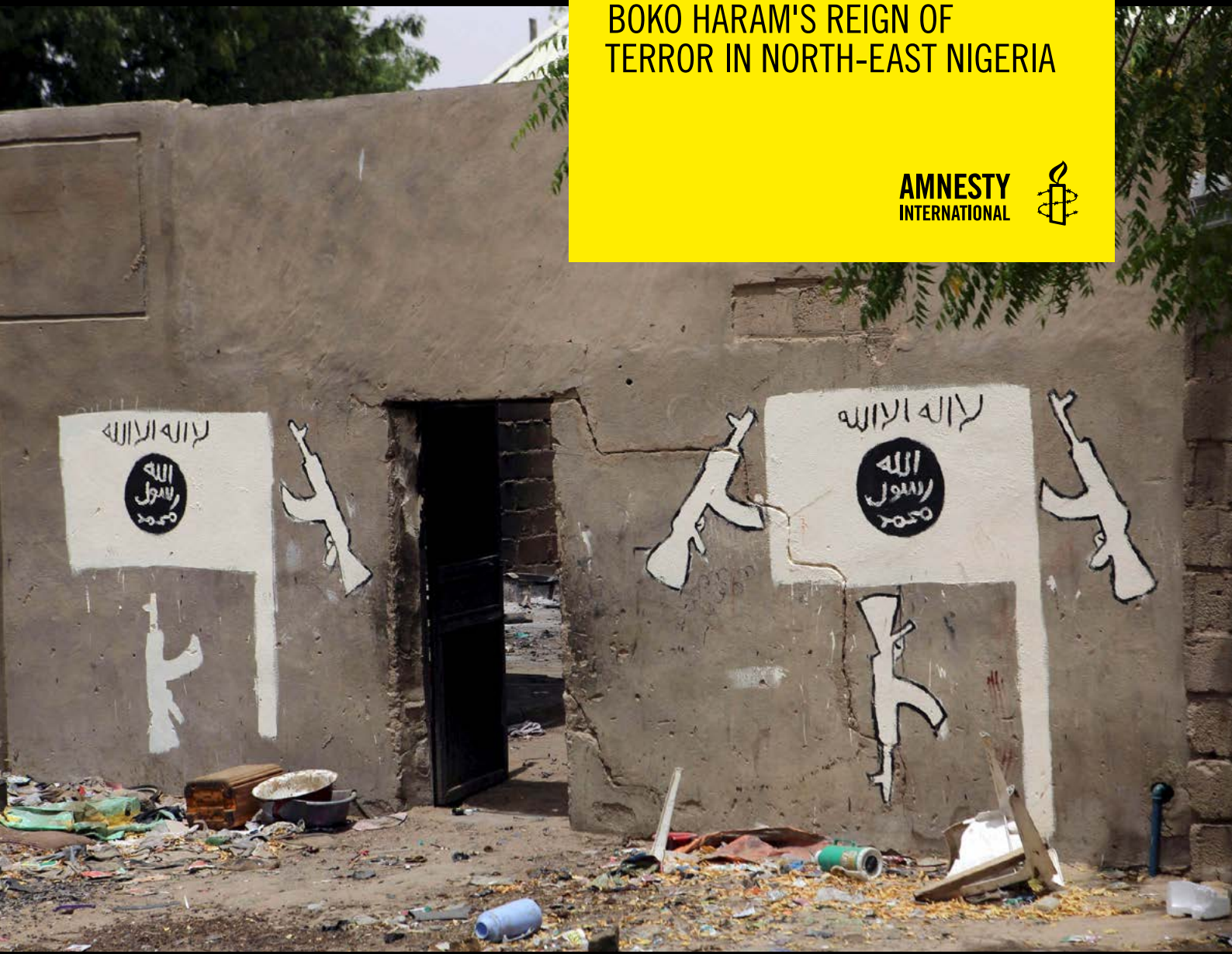
# 'OUR JOB IS TO SHOOT, SLAUGHTER AND KILL'

## BOKO HARAM'S REIGN OF TERROR IN NORTH-EAST NIGERIA

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL



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*Cover photo:* A wall painted by Boko Haram is pictured in Damasak March 24, 2015. Boko Haram militants have kidnapped more than 400 women and children from the northern Nigerian town of Damasak that was freed this month by troops from Niger and Chad, residents said on Tuesday. Nigerian, Chadian and Niger forces have driven militants out of a string of towns in simultaneous offensives over the past month. Photo credit: © REUTERS/Joe Penney

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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Boko Haram has wreaked havoc and suffering on the lives of millions of people in north-east Nigeria since 2009. The armed group has killed thousands of people, abducted at least 2000 and forced more than a million to flee their homes. Through a campaign of almost daily killings, bombings, abductions, looting and burning, Boko Haram has crippled normal life in north-east Nigeria. Towns and villages have been pillaged. Schools, churches, mosques and other public buildings have been attacked and destroyed. Boko Haram is brutally mistreating civilians trapped in areas under its control and has disrupted the provision of health, education and other public services by the Nigerian authorities. Amnesty International's research shows that Boko Haram has committed war crimes and crimes against humanity with impunity.

This report documents Boko Haram's violent campaign against Nigerians since the beginning of 2014. It draws on 377 interviews[1] with eyewitnesses, lawyers, journalists, local government officials and military sources, as well as videos, photos and documents. Amnesty International collected this evidence through four research trips to Maiduguri, the capital of Borno state, to camps for internally displaced people in north-east Nigeria and to a refugee camp in northern Cameroon. Numerous interviews were also conducted by phone from London. The report builds on Amnesty International's research into the conflict since it began in 2009 and will be followed by a report on human rights violations committed by state security forces.

Boko Haram (Jamā'atu Ahlis Sunnah Lādda'awatih wal-Jihad [People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad], commonly referred to as Boko Haram [Western education is forbidden]) was established in 2002 in north-east Nigeria as a religious movement committed to a society based on its interpretation of Islam. After clashes in 2009 between the security forces and Boko Haram's members, during which the group's founder Muhammed Yusuf was extrajudicially executed, the group began a series of revenge attacks against the police. Boko Haram's attacks increasingly targeted civilians and from 2012 the group attacked schools, teachers and students to prevent people from receiving a western education. In mid-2013, state security forces pushed Boko Haram out of the cities and towns of north-east Nigeria where they had lived among the population. They moved to remote communities and camps, such as their headquarters in Sambisa forest, Borno state. From these bases, Boko Haram launched almost daily attacks against civilian targets.

In 2014 Boko Haram killed more than 4,000 people, although the true figure is almost certainly higher. In the first three months of 2015, Boko Haram fighters killed at least 1,500 civilians. The group bombed civilian targets across Nigeria, raided towns and villages in the north-east and from July 2014 began to capture major towns. By February 2015, it controlled the majority of Borno state, as well as northern Adamawa state and eastern Yobe state. In August 2014, Abubakar Shekau, the group's leader, proclaimed this territory to be a caliphate. Tens of thousands of civilians were subjected to Boko Haram's brutal rule.

[1] Interviews were carried out between January 2014 and March 2015.

In February 2015 a counter-offensive by the Nigerian military, with support from Cameroon, Chad and Niger, forced Boko Haram from some major towns and released many civilians from Boko Haram's rule. It is too early to judge whether this has weakened Boko Haram's ability to threaten the lives and property of civilians in the north-east.

Boko Haram used improvised explosive devices (IEDs), including car bombs, and suicide bombers to kill civilians at markets, transport hubs, schools and other public institutions. They repeatedly attacked cities in the north-east, but also struck targets in cities across Nigeria. In 46 bomb attacks between January 2014 and March 2015, the group killed at least 817 people.

Boko Haram's raids on towns and villages in north-east Nigeria terrorized civilians and disrupted ordinary people's livelihoods. Some attacks were carried out by just two or three gunmen on a motorcycle, some by hundreds of fighters supported by tanks and anti-aircraft weapons mounted on flat-bed trucks. The fighters shot civilians in the streets and in their homes. They stole from people's houses, shops and markets, burned these buildings and left. They frequently abducted civilians. In some attacks, Boko Haram gunmen quietly entered villages or towns and assassinated specific individuals identified in advance. In others, Boko Haram assembled civilians and preached to them, instructing them not to be loyal to the government and to follow Boko Haram's version of Islam. Boko Haram sometimes gave civilians a choice: to be killed or join the group. More frequently, fighters simply shot civilians or cut their throats.

Communities such as Kayamla in Borno state were raided repeatedly by Boko Haram and thousands of residents were forced to flee to the relative safety of Maiduguri as a result. On 5 May 2014, Boko Haram killed nearly 400 people in a raid on Gamborou, Ngala Local Government Authority (LGA), Borno state.

When Boko Haram fighters took control of towns and villages, they arrived in large numbers and first targeted the military or police presence. After forcing soldiers to abandon their barracks, Boko Haram fighters would capture arms and ammunition left behind. Then they proceeded to target civilians, shooting them as they tried to flee or searching out men of fighting age in their homes and executing them. Often the gunmen divided their forces during attacks, with one group going from house to house to collect valuables and set houses on fire, one looting shops, one killing people and one abducting residents or preventing them from fleeing.

From July 2014 to January 2015, town after town fell to Boko Haram. On 6 August 2014 Boko Haram attacked Gwoza, Borno state. They overran the 350 soldiers stationed in Gwoza and killed at least 600 civilians, although the true number is likely to be higher. Thousands of residents fled Gwoza and hid for several days in nearby mountains, waiting for Boko Haram to leave. However, instead of leaving, over the following days Boko Haram hunted down and executed people they found hiding in the mountains.

In January 2015, Boko Haram took control of Baga, Kukawa LGA, Borno state. Soldiers stationed just outside Baga received warnings that Boko Haram intended to attack Baga and repeatedly requested reinforcements from their superiors. No reinforcements were sent and at 6am on 3 January Boko Haram attacked the base and forced the soldiers to flee. Boko Haram fighters went on to attack Baga and neighbouring Doron Baga. They went through the streets shooting civilians in the streets and in their homes. Boko Haram gunmen hid among trees surrounding the towns and killed many more civilians as they tried to flee. Hundreds of civilians were killed in the attack. Comparing satellite images taken days before and after the attack shows that more than 3,700 buildings were damaged or destroyed.

Some specific individuals or categories of civilians were deliberately targeted. Boko Haram fighters killed politicians, civil servants, teachers, health workers and traditional leaders because of their relationship with secular authority. Boko Haram called them "unbelievers". Christians living in the north-east were included in this category, but so were Islamic religious figures, from the leaders of sects to local Imams, if they publicly opposed Boko Haram or failed to follow the group's teachings. At times, Boko Haram gave such individuals the option of converting, whether Christian or Muslim, instead of being killed.

Many towns and cities formed state-sponsored militias, known as Civilian Joint Task Forces (Civilian JTF), to combat Boko Haram. Boko Haram subjected these communities to particularly violent treatment. In such locations, and in communities suspected of giving information to the security forces, Boko Haram killed any men of fighting age – regardless of whether they were members of the Civilian JTF or not.

During raids, Boko Haram abducted civilians, separating out unmarried women and girls, as well as men of fighting age and boys. They were taken to Boko Haram's camps in Sambisa forest or to remote communities under Boko Haram control.

In some cases women and girls escaped from Boko Haram or were freed after their families paid a ransom. Women and girls who remained were forced into marriage with Boko Haram members. In many cases a bride price was paid to family members or to the woman or girl herself, although the circumstances show that the marriage was forced. These wives were forced to perform domestic chores and were raped. Although rape was banned in territories under Boko Haram control, women and girls were also raped in secret outside forced marriages.

Men and boys abducted by Boko Haram were forced to provide services for Boko Haram or to join them as fighters.

Thousands of civilians were forced to live in Boko Haram's camps and in towns under its control and prevented from leaving. They were often placed under armed guard in large houses, at times in overcrowded and unsanitary conditions. In some cases they could remain in their own homes, but women were not allowed to travel outside without permission. Boko Haram provided food, although it was often inadequate, and other necessities. Boko Haram required men to obtain permission before travelling between towns, to let their hair grow and to wear trousers that do not touch the ground. Men and women were forced to observe Boko Haram's prayers and receive religious education. Boko Haram enforced its rules with harsh punishments including public floggings and executions.

Since at least May 2013, the situation in north-east Nigeria has constituted a non-international armed conflict. In this context, Boko Haram is bound by international humanitarian law (IHL). Amnesty International has concluded that Boko Haram has committed serious violations of IHL amounting to war crimes. These include murder, attacks on civilians and civilian objects, and indiscriminate and disproportionate attacks. Members of Boko Haram should also be investigated for the war crimes of torture, rape, sexual violence, sexual slavery and forced marriages.

Boko Haram's attacks also constitute a widespread, as well as systematic, attack on the civilian population in furtherance of an organizational policy. In this context, Amnesty International believes that Boko Haram has committed murder as a crime against humanity. Boko Haram members should also be investigated for torture, persecution, imprisonment, rape, enslavement and sexual slavery as crimes against humanity.

Amnesty International calls on Boko Haram's leadership to immediately stop all killings and publicly condemn the killing and abduction of civilians by its members and all others fighting on its behalf, as well as sexual violence and torture. Boko Haram's leadership must issue orders that fighters should respect human rights and international humanitarian law (IHL) and remove from the ranks anyone suspected of violating IHL or human rights. Boko Haram must immediately release all civilians detained and guarantee safe passage to all civilians.

All parties to the conflict must allow unfettered access by humanitarian agencies to assist civilians.

Despite the heavy deployment of troops in the north-east and the intensity of Boko Haram attacks on civilians, Nigeria's security forces have repeatedly failed to protect the civilian population from attacks. Ahead of many attacks, the group sent warning messages to the residents – either by letters to the local chiefs or by verbally warning individuals – hours or days in advance. Yet requests for troops to be sent, or for the existing military presence to be reinforced, received no response. Amnesty International has documented incidents in numerous communities where troops failed to turn up despite repeated requests for assistance or only arrived after Boko Haram had left.

Nigeria's government must take all necessary legal measures to guarantee the safety, security and protection of civilians and their properties. Nigeria must provide accountability, justice and reparations for the victims of human rights abuses and violations of international humanitarian law. It must initiate independent investigations into allegations of crimes under international law, with the aim of bringing suspects to justice in fair trials that are not subject to the death penalty. In light of the military's recent success in pushing Boko Haram out of major towns, the government should take immediate steps to meet the needs of the conflict's victims for medical care, humanitarian assistance and other forms of restitution and rehabilitation.

# METHODOLOGY

This report presents the results of research conducted by Amnesty International delegates during four research missions in 2014 and 2015[2] and through numerous telephone interviews with eyewitnesses and victims carried out immediately after Boko Haram attacks or as soon as witnesses escaped the area. Furthermore, Amnesty International has continuously monitored media reports as well as government and Boko Haram statements.

Amnesty International has gathered 377 testimonies, including 189 with victims and eyewitnesses to attacks by Boko Haram; 22 with local officials; 22 with military sources; and 102 with human rights defenders. The testimony comes from women, men and children, both Muslims and Christians. Almost all people interviewed asked not to be identified for security reasons; therefore all names used in the report are pseudonyms.

Amnesty International conducted an extensive content analysis of dozens of videos, extracting and analysing specific features depicted in them. The analysis included image enhancement techniques and reviewing the video in slow motion. The content analysis has been supplemented by an analysis of the videos' metadata where available. Amnesty International also interviewed people who had detailed, independent information about some of the videos' content.

Further, satellite images of the sites of seven incidents (both before and after) were studied to assess the impact of the armed conflict on the ground.

Much of the report examines the human rights situation in Borno state, which has seen the largest number of deaths. It also documents cases from Adamawa and Yobe states. As Amnesty International had no access to the areas under Boko Haram control, in most cases of unlawful killings documented in this report the number of people reported killed is an estimate. It is however likely that the total number of people killed by Boko Haram is much higher. Where possible, Amnesty International has interviewed people who witnessed burials.

Amnesty International interviewed several human rights activists from the region on an almost daily basis. One activist shared his database of more than 100 interviews he carried out with people who witnessed attacks by Boko Haram or were abducted by the group. This information was mainly used for verification of Amnesty International's own research.

Amnesty International has not spoken with the leadership or members of Boko Haram.

[2] To Maiduguri in July 2014 and March 2015; to IDP camps in Bauchi, Gombe, and Nassarawa states and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) in November 2014; and to a refugee camp in northern Cameroon in February 2015. It also draws on research carried out on numerous visits to Nigeria, including to Borno and Bauchi states and FCT, between 2012 and 2014.

This report exclusively concerns the abuses committed by Boko Haram, focusing on the period January 2014 to March 2015. A second report will cover human rights violations by the Nigerian security forces committed in the context of their response to Boko Haram. Amnesty International shared its findings with government authorities, both verbally and in writing, in advance of publication. Delegates met the Senior Special Assistant to the Attorney General of the Federation and Minister of Justice, representatives from the Office of the National Security Adviser, Army Headquarters and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They also spoke to judges, magistrates, doctors, teachers, health and education professionals, journalists, lawyers and representatives of non-governmental human rights organizations.

Amnesty International thanks everyone who agreed to be interviewed by their researchers. In particular, Amnesty International wishes to express its gratitude to the victims and relatives of victims who agreed to share their stories.

# BACKGROUND

The conflict in north-east Nigeria has escalated from an internal security problem into a massive political, economic and social disaster. Human rights have been systematically violated and abused and international laws of war consistently disregarded by all the parties to the conflict. Since 2013, Boko Haram has killed at least 8,300 people, mostly civilians. Millions of properties and livelihoods have been destroyed.[3] More than 1.2 million people were forced from their homes and hundreds of thousands of people have been made destitute.[4] The situation seems to have spiralled out of the government's control as the human rights violations and abuses committed by parties to the conflict have become more sophisticated and deadly. Boko Haram has grown in numbers and capacity.

## ORIGINS AND CONTEXT

"[Causes of the conflict:] Massive unemployment of youth, army of school drop-outs and drug addicts; Presence of a large number of *almajiris* [mendicants], who are usually used as cannon-fodders to ignite and sustain crisis; A political culture of intolerance, hate and violence with an incendiary mix of religious tension; existence of private militias;..... High-handedness by soldiers deployed to the Zone; Promotion of the culture of impunity by political elites; weak governance and failure to deliver service...." 2011 Report of the Presidential Committee on Security Challenges in the North-east Zone ("Galtimari report") [5]

In 2014 Nigeria became the largest economy in Africa. This success story masks great inequality among Nigeria's regions and a huge gap between the rich and poor. The north-east has lagged behind the rest of the country in social and economic terms. In 2010 the north-east had the second highest rate of poverty, at 69%, compared with the national average of 61%.[6] Indicators of infant mortality and malnutrition are worse than the national average.[7] The north-east also trails the country in education. Nationally, 33% of the population aged six and above in Nigeria was not literate in 2006. In Borno state, this percentage was 67%, in Adamawa 48% and in Yobe 65%.[8] In part, this is due to the *almajiri* system, where children are entrusted to religious schools for their upbringing and, in exchange, the children beg for alms. These children, known as *almajiri* lack formal education and the essential qualifications necessary to compete for the comparatively scarce jobs available in the north-east. Once adults, they form a pool of marginalized young men receptive to radical social programmes.

[3] Figure based on Amnesty International's media monitoring and interviews.
[4] United National Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, "Nigeria: Displacement – Humanitarian Snapshot" 18 March 2015; http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/OCHA_Nigeria-Displacement_snapshot_18March2015.pdf (accessed on 26 March 2015).
[5] Report of the Presidential Committee on Security Challenges in the North-east Zone, 2011.
[6] National Bureau of Statistics, "Nigeria Poverty Profile Report 2010", 13 February 2012.
[7] National Population Commission, "2013 Demographic and Health Survey Key Findings"; http://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/SR213/SR213.pdf.
[8] National Population Commission, 2006 Population and Housing Census of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Priority tables, volume 1.

The first leader of Jamā'atu Ahlis Sunnah Lādda'awatih wal-Jihad [People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad], commonly referred to as Boko Haram [Western education is forbidden], was Mohammed Yusuf. Yusuf was an Islamic scholar who rejected secular authority in Nigeria and railed against the corruption of Nigeria's political elite. In 2002 a movement of young men emerged around him, which saw strict adherence to their interpretation of Islamic texts as the solution to society's problems. The group's calls for fundamental reform of society put it on course for a confrontation with the state. Riots erupted across the north-east in July 2009 after the police shot at Boko Haram members in a funeral procession to bury one of their members. Mohammed Yusuf threatened the government with reprisals in a video.[9] More than 800 people died in the following week in clashes between the security forces and Boko Haram members, including protesters, Boko Haram members and bystanders. More than 30 police officers were also killed.

The military arrested Mohammed Yusuf on 30 July 2009 in Maiduguri, handed him over to the police and by the end of the day, he had been killed in police custody. The police announced he had been killed while trying to escape. Photographs of his body suggested that he had been handcuffed at the time of his death. The government admitted at the Human Rights Council in Geneva on 13 August 2009 that Mohammed Yusuf had been "killed in police custody."[10] A Committee set up in August 2009 to "investigate the circumstances leading to the crisis including the alleged killing of the leader of Boko Haram …"[11] has not made its findings public. To date, no one has been held accountable for his murder. After the July 2009 crackdown, Boko Haram members went underground or into exile.

## INSURGENCY AND ESCALATION

In 2010 Boko Haram regrouped and Abubakar Shekau emerged as the leader of the largest faction of Mohammed Yusuf's more radical followers.[12] Boko Haram carried out armed attacks on police stations in revenge for the unlawful killing of Muhammed Yusuf and the destruction of the sect's mosque and property in Maiduguri, Borno state.[13] The group also carried out assassinations of those who were publicly critical of the group's ideology or were thought to have given damaging information about Boko Haram to the security forces.

Boko Haram seeks to create an Islamic state in northern Nigeria. This state would be based on the group's interpretation of the Qur'an and Hadith.[14] Mohammed Yusuf attempted to achieve this goal through non-violent means, although a violent wing among his supporters attacked police stations sporadically between 2003 and 2009.[15] From 2010, under

[9] Reuters, *Nigerian sect planned bomb attack during Ramadan,* 4 August 2009, in.reuters.com/article/2009/08/04/idINIndia-41523920090804
[10] Statement by the Attorney General of the Federation and Minister of Justice, at the UN Human Rights Council, Geneva, Switzerland, 13 August 2009. He also said that the Nigerian government "condemns in its entirety, the unfortunate circumstances that led to the death of Mohammed Yusuf in police custody."
[11] Statement by the Attorney General of the Federation and Minister of Justice, at the UN Human Rights Council, Geneva, 13 August 2009.
[12] The International Crisis Group estimates that there are three to five other factions that sometimes collaborate and sometimes come into conflict with each other. International Crisis Group*, Curbing Violence in Nigeria (II): The Boko Haram Insurgency*, 3 April 2014, p22.
[13] International Crisis Group*, Curbing Violence in Nigeria (II): The Boko Haram Insurgency*, 3 April 2014, p14.
[14] Islamic text containing the teachings and sayings of the Prophet Mohammed.
[15] International Crisis Group, *Curbing Violence in Nigeria (II): The Boko Haram Insurgency*, 3 April 2014,

Abubakar Shekau's leadership, Boko Haram vowed revenge on the police and launched bombings and gun attacks against security forces. The group also attacked those it viewed as collaborating with the government, killing Muslim and Christian clerics and worshippers, politicians, journalists and lawyers.

In June 2011, the government set up a Joint Task Force, composed of soldiers, police officers, immigration officials and members of the Department of State Security, among other agencies, to "restore law and order to the North Eastern part of the country with emphasis on Maiduguri."[16]

Starting in 2012 Boko Haram began to use more widespread violence to force its ideology on society. In an attempt to stop children receiving western education, seen by the group as responsible for moral decay, Boko Haram set dozens of schools on fire in Maiduguri. Initially the group only burned down school buildings when they were empty. However, from the beginning of 2013 the attacks became increasingly deadly. Amnesty International's research found that Boko Haram intentionally targeted teachers and pupils in an effort to prevent children from going to school. At least 70 teachers and more than 100 schoolchildren and students were killed or wounded between January 2012 and October 2013. At least 50 schools were either burned down or badly damaged and 60 more were forced to close. Thousands of children were forced out of schools across communities in Adamawa, Borno, Yobe and Kaduna states.[17] In March 2014, the Borno state government decided to close all secondary schools in the state in order to protect students and teachers from further attacks.[18] The state government announced that all schools would be reopened in November 2014.[19]

As the conflict escalated, President Jonathan declared a state of emergency in May 2013 in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe states.[20] The six-month state of emergency was extended twice before it elapsed in November 2014, when the National Assembly did not conclude the debate on President Jonathan's request for a further extension.[21] The state of emergency gave

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p9, 10.

[16] Writing in a Defence Headquarters publication, "X-raying the activities of operation restore order in Borno state in Nigeria", Defence Magazine, 1st Edition 2012, ISSN 1118-5724, p28. See also Amnesty International *Nigeria: Trapped in the Cycle of Violence*, November 2012; AFR 44/043/2012, p9. Available from https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/AFR44/043/2012/en/ (accessed on 19 March 2015).

[17] See Amnesty International, *Nigeria: 'Keep away from schools or we'll kill you': Right to education under attack in Nigeria*, 4 October 2013; AFR 44/019/2013. Available from https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/AFR44/019/2013/en/ (accessed on 19 March 2015).

[18] *Vanguard*, "Boko Haram: Borno schools closed indefinitely", 22 March 2014. http://www.vanguardngr.com/2014/03/boko-haram-borno-schools-closed-indefinitely/ (accessed on 19 March 2015).

[19] *This Day* ,"Borno to Reopen Public Schools on Nov 17", 4 November 2014; http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/borno-to-reopen-public-schools-on-nov-17/193175/ (accessed on 19 March 2015).

[20] Presidential Address By President Goodluck Jonathan On The Declaration Of A State Of Emergency In Borno, Yobe and Adamawa States, full transcript on Sahara Reporters, 14 May 2013. http://saharareporters.com/videos/video-presidential-address-president-goodluck-jonathan-declaration-state-emergency-borno-yobe (accessed 19 March 2015).

[21] "The request by President Goodluck Jonathan to have the emergency rule extended in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe states suffered a setback last week when both the Senate and the House of Representatives failed to approve it. The emergency rule ended effectively last Thursday." Daily Trust "B/Haram overruns Damasak in Borno" 24 November 2014. http://dailytrust.com.ng/daily/top-stories/40369-b-haram-overruns-damasak-in-borno (accessed 19 March 2015).

broad and stringent emergency powers to the security forces.[22]

In August 2013, the Joint Task Force was disbanded, the military transferred the oversight of military operations to Army Headquarters, and troops were reinforced with the newly established 7th Division, headquartered in Maiduguri.[23] Further, Nigerian authorities created a state-sponsored militia, known as the Civilian Joint Task Force (Civilian JTF). Civilian JTF groups were established in many towns in the north-east, recruiting unemployed young men with a monthly stipend paid for by the state government. These were authorized to stop and search people and hand over suspects to the military for arrest.[24] The Civilian JTF also manned checkpoints and regularly joined the military in operations to arrest suspected Boko Haram members and also in military operations to attack the group.

Nigerian security services, with assistance from the Civilian JTF, succeeded in pushing Boko Haram out of Maiduguri and other urban centres in the north-east in mid-2013. Boko Haram members moved to smaller, remote communities and established the group's main base in the Sambisa forest, Borno state. From these areas, the group launched raids on towns and villages across the state and into neighbouring regions, targeting civilians with increasing ferocity. During raids Boko Haram members executed civilians by slitting their throats with knives, machetes or other sharp objects or by shooting them. Boko Haram members destroyed property and were involved in widespread looting of food, medical and other supplies. In several raids, Boko Haram abducted hundreds of young women and girls and, in some cases, young men and boys. Abducted women and girls were forced into marriage with Boko Haram members and abducted men and boys were forcibly recruited into the group or conscripted to serve as spies for Boko Haram.

Attacks on government institutions and law enforcement facilities also continued. In a series of attacks on military barracks and police stations, Boko Haram killed soldiers and police officers, sometimes in gruesome fashion, stole arms and ammunition and destroyed the buildings. Many towns and villages in Borno state fell under the control of Boko Haram and become dangerous for civilians and the military to travel in. Boko Haram's targeting of law enforcement agencies and civil servants has forced many civil service personnel and police officers to relocate to Maiduguri or to flee Borno state entirely.

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[22] State of Emergency (Certain States of the Federation) Proclamation, 2013. http://www.placng.org/new/publications/emergencyrule.pdf (accessed on 19 March 2015). The state of emergency was declared because the authorities in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe states were "overwhelmed" by the "serious crises, internal tension and civil disturbances", risking a "total breakdown of public order, public safety and security in affected states". The state authorities remained in office, but were expected to implement any orders by the President. The State of Emergency Regulations gave the President the power to issue regulations and orders; the authorities had the power to arrest and detain people; search premises; and bring suspects to justice. The regulations specifically stated that suspects cannot be tried by military courts.

[23] *Daily Post*, "Military dissolves North-East JTF as Army creates new Division to crush Boko Haram", 19 August 2013. http://dailypost.ng/2013/08/19/military-dissolves-north-east-jtf-as-army-creates-new-division-to-crush-boko-haram/ (accessed on 19 March 2015).

[24] Amnesty International interviews with government officials, military sources and human rights defenders,

A Boko Haram flag flutters from an abandoned command post in Gamboru deserted after Chadian troops chased them from the border town on February 4, 2015. © STEPHANE YAS/AFP/Getty Images

## TARGETS, RECRUITMENT AND FINANCE

Boko Haram systematically targets those it calls *kuffir* or unbelievers. In Boko Haram's usage, this is a very broad category which encompasses all those who do not agree with the group's religious and political beliefs. As Boko Haram opposes secular authority, all those working for the government are covered by this term, including politicians, local government officials, traditional leaders and civil servants. Ordinary citizens who collaborate with Nigerian security forces, the Civilian JTF or who work with the government are also called unbelievers. Boko Haram members searched civilians for government-issued ID cards, considering this to be evidence of loyalty to the government. Boko Haram refers to all those living in Maiduguri, the capital of Borno state, as unbelievers and has warned civilians against fleeing to Maiduguri.

Boko Haram has called Islamic religious authorities unbelievers if they disagree with the group's ideology. [25] Islamic scholars and clerics are often among the first targets for assassination when Boko Haram raids a town or village.[26] Boko Haram fighters have destroyed many mosques in north-east Nigeria. Christians are also considered unbelievers and the group has destroyed churches and killed and abducted Christians. In many instances ordinary Christians and Muslims are offered the opportunity to join the group and "convert" to Boko Haram's religious and political views. If they do not, they may be killed or forced to leave their homes.

Boko Haram began as a social movement with considerable popularity. Its members were predominantly young men who joined the sect voluntarily. As the group's influence grew, so did its financial resources, which were used to recruit new members. Young unemployed men found themselves with money, access to weapons and the power to extort money from others in society. One member of the Civilian JTF told Amnesty International how Boko Haram recruited young men in his home town of Konduga, Borno state in 2012. "They didn't have work to do, so Boko Haram gave them guns. They used to preach to people and would tell you to pay money. When they see someone with money, they say 'we are doing work for Allah, so you have to bring money to help our work'. Everyone who didn't pay, they killed." [27] This testimony matches what teachers, other community leaders, human rights activists and residents have told Amnesty International about Boko Haram's recruiting tactics.

As the group became more violent, it destroyed the support it once had among parts of the population. By the end of 2014, young men mainly joined Boko Haram because they had no other way to survive or because they were forced to.[28]

In its early years, the group financed its operations through donations from members and patrons and by extorting money from businesses and civilians. From 2010, frequent bank robberies supplemented the money raised through extortion. Since 2013, Boko Haram has sustained its operations by looting markets, shops and homes and has stolen arms and ammunition from the military barracks it has overrun. Although there are persistent allegations that politicians, collaborators within the military or international jihadist groups have funded or supplied Boko Haram, Amnesty International has not collected evidence that supports these allegations.[29]

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[25] "[Shekau] He condemned all other Islamic sects in the country calling them pagans. He said the Izala, Tijjaniyya, Qadiriyya and Shiite Islamic groups are pagans and his group will continue to kill their followers." From Sahara Reporters, "Boko Haram Leader, Shekau, Releases New Video; Vows To Attack Emir Sanusi Of Kano", 17 December 2014. http://saharareporters.com/2014/12/17/boko-haram-leader-shekau-releases-new-video-vows-attack-emir-sanusi-kano (accessed on 19 March 2015).
[26] Amnesty International interviews with witnesses to attacks on religious authorities, November and December 2014. See also Amnesty International, *Nigeria: Trapped in the Cycle of Violence*, November 2012; AFR 44/043/2012; available from https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/AFR44/043/2012/en/ (accessed on 19 March 2015).
[27] Amnesty International interview, June 2014.
[28] Amnesty International interviews between November 2014 and March 2015.
[29] Amnesty International interviews with human rights defenders and military sources. See also International Crisis Group, *Curbing Violence in Nigeria (II): The Boko Haram Insurgency*, 3 April 2014, p11-13, 22-25.

## BOKO HARAM'S OPERATIONAL STRUCTURE

The precise number of Boko Haram troops is unknown but is estimated to be around 15,000.[30] The operational structure of the group is fluid. Members operate in cells with relative autonomy and control. Boko Haram's political and spiritual leader, Abubakar Shekau, is called the Amir (the leader). He heads the council of elders, called *Shura* (council), with seven members. Each *Shura* member heads a *Lajna*, a ministry. The commanders are called *qaid* and have executive powers. The sub-commanders, *munzirs*, lead the operations of the foot soldiers, *maaskars*.

In towns captured by Boko Haram, they install an Amir who commands the Boko Haram troops and administers the town and surrounding villages. The degree of governance attempted by Boko Haram appears to vary by location, according to the leadership of the Amir. In some towns, they appear to look after their fighters without much thought for civilians, while in others Amirs settle disputes, enforce rules and allocate supplies among civilians.[31]

Residents frequently identified the Amirs as being from that town or the local area. These Amirs installed themselves in large houses, belonging to civil or traditional leaders or businessmen, and lived well from the stolen goods of the town. Many witnesses told Amnesty International that the generators of the Amir's house would run constantly, while residents had no access to fuel.[32]

## LIFE UNDER BOKO HARAM CONTROL

Boko Haram fighters ruthlessly enforced a common set of rules across towns under their control, which they would announce to the assembled population soon after taking over. Residents were ordered not to sell or consume cigarettes, Indian hemp, or other drugs; men had to let their beards and hair grow and wear trousers that did not touch the floor; women should cover themselves including their faces in public; all transactions had to be conducted directly between producer and consumer – intermediaries were forbidden; women were not allowed to move around outside without a permissible reason, travel between towns required special permission from the Amir and residents were frequently prohibited from leaving Boko Haram territory.[33]

With such restrictions on people's movement, basic activities like obtaining food and gaining a livelihood were a challenge. Although there were fewer restrictions on men, Boko Haram had killed or imprisoned many men of fighting age. Most households were therefore dependent on children to collect food, or on assistance from Boko Haram members.[34]

Although looted food was often distributed for free, in many locations Boko Haram allowed or even encouraged trade. A resident of Dikwa told Amnesty International that before he fled, Boko Haram was operating a credit system.[35]

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[30] Amnesty International interviews with human rights defenders.
[31] Amnesty International interviews between 2012 and 2015, with civil society members, scholars, politicians, military sources, and civilians in the north-east, including people who lived for months under Boko Haram control.
[32] Amnesty International interviews in September and October 2014 and February 2015.
[33] Amnesty International interviews September and October 2014 and February 2015.
[34] Amnesty International interview February 2015.
[35] Amnesty International interview September 2014.

A woman from Bama said life under Boko Haram was particularly hard for those who refused to convert to Boko Haram's interpretation of Islam. "Those who followed Boko Haram were given food. If you didn't agree to follow Boko Haram, they will just leave you… If they see you have bought something, they will ask if you bought it and tell you to go and show them the place where you bought it and they will beat the seller and beat you."[36]

Boko Haram required residents to attend their daily prayers. Failure to attend was punishable by flogging.[37] The group's members would preach to people, instructing them on their methods of praying, worship and performing ablutions. Boko Haram members told residents that their previous practices and the texts they used to learn about Islam were wrong. They told residents that government officials and politicians were corrupt, that they were unbelievers and that people must obey Islam instead. Christians abducted by Boko Haram had to learn Islamic prayers and practices.[38]

Civilians were discouraged or prevented from leaving Boko Haram's towns and camps. In some places people were told to leave or join Boko Haram.[39] By contrast, in several locations Boko Haram actively imprisoned people, placing them in large houses or in prisons under armed guard.[40] In other areas, civilians were allowed to remain in their homes or moved into available homes, without constant guard. However, Boko Haram fighters patrolled the streets and the areas between towns looking for those trying to escape. If discovered, escapees were turned around and, in some cases, flogged or executed.[41]

Punishments for not following Boko Haram's rules were cruel. In Goniri, Gujba LGA, Yobe state, a 48-year-old cattle vendor – someone acting as an intermediary between producer and consumer – was publicly flogged.[42]

In Gamborou, Ngala LGA, Borno state, Boko Haram installed a judge who heard all cases of civilians breaking the rules. Aisha spent five months in Gamborou and witnessed a number of these trials. She was present when Zara, another resident, was given 30 lashes for selling children's clothes to women in her neighbourhood.[43] Aisha also witnessed the execution of a man and a woman for adultery. "On Friday Boko Haram announced that we should go to this field in an open space between Ngala and Gamborou after Friday prayers. We gathered there. Boko Haram dug a hole. They said there is no time for stoning them so they shot the couple."[44]

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[36] Amnesty International interview, February 2015.
[37] Amnesty International interview October 2014.
[38] Amnesty International interviews October 2014 and February 2015.
[39] Amnesty International interviews October 2014 and February 2015.
[40] Amnesty International interviews October 2014 and February 2015.
[41] Amnesty International interviews September 2014 and February 2015.
[42] Amnesty International interview February 2015.
[43] Amnesty International interview February 2015.
[44] Amnesty International interview February 2015.

In Bama, 15-year-old Mustapha Saleh witnessed a public stoning of five men and five women for adultery in February 2015. He said: "They sentenced them on Friday. They called the residents and told them to stone them. I participated in the stoning. They dig a hole, bury all the body and stoned the head. When the person died, they left them."[45]

Boko Haram fighters sought out girls and young women in towns under their control. The fighters asked them whether they were married and if they weren't, or if their husband had been killed or had fled, the fighters forced them into marriage.[46]

In mid-February 2015 the Nigerian military, in coordination with the armed forces of Cameroon, Chad and Niger launched a counter offensive which forced Boko Haram out of the majority of major towns they had occupied.[47] Thousands of civilians were finally able to leave these towns, often in urgent need of medical attention. A doctor in Maiduguri told Amnesty International about the condition of those returning from Boko Haram controlled areas: "Some of them are very sick. Some are dehydrated from the journey because they walked [to Maiduguri]. There are cases of post-traumatic stress, malaria, vomiting and diarrhoea. People suffer from poor nutrition and you can see they are underweight."[48] This suggests that food supplies in Boko Haram controlled areas had run low after months of the group's rule.[49]

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[45] Amnesty International interview, March 2015.
[46] Amnesty International interviews October 2014 and February 2015.
[47] Defence Headquarters "Troops finally rout terrorists from Bama and last stronghold in Yobe." 17 March 2015; http://defenceinfo.mil.ng/troops-finally-rout-terrorists-from-bama-and-last-stronghold-in-yobe/ (accessed on 19 March 2015); Daily Trust "Troops retake Bama, 35 towns" 12 March 2015; http://dailytrust.com.ng/daily/top-stories/49259-troops-retake-bama-35-towns (accessed on 19 March 2015).
[48] Amnesty International interview, March 2015.
[49] Amnesty International interviews, January – March 2015.

Image of Abubakar Shekau, the current leader of the Boko Haram sect. Still from a video posted online. © Private

# LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Amnesty International believes that the situation in north-east Nigeria has constituted a non-international armed conflict since at least May 2013. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has defined a non-international armed conflict as: "protracted armed confrontations occurring between governmental armed forces and the forces of one or more armed groups, or between such groups arising on the territory of a State. The armed confrontation has reached a minimum level of intensity and the parties involved in the conflict must show a minimum of organisation."[50]

In a non-international armed conflict, international humanitarian law applies as well as international human rights law. The state remains bound by its obligations under international human rights law while all parties to the conflict, including non-state armed groups, are bound by the rules of international humanitarian law. Thus parties to a conflict are responsible for violations of international humanitarian law. Serious violations of international humanitarian law constitute war crimes[51] and entail individual criminal responsibility.[52] Certain crimes, when committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population (in furtherance of a state or organizational policy), with knowledge of the attack, constitute crimes against humanity, which also warrant and entail individual criminal responsibility.

The Nigerian state has used its military to counter Boko Haram rather than law enforcement agencies. As set out above, Boko Haram has the command structure and capacity to maintain military operations. Further, large numbers of people had already been killed, injured or displaced in the fighting by mid-2013. The Office of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court has also determined that the fighting in north-east Nigeria had, by May 2013, reached a level of intensity and persistence that qualified it as a non-international armed conflict. The International Criminal Court is undertaking a preliminary examination of the situation to determine whether parties to the conflict have committed crimes under international law (which include war crimes and crimes against humanity). Amnesty International's research has led to the conclusion that Boko Haram has committed both war crimes and crimes against humanity in north-east Nigeria.

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[50] ICRC, "How is the Term 'Armed Conflict' Defined in International Humanitarian Law?" International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) Opinion Paper, March 2008 and quoted therein, D. Schindler, The Different Types of Armed Conflicts According to the Geneva Conventions and Protocols, RCADI, Vol. 163, 1979 -II, p147; and ICTY, *The Prosecutor v. Fatmir Limaj*, Judgment, IT-03-66-T, 30 November 2005.
[51] ICRC Customary IHL Study, Rule 156.
[52] See *Decision on the Defense Motion for Interlocutory Appeal on Jurisdiction, The Prosecutor v. Dusko Tadić*, Case No. IT-94-1-AR72, ICTY Appeals Chamber, 2 October 1995 (hereinafter the *Tadić* case) and commentary included in ICRC Customary IHL Study Rule 156.

## INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW AND WAR CRIMES

International humanitarian law comprises the principles and rules that seek to mitigate the effects of war by limiting the means and methods of conducting military operations and by obliging belligerents to spare those not participating in hostilities. War crimes are serious violations of international humanitarian law.

The very nature of conflict means that not all deliberate killings are prohibited; indeed the killing of enemy combatants is generally permitted (unless they are, for example, *hors de combat* and thus cannot take part in hostilities). On the other hand, the deliberate killing of civilians not directly participating in hostilities is expressly prohibited.

The major sources of international humanitarian law are the Geneva Conventions and their protocols, and customary international law. In a non-international armed conflict the parties to the conflict are bound to comply with the norms contained in Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions, Protocol II to the 1949 Geneva Conventions[53] and customary international humanitarian law. Customary international law consists of rules that are binding on all states and can be defined as "general practice accepted as law."[54]

International humanitarian law has developed clear rules that set limits on the conduct of hostilities, designed to protect, to the maximum extent possible, civilians and others who are no longer participating, or can no longer participate, in hostilities. The basic principle is one of distinction: all possible measures must be taken to distinguish between military targets and civilians or civilian objects. [55] The rules include a prohibition on any direct attacks against civilians.[56] Attacks on civilian objects are also prohibited[57] unless these objects are being used in such a way that they lose their civilian character and qualify as a military objective.[58]

International humanitarian law also includes prohibitions on indiscriminate attacks; those that do not attempt to distinguish between military targets and civilians or civilian objects[59] and attacks which, although aimed at legitimate military targets, have a disproportionate impact on civilians or civilian objects. [60]

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[53] Nigeria ratified this protocol on 10 October 1988; in any case many provisions of the protocol are considered to reflect customary international law.
[54] Article 38 (1) (b) of the Statute of the International Court of Justice (ICJ).
[55] *Prosecutor v Dragomir Milošević*, Case No. IT-98-29/1-A, Judgement, 12 November 2009.
[56] See for example, ICRC Customary IHL Study, Rule 1; Article 13(2) of Additional Protocol II and the Statute of the International Criminal Court which defines the following as a war crime; "'intentionally directing attacks against the civilian population as such or against individual civilians not taking direct part in hostilities" in non-international armed conflicts.
[57] ICRC Customary IHL Study, Rule 7 and ICJ, *Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons*, Advisory Opinion, 1. C.J. Reports 1996, p. 226 (the ICJ Nuclear Weapons Advisory Opinion).
[58] ICRC Customary IHL Study, Rule 10.
[59] See Rules 11 and 12 of the ICRC commentary on international humanitarian law. The ICRC argues that the prohibition of indiscriminate attacks is a rule of customary international law in both international and non-international armed conflicts. This conclusion is based on state practice and *opinio iuris* (even though both Protocol II and the Rome Statute are silent on the matter) and on jurisprudence of the ICTY; see for example the *Tadić* case.
[60] *Prosecutor v Stanislav Galic,* Case No. IT-98-29-T.

In the case of attacks on military objectives causing damage to civilians, international law contains a general principle prescribing that reasonable care (all feasible precautions) must be taken in attacking military objectives so that civilians are not needlessly injured through carelessness.[61] Everything feasible must be done to verify that targets are military objectives, to assess the proportionality of an attack, and to halt any attack if it becomes apparent they are wrongly directed or disproportionate.[62] Where circumstances permit, attacking parties must give effective advance warning of an attack which may affect the civilian population.[63]

Parties to a conflict also have an obligation to take precautions to protect civilians and civilian objects under their control against the effects of attacks by the adversary. Each party must, to the extent feasible, avoid locating military objectives within or near densely populated areas.[64] They also must, to the extent feasible, remove civilians and civilian objects under their control from the vicinity of military objectives.[65]

The rules also require the humane treatment of any person in the power of the enemy and obligate the parties to care for the wounded without discrimination. The rules also make clear the narrow circumstances in which civilians or civilian objects lose their protection, for example, when a civilian object is used for military purposes.

## LEGAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW

States have responsibility for all violations of international humanitarian law committed by their troops or those acting under their authority. This responsibility entails the obligation on the state to ensure full reparation for losses or injuries suffered. While the question as to whether armed groups are under an obligation to make full reparation for violations of international humanitarian law is unsettled,[66] practice indicates that such groups are required to provide a measure of appropriate reparation.[67]

Not all violations of international humanitarian law constitute war crimes. However, serious violations of international humanitarian law constitute war crimes and engage individual criminal responsibility on the part of the perpetrators.[68] Violations of international humanitarian law are considered serious, and therefore war crimes, if they endanger protected persons or objects or if they breach important values.

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[61] ICTY, the *Kupreskic* case Case No. IT-95-16-T 14 January 2000.
[62] ICRC Customary IHL Study, Rules 16-19.
[63] ICRC Customary IHL Study, Rule 20.
[64] ICRC Customary IHL Study, Rule 23; see also Protocol I, Article 58(b).
[65] ICRC Customary IHL Study, Rule 24.
[66] ICRC Customary IHL Study, Rule 150.
[67] ICRC, Customary IHL Study, Rule 139.
[68] ICRC, Customary IHL Study, Rule 156. See also, cited therein, the *Tadić* case.

Article 8 of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court defines war crimes during an armed conflict not of an international character to include violations of Article 3 common to the four Geneva Conventions (acts against people taking no active part in the hostilities, including violence to life and person, in particular murder of all kinds, mutilation, cruel treatment and torture) and other serious violations of the laws and customs applicable in armed conflicts not of an international character, within the established framework of international law (including rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, and any other form of sexual violence). Under Article 8 it is also a war crime to recruit or conscript children under fifteen into an armed group or to use them to take part in hostilities.

The Rome Statute also criminalizes attacks targeted at the civilian population or against individual civilians not taking part in the hostilities and attacks. In the context of a non-international armed conflict the Rome Statute makes "destroying the property of an adversary unless such destruction … be imperatively demanded by the necessities of the conflict" a war crime, which covers some similar acts to those encompassed by the war crime, under customary international law, of making civilian objects the object of attack. While the Rome Statute does not expressly criminalize indiscriminate and disproportionate attacks during non-international armed conflicts, these are war crimes under customary international law and, in any case, may in certain circumstances amount to attacks directed at civilians.[69] Also especially relevant to the conduct of Boko Haram is the war crime in the Rome Statute of "intentionally directing attacks against buildings dedicated to religion, education, art, science or charitable purposes, historic monuments, hospitals and places where the sick and wounded are collected, provided they are not military objectives."[70]

Individuals, whether civilians or military and regardless of rank, can be held criminally responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law. Superior orders cannot be invoked as a defence for war crimes[71] although they may be taken into account in mitigation of punishment.[72]

Commanders may be responsible for crimes under international law under a number of modes of liability, including committing, planning, ordering, aiding and abetting, as well as command responsibility. Command responsibility is a mode of individual criminal responsibility under customary international law, where a military commander or a civilian superior may be responsible for the acts of his or her subordinates if he is aware of the crimes, or should have been aware of them, and fails to prevent or punish them.[73]

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[69] See various decisions of the ICTY including the *Tadić* case, the Kupreskic case Case No.: IT-95-16-T Case No.: IT-95-16-T 14 January 2000; *Prosecutor v Martić*, IT 95-11-A; *Prosecutor v Galić*, IT 98 – 29/1 – A, and the ICJ Nuclear Weapons Advisory Opinion.
[70] Rome Statute Article 8 (2) (e) (iv).
[71] See for example Article 33 of the Rome Statute.
[72] See commentary on ICRC, Customary IHL Study, Rule 155.
[73] Command responsibility is part of customary international law and conventional international law, and has been included as a mode of responsibility both in ad hoc tribunals and in the ICC. See, for example, the Statute of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (Article 7(3)) and the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. See Amnesty International, *The International Criminal Court: checklist for effective implementation* (IOR 40/11/00), July 2000. See also G. Mettraux, The Law of Command Responsibility, OUP, 2009, p21.

## WAR CRIMES COMMITTED BY BOKO HARAM IN NORTH-EAST NIGERIA

According to Amnesty International's analysis of the evidence that it has obtained from north-east Nigeria, Boko Haram has committed serious violations of international humanitarian law, amounting to war crimes and crimes against humanity. Amnesty International believes that individual members and commanders of Boko Haram should be investigated for war crimes and crimes against humanity under both customary international law and the Rome Statute.

### MURDER

Boko Haram has deliberately killed thousands of civilians in bomb blasts in crowded markets, at roadblocks, as punishment in areas under their control, and during attacks on towns and villages. Boko Haram has killed prisoners and has also targeted individuals because of their status as civil or religious authorities, because of their perceived collaboration with Nigerian security forces, or because they worked in or attended schools and hospitals. These murders constitute violations of Common Article 3, which prohibits murder of persons taking no active part in the hostilities. These acts would therefore constitute crimes under Article 8 of the Rome Statute as well as under customary international law.

### ATTACKS ON CIVILIANS AND CIVILIAN OBJECTS

Boko Haram has regularly attacked undefended civilian villages and killed civilians during the attacks, gunning them down as they fled, and it has also rounded up and killed civilians, often slitting their throats with knives. Boko Haram has attacked schools, killing teachers and students. It has also attacked other civilian objects, especially buildings associated with civil authority such as courts and health clinics. In towns it has burned down civilian homes, often those of wealthy members of the community. While some civilians were killed as a consequence of Boko Haram targeting soldiers and military targets, Boko Haram often raided villages where no security forces were present, deliberately killing civilians. During attacks on towns and villages with a military presence, Boko Haram has deliberately targeted and killed civilians as well as killing members of the security forces. Deliberately targeting civilians not directly participating in hostilities and civilian objects is a war crime.

Larger towns in north-east Nigeria typically contain a military presence of a few hundred soldiers. In attacks on larger towns, Boko Haram would target the barracks and any other military presence first. Boko Haram would often outnumber and overpower the army and capture any weapons and ammunition, including heavy weapons, left behind by the soldiers. But the vast majority of the victims in these Boko Haram attacks were civilians, most of them either rounded up and killed, or shot as they attempted to escape.

### INDISCRIMINATE AND DISPROPORTIONATE ATTACKS

In cases where Boko Haram has attacked military bases, they have killed many civilians in indiscriminate attacks that failed to distinguish between civilians and military targets. They have also frequently launched disproportionate attacks against military targets. Indiscriminate and disproportionate attacks are war crimes under customary international law[74] and may amount to attacks against civilians in certain circumstances.[75] Amnesty International believes that the attacks documented in this report constitute war crimes both under customary international humanitarian law and the Rome Statute.

### RAPE, SEXUAL VIOLENCE, SEXUAL SLAVERY AND FORCED MARRIAGES

Boko Haram has abducted women and girls during raids on towns and villages in north-east Nigeria and detained them in Boko Haram's camps and towns under their control. After taking control of a town, Boko Haram has routinely rounded up women and girls and detained them in large houses under armed guard. Women and girls that have escaped from Boko Haram reported that many were forced to marry Boko Haram members. Members of Boko Haram should therefore be investigated for the war crimes of rape, sexual slavery, and other forms of sexual violence.

### RECRUITMENT OF CHILD SOLDIERS

Amnesty International has received information that some abducted boys and girls under the age of fifteen were forced to take active part both in battle and in executions. This conduct constitutes the war crime of conscription or recruitment of child soldiers and members of Boko Haram should be investigated for this offence.

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[74] See for example ICRC Rules 11, 14 and 156.

[75] The Rome Statute of the ICC, to which Nigeria is a party, does not expressly criminalise indiscriminate or disproportionate attacks in a non-international armed conflict. However, the jurisprudence cited in footnote 68 above implies that certain indiscriminate or disproportionate attacks amount to targeting civilian populations and in those circumstances this conduct would constitute a war crime under Article 8 (2) (e) (i) of the Rome Statute.

## CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY

Crimes against humanity are prohibited acts committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against a civilian population as part of a government or organizational policy.[76] The Office of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court has found that since July 2009 Boko Haram launched a widespread, as well as systematic, attack against civilians pursuant to an organizational policy.[77]

Boko Haram is a well organized and efficient force. Amnesty International has documented evidence of Boko Haram training recruits and using sophisticated weaponry, such as armoured tanks. Boko Haram also has a fleet of vehicles, including motorcycles, flat-bed trucks and armoured personnel carriers, which it is able to supply, service and deploy. Boko Haram holds and administers territory and has a command structure that imposes discipline on its forces and directs hostilities.[78] The existence of an organizational policy to attack a civilian population can be determined both by public statements by Boko Haram leaders and inferred from the widespread and systematic nature of the attacks.[79]

Boko Haram's attacks in the north-east are systematic in nature. The group's attacks on schools demonstrate a methodical plan whose objective was to prevent children from receiving a secular education. For instance, between 8 and 20 March 2013, gunmen believed to be Boko Haram fighters attacked six different schools in various locations around Maiduguri, Borno state.[80] Other elements of Boko Haram's actions also display a methodical approach, such as its targeting of individuals and communities identified as collaborating with the government; its looting of food and other supplies; and its attacks on barracks to steal arms and ammunition. As Boko Haram occupied large towns in the north-east, it became clear that the group had decided to occupy territory as a strategy. This was

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[76] Article 7 of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, to which Nigeria is a party, defines crimes against humanity as any of the following acts when knowingly committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population: murder; extermination; enslavement; deportation or forcible transfer of population; imprisonment or other severe deprivation of physical liberty in violation of fundamental rules of international law; torture; rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization, or any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity; persecution against any identifiable group on political, racial, national, ethnic, cultural, religious, gender, or other grounds that are universally recognized as impermissible under international law; enforced disappearance of persons; the crime of apartheid; other inhumane acts of a similar character intentionally causing great suffering, or serious injury to body or to mental or physical health.

[77] Office of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, "Report on the preliminary examination: Situation in Nigeria" 5 August 2013 available at http://www.icc-cpi.int/iccdocs/PIDS/docs/SAS%20-%20NGA%20-%20Public%20version%20Article%205%20Report%20-%2005%20August%202013.PDF (accessed on 16 March 2015).

[78] The determination of whether a group meets the threshold of an organization capable of committing crimes against humanity is made on the facts in each situation. See the majority decision in the ICC Pre-Trial II's "Decision Pursuant to Article 15 of the Rome Statute on the Authorization of an Investigation into the Situation in the Republic of Kenya," ICC-01/09 (31 March 2010). Boko Haram meets the "organisation" threshold set in that case as it is meets many of the considerations applied by the majority in that decision in that it " … has an established hierarchy; … possesses, in fact, the means to carry out a widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population; … exercises control over part of the territory of a State; … has criminal activities against the civilian population as a primary purpose; … articulates, explicitly or implicitly, an intention to attack a civilian population…".

[79] An Introduction to International Criminal Law, Cryer et al. (2011). See also *Prosecutor v. Tadic*, Judgment, ICTY TC, 7 May 1997, where the Tribunal stated that, "a policy need not be formalized and can be deduced from the way in which the acts occur. Notably, if the acts occur on a widespread or systematic basis that demonstrates a policy to commit those acts, whether formalized or not."

[80] Maiduguri Metropolitan Primary School, Gwange III Primary School, Mafa Central Primary School, Umarari Primary School, Mai Malari Day Secondary school and Ali Aliskiri Primary School.

confirmed by Abubakar Shekau's proclamation of a caliphate in a video released in late August 2014.[81] These considerations, demonstrating the group's planning and strategy, also support the finding that the attacks are part of an organizational policy.

Boko Haram's attacks are also widespread: in 2013 Boko Haram conducted more than 100 deadly attacks, killing more than 1,350 civilians. In 2014, there were at least 230 raids and bomb attacks against civilians, killing more than 4,000 civilians. While some were claimed by Boko Haram, and some weren't, the residents and local authorities believe that all of the attacks have been perpetrated by Boko Haram.[82]

The precise number of attacks and fatalities is difficult to establish due to the absence of a phone network in rural areas of the north-east, insecurity preventing journalists and witnesses from travelling freely and the sheer number of attacks. Attacks were frequent, averaging almost 20 a month. They covered a large area: while the majority of raids were in Borno and Yobe states, there were also attacks in Adamawa, Kaduna and Kano states and occasionally in Cameroon. The group's bomb attacks terrorized residents of Nigeria's major cities, including Abuja, Jos, Lagos,[83] Kaduna and Kano. Two car bombings in the Nyanya bus station on the outskirts of Abuja in April and May 2014 killed more than 80 civilians. A further attack in Abuja in June, on the Banex plaza shopping complex, killed 22 people.

Boko Haram imprisoned thousands of civilians in its camps and in towns under its control in Borno state and other areas in the north-east. These civilians were often detained in large houses, prisons or other buildings, under armed guard. At other times civilians were allowed to remain in their houses, but those caught leaving their homes or the town without permission were flogged or executed.

Given the evidence that Amnesty International has assembled, members and commanders of Boko Haram should be investigated for crimes against humanity including murder, torture, persecution,[84] imprisonment, enslavement, rape and sexual slavery.

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[81] Available at Sahara Reporters, "Boko Haram Declares Caliphate, Shows Scenes of Fleeing Soldiers, Civilian Massacres", 24 August 2014. www.sharareportes.com/2014/08/24/new-gruesome-video-boko-haram-declares-caliphate-shows-scenes-fleeing-soldiers-civilian (accessed on 2 December 2014).
[82] These figures are based on Amnesty International's analysis of media reports on the conflict and interviews with eyewitnesses.
[83] In a video released on You Tube, Abubakar Shekau claimed responsibility for an explosion in Lagos on 22 June 2014. AFP "Boko Haram chief claims Lagos, Abuja attacks in new video", 13 July 2014; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t0iOgAHDorQ (accessed on 11 December 2014). For transcript: http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/164868-boko-haram-leader-shekau-mocks-bringbackourgirls-campaign.html.
[84] There is some evidence, set out below, that Boko Haram has specifically targeted Christians and moderate Muslims for their beliefs and therefore investigations should be conducted into whether the special intent element of the crime of persecution exists.

## JURISDICTION OVER WAR CRIMES AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY

International law imposes the obligation to investigate and prosecute alleged perpetrators of crimes under international law and serious violations and abuses of human rights.[85] These crimes include crimes against humanity and war crimes referenced in this report. Nigeria has the obligation under international law to ensure that, where sufficient evidence exists, individuals suspected of committing crimes under international law are prosecuted in fair trials without recourse to the death penalty. Nigeria must also ensure that effective remedies are put in place and that victims are provided with fair and just reparation including restitution, compensation, rehabilitation, satisfaction and guarantees of non-repetition.[86]

Where the Nigerian state is unable or unwilling genuinely to prosecute those suspected of criminal responsibility for crimes under international law, there are other avenues for bringing perpetrators to justice. Nigeria became a State Party to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court on 27 September 2001. Therefore, the International Criminal Court has jurisdiction over crimes (as prescribed by the Rome Statute) committed on Nigerian territory or by Nigerian nationals from 1 July 2002 onwards. In addition war crimes and crimes against humanity are subject to universal jurisdiction, which means any country that allows the exercise of universal jurisdiction in its domestic law in which those suspected of perpetrating these crimes are found may try them.[87]

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[85] International Humanitarian Law contains a duty to prosecute (First Geneva Convention, Article 49; Second Geneva Convention, Article 50; Third Geneva Convention, Article 129; Fourth Geneva Convention, Article 146, Common article 3 for non-international armed conflict). See also the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment; the African Charter on Human and People's Rights for the due diligence obligations to investigate and prosecute with respect to human right violations. See also Amnesty International, *United Kingdom: The Pinochet case - universal jurisdiction and absence of immunity for crimes against humanity*, January 1999, EUR 45/01/99. For war crimes, see also ICRC Rule 157.

[86] United Nations Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law, adopted and proclaimed by General Assembly resolution 60/147 of 16 December 2005.

[87] See for example ICJ, *Arrest Warrant of 11 April 2000 (Democrutic Republic of the Congo v. Belgium)*, Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 2002, p. 3, where the majority of the court confirmed the right of all states to exercise universal jurisdiction.

Map of Adamawa, Borno and Yobe states in north-east Nigeria. © Amnesty International

# BOKO HARAM'S REIGN OF TERROR

## PATTERNS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES AND VIOLATIONS OF INTERNTIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW

In 2014, Boko Haram's attacks became more organized, frequent and lethal. Bomb attacks and raids on towns and villages occurred on an almost daily basis. From July 2014 onwards, Boko Haram captured and occupied major towns the north-east. In August 2014, Abubakar Shekau declared the towns under his control to be an independent "caliphate".[88] At its greatest extent, territory under Boko Haram control extended across most of Borno, northern Adamawa and into eastern Yobe states. By March 2015, the military announced they had recaptured most of the territory.[89] Despite military successes in February and March 2015, ousting Boko Haram from many towns, the group continued to launch raids and bomb attacks on civilian targets.

Boko Haram used improvised explosive devices (IEDs), including car bombs, and suicide bombers to kill civilians at markets, transport hubs, schools and other public institutions. The group repeatedly attacked major cities in the north-east such as Maiduguri, the capital of Borno state, but also struck targets in cities across Nigeria.

Boko Haram fighters attacked communities in Borno state most frequently, but also launched attacks in Adamwa and Yobe states. Some attacks were carried out by just two or three gunmen on a motorcycle, some by hundreds of fighters supported by tanks and anti-aircraft weapons mounted on flat-bed trucks.

Raids were typically smaller attacks in which Boko Haram fighters rounded up and shot civilians, stole from people's homes, shops and markets, burned down buildings and then left. Boko Haram often assembled civilians and preached to them, instructing them not to be loyal to the government and to follow Boko Haram's version of Islam. Boko Haram fighters frequently abducted civilians, with women and girls singled out for forced marriage to Boko Haram members, and men and boys forced to join the group.

When Boko Haram took control of a town, they usually first sent warning messages to the residents – either by letters to the local chiefs or by verbally warning individuals. Most attacks happened either early in the morning or in the evening, when large numbers of fighters would arrive and attack any military or police presence. If there were military barracks, Boko Haram fighters would try to take over the armoury. Then they proceeded to target civilians, shooting them in the streets and the bush as they fled or in their homes as they hid. Sometime specific individuals or certain categories of civilians were deliberately targeted. Often the gunmen divided their forces, with one group going house to house to

[88] Sahara TV, "Boko Haram Declares A New Caliphate In NorthEastern Nigeria", 24 August 2014; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RI4IgD--nKg&list=UUKnyVIW5QvfnsXddsjFKx4A, (accessed on 10 December 2014.) For transcript see: http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/167248-boko-haram-leader-shekau-claims-captured-gwosa-now-islamic-caliphate.html.
[89] Defence Headquarters, Update on counter terrorism campaign: military takes Gwoza the terrorists phantom caliphate headquarters http://defenceinfo.mil.ng/update-on-counter-terrorism-campaign-military-takes-gwoza-the-terrorists-phantom-caliphate-headquarters/#sthash.6R0BmzJJ.dpuf

collect valuables and burn buildings, one looting shops, one killing people and one abducting residents or preventing them from fleeing.

Thousands of civilians were forced to live camps and in towns under Boko Haram's control, where Boko Haram enforced its rules with harsh punishments including public floggings and executions. Many women and girls were raped or forced into marriage and men and boys were forced to join the group.

The group ruthlessly implemented its ideology. All those who opposed it were seen as "unbelievers" and legitimate targets of violence. During Boko Haram attacks, its fighters targeted people associated with the government such as politicians, religious and traditional leaders, civil servants and other functionaries. Boko Haram fighters killed them, looted their houses, and either burned them down or occupied them. Boko Haram continued to attack other state institutions, including schools and hospitals, and the people who worked there. Teachers, students and health workers were singled out and killed. Schools and medical facilities were often burned down or occupied by the group when they took control of a town.[90]

After the Civilian JTF entered the conflict, Boko Haram fighters targeted civilians in towns and villages where such militia groups had formed. In videos posted online, Abubakar Shekau has explicitly threatened the Civilian JTF for alleged crimes against Boko Haram members.[91] In a video purportedly released by Boko Haram after the January 2015 massacre in Baga town, a spokesperson claimed that the group did not kill Muslims, only the "stick carriers", i.e. the Civilian JTF.[92] However, in practice Boko Haram did not distinguish between members of the Civilian JTF and other male civilians. In towns that did not form a Civilian JTF, such as Dikwa, Boko Haram took control without killing large numbers of civilians. [93]

Many witnesses told Amnesty International that Boko Haram fighters were looking for people from towns with Civilian JTF groups such as Bama, Gwoza and Maiduguri. In some cases, Boko Haram members screened civilians according to where they were from, killing those from towns perceived as aligned with the government. Foremost among these towns is Maiduguri. Boko Haram members would warn people not to go to Maiduguri, as unbelievers lived there and the group was going to attack the town.

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[90] An eyewitness told Amnesty International that in Askira town, Askira Uba LGA, Boko Haram used the abandoned hospital as their headquarters when they took control of the town in January 2015. The witness, a civil servant living in Askira, was taken to the hospital and interviewed before he was allowed to leave. He later escaped from Askira. Amnesty International interview March 2015.

[91] In the video Abubakar Shekau stated: "We warn the vigilante called CJTF to back out. If not, there will be no place for them to hide. We have evidences of how you killed some of our brethren whom you would ask if they are Boko Haram before you kill them. … You can continue to run or hide your identities in women's attire, but we will get to you and remove the women's clothing off you. Then while you are shouting for mercy we will strike, smash your heads and kill you all. Even if you don't do anything to us we will kill you. We would do it even to avenge our brethren. You killed our brethren in large numbers." *Daily Post*, "'Boko Haram will continue to kill' – Full text of Shekau's speech declaring caliphate in Northern Nigeria", 25 August 2014. http://dailypost.ng/2014/08/25/boko-haram-will-continue-kill-full-text-shekaus-speech-declaring-caliphate-northern-nigeria/ (accessed on 26 March 2015).

[92] Urwatu Wutqa, 27 January 2015; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iNwTSAhVQVo (accessed on 26 March 2015).

[93] Amnesty International interview, September 2014.

Boko Haram has used violence and the threat of violence to intimidate communities so that they do not cooperate with or speak to Nigerian security forces. When Boko Haram fighters came to Bulabulin Gaura, Konduga LGA on 25 April 2014 for instance, they told residents: "You have heard of us, you have seen our guns, if you try to tell someone or tell the soldiers what is happening or where we are, we will come and burn you and kill you."[94] An eyewitness told Amnesty International that Boko Haram fighters then shot three people dead and burned down six houses.

In southern Borno state and other areas, Boko Haram deliberately targeted Christians and destroyed their churches. In some cases Boko Haram gave Christians, as well as Muslims not supportive of the group, the option to convert and join the group instead of being killed. Because they are targeted by Boko Haram, many Christians told Amnesty International that they suspect members of the Muslim community of informing Boko Haram where Christians live, or of not sharing information about prospective Boko Haram attacks. This perception damaged relations between the communities.

Ekklisiyan Yan'uwa a Nigeria (Church of the Brethren in Nigeria), Attagara village, Gwoza LGA, Borno state Nigeria. Burnt by Boko Haram in June 2014. © Private.

[94] Amnesty International interview, April 2014.

In territory under Boko Haram control, the group imposed restrictions on people's movement. In the first days of Boko Haram control, fighters instructed residents not to flee. As civilians tried to escape, Boko Haram fighters rounded up children, women and the elderly and transported them back to the captured town. In some towns, the group placed civilians under armed guard in the now empty houses of wealthy individuals. Men of fighting age who stayed behind were often killed, forced to join Boko Haram or hid until they could escape. In Bama town men were captured and imprisoned for several weeks before being executed.

Boko Haram abducted women and girls during raids on towns and villages and detained them in camps and towns under their control. After taking control of a town, Boko Haram often rounded up women and girls in large houses and placed them under armed guard. Their movements were restricted and they were given little food. The older women were often released, while the younger women were forced into marriage, sometimes after the payment of a dowry. Christian women and girls were told to convert and attend Qur'anic classes to prepare them for a forced marriage. Amnesty International has received information on cases of rape, both within and outside the context of forced marriages.[95]

Some abducted men were taken because of their specific skills, such as medical staff and engineers. Some were released after providing services.

In several raids, Boko Haram told communities that they had to support their activities – either with money or by providing fighters. Those forcibly recruited into Boko Haram were taken to the bush or to training fields in Boko Haram-controlled areas and taught how to shoot.

## KILLING CIVILIANS

Boko Haram has deliberately killed thousands of civilians across north-east Nigeria, in other cities around the country and even across the border in Cameroon and Niger. Based on interviews with eyewitnesses and monitoring of the media, Amnesty International has evidence that Boko Haram killed at least 4,000 civilians in 2014 in deliberate and indiscriminate attacks; the actual number is likely to be much higher. In the first three months of 2015, Boko Haram fighters killed at least 1,500 civilians. Some were gunned down or had their throats slit during attacks on towns and villages, others were blown up in bomb blasts. Some were deliberately targeted because of their status as civil or religious authorities, because their town had set up a Civilian JTF, because they were thought to have collaborated with Nigerian security forces, or because they attended or worked in schools and hospitals. Some were killed during shoot-outs with the security services in what may have been disproportionate or indiscriminate attacks.

There have been several attacks resulting in hundreds of deaths, such as in Baga (January 2015), Gamborou (May 2014), and Gwoza (July 2014), which are described below.

Many of these killings of civilians amount to murder as a war crime and a crime against humanity. This section gives examples of the different situations in which Boko Haram has killed civilians. The names used in this chapter are pseudonyms as all people interviewed asked not to be identified for security reasons.

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[93]Amnesty International interviews August 2014 – March 2015. See also Watchlist on Children in Armed Conflict, *'Who will care for us?' Grave Violations against Children in Northeastern Nigeria,* September 2014; and Human Rights Watch, '*Those Terrible Weeks in their Camp': Boko Haram Violence against Women and Girls in Northeast Nigeria*, October 2014.

## KILLINGS DURING RAIDS

Amnesty International has interviewed witnesses and victims of more than 130 raids on towns and villages between January 2014 and March 2015. Many of these hit and run attacks took place close to Boko Haram's main camp in the Sambisa forest, Borno state. The following cases are typical of these smaller, frequent attacks.

Around 200 Boko Haram fighters attacked Kawuri village, Konduga LGA (20 km from Konduga town) on 16 March 2014. According to one eyewitness, who left Kawuri after the attack, they drove into the market on motorcycles, shot civilians, killing dozens of them, stole supplies and set fire to shops. The eyewitness said the soldiers stationed in the village initially fired at the Boko Haram fighters but were overpowered. [96]

On 7 June 2014, Boko Haram fighters came to Gayawa village, Konduga LGA. Boko Haram gunmen killed 19 people, according to a resident, Modu Kallare (not real name), who fled into the surrounding bush. He told Amnesty International: "The next morning I saw all the dead bodies and that they had burned houses, cars and food supplies. It was then that the community decided to leave home and come to Maiduguri. For now, the place is too dangerous to return."[97]

Mallam Abubakar (not real name), a farmer from Azaya, Mafa LGA, told Amnesty International about a raid on his hometown on 20 November 2014. Boko Haram fighters killed 53 people. He said he buried 33 and another group buried a further 20 victims.[98] He said that the group also looted from the market and burned people's homes and shops.

### GAMBOROU: NEARLY 400 PEOPLE KILLED ON 5 MAY 2014

On 5 May 2014 Boko Haram attacked Gamborou in Ngala LGA, Borno state. Amnesty International gathered 11 testimonies, including eight eyewitnesses to the attack and its aftermath, one local official and one military source.

"Boko Haram opened fire on everyone in the town, shooting and killing indiscriminately. They followed people into their houses and killed them; they also went to the market and killed people. They also opened fire on people with the armoured tank they brought. They went to a motorcycle shop in town; they took about 100 and rode around town on them killing people and burning houses as they went," said Sari Zuwa (not real name), a 39-year-old resident of Gamborou who saw the attack.[99]

Eyewitnesses confirmed that Boko Haram fighters attacked a police station in Gamborou around midday and killed 17 police officers. They then set fire to houses and shot civilians as they tried to escape. One group went to the market in flatbed trucks and two armoured personnel carriers.

Goni Mustapha (not real name), a member of the security forces stationed in Gamborou, told Amnesty International that at the time of the attack, there was no military presence in the town. This was confirmed by other eyewitnesses. Goni explained that the troops had been sent away on an (unsuccessful) operation to rescue the abducted girls from Chibok Local

[94] Amnesty International interview, May 2014.
[97] Amnesty International interview, June 2014.
[98] Amnesty International interview, November 2014.
[99] Amnesty International interview, May 2014.

Government Girls Secondary School.[100] (The abduction of 276 schoolgirls from Chibok on 14 April 2014 had drawn unprecedented attention; see below.) Dahiru Kachalla was in neighbouring Ngala town during the time of the attack. He saw Gamborou's Divisional Police Officer call for reinforcements, but none arrived. Several eyewitnesses noted that around 4:30 pm an air force jet circled above the town for 15 minutes, but then left.[101]

Another resident, 45-year-old Ibrahim Jibrie (not real name), was on his way to the market for shopping: "As I see them approach the market, then pop, pop, pop, they started to shoot." Ibrahim ran away and hid at home. The next day Ibrahim joined other residents in collecting the corpses for burial. "Some were burnt in their shops, they didn't have a chance to escape." Many were burnt beyond recognition. Ibrahim said he buried 30 people himself.[102]

Detail: Approximately 80 structures show signs of damage or destruction from fire. The largest concentration of damage was visible along the main road leading to the border with Cameroon. The yellow dots represent damaged or destroyed structures.Detail

[100] Amnesty International interviews, including with an official from Gamborou, May 2014.
[101] Amnesty International interviews with eyewitnesses, May 2014.
[102] Amnesty International interview, February 2015.

Overview: Imagery from May 17, 2014, shows significant damage to buildings and vehicles in Gamborou along the main border road. No damage was visible in Ngala. The yellow dots represent damaged or destroyed structures.

Boko Haram fighters left the town after 10 hours. Mohammed Ummar (not real name), who was in neighbouring Ngala town at the time of the attack, told Amnesty International that he and other people who escaped buried 313 corpses on the day after the attack. They had been killed in their houses and on the streets. The next day, they buried a further 80 corpses that were burnt beyond recognition in the market.[103] There were 17 police officers among the dead. All the other people killed were civilians.[104] Residents told Amnesty International that thousands of people fled the town.

A comparison of satellite images taken on 5 April and 17 May shows that 80 structures were damaged by fire and the town's main market was almost completely burned to the ground. Numerous cars and trucks also show evidence of being burned.[105]

[103] Amnesty International interview, May 2014.
[104] Amnesty International interviews, May 2014. The eyewitnesses confirmed that Boko Haram fighters killed 17 police officers and no soldiers as there was no military presence at the time of the attack.
[105] DigitalGlobe.

## GWOZA LGA: REPEATED ATTACKS ON VILLAGES

In May and June 2014, Boko Haram attacked Chinene, Halagwa, Ganjara, Agapalwa, Angurva and Attagara villages in Gwoza LGA. Boko Haram fighters killed at least 200 people and burned down houses. Amnesty International interviewed six eyewitnesses to the attacks.

On 25 May 2014, Boko Haram attacked Chinene village. Days before the attack, Boko Haram fighters verbally warned members of the community of an imminent attack and, as nearby communities had been attacked after receiving warnings, they decided to send a delegation to inform the nearest military presence at Wihze (also known as Marabam Pulka).

Chris Maka (not real name), a 56-year-old pastor of several villages in Gwoza LGA, was part of the delegation. He told Amnesty International that the delegation waited all day to meet the commander and in the evening they asked to stay overnight. "The soldiers refused. They asked us to leave, the commander said they [Boko Haram] will start shooting very soon and may mistakenly shoot and kill us." As the delegation left the army base, they could see the fire in Chinene village. The soldiers did not go to Chinene but stayed in their base.[106] Chris Maka and the other men slept that night in the bush and the next morning he returned to his home village of Attagara. He passed through Chinene and saw how Boko Haram fighters had destroyed the village. "The entire village had been destroyed. I counted seven dead bodies, they all had gunshots wounds. They were all men." Together with some women who were looking for their husbands and children, they took the corpses to Attagara for burial. [107]

Marcus Batare (not real name), a 60-year-old farmer and local politician from Chinene, hid in the church when Boko Haram fighters arrived. He said the attack happened in the evening and lasted one hour. After the Boko Haram fighters left, he and other villagers found four corpses. He said they saw Boko Haram fighters were still at the outskirts of the village and reported this at the army base: "We told the soldiers where they were sitting but the army refused to engage them." He left Chinene after the attack and went to Cameroon. Marcus said that the military had started withdrawing from the area earlier, from April onwards. He had frequently spoken to the soldiers about impending attacks: "On nearly all occasions, the army will not respond or act on our warnings… We used to give the army information about Boko Haram locations and weapons hideouts, the army would promise to follow up but do nothing."[108]

On 1 June 2014 in the morning, Boko Haram attacked Halagwa, Ganjara, Agapalwa, Angurva and Attagara villages. Fighters returned to the area over the following three days, killing more than 100 people. Amnesty International was not able to verify the precise number of civilians killed. Chris Maka said that in the five villages altogether "68 people were killed on the first day of the attack alone. Some of the dead bodies were later thrown into a water well [by Boko Haram] in the town centre." He said women who came back to the villages buried these corpses while most villagers stayed in the hills. When they ran out of food, some people tried to get to the Cameroonian border. According to Chris Maka, Boko Haram fighters killed an additional 86 people who were trying to escape.[109]

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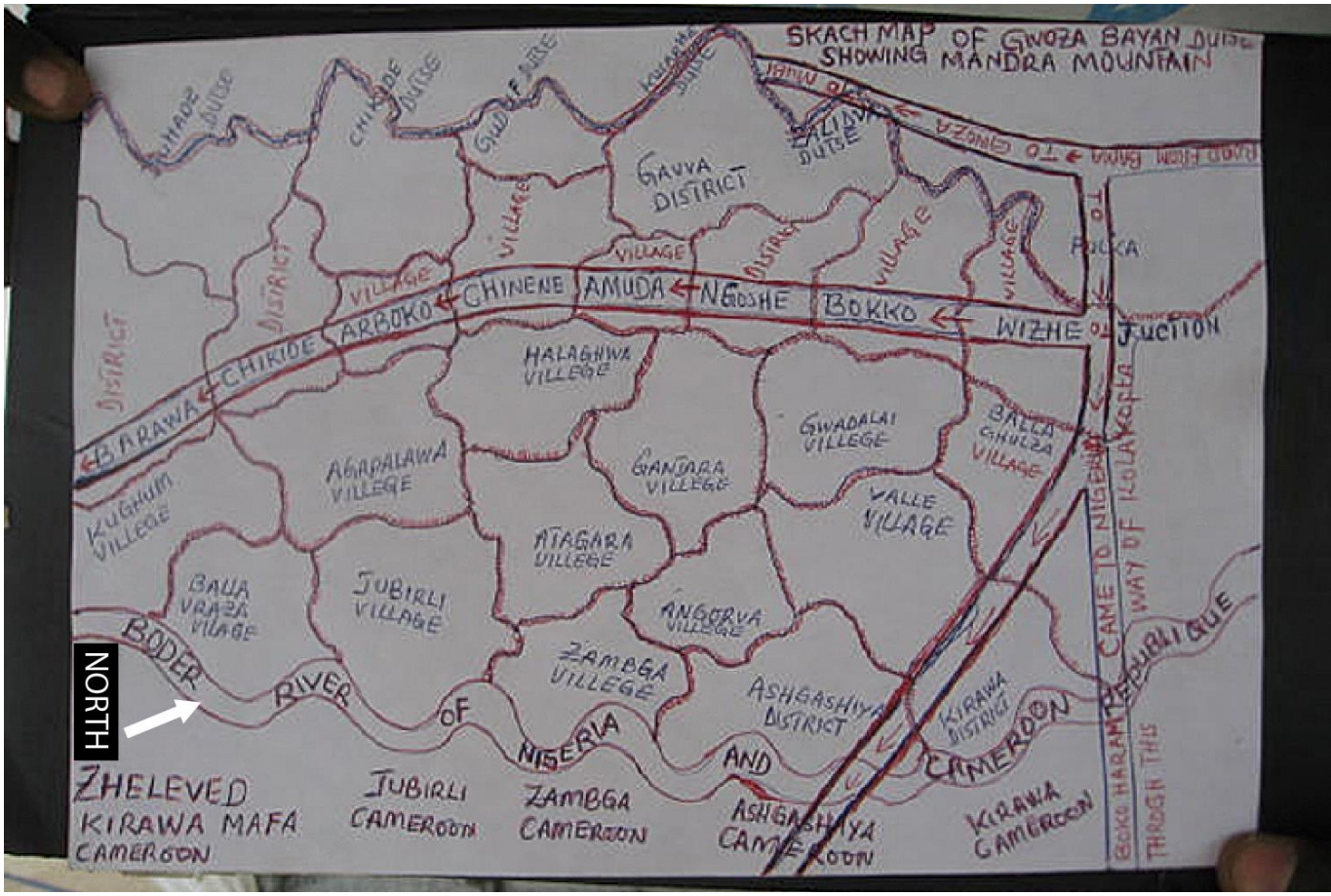
[106] Amnesty International interview, February 2015.
[107] Amnesty International interview, February 2015.
[108] Amnesty International interview, February 2015.
[109] Amnesty International interview, February 2015.

Musa Abdullahi (not real name), a 46-year-old farmer from Attagara, told Amnesty International that he reported the impending attacks to the military in Kirawa and Wizhe but said he was told to "go home and protect himself".[110]

Attagara and surrounding villages have been attacked repeatedly. A farmer from Attagaro told Amnesty International that he had witnessed seven attacks in the area since June 2014. Most villagers have spent weeks or months in the Mandara mountains. From November 2014, Boko Haram fighters started to chase the residents in the mountains, forcing them out of their hiding places and preventing them from going to Cameroon. Several civilians who hid in the mountains told Amnesty International that Boko Haram fighters threw teargas canisters into caves to force the people out. Maryamu (not real name), a 15-year-old girl from Gavva said: "More than 200 people were captured. They told the women to sit down. They tied the men with rope, one by one." The women, including Maryamu, were abducted and most men were killed.[111]



Sketch map of Gwoza, Bayan, Dutse, showing Mandara mountains. © Private

[110] Amnesty International interview, February 2015.
[111] Amnesty International interviews, February 2015.

On 4th November, 2013, over 100 Boko Haram fighter attacked Gavva ast village, Gwoza LGA and destroyed the village. © Private

### MBUTA: 14 PEOPLE KILLED ON 12 FEBRUARY 2015

Small-scale raids on towns and villages continued while Boko Haram took control of major towns. In Mbuta, Mafa LGA, Boko Haram killed 14 people on 12 February 2015. Around 20 Boko Haram fighters arrived in a car and six motorcycles at 8am, when many people had gone to their fields. Bukar Tanko (not real name), a farmer, told Amnesty International that he returned to Mbuta when he heard gunshots. From where he hid, he was able to see and hear the attack: "They started opening fire, shouting that you have to kill disbelievers, you have to burn the houses of the people. It was the commander who was shouting. I saw them one by one, putting the fire on houses and shops. They went to the shops, opened the shops. Whatever is useful they took it in their car." When the attack was over, Bukar and other survivors arranged a vehicle to take the injured to hospital and buried 11 people shot by Boko Haram and three women burned to death in their homes. Amnesty International interviewed two other eyewitnesses, both injured in the attack, who corroborated the story.[112]

[112] Amnesty International interviews, February 2015.

## KILLINGS IN CAPTURED TOWNS AND VILLAGES

From July 2014 Boko Haram began to take control of major towns in the north-east. These larger towns typically had a military presence and so usually Boko Haram targeted soldiers first, before moving on to kill civilians. Over the initial hours and days of Boko Haram control, its fighters followed a similar pattern to raids: mainly men of fighting age, civil servants and other groups targeted by Boko Haram were killed; shops, markets and large houses were looted; and some buildings were burned down. Boko Haram fighters rounded up children, women and the elderly, and imprisoned them in large houses or ordered them not to leave their homes. Amnesty International conducted 122 interviews with 110 people about killings after the capturing of 30 towns and villages.

### GWOZA: AT LEAST 600 CIVILIANS KILLED

"When Boko Haram attacked Gwoza, they were shooting everywhere. Shooting at the civilians. When running to escape they will shoot you. Those on motorcycles are not attacking the military. It is the heavy vehicles that attacked the military. The motorcycles went to surrounding areas, each street corner, where they will shoot you. They are only shooting the men. Only one woman took a bullet. People said I should close my room so I would not be shot. Boko Haram killed many people."[113]

Muktar Yahaya (not real name), a businessman and resident of Gwoza, saw Boko Haram forces attack the town on 6 August 2014 at around 4pm. Amnesty International has interviewed three people who were in Gwoza at the time of the attack, four human rights defenders and one military source.

Residents from Gwoza told Amnesty International that prior to the attack Boko Haram members had sent several warning messages to Muslims in the town. Mustapha Ali (not real name), a resident and retired army officer, said that he frequently spoke to the commander or the intelligence officer in the Pulka base. He told Amnesty International: "Whenever we receive rumours or warnings of pending attacks, I and other men in the community will go to the army and tell them. We'll ask them to come and station in our village, even for the night. They never did. Not once. The soldiers would speak freely to me and complained about the lack of support from Maiduguri."[114]

Eyewitnesses to the attack told Amnesty International that Boko Haram gunmen fought with the soldiers stationed in the town and overwhelmed the troops, killing an unknown number of soldiers and forcing the rest to flee. Abubakar Lawan (not real name), a brick worker, told Amnesty International that at 5:30pm on the day of the attack on Gwoza, he was on his way home after work. At a military checkpoint in Gwoza, he saw men wearing military uniforms arriving in town on flat-bed trucks and tanks. Initially, he thought that the military were sending reinforcements. He told Amnesty International: "We started seeing motorcycles coming too. Then I thought 'it is not army as they don't have motorcycles, so maybe they are Boko Haram'. As they were driving into town they started shooting and people started running into their houses." Abubakar fled to his house, where he spent the night. "Next morning, in the early morning, I heard gunshots until 9am and went outside to see what's happening. I saw soldiers running away, about 40 soldiers. I asked [one of] them, 'What happened?' He said, 'You too have to escape with your lives'. There is a big mountain in Gwoza, so we went

[113]Amnesty International interview, November 2014.
[114] Amnesty International interview, February 2015.

there."

After looting the barracks, Boko Haram fighters drove through the streets, shooting civilians as they tried to flee. They broke into shops, took the supplies inside and set fire to the buildings. They also destroyed many homes and stole cars.[115] Boko Haram control of Gwoza has made it impossible to verify the number killed. One former resident estimated that at least 600 civilians were killed in the attack, but other residents claim the figure is higher. A woman who assisted with burials said the women of Gwoza buried more than 1,000 corpses.[116]

Several former residents of the town told Amnesty International that women were burying the dead in mass graves. The bodies were decaying so Boko Haram were digging graves while the women handled the corpses.[117]

Amnesty International was not able to confirm if the Boko Haram members had a list, but several eyewitnesses said the Boko Haram fighters went to specific houses. Muktar Ibrahim (not real name) said: "When they see a big building, they will enter. When they see a wooden house, they won't enter. They were looking for their enemies like Civilian JTF. People working for the government."[118]

Many women, elderly people and children remained in Gwoza town and were largely allowed to move around freely.

Muktar and his neighbour hid in the loft of his house for 13 days. His wife was able to leave the house and bring them food. He said Boko Haram members went from house to house to kill Civilian JTF members and people who worked for the government. After two weeks Muktar and his neighbour escaped when the Boko Haram fighters told the residents to leave. He walked with a large group of men and women towards Maiduguri. Outside Gwoza, on the road to Kirawa, Boko Haram fighters stopped them, saying they were looking for Civilian JTF members from Gwoza. Muktar said he saw 30 men killed in this incident. Women and children were allowed to go.

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[115] Amnesty International interviews, August, September and November 2014, with eyewitnesses as well as a military source.
[116] Amnesty International interviews, August and September 2014.
[117] Amnesty International interviews, August and September 2014
[118] Amnesty International interview, November 2014.

Houses destroyed after a Boko Haram attack in a village in Gwoza LGA. © Private

The Boko Haram members let Muktar go because he convinced them he was not from Gwoza. "They told us that... when they catch people from Maiduguri, Gwoza and Bama, any person from these towns, they are going to kill them. They were preaching to the women. They gathered the women and said we are not working for the government, we are working for Islam. We are not touching women or children. Those people in the CJTF, we are going to kill them." [119] As noted previously, international humanitarian law protects any person placed outside combat, which includes members of the Civilian JTF not directly participating in hostilities. Further, Boko Haram does not distinguish between Civilian JTF members and other men of fighting age from communities with Civilian JTF groups.

[119] Amnesty International interview, November 2014.

Eyewitnesses and human rights defenders estimate that 5,000 civilians fled to the Mandara mountains, which run along the border with Cameroon and come within 5 km of Gwoza town. Some stayed there for months, others left after days or weeks. All said they were hunted by Boko Haram. People stranded in the mountains fled under cover of darkness, some moving east to Cameroon, others south to Adamawa state and west to Askira Uba LGA.

Abubakar Lawan (see above) told Amnesty International: "We stayed on the mountain for five days. [Initially] women were bringing food to us in the cave... Boko Haram said, 'You have to be careful. When you take food to your husbands, we will kill you.' When women told us this we said to stop bringing us food. Some men dressed as women went to bring supplies from Gwoza. They would carry the supplies as if they were carrying a child." He escaped at night with several others and reached Madagali. However, he witnessed several other men, including the brother of the Emir of Gwoza, being shot dead when they tried to escape.[120]

According to a military source who monitored operations in the region, troops from Maimalari barracks in Maiduguri were asked to go to Gwoza on 9 August 2014, but they refused. Around 11 or 12 August, the military began bombing Gwoza.[121] On 27 March 2015, the military announced they had recaptured Gwoza.

### GAMBOROU NGALA: AT LEAST 200 PEOPLE KILLED IN AUGUST 2014

On 25 August 2014 at around 5.30 in the morning, Boko Haram forces attacked Gamborou Ngala once more. Amnesty International spoke with 11 eyewitnesses who confirmed that Boko Haram gunmen first attacked the military barracks and police station in the town, and then destroyed houses and shot civilians along the way. The witnesses all said they saw soldiers running away. On the first day, the corpses of the dead were left on the streets. After that Boko Haram fighters told the residents to bury them.

Amnesty International has not been able to verify the number of people killed. One woman who escaped on the day of attack and returned to Gamborou days after Boko Haram took over said that bodies were lying in the streets, some with bullet wounds, others with no head. Her house was burnt and car stolen.

Alhaji Hussein managed to escape from Gamborou on the day of the attack. He spoke to Amnesty International a few days later when he arrived in Maiduguri about what he had witnessed: "Boko Haram were destroying houses and bombing Gamborou and killing people. Up till now there are dead bodies there. They are not killing women and children, they just kill young men. They shoot them. I saw 15 being killed, and one of my friends was killed."

Mallam Yusuf (not real name), a 47-year-old businessman, said that he stayed indoors on the day of the attack. The following day, he went outside: "I saw the Boko Haram fighters sitting around. Some were sitting in a petrol station. They told us that they'd taken over the town, but everything is fine and we should not run away. They asked us to bury the corpses that were lying in the streets... They called us infidels and pagans, but said if we changed our ways and stayed, they'll feed us." In the afternoon, Boko Haram members came to his house and stole his car. After some time, his 20-year-old son was followed by Boko Haram fighters into his house. "They came in the house and shot him in the head. Right in front of me. They searched the entire house, but didn't take anything with them. After they left, I picked up my

[120] Amnesty International interview, September 2014.
[121] Amnesty International interviews, August 2014.

son's body and went to bury him." That night, Mallam Yusuf crossed the bridge to Fotokol in Cameroon with his wife and six other children. From Fotokol, the Cameroonian army transported him and many other refugees to Minawao camp, near Maroua.

Hassan Kyari (not real name), a 63-year-old driver, told Amnesty International that Boko Haram fighters went from house to house the day after they took over. "They started entering houses. They came and collected my neighbour Alhaji around 4pm. They took him away and brought him back after two hours, shot him in front of his house and left the body there… He was 70 years old…We all became scared and terrified." Hassan left that night with his two wives and 10 children. They walked to Fotokol where they stayed with friends for two months. They then moved to Minawao camp.

Hamidah Tijani (not real name), a 48-year-old woman who stayed in Gamborou until February 2015 told Amnesty International that when she first left her house the day after the attack, bodies were lying in the street: "We have seen bodies of people who have been killed, even children of 10 years. Just on the street. My neighbour was counting as we walked, there were about 45, in separate locations. But then near Arabic Village [a university campus] there were around 50. I think maybe Boko Haram told them to stay there, then open fire at once to them." Three days later the Boko Haram leadership instructed their members and the remaining residents to collect all bodies and bury them. Some residents were taken to a village on the road to Kalabalge and participated in burying corpses in a mass grave. Hamidah saw people moving bodies to that site and witnessed the burial. She estimated that 200 bodies were buried in that grave.

### BAMA: DOZENS OF PEOPLE KILLED AND ALMOST THE ENTIRE TOWN DESTROYED

Boko Haram fighters repeatedly targeted Bama, the second largest town in Borno State, in 2013 and 2014, killing civilians and destroying property. In one of the deadliest attacks on 19 February 2014, they killed 89 people, according to a list compiled by human rights defenders and elders in the community.[122]

Amnesty International was able to collect detailed information about another attack that took place on 1 September 2014. Witnesses interviewed by Amnesty International estimated that Boko Haram killed more than 50 civilians, mainly men of fighting age, and imprisoned others.[123] Amnesty International received consistent accounts from both Bama residents and military sources that the military stationed in the town had been warned of the impending Boko Haram attack, but did not take sufficient measures to protect and evacuate civilians.

A military source who monitored developments in the region told Amnesty International on 25 August that a local official in Bama had received a letter from Boko Haram announcing the attack and handed it over to the local military commander.[124]

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[122] Amnesty International interviews, June and July 2014, and February 2015. List is on file with Amnesty International.
[123] Amnesty International interviews September 2014, February and March 2015. Amnesty International was not able to verify the precise number of deaths. We gathered 18 testimonies, including 13 from eyewitnesses to the attack, one from a reliable activist who continued to collect information from Bama after he had left the town, one from a military source and two from civil society members who documented information on the attack.
[123] Amnesty International interview, September 2014.
[124] Amnesty International interview, August 2014. The letter was delivered on 24 August.

Bashir Lawan (not real name), a human rights activist from Bama, also told Amnesty International that Boko Haram had warned Bama residents and that he, along with others, tried to leave the town, but the military stopped him: "Before the attack on Bama we passed on information to the military. But the military would stop anyone with luggage and said 'go back home'. They said 'We are here to guard you. If you leave we will have no one to guard. See our numbers. Nothing will happen to Bama.' Two days later Boko Haram attacked. At the end of the day we are betrayed."[125]

According to witnesses interviewed by Amnesty International, around 350 soldiers from 202 Battalion of the 7 Division were based in Bama before the attack. As Boko Haram entered Bama, they first attacked the barracks, killing several soldiers, taking over the barracks and seizing arms, including some heavy weapons, and ammunition. Then the fighters went through the streets of the town shooting civilians.[126] Several thousand people fled Bama for Maiduguri.[127]

Amira Ali (not real name), a 30-year-old woman and mother of six, told Amnesty International that she saw Boko Haram members going house to house. She said: "Boko Haram killed many. As I was running away and tried to hide, I saw bodies without heads lying in the street, some were shot, others had their stomach cut open…. The women in Bama, when they see a dead person, they will make a grave, dig it and bury. I personally buried six corpses."[128]

Another witness, 38-year-old civil servant Hauwa Goni (not real name), told Amnesty International that she buried 16 people.[129]

Amira hid her husband inside their house and he stayed indoors for three days, until he escaped early in the morning on 4 September, dressed as a woman going to collect water. Amira stayed behind with her children. She said she was constantly worried that Boko Haram would kidnap or kill her children and eventually decided to leave Bama and sought refuge in a camp in neighbouring Cameroon. At the time of the interview in February 2015, she still had no information of her husband's fate or whereabouts.[130]

Halima Gana (not real name) escaped from Bama on 4 September in the morning. She told Amnesty International that Boko Haram gunmen were searching for residents in the bush outside Bama and stopping people fleeing by road, and that they were killing all the men they found. Halima Gana told Amnesty International: "As we were travelling through the bush, Boko Haram stopped us. Me, my son and my younger daughter were travelling together. They wanted to kill my son, so I begged them 'don't kill him, don't kill him, don't kill him'. I said my son didn't go to school and didn't attend any government work. I said we supported them and said 'Allahu Akbar'. They let us go. They killed five men that were also travelling with us and took four others into the bush. Boko Haram bound their hands with straw. They were all middle aged men. Three were killed with gunshots and two others were slaughtered [their throats were cut]."[131]

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[125] Amnesty International interview, January 2015.
[126] Amnesty International gathered 18 testimonies, including 13 from eyewitnesses to the attack, one from a reliable activist who continued to collect information from Bama after he had left the town, one from a military source and two from civil society members who documented information on the attack.
[127] Amnesty International interview, September 2014.
[128] Amnesty International interview, February 2015.
[129] Amnesty International interview, March 2015.
[130] Amnesty International interview, February 2015.
[131] Amnesty International interview, September 2014.

In the course of its counteroffensive in the north-east launched in the beginning of 2015, the Nigerian army announced on 16 March 2015 that they had recaptured Bama.[132] Eyewitnesses of the attack who left Bama between 14 and 21 March told Amnesty International how Boko Haram fighters, aware of the impending recapture, killed dozens of civilians and told hundreds of others to leave; they also burnt significant parts of town before retreating.[133]

Hauwa Goni (not real name) told Amnesty International: "When the military got close to the barracks [in Bama] and almost took over, they [the military] later withdrew. Then the insurgents started killing people and burning houses."[134]

Another witness, a 43-year-old farmer Fatima Umaru (not real name), said: "I saw over ten houses that were burned by the insurgents with old men and women inside. They were chanting 'Allahu Akbar' and telling us that we will meet at the gate of paradise." She also saw that there were still people inside the prison when Boko Haram fighters burned it.[135]

A member of the Civilian JTF who went to Bama on 21 March, said: "There were many corpses that were littered in Bama town. Nobody to bury them… I saw 13 bodies, mostly people of old age and eight of them were women. There were several other people burnt inside their houses."[136]

Satellite images obtained and analysed by Amnesty International confirm the testimonies that Boko Haram fighters destroyed 70 per cent of the town on 14 March 2015. Between 13 and 17 March 2015, an estimated 5,900 buildings were either damaged or destroyed by fire, including the hospital, market stalls, schools and the local palace.[137] One area on the northern edge of town, shows possible bomb damage occurring after March 3.[138] The imagery also shows people gathered under trees in the bush east of Bama on 17 March 2015.[139]

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[132] Amnesty International interviews, March 2015. On 12 March a military source who monitors the operations in the area told Amnesty International that troops had been in the town and went to central places like the prison and the palace. Several newspapers had already reported about the recapture on 11 March. See: Daily Trust, 11 March 2015, https://www.dailytrust.com.ng/daily/top-stories/49259-troops-retake-bama-35-towns, Thisday, 11 March 2015, http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/military-recaptures-bama-as-more-insurgents-are-killed-in-adamawa/203836/. It is unclear when exactly the Nigerian military entered Bama, according to some sources they were already there on 10 March, but all residents Amnesty International spoke to said the military was not there when the Boko Haram fighters attacked the town on 14 March.

[133] Amnesty International interviewed six eyewitnesses who left Bama on between 14 and 21 March and one military source. In addition, Amnesty International spoke with four residents from Bama who left the town before the attack but had received information from friends and relatives, and seven human rights defenders, politicians and journalists.

[134] Amnesty International interview, March 2015.

[135] Amnesty International interview, March 2015.

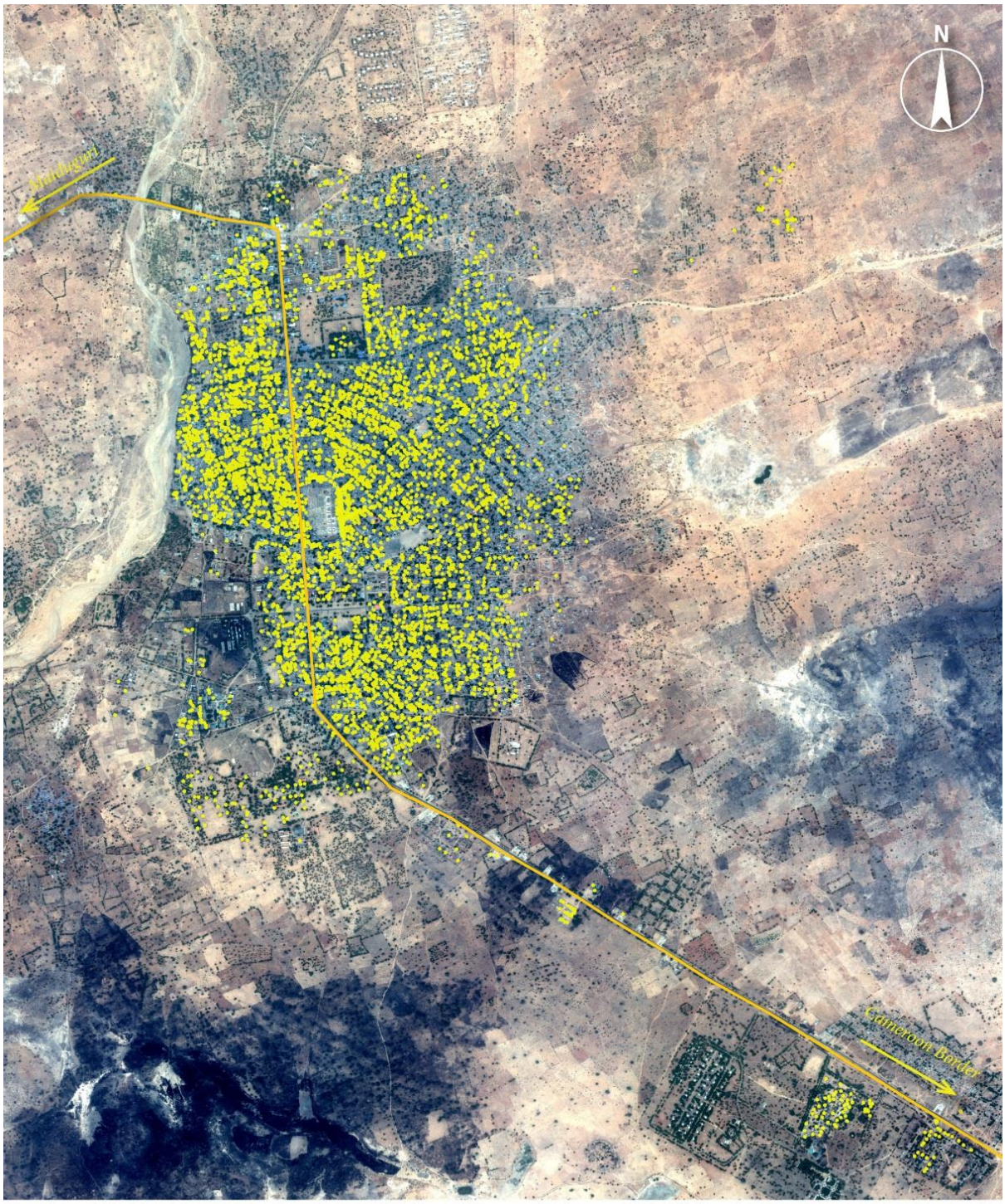
[136] Amnesty International interview, March 2015.

[137] Since the damage is so extensive and some areas have densely packed structures, it was difficult to count the exact number of damaged structures. The amount could easily exceed 5,900 with ground confirmation.

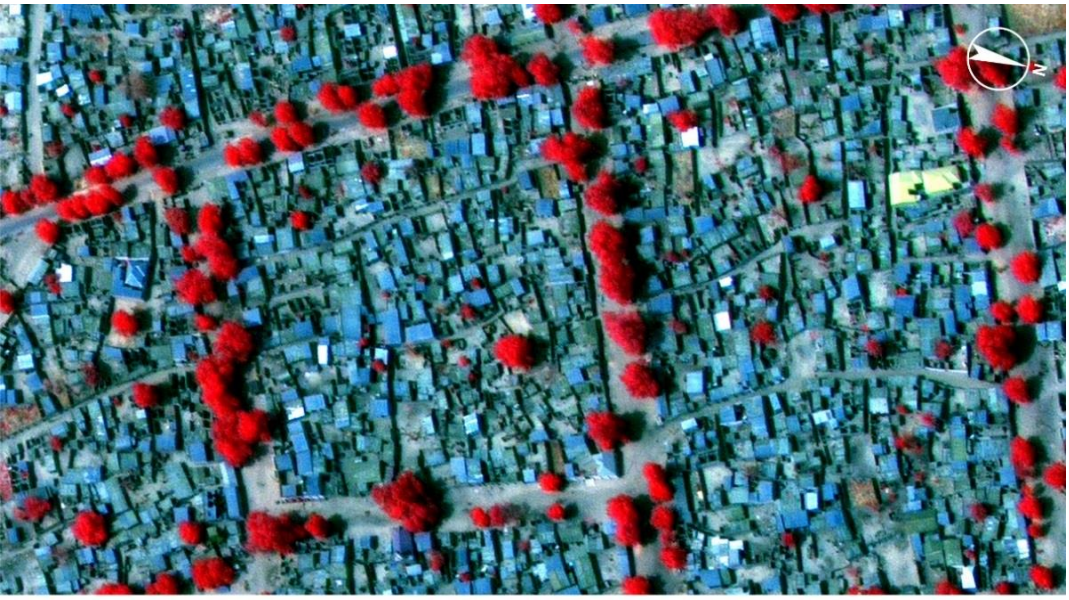
[138] This could have been caused by the Nigerian military when they bombed the town.

[139] DigitalGlobe Imagery from 3 March, 13 March and 17 March.

In the Bama area in north-east Nigeria, over 5,900 structures—represented here by yellow dots—appear damaged or destroyed in imagery from 17 March 2015.




DigitalGlobe Natural Color Imagery, March 17, 2015, 11.5194°, 13.6878°



Imagery from 3 March 2015, shows a densely packed and intact neighbourhood in Bama.

DigitalGlobe False-Color Infrared Imagery, March 3, 2015, 11.5242°, 13.6830°

Imagery from 17 March 2015, shows extensive damage a neighbourhood that was intact on March 3. The destruction was confirmed to have happened between 13 and 17 March 2015. Red colour indicates healthy vegetation, while darker colors indicate burned areas.

DigitalGlobe False-Color Infrared Imagery, March 17, 2015, 11.5242°, 13.6830°

DigitalGlobe Natural Color Imagery, March 17, 2015, 11.5200°, 13.7100°

Imagery from 17 March 2015 shows changes in patterns and textures near trees east of Bama indicating possible civilians gathered.

15-year-old Mustapha Saleh (not real name) told Amnesty International he was one of the civilians hiding under the trees. He told Amnesty International how Boko Haram fighters came on 14 March in the morning and told all civilians who remained in the town to leave. They went house to house to loot and had brought fuel to burn all buildings. Mustapha fled with hundreds of civilians and eventually made it to Maiduguri.[140]

### MADAGALI: HUNDREDS OF MEN EXECUTED FOR NOT JOINING BOKO HARAM

Boko Haram fighters went to Madagali town, Adamawa state, on 14 December 2014 early in the morning and told all the men and boys to assemble at the UBE Central Primary School compound. There, they called on the men to join in the fight. Those who refused were seated on one side. Two Boko Haram fighters then killed those who refused or hesitated to join them, slitting their throats, one by one.

Amnesty International has collected three eyewitness testimonies from young men who witnessed the attack and managed to escape this execution. Two witnesses described how the men were simply waiting for their turn, saying that even though their instinct told them to run, they didn't have the courage to move so they stayed.

[140] Amnesty International interviews, March 2015.

Ahmed Saleh (not real name), a 20-year-old student, told Amnesty International that the Boko Haram gunmen came to collect men during morning prayers in the mosque. "They said those who refused [to convert] will be killed according to the will of Allah", Ahmed said.

Ahmed went with more than other 20 men to the school. "As soon as I entered, I saw the two groups of people they were differentiating.... I saw they were already killing people. Some were seated on the floor with their hands tied. They were slaughtering them with knives. Two men were doing the killing... I couldn't count how many they had already killed... We all sat on the ground and waited our turn. I started feeling sick. Some peed on themselves. One Boko Haram fighter said we are not real Muslims because we have refused to join the fight. He said they'll kill all of us." Ahmed said he saw two piles of bodies and estimated hundreds were killed at the school compound. After one hour, the commander instructed the gunmen to take some of the men into trucks, to the riverside. Ahmed and dozens of other men used that opportunity to run away and escape.[141]

Alhaji Batare (not real name), an 18-year-old farmer, also refused to join Boko Haram and was selected for execution. He said: "Before they got to my group, they killed 27 people in front of me. I was counting every one of them because I wanted to know when my turn would come." Alhaji also said he saw two piles of bodies.

Alhaji was taken to the riverside with more than 50 others. He said there were bodies already at the waterside when they arrived. "I was pushed out of the van and thrown forward to be slaughtered. Then the guy said his knife was not cutting any more. It was dull. So he threw me and some other men onto the heap of dead bodies. I closed my eyes. He took his gun and opened fire at us. One man fell on me. One bullet hit me on my right shoulder. There was blood all over me." The Boko Haram fighters shot all the remaining men and left. Alhaji escaped to the mountains and found his way to a refugee camp in Cameroon.[142]

Amnesty International has not been able to verify how many people the Boko Haram fighters killed in Madagali, or what happened afterwards.

At that time of the attack, there was no military presence in Madagali LGA.

### BAGA AND DORON BAGA: HUNDREDS OF CIVILIANS KILLED, MORE THAN 3,700 BUILDINGS DESTROYED

On 3 January 2015 at around 6 am, Boko Haram fighters attacked the headquarters of the Multinational Joint Task Force (Mutinational NJTF)[143] in Mile 4 (a village west of Baga). They then continued to Baga and Doron Baga (all Kukawa LGA, by Lake Chad). Eyewitnesses and local officials told Amnesty International that thousands of civilians fled the violence across the border to Chad and to other parts of Nigeria. Amnesty International gathered 22 testimonies including nine eyewitnesses, five local officials, and two military sources. Eyewitnesses to the attack, including people who hid in the towns and escaped later, said that hundreds of people were killed. All eyewitnesses told Amnesty International that Boko Haram arrived with armoured tanks and RPGs and that they indiscriminately shot and killed hundreds of people.

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[141] Amnesty International interview, February 2015.
[142] Amnesty International interview, February 2015.
[143] The MJTF, wih troops from Chad, Niger and Nigeria, was set up in 1998 to deal with cross-border banditry; in April 2012 its mandate was expanded to include "the fight against Boko Haram Terrorism (BHT) in the Lake Chad Region." At the time of the attack, Chad and Niger had withdrawn their troops and the Multinational JTF had some 1,200 troops and reported to the Chief of Defence Staff.

Musa Yamadu (not real name), a 48-year-old trader from Mile 4, said Boko Haram fighters arrived while everyone was still asleep, and attacked the base of the Multinational JTF. He, together with other villagers, escaped to the bush: "There were some Boko Haram in the bush… They were in the trees – on top of the trees… They started shooting… They opened fire on everyone. I saw so many people being killed." Musa escaped to Maiduguri, where he is staying with friends.[144]

After capturing Mile 4, Boko Haram fighters continued to Baga town. "They were shooting at everybody they saw", Mohammed Bello (not real name), a fisherman from Baga, said. "All people tried to run away and so as they escaped Boko Haram shot them." Another eyewitness from Baga said: "Everyone panicked and ran away, including the soldiers… Soldiers took off their uniforms and changed to mufti to escape. When coming to Monguno I saw lots of army uniforms and guns in the bush."[145]

Yusuf Sheriff (not real name), a 54-year-old trader from Baga, described the carnage: "As I was running, these people were shooting and killing. When I was trying to escape, Boko Haram were shooting everywhere. They were entering the town. They were walking on foot with their vehicles behind them. That time they were shooting with no discrimination. They killed so many people." [146] Yusuf hid in the bush but was discovered by Boko Haram members who detained him and some 60 others, mainly women and elderly people, in Doron Baga. Boko Haram fighters gave them food and preached to them. He said that on the fourth day Boko Haram members gave them the choice to either stay with them or to go away. He left together with six other men. He went to Monguno, where he found transport to Maiduguri.[147]

Hauwa Kolomi (not real name), a 68-year-old woman, told Amnesty International that by 6am Boko Haram fighters had arrived in Baga; she said the army was not in Baga and people quickly packed their belongings and left. She escaped with her daughter, son-in-law and five grandchildren. They slept one night in the bush. The next day, hoping Boko Haram fighters had left, they returned via Doron Baga. "We saw a school with many women and children inside it," Hauwa said, "We thought it was a place of refuge so went in. Boko Haram members stopped us and questioned my son-in-law. They were convinced he was Civilian JTF. They assume every young man is. My daughter and I said he wasn't and was with us but they set us aside and shot him. The bullet missed and they were then convinced he was a charmer [sorcerer] and sat him down. They got a long piece of metal and beat him to death with it. They did it in front of his children and my daughter – they made us all watch." Hauwa and her family were told to stay in the school for one day, after which they were released. They escaped to Monguno and found transport to Maiduguri, where they stay in an IDP camp. [148]

Several people told Amnesty International that Boko Haram fighters were searching for Civilian JTF members. One witness told Amnesty International that during the attack he heard Boko Haram fighters say they were searching for Civilian JTF members, as they went house to house shooting men of fighting age.[149]

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[144] Amnesty International interview, January 2015.
[145] Amnesty International interview, January 2015.
[146] Amnesty International interview January 2014.
[147] Amnesty International interview, January 2015.
[148] Amnesty International interview, January 2015.
[149] Amnesty International interview, January 2015.

It is unclear how many people were killed by Boko Haram. On 12 January, the Director of Defence Information of Defence Headquarters, stated that the number of people killed "has so far not exceeded about 150".[150] Interviews with eyewitnesses suggest the actual number could be much higher than this figure. As the territory remained under Boko Haram control, it is unclear how many bodies were buried. However, everyone Amnesty International spoke to said there were countless bodies in Baga and the surrounding bush. Hauwa Kolomi said: "There were so many dead bodies… At one point, my daughter started counting how many and she got up to 50. She stopped after that. But there must have been hundreds." One woman who stayed in Baga for some days before escaping said that Boko Haram forced the women to help bury the dead in mass graves in Baga, Doron Baga and in the bush surrounding the towns.[151]

Satellite images show the devastating effect of the attacks: before and after images of Baga and Doron Baga (also know as Doro Gowon, 2.5 km from Baga) taken on 2 and 7 January show 3,700 structures were damaged or completely destroyed by fire. Most buildings are completely razed with no evidence of walls present. Doron Baga, a densely populated town, was nearly wiped off the map with 3,100 structures[152] damaged or destroyed by fire, affecting most of the four square kilometre town. Many long wooden boats along the shoreline are visible in imagery on 2 January but are no longer present on 7 January. The after images show that eight structures at the headquarters of the Multinational JTF have been damaged or destroyed.

Boko Haram had repeatedly warned people in Baga and surrounding villages of the impending attack. According to a source close to Boko Haram, Boko Haram fighters gave a letter written in Hausa to a village head from Baga announcing the attack. Several residents from Baga and a military source also told Amnesty International that Boko Haram fighters had sent a letter ahead of the attack.[153] A woman said that the military told the residents that they would defend them. She said that the military had repelled a Boko Haram attack on Baga three days before the 3 January attack, and that the military told civilians to return.[154]

According to a senior military source, civilians had been leaving Baga and surrounding towns and villages out of fear of a Boko Haram attack from as early as November 2014. In November and December, commanders at the Multinational JTF base in Baga regularly informed Defence and Army headquarters of the threat of a Boko Haram attack and repeatedly requested reinforcements. Two military sources told Amnesty International that no reinforcements were sent.[155]

On 21 February 2015, the Nigerian military announced that it had retaken control of Baga.[156]

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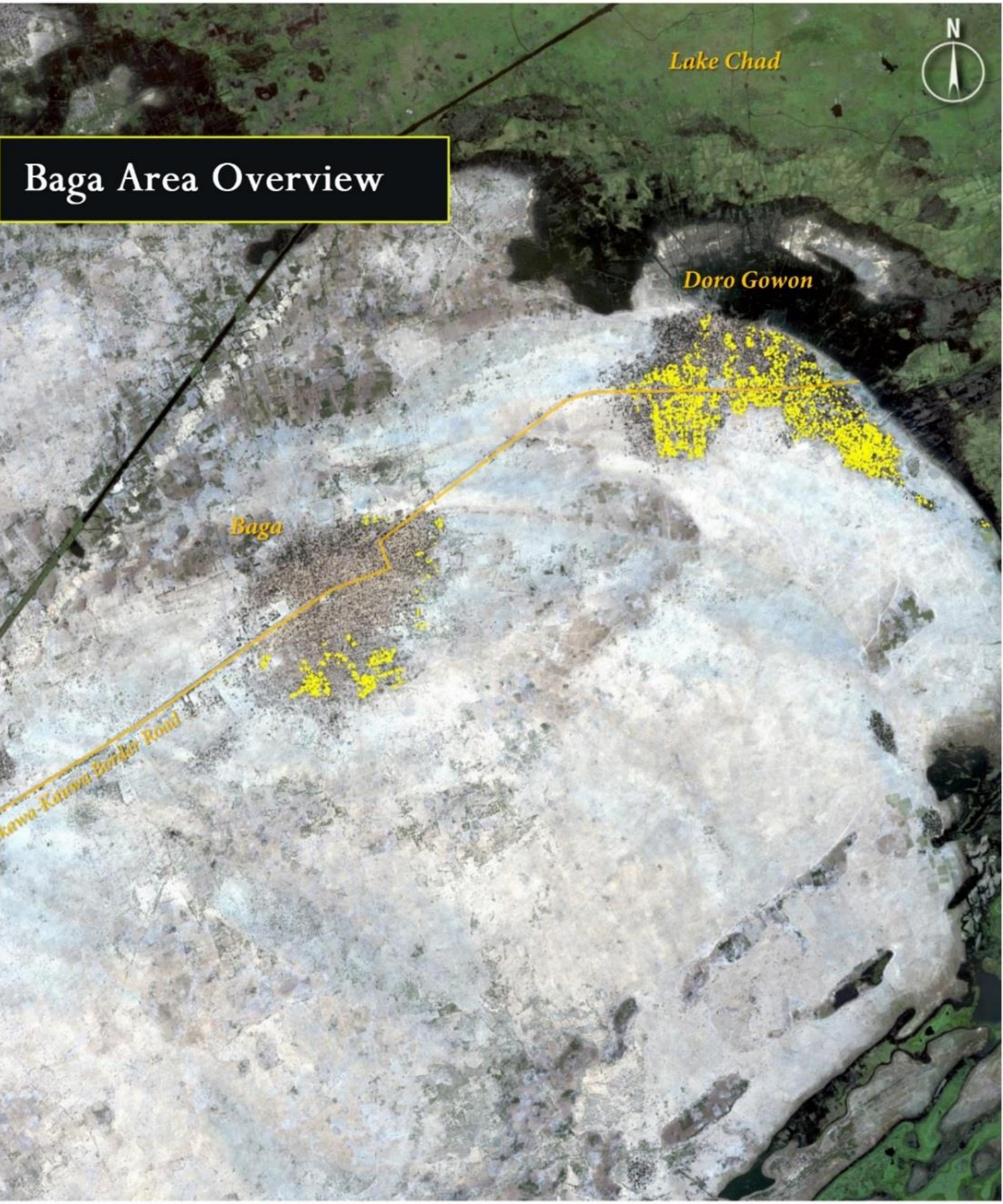
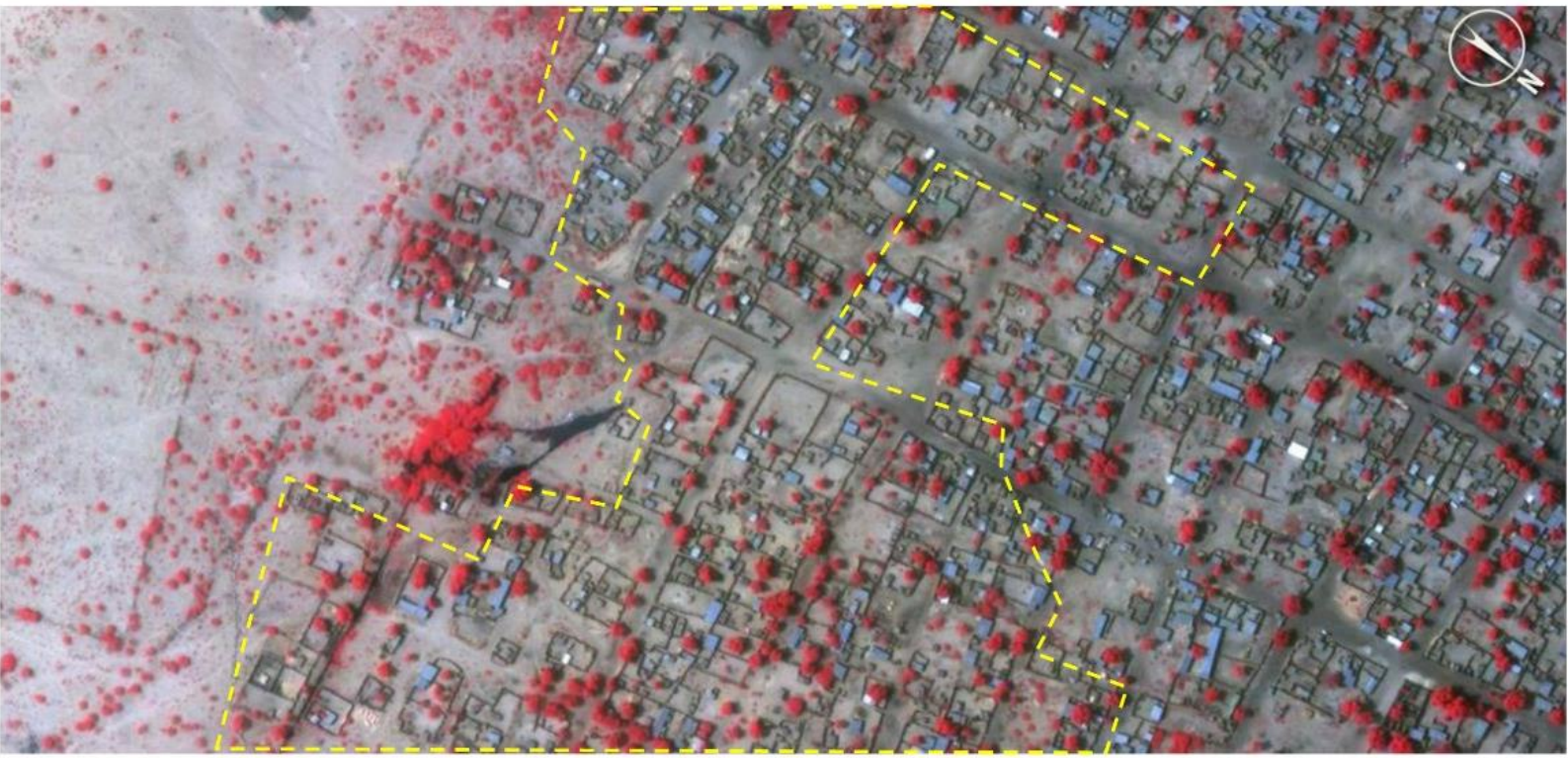
[150] See: http://defenceinfo.mil.ng/press-briefing-by-the-director-defence-information-on-the-true-situation-in-baga/#sthash.xW9d3TeI.dpuf
[151] Amnesty International interview, January 2015.
[152] Many more structures were probably destroyed, but it is difficult to delineate and confirm individual structures in the densely packed areas and under the tree canopy.
[153] Amnesty International interviews, January 2015.
[154] Amnesty International interview, January 2015.
[155]Amnesty International interviews, December 2014 and January 2015.
[156] Defence Headquarters,"Following Coordinated Air Strikes Troops Defy Land Mines Flush Terrorists out of Baga", 21 February 2015; http://defenceinfo.mil.ng/following-coordinated-air-strikes-troops-defy-land-mines-flush-terrorists-out-of-baga/ (accessed on 26 March 2015).

Baga, North Eastern Nigeria, Satellite view on 7 Jan 2015

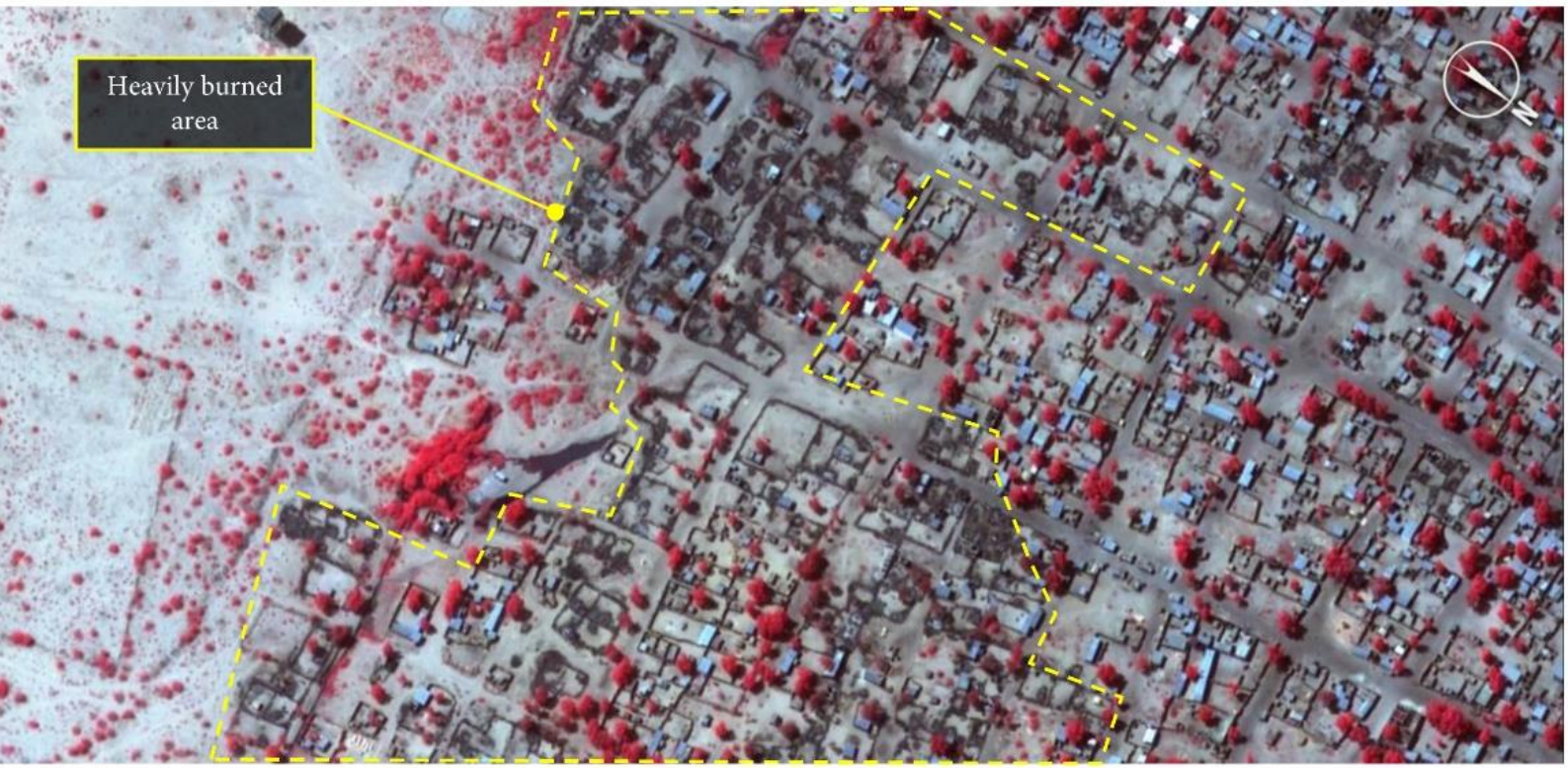


Above: Image of Baga, North Eastern Nigeria, taken on 2 January 2015. Many thatch roof structures are visible. These have been rebuilt since the attack on Baga in April 2013.

Below: Image of Baga taken on 7 January which show many of the thatch roof structures have been razed. The dark colour represents burned areas, while the read indicates heathy vegetation.




13° 5'11.12"N, 13°49'29.73"E DigitalGlobe False-Color Infrared Imagery, January 2, 2015




13° 5'11.12"N, 13°49'29.73"E DigitalGlobe False-Color Infrared Imagery, January 7, 2015

### MONGUNO: AT LEAST 100 PEOPLE KILLED

On 25 January 2015 in the early morning Boko Haram fighters attacked Monguno barracks, in Monguno LGA. Between 26 January and 11 February, Amnesty International interviewed 15 sources, including eight eyewitnesses to the attack, two military sources, and two local officials. The witnesses all said that Boko Haram fighters, after they captured the barracks, moved to the centre of the town, killing people.

"Around 4am I heard gunshots and explosions. I was at home with all of my family when the explosions first started. ... We could hear rockets. Boko Haram had entered the town and were challenged by soldiers. Later at 6am the gunshots started again and there were more explosions. This continued for three hours," Mohammed Bukar (not real name), a 32-year-old civil servant told Amnesty International. Being a civil servant, he feared he would be targeted by Boko Haram fighters and he hid in the bushes with 50 other men. In the afternoon they escaped to Maiduguri.

Bakura Gudusu (not real name), a 41-year-old teacher and farmer, saw that Boko Haram fighters fill at least 50 people when they entered the town. He tried to leave Monguno but was stopped by a Boko Haram gunman: "He put a gun on my head and asked me to lie down. He took my wallet and got my voters card and then he left me." Bakura told Amnesty International that as he left the town to go to Maiduguri, he saw more than 100 corpses in the streets.[157]

Based on the testimony gathered by Amnesty International, Boko Haram fighters killed at least 100 civilians. Residents told Amnesty International that like in Baga, Boko Haram targeted mainly men of fighting age whom they suspected to be Civilian JTF members or men who opposed the group. Women, the elderly and children were however also among the victims.

Halima Hussein (not real name), a 38-year-old mother of six children, stayed in Monguno with her three youngest children until 29 January. Her husband and three eldest sons, knowing they were particularly at risk, fled the town as soon as Boko Haram fighters attacked. She said that for the first three days, Boko Haram members went from house to house, looking for Civilian JTF members. They looted property and burned houses. She saw Boko Haram members take two of her neigbour's daughters, saying they would marry them. She escaped at night and told Amnesty International that she saw more than a hundred corpses were still lying in the streets and bushes.[158]

Abdullah Abba (not real name), a 38-year-old farmer and father of one, stayed in Monguno for two weeks before he fled to Maiduguri. He told Amnesty International that he saw the Boko Haram fighters arrive at the market, some 500 metres from his house: "I went to stand outside my house to see what was going on. I could see large group approaching. When they came they didn't talk to anyone. Then they started shooting especially young men and boys. Then they were going from locality to locality shooting people… They were attacking young men, looking for Civilian JTF. They were also looking for politicians and civil servants. They did shoot some women and children although they were mainly targeting men." Abdullah

[157] Amnesty International interview, March 2015.
[158] Amnesty International interview, February 2015.

Abba could not escape so he hid inside his house. He said on the first day, there were four corpses immediately outside his house. He said that during the first week Boko Haram fighters killed civilians, and the corpses were left in the streets: "If you go to Monguno now there are so many bodies. It smells of dead bodies everywhere. Maybe a hundred or two hundred bodies lying on the streets. Most of them are men. The bodies haven't been collected." He said that in the second week, Boko Haram members started preaching to people and handed out food. Abdullah stayed inside his house for almost two weeks and only escaped with his wife and daughter on 9 February. They saw the corpses lying in the street and bush. He estimated 50 corpses were lying outside the town in the bush.[159]

All the residents interviewed spoke of early warnings of the attack. They said that especially after Boko Haram fighters took over Baga, people in Monguno were afraid they would be next. Aminatu (not real name), a 30-year-old woman from Kasuge in Monguno, told Amnesty International that some Boko Haram members told their relatives about the impending attack. She said the army was informed by the civilians. Three residents said that before the attack, soldiers moved their families out of the barracks. A local politician confirmed to Amnesty International that Boko Haram fighters had told villagers to leave four days before the attack. He said he informed the commander of the barracks who assured him the military was there to protect the people.[160]

According to another local official, Boko Haram members told residents when they attacked Baga that their next target would be Monguno. Residents said the same thing to Amnesty International. Mohammed Bukar said: "People of Monguno were expecting the attack because of Baga. Those that fled from Baga and stayed in Monguno said Boko Haram said Monguno and Maiduguri were their next destinations. The military knew of this. Just days before the attacks happened they sent away their families. I saw vehicles carrying women and children leaving. They were on high alert. Hundreds of people also fled before the attack starting right from when the Baga incident occurred."[161]

## BOMB ATTACKS

Boko Haram has regularly used improvised explosive devices (IEDs) and suicide bombs to kill civilians and attack crowded places such as schools, markets and bus stations. Boko Haram has also targeted churches and mosques, and Islamic leaders critical of Boko Haram's activities. The group demonstrated its nationwide reach with bomb attacks in Abuja, Jos, Kano and Lagos. Amnesty International estimates that more than 817 civilians have been killed as a result of 46 such bomb attacks since the beginning of 2014 (see Appendix 1).

While some were of the bomb attacks were claimed by Boko Haram, and some weren't, the residents, eyewitnesses and local authorities believe that all the attacks have been perpetrated by Boko Haram. Amnesty International has interviewed 28 eyewitnesses of 13 bombings or their immediate aftermath, and monitored media reports of attacks.

[159] Amnesty International interview, February 2015.
[160] Amnesty International interview, January 2015.
[161] Amnesty International interview, January 2015.

## MUBI

At around 6:20pm on 1 June 2014, a car bomb exploded at a market in Mubi, Adamawa state. A resident of Mubi, Babangida Adamu (not real name), witnessed the explosion. He told Amnesty International: "Many people were there at the market. I was standing 10 or 12 feet away from the explosion, but there was a car in between me and the explosion. There was a big blast and my senses take off, I couldn't see, I couldn't hear, everything was black." After a few minutes, Babangida recovered his vision. "I ran away, then I turned around. Many people were on the ground, around 10 or 15."[162] In a statement released on 2 June, Defence Headquarters claimed they had arrested a suspect and confirmed 18 people were killed and 19 wounded.[163] It is unclear what happened to the suspect.

People gather to look at a burnt vehicles at the site of a bomb explosion that rocked the busiest roundabout near the crowded Monday Market in Maiduguri, Borno State, on July 1, 2014. © STRINGER/AFP/Getty Images

[162] Amnesty International interview, June 2014.
[163] Defence Headquarters, Press release, Troops arrest Mubi bomb suspect, 2 June 2014.

### MONDAY MARKET MAIDUGURI

Suicide bombers likely to be sent by Boko Haram have on several occasions attacked Monday Market, in the centre of Maiduguri, despite security checks with metal detectors manned by Civilian JTF members.

At least 20 people were killed on 1 July 2014 when a bomb detonated just outside the market. A human rights activist and eyewitness who was there when the bomb exploded told Amnesty International about the damage caused by the attack: "I counted 20 dead bodies and three injured people. Those injured had their hands and feet damaged by the explosion. We began loading the dead bodies into a Civilian JTF car…The explosion left a hole in the ground about the size of a car… A temporary shack for selling fruit was on fire and about eight vehicles and five or six trolleys were burned in the attack." [164] He said there was a dead woman near the hole who could have been the suicide bomber. The damage on her corpse suggested that the bomb had exploded in her face and chest.

A comparison of before and after satellite images shows damaged buildings and vendor stalls at the south entrance to Monday Market. Approximately 825 square metres had been damaged to varying degrees.[165]

On 25 November, 43 civilians were killed and many wounded after two suicide bombers detonated their bombs at the market.[166] Haruna, a 15-year-old boy doing odd jobs at Monday Market, told Amnesty International that the two bombs exploded within minutes of each other. He was injured on his legs and bystanders took him to hospital where he received treatment.[167] Abubakar, a 68-year-old man, was injured on his chest and feet; he remembers the blast as he entered the market, and woke up when he was in hospital. Ibrahim was on his motorbike 100 to 200 metres from the market when the first bomb exploded. He told Amnesty International that bystanders brought wounded people to the hospitals. When the security forces arrived, he said there was distrust, and people threw stones at them. He said people blamed the security forces for the bombing because they did not prevent it.[168]

A week later, on 1 December 2014, two female suicide bombers carrying explosives on their back in wrappers as if they were babies detonated their bombs. Yusuf Mohammudu (not real name) was at the entrance of the market and saw the women. Civilian JTF members asked to check their bags and asked them to show what was under their hijab. The first woman moved her hands to her back and detonated her bomb. Garba Ibrahim (not real name), a clothes seller, saw the second woman run into the market and detonate her bomb there. The bombs killed the two women plus two other people and 13 people were treated for their injuries in hospital.[169]

On 10 January 2015, two female suicide bombers detonated two bombs around midday. Twelve people, three women and nine men, were immediately killed and one person died in hospital; 38 people, including children, were taken to hospital for their injuries.[170]

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[164] Amnesty International interview, July 2014. Amnesty International interviewed two activists who documented the bombing. One of them was at the market when the bomb exploded.
[165] DigitalGlobe imagery dated 28 June 2014 and 4 July 2014.
[166] Amnesty International interviews, November 2014.
[167] Amnesty International interview, January 2015.
[168] Amnesty International interviewed eight people, including four eyewitnesses to the bombing, in November 2014.
[169] Amnesty International interviewed five people, including two eyewitnesses to the bombing.
[170] A human rights activist who was at the scene to help saw 12 corpses and counted the number of wounded people who were taken to hospital.

Mohammed Idris (not real name), a 38-year-old chicken seller and father of seven, was close to the entrance of the market when the first bomb exploded. He told Amnesty International that just before the explosion he noticed an argument at the entrance of the market between the Civilian JTF member carrying out security checks and two women, a young girl probably aged 13 and a woman in her forties. "I fell down, in my front there is fire, some people were there. Later I see my legs are injured," he said. "Some people were on fire, the fire was burning off their clothes. I crawled out of the place, there is fire everywhere."[171]

Ali Mohammed (not real name), a chicken seller from Bauchi state, sat on a bench 10 metres from where the bomb exploded. He told Amnesty International: "I heard an explosion. After I fell down. I saw all my body was blood. I want to see my hand. I thought my hand was broken. I saw my partner. We all fell down. Everyone lying down." He was seriously wounded and had surgery that same day to remove metal pieces from his arms, chest and face.[172]

At least five explosions in Monday Market and two bus stations in Maiduguri left more than 45 people dead on 7 March 2015.[173] Musa Chiroma (not real name), a 41-year-old car dealer, was standing outside a second hand car dealership next to the Borno Express bus station on Kano Road just before 1pm. His colleagues were seated on a bench by the road while Musa concluded a deal, when a bomb exploded. Seven of Musa's colleagues were killed: "The blast was not more than five metres away from them. People came to help us and took us to the hospital. When we went to the hospital they tried to bring up all the metal and treated me."[174]

Aliyu Husseini (not real name), 28 years old, was injured in a separate explosion at the Baga road bus station. He pulls a small cart for carrying passengers and had just approached the bus station when the bomb exploded. "I fell down from the trolley and saw I was injured. When I opened my eyes, all my surroundings were dead bodies. The two passengers were opposite me; they died instantly. They were laying down five metres away from me. Then people came and they put my inside a vehicle and brought me to the hospital."[175]

Monday Market was also targeted again on 7 March 2015. Alkali Goshe (not real name), a 26-year-old member of the Civilian JTF, was screening people at the entrance to Monday Market with a hand-held metal detector. "As we were searching people in the line, we saw somebody, a young man around 20. He came then he blew himself up instantly. Some people fell down, most have died. The women standing there were injured. I fell down and saw blood on my legs and hands. There was blood all around me, dead people."[176]

On 10 March 2015 an explosion outside Monday market killed at least six people, according to an eyewitness who went to the scene immediately after the attack. More than 20 injured people were rushed to hospital.[177]

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[171] Amnesty International interview, January 2015
[172] Amnesty International interview, January 2015. Amnesty International interviewed three people, including two eyewitnesses to the bombing.
[173] Amnesty International interviews, March 2015. See also *Premium Times*, "Maiduguri multiple bomb attacks: 55 killed, 146 injured in five suicide attacks", 7 March 2015; http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/178123-maiduguri-multiple-bomb-attacks-55-killed-146-injured-in-five-suicide-attacks.html. (accessed on 26 March 2015).
[174] Amnesty International interview, March 2015.
[175] Amnesty International interview, March 2015.
[176] Amnesty International interview, March 2015.
[177] Amnesty International interview, March 2015

## ABDUCTIONS AND IMPRISONMENT

The abduction of 276 girls from the Government Girls Secondary School in Chibok, Borno state, brought Boko Haram international notoriety. Abductions are a consistent part of Boko Haram's attacks and Amnesty International has documented 38 cases of abduction by Boko Haram. It has gathered 77 testimonies on abductions, including with 31 eyewitnesses and with 28 women and girls who were abducted by Boko Haram and escaped.

It is difficult to estimate how many people have been abducted by Boko Haram. The number of women and girls is likely to be higher than 2,000. According to a human rights defender who has verified and documented many cases of abductions, between November 2014 and February 2015 alone, more than 500 women and 1,000 children were abducted from Gwoza LGA.[178] The majority of people abducted by Boko Haram were unmarried women and girls, many of whom were forced into marriage with Boko Haram fighters. Men and boys abducted by Boko Haram were forced to provide services for Boko Haram or to join them as fighters.

Boko Haram also imprisoned thousands of civilians in its camps and in towns under its control, generally holding them in large houses, prisons or other buildings, under armed guard. In Bama town hundreds of men were held by Boko Haram in the town's prison for several weeks before being executed. Amnesty International has also documented instances of imprisonment of civilians in areas under Boko Haram control in houses in Baga, Beta and Gwoza, and in a makeshift prison in Ngoshe. It is likely that this practice occurred in other towns under Boko Haram control.

### CIVILIANS ABDUCTED FROM GUMSURI, 12 AND 14 DECEMBER 2014

On 12 December 2014, at around 7pm, a group of Boko Haram fighters went to Gumsuri, Damboa LGA. Abba Badama, a business man from Gumsuri, told Amnesty International that he saw approximately 20 Boko Haram fighters arrive. Abba said he could hear them as they went to several houses and shot dead 24 men, including the main imam of Gumsuri and a rich merchant in the village. Abba attended the burial of the 24 men later that day.[179]

After killing the men, Boko Haram rounded up the villagers and preached to them. Women were seated separately from the men. Abba Badama (not real name) told Amnesty International: "First they preached to us. When they finished, they said everyone should make sacrifice. Younger ones should go and help the religion and make a jihad. We are making a war with non-muslims and *kuffir*." Abba says they then selected 50 boys and young men aged between 15 and 30 years old and took them away. Before they left, Boko Haram members looted houses and shops, taking money, food and mobile phones. Abba said that when Boko Haram arrived some villagers called the military, based 12 km away in Damboa town, but they only came the next day. [180]

Two days later, on 14 December, Boko Haram fighters returned at 7pm. Abba fled to Maiduguri after the attack, but his 22-year-old son, Goni, who is disabled, stayed behind. Because of his disability – he cannot walk – Boko Haram fighters left him alone. Goni told Amnesty International that many of the fighters were the same ones who attacked the village

[178] Amnesty International interviews, January and March 2015. The human rights defender has done extensive research on abductions and killings by Boko Haram fighters.
[179] Amnesty International interview, December 2014. The villagers heard the gunshots and after Boko Haram left, they found the corpses in the houses.
[180] Amnesty International interview, December 2014.

two days earlier. Once again they went from house to house, to gather the villagers for preaching. "They said 'who said you should report that matter to soldiers?'. Boko Haram said we have formed a vigilante group; that is why they came to attack. They said you have seen how we killed those people. Anybody who tried to take any action we will come and kill you and burn your village." They then selected approximately 60 girls and young women aged between 15 and 20 and took them with them. Their whereabouts remain unknown.[181]

### BAMA: ABDUCTIONS AND IMPRISONMENT OF HUNDREDS OF CIVILIANS

Boko Haram imprisoned hundreds of men in Bama prison. Bakura Ali (not real name), a civil servant in his 40s, stayed in Bama after Boko Haram took control. He said that after six days Boko Haram ordered the men that remained in the town to go to the prison. Bakura estimated that he was detained with around 700 men. They were fed once a day and slept on the floor in the prison buildings. After three days, he persuaded Boko Haram members to let him stay in his house instead.[182]

After Boko Haram failed to capture Konduga in September 2014, their fighters executed prisoners in Bama. One of Boko Haram's propaganda videos, taken in Bama prison and on a bridge at the time of this incident, appears to show these executions.[183] The video is introduced as showing "punishment against apostates". Armed men are seen offloading approximately 13 bound men from a truck on a bridge. The detainees are lined up in a row and, one at a time, brought to the railings. The gunmen push each detainee's head between the railings, then they shoot the detainee in the head and tip the body into the river. The video shows 18 men killed this way and the scene ends with more men being offloaded from a truck. The final scene shows gunmen walking through a small room with bunk beds, checking and then shooting at bodies lying on the floor. It is not possible to tell whether those on the ground were already dead.

A second video shows the continuation of this scene. One of the gunmen turns to the camera and explains that they are executing prisoners: "Our job is to kill, slaughter and shoot, because our promise between god and us is that we will not live with unbelievers. We are either in the grave and with unbelievers on the earth or unbelievers in the grave and us on the earth….There is either Muslim or disbeliever, it is either of the two you will be a Muslim or a non-Muslim. These ones are living under apostate government."[184]

Former residents of Bama, as well as human rights defenders that visited Bama, have confirmed to Amnesty International that the locations in the video are indeed Bama. Satellite images of Bama prison and bridge taken around the time of the video match the arrangement of buildings and trees shown in the video (see below). Bama: Abductions and imprisonment of hundreds of civilians

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[181] Amnesty International interview, January 2015.
[182] Amnesty International interview, March 2015.
[183] Amnesty International has verified this video and spoken to human rights defenders who interviewed witnesses to the killings shown in the video. Satellite images taken at the time of the video support the information from human rights defenders. Amnesty International interviews in September and October 2014, January and March 2015.
[184] Available at LiveLeak, "Boko Haram Massacres Young Men From Bama, Borno Who Refused To Join The Sect", 19 December 2014; http://www.liveleak.com/view?i=115_1418995992 (accessed on 20 March 2015).

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Stills taken from a video posted online, showing how Boko Haram fighters took the prisoners from Bama prison, tied them behind a truck, dragged them to the bridge, lined them up, killed them and threw their corpses in the river. © Private

Former residents of Bama, as well as human rights defenders that visited Bama, have confirmed to Amnesty International that the locations in the video are indeed Bama. Satellite images of Bama prison and bridge taken around the time of the video match the arrangement of buildings and trees shown in the video.

15-year-old Mustapha Saleh (not real name) lived in Bama for six months under Boko Haram's control. Because he is disabled and uses a trolley, he went out every day to beg for food. He said that Boko Haram fighters gathered the women and children when they killed the detainees in the prison. "They told the women 'we kill all your husbands, all of you now are slaves, and we will marry you."

"When I went to the prison it was divided into three parts. Women who tried to escape were kept in one part, men are kept in the second and the third – it was very horrible. You will see they [Boko Haram] killed them all. Where the well is, it is full of the dead bodies. If you go inside the cell, there are dead bodies on the floor. Everywhere is smelling. Cell is full of dead bodies. There were more than 200 dead in the cell and in the well was full of bodies."[188] Mustapha said that they detained more than 200 women from Bama and surrounding villages.

[188] Amnesty International interview, March 2015. Amnesty International has also spoken to three human rights defenders in September and October 2014 and January 2015 who interviewed eyewitnesses who described the executions at Bama prison.

Amnesty International also interviewed two girls who were detained in Bama prison. They described that they were held with approximately 100 women. 13-year-old Aisha Yakubu (not real name) was taken from her home on 15 September 2014 and held in the prison. She managed to escape during the night; her aunt took her out of Bama. 15-year-old Laraba Lawan (not real name) was also abducted on 15 September and taken to the prison. After a few days she was taken to the Boko Haram camp in Sambisa; "I was very sick because of hunger and fear. I was taken to the insurgents' hospital and given drugs, two injections and two drips." She escaped from the hospital and returned to her home. After Boko Haram fighters came to her house again and said they wanted to marry her, they took her to a house in Bama where they detained women and girls and gave her Qur'anic classes. She escaped with six other detained women and girls early in the morning of 10 November 2014.[189]

Another woman said that in September 2014, hundreds of women were abducted; some were detained in the prison while others were taken to Sambisa.[190] Women in Bama were also held captive in designated houses and not allowed to leave. Some were forced to marry - Fatima Umaru told Amnesty International that two of her daughters were forced to marry Boko Haram fighters.[191]

### ABDUCTION AND IMPRISONMENT OF WOMEN AND GIRLS

In a video released on 13 May 2013, the Boko Haram leader Abubakar Shekau announced that Boko Haram had abducted women and children in response to the arrest of the wives and children of its members.[192] Boko Haram has singled out unmarried women for abduction, claiming that they are religiously obliged to be married, and forcing them into marriage with its members. Women previously detained in Boko Haram camps told Amnesty International that Boko Haram had given them religious education classes. Boko Haram fighters told Christian girls to convert to Islam and to follow Boko Haram's interpretation, giving them intensive classes. [193] Those who refused to convert were kept in the camp.

Boko Haram members use the girls and women they abduct to perform tasks. Some are put to work cooking and cleaning in houses of Boko Haram members or in their camps.[194] Boko Haram fighters also imprisoned women in large houses in various towns under their control. In Bama for example, they were detained in designated houses and not allowed to leave. Amnesty International spoke with two human rights defenders who interviewed women who escaped from Bama. The women estimated that there were more than 30 such houses in the town with as many as 70 women and girls per house. A woman who was held in two houses in Bama told Amnesty International that she was aware of 21 of such houses.[195] Abducted women and girls often escape from Boko Haram captivity. Some were released by Boko Haram because they could not feed them.[196] Others have been released after their families paid a ransom.[197] But most face an uncertain future.

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[189] Amnesty International interview, March 2015.
[190] Amnesty International interview, March 2015.
[191] Amnesty International interview, March 2015.
[192] www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa022538888.
[193] Amnesty International interviews, February and March 2015. See also Watchlist on Children in Armed Conflict, *'Who will care for us?' Grave Violations against Children in Northeastern Nigeria,* September 2014, pp22-25; and Human Rights Watch, '*Those Terrible Weeks in their Camp': Boko Haram Violence against Women and Girls in Northeast Nigeria*, October 2014.
[194] Amnesty International interviews, October 2014 – March 2014.
[195] Amnesty International interviews, October and November 2014 and April 2015. Amnesty International was not able to verify the number of people detained in those houses.
[196] Amnesty International interviews, October and November 2014 and February 2015.
[197] Amnesty International interviews, September 2014 – March 2015.

## RAPE AND FORCED MARRIAGE

People who lived for extended periods of time in Boko Haram camps or in territories controlled by Boko Haram all told Amnesty International that sexual violence and rape of abducted women was strictly forbidden under Sharia law implemented by Boko Haram. However, various women interviewed by Amnesty International reported that Boko Haram members raped them secretly at night or in the bush. Others were raped by their new "husbands" after they were forced to marry Boko Haram members in the camp.

It is difficult to document cases of sexual violence because of the stigma and trauma suffered by the women. A human rights activist who interviewed more than 80 abducted women and girls after their escape from Boko Haram said that in 23 cases, Boko Haram fighters had raped them, either before arrival in the camp or after forced marriage. The majority of the women and girls reported that they were beaten.[198]

Aisha Yusuf, a 19-year-old woman who was abducted in September 2014, said she was on several occasions raped by Boko Haram fighters while she was in their camp. "I was raped several times when I was in the camp. Sometimes 5 of them. Sometimes 3, sometimes 6. It went on for all the time I was there. It always happened in the night… Some were even my classmates or from my village. Those who knew me were even more brutal to me."[199]

Hamidah Tijani, a 48-year-old woman who was not allowed to leave her home town of Gamborou for five months while it was under the control of Boko Haram, explained to Amnesty International that Boko Haram members regularly raped women in her community after taking control of the town in Sepember 2014. She told Amnesty International that Boko Haram fighters frequently came to her house to rape one of her lodgers, a woman in her late twenties who was living there. The woman was married and had two children. Her husband was not in Gamborou when Boko Haram attacked, but she had her children with her. Hamidah Tijani said: "Boko Haram fighters were coming openly to the house. Always to go to her. Sometime she is crying and said maybe my children are seeing what is happening. I think she may become pregnant. Sometimes we see condoms in our toilet, but many are not using. There is HIV, maybe it will become rampant. She can't leave because when she leaves the Boko Haram will know, because her children are with her."[200]

Several women and men who spent time in Boko Haram camps told Amnesty International that abducted girls were married off – even those who were already married with children. Mary, a 33-year-old woman from Gava who spent weeks in a Boko Haram camp, told Amnesty International: "I witnessed many marriages in the camp. They even paid the bride price for the women. Everything went through the Amir in the base."[201]

Ahmed Zana, a farmer and resident from Malari, told Amnesty International that Boko Haram had a camp nearby his village and came to the village often. They had recruited members and married girls from Malari: "When they want to marry, they request to you and bring gifts to you. Three girls [from the village] were married. They provide you with money. They always force you. We felt we couldn't say no."[202]

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198 Amnesty International interviews, January and March 2015.
199 Amnesty International interview, April 2015.
200 Amnesty International interview February 2015
201 Amnesty International interview, February 2015.
202 Amnesty International interview, January 2015.

On 14 April 2014, Boko Haram fighters abducted 276 girls from Government Secondary School in Chibok. © Private

Remains of the classrooms of the Government Secondary School in Chibok. © Private

## CHIBOK: 276 SCHOOLGIRLS ABDUCTED BY BOKO HARAM

Boko Haram abducted 276 schoolgirls from the Government Girls Secondary School in Chibok, Borno state, on 14 April 2014.[203]

The school had been closed since March due to the risk of attacks by Boko Haram, but had re-opened for West Africa Examination Council exams. Around 11.45pm, Boko Haram gunmen started a battle with soldiers and police stationed in the town. A group of Boko Haram fighters dressed in military uniforms split off from the main force and went to the school on foot. They pretended to be soldiers who would rescue the girls but instead took 276 of them to Sambisa forest. More than 50 girls managed to escape during the journey, but 219 remain captive.

[203] Amnesty International gathered 15 testimonies

The abduction quickly became international news and the #BringBackOurGirls campaign received worldwide support. Several countries, including the UK, USA and France, offered to assist Nigeria to locate and rescue the girls. Three regional summits were held, in Paris, London and Abuja, where states pledged to share intelligence and develop a regional counter-terrorism strategy in order to oppose Boko Haram.[204] On 26 May 2014, the Chief of Defence Staff Air Chief Marshall Alex Badeh said the military had information on the location of the girls; this however did not lead to their release.

In videos posted online, Abubakar Shekau claimed the group has forced the girls abducted from Chibok into marriage.[205] Although it has not been possible to verify what happened to the Chibok girls, Amnesty International has received other reports of women being forced to marry Boko Haram fighters.

Several people who escaped Boko Haram territory or captivity told Amnesty International that they had seen some of the girls from Chibok. For example, Mary, who was abducted in October 2014 and was held in a house in Gwoza for two months, said: "For the two months I was with them, I saw a lot of women who were abducted from different communities and brought to Gwoza. Some from Takeh, Chibok, and other places. I saw several of the abducted girls going to battlefield."[206]

Another woman told Amnesty International that she was held in a house in Gwoza with several of the Chibok girls.[207]

A senior military source told Amnesty International that the Chibok girls were split up in three or four groups and held in different Boko Haram camps. According to him, some were in Sambisa forest, others around Lake Chad and another group near Gorsi mountains in Cameroon. He estimated that Boko Haram fighters held 70 girls in Chad.[208]

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[204] "Paris Summit for Security in Nigeria – Conclusions" 17 May 2014; www.elysee.fr/declarations/article/paris-summit-for-security-in-Nigeria-conclusions (accessed on 10 December 2014). UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, "London Ministerial on security in Nigeria: communique", 12 June 2014; www.gov.uk/government/publications/london-minsterial-on-security-in-nigeria-communique (accessed on 10 December 2014). *Daily Trust*, "Global action targets Boko haram funding", 4 September 2014; www.dailytrust.co.ng/daily/top-stories/33555-global-action-targets-boko-haram-funding (accessed on 10 December 2014).

[205] Refering to the Chibok girls, Shekau said "We married them off. They are in the house of their husbands." See Sahara Reporters, "Full Video and Transcript of Boko haram Leader Shekau's Latest Video on Chibok Girls and Ceasefire Talks", 1 November 2014. In May, Shekau had threatened to sell the girls and said they should be married "I am the one who took your girls... I will sell them in the market. I have my own market of selling human beings...Just because I took the girls in Western school they are worried. I say they [the girls] should desert the school. They should go and marry. Stupid people. Talking about human rights and democracy." Sahara TV, "Boko Haram Leader Shekau Releases Video On Abduction Of Chibok Girls", 5 July 2014; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wrfWS_vLOD4, (accessed on 11 December 2014).

[206] Amnesty International interview, February 2015.

[207] Amnesty International interview, March 2015.

[208] Amnesty International interviews, May, June and October 2014. Amnesty International has repeatedly interviewed him.

Boko Haram fighters destroyed most of the properties belonging to the school. © Private

### NGOSHE: IMPRISONMENT OF HUNDREDS OF WOMEN

The makeshift prison in Ngoshe served as a transit point for newly captured detainees: young men who refused to join Boko Haram were killed; young women who converted to Islam were transferred to houses in surrounding towns, where they were detained; and the remaining women who refused to convert and the elderly were detained in Ngoshe.

Amnesty International interviewed 20 women who were detained in this makeshift prison, which opened around the time Boko Haram took over Ngoshe LGA in September 2014. The prison consisted of a fenced compound of three houses owned by a local official. The women interviewed said that the prison held at least 200 people, mainly women of all ages and some older men. Each house had four to five rooms which were used as cells; each room could hold approximately 20 detainees. The interviewees said that most detainees came from villages and towns in Gwoza LGA, an area with many Christians. [209]

[209] Amnesty International interviews, February and March 2015.

Rona Ali (not real name), a 55-year-old woman from Halgwa, Gwoza LGA, was detained in Ngoshe prison. Boko Haram members abducted her on 4 November 2014 when they attacked Gavva, Gwoza LGA. "I was on my way out when they caught me. They took me to Ngoshe prison where I spent 22 days." Rona was released with 10 other older women kept in the same building.[210]

The young women were kept in a separate cell from the older women. The women in the prison were told to convert to Boko Haram's interpretation of Islam. If they agreed, Boko Haram fighters transferred them to houses in Gwoza. Amnesty International has received numerous testimonies about such houses, used by Boko Haram fighters to detain the women while they received religious instruction classes. From these houses they were often forced into marriage.[211]

Most women interviewed by Amnesty International told Amnesty International that they were given food once a day but that they had suffered from lack of safe drinking water. Most of them complained about the well at Ngoshe prison, which they said caused illnesses. They said many of the women who drank the water died.

"Some women advised us not to drink the water from the well. Those who drank the water from the well were dying in the camp. About 15 people died in my building alone." Rona Ali told Amnesty International. One woman described how her "stomach got swollen", she had a high temperature and started vomiting. Boko Haram took her to hospital and she recovered.

Maryamu, a 15-year-old girl, said: "The first day about 11 people died after drinking water. The second day eight people and the third day seven people."[212] Another woman told Amnesty International that many women were pleading with the Boko Haram fighters to be transferred to another place because of the water. She said the fighters told them that those who refused to join them would die in Ngoshe. [213]

Maryamu and her family were with a group of hundreds of people from Gavva trying to escape when Boko Haram fighters attacked the village in October 2014. They tried to cross the border to Cameroon but the group was ambushed by Boko Haram gunmen. Maryamu's parents and her four siblings managed to escape but she was seized with her four-year-old brother along with some 200 people and taken to Ngoshe. She said: "They asked us to sit down and said we should bring out all the money we have. They said 'If you don't bring it out and we find it later we will kill you.'" When they arrived at Ngoshe prison, all their luggage was taken and searched for money and valuables. The women were told to convert, Maryamy said: "they said… if you don't convert to Islam you are definitely going to have a problem… If you don't convert, we will kill the infidels."

After one week, Maryamu said she wanted to convert so that she was taken to a house in Gwoza with her brother for Qur'anic classes. From the house, she managed to escape with her brother, who was already sick. He died before she was reunited with her family in a refugee camp in Cameroon.[214]

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[210] Amnesty International interview, February 2015.
[211] Amnesty International interviews, August 1014 – March 2015.
[212] Amnesty International interview, February 2015.
[213] Amnesty International interview, February 2015.
[214] Amnesty International interview, February 2015.

When Boko Haram fighters attacked her village Gavva on 14 November 2014, Raki, a 43-year-old woman, fled to the hills with her youngest son, seven-year-old Haruna, and hid in a cave with six others. She was followed by a Boko Haram fighter who told them to come out. "All the others came out immediately. I stayed with my child. I thought he would think that was all [the people in the cave]. And then he opened fire into the cave, my son screamed and started crying. We then came out and joined the others… They insulted us, calling us infidels, saying they'll kill all of us. Five of them took me away to join some other women. They took us to Ngoshe and kept us in the prison."[215] Her son was taken away.

Raki tried to hide in the room with the elder women. "I was always crying and thinking of my children. If they come to the room and saw me crying, some of the commanders will slap me and tell me to shut up." Boko Haram members in control of Ngoshe prison started releasing some elderly women by the end of November 2014. Raki was transferred to a house in Gwoza where she was kept with 60 other women. Raki said they were allowed to move around the town since this transfer. She managed to escape on 14 January, while the Boko Haram gunmen guarding them were praying. Her son also escaped and she was reunited with all her children in Zhelevid village, in Cameroon. At the time of the interview, her mother was still detained by Boko Haram.

Some former detainees told Amnesty International that at Ngoshe prison they witnessed the executions of young men captured by Boko Haram gunmen. One of the witnesses, for example, told Amnesty International: "I saw them bringing people, most times men, from other communities and slaughtering them in front of us. This happened nine or 10 times when I was in their custody."[216]

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[215] Amnesty International interview, February 2015.
[216] Amnesty International interview, February 2015.

### THE ABDUCTION OF 218 WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN KATARKO, YOBE STATE

"Boko Haram said 'You people, you are trying to inform the Nigerian army of our presence in your town. So you too, you have joined the group of disbelievers, so your blood, your own wealth and your family, all those things belong to us.' " An eyewitness describing the abductions in Katarko.[217]

On 6 January 2015, Boko Haram attacked Katarko village in Gujba LGA, Yobe state. An eyewitness, Mohammed Yakubu, a resident in his fifties, told Amnesty International that Boko Haram fighters arrived around 5:40 pm. After chasing away soldiers stationed in the town, Boko Haram fighters forced residents out of their homes by setting fire to houses and sent them to the central mosque. Mohammed Yakubu went to the mosque; he said women and children were separated out. Boko Haram gunmen then abducted 218 people – from 40 households – 134 women and girls and 84 boys, according to a list compiled by the community working with a human rights defender.[218] They were marched to the nearest town controlled by Boko Haram – Buni Yadi, Gubja LGA, Yobe state. Meanwhile, Boko Haram fighters at the mosque identified 36 men and boys aged between 15 and 45 years old, took them outside one by one and shot or slaughtered them. Their bodies were dumped in a well 50 metres from the mosque.[219]

The Boko Haram gunmen told the remaining men, all over 45 years old, to repent and then left. Mohammed Yakubu was not taken because of his age. With others from the community he established how many people were killed and kidnapped.[220]

More than two weeks later, on 22 and 24 January 2015, Boko Haram fighters released 182 women and children.[221] Boko Haram fighters gave them a choice of joining the group or leaving. Some chose to stay, fearing that Boko Haram would kill them if they left. Those who were released were left in the bush and found their way back to Damaturu. No one has heard from the remaining 36 women and children, who are presumed to remain held captive by Boko Haram.

### GULLAK CAMP: ABDUCTED WOMEN AND GIRLS TRAINED AS FIGHERS

Aisha Yusuf (not real name), a 19-year-old woman who was abducted in September 2014, spent four months in a Boko Haram camp in Gullak, Madagali LGA in Adamawa state. She was abducted, when she visited a friend's wedding. Her sister, the bride and her sister were abducted as well.

She estimated that there were 500 fighters in the camp and frequently new members arrived from Sambisa and Gwoza. One week after they arrived in the camp, the bride and her sister were married off to Boko Haram fighters. They were taken away and at the time of the interview in April 2015, Aisha did not know their whereabouts.

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[217] Amnesty International interview March 2015.
[218] Amnesty International has a list of those abducted on file.
[219] Amnesty International interviews, January and March 2015.
[220] Amnesty International interviews, January 2015. Amnesty International interviewed two eyewitnesses and a human rights activist.
[221] Amnesty International interviews, March 2015.

"They used to train girls how to shoot guns. I was among the girls trained to shoot. I was also trained how to use bombs and how to attack a village. They'll dress us and demonstrate to us how to explode a bomb. This training went on for 3 weeks after we arrived. Then they started sending some of us to operations. I went on one operation to my own village."[222]

There were approximately 100 other abducted girls and women in Gullak, all abducted from surrounding villages, including Michika, Kankere, Baza, Ndutse, Kuzum, Gullak and Madagali.

In October, the commander of the camp brought approximately 200 female fighters, according to Aisha abducted women and girls like herself, to train them. "The commander said we should learn from them. Learn about killing and slaughtering. They told me how they attacked towns and villages, how they kill other people, how they slaughter infidels. They described how they attacked Gwoza and Michika. They told us they had killed a lot of people, they had abducted young boys and other girls. The commander wanted them to encourage us to fight and kill."

Aisha said the group of female fighters went on operations from Gullak camp and some were transferred to another base while others stayed in Gullak. Aisha said she went on many operations.

"From the base, we'll get into a car and then the Boko Haram will shoot anyone they see on their way. They'll kill people, we'll stay briefly before we return. The commanders will advise us to be careful. We shouldn't be afraid of the soldiers. We should confront. On the way, nothing will happen. We'll be singing and shooting in the air. We [the women and girls] were often placed in the middle or at the back. We never experienced casualties, because most times we don't even get resistance from the soldiers. During the operations, I shot guns, I didn't kill anyone, but I burnt some houses. I helped in packing people's properties into the car. The Boko Haram fighters will congratulate us and we will also celebrate. They will cook lots of food and we'll be happy."[223]

"I saw more than 50 people killed while I was there. 40 men and 10 women. Some of them refused to convert. Some refused to learn how to kill others. They were buried in a mass grave in the bush. They'll just pack the dead bodies and dump them in a big hole, but not deep enough. I didn't see the hole, but we used to get the smell from the dead bodies when they start getting rotten…My sister was killed in the camp. I was briefly taken away before they shot her. And then they brought me to see her dead body."

Aisha escaped in January 2015, in the evening. A woman who cooked for the fighters helped her.

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[222] Amnesty International interview, April 2015.
[223] Amnesty International interview, April 2015.

### BETA: ABDUCTION OF 25 YOUNG WOMEN

Twenty-five young women aged between 18 and 28 and one 16-year-old girl were forced into Boko Haram's vehicles and taken away from their village near Beta (30km from Gwoza), Gwoza LGA, Borno state on 7 June 2014. Ibrahim Gana said that he was preparing for prayers when he saw hilux trucks and motorcycles driving toward the village. Boko Haram members arrived and went from house to house. They ordered the villagers out of their homes and separated men from women, then took the young women away. [224]

"They [Boko Haram fighters] saw that there were young girls among the residents. They said 'why haven't you married them?' We said we couldn't find anyone for them to marry. A Boko Haram member said it was prohibited for them to be unmarried and ordered his men to separate the unmarried girls from the group," Ibrahim Gana (not real name) told Amnesty International. [225]

Members of the community compiled a list of those abducted by Boko Haram, which was shared with Amnesty International. However, it remains difficult to verify the details of the incident.[226] It has not been possible to determine what happened to the girls and young women after they were abducted.

### DOZENS OF WOMEN ABDUCTED FROM GAVVA, GWOZA LGA

Dozens of women from Gavva, Gwoza LGA, were abducted after Boko Haram attacked the village several times in 2014. Amnesty International interviewed 19 people from Gavva, including 14 women and girls who were abducted. According to two eyewitnesses, Boko Haram fighters attacked the village more than seven times in 2014. Christians and animists in the village were particularly targeted and when captured were urged to convert to Boko Haram's interpretation of Islam. Men who refused to convert were killed, while the women were imprisoned.[227]

Many villagers stayed for months in the Mandara mountains in 2014 and only went to the village to collect belongings. Maryamu (see Ngoshe testimony, above) said that whenever there was an attack the villagers would run to the Mandara mountains: "The villagers blew trumpets so people could run. When I heard the shooting and the trumpet, I ran."[228]

By November 2014, Boko Haram fighters took over the village. Mohamed told Amnesty International that the military had started leaving their bases in the area in April 2014 and said that the villagers were left alone to defend themselves. Several other interviewees confirmed his testimony.[229]

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[224] Amnesty International has a list with the names of the young women.
[225] Amnesty International interview, June 2014.
[226] One possible reason for the difficulty in finding additional information was the controversy caused by competing accounts of the Chibok abductions. A government official interviewed by Amnesty International in June 2014 said local officials did not feel able to discuss abductions due to the international attention on the issue.
[227] Amnesty International interviews, February 2015.
[228] Amnesty International interview, February 2015.
[229] Amnesty International interviews, February 2015.

Hauwa Jibrie (not real name), a 24-year-old woman from Gavva, fled with her parents and three siblings to the caves in the Mandara mountains when Boko Haram fighters attacked the village in October 2014. "We moved, every day we kept moving and moving, further and further into the hills. Boko Haram fighters were chasing us further and further." They hid with many other villagers in caves and tried to reach the Cameroonian border but were captured by Boko Haram." [230]

Hauwa and her sister Esther said that they were in a group of approximately 100 people when they were captured. Boko Haram fighters separated out 14 men, of whom four were taken into captivity. The remaining eight men were beheaded, including Hauwa and Esther's brother. "When they were executing them, I turned my face but I was hearing them, their voices and crying. My mother was watching." Their mother died later that day, according to her daughters of high blood pressure and shock.

Hauwa, Esther and the other women were taken to Ngoshe and from there they were detained in a house in Gwoza. Hauwa said: "when I was there, when I was crying, they [Boko Haram fighters] would come and beat me. So I kept quiet." After 20 days Hauwa and Esther managed to escape from the house.

Blessing, a 37-year-old farmer and mother of four from Gavva, also told Amnesty International she had been abducted by Boko Haram fighters. Blessing said that when the fighters attacked Gavva on 17 September 2014, she managed to escape the town and hid in the mountains for two weeks. On 1 October, however, she returned to the village to bring food to her sick mother. At that time, she said, eight Boko Haram fighters stopped her and took her to the neighbouring village of Pulka. She was detained there in a house with approximately 30 other women and told to convert to Islam. After two weeks in captivity, Blessing managed to escape from the house at night, when there were no guards, and escaped to Cameroon.[231]

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[230] Amnesty International interviews, February 2015.
[231] Amnesty International interview, February 2015.

### ABDUCTION, IMPRISONMENT, FORCED RECRUITMENT OF MEN AND BOYS

Politicians, businessmen, health professionals and mechanics have been abducted by Boko Haram. In the cases documented by Amnesty International, these people were all male. Some were held for ransom, others for their specialist skills and for recruitment. Some have been released after payment of a ransom and some after the group had used their services. Boko Haram fighters have abducted boys and young men, telling residents that the men must join their struggle or they will be killed. People who remained in areas under Boko Haram control reported that Boko Haram trained groups of boys and young men to shoot guns. Some boys and men were abducted on their own, others in larger groups. This pattern of abductions of young men and boys, as well as evidence of military training, suggests a strategy of forced recruitment.

Amnesty International has documented 16 cases of abductions of men and boys. Residents from various communities attacked by Boko Haram forces described the threat of forced recruitment. A military source spoke with soldiers that hid among the civilians population in Madagali, Adamawa state after Boko Haram took control. He told Amnesty International: "civilians are being forced to join Boko Haram. After breaking into houses and shops and taking supplies, Boko Haram said 'if you don't join us we will kill you'." [232]

Similarly, Sale Dogo (not real name) fled from Beta (30 km from Gwoza town), Gwoza LGA, because he felt he would have to join the group if he stayed.[233] For men, joining Boko Haram means becoming a fighter. Sale Dogo told Amnesty International that Boko Haram members were training residents in the use of firearms. He explained that many villagers are poor and lack education. Boko Haram members convinced these people to join them by denouncing government corruption and holding up their interpretation of Islam as the solution to people's poverty.[234]

### ABDUCTION OF 40 BOYS AND MEN FROM MALARI, 31 DECEMBER 2014

On 31 December 2014, in the evening, at least 25 Boko Haram fighters arrived in Malari, Damboa LGA. They went from house to house and told all the men to gather near the mosque in the centre of the village.

"They said we should gather in one place so they would preach to us. …. [They said] We too we have to join them for the jihad because of Allah. We have to give our lives and our contribution and support," Ahmed, a farmer from Malari, told Amnesty International.

Ahmed said that all men were there apart from those who ran away as soon as they saw Boko Haram arrive. According to Ahmed, the Boko Haram members invited the men to join them to fight "the *kuffir* – the government and the military, and the people of Maiduguri". According to Ahmed, when the Boko Haram fighters finished preaching, they started pointing at the men and selected 40 boys and men aged between 12 and 25 years. They took them away in their vehicles. Ahmed's wife Hauwa confirmed that she recognized some of the Boko Haram fighters, who came from surrounding villages.

Shortly after the abduction, Ahmed and a group of other middle aged men left Malari and travelled to Maiduguri, fearing Boko Haram would return for them. Only elderly people remained in the village. According to a human rights defender who investigated the case, more than a week later 28 boys and men were released. The whereabouts of the remaining 12 are unknown.

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[232] Amnesty International interview, August 2014.
[233] Amnesty International interview, September 2014.
[234] Amnesty International interview, September 2014.

### TWO MEN DETAINED IN ALAGARNO CAMP FOR 10 MONTHS

"I spent nine months sleeping under a big 'tamani' tree in Alagarno forest. No blankets, no sleeping mats, just on empty bags…sometimes we go for days without food." Paul Ali (not real name), a 28-year-old businessman and farmer, who was abducted by Boko Haram, described his 10 months in captivity.[235]

Paul Ali's car was stopped by Boko Haram members while he was travelling from his village, Attagara (Gwoza LGA) to Maiduguri on 6 January 2014. Three passengers managed to escape, but the Boko Haram fighters abducted Paul and one other man. They spent almost 10 months in a Boko Haram camp, deep in the Alagarno forests in Damboa LGA, Borno state. According to Paul, there were approximately 80 fighters in his camp, some with their wives, and approximately 35 *almajiri* children,[236] some of them sons of deceased Boko Haram fighters.

Paul said he was never beaten or physically assaulted by his captors, but he was always under guard and constantly monitored "even when going to urinate" by three Boko Haram members, two of whom had guns. He told Amnesty International he was not allowed to move around freely in the camp but was allowed to listen to news on radio.

Paul said he witnessed and knew of the abduction of a few people, including a 12-year-old boy from Pulka, a neighbouring village in Gwoza LGA, Borno state. The boy told him that he had been abducted with five other people, all men, who were killed and dumped in the bush by Boko Haram members. However, no other hostages were kept as long as Paul and the other man.

Feeding in the camp was not guaranteed. It depended on how successful Boko Haram had been in looting. Once the plundered food was finished, Paul and his co-detainee were asked to simply "pray to God to food". He said, "at times we will go for a whole day without food." Paul and the other man managed to escape from the camp in October 2014, when their guards were praying.

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[235] Amnesty International interview, March 2015.
[236] *Almajiri* children are entrusted to religious schools for their upbringing and, in exchange, the children beg for alms. These children lack formal education.

Displaced people who have fled their village after attacks by Boko Haram, sit in the camp of internal displaced people, in Yola, Nigeria. © Sunday Alamba

# RECOMMENDATIONS

## TO BOKO HARAM

- Respect at all times the prohibition in international humanitarian law of direct attacks on civilians, indiscriminate and disproportionate attacks, summary killing of captives and torture, end the abduction of civilians and ensure that all detainees are treated humanely at all times.

- Publicly condemn abuses of human rights and violations of international humanitarian law and immediately issue orders, from the highest levels of leadership, that individuals who are members or fight on behalf of Boko Haram must respect human rights and international humanitarian law.

- Remove from the ranks anyone suspected of responsibility for ordering or committing serious violations of international humanitarian law and human rights abuses.

- Immediately release all those detained under armed guard and guarantee safe passage to all civilians who wish to travel to government-controlled areas.

- Allow unfettered access by humanitarian agencies to assist civilians in Boko Haram-controlled areas by providing food, water, medicines and medical aid, and by evacuating the sick, elderly, families with children and other civilians who lack shelter or wish to leave the area.

- Cooperate with independent and impartial investigations into crimes under international law and human rights abuses.

## TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

**Protect civilians against attacks by Boko Haram**

- Take all necessary legal measures to guarantee the safety, security and protection of civilians and their properties in the affected communities and states, and in the entire country.
- Ensure that any international force operating in Nigeria, such as the Multinational Joint Task Force, is mandated to protect civilians, to respect international humanitarian law and includes an adequate mechanism for monitoring and taking action against violations of international humanitarian law.
- Ensure immediate, unhindered and secure access for humanitarian agencies to the displaced and other civilians in need of assistance.

**Provide accountability, justice and reparations for human rights violations**

- Initiate prompt, independent, impartial, and effective investigations into allegations of crimes against humanity and war crimes committed by members of Boko Haram with the aim of bringing suspects to justice in fair trials that are not subject to the death penalty. The findings of these investigations must be made public:
- Make public the findings of previous committees set up to investigate the security situation in northern and central Nigeria.

- Make public statistics of all completed investigations and prosecutions of those suspected of membership of or support for Boko Haram, or suspected of other crimes committed as part of being a member or supporter of Boko Haram.
- Seek the assistance of international experts in conducting exhumations, autopsies and investigations of all deaths in north-east Nigeria. Bodies interred in mass graves should be exhumed with a view to conducting an independent autopsy by recognized Nigerian and international forensic pathologists to determine the causes and circumstances of death.
- Provide adequate, effective and prompt reparations to the victims of human rights abuses, including medical care, humanitarian assistance and other forms of restitution and rehabilitation, in accordance with the UN Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law. Affected communities should be adequately consulted on the prioritization of reparations, particularly relating to reconstruction, and on the process for receiving reparations.
- Take immediate steps to build trust between Christian and Muslim communities in north-east Nigeria and consult affected communities on measures to achieve reconciliation.

**Tackle the root causes of the conflict**

- Establish structures to ensure accountability for human rights violations by Nigerian security forces in the future.
- Fully and effectively implement the ECOWAS Court judgment declaring that every Nigerian child is entitled to a legally enforceable right to education.
- Amend the Constitution to guarantee economic, social and cultural rights as human rights and to make them enforceable in court.

**Domesticate international human rights treaties**

- Fully implement in practice the UN Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment and its Optional Protocol.
- Domesticate and implement the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.
- Make a declaration under article 34 (6) of the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Establishment of an African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights allowing individual access to the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights.
- Respond promptly and fully to all requests for information from, extend invitations to and facilitate visits by, the special procedures of the UN Human Rights Council, the UN Special rapporteurs and the special mechanisms of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights.

## TO THE NIGERIAN ARMED FORCES

- Take all necessary legal measures to guarantee the safety, security and protection of civilians and their properties in the affected communities and states, and in the entire country.
- Respect at all times the prohibition in international humanitarian law on direct attacks on civilians, indiscriminate attacks, summary killing of captives and torture when fighting Boko Haram.
- Ensure immediate, unhindered and secure access for humanitarian agencies to the displaced and other civilians in need of assistance.

## TO THE NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

- Make every effort to identify civilian casualties in the conflict and record and document all war crimes and crimes against humanity committed by Boko Haram.

## TO THE AFRICAN UNION (AU) AND THE AU PEACE AND SECURITY COUNCIL

- Urgently assess the conflict situation in north-east Nigeria and provide full and effective support to the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in its efforts to end acts of violence against civilians, war crimes and crimes against humanity and closely monitor the human rights situation in the country.

- Publicly encourage the Government of Nigeria to initiate urgently thorough, independent, impartial and transparent investigations into crimes under international law and to seek regional and international assistance and advice in the conduct of these investigations and any subsequent prosecutions.

- Ensure that the Multinational Joint Task Force respects international humanitarian law and monitors and takes action against violations of international human rights law and international humanitarian law.

## TO THE AFRICAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN AND PEOPLES' RIGHTS

- Request information from the Government of Nigeria on steps taken to prevent, counter and punish crimes under international law being committed in the north-east of Nigeria and specifically what steps are being taken to ensure that those responsible are held to account.

- Further to its resolution passed on 14 March 2014, publicly condemn the ongoing crimes under international law committed in north-east Nigeria and draw the matter to the attention of the Chairperson of the AU Assembly and the AU Peace and Security Council in accordance with Article 58(3) of the African Charter.

## TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

- Assist the government of Nigeria and neighbouring countries to combat Boko Haram in full accordance with the rule of law and international humanitarian and international human rights law.

- Help to end crimes under international law committed by Boko Haram, including through taking all steps in cooperation with Nigeria to ensure the arrest and prosecution of members of Boko Haram suspected of criminal responsibility for crimes under international law and serious violations of international human rights law, whether in

Nigeria or in any other country or institution with jurisdiction, in fair trials without the possibility of the death penalty.

- Encourage the Government of Nigeria to initiate thorough, independent, impartial, effective and transparent investigations into crimes under international law as well as to seek regional and international assistance and advice in the conduct of these investigations and any subsequent prosecutions.

## TO THE OFFICE OF THE PROSECUTOR AT THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT

- Consider the information in this report as part of the Office's determinations during the ongoing preliminary examination of the situation in north-east Nigeria.

- As part of the admissibility determination, discuss with the Nigerian authorities what steps the state is taking under its primary obligations under the Rome Statute to investigate, prosecute and adjudicate crimes under the Statute.

# APPENDIX 1 BOMB ATTACKS JANUARY 2014 – MARCH 2015

| Bomb attacks attributed to Boko Haram January 2014 – March 2015 | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Date** | **City, State** | **Description** |
| 14 January 2014 | Maiduguri, Borno | A car bomb at a market in Maiduiguri killed at least 19 people. [1] |
| 1 March 2014 | Maiduguri, Borno | Two car bombs exploded in Bintu Suga area of town, killing 52.[2] |
| 25 March 2014 | Maiduguri, Borno | Three civilians died when a car bomb exploded in the Government Farm area.[3] |
| 14 April 2014 | Abuja, FCT | A car bomb at Nyanya bus station, on the outskirts of Abuja, killed more than 70 people.[4] |
| 1 May 2014 | Abuja, FCT | At least 12 people died in a second car bomb attack on the Nyanya motor park.[5] |
| 12 May 2014 | Gwaram LGA, Jigawa | A roadside bomb killed three soldiers travelling in a convoy.[6] |
| 18 May 2014 | Kano, Kano | A suicide bomber killed four civilians in the Sabon Gari area of Kano.[7] |
| 20 May 2014 | Jos, Plateau | Two explosions killed more than 100 people. Car bombs detonated outside a market and a hospital.[8] |
| 1 June 2014 | Mubi, Adamawa | More than 10 people died when a bomb detonated near a shop.[9] |
| 17 June 2014 | Damaturu, Yobe | 21 people died when a bomb exploded at a venue screening the World Cup.[10] |
| 23 June 2014 | Kano, Kano | A bomb at the School of Hygiene killed eight people.[11] |
| 23 June 2014 | Gwoza, Borno | A car bomb killed three soldiers at a checkpoint.[12] |
| 25 June 2014 | Abuja, FCT | 22 people died when a bomb exploded at the Banex plaza shopping centre.[13] |
| 25 June 2014 | Lagos, Lagos | Boko Haram claimed responsibility for explosions near the Apapa fuel depot, which killed two people. Authorities stated that the explosion was an accident.[14] |
| 27 June 2014 | Bauchi, Bauchi | In Bauchi a bomb killed 10 people.[15] |
| 1 July 2014 | Maiduguri, Borno | An explosion at the Monday Market killed at least 20 people.[16] |
| 4 July 2014 | Konduga, Borno | A car bomb killed five people at a checkpoint.[17] |
| 23 July 2014 | Kaduna, Kaduna | Two bombs killed around 40 people close to a square where a prominent Islamic cleric was speaking to a crowd. The cleric is a critic of Boko Haram.[18] |
| 27 July 2014 | Kano, Kano | Five civilians and one soldier died when a bomb was thrown at people leaving church. A female suicide bomber detonated explosives near the university. No-one else died in the explosion.[19] |
| 29 July 2014 | Potiskum, Yobe | 19 people died when a suicide bomber targeted civilians at a market and men threw improvised explosive devices from a car at a mosque.[20] |
| 31 July 2014 | Kano, Kano | Two people died when a suicide bomber, alleged to be a child, detonated her explosives outside Kano State Polytechnic. [21] |
| 22 October 2014 | Azare, Bauchi | Five people died when a bomb exploded at a motor park.[22] |
| 7 November 2014 | Azare, Bauchi | A bomb outside a bank killed 14 people.[23] |
| 10 November 2014 | Potiskum, Yobe | 49 students died when a suicide bomber attacked the Senior Science Secondary School.[24] |
| 12 November 2014 | Kontagora, Niger | A suicide bomber attacked the Federal College of Education. No-one else was killed.[25] |
| 14 November 2014 | Kano, Kano | A car bomb killed the driver and five other people at the Magarshiku Filling Station on the outskirts of Kano.[26] |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 16 November 2014 | Azare, Bauchi | At least eight people died when a suicide bomber attacked a mobile phone market.[27] |
| 25 November 2014 | Maiduguri, Borno | At least 24 people died when two suicide bombers attacked the Monday Market.[28] |
| 27 November 2014 | Mubi, Adamawa | A roadside bomb killed 35 people.[29] |
| 28 November 2014 | Kano, Kano | Three bombs and shooting by gunmen killed around 100 people at the central mosque during Friday prayers.[30] |
| 1 December 2014 | Maiduguri, Borno | A suicide bomber killed six people in another attack on Monday market.[31] |
| 4 January 2015 | Maiha, Adamawa | An IED bomb exploded and killed one person[32] |
| 10 January 2015 | Potiskum, Yobe | A bomb-laden vehicle intercepted by police exploded at the Divisional Police Station in Potiskum killing two police officers.[33] |
| 10 January 2015 | Maiduguri, Borno | A bomb at Monday Market killed at least 12 people. The bomb may have been carried by a girl.[34] |
| 11 January 2015 | Potiskum, Yobe | Two female suicide bombers detonated twin bombs at the GSM market, close to Brima Primary school, killing 8 people. [35] |
| 18 January 2015 | Potiskum, Yobe | A suicide bomber detonated explosives on Jos Road, killing himself and 5 others.[36] |
| 1 February 2015 | Potiskum, Yobe | A suicide bomber killed himself and seven others outside a politician's home.[37] |
| 22 February 2015 | Potiskum, Yobe | A bomb carried by a girl exploded and killed five at GSM Market.[38] |
| 24 February 2015 | Potiskum, Yobe | Bomb attack killed 10 at a crowded bus station.[39] |
| 26 February 2015 | Jos, Plateau | Two suicide attacks killed 17 at Jos Motor Parks.[40] |
| 26 February 2015 | Biu, Borno | A suicide bomber killed 18 at Tashar Gandu bus station.[41] |
| 28 February 2015 | Ngamdu, Borno | Two girls died when explosives they were carrying detonated at a bus stop in Ngamdu Village.[42] |
| 7 March 2015 | Maiduguri, Borno | Multiple bomb attacks killed more than 45 people in five bomb attacks at a market and two motor parks.[43] |
| 8 March 2015 | Benishek, Borno | A female suicide bomber killed four in a bomb attack.[44] |
| 10 March 2015 | Maiduguri, Borno | A female suicide bomber killed 18 civilians at Monday Market.[45] |

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# 'OUR JOB IS TO SHOOT, SLAUGHTER AND KILL'

## BOKO HARAM'S REIGN OF TERROR IN NORTH-EAST NIGERIA

Boko Haram has wreaked havoc and suffering on the lives of millions of people in north-east Nigeria since 2009. The armed group has killed thousands, abducted at least two thousand people and forced more than a million to flee their homes. Through a campaign of almost daily killings, bombings, abductions, looting and burning, Boko Haram has crippled normal life in north-east Nigeria. Towns and villages have been pillaged. Schools, churches, mosques and other public buildings have been attacked and destroyed. Boko Haram is brutally mistreating civilians trapped in areas under its control and has disrupted the provision of health, education and other public services by the Nigerian authorities. Amnesty International's research shows that Boko Haram has committed war crimes and crimes against humanity with impunity. This report documents Boko Haram's violent campaign against Nigerians since the beginning of 2014.

Amnesty International calls on Boko Haram's leadership to order an immediate and unconditional end to all killings, publicly condemn the killing and abduction of civilians by its members and all others fighting on its behalf, as well as sexual violence and torture. Boko Haram's leadership must issue orders that fighters should respect human rights international humanitarian law (IHL) and remove from their ranks anyone suspected of violating IHL or human rights. Boko Haram must immediately release all civilians detained and guarantee safe passage to all civilians who wish to be reunited with their families.

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