

**COMMUNICATION  
TO THE ICC PROSECUTOR:**

**THE ATTACK AGAINST  
THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT  
OF NIGERIA, DECEMBER 2015**

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**ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS**

HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal or the Former Yugoslavia
ICTR	International Criminal Tribunal of Rwanda
IHRC	Islamic Human Rights Commission
IMN	Islamic Movement in Nigeria

## 1. Executive Summary

The Nigerian army carried out massive attacks over the course of 12 and 13 December 2015 which targeted the Islamic Movement of Nigeria in Zaria.

The operation resulted in the deaths of at least 1000 unarmed civilians, mostly IMN members, killed by gunshots attributed to soldiers. Hundreds more were injured. There were reports that the military blocked access to medical care for the injured and shot at and killed wounded persons. Witnesses and victims reported signs of widespread force and cruelty with allegations of looting, arson, mutilation, mass graves, torture, rape and other inhumane acts levelled at the Nigerian army.

The supporting materials and eyewitness accounts further indicate that such massive acts of violence were carried out in the context of a widespread and systematic attack against the Nigerian civilian population. The violence unleashed on members of the IMN has a history and it is a history of premeditation. There is also sufficient evidence to suggest an official plan by Nigerian government officials to cover up these crimes and indeed perpetuate the same.

IHRC is of the view that there are reasonable grounds to believe these crimes fall within the jurisdiction of the court in accordance with the Rome Statute. The crimes of the Nigerian army meet all the relevant criteria to warrant further investigation by the prosecutor of the International Criminal Court.

In view of the above, IHRC calls on the Prosecutor to open a preliminary investigation *proprio motu* on the incidents reported.

This IHRC communication aims to provide a solid understanding of the events and crimes committed by the Nigerian Army, and it is based on eyewitness accounts and other supporting materials. The second part focuses on the legal parameters against which crimes against humanity are assessed, in respect of articles 7, 12, 13, 15, 17 and 53 of the Rome Statute.

### Recommendations:

Based on the evidence collected so far, IHRC firmly believes that:

1. The crimes committed between 12 and 14 December 2015 in Zaria, Kaduna State, by the Nigerian army amount to crimes against humanity.
2. The crimes committed by the Nigerian army meet all the necessary legal requirements to warrant a preliminary investigation by the ICC prosecutor.

Based on these grounds, IHRC therefore recommends the following:

1. The ICC prosecutor should open a preliminary examination into the incidents that occurred between 12 and 14 December 2015 in Zaria, Kaduna State.
2. IHRC demands the Prosecutor expand its monitoring activities on Nigeria and the army's involvement in attacks against the IMN that occurred in the period between 2014 and 2015. Indeed, Nigeria is already under preliminary investigation by the Prosecutor in relation to Boko Haram.
3. IHRC calls on the ICC Prosecutor to issue a preventive statement saying that he is monitoring the Nigerian crisis and is aware of the commission of crimes and warn the perpetrators about their criminal liability.

## 2. INTRODUCTION

1. The Islamic Human Rights Commission (IHRC) is an independent, non-profit, campaigns, research and advocacy organisation based in London, UK. Since its establishment in 1997, the IHRC has developed relations with a wide range of different organisations around the world in order to campaign for justice for all peoples, regardless of their racial, confessional or political background.
2. IHRC has at the core of its mandate the investigation of human rights abuses and referral of cases to all the relevant international bodies, such as the International Criminal Court in The Hague. The legal team has received reports of human rights abuses from a variety of sources in Nigeria and internationally, including NGOs and victims' families. This material has been analysed and is now being provided to the ICC Prosecutor.
3. This communication is submitted to set out potential charges in relation to the crimes currently being committed with impunity in Nigeria against the civilian population. There is no list of individuals set out in the filing and this is left to the discretion of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC), although assistance in identifying those most culpable for the commission of such crimes will be provided with the communication.
4. It is requested that the Office of the Prosecutor, when analysing the seriousness of the information received, seeks additional information under Article 15(2). This is particularly important, given the absolute negligence on the part of the Government of Nigeria to carry out investigations in relation to the matters set out herein. It is further noted that high representatives of the government and the military deliberately attempted to divert the investigation.

### 3. THE HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

5. Nigeria is a federation comprising 36 States and 774 local government areas, with a population of approximately 168 million inhabitants belonging to over 250 ethnic groups. The three largest groups are: the Hausa-Fulani Muslims living predominantly in the north; the Yoruba, followers of both Christian and Islamic faiths, residing mainly in the south-west; and the Igbo, most of whom are Christians, who are found primarily in the south-east.
6. Ethnic and religious identities often overlap and correlate with the pattern of political parties as well as with voting behaviour. Causes and types of violence in Nigeria are multiple and differ from state to state. The parts of Nigeria most affected by violence at different times in the past include: the Middle-Belt states in central Nigeria; the Niger Delta; and Northern states, particularly Borno, Kano, Yobe, Kaduna and Adamawa states, affected by communal and post-election violence as well as attacks attributed to Boko Haram. Violence occurred in particular in the northern region around the 2011 elections, during which hundreds of civilians were allegedly killed.
7. Following the massive attacks on civilians in the period between July 2002 and April 2011 in the context of 'inter-communal, sectarian and political violence', resulting in the deaths of thousands of people, the ICC Prosecutor's office initiated a preliminary investigation into the incidents as crimes against humanity, which is currently at phase 3 (admissibility).
8. The information analysed in the present communication relates to different crimes committed by the Nigerian army against the Islamic Movement of Nigeria (IMN) in the period between July 2014 and December 2015 in the northern region of Kaduna. The IMN is a broad-based mass organisation based in Zaria, the major city of Kaduna state, founded in the late 1970s as a student movement. Since its establishment, it has grown into a social and religious movement with supporters and members of all ages and from all religious affiliations. Today estimates say the IMN enjoys the support of between 10-15 million people across Nigeria, from both Sunni and Shia Islamic schools of thought as well as some Christians. Most spiritual activities are conducted in the Hussainiyyah in Zaria.
9. The IMN has at several times been the object of indiscriminate attacks by both Boko Haram and the Nigerian army, especially during their annual al-Quds processions. The Nigerian security outfits have regularly perpetrated bloody attacks, especially the clampdown on members of the IMN and destruction of IMN headquarters in Sokoto in July 2007, in Zaria in 2009, 2014 and 2015. Attacks in North Western Nigeria in 2009 were led by government officials. The present communication aims at reporting the violations of human rights standards that occurred in December 2015. A previous IHRC report concerning the attack against the IMN in 2014 can be found at the end of the present communication in Appendix E.

### a) Events of 25 and 26 July 2014

10. IHRC sent a fact-finding mission to Zaria on 30 July 2014. IHRC Chair, Massoud Shadjareh, led the mission and a report was compiled afterwards, based on direct interviews with victims, their families, and also eyewitnesses. The findings include video footage of Nigerian soldiers firing on unarmed civilians located at the tail end of the al-Quds procession in Zaria on 25 July. Thirty-two people died. Bystanders were among those killed in the violence. Over 100 people were injured.
11. IHRC reported that on 25 July 2014, at around 4.30 p.m. the procession came to an end with the reading of a collective prayer, while the tail of the procession, still at some distance from the termination point, was viciously attacked by soldiers, who started shooting at the crowd from a very close distance. All those who were interviewed by IHRC, including victims and bystanders, stated that the crowd was unarmed and did not fight back. They chanted as soldiers approached them, and when the shooting became continuous and indiscriminate they lay on the ground for protection. The indiscriminate nature of the shooting meant a number of people who were not part of the procession were also killed or injured. Mr. Julius Anyanwu, a 68 year-old local Christian man, was shot and disembowelled as he sought to know why the soldiers were shooting unarmed civilians. He died before he arrived at the local hospital. In an adjacent shop, a Christian woman was shot and injured as she sought shelter. A number of stray bullets tore through the front of the shop and into her hands and chest.
12. In the same report, IHRC reported that the following day a further incident occurred at the Hussainiyyah, where many of the injured had been taken in order to receive first aid after the previous day's events. Eye-witnesses told IHRC that while IMN supporters were at the precinct of the main building, three truckloads of soldiers approached the premises and after a brief argument with the members of the IMN who were seeking to know their mission, the soldiers started firing at the crowd from very close range (approximately 3-10 metres) without warning. All the victims and eye-witnesses have confirmed that none of the people outside the Hussainiyyah were carrying guns or any weapons. They also did not provoke the attack. The soldiers had shot at unarmed civilians, and no soldiers were killed or harmed during the incident.
13. The two attacks resulted in the murder of at least 34 IMN members, some of whom were tortured after their arrest by the army, including three biological children of IMN leader Sayyed Ibrahim Zakzaky. There is also evidence that a number of those arrested died in military custody. The report indicates that some people were taken into detention alive and later emerged dead with their bodies bearing signs of torture. Others who were injured were detained for hours and brutalised before being allowed to seek medical treatment.
14. The incident was widely condemned with a promise by the national government to look into the matter to identify those responsible. Since then, the government has taken no action even after the Islamic Movement sent a petition to the National Human Rights Commission seeking redress.

## 4. Events of 12 – 13 December 2015

15. IHRC believes that the Nigerian army carried out attacks over the course of 12-14 December 2015 at:
  - a. the Hussainiyyah and religious centre located at No.1A, Sokoto Road;
  - b. the home of the IMN leader Sheikh Ibrahim Zakzaky in the Gyellesu neighbourhood of Zaria;
  - c. the group's burial ground of Darur-Rahma, in Dembo village, in the outskirts of Zaria; and
  - d. The home and burial place of Hajiya Saliha Muhammad, Sheikh Zakzaky's late mother, in the Jushi neighbourhood of Zaria
16. Eyewitness accounts confirm that on the morning of Saturday 12 December 2015, soldiers were stationed opposite the Hussainiyyah Baqiyatullah (hereafter referred to as Hussainiyyah). They shot in the air initially and later at people without provocation. In the midst of the confusion that ensued, and without warning, a siren belonging to the purported entourage of the Chief of Army Staff Lieutenant General Tukur Yusuf Buratai went off. Video evidence and eyewitnesses saw soldiers killing small children who were confused and running for refuge outside the Hussainiyyah. The soldiers remained in that location killing IMN members on sight. The members of the IMN, who were unarmed, took cover inside the Hussainiyyah. The soldiers cordoned off the Hussainiyyah preventing the injured inside the centre from coming out to seek medical help. As a result, many of those with serious gunshot wounds died. The army later killed the majority of those who had sought refuge in the Hussainiyyah, including the injured, women and children when it invaded and destroyed the complex.
17. While the Nigerian army was undertaking its killing spree at the Hussainiyyah on that fateful Saturday, another contingent of the Nigerian Army, in about nine trucks carrying heavy arms and ammunition, cordoned off the Gyellesu neighbourhood where the leader of the IMN, Ibrahim Zakzaky, resides, some five kilometres away from the Hussainiyyah. They started killing unarmed civilians indiscriminately through the day and throughout the course of the night. Whenever they shot someone and others rushed to pick him/her up, the soldiers would then shoot and kill them as well. That situation lasted for hours with another reinforcement of soldiers arriving in about as many trucks and Armoured Personnel Carriers. They engaged in continued bloodshed, breaking the human shield made by unarmed members of the IMN with ease, forcing their way through a pile of human corpses to get into Sheikh Zakzaky's residence. They virtually killed their way through. Witnesses have told of how the 500-metre stretch of road leading to the house was filled with corpses. Once at the house, the soldiers used explosives to bring down a section of the house and ignited a fire.

18. Thereafter, the Nigerian army killed those that were injured and receiving first aid in the compound, setting fire to some corpses and the injured as well.
19. Eyewitnesses and surviving victims report mutilation of the dead – cutting throats, slashing the genitals of both males and females, poking out of eyes and so on. There were cases of women being sexually assaulted and shot in their genitals by the soldiers. When they were done, survivors reported that the soldiers were celebrating, saying “we have finished with the Shia and Zakzaky. No more Shia in Nigeria”.
20. At least 1000 civilians are estimated to have been killed and hundreds more injured as a result of the military attacks over the two days. In addition, we have received reports that the soldiers quickly buried the corpses of those killed in mass graves without the knowledge or permission of family members, with the aim of impeding an accurate count of the dead. Accordingly, IMN members told IHRC that mass graves were documented between 14 and 15 December 2015 in some locations in Kaduna state, one location being along the Kaduna to Birnin Gwari road.
21. Following the attacks against the Hussainiyyah and the residence of Sheikh Zakzaky, the army proceeded to destroy buildings and graves linked to the IMN. The Hussainiyyah at GRA area was completely destroyed. The Fudiyya Islamic Centre at Dan Magaji and the family home of Sheikh Zakzaky, where his mother’s tomb is located in Zaria suffered a similar fate. Graves belonging to former members of the IMN at the Darur Rahma cemetery situated 10 miles outside of Zaria were demolished.
22. IMN spokespersons have stated that the army premeditated the attacks. Army officials claim that the cause of the violence by the army was a traffic incident involving the army and IMN supporters. This in reality exposes the intention of the army to cover up all the crimes committed by its soldiers. According to what is reported by Human Rights Watch, the army has publicly confirmed that its confrontation with the IMN members was provoked by the movement’s affiliates who had erected a makeshift roadblock near a mosque in an assassination attempt on the army Chief of Staff Lieutenant General Tukur Buratai, whose convoy was passing through the area. In an internal military document seen by HRW, the army said protesters appeared to be taking up positions near the back of the convoy. IMN members and Sheikh Zakzaky, in an interview granted to the BBC that day, disputed this and categorically said that there were no roadblocks when the military deployed in front of Hussainiyyah. Pictures from the time the military first assembled opposite the Hussainiyyah corroborated the absence of roadblocks at the time with what appeared to be free flow of vehicular and human traffic. Furthermore, there is photographic evidence of extra ammunition boxes placed between the soldiers’ feet from the start. IMN members therefore expressed their deep-rooted belief that the attacks were premeditated and politically motivated.

### a) The Attack on Hussainiyyah Baqiyatullah Centre

23. On the morning of Saturday 12 December 2015, scores of soldiers started arriving and gathering opposite the Hussainiyyah. On that day, the IMN was to have a flag-hoisting event to commemorate the beginning of the month of Rabiul Awwal, the Islamic month in which the Prophet Muhammad was born.
24. According to the reports collected by IHRC, at around 12:30pm, some of the organisers, noticing the unusual heavy presence of armed soldiers stationed only a few metres across the road, went to enquire why soldiers in such large numbers were stationed in front of the Hussainiyyah (photo evidence clearly shows that members of the IMN were not holding any weapons). The soldiers informed them that the military was having a passing-out parade in one of its barracks, and soldiers were stationed at all road junctions. Members of the IMN requested that the soldiers move further away to avoid generating undue tension in view of the bloody incidents of 2014.
25. Rather than move away, video footage shot by IMN members showed soldiers calmly taking up positions around the Hussainiyyah before the shootings began. The army reportedly started shooting in the air, and then targeted the members of the IMN. As IMN members scrambled for cover, soldiers were seen carting away the wounded and killed.
26. Following the first round of shootings, the soldiers retreated a few metres from the Hussainiyyah for a few minutes, but returned with their own cameraman and unknown persons (in civilian dress) with sticks and throwing stones from the direction the soldiers came from. The officers appear to shout, "don't shoot!" and "We want to pass." On the other hand, members of the IMN appear to be complaining that soldiers shot their colleagues. In the video clip released to the public later by the military as evidence that IMN members blocked their passage, members of the IMN could be clearly heard protesting to the officers in the Hausa language "sai ku kawo sojoji kofar Hussainiyyah su harbe mu?" (Is that why you brought soldiers in front of Hussainiyyah to shoot us?). Yet another could be heard also clearly saying "sun zo sun harbe mu" meaning "they came and shot us". In the meantime, the unknown individuals following the soldiers were throwing stones and wielding knives. In the midst of all this there was the siren of the purported entourage of the Chief of Army Staff General Tukur Buratai. The video clip did not show when the Army chief came and passed or what happened afterwards.
27. The Nigerian soldiers reinforced and maintained a siege of the Hussainiyyah preventing the injured inside the centre from coming out to seek medical attention. At about 1:00am, i.e. 12 hours afterwards, they flashed some very bright lights at the Hussainiyyah and called on those inside numbering hundreds, including women and children, to come out with their hands up. However, when some did, they were shot by the soldiers thus deterring the others from coming out. At about 5:30am, the Nigerian army started throwing grenades in an attempt to gain access, killing those who had remained inside. The soldiers shot indiscriminately including at those previously injured and at those giving them

first aid. People scattered in all directions seeking cover. Eyewitnesses told IHRC that the Nigerian soldiers were seen targeting children who, confused and scared, were scrambling for refuge. At the end of the attack, the soldiers took away the corpses to an unknown destination.

28. A week later, on Sunday 20 December, Kaduna state government officials along with the army brought down the front of the Hussainiyyah and levelled the entire structure.
29. Based on eyewitness accounts, IHRC estimates that the Nigerian army murdered approximately three hundred unarmed civilians at the Hussainiyyah on the night of 12 December, amongst them approximately one hundred children. The army took away the corpses.

### **b) The Attack on Zakzaky Residence**

30. According to IHRC sources, hundreds of IMN members who came for the flag hoisting ceremony but could not get to the Hussainiyyah, went to Gyellesu neighbourhood, seeking refuge from the killing spree unfolding at the Hussainiyyah and to create a human shield around the leader of their organisation.
31. At about 9:00p.m. nine Nigerian army trucks carrying heavy arms and ammunition moved on the private residence of Ibrahim Zakzaky. They started by bombing a teashop and setting surrounding shops on fire. Once they had taken up position outside the walls of Congo Campus of ABU, close to the house of Sheikh Zakzaky, the soldiers opened fire indiscriminately on the people who had formed a human shield around the house. As the shooting started, they started launching stones towards the soldiers. The attack reportedly lasted until 5:30 in the morning, when another 20 trucks carrying reinforcements came in support of the army and joined in the attack. The attack lasted a further two hours after which soldiers successfully reached the fence of the house. It took them another two hours of shooting at besieged defenceless civilians before they gained entry to Sheikh Zakzaky's house.
32. According to IHRC sources, the IMN leader Sheikh Zakzaky, his wife Zeenat Ibrahim, and their six children Hammad, Ali, Humaid, Suhaila, Sajida and Zainab remained confined in the house. At least 700 IMN supporters were reportedly killed while many others, who were injured and were left outside the residence in urgent need of medical assistance, were denied medical treatment until the following day. Eyewitness reports and photographs show piles of bodies lying on the floor outside Zakzaky's house. Later on, the army threw explosives at sections of the house, which started fires. These burnt some of the injured who were too sick to move as well as some of the corpses.
33. Eyewitnesses reported to IHRC that soldiers were seen killing anyone who had been injured during the attack and also allowed groups of criminals to steal and loot the victims' belongings from their corpses. Many corpses were found severely mutilated and bearing wounds from being cut. All those inhuman acts of violence were carried out in the presence and with the complicity of the

soldiers. The eyewitnesses also reported that soldiers were celebrating and chanting slogans against the IMN, such as 'we have finished with the Shia and Zakzaky' and 'no more Shias in Nigeria'.

34. The attack on the Zakzaky's residence ended on 14 December with the arrest of Sheikh Zakzaky and his family. Three of his sons and his elder sister were shot dead and Ibrahim Zakzaky and his wife were both shot and injured immediately before their arrest. Afterwards, evidence started circulating showing a severely injured and bleeding Sheikh Zakzaky in the custody of the army and bearing six gunshot wounds: to his face, his right leg, hand and arm and chest. Other photographic evidence showed an injured Sheikh Zakzaky being mistreated by Nigerian soldiers and being forced to sit on the ground, being brutalised and possibly tortured. He was subsequently also ferried in a wheelbarrow to a waiting truck and taken to an unknown destination.
35. On Monday 14 December, the Nigerian army eventually confirmed the arrest of Sheikh Zakzaky, and his detention at an army barracks. Currently, it still isn't clear in whose custody the IMN leader is, whether it is the army or the police. No formal charges have been filed. Initially the army refused to allow anyone including his family, doctors or lawyers to see him. It was feared that he may have died in custody. The army eventually allowed a delegation of the Muslim Council to visit him on 14 January 2016, one month after his arrest. A member of the delegation confirmed that he was alive but injured as a result of being shot multiple times. No family member, independent personal physician or lawyer has been allowed to see him as yet.

### **c) The Attack at Darur Rahma**

36. Darur Rahma is a cemetery owned by the IMN in Nigeria. On the evening of Sunday 13 December 2015, some IMN members who guard and maintain the site were in the company of some others who had taken refuge there following the military attack on the Hussainiyyah and at Gyellesu.
67. The Nigerian army went to the Darur Rahma and shelled buildings using rocket launchers. It also opened fire at civilians seeking refuge there.
38. The dead bodies from Darur Rahma, numbering about 50, were taken away by the soldiers presumably to the mortuary of ABU Teaching Hospital at Shika, near Zaria. A siege of the area was maintained thereafter, presumably to preclude the possibility of any survivors emerging from the site.

## **5. CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY COMMITTED BY THE NIGERIAN ARMY<sup>2</sup>**

39. IHRC expresses its grave concerns regarding the violent attacks conducted by the Nigerian army between 12 and 14 December 2015 in Zaria. Credible reports demonstrate that such alleged crimes were premeditated and have been intentionally committed by the Nigerian army against the IMN in Zaria.
40. At the end of the three days of violence, the unlawful conduct of and the repressive measures taken by the army resulted in more than 1000 people killed and many hundreds injured. In addition to those, cases of extrajudicial killings, rape, genital mutilation and sexual assault, torture and mass graves have also been evidenced in the emerging reports.
41. In this regard, IHRC intends to demonstrate that the aforementioned attacks meet all the legal criteria established by the Rome Statute to warrant an investigation by the Court as acts amounting to crimes against humanity.

### **a) Subject-matter Jurisdiction: the Contextual Elements**

42. In conformity with article 7 of the Rome Statute, the violent attacks are to be considered crimes against humanity inasmuch as they evidently fulfil the legal requirements addressed below.

#### **i) Attack Directed Against Any Civilian Population:**

43. In article 7(1), crimes against humanity are expressly identified as attacks directed against a civilian population as such, not merely at an individual. Furthermore, a "civilian population" comprises every plurality of persons that are connected with each other by common characteristics, which make them the target of an attack. It is not therefore necessary that the entire population of a State or territory be affected by the attack.
44. In this regard, the IHRC judges the operations carried out by the army between 12 and 14 December were specifically directed against the members of an identified political movement: the Islamic Movement of Nigeria (IMN). In the attacks, the IMN supporters were the primary group of civilians targeted on the grounds of their political affiliation to the IMN. In addition to that, the attacks were extended to the civilian population 'as a whole' insofar as the army did not distinguish between IMN members and general members of the public and the attacks included violent acts against business premises, residential areas of various villages and places where people sought refuge.
45. Similarly, the armed forces should be considered also responsible for committing the crime of torture against IMN supporters during their unlawful detention in

the aftermath of the attacks. Indeed, more than 500 individuals, including children and pregnant women were allegedly detained arbitrarily following the assault at the Hussainiyyah Baqiyatullah centre and Zakzaky's residence. Many detainees were photographed showing signs of being brutalised and tortured while in detention in facilities across Kaduna state and beyond.

46. While IHRC believes these attacks were against an identifiable political organisation / movement, we would ask that the religious confession of the victims should still be taken into account. While the IMN has Sunni and Shia supporters and even a few Christian sympathisers across Nigeria, the army and the government view it as a Shia organisation. This is highlighted by the fact that the soldiers were chanting 'we have finished with the Shia and Zakzaky' and 'no more Shias in Nigeria'. Furthermore, subsequent statements (which were filmed during meetings) and actions by government officials and the military suggest that they are working in tandem to exterminate those they term 'Shia' in Nigeria. Clearly the soldiers believed that this attack was directed against the Shia community with a view to destroying it. Notwithstanding IMN's non-denominational constitution, the army's belief that they were destroying the Shia community should be considered by the ICC.
47. High-ranking community and political leaders were recorded preaching hate speeches directed against members of IMN. The Nigerian military officers sponsored smear campaigns on national television stations aimed at inciting the public to attack IMN and its leadership. Top military officers have also met with high profile religious leaders and financially induced them to intensify hate preaching against members of the IMN, with a view to justifying their crimes and indeed inciting more attacks on IMN members all over the country.

### **ii) Widespread Or Systematic Nature Of The Attack**

48. The "attack" element, as contained in article 7(1) of the Rome Statute, describes a course of conduct involving the 'multiple commission' of acts of violence listed in Article 7(1).
49. IHRC believes that the acts committed by the Nigerian army during the attacks on the Hussainiyyah, Zakzaky's house and Darur Rahma graveyard, fall under the categories listed in article 7(1): murder; imprisonment or other severe deprivation of physical liberty; torture; rape, or any form of sexual violence of comparable gravity; other inhumane acts of a similar character intentionally causing great suffering, or serious injury to body or to mental or physical health.
50. For an alleged act to warrant classification as a crime against humanity, it must meet the 'widespread element' that qualifies the magnitude of the acts. It refers to the large-scale nature of the attack in terms of the high number of victims and the geographical spread. Consequently, the alleged act must be massive, frequent, carried out collectively with considerable seriousness and directed against a multiplicity of victims.
51. According to the statements of reliable sources, so far, the actual figures demonstrate that at least 1000 civilians were killed and hundreds more injured as

a result of the military attacks over the three days. Furthermore, other reports as well as the latest Human Rights Watch report confirmed the use of mass graves by the army, where numerous corpses were quickly buried with the intention of concealing the total number of victims.

52. In respect of the geographical spread, IMN members told Human Rights Watch that mass graves have been documented in some locations in Kaduna state: notably along Kaduna to Birnin Gwari road. There were also attacks in Kaduna, resulting in the deaths of 13 individuals including women, with scores arrested, tortured and imprisoned without charge. In addition, the attacks resulted in the destruction of all structures owned by IMN across the Zaria area. These include the Hussainiyyah complex at GRA area, an adjacent property previously owned by the defunct British Tobacco Company acquired from them when they left, the Fudiyya Islamic Centre at Dan Magaji, the private house of Zakzaky's late mother at the Jushi neighbourhood of Zaria (where her grave was also situated) and Darur Rahma. Such reports demonstrate that the violent attacks affected a wide geographical area of Kaduna state. However, other acts occurred in other areas across Nigeria, especially in the north where IMN supporters staged protests in support of the Islamic Movement.
53. IHRC maintains that the 'contextual element' of the attack is met in a satisfactory manner. This refers to the "systematic" nature of the attack, determined by qualitative rather than quantitative measurement. It aims at pointing out the organised nature of the crimes committed and serves to exclude isolated acts from the notion of crimes against humanity. In this regard, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda affirmed in the past that a crime against humanity must be 'thoroughly organised, following a regular pattern, on the basis of a common policy, and involving substantial public or private resources'. Similarly, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia established that the systematic element requires, above all, 'a political objective or plan; large-scale or continuous commission of crimes that are linked; the use of significant public or private resources; and the implication of high-level political and/or military authorities'. In addition, a clear reference to "policy element" has been made in article 7(2)(a) of the Rome Statute, which establishes that the attack on a civilian population must be carried out 'pursuant to or in furtherance of a State or organizational policy to commit such attack'.
54. Accordingly, IHRC believes that the incidents of the 12 and 14 December were not isolated or random acts; rather they took place on a large scale and targeted a large number of civilian victims. In addition, IHRC believes that the army acted with impunity firing several rounds of rocket propelled grenades at the civilian population and that it had pre-planned both attacks in 2014 and in 2015. The complicity of the government in this regard can also be proved by the official statements of governmental representatives aimed at justifying the army attacks or attempting to clear themselves of all responsibility, and their frantic attempts at hiding the crimes. There is evidence too that government officials and representatives are working to further these attacks in scope and spread.
55. Therefore, it is not unrealistic to assume that both attacks can be considered as a part of a broader hostile policy targeting the IMN due to the political views that

the movement presents on behalf of the Nigerian civilian population. IHRC strongly believes that the events leading to the present massacre have a history and it is a history of premeditation.

56. Since as far back as 2009, in a video that IHRC has obtained, Sheikh Ibrahim Zakzaky has been convinced that the government would attempt to commit a 'massacre' based on a secret official document (a 'blueprint') he said was made available to him. He stated: *"We obtained some document called blueprint. It is a written document outlining a certain secret plot that we have obtained. It was written in the blueprint that between 16th and 19th September, an operation would be carried out. The location of the operation was stated, and it is going to be in Zaria. It was stated that the operation involves a massacre. They used a term that one never ever thought of, but that was what was clearly written in that government blueprint. They would carry out a massacre... it came to our notice last night from a very reliable source in Abuja that the operation would be carried out in my residence, and that they would bomb the house and completely destroy it!"* The exposing of this plot perhaps averted the bloodshed at the time or postponed it.
57. About three months before the present attack, in another video, Sheikh Zakzaky exposed a plot by the Nigerian military to kill him in a way that closely resembles how the latest attack was ruthlessly executed. In between these revelations, there have been several attempts on Sheikh Zakzaky's life by the Nigerian army. In July 2015, soldiers laid ambush to his convoy on the way to Abuja<sup>3</sup>. In fact, Sheikh Zakzaky has escaped many assassination attempts, sieges and ambushes by the Nigerian security operatives or their agents. When threats to his life peaked to the extent that each time he stepped out of his house attempts on his life were made by the military, members of the IMN and other people staged peaceful rallies across the country which was widely reported in the media at local and international levels<sup>4</sup>. Recall that in July 2014, three of his male children were caught alive, tortured and shot dead along with 31 others. Witnesses and survivors then reported that the soldiers told his children that "when we get your father, this is what we will do to him".
58. The fact that the attacks were carried out following the 'shoot-to-kill modus operandi' within a short time-span might also be indicative of the existence of a policy that deliberately gave the army the go-ahead to commit such crimes. A recent report by Amnesty International indicated that several human rights violations occurred including extrajudicial executions, indiscriminate arrests, incommunicado detention, and enforced disappearances of members of the IMN at the hands of the Nigerian military. The attacks followed a well-documented pattern of serious human rights abuses against civilians, including indiscriminate shootings against unarmed civilians with no warning; mass arrests; prolonged detention without trial; cruel and inhuman treatment; torture of detainees; extrajudicial killings; rape and sexual harassment. Furthermore, there appears to be a pattern to the shootings, especially of women around their reproductive organs that suggests a deliberate attempt at permanently damaging reproductive capacity in the event of survival.
59. There is also a deliberate governmental attempt at all levels to conceal these crimes and its magnitude. The chief of army staff said only seven people were

killed<sup>5</sup>. However, as confirmed by HRW, more than 300 people might have been killed and there are credible reports of mass graves. The Kaduna state government had quickly demolished structures and property with looting and arson being used as weapons to remove evidence. Key witnesses have been taken out through killings, incommunicado detention and forced disappearances.

60. The local and national authorities are not willing to conduct genuine proceedings in relation to those who bear the greatest responsibility for these crimes. IMN has repeatedly stated its lack of confidence in the probes into the events citing the prejudiced stance of authorities, irregularities in setting up of panels, partisanship and bias of panel members and the glaring unwillingness to punish those who had previously violated the rights of IMN members. Amnesty International recently called for independent, impartial, transparent and effective investigations, expressing its concern about the impartiality of some members of the probe team<sup>6</sup>.

### **b) Subject-matter Jurisdiction: the Underlying Acts**

61. IHRC highlights that the acts committed by the army during the attacks on the Hussainiyyah, Zakzaky's house and Darur Rahma graveyard, fall under the categories established in article 7(1), to: murder; imprisonment or other severe deprivation of physical liberty; torture; rape, or any form of sexual violence of comparable gravity; other inhumane acts of a similar character intentionally causing great suffering, or serious injury to body or to mental or physical health.

62. The crimes committed by the army during the clashes resulted in a reported 1,000 deaths, of which the majority were mainly due to injuries caused by gunshots fired by soldiers during the raids. Incinerations of corpses and injuries showing burns were also reported. Cases of people being burnt alive have also emerged. Injuries caused by machetes or other knife wounds have also been found on the corpses, and could be the work of the criminal groups that perpetrated acts of looting and mutilation.

63. Signs of torture and electrocution have been evidenced on the body of the IMN leader Sheikh Zakzaky and other detainees, two of whom died as a result thereof<sup>7</sup>. In this regard, Ibrahim Musa, the IMN spokesman, confirmed in a statement that another 40 IMN members were left in extremely poor physical condition after surviving the gunshots.

64. Incidents of sexual violence have been reported, including cases of rape against women affiliates of the IMN. A 14-year old female witness told IHRC that the military shot her in her private parts when she resisted attempts by soldiers to rape her. Some had their breasts cut off and others were shot in the pelvic region damaging their uterus. There were several other cases of sexual harassment and violence reported as testified to by the Sisters Forum of the IMN in a press conference in Kaduna.

65. Other inhumane acts have been committed causing 'great suffering, or serious injury to body or to mental or physical health'. In this regard, the supporting material indicates that at least 200 persons suffered injuries as a result of the

violence associated with the December incidents. Over 74 were attended to at the Ahmadu Bello Teaching Hospital Zaria, out of which four died of their gunshot wounds in the course of their hospital stay. Others were taken to private hospitals in Kaduna and Kano out of safety concerns.

### **c) Jurisdiction *ratione temporis***

66. Nigeria deposited its instrument of ratification to the Rome Statute on 27 September 2001. The ICC therefore has jurisdiction over Rome Statute crimes committed on the territory of Nigeria or by its nationals from 1 July 2002 onwards.
67. Up to and including 01 June 2013, the Prosecutor's Office has received 65 articles and 15 communications in relation to the situation in Nigeria, out of which 26 were manifestly outside the jurisdiction of the Court; five were found to warrant further analysis; and 28 communications were included in the preliminary examination.
68. The ICC Prosecutor has determined that there is a reasonable basis to believe that crimes against humanity have been committed in Nigeria, specifically the acts of murder and persecution attributed to Boko Haram. Therefore, the ICC Prosecutor has decided that the preliminary examination of the situation in Nigeria should advance to phase 3 (admissibility) with a view to assessing whether the national authorities are conducting genuine proceedings in relation to those who appear to bear the greatest responsibility for such crimes, and the gravity of such crimes.

### **d) Jurisdiction *ratione loci***

69. IHRC recalls that for a crime to fall within the jurisdiction of the court for the purpose of article 53(1)(a) of the statute, it must also meet at least one of the alternative conditions specified in article 12. To say, the crime must either occur on the territory of a State Party to the Statute or a State which has lodged a declaration by virtue of article 12(3) of the Statute, or be committed by a national of any such State.
70. Accordingly, the crimes were committed on Nigerian territory by the Nigerian army, and the main affected areas include the Kaduna area. For this reason, IHRC believes that the crimes committed by the Nigerian army meet the legal requirements provided by the law.

### **e) The admissibility parameters**

71. In compliance with the provisions set out in article 17 of the Statute, for a crime to be investigated by the Prosecutor, the two parameters of admissibility and gravity need to be met.

#### **i) Admissibility**

72. At the present time, the available information shows some inadequacies or reluctance on the part of the Nigerian authorities to generally address the violence

that occurred on 12-14 December 2015. The Judicial Commission of Inquiry set up by the Kaduna state governor Malam Nasir el-Rufai is insufficiently independent and impartial to be able to hold those responsible to account, nor is there any reasonable prospect of any prosecutions. In his speech, the governor listed a range of grievances against the IMN, which is indicative of bias against the IMN from the start. He further proceeded to demolish IMN properties before setting up the commission of inquiry. Both IMN and Amnesty International have expressed concerns that the Judicial Commission of Inquiry is not set up to sufficiently perform a credible inquiry<sup>8</sup>.

73. Hence, IHRC has legitimate suspicions that the Nigerian state is unwilling to carry out a fair and impartial investigation and prosecutions. In fact, the Nigerian authorities have proved to be willing to shield the persons concerned from criminal responsibility for the crimes alleged. For this reason, IHRC believes that the legal requirement of admissibility established in article 17(1)(a) is applicable to the case insofar as the proceedings presumably could not be conducted fairly and with impartiality, or in a manner which is consistent with the intention of bringing the persons concerned to justice.
74. Proof of this is the fact that while the Nigerian government stated its intent to bring to justice those responsible for the violence against the IMN in 2014, to date no relevant legal action has been taken. No one has been prosecuted and no preliminary investigation has been opened either. Similarly, it is reasonable to infer that the inactivity and unwillingness to investigate the events in 2014 will also prevail over the incidents of December 2015.

### **ii) Gravity Of The Crimes**

75. IHRC believes that the gravity of the crimes committed within the incidents reported is sufficient to justify further action by the court as stated in article 17 of the Rome Statute. They are consistent with the qualitative factors required in relation to the scale, nature and manner of commission and the impact of crimes committed on the Nigerian civilian population during the attacks.
76. The attacks were attended by illegitimate violence and a high degree of brutality, insofar as the army opened fire on unarmed civilians; allowed criminals to crudely cut off body parts; proceeded to dig mass graves without permission from the families of the victims and carried out extrajudicial crimes and detained civilians unlawfully.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

77. IHRC intends to express its growing concerns about the consequence of this savage attack on the Nigerian civilian population. Through this attack, the Nigerian people's political aspirations have been silenced, as well as their right to freedom of expression.
78. IHRC is deeply concerned about the incidents that occurred between 12-13 December 2015 and maintains that there are reasonable grounds to believe that the crimes committed during that weekend fall within the jurisdiction of the Court.
79. Considering all the information and the supporting material, IHRC believes that the 'reasonable basis to proceed' standard is met. In view of the above, IHRC therefore calls on the Prosecutor to consider the case and initiate all the legal actions required *proprio motu*, in accordance with the law.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> All the incidents included hereinafter have been reported to IHRC by eyewitnesses and victims' families. They are at IHRC's disposal and can be provided to ICC at a later stage

<sup>2</sup> Generally, please refer to previous ICC reports on Nigeria, available on: <https://www.icc-cpi.int/iccdocs/PIDS/docs/SAS%20-%20NGA%20-%20Public%20version%20Article%205%20Report%20-%202005%20August%202013.PDF>

<sup>3</sup> Reported by many Nigerian Newspapers including in the Guardian Newspaper of July 29, 2015: [www.ngrguardiannews.com](http://www.ngrguardiannews.com)

<sup>4</sup> Ibid

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.punchng.com/we-killed-seven-shiite-muslims-to-save-buratais-life-army/#.VrdxLv6jsbs>

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr44/3363/2016/en/>

<sup>7</sup>

[http://www.islamicmovement.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=2338:press-statement-on-death-in-prison-kaduna&catid=41:frontpage](http://www.islamicmovement.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2338:press-statement-on-death-in-prison-kaduna&catid=41:frontpage)

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr44/3363/2016/en/>

## **Appendix A: Army personnel and politicians the ICC should investigate**

1. Lt Gen. Tukur Buratai
2. Col. Sani Kukasheka Usman
3. GOC 1 Div Nigerian Army, Kaduna, Major General Adeniyi Oyebade
4. Commander Nigerian Depot
5. Chief of Defence Staff
6. Director Military Intelligence
7. Chief of Defence intelligence – AVM Riku Morgan
8. Col. AK Ibrahim – Commander 1 Div Garrison, Nigerian Army, Kaduna
9. Lt. Col. FM Babayo (Promoted after the operation to Col – 1 Div Kaduna)
10. Capt Ben – Adjutant Depot, Nigerian Army
11. Maj. Gen. Adeniyi Oyebade – General Officer Commanding, 1 Div Garrison Kaduna – He received orders for the whole operation from Kaduna State Governor Malam Ahmad Elrufa'i
12. Brig Gen CG Musa – Commander Depot, Nig Army
13. An unnamed officer – Who was the intelligence officer Nigerian Army

### **Prominent politicians**

1. Governor Kaduna State – Malam Nasir ElRufai
2. Emir of Zaria – Alh Shehu Idris
3. President Gen. Muhammadu Buhari
4. Emir of Kano – Muhammadu Sanusi II
5. Professor Umar Labdo
6. Sambo Yusuf Rigachukun
7. Bala Lau
8. Yahaya Jingir
9. Kabir Gombe

## Appendix B: List of those known to have been killed

\* Age provided where known

This list is still being updated, and does not reflect the total number of casualties on 12 /13 December 2015.

No	NAME IN FULL	HOME / ADDRESS	AGE*	LOCATION
1.	Malama Jamila Jibrin	Kwangila, Zaria L. G. A, Kaduna State	35	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
2.	Umar Adam PZ	Tudun Jikum, Zaria L. G. A, Kaduna State	46	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
3.	Abubakar Mohammad (Nera)	Hayin Ojo Sabongari, Zaria	45	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
4.	Fatima M. Lawal	Magume, Zaria	18	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
5.	Muhammad Uncle	Hayin Ojo Sabongari, Zaria		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
6.	Muhammad Sani Abubakar	Dakwa, Abuja	48	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
7.	Rilwan Kurmin Kogi	Rimin Danza, Zariya City, Kaduna State	53	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
8.	Ammar Isa Goza	Jushi Zaria City Kaduna State	24	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
9.	Nusaiba Yaqub Zurmi	Magume Zariya	22	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
10.	Aminu Ali	Kudan L.G.A. Kaduna State	40	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
11.	Salihu Sabon Layi	Kudan L.G.A. Kaduna State	40	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
12.	Muhammad Isa Adamu (shaheed)	Tandari, Potiskum Yobe State	23	Gyallesu
13.	Salihu Muhammad Uganda	Uganda, Potiskum Yobe State	40	Gyallesu
14.	Muhammad Salihu Sakafa	Sakafa, Potiskum Yobe State	23	Gyallesu
15.	Al'amin Abbas Shareef	Dambuwa, Potiskum Yobe State	31	Gyallesu
16.	Muhammad Isa Adamu	Tandari, Potiskum Yobe State	23	Gyallesu
17.	Alhaji Muhmmad Sani Abubakar Roba	Udawa, Chikum L. G. A, Kaduna State	50	Gyallesu
18.	Sukaina Ja'afar	Gimi, Ikara L. G. A, Kaduna State	20	Gyallesu
19.	Iliyasu Muhammad Rabi'u	Talatan Mafara, Zamfara Stare	11	Gyallesu
20.	Aliyu Muhammad Rabi'u	Talatan Mafara, Zamfara Stare	10	Gyallesu
21.	Muhammad Raja'u	Dutsan Wai, Kubau L. G. A. Kaduna State	21	Gyallesu
22.	Muhammad Waziri Isa	Area 'F' ABU Staff Qrs, Samaru Zaria	23	Gyallesu
23.	Hassan Waziri Isa	Area 'F' ABU Staff Qrs, Samaru Zaria	18	Gyallesu
24.	Hussaini Waziri Isa	Area 'F' ABU Staff Qrs, Samaru Zaria	18	Gyallesu
25.	Fatima Waziri Isa	Area 'F' ABU Staff Qrs, Samaru Zaria	21	Gyallesu
26.	Bukhari Bello Jega	University of Abuja	34	Gyallesu
27.	Aisha Abubakar Zaki	Gwagwalada, Abuja	22	Gyallesu
28.	Nusaiba Abubakar Zaki	Gwagwalada, Abuja	20	Gyallesu
29.	Fatima Abubakar Zaki	Gwagwalada, Abuja	18	Gyallesu
30.	Batula Buhari Bello Jega	Gwagwalada, Abuja	1.5	Gyallesu
31.	Yakubu Husaini	Faskar Wambai T/wada L. G. A. Kano State	22	Gyallesu
32.	Hasan Shehu	Dandume L. G. A. Katsina State	16	Gyallesu
33.	Ibrahim Aminu Akilu	Kode Kano State	28	Gyallesu

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34.	Mahdi Awwal Gangare	Jos North Plateau	19	Gyallesu
35.	Ibrahim Alhasan	Ang. Bawa Saminaka L. G. A. Kaduna State	27	Gyallesu
36.	Muhammad Daha Mahrazu	Kofar Kibau, Zaria City	24	Gyallesu
37.	Alhasan Ishak Musa	Gyallesu, Zaria	2.5	Gyallesu
38.	Suleiman Ahmad (Haris)	Dogarawa, Zariya	34	Gyallesu
39.	Usman Abdullahi Kankia	Hayin Ojo Sabongari, Zaria	50	Gyallesu
40.	Aliyu M. Lawan	Muchiya, Sabongari, Zaria	30	Gyallesu
41.	Abdulkarim M. Lawal Dambam	Gyallesu, Zaria	50	Gyallesu
42.	Nuhu Yunusa (Digging)	Gyallesu, Zaria	40	Gyallesu
43.	Sayyid Hammad Ibraheem Zakzaky	Gyallesu, Zaria	17	Gyallesu
44.	Sayyid Ali Ibraheem Zakzaky	Gyallesu, Zaria	14	Gyallesu
45.	Sayyid Hummaid Ibraheem Zakzaky	Gyallesu, Zaria	12	Gyallesu
46.	Hajiya Fatima Yaqoub (Gogo Binta)	Gyallesu, Zaria	68	Gyallesu
47.	Hamza Abubakar	Ingaski Yawuri, Kebbi State	40	Gyallesu
48.	Naziru Usman	Sabuwar Ang. Mafara, Zamfara	24	Gyallesu
49.	Fatima Aminu Maihoto	Ang. Alkali Zaria City	18	Gyallesu
50.	Musa Abubakar (Al-Rahus)	Kurna, Kano	33	Gyallesu
51.	Rukayya Nuhu	Wanka, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State	15	Gyallesu
52.	Abubakar Saleh	Barwa, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State	25	Gyallesu
53.	Ja'afaru Rabi'u	Barwa, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State	20	Gyallesu
54.	Mukhtar Sabi'u	Lambar Zango, Igabi L. G. A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
55.	Ahmad Mohammad	Richifa, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State	22	Gyallesu
56.	Zuwaira Mohammad	Richifa, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State	30	Gyallesu
57.	Nura Alh Dauda	Richifa, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State	23	Gyallesu
58.	Ibrahim Dauda	Richifa, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State	21	Gyallesu
59.	Rabi'u Muhammad Sani	Richifa, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State	35	Gyallesu
60.	Gambo Yusuf	Richifa, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
61.	Munkaila Yusuf	Richifa, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
62.	Adamu Alhassan	Richifa, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State	50	Gyallesu
63.	Abubakar Jibrin	Richifa, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State	23	Gyallesu
64.	Adamu Aliyu	Richifa, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State	21	Gyallesu
65.	Dalha Driver	Limancin Kona, Zaria L. G. A. Kaduna	40	Gyallesu
66.	Ali Haruna	Limancin Kona, Zaria L. G. A. Kaduna	18	Gyallesu
67.	Mu'azu Rilwan	Rimin Danza, Zariya City, Kaduna State	25	Gyallesu
68.	Abdullahi Abbas	Rimin Danza, Zariya City, Kaduna State		Gyallesu
69.	Abdurrazaq Abdullahi Abbas	Rimin Danza, Zariya City, Kaduna State		Gyallesu
70.	Abbas Abdullahi Abbas	Rimin Danza, Zariya City, Kaduna State		Gyallesu
71.	Muhammad Abdullahi Abbas	Rimin Danza, Zariya City, Kaduna State		Gyallesu
72.	Ahmad Abdullahi Abbas	Rimin Danza, Zariya City, Kaduna State		Gyallesu
73.	Ibrahim Abdullahi Abbas	Rimin Danza, Zariya City, Kaduna State		Gyallesu
74.	Jawwad Abdullahi Abbas	Rimin Danza, Zariya City, Kaduna State		Gyallesu
75.	Musa Taikon	Kusfa Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
76.	Nusaiba Abubakar Abdullahi Sokoto	Ang. Alkali Zaria City Kaduna State	18	Gyallesu
77.	Fatima Ahmad Gashua	Tudun Jikun, Zariya	22	Gyallesu
78.	Mudasir Bala	Kudan L.G.A. Kaduna State	25	Gyallesu
79.	Zaharadeen Abdullahi	Funtuwa L. G. A Katsina State	20	Gyallesu
80.	Ibrahim Usman	Tudun Wada, Kaduna North, Kaduna State	50	Gyallesu

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81.	Muhammad Inuwa Jalabi	Rigasa, Igabi L.G.A. Kaduna State	35	Gyallesu
82.	Husaini Muhammad Aminu	Ang. Rimi, Kaduna North, Kaduna State	21	Gyallesu
83.	Aliyu Muhammad	Hayin Na'iyā, Kaduna North, Kaduna State	21	Gyallesu
84.	Abdulaziz Haruna	Kabala Custain, Kaduna South, Kaduna State	46	Gyallesu
85.	Muhammad Aminu Sani	Rigasa, Igabi L.G.A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
86.	Musa Salisu (Coach)	Rigasa, Igabi L.G.A. Kaduna State	50	Gyallesu
87.	Ibrahim Yusuf	Rigasa, Igabi L.G.A. Kaduna State	25	Gyallesu
88.	Muhammad Rabi'u	Rigasa, Igabi L.G.A. Kaduna State	31	Gyallesu
89.	Jamilu Yahaya	Rigasa, Igabi L.G.A. Kaduna State	25	Gyallesu
90.	Nura Umar	Rigasa, Igabi L.G.A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
91.	Bashir Shahid Adam	Kawo, Kaduna North, Kaduna State	21	Gyallesu
92.	Ibrahim Ahmad	Badikko, Kaduna North, Kaduna State	40	Gyallesu
93.	Muhammad Auwal (Mabo)	Badikko, Kaduna North, Kaduna State	42	Gyallesu
94.	Saidu Salihu	Ang. Kinkinau Kaduna	32	Gyallesu
95.	Abu Jihad Isa (Afganistan)	Rigasa, Igabi L.G.A. Kaduna State	18	Gyallesu
96.	Hajiya Habiba Abdullahi	Kurmin Mashi, Kaduna North, Kaduna State	50	Gyallesu
97.	Muhammad Auwal Yawale	Suleja, Niger State	32	Gyallesu
98.	Idris Ibarhim	Suleja, Niger State	28	Gyallesu
99.	Muhammad Mudassir Bala	Suleja, Niger State	23	Gyallesu
100.	Muhammad Mubarak Bala	Suleja, Niger State	21	Gyallesu
101.	Junaidu Umar Nahabu	Suleja, Niger State	25	Gyallesu
102.	Abdulrazak Ibrahim	Suleja, Niger State	21	Gyallesu
103.	Muhammad Adamu	Lambata Suleja, Niger State	25	Gyallesu
104.	Abdulgaffar Muhammad	Madalla Suleja, Niger State	22	Gyallesu
105.	Hassan Shehu	Dandume, Katsina State	16	Gyallesu
106.	Rukayya Nuhu	Soba L.G.A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
107.	Yahaya Muhammad	Soba L.G.A. Kaduna State	45	Gyallesu
108.	Hamisu Usman	Soba L.G.A. Kaduna State	45	Gyallesu
109.	Rabilu Suleiman	Soba L.G.A. Kaduna State	40	Gyallesu
110.	Mustapha Sani	Soba L.G.A. Kaduna State	20	Gyallesu
111.	Tukur Abdullahi	Soba L.G.A. Kaduna State	35	Gyallesu
112.	Sakina Ja'afar	Soba L.G.A. Kaduna State	15	Gyallesu
113.	Auwal Muhammad Auwal	Darazo L.G.A. Bauchi State		Gyallesu
114.	Alhaji Habib Muhammad	Kurna, Kano State	45	Gyallesu
115.	Muhammad Murtada	Na'ibawa, Kano State	19	Gyallesu
116.	Hafizu Dauda	Kurna, Kano State	40	Gyallesu
117.	Fatima Aliyu	Minjibir Town, Kano	20	Gyallesu
118.	Abdullahi Iliyasu	Na'ibawa Hausawa, Kano State	40	Gyallesu
119.	Muazu Muhammad	Na'ibawa Tukuntawa, Kano State	40	Gyallesu
120.	Musa Ibrahim	Sharada Sabon Titi, Kano State	35	Gyallesu
121.	Alhassan Adamu	Tudun Wada, Kano State	38	Gyallesu
122.	Hisbullahi Isa	Tudun Wada, Kano State	18	Gyallesu
123.	Aminu Abdulmutalib	Tudun Wada, Kano State	25	Gyallesu
124.	Nuhu Habibu	Tudun Wada, Kano State	23	Gyallesu
125.	Nasiru Garba	Tudun Wada, Kano State	30	Gyallesu
126.	Umar Abdullahi	Tudun Wada, Kano State	37	Gyallesu
127.	Bilya Rabi'u	Tudun Wada, Kano State	42	Gyallesu

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128. Muhammad (Abba) Bashir	Tudun Wada Kwana Hudu, Kano State	20	Gyallesu
129. Hujjatullah Bashir Taura	Tudun Wada Kwana Hudu, Kano State	18	Gyallesu
130. Zailani Ali	Tudun Wada, Kano State	22	Gyallesu
131. Sammani Misbahu	Sabon Titi, Kano State	40	Gyallesu
132. Alhaji Aminu Yusuf	Kazaure L.G.A. Jigawa State	34	Gyallesu
133. Kabiru Ahmad	Kazaure L.G.A. Jigawa State	45	Gyallesu
134. Yushau Sulaiman Art	Daura L.G.A. Katsina State	22	Gyallesu
135. Umar Isha Tela	Daura L.G.A. Katsina State	22	Gyallesu
136. Salihu Awwal Yusuf	Daura L.G.A. Katsina State	21	Gyallesu
137. Nafi'u Musa	Daura L.G.A. Katsina State	43	Gyallesu
138. Isha Sulaiman Gidan Marhaba, Tabon Sani Town, Buruku Chikum L.G.A. Kaduna State		55	Gyallesu
139. Karibullah Mustapah	Zangon Aya Town, Igabi L.G.A. Kaduna State	18	Gyallesu
140. Muntaka Sabi'u	Zangon Aya Town, Igabi L.G.A. Kaduna State	20	Gyallesu
141. Musa Ibrahim	Kusfa, Zaria Kaduna State	33	Gyallesu
142. Muhammad Ibrahim Maradi (Niger Republic)	Katsina		Gyallesu
143. Alhaji Ibraheem Ahmad (Alheri Blocks) Dutsinma	Katsina		Gyallesu
144. Raja'u Husaini Escort Dutsanwai	Kubau L.G.A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
145. Yakubu Okene	Zaria		Gyallesu
146. Ahmad Yakubu Okene	Zaria		Gyallesu
147. Fatima Yakubu Okene	Zaria		Gyallesu
148. Khadija Yakubu Okene	Zaria		Gyallesu
149. Zakariyya Muhammad Marabar Jos	Marabar Jos, Igabi L.G. A. Kaduna State	35	Gyallesu
150. Wasila A. Musa	Marabar Jos, Igabi L.G. A. Kaduna State	30	Gyallesu
151. Ibrahim Abubakar Sabati	Marabar Jos, Igabi L.G. A. Kaduna State	25	Gyallesu
152. Salisu Muhammad (Na Sayyida)	Tudun Wada Kaduna North, Kaduna State	35	Gyallesu
153. Mujahid Abdulkadir Adamu	Bauchi State		Gyallesu
154. Basiru Rahama	Gyallesu, Zariya	38	Gyallesu
155. Usman Yawuri	Gyallesu, Zaria	40	Gyallesu
156. Sani Ibrahim	Tudun Wada Bargi, Kano State	30	Dogarawa
157. Mukhtar Ibrahim	Tudun Wada Bargi, Kano State	24	Dogarawa
158. Ishaq brahim	Tudun Wada Bargi, Kano State	35	Dogarawa
159. Shehu Ibrahim	Tudun Wada Bargi, Kano State	23	Dogarawa
160. Abdullahi Ibrahim	Tudun Wada Bargi, Kano State	22	Dogarawa
161. Abdullahi Musa	Tudun Wada Bargi, Kano State	40	Dogarawa
162. Iliya Jaafar	Tudun Wada Bargi, Kano State	21	Dogarawa
163. Mubarak Yahaya	Tudun Wada Bargi, Kano State	16	Dogarawa
164. Muhammad Bello Abdullahi	Tudun Wada Bargi, Kano State	38	Dogarawa
165. Tukur Shehu	Tudun Wada Bargi, Kano State	35	Dogarawa
166. Usman Shafi'u	Tudun Wada Bargi, Kano State	24	Dogarawa
167. Abdulkarim Umar	Tudun Wada Bargi, Kano State	23	Dogarawa
168. Hassan Tukur	Tudun Wada Bargi, Kano State	20	Dogarawa
169. Abdulkadir Ayuba	Tudun Wada Bargi, Kano State	35	Dogarawa
170. Sani Shehu	Tudun Wada Bargi, Kano State	48	Dogarawa
171. Musa Hassan	Tudun Wada Bargi, Kano State	27	Dogarawa
172. Nasiru Muhammad	Tudun Wada Bargi, Kano State	22	Dogarawa
173. Suraj Khalid	Tudun Wada Bargi, Kano State	40	Dogarawa
174. Abubakar Usman	Tudun Wada Bargi, Kano State	39	Dogarawa

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175. Ayuba Bawa	Tudun Wada Bargi, Kano State	23	Dogarawa
176. Kabiru Abubakar	Tudun Wada Bargi, Kano State	22	Dogarawa
177. Ismail Abdullahi	Tudun Wada Kwana, Kano State	35	Dogarawa
178. Auwalu Shuaibu	Tudun Wada Kwana, Kano State	35	Dogarawa
179. Bashir Musa	Tudun Wada Kwana, Kano State	20	Dogarawa
180. Surajo Shuaibu	Tudun Wada Kwana, Kano State	32	Dogarawa
181. Musa Nasiru	Tudun Wada Kwana, Kano State	25	Dogarawa
182. Yakubu Hussaini	Tudun Wada Faska, Kano State	18	Dogarawa
183. Isa Shehu	Tudun Wada Yarganji, Kano State	32	Dogarawa
184. Rabi'u Murtala	Tudun Wada, Kano State	35	Dogarawa
185. Alhassan Ado	Tudun Wada, Kano State	48	Dogarawa
186. Ibrahim Usman	Tudun Wada, Kano State	24	Dogarawa
187. Ukasha Muhammad Kandahar	Bauchi State	20	Darur Rahama
188. Zahraddeen Idris Dauda	Bauchi State	27	Darur Rahama
189. Aminu Abubakar Mai Bulawus	Bauchi State	23	Darur Rahama
190. Jamilu Salisu	Ang. Noma, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State	28	Darur Rahama
191. Haruna Salisu	Ang. Noma, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State	25	Darur Rahama
192. Ukasha Idris Ibrahim	Doya Bauchi State		Darur Rahama
193. Aminu Abubakar	Jahun Bauchi State		Darur Rahama
194. Abubakar liliyasu	Rijija Bauchi State		Darur Rahama
195. Muhammad Baffajo Soba	Bauchi State		Darur Rahama
196. Muhammad Abubakar Salihu	Bauchi State		Darur Rahama
197. Muhammad Musa	Bauchi State		Darur Rahama
198. Ishaq Adamu	Bauchi State		Darur Rahama
199. Naziru Tijani Umar	Bauchi State		Darur Rahama
200. Nura Haruna	Bauchi State		Darur Rahama
201. Zaharaddini Idris Dauda	Bauchi State		Darur Rahama
202. Zaharaddini Musa	Bauchi State		Darur Rahama
203. Abdulkarim M. Lawal	Bauchi State		Dauru Rahama
204. Maimuna Masud	Kakuri, Kaduna South, Kaduna State	62	Kaduna
205. Yusuf Badamasi	Kakuri, Kaduna South, Kaduna State	42	Kaduna
206. Hussaini Saidu (Markaz)	Ang. Mu'azu, Kaduna South, Kaduna State	35	Kaduna
207. Ismail Suleiman	Rigasa, Igabi L.G.A. Kaduna State	45	Kaduna
208. Aliyu Ibrahim Tarotaro	Rigasa, Igabi L.G.A. Kaduna State	19	Kaduna
209. Yakubu Dahiru	Ang. Mu'azu Kaduna	40	Kaduna
210. Muazu Dahiru (Baballe)	Ang. M'azu Kaduna	30	Kaduna
211. Mikail Suleiman (Muhd	Ang. Mu'azu Kaduna	35	Kaduna
212. Ishaq Abdullahi	Ang. Mu'azu Kaduna	43	Kaduna
213. Aliyu Zainul Abideen	Rigasa, Igabi L.G.A. Kaduna State	18	Kaduna
214. Nuhu Rahama	Gyallesu, Zaria	42	Kaduna Prison
215. Abbas Ishaq	Kawo, Kaduna North, Kaduna State	40	Kaduna Prison
216. Idris Mando	Kawo, Kaduna North, Kaduna State	40	Kaduna Prison

(Corpses were seen before they were set ablaze or taken away by the military)

NOTE: Many more were subsequently killed

## Appendix C: List of those in detention

Total 219 people in detention.

The information is presented in the following order: Name – place of residence (where known).

1. Nasir Umar, Tsafe – Zamfara State
2. Aliyu Adamu Tsoho – Jos North, Plateau State
3. Awwal Alhasan – K/Mashi, Kaduna
4. Kabiru Muhammad Shittu – Daura, Katsina State
5. Ibrahim Abdullahi – Sabon Gari, Zariya
6. Aliyu Muhammad Sani – Bakin Ruwa, Kaduna
7. Muhammad Awwal – Imam Road, Zariya
8. Ibrahim Yunusa – Dirimi Zariya
9. Aliyu Ibrahim – Tudun Jukun, Zariya
10. Muhammad Ibrahim – Malumfashi, Katsina State
11. Mustafa Abubakar – Tudun Nufawa, Kaduna
12. Zaharaddin Abdul'aziz – Dogarawa, Zariya
13. Abdulgaffar Muhammad – Madalla, Suleja
14. Umar Muhammad – Rigasa, Kaduna
15. Muhammad Bello Ishaq – Rigasa, Kaduna
16. Usman Zubair, Ikara – Kaduna State
17. Abdulmajid Shu'aibu – Sabon Gari, Zariya
18. Abdurrashid Sa'idu – Sabon Gari Zariya
19. Mubarak Nasiru – Marabar Jos, Kaduna
20. Isa Ibrahim – M/Village, Kaduna
21. Musa Tahir – Malali, Kaduna
22. Naziru Ibrahim – S/Kunci, Shuwaki, Kano
23. Aminu Umar – Dakaci, Zariya
24. Sarki Ibrahim – Dorayi, Kano
25. Ishaq Muhammad – Dakaci, Zariya
26. Yahuza Yaqub – Farakwai, Kaduna
27. Mustafa Ibrahim – Giwa, Kaduna State
28. Mahadi Mikaila – Ganye/Saminaka, Kaduna State
29. Ibrahim Sulaiman (Barau) – Jushin Ciki, Zariya
30. Salisu Lawan – T/Jukun, Zariya
31. Safiyanu Abdussalam – Dogarawa Zariya
32. Abubakar Ahmad – Buruku, Kaduna
33. Jamilu AY – Udawa, Kaduna
34. Musa Rabilu – Kokami, Danja, Katsina State
35. Shamsuddin Bashir – Zariya City, Kaduna State
36. Gambo Yusuf – Ricifa, Soba, Zariya
37. Musa Abubakar – Tudun Jukun, Zariya

38. Yahaya Abdullahi – U/Mu’azu Kaduna
39. Sulaiman Bin Falalu – Masanawa, Katsina
40. Lawal Husain – Sabon Gari, Zariya
41. Abdulkarim Umar – T/Wada Kaduna
42. Yusuf Yahaya – Zariya City, Zariya
43. Alhaji Garba Sulaiman Taba – Tohu, Zariya
44. Aminu Yunusa, Wanka – Soba, Kaduna State
45. Zubairu Shehu – Wucicciri, Zariya
46. Shu’aibu Haruna – Malam Madori, Jigawa State
47. Anas Sulaiman – Jushin Ciki, Zariya
48. Hamisu Usman – Tashan Jirgi, Soba
49. Yahaya Abubakar – Zariya City, Zariya
50. Sulaiman Ahmad – Sabon Gari Zariya
51. Shu’aibu Yusuf – Jushi Zariya
52. Garba Jibrin – Bici, Kano
53. Bala Isa, Kurmi – Kafur, Katsina State
54. Basiru Muhammad – Sabon Layi, Katsina
55. Muhammad Adamu – Hanwa Zariya
56. Abdulhadi Junaidu – Zariya
57. Abubakar Usman – Tsigu, Katsina
58. Adam Mika’ilu Awwal – Zariya
59. Muhammad Kabir – Zariya
60. Nura Hashim – Zariya
61. Muhammad Aminu – Tudun Jukun Zariya
62. Usman Muhammad – Jushi, Zariya
63. Rabi’u Mahmud – S/Gari, Zariya
64. Muhammad Bello Albashir – Badarawa, Kaduna
65. Aliyu Muhammad Albashir – Badarawa, Kaduna
66. Awwal Yusuf – Tashar Yari, Makarfi
67. Muhammad Bello – Jushi Zariya
68. Abbas Nasir – Funtuwa
69. Saifullahi Muhammad – Chikaji, Zariya
70. Ibrahim Abdullahi – Zariya
71. Sulaiman Haruna – Kware, Sokoto
72. Ibrahim Abdullahi – Dabai, Katsina
73. Mustafa Lawal Doro – Bindawa, Katsina
74. Muhammad Awwal Yakubu – S/gari, Zariya
75. Abdurrazak Sulaiman – Zariya
76. Musa Haruna, Gwadarawa – Sokoto
77. Sulaiman Abdullahi – S/gari Zariya
78. Sa’ad Abdullahi – Karshi, Abuja
79. Ja’afar Yaqub – Gombe
80. Musa Ahmad – Jama’are, Bauci
81. Idris Ibrahim – Badikko, Kaduna
82. Saifullahi Musa Chairman – T/Jukun, Zariya
83. Salisu Idris – Kurnar Asabe Kano
84. Musa Salihu – T/Wada Kaduna
85. Iliyasu Umar – S/gari, Zariya
86. Muhammad Yusuf – Zariya
87. Ibrahim Husaini – Rigasa, Kaduna

88. Isa Murtala – Soba
89. Sadiq Yusuf – K/wari kudan
90. Isah Sa'idu – Potiskum
91. Mujahid Awwal – S/gari, Zariya
92. Muhammad Sani Sa'idu – Kwangila Zariya
93. Yusuf Adam – Jos
94. Jawwad Shahid Ali – Sokoto
95. Ahmad Sani Shehu – S/gari Zariya
96. Ishaq Lawal – Ruma Makarfi
97. Misbahu Falalu – Lere
98. Muhammad Awwal Abba – Abuja
99. Abubakar Ali – S/gari Zariya
100. Dahiru Isma'il – Zariya
101. Muhammad Haruna – Bauci
102. Muhammad Musa – Kaduna
103. Mukhtar Musa – S/gari Zariya
104. Hausaini Musa – Funtuwa
105. Yunusa Ishaq – Zariya
106. Yakubu Abdullahi Ishaq – Dogarawa, Zariya
107. Zakariyya Yahuza – K/Jatau, Zariya
108. Awwal Yusuf – Mairuwa
109. Muhammad Ahmad – Alkaleri Bauci
110. Mustafa Adam – Zariya
111. Umar Ibrahim Bebeji – Bebeji
112. Sa'idu Aliyu – Lokoja
113. Abubakar Usaini – Kaduna
114. Usaini Muhammad – Kaduna
115. Kamaluddin Sulaiman – Kudan
116. Abdul'aziz Idris – Bakori Katsina
117. Murtala Ibrahim – T/Iya, Funtuwa
118. Bilya Muhammad – T/Iya, Funtuwa
119. Muhammad Yusha'u Muhammad – H. Dogo, Zariya
120. Ibrahim Sulaiman – Dagaci, Zariya
121. Aminu Ibrahim – S/gari Zariya
122. Iliya Muhammad – S/gari Zariya
123. Mansur Yusuf – Gumel
124. Muhammad Abdullahi – Zariya
125. Abdullahi AH – Zariya
126. Ibrahim Shu'aibu – Zariya
127. Abdullahi Ma'aruf – Funtuwa
128. Abdulkadir Idris – Tsamiya
129. Umar Musa – Zariya
130. Muhammad Kabir Mansur – S/gari Zariya
131. Umar Abdullahi – Zariya
132. Muhammad Ibrahim – Kaduna
133. Abdullahi Abubakar – Zariya
134. Muhammad Sani – Caranci Katsina
135. Shehu Abdullahi – Dukkuma
136. Salihu Musa – Danja, Katsina
137. Adamu Sulaiman – Dakaci, Zariya

138. Bashir Ali, Tohu – Zariya
139. Mustafa Yahaya – Funtuwa
140. Mustafa Abubakar – Zariya
141. Sani Galadima – Soba
142. Abubakar Sa'idu – Fulatan, Barbaji
143. Uzairu Yusha'u – Zariya
144. Nuhu Ahmad – Anguwar Mai Allura
145. Abdulkadir Ibrahim – A/Bishar, Zariya
146. Safiyanu Mu'azu – Anguwar Kaya, Zariya
147. Aliyu Yusuf – S/gari, Zariya
148. Tasi'u Salisu – Zariya
149. Muhammad Sani Bala – Zariya
150. Salihu Abdullahi – Kudan
151. Yakubu Alhasan – Makarfi
152. Sabi'u Lawal – Makarfi
153. Awwal Abubakar – Yalwa Yawuri
154. Musa Ishaq – S/gari, Zariya
155. Shehu Haruna – Wucicciri, Zariya
156. Muhammad Sani – Sarkin Malamai Kaduna
157. Ibrahim Yusuf – Zariya City
158. Ibrahim Danbaba – Zariya City
159. Ibrahim Iliyasu – Zariya City
160. Yusuf Sani – Kano
161. Shitu Muhammad – Rahama Zariya
162. Abubakar Ahmad – Gadan Gayan
163. Mansur Muhammad – Suleja
164. Shehu Dalhatu – Jega
165. Ibrahim Muhammad – Yakasai
166. Jibrin Abdurra'uf – Makoyi, Kudan
167. Muhammad Isma'il – Potiskum
168. Sadiq Abdullahi – Bauci
169. Usaini Sani – S/gari, Zariya
170. Mahmud Salihu – Bauci
171. Sabi'u Rabi'u – Makarfi
172. Ishaq Umar Hasan – Jaji
173. Nura Nuhu, Wanka – Soba
174. Salihu Dahiru – Kaduna
175. Ibrahim Abdulhamid – Taba, Soba
176. Yusuf Muhammad, – Rigasa Kaduna
177. Abbas Isyaku – Kawo Kaduna
178. Muhammad Musa – Babban Dodo Zariya
179. Abubakar Musa – T/Jukun Zariya
180. Yusuf Ahmad – Gashua/ Gaidam
181. Umar Idris – Dakaci, Zariya
182. Sadiq Muhammad – Pape Abuja
183. Mustafa Muhammad Awwal – Dan Magaji Zariya
184. Abdulqadir Muhammad – Damari, B/Gwari
185. Adam Abdullahi – S/gari, Zariya
186. Ibrahim Ayuba – Dakwa Abuja
187. Hamza Isa – S/gari, Zariya

188. Ahmad Aliyu, Gangaren Kwadi – T/Wada, Zariya
189. Yusuf Muhammad
190. Abbas Isyaku (died recently)
191. Muhammad Musa (Mahadi)
192. Abubakar Musa
193. Salisu Shehu
194. Yusuf Ahmad
195. Umar Idris
196. Sadiq Muhammad
197. brahim Ayuba
198. Hamza Ishaq
199. Abubakar Usman Tsiga – Katsina
200. Saifullahi Muhammad Rijiyar – Lemu Kano
201. Adamu Mika'ilu Awwal – Zaria city
202. Sulaiman Haruna Kware – Sokoto
203. Muhammad Haruna – Sabon kaura, Bauchi
204. Sadik Yusuf – Kudan, Kaduna
205. Isa Murtala – S/gari, Kaduna
206. Umar Ibrahim Bebeji Rigasa – Kaduna
207. Sa'idu Ali Rigasa – Kaduna
208. Mahmuda Muhammad Alkaleri Bauchi
209. Awwal Yusuf Faskari – Katsina
210. Muhammad Awwal – T/wada Zaria
211. Ali Ibrahim – T/wada Zaria
212. Mustafa Ibrahim Samaru – Zaria
213. Shamsuddin Shu'aibu
214. Gambo Yusuf Richifa – Kaduna
215. Yahya Abubakar – Zaria city
216. Muhammad Isma'il – Potiskum, Yobe
217. Yusuf Ahmad Gaidam – Yobe
218. Mahmud Salihu Bauchi
219. Sadik Abdullahi Bauchi

## Appendix D: List of missing people

\* Age provided where known

This list is still being updated, and does not reflect the total number of missing individuals from the attacks of 12 /13 December 2015.

No	NAME IN FULL	HOME / ADDRESS	AGE*	LOCATION
1.	Abdullahi Shuaibu	Tudun Jikum, Zaria L. G. A, Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
2.	Bello Umar Maimagani	Tudun Jikum, Zaria L. G. A, Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
3.	Zakariya Dan Marka	Tudun Jikum, Zaria L. G. A, Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
4.	Muazu Hamza Alarama	Tudun Jikum, Zaria L. G. A, Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
5.	Usman Musa	Tudun Jikum, Zaria L. G. A, Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
6.	Basiru Sani	Tudun Jikum, Zaria L. G. A, Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
7.	Abubakar kasim Danlami (Alfa)	Kwarin Dangoma, Zaria L. G. A, Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
8.	Anas Dahiru Usman	Tudun Jikum, Zaria L. G. A, Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
9.	Hassan Dahiru Usman	Tudun Jikum, Zaria L. G. A, Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
10.	Zaharaddeen Ibrahim	Tudun Jikum, Zaria L. G. A, Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
11.	Muntaka Adamu	Tudun Jikum, Zaria L. G. A, Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
12.	Sulaiman Mai Nika	Tudun Jikum, Zaria L. G. A, Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
13.	Uzairu Yushau	Tudun Jikum, Zaria L. G. A, Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
14.	Ibrahim Bara'a Chemist	Tudun Jikum, Zaria L. G. A, Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
15.	Yakubu Musa	Tudun Jikum, Zaria L. G. A, Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
16.	Muhammad Nasir Adam	Hayin Dogo Samaru Zaria	17	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
17.	Muhammad Taha Abubakar	Hayin Dogo Samaru Zaria	40	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
18.	Mahdi Idris Umar	Hayin Dogo Samaru Zaria	18	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
19.	Abubakar Abdullahi	Hayin Dogo Samaru Zaria	18	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
20.	Shehu Yahaya	Hayin Dogo Samaru Zaria	35	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
21.	Umar Dauda	Hayin Dogo Samaru Zaria	19	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
22.	Zaharadeen Isa	Hayin Dogo Samaru Zaria	25	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
23.	Sirajo Ibrahim	Hayin Dogo Samaru Zaria	35	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
24.	Mohammad Mujahid Abdullahi	Hayin Dogo Samaru Zaria	20	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
25.	Yusha'u Nuhu	Hayin Dogo Samaru Zaria	18	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
26.	Muhammad Abubakar Audi	Hayin Dogo Samaru Zaria	26	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
27.	Mujahid Auwal	Hayin Dogo Samaru Zaria	25	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
28.	Umar Abdullahi	Hayin Dogo Samaru Zaria	25	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
29.	Mohammad Abubakar	Hayin Dogo Samaru Zaria	30	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
30.	Mohammad Kabir Mansir	Hayin Dogo Samaru Zaria	25	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
31.	Abba Ilyasu	Hayin Dogo Samaru Zaria	17	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
32.	Usman Mukhtar	Hayin Dogo Samaru Zaria	18	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
33.	Mustapha Ibrahim	Fanhauya, Zariya	35	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah

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34.	Ibrahim Suleiman	Fanhauya, Zariya	20	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
35.	Mubarak Bala	Fanhauya, Zariya	23	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
36.	Hamza Isa	Layin Zomo, Zaria	20	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
37.	Badamasi Abdulhamid	Dan Magaji, Zaria	20	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
38.	Ibrahim Ali (Maiwashi)	Hayin Ojo Sabongari, Zaria	25	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
39.	Hudu Muhammad (Gambo)	Hayin Ojo Sabongari, Zaria	27	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
40.	Sagir Muhammad Auwal	Hayin Ojo Sabongari, Zaria		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
41.	Jibrin Abdulaziz	Ang. Jaba Sabongari, Zaria	37	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
42.	Umar Alhassan	Zabi, Sabongari, Zaria	21	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
43.	Rabi'u Mahmud	Zabi, Sabongari, Zaria	40	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
44.	Isa Saidu Muhammad	Hayin Ojo Sabongari, Zaria	25	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
45.	Madi Alhaji Rabi'u	Hayin Ojo Sabongari, Zaria	20	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
46.	Zaharadeen Abdulaziz	Dogarawa, Zaria	18	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
47.	Musa Sokoto Makina	Muchiya, Sabongari, Zaria		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
48.	Umar Ibrahim	Ang. Jaba Sabongari, Zaria		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
49.	Mahdi Alhaji Garba	Ang. Jaba Sabongari, Zaria	18	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
50.	Gambo Muhammad	Ang. Jaba Sabongari, Zaria	25	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
51.	Nasiru Ayuba	Dogon Bauchi Sabongari, Zaria	40	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
52.	Tanimu Suleiman	Ang. Jaba Sabongari, Zaria	24	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
53.	Ali Yusuf	Hayin Ojo, Sabongari, Zaria	17	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
54.	Abubakar Musa	Ang. Jaba Sabongari, Zaria	22	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
55.	Hashimu Abdullahi Tohu	Tohu Kabama, Zaria	45	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
56.	Adamu Yakubu	Tohu Kabama, Zaria	20	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
57.	Bashir Aliyu	Tohu Kabama, Zaria	30	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
58.	Suleiman Abdullahi	Hayin Ojo, Sabongari, Zaria	21	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
59.	Ishaka Abdulkadir	Marraban Gwanda, Zaria	25	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
60.	Abdulmutalib Yusuf	Yantukwane, Sabongari, Zaria	55	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
61.	Bashir Saidu	Hayin Ojo, Sabongari, Zaria	25	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
62.	Rashidu Saidu	Hayin Ojo, Sabongari, Zaria	20	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
63.	Shema'u Muhammad	Hayin Ojo, Sabongari, Zaria	40	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
64.	Abdullahi Abubakar Gado	Fadama Babban Dodo, Zaria	22	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
65.	Ali Muazu	Ang. Jaba Sabongari, Zaria	16	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
66.	Muhammad Muazu	Ang. Jaba Sabongari, Zaria	18	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
67.	Auwal Nasibi	Muchiya Bakin Dogo Sabongari, Zaria	50	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
68.	Shehu Mairuwa	Ang. Jaba Sabongari, Zaria	55	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
69.	Ibrahim Muhammad Tukur	Chikaji Sabongari, Zaria	50	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
70.	Mubarak Yakubu	Magume, Zaria	20	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
71.	Ali Umar	Magume, Zaria	16	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
72.	Mukhtar Sahabi (Dankwarai)	Gyallesu, Zaria	47	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
73.	Iliyasu Fudiya	Hayin Ojo Sabongari, Zaria		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
74.	Usman Dawa	Chikaji Sabongari, Zaria		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
75.	Maikudi Galadima	Muchiya Yan Awaki Sabongari, Zaria	40	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
76.	Isa Suleiman	Tabon Sani, Zaria		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
77.	Rabi'u Dantarau	Tabon Sani, Zaria		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
78.	Hudu Muhammad	Muchiya Yan Awaki Sabongari, Zaria		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
79.	Biliya Nakowa	Sabongari, Zaria		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
80.	Auwal Yusuf	Sabongari, Zaria		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah

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81.	Suleiman Maiblo	Sabongari, Zaria		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
82.	Rabi'u Abdulrahman	Sabongari, Zaria		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
83.	Saminu Yusuf	Kwangila		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
84.	Maikudi	Kwangila		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
85.	Yahaya Yaqub	Kwanar Farakwai		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
86.	Bashari Isa	Kwanar Farakwai		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
87.	Jawwad Nuradeen Usman	Danja L. G. A. Kaduna State	17	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
88.	Alkasim Garba	Igabi L. G. A. Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
89.	Dauda Hassan	Rim/Iyatawa, Giwa L. G. A. Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
90.	Abdulrazak	Rim/Iyatawa, Giwa L. G. A. Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
91.	Abdulkadir	Damari, Sabuwa L. G. A. Katsina State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
92.	Adamu Ali	Damari, Sabuwa L. G. A. Katsina State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
93.	Abubakar Ahmad	Damari, Sabuwa L. G. A. Katsina State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
94.	Ali Umar	Jaji, Igabi L. G. A. Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
95.	Ishaq Umar	Jaji, Igabi L. G. A. Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
96.	Salisu Umar	Jaji, Igabi L. G. A. Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
97.	Hamisu Mohammad	Jaji, Igabi L. G. A. Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
98.	Saminu	Jaji, Igabi L. G. A. Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
99.	Basiru Salisu	Jaji, Igabi L. G. A. Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
100.	Mal. Tijjani Shitu	Tashar Ice, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State	38	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
101.	Salihu Mukhtar	Zaria City Kaduna State	40	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
102.	Yusuf Yahaya Haris	Jushi Zaria City Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
103.	Aliyu Gambo Yakana	Rimin Kambari Zaria City Kaduna State	38	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
104.	Abdullahi Ibrahim	Kusfa Zaria City Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
105.	Abubakar Ismail	Kusfa Zaria City Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
106.	Abdulhadi Junaidu	Albarkawa Zaria City Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
107.	Sani Sufi	Ang. Imam Zaria City Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
108.	Ibrahim I. Yusuf	Kusfa Zaria City Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
109.	Isa Sufi	Ang. Sirdi Zaria City Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
110.	Salmanu Abdullahi	Bakin Kasuwa, Zaria City Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
111.	Abdullahi Akto	Kusfa Zaria City Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
112.	Usman Muhammad	Jushi Zaria City Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
113.	Yakubu Abdullahi	Jushi Zaria City Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
114.	Abdulkadir Ibrahim	Ang. Bashir Zaria City Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
115.	Suleiman PZ	Jushi Zaria City Kaduna State		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
116.	Ishaq Lawal	Rumi		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
117.	Shehu Rabi	Rumi		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
118.	Suleiman	Rumi		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
119.	Ibrahim Idris	Rumi		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
120.	Jamilu Abubakar	Rumi		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
121.	Sabitu A. Saeed	Rumi		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
122.	Haruna M. Salisu	Rumi		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
123.	Abdulrashid Maiturba	Nasarawan Doya		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
124.	Sabi	Danja L.G.A. Katsina State	17	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
125.	Salihu Musa	Dabai/Danja L.G.A. Katsina State	25	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
126.	Ibrahim Abdullahi	Dabai/Danja L.G.A. Katsina State	47	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
127.	Umar Ahmad	Dabai/Danja L.G.A. Katsina State	42	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah

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128.	Rabi'u Ahmad	Dabai/Danja L.G.A. Katsina State	37	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
129.	Abubakar Barwa	Dabai/Danja L.G.A. Katsina State	30	Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
130.	Alhaji Abubakar Sule	Taba		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
131.	Ibrahim Abdulhamid	Taba		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
132.	Hashimu Gambo Tanimu	Toho		Husainiyya Baqiyyatullah
133.	Aminu Umar	Jalingo Taraba State	19	Gyallesu
134.	Baqir Musa Iliyasu	Jalingo Taraba State	16	Gyallesu
135.	Muhammad Abubakar	Jalingo Taraba State	22	Gyallesu
136.	Sheikh Muhammad Mahmud Turi	Kofar Waika, Kano	54	Gyallesu
137.	Aminu Abdullahi	Kurna, Kano State	56	Gyallesu
138.	Ayyuba Ibrahim	Kurna, Kano State	55	Gyallesu
139.	Hafizu Daura	Kurna, Kano State	40	Gyallesu
140.	Umar Faruk Abdullahi (Prof)	Kurna Mil Tara, Kano State	43	Gyallesu
141.	Yusuf Sani (Abba)	Ang. Uku Kano State	24	Gyallesu
142.	Alhaji Ali Abdulhamid	Kurna, Kano State	40	Gyallesu
143.	Alhaji Uba Abdulhamid	Kurna, Kano State	40	Gyallesu
144.	Zaharadeen Usman	Kurna, Kano State	30	Gyallesu
145.	Haruna Ishaka	Kurna, Kano State	40	Gyallesu
146.	Aminu Yusuf	Kurna Bachirawa, Kano State	40	Gyallesu
147.	Abdurrazak Abdullahi	Naibawa Yan Iemo, Kano State	39	Gyallesu
148.	Baba Wuro	Naibawa Yan Iemo, Kano State	39	Gyallesu
149.	Ibrahim Ulama'u	Na'ibawa Tukuntawa, Kano State	40	Gyallesu
150.	Mustapha Abubakar	Na'ibawa, Kano State	25	Gyallesu
151.	Bashir Muhammad	Na'ibawa, Kano State	25	Gyallesu
152.	Musa Zaria	Na'ibawa, Kano State	35	Gyallesu
153.	Bashir Saleh	Na'ibawa, Kano State	36	Gyallesu
154.	Mustapha Garba	Na'ibawa, Kano State	25	Gyallesu
155.	Alhassan Suleiman	Tudun Wada, Kano State	37	Gyallesu
156.	Abdurrahman Ismail	Tudun Wada, Kano State	40	Gyallesu
157.	Yusuf Garba	Sabon Titi, Kano State	47	Gyallesu
158.	Ibrahim Sarki	Sabon Titi, Kano State	40	Gyallesu
159.	Yahaya Garba Sarki	Sabon Titi, Kano State	23	Gyallesu
160.	Abdulmalik Safiyanu	Sabon Titi, Kano State	22	Gyallesu
161.	Abubakar Ishaq	Sabon Titi, Kano State	55	Gyallesu
162.	Mansur Adam	Sabon Titi, Kano State	30	Gyallesu
163.	Alhaji Shafi'u Alhassan	Kazaure L.G.A. Jigawa State	45	Gyallesu
164.	Lawan Umar	Kazaure L.G.A. Jigawa State	35	Gyallesu
165.	Aliyu Lawan Umar	Kazaure L.G.A. Jigawa State	16	Gyallesu
166.	Bakir Adam	Kazaure L.G.A. Jigawa State	17	Gyallesu
167.	Murtala Tambari	Kazaure L.G.A. Jigawa State	40	Gyallesu
168.	Nusaiba Shafi'u Alhassan	Kazaure L.G.A. Jigawa State	22	Gyallesu
169.	Aliyu Lawan	Danbatta Town, Kano		Gyallesu
170.	Abubakar Idris	Tsangaya Town, Kano	29	Gyallesu
171.	Abubakar Abdullahi	Rano Town, Kano	45	Gyallesu
172.	Malam Zakariya	Gargai Town, Kano	40	Gyallesu
173.	Muhammad Dahiru	Dan Hassan, Kano	42	Gyallesu
174.	Aliyu M. Sani	Tafawa Town, Kano	27	Gyallesu

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175. Sani Abdullahi	Wangara Town, Kano	46	Gyallesu
176. Tajuddeen Muhammad Isah	Nasarawa Town Tsanyawa	30	Gyallesu
177. Sabi'u Muhammad	Nasarawa Town Tsanyawa	28	Gyallesu
178. Haruna Isah	Tafawa Town, Kano		Gyallesu
179. Abdulkadir Muhammad	Karaye Town, Kano	44	Gyallesu
180. Naziru Ibrahim	Shuwaki, Kunchi	25	Gyallesu
181. Yusuf Usman	Karaye Town, Kano	41	Gyallesu
182. Zakariyya Tukur	Bichi Town, Kano		Gyallesu
183. Abba Yunusa	Nasarawa Town, Tsanyawa, Kano	35	Gyallesu
184. Shu'aibu Sa'idu	Madobi Town, Kano	44	Gyallesu
185. Abubakar Hussaini	Shanono Town, Kano	48	Gyallesu
186. Rabi'u Muhammad	Walawa Town, Kano	32	Gyallesu
187. Ali Muhammad Dahur	Sara, Maiduguri Road	16	Gyallesu
188. Nura Sulaiman Saulawa Katsina	Katsina		Gyallesu
189. Basiru Muhammad Sabon Layi ('Yandaka) Katsina			Gyallesu
190. Lawal Isma'il Mai P.O.P. Filin Samji	Katsina		Gyallesu
191. Sulaiman Falalu Masanawa	Katsina		Gyallesu
192. Abubakar Musa Muduru	Katsina		Gyallesu
193. Ammar Alhassan Abukur	Katsina		Gyallesu
194. Mustapha Lawal Doro	Katsina		Gyallesu
195. Nuhu Gaiwa Charanci	Katsina		Gyallesu
196. Muhammad Aminu Sabon Garin Faguwa Katsina			Gyallesu
197. Isah 'Yan Shantuna Dutsinma	Katsina		Gyallesu
198. Usman Sa'idu Kurmi Malumfashi	Katsina		Gyallesu
199. Musa Ibraheem Mahuta	Katsina		Gyallesu
200. Usman Kankiya	Katsina		Gyallesu
201. Muhammad Sani Yan Albasa	Katsina		Gyallesu
202. Shaikh Muhammad M. Sahabi Kaduna	Kaduna		Gyallesu
203. Fauziyya Shehu Layin Kosai	Kaduna	20	Gyallesu
204. Mainuna Shehu Layin Kosai	Kaduna	22	Gyallesu
205. Muhammad Yahya Gilima	Kaduna		Gyallesu
206. Faisal Abdulkadir	Kaduna		Gyallesu
207. Aliyu Sulaiman Karofi	Kaduna		Gyallesu
208. Sulaiman Musa Bai'ah	Minna Neger State		Gyallesu
209. Abubakar Alhasan	Minna Neger State		Gyallesu
210. Mubarak Muhammad Zuru	Kebbi State		Gyallesu
211. Rufa'i Muhammad Zuru	Kebbi State		Gyallesu
212. Nasiru Sa'adu Gusau	Zamfara State		Gyallesu
213. Muhammad Habibu Dutsanwai	Kubau L.G.A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
214. Dr. Mustapha Umar Sa'id	Gyallesu, Zaria		Gyallesu
215. Muhammad Mustapha Umar Sa'id	Gyallesu, Zaria		Gyallesu
216. Ali Mustapha Umar Sa'id	Gyallesu, Zaria		Gyallesu
217. Ruhullah Mustapha Umar Sa'id	Gyallesu, Zaria		Gyallesu
218. Nuhu Ibrahim Bindawa	Katsina		Gyallesu
219. Ummul Aiman Salisu	Soba L.G.A. Kaduna State	20	Gyallesu
220. Salisu Usman	Soba L.G.A. Kaduna State	48	Gyallesu
221. Badamasi Muhammad	Soba L.G.A. Kaduna State	40	Gyallesu

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222. Muhammad Habibu Nasiru	Soba L.G.A. Kaduna State	15	Gyallesu
223. Ibrahim Yahaya	Soba L.G.A. Kaduna State	40	Gyallesu
224. Mujtaba Rabi	Soba L.G.A. Kaduna State	30	Gyallesu
225. Sani Khalil	Soba L.G.A. Kaduna State	45	Gyallesu
226. Hamza idris	Soba L.G.A. Kaduna State	35	Gyallesu
227. Auwal Garba Nuhu	Soba L.G.A. Kaduna State	42	Gyallesu
228. Musa Tasi'u	Soba L.G.A. Kaduna State	20	Gyallesu
229. Ibrahim Kabir	Soba L.G.A. Kaduna State	16	Gyallesu
230. Mahdi Munkaila	Soba L.G.A. Kaduna State	16	Gyallesu
231. Muhammad Salisu	Soba L.G.A. Kaduna State	15	Gyallesu
232. Mubarak Dalhatu	Soba L.G.A. Kaduna State	15	Gyallesu
233. Mahdi Yunusa	Soba L.G.A. Kaduna State	18	Gyallesu
234. Yusuf Ishaq	Soba L.G.A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
235. Alhassan Sani	Soba L.G.A. Kaduna State	25	Gyallesu
236. Adamu Usman	Soba L.G.A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
237. Adamu Ibrahim	Soba L.G.A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
238. Malam Tijani Shitu	Soba L.G.A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
239. Alhassan Sufi	Soba L.G.A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
240. Kubura Sani	Soba L.G.A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
241. Muhammad Idris	Malumfashi L.G.A. Katsina State		Gyallesu
242. Abdussalam Bello Mani	Malumfashi L.G.A. Katsina State		Gyallesu
243. Lawal Abubakar	Giwa L.G.A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
244. Hussaini Mikail	Giwa L.G.A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
245. Mikailu Suleiman	Giwa L.G.A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
246. Abbas Muhammad	Dakace, Zaria		Gyallesu
247. Muntari Abbas	Dakace, Zaria		Gyallesu
248. Ibrahim Idris	Dakace, Zaria		Gyallesu
249. Umar Dalhatu	Dakace, Zaria		Gyallesu
250. Hauwau Dalhatu	Dakace, Zaria		Gyallesu
251. Malam Umar	Dakace, Zaria		Gyallesu
252. Saidu Musa	Dakace, Zaria		Gyallesu
253. Abdulkadir Yusuf	Dakace, Zaria		Gyallesu
254. Muazu Muhammad	Dakace, Zaria		Gyallesu
255. Isyaku Muhammad	Dakace, Zaria		Gyallesu
256. Ibrahim Suleiman	Dakace, Zaria		Gyallesu
257. Adam Suleiman	Dakace, Zaria		Gyallesu
258. Yakubu Nuhu	Dakace, Zaria		Gyallesu
259. Idris Haliru	Dakace, Zaria		Gyallesu
260. Kabiru Ibrahim	Dakace, Zaria		Gyallesu
261. Umar Idris	Dakace, Zaria		Gyallesu
262. Balarabe Adamu	Dakace, Zariya		Gyallesu
263. Hayatudden Abubakar	Dakace, Zaria		Gyallesu
264. Hussaini Musa	Dakace, Zaria		Gyallesu
265. Salmanu Idris	Dakace, Zaria		Gyallesu
266. Aminu Aliyu	Dakace, Zaria		Gyallesu
267. Ibrahim Abdullahi	Dakace, Zaria		Gyallesu
268. Ibrahim Abdulhamid	Dakace, Zaria		Gyallesu

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269. Ashahabu Yusuf	Dakace, Zaria		Gyallesu
270. Shafi'u Yusuf	Dakace, Zaria		Gyallesu
271. Rabilu Said	Kwangila, Zaria		Gyallesu
272. Umar Gambo	Kwangila, Zaria		Gyallesu
273. Umar Adam PZ (Motion)	Zaria, Kaduna State		Gyallesu
274. Abdulrazaq Zayyan	Ang. Nabukka Funtua L. G. A Katsina State		Gyallesu
275. Muhammad Idi	Ang. Nabukka Funtua L. G. A Katsina State		Gyallesu
276. Khalid Salisu	Ang. Nabukka Funtua L. G. A Katsina State		Gyallesu
277. Mahdi Sani Rais	Ang. Nabukka Funtua L. G. A Katsina State		Gyallesu
278. Ibrahim Isa	Ang. Nabukka Funtua L. G. A Katsina State		Gyallesu
279. Ahmad Lawal	Maiganji Funtua L. G. A Katsina State		Gyallesu
280. Garba Haruna	Maiganji Funtua L. G. A Katsina State		Gyallesu
281. Auwal Ahmad	Maiganji Funtua L. G. A Katsina State		Gyallesu
282. Abbas Nasiru	Maiganji Funtua L. G. A Katsina State		Gyallesu
283. Mu'azu Mahuta	Mahuta Funtua L. G. A Katsina State		Gyallesu
284. Saminu Tarzana	Tarzana Funtua L. G. A Katsina State		Gyallesu
285. Bashir Adamu	Tarzana Funtua L. G. A Katsina State		Gyallesu
286. Auwal Yusuf	Mairuwa Funtua L. G. A Katsina State		Gyallesu
287. Abdullahi Ma'aruf	Dikke Funtua L. G. A Katsina State		Gyallesu
288. Mahdi Shehu	Dikke Funtua L. G. A Katsina State		Gyallesu
289. Salahuddin Ibrahim	Dikke Funtua L. G. A Katsina State		Gyallesu
290. Mashakuru Shehu	Tudun Iya, Funtua L. G. A Katsina State		Gyallesu
291. Bashir Mansur	Badarawa, Kaduna North, Kaduna State		Gyallesu
292. Sadiq Yusuf	Badarawa, Kaduna North, Kaduna State		Gyallesu
293. Kabiru Muhammad	Badarawa, Kaduna North, Kaduna State		Gyallesu
294. Buhari Ismail	Barnawa, Kaduna South Kaduna State		Gyallesu
295. Masud Tukur	Nasarawa, Kaduna South Kaduna State		Gyallesu
296. Abdulaziz Abdulmumini	Malali, Kaduna North, Kaduna State		Gyallesu
297. Isa Yunus (Abba)	Malali, Kaduna North, Kaduna State		Gyallesu
298. Ishaq Abdulkadir	Malali, Kaduna North, Kaduna State		Gyallesu
299. Khalid Yahaya	Malali, Kaduna North, Kaduna State		Gyallesu
300. Abdurrahman Yahaya	Malali, Kaduna North, Kaduna State		Gyallesu
301. Kabiru Muhammad	Kawo, Kaduna North, Kaduna State		Gyallesu
302. Aliyu Kawo	Hayin Na'iya, Kaduna North, Kaduna State		Gyallesu
303. Jaafar Habibu	Rigasa, Igabi L.G.A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
304. Hassan Nuhu	Rigasa, Igabi L.G.A. Kaduna State	45	Gyallesu
305. Haruna Nuhu	Rigasa, Igabi L.G.A. Kaduna State	42	Gyallesu
306. Mal. Said Abdullahi	Rigasa, Igabi L.G.A. Kaduna State	47	Gyallesu
307. Usman Isa	Rigasa, Igabi L.G.A. Kaduna State	20	Gyallesu
308. Aliyu Umar	Rigasa, Igabi L.G.A. Kaduna State	30	Gyallesu
309. Mikail Yusuf	Ang. Rimi, Kaduna North, Kaduna State	31	Gyallesu
310. Bashir Abdulmumini	Malali, Kaduna North, Kaduna State	30	Gyallesu
311. Saminu Ya'u	Kogtagora Neja State	45	Gyallesu
312. Musa Labi Shehu	Kogtagora Neja State	45	Gyallesu
313. Abubakar Musa Birnin Yaro	Kawo, Kaduna North, Kaduna State	21	Gyallesu
314. Sa'idu Sadau	Dandume, Katsina State		Gyallesu
315. Ibrahim Wanzam	Dandume, Katsina State		Gyallesu

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316. Abubakar Tsiga	Tsiga, Katsina State		Gyallesu
317. Jibrin Abdu	Ang. Mai- allura Zarewa Kano State		Gyallesu
318. Nuhu Ahmad	Ang. Mai- allura Zarewa Kano State		Gyallesu
319. Tahir Idris	Kwaba, Zaria L.G. A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
320. Badamasi Abdulhamid	Falgore, Tudun Wada L.G.A. Kano State		Gyallesu
321. Ibrahim Muhammad	Maiturare		Gyallesu
322. Hamisu Abubakar	Danmagaji Zaria		Gyallesu
323. Bello Magama Sokoto	Danmagaji Zaria		Gyallesu
324. Bashir Nuhu	Babbarikaf		Gyallesu
325. Abubakar Sa'idu	Barbaji		Gyallesu
326. Badaru Kaduna	H/Danmani Igabi L.G.A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
327. M. Gambo Ya'u	Barbaji		Gyallesu
328. M. Ya'u D.	Barbaji		Gyallesu
329. Aminu M. Kabir	Makarfi L.G.A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
330. Isa Abdulkadir	Gubuci, Makarfi L.G.A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
331. Bashir Yakubu	Gubuci, Makarfi L.G.A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
332. Yakubu Alasan	Makarfi L.G.A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
333. Zaharaddin Ibrahim	Makarfi L.G.A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
334. Sabi'u Rabi'u	Makarfi L.G.A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
335. Sabi'u Abdulkadir	Makarfi L.G.A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
336. Nafi'u A. Usman	Dan Ayamaka, Makarfi L.G.A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
337. Auwal Sabi'u	Sabon Layi		Gyallesu
338. Salahuddeen Salmanu	Bakori L.G.A. Katsina State		Gyallesu
339. Bashir Adamu	Bakori L.G.A. Katsina State		Gyallesu
340. Jamilu Abubakar	Ang. Noma		Gyallesu
341. Sabitu Abdulkarim	Ang. Noma		Gyallesu
342. Haruna Sabi'u	Ang. Noma		Gyallesu
343. Zayyanu Muhammad	Kachilo		Gyallesu
344. Auwal Mairuwa	Kachilo		Gyallesu
345. Akil Bala	Kudan L.G.A. Kaduna State	21	Gyallesu
346. Ammar Sani	Kudan L.G.A. Kaduna State	19	Gyallesu
347. Abdullahi Musa	Kudan L.G.A. Kaduna State	20	Gyallesu
348. Rabi'u Musa	Kokami	45	Gyallesu
349. Haruna Adamu	Kokami	40	Gyallesu
350. Dayyanu Salisu	Kokami	25	Gyallesu
351. Musa Rabi'u	Kokami	27	Gyallesu
352. Ishaq Lawal	Hunkuyi		Gyallesu
353. Shehu Rabi'u	Hunkuyi		Gyallesu
354. Ibrahim Idris	Hunkuyi		Gyallesu
355. Zailani Muhammad	Funtua L. G. A Katsina State		Gyallesu
356. Auwal Ahmad	Funtua L. G. A Katsina State		Gyallesu
357. Umar Shehu	Funtua L. G. A Katsina State		Gyallesu
358. Salahuddeen Salman	Funtua L. G. A Katsina State		Gyallesu
359. Hashimu Naturawa	Funtua L. G. A Katsina State		Gyallesu
360. Nasiru Naturawi	Funtua L. G. A Katsina State		Gyallesu
361. Ibrahim B. Yusuf	Ang. Bashir Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
362. Mustafa H. Shuhada	Ang. Magajiya Fadama Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu

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363. Bello Umar	Tudun Jikun, Zaria		Gyallesu
364. Adamu Ibrahim	Kusfa Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
365. Adam Ibrahim Mazangudu	Kusfa Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
366. Junaidu Sabi'u	Kusfa Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
367. Atiku Sabi'u	Kusfa Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
368. Abdulkadir Ibrahim	Kusfa Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
369. Abdulrauf Aminu	Tashar Ice, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State	25	Gyallesu
370. Ahmad Yahuza	Tashar Ice, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State	40	Gyallesu
371. Ibrahim Usman	Tashar Ice, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State	27	Gyallesu
372. Abubakar Barwa	Barwa, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State	20	Gyallesu
373. Salihu Badaru	Barwa, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
374. Abdulkarim Bello	Barwa, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
375. Dahiru Ala-ramma	Barwa, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
376. Hamisu Abubakar	Yakasai, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
377. Muhammad Jawad	Yakasai, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
378. Rabi'u Adam	Yakasai, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
379. Yusuf Adam	Yakasai, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
380. Zainulabideen Abubakar	Yakasai, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
381. Mashhad Zubair	Yakasai, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
382. Aliyu Zaki	Yakasai, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
383. Ibrahim Uwais	Yakasai, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
384. Bashir Saad	Yakasai, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
385. Kabiru Mustapha	Lambar Zango, Igabi L. G. A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
386. Abba Sabitu	Lambar Zango, Igabi L. G. A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
387. Isiya Abdulqadir	Lambar Zango, Igabi L. G. A. Kaduna State	35	Gyallesu
388. Nura Dauda	Richifa, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State	47	Gyallesu
389. Suleiman Muhammaed NEPA	Richifa, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State	54	Gyallesu
390. Usman Aliyu	Richifa, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
391. Shamsu Shuaibu	Richifa, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
392. Adamu Aliyu	Gadar Gayan, Igabi L. G. A.		Gyallesu
393. Adam Muhammad	Kwarbai, Zaria L. G. A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
394. Muhammad Awwal Iyal	Limancin Kona, Zaria L. G. A. Kaduna	40	Gyallesu
395. Baqir Muhammad Iyal	Limancin Kona, Zaria L. G. A. Kaduna		Gyallesu
396. Umar Abba	Limancin Kona, Zaria L. G. A. Kaduna		Gyallesu
397. Muhammad Said	Limancin Kona, Zaria L. G. A. Kaduna		Gyallesu
398. Kabir Mohammad Sani	Limancin Kona, Zaria L. G. A. Kaduna		Gyallesu
399. Abdulkarim Musa Ali Driver	Limancin Kona, Zaria L. G. A. Kaduna	45	Gyallesu
400. Ibrahim Hashim	Limancin Kona, Zaria L. G. A. Kaduna	17	Gyallesu
401. Fatima Amin	Limancin Kona, Zaria L. G. A. Kaduna		Gyallesu
402. Junaidu Sabiu	Limancin Kona, Zaria L. G. A. Kaduna		Gyallesu
403. Atiku Ibrahim	Limancin Kona, Zaria L. G. A. Kaduna		Gyallesu
404. Yahaya Ala-ramma	Limancin Kona, Zaria L. G. A. Kaduna		Gyallesu
405. Baba Shuaibu	Jushi Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
406. Anas Ibrahim	Jushi Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
407. Abdulhamid Mukhtar	Jushi Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
408. Abdulrazaq Suleiman	Jushi Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
409. Barau Suleiman	Jushi Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu

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410. Nuhu Suleiman	Jushi Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
411. Tasi'u Hamisu (Abba)	Jushi Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
412. Tasiu Salisu	Jushi Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
413. Hamisu Idris	Jushi Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
414. Mukhtar Hamisu	Jushi Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
415. Zaharadeen Salisu	Jushi Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
416. Muntaka Salisu	Jushi Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
417. Sani Salisu	Jushi Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
418. Sufiyanu Abdussalam	Jushi Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
419. Usman Umar	Jushi Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
420. Baban Babaye	Jushi Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
421. Usman Wadata	Jushi Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
422. Baraka Ishaq	Jushi Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
423. Ibrahim Suleiman	Jushi Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
424. Abdullahi Abubakar	Jushi Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
425. Abba Suleiman	Jushi Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
426. Mubarak Danjuma	Jushi Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
427. Shamsuddin Isa	Jushi Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
428. Adamu Mikail	Jushi Zaria City Kaduna State		Gyallesu
429. Yahya A. Sani	Wanka, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State	28	Gyallesu
430. Abdullahi M. Yunusa	Wanka, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State	35	Gyallesu
431. Nura Nuhu	Wanka, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State	30	Gyallesu
432. Abdullahi A. Adamu	Wanka, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State	28	Gyallesu
433. Ali Abdulmumini	Wanka, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State	28	Gyallesu
434. Mal. Dahuru	Wanka, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State	40	Gyallesu
435. Isiya Kinkiba	Wanka, Soba L. G. A. Kaduna State	40	Gyallesu
436. Aliyu Suleiman	Pambeguwa, Kubau L. G. A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
437. Ayatollah Muhammad Salihu	Pambeguwa, Kubau L. G. A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
438. Abdulrashid Auwal	Pambeguwa, Kubau L. G. A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
439. Salisu Hassan	Kidandan, Giwa L. G. A. Kaduna State		Gyallesu
440. Abdulkadir (Escort)	Gyallesu, Zaria	40	Gyallesu
441. Muhammad Abdullahi	Gangare, Tudun Wada, Zaria	38	Gyallesu
442. Ali Lawal	Magume, Zaria	16	Gyallesu
443. Shamsuddeen Abdulkadir	Gyallesu, Zariya	42	Gyallesu
444. Ali Zainul Abideen Mustapha	Gyallesu, Zariya	25	Gyallesu
445. Zuhair Abubakar Maina	Gyallesu, Zaria	25	Gyallesu
446. Anas Lagawu	Gyallesu, Zariya	38	Gyallesu
447. Ishaq (Guest House)	Gyallesu, Zariya	45	Gyallesu
448. Sani Abubakar	Layin Zomo, Zaria	21	Gyallesu
449. Saifullahi Umar	Tudun Jikum, Zaria L. G. A, Kaduna State		Gyallesu
450. Abdulrashid Yusuf Escort	Tudun Jikum, Zaria L. G. A, Kaduna State		Gyallesu
451. Sumayya Isa Hassan	Area 'E' ABU Staff Qrs, Samaru Zaria	20	Gyallesu
452. Mahmud Bello Lukman	Ang. Alkali Zaria	20	Gyallesu
453. Idris Usman	Ang. Maigodo, Sabongari Zaria	18	Gyallesu
454. Mohammed Sani	Ang. Maigodo, Sabongari Zaria	22	Gyallesu
455. Muntaka Sani Haruna	Hayin Dogo Samaru, Zaria	35	Gyallesu
456. Babawuro Baffa	Nafada Gombe State	35	Gyallesu

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457. Muhammad Tijjani	Gagiya, Guri L.G.A, Jigawa State	45	Gyallesu
458. Shu'aibu Kofar Fada	Mallam Madori L.G. A, Jigawa State	27	Gyallesu
459. Muhammad Usman	Mallam Madori L.G. A, Jigawa State	37	Gyallesu
460. Shu'aibu Dauda	Mallam Madori L.G. A, Jigawa State	38	Gyallesu
461. Sawwanu S. Hamza	Mallam Madori L.G. A, Jigawa State	45	Gyallesu
462. Khalid Abdullahi	Mallam Madori L.G. A, Jigawa State	46	Gyallesu
463. Auwal Abubakar Guyu	Mallam Madori L.G. A, Jigawa State	24	Gyallesu
464. Sheikh Mustapha Lawan Nasidi	Potiskum	50	Gyallesu
465. Usman Garba Sakafa	Sakafa, Potiskum Yobe State	21	Gyallesu
466. Muhammad Maini Abdullahi	Old Prison Potiskum	32	Gyallesu
467. Bello Ismail (Abban Yaya)	Old Prison Potiskum	25	Gyallesu
468. Isa Saidu	M/Bukar Street Potiskum	30	Gyallesu
469. Muhammed Ismail	Potiskum Yobe State	20	Gyallesu
470. Zakari Abdullahi	Opp Central Prison Potiskum	22	Gyallesu
471. Musa Abdullahi	Opp Central Prison Potiskum	32	Gyallesu
472. Abdullahi Hassan	Opp Central Prison Potiskum	42	Gyallesu
473. Umar Isyaku	Mamadu, Potiskum Yobe State	26	Gyallesu
474. Bello Samaila Abdullahi	Potiskum, Yobe State	25	Gyallesu
475. Yusuf Muhammad	Gaidam, Yobe State	20	Gyallesu
476. Abubakar Hakika	Buruku, Chikum L. G. A, Kaduna State	42	Gyallesu
477. Aliyu Abubakar	Birnin Gwari	40	Gyallesu
478. Saidu Abdullahi	Buruku, Chikum L. G. A, Kaduna State		Gyallesu
479. Muhammad Murtala (Bichi)	Tudun Wanda, Zaria	42	Gyallesu
480. Baffaji Usman Kumbi	Kirfi Bauchi State		Darur Rahama

## **Appendix E:**

# **Nigeria report: The Zaria massacres and the role of the military**

**AUTHORS:** Massoud Shadjareh & Abed Choudhury

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### **Overview**

On 25 July 2014 Nigerian soldiers attacked the annual al-Quds Day procession in support of Palestine in Zaria, a city in Kaduna State in northern Nigeria. The following day, soldiers drove to the Husainiyyah Baqiyyatullah and opened fire on supporters of the Islamic Movement within the precinct of the main building.

The two attacks killed 34<sup>9</sup> people including three children of the prominent scholar Sheikh Ibrahim El-Zakzaky, head of the Islamic Movement. This is not the first time that the al-Quds Day procession in Zaria has been attacked. In 2009 four people were killed and several injured when police opened fire on civilians<sup>10</sup>.

Islamic Human Rights Commission (IHRC) sent a fact-finding mission to Zaria on 30 July 2014. The mission was led by IHRC Chair, Massoud Shadjareh. This report is based on its interviews with victims, their families and also eye-witnesses.

The findings include video footage of Nigerian soldiers firing on unarmed civilians located at the tail end of the procession in Zaria on 25 July. Thirty-two people died. Bystanders were among those killed in the violence. Over 100 people were injured.

There is evidence that many of those arrested died in military custody. Reports indicate that some were taken into detention alive and well and later emerged dead with their bodies bearing signs of being beaten. Others who were injured were detained for hours and brutalised before being allowed to seek medical treatment.

According to eye-witnesses, three truckloads of soldiers opened fire at the procession without warning. The following day three truckloads of soldiers approached the Husainiyyah Baqiyyatullah, the headquarters of the Islamic Movement in Zaria, and opened fire on people standing outside. Two people died and seven were injured.

## Introduction

The Islamic Movement, headed by Sheikh Ibrahim El-Zakzaky, was founded in the late 1970s as a student movement. Since its establishment, it has grown into a social and religious movement with supporters and members of all ages and from all walks of life. Today estimates of its popularity vary, but most estimates say the Islamic Movement enjoys the support of between 10-15 million people across Nigeria.

The Islamic Movement has been organising the al-Quds Day procession for the last 33 years. This is a peaceful procession whose aim is to show solidarity with the people of Palestine. Al-Quds Day processions are held in towns and cities across the world by different organisations. This year, the march in Zaria was one of at least 22 that took place on the same day in towns and cities across Nigeria, all organised by Sheikh El-Zakzaky's Islamic Movement.

The names of eye-witnesses and the injured have been kept anonymous for their own safety. We have provided the names of those who have been killed as well as individuals who said they were happy for us to identify them in our report.

## Events of Friday 25 July 2014

The Al-Quds Day procession used the same route that it has for the last 33 years, starting at Sabon Gari Jamat Masjid. The procession consisted of unarmed men and women, of different ages, chanting slogans and carrying placards, banners and flags in support of the oppressed people of Palestine. The procession started after Friday prayers, at around 2pm.

At around 4.30pm the procession came to an end, a collective prayer was read and those attending dispersed. However, not all had reached the termination point because of the large turnout. The tail of the procession was still at some distance from the termination point (approximately 3km away). It was the tail end of the procession that was viciously attacked by soldiers.

We spoke to one of the volunteers who was helping to manage traffic around the tail end of the procession at the PZ roundabout, the scene of the first attack. He saw a vehicle with soldiers approach them. He did not think this unusual as Zaria has two military bases so soldiers in vehicles are a common sight in the centre of the city. The soldiers stopped near him and the other volunteers and tried to engage them in an argument about what criteria the volunteers should use to give vehicles priority to pass. This appears to have been a smokescreen for the attacks, because even as they were being given priority passage, the soldiers started shooting at demonstrators from a very close distance. Ishaq Abdullah<sup>11</sup> was shot and bundled into the army vehicle. The soldiers then sped off, went around the block of shops and cut off a large group who were at the tail end of the procession from the main body. They took positions near these shops<sup>12</sup> and started to shoot at the crowd. The volunteers and other non-partisan eye-witnesses stated that the volunteers did not have weapons and did not instigate the violence.

## THE ZARIA MASSACRES AND THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY

Video footage and images obtained by IHRC clearly shows the soldiers walking calmly towards the crowd while shooting at it. There seemed to be no obvious danger to the soldiers as they took no precautions against being attacked. They were not seeking protection behind objects, nor wearing helmets and were walking directly towards the crowd while shooting. Had the crowd posed any danger to them they would not have taken such a casual approach.

The stewards and volunteers who were helping with the procession started walking towards the soldiers despite not having any protection from the hail of bullets. As they walked towards the soldiers they chanted Allahu Akbar (Allah is great) and Ya Mahdi (O Mahdi)<sup>13</sup>. The reason they approached the soldiers was to place themselves between the soldiers and the crowd and also to rescue those who were lying injured on the road. Family members of Ridwan Musa, a 20-year-old student, told us how he was able to get close to the soldiers and stood between them and a group of women the soldiers had taken aim at. He challenged them, asking them why they were shooting at peaceful civilians. He was shot in the head and died immediately. His body was taken to Husainiyyah Baqiyyatullah.

All those who were interviewed by IHRC, including victims and bystanders, stated that the crowd was unarmed and did not fight back. They chanted as soldiers approached them, and when the shooting became continuous and indiscriminate they lay on the ground for protection. The indiscriminate nature of the shooting meant a number of people who were not part of the procession were also killed or injured. Julius Anyanwu, a 68 year-old local Christian man, was shot and disemboweled as he sought to know why the soldiers were shooting unarmed civilians. He died before arrival at the hospital. In an adjacent shop, a Christian woman was shot and injured as she sought shelter in the shop she worked in. A number of stray bullets tore through the front of the shop and into her hands and chest. IHRC has obtained pictures showing damage done to shops and other property. Bullets pierced metal doors. One physically handicapped victim recounted that she had been in the area begging for food. When the shooting started she dived for cover as she was unable to run away. A soldier approached her, shot her in her good leg and walked away. Her leg had to be amputated.

All the victims and eye-witnesses we spoke to confirmed that the soldiers did not issue any warnings before shooting – they opened fire randomly and indiscriminately at the crowd. We spoke to a farmer who was working in a sugar cane field near the procession. He described how he saw soldiers chasing victims into the field and shooting at them. As soon as he saw the soldiers running into the field he decided to flee. However a soldier managed to shoot him in his hand. He informed us that the soldiers hid amongst the sugar cane waiting to see if others would run in to the field so that they could shoot them as well.

While many of those who were shot either died on the spot or were taken away to Husainiyyah Baqiyyatullah by volunteers of the Islamic Movement (where they were able to get to the person safely), others were arrested and went through a further 4-5 hour ordeal at the hands of the soldiers.

## THE ZARIA MASSACRES AND THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY

We spoke to a number of people who were arrested and taken to Basawa Military Barracks and tormented. One of the men who was arrested explained how as he was leaving the demonstration a friend called and told him that soldiers were shooting at people taking part in the procession. He decided to go back and see what was happening.

When he arrived at the PZ roundabout he met with Ahmad, Hamid and Ali El-Zakzaky. The soldiers approached them. Along with the stewards and volunteers, they continued chanting but as soon as the shooting became intense, they lay down on the ground for cover. The soldiers continued their advance. Ahmad and Hamid decided to get away but he and Ali remained on the ground. He confirmed that most of the people on the ground around them had been shot and were either injured or dead. He and Ali were unharmed at this stage. When the soldiers approached, Ali screamed out. Realising that they were not injured, the soldiers ordered them both to stand up. As soon as they stood up they shot Ali in the leg. One of the soldiers then pointed his gun at him and he instantly grabbed the barrel and pushed it away to try and prevent himself being shot. As he struggled with the soldier another soldier shot him in the leg. They were both then dragged to the side of the road. It was from there that he saw Ahmad and Hamid being shot by soldiers. Both were shot twice in the back and once in the leg. The soldiers put him, Ali, Ahmad and Hamid, along with three other individuals, who were also shot in the leg, into the back of a truck. (Mahmoud El-Zakzaky was also in this crowd with his brothers and had also been shot - he died instantly with his body being left on the street for volunteers to retrieve.) They were stacked in the truck one on top of the other. Ali was placed on top of his brothers Ahmad and Hamid. They were driven to Chindit Army Barracks which was about 500m from the scene. During the journey Hamid pleaded with the soldiers that Ahmad needed urgent medical attention, as he was unable to breathe. Each time Hamid spoke he was kicked and beaten. Ali tried to move so as to put less pressure on Ahmad's chest and allow him to breathe more freely. Each time he moved, he too was beaten. Throughout the journey the prisoners were kicked and beaten with the butts of the soldiers' AK-47 assault rifles.

Once they arrived at the barracks they were refused entry by the Chindit barracks commander. So they turned and headed to Basawa Military Barracks some 5km away. They were driven straight to the barracks hospital, pulled out and dumped on the ground outside. On seeing their condition a senior officer in the barracks ordered that they be placed in an ambulance and taken to the Teaching Hospital in Shika. However, the ambulance was stopped at the gates of the barracks and the commander of the unit that had arrested them, Lt Col. S. O Oku, pulled them out of the ambulance and dumped them on the ground outside the gates. He refused to let them be taken to the hospital. The victims had their mobile phones confiscated and were left there for at least three hours. During this time a number of soldiers approached them, took pictures and then proceeded to hit them with the butts of their AK-47s. Lt Col. Oku asked who the sons of El-Zakzaky were. Ali, Hamid and Ahmad were identified. They were separated from the group and moved to one side.

## THE ZARIA MASSACRES AND THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY

The soldiers were also insulting and taunting their captives, and every time they said something Ali, who is only 15, would respond with a comment. One of the soldiers decided to attack him for his response and went to hit him, at which point Hamid tried to shield Ali with his own body. Hamid was hit on the head twice with the butt of a rifle. That was the last time anyone heard Hamid speak or move. Ali mentioned that he saw Hamid's eyes rolling and he died soon afterwards.

A few hours later, after dark, the soldiers who had arrested them returned with a number of vehicles, which they parked next to them. Using the headlights of their vehicles, they proceeded to film and take pictures of the arrested before disappearing.

It was only then that they were taken to Shika Hospital. They were driven there and dumped outside the emergency department. Before the soldiers left they continued to torture them. By this time Hamid's body was stiff and Ahmad's body had started to go cold - they were both dead. At least nine other persons amongst the 16 arrested died during this trip; five survived with various degrees of injuries. The hospital staff came out to help those who were still alive and also receive the bodies of the dead.

The above narrative was confirmed to us by Ali El-Zakzaky. Dr Shuaib Musa who attended to the injured at Shika Hospital confirmed that many of those injured or killed had bruises on their bodies consistent with being tortured in addition to gunshot wounds. Similar evidence was given by Dr. Gilbert Uwadia, the Medical Director of St. Luke's Catholic Hospital, Wusasa, where quite a number of those injured were treated. They both explained that many of the victims had clean lacerations, indicating that they had been cut or stabbed. Ali El-Zakzaky and the victim who was arrested and spoke to us both confirmed that the lacerations were from the bayonets of the AK-47s carried by the soldiers. Dr Shuaib also explained that both Hamid and Ahmad died as a result of not getting immediate medical attention. Had a doctor seen them immediately, they may have still been alive.

Dr Shuaib also mentioned how an ambulance conveying injured people to the hospital was stopped by the army. Two of those on board were arrested while the other two escaped. The soldiers took the ambulance and did not provide any reasons for why they had taken it. The ambulance was only released on 15 August, 2014.

### **Events of Saturday 26 July 2014**

The following day saw a further incident at the Husainiyyah Baqiyyatullah. After the previous day's events many of the injured had been brought to the Husainiyyah Baqiyyatullah where they received first aid overnight.

A number of the volunteers and supporters of the Islamic Movement were in the premises of the Husainiyyah Baqiyyatullah. One of the victims who had been shot in the leg that day explained that while they were outside the Husainiyyah

Baqiyyatullah, three army vehicles approached them. The soldiers got out and walked towards them. Once they were on the opposite side of the road and after a very short discussion they opened fire. No warning was given before shooting. As soon as the soldiers started firing at the crowd, the people in the crowd started chanting Ya Mahdi and Allahu Akbar and dived to the ground for cover.

The soldiers were shooting from very close range – 10-20 metres. One of the victims was shot in the leg and we saw a very large exit wound on his leg: the bones in his leg were clearly visible. Two people were killed and seven injured. No soldiers were killed or harmed during this event.

The family of Haidar Muhammad Ugwado said he was also shot in front of the Husainiyyah Baqiyyatullah. He too was outside the Hussainiyyah with others before the soldiers arrived. When the soldiers had left, people approached him thinking he had decided not to move from his place. They found that he had in fact been shot dead; he did not get a chance to seek cover when the soldiers had started shooting and had been killed where he sat.

All the victims and eye-witnesses we spoke to confirmed that none of the people outside the Husainiyyah Baqiyyatullah were carrying guns or any weapons. They also did not provoke the attack either. The soldiers had shot at unarmed civilians.

### Findings

- Soldiers opened fire on unarmed civilians, without provocation, using live ammunition, without issuing any warnings on 25 July 2014. People were dispersing from a peaceful procession held in support of Palestine and all eye-witnesses / victims confirmed that only the soldiers were shooting.
- The police were not involved in the incident of 25 July. They refused to take captives from the army and did not wish to have any part in how the army handled the issue. Furthermore, in Nigeria, it is purely a police responsibility to handle civil disturbances and the army does not normally engage without the express knowledge of, and instructions from, their command and headquarters. In the latter case, all military and security formations are alerted. On July 25 and 26 however, the police refused involvement and soldiers in Chindit barracks refused entry to the soldiers who carried out the operations. The fact that a senior military officer at Basawa Barracks did not seem to be aware of what was going on and thus requested that victims be taken to the hospital would itself suggest that this was a special operation carried out by a select few.
- The army treated the civilians they attacked as hostile combatants, despite their being unarmed. In a special situation report obtained by IHRC (Appendix A), they stated that the soldiers were attacked by the civilians. They referred to those arrested as prisoners of war and counted an ambulance amongst the dangerous weapons that they confiscated from the enemy.

## THE ZARIA MASSACRES AND THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY

- There were no casualties or fatalities amongst the soldiers on 25 or 26 July.
- It is our opinion that this was not a conflict between the army and protestors as claimed by the military. Thirty-two people were killed on Friday 25 July, but as indicated in the special situation report (Appendix A), the soldiers sustained no casualties or losses. If this had been a conflict between two parties we would have expected the army to report some casualties as a minimum.
- A number of those injured or killed were shot at very close range. This is evidenced by the severe nature of the wounds as well as the fact that many of the victims said they could clearly see the faces of the soldiers who shot them and would be able to identify them if given the opportunity.
- Video footage clearly shows that the soldiers were walking around very calmly and did not perceive any threat from the crowd they were shooting at: they were not wearing helmets, were not seeking cover and were walking in the open as they fired at the crowd. We have images showing soldiers walking amongst the crowd; clearly they did not perceive any actual threat from the crowd as they have since claimed.
- Soldiers arrested a number of individuals who were held for 4-5 hours, without due legal process. These individuals were:
  - shot in the leg and the back and even the chest and head before being bundled into a truck. Many had multiple gunshot wounds
  - repeatedly tortured during the journey to Basawa Barracks,
  - refused medical attention, food and water throughout their imprisonment, which led to the death of Hamid and Ahmad El- Zakzaky,
  - showed evidence on their bodies of being kicked or beaten with the butts of AK-47 rifles,
  - had clean lacerations on their bodies from where they were cut or stabbed by the soldiers' bayonets.
- Soldiers opened fire on unarmed civilians, using live ammunition, without provocation and without issuing any warnings outside Husainiyyah Baqiyyatullah on 26 July 2014.
- All victims and family members stated that they had not received any explanation from the Police or any government functionary. No one had approached them to find out what had happened at the time of our fact-finding mission.
- Soldiers distinctly and actively sought to identify the sons of Al-Zakzaky and meted out the most severe forms of torture in addition to fatally shooting them suggests that eliminating members of the sheikh's family was one of their primary goals.

### Recommendations

- IHRC believes that an investigation into these two incidents needs to be carried out by a third party, independent of the Army and government. **Our recommendation is that the investigation be carried out by an independent international commission.**
- The incidents in Zaria are not the first time that the Nigerian Army has acted in this way. Amnesty International has reported the extra judicial killings of alleged members of Boko Haram by the Nigerian Army. These killings involved them slitting peoples' throats whilst filming and photographing the atrocities. Such actions amount to a war crime. These types of events strongly suggest that at least a section of the Nigerian army is totally out of control and is committing murder and extra-judicial killings of unarmed civilians with apparent impunity. **We recommend that the Nigerian Army's participation in all international peace missions, organised by the UN or the African Union, be suspended immediately, until the perpetrators are identified and brought to justice.**

## THE ZARIA MASSACRES AND THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY



Peaceful protest



Another section of the peaceful procession

## THE ZARIA MASSACRES AND THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY



Women's section of procession (above) / Mens section of procession (below)



## THE ZARIA MASSACRES AND THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY



Banner in solidarity with Palestine (above) / Army personnel alongside army vehicle (below)



## THE ZARIA MASSACRES AND THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY



Soldiers shooting at protestors (above) / Injured man abandoned on the road and left for dead (below)



## THE ZARIA MASSACRES AND THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY



Injured man becomes limp (above) / Army officers throwing lifeless body onto truck (below)



## THE ZARIA MASSACRES AND THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY



People seeking shelter during shooting (above) / Ammunition collected at the site of the protest (below)



## THE ZARIA MASSACRES AND THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY



One of the injured (above) / Victim with part of leg amputated as a result of bullet wound (below)



## THE ZARIA MASSACRES AND THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY



Wounded being carried by volunteers (above) / Injured taken to hospital (below)



## THE ZARIA MASSACRES AND THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY



Injured taken to hospital (above and below)



## THE ZARIA MASSACRES AND THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY



Injured waiting to be treated (above) / Burying the dead (below)



## Appendix A – Situation Report

IN LIEU OF NA MSG FORM  
DEPOT/G3/240/5

IMM

DTG: 260900 A JUL 14

U/C

FROM: HQ DEPOT NA

TO: HQ 1 DIV  
1 DIC

INFO: OFFICE OF THE COAS  
AHQ DATOPS  
AHQ DOAA  
HQ 1 DISFORCE  
11: FER

G3 - 512

TEXT: SPECIAL SITREP. SITREP NO 04/14. RELIGIOUS DISTURBANCE. AT ABOUT 251545A JUL 14 A ZARIA BASED ISLAMIC CLERIC AND LDR OF SHIITE, SHEIK EL ZAZAKI AND HIS FOLLOWERS UNLAWFULLY ENGAGED IN AN ACT OF CIVIL DISTURBANCE WHILE PROTESTING ONGOING CONFLICT BETW STATE OF ISREAL AND PALESTINE. THE SECT MEMBERS ARMED WITH DANGEROUS WPNS ATTK INNOCENT CIVS INCL SLDRS OF 11 FER. SECT MEMBERS ALSO ATTEMPTED TO DISARM SOME OF THE SLDRS. TPS ON GRD RESPONDED IN SELF DEF AND ENGAGED THEM IN EXCHANGE OF GUN FIRE. REINFORCEMENT SENT BY DEPOT NA IMM. SIT. EN FORCE. KIA 10. WIA 2. PW 13. 1 X AMB CAPTURED. OWN FORCE. KIA NIL. WIA NIL. OWN EQPT CAS. NIL. OWN TPS STILL DOMINATING THE AREA. SIT UNDER CONTROL. PROGRESS RPT TO FOL ASP. TPS MORALE AND ALERTNESS REMAIN HIGH. PLEASE ACK////



A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Amphor'.

RELEASING OFFICER'S SIGNATURE

NAME: BA FIBOINUMAMA

RANK: BRIG GEN

APPT: COMDT

Text: **special situation report. Situation report no 04/14. Religious disturbance.**

At about 251545a July 14 a Zaria based Islamic cleric and leader of Shiite, Sheik El Zazaki and his followers unlawfully engaged in an act of civil disturbance while protesting ongoing conflict between state of Israel and Palestine. The sect members armed with dangerous weapons attacked innocent civilians including soldiers of 11 fer. Sect members also attempted to disarm some of the soldiers. Troops on ground responded in self-defense and engaged them in exchange of gunfire. Reinforcement sent by depot Nigerian Army immediately. Situation. Enemy force. Killed in action 10. Wounded in action 2. Prisoner of war 13. 1 x ambulance captured. Own force. Killed in action nil. Wounded in action nil. Own equipment casualty. Nil. Own troops still dominating the area. Situation under control. Progress report to follow as soon as possible. Troops morale and alertness remain high. Please acknowledge / / /

## Appendix B – List of those killed

### Friday 25 July 2014

Sayyid Ahmad Zakzaky  
Sayyid Hamid Zakzaky  
Sayyid Mahmoud Zakzaky  
Musa Soba  
Abdulbasit U/jaba  
Alhaji Atiku Zaria  
Sadisu Salisutanimu U/noma  
Kabiru Alaramma Muciya  
Usman Ridwan Zaria  
Zainulabidin K/dangoma  
Alaramma Alhassan U/kanawa  
Shamwilu Bashir Funtuwa  
Adamu Shitu Barwa  
Zulaihat Sani  
Yusuf Abdulqadir  
Mansur Ahmad Bilbis  
Haruna Ahmad T/wada – (9 years old)  
Abubakar Sabati T/jukun  
Shafi’u Tsugugi  
Umar Dambo  
Ishaqa Abdullahi Muciya  
Ahmad Habib Dabai  
Zakariyya A/gwado  
Aisha Muktar Kudan  
Isma’il Bashir Wuciciri  
Ibrahim Muktar S/gari  
Salisu Mati Maradi  
Mujtaba K/malam Karaye  
Husaini Muhammad Zabi  
Nuhu Ya’u Kundun J  
ulius Anyawu  
Abubakar Lawal

### Saturday 26 July 2014

Haidar Muhammad U/gwado  
Haruna Sufi Dograwa

### Saturday 26 July 2014

Haidar Muhammad U/gwado  
Haruna Sufi Dograwa

### Endnotes

<sup>9</sup> See Appendix B – List of those killed

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.ihrc.org.uk/activities/press-releases/9075-press-release-nigeria-breaking-news-police-fire-on-peaceful-protest-in-zaria>

<sup>11</sup> Ishaq Abdullah died following the serious fatal injuries he sustained. He was taken away by the soldiers and was not given any medical attention. He bled to death in custody.

<sup>12</sup> The shops are in the area immediately around PZ roundabout and the area itself is referred to as PZ, a densely populated area with very high concentration of shops, banks and other commercial activities.

<sup>13</sup> These chants were spontaneous and were meant firstly as warning to others nearby to be wary of danger and secondly as a form of spiritual protection and encouragement in the face of danger.



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**Islamic  
Human Rights  
Commission**



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