

KADUNA STATE GOVERNMENT
WHITE PAPER
ON THE
COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE
GURE/KAHUGU
DISTURBANCE IN SAMINAKA LOCAL
GOVERNMENT AREA

INTRODUCTION:

The Commission was appointed by the Kaduna State Military Government as per Secretary to the Military Government and Head of Service's letter No.MG/249/T/4 of 14th June, 1984. The appointment was notified in Kaduna State of Nigeria Gazette No.13, Vol.13, of 21st June, 1984.

2. Members of the Commission are as follows:—

- | | | |
|--|--------|------------------|
| (1) Dr. Aliyu Yahaya, (<i>Professor</i>
Dept. of Political Science, A.B.U., Zaria) | | <i>Chairman</i> |
| (2) (<i>Retired</i>) Colonel Iliyasu | | <i>Member</i> |
| (3) Mr. David A. Sadauki | | <i>Member</i> |
| (4) Alhaji Balarabe Mahmud,
(Retired Permanent Secretary) | | <i>Member</i> |
| (5) Mr. Nehemiah Sako,
(Chief Local Government Inspector) | | <i>Member</i> |
| (6) M. Sada Cikin Gida,
(Chief Comm. Development Inspector) | | <i>Secretary</i> |

3. The Commission was appointed with the following Terms of Reference and Operational Powers:—

TERMS OF REFERENCE:

1. To conduct, using all means at its disposal, through investigation over the incidents of 5th June, 1984 at Gure and Kahugu Village Areas and in particular:—
 - (i) Determine the background and the immediate and remote causes of these disturbances;
 - (ii) Assess the extent of damage done, to persons or property and loss of lives;
 - (iii) Apportion the findings in (ii) above in relation to each of the two communities, and;
 - (iv) Highlight the historical, sociological, political, economic, legal and administrative factors that relate to these events.
2. Ascertain the principal actors in the events and attempt to apportion blame:—
 - (i) in respect of individuals involved;

- (ii) in respect of the two community groupings;
- (iii) in respect of any other outside individuals or groups of individuals involved, and
- (iv) highlight the part(s) played by such groups or individuals.

3. Collect and compile all relevant available demographical, sociological and economic data and any other documentable information and statistics that may, in the opinion of the Commission of Inquiry, be of help to this Government in acquiring clear understanding of the issues involved.

4. Make such recommendations, that, in the opinion of the Commission will assist the State Government in:—

- (i) achieving immediate return to peace and inter-communal confidence in the area, and;
- (ii) devising such measures that will achieve lasting solutions to the problems so as to cultivate and maintain perpetual peaceful co-existence between the two communities.

5. Make such other recommendations that will, in the opinion of the Commission, assist the Government in ensuring sound administration in the District in general, and in establishing lasting peace and understanding among the various communities and tribes therein.

6. OPERATIONAL POWERS OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY:

- (i) The Commission may call upon any person or groups of persons to testify or give evidence before it, either on or free from Oath;
- (ii) The Commission is empowered to co-opt any person or group of persons, who in the opinion of the Commission could render assistance to it over any issue that arises before it for consideration;
- (iii) In the conduct of its affairs, the Commission may regulate its own procedures and call for Memoranda from interested individuals or groups of individuals;
- (iv) The Commission is empowered to call for any records that are in its opinion relevant to the issues before it. Any person or Organisation in charge of such records should render same to the Commission for the period it so wishes to retain them;
- (v) The Commission is empowered to order the arrest of any individual or groups of individuals, whose conduct is considered by the Commission to be injurious to the progress of its investigation; and

- (vi) The Commission is also hereby empowered to take any anticipatory or emergency measures that may assist to ensure the smooth conduct of its business.

A—HISTORICAL BACKGROUND:

Findings:

Covered by Chapter III, pages 14–23 of the Commission's Report.

Comments:

Government notes the historical background.

B—THE INCIDENCE OF 5TH JUNE, 1984:

Findings:

From thorough investigation, the Commission has established that:—

- (i) the incidence of 5th June, 1984, was spontaneous and not planned;
- (ii) the immediate causes of the incidence are petty quarrels in a drinking place and inter-communal disputes over farmlands and economic trees, and communal urge for revenge;
- (iii) the majority of the principal actors who spear-headed the attack and killings of the Kahugus are farmers who were not educated; and
- (iv) a large number of people are detained for no just cause because of the ineptitude of the Police.

Recommendation (1):

The police post of the area should be upgraded to a detachment. It will have responsibility of carrying out all police functions in the area. It will also be possible for the police to cope with any break-down of law and order in the area at the shortest notice.

Comments:

Government accepts this recommendation. Furthermore, officers to serve in the area shall be screened to ensure that all those who have extra interests or relationships likely to encourage inter-communal conflicts are not posted there.

Recommendation (2):

The Commission is strongly of the view that the following people under detention are principal actors in the incidence of 5th June, 1984:—

- (a) Minista Markita

- (b) Ririwe Saranga
- (c) John Bahago
- (d) Garba Kahuta
- (e) Suri Dambe
- (f) Dango Magaji and
- (g) Kafari.

Comments:

Government notes the above observation

Recommendation (3):

The Commission notes that the case is now before the Court but will nevertheless strongly recommend that severe punishment be meted out to each of them if found guilty as this will serve as a deterrent to future occurrence. The light punishment (*only three (3) months imprisonment*) imposed on those found guilty in the 1971 disturbances has given people the impression that they can take law into their hands and get away with it.

Comments:

Government notes the recommendation but does not normally interfere with Court Proceedings. Each offender will no doubt be dealt with according to the gravity of his offence and the provisions of the Law relating thereto.

Recommendation (4):

The second category of detainees are those the Commission is convinced have a case to answer. They are:—

- (a) M. Kida;
- (b) Hamidu Makeri; and
- (c) Gulgule.

Comments:

Government notes this recommendation, and will allow the Law to take its due process.

Recommendation (5):

The third category of those under detention whom the Commission considered to be detained for no just cause are as follows:—

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------|
| (a) Mr. Yakubu Danbaki | (i) Yashera Kwanto |
| (b) M. Peter Haji | (j) Lagos Bangaza |
| (c) M. Bulus | (k) Ampelle Jarmai |
| (d) Mr. Maruku Agaji | (l) Abdu Nagurmi |
| (e) M. Kadawo | (m) Angali Dalin |
| (f) Kundiga Shawai | (n) Samuel Dangata |
| (g) Hacewa | (o) Usman Dawani |
| (h) Laraba Kaduna | (p) Fada Bawa. |

The Commission therefore recommends that they should be released from detention.

Comments:

Government notes this recommendation, but will allow justice to take its normal course.

Recommendation (6):

The fourth category of those detained were not even mentioned in any of the interviews we conducted in Saminaka, Kahugu and Gure. The Commission is also recommending that they should also be released from detention.

Comments:

Government accepts this recommendation, and will allow the Law to take its due process.

Recommendation (7):

If the recommendation(s) of the Commission on the release of those detained are accepted by the Government, the cause of peace will be further enhanced if the following actions are taken;

- (i) Yakubu Danbaki should be transferred from Government Day Secondary School, Gure to an Institution outside the Zone in which Gure is located;

Comment (i):

Government accepts this recommendation without prejudice to 2—6 above.

Recommendation (ii):

M. Bulus (*the Village Scribe*), the Village Scribe should be transferred immediately to another area.

Comments:

Government accepts this recommendation, without prejudice to 2—6 above.

Recommendation (iii):

Angalin Dalin, the Headmaster, Gure Primary School should also be transferred to another School outside Gure.

Comments:

Government accepts this recommendation, without prejudice to 2—6 above.

Recommendation (iv):

M. Peter Haji, (*a private citizen*) should be under surveillance and be informed that he would be held responsible for any break-down of Law and Order in the area.

Comments:

Government notes this recommendation, see decision on 5 above.

Recommendation (8):

Among those who were directly connected with the incidence of 5th June, 1984 and are still at large, the Commission recommends that they should be arrested and their roles be investigated for prosecution. Those in this category are:—

- (i) Kachikari (*Mai Unguwar Pa*). The Commission finds him to be a trouble shooter who has been involved in all the disturbances in the area. The Commission does not find him suitable as a Ward Head and therefore recommends that he should be removed from office with immediate effect.

Comments (i):

Government accepts this recommendation. Furthermore the Police will intensify their search for him and arrest him for full investigation and subsequent prosecution.

Recommendation (ii):

Aloto—The Commission recommends that Aloto should be arrested and his role be thoroughly investigated in view of his involvement in the petty quarrels with Gumbe and Abba Acca.

Comments:

Government accepts this recommendation.

Recommendation (iii):

Abba Acca: In view of his involvement in the petty quarrels, the Commission recommends that he should be arrested and interrogated. He is however, no longer in Gure.

Comments:

Government accepts this recommendation.

C—REMOTE CAUSES OF THE INCIDENCE OF 5TH JUNE, 1984:

Findings:

The remote causes which the Commission had identified have a direct bearing on causes of the incidence of 5th June, 1984. It is important for Government to recognise this because these remote causes are what the Commission identified as the rock of Gure/Kahugu endemic conflicts. There cannot be a lasting solution to this problem unless the root cause of the conflict is resolved. The Commission would want to emphasize that the mutual suspicion, hostility, tension and the urge to revenge will continue to exist in the area unless Government decisively faces up to these problems squarely. We believe that a solution the problem requires a decisive action and field officials must make it unequivocally clear that Government is the final authority on land matters.

Recommendation (1):

A joint village committee should be established which will consist of equal representation of the two communities. Membership of this Committee must include elders, youths, women representatives and field officials. This joint village committee must meet at least once in a month. The Chairman of this village committee should be rotational on an annual basis.

Comments:

Government accepts this recommendation. In addition, a representative each from the emirate council and Sole administrator's Office shall be observers. The chairmanship and venue of this village Committee shall be rotational on quarterly basis, meetings will be held at least quarterly or as the need arises.

Recommendation (2):

The functions of the joint village Committee are:—

- (a) To mediate in any dispute among members of the two communities;
- (b) To recommend to the Local Government Development needs of the area;
- (c) To foster social interaction among the two communities; and
- (d) To be consulted on the location of any government amenities in the area.

Comments:

Government accepts this recommendation, but C' above should include economic interaction.

Findings (3):

The achievement of a lasting peace in the area is also dependent on the attitude of the communities to one another. The Commission recognises that there is cordial social relationship under normal circumstances to the extent that there is inter-marriage among them. There are also indications of social inter-action between the two communities as evidenced by the use of a common market and regular inter-action in drinking place. There are also indications of friendly exchange of visits, by both males and females. It is the view of the Commission that there is a strong social foundation on which to build an integrated and viable society. This can only be brought about if the community and opinion leaders can be guided to achieve communal harmony. The Commission believes that this is feasible because the two communities have always been identified with the same political opinion in the country and therefore there is in reality no political hostility between the two communities. The authorities at the state and local level will therefore not face any resistance from the communities in any attempt to achieve communal harmony.

Comments:

Government notes the observation.

Recommendation (4):

The Commission recognized the fear of the Kahugus of their being dominated by the Gures because of their educational attainment. It is therefore, important for the top officials from Gure to create forums in which they can render guidance and support to the Kahugus. This role is necessary and important because it is not only a conciliatory gesture, but also a demonstration by the Gure elites that they care about the future and well being of their Kahugu counterparts.

Comments:

Government supports this recommendation. The Saminaka Local Government will give effect to this recommendation informally.

Recommendation (5):

Henceforth, all social and welfare amenities which are common facilities to the two communities should be centrally located. The location which is being recommended is the parcel of land stretching on both sides of the road on the Ramin Kura — Gure Road (as indicated in Map 'B'). Such social amenities may include a Football field, a Hospital, Secondary School and State or Federal Government projects.

Comments:

Government notes this recommendation. Government effort will be directed at diffusing tension and promoting inter-communal harmony through a fair distribution of amenities in the area. In this connection a Day Secondary School will be built for the Kahugu Community this financial year.

Recommendation (6):

From statistics of students enrolment, we observed an improvement in the intake of students from Kahugu.

Kahugu intake: Government Secondary School, Gure as at August, '84

<i>Form</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>i</i>	50		
<i>ii</i>	32	20	70
<i>iii</i>	1	8	40
<i>iv</i>	14	4	5
		5	19
<i>Total</i>	<u>97</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>134</u>

The Commission strongly recommends that this pattern be maintained by the allocation of a minimum quota of admission for Kahugu. The Commission will go on to suggest that on the basis of the present annual intake, the minimum intake should not be less than fifty, (*fifty boys*) and twenty (*20 girls*).

Comments:

Government accepts this recommendation.

Recommendation (7):

The Commission recommends that the Government Day Secondary School Gure, be relocated to the central point identified.

Comments:

Government rejects this recommendation, in view of the fact that new Day Secondary School is being proposed for Kahugu this financial year.

D—LOSS OF LIFE AND PROPERTY:

Finding:

From the information made available to the Commission, nine (9) persons were missing and out of these eight (8) bodies were discovered. Those certified dead by the medical officer of Saminaka General Hospital were all from Kahugu. They are as follows:—

- (1) Umaru Mukadas
- (2) Dan Magaji K. Gabas
- (3) Gado Toma
- (4) Bauda Goji
- (5) Goma Mutua
- (6) David Karori
- (7) Banbara Goje
- (8) Audi Shama.

Recommendation (4):

As part of the Commission's effort to achieve harmony and reconciliation, it is hereby recommended that in addition to our recommendation in chapter A.2.3.(p.5) advising government to impose severe punishment to those found guilty, government should consider compensating families of those killed in the incidence.

Comments:

Government accepts this recommendation. Government expresses its deep sympathy for the lives lost. In the case of compensation, government will set up a committee to work out the form of compensation to be paid to those that qualify.

Findings (2)

The list of injured as was compiled by the Medical Officer of Saminaka General Hospital are as follows:—

- (1) Kawayo Kontor
- (2) Uma Mamman
- (3) Dauda Ahmadu
- (4) Injina Hom
- (5) Amaza Asarki
- (6) Turai Iliya
- (7) Danwuya Gona
- (8) Haruna Shagaba
- (9) Karane Tunkon
- (10) Danu Yanchera
- (11) Toma Saka
- (12) Shid Galadima
- (13) Dalatu Ahmadu.

Recommendation (2):

Nil

Comments:

Government notes this finding.

Recommendation (3):

Up to the time of writing this report, the Commission has not received any information on the whereabouts of the ninth Kahugu man declared missing. The Commission therefore, recommends that the police should intensify their investigation and discover his whereabouts, whether dead or alive.

Comments:

Government accepts this recommendation.

Findings (4):

Also the village Head and Kahugu elders submitted their own list of the injured as follows:—

<i>Name of Victim</i>	<i>Nature of Injury</i>	<i>Names of Criminals</i>
1. Kanawa Sarki	Broken right hand and head injuries by using stone	John Bahago Gure
2. Turai Mamman Iliya	Injury on the head and eye which was stitched by a stone	Lagos Gure
3. Dauda Amutu	Injury on the head and back by using stones	Kadawa Gure
4. Bitrus Dinnangu	Injuries on head, back, thigh, knee and broken right hand sticks/ stones were used	Masuri Kananu
5. Bulus Kachikari	Injury on the head by a cutlas	Irmiah Gure
6. Danwuya Gona	Injury on the head by a cutlas	
7. Sayi Maianguwa	The whole body affected as a result of beating causing dislocation on fingers	Wuchawa Gure
8. Gwanja Jimagana	Injuries on right hand and face using a belt and shoe legs	Lauya Gure

9. Engilla Emmanuel	Injuries on the head and forehead near the left eye with a cutlas and a pan which I was carrying on my head	Hamidi Gure (black suit)
10. Bawa Zubairu	Injuries on head with a hockey stick	1. Kido Yinayan 2. Sanusi Jakada 3. Usman Danwani
11. Unsa Mamman	Head injury, with a stone	Gulgule Gure
12. Bahago Galadima	Head injury and two hands, using sticks and stones	Hamidi Gure (black suit)
13. Karori Turakani	Forehead injury with a cutlas	Kunduga Shawan
14. Haruna Shugaba	Injuries on head and hands with cutlas and sticks	Yususa Gure
15. Dije Ande	Shoulder injury with a stick	Kyaure Gure
16. Guggo Gurhai	Injury on left eye, with a stick	Kyaure Gure
17. Toma Saka	Injury on head and face, with sticks, stones and cutlas	Lagos Gure Diwo Gure
18. Magani Gagara	Injury, broken left hand with a cutlas	1. Mukaila 2. Wecewa 3. Gulgule Gure
19. Jibrin Murkani	Dislocation on left leg by a stick	
20. Kawayo Kontoro	Injuries on head and waist with sticks	1. Gulgule Gure 2. Haruna Dama
21. Dami Yanjan	Injuries on head, left hand and back with sticks and cutlas	1. Nagurmi Gure 2. Kida Yineyin
22. Debora Ma'aji	Head injury, with sticks	Haruna (Primary School Teacher in Gure II)

23. Aloto Peri	Head injury, back, and right eye with an iron rod	Nagurmi Hamidi and son of Garba Mobonshi
24. Dunpuri Kapi	Injuries on back and face with stones and metal stick	1. Yero Mukadda 2. Gingima Gure 3. Yashira Gure
25. Sale Gona	1. Robbed of forty eight naira (N48)	By Hamidi Makeri and five others.
	2. While running for my life met the following people beating one Kahugu man	1. Kunduga Shawai 3. Garba Kapeli
26. Matthew Tumbau	Injury on the right leg with knife	1. Dodo Gure 2. Awolowo Ken-nishuwa
27. Mamman Madaki	Injury on head and waist with stones and fists	1. Gulgule 2. Makailihya
28. Dallatu Ahmadu	Head injury on left leg (<i>knee</i>) with stones and sticks	Ishaya Idi
29. Jakada Bakau	Injury on the right hand side ribs and left eye with sticks and cutlas	Pada Gure
30. Gambo Gwanya	Injury on the right hand with a stick	Wuchewa
31. Sani Danmagaji	Injury on head and back with sticks and stones	Gigin Gure

Recommendation (4):

NIL

Comments:

Government notes this finding and observes that the Police are already handling the matter.

Findings (5):

On the Gure side those who have planted crops on farms in Kahugu territory were prevented from tending their crops resulting to total loss. The affected persons are:—

<i>Names</i>	<i>Type of Crops</i>	<i>Areage</i>
1. Sarking Gure	G/Corn	4
2. —do—	Acca	3
3. Dauda Kepulle	G/Corn	1½
4. Timothy Kasambi	G/Corn	1
5. Mairuffa Ubanmaigona	"	1½
6. Tugga Ubanmaigona	"	2
7. Robin Kuchet and Brother	"	4
8. Waziri Guriza	"	2
9. Kinta Shazuma	"	2½
10. Dogo Kadewa	"	3½
11. Madaki Yaro	"	8½
12. Idi Kapanjama	"	2½
13. Dodo Kashini	" and Iburu	3
14. Danbaki Majika	" and Iburu	5
15. Masore Majikai	" and Iburu	2
16. Tela Yamusa	"	4
17. Karimu Mairabo	"	3
18. Yaro Kariga	"	1½
19. Hankuri Mukadda	"	2½
20. Audu Nikazu	"	1
21. Dondo Magajinaska	" and Iburu	2½
22. Chindo Ririwai	" and Iburu	4
23. Gurgulu Korau	"	4
24. Yashira Kwanto	"	4
25. Kyakyawa Yarima	"	5

	G/corn	
26. Gasana Kujalle	"	3½
27. Aketa Zapute	" and Iburu	4
28. Sa'idu Kanamu	"	4
29. Maisamari Kokomo	"	3
30. Haruna Zaiibo	"	4
31. Mukaddas Ango	"	3
32. Awiya Maimudu	"	3
33. Luka Makanle	"	3
34. Babuje Kato	"	3
35. Pancham Kajaba	"	3
36. Dawa Karshi	"	5
37. Turaki Kodan	"	6
38. Sa'idu Kanamu	"	6
39. Makeri Hamidu	"	6½
40. Kurma Pakum	G/corn	3
41. Dabba Damai	"	3
42. Haji Kazom	"	6
43. Rama Muchi Katoma	"	8
44. Buga Dadi Tugga	"	5
45. Kogi Machuga	„ and Acca	4
46. Babba Kaluga	Acca	5
47. Gori Chiroma	G/corn and Acca	6
48. Tankali Innarep	„ and Acca	5
49. Danbiri Sallah	Acca	5
50. Gurgolu Koro	"	1½
51. Kalemule Paifa	"	2
52. Dabba Damai	"	2
53. Lalalu Gure	"	2
54. Turaki Kodan	"	1
55. Kapachin Wali	"	1½

56. Bahagu Galadima	G/corn	5
57. Bitrus Mataimaki	"	6
58. Makellaka	"	1½
59. Bagaru Makaddas	"	1
60. Muhamman Mataimaki	Acca	3
61. Gurgulu Shehu	G/corn	4½

Recommendation (5):

N I L.

Comments:

Government notes this finding.

Finding (6):

The most serious aftermath of the disturbance is the chain of re-action it has generated. The loss of lives among members of the Kahugu community has deepened the hostilities towards the Gures. They have given the Commission the impression that they are not prepared for any reconciliation and have unanimously demanded that the Gure community should be back to the hills. This is obviously the re-action of an agrieved community. Further indications of the discontent among the Kahugus is revealed by reports of destruction of crops on Gure farms despite appeals from the Emir of Zaria and the government. The Commission strongly believes that the most effective method of resolving this inter-communal animosity is by solving the root cause of the problem. The onus of finding a solution to the problem lies squarely with the government. The Commission has already established that the root cause of the problem is the land issue and we are aware that under the existing laws, for instance, stipulated in the Land Use Decree No. 6 of 1978, "all land comprised in the territory of each state in the federation are hereby vested in the Military Governor of the state..... This, therefore, means that the onus of solving this land problem squarely lies on the government and because of the importance of the land issue, the Commission has addressed itself to this matter, for a full discussion and recommendation on the issue.

Recommendation (6):

NIL.

Comments:

Government notes this observation.

E. THE ROLE OF INDIVIDUALS:

Findings:

(i) Sarkin Gure (Dogara Gizo)

He gave the Commission the impression that he lacks the charisma to provide an effective leadership to an enlightened community like the Gures. The Chief has lost confidence in himself and during our meeting with him, he looked very confused. Dogara Gizo was directly involved in the dorowa dispute with Kachikari, (*Mai-Unguwarpa*) and this dispute was the immediate cause of the June 5th incidence from the official point of view. It is apparent that in the administration of Gure, he seems to depend heavily on people like Haji Perer and M. Bulus, his scribe. However, the Commission met some village elders who are fully informed about the history of the village and who constitute the opinion leaders in the community. These elders are Waziri Tugga, Sule Mairabo, Sama'ila Benu and Suruba Akafi and they impressed members of the Commission when they were in Gure area. They all accompanied us on our extensive reconnaissance trips and acted as spokesmen for the Chief. During our reconnaissance trips, members of the Commission attempted to establish an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence among the two groups through jokes and informal conversation, but this proved abortive.

RECOMMENDATION:

(i) Sarkin Gure (Dogara Gizo)

The village head of Gure should be replaced on retirement by a man who commands respect in the community, who is a conciliator and who is self-confident.

Comments:

Government rejects this recommendation in view of the fact that Sarkin Gure could not be directly associated with the events of 5th June, 1984. However, his weaknesses should be brought to his attention, with a view to improving his administration.

Findings:

(ii) Chief of Kahugu (- Audu Kurtu):

He is under the strong influence of Mai-unguwar pa, Kachikari, although he claims to be in control of his people. It does not seem that this claim is valid because when the Commission persuaded him that he should advise his people not to destroy the crops belonging to the Gures, he declined to address his people on this matter and so the Chairman addressed the people on the issue. Ordinarily, he would be prepared to abide by official decisions, but, unfortunately, he is under the control of Kachikari.

Recommendation:

The Village of Kahugu should be informed in very strong terms that as a leader of his community, he takes ultimate responsibility for the administration of his people. He should accordingly assert his authority and resist the influence of trouble makers in his community. His Ward Head, Mai-unguwar pa, Kachikari, should be removed from office and police should keep surveillance on him, if he is not convicted.

Comments:

Government accepts this recommendation.

Findings:**(iii) Makama, (District Head of Lere):**

It is Makama's view that conflict between the two communities is inevitable. He claims that they were not at peace for more than fifty (50) years. He pointed out that although the Gure people were enlightened, they hardly utilize their knowledge for peaceful ends. He said the Kahugus are few in number and they are enlightened. It is his views that the present site of Gure village was Kahugu land. He attempted to settle the dispute between Kachikari and Sarkin Gure over the dorowa farm. The report of the dispute reached him on Monday, 4th June, 1984, during a meeting between him and his village heads. The dispute was reported by Sarkin Kahugu, and Makama asked the two village heads to see him after both parties to a meeting on Wednesday, 6th June, 1984. The two village heads were each to be accompanied by two representatives to the meeting. This meeting never took place because of the outbreak of violence on 5th June, 1984.

Makama, as district head, did not hide his dislike for the Gures. He sees them as trouble makers and gives the impression that they are not submissive to authority and they do not show deference to those in authority. As far as he is concerned, the Kahugus are peace-loving and they hardly challenge any decision of the authority. He recognises that they are educationally backward, but rates them higher as law abiding people. Violent conflicts erupted on two occasions during Makama's transfer to Lere as district head. The Commission was told that throughout late Umaru Wali's tenure, disputes between Gure and Kahugu never erupted into violent conflicts. Both Gure and Kahugu elders have confirmed to the Commission that the late Wali always personally intervened to settle disputes that arose over land and other matters between the two communities. Thus Makama, unlike the Late Wali, lacks that knack crisis management.

The nature and character of Lere district is complex and heterogeneous and so requires an astute leader who is broad-minded and cosmopolitan in outlook and should be able to relate to the diverse communities within the district. In the district, the different communities that exist include the Pitti, the Janji, the Kurama, the Amo, Kahugu, Gure, Hausa Fulani etc. somebody like the Makama, whose style is a bit old-fashion, may not be widely accepted in a district of the type.

Recommendation:

Makama, (District Head of Lere):

He should be redeployed and be replaced by somebody more acceptable to the district area. It is the view of the Commission that a man who has a cosmopolitan outlook and who can easily relate to the various communities, who is not aloof, and who has initiatives will be more acceptable. He should preferably be a young man.

Comments:

Government notes this recommendation and the matter will be referred to the Zaria Emirate Council for appropriate action.

Finding:

(iv) *Sole Administrator, Saminaka Local Government — Mr Sabo Kaburuk:*

When the incidence occurred, the Sole Administrator was away to Kaduna on official duties. He informed the Commission that on his return to Saminaka on the following day he went straight to his office and there he saw the police and the NSO looking for transport to convey them to Gure and Kahugu. It was then he knew about the incidence. While he was in the office, the Administrator informed the Commission that at between 1.00 p.m. to 2.00 p.m., Mr Akafi of the Governor's Office, Kaduna came in. He informed the Commission that he was surprised to see Mr Akafi because at their meeting in Kaduna that morning, Mr Akafi had told the Sole Administrator, his trip to Saminaka was no longer necessary. He offered Mr Akafi a seat and gave full report of what had happened and requested him to report the incidence to his office in Kaduna. The Sole Administrator, informed the Commission that Mr Akafi left Saminaka at 9.00 p.m. that day. The official who went to the scene of the incidence returned at about 5.30 p.m. and reported that everything was quiet and peace had been restored in the area. The Sole Administrator visited the area on Thursday, 7th June, 1984 in the company of the Divisional Police Officer. He also informed the Commission of the visit of the Military Governor and the Emir of Zaria's visit of the area.

It is the opinion of the Commission that the Sole Administrator is not fully conversant with the socio-political problems of the Local Government Area. It is true that he has just recently been posted to the area, but it is equally important for him

to familiarise himself with the nature of the socio-political problems of his Local Government Area. The Commission believes that he would have familiarised himself with the problems if he had taken interest in touring his area. He would have also been able to directly acquire information about the state of affairs in the local government area. The neglect of the touring aspect of his work inevitably compelled him to depend on secondary sources of information.

Recommendation:

The Sole Administrator and Field Officers:

They should show more interest in their area of work by frequent tours and government should institutionalise the submission of regular intelligence and police Committee Reports as well as other monthly touring reports on political, social, economic conditions in addition to the routine reports.

Comments:

Government observes that the Sole Administrator of Saminaka Local Government Area has been quite familiar with the problems of his area. A monthly Intelligence Report (M.I.R.) is received unfailingly from all the local government areas in the state.

Recommendation:

(v) Sarkin Zazzau and other traditional authorities:

The Commission noted that the traditional authorities have ignored their traditional functions of touring their emirate. During these tours traditional rulers become aware of problems in their emirate and resolve disputes at their initial stages and this helps very greatly in the maintenance of law and order. The Commission therefore advises that these tours by traditional authorities should be revived.

Comments:

Government notes this recommendation but observes that conditions which prevailed during the political days made these tours impossible. However, these tours have been reactivated and will continue.

F. THE LAND ISSUE:

Finding:

The Commission has constantly made the point that there are no clearly defined boundaries between the two communities. This state of affairs should not continue. For this reason, the Commission wishes to recommend to the Government to clearly define the boundaries.

Recommendation:

For the guidance of government, the Commission puts forward a proposal based on the following criteria:—

- (a) The need to guarantee to both communities unhindered access to land for agricultural and other purposes.

Comments:

Government accepts this recommendation.

(b) **Recommendation:**

The need to eliminate the frequent disputes over land.

Comments:

Government accepts this recommendation.

(c) **Recommendation:**

The need to practically educate the rural communities of the existence of the Land Use Act.

Comments:

Government accepts this recommendation.

(d) **Recommendation**

The need to enable the Kahugu benefit from the facilities of village re-grouping.

Comments:

Government accepts this recommendation

(e) **Recommendation:**

The need to open up the area to outsiders for social inter-action and for economic development.

Comments:

Government accepts this recommendation.

Findings:

The redefinition of boundaries will involve the re-location of people in both communities. A total of two hundred (200) households both in communities will be

involved in the exercise. In the case of Kahugu, the number of households is approximately one hundred and ten (110). This redefinition of boundary will also involve construction of two bridges on the Kahugu sector, over the River Katara and the other over River Fere in order to link the village with Kono and other surrounding villages of Kuru District. On the Gure side, a road to be constructed to link Gure village with the main road at Lere through Unguwar Pa. The link roads will contribute to the opening up of the area. The relocation of people will obviously necessitate compensation of those who will be relocated to the new areas. As much as possible Government can reduce costs by making alternative land available, but they should be compensated for their houses and economic trees.

Recommendation:

In recognition of the powers vested in the Government for the control and management of Land, under the Land Use Decree, the Commission recommends that:—

- (a) The boundary between Gure and Kahugu should run from Jingir — Kahugu boundary along Ramin Kura road down to the River Makabu and then a straight line southwards to the confluence of Rivers Fere and Tabas, as per Map 'B'.

The territory south of Ramin Kura — Gure Road as defined by this boundary is to be Kahugu village area and the territory north and west of Ramin Kura — Gure Road, as defined by this boundary is to be Gure village area.

Comments:

Government rejects this recommendation. The administrative boundary between Gure and Kahugu is defined thus:—

Starting from a point at the confluence of Rivers Karami and Makabu, the boundary runs upstream of River Makabu in southerly direction for a distance of about thirteen (13) kilometres to the confluence of Rivers Makabu and Baka. From thence the boundary runs upstream River Baka for about four (4) kilometers to its source West of Piriga Hill. The boundary runs in a straight line from the source of River Baka for two (2) kilometers to the bridge on Nayila River on Gure/Kahugu Road. From a point on the bridge the boundary runs south-east wards for half a kilometre into the main Nayila River, from that confluence the boundary runs upstream in a southerly direction for two (2) kilometres to the source of the river. From thence the boundary runs in a straight line for about four (4) kilometres to the confluence of Rivers Fere and Tabas. The line thus described has Gure to the west and Kahugu to the east. All the area West of boundary shall be designated Gure Land, whereas the area East of the boundary, shall be designated Kahugu Land.

Government will in addition, assess and pay compensation for farmlands and economic trees in the disputed areas affected by the re-definition of all boundaries and will in this regard recover compensations of all affected economic trees from current users of the land on which such trees are located. Government will identify the proper cadastrals of the new boundary. In this connection, Government hereby directs that persons in an area East of this boundary having claims on farmlands in the West and vice-versa shall relinquish such claims and the customary Rights of Occupancy shall now be vested in the people residing and cultivating their farmlands. This arrangement, however, does not stop any individual (*Gure or Kahugu*) from living and owning a farm on either side of the administrative boundary. However, in marking or defining proper boundaries, care will be taken to ensure that no established settlement is divided.

(b) Recommendation:

The area of the two settlements on the basis of this new boundary is as follows:—

- (i) Total area of the two communities, Gure and Kahugu is 356 sq. kilometres;
- (ii) Proposed Gure area shaded green on Map 'B' include Kaware, Gure II, Dorowa farm and old Gure in the hill and covers an area of 208.1 sq. km; The northern sector of this area is infested by river blindness. The Federal Government is aware of the existence of river blindness in Saminaka local government area;
- (iii) Proposed Kahugu area shaded on Map 'B' which includes new Kahugu settlement, Kinudu and Bundu covering an area of 126.3 sq. kilometres;
- (iv) Unproductive area for agriculture within proposed Gure area is 81.8 sq. km. leaving Gure with a net productive area of 126.3 sq. km;
- (v) Unproductive area for proposed Kahugu area is 17.2 sq. km; leaving Kahugu with a net productive area of 109.1 sq. km.

Comments:

Government notes this recommendation. However, the new area will be determined by the new boundary.

Findings:

The population census for Gure in 1963 was 6,908 projected to 10,362 in 1982 and that of Kahugu was 4,733 projected to 7,100 in 1982. It is noteworthy to mention here that the Gure community with a total population of 10,362 occupying an area of 103.5 sq. km most of which was rocky and unsuitable for agriculture while Kahugu with a population of 7,100 is occupying an area of 226.8 sq. km all of which was

productive. The Commission in the proposed boundaries, tries as much as possible to bridge the present wide disparity in the productive land area of each community. The Commission has also attempted as much as possible to define the boundaries with natural features of the area in order to avoid any future dispute.

Comments:

Government notes the above observation (*see comments above*).

Findings:

The Commission decided on a redefinition of boundaries between the two communities after carefully examining all the options available. One option which is available to the Commission is the relocation of the Gure community from the present site to another location within Lere or Kauru districts. This suggestion was made by the Kahugus and the Emir of Zaria. After careful examination of the pros and cons of this suggestion, the Commission unanimously agreed that the implementation of this recommendation is not feasible on political and economic grounds. They have settled in their present abode for a long time. They were both on the hills and they both descended to the plains, although the Kahugus descended earlier. Important point however, is that both the Gures and the Kahugus are indigenes of the area. It is not in the public interest for the Gures to be re-located. From the economic and financial point of view, the Commission does not see this suggestion as tenable. Gure is a large settlement and can be conveniently classified as urban. Data available to the Commission shows that Gure village area has a total number of 795 households (*compounds*). It has produced a large number of educated people who are rendering valuable service in the public and private sectors. Apart from the social upheavals which the relocation might generate, the Commission is convinced that our recommendation will cost less both socially and financially. It will also take shorter period of implementation.

Recommendation:

NIL.

Comments:

Government notes and endorses this observation.

G. IMPLEMENTATION PLAN:

Findings:

It is the view of the Commission that government should be primarily responsible for promoting social harmony and political integration in the State, a decision to re-locate a large community on account of inter-communal land disputes, will seriously undermine the basis of unity in the state. It will also generate demands

all over the state for the removal of communities from their settlements on account of land disputes. Since it is the concern of this Commission to promote communal harmony and to effect reconciliation in the area, the Commission therefore does not support this alternative. The primary objective of members of this Commission is to construct a framework which will promote inter-communal harmony and effect reconciliation. Thus, it will be observed that we have recommended that those who have been found guilty of this barbaric and cruel act which led to the death of eight people should be severely punished. It is also because of our desire to promote inter-communal harmony and effect reconciliation that the Commission has recommended:

- (a) The establishment of forum which we designated Joint Village Committee for mediation of disputes and for the initiation of projects for the benefit of the two communities. (See page 9 para. (3.1).
- (b) The unhindered access of both communities to land in order to eliminate a primary source of discontent and the root cause of inter-communal conflict.
- (c) The opening up of the area to new opportunities in the hope that the challenge of a modern economy will eradicate old animosities and generate new problems along class lines which will cut across communal boundaries. (See page 24 paragraph 6 (1).
- (d) The intensification of the provision of social welfare amenities to the background community in order to foster communal integration within the locality (see page 20, paragraph 7 (1).
- (e) But the objective of the Commission to promote harmony and effective reconciliation will not be achieved unless the recommendations in this report are implemented as a package if they are acceptable. It is not adequate for instance, to provide both communities with an unhindered access to land, it will also be of limited value if for instance, social welfare amenities are provided to the background community without simultaneously opening up the area to new opportunities. Thus, the attainment of this objective is heavily dependent on the simultaneous implementation of these recommendations. It is for this reason that the Commission is strongly recommending that a specialised agency be established to be assigned the responsibility for implementation.

Comments:

Government notes and accepts these recommendations.

Findings:

It will not be feasible to attain this objective if the implementation of these recommendations is to be carried out by government Ministries. (Neither does the Commission consider the Local Government capable of implementing these recommendations because the technical expertise and the financial resources that will be mobilised in the execution of these recommendations are beyond the reaches of local governments). The organisation which will be able to achieve the objectives of the Commission should have the following characteristics:

- (a) Should be multi-purpose in order to simultaneously execute all recommendations;
- (b) Should be under the Governor's Office because of the multi-purpose nature of this organisation and the strategic role of communal reconciliation which it will be assigned;
- (c) Should be headed by an officer with considerable field experience and who will be required to work in the field;
- (d) Should be a semi-autonomous agency within governmental structure with specialised functions like the provision of rural infrastructure. This organisation is not regarded as an ad-hoc body;
- (e) It should be allowed to have its full complement of staff with responsibility for village planning, water supply, minor roads, (within village area) and any other functions government may decide to assign to the Committee. Thus, this organisation will have primary responsibility for the Provision of social and welfare amenities.

Comments:

Government notes and accepts recommendations (a) — (e) above and will set up an Implementation Committee for the purpose of implementation of the government decisions.

Commendation:

The Secretary to the Military Government will write a letter of commendation to the Committee for a job well done.