



## **Human Rights Abuses Committed in Nigeria**

Submission to the United Nations Universal Periodic Review of the  
Federal Republic of Nigeria  
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Jubilee Campaign is a non-profit organization which promotes the human rights and religious liberty of ethnic and religious minorities. We assist individuals and families seeking asylum in the West from religious-based persecution as well as promoting the care and well-being of larger groups of refugees fleeing religious and ethnic persecution. Jubilee Campaign holds consultative status at the United Nations from the Economic and Social Council.

**United Nations Human Rights Council  
Universal Periodic Review of Member-State Nigeria (officially the Federal Republic of Nigeria)**

Jubilee Campaign, in coalition with Advocates International, and the Institute on Religion and Democracy, jointly submit this analysis of religious freedom and human rights in the Federal Republic of Nigeria (Nigeria) as a contribution to the Universal Periodic Review of UNHRC member-state Nigeria.

**Introduction**

1. As the third round of the UPR reaches Nigeria, this West African giant continues to face serious challenges to the basic rule of law. On the one hand the benefits of democracy, have created a booming economy in Lagos and other parts of the south with great potential for the future, though there is continued economic deprivation and corruption particularly in the oil producing regions. A more serious threat to democracy and full human rights in Nigeria lies in the north, where a comprehensive system of discrimination based primarily on religious lines along with blatant impunity for violent crimes against religious minorities is producing an extremely polarized xenophobic environment with predictably violent results.
2. This coalition, consisting of Jubilee Campaign, Advocates International, and the Institute on Religion and Democracy calls on the Nigeria government to fully respect and protect religious freedom and human rights for ethnic and religious minorities in law and practice.

**A. Religious Discrimination in Law**

1. We call on Nigeria to defend the fundamental rights of its citizens laid out in its Constitution and in international covenants, which must include reviewing and overturning local or national laws and practices that violate the Constitution. Jubilee Campaign notes that Nigeria acceded to the ICCPR without reservation.
2. Regrettably, the Nigerian government has failed to act regarding the religiously-based laws passed in the northern states of Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Niger, Sokoto, Yobe, and Zamfara, popularly referred to as Sharia states. These laws are a violation of the Nigerian constitution, in several cases they created state-level police forces which are also in violation of the Nigerian Constitution.
3. On a human rights level, these laws favor the Muslim majority at the expense of the minority. They have increased xenophobia and communal tensions, doubtless contributing to the uptick in violence in the region.
4. Christians in the north consistently report the misuse of Sharia law, and abuse of power by the Hisbah (Sharia police), to the point where many Christians cited these discriminatory abuses as a significant factor in their decision to leave the states that practice Sharia law. The religious beliefs and the imposition of Sharia are in violation of

the secular Nigerian Constitution. The federal authorities have failed to enforce the Constitution.

## **B. Religious Discrimination In Practice**

1. Discrimination against religious minority communities is endemic in at least 16 of the 19 northern states (3 Christian majority or co-equal states did not report State Level persecution) encompassing more than just political disenfranchisement. Religious minorities are denied equal rights, most state jobs and promotions. The level of discrimination is such that many Muslim managers refuse to hire a non-Muslim outright.
2. Christian neighborhoods are frequently overlooked for development or basic maintenance. In Sabon Gari a Christian ghetto in Kano City, the roads, water lines and other basic services have not been updated for decades. Many northern cities have these “outer” enclaves for infidels to dwell separately in.
3. In particular schools planned for Christian areas are not built, and in one instance were closed down under the pretext of renovations. As a result of this Christian children have to travel farther to schools, which are built and maintained in Muslim areas. During times of tension the first casualty is the schooling of Christian children, particularly Christian girls, who are easily identifiable as non-Muslims and therefore targets of violence.
4. In Tafawa Balewa, a Christian area of Bauchi State, the state government refused to maintain public schools and finally shut them down, community leaders say, to deprive Christian children, particularly Christian girls, an education. Many private Christian mission schools have historically been confiscated by the governments and stripped of their faith-based roots. The state legislature of Bauchi relocated the capital of Tafawa Balewa, Christian community, to a Muslim dominated town in violation of the constitution. When the Christian member representing the community objected, the state legislature suspended her from the parliament.
5. If a Christian child is able to attend primary school they face discrimination in the area of religious instruction. Islamic Instruction is regularly provided in public schools in the most at-risk Northern states, but Christian religious instruction is absent from most northern public schools.
6. Chapter IV, Section 38(2) of Nigeria’s constitution expressly forbids requiring children to attend instruction in a religion different from their own and we were informed that while this provision is not officially violated there is immense social pressure on Christian children to attend the classes on Islamic Religious Knowledge. Christian children are insulted and publicly humiliated for holding to their faith.
7. In one instance in Sokoto, a Christian child was punished when she refused to attend the Islamic religious instruction class. The child was sent outside and forced to squat down with her elbows on her knees and hold stones in her palms. If she dropped the stones or rose from her position she would be flogged. The child was forced to hold this position for the entire period.

8. Anti-Christian discrimination continues to occur in institutions of higher education. Christian students who had attended tertiary education in the North told us that Christians were required to score significantly higher on their exams to be permitted to pass. In addition, the honors of first in class or valedictorian, went to the Muslim with the highest scores, bypassing Christians with higher scores.
9. Schools have even been known to refuse to hand over certificates or diplomas necessary for graduates to work in the field of their degree. We spoke with a nurse who completed her schooling but was refused the certificate granting her permission to work as a nurse. She had to wait 7 years and was forced to pay over 120,000 Naira (roughly \$800) in bribes before school officials turned over the certificate, which was rightfully hers. After receiving her certificate she was forced to travel to a Christian enclave in the Middle Belt to find work.
10. Any public signs of non-Muslim religious identity, such as crosses, bells, or identifiable church buildings are prohibited in practice. Governments require permits to construct new churches, or repair old ones. These permits are never granted and churches are often demolished in anti-Christian riots. The Muslim community is so determined to prevent Christians from having churches to meet in, that when selling land to Christians they commonly include the proviso “Not to be used for a bar, a brothel, or a church” on official land deeds.
11. The Nigerian constitution allows for sharia law as relates to Islamic personal law; in other words, matters that pertain to marriage, custody of children, inheritance and the like can be applied to Muslims in Nigeria. However, the twelve states also adopted unconstitutional criminal aspects of sharia. This law is enforced by the Hisbah police, an equally unconstitutional police funded with public funds. This law permits punishments such as flogging, amputation and the like contrary to the provisions of the Convention against Torture, which prescribes such punishments as cruel, inhumane, and degrading. Nigeria ratified this convention in June 2001, yet these punishments continue “legally” in northern Nigeria unabated. More worrisome is the fact that though these sharia courts ought to have jurisdiction on only Muslims, several Christians have been arraigned before sharia courts and sentences passed against them.
12. For example, Christian parents whose girls (usually school children between 9 to 14 years old) have been abducted and forcefully married to older Muslim men have been arraigned in sharia courts on the basis that the girls have converted to Islam. Curiously, apostasy is a capital offence under sharia law, so if a Muslim girl were to convert to Christianity, she would be guilty of apostasy and liable to be punished with death.
13. There have been significant numbers of Christian girls kidnapped in Northern Nigeria. For example, on April 14, 2014 276 girls were kidnapped from a Christian school in Chibok, Borno State. Some of them were later rescued, while others were released, apparently after significant pressure to convert to Islam.<sup>i</sup> Currently roughly 200 of the Chibok girls remain in captivity.<sup>ii</sup>

14. There have been various instances of non-Muslim women forced into marrying Muslim men. At least 10 cases of these cases of forced marriages and/or conversions of non-Muslim women have occurred since 2016. The case of Habiba Ishaku exemplifies this. Ishaku, a Christian, was living in Kankara Local Government Area, Katsina State when she disappeared on August 16, 2016 at the age of 14. She was then supposedly converted to Islam and married to a man named Jamilu Lawal. The case has been debated in court with the current result being that Ishaku remains in the house of Lawal despite the fact that she was taken as a minor and should be protected under Nigeria's child protection laws.
15. On the 19<sup>th</sup> of February 2018, about 110 school girls were abducted by Boko Haram from Dapchi town of Yobe State. Most of the girls are Muslim girls. About five weeks later, all but one of the surviving girls was released. The reason for the refusal to release the only girl left in captivity is because she refused to convert to Islam.<sup>iii</sup> The Inspector General of Police (IGP) initially told newsmen that the girl was soon to be released only for the Nigeria Police Force to recant this, claiming that the IGP was misunderstood.
16. In another incident in Kaduna State, Christian girls in Kasuwan Magani were kidnapped in early 2018.<sup>iv</sup> When the police did nothing, local Christian men attempted to rescue their girls, and the Muslims attacked the Christian community, killing 12 men, and wounding around 20 others.
17. While enduring these injustices, members of the Christian minority are consistently and blatantly faced with pressure to convert to Islam. Christians are regularly and publicly humiliated for their religious identity and anything that can be construed as disrespectful or contradictory to Islam is met with immediate violence.
18. We call on the government of Nigeria to ensure that State policies do not discriminate on the basis of religion. Development and maintenance funds must not discriminate against religious minorities particularly in key areas such as education. Forcing children to undergo instruction in a religion other than their own violates the Nigerian Constitution and international law. In addition, the right of religious minorities to manifest their faith publicly by building houses of worship and meeting within them should be protected by the Federal Government. Federal and State level officials who deny these rights or fail to protect them should face penalties. When this infringement on freedom of religion is coupled with violent attacks, such penalties should include criminal charges.

### **C. Targeted Violence**

1. Targeted violence against religious minorities is a serious and continuing problem, particularly in the northeastern states of Yobe and Borno.

2. In January of 2012, during the same time as the massive bombing attack on Kano city, Christians in Yobe State, particularly in Potiskum and Damaturu were attacked in nightly house-to-house killings. Christians reported that the Arabic word ketab كتاب meaning “book” was written on the houses of those attacked. This is a Qur’anic reference to Christians as “people of the book.” The attacks killed an unknown number of Christians and displaced at least 3500 people in January 2012.
3. Such killings are particularly worrisome because house to house killings are a severe increase in violence compared to anything Nigeria had experienced previously, and because they represent a significant step in a genocidal direction. Those targeted were not targeted because of their leadership position, business success or because they were perceived to have offended Islam in some particular way. Rather these individuals and families were targeted solely for their Christian religious identity. Instead of trying to extract concessions or force the Christians to flee, the attackers simply killed them, which was also very unusual.
4. In Maiduguri there was a sustained campaign of assassination style killings of Christians religious leaders, officials or businessmen. Incidents from 2012 and 2013 include:<sup>v</sup>
  1. Five Christians were beheaded on January 23, 2013.<sup>vi</sup>
  2. Ten Christians were shot in three separate incidents on January 22, 2013
  3. Christian Policewoman Sarah Mala was killed on January 7, 2013
  4. Retired pastor Reverend Ilaisha Kabura was killed on the 18th of November, 2012.<sup>vii</sup>
  5. Pastor Ali Samuri of the Good News Church was killed on August 7, 2012.
  6. The Pastor of COCIN church Maiduguri and three members were killed on April 29, 2012.
  7. At least Five Christian businessmen were killed on April 5, 2012.
  8. A Christian woman, the mother of a local pastor was killed on February 22, 2012.
  9. Two Christians were murdered in their homes on January 9, 2012.
  10. Two Christian students were killed on January 7, 2012.
6. It was reported on 2<sup>nd</sup> of June 2016 that a woman named Bridget Patience Agbaheme, a trader in Kano State was beheaded by a mob for allegedly blaspheming Prophet Mohammed. This incident happened right in front of her husband who was only saved by the timely intervention of the Police.<sup>viii</sup> The Premium times<sup>ix</sup> reported on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of November 2016 that all suspects of the killing were discharged on the advice of the attorney-general of Kano State. This manner of handling such a serious case only gives room for impunity.

7. Similarly, on the 10<sup>th</sup> of July 2016, the Vanguard newspaper reported that one Eunice Olawale, a deaconess with the Redeemed Christian Church of God was murdered while preaching in a satellite town of the Federal Capital Territory. The late Eunice was cut in the neck and stabbed in the stomach. On the 14<sup>th</sup> of January 2017, the Premium Times reported that the Police released all the suspects arrested on grounds that there was no link between them and the case contradicting an earlier statement that the suspects were being helpful in the investigation.<sup>x</sup>
8. As far as Jubilee Campaign and our partner organizations are aware there has been complete impunity for all of these killings, without any attempt at true investigation much less prosecution for any of these targeted killings. While police at times would arrest people involved in violence, they tend to arrest everyone at the scene, without discriminating between victims and perpetrators and then release them all, again without differentiating and without any further investigation.

#### **D. Mass Violence**

1. The March 7, 2010 massacre in Dogo Nahawa Jos, Plateau State, the April 16, 2011 Sharia states pogrom and the January 20<sup>th</sup> 2012 Kano onslaught mark 3 consecutive years of triple digit casualties, each in excess of 200 lives lost, from a single incident.
2. On March 7, 2010 Muslims attacks the village of Dogo Nahawa killing roughly 500 men, women and children. Of the 164 people arrested only 15 suspects were convicted and they were sentenced to only ten years in prison. These light sentences utterly fail to serve as a deterrent for future violence and contribute to the climate of impunity in Nigeria. There has also been no government help for the victims of Dogo Nahawa.
3. In a 48 hour period covering April 17-18, 2011, 764 churches were burned, 204 Christians were confirmed killed, over 3,100 Christian businesses, schools, and shops were burned, and over 3,400 Christian homes were destroyed. Several recent college graduates participating in Nigeria's National Youth Service Corp were killed when they sought refuge in a police station. Taxis were randomly stopped by the rioting Muslims and any Christians were killed. In one instance the taxi driver, despite the pleas of sympathetic Muslim passengers, drove a pastor to a mob and handed him over to be killed. While the homes of certain prominent politicians and a few political offices were attacked in the initial spate of violence, this was clearly an Anti-Christian Pogrom. Within a matter of hours Muslim rioters in Zaria, just outside of Kaduna City would enter a federal campus and attack only the Christian chapel, leaving the other buildings untouched. People were randomly required to recite the Quran or be killed. Throughout northern Nigeria, this violence was carried out along religious lines, with Muslims attacking unsuspecting Christians. More churches were destroyed than any properties associated with the ruling party, the government or any other category.
4. On January 20<sup>th</sup>, 2012 in Kano, a series of bombs were set off in Kaduna by the terrorist group Boko Haram. Subsequently teams of armed men attacked different institutions in the city. While the institutions attacked were mostly government institutions, when the main police barracks was attacked the attackers went through and specifically attacked

the Christian homes. While the government claimed that the Kano attack took 185 lives, the Christian community reported over 200 casualties, not counting the Muslims who were killed in the bombs and indiscriminate violence.

5. The Nigerian government has responded to these events in two ways, first by stepping up security and second by compensating some of the victims. Unfortunately, the compensation monies have been given out on an extremely discriminatory basis. No compensation or government aid money was given to the victims of Dogo Nahawa, which had only Christian victims. Virtually no money was given to the Christian victims of the Post-Election violence, with some exceptions primarily in Kaduna. Compensation in Kano was similarly biased. We call on the government to give compensation and aid funds to victims regardless of their religion.
6. In a 48 hour period during the first week of January of 2015, Boko Haram fighters razed 16 towns and villages in the Kukawa local government area in Borno state.<sup>xi</sup> The casualties from the town of Baga, one of the 16 burned villages, were in excess of 100 people. The violence continued to rage, with as many as 2000 people ultimately killed in January of 2015, by Boko Haram.<sup>xii</sup> According to District head Baba Abba Hassan, the victims were mostly children, women, and elderly who could not escape when Boko Haram insurgents drove into town with RPGs and assault rifles.<sup>xiii</sup>
7. According to local residents, a local militia had been successfully resisting the Boko Haram fighters, when members of the Nigerian military told them to pull back and clear the area to allow for an airstrike.<sup>xiv</sup> The militia members pulled back, but the airstrike never came, and because the militia members were no longer in position, Boko Haram stormed the town.
8. The violence was estimated to have displaced about 1.5 million people, with the displacement being significant enough that these largely Christian communities would be unable to participate in the election shortly afterwards. The incumbent President Goodluck Jonathan, who was the Christian candidate up for reelection, eventually lost the election.
9. In the first week of 2018, over 83 people were killed in what the government of Nigeria described as communal clashes. The vast majority, about 73 of the victims were from the Christian community, though a few of the Muslim Fulani herdsmen suffered casualties.<sup>xv</sup>
10. Thousands of people have been killed in farming communities in States like Benue, Plateau, Southern Kaduna, Enugu, Delta, Taraba, Ogun, Ebonyi, Rivers, Calabar, Anambra, Adamawa, Edo by militant Fulani herdsmen who insist on grazing their cattle on open lands and on people's farms despite the anti-grazing laws of some States. These herdsmen are hardly ever arrested. Rather are being justified by the government for example, on 26<sup>th</sup> of January 2018, the Vanguard newspaper quoted the Minister of Defense, Mansur Muhammad Dan-Ali as saying that the recent massacre of innocent people by suspected Fulani herdsmen in parts of the Country was as a result of the promulgation of anti-grazing laws and blocking of grazing routes. This is an indicator that the security of Nigerians is at risk.

11. To make this clearer, the IGP<sup>xvi</sup> ordered that all civilians, vigilante groups, neighborhood watch security groups, hunters should surrender their firearms with licenses in 21 days, failure to do so, the Police will raid places and prosecute people for illegal possession of firearms. Interestingly, the herdsmen who are the President's kinsmen were left out to remain armed while rest of the country will be disarmed,

## **E. Incitement and Impunity**

1. On January 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2012, a spokesman for the terrorist group Boko Haram called for the killing of any Christians who would not leave the north within three days. Three days later there was a massive outbreak of violence all across northern Nigeria, as radicals both inside and outside the terrorist group responded to the call to exterminate northern Nigeria's religious minority.
2. The calls for genocide in early 2012 are a useful starting point to illustrate the ongoing advocacy of religious hatred amounting to incitement in Nigeria. Unfortunately, that incident of incitement by the Boko Haram terrorist group was just one of many contributing to episodes of sectarian violence, which has claimed over 13,000 lives in Nigeria since 1999.<sup>xvii</sup>
3. Much of this violence has occurred in the Middle Belt of Nigeria between the largely Christian South and the largely Muslim North. Several waves of violence in Plateau State, have been investigated by Judicial Commissions and/or Presidential Panels, which have gathered facts about the background, causes and extent of specific incident of widespread violence, but lacked the power to prosecute. These commissions and panels generated reports which detailed among other things the public advocacy of violence as well as specific incidents of incitement by social or governmental actors. In theory these reports should have been used as evidence in prosecutions. In practice none of these reports have ever been acted upon.
4. For example, the "Judicial Commission of Inquiry into the Civil Disturbances in Jos and Its Environs," popularly known as the "Niki Tobi Commission," recommended the retirement of Muhammed Abubakar from the police force for his failure to investigate incidents of incitement such as the distribution of flyers calling for the assassination of public figures or acts of communal violence. This commission was called in response to the September 2001 Jos crisis, estimated to have killed over 1000 people.<sup>xviii</sup>
5. Not only have the perpetrators of the 2001 violence never been effectively prosecuted, but this same Muhammed Abubakar was appointed head of the federal police forces in 2012 by the President of Nigeria. As there are no state or local police forces, with the exception of the Hisbah, or Sharia police, this means that Mr. Abubakar controls virtually all non-military security forces throughout Nigeria.
6. This example also showcases the climate of impunity in Nigeria. Many human rights observers focus on the climate of impunity relating to police brutality or extrajudicial killings.<sup>xix</sup> While this is a serious problem and one that needs to be addressed, Jubilee

Campaign wishes to point out the failure of the government to effectively prosecute those who plan, recruit for and carry out widespread violence.

7. For example, much has been made of the extrajudicial killing of Mohammad Yusuf, the leader of the Boko Haram terrorist group. However, Jubilee Campaign notes that Boko Haram members, including Yusuf had been previously arrested after attacks on police stations but were quickly released by federal authorities before effective prosecutions could take place. Back in 2005 Asma Jahangir, the Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief, noted in her report on Nigeria<sup>xx</sup> that the Government had failed to initiate prosecutions of the instigators of widespread religious violence, with claims “from the highest official level” that prosecutions were not the priority of the authorities.
8. Unfortunately, Jubilee Campaign notes that since 2005 this situation has not changed. During 2010 for the first time a handful of effective prosecutions took place in Plateau State relating to sectarian violence. Unfortunately, these few prosecutions do not change a decade of impunity and government inaction. Jubilee Campaign has repeatedly heard from our Nigerian contacts that when prisoners are captured, the police refuse to turn them over to the state governments and instead send them to the federal capitol of Abuja, where they are shortly released and often return to participate in further violence. This climate of impunity contributes to a deep mistrust of and frustration with the Federal government to the point that the general populace assumes collusion between the government and violent extremists. This was clearly seen in the public reaction to the escape of Kabiru Sokoto, the alleged mastermind behind the bombing of St. Theresa Catholic Church at Madalla, Niger State on Christmas Day 2011.
9. This climate of impunity is one of the root causes of both extrajudicial killings and vigilante justice. When there is a widespread perception that the system will not carry out justice, individual actors will seek to take justice into their own hands. The Nigerian government has failed to address this core issue, choosing to ignore building tensions until violence erupts. Security or military forces are then employed in a heavy-handed manner until the violence stops, but no effective prosecutions take place. The failure to prosecute permits the local actors who instigated the violence to regroup and plan their next attack, often drawing fresh new recruits from those affected by police brutality
10. Returning to the issue of incitement, nearly all of these actors ‘telegraph’ their intentions by publicly advocating violence. We believe that in order to deal with this threat to their citizens and to their nations the Nigerian Government must begin to proactively deal with the issue of incitement using tactics that accord with human rights law. By identifying and isolating those who advocate violence, the Nigerian government will be able to prevent future attacks and avoid the need for massive and heavy-handed security responses.
11. Other incidents of incitement include accusations of sacrilege or blasphemy, which mobilize the Muslim community to attack Christians. These accusations are overwhelmingly found to be baseless, but the mob response means that violence occurs before the facts can be ascertained. Many of these accusations are found to be utter fabrications.

12. For example, in 2012 a group of youths were incited to attack Tafawa Balewa, which is a Christian area, along the southern border of Bauchi, a Muslim majority state. On January 22, 2012 a group of Muslim youths attacked Tafawa Balewa. After being captured, the youths confessed that they had been told that Christians had defecated in a Mosque by their Mallam (Nigerian Muslim spiritual leader) and this caused them to attack the town. As far as we are aware the mallam responsible for this incitement was never brought to justice.
13. Another facet of the incitement/impunity cycle in Nigeria is the way in which political and community leaders in Nigeria have downplayed mass violence against Christians.
14. For example, on November 7, 2016, the Jema'a Foundation, Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association, and Mobgal Fulbe Development Association, all of whom are umbrella organizations for Fulani herdsmen, hosted a press conference where Abdullahi Hassan Mohammed, Ahmad M. Yandeh, and Abdulhamid Musa spoke about the attacks that Fulani members launched on farming communities. A report from Kingdom News stated the following: "Again, on the 7th of November, 2016, Abdullahi Hassan Mohammed (Wanban Jema'a) of Jema'a Foundation; Ahmad M. Yandeh, of Mobgal Fulbe Development Association and Abdulhamid Musa, Zonal Chairman of Miyetti Allah Zone III addressed a press conference in Kaduna and again, said that it was Fulani that have been carrying out the bloodshed and arson in Southern Kaduna. They said they were defending themselves. The killings of infants, pregnant women, the burning to ashes of children and women and very aged people; the burning down of entire villages, the burning of churches, the stealing of livestock, looting and burning of food and crops on farmlands, the further occupation of the villages, all as 'self defence.' The Fulani chieftains are walking free and the killings are ongoing."<sup>xxi</sup>
15. Furthermore, the Southern Kaduna People's Union has identified Abdullahi Mohammed and Ahmed Yandeh as "local accomplices of the foreign terrorists" and has called for their arrest.<sup>xxii</sup>
16. Additionally in August of 2016, Haruna Usman, Chairman to Kaduna State Chapter of MACBAN, said "Are Fulani crazy to just go and attack people? Did you ask the Godogodo people what they did to the Fulani? We already have 17 grazing reserves in Kaduna State since colonial times, and there is no dispute about that. What happened was that these people went and killed a Fulani Chief in one of the villages and burnt his house. The Fulani are just revenging."<sup>xxiii</sup> These comments were given in response to the killing of six farmers in Godogodo village. The MACBAN is an umbrella organization for cattle breeders in Nigeria, and is a primary association for Fulani herdsmen. The association's leaders and spokesmen have noted Fulani members' involvement in the attacks and has released a number of statements downplaying the attacks or writing them off as reprisal attacks that the victimized communities brought upon themselves. MACBAN has also openly praised Governor El-Rufai of Kaduna state in his handling of the violence—a governor most farming communities criticize for leaving them vulnerable and for being biased toward the attackers.
17. The Gan Allah Fulani Association is also an umbrella body in Nigeria for Fulani. In an interview<sup>xxiv</sup> with Nigerian news agency Premium Times, its Interim National Secretary

Saleh Bayeri claimed Fulani responsibility for an attack against the people of Agatu, Benue that left 300-500 dead, and excused the attack as revenge for the murder of a Fulani man that occurred three years prior. Mr. Bayeri described the victims of the attack as the true aggressors.

18. Also in response to the Agatu killings, Mr. Boderi, another Fulani spokesman said “Fulani herdsmen have been accused of mass murder and destruction of farms in different parts of Nigeria, with the latest being Agatu communities of Benue State. Ado Boderi, speaking for Fulani community in Benue State, said recently that the Agatu people triggered crisis after killing 10,000 cattle belonging to the Fulani community.”<sup>xxv</sup>
19. As a spokesman for the Fulani, Mr. Boderi reveals he knows the motive for the deadly attack on Agatu villagers—the killing of cattle. Members on a mission in Nigeria stated they did not see any dead cattle, only dead human bodies.<sup>xxvi</sup>
20. The growing recognition on the international level of the dangers of incitement should propel the Nigerian Government to begin effectively confronting this serious human rights issue. This is particularly true as the incitement in Nigeria is directly contributing to violence, which has claimed thousands of lives over the last decade, and bids to claim thousands more.

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<sup>i</sup> <http://nigeriantimes.ng/top-stories/chibok-girls-forcefully-converted-to-islam/>

<sup>ii</sup> <http://nigeriantimes.ng/top-stories/chibok-girls-forcefully-converted-to-islam/>

<sup>iii</sup> [www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-43535872](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-43535872)

<sup>iv</sup> <https://www.christianpost.com/news/12footn-christians-murdered-nigeria-trying-to-protect-girls-forced-islamic-conversions-219887/>

<sup>v</sup> It should be noted that these attacks do not include mass attacks against the Christian community generally or society at large, such as indiscriminate bombings, attacks on beer parlors, schools, and government institutions, which also took place in Maiduguri in 2012 and 2013.

<sup>vi</sup> <http://factsnigeriaviolence.wordpress.com/spreadsheet/2013-2/>

<sup>vii</sup> <http://factsnigeriaviolence.wordpress.com/spreadsheet/2012-3/>

<sup>viii</sup> <https://Thisisafrika.me/a-beheading-in-kano>

<sup>ix</sup> [www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/214435-court-frees-suspects-kano-blasphemy-killing.html](http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/214435-court-frees-suspects-kano-blasphemy-killing.html)

<sup>x</sup> [www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/220432-police-release-suspects-abuja-pastors-killing.html](http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/220432-police-release-suspects-abuja-pastors-killing.html)

<sup>xi</sup> <https://www.ndtv.com/world-news/boko-haram-destroys-at-least-16-towns-villages-in-nigeria-officials-724527>

<sup>xii</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/09/boko-haram-deadliest-massacre-baga-nigeria>

<sup>xiii</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/09/boko-haram-deadliest-massacre-baga-nigeria>

<sup>xiv</sup> <http://www.foxnews.com/world/2015/01/12/violence-continues-in-nigeria-after-boko-haram-deadliest-massacre-reportedly.html>

<sup>xv</sup> <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-nigeria-security/communal-violence-kills-83-in-nigeria-since-dec-31-idUSKBN1EX0YS>

<sup>xvi</sup> [Falcontimes.com.ng/igp-orders-surrender-of-fire-arms-with-the-licenses-in-21-days/](http://Falcontimes.com.ng/igp-orders-surrender-of-fire-arms-with-the-licenses-in-21-days/)

<sup>xvii</sup> USCIRF Annual Report - Countries of Particular Concern: Nigeria

<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country,,USCIRF,,NGA,,4dbe90c25,0.html>

<sup>xviii</sup> Human Rights Watch - Nigeria: Jos: A City Torn Apart <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3c272b4e7.html>

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