# ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS (NON REPORTING STATE) 126<sup>th</sup> Session (1 July 2019 to 26 July 2019)

## **NIGERIA**

Prepared and Submitted on 9 May 2019 by the Islamic Human Rights Commission (UK)



Islamic Human Rights Commission (IHRC) is a not-for-profit campaign, research and advocacy organisation founded and based in the United Kingdom. It was set up in 1997 and works for redress of human rights violations and a better understanding of rights and norms across confessional, ethnic, national, political and other boundaries.

IHRC has consultative status with the UN - ECOSOC.

202 Preston Road Wembley HA9 8PA United Kingdom

Tel: +44 2089044222 Fax: +442030700143 Email: <u>info@ihrc.org</u>

Web: http://ihrc.org.uk/activities/ihrc-at-un

For direct communication about this report, please contact Jawad Husain jawad@ihrc.org

### **Table of Contents**

OVERVIEW	3
INCIDENTS IN WHICH NIGERIA'S HAS VIOLATED THE ICCPR IN RESPECT OF ITS TREATMENT OF	
ISLAMIC MOVEMENT OF NIGERIA	3
Al-Quds Day Massacre 2014	3
Zaria Massacre 2015	4
Killings at Sheikh Zakzaky's residence	5
Attack on Darur Rahma cemtery	6
Total casualties and other crimes	6
Breaches of ICCPR	7
Illegal detention of Zakzaky, his wife and other Islamic Movement members	7
Denial of healthcare	8
Mass graves	8
Ban on Islamic Movement in Kaduna	9
Religious freedom and discrimination	9
Right to Peaceful Assembly, Freedom of Expression and Freedom of Movement	11
Right to a fair trial	12
Right to a fair trial	1

#### **OVERVIEW**

Since at least 2014 the authorities in Nigeria have prosecuted a systematic and violent campaign to suppress the Islamic Movement of Nigeria. The campaign has taken the form of extra-judicial killings, arrests, intimidation (including torture), abuse of domestic law, destruction of the organisation's property, and restrictions on lawful activities. The persecution of the movement has been characterised by massive state repression of its activities. Moreover none of the officials responsible for committing serious human rights abuses have been held accountable for their actions. This report provides a detailed but non-exhaustive summary of state breaches of the ICCPR in respect of the ongoing crackdown on the Islamic Movement of Nigeria dating from 2014.

# INCIDENTS IN WHICH NIGERIA'S HAS VIOLATED THE ICCPR IN RESPECT OF ITS TREATMENT OF THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT OF NIGERIA

#### Al-Quds Day Massacre 2014

The Islamic Movement of Nigeria headed by Sheikh Ibrahim El-Zakzaky, was founded in the late 1970s as a student movement. Since its establishment, it has grown into a social, political and religious movement with supporters and members of all ages and from all walks of life. Today estimates of its popularity vary, but most estimates say the Islamic Movement enjoys the support of between 10-15 million people across Nigeria.

The Islamic Movement of Nigeria has been organising al-Quds Day processions since 1981. These are peaceful processions that take place all over the world in order to show solidarity with the oppressed Palestinians.

On 25 July 2014 Nigerian soldiers attacked the annual al-Quds Day procession in Zaria, a city in Kaduna State in northern Nigeria. The following day, soldiers drove to the Husainiyyah Baqiyyatullah and opened fire on supporters of the Islamic Movement within the precinct of the main building. The two attacks killed 34 people including three children of the movement's leader, Sheikh Ibrahim El Zakzaky.

Islamic Human Rights Commission (IHRC) sent a fact-finding mission to Zaria on 30 July 2014. Our report, based on interviews with victims, their families and also eye-witnesses, found evidence of Nigerian soldiers firing without warning on unarmed civilians taking part in the peaceful demonstration. Thirty-two people died, among them bystanders. Over 100 more were injured. There is evidence that many of those arrested died in military custody. Reports indicate that some were taken into detention alive and well and later emerged dead with their bodies bearing signs of being beaten. Others who were injured were detained for hours and brutalised before being allowed to seek medical treatment.

The following day, 26 July 2014, three truckloads of soldiers approached the Husainiyyah Baqiyyatullah, the headquarters of the Islamic Movement in Zaria, and opened fire on people standing outside. Two people died and seven were injured.

IHRC's full report into the massacre is available to read here: https://www.ihrc.org.uk/publications/reports/11219-nigeria-report-the-zaria-massacres-and-the-role-of-the-military/

#### Zaria Massacre 2015

The Nigerian army carried out massive attacks over the course of 12 and 13 December 2015 which targeted the Islamic Movement of Nigeria in Zaria. The operation resulted in the deaths of at least 1000 unarmed civilians, mostly Islamic Movement members, killed by gunshots attributed to soldiers. Hundreds more were injured. A report compiled by IHRC in the aftermath of the massacre found that it was premeditated and pre-planned. Witnesses and victims reported signs of widespread force and cruelty by soldiers with allegations of looting, arson, mutilation, mass graves, torture, rape and other inhumane acts committed against peaceful and unarmed civillians. Evidence compiled by IHRC points to an official plan by Nigerian government officials to cover up these crimes and indeed perpetuate the same.

In the morning of Saturday 12 December 2015, scores of soldiers started arriving and gathering opposite the Hussainiyyah Baqiyyatullah in Zaria. On that day, the Islamic Movement was to have a flag-hoisting event to commemorate the beginning of the month of Rabiul Awwal, the Islamic month in which the Prophet Muhammad was born. According to reports collected by IHRC, at around 12:30pm, some of the organisers, noticing the unusual heavy presence of armed soldiers stationed only a few metres across the road, went to enquire why soldiers in such large numbers were stationed in front of the Hussainiyyah (photo evidence clearly shows that members of the Islamic Movement were not holding any weapons). The soldiers informed them that the military was having a passing-out parade in one of its barracks, and soldiers were stationed at all road junctions. Members of the Islamic Movement requested that the soldiers move further away to avoid generating undue tension in view of the bloody incidents of 2014. Rather than move away, video footage shot by Islamic Movement members showed soldiers calmly taking up positions around the Hussainiyyah before the shootings began. The army reportedly started shooting in the air, and then targeted the members of the Islamic Movement. As Islamic Movement members scrambled for cover, soldiers were seen carting away the wounded and killed.

Following the first round of shootings, the soldiers retreated a few metres from the Hussainiyyah for a few minutes, but returned with their own cameraman and unknown persons (in civilian dress) armed with sticks and throwing stones from the direction the soldiers came from. The officers appear to shout, "don't shoot!" and "We want to pass." On the other hand, members of the Islamic Movement appear to be complaining that soldiers shot their colleagues. In the video clip released to the public later by the military as evidence that Islamic Movement members blocked their passage, members of the Islamic Movement could be clearly heard protesting to the officers in the Hausa language "sai ku kawo sojoji kofar Hussainiyyah su harbe mu?" (Is that why you brought soldiers in front of Hussainiyyah to shoot us?). Yet another could be heard also clearly saying "sun zo sun harbe mu" meaning "they came and shot us". In the meantime, the unknown individuals following the soldiers were throwing stones and wielding knives. In the midst of all this there was the siren of the

purported entourage of the Chief of Army Staff General Tukur Buratai. The video clip did not show when the Army chief came and passed or what happened afterwards.

The Nigerian soldiers reinforced and maintained a siege of the Hussainiyyah preventing those injured inside the centre from coming out to seek medical attention. At about 1:00 am, i.e. 12 hours afterwards, they flashed some very bright lights at the Hussainiyyah and called on those inside numbering hundreds, including women and children, to come out with their hands up. However, when some did, they were shot by the soldiers thus deterring the others from coming out. At about 5:30 am, the Nigerian army started throwing grenades in an attempt to gain access, killing those who had remained inside. The soldiers shot indiscriminately including at those previously injured and at those giving them first aid. People scattered in all directions seeking cover. Eyewitnesses told IHRC that the Nigerian soldiers were seen targeting children who, confused and scared, were scrambling for refuge. At the end of the attack, the soldiers took away the corpses to an unknown destination. Based on eyewitness accounts, IHRC estimates that the Nigerian army murdered approximately three hundred unarmed civilians at the Hussainiyyah on the night of 12 December, amongst them approximately one hundred children. They took away the corpses. One week later, on Sunday 20 December, Kaduna state government officials along with the army brought down the front of the Hussainiyyah and levelled the entire structure.

#### Killings at Sheikh Zakzaky's residence

According to IHRC sources, hundreds of Islamic Movement members who came for the flag hoisting ceremony but could not reach the Hussainiyyah, went to Gyellesu neighbourhood, seeking refuge from the killing spree unfolding at the Hussainiyyah and to create a human shield around the home of the leader of their organisation. At about 9:00 p.m. nine Nigerian army trucks carrying heavy arms and ammunition moved on the private residence of Sheikh Ibrahim El Zakzaky. They started by bombing a teashop and setting surrounding shops on fire. Once they had taken up positions outside the walls of Congo Campus of ABU, close to the house of Sheikh Zakzaky, the soldiers opened fire indiscriminately on the people who had formed a human shield around the house. As the shooting started, they started launching stones towards the soldiers. The attack reportedly lasted until 5:30 in the morning, when another 20 trucks carrying reinforcements came in support of the army and joined in the attack. The attack lasted a further two hours after which soldiers successfully reached the fence of the house. It took them another two hours of shooting at besieged defenceless civilians before they gained entry to Sheikh Zakzaky's house. According to IHRC sources, Sheikh Zakzaky, his wife Zeenat Ibrahim, and their six children Hammad, Ali, Humaid, Suhaila, Sajida and Zainab remained confined in the house. At least 700 Islamic Movement supporters were reportedly killed while many others, who were injured and were left outside the residence in urgent need of medical assistance, were denied medical treatment until the following day. Eyewitness reports and photographs show piles of bodies lying on the floor outside Zakzaky's house. Later on, the army threw explosives at sections of the house, which started fires. These burned some of the injured who were too sick to move as well as some of the corpses.

Eyewitnesses reported to IHRC that soldiers were seen killing anyone who had been injured during the attack and also allowed groups of criminals to steal and loot the victims' belongings from their corpses. Many corpses were found severely mutilated and bearing wounds from being cut. All those acts of violence were carried out in the presence and with the complicity of the soldiers. The eyewitnesses also reported that soldiers were celebrating and chanting slogans against the Islamic

Movement, such as 'we have finished with the Shia and Zakzaky' and 'no more Shias in Nigeria'. The attack on the Zakzaky's residence ended on 14 December with the arrest of Sheikh Zakzaky and his family. Three of his sons and his elder sister were shot dead and Sheikh Zakzaky and his wife were both shot and injured immediately before their arrest. Afterwards, evidence started circulating showing a severely injured and bleeding Sheikh Zakzaky in the custody of the army and bearing six gunshot wounds: to his face, his right leg, hand and arm and chest. Other photographic evidence showed an injured Sheikh Zakzaky being mistreated by Nigerian soldiers and being forced to sit on the ground, being brutalised and possibly tortured. He was subsequently also ferried in a wheelbarrow to a waiting truck and taken to an unknown destination. On 14 December 2015, the Nigerian army eventually confirmed the arrest of Sheikh Zakzaky, and his detention at an army barracks.

#### Attack on Darur Rahma cemtery

On the evening of Sunday 13 December 2015, some Islamic Movement members who guard and maintain the Darur Rahma cemetery owned by the Islamic Movement were in the company of some others who had taken refuge there following the military attack on the Hussainiyyah and at Gyellesu. The Nigerian army went to the Darur Rahma and shelled buildings using rocket launchers. It also opened fire at civilians seeking refuge there. The dead bodies from Darur Rahma, numbering about 50, were taken away by the soldiers presumably to the mortuary of ABU Teaching Hospital at Shika, near Zaria. A siege of the area was maintained thereafter, presumably to preclude the possibility of any survivors emerging from the site.

#### Total casualties and other crimes

The crimes committed by the army at the three locations resulted in a reported 1,000 deaths, of which the majority were mainly due to injuries caused by gunshots fired by soldiers during the raids. During the violence soldiers used automatic weapons, explosives and armoured vehicles against unarmed civilians. This, along with the destruction of places of worship, graves and other buildings associated with the Islamic Movement, appears to support the contention that the attack was aimed at fatally damaging or eliminating the movement.

Incineration of corpses and injuries showing burns were also reported. Cases of people being burnt alive also emerged. Injuries caused by machetes or other knife wounds were also found on the corpses, and could be the work of the criminal groups that perpetrated acts of looting and mutilation.

Signs of torture and electrocution were evidenced on the body of the Islamic Movement leader Sheikh Zakzaky and other detainees, two of whom died as a result thereof. In this regard, Ibrahim Musa, the Islamic Movement spokesman, confirmed in a statement that another 40 Islamic Movement members were left in extremely poor physical condition after surviving the gunshots.

Incidents of sexual violence have been reported, including cases of rape against women supporters of the Islamic Movement. A 14-year old female witness told IHRC that the military shot her in her private parts when she resisted attempts by soldiers to rape her. Some had their breasts cut off and

others were shot in the pelvic region damaging their uterus. There were several other cases of sexual harassment and violence reported as testified to by the Sisters Forum of the Islamic Movement in a press conference in Kaduna.

Other inhumane acts have been committed causing 'great suffering, or serious injury to body or to mental or physical health'. In this regard, the supporting material indicates that at least 200 persons suffered injuries as a result of the violence associated with the December incidents. Over 74 were attended to at the Ahmadu Bello Teaching Hospital Zaria, out of which four died of their gunshot wounds during the course of their hospital stay. Others were taken to private hospitals in Kaduna and Kano out of safety concerns.

The above information is taken from a IHRC report into the massacre which forms the basis of a preliminary complaint to the International Criminal Court on 1 March 2016. The full report is available at <a href="https://www.ihrc.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/ICC-Report-FV-medium-res.pdf">https://www.ihrc.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/ICC-Report-FV-medium-res.pdf</a>

#### Breaches of ICCPR

Illegal detention of Zakzaky, his wife and other Islamic Movement members

The Zaria massacre represents a clear breach of Article 6 para 1 of the ICCPR which states "Every human being has the inherent right to life. This right shall be protected by law. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his life."

In addition the torture of Islamic Movement members and supporters who were arrested is also a clear breach of Article 7 which states that "No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. In particular, no one shall be subjected without his free consent to medical or scientific experimentation."

Since his detention during the army attack of December 2015, the leader of the Islamic Movement of Nigeria, Sheikh Zakzaky together with his wife Zeenah, has been held for the majority of the time without charge by the Nigerian security services. Most of the time this has been incommunicado with limited visits from family members and legal counsel. The pair remain in detention in defiance of a federal court order on 2 December 2016 which ruled that the detentions were unconstitutional and illegal and ordered their release by 16 January 2017 and payment of compensation to them. The executive authorities never implemented the order and on 18 May 2018 they charged Sheikh Zakzaky and his wife, along with two other Islamic Movement members, with among others things, allegedly abating culpable homicide in the killing of one Corporal Dankaduna said to be in the convoy of the chief of army staff and for unlawful assembly during the events of December 2015. IHRC believes that. In reality, the charges are fabricated and designed to deflect government responsibility for a planned and systematic massacre by soldiers.

In detaining the couple without charge for the period between 14 December 2015 - 18 May 2018 Nigeria violated several provisions of Article 9 ICCPR:

1. Everyone has the right to liberty and security of person. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention. No one shall be deprived of his liberty except on such grounds and in accordance with such procedure as are established by law.

- 2. Anyone who is arrested shall be informed, at the time of arrest, of the reasons for his arrest and shall be promptly informed of any charges against him.
- 3. Anyone arrested or detained on a criminal charge shall be brought promptly before a judge or other officer authorized by law to exercise judicial power and shall be entitled to trial within a reasonable time or to release. It shall not be the general rule that persons awaiting trial shall be detained in custody, but release may be subject to guarantees to appear for trial, at any other stage of the judicial proceedings, and, should occasion arise, for execution of the judgement.
- 4. Anyone who has been the victim of unlawful arrest or detention shall have an enforceable right to compensation.

#### Denial of healthcare

Despite many appeals for Sheikh Zakzaky and his wife to be allowed to travel abroad for urgent medical attention including for injuries sustained in the army attack in December 2015 the Nigerian authorities have until recently failed to allow him to access treatment. The pair both sustained gunshot wounds in the attack. Sheikh Zakzaky lost the use of an arm and one of his eyes. In January 2018 he suffered a suspected stroke. On 25 April 2019, nearly three and a half years after they sustained most of their injuries, a delegation of expert doctors and consultants led by IHRC were allowed to complete an initial investigation of Sheikh Zakzaky and Mallima Zeenah.

The continued denial of adequate treatment to Ibrahim and Mallima Zakzaky breaches Article 10 para 1 which states, "All persons deprived of their liberty shall be treated with humanity and with respect for the inherent dignity of the human person.

#### Mass graves

In the weeks following the 2015 Zaria massacre IHRC received damning evidence including photographs and testimonies of mass graves where the army is reported to have buried mass fatalities from their killing spree. There were claims that some bodies were even incinerated. In the IHRC report to the ICC we documented reports that soldiers quickly buried the corpses of those killed in mass graves without the knowledge or permission of family members, with the aim of impeding an accurate count of the dead and concealing the magnitude of their crimes. Accordingly, Islamic Movement members told IHRC that mass graves were documented between 14 and 15 December 2015 in various locations in Kaduna state.

The existence of mass graves was confirmed in a 2016 Judicial Commission of Inquiry into the Zaria massacre which heard that the army and state officials buried 347 victims in a mass grave shortly after the massacre. Speaking on the third day of the JCI, convened by the state government of Kaduna, state official Lawal Babalare Abbas said he was present at the mass burial along with soldiers at the burial site in the town of Mando. According to Abbas the corpses were removed from the teaching hospital and the army depot in Zaria. They were buried at between 12-4am in the morning of Monday 14 December. The JCI report can be read here:

http://www.icla.up.ac.za/images/un/commissionsofinquiries/files/Nigeria%20(2015)%20Kaduna%20 Commission%20Report.pdf

On 30 November 2017 IHRC wrote to the ICC informing it of fears that the Nigerian government was planning to exhume the mass graves of Islamic Movement members killed during the 2015 attack in Zaria. The exhumation was seen as a possible move to deliberately destroy evidence of the attack by dispersing the victims' bodies to unknown locations.

There were reports of more mass graves being dug in 2016. IHRC obtained photographs showing the graves of over 30 victims of a massacre of civilians in a peaceful religious procession to mark Arba'een organised by the Islamic Movement of Nigeria on the outskirts of the northern city of Kano on 14 November 2016. The photographs obtained by IHRC show several rows of freshly dug graves in a cemetery in Kaukau village in Kano State. The graves, all unmarked, are believed to belong to some of those gunned down in the attack on peaceful marchers by soldiers on 14 November.

#### Ban on Islamic Movement in Kaduna

On 7 October 2016 the Kaduna state government officially proscribed the Islamic Movement of Nigeria rendering it an illegal organisation and making membership of it a criminal offence.

This is in clear breach of Article 22 (Freedom of Association)

- 1. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of association with others, including the right to form and join trade unions for the protection of his interests.
- 2. No restrictions may be placed on the exercise of this right other than those which are prescribed by law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public safety, public order (ordre public), the protection of public health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others. This article shall not prevent the imposition of lawful restrictions on members of the armed forces and of the police in their exercise of this right.
- 3. Nothing in this article shall authorize States Parties to the International Labour Organisation Convention of 1948 concerning Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize to take legislative measures which would prejudice, or to apply the law in such a manner as to prejudice, the guarantees provided for in that Convention.

#### Religious freedom and discrimination

There was also a strong confessional element to the attacks. Eyewitnesses have reported that during December's violence soldiers were seen celebrating and chanting slogans against the Islamic Movement, such as 'we have finished with the Shia and Zakzaky' and 'no more Shias in Nigeria'. Although the Islamic Movement has support among Nigeria's Sunnis and Shias it is often portrayed by its detractors as a Shia organisation. During the violence soldiers used automatic weapons, explosives and armoured vehicles against unarmed civilians. This, along with the destruction of places of worship, graves and other buildings associated with the Islamic Movement, appears to

support the contention that the attack was aimed at fatally damaging or eliminating the Islamic Movement.

During and following the December 2015 massacre there was also a systematic attempt to destroy places of worship and other religious sites belonging to the Islamic Movement. Following the attacks against the Hussainiyyah and the residence of Sheikh Zakzaky, the army also destroyed buildings and graves linked to the Islamic Movement. The Hussainiyyah in GRA area was completely destroyed. The Fudiyya Islamic Centre at Dan Magaji and the family home of Sheikh Zakzaky, where his mother's tomb is located in Zaria suffered a similar fate. On 23 December the Nigerian army destroyed the home and burial place of Sheikh Zakzaky's mother, Hajja Saleha Muhammad. Graves belonging to the martyrs of the 2014 Al-Quds Day massacre were disinterred and gravestones smashed. In November 2016 Nigerian authorities demolished schools, hospitals and seminaries in the state of Kaduna belonging to the Islamic Movement of Nigeria.

The persecution of the Islamic Movement of Nigeria on account of its perception by the State as a Shia-led entity since at least 2014 places Nigeria in breach of Article 2 Para 1 of the ICCPR requiring "Each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes to respect and to ensure to all individuals within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction the rights recognized in the present Covenant, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

The persecution of the Islamic Movement on account of its supporters' and members' perceived Shia persuasion, including the destruction of its schools and religious buildings, is a violation of Article 18 which states:

- 1. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. This right shall include freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief of his choice, and freedom, either individually or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in worship, observance, practice and teaching.
- 2. ...
- 3. Freedom to manifest one's religion or beliefs may be subject only to such limitations as are prescribed by law and are necessary to protect public safety, order, health, or morals or the fundamental rights and freedoms of others.
- 4. The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to have respect for the liberty of parents and, when applicable, legal guardians to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions.

The persecution of the Islamic Movement of Nigeria also places the state in breach of Article 27 establishing minority rights: "In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language."

#### Right to Peaceful Assembly, Freedom of Expression and Freedom of Movement

Since the Al-Quds Day massacre in 2014 the Nigerian state has routinely sought to prevent, disrupt, disperse and attack demonstrations and organised by the Islamic Movement of Nigeria. The most serious of these occurred in October 2016 when security forces targeted Ashura commemorations across several states in northern Nigeria. Dozens of people were killed by police and army gunfire during the processions and many others beaten by thugs hired by the authorities to sabotage the events. Places of worship associated with the Islamic Movement were also attacked. In November 2016, peaceful processions marking 40 days after Ashura were similarly targeted by security forces with reports stating that tens of people had been killed and hundreds wounded by live gunfire. Soldiers also fired tear gas at the marchers in order to prevent them from proceeding to their destination.

Other Ashura and Arba'een processions have been targeted in subsequent years as have demonstrations including those demanding the release of Sheikh Zakzaky and his wife, in many cases leading to loss of life, serious injuries and arrests. Many of those arrested have reported being beaten during detention.

On 23 June 2017 police shot at a pro-Palestinian demonstration in the northern city of Kaduna killing at least one person, a minor. The 10 year-old was shot when police attacked the peaceful procession in a bid to stop it proceeding through the state capital.

On 5 November 2017 two civilians were killed by police following a peaceful Arbaeen procession in the northern city of Kano. On 10 November 2017 police tear-gassed crowds in the capital Abuja to break up an Arbaeen procession.

On 7 January 2018 security forces in Kaduna shot and killed a university student on Sunday during a peaceful rally for the release of unlawfully detained Sheikh Zakzaky. Abdulmalik Sani, a masters student at Kaduna State University, was killed when police opened fire with live ammunition as protestors dispersed at the end of the rally.

On 10 January 2018 at least one person died and many more were injured 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.

On 5 February 2018 police shot dead Sheikh Qaseem Umar in Abuja as he peacefully protesting against the illegal detention of Sheikh Zakzaky. Sheikh Qaseem was a learned teacher and an integral contributor to the Islamic Movement of Nigeria. Plain-clothes policemen acting on a tip off, identified and shot him at close range. Two other protestors taking part in the same demonstration were killed and several more injured.

On 13 April 2018 arrested the convener of the daily Free Zakzaky sit-in protest in Abuja after putting on an intimidating show of force. Prince Deji Adeyanju was arrested and taken away to an unknown location by armed police as he took part in the daily protests which have been held in the city centre since the beginning of January 2018.

On 16 April 2018 police opened fire on protestors in the centre of Abuja killing at least one and injuring two. Eye-witnesses reported that the dead and wounded were targeted by sniper fire as they tried to stage a peaceful protest in support of the detained Sheikh Ibrahim El-Zakzaky. Tear gas was also used against the demonstrators.

On 27 October 2018 about 100 protestors were believed to have been killed in the suburb of Karu in the capital Abuja after soldiers opened fire on a large procession marking Arba'een.

On 21 June 2018 two protestors were killed by police gunfire in the northern city of Kaduna as they demanded the release of Sheikh Zakzaky.

On many occasions the victims and those arrested have included minors. For example 43 children were taken into custody on 15 April 2019 by police in Nigeria while on their way home from a religious gathering in Kadunafor allegedly being members of the Islamic Movement.

The Nigerian state has clearly violated Article 21 which stipulates: "The right of peaceful assembly shall be recognized. No restrictions may be placed on the exercise of this right other than those imposed in conformity with the law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public safety, public order (ordre public), the protection of public health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others."

Furthermore, in seeking to silence and end any expression of lawful critisim and dissent, it has violated article 19:

- 1. Everyone shall have the right to hold opinions without interference.
- 2. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice.
- 3. Finally, the restrictions of Islamic Movement supporters and attacks on their political and religious gatherings is a clear violation of Article 12 Para 1 establishing that "Everyone lawfully within the territory of a State shall, within that territory, have the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his residence.

#### Right to a fair trial

On 25 April 2018 Nigerian authorities charged the leader of the Islamic Movement of Nigeria, Sheikh Zakzaky, after illegally holding him in detention for two years. Along with his wife and two others the Sheikh has been charged with eight offences, the most serious of which is punishable by death. The authorities claim that the Sheikh and supporters of his group abetted the commission of culpable homicide when they allegedly blocked roads in the city of Zaria in December 2015. In reality however the charges aim to deflect government responsibility for a planned and systematic attack by soldiers on the Islamic Movement. The charges came despite a court order demanding the release of the Zakzakys. A federal court (higher court than the state court of Kaduna) order of 2 December 2016 ruled that their detention was unconstitutional and illegal and ordered that the pair be released by 16 January 2017 and payment of compensation.

The decision to charge the Zakzakys in defiance of an order by a higher court demanding their release represents a denial of the right to a fair trial breaching Article 14 which stipulates "All persons shall be equal before the courts and tribunals. In the determination of any criminal charge against him, or of his rights and obligations in a suit at law, everyone shall be entitled to a fair and public hearing by a competent, independent impartial tribunal established by law."