The gubernatorial election in Ekiti State, Nigeria, took place on the 21st June, 2014. The two main contenders were Ayo Fayose and Kayode Fayemi from the PDP and APC respectively. Below is a transcript of a recording that took place on the night before the election.

## Context

All those present are upset by the failings of the military to execute their plan of intimidation and electoral fraud in line with what was agreed/ordered by the President of Federal Republic of Nigeria and Chief of Army Staff of the Federation. All those present are expressing their disapproval of the job done to date to the Brg General in charge of the operations.

Those present in the room were:

\* Governor Ayo Fayose - Executive Governor of Ekiti

\* Senator Iyiola Omisore

\* Brig General Aliyu Momoh

\* Senator Musiliu Obanikoro - Ex Minister of state for Defence

\* Captain Sagir Koli

\* Honourable AbdulKareem - Honourable member of the National Assembly

\* Caleb Olubolade - Minister of Police Affairs

During the conversation strategies/plans to intimidate voters and perform electoral fraud were discussed in detail. The key points are as follows:

- \* The use of the Nigerian military by the PDP to assist in electoral manipulation. This includes:
- \* The creation of a list of APC members to arrest
- \* The use of stickers to be used to identify persons not to be harassed and detained by the army
- \* Deployment of "Special Team" including a "Strike Force"

- \* The Minister of state of Defence bribing military personnel with the offer of promotion if he carries out the "strategy"
- \* A gubernatorial candidate admitting to electoral fraud by copying voting material provided by the INEC
- \* The reprimanding of military personnel for mistakenly detaining PDP members engaged in electoral fraud
- \* The Minister explicitly states he was instructed by the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to execute this plan.
- \* The Candidate Fayose explicitly states he was given assurances by the Chief of Army staff to execute this plan.

## Personalities

Musiliu Obanikoro :- One time high commission of Nigeria to Ghana, recently stepped down as Minister of state for Defence Federal Republic of Nigeria to contest for a political position. A card carrying member of the PDP.

**Key Quotes** 

"Am not here for tea party, am on a special assignment by the President."

"Then that Daramola (APC Fayemi Campaign Manager) I want him picked up in the morning!"

"Look here, you can't get promotion without me sitting on top of your military council. If I am a happy man tomorrow night, the sky is your limit"

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Musiliu\_Obanikoro

(profile)http://www.pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/06/21/ekitidecides-fayemis-campaign-director-arrested-by-soldiers/

(voice)https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bO2SyPkk52w

Ayo Fayose: - Present executive Governor of Ekiti state under the peoples democracy party (PDP)

**Key Quotes** 

"We agreed in Abuja on the modalities to work, we agreed on a sticker, that any vehicle you see that sticker, you allow that sticker. That sticker is on those vehicles his own was sent to him, mine was sent to me. The one by SSS was given to me to give to them there is no vehicle that left this place without that sticker. The people you just dis-armed had that sticker clear and clean."

"Today they went to "efon" they carry all the ..... Where we are supposing to be collating, the thing INEC gave to us, soft copies we now printed and everything, because they see INEC thing on top of it, why is my contact man not with them, i said my contact man would be sitting in the check point permanently. I convince this man to leave this people, they were said to sit in the sun. They packed all the computers, it's took me more than 2 hours to get this man to release this people."

"Chief of army staff called me he told me, you are in safe hands, he [General Momoh] would perform and if you have any issues, call me. He told me that I have made it clear to him that I am Jonathan for this election."

(Profile) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ayo\_Fayose

(Voice) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WOce2g4O9XM

Senator Iyiola Omisore: - He was deputy Governor of Osun state 1999- 2003, a former senator that reperesented Osun state 2003- 2009. A card carrying member of the peoples democratic party (PDP) and gubernatorial candidate in recent Osun state election.

**Key Quotes** 

"I would just say that we don't have to argue this much, we have seen some lapses yes, its just this evening. there is nothing happening now that we cannot contain before tomorrow morning, there is nothing.so ba mi so fun general, we can be together on this matter. Your boys can be overzealous and do things that are not sent."

(Profile) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/lyiola\_Omisore

(Voice) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ByzAuXi5k8k

Brigadier General Aliyu Momoh: - Commander of the Nigerian Army's 32nd Artillery Brigade

**Key Quotes** 

"We have strike force they just entered into the force. We can start arresting in the afternoon."

"There are about 6 special team. (koro cuts in your own team) I have one. "strike force I have almost forty soldiers after deployment."

"We have done a lot of arrest."

"Let's accept one thing, we want success, you know why i ask, if we have put only policemen, we would have reach them together."

http://www.thegazellenews.com/2014/06/19/ekiti-2014-sss-arrested-pdp-members-thumb-printing-in-fayoses-dgs-hotel/

Honourable Abdul Kareem: - An Honourable of in the National Assembly of the federal Republic of Nigeria.

"Momoh, you know me now, you are the one from Kogi nah, are you not the one from kogi, (general cuts in " am a stake holder is more in my heart than you. Don't talk to me anyhow please, don't talk to me anyhow.") Am not talking to you anyhow to, don't talk to me anyhow too; i won't take it from you. Whom am are you talking to, am an honourable member of the national assembly, do you know you are insulting me too? (koro cuts in " sit down general, sit down please")who are you that you say am insulting you, if am in the military, i would be a brigadier or general today. so what are you saying, am a member of the national assembly. (koro cuts in: i dont like all this embarrasment, we all left our home to come here, we are here for the same thing. i don't like the way the honourable is talking, i asked him to come here, if you are a member of the national assembly so, i was once a senator too. show some respect.")"

Caleb Olubolade: - He is a retired Navy Capt. He is presently the minister of Police Affiars for the Federal republic of Nigeria

"Another thing, General relax sit down. You are a soldier man, you are working for us. You have more shock absorber than we bloody civilian. Forget about that there are something's that are not clear to us. One - that your boys are dis-arming even the police. (General "are the police for us? yes now! Yes now!")"

(Profile) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Omoniyi\_Caleb\_Olubolade

(Voice) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K9XlaxRwjyA

**TRANSCRIPT** 

**TEXT STARTS** 

General:

Chief never belief me...... he said OC mopol should handle them, we did. Now we have nothing less than 500 vehicles, with specific instruction

Caleb Olubolade: Are your men carrying out instructions

Obanikoro: Let me tell you why your men are not carrying out instructions, why am saying your men are not carrying out instructions. We came in just now and we saw so many check points none of them stopped us. We had to be stopping and asking why they are not stopping us, and while we are doing that, a lot of vehicles..... We had military men in our convoy and police in our convoy, and yet we expected to stop and demand to know who is inside.

Caleb Olubolade: several arrests

Fayose: Me I don't want to be in this meeting, I don't want to be in this meeting.... No

Obanikoro: Mo like i ru nko ba yi ( i don't like this kind of thing). Take it easy... hmmm...

Obanikoro: why he's been angry, he said you (you referring to General) have been dodgy. That he's (he referring to Fayose) been trying to meet you that you have always been giving excuses

General: I understand His Excellency problem. ..... it's not because you are here sir. In fact if I start crying now..... No no no....wait! Wait! Wait! .... Do I know you? We met yesterday!..... The only person that can tell you the truth is Chief disu, the truth... In fact I handed over.... 5 hours he was with me in the field, and he's still in the field up till now. Do you understand?

Obanikoro: Can you excuse us.

General: The problem we are having is that they should control it.....

Hon AbdulKareem: When you are there, how many people did you take from this things

ObaniKoro: (Clarification) That were arrested?

General: Including the chairman? The governor called me and said.....

Caleb Olubolade: But they said that issue of the chairman.... Because they just called me from (koro cuts in "you know what I want you to do now").... am coming.... the issue of the chairman of "oyen local government". They just called us now that you have done very well when the man was arrested in "Faki" but, that you brought him, arrested him that he was thoroughly beaten, and after sometimes u said u found gun.... (General cuts in "it's the police inspector") but they have withdrawn all the police orderly of all this local government.......

General: As of this afternoon we still had the Governor. Like this afternoon, we still going for this something.... there is ... like yesterday he still called me. "Chief uba" does not

belief have not compromise even you! Those are his emails' know his problem, the pressure is high (Koro cuts in "Absolutely and failure is not an option").

Caleb Olubolade: We must not even fail in this.... because we have the people (Unidentified Hausa man cuts in "oga sir!")

General: No. No wait! You know who is pushing our principal; it's all this people outside.

Caleb Olubolade: Another thing, General relax sit down. You are a soldier man, you are working for us. You have more shock absorber than we bloody civilian. Forget about that there are something's that are not clear to us. One - that your boys are dis-arming even the police. (General "are the police for us? Yes now! Yes now!")

ObaniKoro: He must know that. Let him explain himself please

General: you see the problem, once u are doing this thing you'll understand. You have spend a lot of resources I must confess. As at this afternoon, the vehicle that have left this emmmmm... is up to one hundred and forty (140), in segment. Chief ehn..... please, came out with two (2)set of people unknown to them. They don't know themself am not the one that divide them o. He said ok, you go here, you go there. He now brought the list they now sat down and said. What of this one we have strike force they just entered into the force. We can't start arresting in the afternoon.(koro cuts in "is in the night") in fact because of pressure, this chairman when he was beaten, he said they should bring him here. Unknown to me that he has even called SS director because he had been..... myself the AIG, the police all of us work together today and we decided today that by 6 o'clock they block the road. He's own men he put them under OC mobile who divided them and we inserted soldiers civil defence army and even NDLEA, and oga told them that is the OC Mobile that is ...... (koro cuts in "duro nor" wait!)

ObaniKoro: I don't want to keep you here more than necessary, because we are not alone in this thing, we have to be seen to be fair, even if we have a direction that tomorrow we want to achieve. Your excellency, we are here because of you, and it is you I want to please. Momoh is here before you let us give him an assignment (fayose cut in "let me)

Fayose: This brigadier general I was governor of this state 12 years ago, you would probably be a captain or a major, but we give God all the glory. When you talk to this man he would argue from morning to night. What we want to eat does not allow us to know our right. Number two, my younger brother retired in the army as brigadier general, when you explain to this man, its argument, argument. Today, we met and agreed on how to work, myself, Omisore and all the head. We agreed on a strategy to use, and the nine

(9) that would join us and all you expect me to do, I have done. Before this incident happened even as at Tuesday, our member are being matcheted and treated like nobody, of late sir, have been calling you for the past three hours, to tell you that "Bimbo Daramola" is doing rally in his home town, and they are brandishing gun, what does it take you to make this arrest since sir? number two (2) I was the one who called you to tell you that they have arrested a par.... arishe gave me that information, because its was in front of arishe's place. Fayemi was going on with 27 car convoy; I was the one who called you that they arrested "Fayemi" council chairman with gun, by and large. "kabiyesi oke mesin" and "Akin omole" MD of NAS before, calling that our community is flooded. (koro cut in " are you taking note, I need you to take note" person 1: yes sir!").

Honourable AbdulKareem (comes in): They are the ones, there this thing in "Ikare Ekiti" there is breakdown of everything "o ti ju bi fun awon omo onike" look this is a very serious situation (Caleb Olubolade cuts in "awon olopa?) Sitting down with this man would mess this election up for you. (koro cuts in "no no no").

Koro: Who dis-arm who? Why were they dis-armed?

Caleb Olubolade: listen koro, I was asking you one question one time. (Senator Omisore cuts in "they have collected money. The police now that are working, they are dis-arming them too.") I asked one question from you, why was our police men dis-armed, you now answer are they working with us? I want you to continue from that place. Its means you are the one giving them info

General: Yes! You know why I said so? It's a very simple question; if... you know when I saw Chief, Chris uba I was so happy, because he came. The people that are on the field now are people we briefed, not only soldiers, not only soldiers, SF were there now any vehicle you see now we have..... a Hilux carry about 8 men its mix together. You don't know the directives, you don't know the situation they found those police men. The vehicle that left now, under "OC Mopol" from my own with Chris Uba in charge and myself and three of us, it's almost 140.

ObaniKoro: You know what, wait! we cannot keep this man here indefinitely, we can't keep him here indefinitely. He has said there is a team based on your instruction that is going round now(fayose cuts in "can't you let me talk, how can he say that, can you let me talk am not a small boy!").

Fayose: we agreed in Abuja on the modalities to work, we agreed on a sticker. That any vehicle you see that sticker, you allow that sticker. That sticker is on those vehicles his own was sent to him, mine was sent to me. The one by SSS was given to me to give to them there is no vehicle that left this place without that sticker. The people you just disharmed had that sticker clear and clean. Today they went to "efon" they carry all the.....

Where we are supposing to be collating, the thing INEC gave to us, soft copies we now printed and everything, because they see INEC thing on top of it, why is my contact man not with them, i said my contact man would be sitting in the check point permanently. i convince this man to leave this people, they were said to sit in the sun. they packed all the computers, its took me more than 2 hours to get this man to release this people. we have been subjected to serious embarrassment, (Caleb Olubolade cuts in "then what we have been told is that the army have been compromised") they have been compromise. They are now dis-arming police too that want to work, in my local government, my own local government the same thing. today, they were sharing money in the government house, i called them, people in the government house who loves us were taking pictures how they were putting money in envelopes, i called them, did everything, instead its our own rebel that is arrested co-incidentally, it's the money i wanted to go and give to him. (General cuts in "your excellency, have you finished sir?")This is un-becoming....

General: Governor house yesterday, we were together, (koro cuts in, we have a challenge on our hands, how do we resolve this challenge? I am here, the governor is here, when we call you, we want action, it's should not take 2 hours to get action")

Koro: we have a challenge on our hands, how do we resolve this challenge? I am here, the governor is here, when we call you, we want action, it's should not take 2 hours to get action, the governor said he called you, somebody was detained for over 2 hours, i want to know who asked to be dis-harming those people.

General: test my integrity; was i in your local government yesterday? (Un-identified Hausa man: yes sir, general: what did i tell you?)

Un-identified Hausa man: sir, the commander was there, he gave us contact and he directed that only those contacts we should contact to, any other person, we should not listen to. (fayose cuts in " the contact was with you this afternoon? The contact was with you "owoeye standing by you")

Fayose: the contact was with you this afternoon owoye, the contact was standing by you, and you are still questioning me. The contacts owoeye was telling you on the other line, that the man is with you, 30 - 40 minutes after, they were still kept there. you now told me that i expect contact, is it too much? That in 24hrs, that the contact cannot stay with eehhh.. That the contact cannot stay like that (general cuts in "you are misinterpreting all this" un-identified Hausa man cuts in "sir! sir, the commander said that we must deliver by all means, and that's the directives they gave to us (koro cuts in " if you dont work with who you are supposed to work with...... its becomes a credibility to us.")

Fayose: excuse sir, i told chief uba, that am ..... that he should send me some soldiers that should go with me, because of a long stage, this one came i told him that where is he, he said he cannot come inside. did you not tell me that? oya talk now? (koro cuts in " that he was reluctant to come inside") i said well, i would not go and meet him outside ooo. Invariably, he came inside, i said sit down. i now called him, i said what instruction did you give to your guy? what instruction did you give to your guy? (general talks " which instruction did i give to you when you are coming?" un-identified Hausa man answers "you said that i should come, when his excellency is going home, i should escort him, and any other thing he needs tomorrow during the election, we should provide it, that's all!") if he want to spoil it, let him tie his head, because we are going to wage war against him. The war is eminent. i was in my house, "chief of army staff" call me, and told me he has briefed him, and gave me his number because i never met him before. He told me, you are in safe hands; he would perform, and if you have any issues, call me. He told me that i have made it clear to him that i am Jonathan for this election. Chief of army staff told me, have never met him before in my life. He only called me with the instruction from the villa. Each time we explain this this to this man, he porous, everything is porous.

Caleb Olubolade: anyway, i don't want us to..... where we are now general, we held so many meetings, that i don't belief we should be in this situation now. The idea of having headship, is that everybody should work together. under no circumstances what so ever is for anyone to be dis-armed number one. number 2 is that, (general cuts in: excuse me sir this dis-harming of a thing, is it the thing that led to eemmmh.... am a commander (koro cuts in: wait, the guy just left with the lady, the team that left here as we are being told, are being dis-armed, that's why we are worried.

Fayose: we even said this stickers must not be shared until its 4 o'clock.( general cuts in: when did we share the stickers? un- identified Hausa man answered: by 16:00hrs") the guys that just left just called that the soldiers have dis-harmed us, that they were as good as beating us. I asked did they not see the stickers, they said the stickers are there. we showed them (general cuts in :did i not tell you about stickers yesterday? ")

Un-identified Hausa man: you did sir.

General: what did i tell you?

Un-identified Hausa man: that any vehicle carrying the stickers, that we should be left. (Caleb Olubolade cuts in: are your boys carrying out your instructions? that was exactly what i asked you?

General: i have 5 sections, i took my time yesterday (honourable AbdulKareem cuts in:" se ko se pe awon people yi lo gba owo lo wo awon people yi?")

Fayose: nko to won lo se ni yen!o ti wan se ni yen o!

Honourable AbdulKareem: you can't do this. i have a stake in this. We are all stake holders. (Everyone in the room echoes, we are all stake holders")

Fayose: we have to call the president and let him know. This people are doing somethings.they would not even serve police that wants to help us, we can't continue like this.(general cuts in " are you working with a different police?")

Honourable AbdulKareem: Momoh, you know me now, you are the one from kogi nah, are you not the one from kogi, (general cuts in " am a stake holder is more in my heart than you. Don't talk to me anyhow please, dont talk to me anyhow.") Am not talking to you anyhow to, don't talk to me anyhow too, i won't take it from you. whom am are you talking to, am an honourable member of the national assembly, do you know you are insulting me too? (koro cuts in " sit down general, sit down please")who are you that you say am insulting you, if am in the military, i would be a brigadier or general today. so what are you saying, am a member of the national assembly. (koro cuts in: i don't like all this embarrasment, we all left our home to come here, we are here for the same thing. i don't like the way the honourable is talking, i asked him to come here, if you are a member of the national assembly so, i was once a senator too. show some respect.")

Koro: i won't say a word, i would allow you to talk, but i want to sound a note of warning. this man, we cannot keep him here indefinitely. let us make progress, give him instructions on what we want him to do, let him go and do it, let us monitor him, and make sure those things are done, cause as he's seated here, other people are monitoring his movement (person 2 "God bless you sir") give him instructions. (Person 4 cuts in "let me just say something") Let the senator land.

Senator Omisore: i would just say that we don't have to argue this much, we have seen some lapses yes, its just this evening. there is nothing happening now that we cannot contain before tomorrow morning, there is nothing.so ba mi so fun general, we can be together on this matter. your boys can be overzealous and do things that are not sent, (koro cuts in "and some can be compromise too.") yes! What am saying momoh is that, at this level, any information that you hear from us, we are on ground here, move swiftly to those information, and act number one. Instead of you defending them even blindly. You go and find out what is really happening there. We have areas that are faulty areas, look into it, "ikere", "ilawe". Let them confirm what is happening there. My friend major is looking to "oke-mesin" himself.

Koro: do you have a special team?

General: there are about 6 special team. (koro cuts in your own team) i have one. "Strike force i have almost forty soldiers after deployment.

koro: the idea of calling you, and not getting reactions we have to stop that now, you must bring that to an end. When we call you, within the next 5 - 10 minutes, we need to know what has been done about it, and we want to get the full feedback on what has been done. all those that has been dis-armed, tell your men they must release them. (person 4 cuts in "they don't dis-armed anyone again") and then put 2 or 3 of your men in charge of that. That before anybody is dis-armed; they call that person for clearance. That person would call in, and if they say they should not, nobody is dis-armed. If he say that they should go ahead, nobody know them, go ahead and dis-armed them. Then that daramola i want him picked up in the morning, (person 4 cuts in: "no in the night, tonight! daramola and commissioner for finance") daramola is in which local govt.

General: sir, we have done a lot of arrest.me and oga chris.(person 4 cuts in: i know")

koro: i understand.

General: what am saying is that, it's the pressure.

Koro: wait! Wait! Your excellency, give him your token so that we can go.

Fayose: o ni number mi. he has my number.

Koro: the people you want them to take control of would arrest before the morning, can make their list and their local government go and bring it. (general cuts in: that chairman now, he's already with SS now.") let me tell you, they say there is one place that has been flooded "ecomog" from osun "omisore cuts in: that's oke-mesin, he spoke to the oba of oke-mesin" that oba, you must ensure, that those people are flushed out."

Omisore: oke mesin.

General: Oke-mesin where? (omisore cuts in" he knows the place") oh, i know oke-mesin very well.

Koro: who is that one gonna brief, (Un-Identified hausa man in "captain aja, he is already there. i gave him the number ehhhh. i gave him the number of akin.") oh akin is there.

General: daramola is which local government?

koro :Oye local government, don't go an give very conflicting ki ni o. i don't want you to stay here for to long

General: yes sir!

Koro: They would be talking to you on the phone (general cuts in" yes sir.") Nobody is monitoring you; i don't want a situation they would say you have come here.

Omisore: i want you to notice that when the governor was going, he went with about twenty something vehicles. (koro cuts in "the governor told him that already")

Koro: that should not be happening on the eve of election

Honourable AbdulKareem: awon ti won ba se meeting nko ni tantalizer? (general cuts in: "you are the one nah, its chris")

General: lets accept one thing, we want success, you know why i ask, if we have put only policmen, we would have reach them together. in the presence of chief chris, i said if we dont deliver. since yesterday we've been hammering it. He just left. Now am the one that pick up the chairman of oyen local govt. if am compromise, the governor doesn't have my number. Is the chief that he telling me that he's been asking for my number from him? As a general, i can't pretend like he does not want to give money.

koro: general sir, it's not about you, it's your men in the field, (general cuts in "we checkmate them") ehnnn..it's for you to continue to find out what they are doing. (general cuts in "sir, what you need to do now, don't listen to people texting, Chris is talking to me and my men, sir you sent me a message that somebody is behind the negotiating......what i want to do is, we are going to form a group, a one group. Have told chief yesterday that am not working again, that he should be in touch, he said he's coming to my place."

General: voting has not started, the plan has been briefed, i told this man in uniform yesterday, i don't know which state he's from. i took my time within 2 days when that thing happened, i went round and my brief to them is deliver or you would be sanctioned, and i told them if this my is your contact point, if they say follow here follow. Tell me any soldier man that is staying in any of the opponent hotel. We have asset we are not using it. the governor, our excellency, i know his problem i never knew until...... when oga chief came to me, he looked at me if its money he said he would give to me, have given my soldiers, their morale are high. (koro cuts in: "don't talk too much, i want you to go and work and deliver for us. look here, you can't get promotion without me sitting on top of your military council. If am a happy man tomorrow night, the sky is your limit, and at the end of the day if am unhappy....")

Koro: am not here for tea party, am on a special assignment by the president (Caleb Olubolade cuts in: "so that when next we have someone 2 send on special assignment, it's would be you. There is one thing i want to tell you, we are anticipating tomorrow, because this people know we have people that want to vote for us tomorrow, this people might come out with thugs to destabilize our people at the polling unit. we want you to work with the police too, and arrest whoever wants to cause problem a any polling unit

People speaking for a while......

Omisore: there is a contact man in wusi. Call that contact person now.

General: They are with the my soldiers, (fayose cuts in: "it's not correct sir.") gentlemen listen both of you, i told pastor this evening how many local government is in our hands, i called pastor this morning that please tell your men to follow my soldier one by one.

Fayose: If am working for you, if am working for you sir, i cannot be following you around sir. My people cannot be following you about. We don't follow IG about, we don't follow police about. The "OC mopol" of this state is working for us, we don't follow him about. When we call him one hand we have this problem he settles it immediately. Last night, we told him this is happening around the government house, he condone off all the 4 entrance off (general cuts in: 'i was the one oh") you are not the one sir. (General cuts in again:" i was the one who created road blocks, I was the officer on ground sir.") When you were coming this night, were you searched?

## **TEXT ENDS**

Certain incidents of the conversation described above have been mentioned in the Nigerian press. To give context to the above please see the following links:

http://www.thegazellenews.com/2014/06/19/ekiti-2014-sss-arrested-pdp-members-thumb-printing-in-fayoses-dgs-hotel/

http://www.pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/06/21/ekitidecides-fayemis-campaign-director-arrested-by-soldiers/