



NIGERIA – 12 to 31 July 2014

TOP STORIES:

- **30/07: KANO, Kano** – Terrorist attack by a female suicide-bomber on a University premises. 6 killed and 6 injured.
- **28/07:** All the country's ports and airports were placed in a state of high alert after it was confirmed that a Liberian had died of an Ebola infection on 25/07 in Lagos.
- **28/07: KANO, Kano** – A double suicide bombing was carried out by women in the commercial area of Hoto (3 people killed) and in front of a mall (6 people injured).
- **23/07: KADUNA, Kaduna** – Two suicide bombings targeting Sheikh Dahiru Bauchi and Muhammadu Buhari (APC) were carried out; a total of 72 people were killed.
- **17/07: NASARAWA, Lafia** – Clashes took place during a demonstration that opposed the impeachment proceedings against governor Al-Makura (APC). 3 people were killed.
- **16/07: ADAMAWA, Gombi** – A German engineer was abducted by armed men and taken to Borno State.
- **15/07: ADAMAWA** – Governor Nyako (APC) was impeached by the State MPs.
- **13/07:** Video of Abubakar Shekau, claiming responsibility for the attacks on 25/06 in Abuja (22 killed) and Lagos, on 21/05 in Jos (118 killed), and on 23/06 in Kano (8 killed).

SECURITY SITUATION:

Boko Haram has been carrying out more and more attacks, and has struck the cities of Kano several times, as well as Kaduna, which had been relatively safe for a year and a half. The group, which seems to have succeeded in re-establishing itself firmly in Borno State, has now entered a more aggressive phase in Cameroon, its usual rear base. This was demonstrated by its large-scale attack in the city of Kolofata on 27/06, where the wife of the vice prime minister was abducted. The safety situation should keep worsening in the area.

Politically, the PDP has initiated an offensive against the APC by successfully impeaching the governor of Adamawa (APC, ex-PDP) on 15/07. It has also initiated impeachment process against the governor of Nasarawa (APC), which risks triggering intercommunity violence. Tension is building with the approach of the gubernatorial elections in the state of Osun, scheduled to be held on 09/08; the APC cannot afford to lose a south-western state after its defeat in the elections in Ekiti on 21/06.



SECURITY PROSPECTS:

Violence persists in the north; there are fears of an attack occurring in Abuja; there is a risk of Westerners being kidnapped. Actions have been carried out against the oil infrastructure. There has been a rise in interdenominational violence. High levels of piracy, oil bunkering, and crime persist.



RADICAL ISLAMISM

BOKO HARAM:

- **13/07:** Video of Abubakar Shekau, claiming responsibility for the attacks on 25/06 in Abuja (22 killed) and Lagos, on 21/05 in Jos (118 killed), and on 23/06 in Kano (8 killed).
- **16/07: ADAMAWA, Gombi** – A German engineer was abducted by armed men, and taken to Borno State.
- **23/07: KADUNA, Kaduna** – Two suicide-bombings targeting Sheikh Dahiru Bauchi and Muhammadu Buhari (APC) were carried out; a total of 72 people killed.
- **24/07: KANO, Kano** – A bomb attack was carried out at the bus station in the Christian area of Sabon Gari; 1 killed.
- **27/07: KANO, Kano** – A suicide bombing was carried out close to the University (5 injured), followed by a bombing in a church in Sabon Gari (5 killed).
- **27/07: CAMEROON, Kolofata** – Boko Haram carried out a simultaneous double attack. 16 people killed, 20 abducted, including the wife of Deputy Prime Minister Amadou Ali.
- **28/07: KANO, Kano** – A double suicide bombing was carried out by women in the commercial area of Hotoro (3 people killed) and in front of a mall (6 people injured).
- **29/07: KATSINA, Funtua** – Arrest of 3 alleged terrorists, including a 10 years girl wearing an explosive bomb.
- **30/07: KANO, Kano** – Terrorist attack by a female suicide-bomber on a University premises. 6 killed and 6 injured.
- **30/07: YOBE, Potiskum** – Bomb attacks on a mosque and a market. At least 13 killed.

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Analysis:

The situation is extremely tense in the Cameroonian far-north, where Boko Haram has been carrying out more and more raids and harrying actions. The Islamists have clearly intensified their operations, challenging the mobilised army to fight them: they have carried out attacks on policemen (theft of weapons and equipment), attacks on cattle, abductions, and murders. The group executed at least three attacks between 24/07 and 27/07¹. In all three cases, it used heavy equipment, and carried out vehicular raids with heavily armed fighters, as in Nigeria. During the attack on Kolofata on 27/07, more than 500 Islamists were mobilised. These Islamists had solid intelligence and probably benefited from complicity. They were wearing Cameroonian military fatigue and targeted the palace of the Sultan of Kolofata, Seiny Boukar Lamine (who was abducted along with his family), and the house of Amadou Ali, who is the Deputy Prime Minister and also Justice Minister (his wife was kidnapped). Despite the reinforcements that have been deployed (aerial forces, Rapid Intervention Battalion), the hostages have not been freed yet. In front of this sharp escalation, the authorities have decided to act firmly: the military has been reinforced (especially with air units), the command of all the forces (police, army) has been centralized for a better coordination and intelligence sharing, and on 29/07 President Paul Biya fired two high-ranking officers posted in the north. Moreover, Yaounde has now (unofficially) accepted the principle of pursuing Islamists beyond national borders.

The escalation of Boko Haram's actions in Cameroon, which has been its usual rear base, might aim to spread panic among the people and "make Cameroon pay" for its increasingly prominent involvement in the fight against the sect. In this way, the group is showing Yaoundé and the international community that it does not fear the measures taken against it.

¹ On 18/07, a patrol was attacked in Nariki, while on 24/07, the village of Balgaram was attacked; on each occasion, 2 soldiers were killed.



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This intensification of operations in Cameroon occurred shortly after the four countries of the Lake Chad Basin Commission (Cameroon, Niger, Nigeria, Chad) announced, on 23/07, the creation of an international force for which each country would provide 700 men, in accordance with the decisions taken during the Paris summit on 17/05. However, this force has not actually been deployed yet, as its details have not been finalised.

In the short term, the tendency towards a worsening of the security situation in the Cameroonian far north is unlikely to reverse. This is especially true since the group appears to have re-established its control over large areas of Borno State, from where it can initiate cross-border attacks. The Nigerian army seems to be incapable of combating this: the attack on 18/07 against the Cameroonian village of Nariki was initiated from Tarmo, a Nigerian village located barely 500 meters from the border.

The group has retaken control of the Damboa area and the district of Gamboru Ngala after three weeks of nearly daily attacks (more than 300 people were killed). The bloodiest attack, on 17/07, resulted in soldiers and 15,000 residents leaving. The Islamists “moved around freely” in the area, which they are busy securing: on 23/07, they blew up the Ngala bridge, cutting off the district of Gamboru Ngala from Maiduguri. Moreover, the Islamists have been carrying out more and more ambushes and collecting tolls on the state’s roads. In particular, they target supply trucks heading towards the localities. It also continues to attack villages. The army appears to be overwhelmed, and its blunders² have done nothing to improve this impression. Its announcements no longer convince anyone, despite the arrest of one of the group’s commanders (Mohammed Zakari) in Balmo forest in the state of Bauchi on 12/07, and the aerial bombardment of camps close to Dille (Borno). The President’s request to Parliament to approve a loan of a billion dollars to improve defence capabilities (weapons, equipment, training, etc.) sounds like an admission of defeat, considering that defence spending already represents 20% of the federal budget.

² Soldiers fired on villagers fleeing from Boko Haram on 13/07 in Askira Uba.

It seems likely that the group (or affiliated criminal elements) is behind the abduction of a German engineer in Gombi (Adamawa): around twenty armed men spent the night in the bushes around his residence so that they could kidnap him when he left in the morning, despite the intervention of militiamen (2 killed).

Boko Haram continues to carry out attacks (bombings/suicide attacks/car bombs, etc.) regularly. Kano, which is often targeted, was once again struck by 6 attack in a week, leading religious authorities in Kano to cancel the festivities of Eid al-Fitr, which marks the end of Ramadan.

The city of Kaduna, which has been relatively free from attacks, was also struck on 23/07 for the first time since November 2012. The attacks occurred within a few hours of each other, and targeted the adherents of a religious dignitary who opposes the group, Sheikh Dahiru Bauchi (who escaped unscathed). The second, in the lively area of Kawo, targeted the convoy of former military dictator and current APC head Muhammadu Buhari (who also escaped unscathed). Although it is likely that these were terrorist actions (Buhari had already been threatened by Shekau), they could also be politically motivated, especially in this period preceding the 2015 elections. The political class did not fail to exploit the incidents: the APC stated its suspicions that they might have been political attacks, while the PDP stated that the opposition itself might have organised these attacks in order to undermine the authorities and to distract from its own “complicity” with the Islamists. In Kaduna, as in Plateau State, the group might also have aimed to arouse intercommunity and political tensions³. Faced with this risk, the governor of Kaduna ordered a curfew of 24 hours after the attacks in order to prevent “disruption Of public order”.

These latest attacks highlighted the increasing role of women in the group: spying, supply missions, and now suicide-attacks. In order to bypass security controls, the Islamists also appear ready to use young girls.

³ Suicide-attacks against churches, attributed to the Islamist group in 06/2012, had triggered inter-community clashes (resulting in hundreds of deaths).



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This leads to think that maybe some of the female suicide-bombers were former abduction victims, now indoctrinated or forced to carry out their attacks. The targets were the “usual” ones: markets and malls, schools/universities⁴, Christians (the Sabon Gari area in Kano, in particular⁵), and political and moderate religious leaders as in Kaduna; moreover, in Kano on 24/07, the police foiled a car-bomb attack that had targeted a mosque and the adjoining residence of Sheikh Isyaku Rabi, a moderate religious dignitary. Panic is rife, especially in Abuja, where the police issued warnings on 13/07 and 21/07 against potential attacks on public transport vehicles and in supermarkets. The attacks in Kaduna revived fears of attacks not only in the centre but also further in the Christian south. Lagos is concerned, and the controversy regarding the nature of the explosion in the area of Apapa on 25/06 persists, after the video of Abubakar Shekau where he stated in English that it was an attack.

Politically, Goodluck Jonathan continues to face criticism for his handling of the crisis, especially for the abduction of the Chibok schoolgirls. On 23 July, their 100th day in captivity, the President finally met their parents after several cancellations which underlined the tension the President is facing: the government has repeatedly accused the Bring Back Our Girls movement of being politicised.

ISLAMIC MOVEMENT OF NIGERIA

- **25/07: KADUNA, Zaria** – The army fired at a procession of Shiites. 30 people killed, including 3 sons of their leader Ibraheem Zakzaky.

Analysis:

Sheikh Ibraheem Zakzaky has accused the army of extra-judicial executions, asserting that his followers were not armed.

⁴ According to the governor of Borno State, 176 teachers have been killed and 900 schools destroyed by Boko Haram in his state since 2011.

⁵ In 03/2013, an attack in the area's bus station (22 people killed); on 29/07/13, a series of at least 4 bomb attacks in bars (12 people killed); on 19/05/14, a suicide car-bomb attack (4 people killed).

The Army has claimed that it responded to shots fired from the procession (called Muzahara), an annual ceremony organised after Ramadan, which brings together thousands of people. The ceremony this year was dedicated to the Palestinians in Gaza.

SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT

COMMUNAL VIOLENCE

- **14/07: PLATEAU, Langtang North** – Fulani individuals attacked the farming community in Zamadede. 11 people were killed.
- **17/07: PLATEAU, Langtang North LGA** – There was an attack on the residence of Jeremiah Useni, a former minister, while he was away.
- **21/07: BENUE, Owukpa** – Fulani individuals attacked the community. 1 person was killed.

Analysis:

A rise in inter-community clashes (potentially exploited for political purposes) has been observed in the local government of Langtang North (Plateau). Three attacks have been attributed to Fulani individuals: on 14/07, on 15/07 (attack on Barkin Ladi; 5 people were killed), and on 17/07 on the residence of Jeremiah Useni, a former Federal Capital Territory minister.

BANDITRY

- **12/07: DELTA, Boji Boji** – Attack on the premises of the daily This Day. Equipment and money stolen.
- **16/07: RIVERS, Port Harcourt** – His abductors free a local MP, who had been abducted 7 days earlier.
- **17/08: RIVERS, Port Harcourt** – A woman was abducted on Eagle Island.



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- **23/07: BAYELSA, Southern Ijaw LGA** – The unit protecting the Gbarain oil platform was attacked; the attack was repelled. 5 people were killed.
- **23/07: LAGOS, Alaba** – A bank was attacked. 4 people were killed.

SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT

- **13/07: EKITI** – APC decided to contest the result of the 21/06 gubernatorial election result, won by Ayodele Fayose (PDP).
- **15/07: RIVERS, Port Harcourt** – Clashes took place between APC and PDP activists in the area of Igwuruta during a visit by governor Rotimi Amaechi (APC).
- **15/07: ADAMAWA** – Governor Nyako (APC) was removed from his post by local MPs.
- **16/07: ABIA, Umuahia South LGA** – The State Commissioner for Agriculture died; he had been injured when his vehicle was ambushed on 09/07.
- **17/07: NASARAWA, Lafia** – Clashes took place during a demonstration that opposed the impeachment proceedings against governor Al-Makura (APC). 3 people were killed.

Analysis:

The political situation is becoming increasingly tense as the 2015 elections draw nearer. The opposition has been making more and more accusations against the PDP. It has denounced attempts at intimidation and a lack of transparency in the organisation of the election, especially in Osun, where the gubernatorial election will be held on 9 August.

For its part, the government seems to be taking an aggressive stance towards the APC: on 15/07, the PDP organised the impeachment of the governor of Adamawa, Murtala Nyako, for “misconduct”; Nyako had quit the PDP and joined the APC in November 2013.

Following his removal, APC leaders from the 21 local government areas of the State would have decided to join the PDP. In the state of Nasarawa, the situation has been explosive since the PDP decided to initiate impeachment proceedings against Umaru Tango Al-Makura (APC), on 14 July. This manoeuvre has provoked a lot of criticism from civil society and runs the risk of degenerating into inter-community clashes between the Gwandara (Al-Makura’s community) and the Eggon, the community to which Labaran Maku (the Information Minister, PDP) belongs, since Maku is seen as a potential substitute for Al-Makura: on 16/07, Gwandara youths blocked roads in Lafia; on 17/07, clashes between the two camps resulted in 3 deaths; and on 24/07, when MPs nearly came to blows, hundreds of Gwandara youths who were trying to enter the State Assembly were repelled by the police (using tear gas). An explosion of violence in the coming weeks is possible if the proceedings continue and the impeachment is finalised.

SOCIAL CLIMATE

- **28/07:** All the country’s ports and airports were placed in a state of high alert after it was confirmed that a Liberian had died of an Ebola infection on 25/07 in Lagos.

Analysis:

The fear of an outbreak of the Ebola virus gripped the country’s economic capital after the death of a Liberian on 25/07; the man had come from Monrovia, via Lomé. The authorities, who are trying to prevent widespread panic, have taken on a reassuring stance. They have deployed specialists from the Health Ministry at airports; these specialists have been tasked with identifying anyone who might be infected. In addition, the Lagos hospital where the Liberian died was shut down on 28/07 for a week, and the hospital staff that had come into contact with him was placed in quarantine. For its part, the main Nigerian airline, Arik, has suspended flights to Monrovia (Liberia) and Freetown (Sierra Leone).