**Call for Submissions: Report to the United Nations General Assembly**

**Eliminating Intolerance and Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief**

**Achievement of Sustainable Development Goal 16 (SDG 16)**

**SUBMISSION ON THE RIGWE PEOPLE IN NIGERIA**

Submitted by the International Committee On Nigeria (ICON)

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The Rigwe people (also known as Irigwe) are under attack. The past few years have seen an increase in, and more coordinated, attacks by the Fulani militants, which has resulted in the violent killing of many of her inhabitants.

The Rigwe people group have resided in Nigeria for centuries. They are predominantly Christian adherents and were the origin of Christian missions in the middle-belt and north with the arrival of missionary Roland Bingham in the late 1800’s. They are believed to be a small people group with a population near 100,000. Primarily residing in Bassa Local Government of Plateau State, which is in the perilous middle-belt region of Nigeria.

1. ***Discrimination in Law and Practice***

* ***Patterns and examples of discrimination against minority religious or belief communities, in the area of***
  1. ***Civil and political rights, including but not limited to participation and representation in the public life, access to justice and effective remedies, liberty and security, freedom of expression, assembly and association;***

An overwhelming majority of Rigwes live in fertile area of Plateau State. When the Fulani militants attack, most of these villagers are forced to take refuge in the nearby town of Miango or in Jos city, the Plateau State capital. These displaced people make attempts to return to their homes and farms, but without income and government assistance they are often unable to travel home. In addition to killings and displacements, 23 churches, including residential homes for their Pastors, were burnt down.

* 1. ***Rights to Adequate Food and Housing***

Amidst the pandemic of COVID-19 in Nigeria, there have surfaced numerous reports stating that food insecurity has worsened throughout the nation due to the massive shutdown and travel bans effecting the transportation of food and materials.

From 2017 to 2019, many Rigwe communities were attacked, abolishing over 4,000 homes, displacing over 2,200 people, and destroying over 2,600 farms. Not only did they lose their homes and the inability to farm, the Rigwe people also lost a source of food and income since their grain storage is adjacent to their home. With nowhere else to go, they are often forced to stay with relatives and friends or taken to a make-shift internally displaced people’s camp. This places a strain on both the victims and their hosts as, “many families within Miango had to open their doors beyond their capacity to admit the displaced into their homes”[[1]](#footnote-1).

* ***Laws and Policies restricting the right to manifest freedom of religion or belief of minority religious communities***

The Federal Republic of Nigeria is constitutionally directed to uphold the freedom of religion or belief[[2]](#footnote-2) and to “protect, preserve and promote the Nigerian cultures which enhance human dignity”[[3]](#footnote-3). A multinational state, Nigeria is inhabited by more than 250 ethnic groups with over 500 distinct languages all identifying with a wide variety of cultures.

It is important to note that ethnic groups are also legally guided by Customary Courts, Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs. Various ethnic groups have their own customary laws that regulates their particular Chieftaincy issues but hierarchy is often difficult to explain and implement. For the Rigwe, however, despite making up some 100,000 citizens in Nigeria, their ethno-religious background has been a specific target of the Fulani militants.

The Nigerian House of Representatives raised the concern of genocide in July 2018. Lawmakers insisted President Buhari do more than just recite verbal condemnation of the attacks and, “take decisive and practical steps to give effect to Section 14 (2) (b) of the 1999 constitution as amended”[[4]](#footnote-4), which states, “the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government”. Hon. Idris Abdullahi Wase (Plateau APC) claimed he knew specific politicians who are sponsors of the killings, adding that he had, “documentary evidence to support his position”[[5]](#footnote-5).

According to the reports, the Fulani militants bold and unabated attacks have disrupted public order, impaired the health of the citizens and interfered with the educational system. In recent attacks, military either withdrew before the attacks or arrived after the Fulani militants fled.[[6]](#footnote-6) Despite the local villages Chief and vigilante groups reporting and raising awareness, there has been little to no cooperation with authorities or security forces and no follow-up investigations or arrests.

* ***Circumstances in which religious communities are prevented from administering their own affairs without State interference.***

The Rigwe community leaders have released reports that reveal the extent to which the Nigerian government is complicit or ignorant of these continued attacks by Fulani militants. The Rigwe’s right to freedom and the ability to defend themselves is slowly being denied. This has increased the control by government and security forces, which is exercised through corruption and discriminatory procedures. The lack of government and security support negatively effects the livelihood of Rigwes who are denied their ability to generate income, safely attend worship services, secure living situations, pursue education, and freedom of movement.

In 2019, a phone was found by a fleeing Fulani attacker and immediately presented to the security forces. Nothing was done – no investigation and no pursuit of justice. Then, in 2020 another phone was found and the local community conducted their own investigation before submitting the phone to security. They uncovered that, “among the 26 phone numbers saved to the phone were direct mobile phone numbers for Nigeria’s army and police officers—the very people who should be hunting terrorists”[[7]](#footnote-7).

Many are afraid to criticize the government or security officials as their personal safety would be at risk, revealing their location and disagreement. In fact, there is proof that when a community voices their opposition to the government their basic services are often neglected – health, transportation, education, etc.

Several new laws in Nigeria are under consideration: “Protection from Internet Falsehoods and Manipulation and Other Related Matters Bill 2019” and the “Bill for an Act to Provide for The Prohibition of Hate Speeches and for Other Related Matters” (aka “Hate-Speech Bill”). Amnesty International correctly states, “[These] bills on hate speech and social media are dangerous attacks on freedom of expression”[[8]](#footnote-8). Adding that these bills, “give authorities arbitrary powers to shut down the internet and limit access to social media, and make criticizing the government punishable with penalties of up to three years in prison”[[9]](#footnote-9).

1. **Effects of Discrimination**

* ***Displacement and forced migration of religious or belief communities owing to discrimination, exclusion or land rights violations.***

The lack of protection of Rigwe Christians and the overwhelming hands-off sentiment of the Nigerian government has emboldened Fulani militants to continue their attacks. Rigwe Christians have revealed the numerous violations of human rights and what individuals and families have experienced: torture, physical abuse, religious persecution, political neglect, and loss of life (including the killing of pregnant women), which are among the most reprehensible crimes against humanity reported.

Now, State and Federal programs are trying to alleviate the spread of COVID-19 (which has taken the lives of 287 Nigerians), but meanwhile, Rigwe people in Plateau State continue to be slaughtered. Since 2017, over 330 people have been killed, over 4,000 homes razed and 2,600 farms destroyed in Rigwe alone.

* ***Instances of communal violence against religious minorities, and incitement to such violence, and the adequacy of state responses.***

Recent coordinated attacks, which lasted two weeks (March 30th to April 14th), led to nearly 30 deaths when Fulani militants attacked four villages. There were reports that local residents received a warning of an imminent attack and notified authorities, but the cry for help went unheeded. Then, within hours, women and children were killed and dozens of homes razed. They exerted destruction to over 75 homes, two churches, displacing hundreds of individuals.[[10]](#footnote-10)

Prior to this catastrophe, there have been other systematic attacks, such as the destruction of 18 villages in Rigweland which lasted five weeks (September 7th to October 17th, 2017). An estimated 80 people lost their lives, over 200 farms were damaged and nearly 1,000 homes destroyed.[[11]](#footnote-11) It was during that same period, when 29 people were lured by security forces into a vacant school only to be abandoned and slaughtered when Fulani militants arrived.[[12]](#footnote-12)

An eyewitness reported that, during one incident, “security personnel were very much present on ground while these attacks took place, yet no single arrest was ever made”. Other local community leaders add that, “The entire life of Rigwe people is in total disarray; affecting economic activities, social and political lives of the people. School calendar has been affected as displaced children of attacked village areas are out of school. Schools in the affected communities are still shut.”

Locals say the Army troops are ineffective and the Police are ill-equipped to respond to calls for assistance. It is rather disturbing to know the distance from the Army Barracks (3rd Div) to these Rigwe villages is not more than 35-40 km. Albeit majority are on dirt roads, but locals insist the longest it should take is an hour.

* ***Disaggregated data showing the impact of instances of conflict and communal violence on religious communities and minorities.***

While there have been historical clashes for over twenty years, the recent five years have seen a significant increase in incidents and deaths. Between 2000 and 2015, there were a total number of 19 incidents that impacted 15 communities; resulting in 66 deaths, 26 injuries, which destroyed 306 residences and two farms.

STATS[[13]](#footnote-13)

* 4,414 residential buildings demolished
* 2,890 farms destroyed ranging from 0.25 to 7 hectares.
* Two communities have been taken over and settled by the Fulani and their herds. Location: Ritivo and Aeseh.
* 28% of effected communities have not returned or resettled

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| **Incidents: Yearly Totals and Percentages** | | | | | | **Remarks** |
| **Year** | **2016** | **2017** | **2018** | **2019** | **page7image31764288Totals** |
| **INCIDENTS** | 4 | 111 | 139 | 85 | **339** | Between 2016 and 2019 there were a total of 339 incidents which led to loss of lives, injuries, residential buildings burnt and farms destroyed |
| **DEATHS** | 50 | 155 | 208 | 82 | **495** | 2018 had the highest total incidents of 139, accounting for 42%. |

**CONCLUSION**

Local, State and Federal government response has been shameful and the military continues to be negligent in their handling of the situation. This slaughter must be stopped. There are remaining concerns regarding the complicity of certain elements of the armed forces in the Fulani militant violence. The impact of these ongoing, strategically coordinated attacks is devastating and the anxiety of the Rigwe is overwhelming as they grasp if these attacks aim to dislodge them from their land or total annihilation.

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**INTRODUCTION:**

Nigeria is experiencing a genocide on two fronts – Boko Haram jihadists and Fulani militants. Both are Muslim extremists and both aim to remove specific populations that interfere with their plans, predominately from minority populations such as Christians. The killing of innocents in Nigeria’s Middle Belt, who are mainly Christian indigenes, is evidence that the violence has met the definitional criteria for “genocide”.

Over the past twenty years, Fulani militants have increased their deadly attacks, threatening the life and livelihoods of Christians. These acts of violence are done deliberately, with the intent of killing head of households and/or displacing them from their traditional lands. The overall intention of the Fulani militants is to overthrow Christians and control the land.

1. ***DISCRIMINATION IN LAW AND PRACTICE***

The crime of genocide is proven by “patterns and examples of discrimination against minority religious or belief communities”. Genocide is one of the greatest crimes under international law and it is imperative to show how Christian ethnic minority groups are being slaughtered in a genocidal manner.

The Nigerian House of Representatives raised the concern of genocide in July 2018. Lawmakers insisted that President Buhari do more than just recite verbal condemnation of the attacks and, “take decisive and practical steps to give effect to Section 14 (2) (b) of the 1999 constitution as amended”[[14]](#footnote-14), which states, “the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government” Hon. Idris Abdullahi Wase (Plateau APC) claimed he knew specific politicians who sponsor the killings, adding that he had “documentary evidence to support his position”.[[15]](#footnote-15) Yet, like other important issues and vital concerns, nothing was pursued.

1. ***Civil and political rights, including but not limited to participation and representation in the public life, access to justice and effective remedies, liberty and security;***
2. **GENOCIDE**

Genocide is a difficult term to understand and apply to any situation. Genocide needs victims and actors (perpetrators). Genocide is a premeditated, coordinated strategy to destroy a group of people of a specific national, ethnic or religious group.

We are aware that the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, which was unanimously adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 9 December 1948 as General Assembly Resolution 260, clearly explains genocide in Article Two as, "any of the following acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, as such"[[16]](#footnote-16):

* Killing members of the group
* Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group
* Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part
* Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group
* Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group

Additionally, Article 3 defines the crimes that can be punished under the convention[[17]](#footnote-17):

* Genocide;
* Conspiracy to commit genocide;
* Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;
* Attempt to commit genocide;
* Complicity in genocide.

1. **VICTIMS**

Ethnicity is paramount to Nigerians because language, culture and religion are defined by it. Through the years, as Christianity spread it accepted and promoted ethnicity by incorporating traditional practices and language, even translating the Bible into local languages.

Those who say the conflict is due to climate change or land rights/access should recognize that multiple attempts for peace and resolution have been made for many years. In 1965, the Grazing Reserve System was created by the Northern region government in order to create hundreds of grazing reserves and to provide water and vaccinations while the herdsmen paid government taxes. [[18]](#footnote-18) It was never fully implemented because the discovery of oil and ensuing exploration eventually neglected the grazing reserve initiatives and, similarly, the agricultural sector.

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| **UN GENOCIDE CONVENTION DEFINITION** | **NIGERIAN VICTIMS: INCIDENTS BY ACTOR “FULANI MILITANTS”** |
| **Killing members of the group** | Fulani militants strategically kill in several states but notably: Benue, Kaduna, Plateau, and Taraba. Within these States’ attacks to ethnic groups who are Christian: Adara, Irigwe, Berom, Tiv, Idoma, Kuteb, Jukun, etc. |
| **Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group** | Majority of incidents that involved Fulani militants either resulted in death or injured victims. Often victims suffer injuries that prevent them from returning to farm. |
| **Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part** | * Homes attacked and destroyed, displacing populations, reduce planting and harvesting seasons, limit educational opportunities for children, etc. * Grain storages destroyed, removing sustenance, seed for planting and grain for income or barter. * Farms are abandoned because Fulani occupy them with armed men and herds. |
| **Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group** | * Men who are head of household are killed, removes fathers, spouses, guardians, income-earners, etc. * Women are killed, removing matriarchy, reproductivity, nurturer, mentor, etc. * Pregnant women are killed. |
| **Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group** | No child slavery, or forced conversions. Yet, children are displaced, forced to relocate away from family ancestral lands. |

1. ***Economic, social and cultural rights, including but not limited to the rights to adequate food and housing, education, employment and healthcare.***

Governors in several states (e.g. Taraba, Benue) have proposed solutions to the violance, but the nomadic Fulani herders do not want to adhere to local, state or federal laws that limit their freedom or way of life. They prefer to ignore policies and legislation, which often results in failing to honor their part of peace negotiations.

Nigerian Christians believe when Buhari, who is a patron of Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN), became President of Nigeria, he actuated a Fulani plan to control Nigeria by eventually taking the land of indigenes, especially in the fertile Middle-Belt states by violent force. As Commander-in-Chief, Buhari has appointed either Muslim &/or Fulani members to the majority of the heads of Nigeria's security corps. Some might say this is merely the ramblings of conspiracy theorists butthe government impunity and lack of transparency suggests otherwise.

1. ***Examples of discriminatory practices***
2. **ACTORS**

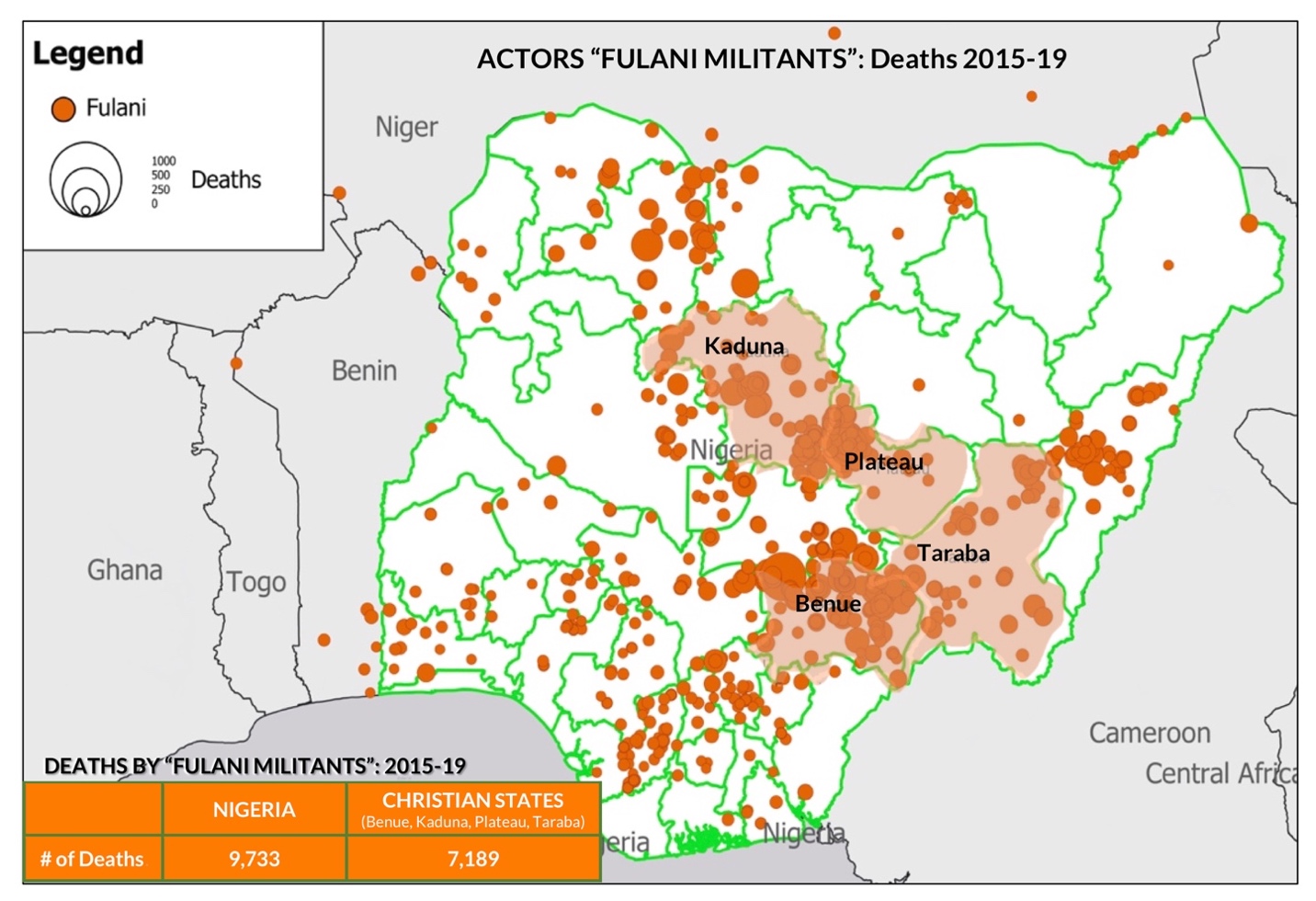
According to U.S. Holocaust Museum’s explanation of “Mass Killing”, countries are at risk when there are deliberate actions of armed groups that result in the deaths of at least 1,000 noncombatant civilians over a period of 12 months or less. Since 2017, this result has been individually perpetuated by Boko Haram jihadists and Fulani militants and is on course to be reached in 2020 as well.

Whereas it is easy to pinpoint which leaders from the Boko Haram jihadists are responsible for genocide, it is not simple to do so for Fulani militants. The Fulani militants do not have individual leaders that can be clearly identified and held liable as Boko Haram does.

It is imperative to be able to identify leaders of the Fulani militant group in order to confront religious persecution. There are issues surrounding elections that are not a representation of the results of votes, but rather an extension of selective ideals – mainly keeping people in positions of control. Fulani have gathered power not just in the Islamic ranks in the Emirate system (there are over 40 Emirs in Nigeria, majority are Hausa-Fulani), but also in political jurisdiction: Governors, military, ministers, etc. are increasingly being populated by ethnic Fulani.

We must identify those who are responsible. We know Fulani militants are being led by individuals who, either by their silence or by their veiled pronouncements, are advancing the genocidal slaughter. It is important to state we are not condemning the entire Fulani population, as we know there are Fulani who prefer peace and some who are Christians. Fulani themselves have told us there exists a militant faction, but Fulani leaders are unwilling to share on who these militants are and whose orders they follow.

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| **DEATHS BY ACTOR = FULANI MILITANTS** | **VICTIMS = CHRISTIAN POPULATION STATES (BENUE, KADUNA, PLATEAU, TARABA)** | **VICTIMS = NIGERIA TOTAL** |
| 2010-14 | 5,890 | 7,551 |
| 2015-17 | 3,452 | 4,722 |
| 2018 | 2,484 | 3,286 |
| 2019 | 1,253 | 1,725 |
| **TOTAL: 2000-19** | **14,087** | **18,834** |

(Stats / Data[[19]](#footnote-19))

1. ***EFFECTS OF DISCRIMINATION***
2. ***State-sponsored persecution and crimes against humanity*** 
   * + 1. **MIYETTI ALLAH**

Miyetti Allah Cattle Herders Association (MACBAN) and Miyetti Allah Kautal Hore are two distinctive groups that are in a unique situation to either dispel trouble or promote the slaughter. They are both cultural associations that act as socio-cultural groups that represent the interests of the Fulani people.

Benue State Governor, Samuel Ortom, established an anti-open grazing law in order to resolve the farmers and herders violence in his state but was opposed by MACBAN. The National Vice President of MACBAN, Husaini Yusuf Bosso said, “there will be more bloodshed in Benue state if the anti-grazing law is not scrapped”[[20]](#footnote-20). Miyetti Allah Kautal Hore openly threatened to rebel against the state's laws, which resulted in Governor Ortom blaming many of the attacks on the group. Version

MACBAN Chairman, Gidado Siddiki, believes the unease between farmers and herders has provoked reports of Islamization and Fulanization. Yet, the denominational umbrella group Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) has asked the federal government to “declare MACBAN a terrorist organisation.”[[21]](#footnote-21)

* + - 1. **PRESIDENT MUHAMMADU BUHARI**

Muhammadu Buhari pursued the Presidency since leaving as Military Head of State in 1985. In 2003, after losing to incumbent President Obasanjo, Buhari refused to concede and threatened “mass action” to grind Nigeria to a halt. Again, losing elections in 2003, 2007 and 2011, he took his case to the Supreme Court, losing each time. He eventually obtained the Presidency in 2015.

In 2000, following violence that involved Fulani herdsmen, Buhari led a delegation to the governor of Oyo State Lam Adesina, asking: “Why are your people killing my people?”[[22]](#footnote-22) In 2003, Wikileaks reported a conversation with then Lagos State governor Bola Tinubu in which he said Buhari’s “ethnocentrism would jeopardize Nigeria’s national unity. Buhari and his ilk are agents of destabilization…”.

Attempting to explain being misquoted, “Muslims should vote for Muslims”, Buhari claimed, “Shari'a had found its way back into the Nigerian legal system,” and implored Nigerians to vote for candidates who would uphold their traditional values.[[23]](#footnote-23) In 2008, meeting with the US Ambassador, WikiLeaks indicated that Buhari, "blamed the Nigerian political elite for its failure to politically stabilize the country."[[24]](#footnote-24) He is now part of the same political elite.

Buhari permitted the Minister of Education to acquire a Fulani language radio station. Southern and Middle Belt Leaders Forum were quick to condemn, stating, "we fear that the proposed radio will become a weapon of spreading hate propaganda against other nationalities in Nigeria”.[[25]](#footnote-25) Knowing history, they reminded the government on how radio guided the Rwandan genocide with disinformation, identifying targets and inciting conflict.

President Buhari claimed the Fulani situation is under control, but his inactivity and decisions do not indicate confidence. Instead, he has promoted his own beliefs, which is evident in his biased appointments, rulings and statements.

* Before 2019 elections, Chief Justice Onnoghen was removed as top election official and replaced with Ibrahim Tanko Muhammed, a Buhari policy supporter with Sharia law expertise.
* Vowed to punish all those behind ethnic violence but did not include Fulani terrorists.[[26]](#footnote-26)
* Appointed Mohammed Bello Tukur, Legal Adviser to MACBAN, as Secretary of the Federal Character Commission, which promotes national unity, loyalty, and ensures that no superiority of persons from a several states or ethnic groups is advanced. [[27]](#footnote-27)
* Current Minister of Defense is a Fulani, Bashir Salihi Magashi.
* Current Minister of Police Affairs is Muhammed Maigari Dingyadi, from Sokoto, which is a seat of power for Nigeria, established by 1804 jihad.
  + - 1. **KADUNA STATE GOVERNOR EL-RUFAI**

The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum reminds us that it is an obligation to raise awareness of genocide around the world. Therefore, we must hold Kaduna State Governor Nasir El-Rufai accountable when he refuses to provide protection for communities. He has failed to investigate and prosecute perpetrators, while victims remain unprotected. When hundreds of Adara people killed and thousands displaced by a brief and violent Fulani militant attack, Governor El-Rufai had local leaders arrested instead of investigating or arresting any of the perpetrators.

It is imperative to investigate Governor El-Rufai, Fulani, and his decision to placate the perpetrators rather than prosecute them. In December 2016, Governor El-Rufai said that his government has “traced some violent, aggrieved Fulani to their countries and paid them to stop the killings of Southern Kaduna natives”.[[28]](#footnote-28) Additionally, his blatant attempts to replace traditional leaders of the Adara victims’ with adherents of the persecuting (e.g. Fulani) community[[29]](#footnote-29). Amnesty International’s investigation indicated, “perpetrators of the crimes are getting away, encouraged by government’s glaring unwillingness to live up to its obligations.”[[30]](#footnote-30)

In February 2019, the Southern Kaduna Peoples Union (SOKAPU) ascribed Governor El-Rufai’s comments that only Fulani were killed in Kajuru local government as calamitous because over 160 Adara people were killed by Fulani militants in less than two months. SOKAPU said the words of the Governor were, “deliberately orchestrated to inflame ethnic and religious violence.”[[31]](#footnote-31)

Then, just before the 2019 election, “We are waiting for the person who will come and intervene. They will go back in body bags because nobody will come to Nigeria and tell us how to run our country,”[[32]](#footnote-32) said El-Rufai.

**CONCLUSION**

In a 2018 visit to the White House, President Buhari tried to explain to President Trump, “The problem of cattle herders is a very long historical problem. Before now, cattle herders were known to carry sticks and machetes… but these ones are carrying AK-47s.” The world responded, “If this is the case, the question is then, what the Nigerian government is doing to resolve the ongoing conflict between Fulani herdsmen and Christian farmers?”[[33]](#footnote-33) Adding that there is a requirement of Buhari to, “investigate the crimes and prosecute the perpetrators; investigate the supply chain of AK-47s; consider the potential religious component to the conflict; and assist all victims of the conflict”.[[34]](#footnote-34)

Nigeria is experiencing a genocide that needs to be recognized and treated with urgency. We must hold the Nigerian government accountable and all the factions who have claimed responsibility for attacks and prosecute the perpetrators. If the Nigerian government is unable or unwilling to do so, the perpetrators must be held accountable to international law. Genocide is being perpetrated and there exists the need to protect the victims of these genocidal atrocities.

1. Rural Youth Integral Support Initiative, from report “Rigweland Genocide Humanitarian Response Team Vol.1” [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999, “Chapter IV: Fundamental Rights”, Section 38.1 - states, “Every person shall be entitled to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, including freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom (either alone or in community with others, and in public or in private) to manifest and propagate his religion or belief in worship, teaching, practice and observance”, <https://constituteproject.org/ontology/Nigeria?lang=en> [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. ibid [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2018/07/04/house-designates-plateau-killings-as-genocide/ [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. ibid [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. https://www.zenger.news/2020/04/16/9-christians-dead-in-latest-nigeria-attack-by-muslim-tribesmen/ [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. <https://www.zenger.news/2020/04/23/cell-phone-raises-questions-of-links-between-attackers-and-nigeria-authorities/> [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2019/12/nigeria-bills-on-hate-speech-and-social-media-are-dangerous-attacks-on-freedom-of-expression/> [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. ibid [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. <https://thewestsidegazette.com/the-government-is-silent-muslim-tribesmen-kill-christian-pastor-and-burn-down-school-in-nigerian-village/> [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Rural Youth Integral Support Initiative, from report titled “Irigweland Genocide Humanitarian Response Team” [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/10/uniform-men-lured-us-killed-herdsmen-plateau-attack-survivor/> [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. *Rural Youth Integral Support Initiative, Impact Assessment of Fulani Herdsmen Attacks On Irigwe People 2000-19*  [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. <https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2018/07/04/house-designates-plateau-killings-as-genocide/> [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. ibid [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. <https://www.genocidewatch.com/what-is-genocide> [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. ibid [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Oshita O. Oshita, (editor), *Internal Security Management in Nigeria: Perspectives, Challenges and Lessons* (Palgrave Macmillan, Singapore 2019), 105 [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Sources don’t reflect the full extent of Nigeria’s situation, Actors as “Fulani militants” can be misrepresented – due to incidents being reported as “herders vs farmers”, “pastoralists”, “unidentified” or “sectarian”, but we have been able to compile and present our version at <https://iconhelp.org/resources/news/> [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. <https://www.pulse.ng/news/local/benue-attacks-expect-more-bloodshed-herdsmen-warn/gcm5esl> [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. <https://www.thecable.ng/can-asks-fg-to-declare-miyetti-allah-a-terrorist-organisation> [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. <https://punchng.com/how-lam-adesina-averted-tribal-war-when-buhari-made-a-case-for-herdsmen-olaosebikan/> [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. <https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/03ABUJA418_a.html> [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. <https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08ABUJA2519_a.html> [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. <http://saharareporters.com/2019/05/23/southern-and-middle-belt-leaders-reject-fulani-radio-station-funded-federal-govt> [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-nigeria-security-benue/nigerias-buhari-vows-to-punish-all-those-behind-ethnic-violence-idUSKBN1F42FK> [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. <https://www.naijiant.com/articles/buhari-appoints-spokesman-fulani-herdsmen-secretary-federal-character-commission/> [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/12/weve-paid-fulani-stop-killings-southern-kaduna-el-rufai/> [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. <https://www.dailytrust.com.ng/community-leaders-caution-el-rufai-against-scraping-adara-chiefdom.html> [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Amnesty International, *Harvest Of Death 4 Three Years Of Bloody Clashes Between Farmers And Herders In Nigeria* (Amnesty International, Abuja Nigeria, published 2018), 65 [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. <https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2019/02/17/kajuru-killings-sokapu-accuses-el-rufai-of-inciting-violence/> [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-nigeria-election-idUSKCN1PV2MQ?utm_campaign=trueAnthem:+Trending+Content&utm_content=5c5b752d04d30165e6bf5945&utm_medium=trueAnthem&utm_source=twitter> [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/ewelinaochab/2018/05/04/trump-may-not-be-wrong-on-the-fulani-herdsmen-crisis-in-nigeria/#4836262055ef> [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. ibid [↑](#footnote-ref-34)