



The following joint urgent appeal was submitted to the United Nations Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, Mr. Morris Tidball-Binz, on 7 June 2022. For security reasons, personally identifying information not otherwise in the public domain has been redacted from this report. For the same reasons, Annex III, which contains an index of the footage captured with the eyeWitness to Atrocities' App, associated metadata, and PDF preview files of the footage, are not available. Annex I, which describes the methodology followed in drafting this urgent appeal, is available in redacted form upon request. Information about how the eyeWitness to Atrocities' system operates, detailed in Annex II, is publicly available on the eyeWitness to Atrocities' website.

www.eyewitness.global

WARNING – GRAPHIC CONTENT

This urgent appeal contains descriptions and images with extremely graphic content related to attacks involving vulnerable segments of the civilian population, including women, children, and the elderly, that is not suitable for all audiences. Photographs of deceased victims included in the body of the urgent appeal have been pixelated for the purpose of this publication.



Mr. Morris Tidball-Binz
**Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial,
summary or arbitrary executions**
c/o OHCHR-UNOG
8-14 Avenue de la Paix
CH-1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland

Via email: hrc-sr-eje@un.org

London, 7 June 2022

PUBLIC REDACTED

Re: JOINT URGENT APPEAL - Extrajudicial executions in the Middle Belt region of Nigeria
(Int. Ref.: INJM0007)

WARNING: GRAPHIC CONTENT

This urgent appeal contains some descriptions and images with graphic content

eyeWitness to Atrocities, the International Committee On Nigeria (“ICON”), Rev. Canon Hassan John, and the Bwatiye Community Development Association (“BCDA”) write to express serious concern at the series of extrajudicial executions carried out in the context of the conflict between certain herder and farming communities in the Middle Belt region of Nigeria that are neither investigated, nor prosecuted by Nigerian authorities at the States and Federal levels. This urgent appeal is submitted for action in your capacity as Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions.

[signature]

Wendy Betts
Director
eyeWitness to Atrocities

[signature]

Rev. Canon Hassan John
Priest & Journalist

[signature]

Kyle Abts
Director
International Committee On Nigeria

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Lofty Timothy Tahula
Project Coordinator
Bwatiye Community Development Association



Type of issue: human rights violation

Issue of concern: extrajudicial executions

Victims: farming communities in the Middle Belt region of Nigeria, as a group

Consent: This urgent appeal details attacks that resulted in the death of several victims, from whom consent cannot be obtained, and in the injury of several others. Documenters obtained consent from all injured victims to be photographed or filmed, informed them of the ways the footage might be used, and obtained consent to share their identifying information with third parties for accountability and/or advocacy purposes. This urgent appeal falls under the accountability purposes in relation to which injured victims gave their consent. More information about the way documenters sought and obtained victims' consent can be found in confidential Annex I.

Submitting organisations and individuals:

eyeWitness to Atrocities

eyeWitness to Atrocities is a charity registered in the United Kingdom combining law and technology to promote accountability for atrocity crimes.

International Committee On Nigeria

ICON is a non-governmental organisation working to secure a future for all Nigerians, where rule-of-law, justice, religious freedom and constitutional rights are secured for all Nigerians, regardless of religion, tribe, or location.

Rev. Canon Hassan John

Rev. Canon Hassan John is a priest and journalist, working as the Media Director of the Anglican Diocese of Jos, the West Africa Editor for Global Christian News, and a stringer for CNN.

Bwatiye Community Development Association

BCDA is a community-based organisation undertaking documentation missions as a community of practice member of Global Rights, a non-governmental organisation with a mandate to increase access to justice.

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URGENT APPEAL

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Since 22 March 2019, ICON, Rev. Canon Hassan John, and BCDA have used the eyeWitness to Atrocities' mobile camera App (the "App")¹ to gather evidence of the escalating conflict between herder and farming communities in the Middle Belt region of Nigeria.² Many of the 4,000 photographs, videos, and audio recordings uploaded on eyeWitness to Atrocities' Server portray the aftermath of violent attacks that have resulted in extrajudicial executions³ in violation of the right to life enshrined in, *inter alia*, Section 33 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria ("Constitution"), Article 6 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights ("ICCPR"), and Article 4 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights ("Banjul Charter").

2. eyeWitness to Atrocities selected 377 representative photographs and videos relating to 69 attacks that were carried out between 15 October 2017 and 12 January 2022.⁴ Many more attacks go unreported due to security concerns in the region, limited access to locations under attack, unavailability of documenters to capture footage, and/or lack of relationships with, or interest from, most media outlets.

3. An analysis of the selected footage, accompanying documenters' notes, data relevant to the date, time, and location of capture, as well as open-source information reveals that armed non-States actors

¹ eyeWitness to Atrocities' mobile camera App is a software for use on an Android smartphone or tablet that allows documenters to capture photographs, videos, and audio recordings. The App records metadata that helps verifying the authenticity of the footage while maintaining a chain of custody once uploaded on the eyeWitness to Atrocities' Server. For more information on eyeWitness to Atrocities' technology, *see* confidential Annex II.

² The conflict between certain herder and farming communities has been coined as the Nigeria's "gravest security challenge" by former Special Rapporteur Agnès Callamard. *Report of the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, Agnès Callamard, A/HRC/47/33/Add.2* (11 June 2021), para. 50; [End of visit statement of the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions on her visit to Nigeria](#) (2 September 2019), para. 32.

³ While this urgent appeal focuses exclusively on the violation of the right to life resulting from extrajudicial executions, the range of human rights violations evidenced by the footage uploaded on eyeWitness to Atrocities' Server calls for a holistic response by the United Nations Special Procedures. For this reason, eyeWitness to Atrocities will also submit urgent appeals and allegations letters to the Special Rapporteurs on i) the right to adequate housing; ii) the right to adequate food; and iii) the human rights of internally displaced persons, among others.

⁴ For more information on the methodology followed for this urgent appeal, *see* confidential Annex I.



operate in the States of Adamawa, Kaduna, Nasarawa, and Plateau with impunity, killing unarmed civilians, setting villages ablaze, and destroying food reserves. Witnesses and victims report the widespread use of small arms and light weapons by assailants – at times in the hundreds – in the course of repeated attacks. On many occasions, security forces were informed of both impending and ongoing attacks or were present in the vicinity of villages under attack but failed to respond until hours later. Similarly, only a handful of attacks have led to formal investigations, the findings of which remain inaccessible to the public, with no prosecutions in sight.

4. The footage captured by ICON, Rev. Canon Hassan John, and BCDA focuses exclusively on attacks against farming communities in the Middle Belt region of Nigeria. Surviving victims, witnesses, documenters, and open-source information relevant to the incidents contained in this urgent appeal point to the identification of the alleged perpetrators as Fulani herders and allied armed groups. Yet, attacks are “part of seemingly endless retaliations”⁵ perpetrated by both sides of the conflict between certain herder and farming communities. As such, while this urgent appeal calls for intervention based on footage portraying extrajudicial executions allegedly carried out by one side of the conflict, a holistic approach must be taken by United Nations Human Rights Special Procedures, including in the form of an investigation into the States and Federal authorities’ role in contributing to the perpetuation of human rights violations, including the right to life, throughout the region.

The submitting organisations and individuals urge the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, arbitrary, or summary executions to:

- **Seek information as to the steps taken at the States and Federal levels of the Government of Nigeria to investigate, prosecute, and punish those responsible for extrajudicial executions;**
- **Seek information as to the measures taken at the States and Federal levels of the Government of Nigeria to provide redress, rehabilitation, and compensation to victims and survivors;**
- **Seek information as to the steps taken at the States and Federal levels to address the root causes and consequences of the conflict between herders and farmers;**
- **Undertake a country visit to Nigeria to assess the allegations contained in this urgent appeal and in relation to the conflict between herders and farmers;**

⁵ *Report of the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, Agnès Callamard, A/HRC/47/33/Add.2 (11 June 2021), para. 53.*

- **Recommend the establishment of a United Nations Commission of Inquiry or fact-finding mission charged with investigating the crimes allegedly committed in the Middle Belt region; and**
- **Recommend the creation of a new Special Rapporteur mandate on Nigeria to the Human Rights Council.**

II. SITUATIONAL BACKGROUND

5. For centuries, nomadic herders, 90% of whom are Muslim Fulani pastoralists, and sedentary crop farmers, predominantly Christian from various ethnic groups, have lived in harmony – each community benefitting from the other in keeping the land fertile and the cattle nourished.⁶

6. In the last two decades, climate change, environmental degradation, population growth, cattle rustling, and the Boko Haram insurgency have led herder communities to migrate south in search of pastures for their cattle.⁷ This migration has, in turn, resulted in growing tensions between certain herder and farming communities in the Middle Belt region of Nigeria.⁸ Since 2017, the violence has escalated further, increasingly taking religious and ethnic dimensions.⁹

7. In response to the Federal Government's failure to protect its citizens against frequent retaliatory attacks, herders and farmers alike have taken it upon themselves to defend their villages, organising in groups allegedly backed by local leaders said to encourage extrajudicial killings and provide information to carry out attacks.¹⁰ In 2020 alone, Amnesty International reported that more than 1,531 persons died –

⁶ See *Report of the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions*, Agnès Callamard, A/HRC/47/33/Add.2 (11 June 2021), para. 49; Amnesty International, [Harvest of death: three years of bloody clashes between farmers and herders in Nigeria](#) (17 December 2018), pp. 11-14; International Crisis Group, [Ending Nigeria's herder-farmer crisis: the livestock reform plan](#) (4 May 2021), pp. 1-3.

⁷ See International Crisis Group, [Herders against farmers: Nigeria's expanding deadly conflict](#) (19 September 2017), pp. 3-6.

⁸ The Middle Belt region of Nigeria, also known as North Central region, is understood to include the following states: Benue, Adamawa, Federal Capital Territory, Kwara, Kogi, Niger, Nasarawa, Taraba, Plateau, as well as the southern parts of Kaduna, Kebbi, Bauchi, Gombe, Yobe, and Borno. Based on the footage captured by eyeWitness to Atrocities' partners, this urgent appeal concentrates on the States of Adamawa, Kaduna, Nasarawa, and Plateau.

⁹ Humanitarian Aid Relief Trust, [Long read: violence in Nigeria's 'Middle Belt' States: ethnic and religious dimensions](#) (19 March 2021); L. Brottem, Africa Center for Strategic Studies, [The growing complexity of farmer-herder conflict in West and Central Africa](#) (July 2021).

¹⁰ International Crisis Group, [Violence in Nigeria's North West: rolling back the mayhem](#) (18 May 2020), pp. 6-9. See also International Crisis Group, [Halting the deepening turmoil in Nigeria's North West](#) (26 May 2021):



and thousands were displaced – as a result of the conflict between herders and farmers, “forc[ing] farming families to flee to urban areas or displacement camps.”¹¹

III. FACTUAL SUBMISSION

8. eyeWitness to Atrocities’ partners gather evidence of extrajudicial executions in the Middle Belt region of Nigeria for accountability and advocacy purposes. Between 22 March 2019 and 17 April 2019, partners used the App to document historical crimes that occurred as far back as 15 October 2017, mainly capturing footage of mass graves. From April 2019 onwards, documenters captured footage of extrajudicial executions on the day of, or shortly after, alleged attacks. As such, many of the incidents included in this submission contain references to detailed, **graphic footage** corroborated by witness accounts and open-source information.

9. The factual submission of this urgent appeal follows the approach adopted by eyeWitness to Atrocities’ partners in documenting incidents:

- **Section A** encompasses the documenters’ missions to capture evidence of historical crimes allegedly committed between 15 October 2017 and 11 March 2019.¹²
- **Section B** encompasses the documenters’ missions conducted within hours or days of incidents that occurred after April 2019. These incidents, running from 17 April 2019 to 12 January 2022, are in turn divided monthly.¹³

A. Incidents that occurred prior to April 2019

10. On **15 October 2017**, assailants allegedly speaking Fulani dialect and chanting “*Allahu Akbar*” stormed the Irigwe village of Nkiendoro, Bassa Local Government Area (“LGA”) of Plateau State, armed

“[t]he emergence of criminal gangs, whom the Nigerian government and mass media call “bandits”, has aggravated an already precarious security situation. Some of these gangs started as herder-allied groups but now operate autonomously. Many are exclusively or predominantly Fulani, while others are ethnically diverse.”

¹¹ Amnesty International, [Report 2020/21: the state of the world’s human rights](#) (7 April 2021), p. 269.

¹² For linkage purposes, Section A additionally details the 15 October 2021 attack on Nkiendoro, Bassa LGA of Plateau State, carried out on the four-year-anniversary of the attack on the same village dated 15 October 2017.

¹³ For linkage purposes, the attacks dated 15 July 2019 and 12 October 2019 are grouped as they resulted in the killing of members of the same household.

with AK-47 assault rifles and petrol bombs.¹⁴ As residents attempted to flee, the military stationed in the area allegedly seized their phones, directed them to take refuge in the village’s elementary school, and locked the door behind them.¹⁵ A survivor of the attack recounted seeing “one of the soldiers talking with the Fulani and pointing to the classroom” moments before the assailants opened the door.¹⁶

11. Twenty-nine persons – including women and children – who took refuge in the classroom were killed,¹⁷ 27 of whom were identified on a tombstone marked with the inscription “Those that had been killed by Fulani herdmen in the class on 15th oct, 2017.”¹⁸ Available open-source satellite image captured a year after the attack shows a grey patch of approximately 17 square metres at the location of the tombstone.



12. Despite intense public scrutiny, survivors and families of the victims continue to await justice. While the soldiers alleged to have colluded in the attack were arrested pending trial, former Special

¹⁴ Sahara Reporters, [Herdsmen attacks: 75 killed, 13726 displaced in Plateau](#) (27 October 2017); M. Kim, The Epoch Times, [Nigeria: truth-telling event marred by murders](#) (19 October 2021) (GRAPHIC).

¹⁵ M. Kim, The Epoch Times, [Nigeria: truth-telling event marred by murders](#) (19 October 2021) (GRAPHIC).

¹⁶ M. Kim, The Epoch Times, [Nigeria: truth-telling event marred by murders](#) (19 October 2021) (GRAPHIC).

¹⁷ Sahara Reporters, [Herdsmen attacks: 75 killed, 13726 displaced in Plateau](#) (27 October 2017).

¹⁸ Item IDs 22051, 22055, 22059.

Rapporteur Agnès Callamard noted that two years later “none of the survivors had been asked to provide testimonies or to attend trial, if trials did indeed occur.”¹⁹

13. Residents of the area remain at risk of further aggressions. In the morning of **15 October 2021**, marking the four-year anniversary of the 2017 attack,²⁰ alleged armed “Fulani militia” ambushed residents of Nkiendoro on their way to a memorial for the victims.²¹ A man and his eight-year-old son were shot dead while his 12-year-old son sustained serious gunshot injuries.²² Another man, who had offered the victims a ride to the memorial, was also reportedly killed in the attack.²³ Footage captured by fellow ICON documenters portrays two bodies covered by leaves,²⁴ and one or possibly several bodies buried in a dug-up grave.²⁵

14. In 2018, Bassa LGA of Plateau State was the stage of at least two other deadly assaults. On **8 March 2018**, only a few hours after President Muhammadu Buhari launched a five-year peace building strategic plan for Plateau State,²⁶ alleged “Fulani herdsmen” attacked the hamlet of Dan Tanko, Miango district.²⁷ Footage captured by Rev. Canon Hassan John nearly a year and a half after the attack reveals what the documenter describes as the mass grave in which four of the five victims – three of whom were minors – are buried.²⁸

¹⁹ *Report of the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, Agnès Callamard, A/HRC/47/33/Add.2* (11 June 2021), para. 56.

²⁰ See 15 October 2017, paras 10-12.

²¹ Item ID 90945. See also Foundation for Investigating Journalism, [After slaying 29, Fulani herdsmen return to Plateau community, kill three](#) (16 October 2021); Vanguard, [Three killed in attack in Plateau](#) (15 October 2021); Sahara Reporters, [Three killed, one injured as herdsmen launch fresh attack on Plateau community](#) (15 October 2015) (**GRAPHIC**); The Epoch Times, [Nigeria: truth-telling event marred by murders](#) (19 October 2021) (**GRAPHIC**).

²² G. Ogunjobi, Foundation for Investigating Journalism, [After slaying 29, Fulani herdsmen return to Plateau community, Kill Three](#) (16 October 2021).

²³ Item ID 90945; M. Kim, The Epoch Times, [Nigeria: truth-telling event marred by murders](#) (19 October 2021) (**GRAPHIC**).

²⁴ Item ID 90953.

²⁵ Item ID 90947.

²⁶ Plateau Peace Building Agency, [Plateau State Road Map to Peace: PPBA strategic action plan \(2018 – 2022\)](#) (8 March 2018).

²⁷ Item ID 62787. See also A. Oluwagbemi, The Punch, [Herdsmen kill 11, torch 50 houses in Plateau](#) (10 March 2018).

²⁸ Item IDs 62787, 62789.

15. On **3 October 2018**, up to 20 residents of the Ariri village, located five kilometres away from Dan Tanko, were killed in an attack carried out by alleged “Fulani Islamic Militias.”²⁹ A witness recounted that “[t]he killers wore black clothes; they were shouting *Allah Akbar*. They were speaking Hausa and Fulani languages and after the attack, they fled.”³⁰ Nineteen of the victims were reportedly buried in a mass grave photographed by ICON documenters.³¹ Several other village residents were also severely injured, including a youth leader who survived gunshot wounds in the back.³²

16. ICON documenters also captured footage of several incidents that took place in Kajuru LGA of Kaduna State between February and March 2019. A series of retaliatory attacks were carried out against both Adara farmers and Fulani herders, leaving more than 250 dead in what is now referred to as the 2019 Kaduna State massacre.³³ Steps initially taken by the Kaduna State Governor to address the killing spree have, to date, not resulted in any prosecutions.³⁴

17. Existing tensions between the two communities reportedly grew further following the 2018 decision of Kaduna State Governor Malam Nasir el-Rufai – a member of the Fulani ethnic community – to dissolve the Adara Chiefdom, partition the land, and partly place its people under a Fulani ruling majority.³⁵ Shortly after filing a complaint against the partition plan to the High Court of Justice of Kaduna State,³⁶ Adara residents of the village of Ungwan Barde were attacked twice – on **10 February** and **10 March 2019**.

²⁹ Item IDs 21550, 21559. See also F. Olorok, The Punch, [Herdsmen kill 19 in Plateau midnight attack](#) (5 October 2018).

³⁰ F. Olorok, The Punch, [Herdsmen kill 19 in Plateau midnight attack](#) (5 October 2018).

³¹ Item ID 21550.

³² Item ID 21559; F. Olorok, The Punch, [Herdsmen kill 19 in Plateau midnight attack](#) (5 October 2018).

³³ K. Busari, Premium Times, [Special report: after attacks, Kajuru villagers tell tales of pains, sorrow](#) (16 March 2019) (**GRAPHIC**).

³⁴ See para. 23 below.

³⁵ *Report of the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions*, Agnes Callamard, A/HRC/47/33/Add.2 (11 June 2021), para. 54; A. Tauna, Daily Post, [Kaduna Crises: Adara community reveals reason behind prolonged unrest in Kachia, Kajuru, Chikun, others](#) (7 February 2020); Kaduna State of Nigeria, [District and villages restructuring \(Amendment\) Order, 2018](#) (Gazette No. 21, Vol. 52, 16 August 2018).

³⁶ High Court of Justice of Kaduna State, Dr. Sani Mazawoje *et al.* v. the Governor of Kaduna State *et al.*, [Suit No. KDH/KAD/72/2019](#) (24 January 2019).

18. On both occasions, witnesses referred to the assailants as alleged armed “Fulanis.”³⁷ In addition to the fire destruction of residential properties,³⁸ documenters found a cartridge case in the village³⁹ and reported that 29 persons lost their lives in the two attacks.⁴⁰ Photographs circulated in the media portray dozens of bodies, including those of women and children.⁴¹ Some of the victims were reportedly buried in a mass grave photographed by ICON documenters.⁴²

19. Disputed reports suggest that on 11 February 2019, the day after the first attack on Ungwan Barde, members of the Adara community retaliated against neighbouring Fulani settlements, leaving up to 131 dead.⁴³ Two weeks later, in the early morning of **26 February 2019**, between 100 and 200 armed men reportedly launched a six-hour-long reprisal attack against the Adara village of Karamai.⁴⁴ The village head, who survived the assault, recounted that the men “came in the appearance of Fulani people. I heard what they were talking about ... They want to make sure they destroy the entire Adara land.”⁴⁵

³⁷ K. Busari, Premium Times, [Special report: after attacks, Kajuru villagers tell tales of pains, sorrow](#) (16 March 2019) (GRAPHIC); J. Shiklam, This Day, [Herdsmen kill 85 in Kaduna communities](#) (13 March 2019); Christian Solidarity Worldwide, [Militia attacks claim 120 lives since Feb](#) (14 March 2019).

³⁸ Items IDs 10581, 10588.

³⁹ Item ID 10577.

⁴⁰ Item ID 10587.

⁴¹ K. Busari, Premium Times, [Special report: after attacks, Kajuru villagers tell tales of pains, sorrow](#) (16 March 2019) (GRAPHIC).

⁴² Item ID 10587.

⁴³ The Cable, [66 killed in fresh Kaduna violence, says el-Rufai](#) (15 February 2019); Sahara Reporters, [‘It was a rumour to instigate violence’ – CAN, NEMA Say el-Rufai lied about killing of 66 people in Kaduna](#) (17 February 2019); A. Tauna, Daily Post, [Kajuru killing: Gov. El-Rufai wants to instigate a crisis in Kaduna – Adara people allege](#) (17 February 2019); F. Onuah, Reuters, [Death toll from Northwest Nigeria attack doubles to 130](#) (19 February 2019); Al Jazeera, [Death toll in last week’s Nigeria attack doubles to 130](#) (19 February 2019); K. Busari, Premium Times, [Miyetti Allah releases names of 131 victims of Kajuru, Kaduna violence](#) (22 February 2019).

⁴⁴ Item ID 63072. See also The Nation, [100 houses razed, many feared killed in Kaduna](#) (27 February 2019); S. Ojo, The Sun, [Just in: our houses, churches razed in Maro, Kajuru – Survivor](#) (26 February 2019).

⁴⁵ K. Busari, Premium Times, [Special report: after attacks, Kajuru villagers tell tales of pains, sorrow](#) (16 March 2019) (GRAPHIC).

20. In Karamai, the assailants killed more than 40 farmers⁴⁶ – a figure confirmed by Kaduna State Governor el-Rufai⁴⁷ – eight of whom were allegedly buried in a mass grave photographed by Rev. Canon Hassan John.⁴⁸ The assailants also reportedly razed more than 100 houses.⁴⁹

21. On **11 March 2019**, a day after the second attack on Ungwan Barde, the village of Dogon Noma was set on fire⁵⁰ by an alleged “Fulani militia.”⁵¹ A survivor of the attack recounted being awakened by assailants chanting *Allahu Akba! Allahu Akba*, wearing dark clothes and military camouflage, and carrying AK-47 assault rifles.⁵² Other survivors stated that the assailants “divided into three groups; one group was shooting, another set fire to homes as people ran away, and the third waited in the bush to intercept fleeing villagers.”⁵³

22. Up to 70 persons were killed in Dogon Noma,⁵⁴ 40 of whom were buried in an alleged mass grave photographed by ICON documenters.⁵⁵ The first available open-source satellite image captured after the attack, dated March 2021, shows a grey patch of approximately 40 square metres at the location of the alleged mass grave.

⁴⁶ Item ID 63072.

⁴⁷ C. Enyiocha, Channels TV, [Death toll from Kaduna attack rises to 40](#) (2 March 2019).

⁴⁸ Item IDs 63072, 63073.

⁴⁹ The Nation, [100 houses razed, many feared killed in Kaduna](#) (27 February 2019). See also Item ID 63093.

⁵⁰ Item IDs 10598, 10599, 10601, 10604.

⁵¹ I. Isine, International Centre for Investigative Reporting, [Investigation: horror in Southern Kaduna: untold story of endless massacre, plunder by suspected Fulani militia \(Part III\)](#) (23 November 2020). See also Christian Solidarity Worldwide, [Militia attacks claim 120 lives since Feb](#) (14 March 2019); Barnabas Fund, [Over 300 Nigerian Christians slain in merciless killing spree by Fulani militants since February](#) (19 March 2019).

⁵² I. Isine, International Centre for Investigative Reporting, [Investigation: horror in Southern Kaduna: untold story of endless massacre, plunder by suspected Fulani militia \(Part III\)](#) (23 November 2020).

⁵³ Christian Solidarity Worldwide, [Militia attacks claim 120 lives since Feb](#) (14 March 2019).

⁵⁴ Item ID 10591.

⁵⁵ Item ID 10605.



UP: Satellite images dated 6 November 2016 and 20 March 2021 at the location of the alleged mass grave in Dogon Noma, Kajuru LGA [© 2021 Maxar Technologies].

RIGHT: Alleged mass grave in Dogon Noma, Kajuru LGA, photographed on 22 March 2019 [Item ID 10605]



23. The latest attack on Dogon Noma prompted military aerial patrols, the imposition of a curfew,⁵⁶ and the establishment of a ten-member Judicial Commission of Inquiry mandated to investigate the 2019 Kaduna State massacre and, *inter alia*, “identify the perpetrators” and “recommend appropriate legal and other actions to be taken against those responsible for the disturbances.”⁵⁷ While the Commission issued a

⁵⁶ O. Aluko & G. Isenyo, The Punch, [Killings: military begins aerial patrol, as el-Rufai imposes curfew on Kajuru](#) (14 March 2019).

⁵⁷ B. Agande, Vanguard, [El-Rufai inaugurates commission of inquiry into Kajuru killings](#) (8 August 2019); Kaduna State Government of Nigeria, [el-Rufai inaugurates Kajuru commission of inquiry](#) (2 March 2021).

report to Kaduna State Governor el-Rufai in September 2020,⁵⁸ its findings are yet to be made public. No further action has been taken at the State or Federal levels to investigate and prosecute those responsible.⁵⁹

B. Incidents that occurred after April 2019

April 2019

24. In the night of **17 April 2019**, alleged “Fulani militants” attacked the village of Bolon, located in Demsa LGA of Adamawa State, setting fire to more than 100 houses and storage barns.⁶⁰ A mere two hours after the attack, BCDA documenters captured footage of a dying fire.⁶¹ The attack reportedly left four dead, including two children,⁶² and six injured.⁶³



Bodies of two children allegedly killed in an attack on Bolon village, Demsa LGA, photographed in the night of 17 to 18 April 2019 [Item ID 11140]

⁵⁸ D. Silas, Daily Post, [Kaduna: judicial commission of inquiry submits report on Kajuru crisis to el-Rufai](#) (3 September 2020).

⁵⁹ Former Special Rapporteur Agnès Callamard made similar findings concerning the Judicial Commission of Inquiry set up in 2016 to investigate the Zaria incident, in which seven members of the Islamic Movement of Nigeria were killed by soldiers. *See Report of the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, Agnès Callamard, A/HRC/47/33/Add.2* (11 June 2021), para. 77.

⁶⁰ International Christian Concern, [Fulani militants attack another Christian village in Nigeria](#) (24 April 2019).

⁶¹ Item ID 11170 [Transcript (00:45-01:31): “This is Bolon, a village on the Demsa Local Government, completely razed down by the Fulani herdsmen on the 17th of April 2019 at around 11 pm. You can see, the fire is still going, and four people were killed because of this attack.”].

⁶² Item ID 11140; International Christian Concern, [Fulani militants attack another Christian village in Nigeria](#) (24 April 2019).

⁶³ International Christian Concern, [Fulani militants attack another Christian village in Nigeria](#) (24 April 2019).



May 2019

25. On **3 May 2019**, alleged “Islamic Fulani terrorist[s]” set fire to several houses,⁶⁴ food barns,⁶⁵ and a church⁶⁶ in the village of Rikwechongu, located in Bassa LGA of Plateau State. While ICON documenters did not report fatalities, an article published by a media outlet in the aftermath of the attack alleges that a 62-year-old man was burnt to death while his ten-year-old daughter sustained gunshot wounds.⁶⁷

26. Two days later, on **5 May 2019**, two teenagers aged 14 and 16 were reportedly ambushed and killed by “suspected armed Fulani militants” in the village of Kpang, Barkin Ladi LGA of Plateau State.⁶⁸ ICON documenters photographed the burial of the two victims wrapped in fabric in a mass grave.⁶⁹

June 2019

27. On **17 June 2019**, at about 3:00 pm, more than 200 alleged “Fulani Militias” attacked the Irigwe village of Ungwan Rimi, located in Kauru LGA of Kaduna State.⁷⁰ The Kaduna State Police confirmed that the assailants shot and killed an eight-year-old,⁷¹ a nine-year-old,⁷² and a 17-year-old⁷³ in possible retaliation for an attack against a “Fulani camp early morning of the same date in the area.”⁷⁴ In the village, documenters found three cartridge cases.⁷⁵

⁶⁴ Item IDs 11449, 11439, 11444, 11457, 11452.

⁶⁵ Item IDs 11454, 11465.

⁶⁶ Item ID 11438.

⁶⁷ Morning Star News, [Pregnant mother among five Christians slain in North-Central Nigeria](#) (22 July 2019).

⁶⁸ Item ID 11287 (referring to JTown, [Two young teens killed by suspected Fulani militia at Heipang of Plateau State \(GRAPHIC\)](#)); ViewPoint, [2 teenagers killed in Heipang District](#) (6 May 2019).

⁶⁹ Item ID 11287.

⁷⁰ G. Bere, The Sun, [Fulani herdsmen kill seven along Plateau-Kaduna border](#) (18 June 2019). *See also* Item IDs 21646, 21653, 21659.

⁷¹ Item ID 21649.

⁷² Item ID 21653.

⁷³ Item ID 21651.

⁷⁴ G. Isenyo, The Punch, [Police confirm killing of three children in Kaduna](#) (18 June 2019); J. Shiklam, This Day, [Suspected herdsmen kill three in Kaduna community, injure several others](#) (18 June 2019); Morning Star News, [Three children among 13 Christians killed in attacks in two States in Nigeria](#) (20 June 2019).

⁷⁵ Item IDs 21659, 21646. The headstamps of the three cartridge cases photographed by documenters reveal the markings “71 06” and, possibly, “71 05,” where “71” corresponds to the manufacturer and “05” and “06” correspond to the year of manufacture. Similar cartridge cases were discussed by the United Nations Panel of Experts on the Sudan, identifying China as the presumed country of origin of the ammunitions. *See Report of the Panel of Experts*

28. On the same day, **17 June 2019**, around 12:00 pm, witnesses reported that “over 300 herdsmen” invaded the hamlet of Tumnorong of Kangbro village, Riyom LGA of Plateau State, located about 35 kilometres away from Ungwan Rimi.⁷⁶ There, alleged “Fulani herdsmen”⁷⁷ reportedly attacked the village for four hours.⁷⁸

29. In the course of the attack, the assailants damaged crops⁷⁹ and burnt down over 50 houses,⁸⁰ several food barns,⁸¹ church buildings,⁸² and a government-owned clinic.⁸³ The notes accompanying the footage captured by ICON documenters report that four persons were shot dead, including a police officer.⁸⁴ Documenters photographed the bodies of two village residents who both display a severely disfiguring, wide hole in the face⁸⁵ and that of a third deceased victim.⁸⁶ Another resident survived gunshot wounds to the nose and was brought to [REDACTED] for treatment.⁸⁷ Two days later, residents were photographed fleeing the area with their belongings.⁸⁸

July 2019

30. Bassa LGA of Plateau State was the stage of several attacks over the course of the summer of 2019. In the evening of **4 July 2019**, an alleged “Islamic Fulani militia” attacked the village of Hukke, killing three men.⁸⁹ ICON documenters photographed the bodies of the deceased before and during their burial

on the Sudan established pursuant to resolution 1591 (2005), S/2011/111 (8 March 2011), samples no. 5 and 13, pp. 22-23.

⁷⁶ Sahara Reporters, [Fulani herdsmen attack Plateau village, kill soldier, three others](#) (18 June 2019).

⁷⁷ Item ID 21858; Morning Star News, [Three children among 13 Christians killed in attacks in two States in Nigeria](#) (20 June 2019). *See also* Item ID 21696 (referring to the alleged perpetrators of the attack as “Islamic militias”).

⁷⁸ Item ID 21858.

⁷⁹ Item IDs 21851, 21856.

⁸⁰ Item IDs 21696, 21704, 21712, 21713, 21720, 21737, 21757, 21765, 21778, 21858.

⁸¹ Item IDs 21721, 21742, 21748, 21749, 21766, 21767, 21775, 21790.

⁸² Item IDs 21746, 21747.

⁸³ Item IDs 21699, 21700, 21710.

⁸⁴ Item ID 21858.

⁸⁵ Item IDs 21702, 21705.

⁸⁶ Item IDs 21734.

⁸⁷ Item ID 21661.

⁸⁸ Item ID 21804.

⁸⁹ Item ID 21907.



near the location of the attack.⁹⁰ One of the victims suffered what appears to be a gunshot wound to the side of his abdomen.⁹¹ The second victim displays a blood splatter seemingly originating from a wound on the stomach,⁹² while the third is wearing clothes evidencing considerable blood splatters.⁹³

31. On **14 July 2019**, a man and his seven-year-old son were reportedly ambushed on their way to Tafigana village.⁹⁴ Footage captured by ICON documenters portrays a gruesome execution, the father having been beheaded and his body mutilated.⁹⁵ A resident of the area reported to the media that the assailants were “Muslim Fulani herdsman” while another noted that attacks are usually carried out “on Sundays during worship hours or Thursdays when church activities are held.”⁹⁶

32. A day later, around 10:00 am on **15 July 2019**, eight alleged “Fulani herders” reportedly attacked a man and his 27-year-old pregnant wife near the village of Ancha.⁹⁷ As the couple attempted to escape, six of the assailants chased the woman while two others chased her husband.⁹⁸ The latter recalled hearing the assailants shouting “*Allahu Akbar*, we have killed infidel, we need to kill more” as he ran away.⁹⁹

33. The woman was reportedly shot in the back and did not survive the attack.¹⁰⁰ Three months later, on **12 October 2019**, her husband was killed in a renewed attack by “gunmen suspected to be Fulani

⁹⁰ Item ID 21961.

⁹¹ Item ID 21908.

⁹² Item ID 21909.

⁹³ Item ID 21910.

⁹⁴ See Global Terrorism Database, [Incident summary for GTD ID 201907140020](#) (14 July 2019); Morning Star News, [Pregnant mother among five Christians slain in North-Central Nigeria](#) (22 July 2019); T. Okanlawon, P.M. News Nigeria, [Suspected Fulani herdsman slaughter pregnant woman, 3 others in Plateau](#) (18 July 2019).

⁹⁵ Item ID 21934.

⁹⁶ Morning Star News, [Pregnant mother among five Christians slain in North-Central Nigeria](#) (22 July 2019).

⁹⁷ T. Okanlawon, P.M. News Nigeria, [Suspected Fulani herdsman slaughter pregnant woman, 3 others in Plateau](#) (18 July 2019); Morning Star News, [Pregnant mother among five Christians slain in North-Central Nigeria](#) (22 July 2019).

⁹⁸ T. Okanlawon, P.M. News Nigeria, [Suspected Fulani herdsman slaughter pregnant woman, 3 others in Plateau](#) (18 July 2019).

⁹⁹ T. Okanlawon, P.M. News Nigeria, [Suspected Fulani herdsman slaughter pregnant woman, 3 others in Plateau](#) (18 July 2019).

¹⁰⁰ Item ID 21993.



herdsmen” against the village of Ancha.¹⁰¹ His body, displaying a large open wound on the back,¹⁰² was first photographed in what appears to be a hospital bed¹⁰³ before being buried in nearby Miango town.¹⁰⁴

September 2019

34. On or around **4 September 2019**, alleged “Fulani militia” reportedly ambushed the Karav village, Miango LGA, Plateau State, beheading a 56-year-old farmer.¹⁰⁵ Footage captured by ICON documenters portrays the body of a beheaded man¹⁰⁶ with a small, circular wound on the lower abdomen.¹⁰⁷ Both the decapitation wound and the resulting pool of blood at the base of the victim’s neck appear fresh, suggesting that the photograph was captured shortly after the incident occurred.¹⁰⁸ At least six cartridge cases were found in proximity of the body.¹⁰⁹ No efforts have reportedly been made by the government in order to stop the killings.¹¹⁰

¹⁰¹ G. Bere, The Sun, [Herdsmen kill man in Plateau 3 months after killing his pregnant wife](#) (13 October 2019). See also Global Terrorism Database, [Incident summary for GTD ID 201910120013](#) (12 October 2019).

¹⁰² Item ID 62771.

¹⁰³ Item ID 62766.

¹⁰⁴ Item ID 63265.

¹⁰⁵ Item ID 62341 [Transcript (00:00-00:50): “This is ambush of Christians in Miango district, Karav village. They face series of attack. This man is a farmer, a 56-year-old farmer that was killed and beheaded for rituals purpose by the Fulani militia. Counties of this will be facing attacks like this without any effort of the government to stop the killings, which we suspect government has been involved and partnering with the Fulani, who are... who came from another country to destroy Nigerians. Just as the President once said. They are doing nothing but continuous supporting of extra-judiciary killings of poor Christians in Nigeria.”].

¹⁰⁶ Item ID 62337.

¹⁰⁷ Item ID 62336.

¹⁰⁸ Item ID 62337.

¹⁰⁹ Item IDs 62336, 62339. The headstamps of the six cartridge cases photographed by documenters in Item ID 62339 reveal the following markings (from top to bottom): “811 82”, “61 70”, “PPU 13 7.62x39”, “10 05”, “811 82”, and “71 11”. The first numbers or acronyms visible on the headstamp refer to the manufacturers and suggest that these cartridge cases are manufactured by the Chinese People’s Liberation Army factories 811 and 61, Serbian manufacturer Prvi Partizan (“PPU”), Bulgarian manufacturer Arsenal JSo (“10”), and another Chinese factory, either Norinco or possibly China Xinshidai Company (“71”). The second number visible on the headstamps possibly refers to the year of production, while “7.62x39” provides the size of the cartridge, compatible with AK-family types of assault rifles. See Amnesty International, [Harvest of death: three years of bloody clashes between farmers and herders in Nigeria](#) (17 December 2018), pp. 36-37; *Report of the Panel of Experts on the Sudan established pursuant to resolution 1591 (2005)*, S/2011/111 (8 March 2011), pp. 22-23; International Ammunition Association, Inc. [Headstamp codes](#).

¹¹⁰ Item ID 62341 [See fn. 105 for transcript].



Cartridge cases found in Karav village, Miango LGA, photographed on 4 September 2019 [Item ID 62339]

35. On **14 September 2019**, around 7:00 pm, alleged “Fulani” shot and killed a man along the Numan-Bolong road, in Demsa LGA of Adamawa State.¹¹¹ BCDA documenters photographed the body of the victim with a deep laceration across the face and fresh blood splatter on the chest.¹¹²

36. Eight days later, Adamawa State was once again the stage of an attack. In the early morning of **22 September 2019**, assailants alternatively referred to as “Fulani” by BCDA documenters, “herders” by witnesses, and “cattle rustlers” by the Adamawa State Police Command allegedly attacked the villages of Kodomti and Shaforon, located in Numan LGA.¹¹³ According to the documenters, the Nigerian Army killed one of the assailants, whose chest evidences apparent scars and bruising.¹¹⁴ The assailant was reportedly armed with an AK-47 assault rifle.¹¹⁵ Five cartridge cases were found scattered on the ground.¹¹⁶

¹¹¹ Item IDs 62690, 62691, 62435.

¹¹² Item IDs 62690, 62691, 62435.

¹¹³ Item IDs 62666, 62677; B. Edokwe, Barrister NG, [Suspected herdsmen kill 2 residents, shoot soldier in Adamawa](#) (22 September 2019).

¹¹⁴ Item ID 62666.

¹¹⁵ Item ID 62668.

¹¹⁶ Item ID 62672.



37. In the attack, the assailants killed a man and injured five persons.¹¹⁷ Among the injured, the documenters identified the [REDACTED] and a woman shot in the leg and breast, respectively.¹¹⁸

38. Only two days after members of the Irigwe and Fulani communities signed a document by the Plateau State Peace Building Agency agreeing to peaceful co-existence in Bassa LGA,¹¹⁹ the village of Hukke was the stage of an unforeseen attack by alleged “Fulani herdsmen.”¹²⁰ In the morning of **23 September 2019**, the assailants reportedly killed two women and the village’s community leader.¹²¹ Footage captured by ICON documenters portrays the bodies of the alleged victims. While the victims’ injuries are not readily visible, their clothes evidence considerable blood splatters.¹²²

October 2019

39. In October 2019, BCDA documenters reported three attacks on Numan LGA of Adamawa State. On **10 October 2019**, around 8:00 am, alleged “Fulani” shot and killed two men in Numan LGA of Adamawa State.¹²³ Several photographs reveal that one of the victims was shot in the base of the neck.¹²⁴ The second victim, whose shirt is stained with blood,¹²⁵ displays a deep, circular wound akin to one caused by a gunshot in the upper arm.¹²⁶

40. Numan LGA was the stage of two further attacks by alleged “Fulani herdsmen” in the course of a week. In the morning of **26 October 2019**, BCDA documenters reported that an attack on the village of [REDACTED] left a man and a boy injured by gunshot.¹²⁷ Documenters photographed a man wearing clothes

¹¹⁷ Item ID 62666.

¹¹⁸ Item ID 62677.

¹¹⁹ The News Nigeria, [World Peace Day: Plateau Irigwe, Fulani leaders meet for first time in 6 years](#) (21 September 2019).

¹²⁰ G. Bere, The Sun, [Community leader, 2 women murdered in Plateau](#) (24 September 2019); M-T. Nanlong, Vanguard, [Plateau community witnesses fresh attack, calls for improved security](#) (23 September 2019).

¹²¹ G. Bere, The Sun, [Community leader, 2 women murdered in Plateau](#) (24 September 2019); M-T. Nanlong, Vanguard, [Plateau community witnesses fresh attack, calls for improved security](#) (23 September 2019).

¹²² Item IDs 62679, 62699, 62701.

¹²³ Item IDs 62755, 62760. While GPS coordinates are not available, a cluster of cell tower data points indicates that the documenters captured footage near the town of Numan.

¹²⁴ Item IDs 62752, 62755.

¹²⁵ Item ID 62760.

¹²⁶ Item ID 62753.

¹²⁷ Item IDs 62893, 62888.

stained with blood who appears to have recently been shot in the forearm¹²⁸ and a boy with a scar, or possibly scab, on the calf.¹²⁹

41. Five days later, on **31 October 2019**, BCDA documenters photographed up to seven injured men in an area identified by a cluster of cell tower data points as [REDACTED], Numan LGA of Adamawa State.¹³⁰ Some of the victims were shot while others were cut, with evidence of injuries in several parts of their bodies, including the face, head, hands, thigh and, possibly, chest.¹³¹

December 2019

42. On **8 December 2019**, around 6:30 pm, alleged “Islamic Fulani militias” reportedly killed five and injured three at the end of an annual football tournament organised to foster peace and unity in the Zunuruk community, Kauru LGA of Kaduna State, home to the Ogorok people.¹³² Up to three cartridge cases were reportedly found at the scene¹³³ while other recordings portray a dark stain on the ground.¹³⁴

43. Despite the attack taking place less than a kilometre away from a permanent police checkpoint,¹³⁵ the National President of the Southern Kaduna Peoples Union, Comrade Jonathan Asake, reported that “villagers and surviving victims insist that for over one hour, no help came their way from either the police or any other security forces or the military who all have intimidating presence in and around those areas.”¹³⁶ Ten days later, documenters reported that while a “Fulani mobile police officer” was identified as a suspect in the attack, no arrest had been made.¹³⁷

¹²⁸ Item IDs 62893, 62898.

¹²⁹ Item IDs 62890, 62888.

¹³⁰ Item IDs 63017, 63018, 63019, 63020, 63021, 63022, 63023.

¹³¹ Item IDs 63017, 63018, 63019, 63020, 63021, 63022, 63023.

¹³² Item ID 63301.

¹³³ Item IDs 63339, 63340. *See also* Item ID 63342 [Transcript (00:00-00:06): “Empty shells, found at the scene of the attack.”].

¹³⁴ Item ID 63345 [Transcript (00:00-00:28): “This is blood since from last week, after the attack where five were killed by Islamic Fulani Militias. This part, after killing them they smoked their cigarette and throw it there.”].

¹³⁵ Item ID 63299.

¹³⁶ A. Tauna, Daily Post, [Renewed attacks: Southern Kaduna people cry out](#) (13 December 2019).

¹³⁷ Item ID 63301.



44. The deceased were identified by the media.¹³⁸ The three victims injured in the attack were rushed to the [REDACTED] and the [REDACTED] for treatment.¹³⁹ Footage captured by ICON documenters a week after the attack portrays two men sitting on hospital beds. The large bandages covering one of the victims' left leg¹⁴⁰ and the other's chest¹⁴¹ suggest that they both suffered extensive injuries.

45. Two days later, on **10 December 2019**, around 4:00 pm, alleged "Fulani gunmen" reportedly ambushed and killed two women on the Miango-Chawai road of Plateau State.¹⁴² While ICON documenters photographed the bodies of the two women lying on the ground,¹⁴³ the quality of the footage does not make it possible to establish where they were fatally wounded. The same assailants then reportedly moved to the village of Kurunkwa, allegedly killing a man and a boy with AK-47 assault rifles.¹⁴⁴

46. On or around **11 December 2019**, alleged "Fulani gun men" reportedly ambushed¹⁴⁵ two persons in an area south-east of Fadan Chawai, Kauru LGA of Kaduna State.¹⁴⁶ Footage captured by ICON documenters portrays the bodies of a young woman and of a man lying on makeshift stretches.¹⁴⁷ The woman appears to have bled from the back of the neck.¹⁴⁸ The man, whose hands are tied together with rope, appears to have sustained a laceration injury to the right arm.¹⁴⁹

47. On **21 December 2019**, ICON documenters captured footage near the village of Karambana, east of the Garun Kurama-Pari road, Lere LGA of Kaduna State.¹⁵⁰ Photographs display a corrugated metal door

¹³⁸ G. Isenyo, The Punch, [ICYMI: gunmen kill five football fans in Kaduna attack](#) (14 December 2019); A. Tauna, Daily Post, [Renewed attacks: Southern Kaduna people cry out](#) (13 December 2019).

¹³⁹ G. Isenyo, The Punch, [ICYMI: gunmen kill five football fans in Kaduna attack](#) (14 December 2019); A. Tauna, Daily Post, [Renewed attacks: Southern Kaduna people cry out](#) (13 December 2019).

¹⁴⁰ Item ID 63301.

¹⁴¹ Item ID 63302.

¹⁴² Item ID 63287.

¹⁴³ Item IDs 63285, 63287.

¹⁴⁴ Item ID 63287.

¹⁴⁵ Item ID 63292.

¹⁴⁶ Item IDs 63291, 63292.

¹⁴⁷ Item IDs 63291, 63292.

¹⁴⁸ Item ID 63291.

¹⁴⁹ Item ID 63292.

¹⁵⁰ Item ID 73598, 73599. *See also* Item ID 73655 [Transcript (00:00 - 00:13): "Five were killed here in this room by suspected Fulani. I witness this – it's so bad."].

with small circular holes visible on the surface,¹⁵¹ as well as the inside of a room with red stains visible on one of the walls, and several items of clothing, sheets, and shoes scattered on the floor.¹⁵² A video reveals further blood stains on the room's walls.¹⁵³ While the voice-over to the video states that five persons were killed by "suspected Fulani,"¹⁵⁴ none of the victims were expressly identified.

48. Alleged "Fulani herdsmen" struck again in the evening of **26 December 2019**.¹⁵⁵ After the Boxing Day football match organised in Miango town, the assailants reportedly killed a 22-year-old man and injured another person on [REDACTED] in Bassa LGA of Plateau State.¹⁵⁶ The deceased, who appears to have sustained a gunshot wound to the chest,¹⁵⁷ was reportedly buried the morning after the attack.¹⁵⁸

January 2020

49. The village of Kulben, in Mangu LGA of Plateau State was attacked by alleged "Fulani herdsmen" on **8 or 9 January 2020**.¹⁵⁹ Up to 13 persons were killed¹⁶⁰ and an unknown number of others seriously injured in the course of the attack were brought to the [REDACTED] for treatment.¹⁶¹ A few days later, ICON documenters photographed two injured men in hospital beds in [REDACTED], Mangu LGA.¹⁶² One of the victims has a cast on the left leg, starting from his foot and all the way up above the knee.¹⁶³ The other victim has the right foot and ankle wrapped in bandages, as well as a plaster on the right

¹⁵¹ Item ID 73598.

¹⁵² Item ID 73599.

¹⁵³ Item ID 73655 [*See* fn. 150 for transcript].

¹⁵⁴ Item ID 73655 [*See* fn. 150 for transcript].

¹⁵⁵ Item ID 63348.

¹⁵⁶ Item ID 63348.

¹⁵⁷ Item ID 73604.

¹⁵⁸ Item IDs 73621, 63348.

¹⁵⁹ ECCVN, [Fulani herdsmen killed 13 people in Kombun District of Mangu LG](#) (8 January 2020).

¹⁶⁰ ECCVN, [Fulani herdsmen killed 13 people in Kombun District of Mangu LG](#) (8 January 2020); J. Agbakwuru, Vanguard, [Cattle rustlers: 13 killed in Mangu attacks — Gov Lalong](#) (10 January 2020); F. Olowolagba, Daily Post, [Plateau Attack: Buhari reacts as gunmen kill 12 at Mangu](#) (10 January 2020).

¹⁶¹ ECCVN, [Fulani herdsmen killed 13 people in Kombun District of Mangu LG](#) (8 January 2020).

¹⁶² Item IDs 73405, 73406.

¹⁶³ Item ID 73405.



arm.¹⁶⁴ Given the date and location of capture, the footage may be linked to the attack reported on by media outlets.

50. On **26 and 27 January 2020**, alleged “Muslim Fulani herdsmen” attacked the villages of Kwatas, Rubboi, and Marish in the suburbs of Bokkos, Plateau State.¹⁶⁵ The attacks on the three villages are reportedly connected to an earlier attack allegedly carried out by “gunmen suspected to be herdsmen” on the neighbouring village of Kulben, Mangu LGA, that claimed the lives of at least ten persons.¹⁶⁶ With the help of Kwatas vigilantes, seven suspects were arrested for the Kulben attack.¹⁶⁷ The media outlet *Vanguard* suggests a link between these arrests and the later attacks on the villages of Kwatas, Rubboi, and Marish, adding that Fulani villages were also sacked and a mosque razed as local residents reacted to the killings.¹⁶⁸

51. According to the former Speaker of the Plateau State House of Assembly, Titus Ayuba Alams, “herdsmen” first attacked the village of Kwatas on 26 January 2020, between 7:00 pm and 4:00 am, before attacking Ruboi and Marish on 27 January 2020, around the same time.¹⁶⁹

52. ICON documenters went to the scene of one of the attacks and photographed bloodstains on the ground where some of the victims were allegedly killed.¹⁷⁰ While the exact number of fatalities is unknown, media outlets consistently mention that at least ten and 17 persons were killed in the first and second attack, respectively.¹⁷¹ Documenters report that the attacks led to the killing of 26 persons, 21 of whom were identified in one of their photographs.¹⁷² Four of the victims were reportedly buried on 27 January 2020.¹⁷³ Twenty of the remaining victims were buried in Kwatas, while two others were buried in their respective

¹⁶⁴ Item ID 73406.

¹⁶⁵ Morning Star News, [Violence in Plateau State, Nigeria escalates with more Muslim Fulani herdsmen attacks](#) (30 January 2020).

¹⁶⁶ M-T. Nanlong, Vanguard, [13 killed in fresh attack in Plateau village](#) (27 January 2020).

¹⁶⁷ M-T. Nanlong, Vanguard, [13 killed in fresh attack in Plateau village](#) (27 January 2020).

¹⁶⁸ M-T. Nanlong, Vanguard, [13 killed in fresh attack in Plateau village](#) (27 January 2020).

¹⁶⁹ Morning Star News, [Violence in Plateau State, Nigeria escalates with more Muslim Fulani herdsmen attacks](#) (30 January 2020).

¹⁷⁰ Item ID 73683.

¹⁷¹ Morning Star News, [Violence in Plateau State, Nigeria escalates with more Muslim Fulani herdsmen attacks](#) (30 January 2020). See also I. Abdulsalami Ahovi, The Guardian Nigeria, [23 given mass burial after Plateau killings](#) (31 January 2020); M-T. Nanlong, Vanguard, [13 killed in fresh attack in Plateau village](#) (27 January 2020).

¹⁷² Item ID 73556.

¹⁷³ Item ID 73530.



communities in the following days.¹⁷⁴ Five persons were also allegedly wounded in the course of the attacks,¹⁷⁵ and several houses and a church were burnt or destroyed.¹⁷⁶

53. A spokesperson for the State Police Command confirmed that, upon receiving information about the attacks, officers were immediately deployed to the area in an effort to restore peace and apprehend the perpetrators.¹⁷⁷ According to the Deputy Chairman of the Nigerian Senate Committee on Defence, however, “attacks on the Christian communities raise questions on the readiness of security agencies to protect people against herdsmen onslaughts.”¹⁷⁸ Plateau State Governor Simon Bako Lalong directed security agencies to “go after those who are behind these attacks and their sponsors so they can face the law and be taught a lesson.”¹⁷⁹

February 2020

54. On **23 February 2020**, around 7:30 pm, alleged “Fulani herdsmen” reportedly killed a 48-year-old vigilante officer, in Kpara village, Bassa LGA of Plateau State.¹⁸⁰ Footage captured by ICON documenters portrays the body of a man with a laceration on the throat and the side of the face.¹⁸¹

March 2020

55. On **5 March 2020**, BCDA documenters photographed three injured men lying on hospital beds. The first man appears to have sustained injuries to the lower back and right foot.¹⁸² The second man appears to have sustained injuries to the genitals, right thigh, and left hand.¹⁸³ The third man appears to have

¹⁷⁴ Item IDs 73530, 73533. The photographs, captured in Kwatas, portray at least 18 coffins lying in a large ditch dug in the ground.

¹⁷⁵ Morning Star News, [Violence in Plateau State, Nigeria escalates with more Muslim Fulani herdsmen attacks](#) (30 January 2020); M-T. Nanlong, Vanguard, [13 killed in fresh attack in Plateau village](#) (27 January 2020).

¹⁷⁶ Morning Star News, [Violence in Plateau State, Nigeria escalates with more Muslim Fulani herdsmen attacks](#) (30 January 2020).

¹⁷⁷ M-T. Nanlong, Vanguard, [13 killed in fresh attack in Plateau village](#) (27 January 2020).

¹⁷⁸ Morning Star News, [Violence in Plateau State, Nigeria escalates with more Muslim Fulani herdsmen attacks](#) (30 January 2020).

¹⁷⁹ M-T. Nanlong, Vanguard, [13 killed in fresh attack in Plateau village](#) (27 January 2020).

¹⁸⁰ Item ID 73981. See also Item ID 73982 (portraying an ID badge that appears to belong to the victim).

¹⁸¹ Item ID 73981.

¹⁸² Item ID 74922.

¹⁸³ Item ID 74916.



sustained an injury to the lower back.¹⁸⁴ According to the documenters, alleged “Fulanis” injured the victims by gunshot in the village of █████, located in Numan LGA of Adamawa State.¹⁸⁵ The victims were then brought to the █████ for treatment.¹⁸⁶ The assailants reportedly also stole eight sheep.¹⁸⁷

56. ICON documenters report that, a week later, on **12 March 2020**, two men were ambushed and killed by “suspected Islamic Fulani militias” while on their way home from Nkiendoro, located in Bassa LGA of Plateau State.¹⁸⁸ The bodies of the two men were photographed on several occasions before¹⁸⁹ and during their burial.¹⁹⁰ Based on the blood visible on his t-shirt, one of the men appears to have sustained an injury to the right eye and to the right shoulder or arm.¹⁹¹

57. Shortly after, another attack was reported on **20 March 2020** in Plateau State, when alleged “Fulani gunmen” killed two soldiers¹⁹² patrolling in the Miango community along the Ancha road, Bassa LGA.¹⁹³ ICON documenters captured footage of the bodies of two men wearing camouflage uniforms¹⁹⁴ and of darker marks visible on the ground at the location of the attack.¹⁹⁵

58. Witnesses recount that the assailants shouted “*Allahu Akbar*” as they reached the scene¹⁹⁶ while a villager heard gunshots.¹⁹⁷ When the sounds ceased, the bodies of the two soldiers, whose rifles were

¹⁸⁴ Item ID 74923.

¹⁸⁵ Item ID 74923.

¹⁸⁶ Item ID 74923.

¹⁸⁷ Item ID 74923.

¹⁸⁸ Item ID 74178.

¹⁸⁹ Item ID 74176.

¹⁹⁰ Item ID 74178.

¹⁹¹ Item ID 74176.

¹⁹² Item ID 74256 [Transcript (00:00-01:24): “[Inaudible] Nigeria [inaudible] Jos, Jos [inaudible] their blood, blood [inaudible] revenge [inaudible] they are here for protection [inaudible] advice [inaudible] very respectful ICC, very peacefully [inaudible].”].

¹⁹³ J. Abraham, The Punch, [Gunmen kill two soldiers in Plateau, steal guns](#) (22 March 2020).

¹⁹⁴ Item ID 74256 [See fn. 192 for transcript].

¹⁹⁵ Item ID 74258 [Transcript (00:00-00:56): “This, this is where the two armed Fulani militias killed two Nigerian army yesterday. It was around 6.15 when the villagers heard gunshots and immediately they came out from their houses before the [inaudible]. They saw the Fulanis down hill there, they were shouting *Allah Akbar*. God has given them victory. They collected two rifles from the soldiers. It is so very unfortunate. The road is bad, the soldiers came out for patrol to look over the communities. That’s how they were targeted.”].

¹⁹⁶ Item ID 74258 [See fn. 195 for transcript].

¹⁹⁷ J. Abraham, The Punch, [Gunmen kill two soldiers in Plateau, steal guns](#) (22 March 2020).



reportedly stolen, were discovered on the ground.¹⁹⁸ The two soldiers are believed to have been stationed in the area as part of Operation Safe Haven, set up to end incessant killings among communities in Plateau and restore law and order.¹⁹⁹ The Nigerian Army, said to be unwilling to disclose the soldiers' identities, reportedly withdrew from the area following the attack.²⁰⁰

59. Bassa LGA of Plateau State was the scene of another attack by “suspected Fulani herdsmen” in March 2020.²⁰¹ A few days after the killing of the two soldiers, the neighbouring communities of Ngbra Zongo and Kperie, located in the Kwall district, were both attacked on **24 March 2020**.²⁰² According to the Plateau State Police, the assailants killed three children aged one, three, and six years old in Ngbra Zongo.²⁰³ Footage captured by ICON documenters portrays the bodies of three children lying in bed.²⁰⁴ One of the children appears to have been injured to the eye.²⁰⁵ While no other injuries are readily visible, the children's clothing and bedding are stained in blood.²⁰⁶ The assailants reportedly aimed at targeting the economic assets of the community, burning down houses, farms, and farm stocks in barns.²⁰⁷

¹⁹⁸ J. Abraham, The Punch, [Gunmen kill two soldiers in Plateau, steal guns](#) (22 March 2020).

¹⁹⁹ T. Bali, HumAngle Media Limited, [Killings and more killings turn Plateau villages to grave yards](#) (13 April 2020). Operation Safe Haven is a joint military task force set up in 2010 to maintain peace in Plateau State. The task force comprises the following actors: Nigerian Army, Navy, Air Force, Police, Nigerian Security and Civil Defense Corps and Department of State Security. With its operational command based in Jos, Operation Safe Haven is now in charge of the security of both the lives and properties in Plateau, Bauchi and parts of Southern Kaduna States. For more information, see Global Security, [Plateau State Operation Safe Haven](#).

²⁰⁰ T. Bali, HumAngle Media Limited, [Killings and more killings turn Plateau villages to grave yards](#) (13 April 2020).

²⁰¹ G. Bere, The Sun, [Police confirm 5 dead in fresh Plateau attacks](#) (26 March 2020).

²⁰² G. Bere, The Sun, [Police confirm 5 dead in fresh Plateau attacks](#) (26 March 2020).

²⁰³ G. Bere, The Sun, [Police confirm 5 dead in fresh Plateau attacks](#) (26 March 2020).

²⁰⁴ Item IDs 74294, 74295.

²⁰⁵ Item ID 74294.

²⁰⁶ Item IDs 74294, 74295.

²⁰⁷ T. Bali, HumAngle Media Limited, [Killings and more killings turn Plateau villages to grave yards](#) (13 April 2020).



LEFT: Satellite images dated 19 January 2019 and 5 May 2020, showing houses allegedly damaged in the 24 March 2020 attack on Ngbra Zongo, Bassa LGA [© 2021 Maxar Technologies].

RIGHT: Bodies of two children allegedly killed in the attack, photographed on 25 March 2020 [Item ID 74294]

60. On the same day, **24 March 2020**, the assailants reportedly moved to the neighbouring town of Kperie killing two women.²⁰⁸ Photographs of the victims evidence that their clothing and bedding are covered in blood.²⁰⁹ An [REDACTED] woman and a [REDACTED] man were also injured in the attack and brought to a hospital for treatment.²¹⁰ While the quality of the footage makes it difficult to identify the woman's injuries,²¹¹ the man has some plasters and a cotton bud on the forearm and elbow.²¹² According

²⁰⁸ G. Bere, The Sun, [Police confirm 5 dead in fresh Plateau attacks](#) (26 March 2020); T. Bali, HumAngle Media Limited, [Killings and more killings turn Plateau villages to grave yards](#) (13 April 2020).

²⁰⁹ Item ID 74291, 74303.

²¹⁰ Item ID 74298. See also T. Bali, HumAngle Media Limited, [Killings and more killings turn Plateau villages to grave yards](#) (13 April 2020).

²¹¹ Item ID 74288.

²¹² Item ID 74298.

to what appears to be an obituary flyer, a 67-year-old woman also died, but the cause of her death remains unclear.²¹³

61. Only a few days later, on **31 March 2020**, more than 200 alleged “Fulani ... together with Rukuba people” reportedly attacked the village of Ancha, located in Bassa LGA, Plateau State.²¹⁴ According to Nuhu Nkali, Chairman-elect for the Miango Youth Development Association, “it is clear that they have marked out the community for attacks because it is the same village where two soldiers were killed a few days ago by the same assailants.”²¹⁵ A community leader recounted that in the afternoon of the attack, villagers had noticed “strange faces moving around the neighbouring community of Huk[k]e” and had alerted security agencies.²¹⁶ The latter, however, only intervened after the end of the attack, which started at 10:00 pm and lasted for about four hours.²¹⁷

62. In the early morning of the following day, ICON documenters photographed the bodies of two men lying inside two different structures.²¹⁸ Three hours later, they captured footage portraying the burial of three persons wrapped in colourful sheets.²¹⁹ Among the deceased was a three-month pregnant woman.²²⁰ Three other persons reportedly sustained gunshot injuries.²²¹ Documenters also photographed at least five

²¹³ Item ID 74289.

²¹⁴ Item ID 74271.

²¹⁵ S. Adinoyi, This Day, [Gunmen kill three persons, injure seven in Plateau](#) (2 April 2020).

²¹⁶ G. Bere, The Sun, [3 killed, 2 injured, houses burnt in fresh Plateau attack](#) (2 April 2020).

²¹⁷ G. Bere, The Sun, [3 killed, 2 injured, houses burnt in fresh Plateau attack](#) (2 April 2020).

²¹⁸ Item IDs 74271, 74278.

²¹⁹ Item ID 74299 [Transcript (00:00-00:15): “Yirigwe! We are one! A misfortune has happened again. This land, except it is not God that has given us, the enemies will take it away. But since is God that has given us it can’t be grabbed by the enemies.” (Unofficial translation)].

²²⁰ Item ID 74271. *See also* T. Bali, HumAngle Media Limited, [Killings and more killings turn Plateau villages to grave yards](#) (13 April 2020).

²²¹ Item ID 74271; T. Bali, HumAngle Media Limited, [Killings and more killings turn Plateau villages to grave yards](#) (13 April 2020).



cartridge cases in the area²²² and reported that 17 houses²²³ and food barns,²²⁴ as well as five cars²²⁵ and a motorcycle²²⁶ suffered fire damage.²²⁷

April 2020

63. The stream of attacks in Plateau State continued in the first half of April 2020. The day after the attack on Ancha, the neighbouring village of Hukke, also located in Bassa LGA, was attacked on **1 April 2020**, at about 7:10 pm, by about 300 armed men.²²⁸ A witness claims that alleged “Fulani herdsman” burnt up to 24 houses and killed seven persons – mainly “elderly Christians who were unable to escape” aged 67 to 90 – while other members of the community managed to hide in the surrounding bushes.²²⁹

64. ICON documenters visited the village the day after the attack and captured footage portraying the bodies of at least six persons, possibly seven, lying in houses evidencing severe fire damage.²³⁰ All the victims were burnt beyond recognition, with some human remains not readily identifiable.²³¹ The documenters also photographed seven bodies wrapped in colourful sheets lying at the bottom of a ditch that was dug into the ground.²³² The remaining photos portray houses and structures that have sustained severe fire damage, with some smoke and flames still visible,²³³ and up to six empty cartridge cases recovered in the area.²³⁴

²²² Item IDs 74273, 74274, 74281, 74283.

²²³ Item IDs 74276, 74280.

²²⁴ Item ID 74266.

²²⁵ Item IDs 74275, 74272.

²²⁶ Item ID 74277.

²²⁷ Item ID 74271; T. Bali, HumAngle Media Limited, [Killings and more killings turn Plateau villages to grave yards](#) (13 April 2020).

²²⁸ Item ID 74331; T. Bali, HumAngle Media Limited, [Killings and more killings turn Plateau villages to grave yards](#) (13 April 2020).

²²⁹ Morning Star News, [Fulani herdsman in Nigeria kill more than 60 Christians in five weeks, sources say](#) (5 April 2020).

²³⁰ Item IDs 74331, 74350, 74335, 74356, 74323, 74326.

²³¹ Item IDs 74331, 74350, 74335, 74356, 74323, 74326.

²³² Item ID 74337.

²³³ Item IDs 74365, 74367, 74369, 74362, 74370, 74319, 74345, 74348.

²³⁴ Item ID 74325, 74357, 74359.



Victim whose body was burnt in the alleged attack on Hukke village, Bassa LGA, photographed on 2 April 2020 [Item ID 74335]

65. The senator representing Plateau North in the National Assembly, Istifanus Gyang, called on both the police and Operation Safe Haven “to rise up to their primary responsibility of securing the lives of citizens both in the cities and rural areas as the lives of rural dwellers matter as much as those in urban areas.”²³⁵ While the spokesman for the Plateau State Police Command, ASP Ubah Gabriel Ogaba, claimed that the police would ensure that assailants are brought to justice,²³⁶ to date no such action appears to have been taken.

²³⁵ J. Francis, Jane Francis Blog, [#Fresh attack: herdsmen storm Plateau community, kill seven, burn 23 houses](#) (3 April 2020) (GRAPHIC).

²³⁶ J. Francis, Jane Francis Blog, [#Fresh attack: herdsmen storm Plateau community, kill seven, burn 23 houses](#) (3 April 2020) (GRAPHIC).

66. On or around **3 April 2020**, alleged “Fulani herdsmen” attacked the nearby village of Nkiendoro,²³⁷ reportedly killing three persons.²³⁸ ICON documenters captured photographs evidencing signs of the brutal execution of three men whose bodies display gunshot wounds and lacerations.²³⁹ Five cartridge cases were also photographed in the area, two of which appear to not have been fired.²⁴⁰ In addition to the killings, assailants reportedly set the village on fire,²⁴¹ torching up to 33 buildings,²⁴² including a church²⁴³ and a primary school,²⁴⁴ as well as several farm stock barns.²⁴⁵ The attack prompted villagers to leave their community.²⁴⁶



Burning fire inside a house located in Nkiendoro village, Bassa LGA, photographed on 3 April 2020 [Item ID 74394]

²³⁷ Item ID 74452; T. Bali, HumAngle Media Limited, [Killings and more killings turn Plateau villages to grave yards](#) (13 April 2020); A. Pwanagba, Daily Post, [Plateau community raises alarm over renewed herdsmen attacks, lament killing of 15 people](#) (3 April 2020). See also Morning Star News, [Fulani herdsmen in Nigeria kill more than 60 Christians in five weeks, sources say](#) (5 April 2020).

²³⁸ T. Bali, HumAngle Media Limited, [Killings and more killings turn Plateau villages to grave yards](#) (13 April 2020); A. Pwanagba, Daily Post, [Plateau community raises alarm over renewed herdsmen attacks, lament killing of 15 people](#) (3 April 2020).

²³⁹ Item ID 74466, 74467, 74444, 74465.

²⁴⁰ Item IDs 74455, 74456.

²⁴¹ T. Bali, HumAngle Media Limited, [Killings and more killings turn Plateau villages to grave yards](#) (13 April 2020); A. Pwanagba, Daily Post, [Plateau community raises alarm over renewed herdsmen attacks, lament killing of 15 people](#) (3 April 2020).

²⁴² Item IDs 74418, 74410, 74407, 74434, 74419, 74392, 74394, 74430. See also T. Bali, HumAngle Media Limited, [Killings and more killings turn Plateau villages to grave yards](#) (13 April 2020).

²⁴³ Item ID 74390.

²⁴⁴ Item ID 74400.

²⁴⁵ Item IDs 74433, 74452, 74437, 74420.

²⁴⁶ Item ID 74440.



67. On **7 April 2020**, at around 7:30 pm, about ten Fulani-speaking assailants allegedly attacked the village of [REDACTED], in the Kwall district of Miango local council, Plateau State.²⁴⁷ A man was injured²⁴⁸ while [REDACTED] children, aged [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] and the village's pastor were killed by gunshot.²⁴⁹ Two days after the attack, Rev. Canon Hassan John photographed the injured victim with a large bandage slightly stained in blood wrapped around the left thigh.²⁵⁰

68. On **7 or 8 April 2020**, the Irigwe village of Ngbra Zongo was attacked for the second time in two weeks. The attack lasted for about four hours.²⁵¹ A survivor recounted that the attackers were "Muslim Fulani herdsmen" as "[t]hey were communicating with themselves in Fulfulde, the herdsmen's language."²⁵² According to Nuhu Nkali, Chairman of the Miango Youth Development Association, "[t]he gunmen had a field day because there was no security men on ground to repel them. Security men in the community were withdrawn about one month ago after two of their men were killed."²⁵³ A local resident was allegedly tortured by the Plateau Police for speaking up about the withdrawal of security forces from the area.²⁵⁴ Another villager added that security officials usually only intervene after killings have occurred, as was the case with the attack on the Ngbra Zongo community.²⁵⁵

69. Four persons, including a ten-year-old child, were killed in the attack.²⁵⁶ One of the victims was photographed with a large open wound on the cheek.²⁵⁷ While other victims' injuries are not readily visible,

²⁴⁷ Rev. Canon Hassan John's interview with the victim, dated 9 April 2020.

²⁴⁸ Item ID 74495; Rev. Canon Hassan John's interview with the victim, dated 9 April 2020.

²⁴⁹ Rev. Canon Hassan John's interview with the victim, dated 9 April 2020.

²⁵⁰ Item ID 74495.

²⁵¹ J. Abraham, The Punch, [Pastor, 10-year-old, two others killed in Plateau raid](#) (9 April 2020).

²⁵² Morning Star News, [Pastor, 10-year-old boy and two other Christians killed in Plateau State, Nigeria](#) (9 April 2020).

²⁵³ G. Bere, The Sun, [Pastor, three others killed in fresh Plateau attack](#) (8 April 2020).

²⁵⁴ L. Zongo, Zenger News, [Nigerian army interrogates critic from village targeted by Muslim terrorists](#) (16 April 2020).

²⁵⁵ J. Abraham, The Punch, [Pastor, 10-year-old, two others killed in Plateau raid](#) (9 April 2020).

²⁵⁶ The Sun, [Pastor, three others killed in fresh Plateau attack](#) (8 April 2020); J. Abraham, The Punch, [Pastor, 10-year-old, two others killed in Plateau raid](#) (9 April 2020).

²⁵⁷ Item ID 74471.



their clothes are stained with blood.²⁵⁸ The documenters also photographed blood stains on the surrounding ground²⁵⁹ and dozens of empty cartridge cases scattered in the area.²⁶⁰

70. Only a week later, on **14 April 2020**, around 7:00 or 7:30 pm, the village of Hura, in the Kwall district of Miango LGA, Plateau State, was attacked.²⁶¹ A resident claims that the villagers, having been tipped off that “herdsmen, part of the Fulani ethnic group” would be attacking three villages in the district, alerted the local authorities of the impending attacks.²⁶² The military only reached the area after the attack was over.²⁶³ According to a witness, the “Fulanis came and almost surrounded the village shouting in their language; some shouting ‘*Allahu akbar*, come out, come out!’ amidst gunshots.”²⁶⁴

71. The attack reportedly lasted for two hours.²⁶⁵ Most of the villagers ran to the nearby bushes, but nine were killed and two injured.²⁶⁶ Seven of the deceased, including a three-year old child, two five-year-old children, and a pregnant woman, were identified.²⁶⁷ The bodies were buried the day after the attack in two separate graves at the eastern end of the village.²⁶⁸ Twenty-eight houses were also damaged to various degrees in the course of the attack.²⁶⁹

²⁵⁸ Item IDs 74474, 74475, 74477.

²⁵⁹ Item IDs 74474, 74475, 74477.

²⁶⁰ Item IDs 74476, 74478, 74480, 74481, 74483, 74484, 74486, 74487, 74488, 74490, 74491, 74492, 74494.

²⁶¹ L. Zongo, Zenger News, [9 Christians dead in latest Nigeria attack by Muslim tribesmen](#) (16 April 2020); The 247 U Reports, [Fulani attack on Hura village on Tuesday 14th April 2020](#) (17 April 2020).

²⁶² Zenger News, [9 Christians dead in latest Nigeria attack by Muslim tribesmen](#) (16 April 2020).

²⁶³ Zenger News, [9 Christians dead in latest Nigeria attack by Muslim tribesmen](#) (16 April 2020).

²⁶⁴ ECCVN, [Five-year old murdered, as Fulani militant attacks in Nigeria lockdown](#) (14 April 2020); The 247 U Reports, [Fulani attack on Hura village on Tuesday 14th April 2020](#) (17 April 2020).

²⁶⁵ L. Zongo, Zenger News, [9 Christians dead in latest Nigeria attack by Muslim tribesmen](#) (16 April 2020).

²⁶⁶ L. Zongo, Zenger News, [9 Christians dead in latest Nigeria attack by Muslim tribesmen](#) (16 April 2020).

²⁶⁷ The 247 U Reports, [Fulani attack on Hura village on Tuesday 14th April 2020](#) (17 April 2020) (**GRAPHIC**); ECCVN, [Five-year old murdered, as Fulani militant attacks in Nigeria lockdown](#) (14 April 2020); L. Zongo, Zenger News, [9 Christians dead in latest Nigeria attack by Muslim tribesmen](#) (16 April 2020).

²⁶⁸ The 247 U Reports, [Fulani attack on Hura village on Tuesday 14th April 2020](#) (17 April 2020); ECCVN, [Five-year old murdered, as Fulani militant attacks in Nigeria lockdown](#) (14 April 2020).

²⁶⁹ The 247 U Reports, [Fulani attack on Hura village on Tuesday 14th April 2020](#) (17 April 2020); ECCVN, [Five-year old murdered, as Fulani militant attacks in Nigeria lockdown](#) (14 April 2020). See also Item IDs 74600, 74595, 74626, 74635, 74643, 74608.

72. ICON documenters and Rev. Canon Hassan John captured footage portraying the bodies of four children²⁷⁰ and five adults²⁷¹ including that of a seemingly pregnant woman.²⁷² Most of the victims display severe, visible injuries suggesting brutal executions. Rev. Canon Hassan John also captured footage of a burial ceremony²⁷³ and a grave in which five victims were allegedly buried.²⁷⁴



Grave in which five victims were allegedly buried in Hura village, Miango LGA, photographed on 15 April 2020 [Item ID 74565]

73. Attacks also spread to neighbouring Kauru LGA, Kaduna State, located a mere 20-minute drive from the location of the 14 April 2020 attack on Kwall district, Plateau State. On **19 April 2020**, around 6:45 pm, over 100 alleged “[a]rmed Fulani herdsmen” came “from behind the hills that serves as boundary between Kaduna and Plateau states”²⁷⁵ and reportedly attacked an Irigwe-populated village alternatively identified as Ungwan Magaji²⁷⁶ and Ntiriku²⁷⁷ by documenters and open sources. The spokesperson for the

²⁷⁰ Item IDs 74616, 74624, 74642, 74556.

²⁷¹ Item IDs 74625, 74634, 74641, 74646.

²⁷² Item ID 74623.

²⁷³ Item ID 74510.

²⁷⁴ Item ID 74565.

²⁷⁵ Sahara Reporters, [Fulani herdsmen attack Southern Kaduna villages, kill four, burn 36 houses](#) (21 April 2020).

²⁷⁶ Item ID 74692; S. Akhaine, The Guardian Nigeria, [Five feared killed in fresh Kaduna attack](#) (21 April 2020); A. Tauna, Daily Post, [Four killed, 36 houses razed as suspected herdsmen attack Kaduna community](#) (20 April 2020).

²⁷⁷ Item ID 74667 [No transcript, background voices]; ECCVN, [Armed Fulani attacked and killed 4 in Ntiriku village of Kauru LGA, Kaduna State](#) (19 April 2020) (**GRAPHIC**); Barnabas Fund, [Four Nigerian Christians die in Fulani militant attack in Kaduna State](#) (27 April 2020).



Southern Kaduna Peoples Union, Luka Binniyat, commented that the assailants “attacked from four flanks causing confusion and pandemonium among unsuspecting villagers as youths tried to fend them off.”²⁷⁸

74. Notwithstanding the village’s name, sources consistently report that at least three women were killed in the attack.²⁷⁹ Footage captured by ICON documenters and Rev. Canon Hassan John portrays the bodies of three women lying on the ground. One of the victims appears to have marks on the forearms and face, as well as an open wound around the left ear and possibly eye.²⁸⁰ While there are no immediately visible injuries on the bodies of the other two women,²⁸¹ one of the victims’ clothes evidence blood stains.²⁸²

75. In addition to the three identified women, the attack reportedly led to the injury of one²⁸³ and the death of another from a cardiac arrest.²⁸⁴ A Fulani man was also found dead at the scene of the attack, reportedly caught in his co-assailants’ crossfire²⁸⁵ as youths defended the village.²⁸⁶

76. According to the village leader, the assailants reportedly “looted houses, taking away whatever they could including cattle and foodstuff and destroying anything they could not carry,” setting fire to up to 64 houses, food stores, motorbikes, and water pumping machines used in farm irrigation.²⁸⁷ Photographs

²⁷⁸ Sahara Reporters, [Fulani herdsmen attack Southern Kaduna villages, kill four, burn 36 houses](#) (21 April 2020).

²⁷⁹ Item ID 74667 [No transcript, background voices]; ECCVN, [Armed Fulani attacked and killed 4 in Ntiriku village of Kauru LGA, Kaduna State](#) (19 April 2020) (GRAPHIC); Barnabas Fund, [Four Nigerian Christians die in Fulani militant attack in Kaduna State](#) (27 April 2020). See also Sahara Reporters, [Fulani herdsmen attack Southern Kaduna villages, kill four, burn 36 houses](#) (21 April 2020).

²⁸⁰ Item IDs 74669, 74682.

²⁸¹ Item IDs 74681, 74684.

²⁸² Item ID 74681.

²⁸³ Item ID 74692.

²⁸⁴ Item ID 74667; Barnabas Fund, [Four Nigerian Christians die in Fulani militant attack in Kaduna State](#) (27 April 2020).

²⁸⁵ ECCVN, [Armed Fulani attacked and killed 4 in Ntiriku village of Kauru LGA, Kaduna State](#) (19 April 2020) (GRAPHIC); Barnabas Fund, [Four Nigerian Christians die in Fulani militant attack in Kaduna State](#) (27 April 2020).

²⁸⁶ The News Chronicle, [Armed Fulani militiaman found dead, phone recovered](#) (21 April 2020) (GRAPHIC); A. Tauna, Daily Post, [Four killed, 36 houses razed as suspected herdsmen attack Kaduna community](#) (20 April 2020).

²⁸⁷ ECCVN, [Armed Fulani attacked and killed 4 in Ntiriku village of Kauru LGA, Kaduna State](#) (19 April 2020) (GRAPHIC); Barnabas Fund, [Four Nigerian Christians die in Fulani militant attack in Kaduna State](#) (27 April 2020); A. Tauna, Daily Post, [Four killed, 36 houses razed as suspected herdsmen attack Kaduna community](#) (20 April 2020).



captured by ICON documenters portray several buildings,²⁸⁸ food barns²⁸⁹ and a motorbike²⁹⁰ evidencing signs of fire damage.

May 2020

77. In the early morning of 4 May 2020, ICON documenters photographed the bodies of three men discovered along the Heipang-Miango road, south of the Kaduna River, in Plateau State. One of the men lies, face away from the camera, in blood that appears to originate from an injury inflicted to the arm.²⁹¹ The other two victims' faces are identifiable. At least one of them appears to have suffered a fatal head injury as his head rests in a pool of blood.²⁹² The other man's face displays blood, though his injuries are not directly visible.²⁹³

78. The two media articles linked in the documenters' notes accompanying the footage²⁹⁴ inform that, on **3 May 2020**, around 9:30 pm, "gunmen" ambushed and killed four Irigwe men riding a motorcycle in the village of Adu, located in Bassa LGA of Plateau State.²⁹⁵ Three of them reportedly "died on the spot from bullet wounds" while another died at the Enos Hospital where he had been rushed for treatment.²⁹⁶ A resident of the area alleged that those responsible for the attack were "Fulani gunmen."²⁹⁷

79. In May 2020, ICON documenters also uploaded the photograph of a man, bandages on the knee, lying on a hospital bed in the city of Jos, Plateau State, along with the link to a media article.²⁹⁸ According to the article, during the evening prayers of **5 May 2020**, three alleged "Fulani militants" armed with AK-

²⁸⁸ Item IDs 74692, 74693, 74697, 74705, 74707.

²⁸⁹ Item IDs 74695, 74702.

²⁹⁰ Item ID 74708.

²⁹¹ Item ID 74758.

²⁹² Item ID 74761.

²⁹³ Item ID 74762.

²⁹⁴ Item IDs 74758, 74762.

²⁹⁵ The News Chronicle, [Breaking: 5 killed in fresh ambush as tension mounts in Plateau community](#) (4 May 2020); J. Abraham, The Punch, [Gunmen kill seven in fresh Plateau attacks](#) (5 May 2020).

²⁹⁶ J. Abraham, The Punch, [Gunmen kill seven in fresh Plateau attacks](#) (5 May 2020).

²⁹⁷ Morning Star News, [Four Christian killed, head of high school and family shot in North-Central Nigeria](#) (7 May 2020). See also S. Smith, Christian Post, [Suspected Fulani raid Christian school in Nigeria; 4 believers killed in another attack](#) (12 May 2020).

²⁹⁸ Item ID 74763.



47 and machetes broke into a Christian school in ██████████, located in Barkin Ladi LGA of Plateau State. There, assailants reportedly shot the ██████████ in the head, his wife in the back, and their two sons in the legs.²⁹⁹ All four members of the family survived the shooting.³⁰⁰

80. On **28 May 2020**, alleged “Fulani militias” reportedly attacked a fast-food restaurant in Nzharuvo, Bassa LGA of Plateau State, and killed its owner, a 42-year-old woman, along with four male customers, by gunshot.³⁰¹ According to a political leader who survived the assault, assailants were “dress[ed] with black, they were shooting unstopably with AK47 targeting on me but with the help of God, I escape narrowly.”³⁰² He added that security personnel did not reach the scene until after the attack was over.³⁰³

81. Footage captured by ICON documenters portrays four,³⁰⁴ possibly five,³⁰⁵ bodies and blood spatter nearby.³⁰⁶ One of the victims, whose body was recovered next to a car evidencing a bullet hole,³⁰⁷ sustained what appears to be a fatal gunshot injury to the back of the head.³⁰⁸ ICON documenters also photographed the burial of five bodies in a mass grave located a few meters away from the fast-food restaurant.³⁰⁹ While their faces are not readily identifiable, two of the buried bodies are wearing the same clothing as the victims of the attack.³¹⁰

²⁹⁹ Barnabas Fund, [“Miracle” escape for Nigerian pastor and family shot in Fulani militant attack in Plateau State](#) (12 May 2020).

³⁰⁰ See e.g. Church Times Nigeria, [Gunmen attack foremost missionary, Bayo Famonure, wife, children](#) (6 May 2020); J. Abraham, The Punch, [Gunmen shoot Plateau pastor, wife, kids](#) (7 May 2020); Christian Solidarity Worldwide, [Family of four attacked in Plateau State](#) (7 May 2020); Morning Star News, [Four Christian killed, head of high school and family shot in North-Central Nigeria](#) (7 May 2020).

³⁰¹ Item ID 74803. See also The Independent Nigeria, [Gunmen kill five at canteen in Plateau](#) (29 May 2020).

³⁰² Item ID 74803.

³⁰³ Item ID 74803.

³⁰⁴ Item IDs 74836, 74792, 74791, 74825.

³⁰⁵ Item ID 74788.

³⁰⁶ Item ID 74800.

³⁰⁷ Item ID 74825.

³⁰⁸ Item ID 74794.

³⁰⁹ Item IDs 74826, 74803, 74830.

³¹⁰ Compare Item ID 74826 and Item IDs 74792, 74791.



Burial of the five alleged victims of the 28 May 2020 attack on Nzharuvo, Bassa LGA, photographed on 29 May 2020 [Item ID 74803]

82. In a statement issued on 29 May 2020, the Representative of Jos North/Bassa Federal Constituency in the National Assembly, Haruna Maitala, “remind[ed] the government of its constitutional obligation to protect the lives and property of its citizens” and “call[ed] on the security agents to ... ensure that culprits and sponsors of such heinous acts are arrested and charged to appropriate courts.”³¹¹ To date, no such action appears to have been taken.

June 2020

83. On **22 June 2020**, BCDA documenters photographed the body of a man, face lying in a pool of blood in the grass.³¹² The documenters’ note accompanying the footage report that the man and his brother were “murdered by the Fulanis” in Bolong village, Demsa LGA of Adamawa State.³¹³ Nigerian soldiers

³¹¹ J. A. Adudu, Plateau News, [Irigwe killings: Maitala calls on security operatives to take action](#) (29 May 2020).

³¹² Item ID 74930.

³¹³ Item ID 74930.



allegedly found the body of the victim's brother in the same location, a day after the photograph was taken.³¹⁴

July 2020

84. ICON documenters captured footage of an incident that took place along the Miango road, in Bassa LGA of Plateau State, on or around **10 July 2020**. There, alleged "Islamic Fulani terrorists" reportedly killed a 58-year-old man,³¹⁵ destroying farm produce on their way.³¹⁶ The victim, whose fingers are swollen and distorted,³¹⁷ appears to have been shot in the back.³¹⁸ Several Nigerian security officials carrying weapons and wearing military-like clothing, including a cap bearing the logo of the Nigerian Legion Special Forces,³¹⁹ went to the location of the incident after it occurred.

September 2020

85. On **13 September 2020**, around 6:50 pm, a 45-year-old man and his 32-year-old wife were ambushed and killed by "gunmen" near a military checkpoint in Hukke village, Bassa LGA of Plateau State.³²⁰ Three hours after the attack, ICON documenters captured footage of the bodies of a man and a woman lying next to each other in muddy grass.³²¹ Despite the rather low lighting, the footage evidences a large laceration on the man's face.³²²

86. Sources differ as to the identification of the alleged perpetrators. While a media outlet claims that "herdsmen" were responsible for the attack,³²³ residents of the area reportedly "overheard military operatives discussing about a 'mission' by 7 pm" and witnessed a man believed to be a soldier carrying an

³¹⁴ Item ID 74930.

³¹⁵ Item IDs 74991, 74990.

³¹⁶ Item ID 74986.

³¹⁷ Item ID 74991.

³¹⁸ Item ID 74990.

³¹⁹ Item ID 74989.

³²⁰ Item ID 76172. See also Morning Star News, [Children killed, Christian leaders kidnapped in Nigeria](#) (2 October 2020) for the name of the victims. While the source correctly identified the names of the victims and the location of the attack, it appears to mistakenly report that the attack was carried out on 6 September 2020, rather than 13 September 2020.

³²¹ Item IDs 76178, 76172.

³²² Item ID 76178.

³²³ Morning Star News, [Children killed, Christian leaders kidnapped in Nigeria](#) (2 October 2020).



AK-47 rifle near the bodies minutes after the attack.³²⁴ A [REDACTED] added that the military prevented peacekeepers from accessing the scene in an effort to respond to the attack and “refused to go themselves.”³²⁵

87. On **28 September 2020**, Kpachudu village, located in Bassa LGA of Plateau State, was the stage of an attack by alleged “Islamic Fulani militias.”³²⁶ Two women and a six-year-old boy were reportedly killed³²⁷ while a [REDACTED] survived gunshot wounds.³²⁸ The Jos Special Task Forces reportedly raided the village in an attempt to halt the attack as it unfolded.³²⁹ Several Fulani herdsmen believed to be from Marabar Dare village were injured in the raid,³³⁰ some of whom died as a result of their injuries a few hours later.³³¹

October 2020

88. The Jos Special Task Force’s raid on Kpachudu village allegedly led to a reprisal attack against the village of Ncha, also in Bassa LGA of Plateau State, on **2 October 2020**³³² where “gunmen suspected to be Fulani militia” reportedly killed a farmer and injured another.³³³

³²⁴ Item ID 76172.

³²⁵ Item ID 76172.

³²⁶ Item ID 76225 [No transcript, person humming].

³²⁷ Morning Star News, [Children killed, Christian leaders kidnapped in Nigeria](#) (2 October 2020); Release International, [Six-year-old among victims of Fulani militant attack; release partner’s life threatened in US](#) (6 October 2020).

³²⁸ Item ID 76225 [No transcript, person humming].

³²⁹ Sahara Reporters, [Again, Fulani Herdsmen kill farmers in Plateau State hours after peace meeting](#) (7 October 2020). The article identifies the assailants as Sa’idu Umar, Isa Sani, Yakubu Mohammadu, Mupankshin Waziri, and “Yusuf” “believed to be from Marabar Dare Village under the command of local youth leader, Umar Palaka, who went missing alongside two others when the military stopped their invasion of Kpachudu Village.”

³³⁰ Sahara Reporters, [Again, Fulani Herdsmen kill farmers in Plateau State hours after peace meeting](#) (7 October 2020).

³³¹ Sahara Reporters, [Again, Fulani Herdsmen kill farmers in Plateau State hours after peace meeting](#) (7 October 2020).

³³² Sahara Reporters, [Again, Fulani Herdsmen kill farmers in Plateau State hours after peace meeting](#) (7 October 2020); R. Ogunbile, Naija News, [Fulani herdsmen kills two in Plateau, sabotage peace call](#) (7 October 2020).

³³³ Item ID 76169.

89. A mere hour after the alleged attack, ICON documenters photographed the body of a man.³³⁴ Circular holes surrounded by darker patches in the victim’s shirt suggest that he was shot at least twice in the back.³³⁵ Another photograph reveals the victim’s face, a walking cane near his body, and the presence of men wearing military-like boots in the area.³³⁶ The body was later buried with the walking cane.³³⁷ In nearby Miango town, ICON documenters also photographed the farmer who survived the attack with a hip injury.³³⁸

March 2021

90. On **15 March 2021**, around 2:00 am, two men were found dead in Adamawa State.³³⁹ A cluster of cell tower data points indicates that their bodies were photographed by BCDA documenters in an area near the Gombe-Yola road, north of the town of Numan. Photographs captured by documenters suggest that the victims bled abundantly. One of the bodies exhibits a swollen, bleeding face.³⁴⁰ The other, who also suffered blood loss, displays prominent dark-coloured marks on the ribs and, possibly, the face.³⁴¹ The documenters’ note accompanying the footage alleges that “Fulanis were responsible for the incident”³⁴² but neither names the victims, nor provides details as to the circumstances of the incident.

91. On the same day, **15 March 2021**, alleged “Fulani herders engaged in automatic rifle fire (AK47)” in an attack on Kitansa village, Kauru LGA of Kaduna State.³⁴³ A man from the Chawe community was reportedly killed while another from the Irigwe community was rushed to [REDACTED] in nearby [REDACTED] of Plateau State, where he was treated for gunshot wounds.³⁴⁴

³³⁴ Item ID 76169.

³³⁵ Item ID 76219.

³³⁶ Item ID 76220.

³³⁷ Item ID 76224.

³³⁸ Item ID 76169.

³³⁹ Item IDs 77657, 77658.

³⁴⁰ Item IDs 77657.

³⁴¹ Item ID 77658.

³⁴² Item IDs 77658, 77657.

³⁴³ Item ID 77665.

³⁴⁴ Item ID 77665.

92. A few days later, the media reported that “bandits” and “gunmen” invaded several other villages located in Kauru LGA of Kaduna State.³⁴⁵ The **19 March 2021** attack on Kizachi, home to the Chawe tribe, was allegedly carried out by “[m]ore than 100 Fulani militias” dressed in black clothes and speaking Fulani and Hausa languages.³⁴⁶ According to ICON documenters, the attack was in retaliation for the killing of a young Fulani boy several days prior.³⁴⁷

93. In Kizachi, 12 persons were killed and eight were injured by gunshot.³⁴⁸ Photographs taken by ICON documenters evidence the violence with which the attack was allegedly carried out. Several bodies were burnt beyond recognition.³⁴⁹ Two other victims were recovered with burn injuries, lying in ashes,³⁵⁰ one of whom having sustained several cuts on the back and head.³⁵¹ The other victims exhibit deep wounds that do not appear to have been caused by fire. For instance, the body of an infant is seen lying next to a woman who displays a profound laceration across the back revealing her flesh.³⁵² Another victim, whose back was cut at least twice, also displays a severely deformed skull, suggesting that they may have suffered a forceful blow to the back of the head.³⁵³ Several houses,³⁵⁴ food barns,³⁵⁵ and other village structures³⁵⁶ were also destroyed by fire.

³⁴⁵ The Independent Nigeria, [Just in: bandits kill 13, injure 7 in Kaduna LGAs – Commissioner](#) (19 March 2021).

³⁴⁶ Item IDs 77734, 77708.

³⁴⁷ Item IDs 77734, 77708.

³⁴⁸ Item ID 77734.

³⁴⁹ Item IDs 77732, 77731, 77750.

³⁵⁰ Item IDs 77753, 77747.

³⁵¹ Item ID 77747.

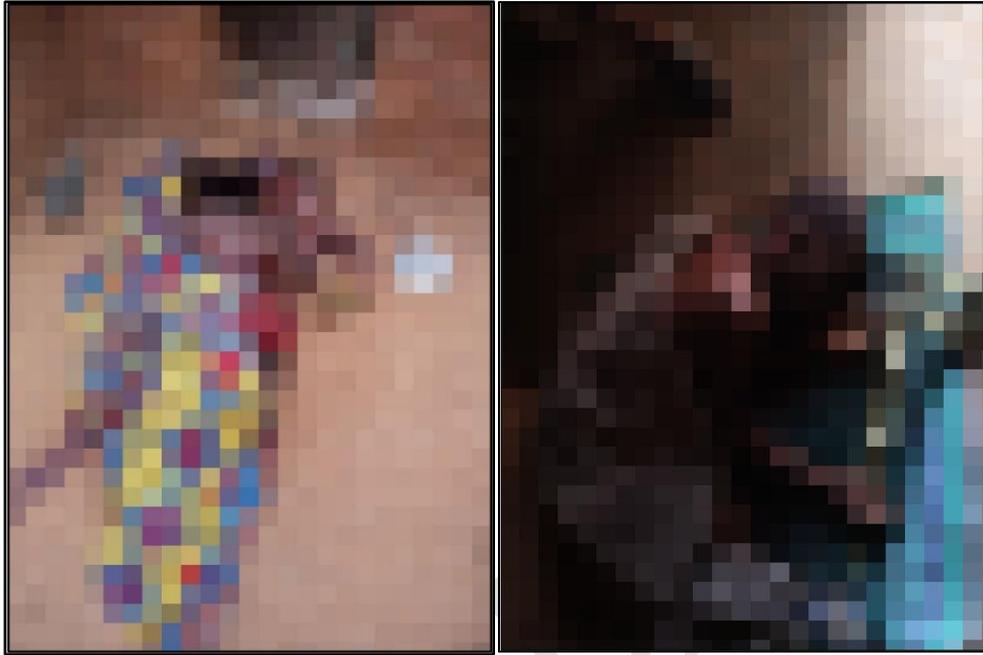
³⁵² Item ID 78016.

³⁵³ Item ID 77711.

³⁵⁴ Item IDs 77743, 77728, 77754, 77733.

³⁵⁵ Item IDs 77729, 77757.

³⁵⁶ Item ID 77746.



Bodies of three victims allegedly killed in an attack on Kizachi village, Kauru LGA, photographed on 19 March 2021 [LEFT: Item ID 78016; RIGHT: Item ID 77711]

April 2021

94. In the evening of **25 April 2021**, a 21-year-old man was killed in an ambush carried out by five “[s]uspected Fulani herdsmen” as he was returning from church service in Kurudu, Bassa LGA of Plateau State.³⁵⁷ His body was found along the Miango road.³⁵⁸ Another man, who survived the ambush and was brought to [REDACTED] to receive treatment for gunshot wounds in the abdomen,³⁵⁹ recounted that the armed assailants “were happy [to have] killed non-Muslims.”³⁶⁰

³⁵⁷ Item IDs 78034, 78032. See also Christian Headlines, [Herdsmen kill Christians in Nigeria’s Nasarawa, Plateau States](#) (7 May 2021).

³⁵⁸ Item ID 78034.

³⁵⁹ Item ID 78032.

³⁶⁰ Item ID 78032.

May 2021

95. On **10 May 2021**, the body of a 46-year-old Irigwe man was found beheaded south of the Kaduna River, about a kilometre away from a community police station in Kamaru LGA of Kaduna State.³⁶¹ Another person, presumed to have been abducted, was also reported missing on the same day.³⁶² While ICON documenters report that the incident resulted from clashes with herders the week prior and a witness reports having seen “more than five of the Fulani with guns” blocking a road nearby,³⁶³ no one expressly identified those allegedly responsible for the incident.

96. On **23 May 2021**, alleged “Muslim Fulani militias” reportedly attacked the village of Dong, located in Jos North LGA, in nearby Plateau State.³⁶⁴ As the attack unfolded, the village’s pastor called the police for intervention at 8:00 pm.³⁶⁵ Plateau State Police Commissioner Edward Chuka Egbuka confirmed that, despite hearing AK-47 gunshots in the village, the police did not immediately intervene for lack of an armoured personnel carrier, adding that police forces cannot be expected “to commit suicide.”³⁶⁶

97. In Dong, eight persons were killed³⁶⁷ – mostly women and children³⁶⁸ – in what the police characterised as a reprisal attack by herdsmen consequent to recent “skirmishes between locals and herders in Jos North, Jos South and Bassa local government areas.”³⁶⁹ The day after the attack, ICON documenters photographed the bodies of three identifiable victims – a woman shot at close range in the face,³⁷⁰ a man lying in a puddle of blood apparently originating from the neck,³⁷¹ and a child whose fatal injury is not

³⁶¹ Item IDs 89416, 89421.

³⁶² Item ID 89416.

³⁶³ Item ID 89416.

³⁶⁴ Item IDs 78688, 78701.

³⁶⁵ Morning Star News, [Herdsmen attacks kill 37 Christians in Plateau State, Nigeria](#) (26 May 2021).

³⁶⁶ D. Burton, Vanguard, [US Mission to Nigeria faulted as genocidal violence intensifies](#) (31 May 2021).

³⁶⁷ Item IDs 78688, 78701.

³⁶⁸ A. Pwanagba, Daily Post, [Suspected gunmen kill 17 in Plateau](#) (24 May 2021); Morning Star News, [Herdsmen attacks kill 37 Christians in Plateau State, Nigeria](#) (26 May 2021); M-T. Nanlong, Vanguard, [Insecurity: how heartless gunmen murdered infants, women and men in renewed Jos attacks](#) (28 May 2021).

³⁶⁹ Hall Mark News, [Killing of 16 in Plateau was reprisal by herdsmen – Police](#) (26 May 2021).

³⁷⁰ Item ID 78701.

³⁷¹ Item ID 78688.



readily ascertainable.³⁷² They also photographed the body of a fourth victim covered by fabric evidencing abundant bleeding.³⁷³

June 2021

98. On **14 June 2021**, alleged Fulani herdsmen reportedly killed two and injured two others in Zogu village, located north of Miango town in Bassa LGA of Plateau State.³⁷⁴ Footage captured by ICON documenters reveals that several bullets pierced through the door of a house.³⁷⁵ Documenters also found a body covered with fabric, with visible drops of blood on the floor of a house.³⁷⁶

99. On 21 June 2021, Plateau State Governor Lalong commissioned 50 new patrol vehicles and 200 security motorcycles to assist the State security agencies in their efforts to tackle attacks.³⁷⁷ Yet, less than a week later, witnesses reportedly identified a “known Fulani gunman named Hashimu Hudu, aka Terry G.” as the leader of an attack allegedly carried out on **27 June 2021** against the Zargwra community of Miango town, Bassa LGA of Plateau State.³⁷⁸ The attack left three dead – including a pregnant woman and her seven-year-old daughter – and two injured.³⁷⁹ Photographs captured by ICON documenters portray a man, whose alleged injuries are not readily visible, and a woman with bandages on the arm and foot, lying in hospital beds.³⁸⁰

100. Commenting on the attack against the Zargwra community, Musa Agah Aviah, the Plateau State Representative of the Irigwe/Rukuba constituency in the House of Assembly, reportedly stated that “the

³⁷² Item ID 78712.

³⁷³ Item ID 78699.

³⁷⁴ Morning Star News, [Armed Fulani kill doctor, 17 other Christians in Nigeria](#) (24 June 2021); ECCVN, [Sustained genocide by Fulani milit\[ar\]ias in Plateau](#) (15 June 2021) (**GRAPHIC**).

³⁷⁵ Item ID 78948.

³⁷⁶ Item ID 89642.

³⁷⁷ M-T. Nanlong, Vanguard, [Insecurity: I don't want to hear of unknown gunmen again, says Lalong](#) (21 June 2021); M. Kim, Light Bearer News, [Herdsmen kill four in Plateau days after Governor, IGP launched patrol vehicles](#) (29 June 2021).

³⁷⁸ J. Abraham, The Punch, [Pregnant woman, two others killed in Plateau fresh attack](#) (29 June 2021). See also M. Kim, Light Bearer News, [Herdsmen kill four in Plateau days after Governor, IGP launched patrol vehicles](#) (29 June 2021).

³⁷⁹ Item IDs 89136, 89138. See also I. Abdulsalami Ahovi, The Guardian Nigeria, [Lalong condemns fresh attacks on Plateau](#) (1 July 2021).

³⁸⁰ Item IDs 89136, 89138.



[F]ulani” are “relentless in their efforts” to coordinate attacks aimed at land grabbing, expressing that communities now fear working in the fields; an untenable situation that will “ultimately cause food shortage and famine.”³⁸¹

July 2021

101. Media outlets widely reported that, on **29 July 2021**, an attack on an Irigwe-dominated area left three dead, two injured, and several houses ablaze in the Nche-Tahu community, Bassa LGA of Plateau State.³⁸² Alleged assailants were alternatively referred to as “gunmen,”³⁸³ “Fulani herdsmen,”³⁸⁴ and “Fulani militias”³⁸⁵ by the media.

³⁸¹ M. Kim, Light Bearer News, [Herdsmen kill four in Plateau days after Governor, IGP launched patrol vehicles](#) (29 June 2021).

³⁸² S. Adinoyi, This Day, [Gunmen kill four in Plateau communities](#) (30 July 2021); Sahara Reporters, [Three dead, houses burnt as Fulani herdsmen attack Plateau community](#) (30 July 2021); I. Shobayo, Nigerian Tribune, [Militia attacks Plateau villages, destroys 167 hectares of crops](#) (31 July 2021); News Premises, [Five killed, houses razed as suspected Fulani militias attack Plateau communities \(photos\)](#) (1 August 2021) (GRAPHIC); I. A. Ahovi, The Guardian Nigeria, [Four killed, 10 houses burnt in fresh Plateau attack](#) (1 August 2021); Premium Times, [Gunmen attack Plateau community, kill seven people, raze 250 houses](#) (2 August 2021); T. M. Shittu, Blue Print, [11 killed in Plateau crises, 50 houses razed, scores hospitalised, crops, economic trees destroyed](#) (2 August 2021). See also A. Olufemi, Al Jazeera, [Horrors on the Plateau: inside Nigeria’s farmer-herder conflict](#) (28 November 2021).

³⁸³ S. Adinoyi, This Day, [Gunmen kill four in Plateau communities](#) (30 July 2021); The Guardian Nigeria, [Four killed, 10 houses burnt in fresh Plateau attack](#) (1 August 2021); Premium Times, [Gunmen attack Plateau community, kill seven people, raze 250 houses](#) (2 August 2021).

³⁸⁴ Sahara Reporters, [Three dead, houses burnt as Fulani herdsmen attack Plateau community](#) (30 July 2021); T. M. Shittu, Blue Print, [11 killed in Plateau crises, 50 houses razed, scores hospitalised, crops, economic trees destroyed](#) (2 August 2021).

³⁸⁵ I. Shobayo, Nigerian Tribune, [Militia attacks Plateau villages, destroys 167 hectares of crops](#) (31 July 2021); News Premises, [Five killed, houses razed as suspected Fulani militias attack Plateau communities \(photos\)](#) (1 August 2021) (GRAPHIC).



Satellite images dated 26 April 2021 and 11 October 2021, showing houses allegedly damaged in the 29 July 2021 attack on Nche-Tahu, Bassa LGA [© 2021 Maxar Technologies]

102. On the same day, ICON documenters captured footage in an area located along the Miango road, between the villages of Jebbu Miango and Kaffi Gana, in Bassa LGA of Plateau State. While documenters did not include notes that would link their footage to the attack on the Nche-Tahu community with certainty, some of the photographs they captured match those of houses damaged in the attack circulated by the media outlet *News Premises*.³⁸⁶

³⁸⁶ Compare Item IDs 89501, 89640, 89559, 89537 and photos 3, 4, 5, 6 in News Premises, [Five killed, houses razed as suspected Fulani militias attack Plateau communities \(photos\)](#) (1 August 2021) (GRAPHIC).



LEFT: Inside of a house allegedly damaged in the attack on the Nche-Tahu community, Bassa LGA, photographed on 29 July 2021 [Item ID 89537]

BOTTOM: Screenshot of a photograph published by News Premises in an article dated 1 August 2021 reporting on two attacks allegedly carried out in Nche-Tahu, Bassa LGA, and Gwa Rim, Riyom LGA [© News Premises, cited at fn. 386]



103. In addition to documenting extensive fire damage to houses and other structures,³⁸⁷ ICON documenters photographed the burial of a man displaying large lacerations on the face and neck.³⁸⁸ There

³⁸⁷ Item IDs 89640, 89535, 89669, 89559, 89536, 89516, 89616, 89501, 89537, 89671.

³⁸⁸ Item ID 89589.



again, the man’s clothing resembles that of one of the three bodies whose photographs were circulated in the media.³⁸⁹

104. Two days later, on **31 July 2021**, “gunmen suspected to be herders” allegedly targeted the village of Kpachudu, Bassa LGA of Plateau State,³⁹⁰ in possible retaliation for an earlier attack allegedly carried out by Irigwe youths against the Fulani and Hausa settlement of Rafin Bwauna.³⁹¹ The attack on Kpachudu, which reportedly lasted from 7:00 pm to 3:00 am despite the nearby presence of mobile police officers equipped with armoured personnel carriers,³⁹² left up to seven dead and nine injured by gunshot.³⁹³

105. Musa Agah Aviah, the Plateau State Representative of the Irigwe/Rukuba constituency in the House of Assembly, reportedly expressed having drawn attention to the situation on several occasions – to no avail “due to the failure of the executive [h]arm to act according[ly]” – and questioned the reasons behind the failure to halt hours-long attacks carried out in the community hosting one of the Nigerian Army’s armoured divisions.³⁹⁴

106. ICON documenters uploaded a total of 169 photographs and videos captured on the day following the attack. Most of the footage depicts severely damaged crops³⁹⁵ and considerable fire destruction of house

³⁸⁹ Compare Item ID 89589 and photo 1 in News Premises, [Five killed, houses razed as suspected Fulani militias attack Plateau communities \(photos\)](#) (1 August 2021) (**GRAPHIC**).

³⁹⁰ M-T. Nanlong, Vanguard, [Gunmen attack Plateau community, kill 7, raze over 275 houses](#) (2 August 2021). See also A. Pwanagba, Daily Post, [4 killed, farms destroyed, over 200 houses razed – Irigwe community cries out](#) (1 August 2021); The Punch, [Gunmen kill seven, raze 250 houses in Plateau – community association](#) (2 August 2021); S. Adinoyi, This Day, [13 killed, over 22,000 displaced in Fulani, Irigwe bloody clash in Plateau](#) (2 August 2021); Premium Times, [Gunmen attack Plateau community, kill seven people, raze 250 houses](#) (2 August 2021).

³⁹¹ S. Adinoyi, This Day, [13 killed, over 22,000 displaced in Fulani, Irigwe bloody clash in Plateau](#) (2 August 2021).

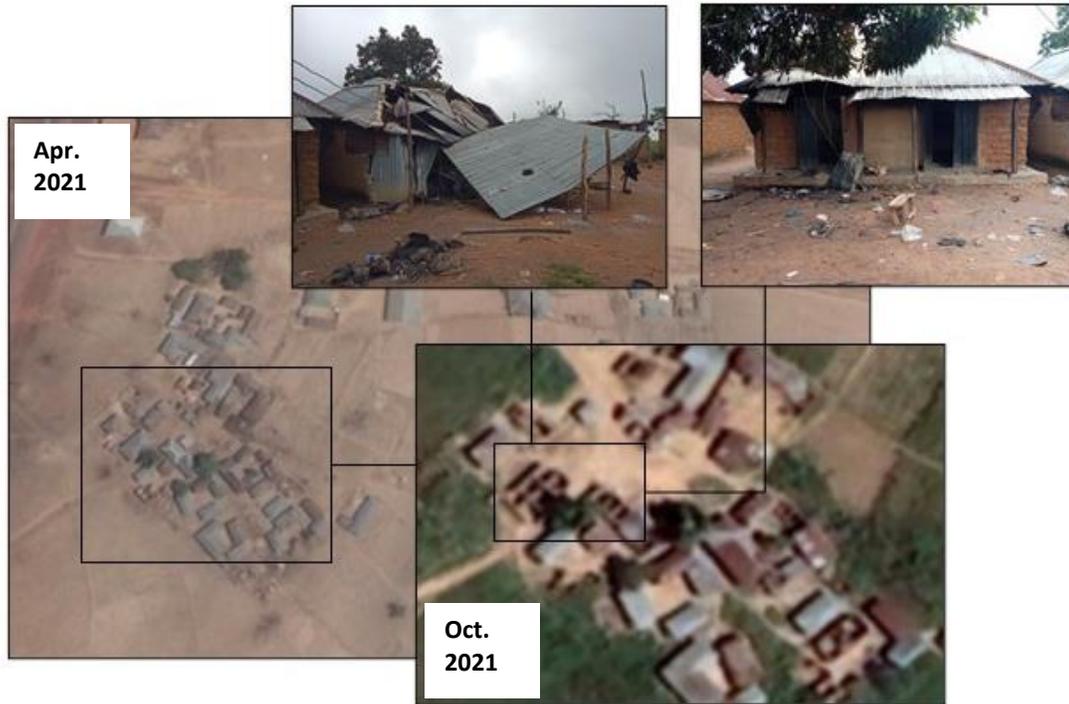
³⁹² Item IDs 89545, 89517.

³⁹³ Item IDs 89545, 89517.

³⁹⁴ S. Adinoyi, This Day, [13 killed, over 22,000 displaced in Fulani, Irigwe bloody clash in Plateau](#) (2 August 2021).

³⁹⁵ Item IDs 89598, 89701, 89684, 89683.

interior³⁹⁶ and exterior³⁹⁷ structures, food barns,³⁹⁸ and transportation means and facilities.³⁹⁹ Several other photographs portray the bodies of three men,⁴⁰⁰ killed by gunshot,⁴⁰¹ and two survivors.⁴⁰²



LEFT and BOTTOM: Satellite images dated 24 April 2021 and 11 October 2021, showing houses allegedly damaged in the 31 July 2021 attack on Kpachudu, Bassa LGA [© 2021 Maxar Technologies]

UP: Damaged houses in Kpachudu, Bassa LGA, photographed on 1 August 2021 [Item IDs 89557, 89588]

³⁹⁶ Item IDs 89530, 89558, 89611, 89548, 89691, 89547, 89572, 89615, 89627.

³⁹⁷ Item IDs 89533, 89551, 89557, 89588, 89551, 89591, 89674, 89631, 89628.

³⁹⁸ Item IDs 89562, 89524, 89597.

³⁹⁹ Item IDs 89679, 89665, 89629, 89656, 89654.

⁴⁰⁰ Item IDs 89545, 89571, 89644, 89621.

⁴⁰¹ See A. Pwanagba, Daily Post, [4 killed, farms destroyed, over 200 houses razed – Irigwe community cries out](#) (1 August 2021).

⁴⁰² Item IDs 89517, 89485.

September 2021

107. On **26 September 2021**, in what Kaduna State Governor el-Rufai described as an “unspeakable display of wickedness,” attackers invaded the Madamai community of Kauru LGA, Kaduna State,⁴⁰³ killing at least 40 and injuring nine.⁴⁰⁴ A surviving victim recounted that there were “plenty” of assailants while a resident alleged that they were “Fulani herdsmen.”⁴⁰⁵

108. The non-profit organisation *Foundation for Investigative Journalism* circulated photographs of dozens of bodies piled up on a truck.⁴⁰⁶ Three victims, burnt beyond recognition, were buried separately⁴⁰⁷ while 35 others were reportedly brought to the mortuary.⁴⁰⁸ Photographs taken by ICON documenters portray the bodies of nine men and women lying naked on wooden trays, in a room whose walls are plastered with posters akin to obituaries,⁴⁰⁹ with evidence of further bodies in an adjacent room.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰³ M. Sabiu, Nigerian Tribune, [El-Rufai condemns killing of 34 residents. Attack on Kaduna community](#) (27 September 2021). See also Christian Solidarity Worldwide, [49 killed and 27 abducted in southern Kaduna attacks](#) (28 September 2021); B. Yakusak, Reuters, [Armed men kill at least 30 in northern Nigerian villages](#) (28 September 2021); A. Ali, Daily Trust, [42 killed in attacks, reprisals in Kaduna](#) (28 September 2021).

⁴⁰⁴ Item IDs 90636, 90640.

⁴⁰⁵ C. Asadu, ABC News, [Witnesses: 37 killed in latest violence in Nigeria's north](#) (27 September 2021). See also Sahara Reporters, [Breaking: suspected Fulani herdsmen kill 30, burn houses in Kaduna communities](#) (27 September 2021); International Christian Concern, [Bloody Sunday Night: 44 Christians killed by militant Fulani](#) (28 September 2021); A. Tauna, Daily Post, [38 persons killed by suspected Fulani militias buried in Southern Kaduna](#) (1 October 2021).

⁴⁰⁶ I. Adeyemi, Foundation for Investigative Journalism, [Focus: names, photos... all 33 Southern Kaduna citizens killed by 'Fulani militants'](#) (28 September 2021) (**GRAPHIC**).

⁴⁰⁷ See Sahara Reporters, [Governor el-Rufai, government officials shun burial of 38 Southern Kaduna villagers killed by herders](#) (1 October 2021).

⁴⁰⁸ Item IDs 90636, 90640.

⁴⁰⁹ Item IDs 90633, 90636, 90640.

⁴¹⁰ Item ID 90633.



Alleged victims of the 26 September 2021 attack on the Madamai community, Kauru LGA, photographed on 30 September 2021 [Item ID 90640]

109. Speaking at the victims’ mass burial, the President of the Southern Kaduna Peoples Union, Jonathan Asake, noted that 104 Southern Kaduna communities had, to date, been “captured by armed herdsmen and thousands have been displaced with no consequence to the assailants.”⁴¹¹ Following the attack, Governor el-Rufai reportedly tasked security agencies to conduct swift investigations and pledged to update residents accordingly.⁴¹² Several months later, the government is yet to publicly issue an update as to the results of investigations in connection with the attack.

November 2021

110. On **26 November 2021**, around 1:30 am, the Plateau State Police Command received reports of an ongoing attack on the village of Te’egbe, located in Bassa LGA of Plateau State. Upon arriving to the village, the Police Command’s tactical team confirmed that “10 persons were killed and about 30 houses

⁴¹¹ Sahara Reporters, [Governor el-Rufai, government officials shun burial of 38 Southern Kaduna villagers killed by herders](#) (1 October 2021). See also I. Bulus, The Punch, [Southern Kaduna orphans, widows grow, left at the mercy of killers, 38 victims buried amid govt failed promises](#) (12 October 2021).

⁴¹² M. Sabiu, Nigerian Tribune, [El-Rufai condemns killing of 34 residents, attack on Kaduna community](#) (27 September 2021).

set ablaze by the attackers.”⁴¹³ According to the non-profit organisation Foundation for Investigative Journalism, the attackers entered the village “through Baduru, a porous border in Southern Kaduna.”⁴¹⁴

111. Among those killed in the attack were three children between the ages of four and eight as well as several elderlies.⁴¹⁵ One of the victims was found carbonised in a house⁴¹⁶ while others were allegedly shot dead.⁴¹⁷ The deceased were buried in a mass grave a mere few hours later.⁴¹⁸ In addition to the fatalities, assailants allegedly burnt down houses owned by 114 households and 57 food barns.⁴¹⁹

112. The identification of assailants is disputed: while the Irigwe Development Association⁴²⁰ and the Miango Youth Development Association⁴²¹ allege that members of the Fulani herders’ tribe are responsible for the attack, the Miyyeti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria dismissed the allegation as “nothing but mere hatred against the herders.”⁴²² Condemning the attack, Plateau State Governor Lalong directed security agencies to apprehend and prosecute the assailants.⁴²³

December 2021

113. On **18 December 2021**,⁴²⁴ the villages of Hangara, Lafia LGA, and neighbouring Kwayero, Obi LGA, of Nasarawa State were reportedly attacked by alleged “Fulani herders.”⁴²⁵ A police spokesperson

⁴¹³ J. Abraham, The Punch, [Plateau community challenges police as gunmen kill 10, burn 30 houses](#) (27 November 2021).

⁴¹⁴ I. Adeyemi, Foundation for Investigative Journalism, [Names, photos... all 10 Plateau villagers killed by Fulani herders in cold blood](#) (26 November 2021).

⁴¹⁵ Item ID 91082; I. Adeyemi, Foundation for Investigative Journalism, [Names, photos... all 10 Plateau villagers killed by Fulani herders in cold blood](#) (26 November 2021).

⁴¹⁶ Item ID 91073.

⁴¹⁷ See S. Adinoyi, Arise News, [Nigeria: 11 killed, 30 houses burnt in fresh Plateau terror attacks](#) (27 November 2021).

⁴¹⁸ Item ID 91082.

⁴¹⁹ Item IDs 91074, 91077, 91082.

⁴²⁰ Sahara Reporters, [Gunmen attack Plateau community, kill 11 residents, burn 30 houses](#) (27 November 2021); M-T. Nanlong, Vanguard, [10 killed, 30 houses burnt as armed men invade Plateau community](#) (27 November 2021).

⁴²¹ S. Adinoyi & J. Shiklam, This Day, [11 killed, 30 houses burnt in fresh Plateau terror attack](#) (27 November 2021).

⁴²² Sahara Reporters, [Gunmen attack Plateau community, kill 11 residents, burn 30 houses](#) (27 November 2021); M-T. Nanlong, Vanguard, [10 killed, 30 houses burnt as armed men invade Plateau community](#) (27 November 2021).

⁴²³ M-T. Nanlong, Vanguard, [10 killed, 30 houses burnt as armed men invade Plateau community](#) (27 November 2021).

⁴²⁴ Item ID 101459.

⁴²⁵ Al Jazeera, [Dozens killed in 'barbaric, senseless' violence in Nigeria](#) (22 December 2021).



suggested that the attacks were in retaliation for the killing of Umaru Idrisu in Gidan Washi village, Obi LGA, carried out by armed men the day prior, which he said herdsman attributed to farmers from the Tiv ethnic group.⁴²⁶ Nasarawa State Governor Abdullahi Sule condemned the killings,⁴²⁷ promising to “go after” the perpetrators involved in both attacks.⁴²⁸ A joint team of the Nigeria police force and the military was deployed to the affected areas to restore peace and arrest the perpetrators.⁴²⁹

114. The number of victims killed in the attacks appears to be disputed. The Nasarawa State Police identified eight victims⁴³⁰ while, in possible reference to attacks that also affected other communities, the President of the Tiv Development Association, Peter Ahemba, claimed however that 20 bodies were recovered after the attacks.⁴³¹ Footage captured by ICON documenters a month after the attacks is not explicit, simply portraying a structure in the village of Hangara where one of the attacks reportedly took place.⁴³²

January 2022

115. The start of a new year led to renewed attacks. Media outlets report that the community of Ancha, in Bassa LGA of Plateau State, was attacked by “gunmen suspected to be Fulani herdsman”⁴³³ in the night between **11 and 12 January 2022**, around midnight.⁴³⁴ A witness recounted that she heard a loud voice

⁴²⁶ Al Jazeera, [Dozens killed in 'barbaric, senseless' violence in Nigeria](#) (22 December 2021). See also C. Sunday, The Punch, [20 farmers killed, 5,000 displaced as herders attack Nasarawa communities](#) (20 December 2021).

⁴²⁷ O. Ige, Naija News, [20 Killed, 5,000 displaced as gunmen attack 12 Nasarawa communities](#) (21 December 2021).

⁴²⁸ Al Jazeera, [Dozens killed in 'barbaric, senseless' violence in Nigeria](#) (22 December 2021).

⁴²⁹ C. Sunday, The Punch, [20 farmers killed, 5,000 displaced as herders attack Nasarawa communities](#) (20 December 2021).

⁴³⁰ C. Sunday, The Punch, [20 farmers killed, 5,000 displaced as herders attack Nasarawa communities](#) (20 December 2021).

⁴³¹ C. Sunday, The Punch, [20 farmers killed, 5,000 displaced as herders attack Nasarawa communities](#) (20 December 2021); O. Ige, Naija News, [20 killed, 5,000 displaced as gunmen attack 12 Nasarawa communities](#) (21 December 2021). The President of the Tiv Development Association, Peter Ahemba, mentions Chabo, Daar, Tse-Udugh, Ayaakeke, Kyor-Chiha, Usual, Hagher, Joor, Angwan, Ayaba, Tyungu and Ugba amongst the affected communities.

⁴³² Item ID 101459.

⁴³³ G. Bere, The Sun, [Gunmen kill 23 persons in Plateau](#) (12 January 2022); Sahara Reporters, [Plateau community releases names of 18 residents killed by terrorists, herdsman](#) (13 January 2022).

⁴³⁴ G. Bere, The Sun, [Gunmen kill 23 persons in Plateau](#) (12 January 2022); Sahara Reporters, [Plateau community releases names of 18 residents killed by terrorists, herdsman](#) (13 January 2022); M-T. Nanlong, Vanguard, [Fresh attack in Plateau community claims 18 lives](#) (12 January 2022); G. Ogunjobi, Foundation for Investigative Journalism, [Residents flee as 'Fulani herders' kill 17 in fresh attack on Plateau village](#) (12 January 2022) (GRAPHIC).

shouting “*Allahu Akubar*.”⁴³⁵ The day after the attack, ICON documenters travelled to two locations north of Miango, in Plateau State, where they photographed dozens of cartridge cases.⁴³⁶



Cartridge cases found in the Ancha community, Bassa LGA, photographed on 12 January 2022 [Item ID 101401]

116. The leadership of the Irigwe Development Association identified 18 victims killed in the attack.⁴³⁷ Documenters captured footage portraying five bodies, including that of a boy,⁴³⁸ and two mass graves as at least 11 bodies were buried.⁴³⁹ Six persons were also reportedly injured in the attack,⁴⁴⁰ five of whom were photographed in a hospital.⁴⁴¹

⁴³⁵ International Christian Concern, [Fulani militants kill 18 more Christians in Nigeria](#) (12 January 2022).

⁴³⁶ Item IDs 101401, 101408. The following markings are visible on one of the headstamps portrayed in Item ID 101408: “OFN 7.62 79.” The markings suggest that the ammunition, of calibre 7.62, was manufactured by the Ordnance Factory Nigeria, possibly in 1979.

⁴³⁷ M-T. Nanlong, Vanguard, [Fresh attack in Plateau community claims 18 lives](#) (12 January 2022). *See also* Item ID 101407.

⁴³⁸ Item IDs 101382, 101397, 101398, 101399, 101403.

⁴³⁹ Item IDs 101409, 101411.

⁴⁴⁰ M-T. Nanlong, Vanguard, [Fresh attack in Plateau community claims 18 lives](#) (12 January 2022).

⁴⁴¹ Item IDs 101384, 101385, 101388, 101390, 101387.

117. Over 100 residential rooms⁴⁴² and food barns,⁴⁴³ cars,⁴⁴⁴ pumping machines and other valuable items were reportedly burnt down in the attack, as confirmed by the spokesperson of the Miango Youth Association.⁴⁴⁵ He further stated that the same community had also been attacked on 9 January 2022, when alleged “Fulani militias” ambushed a couple, killing the man and injuring the woman.⁴⁴⁶ Plateau State Governor Lalong ordered security agencies to bring those responsible for the killings to justice.⁴⁴⁷ The Plateau State Police spokesperson confirmed that the police had met with local Fulani, Housam, Irigwe, and Berom leaders to provide an update on security and was working towards apprehending the perpetrators.⁴⁴⁸

IV. LEGAL FRAMEWORK

A. National law

118. The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria provides that the security and welfare of the people of Nigeria “shall be the primary purpose of the government”⁴⁴⁹ and guarantees that “[e]very person has a right to life, and no one shall be deprived intentionally of his life.”⁴⁵⁰

119. Exceptions to the right to life include the death penalty in execution of the sentence of a court for criminal offences⁴⁵¹ and the use of lethal force when it comes to defending people from unlawful violence, defending property or suppressing riots and effecting a lawful arrest operation.⁴⁵² None of the exceptions to the right to life appear to apply in relation to the incidents detailed in this urgent appeal. There are

⁴⁴² Item IDs 101393, 101405.

⁴⁴³ Item ID 101396.

⁴⁴⁴ Item ID 101391.

⁴⁴⁵ Sahara Reporters, [Plateau community releases names of 18 residents killed by terrorists, herdsmen](#) (13 January 2022).

⁴⁴⁶ Sahara Reporters, [Plateau community releases names of 18 residents killed by terrorists, herdsmen](#) (13 January 2022).

⁴⁴⁷ G. Bere, The Sun, [Gunmen kill 23 persons in Plateau](#) (12 January 2022).

⁴⁴⁸ G. Ogunjobi, Foundation for Investigative Journalism, [Residents flee as ‘Fulani herders’ kill 17 in fresh attack on Plateau village](#) (12 January 2022) (**GRAPHIC**).

⁴⁴⁹ *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria* (Act No. 24, 5 May 1999), Section 14 (2b).

⁴⁵⁰ *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria* (Act No. 24, 5 May 1999), Section 33 (1).

⁴⁵¹ *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria* (Act No. 24, 5 May 1999), Section 33 (1).

⁴⁵² *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria* (Act No. 24, 5 May 1999), Section 33 (2).

reasonable grounds to believe that, in the context of the conflict between herder and farming communities, Nigerians' constitutionally protected right to life has been, and continues to be violated.

B. International human rights law

120. The Federal Republic of Nigeria is a state party to both international and regional human rights treaties protecting, or relating to, the right to life, including the ICCPR;⁴⁵³ the Convention on the Rights of the Child (“CRC”);⁴⁵⁴ the Banjul Charter⁴⁵⁵ and its Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa;⁴⁵⁶ and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (“ACRWC”).⁴⁵⁷

121. Specifically, Articles 6(1) of the ICCPR and 4 of the Banjul Charter recognise that no one should be arbitrarily deprived of their inherent right to life. Read in conjunction with Articles 2 and 26 of the ICCPR and 2 and 3 of the Banjul Charter, the right to life applies without distinction or discrimination of any kind. States must guarantee equal and effective access to remedies in case of violations of the right to life. Articles 6 of the CRC, and 5 of the ACRWC further provide that children's lives must be protected to the maximum extent possible.

122. States have the duty to both refrain from engaging in conduct resulting in the arbitrary deprivation of life and to protect the lives of persons against deprivations caused by individuals or entities whose conduct is not attributable to the State.⁴⁵⁸ As such, States can be deemed responsible whenever authorities do not adequately prevent, investigate, or prosecute killings by private individuals, especially when patterns

⁴⁵³ *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, 999 UNTS 171 (adopted 16 December 1966, entered into force 23 March 1976), acceded to by the Federal Republic of Nigeria on 29 July 1993.

⁴⁵⁴ *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, 1577 UNTS 3 (adopted 20 November 1989, entered into force 2 September 1990), ratified by the Federal Republic of Nigeria on 19 April 1991.

⁴⁵⁵ *African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights*, 21 ILM 58 (adopted 27 June 1981, entered into force 21 October 1986), ratified by the Federal Republic of Nigeria on 22 June 1983.

⁴⁵⁶ *Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa*, AU Doc. CAB/LEG/66.6 (adopted 13 September 2000, entered into force 25 November 2005), ratified by the Federal Republic of Nigeria on 16 December 2004.

⁴⁵⁷ *African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child*, OAU Doc. CAB/LEG/24.9/49 (adopted 1 July 1990, entered into force 29 November 1999), ratified by the Federal Republic of Nigeria on 23 July 2001.

⁴⁵⁸ *General comment No. 36 (2018) on article 6 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, on the right to life*, CCPR/C/GC/36 (30 October 2018), para. 7; *General Comment No. 3 on the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights: Right to life (Article 4)* (18 November 2015), paras 9, 38.

of violence have been overlooked or ignored.⁴⁵⁹ This is equally the case where life-threatening situations do not result in loss of life.⁴⁶⁰

123. Exceptional circumstances such as the existence of an armed conflict or any other public emergency may not be invoked to justify any derogation from the right to life.⁴⁶¹ While the right to life is non-derogable, exceptions such as self-defence or capital punishment may, in certain circumstances, justify the deprivation of a person's life.⁴⁶² Yet, none of these exceptions apply to the incidents detailed in this urgent appeal. There are reasonable grounds to believe that the right to life, protected under international human rights law, has been, and continues to be, violated in the context of the conflict between herder and farming communities.

C. International criminal law

124. The Federal Republic of Nigeria ratified the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court ("ICC") on 27 September 2001.⁴⁶³ On 11 December 2020, the Office of the Prosecutor completed its preliminary examination in the Situation of Nigeria, opened ten years earlier,⁴⁶⁴ and identified ten potential cases of crimes against humanity and war crimes under Articles 7 and 8 of the Rome Statute.⁴⁶⁵ None of

⁴⁵⁹ *General comment No. 36 (2018) on article 6 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, on the right to life*, CCPR/C/GC/36 (30 October 2018), paras 27-28; *General Comment No. 3 on the African Charter on Human and People's Rights: Right to life (Article 4)* (18 November 2015), para. 39.

⁴⁶⁰ *General comment No. 36 (2018) on article 6 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, on the right to life*, CCPR/C/GC/36 (30 October 2018), para. 7; *General Comment No. 3 on the African Charter on Human and People's Rights: Right to life (Article 4)* (18 November 2015), para. 40.

⁴⁶¹ ICCPR, Article 4(2). *See also General comment No. 36 (2018) on article 6 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, on the right to life*, CCPR/C/GC/36 (30 October 2018), para. 67; *General Comment No. 3 on the African Charter on Human and People's Rights: Right to life (Article 4)* (18 November 2015), para. 7.

⁴⁶² *General comment No. 36 (2018) on article 6 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, on the right to life*, CCPR/C/GC/36 (30 October 2018), paras 10-17; *General Comment No. 3 on the African Charter on Human and People's Rights: Right to life (Article 4)* (18 November 2015), para. 40.

⁴⁶³ *Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court*, 2187 UNTS 3 (17 July 1998) ("Rome Statute").

⁴⁶⁴ The preliminary examination in the Situation of Nigeria was opened on 18 November 2010. *See* ICC-OTP, [OTP weekly briefing](#) (16-22 November 2010, Issue 64), p. 2.

⁴⁶⁵ ICC-OTP, [Report on preliminary examination activities 2020](#) (14 December 2020), paras. 248-66.



the cases identified by the Office of the Prosecutor relates to attacks carried out by armed non-State actors in the context of the conflict between herders and farmers in the Middle Belt region.⁴⁶⁶

125. Yet, the information included in this urgent appeal appears sufficient in volume and quality, overall, to warrant the initiation of an investigation into whether crimes against humanity⁴⁶⁷ have been, and continue to be, committed. Crimes against humanity require that a specific act listed in Article 7(1) of the Rome Statute be “committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population, with knowledge of the attack.”⁴⁶⁸ These elements are detailed below.

126. **Specific act.** Of relevance to the mandate of the Special Rapporteur, Article 7(1)(a) provides for the crime against humanity of murder. The crime of murder is committed where one or several persons have been killed as a result of the perpetrator’s action or omission.⁴⁶⁹ Attempted murder is committed where the perpetrator took substantial steps to execute the crime, yet the crime did “not occur because of circumstances independent of the perpetrator’s intentions.”⁴⁷⁰

127. **Attack against any civilian population.** An attack means a “course of conduct involving the multiple commission of acts” referred to in Article 7(1) of the Rome Statute⁴⁷¹ such as, in the context of this urgent appeal, murder. To establish the existence of an attack, the course of conduct must have been committed against a civilian population on more than a few random or isolated occurrences.⁴⁷² While it is

⁴⁶⁶ All potential cases identified for the opening of a judicial investigation by the Office of the Prosecutor concern crimes allegedly committed by Boko Haram and the Nigerian security forces. See ICC-OTP, [Report on preliminary examination activities 2020](#) (14 December 2020), paras. 248-66.

⁴⁶⁷ Rome Statute, Art. 7(1). See also Situation in the Republic of Kenya (ICC-01/09), Pre-Trial Chamber II, [Decision pursuant to Article 15 of the Rome Statute on the authorization of an investigation into the Situation in the Republic of Kenya](#) (31 March 2010), para. 79.

⁴⁶⁸ Rome Statute, Art. 7(1).

⁴⁶⁹ Situation in Uganda (ICC-02/04-01/15), Trial Chamber IX, [Trial judgment](#) (4 February 2021), para. 2696.

⁴⁷⁰ Situation in Uganda (ICC-02/04-01/15), Trial Chamber IX, [Trial judgment](#) (4 February 2021), para. 2696.

⁴⁷¹ Rome Statute, Art. 7(2)(a).

⁴⁷² Rome Statute, Art. 7(2)(a); Situation in the Central African Republic (ICC-01/05-01/08), Pre-Trial Chamber II, [Decision pursuant to Article 61\(7\)\(a\) and \(b\) of the Rome Statute on the charges of the Prosecutor against Jean-Pierre Bemba Gombo](#) (15 June 2009), para. 81; Situation in Uganda (ICC-02/04-01/15), Trial Chamber IX, [Trial judgment](#) (4 February 2021), para. 2674.

not necessary to demonstrate that the entire population was targeted,⁴⁷³ the civilian population – which comprises all persons who are civilians as opposed to members of armed forces and other legitimate combatants⁴⁷⁴ – must be the primary object of the attack rather than an incidental victim.⁴⁷⁵

128. **Existence of a state or organisational policy.** The “course of conduct involving the multiple commission of acts” must take place pursuant to or in furtherance of a State or organisational policy to commit such attack.⁴⁷⁶ The policy requirement ensures that acts that are “unrelated or perpetrated by individuals acting randomly on their own are excluded.”⁴⁷⁷ In most cases, the existence of a State or organisational policy will be inferred from, among others, “repeated actions according to the same sequence, or the existence of preparations or collective mobilisation orchestrated and coordinated by [a] State or organisation.”⁴⁷⁸ In general, the policy requirement implies that the attack follows a regular pattern: as such, an attack that is planned, directed or organised, as opposed to spontaneous or isolated acts of violence, will satisfy the policy requirement.⁴⁷⁹

129. A State policy may, in exceptional circumstances, be evidenced by the State’s deliberate failure to take action, which is consciously aimed at encouraging an attack.⁴⁸⁰ For example, the Office of the

⁴⁷³ Situation in the Central African Republic (ICC-01/05-01/08), Pre-Trial Chamber II, [Decision pursuant to Article 61\(7\)\(a\) and \(b\) of the Rome Statute on the charges of the Prosecutor against Jean-Pierre Bemba Gombo](#) (15 June 2009), para. 77.

⁴⁷⁴ Situation in the Central African Republic (ICC-01/05-01/08), Pre-Trial Chamber II, [Decision pursuant to Article 61\(7\)\(a\) and \(b\) of the Rome Statute on the charges of the Prosecutor against Jean-Pierre Bemba Gombo](#) (15 June 2009), para. 78. However, “[t]he presence within a civilian population of individuals who do not fall under the definition of ‘civilians’ does not deprive the population of its civilian character ... [T]here is no requirement that the individual victims of crimes be civilians; they need only be ‘persons’ under the Elements of Crimes.” Situation in Uganda (ICC-02/04-01/15), Trial Chamber IX, [Trial judgment](#) (4 February 2021), para. 2675.

⁴⁷⁵ Situation in the Central African Republic (ICC-01/05-01/08), Pre-Trial Chamber II, [Decision pursuant to Article 61\(7\)\(a\) and \(b\) of the Rome Statute on the charges of the Prosecutor against Jean-Pierre Bemba Gombo](#) (15 June 2009), para. 76.

⁴⁷⁶ Rome Statute, Art. 7(2)(a).

⁴⁷⁷ Situation in Uganda (ICC-02/04-01/15), Trial Chamber IX, [Trial judgment](#) (4 February 2021), para. 2678.

⁴⁷⁸ Situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo (ICC-01/04-01/07), Trial Chamber II, [Judgment pursuant to Article 74 of the Statute](#) (7 March 2014), para. 1109.

⁴⁷⁹ Situation in the Central African Republic (ICC-01/05-01/08), Pre-Trial Chamber II, [Decision pursuant to Article 61\(7\)\(a\) and \(b\) of the Rome Statute on the charges of the Prosecutor against Jean-Pierre Bemba Gombo](#) (15 June 2009), para. 81.

⁴⁸⁰ Rome Statute, [Elements of Crimes](#), fn. 6.

Prosecutor of the ICC has previously inferred the existence of a State policy from the State’s consistent failure to take any meaningful action to prevent or deter the repetition of incidents of violence, its failure to genuinely investigate or hold accountable those responsible, and its apparent efforts to conceal or cover up alleged crimes.⁴⁸¹

130. However, a policy may also be conceived by any organisation, including non-state actors, with the capability to commit a widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population;⁴⁸² the determining factor being whether the non-state entity has the capability to perform acts infringing on basic human values.⁴⁸³ As such, it suffices that the organisation has “a set of structures or mechanisms, whatever those may be, that are sufficiently efficient to ensure the coordination necessary to carry out an attack directed against a civilian population.”⁴⁸⁴

131. **Widespread or systematic nature of the attack.** The nature requirement is disjunctive: to fall within the meaning of Article 7 of the Rome Statute, an attack must be either widespread or systematic. The term “widespread” refers to the large-scale nature of the attack in that it “should be massive, frequent, carried out collectively with considerable seriousness and directed against a multiplicity of victims.”⁴⁸⁵ The term “systematic” is understood as “patterns of crimes, in the sense of non-accidental repetition of similar criminal conduct on a regular basis.”⁴⁸⁶

132. **Nexus between the specific act and the attack.** The specific act must not be an isolated incident. As such, in determining whether there is a nexus between the crime of murder and the attack against a

⁴⁸¹ See ICC-OTP, [Report on preliminary examination activities](#) (2015), para. 93.

⁴⁸² Situation in the Central African Republic (ICC-01/05-01/08), Pre-Trial Chamber II, [Decision pursuant to Article 61\(7\)\(a\) and \(b\) of the Rome Statute on the charges of the Prosecutor against Jean-Pierre Bemba Gombo](#) (15 June 2009), para. 81.

⁴⁸³ Situation in the Republic of Kenya (ICC-01/09), Pre-Trial Chamber II, [Decision pursuant to article 15 of the Rome Statute on the authorization of an investigation into the Situation in the Republic of Kenya](#) (31 March 2010), para. 90.

⁴⁸⁴ Situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo (ICC-01/04-01/07), Trial Chamber II, [Judgment pursuant to article 74 of the Statute](#) (7 March 2014), para. 1119.

⁴⁸⁵ Situation in the Republic of Kenya (ICC-01/09), Pre-Trial Chamber II, [Decision pursuant to article 15 of the Rome Statute on the authorization of an investigation into the Situation in the Republic of Kenya](#) (31 March 2010), para. 95.

⁴⁸⁶ Situation in the Republic of Kenya (ICC-01/09), Pre-Trial Chamber II, [Decision pursuant to article 15 of the Rome Statute on the authorization of an investigation into the Situation in the Republic of Kenya](#) (31 March 2010), para. 96.



civilian population, “the characteristics, the aims, the nature or consequences of the act” must be analysed.⁴⁸⁷

133. **Perpetrator’s knowledge of the attack.** Knowledge of the attack should not be interpreted as requiring proof that the perpetrator was aware of “the precise details of the plan or policy of the State or organi[s]ation.”⁴⁸⁸ Instead, the perpetrator must have known that “the conduct was part of or intended the conduct to be part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against a civilian population.”⁴⁸⁹

V. LEGAL ANALYSIS

134. With the exception of a few possible isolated occurrences, most incidents detailed in this urgent appeal reveal a pattern of frequent, planned, and collective attacks targeting specific segments of the civilian population across four States of the Middle Belt region. On several occasions, assailants attacked villages in the late hours of the night or as residents were asleep and unarmed.⁴⁹⁰ On other occasions, assailants bearing small arms and light weapons as well as cutting weapons stormed civilian villages and surrounding areas in broad daylight, attacking the unarmed local population, including women, children, and the elderly.⁴⁹¹

135. For instance, the five most recent attacks detailed in this urgent appeal, carried out between 26 September 2021 and 12 January 2022, resulted in the killing of at least 79 persons, including at least five women, eight children, and seven elders.⁴⁹² Similarly, at least four attacks detailed in this urgent appeal

⁴⁸⁷ Situation in the Central African Republic (ICC-01/05-01/08), Pre-Trial Chamber II, *Decision pursuant to Article 61(7)(a) and (b) of the Rome Statute on the charges of the Prosecutor against Jean-Pierre Bemba Gombo* (15 June 2009), para. 84; Situation in Uganda (ICC-02/04-01/15), Trial Chamber IX, *Trial judgment* (4 February 2021), para. 2688.

⁴⁸⁸ Situation in Uganda (ICC-02/04-01/15), Trial Chamber IX, *Trial judgment* (4 February 2021), para. 2691.

⁴⁸⁹ Situation in Uganda (ICC-02/04-01/15), Trial Chamber IX, *Trial judgment* (4 February 2021), para. 2691.

⁴⁹⁰ See e.g. 17 April 2019, para. 24; 26-27 January 2020, paras 50-53; 24 March 2020, para. 59; 31 March 2020, paras 61-62; 3 May 2020, paras 77-78; 31 July 2021, paras 104-06; 26 November 2021, paras 110-12; 11-12 January 2022, paras 115-17.

⁴⁹¹ See e.g. 15 October 2017, paras 10-12; 10 February 2019 and 10 March 2019, paras 17-18; 17 June 2019, para. 27; 15 July 2019, paras 32-33; 22 September 2019, paras 36-37; 23 September 2019, para. 38; 26 October 2019, para. 40; 10 December 2019, para. 45; 1 April 2020, paras 63-65; 2 October 2020, paras 88-89; 15 October 2021, para. 13.

⁴⁹² See 26 September 2021, paras 107-09; 15 October 2021, para. 13; 26 November 2021, paras 110-12; 18 December 2021, paras 113-14; 11-12 January 2022, paras 115-17. For the purpose of this urgent appeal, children are those aged 15 years old and below while elders are those aged 65 years old and above.



resulted in the killing of pregnant women,⁴⁹³ while another attack led to the death of seven elders who were unable to flee.⁴⁹⁴ Throughout, some victims appear to have been killed as a result of indiscriminate gunshot⁴⁹⁵ while others were killed in close contact with firearms⁴⁹⁶ or cutting weapons⁴⁹⁷ and, in some cases, burnt as the assailants set fire to their houses.⁴⁹⁸ On at least three occasions, victims were also beheaded by the assailants.⁴⁹⁹

136. While villagers were warned on one occasion of planned attacks against three villages located in the Miango LGA of Plateau State,⁵⁰⁰ most attacks were unforeseen. Yet, the frequency with which several villages were targeted, the sheer number of assailants taking part in some of the reported attacks, and the similarity of their *modus operandi* across the region evidence a certain degree of planning and coordination.

137. Several areas of the Middle Belt region were repeatedly attacked since 15 October 2017. As an illustration only, the villages of Hukke and Ancha, located within a kilometre of each other in Bassa LGA of Plateau State, were attacked on nine occasions between July 2019 and January 2022.⁵⁰¹ Similarly, assailants stormed four villages of the Kwall district, Bassa LGA, in less than three weeks – including

⁴⁹³ See 15 July 2019, paras 32-33; 31 March 2020, paras 61-62; 14 April 2020, paras 70-72; 27 June 2021, paras 99-100.

⁴⁹⁴ See 1 April 2020, paras 63-65.

⁴⁹⁵ See e.g. footage in confidential Annex III relevant to the following attacks: 17 June 2019, para. 27; 17 June 2019, paras 28-29; 4 July 2019, para. 30; 10 October 2019, para. 39; 26 December 2019, para. 48; 3 April 2020, para. 66; 7-8 April 2020, paras 68-69; 14 April 2020, paras 70-72; 3 May 2020, paras 77-78; 28 May 2020, paras 80-82; 31 July 2021, paras 104-06.

⁴⁹⁶ See e.g. footage in confidential Annex III relevant to the following attacks: 17 June 2019, para. 27; 17 June 2019, paras 28-29; 14 September 2019, para. 35; 14 April 2020, paras 70-72; 23 May 2021, paras 96-97.

⁴⁹⁷ See e.g. footage in confidential Annex III relevant to the following attacks: 11 December 2019, para. 46; 23 February 2020, para. 54; 3 April 2020, para. 66; 14 April 2020, paras 70-72; 13 September 2020, paras 85-86; 19 March 2021, paras 92-93; 29 July 2021, paras 101-103.

⁴⁹⁸ See e.g. footage in confidential Annex III relevant to the following attacks: 3 May 2019, para. 25; 1 April 2020, para 63-65; 19 March 2021, paras 92-93; 26 September 2021, paras 107-09; 26 November 2021, paras 110-12.

⁴⁹⁹ See e.g. footage in confidential Annex III relevant to the following attacks: 14 July 2019, para. 31; 4 September 2019, para. 34; 10 May 2021, para. 95.

⁵⁰⁰ See 14 April 2020, paras 70-72.

⁵⁰¹ See 4 July 2019, para. 30; 15 July 2019, para. 32; 23 September 2019, para. 38; 12 October 2019, para. 33; 20 March 2020, paras 57-58; 31 March 2020, paras 61-62; 1 April 2020, paras 63-65; 13 September 2020, paras 85-86; 11-12 January 2022, paras 115-17.



Ngbra Zongo, attacked twice on 24 March 2020 and 7-8 April 2020 – leaving up to 19 dead and five injured.⁵⁰²

138. The situation is similar elsewhere in the Middle Belt region. For example, Numan LGA of Adamawa State was the stage of four separate attacks between September and October 2019.⁵⁰³ In Kajuru LGA of Kaduna State, a series of retaliatory attacks – four of which are documented in this urgent appeal – led to the death of up to 250 persons in February and March 2019.⁵⁰⁴ In 2021, villages of Kauru LGA, Kaduna State, were invaded at least three times,⁵⁰⁵ including in an attack that killed at least 40 and injured nine in September 2021.⁵⁰⁶

139. On all occasions, attacks were carried out by well-armed men.⁵⁰⁷ In Plateau State, two attacks were allegedly carried out by large groups of armed assailants within two days.⁵⁰⁸ In neighbouring Kaduna State, witnesses similarly reported four attacks carried out by large groups of armed assailants between February 2019 and March 2021.⁵⁰⁹ With the exception of one attack,⁵¹⁰ witnesses, documenters, and open-source information identified Fulani herdsmen and allied armed groups as the perpetrators, occasionally describing

⁵⁰² See 24 March 2020, para. 59; 24 March 2020, para. 60; 7 April 2020, para. 67; 7-8 April 2020, paras 68-69; 14 April 2020, paras 70-72.

⁵⁰³ See 22 September 2019, paras 36-37; 10 October 2019, para. 39; 26 October 2019, para. 40; 31 October 2019, para. 41.

⁵⁰⁴ See 2019 Kaduna State massacre, paras 16-23.

⁵⁰⁵ See 15 March 2021, para. 91; 19 March 2021, paras 92-93; 26 September 2021, paras 107-09.

⁵⁰⁶ See 26 September 2021, paras 107-09.

⁵⁰⁷ In addition to witnesses and survivors accounts describing perpetrators bearing small arms and light weapons, documenters also found cartridge cases at the location of several reported attacks. See 10 February 2019 and 10 March 2019, paras 17-18; 17 June 2019, para. 27; 4 September 2019, para. 34; 22 September 2019, paras 36-37; 8 December 2019, paras 42-44; 31 March 2020, paras 61-62; 1 April 2020, paras 63-65; 3 April 2020, para. 66; 7-8 April 2020, paras 68-69; 11-12 January 2021, paras 115-17.

⁵⁰⁸ See 31 March 2020, paras 61-62; 1 April 2020, paras 63-65.

⁵⁰⁹ See 26 February 2019, paras 19-20; 17 June 2019, para. 27; 19 April 2020, paras 73-76; 19 March 2021, paras 92-93.

⁵¹⁰ See 13 September 2020, paras 85-86. Sources differ as to the identification of the alleged perpetrators of the 13 September 2020, alternatively claiming that “herdsmen” or “military operatives” were responsible for the attack.



them as wearing black clothes,⁵¹¹ carrying AK-47 assault rifles,⁵¹² and shouting “*Allah Akbar*” as they carried out attacks.⁵¹³

140. Assailants followed a similar *modus operandi* across all States of the Middle Belt region. In addition to killing and injuring civilians by gunshot or cutting wounds, they almost systematically set villages on fire and destroyed food reserves. In Adamawa State, more than 100 houses and food barns were burnt down in a single attack.⁵¹⁴ In Plateau State, at least 12 villages were set on fire between May 2019 and January 2022.⁵¹⁵ There, assailants also burnt down several churches⁵¹⁶ and at least one clinic⁵¹⁷ and one school.⁵¹⁸ Similarly, in Karamai, located in Kaduna State, more than 100 houses were razed in an attack that also killed 40 persons.⁵¹⁹ In 2020, 63 houses, food barns, and water pumping machines used in farm irrigation were set on fire in the village of Ntiriku, also known as Ungwan Magaji, in Kaduna State.⁵²⁰

141. Most of the incidents reported in this urgent appeal point to the failure of the Federal Government to adequately address the killing spree. Measures taken to curb the violence – including the launch of military operations such as Operation Safe Haven⁵²¹ and the deployment of additional security units in affected areas⁵²² – remain ineffective. As noted by former Special Rapporteur Agnès Callamard, “the personnel are still inadequate, and units are ill-equipped to respond speedily to distress calls from remote

⁵¹¹ See 3 October 2018, para. 15; 11 March 2019, paras 21-22; 28 May 2020, paras 80-82; 19 March 2021, paras 92-93.

⁵¹² See 15 October 2017, paras 10-12; 11 March 2019, paras 21-22; 22 September 2019, paras 36-37; 10 December 2019, para. 45; 5 May 2020, para. 79; 28 May 2020, paras 80-82; 15 March 2021, para. 91.

⁵¹³ See 15 October 2017, paras 10-12; 3 October 2018, para. 15; 11 March 2019, paras 21-22; 15 July 2019, para. 32; 20 March 2020, paras 57-58; 14 April 2020, paras 70-72; 11-12 January 2022, paras 115-17.

⁵¹⁴ See 17 April 2019, para. 24.

⁵¹⁵ See 3 May 2019, para. 24; 17 June 2019, paras 28-29; 26-27 January 2020, paras 50-53; 24 March 2020, para. 59; 31 March 2020, paras 61-62; 1 April 2020, paras 63-65; 3 April 2020, para. 66; 14 April 2020, paras 70-72; 29 July 2021, paras 101-103; 31 July 2021, paras 104-06; 26 November 2021, paras 110-12; 11-12 January 2022, paras 115-17.

⁵¹⁶ See 3 May 2019, para. 25; 17 June 2019, paras 28-29; 26-27 January 2020, paras 50-53; 3 April 2020, para. 66.

⁵¹⁷ See 17 June 2019, paras 28-29.

⁵¹⁸ See 3 April 2020, para. 66.

⁵¹⁹ See 26 February 2019, paras 19-20.

⁵²⁰ See 19 April 2020, paras 73-76.

⁵²¹ For more information, see fn. 199.

⁵²² International Crisis Group, [Stopping Nigeria's spiralling farmer-herder violence](#) (26 July 2018), p. 21.

villages or deter attacks by dozens of heavily armed men.”⁵²³ The lack of effectiveness and readiness of security agencies also appears to be questioned by the Nigerian political apparatus, with State Governors and other officials often calling on them to fulfil their duty to protect citizens and apprehend perpetrators.⁵²⁴

142. Indeed, security agencies often intervene, if at all, only after attacks have taken place.⁵²⁵ In Kaduna State, at least two attacks were carried out in the vicinity of military or police checkpoints without intervention.⁵²⁶ In nearby Plateau State, authorities failed to take preventive measures despite being alerted hours prior of impending attacks that ultimately lasted for several hours.⁵²⁷ On one occasion, they additionally argued not being able to intervene for lack of secure equipment despite hearing AK-47 gunshots in a village under attack.⁵²⁸ Yet only two months later, authorities allegedly equipped with armoured personnel carriers also failed to halt another, hours-long attack that left up to seven dead, nine injured, and considerable destruction of property.⁵²⁹

143. In addition to security agencies’ untimely interventions, several of the incidents reported in this urgent appeal point to the complicity, if not the active involvement, of security forces in attacks. In March 2018, Lieutenant General Theophilus Y Danjuma, the former Army Chief of Staff and Defence Minister, publicly stated that the armed forces were “not neutral, they collude” in the “attempt at ethnic cleansing” by “armed bandits,” calling on villagers to defend themselves, because relying on the armed forces would result in them dying “one by one.”⁵³⁰ Five months prior, soldiers stationed in Nkiendoro, Bassa LGA, had reportedly locked villagers in a classroom upon being bribed by Fulani assailants, resulting in the killing of

⁵²³ *Report of the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, Agnès Callamard, A/HRC/47/33/Add.2* (11 June 2021), para. 56.

⁵²⁴ *See e.g.* 2019 Kaduna State massacre, paras 16-23; 26-27 January 2020, paras 50-53; 1 April 2020, paras 63-65; 28 May 2020, paras 80-82; 26 September 2021, paras 107-09; 26 November 2021, paras 110-12; 18 December 2021, paras 113-14; 11-12 January 2022, paras 115-17.

⁵²⁵ *See e.g.* 8 December 2019, paras 42-44; 31 March 2020, paras 61-62; 7-8 April 2020, paras 68-69; 14 April 2020, paras 70-72; 28 May 2020, paras 80-82; 23 May 2021, paras 96-97.

⁵²⁶ *See* 8 December 2019, paras 42-44; 10 May 2021, para. 95.

⁵²⁷ *See* 31 March 2020, paras 61-62; 14 April 2020, paras 70-72.

⁵²⁸ *See* 23 May 2021, paras 96-97.

⁵²⁹ *See* 31 July 2021, paras 104-06.

⁵³⁰ TVC News Nigeria, [Danjuma speaks tough, accuses Nigerian armed forces of colluding with armed bandits](#) (24 March 2018).

29 persons.⁵³¹ In Plateau State, evidence suggests that at least one other attack was carried out by, or with the assent of, soldiers in the area, who then prevented peacekeepers from accessing the bodies of the victims.⁵³²

144. While State Governors often publicly condemn attacks, one of them is alleged to instigate violence rather than attempting to quell the crisis. In 2019, several groups accused Kaduna State Governor el-Rufai of deliberately lying about the death toll suffered by Fulani herdsmen in an attack allegedly carried out by Adara community members.⁵³³ In 2021, Governor el-Rufai reportedly expressed that “[w]hat the Fulani never forgets is when he is innocently targeted and killed and the authorities do nothing. He will never forget and he will come back for revenge.”⁵³⁴

145. Formal investigations into attacks are indeed infrequent. While public scrutiny has, at times, led to the creation of commissions of inquiry by State Governors, their findings remain inaccessible to the public.⁵³⁵ In fact, not a single incident reported in this urgent appeal appears to have resulted in prosecutions, or trials – even when victims identified the assailants by name.⁵³⁶ For instance, former Special Rapporteur Agnès Callamard noted that two years after the killing of 29 persons in Nkiendoro, Plateau State, “none of the survivors had been asked to provide testimonies or to attend trial, if trials did indeed occur.”⁵³⁷ The Court of Justice of the Economic Community of West African States similarly recognised

⁵³¹ See 15 October 2017, paras 10-12.

⁵³² See 13 September 2020, paras 85-86.

⁵³³ Sahara Reporters, [‘It was a rumour to instigate violence’ – CAN, NEMA say el-Rufai lied about killing of 66 people in Kaduna](#) (17 February 2019); A. Tauna, Daily Post, [Kajuru killing: Gov. El-Rufai wants to instigate a crisis in Kaduna – Adara people allege](#) (17 February 2019).

⁵³⁴ V. Ufuoma, International Centre for Investigative Reporting, [Fulani never forget injustice, they will come back for revenge – El-Rufai](#) (7 May 2021). Governor el-Rufai allegedly made this statement when asked to clarify a tweet he posted in 2012 in which wrote “[w]e will write this for all to read. Anyone, soldier or not that kills Fulani takes a loan repayable one day no matter how long it takes.” See N. A. el-Rufai, [Tweet post dated 15 July 2012, 7:51 pm](#).

⁵³⁵ See e.g. 2019 Kaduna State massacre Commission of Inquiry, para. 23.

⁵³⁶ See e.g. 28 September 2020, para. 87; 27 June 2021, paras 99-100. See also 8 December 2019, paras 42-44.

⁵³⁷ *Report of the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, Agnès Callamard, A/HRC/47/33/Add.2* (11 June 2021), para. 56.



the Federal Government's failure to investigate the mass killing of the Agatu community in Benue State allegedly carried out by Fulani herdsmen in 2016.⁵³⁸ Since then, little has changed.

146. Diplomatic avenues have also been repeatedly envisaged – at both the Federal and State levels – but they too have proven inadequate to halt the waves of attacks. President Buhari and other senior officials have reportedly met with herder and farming communities' leaders and relevant State Governments to discuss common long-term solutions to halt the attacks. While some of these discussions have unveiled measures that signal some form of commitment from the Government, no concrete steps appear to have been taken to implement them.⁵³⁹ Examples of such measures include the decision to establish “cattle colonies” in 2018⁵⁴⁰ and the more comprehensive ten-year National Livestock Transformation Plan (the “Plan”) adopted in 2019.⁵⁴¹ Despite preliminary steps taken by the Federal Government in support of the Plan, and its endorsement received at the State level, many obstacles continue to hinder and stall its implementation, such as widespread insecurity, budgetary constraints, and lack of political leadership.⁵⁴²

147. Dialogue between the different communities involved in the conflict has similarly been promoted at the State level. For instance, Plateau State established a Peace Building Agency in 2016 in order to engage with both State and non-State actors and coordinate “all conflict prevention and peacebuilding efforts in Plateau [S]tate.”⁵⁴³ Despite having implemented a number of specific conflict resolution interventions⁵⁴⁴ as

⁵³⁸ Court of Justice of the Economic Community of West African States, Rev. Fr. Solomon MFA *et al.* v. Federal Republic of Nigeria *et al.*, [Judgment No. ECW/CCJ/JUD/06/19](#) (26 February 2019).

⁵³⁹ International Crisis Group, [Stopping Nigeria's spiralling farmer-herder violence](#) (26 July 2018), pp. 20-30.

⁵⁴⁰ International Crisis Group, [Stopping Nigeria's spiralling farmer-herder violence](#) (26 July 2018), pp. ii, 23-25.

⁵⁴¹ Following a wave of violence in the Middle Belt Region in 2018, the Federal Government formulated the National Livestock Transformation Plan aimed at modernising the livestock sector. The Plan, adopted in January 2019 by the National Economic Council, is meant to set aside land for predominantly nomadic herders to encourage them to switch to ranching and other sedentary livestock production systems, with the ultimate goal to minimise their movement and curb the conflict between herder and farming communities. *See* International Crisis Group, [Ending Nigeria's herder-farmer crisis: the Livestock Reform Plan](#) (4 May 2021); International Crisis Group, [Stopping Nigeria's spiralling farmer-herder violence](#) (26 July 2018); European Asylum Support Office, [Nigeria security situation: country of origin information report](#) (June 2021).

⁵⁴² International Crisis Group, [Ending Nigeria's herder-farmer crisis: the Livestock Reform Plan](#) (4 May 2021), pp. 9-18.

⁵⁴³ Plateau Peace Building Agency, [About us](#).

⁵⁴⁴ *See* the Agreement between Irigwe and Fulani communities in September 2019, fn. 119.



well as long-term peacebuilding strategic plans,⁵⁴⁵ reprisals and killings continue, with certain attacks being carried out within mere hours or days of peace building initiatives.⁵⁴⁶

148. In the face of the country’s “gravest security challenge,”⁵⁴⁷ the Federal Government is failing its constitutional duty and human rights pledge to protect the lives of all Nigerians. Despite claiming far more civilian lives than the Boko Haram insurgency, the conflict between herders and farmers continues to receive less attention and resources at both the Federal and States levels of the Government.⁵⁴⁸ Some partly attribute this to President Buhari’s own ethnic and cultural affiliation with the Fulani community.⁵⁴⁹

VI. CONCLUSION

149. In sum, the incidents detailed in this urgent appeal amount to clear violations of the right to life enshrined, *inter alia*, in Section 33 of the Constitution, Article 6 of the ICCPR, and Article 4 of the Banjul Charter. The information provided also appears sufficient in volume and quality, overall, to warrant the initiation of an investigation into whether the crime against humanity of murder, defined under Article 7(1)(a) of the Rome Statute, has been, and continues to be, committed in the Middle Belt region of Nigeria.

150. An analysis of the selected footage, accompanying documenters’ notes, data relevant to the date, time, and location of capture, as well as open-source information reveals that armed non-States actors operate in the States of Adamawa, Kaduna, Nasarawa, and Plateau with impunity, killing unarmed civilians, setting villages ablaze, and destroying food reserves. Evidence suggests that initiatives taken at both the Federal and State levels of the Nigerian Government have proven inadequate to halt the killing spree, with some attacks benefitting from the complicity, if not the active involvement, of security forces. To this day, only a handful of attacks have led to formal investigations, the findings of which remain inaccessible to the public, with no prosecutions in sight.

⁵⁴⁵ See the five-year peace building strategic plan for Plateau State in March 2018, fn. 26.

⁵⁴⁶ See 8 March 2018, para. 14; 23 September 2019, para. 38.

⁵⁴⁷ Special Rapporteur Agnès Callamard. *Report of the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, Agnès Callamard*, A/HRC/47/33/Add.2 (11 June 2021), para. 50.

⁵⁴⁸ International Crisis Group, *Stopping Nigeria’s spiralling farmer-herder violence* (26 July 2018), p. 1.

⁵⁴⁹ Institute for Security Studies, *Herdsman crisis underscores Nigeria’s complex security threats* (28 May 2018); K. E. Ezemenaka & C. E. Ekumaoko, *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies*, *Contextualising Fulani-herdsmen conflict in Nigeria* (12 no. 2, 2018), p. 45.



151. While this urgent appeal focuses on footage portraying attacks against farming communities in the Middle Belt region of Nigeria and pointing to the identification of the alleged perpetrators as Fulani herdsmen and allied armed groups, unarmed civilians are caught in retaliatory attacks perpetrated by both sides of the conflict between herder and farming communities. As such, a holistic approach must be taken by Human Rights Special Procedures, including in the form of an investigation into the States and Federal authorities' role in contributing to the perpetuation of human rights violations, including the right to life, throughout the region.

152. **For all these reasons, the submitting organisations and individuals urge the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, arbitrary, or summary executions to:**

- **Seek information as to the steps taken at the States and Federal levels of the Government of Nigeria to investigate, prosecute, and punish those responsible for extrajudicial executions;**
- **Seek information as to the measures taken at the States and Federal levels of the Government of Nigeria to provide redress, rehabilitation, and compensation to victims and survivors;**
- **Seek information as to the steps taken at the States and Federal levels to address the root causes and consequences of the conflict between herders and farmers;**
- **Undertake a country visit to Nigeria to assess the allegations contained in this urgent appeal and in relation to the conflict between herders and farmers;**
- **Recommend the establishment of a United Nations Commission of Inquiry or fact-finding mission charged with investigating the crimes allegedly committed in the Middle Belt region; and**
- **Recommend the creation of a new Special Rapporteur mandate on Nigeria to the Human Rights Council.**