That I make this affidavit sincerely believing the same to be true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

.....
D e p o n e n t

Sworn to before me in the
Magistrate Court Registry,
Orlu, this 20th day of January 1969.

BEFORE ME

.....
COMMISSIONER FOR OATHS

MR. OKWUDIAFOR

The Federal troops entered Asaba in the evening of 5th October, 1967. We had been expecting their arrival with fear and trembling since Biafran troops started withdrawing on the 3rd of October. We remembered vividly the fate of our people in Northern Nigeria in May, July and September 1966 and the threat that Ibos were going to be wiped out. When the Federal troops arrived some people had fled across the Niger, some into the bush but some remained in their homes, waiting for what fate would bring. By late evening of that day there was firing everywhere in the town - the Nigerians troops went from house to house, looting, raping and demanding ransom from those they felt like sparing.

Early on the 6th of October Obi Okwudarue summoned all our people to Ogbeke Square to arrange and receive the Federal troops. They assemble at about 10 a.m. that day and from donations a sum of £50 was made and the people trooped to the Commanding Officer dancing and shouting "One Nigeria" (just to assuage their anger and spare us). The money was handed over to the officer who thanked us and expressed sorrow at the number of civilians killed by "stray bullets". We now thought that we were safe and a few people who ran to the bush came out.

Late that evening the Chief sent the town crier with gong again to inform all our people - men, women and children that the 7th of October 1967 was to be a festive day climaxed by a huge dance to celebrate the liberation of Asaba by Federal troops. We thought that this was the last painful sacrifice that we would be called upon to make. So on that day many people started moving to the assembly ground at Ogbeke but, having heard that cars were being burnt, I decided instead to push our car into the bush and camouflage it. By the time some of my people had helped me to do this the dancers were not back so we decided to go and join them.

It was now about 3 p.m. As we were going we were joined by others from various parts of the town. When we got to Ogbeke - the usual assembly ground - we did not see the dancers but others who had come in quest of their relations that had gone. Just then some troops arrive with some men who did not go to the dance and who had been sought in their homes and arrested. With all these we were marched to the High Court on Okpanam Road. Here we were to be killed but one Major arrived just before the machine gun was got going and said that too many men had already been killed at Asaba and that we should be allowed to go home. We were then escorted to our various homes. Our way home was littered with corpses of people who had been shot and we saw women and children carrying the corpses of their husbands and relations from the dancing ground to their homes for burial.

Some corpses that had nobody to identify them were buried in mass graves at Ogbe Osowe where the ghastly incident took place. I lost 11 people in my family during that incident. Rev. Fr. P. Ugnoko lost no less than sixty of his closest relations. There was hardly any family in Asaba that was not touched. Even a popular Reverend Brother dressed in his habit - Brother Ignatius was also killed.

It would be surprising to note that on that very day the sum of £100 was presented to the Commanding Officer as a tribute to the Armed Forces by Asaba people. This was accepted before the donors were slaughtered. The slaughter of people was followed by wholesale looting particularly of portable goods like radios, watches, gold trinkets, etc.

There was raping on an unprecedented scale and of course any men still alive had to take to the bush; only the aged remained behind. I left the town at 8 p.m. on that day and escaped to Ibusa.

**WIPING OUT WHOLE FAMILY AND ABDUCTING
GROWN UP GIRLS**

I, Mr. Sylvester Madubuattah, do certify that when the Hausas entered Lejja - my town in Nsukka Province, they busied themselves burning housings, looting people's property and raping women.

One Omeke family comprising eleven people was met by the Hausas intact. The vandals killed the husband and wife of the family, eliminated seven other children and relatives of the family and carried away two grown up girls from this very family. Till today, the whereabouts of these girls has not been known.

DECLARED AND SWORN BEFORE ME

.....
COMMISSIONER FOR OATHS

20/1/69
DATE

.....
SIGNATURE OR MARK OF WITNESS

AFFIDAVIT

I, Dominic Eze, a Court messenger, was captured in my Enugu Ezike residence by the Federal soldiers. I was so mercilessly beaten up that I thought I had died. I was unconscious for some days.

Later on, when I regained my senses I found myself in a very large and crowded room. Asking a nearby fellow where we were, he said in that “we were in Kaduna Prison”. Every morning, we go through the same routine of being lined out, tied together with a common rope, dragged to a panel area where each one of us received several lashed. After this, we were taken back to the yard.

Many who appeared not to obey at once, were beaten severely and made to eat rice mixed with urine and excreta. On some occasions, we were brought out in the open air and made to dance “kpanlogo” and to their songs usually pouring aspersion on Ibos, Biafra and Lt. Col. Ojukwu himself. The Hausas enjoyed themselves at our own expense.

.....
SIGNATURE OR MARK OF WITNESS

DECLARED AND SWORN BEFORE ME

.....
COMMISSIONER FOR OATHS

20/1/69
DATE

THE SHOOTING OF MR. ONODU A CIVILIAN IN HIS HOUSE

I, Mr. S. K. Eze, do certify that on the 13th of July 1967, while in hiding, saw a group of Nigerian vandals in Ibagwa town of Nsukka Province. Running out of his house was Mr. Onodu a senior Sanitary Overseer.

Mr. Onodu was a civilian. He was just of his compound when he was shot dead by vandals. I took to my heels.

DECLARED AND SWORN BEFORE ME

Commissioner for Oaths

20/1/69
DATE

.....
SIGNATURE OR MARK OF WITNESS

S T A T U T O R Y A F F I D A V I T

I, Jude Muokaibe ANUWE, Biafran citizen, Police Officer in-charge of Ihiala Police Station make oath and state as follows:

1. That I am 48 years old.
2. That I live in Ihiala Town in Biafra, Onitsha Province and I am in-charge of Police Station, Ihiala.
3. That there are no military installation in Ihiala Town aforementioned.
4. That on several occasions in the course of present Nigeria/Biafra war, Nigerian war planes have raided Ihiala and surrounding villages rocketing and machine-gunning the civilian populations.
5. That on 4/9/68 in particular, at about 1300 hours in clear day light two Nigerian war planes again raided Ihiala and surrounding villages.
6. That on this day the Ihiala market was in full session and also many civilian were being attended at the nearby Roman Catholic Hospital and Children's Nutrition Clinics.
7. That I was actually buying in the market when the planes arrived.
8. That on arrival, the Nigerian war planes circled round for about five minutes and swooped down on the civilian population shooting rockets at the crowded market and spraying bullets into the scattering crowd.
9. That in this raid they said Roman Catholic Hospital and Nutrition Clinics and schools including privates houses, churches and nearby villages were all rocketed and straffed.
10. That there were no anti aircraft defenses at Ihiala or nearby villages and as nobody fired at the planes they came so low to the ground that the white pilots manning the planes were easily seen by me.
11. That during the raid which lasted about thirty minutes, I hid in the bush in a cassava farm which about 200 yards from the market.
12. After the Nigerian war planes left, I crawled out from my hiding place to help with the dead and the wounded and that from rough accounts about 250 civilians, men, women and children were dead at the spot.
13. That I personally attended a total of 132 dead victims, the list of which is hereby attached. Several others dead or wounded were removed immediately by their relations and I have no definite account of these.

1. I recorded 600 other people who were seriously wounded and these were taken to various hospitals. Several hundreds of these had since died.
2. There were so many mangled and crushed mass of people that it was impossible to identify and count and the pulped mass of flesh were buried in a common grave. That this type of air raid has continued intermittently unabated.
3. The Red Cross markings on hospitals, clinics, churches and schools do not avail Ihiala people from the indiscriminate slaughter from Nigerian war planes.
4. That I make this affidavit conscientiously and truly by virtue of the Oaths Act, 1963.

D e p o n e n t

DATED this 22nd Day of January, 1969.

SWORN BEFORE ME

COMMISSIONER FOR OATHS

A F F I D A V I T

I, ANYIBUOFU ONYA-ONLANWAH

(Names in full)

A citizen of the Republic of Benin/West Nigeria Area resident as a Refugee in Ojike Refugee Camp, Orlu, BIAFRA, do hereby make each oath and state as follows:

1. That I was present in my home town of Asaba when the Federal troops entered on the 5th of October 1967.
2. That I was an eye witness of some of the looting, burning of houses and killing of innocent civilians which took place on a massive scale during the period 5th October to 7th October, both dates inclusive, 1967.
3. That I hereby attach annexure (A) counter-signed by me as the true story of what happened.
4. That I make this affidavit sincerely believing that same to be true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

(Sgd.) A. Onya-Onianwah
DEPONENT

Sworn to before me in
the Magistrate Court
Registry, Orlu, this
20th day of January 1969.

BEFORE ME

(Sgd.) ??
COMMISSIONER FOR OATHS

**IN THE HIGH COURT OF BIAFRA, IN THE UMUAHIA
JUDICIAL DIVISION HOLDEN AT UMUAHIA**

A F F I D A V I T

I, Samuel Inyang, Biafran citizen of No. 3 Gate 4 Agricultural Research and Training School Quarters Umudike, Biafra, make oath and state as follows:

1. That I am a native of Unwana in Afikpo Division of Biafra.
2. That I am a pharmaceutical Chemist by profession.
3. That at about 4.30 a.m. on 19th day of April, 1968, I was in my village at Unwana when I heard heavy mortaring and machine gun fire from the Ugep side of the Cross Rive to the Afikpo/Unwana side.
4. That at 3 p.m. most the of people in Unwana village evacuated to neighbouring villages namely Eburnwana, Erei, Usukpan and Edda.
5. That early on the 20th day of April, 1968, at about 6 a.m. whilst I and other people were still trying to evacuate the elderly people and children the Nigerian soldiers attacked the Unwana village.
6. That in the course of the attack a mortar bomb fell among a group of refugees and exploded, killing in my presence 6 elderly women, four elderly men and two young girls.
7. In this confusion, I saw one Nigerian soldier throw one hand grenade into the crowd, which exploded, killing in my presence four elderly women, two children and injuring two men, one of whom dies in my hands as I was taking them to the hospital.
8. That after about 8 days of intensive fighting, Biafran troops pushed the Nigerians troops out of Unwana.
9. That I was one of the first natives of Unwana to rush back to the village.
10. That at the village I saw at the village square forty-six corpses of Unwana civilians lying down in a row.
11. That the end of the public square, near the Salga latrine, I saw five women and eight children all lying down dead.
12. That each and every one of the five women and three girls of the eight children had long sticks pushed through their external genitalia.

13. That in the course of my inspection with other persons, we saw several civilian corpses scattered all over the village of Unwana.
14. That I with the help of other people spent two days burying the dead.
15. That at the end of second day the Nigerians troops came back and continued the killing of civilians.
16. That after this second killing I ran out of Unwana and refused to back there again.
17. That I make this oath conscientiously believing the contents to be true the best of my knowledge and by virtue of Statutory Declaration Act 196

Sworn to the office of a Notary Public, Umuahia, this day of January, 1969.

(Sgd.) S. Inyang
Deponent.

Before me

(Sgd.) ??
Commissioner for Oaths.

MR. ONYA-ONIANWAH

The Federal troops entered Asaba in the afternoon of October 5th, 1967. This was preceded by indiscriminate shelling and firing which cost many civilian lives. As a result of the panic that gripped everybody some fled across the bridge to Onitsha, some ran into the bushes around Asaba while the aged and women stayed indoors. I ran into the bush and from there to a village called Achalla near Ibusa.

Early on the 6th of October 1967 I heard that the shooting had stopped and that people were asked to return, so I went back and got home at noon. On our arrival home we met many Federal soldiers in our village and they demanded food from us. Each village in the town held a meeting and decided on what contribution in food and money to make to the troops. Our village collected £50 and 100 yams and we delegated 4 men to convey the money to the Federal troops. The yams were to be sent later when the women had collected palm oil and vegetables used for preparing soup.

Our delegates went at about 8 a.m. on the 7th of October. We waited for them to return up till 12 noon and as they were not back we sent another 4 to find out what had happened. These also did not return. By 2 p.m. some Federal soldiers came to us at our meeting place and asked us to shout "One Nigeria". We all shouted as required. They then asked us to bring our dancing drums, etc in order to celebrate our liberation. It was a matter of minutes and we were ready and, escorted by the Federal soldiers, we danced on to Umudaike village where we met other dancing groups from the other villages. It appears that they had received word for Obi Okwudarue the night before but we did not know and so were rather late in coming to the scene.

On the way to this place we saw several corpses and where we were gathered the first sight that greeted us was the corpse of one Mr. Robert Urai - the owner of the compound where we were assembled. These ugly sights filled us with dread but we could not run away in the presence of these armed soldiers. In this compound we danced for only a brief moment and then we were ordered to stop. The women were asked to move over to one side leaving only men on the other. We, the men, were then escorted to Ogbe Osowe where we saw horrible sights - many people who were already killed and some who were being tortured before they would be killed. Among the corpses I could from a distance distinguish some of the four men we sent on a mission. Then we knew to our sorrow what had happened to them and what fate awaited us.

Soon afterwards 20 of our men were selected and lined up in front of us and told as follows: "Today, I be your God, me, first; God second. God give you life, me I go takam. Two minute time you go die." The hopelessness of our situation was clear when two minutes afterward these 20 men were shot. Another 20 were picked up and the same ritual followed. When the men were separated from the women and led away some mothers followed behind to watch the fate of their children as they were executed before them there was wailing and yelling. One woman gripped one of the soldiers and provoked him by biting him in order that she be killed and follow her son just dead. She was, of course, shot. It continued like that until one soldier came and after conferring

with the Commander present, about 50 of us were assembled and taken away.

Later, I realized that the killers in Ogbe Osowe were not fast enough and so we had to go along Okpanam road towards the High Court. The killers there had done their job and required more victims in order to help out those at Ogbe Osowe. When we got to the High Court premises we then found out that Ogbe Osowe was not the only killing ground, the High Court premises was another. A lot of them were yet to be buried whilst there were already a few mass graves around. Just as we were lined up to be shot one Major came out from a landrover which had just pulled in and announced that the killings should stop in obedience to the latest orders. The major then addressed us telling us to be grateful to God for being spared the fate of our unfortunate brothers. One of us then asked the Major to help us further by giving us an escort, otherwise we would not get home. He did this and we were escorted up to Ogbeke Square and from there we fled into the bush.

Life is more precious than anything else but the looting, burning of houses and raping of women which took place is to be seen to be believed. Since then we lived in bush in makeshift huts feeding on what we can get from the forest and what the women manage to bring to us from time to time until April 16th, 1968, when indiscriminate shelling and mortaring of all the bushes drove us further towards Biafra. Many people, needless to say, were killed by some of these shells and mortar bombs. We later saw some villagers in the bush and those showed us a bush path through which we escaped into Biafra.

(Sgd.) A. Onya-Onianwah

I, JOHN KANAYO HUDSON ODITTAH, native of ASABA in the Republic of BENIN, Senior Station Master, Biafra Railway Corporation, Umuahia, make oath and say as follows:

1. On the 30th September 1967, I traveled from Enugu to Asaba to visit my family.
2. I was at Asaba on the 4th October, 1967, when the Nigerian vandals entered Asaba; this entry was preceded by shooting of guns, shelling and rocketing.
3. I observed that there was panic in the town as people started running about for fear of being killed.
4. I ran out and along the streets I saw that many people numbering up to about 60 (sixty) were killed.
5. The Nigerian vandals besieged the town, going from house to house, taking money from inmates with threats and menaces; I personally spent over £50 (fifty) pounds in ransom to the vandals.
6. On the 5th October, Chief Okwudarue summoned a mass meeting of the Asaba community at the Ogbeke Square.
7. I attended the meeting which was addressed by Chief Okwudarue and Mr. F. O. Isichei.
8. It was agreed at the meeting that each of the five quarters in Asaba should pay a levy of £50 (fifty); this amount was to be collected and given to the vandals as a sort of welcome purse to prevent them from further killing and harassing people.
9. The sum of £20 (twenty) pounds was collected at the meeting and it was agreed that this amount should be given to the vandals that day for their drinks; it was further decided that during the presentation of the £20 the vandals should be informed that the Asaba people would come the next day for a real welcome.
10. The meeting appointed delegates including Chief OKWUDARUE, CHIEF OF ONIANWA, OBI ODLACHI and Mr. F. O. Isichei who were sent to the vandals for the presentation. The delegates later returned to the meeting and reported that they saw the Acting Commander of the Vandals Major TAIWO, who told them that the Commander Lt. Col. Mohammed ALLY was wounded at OGWUASHI-UKWU and was rushed back to Lagos for treatment. The delegates reported that Major TAIWO having accepted the £20 distributed the money to the Officers amongst the vandals, and thereafter promised the delegates that there would be no more killing and molestation in the town.
11. The next morning we all met at the square and collected the sum of £150 (one hundred and fifty) pounds. This amount was again handed to CHIEF OKWUDARUE and his fellow delegates for presentation to the vandals. As the

delegates left the meeting dispersed.

12. About an hour after we have dispersed I heard bell-men, natives of Asaba, announcing that all dancing groups in Asaba should assemble at the ASABA URBAN COUNTY COUNCIL COMPOUND to welcome the vandals. On inquiry, I was told by the announcers that the announcement was made at the order of the vandals.
13. As the dancing groups were going to the ASABA URBAN COUNTY COUNCIL COMPOUND, I saw the vandals driving into the villages in lorries; I saw them break into houses and loot properties found therein.
14. At 4 p.m. on that day I went to the OGBEKE SQUARE together with other members of our meeting to await the return of our delegates. We were there when a land-rover drove up to us, the vandals alighted, round us up and started beating us.
15. We were ordered to march along the street when we saw more than 100 (one hundred) corpses lying along the streets. To my surprise I saw one of the bell-men lying dead with his bell by his side.
16. When we got to OGBOSOWA Square, we were halted by the vandals. We were thoroughly searched and all the money, wrist watches, and rings in our possessions were removed. We were then ordered to sit on the ground.
17. One Lt. USMAN addressed us saying that we were OJUKWU'S henchmen, that we believe in book knowledge, that they were going to destroy that book knowledge. He ordered us to call on OJUKWU to come and save us if we could do that. He further said that all of us would be dead in less than one hour. We all sat down with our heads bowed. Anyone of us who raised his head was severely flogged with a cow-tail.
18. Lt. USMAN ordered his soldiers to look after us while he went to the headquarters for instructions as to where the killing would take place. He came back at about 6 p.m. and ordered that we be taken to the HIGH COURT FIELD to be killed. We were marched off to the HIGH COURT FIELD and about 100 yards to the field, a land-rover overtook us and stopped; Major TAIWO jumped out from the land-rover and ordered us to halt. Both the vandals who were escorting us and ourselves stopped. MAJOR TAIWO wanted to know where we were being taken to. One of the vandals retorted saying that it was Lt. USMAN who ordered them to march us to the High Court Field where we would be shot. Major TAIWO scolded them, saying that he had since ordered them to stop killing the people, but they had refused to obey his orders. He expressed surprise that corpses were lying about the town and wondered how he could [sic] for the killing. He therefore ordered us to go.

19. At about 12 midnight I got information from Madam Victoria Ozoama that the vandals had promised to kill more people the next day. She further told me that our delegates after presenting the sum of £150 to the vandals were killed, and that only CHIEF OKWUDARUE and Mr. F. O. ISICHEI escaped. We all then decided to run away from the town. We ran to a village far in the bush called ACHALLA and from there others moved on to IBUSA. I ran to IBUSA. On or about the 12th October, the vandals came to IBUSA and all the people there fled into the bush. Later on in the evening, OBI MORDI, the head chief of IBUSA sent for us in the bush advising us to return to the town as the vandals who came to Ibusa had completed their assignment, i.e. destroying the houses and property of LTS. NWAJEI and OKWECHIME and had returned to ASABA.
20. As we the escapees from Asaba met at our places of hiding, eyewitnesses gave accounts of how our people were killed in the various quarters at Asaba. Mr. MONYEI told us that at the CABLE POINT, hundreds of people were lined up by the riverbank and ordered to walk into the river by the vandals. When they moved into a point where the water reached their waists, they were shot dead and their corpses carried away by the river. Mr. OJUGBUANNA told us how at OGBOSOWA Square, the vandals collected thousand of men who they ordered to dig there large graves. After they had dug the graves, they were ordered to enter into the graves, which they did and were all shot dead. Mr. OKONMA told us that at OGBEILO village the vandals met the villagers at a meeting, surrounded them and shot them dead; the only survivor was the 80-year-old village head. He was subsequently shot dead after he had protested to the vandals about the unprovoked killing of his people. Mr. JUYA told us that at UMUEZEI village, the vandals met the villagers who had gathered to bury a relation named Chuks Moma formerly of S.C.O.A. Motors Enugu who was killed by the vandals the previous day. The villagers had already dug the grave when the vandals rounded them up. The vandals wanted to know why they were gathered there and they replied saying that they came to bury a dead man. The vandals observed that the grave was very small and ordered that it should be extended. After the villagers had extended the grave, they were ordered to put the corpse into the grave, which they did, and they also were ordered to jump into the grave. As they all gathered in the grave they were shot dead.
21. I was at IBUSA with other escapees from ASABA when some women had managed to find their way from the bush arrived at IBUSA. Mrs. CHIDI, one of them told us how the vandals had collected all the women and children into lorries, drove the lorries to various points twenty to thirty miles from ASABA, ordered them out of the lorries and left them stranded on the roads. They could not go back to Asaba for fear of being killed, so they started trekking from the bush until they arrived at IBUSA. She further reported that their grown up daughters were separated from them and taken to Army barracks.
22. In December 1967, just after Christmas, one Mr. AZINGE, came to IBUSA and had a meeting with the ASABA community. He told us that he was sent by Lt.

Col. MOHAMMED ALLY to advise all of us to return to ASABA as normal life had returned to the town. I returned only in February, 1968, to observe that life had not in fact returned to normal. I observed that the vandals were very wild and kept molesting people. They would break into a man's house and in the presence of the man rape his wife or daughter. I refer to the case of Mr. NWOKOLO whose wife was raped in his house and in his presence.

23. On March the 21st, 1968, the vandals came dancing from the CABLE POINT to the market, announcing that they had captured ONITSHA. On hearing this, the market women started crying as many of their relations had escaped to Onitsha. The market women threw their wares away and went home in disgust. This provoked the vandals who said openly that they could see from the behaviour of the market women that all ASABA people supported OJUKWU. The vandals warned that they would deal severely with the Asaba people after finishing the Onitsha operation.
24. In April, 1968, it was reported to us at Asaba that the Biafran soldiers attacked the vandals at IBUSA; killed many of the vandals and captured their stores. This report was made by a few survivors of the vandals. The vandals mounted road blocks in Asaba, so that no one was allowed to move out. The vandals went back to Ibusa after the Biafran soldiers had pulled out and attacked the town, killing men and women, burning houses and looting property. Some Ibusa men were captured and brought to Asaba on the pretext that they were Biafran soldiers. The road block in Asaba continued till April 16th when the vandals openly accused our people of harbouring Biafran soldiers. The vandals thereafter opened fire on the people. We all ran into the bush and by the 18th April while in the bush, we heard that all the towns in Asaba Division, i.e. from Asaba to Agbor had been attacked and that so many people had been killed whilst others fled into the bush. We continued to remain in the bush up till May the 16th when the Biafran soldiers came to the bush where we hid. I reported myself to Major OKAFOR who lead the Biafran soldiers. He brought me and some 20 other Government officials back to Biafra.
25. That I swear to the Affidavit sincerely and conscientiously believing the same to be true to the best of my knowledge and information.

(Sgd.) ??
DEPONENT.

Sworn to the High Court registry, Umuahia
this 17th day of January 1969.

BEFORE ME

(Sgd.) ??
COMMISSIONER FOR OATHS.