



NIGERIA – 23 June to 11 July 2014

TOP STORIES:

09/07: The President appointed 4 of his allies to ministerial posts.

04/07: BORNO, Damboa – Boko Haram attacked a barracks and a police station; the army then responded to these attacks. 53 attackers and 6 soldiers were killed.

04/07: LAGOS – Soldiers blocked roads, fired shots in the air, and set fire to buses after one of them was killed in a bus accident.

01/07: MAIDUGURI, Maiduguri – A truck rigged with a bomb exploded at Monday Market. At least 15 people were killed.

29/06: BORNO, Kwada, Ngurojina, Karagau, and Kautikari – Simultaneous attacks on churches were carried out by Boko Haram members during mass. 54 worshippers were killed.

25/06: LAGOS, Apapa area – An explosion occurred in front of a fuel depot; it was officially claimed to be accidental. There were several victims (at least 4 people were killed). Some sources are calling it a bomb attack.

25/06: ABUJA – A car bomb attack occurred in Emab Plaza mall. 21 people were killed and 17 injured.

23/06: KADUNA, Karshi, Nandu – 2 Christian villages were attacked by alleged Fulani. At least 38 people were killed.

23/06: KANO, Kano – Boko Haram carried out a bomb attack at the public health college; 8 people were killed and 12 were injured. A suspect was arrested.

SECURITY SITUATION:

- On 25/06, Boko Haram succeeded in attacking Abuja with full force using a car bomb in a bustling area of the capital (21 people were killed). This attack has confirmed the group's offensive capabilities, and has raised fears of similar attacks in Lagos, where panic regarding terrorist actions is rising. Large sections of territory in the country's north-east are now under the control of Boko Haram members, as the group has been carrying out attacks nearly every day, particularly in the vicinity of Chibok.
- The President is discreetly gathering support for the 2015 presidential election, for which he is not an official candidate yet. 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



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BOKO HARAM:

- **23/06: KANO, Kano** – Boko Haram members carried out a bomb attack at the public health college; 8 people were killed and 12 were injured. A suspect was arrested.
- **16/06 to 24/06: BORNO, Kummabza** – A series of attacks were attributed to Boko Haram; at least 30 people were killed, and more than 60 women were abducted.
- **25/06: ABUJA** – A car bomb attack occurred in Emab Plaza mall. 21 people were killed and 17 injured.
- 25/06: LAGOS, Apapa area** – An explosion occurred in front of a fuel depot; it was officially claimed to be accidental. Several people were killed. Some sources are calling it a bomb attack.
- **29/06: BORNO, Kwada, Ngurojina, Karagau, and Kautikari** – Simultaneous attacks on churches were carried out by Boko Haram members during mass. 54 worshippers were killed.
- **01/07: BORNO** – A Boko Haram “intelligence cell” was dismantled.
- **01/07: MAIDUGURI, Maiduguri** – A truck rigged with a bomb exploded at Monday Market. At least 15 people were killed.
- **04/07: BORNO, Damboa** – Boko Haram attacked a barracks and the police station; the army then responded to these attacks. 53 attackers and 6 soldiers were killed.

Analysis:

A car-bomb attack was carried out in the heart of Abuja on 25/06, in the area of Wuse II, only a few kilometers from the seat of the government. Although this is the third explosion in Abuja in a span of three months¹, it is the first time that an attack has struck the federal capital's town centre since the attack on the United Nations headquarters in 08/2011. Hence, this demonstrates the offensive capabilities of Boko Haram, which has not (yet?) claimed responsibility for the attack. The

¹ Car-bomb attacks at Nyanya bus station in the outskirts of Abuja on 14/04 (75 people killed) and on 01/05 (19 people killed).

bomb, which was placed in a car, exploded close to the entrance of the Emab Plaza mall at a busy time, killing 21 people and injuring 17. The police announced the arrest of a suspect and the death of another who tried to flee on a motorcycle. This fresh attack also confirmed that there is no area in Abuja that is safe from Boko Haram's attacks.

The group's ability to execute an attack right in the heart of the federal capital has led to a wave of panic in the rest of the country, which fears that Lagos, Nigeria's economic hub, might be the Islamists' next target. As a result, the explosion in front of a fuel depot on 25/06, in the Apapa area in Lagos, which was declared to be accidental by the authorities (no victims according to the authorities, at least 4 deaths according to local sources), aroused the suspicions of a section of the public. This section thinks that the government might have tried to cover up a bomb attack under the guise of an industrial accident. Several experts have asserted that photos of the explosion leave little doubt that it was a criminal act. However, their allegations have been denied by the government, and their analysis is constrained as the site of the incident cannot be accessed.

The Islamists are increasingly securing themselves in the country's north-east, particularly in the vicinity of the city of Chibok. Meanwhile, the army remains powerless against Boko Haram's attacks, which now occur nearly every day. From 16/06 to 24/06, the group executed a series of attacks in the village of Kummabza, abducting 68 women and killing more than 30 people (63 of the 68 women ultimately managed to escape on 04/07). On 29/06, Boko Haram members threw bombs into churches in the villages of Kwada, Ngurojina, Karagau, and Kautikari during Sunday service, killing 54 worshippers. They then pursued the people who tried to flee into the bushes. On 04/07, a bomb attack killed 5 people close to a mosque in Konduga. On 04/07, the people of Chibok, who are desperate due to being at the mercy of the Islamists, appealed to the UN to intervene, as they believed that their government could do nothing to protect them². According to the head of the Chibok council of elders, Boko Haram has carried out 15

² People reportedly alerted the soldiers in advance before 90% of Boko Haram's attacks.



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attacks against 19 villages in the district of Chibok since the schoolgirls were abducted on 14/04, killing more than 200 people.

Boko Haram members, who are proactive in rural areas, are also attacking urban centres. A bomb exploded within the public health college in Kano on 23/06, killing 8 people (12 people were injured); a suspect was subsequently arrested. On 28/06, 11 people were killed and 14 injured in an explosion in a brothel in Bauchi. On 01/07, 15 people were killed when a truck carrying charcoal exploded during peak hours at Monday Market in Maiduguri. The angry crowd tried to attack the firemen, accusing them of taking too long to arrive, which led the fire caused by the explosion to become more difficult to control.

Criticised for its lack of effectiveness and accused of running away during attacks by Boko Haram, the army continues its operations against the group, although their impact is very limited. On 05/07, it announced that it had killed 53 Boko Haram members during clashes that had occurred on the previous day, after Boko Haram fighters in 4 armoured vehicles had attacked the barracks and police station in Damboa (6 soldiers were killed, according to the army). On 07/07, the army also announced that it had regained control of Balmo forest in an operation during which 44 Islamists had been killed. Although the authorities have arrested two alleged Boko Haram members³, they ultimately released the 400 people arrested on 16/06 in the state of Abia on suspicion of having ties to the group. Many of them have complained of torture and mistreatment during their detention.

The dismantlement of an “intelligence cell” on 30/06 illustrated the difficulties that the army faces in its fight against Boko Haram. The authorities have arrested the leader of this cell, Babuji Ya’ari, a Nigerian businessman who “had actively participated” in the abduction of the Chibok schoolgirls on 14/04, and has also allegedly been involved in several attacks in Maiduguri since 2011 and in the murder of the Emir of Gwoza on 30/05. He was a member of the Youth Vigilante Group (a group of youths who collaborate with soldiers), which he used as a cover

³ 20 suspects on 25/06 in the state of Enugu and 17 suspects on 02/07 in the state of Ebonyi.

to conceal his ties to Boko Haram. The dismantlement of the cell also resulted in the arrest of two women who are accused of coordinating funding for other spies. On 04/07, three other women suspected of spying for Boko Haram were arrested by the authorities in the state of Adamawa.

The international community is trying to remain involved in the efforts to search for the 219 schoolgirls abducted from Chibok on 14/04. However, the incident is no longer being covered by the media, and the hope of a mass freeing has diminished now that 89 days have passed since their abduction. On 27/06, the United States announced that it would reduce surveillance flights over the area, while still asserting that the international community’s commitment would not change, as the decrease in American flights was compensated for by an increase in French and English flights. On 01/07, the French President reaffirmed his support to the Nigerian President during a telephonic exchange. Moreover, Paris announced the establishment of a regional cell for intelligence cooperation. In addition, Cameroon continues to fight against the group: the Cameroonian security forces killed 8 alleged Boko Haram members on 24/06 in the border area of Mora, and interrogated 48 suspects on 23/06 in Meroua, after a network linked to Boko Haram was dismantled.

CRIME

COMMUNAL VIOLENCE

- **23/06: KADUNA, Karshi, Nandu** – 2 Christian villages were attacked by alleged Fulani. At least 38 people were killed.

Analysis:

Although the governor of the state of Kaduna has declared a temporary ceasefire in order to try to control the fresh surge of violence between the Fulani and Christians, he has to deal with the discontent of civil society: there was a demonstration in Kaura on 03/07 to denounce the federal government’s failure to ensure security. The demonstrators demanded that a state of emergency be declared.



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BANDITRY

- **27/06: ABIA** – 37 people, who were suspected of belonging to a criminal gang specialising in kidnappings, were arrested.
- **04/07: LAGOS** – Soldiers blocked roads, fired shots in the air, and set fire to buses after one of them was killed in a bus accident.
- **08/07: PORT HARCOURT** – Abduction of a member of the Rivers State House of Assembly, Golden Chioma, by unknown gunmen.
- **09/07: ABIA, Umuahia** – Unknown gunmen shot the Abia State Commissioner for Agriculture.

Analysis:

The indiscipline of Nigerian soldiers was once again demonstrated by an incident in Lagos on 04/07, when they set fire to 5 buses and blocked roads for several hours to protest the death of one of their own, a “brother-in-arms”, who was knocked down from his motorcycle by a bus. The soldiers fired in the air in order to scare people and confiscated mobile phones in order to prevent witnesses from filming them.

POLITICAL SITUATION

- **25/06:** Liechtenstein returned 167 million Euros to Nigeria; this sum had been embezzled under former President Sani Abacha.
- **07/07: OSUN, Ile Ife** – Clashes occurred between alleged APC members and PDP activists. 15 people were injured.
- **09/07:** The President appointed 4 of his allies to ministerial posts that had been vacant for months⁴.

Analysis:

Although he is not an official candidate for the 2015 presidential election yet, Goodluck Jonathan has begun preparing his troops for

⁴ The former governor of Kano, Ibrahim Shakarau, to Education; the former science professor in the state of Yobe, Abdul Bulama, as the Minister of Science and Technology; Steve Oruh, the Minister of Niger Delta, and Adebayo Adeyeye, the Minister of State for Works.

the electoral battle. The appointment of 4 allies to ministerial posts on 09/07 (two of whom are from northern states) aims to gain support in a region that greatly favours the opposition. The President, who is facing severe criticism, is also using the services of an American communication and public relations company in order to improve his image.

The government has to face criticism from the APC, which has denounced the irregularities during the gubernatorial elections in the state of Ekiti on 21/06 (which the APC lost). The opposition deplored the “militarisation”⁵ of the state during this election, and the act of force that enabled the PDP to return to power. The APC has submitted an appeal to the Federal Court, but has also called on its supporters to remain calm, as the outgoing governor has officially accepted his defeat in order to prevent violence. The loss of the state of Ekiti has increased the pressure on the APC with respect to the upcoming gubernatorial elections in the state of Osun on 09/08, which the party cannot afford to lose without risking the erosion of its power in the south-western region of the country. On 07/07, alleged APC supporters attacked PDP members in Ile-Ife, in the state of Osun (15 people were injured). Each party blamed the other for the incident.

Moreover, the government has been strongly criticized for its handling of the return of 167 million Euros from Liechtenstein, which were stolen in the 90s under former dictator Sani Abacha’s regime. A day after the agreement was made with Liechtenstein, on 25/06, Nigerian authorities announced that they were dropping the charges against the former dictator’s son, Mohamed Abacha, who was accused of laundering 2.7 billion dollars since 02/2014. The official reason for this was that this would “facilitate” the return of the funds embezzled by his father⁶. Mohamed Abacha is predicted to be the PDP candidate for the gubernatorial elections in Kano in 2015.

⁵ Airports were closed and roads were blocked, the freedom of movement of APC members was restricted by the authorities, and soldiers have been accused of intimidating APC voters.

⁶ The restitution of the funds deposited in Liechtenstein had been prevented due to a claim made by the Abacha family to the European Human Rights Court that this would infringe human rights and the right to property; this claim was withdrawn in 05/2014.