UPDATE OF THE 2016 IHRC ‘COMMUNICATION TO THE ICC PROSECUTOR’ PURSUANT TO ARTICLE 15 OF THE ROME STATUE OF THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT TO OPEN A PRELIMINARY INQUIRY INTO THE ATTACK AGAINST THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT OF NIGERIA ON 12-14 DECEMBER 2015 IN ZARIA

Author: Caterina Aiena
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Author: Caterina Aiena
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I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

IHRC welcomes the Report on Preliminary Examination Activities 2019\(^1\) by the Prosecution Office of the International Criminal Court (ICC). Nonetheless, IHRC is of the view that in these five years little has been demanded from the Nigerian government by the ICC and other leading international organizations. In respect of their role at the forefront of the fight for the protection of human rights, the international community should apply more pressure on the Nigerian authorities and remind the country of its obligations to uphold fundamental human rights.

IHRC believes that the Nigerian authorities have been operating outside legal norms on the basis of examination of a number of incidents, within the context of a strategy which aims on one hand at destroying and concealing all evidence incriminating the soldiers responsible for the killings of December 2015, and on the other hand to cripple the Islamic Movement of Nigeria (Islamic Movement). This is exemplified by the fact that a) the government has refused to follow the National Commission of Inquiry’s recommendation to prosecute Adeniyi Oyebade, the General Officer Commanding the Nigerian Army’s 1st Division, widely believed to be behind the savage attacks; b) the Attorney General of a lower state court has started prosecuting Sheikh Ibrahim Zakzaky and his wife,\(^2\) Mallima Zeenah, on the basis of false accusations in a sham trial, in defiance of the 2016 order for their release by the Federal High Court of Justice (a higher national court), who ordered the Department of State Services (DSS) to release Sheikh Zakzaky and his wife Zeenah within 45 days.\(^3\)

This IHRC communication aims to provide an in-depth update on the happenings since the 2015 massacre occurred, to be seen in the context of continuous violations of the state of law and Zakzaky’s right to receive medical treatment by Nigerian authorities. IHRC believes that the trumped-up charges against Zakzaky and his wife reflect a misguided attempt by the government to conceal its responsibility for a planned and systematic attack by soldiers against unarmed civilians, along with the government’s culpability in a pattern of contempt for due process.

In the first part, the report provides an update on the major incidents that have occurred from 2016 to April 2020. In the second and third parts, IHRC has attached two lists: 1) a list of attacks by Nigerian police and/or army against Islamic Movement members, supporters and religious places; 2) an up-to-date list of the people killed during the December 2015 attack in Zaria.

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RECOMMENDATIONS:

IHRC makes the following recommendations to the ICC:

a. Take measures to ensure that all evidence of crimes and human rights violations are preserved, including all military and other official records, in particular records relating to the collection and disposal of the bodies of those killed in the attack of December 2015 in Zaria. There is credible evidence that the Nigerian authorities are seeking to destroy this evidence. 4

b. Ensure that the necessary safeguards are in place for the safety and security of witnesses who may testify against the army or the Nigerian government in any legal process. 5

c. Create and implement mechanisms for exhumations, autopsies and investigations into those killed in December 2015. Bodies interred in mass graves should be exhumed, under the supervision of the ICC or another international body, with a view to conducting independent autopsies by independent and recognized international forensic pathologists to establish the causes and circumstances of death. This process should be done as swiftly as possible, so as to allow bodies of the deceased to be returned to their families for burial in line with their cultural and religious norms.

We believe the above steps are necessary in order to allow the ICC to bring successful prosecution. The Nigerian authorities have shown over the last 4 years that they have no intention of prosecuting those responsible for this crime. While it is necessary that the ICC follow its procedures, it should not lose sight of this fact or the Nigerian government and army’s willingness to destroy evidence that points to their culpability. Failure to take the above steps will allow the government and army to erase all evidence of their criminal actions.

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II. INTRODUCTION

1. IHRC has at the core of its mandate the investigation of human rights abuses and referral of cases to all relevant international bodies. Since 2015, IHRC has been lobbying various Nigerian and international authorities for the release of Sheikh Zakzaky, including the ICC, the African Union, the United Nations, the Commonwealth, the EU, the Nigerian president and the Nigerian High Commissioner to the UK. The campaign demands that those responsible for the massacres in Zaria in December 2015 are brought to justice, that Zakzaky receives adequate medical treatment and those still detained are freed.

2. In March 2016 IHRC wrote to the ICC urging it to investigate the massacre. It called on the international tribunal, which has a mandate to prosecute people for war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide, to open a preliminary enquiry on the grounds that the crimes committed by the Nigerian army meet all the necessary legal requirements to warrant a preliminary investigation by the ICC prosecutor. The IHRC legal team has received reports of human rights abuses from a variety of sources in Nigeria and internationally, including NGOs and victims’ families. This material has been analysed and has been provided to the ICC Prosecutor on a regular basis.

3. IHRC maintains that the Islamic Movement is a victim of suppression by Nigerian authorities on the basis of its political orientation. In fact, the Islamic Movement has been targeted for being highly critical of the political corruption within the Nigerian establishment: Nigerian governmental relationships and intelligence sharing with the State of Israel; the relationship between facets of the Nigerian army and Boko Haram as well as other corrupt practices prevalent within the political establishment. Not surprisingly, the 2016 Annual Threat Assessment Report by the Office of the National Security Adviser (NSA) to President Muhammadu Buhari labelled the Islamic Movement of Nigeria as a secessionist agitation group, and therefore a threat to the nation’s security, along with the Indigenous Peoples of Biafra (IPOB). However, international human rights organisations such as IHRC and Amnesty International reported that excessive force has been used by Nigerian security agencies in dealing with both Islamic Movement and IPOB. The Islamic Movement has always maintained, and all evidence indicates, that they are a peaceful civil society organisation.

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Context

4. In December 2015 the Nigerian armed forces conducted a string of massive attacks against the supporters of the Islamic Movement, their properties, religious places and symbols, which resulted in the killing of nearly 1000 civilians. The Islamic Movement leader Sheikh Ibrahim Zakzaky and his wife Zeenah were both shot in the attack and their family home burned down and demolished. Three of their sons died in the attack. As reported, there are a number of mass graves around Zaria, with up to 1000 victims buried in them by the Nigerian army. In 2019, the movement was declared unlawful and prohibited in the state of Kaduna. Marches and gatherings for religious events have been banned altogether, and Islamic Movement followers incarcerated.

5. After the attack of 2015, the leader of the Islamic Movement, Sheikh Ibrahim Zakzaky and his wife Zeenah were kept, initially, incommunicado for months, and subsequently in custody with no trial until 2019, when the pair were summoned to appear before the Kaduna State Court.

6. Reports from family members indicate that Sheikh Zakzaky, who has lost his sight in one eye and the use of one arm in the 2015 military attack, is in a real danger of losing sight in the other eye due to a lack of adequate medical attention. In January 2018, he also suffered a stroke and thenceforth his already poor condition has deteriorated.

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III. SUMMARY OF THE MAJOR INCIDENTS FROM 2016 TO DATE

A. From January 2016 to December 2016

7. In January 2016, the Nigerian Judicial Commission of Inquiry (JCI) started the investigations on the Zaria massacre. The JCI was set up a month earlier (December 2015) by the Kaduna State government, in response to the massacre of December 2015. In its final report, the Commission acknowledged that a massacre took place, and accused the General Officer commanding the Nigerian Army’s 1st Division, Adeniyi Oyebade, of orchestrating the military operation outside the chain of command. The commission called for the officers who participated in the operation to be brought to trial before a court of competent jurisdiction. However, neither General Officer Adeniyi Oyebade nor any other military officers have been arrested and prosecuted to date.

8. IHRC has criticised the Commission of Inquiry for not being sufficiently independent and impartial to hold those responsible to account. Suffice it to say that the person who set up the commission of inquiry, the Kaduna state governor Malam Nasir el-Rufai, was the same person responsible for demolishing Islamic Movement properties during the December 2015 attacks as well as the burial of victims in mass graves. During his news speech in December 2015, the Kaduna state governor listed a range of grievances against the Islamic Movement, which can be seen as indicative of bias against the Islamic Movement from the start. In the Commission of Inquiry report they concluded that the military employed disproportionate force to quell what it called “civil unrest” led by ‘a rogue’, the Islamic Movement leader Sheikh Zakzaky. Further, the report seeks to draw moral equivalence between the actions of the army and unarmed members of the Islamic Movement. It routinely refers to the violence as “clashes” when in fact the deadly violence was exclusively one-sided, and accused the Islamic Movement in Zaria of being heavily armed, an allegation that has never been established by the Commission of Inquiry, the army or Nigerian government. Lastly, it was also incongruous that a Judicial Commission visited persons not directly involved in the crisis while refusing to visit the Kaduna Central prison where over 70 Islamic Movement detainees were being held, many of them suffering from gunshot wounds. Likewise, the Islamic Movement leader Sheikh Zakzaky never appeared before the Judicial Commission, and all the judgments were based on what one party (the Governor) said. IHRC believes that the Commission of Inquiry’s work was aimed at finding a scapegoat, a ‘rogue operator’, and letting the government off the hook, rather than bringing the perpetrators to justice for what was effectively a pre-planned massacre.

9. In December of the same year, the Federal High Court of Nigeria declared that the detention of Sheikh Zakzaky and his wife was unlawful and unconstitutional.

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and ordered the Nigerian government to release them by January 2017, and pay compensation. That ruling has never been enforced with the state authorities in Kaduna deciding instead to prosecute the pair in 2018.

B. From January 2017 to December 2017

10. A Presidential Investigation Panel on Review of Compliance of Armed Forces with Human Rights Obligations and Rules of Engagement was set up in September 2017 and began proceedings to investigate the allegations of war crimes by the country’s armed forces. However, concerns have been raised by international organizations in relation to the transparency and impartiality of the Panel, and its composition since it includes members who served in the Kaduna State Judicial Commission, or in the Chief of Army Staff military investigation panel. The Islamic Movement leader Sheikh Zakzaky or other witnesses from the Islamic Movement were not allowed to testify.

11. The same year, the ICC produced the Report on Preliminary Examination Activities containing the findings of its preliminary examinations. In the report, the ICC stated in reference to the attack by armed forces on supporters of the Islamic Movement of Nigeria: “It is alleged that members of the IMN armed with batons, knives, and machetes stopped the convoy of the Chief of Army Staff on a principal road in Zaria on 12 December 2015”. Later on, IHRC wrote a formal letter of concern to the chief prosecutor of the ICC, in which IHRC strongly objected to the comments and reminded the ICC chief prosecutor Fatou Bensouda that to repeat the government narrative was a grave mistake especially when the report “fails to present the victims’ perspective, ignores all of the evidence except that presented by the government and unfairly presents the victims of the violence as the instigator of the violence”. On the contrary, there is a large body of photographic and video evidence ranging from eyewitness accounts to victim statements that shows that: a) soldiers were walking around Islamic Movement buildings at a leisurely pace without any fear for their safety; b) they took up their positions before opening fire without any provocation from the unarmed Islamic Movement supporters; c) Islamic Movement supporters were unarmed and did not engage in any violent activity, and the government has failed to provide any evidence to the contrary.


11 https://www.icc-cpi.int/Pages/item.aspx?name=171204-rep-otp-PE, p.47


13 The present material or any other material referred to in this report can be provided by IHRC at the express request of ICC.
12. In another letter the same year, IHRC also warned the ICC of reports that the Nigerian government was planning to exhume the mass graves of those killed during the December 2015 massacre. IHRC was informed that the authorities intended to disperse the victims’ bodies to unknown locations in an attempt to conceal evidence. IHRC emphasised to the ICC that it was imperative that any exhumation did not go ahead under the sole authority of the Nigerian government or army as there remained a high risk of destruction of vital evidence. The victims’ bodies should be exhumed under the supervision of an international organisation, like the ICC, so that evidence can be preserved, and the victims’ bodies returned to their families.

C. From January 2018 to December 2018

13. In January, the Court of Appeal in Abuja publicly criticized the Nigerian government for acting in defiance of its injunctions in respect of the case of the illegally detained leader of the Islamic Movement, Sheikh Zakzaky. This came after the decision of the Attorney General of Nigeria to file an appeal to overthrow the order of the Federal High Court.

14. Four months later, Sheikh Zakzaky and his wife were arraigned by the State High Court in Kaduna, which charged the couple and other Islamic Movement supporters with eight offences, the most serious of which is the abetment of committing a culpable homicide by blocking roads in the city of Zaria in December 2015. The couple were placed in the custody of the DSS and their whereabouts was initially not known to anyone including family members.

D. From January 2019 to December 2019

15. In April 2019 IHRC was able to take a team of doctors to Nigeria to examine the Sheikh and his wife and make recommendations as regards their treatment. The lead levels in Sheikh Zakzaky’s blood, who had suffered two strokes in 2018, were so dangerously high as to render immediate treatment a medical emergency. Following the visit, IHRC recommended urgent specialist treatment which he could only access outside Nigeria.

16. Eventually, after much international pressure, the court demanded Sheikh Zakzaky and his wife be released so that they could travel for urgent medical treatment. At that time, despite IHRC following up medical options in a number of countries, India was the only viable destination due to delays and the Nigerian government’s refusal of certain destinations. The option of India came into being as three of the Sheikh’s trusted medical team were from there and helped to facilitate the visit without the involvement or interference (at that stage) from the Indian government. As part of the court conditions for the trip, Sheikh Zakzaky was entitled to seek treatment from a physician of his choice, but Nigerian security were granted permission to supervise the medical visit. However, on arrival in India this term was violated by Nigerian security services by acts of
harassment. The Nigerian security services confiscated Sheikh Zakzaky and his wife’s legal documents with the help of their Indian counterparts; prevented them at various times from meeting their trusted doctors; denied them access to their Indian lawyers and demanded control over medical treatment. The trip was eventually cut short after it became clear that the Indian and Nigerian authorities were obstructing its aim.

17. In July 2019, the Islamic Movement was declared unlawful and banned in the state of Kaduna. Marches and gathering for religious events have been banned altogether, and Islamic Movement followers incarcerated.

18. In December 2019, following the Kaduna High Court Judge’s order, the Nigerian state security service, the DSS, transferred Zakzaky and his wife from what was effectively house detention to the detention facility of the Nigerian Correctional Service in Kaduna State, in order to allow their lawyers to have access to them.

E. From January 2020 to date

19. On February 6, 2020, the court reordered that Zakzaky and Zeenah should be allowed access to medical care, to be provided by their own medical practitioners in conjunction with the medical doctors nominated by the State Ministry of Justice and the prison authorities. A similar order in kind had already been delivered by the court but frustrated by the Kaduna government and the prison authorities who refused to allow the doctors of Zakzaky and his wife access to them for medical examination. The counsel for the state and Director of Public Prosecution, Dari Bayero, told reporters that all “grey areas” had been resolved as the court had ordered that the couple be allowed access to their medical doctors, before taking their plea in April 2020.

20. In April 2020, the Nigerian president Muhammadu Buhari pardoned 2500 prisoners nationwide in a bid to reduce overcrowding in the country’s prisons in the wake of the Covid-19 pandemic. Although the pardon included prisoners aged over 60 and those suffering from ill-health likely to lead to death, Sheikh Zakzaky and his wife, Mallima Zeenah, were not among those to be freed.
Appendix A:

Recorded Attacks Against Islamic Movement Supporters And Religious Places

Since 2016, demonstrations involving tens of thousands of the sheikh’s supporters have been staged daily in the capital Abuja as well as other towns and cities across northern Nigeria. Despite their totally peaceful nature the protests have been subject to sabotage and violent, often fatal, attacks by security forces intent on bringing the Islamic Movement into disrepute. Many fatalities have been reported after the army and police targeted the mainly Shia Muslim supporters of the Islamic Movement of Nigeria.

The incidents reported clearly show the escalation of repression by the Nigerian authorities and army against the Islamic Movement. IHRC can provide video and photographic evidence of these attacks.

List of incidents

1. **October 2016**: Several attacks by the armed forces have been reported during the month across four states in Nigeria: a) in Funtua, Katsina state, where the security forces opened fire with live rounds on followers of the Islamic Movement taking part in a procession; b) in Kaduna state, a stronghold of the Islamic Movement, where the main mosque used by its followers, the Kadunai Markaz mosque, was also set on fire; c) in the city of Kano, in Kano State, where authorities stopped a group headed to the Islamic Movement centre; d) in the city of Jos in Plateau state, where troops attacked the Islamic Movement centre with tear gas and live rounds, inside which several people including a leader of the Islamic Movement, Sheikh Adamu Tsahos, were trapped. Sheikh Adamu Tsahos’s house in Jos was also reportedly attacked. All the attacks resulted in at least 13 fatalities. In the same period, reports indicate that in Kaduna the authorities hired thugs to find and kill Shia Muslims from the Islamic Movement.

2. **November 2016**: Army opened fire on Arba’een commemorations in Kano. Kano state government sent policemen to attack a peaceful religious observance of Arba’een trek.

3. **April 2017**: Police fired water cannon in the capital Abuja at protestors demonstrating against the continued detention of Sheikh Ibrahim el-Zakzaky and his wife.

4. **June 2017**: Police shot at a pro-Palestinian demonstration in the northern city of Kaduna killing at least one person. A 10-year-old child was shot when police attacked the peaceful procession in a bid to stop it proceeding through the state
capital. Thousands of people were taking part in the rally when police attacked without warning using tear gas and live rounds. IHRC was informed that hired thugs using makeshift weapons were reported to have set upon the demonstrators. There were reports of many wounded and arrested.

5. **July 2017**: Heavy deployment of security operatives comprising of anti-riot, regular police and soldiers, disrupted the Islamic Movement’s annual remembrance of the killing of three of Sheikh Zakzaky’s sons and 31 other members in Zaria on July 25, 2014. The event which was being held in Zaria, was besieged by the security operatives who stormed the venue with over 18 trucks filled with personnel.

6. **September 2017**: Armed police in Sokoto, Nigeria, broke up a gathering of civilians marking the historical events of Ashura, arresting at least six members of the Islamic Movement. The event was for commemorating the martyrdom of the Prophet Muhammad’s grandson, Husayn.

7. **November 2017**: Police tear-gassed crowds in the capital Abuja to break up the annual religious Arba’een procession. Videos and photographs from the event showed pandemonium and panic breaking out among the crowd as people tried to escape the noxious fumes. One photograph showed a marcher with his shirt drenched in blood from an apparent wound to the face. This violence followed an attack on a procession the previous weekend in the northern city of Kano which resulted in the deaths of at least four innocent people.

8. **January 2018**: There were reports of a fatality and many injuries at a demonstration in Abuja after police opened fire for the second day in succession at protestors marching to demand the release of Sheikh Zakzaky. Photographs from the scene showed protestors carrying away the bloodied bodies of the victims. The police violence came after at least two people were injured the day before and tens more arrested while taking part in another peaceful demonstration in support of Sheikh Zakzaky. Police in Kaduna State opened fire on peaceful protesters who had taken to the streets upon hearing that Sheikh Zakzaky’s health had deteriorated in illegal detention. Thousands had filled Ahmadu Bello Way to demand for the release of Sheikh Zakzaky while police had opened fire killing two people and injuring scores of other protestors.

9. **April 2018**: Police snipers in the centre of the Nigerian capital Abuja opened fire at a ‘Free Zakzaky’ protest killing at least one and injuring two. The police violence followed the arrest days earlier of the convener of the daily ‘Free Zakzaky’ sit-in protest at the Unity Fountain. Prince Deji Adeyanju was arrested and taken away to an unknown location by armed police as he took part in the protests.

10. **June 2018**: The authorities attacked in Kaduna City and killed two protestors demonstrating against the continued detention of the leader of the Islamic Movement. It was the second day in succession that armed police had opened fire with live ammunition on peaceful pro-Zakzaky protestors, among whom at least three people were wounded, one of them critically in another protest.
11. **September 2018**: Police opened fire on a large procession marking the day of Ashura in the Nigerian city of Zaria. The mourning procession was attacked without warning and without provocation. At least one person was shot and injured.

12. **October 2018**: Annual peaceful protest in Abuja, marking 40 days after the anniversary of the killing of the Prophet Muhammad’s grandson Husayn, was fired upon by soldiers without provocation and while it was in the process of ending. The attack resulted in seventeen people killed and many others injured. In Zuba, soldiers killed two members of the Islamic Movement during a similar procession. Soldiers took one corpse while the other was left behind.

13. **May 2019**: Police fired live ammunition at ‘Free Zakzaky’ procession in Zaria injuring 5 people. Police also violently attacked the Al-Quds Day demonstrations in Kaduna and opened fire on peaceful demonstrators rallying in support of Palestine. They killed 1 person and injured many others.

14. **June 2019**: Peaceful ‘Free Zakzaky’ procession was fired upon by soldiers who had arrived by truck and used live ammunition in Kaduna injuring three people.

15. **July 2019**: Two persons have been brutally killed by police during a peaceful ‘Free Zakzaky’ procession in Kaduna. Police also fired upon ‘Free Zakzaky’ procession outside Abuja Teaching Hospital; Nigerian police had raided the hospital and evacuated 11 victims who had been previously shot. 12 people died during this attack and 30 injured, including one police officer shot from behind.

16. **August 2019**: Leaked directive from the Inspector General of Police, dated on 31 August 2019, instructed police to dismantle the structures and leadership of the Islamic Movement and contain its activities.

17. **September 2019**: Police fired on Ashura protests in different cities, killing 3 in Kaduna, 3 in Azare, Bauchi State, 3 in Bauchi, 3 in Gombe, 1 in Illela and 1 in Katsina.


20. **December 2019**: Police opened fire on ‘Free Zakzaky’ protest in Sokoto, killing one and injuring another.

21. **January 2020**: Police opened fire on ‘Free Zakzaky’ protest in Abuja injuring 5 people. A second attack, also against a ‘Free Zakzaky’ protest in Abuja killed several people including a journalist.

22. **February 2020**: Police fired on procession commemorating birth of Fatemah Zahra in Misau, Bauchi state, injuring 15 people. A further attack on a ‘Free Zakzaky’ protest in Kaduna led to the death of at least one person.
Appendix B:
List of those known to have been killed

This list is still being updated and reflects the total number of casualties known up to April 2020.

Where the location of death is known, it has been stated. Many bodies were removed by the Army during the attack, and so it is unknown exactly where they died.

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<th>HOME / ADDRESS</th>
<th>AGE</th>
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