The headline comes from a scathing article written by Nigerian author Chimamanda Adichie - ‘Democracy Deferred: Postponed Election, an Embarrassment of Bad Choices’ - in which she declared the move to postpone as a “staggering self-serving act of contempt for Nigerians.”

Yet despite all the furore over the number of voters’ cards that had been collected and concerns of widespread voter apathy, a recent survey by the Centre for Law Enforcement Education (CLEEN Foundation) and Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA) indicates that a significant number of Nigerians still have the passion needed to build a functioning and accountable democracy.

The study found that about 89 per cent of voters were willing to vote.

This is because Nigerians are very aware that corruption is endemic in their national institutions, and the upcoming elections had been viewed by many as the best opportunity yet to rid their government of corrupt and ineffective leaders and representatives.

Awareness of corruption in Nigeria is international too - 94 per cent of people interviewed by Transparency International think that political parties are corrupt in Nigeria. Similar to domestic hopes, international observers were anticipating elections to hold and take Nigeria a step towards overcoming the deep-rooted issues it faces.

At the press conference to announce the postponement, INEC Chairman Jega observed that “Many people will be very angry and annoyed.” Adichie herself concludes, “my indifference has turned to anger.”

With 89 per cent of Nigerians eager to vote, we must hope that their anger does not turn to violence as the consequences would be widespread and devastating.

While some actors may use the six week period to intensify their bullying, we need to make sure that we pull together to ensure that citizens maintain the passion to vote in free and fair elections, with the belief that Nigeria can overcome the endemic challenges stunting development and become a more inclusive and accountable environment for all her citizens.

Results from Transparency International Global Corruption Barometer, 2013
When the news broke last Saturday it was not long before it became international news. Diplomats, commentators and citizens all had their say on the matter. Below are some of the highlights – including comments from citizens in the SDN network from the Niger Delta:

**Political Intent**

“The PDP administration has now engineered a postponement using the threat that security will not be guaranteed across the length and breadth of Nigeria because of military engagement in some states in the North East. It is important to note that although INEC acted within its constitutional powers, it is clear that it has been boxed into a situation where it has had to bow to pressure. Thus, the independence of INEC has been gravely compromised.

“However, we must not allow ourselves to be tempted into taking actions that could further endanger the democratic process... Any act of violence can only complicate the security challenges in the country and provide further justification to those who would want to exploit every situation to frustrate the democratic process in the face of certain defeat at the polls... We must remain resolute and rise above all provocations.

We must continue to trust in the entire democratic process and in INEC, which has been brought under so much pressure in the last few days”

*Gen. Muhammadu Buhari, APC Presidential Candidate*

“Nigerians accept the new date, prayer vote the right choice irrespective of party. Shun violence, don’t sell your right, any mistake now takes 8 years again”

*Charity, Erema Community, Rivers State*

“Election postponement and militarisation of Nigerian states have revealed the intent of the ruling party, rigging”

*Denison, Port Harcourt, Rivers State*

“We cannot continue this cycle of repetitious evil and irresponsibility.”

*Wole Soyinka*

“Further Delays in Nigeria could undermine the legitimacy of the elections and provoke instability.”

*Kofi Anan, Chairman of Africa Progress Panel and former UN Secretary General*

**Security Concerns**

“I think is a welcome development, the areas that are lacking is mainly security in North East of the country, and also the postponement will help all Nigerians to correct their wrong doings an think about peace before the new election date.”

*Alu, Patani, Delta State*

“It is critical that the government not use security concerns as a pretext for impeding the democratic process. The International Community will be watching closely as the Nigerian government prepares for elections on the newly scheduled dates. The United States reaffirms the importance of ensuring that there are no further delays.”

*John Kerry, US Secretary of State*

“The security situation should not be used as a reason to deny the Nigerian people from exercising their democratic rights. It is vital that the elections are kept on track and held as soon as possible.”

*Philip Hammond, British Foreign Secretary*

“They say they need six weeks to defeat Boko Haram. Boko Haram has been growing for six years ... If in six weeks Boko Haram has not been defeated, they could call for another delay and ultimately destroy Nigerian democracy.”

*Jibrin Ibrahim, Centre for Democracy and Development.*

“The postponement has nothing to do with security. It is a flailing act of desperation from an incumbent terrified of losing [...] what a staggeringly self-serving act of contempt for Nigerians. It has cast, at least for the next six weeks, the darkest possible shroud over our democracy: uncertainty.”

*Chimamanda Adichie, Author*
Issues at INEC

“The umpire have failed Nigerians. They’re telling us that they are not independent.”

Collins, Nonwa Community, Gokana, Rivers State

“The independence of INEC has been put to question [...] Its powers to determine election dates have been usurped and the military now determines when we can have elections in this country. That is a dangerous precedent.”

Femi Gbajabiamila, House minority leader.

“I think it is not completely out of place being that it’s within the constitutional provision. Also looking at the challenges the electoral commission stated as it relates to the security of voters and the voting materials. More so, many more Nigerians are yet to collect their PVC. I expect that within the next six weeks these lapses should have been handled and citizens can go to the polls”

Alawa, Port Harcourt, Rivers State

“Election postponement is for the nation’s interest. 1. Voting is a civic right for every eligible citizen. Millions of citizens would’ve been disenfranchised. 2. There would’ve been bloodbath as the terrorists were planning attack on the nation. 3. INEC wasn’t prepared. Hence, it is a welcome development.”

Izi, Erema Community, Rivers State.

NIGER DELTA WATCH:
EARLY WARNING SYSTEM FOR CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE IN THE NIGER DELTA

www.nigerdeltawatch.org

The Niger Delta Watch is designed to receive reports from citizens across the Niger Delta relating to violence, conflict and election irregularities.

The aim is to document offenses, compare trends, analyse information alongside our contextual knowledge and experience, and ultimately respond to ongoing strife in the Niger Delta.

Reports can be submitted on any issue - from Permanent Voter Card (PVC) distribution irregularities, to intimidation and attacks at political events. You can also explore all the reports submitted.

Anybody can submit a report by filling out an online form, and also by SMS, email, and twitter.

The platform will also display all reports submitted by the Yar’Adua Foundation network of election observers.

Together we can bring accountability and justice to the election process in the Niger Delta.
INEC’s announcement of new dates for the elections heightened the political tension and raised many questions about Nigeria’s readiness to have another round of elections. The PDP presidential candidate and incumbent President of Nigeria- Goodluck Jonathan and The APC contender- Muhammadu Buhari provided answers to some of the questions.

Jonathan in the 8th Presidential Media Chat on February 11 said the postponement of the elections to March 28 and April 11 had no concealed motives but was in the best interest of Nigerians. He sought the understanding of the global community over the postponement and deprecated insinuations that the postponement was part of a plot to perpetuate himself in power. President Jonathan assured that the May 29th handover date was sacrosanct adding that he would delightedly leave office on that date if he was not returned as president “If the elections are conducted and I lose, I will go home”, he said.

He debunked rumours that he was planning to send the INEC boss, Attahiru Jega so he would not be there to conduct the elections on the new date having found him impossible to manipulate: “I have not told anybody that I want to remove Jega. I have never said so.

He said the elections were postponed because the Service Chiefs wrote to INEC to say they needed six weeks to execute a campaign against Boko Haram to ensure the nation was secure to have the elections. He maintained that the Federal Government had acquired new equipment that will aid in the war against the insurgents.

At about the same time, Buhari was interviewed by CNN’s Christiane Amanpour. His reaction to the shift in election dates was that of disappointment: “Well, my reaction is that of disappointment, because the presentation made by INEC was that they were ready to conduct the election on the date they fixed a year ago, and for them to be forced virtually by the military that they cannot guarantee the safety of their workers, they have to concede to the demand of the military [for an] additional six weeks”.

The APC hopeful said since the new dates are within the constitutionally allowed period within which elections must be conducted, he and members of his party have resolved to remain calm and carry on with canvassing for votes.

Buhari decried Nigeria’s military failure to contain Boko Haram. He blamed it on inadequate political and military leadership and failure of the Federal Government to procure the right equipment for the military to win the war against the insurgents whose confidence has grown to a disturbing level. He promised his party will handle insecurity differently: “I believe this problem will not be too difficult for [our] APC government because we know the Nigerian military is competent. It’s a question of making sure the money voted for equipment and training [is] properly utilised”.

The former military ruler said judging him by his time as head of the military government between 1983 and 1984 would be unfair as it was a common for the military to suspend some democratic aspects of the constitution that would make it difficult to rule. He said democratic regimes are different and that if elected he would respect the democratic process and institutions.

The interviews by the top contenders for Nigeria’s apex office have continued to feature in public discourses. It is hoped that both candidates who have millions of supporters will ensure the presidential election takes place without much incidents. This is the first time since 1999 that the presidential election will be keenly contested.

“If the elections are conducted and I lose, I will go home”
It is no longer news that the 2015 general elections in Nigeria have been postponed from the initial date of 14 and 28 February to 28 March and 11 April. Mixed reactions, however, continue to trail Prof Attahiru Jega’s Saturday 8th February press statement. These reactions have ranged from support and commendation to outright rejection and condemnation of the postponement. The civil society has not been left out in this commentary.

As bastions of the pursuit of democratization in Nigeria, they have been the most outspoken with regards to the postponement and the impact it will have. Much has been said about the impact the postponement has had on the economy as the heightened political uncertainties has ensured that the economic plans and decisions of citizens, politicians and investors be put on hold, putting more pressure on the economy.

It has also shaken public credibility and confidence in the forthcoming elections, setting off a round of speculations and conspiracy theories about the real motivation for the shift of the election dates. Similar sectorial analyses have been made on the impact(s) the election postponement has had.

For the civil society however, the postponement of the elections comes at with a different type of cost. This can be classified into two broad categories – financial and operational costs.

Financial implications

The Chief Election Observer of the EU mission, Santiago Fisas, has stated that the Mission will require an extra 1.8 million Euros to remain in the country to carry out its assignment following the rescheduling of the polls. This would ensure that the total observation budget of the Mission will increase to 6.2 million Euros. The 33.3% increase in cost is not unique to the EU Mission alone. Other international observer missions would have to incur similar percentage increase in budgeted cost as a result of the postponement. Many observers who have already made the journey to Nigeria would have to decide on either going back to their home country (returning on a date closer to the election) or staying in Nigeria for an additional six weeks. Either decision has an added financial implication that hitherto unbudgeted.

Local CSOs are by no means protected from this unplanned outlay of funds. The wheels of observation had already been set in motion before the D-day way postponed. Accredited observer groups had made financial commitments that may or may not be recoverable. The contracts of ad hoc staff that had been engaged for a specified period of time (usually up until end of March) would have to be extended – more unplanned costs. Other financial costs may include overheads and the cost of reengaging with strategic election stakeholders and implementing project activities that had already been carried out. This is a corollary to the operational cost implications of the postponement of the elections.

Operational Costs

This mainly highlights what most CSOs, especially those accredited to observe the elections or those working on elections related projects had to do in response to the postponement of the elections. More often than not, Observer groups would have to re-strategize, put on plans on hold, or even cancel them entirely. To guarantee a job well done, within the six-week period, observers may have to be re-trained to ensure they retain required knowledge, communities may have to be revisited by project staff to ensure continuity and presence, mapping of strategic areas of interest may have to be carried out again to reflect new developments that may have come and the list goes on.

This notwithstanding, it should be noted that CSOs have acknowledged that the silver lining may be that there is now a window of opportunity for proper planning and execution of observation. It also gives INEC the chance to get its act right - sort out its logistics, train ad hoc staff and perfect its deployment of the card readers.
A report alleges that refugees in Nigeria are being sold and trafficked in their hundreds as unpaid domestic workers, raped repeatedly, and in some cases burned and wounded with knives.

In the report, the Calabar-based International Centre for Investigative Reporting (ICIR) quotes an unnamed nurse as saying many children were brought to her hospital after being raped in the unregistered, makeshift camps that are forming because official camps can no longer cope.

Talking to the BBC, refugees say they have witnessed brutal acts of savagery, with men’s throats being slit and women being held as “war booty”.

The National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) said the report was the first it had heard of the grievous abuses. It has since formed a panel to investigate reports of rapes, child trafficking, and other abuses in camps for people fleeing from the militant Islamist group Boko Haram.

Approximately 3.2 million people have been displaced by the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria, 1.6 million internally and 1.6 million in neighbouring Chad, Cameroon and Niger.

Displaced Voters

The issue of making sure that refugees are not disenfranchised from the elections was covered in our first election news brief six weeks ago.

Since then INEC has set up a task force to specifically ensure internally displaced persons (IDPs) will be able to vote.

Yet the task force maintains that only those in officially registered camps in the north eastern states of Adamawa, Borno and Yobe will be eligible to participate, while Jega burdens this fate on those forced into informal camps, claiming they have ‘made it impossible for INEC to plan for them in the elections.’

Blaming those fleeing a terrifying situation in their home towns is a harsh judgement by the Chairman. Many would not have had time to grab their most cherished or essential possessions, let alone their PVCs or identity documents to enable registration.

Threats to Voters

Furthermore, faced with threats from Boko Haram - who denounce the democratic process of governance - eligible voters may be anxious to cast their ballot.

Following a raid on the city of Gombe on Saturday, Boko Haram insurgents left behind leaflets which threatened that, “Whoever professes Islam should distance himself from polling stations because we are going to attack polling booths.”
Exploiting the Crisis

The APC national public secretary, Alhaji Lai Mohammed, accused the PDP of involvement in the attack, and the printing of leaflets where left behind. “Part of the strategies of the PDP and the Jonathan Administration is to depopulate perceived opposition strongholds through all sorts of dangerous measures, and this scaremongering, supposedly by Boko Haram, fits into that strategy.

“They are also the unseen hands behind the advertisement by faceless groups, urging Muslims to vote for Muslim candidates. It is in line with their exploitation of religious and ethnic fault lines to divide Nigerians,” Mohammed announced.

Meanwhile, the member representing Bama/Ngala/Kala-Balge in the House of Representatives, Abdul-Rahaman Terab, has alleged political intimidation in camps set up for internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Borno State. Terab claims that opposition parties are resorting to employing violent thugs to destroy property, beating people up and even using live ammunition on them in order to threaten them to desist from supporting him and the People’s Democratic Party.

The lawmaker said operators of the camp have resolved to stop any kind of good gesture in the form of food and sanitary items coming from him and the PDP by stopping volunteer youths who help out in the camps.

“Some volunteer youths who help out in the camps especially the National Youth Service Corps were physically threatened by a senior member of the authorities to blackmail them and brand them as Boko Haram supporters if they show their support to us.”

The accusations made have been refuted by the Borno State government, with Commission for Information, Home Affairs and Culture Mohammed Bulama saying the remarks made are, “very childish allegations that he knows are without basis, simply because apparent defeat stared him in the face.”

Regardless of the intent of these accusations, political capital is being made by both parties at the expense of those suffering from the ongoing crisis. Instead, the issue should unite the sparring parties behind the promise to ensure the safety of those affected by the crisis.

Approximately 3.2 million people have been displaced by the Boko Haram insurgency.
There have been a series of revelations supporting the Ekiti election rigging accusations raised against the incumbent governor and other senior members of the Federal Government over the past week.

In the last news brief we discussed a leaked recording that alleged to be of a secret meeting that took place the night before the Governorship election in Ekiti State. The tape confirmed what observers have reported, that there was widespread rigging on the day and that the military was instrumental in the process. During the conversation strategies and plans to intimidate voters and perform electoral fraud were discussed in detail.

Senator Musiliu Obanikoro, who at the time was Minister of State for Defence, has claimed he has gone to court seeking redress for defamation of character by the two news outlets that carried the story, Sahara Reporters and Premium Times. Joined in the suit are Punch Newspapers Ltd., Omoyele Sowore, Publisher of Sahara Reporters and Festus Owete, General Editor at the Premium Times.

In the suit filed on 10th February, Obanikoro claims to be suing the defendants for damages of N1 billion and seeking an injunction to restrain publishing, or causing to be published either directly or indirectly, materials that are against the claimant.

Denying the Tape’s Legitimacy

After the tape was made public, Fayose was quick to rubbish the accusations. He argued that, “Nigerians should also be reminded of the existence of a technology called speech software, which is good at reproducing the sounds, inflections and intonations of a human voice. There are softwares that can re-create voices and even bring the voices of long-dead notable persons back to life.”

He went on to make accusations of his own, state that the tape was “released by the All Progressives Congress (APC), through its media organ, Sahara Reporters.”

President Goodluck Jonathan supported his governor, telling the Wall Street Journal that he is ruling out investigating the scandalous audio tape because “it’s all fabrications. Why should I investigate things that are not real?”

The claims were made despite the confirmation of its authenticity by U.S.-based voice-verification firm, Guardian Consulting LLC, commissioned to run the tests by Sahara Reporters.

Leaked Documents

Unintimidated by threats of court, Sahara Reporters proceeded to broadcast an interview with the army Captain who claims to have recorded the Ekiti tape, Captain Sagir Koli.
Capt. Koli accompanied Brig. General Momoh to the meeting, during which the politicians bullied and ordered him around. They bribed him with a huge stash of cash and prospects of promotion if he made the election manipulation successful.

**Testing Tactics**

Captain Koli’s interview implies that the Ekiti race was to be the blueprint for electoral manipulation in the Osun State gubernatorial contest that was to follow in August 2014, and later for the 2015 general elections.

Drafted again to be part of the efforts to allegedly rig the Osun state governorship election two months later, Capt. Koli broke ranks and decided to flee the state. General Momoh then convened a Board of Investigation into the matter.

General Momoh, the senior officer who in the tape claims to be acting on behalf of the Chief of Army Staff in the rigging plan, was the superior who orchestrated the inquiry.

In retaliation against his brother, he also authorised the illegal abduction and torture of Captain Koli’s 15-year-old younger brother, Adamu Koli. Adamu, a minor, was illegally detained, tortured, starved, and chained to bed in the military hospital in Ado-Ekiti for five consecutive months, Capt. Koli revealed live on SaharaTV on Saturday.

Meanwhile, the fact remains that at least two of the politicians involved claimed on the tape to have been acting on behalf of President Goodluck Jonathan. Obanikoro revealed in the recording that he was directed to attend the meeting on special assignment by President Jonathan, who wanted to make sure the Ekiti race ended in PDP victory.

**Mounting Evidence**

Adesiyan (Minister for Police Affairs), has confirmed that the meeting happened, but argues they were talking about the plan of the APC to rig the election.

In an odd outburst, Fayose finally confessed to partaking in the secret meeting at an event in Ekiti when he inadvertently referred to the tape, but then quickly tried to change the story by claiming he was only chastising the army general for being compromised in the presence of his colleagues.

The confession contrasts with his earlier defence that the tape was manufactured with the aid of voice software.

It is not clear why no national news outlets are carrying the story. The threat of injunction from Obanikoro may be intimidating, but Sahara Reporters maintain that they have not yet received any contact from the courts on the matter.

Meanwhile, the APC in Ekiti State has accused Governor Fayose of banning adverts and jingles of the party from being aired on state-owned media. He claims that the station is used to air false claims of corruption against the opposition APC, such as N200 million bribe to influence the judge presiding over Fayose’s eligibility case, Justice Daramola.

Manipulating the electoral process by clamping down on opposition parties and citizens by using the tools of the state army, police and media cannot be tolerated in a modern democracy.
In a statement signed by the INEC secretary, Augusta Ogakwu, the Presidential and the National Assembly candidates must stop their campaigns on March 26th, two days before the elections.

The new campaign dateline is in line with the provisions of Section 99 (1) of the Electoral Act, which prohibits advertisements or broadcasts of campaigns 24 hours to the day of election.

Similarly, campaigns by governorship and state assemblies’ candidates will now end on April 9.

The extra six weeks of campaigning must be having a significant financial strain on political parties who will be forced to source additional finances. This burden will be particularly pronounced for the smaller, lesser funded parties, and play to the advantage of the larger parties that are able to extract funds from wider spread and more diverse pots to ensure that they make their presence known.
SECRET POLICE CLAMP DOWN ON INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENT IN BAYELSA

Niger Delta correspondent Mr Tife Owolabi’s house was ransacked by Department of State Security (DSS) men over the weekend for alleged espionage.

Personal computers, mobile phones and electronics were carted away from the house of the man accused of working against the interest of the country.

He was later arrested before being released into the custody of the State Chairman of the Nigerian Union of Journalists (NUJ), Comrade Tare Akono. Confirming the development, the Reuters correspondent, Owolabi stated that “the DSS men stormed my apartment on Saturday to conduct a search and claimed it was based on the order from ta Abuja.The DSS men claimed that I am unpatriotic owing to my job and relationship with the Thomas Reuters.”

“They claimed that they gathered that I sent or planning to send “negative” report to the outside world. I believe it is a deliberate clampdown on international journalists. All my working tools including Gadgets, cameras, laptops, iPad and hard drives are with them. I was asked to report back on Monday.”

Wider Crackdown

The Nigerian media is independent, strong, and free. However, it is not immune to intimidation and harassment for publishing materials that authorities deem to be uncomplimentary.

In June, security forces reacted to critical media reports about the military carrying out a campaign against several media houses, destroying newspapers and arresting at least two journalists.

Over the past months, many journalists have reported that the embassy is asking for approval letters from the Ministry of Information in Abuja, and that all visa requests are being forwarded to DG of the National Intelligence Agency (NIA) for security clearance and approval.

Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) called on authorities to ensure that international journalists are allowed access to cover the country’s elections.

“The legitimacy of Nigeria’s election depends in no small part on whether the international press is allowed to cover it” said peter Nkanga, CPJ’s West Africa representative.

Geoffrey York, correspondent for Canadian daily Globe and Mail said Nigeria blocked at least 40 journalists from entering the country to cover elections, while the Foreign Correspondents Association of Southern Africa has issued a statement saying many of its members had been denied visas or accreditation.

PRE-ELECTION VIOLENCE KILLS 58 IN NIGERIA, NHRC

In the period running up to the elections - tracked from December 2014 to the end of January 2015 - political violence has killed 58 people in Nigeria according to a report released by the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) on Saturday.

“If urgent steps are not taken to arrest further escalation, Nigeria’s 2015 general elections would confront a high risk of significant violence,” the commission said. Such violence “could pose a clear and present danger to the stability of the country and its neighbours.”

The NHRC report added that “the pattern and intensity of pre-election violence is atypical of Nigeria’s recent electoral history” and amounted to a worrying new development.

After Lagos, Rivers State is said to face the greatest risk of “significant violence during the 2015 elections”.

The report noted that an unnecessarily high number of police officers were allocated to protecting powerful politicians, leaving too few personnel to provide adequate security around polling day.

SDN are running an electoral violence early warning system for the South-South region. Citizens can submit reports, tagged on a map to their location. We will then endeavour to mitigate escalation of tensions into violence through intervention, where appropriate. For more information see: www.nigerdeltawatch.org
Across the 2015 elections cycle you can report incidents you observe in your area to SDN.

The SDN network is spread across every LGA across Delta, Bayelsa and Rivers State, and will aim to respond to verified reports of incidents within the shortest possible time. This initial response will be followed by a number of positive steps for resolution where appropriate.

SDN has experience working with communities on tackling election related violence. Our aim is to help communities voice their experiences with the election process, whether good or bad.

There are a number of ways you can send a report:

1. **ONLINE** at www.nigerdeltawatch.org under the ‘Submit a Report’ tab

2. **ANDROID** download the ‘Ushahidi’ app and search for the map ‘Niger Delta Watch’

3. **TWITTER** to our twitter handle @SDNNigerDelta

4. **EMAIL** to election2015@stakeholderdemocracy.org

5. **SMS** to 0701 067 9724

We will be circulating regular updates on elections and educational materials. Please keep in touch by following www.stakeholderdemocracy.org

Written by Stakeholder Democracy Network: