

# **NIGERIA'S \$10 MILLION GENOCIDE COVER-UP**

BY ICC FELLOW JUSTIN JOSEPH



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### **Introduction**

International politics are being resolved at the expense of religious freedom rather than through a fair and open dialogue. Since the 2025 designation of Nigeria as a Country of Particular Concern (CPC), the federal government in Abuja has been operating at a desperate pace to cleanse its image in the world. In a recent state visit to London, President Bola Tinubu tried to deceive Prime Minister Keir Starmer and the world by stating that terrorism in Nigeria is entirely caused by climate change and Sahelian instability. Nevertheless, according to the latest research findings by Intersociety, since 2009, at least 190,150 Nigerians have been killed because of their religion, with an estimated 128,750 being Christians.<sup>1</sup> Already, in the first 78 days of 2026, state-enabled and non-state jihadist actors have slaughtered and kidnapped at least 1,050 Christians and abducted another 1,690.<sup>2</sup> The case of systematic murder of clerics such as Reverend Joshua Aliya is evidence that these official accounts on economic clashes are deliberately and maliciously misguided.<sup>3</sup> The Tinubu government has created a \$10 million lobbying front to disenfranchise the human rights accountability of the United States and whitewash the current ethno-religious genocide of the Nigerian Christians.

### **The Humanitarian Reality in Nigeria**

The sheer scale of human suffering in the North and Middle Belt of Nigeria necessitates a complete reevaluation of the international community's involvement with the Tinubu administration. Although state-paid accounts are trying to put the violence in the context of agrarian conflicts, the material facts of mass graves and burnt churches indicate a far more malevolent agenda. Since 2009, at least 19,500 Christian churches have been burned down or destroyed, and more than 400 of them were lost in the past 16 months.<sup>4</sup> Recent atrocities have involved the massacre of 300 returning Christian refugees in Gwoza who were repeatedly attacked by Boko Haram after they were duped into returning home by the state officials.<sup>5</sup> Such acts are in line with the known models of examining atrocities and crimes, which signify the apparent trend of religious cleansing.<sup>6</sup> The inability of the state to intervene would imply some degree of complication that cannot be overlooked by the United States Congress.

### **The Matt Mowers Policy Betrayal**

Currently, the integrity of the United States foreign policy is being compromised internally by former high-level officials who have traded in public service for lucrative foreign contracts. Matt Mowers, a former senior White House advisor at the U.S. Department of State, who served on the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS, is now a lead operator of the influence campaign on behalf of Nigeria. A particular case is

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<sup>1</sup> International Society for Civil Liberties and Rule of Law (Intersociety), *Africa Tsunami Islamic Jihadism Sweeping and Menacingly Threatening Africa's 750m Christians*, (Enugu: Intersociety, March 20, 2026), 2.

<sup>2</sup> Intersociety, *Africa Tsunami Islamic Jihadism*, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Intersociety, *Africa Tsunami Islamic Jihadism*, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Intersociety, *Africa Tsunami Islamic Jihadism*, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Intersociety, *Africa Tsunami Islamic Jihadism*, 24.

<sup>6</sup> Njoku and Kolapo, "The Rise of Ethno-Religious Conflicts," 4.

that Mowers came to the State Department on Jan. 20, 2017, to work on North Korea, immigration reform, and the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS before joining the private sector to use his connections.<sup>7</sup> Mowers' firm, Valcour LLC, was registered as a foreign agent on Dec. 30, 2025, just two months after Nigeria was declared a CPC, at a monthly fee of \$120,000.<sup>8</sup> This registration is an estimated attempt to reverse Republican votes on religious freedom matters with the help of his Trump-era qualifications.<sup>9</sup> Ironically, an official who had based his political career on conservative principles is now defending a regime that is responsible for the massacre of Christians.

### **The Paramilitary Money Trail**

The financial pipeline that sustains these lobbying operations is no longer based on open business dealings but rather on Nigeria's paramilitary and security infrastructure. According to public records submitted under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, Mowers is remunerated by Maton Engineering Nigeria Limited, a company owned by Matthew Tonlagha.<sup>10</sup> Tonlagha is the vice chairman of Tantita Security Services, which is operated by the ex-militant leader, Oweizidei Ekpemupolo, popularly referred to as "Tompolo."<sup>11</sup> Recently, this firm was awarded a multi-billion-naira government surveillance contract by the Tinubu government to patrol the oil pipelines in the Niger Delta.<sup>12</sup> According to scholarly research on the political economy of Nigerian security, the state tends to "lean on" these alternative spaces of governing and vigilante groups to hold a monopoly of violence in situations where the state is not effective.<sup>13</sup> The Nigerian government is effectively spending public money to buy political silence by channeling oil industry security contract funds into Washington lobbying fees. Such an arrangement creates a "security-for-silence" loop, in which those making money off the local turmoil are also the ones funding the efforts to blacklist Capitol Hill on the matter.

### **Structural Influence and Deception Tactics**

Lobbying campaign is not the work of one company but a concerted machine of influence that is meant to overwhelm Congressional control by numbers and complexity. The DCI Group AZ is the heavyweight in this operation, as it is offered a sum of \$9,000,000 in six months, to carry out strategic communications on the safety of Christians.<sup>14</sup> At the same time, BGR Government Affairs is paying White House a \$150,000 monthly retainer to get the government hand directly and conceal it through corporate pass-throughs.<sup>15</sup> The influence operation also incorporates the Adomi Advisory Group, which

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<sup>7</sup> Matt Mowers, "Matt Mowers," 2016, <https://www.mattmowers.com/>.

<sup>8</sup> Congress.gov, "'Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA): An Overview,' 2025," (Washington, DC: CRS, 2025), 2.

<sup>9</sup> USCIRF, *2026 Annual Report*, 11.

<sup>10</sup> Congress.gov, "'Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA),'" 3.

<sup>11</sup> Nwafor, "Ignore Calls for Cancellation of Tompolo's Pipeline Security Job, Eradiri Begs Tinubu," *Vanguard News*, March 10, 2026.

<sup>12</sup> Olayinka Ajala and Joe Murphy, "Countering Terrorism in Nigeria and the Lake Chad Basin: Reassessing the Role of Vigilantism as a Counterterrorism Initiative," *African Security* 18, no. 1 (January 29, 2025): 2.

<sup>13</sup> Olayinka Ajala and Joe Murphy, "Countering Terrorism in Nigeria and the Lake Chad Basin: Reassessing the Role of Vigilantism as a Counterterrorism Initiative," *African Security* 18, no. 1 (January 29, 2025): 2.

<sup>14</sup> Malik Awuzie, "The Nigerian Government's Recent \$9 Million Contract with Washington-Based Lobbying Firm DCI Group....," *Medium*, January 22, 2026.

<sup>15</sup> Congress.gov, "'Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA),'" 4.

is contracted by the Ministry of Finance in Nigeria to ghostwrite letters that were to be sent to the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee.<sup>16</sup> These companies take advantage of the legal requirements of the Foreign Agents Registration Act to offer a veneer of legitimacy to a regime that is presiding over mass atrocities.<sup>17</sup> The cumulative reported expenditure on this influence machine is currently more than \$10 million, at a time calculated to coincide with the next reporting cycle of the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF).<sup>18</sup> Such a complex strategy guarantees that the United States government, on all levels, is bombarded with pro-Tinubu propaganda.

### **Masking Influence through Subcontracting Layers**

The Nigerian government employs intricate subcontracting layers to hide the direct connection between the state money and the political pressure exerted on American legislators. Valcour LLC paid Bridgeway Advocacy and Mount Olives LLC \$105,000 and \$60,000, respectively, within the first two weeks of the activation of the contract.<sup>19</sup> These support companies work behind the scenes on Capitol Hill to advance the pro-Abuja story without the direct stigma associated with the name of the foreign principal.<sup>20</sup> This stratification method makes it difficult to monitor the exact source of talking points that human rights monitors give to Congressional aides.<sup>21</sup> This is achieved by the artificial echo chamber created by the Nigerian government to make paid propaganda look like a rational agreement reached by different independent firms.<sup>22</sup> This intentional overlaying of hands makes sure that different independent voices are speaking off the same paid script to control policy results and conceal where the money was originally obtained.<sup>23</sup> This deceptive act compromises the transparency that the Foreign Agents Registration Act was initially meant to safeguard the American people.

### **Deconstructing the Banditry Myth**

The London story of President Tinubu, who attributes the killings of 128,750 Christians to climate change, is a calculated hoax aimed at exonerating his government and Buhari's administration against accusations of complicity. Lobbyists often strive to repackage religious genocide as a set of disorganized criminal actions or land rights "clashes" due to climate change. Nevertheless, advanced scholarly investigations on the topic of the so-called Organized Crime-Terror Nexus have demonstrated that the "bandits" are functionally integrated with terrorist cells such as ISWAP.<sup>24</sup> Both Boko Haram groups and the bandits have effectively restructured and repurposed one another to develop tactical benefits in Northern Nigeria.<sup>25</sup> The dynamic nature of the relationship between organized criminal

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<sup>16</sup> Awuzie, "The Nigerian Government's Recent \$9 Million Contract."

<sup>17</sup> Malik Awuzie, "The Nigerian Government's Recent \$9 Million Contract."

<sup>18</sup> USCIRF, *2026 Annual Report*, 11.

<sup>19</sup> Congress.gov, "'Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA),' " 5.

<sup>20</sup> Awuzie, "The Nigerian Government's Recent \$9 Million Contract."

<sup>21</sup> Malik Awuzie, "The Nigerian Government's Recent \$9 Million Contract."

<sup>22</sup> Congress.gov, "'Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA),' " 6.

<sup>23</sup> Malik Awuzie, "The Nigerian Government's Recent \$9 Million Contract."

<sup>24</sup> Al Chukwuma Okoli and Chikodiri Nwangwu, "Organized Crime–Terror Nexus: Interrogating the Linkage between Banditry and Terrorism in Northern Nigeria," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 58, no. 5 (January 7, 2022): 1.

<sup>25</sup> Okoli and Nwangwu, "Organized Crime–Terror Nexus," 4.

brigands and religious extremists in Northern Nigeria has presented a complicated threat situation with fatal consequences to national security.<sup>26</sup> The evidence points to the fact that what the administration terms banditry is indeed an organized attack on displacing Christian populations in strategic lands.<sup>27</sup> Through the use of advanced companies to propagate this fake story, the Nigerian government is literally escaping the legal ramifications of a state-sponsored religious persecution.

### **Radical Ideology and Insurgency Contexts**

The ideological factors that are fueling the current wave of violence lie within the radicalized vision that poses a threat to the pluralistic as well as secular basis of the Nigerian state. The insurgency in Northern Nigeria is characterized by a "crime-terror nebula" in which ideological and criminal motives are indistinguishable.<sup>28</sup> Through years of fieldwork, it has been demonstrated that radical Islamist groups have been able to use local grievances to create a terror campaign that specifically targets the symbols of the Christian faith.<sup>29</sup> The fact that the Nigerian government is unable to distinguish between criminal activity and religious terrorism is a successful safeguard for these groups since they expand their territorial influence.<sup>30</sup> Lobbyists use this ambiguity to make the conflict look like a secular failure of law and order and not a religious cleansing.<sup>31</sup> As a result, the inability of the international community to acknowledge the radical ideological motives behind the conflict paves the way for the unceasing slaughter of Christians.

### **Global Expansion of the Propaganda Front**

The influence machine of Abuja has stretched to the parliamentary halls of London and diplomatic circles of the European Union. When the president of Nigeria made state visits to the United Kingdom, lobbyists arranged briefings to counter reports by the House of Lords and the European Parliament. The present state visit was accompanied by reports made by Intersociety that there were 7,500 Christians murdered in Nigeria alone in the calendar year 2025.<sup>32</sup> Investigative journalists have pointed out that the amount of lobbyist money alone can buy substantial political protection in the United Kingdom.<sup>33</sup> This is an international approach that will ensure that, if the United States adopts a hardline stance, the Nigerian government will have the option of political cover and economic assistance from other Western allies.<sup>34</sup> The lobbyists in London and Brussels have the mandate to counter the fact-finding missions to make sure that the investigators do not get to the mass graves in the Middle Belt.<sup>35</sup> The need to conceal the truth has resulted in a worldwide gaslighting campaign against the rest of the global

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<sup>26</sup> Stephen Onakuse and Victor Jatula, "Radical Islam and Insurgency in Northern Nigeria: Tensions and Challenges," *Religions* 12, no. 10 (October 15, 2021): 88.

<sup>27</sup> Njoku and Kolapo, "The Rise of Ethno-Religious Conflicts," 15.

<sup>28</sup> Okoli and Nwangwu, "Organized Crime–Terror Nexus," 7.

<sup>29</sup> Onakuse and Jatula, "Radical Islam and Insurgency," 8.

<sup>30</sup> Ajala and Murphy, "Countering Terrorism in Nigeria," 8.

<sup>31</sup> Njoku and Kolapo, "The Rise of Ethno-Religious Conflicts," 10.

<sup>32</sup> Nwafor, "Ignore Calls for Cancellation of Tompolo's Pipeline Security Job."

<sup>33</sup> Njoku and Kolapo, "The Rise of Ethno-Religious Conflicts," 18.

<sup>34</sup> Ajala and Murphy, "Countering Terrorism in Nigeria," 12.

<sup>35</sup> Malik Awuzie, "The Nigerian Government's Recent \$9 Million Contract."

community. Such attempts are more concerned with the political survival of the Tinubu administration as opposed to the physical safety of the persecuted religious groups.

### **International Strategic Deception Tactics**

The lobbyists have become skilled at influencing international fact-finding missions to ensure the world does not see the true scale of the carnage. Parliamentary delegations of the European Union have complained that their itineraries are usually closely monitored by government handlers to keep them out of the Middle Belt.<sup>36</sup> The firms, such as DCI Group, then use these controlled visits to release press statements that international observers could not find any evidence of genocide.<sup>37</sup> The advocates of parliament in London have been severely opposed by paid agitators in the House of Lords in introducing evidence of Christian massacres.<sup>38</sup> This is an international operation that is used to seclude the victims and make sure that the calls for justice are silenced with costly and professionally designed media campaigns.<sup>39</sup> These international movements put more emphasis on political image rather than the 190,150 defenseless Nigerians who died due to jihadism since 2009.<sup>40</sup> The outcome is a silent world as the population of Christians in Northern Nigeria is reduced systematically.

### **Policy Recommendation: Global Magnitsky Act**

The current policy of designating Nigeria as a CPC is a necessary but insufficient measure in the face of such colossal state-sponsored deception. Congress should not stop at the "Strategic Communications" offered by companies such as Valcour and BGR and start to discuss the financial basis of the influence campaign. The Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act is an effective tool that the United States government can use to freeze the assets of the individuals who fund these cover-ups.<sup>41</sup> In particular, officials with the Ministry of Finance and executives of Maton Engineering should be questioned about their role in the subversion of human rights monitoring.<sup>42</sup> When the United States permits foreign governments to purchase the skills of the former White House advisors to conceal the atrocities, then the ethical foundation of American foreign policy is undermined.<sup>43</sup> Unless the United States government sanctions the financial facilitators of this cover-up, it will be involved in the massacre of religious groups on an industrial scale.<sup>44</sup> The Congressional briefing on Nigeria of March 26 advanced the narratives of these paid influencers, denying the genocide of Christian in Nigeria.

### **Conclusion**

The Abuja administration managed to establish a multimillion-dollar influence machine to undermine official investigations and cover up the systematic massacre of Nigerian Christian communities. This

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<sup>36</sup> USCIRF, *2026 Annual Report*, 36.

<sup>37</sup> Awuzie, "The Nigerian Government's Recent \$9 Million Contract."

<sup>38</sup> Njoku and Kolapo, "The Rise of Ethno-Religious Conflicts," 21.

<sup>39</sup> Okoli and Nwangwu, "Organized Crime–Terror Nexus," 10.

<sup>40</sup> Intersociety, *Africa Tsunami Islamic Jihadism*, 2.

<sup>41</sup> Congress.gov, "The Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act: Scope, Implementation, and Considerations for Congress," (Washington, DC: CRS, 2025), 1.

<sup>42</sup> Congress.gov, "The Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act," 3.

<sup>43</sup> USCIRF, *2026 Annual Report*, 18.

<sup>44</sup> Malik Awuzie, "The Nigerian Government's Recent \$9 Million Contract."

investigation reveals a disturbing money trail that flows out of billion-naira oil security contracts to former United States officials who sabotaged their own government policies. Based on the academic frames and governmental publications, it is evident that the banditry story is a fabricated myth that covers a network of terrorist-insurgent nexus. The global community is being subjected to an advanced gaslighting campaign in which the political image is more important than innocent lives. Congress must retain the CPC designation and use the Global Magnitsky Act to sanction those financing terror and this wall of silence. The harsh reality of mass graves must lead United States foreign policy and not the ghostwritten letters of paid political agents. The need to protect the vulnerable is an essential moral principle that should not be undermined.

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