

**MEMORANDA TO FEDERAL
GOVERNMENT INVESTIGATION PANEL
ON ELECTION VIOLENCE AND CIVIL
DISTURBANCES**

BY

**CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF NIGERIA.
(CAN)**

MEMORANDA TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA INVESTIGATION PANEL ON ELECTION VIOLENCE AND CIVIL DISTURBANCES BY CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF NIGERIA. (CAN)

1.0. We, the leadership of the Church in Nigeria through CAN submit this memoranda to this Panel in the firm believe that for once justice and truth will eventually be brought to play in our quest for national growth and development.

This Panel in our view is made up of eminent people of proven integrity representing not only various vocational calling but the two major belief systems in Nigeria – Christianity and Islam. Therefore there will be no fear of any manipulation when the recommendation by the panel is given to Mr. President and government of Nigeria. The Church gives this memorandum based on one of the cardinal principles of our faith that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ gave in John 8:32, “Then you will know the truth and the truth will set you free”. We have the absolute and firm belief that this Panel seeks the knowledge of truth and the government is willing and able to discharge her cardinal responsibility of providing peace and security.

Your recommendation therefore will go a long way in addressing some of the basic challenges facing us as a people as we march in the 21st century.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

It is a well known fact that Christians in the Northern States of Nigeria particularly the twelve major states involved in these crises are marginalized, discriminated against, and persecuted. They are severely underrepresented in their local and state governments both in elected and appointed positions.

Christians are also systematically discriminated against in education, employment, and business. In the employment sector, qualified Christians are refused positions, promotions, and retirement benefits, while less qualified Muslim employees are hired or promoted. Christian owned businesses are refused contracts simply because they are owned by Christians.

Christians are also actively persecuted both by the government and individual groups. One widespread problem of persecution is in the government’s refusal to designate land for or issue Certificates of Occupancy for the building of churches, while setting aside government land and funds for the building of Mosques. Many states, like Jigawa State, have gone so far as to attach restrictive requirements for the purchase of any land by Christians, disallowing the building of churches or any other type of Christian worship activities. Christians gathering for worship are often harassed and interrupted. The burning of churches and houses and the murder of Christians is frequent throughout the northern states. For example, in Borno State there have been numerous violent attacks on Christians since 2006 leading to

the loss of churches, homes, businesses, and lives. Another frequent manner of persecution is the forceful abduction, marriage, and conversion of young Christian girls by Muslim men, with recorded cases in both Borno State and Niger State.

2.0. CAUSE OF VIOLENCE

Before we delve into the presentation let us locate the issue which is the subject of this memoranda. It was in the fourth month – April 2011, after the Presidential election contested by many candidates and political parties in Nigeria that we woke up in some states of the North namely– Sokoto, Zamfara, Katsina, Kano, Jigawa, Kaduna, Niger, Adamawa, Gombe, Bauchi, Yobe and Borno to the criminal acts in the form of violence involving destruction of human life, places of worship (Churches), some government offices and the residence of some traditional rulers. No group of course claimed responsibility of the violence initially, but now the whole world is aware of the perpetrators. It is very certain, and there are facts to show that these violent acts were never initiated by Christians. The reason advanced in some quarters that the violence was a spontaneous reaction to the dissatisfaction with the release of election result does not tally with facts on the ground.

Rather, we firmly believe that there was a premeditated plan to visit violence on Christians and their property and places of worship and it was only the excuse to do so that was being awaited. This conclusion is supported by these facts.

- 2.1 The presidential election which was the event that occurred prior to the violence was reported by local and international media and observers to be the freest and most peaceful election ever done in Nigeria, as such, there was no basis for violent reactions of that magnitude.
- 2.2 The violent acts were not spontaneous. As at the time of occurrence the result of the election was yet to be announced. More so, the targets of the violence were not Political Parties or government offices and officials, but rather the focus was on church buildings and innocent Christians.
- 2.3 The violent uprising that ensued assumed the existing and common religious/ ethnic pattern – killing and the destruction of persons and properties, mostly Christians and others.
- 2.4 The targets and victims of these violent acts are the same as in previous and similar crises of the past 25 years i. e Christians, their properties and businesses, church buildings. Some of these previous examples are :
 - i. The 1987 kafanchan and Kaduna crisis;

- ii. The 1990 Kano, Borno, Yobe, Kaduna, Bauchi, Katsina crisis;
 - iii. The 2009 Kano, Kaduna, Katsina, Sokoto, Zamfara, Jigawa, Borno, Yobe and Bauchi crisis;
 - iv. Tafawa Balewa, Adamawa, Plateau crisis. This was repeated in 12 States in 2011, earlier listed.
- 2.5 The puzzle before the church is “why is this premeditated violent attacks on Christians and church buildings predominant in the north ? ” Is it a systematic and deliberate attempt to wipe out Christians and churches in this part of Nigeria?
 - 2.6 The immediate culprits as the arrests so far reveal are the almajiri’s who are street urchins ready to be used at the slightest chance as in the past.
 - 2.7 To the best of our knowledge and despite the extensive violence and arrest of the almajiris, no public trial or conviction has even been secured to date.
 - 2.8 The violent crises in the northern part of Nigeria has been incessant and has often been triggered by sundry events whatever the context.
 - 2.9 Thus, the violence was based more on an existing agenda rather than spontaneous reaction of the release of Presidential election results.
 - 2.10 Again, the basic question that begs for answer is why the attack on Christians, Christian places of worship and businesses by non – Christians in the North at the slightest chance even when they were innocent of the reasons? This Panel must seek and know the truth on this matter in the interest of the peace and unity of our beloved country.

3.0. EXTENT OF DAMAGE, LOSS OF LIVES AND PROPERTIES AND TENTATIVE ESTIMATES AS RECORDED IN THE STATES:

The elections of April 2011 came in handy as an excuse to increase the persecution and outbreak of violence against Christians in the northern states. We were able to gather information from churches and individual Christians affected by this violence as much as we could. This report covers the following twelve states: Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Niger, Sokoto, Yobe, and Zamfara.

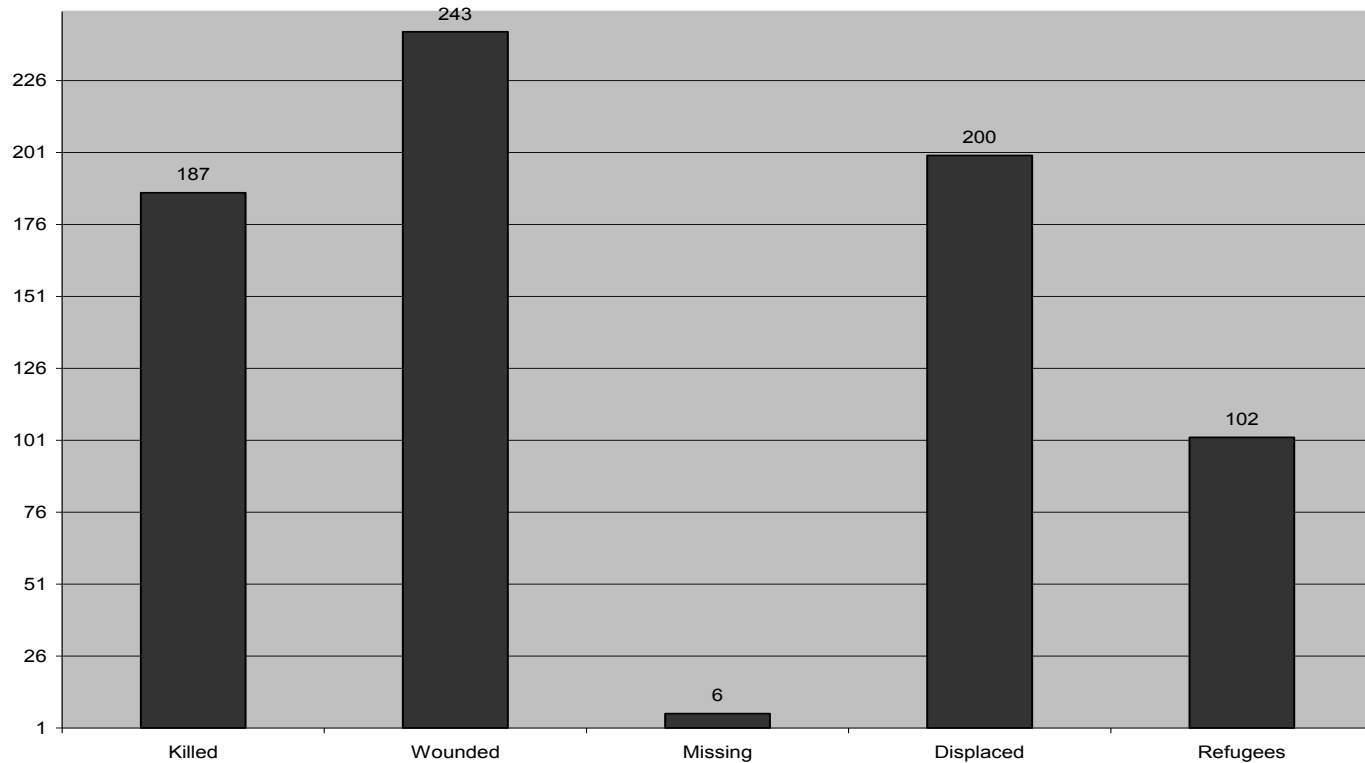
4.0. CURRENT CRISIS

Christians in the twelve northern states of Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Niger, Sokoto, Yobe, and Zamfara were attacked during and after the general elections of April 16, 2010. Mobs of Muslim rioters all across the northern states targeted Christians and caused massive amounts of loss of human life, church properties, and individual properties and private businesses. It is curious that the level of attacks on federal government properties or those of the political parties involved in the election is infinitesimal compared to the destruction unleashed on Christians and their properties. From the statistics below it is clear that many Christians lost their lives and means of livelihood without provocation. The only reason for these attacks on Christians is because of their faith or being of the same faith with the Presidential Candidate who eventually won the election, otherwise what other reasonable excuse or explanation can anyone give?

5.0 Human Loss

During the attack, many people were beaten and raped. Almost 200 people were killed (men, women and children)—some were burnt alive, others were killed with machetes and then set on fire. We had difficulties gathering data in some states on the number of people who were dead or missing because thousands of people were displaced or had fled to other states. In most cases we were unable to calculate the number of displaced persons or refugees.

TOTAL HUMAN LOSS *

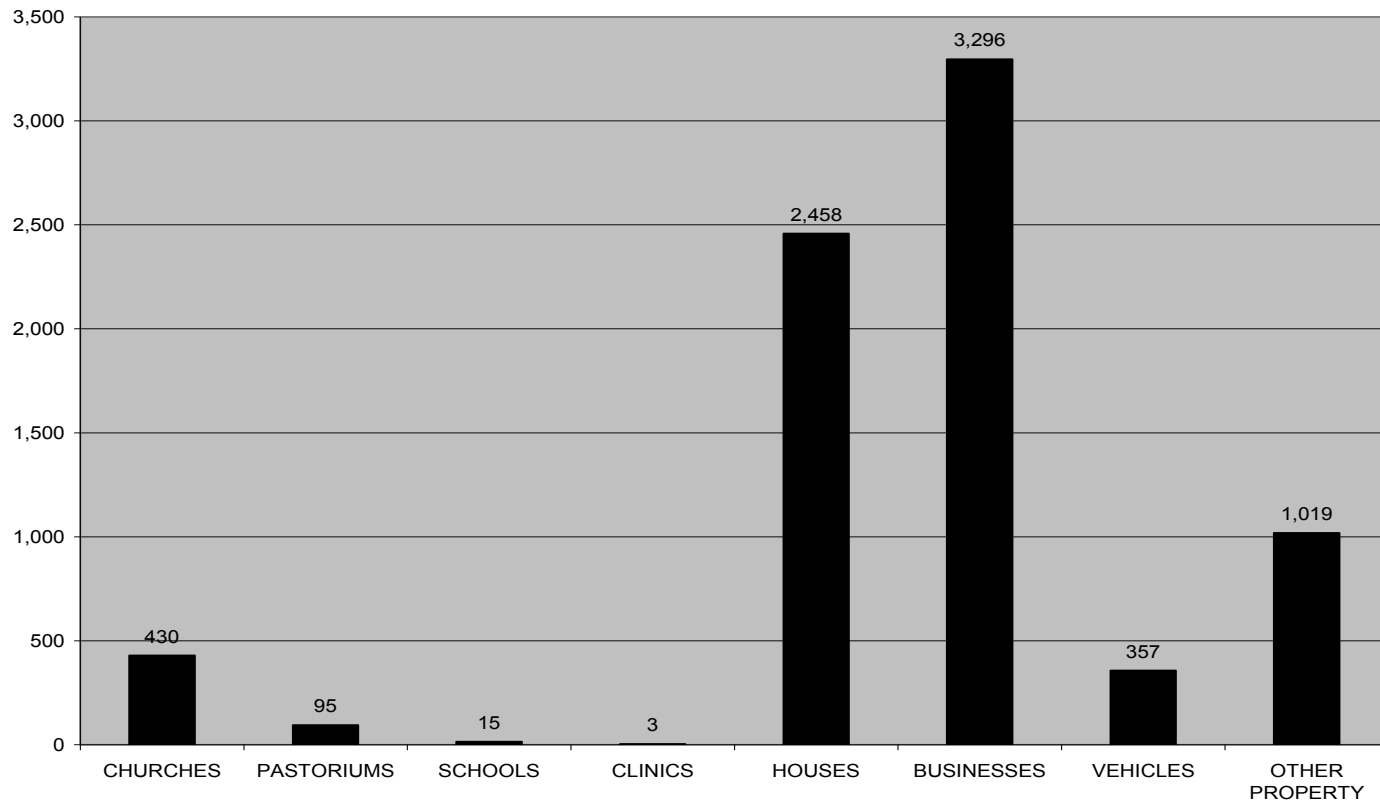


* These numbers reflect the totals for all twelve states together. For individual State figures see Table in Appendix A.

5.0. Institutional and Individual Property Loss:

Hundreds of churches and their pastoriums were looted, vandalized, and set on fire. Christian schools and clinics were targeted in the same manner. Thousands of homes and businesses owned by Christians were also looted, vandalized or set on fire. Vehicles including bicycles, motorcycles, cars, and buses were stolen, vandalized, or completely burnt. Money and other types of personal property belonging to Christians were also looted, damaged, or completely destroyed.

TOTAL OF PROPERTY DAMAGED OR DESTROYED*

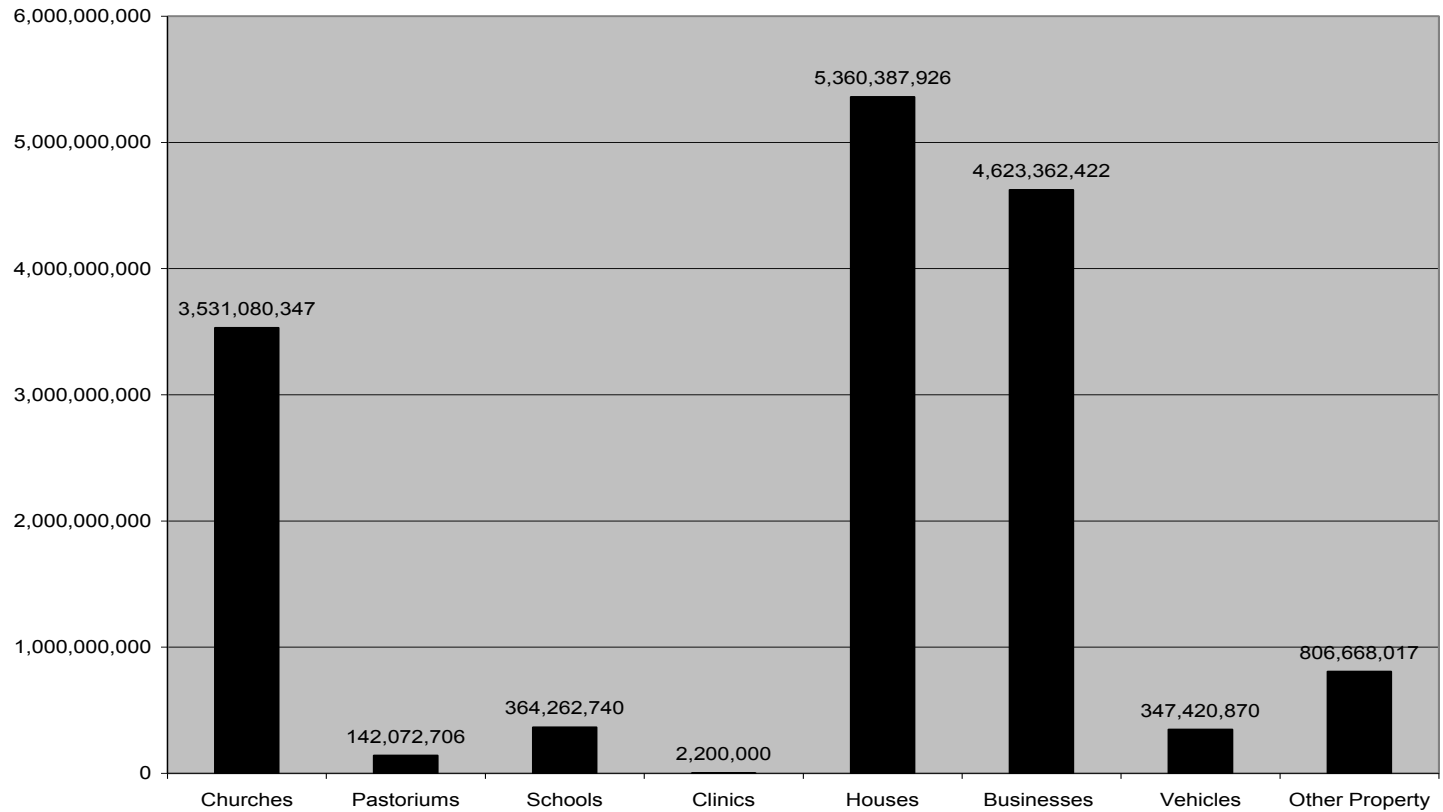


* These numbers reflect the totals for all twelve states together. For individual State figures see Table in Appendix A.

6.0. Economic Loss

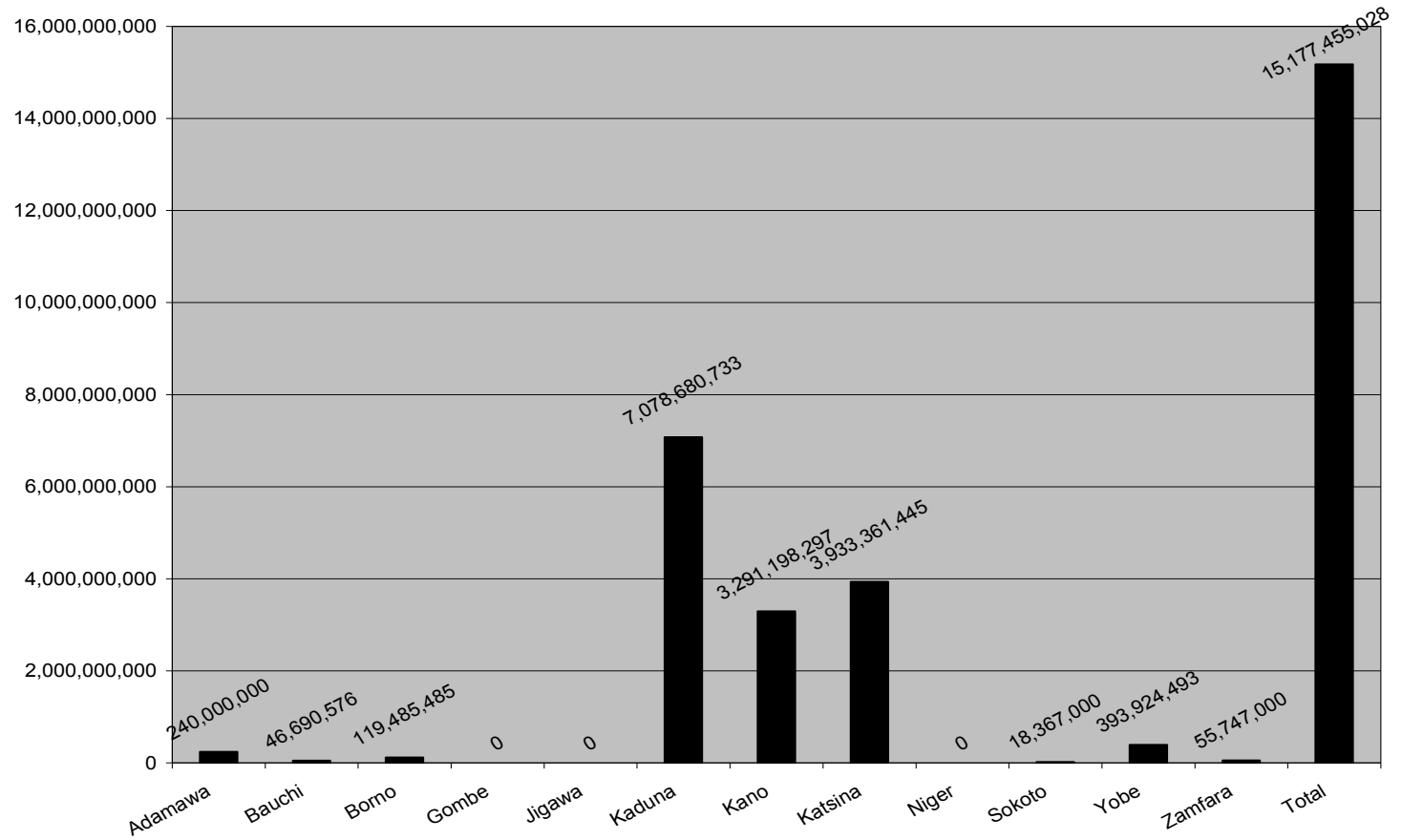
The economic loss is quite extensive. The Christian communities affected are completely devastated. They do not have the means to replace their homes or property or to rebuild their churches. As mentioned in the background information, for many of them these attacks and massive destructions occur frequently. No sooner do they gather enough resources to rebuild, than their homes and places of worship are razed to the ground again.

TOTAL ECONOMIC LOSS BY CATEGORY *



· These numbers reflect the totals for all twelve states together. For individual State figures see Table in Appendix A.
· All economic figures in this report are shown in Nigerian Currency

7.0. TOTAL ECONOMIC LOSS BY STATE



These numbers reflect the total economic loss for each state including institutional and individual losses. The data in this chart is incomplete as numbers were not available from certain states in some categories. For separate figures on individual and institutional losses see Table in Appendix A.

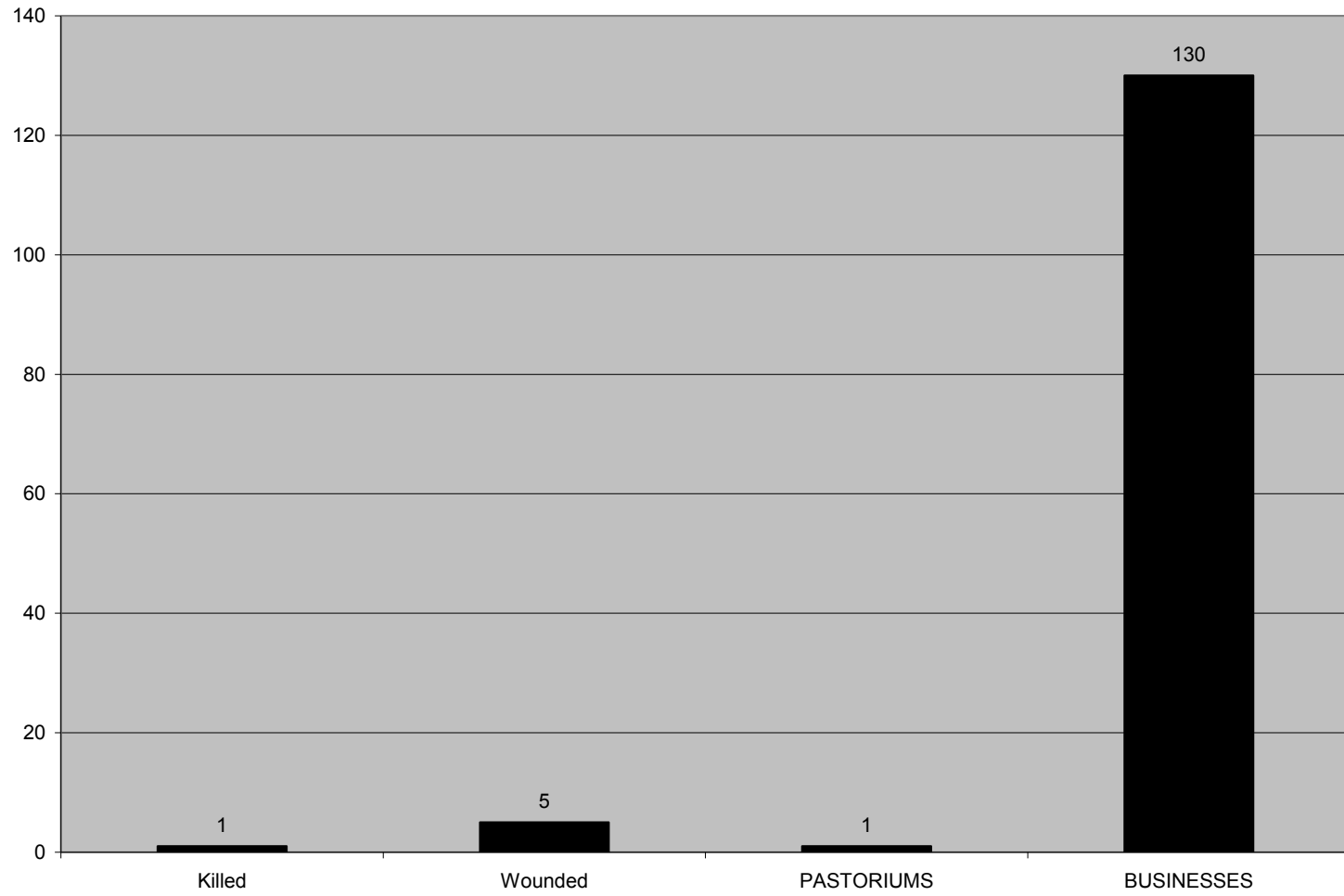
8.0 STATE REPORTS

We were not able to gather data from all areas affected and some statistics were not available in certain locations as at the time of this report. The following state summaries will indicate the areas affected, highlight how individual communities were affected, and provide state specific data.

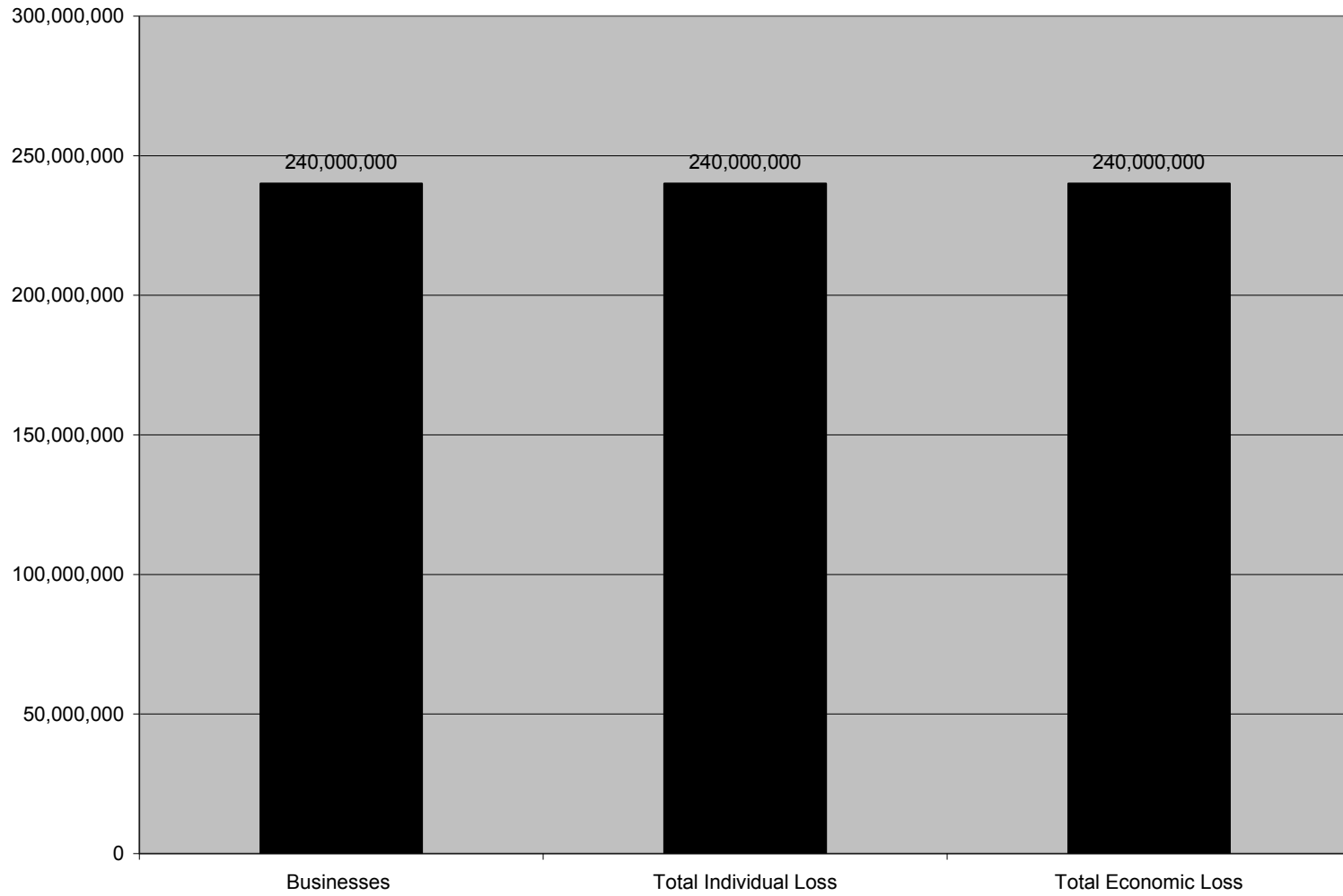
8.1 Adamawa State

In Adamawa State violence erupted in Yola, the capital, and two other LGAs. In Yola pastors and other Christians were severely beaten and atleast one death recorded. In the town of Michika 130 businesses were burnt to the ground and one Christian was burnt alive inside his shop. The report from Adamawa observed that there were both Christians and Muslims who voted for both the losing party (C.P.C.) and the winning party (P.D.P.) in the election, but only Christians were targeted for violence. The rioters chanted “well-known Islamic slogans like ‘Allahu Akbar.’” This evidence points toward religious persecution rather than political unrest. If it had been politically motivated, all supporters of the P.D.P. would have been targeted, Christians and Muslims alike in that state.

ADAMAWA LOSS BY CATEGORY



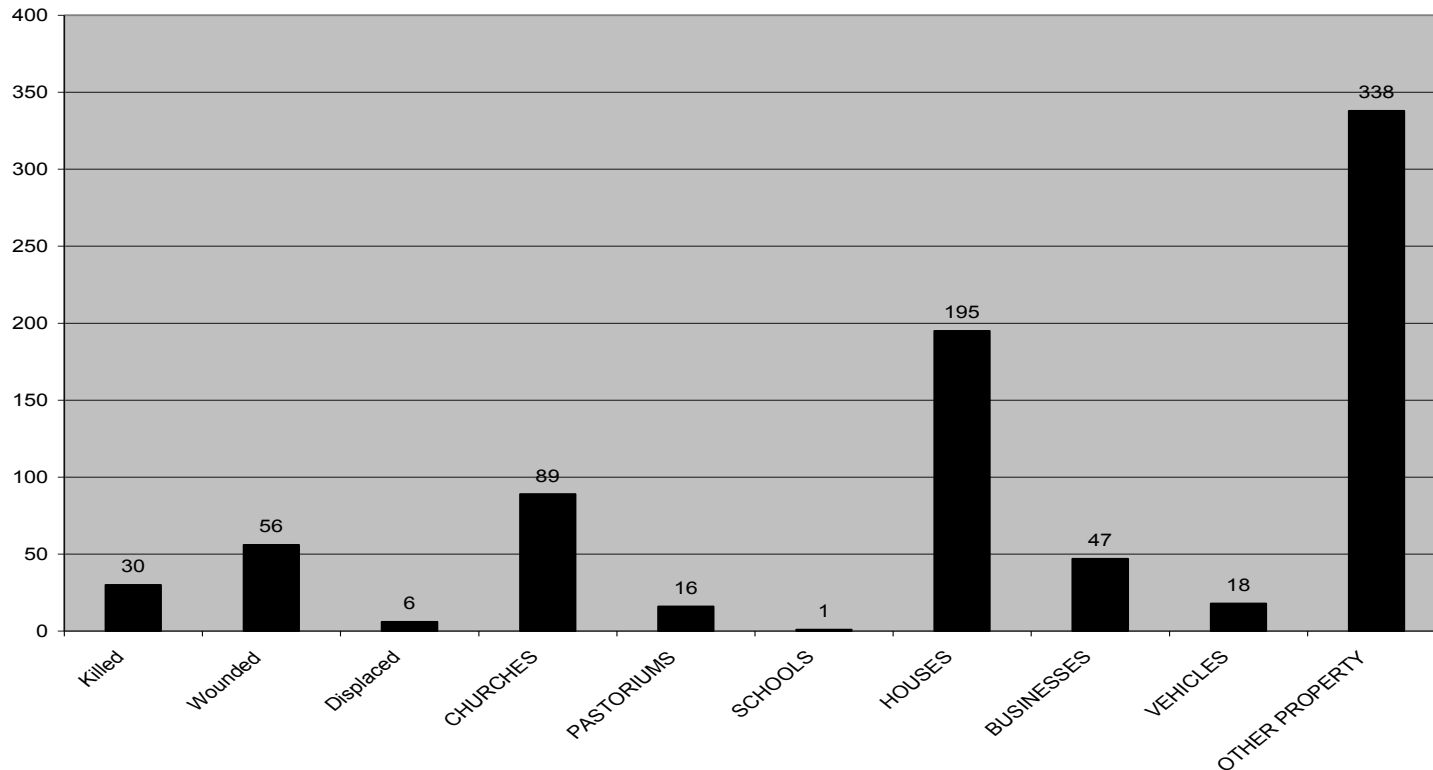
ADAMAWA ECONOMIC LOSS



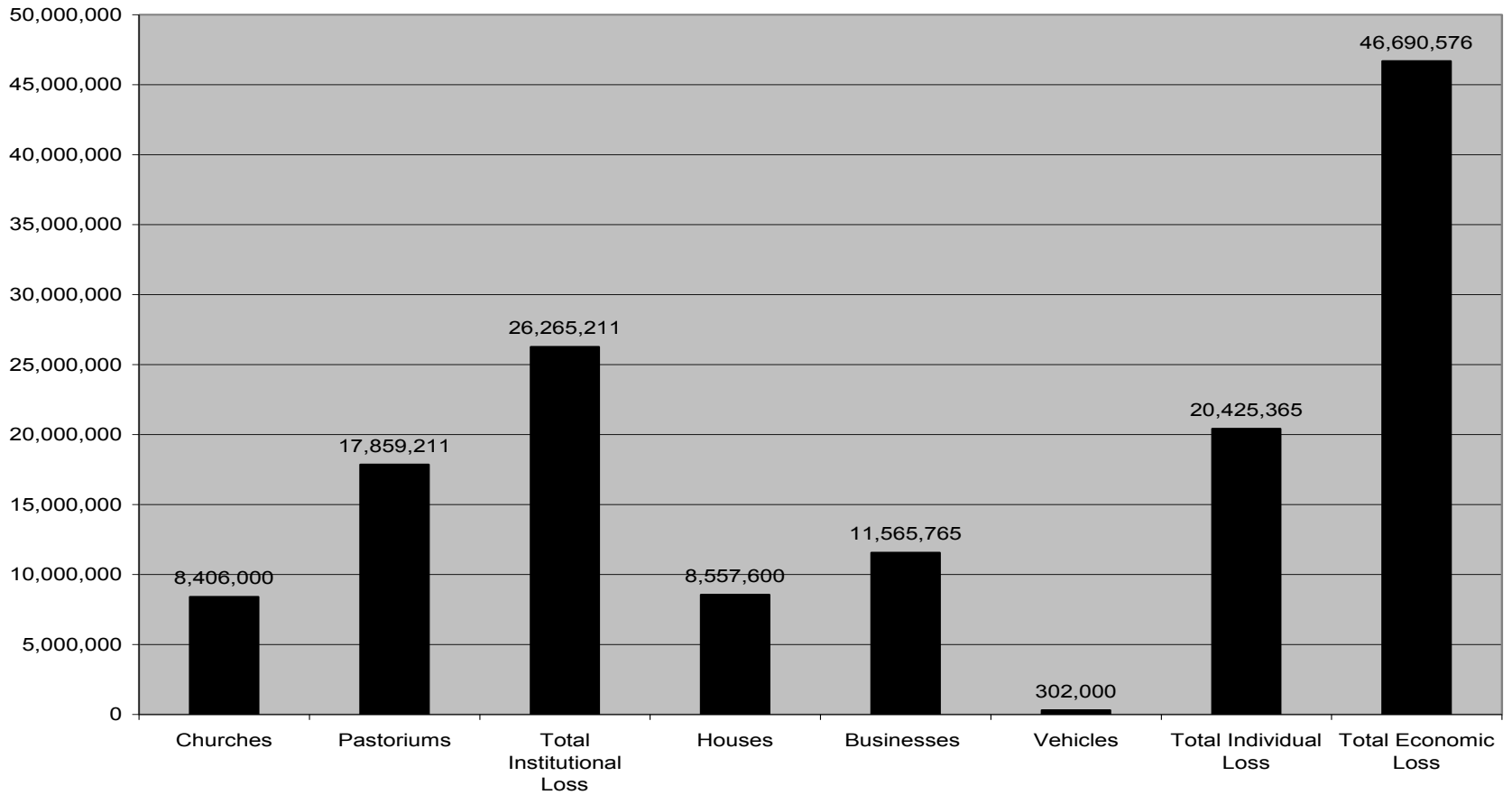
8.2 Bauchi State

In Bauchi state the violence was widespread and we were able to gather reports from twelve LGA's. The report noted that the rioters lashed out at "anything Christian" and began attacking even before voting closed. We also observed that the attacks seemed pre-planned as they were happening simultaneously all across the northern states. The attacks in Bauchi included murders, armed robbery, thefts, rape, arson, and plundering. Bauchi has witnessed unrelenting and increased violent attacks against Christians of recent and the losses before the election violence are more than the post-poll violence. Entire settlements of Christians have been desecrated and run over by Muslims. We note with hearts full of grieve the brutal killing of 10 innocent Youth Corp members who were on national assignment.

BAUCHI LOSS BY CATEGORY



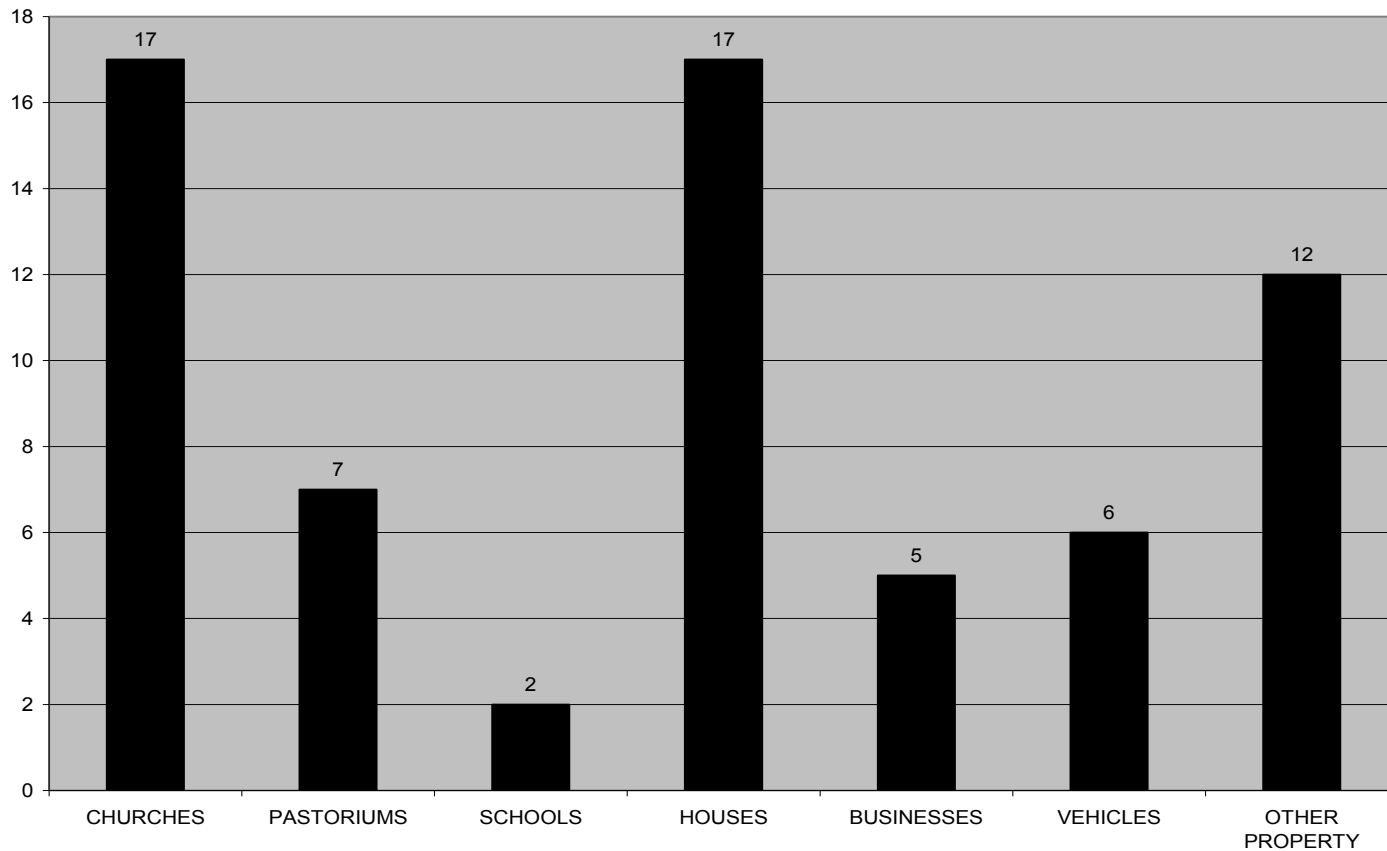
BAUCHI ECONOMIC LOSS



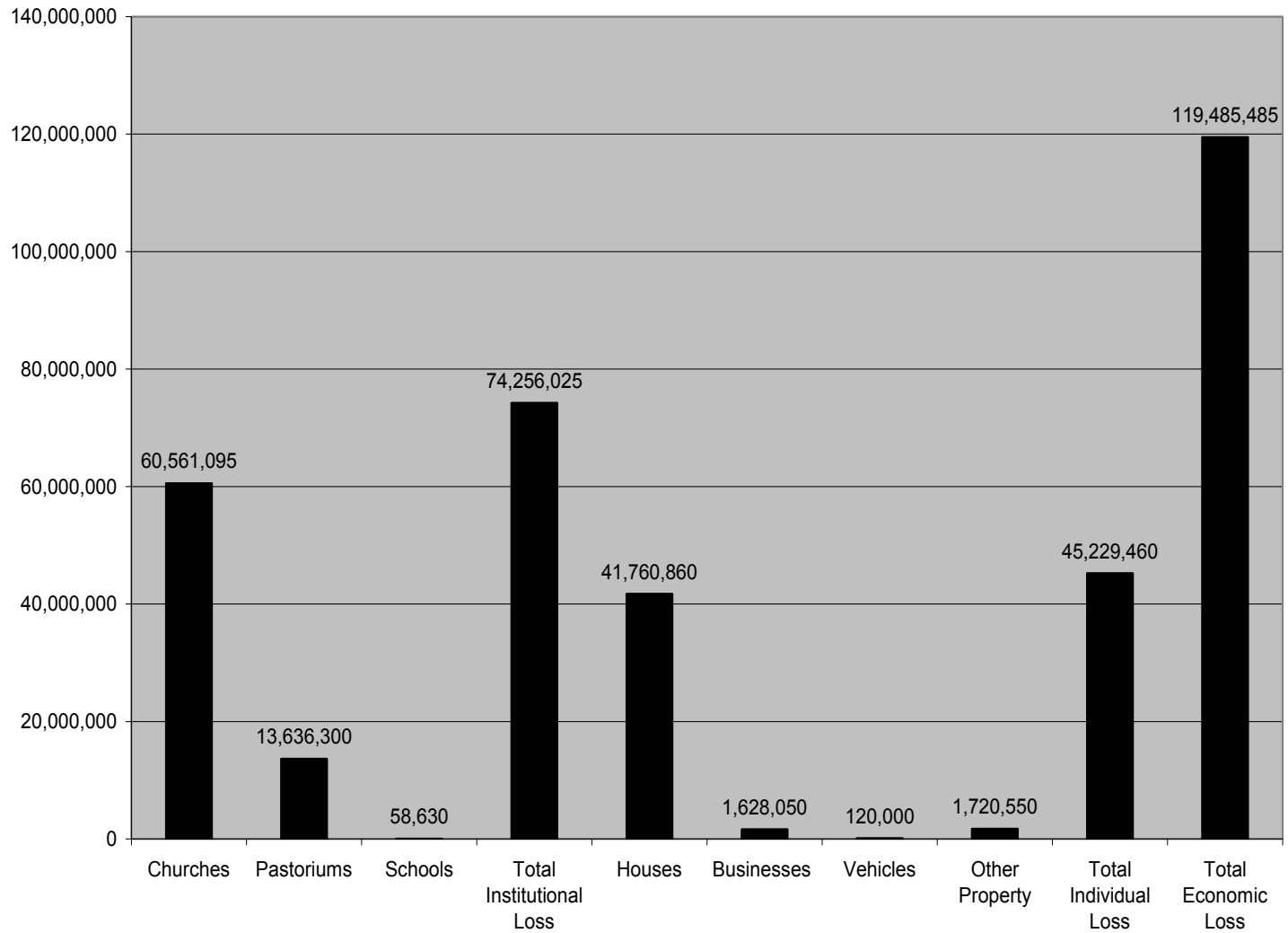
8.3 Borno State

The report from Borno state covered atleast three LGA's. The violence was widespread and many details of the devastation were gathered. Borno is the hot-bed of Islamic terrorism in Nigeria. While there were no deaths in the post-election violence, there have been sustained attacks on Churches, government institutions and moderate clerics for several months now that have claimed hundreds of lives and continue to kill on a daily basis as at the time of this report.

BORNO LOSS BY CATEGORY



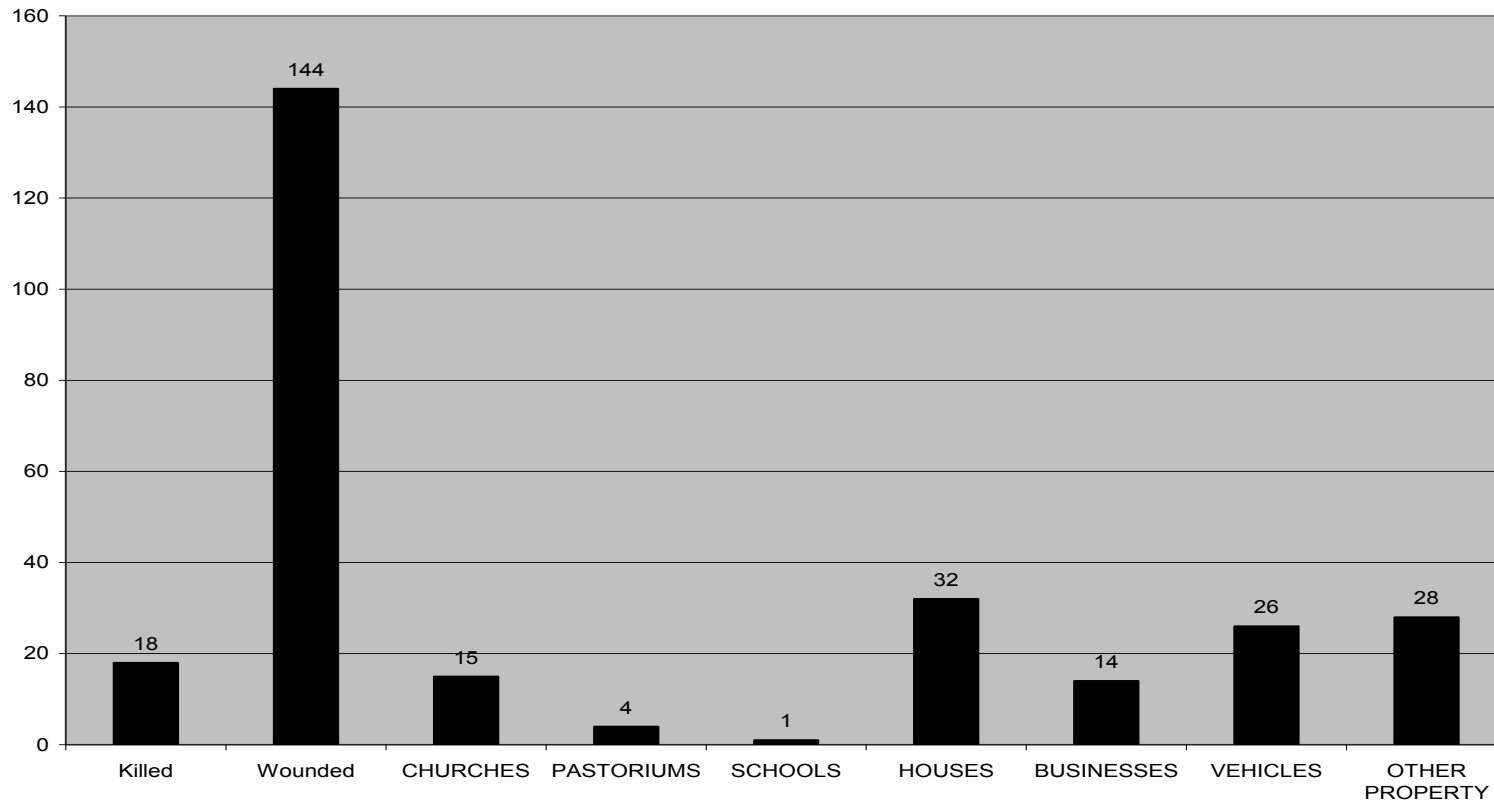
BORNO ECONOMIC LOSS



8.4 Gombe State

In Gombe mob violence erupted statewide. Christians were specifically targeted. The report shows that Hon. Jack Gumpy’s Residence was targeted and ten people were killed including six women and two children aged six and one year. This man was a member of the P.D.P leadership in Gombe, but he was not the only one. Yet because he was a Christian, he was specifically targeted and his family was brutally slaughtered. Ten others were murdered with machetes or burnt to death, while 4 more died in the hospital from injuries. Economic data was not available for this state as at the time of this report.

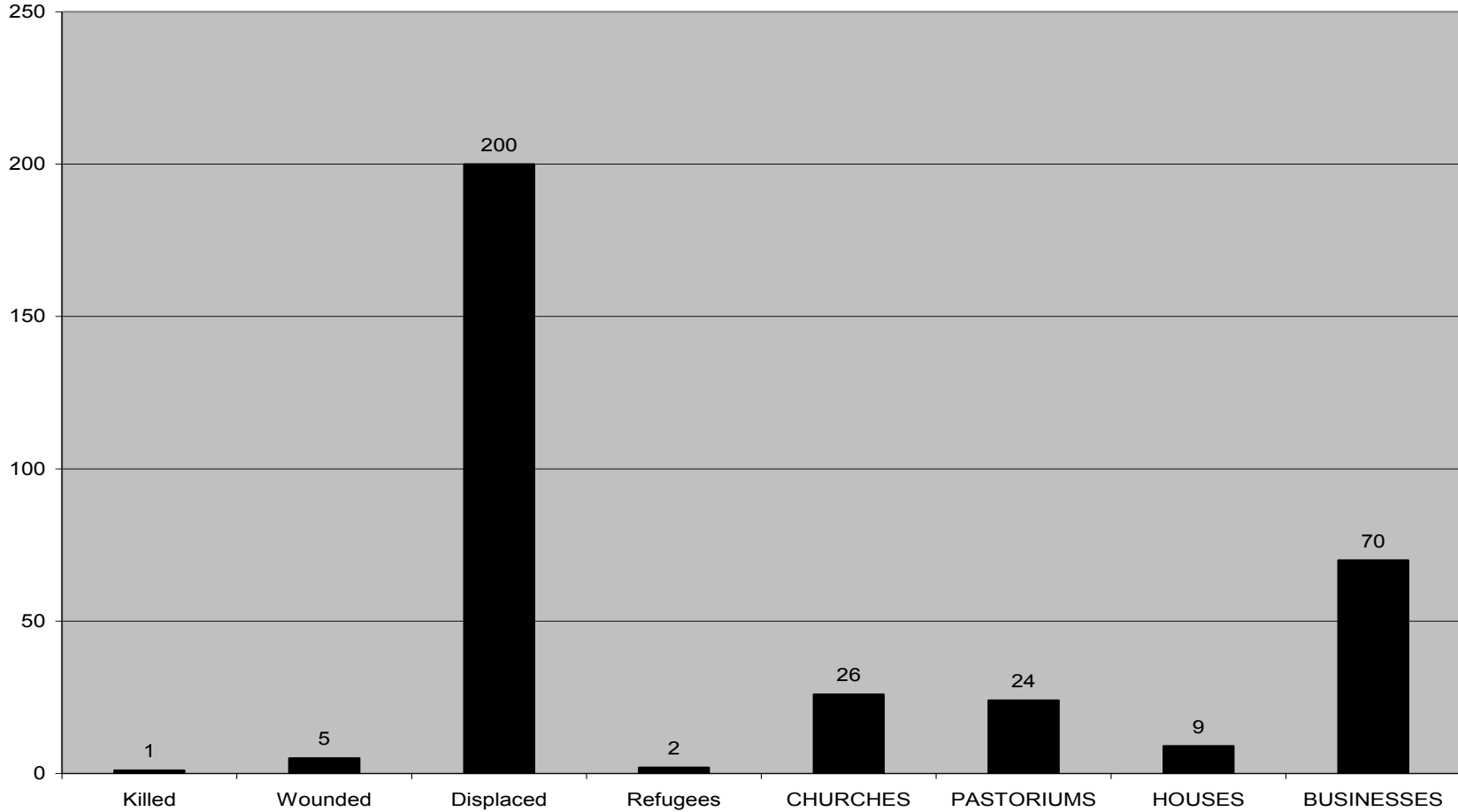
GOMBE LOSS BY CATEGORY



8.5 Jigawa State

In Jigawa State an unspecified number of Christian youth members were robbed, beaten, and raped. The report, covering four LGA's, also mentioned that many others fled, but no statistics were available. Economic data was not available for this state as at the time of this report.

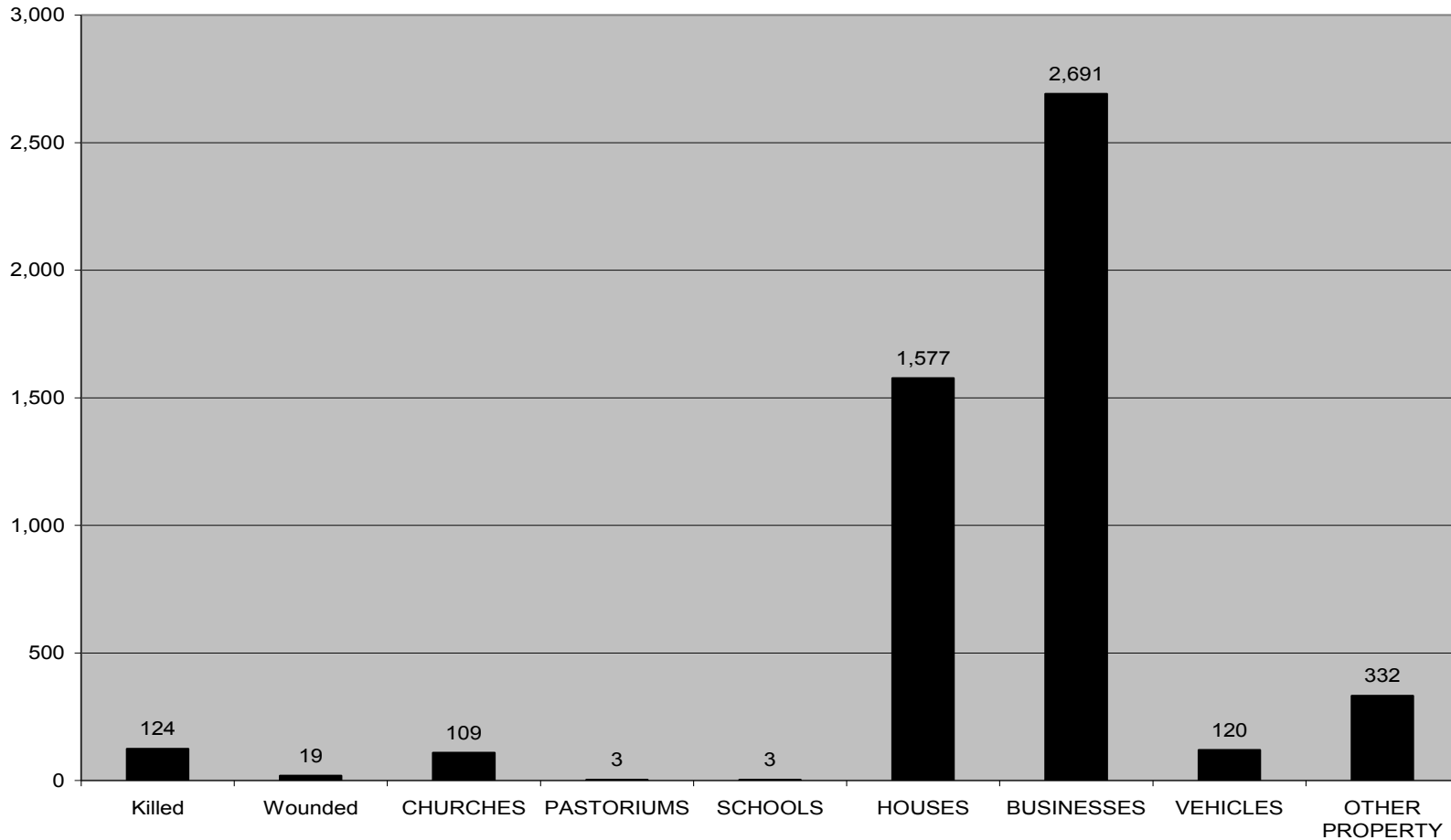
JIGAWA LOSS BY CATEGORY



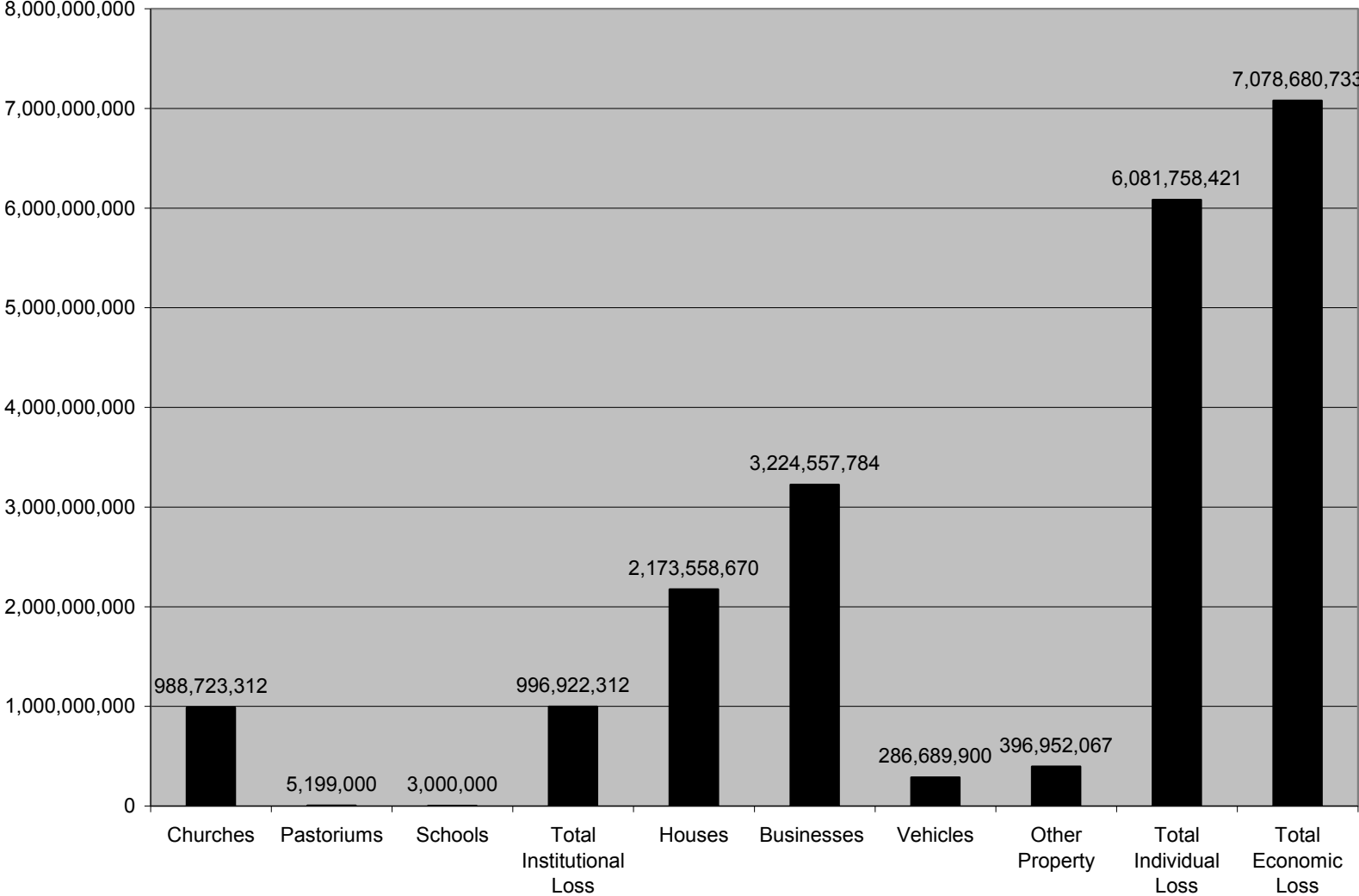
8.6 Kaduna State

The massacre of Christians in Kaduna was pathetic. In Kafanchan, Zankuwa and indeed the entire southern Kaduna, many Christian settlements were completely wiped out, many more were displaced, several Churches burnt and businesses destroyed. The preliminary report from Kaduna is so extensive that this Panel should accord it special attention. The situation was further worsened when a Christian Governor was elected into office.

KADUNA LOSS BY CATEGORY



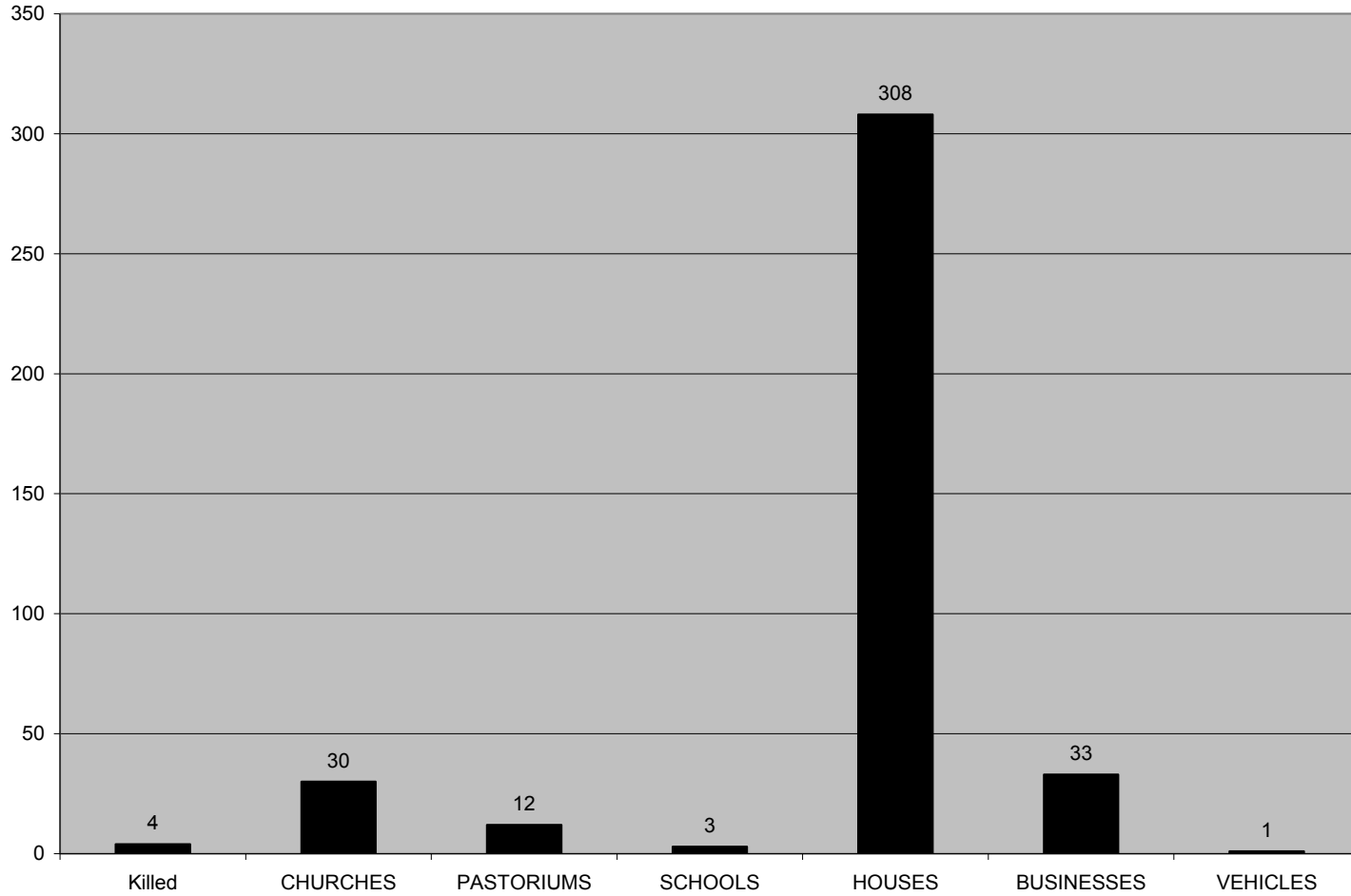
KADUNA ECONOMIC LOSS



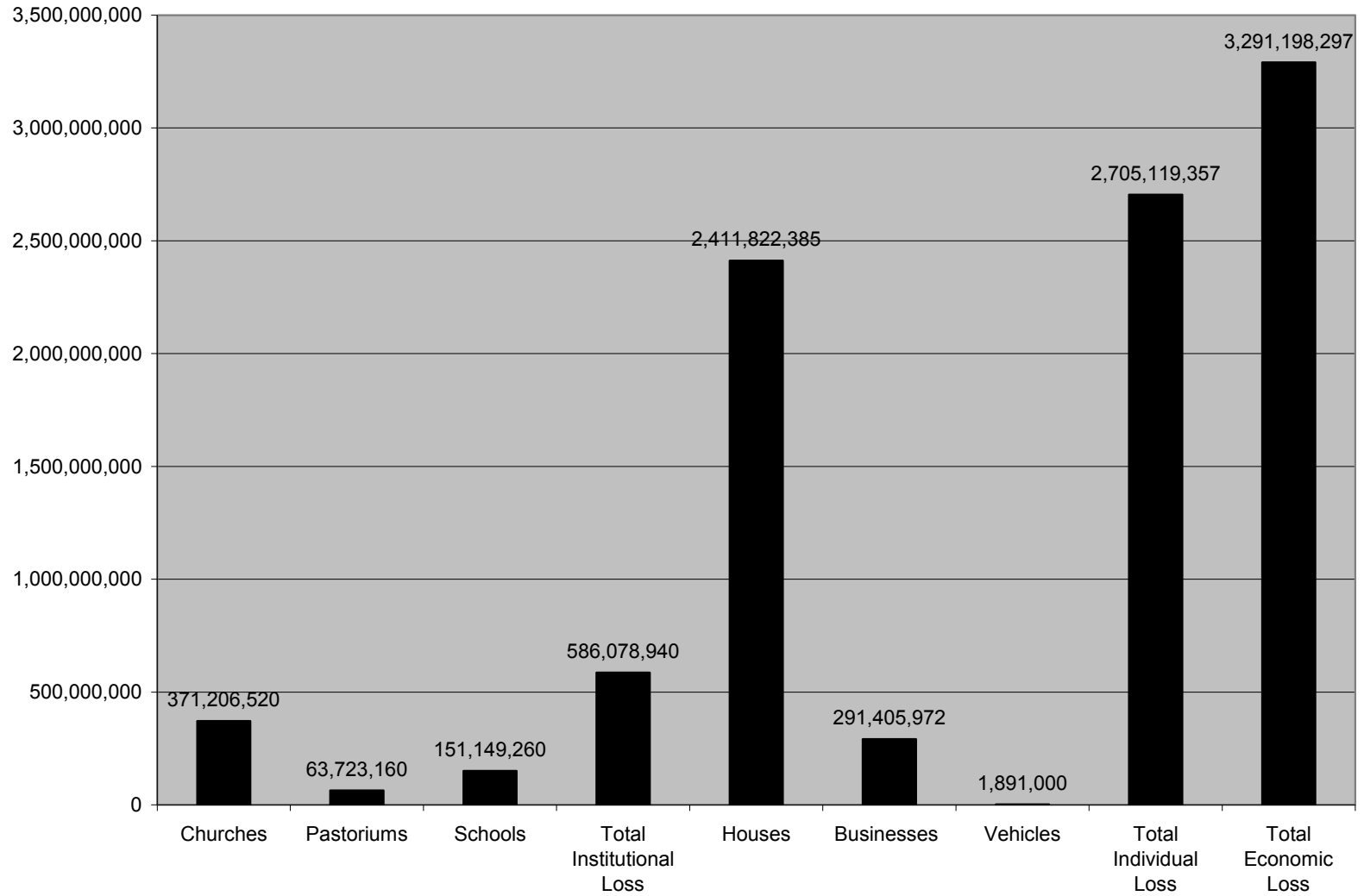
8.7 Kano State

In Kano, ten pastors were directly affected and many churches were burnt to the ground. Our branch officials were able to recover and bury four bodies in the aftermath.

KANO LOSS BY CATEGORY



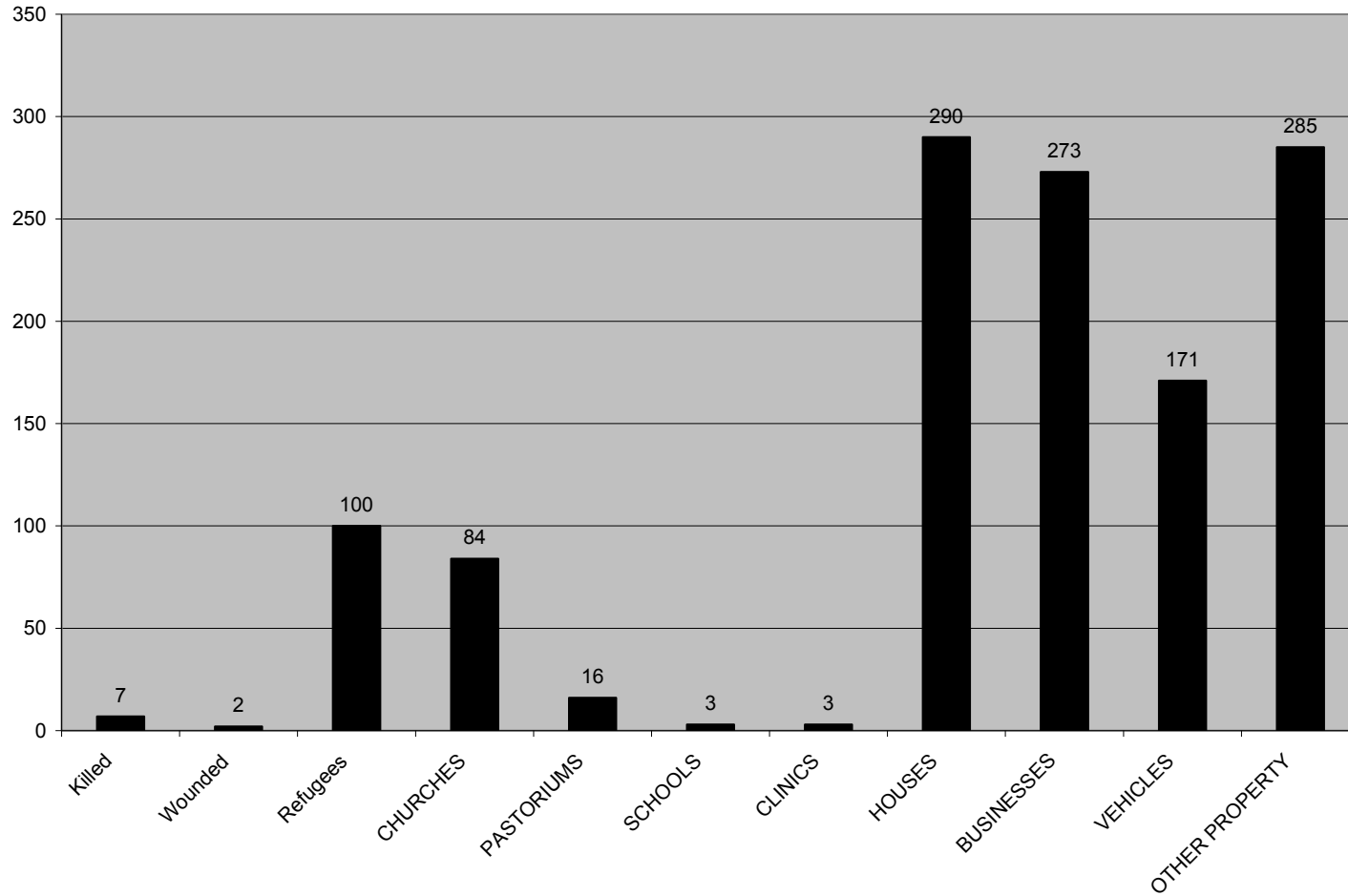
KANO ECONOMIC LOSS



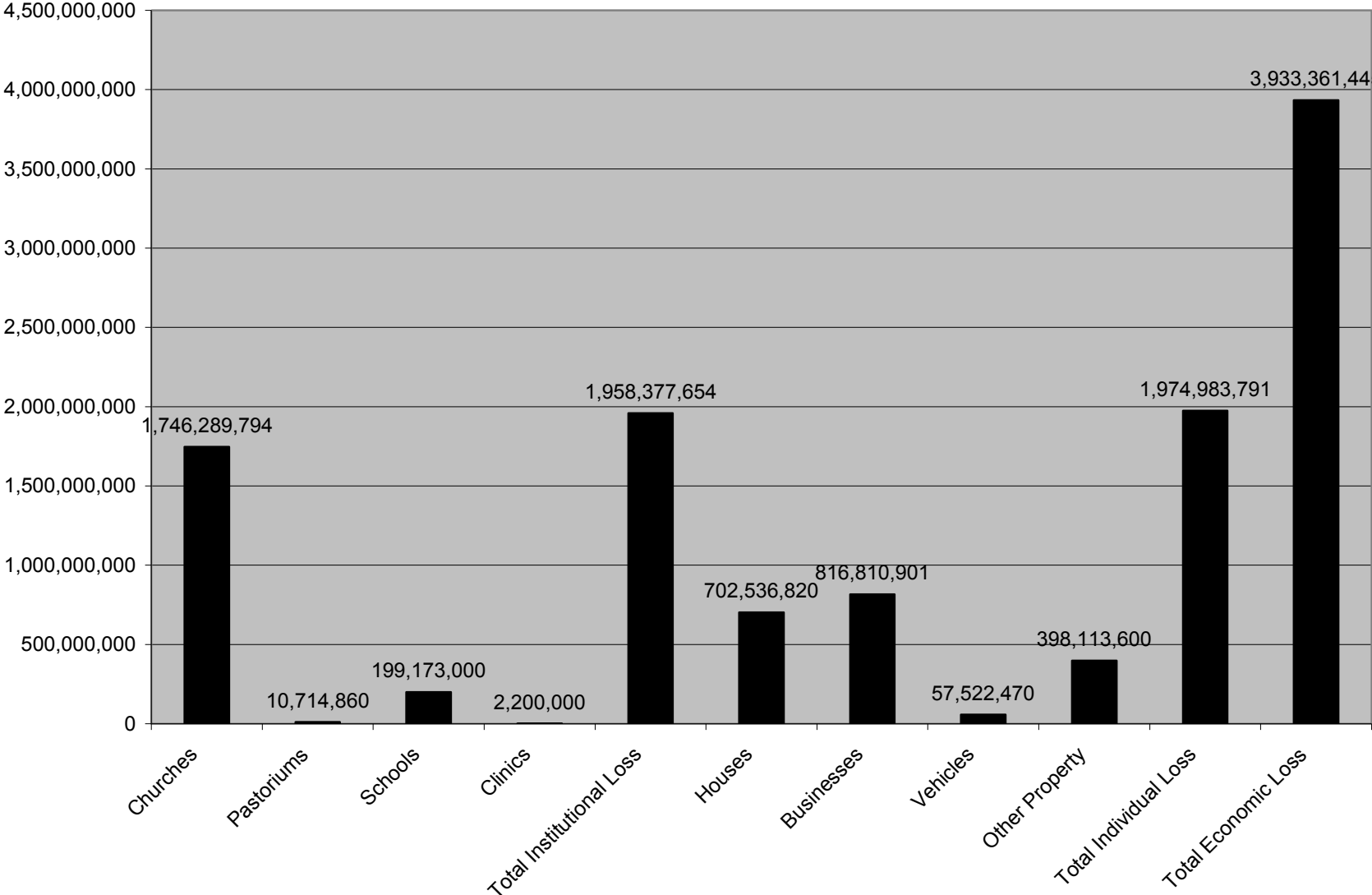
8.8 Katsina State

The widespread violence in Katsina left hundreds of people displaced. Exact numbers were not available as at time of this report, but it is estimated that over 100 people fled to Niger Republic and others were being sheltered at army barracks and police compounds.

KATSINA LOSS BY CATEGORY



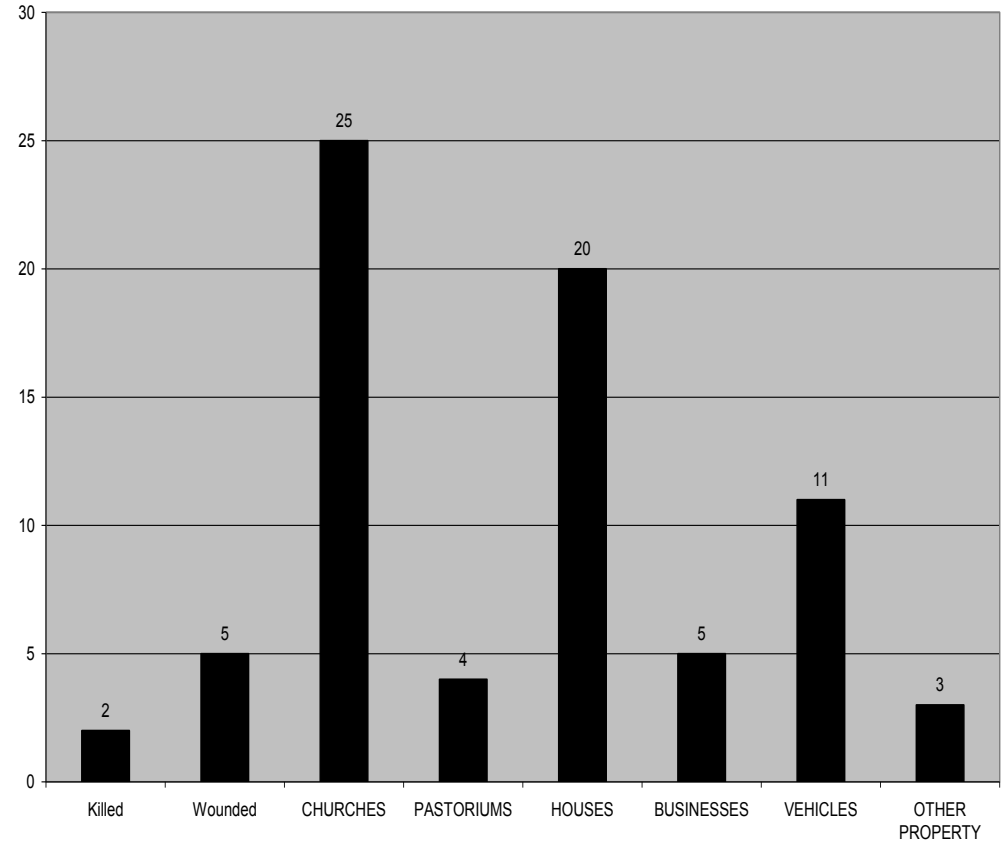
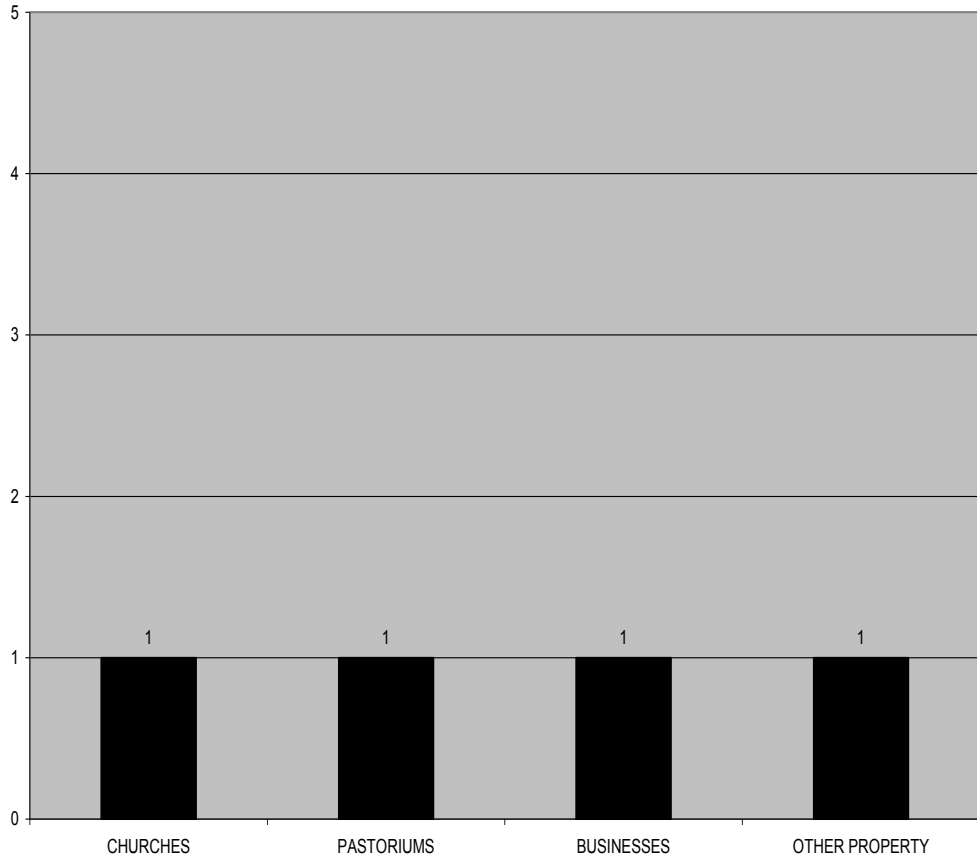
KATSINA ECONOMIC LOSS



8.9 Niger State

In Niger State data was available from only two LGA's. Economic data was not available for this state.

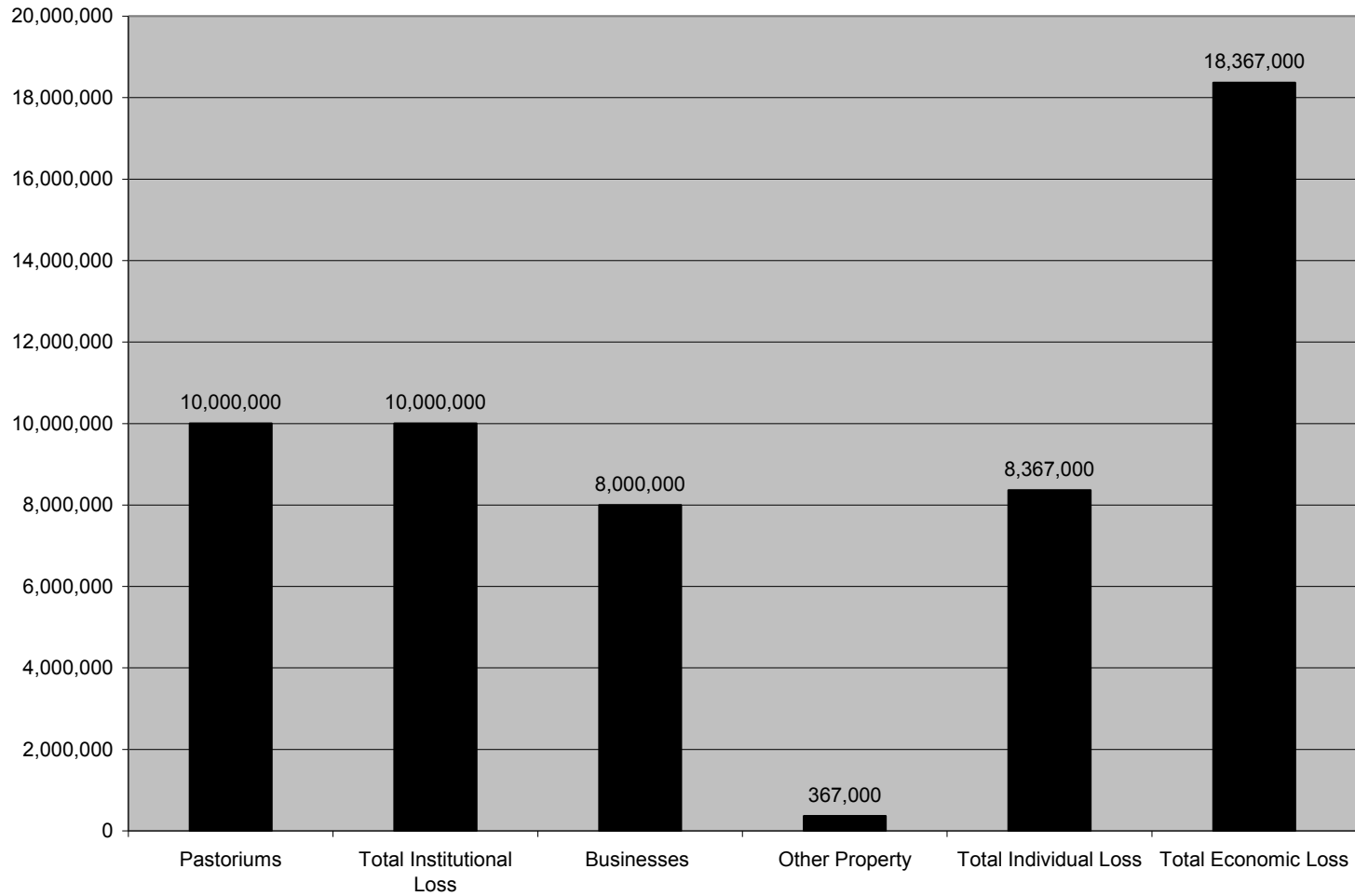
NIGER LOSS BY CATEGORY



8.10 Sokoto State

Little data was available from Sokoto and only one LGA was specifically mentioned in the report. The report did note that many were stabbed and wounded, but no statistics were available.

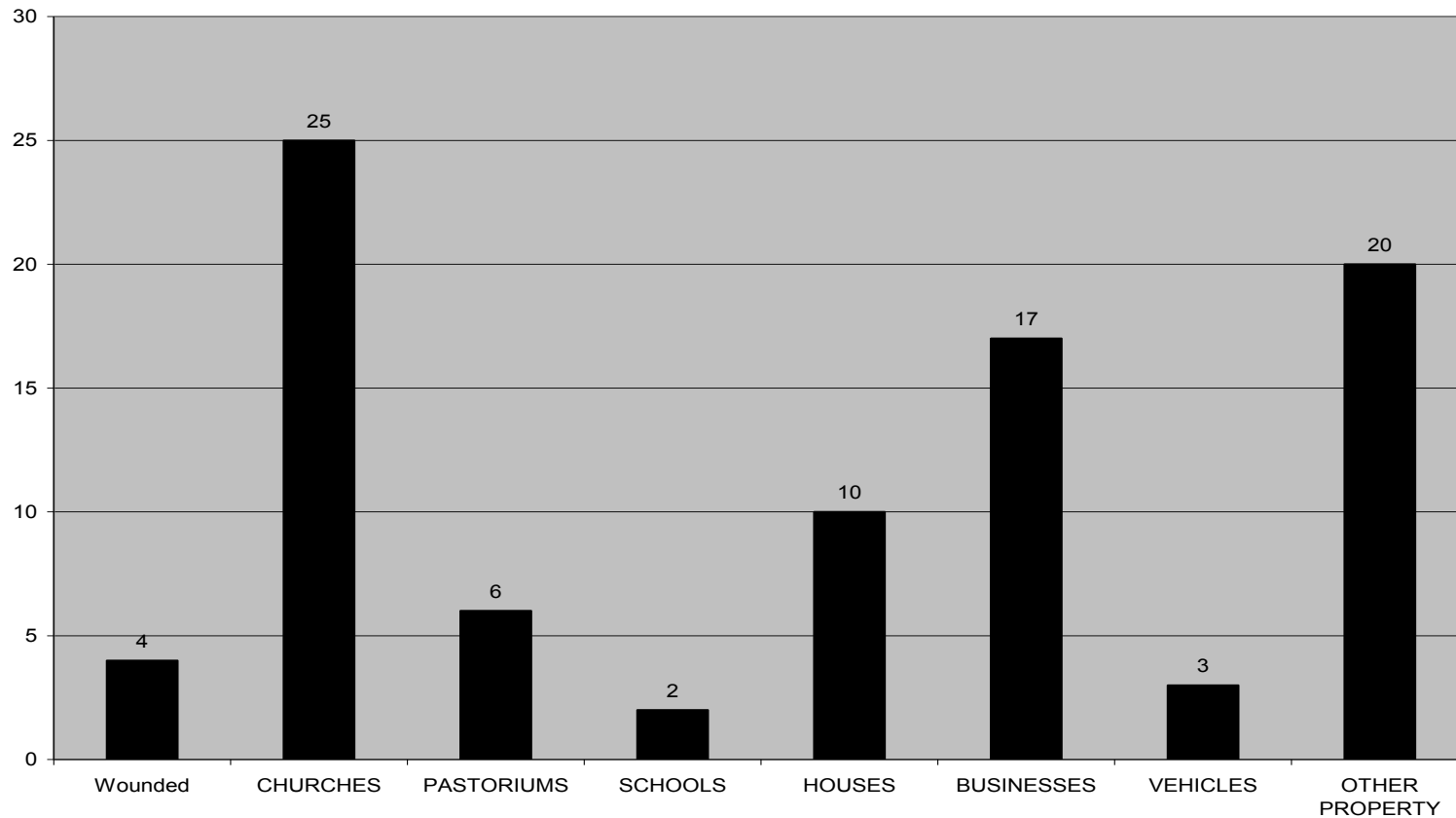
SOKOTO ECONOMIC LOSS



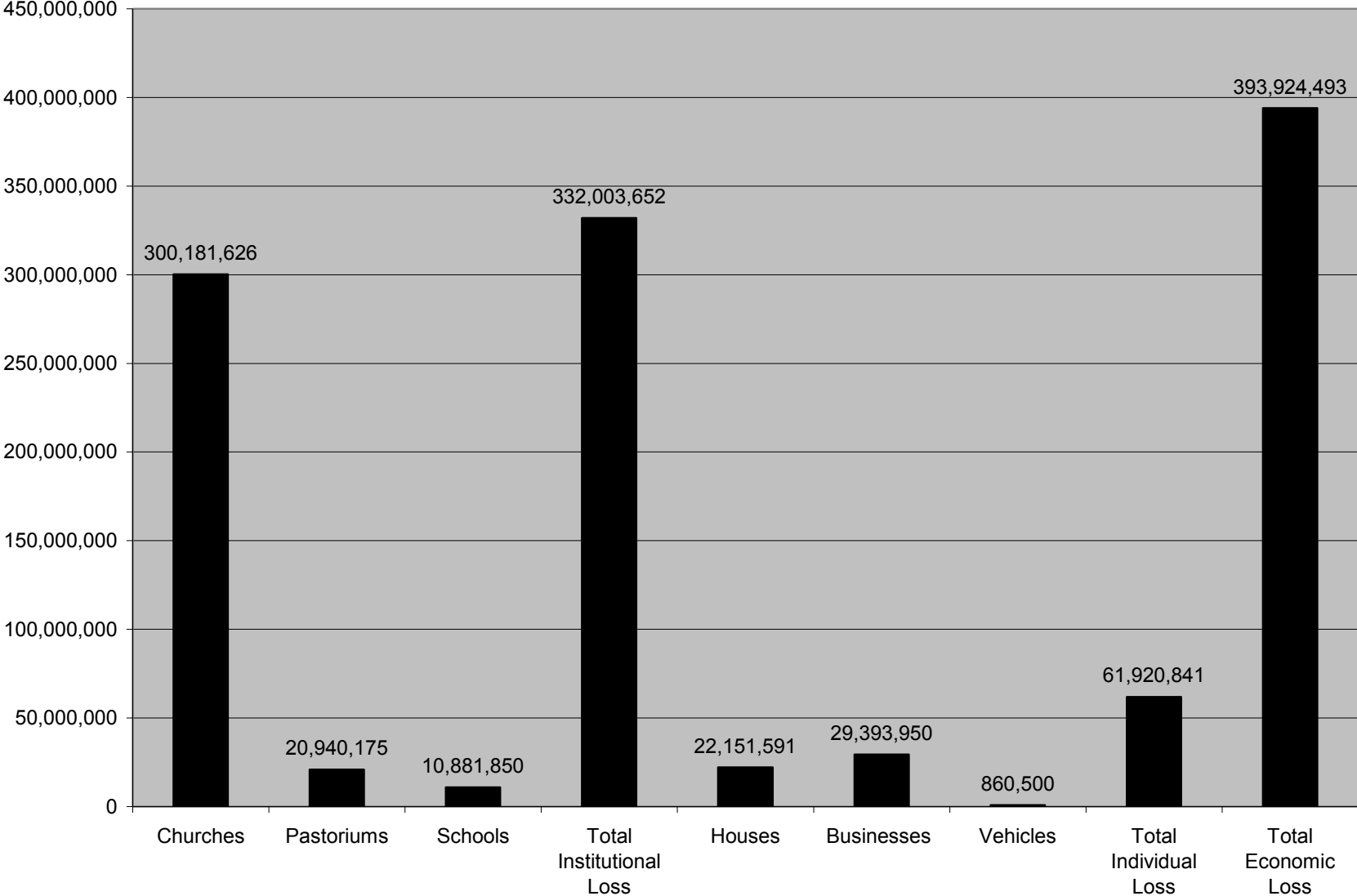
8.11 Yobe State

In Yobe the damage recorded covered only one LGA, but the damage included twenty three churches that were completely destroyed. Many Christians from this state expressed frustration with the targeting of Churches , their properties and businesses under the guise of political issues, particularly in Potiskum.” This highlights the pattern of persecution of Christians in the northern states.

YOBE LOSS BY CATEGORY



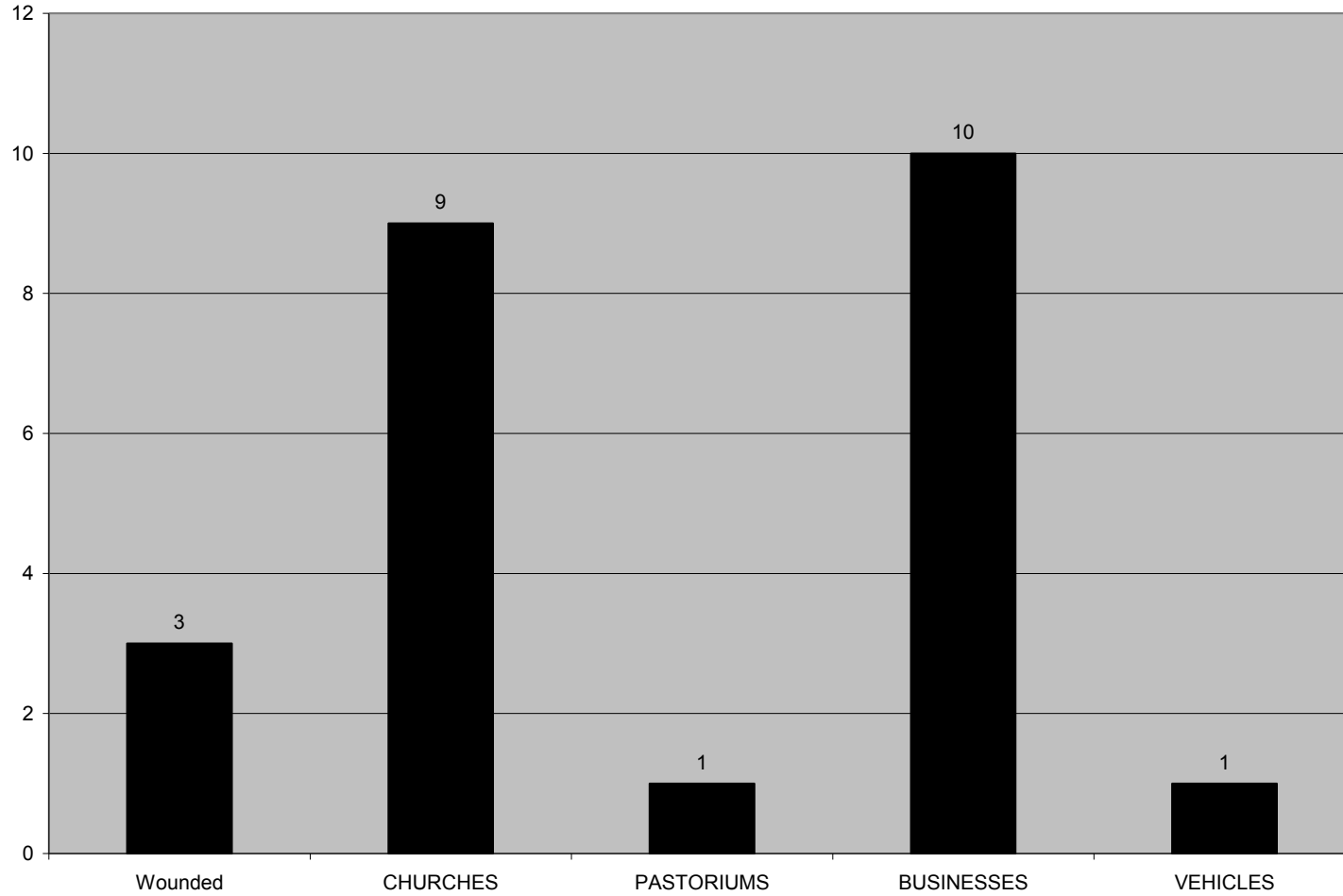
YOBE ECONOMIC LOSS



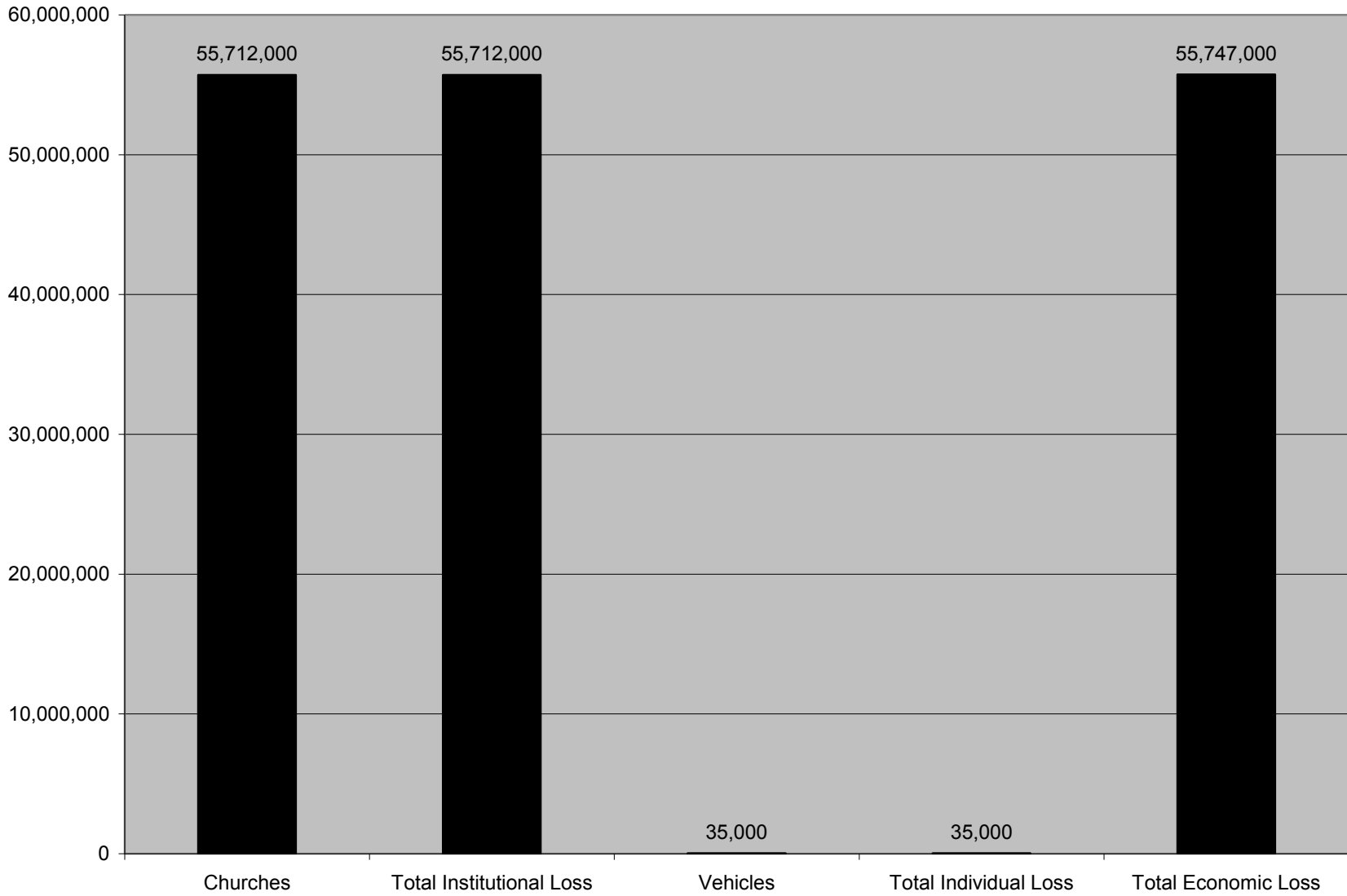
8.12 Zamfara

In Zamfara, as in all the other states, Churches were completely destroyed and homes, shops were violently vandalized. Many Christians were attacked and wounded while many more were displaced.

ZAMFARA LOSS BY CATEGORY



ZAMFARA ECONOMIC LOSS



9.0 OTHER MATTERS INCIDENTAL OR RELEVANT

- 1.1. It is pertinent to state that the April 2011 Presidential Elections won by the Jonathan/Sambo ticket was based on the volume and widespread Campaign by PDP. The “Northern Youth” had been sensitized by an anti South/ anti Jonathan Christian sentiments followed by mobilization for mass action through local and international media leading to the dearth of hundreds of people and destruction of properties.
- 1.2. The crises must be seen in the light of continued struggle to maintain an undue advantage by a few northern elites, through the exploitation of primordial religious and ethnic fault lines. If truly the April crises were simply due to the presidential election why were churches and Christians all over the north made targets?
- 1.3. President Goodluck Jonathan does not hail from any part of the north or the states where violence erupted, so why single out this geographical area for attack and destruction if it is not a religious war?
- 1.4. We note with dismay the vitriolic and inciting statements by some members of the leadership of Northern Political Leader’s Forum (NPLF) during the elections that if a non Northerner wins the Presidential election, then the country will be made ungovernable. They prepared the grounds for the mobilization of Northern Youths and the Almajiris to perpetrate the violence that ensued thereafter.

10.0 RECOMMENDATION:

- Nigeria is our country and as citizens irrespective of gender, political area religion persuasions we must learn to respect each other and live united so that developments in all facets of our national life will be manifest. We therefore amongst others, recommend the following.
- 10.1 The political leadership must harness enough courage and sense of purpose to prosecute the suspects and expose the sponsors of these crises.
 - 10.2 The security agencies must be thoroughly reorganized and purged from the sectarian role it has thus far played.
 - 10.3 Nigerian borders must be secured. Some of these trained mercenaries are foreigners from neighboring African countries.
 - 10.4 The low value attached to human life by the leadership in the North must be addressed. The army of *Almajiris* must be taken off the streets. There should be an effective policy to take every Nigerian that is 12 years and above without education off the street. Let a census be done and every Almajiri be catered

- for by his state government and local government.
- 10.5 Nigerians must de-emphasizes regional regroupings. The so called six geo-political zones is a disservice. It encourages regrouping. State creation was meant to solve our delicate regional history.
 - 10.6 The NYSC must be re-organized and strengthened. Centers for vocational training for all adult youths should be established all over the nation, not only the North. State Governments must ensure the security and safety of all Youth Corp members posted to their States.
 - 10.7 Freedom of religion must be enforced in every state with land made available for worship places, according to law.
 - 10.8 There should be a National Conference of all the people / groups in Nigeria. Every ethnic group must democratically decide with whom to associate within a given Local Government Area and State. A forum must be made available where the various societal and inter communal contradictions that have been built up over the years must be discussed openly with a view to not only understanding but to resolve such contradictions.
 - 10.9 Any compensation to be paid must be backdated to the immediate past and to be shared 50/50 by FGN, States, and Local Government Area (where violence and destruction occurred).

APPENDIX A:

LOSSES DUE TO POST ELECTION VIOLENCE AGAINST CHRISTIANS	Adamawa State	Bauchi State	Borno State	Gombe State	Jigawa State
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HUMAN LOSS

Killed	1	30	no data	18	1
Wounded	5	56	no data	144	5
Missing	no data	6	no data	no data	no data
Displaced	no data	no data	no data	no data	200
Refugees	no data	no data	no data	no data	2

INSTITUTIONAL LOSS

CHURCHES	no data	89	17	15	26
Amount	no data	8,406,000.00	60,561,095.00	no data	no data
PASTORIUMS	1	16	7	4	24
Amount	no data	17,859,211.00	13,636,300.00	no data	no data
SCHOOLS	no data	1	2	1	no data
Amount	no data	no data	58,630.00	no data	no data
CLINICS	no data	no data	no data	no data	no data
Amount	no data	no data	no data	no data	no data
Total Institutional Loss	no data	26,265,211	74,256,025	no data	no data

INDIVIDUAL LOSS

HOUSES	no data	195	17	32	9
Amount	no data	8,557,600.00	41,760,860.00	no data	no data
BUSINESSES	130	47	5	14	70
Amount	240,000,000.00	11,565,765.00	1,628,050.00	no data	no data
VEHICLES	no data	18	6	26	no data
Amount	no data	302,000.00	120,000.00	no data	no data
OTHER PROPERTY	no data	338	12	28	no data
Amount	no data	no data	1,720,550.00	no data	no data
Total Individual Loss	240,000,000	20,425,365	45,229,460	no data	no data

Total Economic Loss	240,000,000	46,690,576	119,485,485	no data	no data
LOSSES DUE TO POST ELECTION VIOLENCE AGAINST CHRISTIANS	Kaduna State	Kano State	Katsina State	Niger State	Sokoto State

HUMAN LOSS

Killed	124	4	7	2	no data
Wounded	19	no data	2	5	no data
Missing	no data	no data	no data	no data	no data
Displaced	no data	no data	no data	no data	no data
Refugees	no data	no data	100	no data	no data

INSTITUTIONAL LOSS

CHURCHES	109	30	84	25	1
Amount	988,723,312.00	371,206,520.00	1,746,289,794.00	no data	no data
PASTORIUMS	3	12	16	4	1
Amount	5,199,000.00	63,723,160.00	10,714,860.00	no data	10,000,000.00
SCHOOLS	3	3	3	no data	no data
Amount	3,000,000.00	151,149,260.00	199,173,000.00	no data	no data
CLINICS	no data	no data	3	no data	no data
Amount	no data	no data	2,200,000.00	no data	no data
Total Institutional Loss	996,922,312	586,078,940	1,958,377,654	no data	10,000,000

INDIVIDUAL LOSS

HOUSES	1,577	308	290	20	no data
Amount	2,173,558,669.61	2,411,822,384.90	702,536,820.00	no data	no data
BUSINESSES	2,691	33	273	5	1
Amount	3,224,557,783.93	291,405,972.00	816,810,901.00	no data	8,000,000.00
VEHICLES	120	1	171	11	no data
Amount	286,689,900.00	1,891,000.00	57,522,470.00	no data	no data
OTHER PROPERTY	332	no data	285	3	1
Amount	396,952,067.31	no data	398,113,600.00	no data	367,000.00
Total Individual Loss	6,081,758,421	2,705,119,357	1,974,983,791	no data	8,367,000

Total Economic Loss	7,078,680,733	3,291,198,297	3,933,361,445	no data	18,367,000
LOSSES DUE TO POST ELECTION VIOLENCE AGAINST CHRISTIANS	Yobe State	Zamfara State	TOTALS BASED ON AVAILABLE DATA		

HUMAN LOSS

Killed	no data	no data	187
Wounded	4	3	243
Missing	no data	no data	6
Displaced	no data	no data	200
Refugees	no data	no data	102

INSTITUTIONAL LOSS

CHURCHES	25	9	430
Amount	300,181,626.22	55,712,000.00	3,531,080,347.22
PASTORIUMS	6	1	95
Amount	20,940,175.44	no data	142,072,706.44
SCHOOLS	2	no data	15
Amount	10,881,850.00	no data	364,262,740.00
CLINICS	no data	no data	3
Amount	no data	no data	2,200,000.00
Total Institutional Loss	332,003,652	55,712,000	4,039,615,793.66

INDIVIDUAL LOSS

HOUSES	10	no data	2,458
Amount	22,151,591.00	no data	5,360,387,925.51
BUSINESSES	17	10	3,296
Amount	29,393,950.00	no data	4,623,362,421.93
VEHICLES	3	1	357
Amount	860,500.00	35,000.00	347,420,870.00
OTHER PROPERTY	20	no data	1,019
Amount	9,514,800.00	no data	806,668,017.31
Total Individual Loss	61,920,841	35,000	11,137,839,234.75

Total Economic Loss	393,924,493	55,747,000	15,177,455,028.41
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