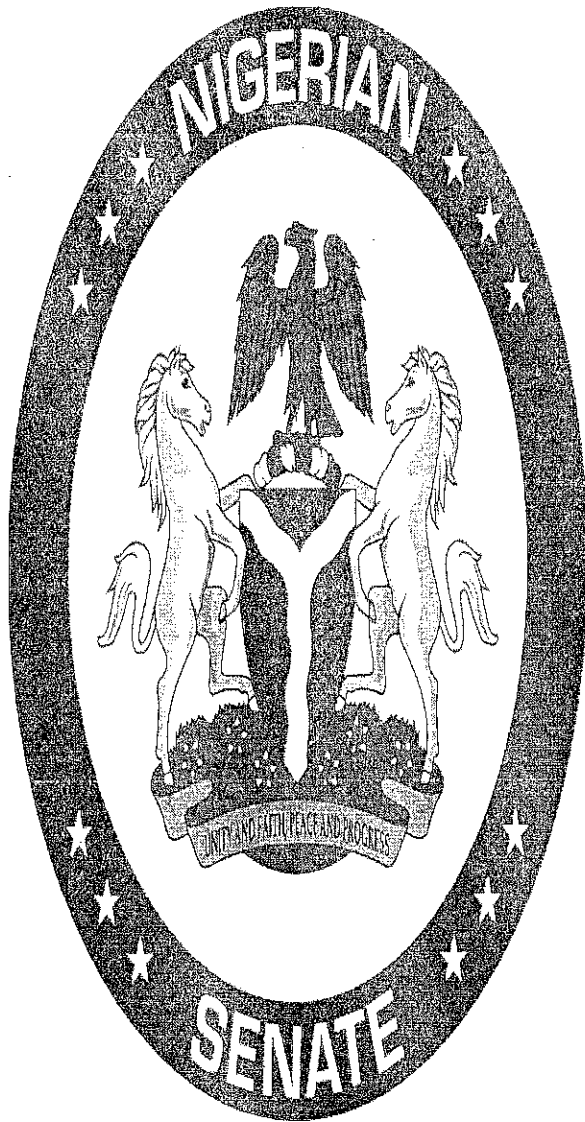


EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

6th April, 2017

VOLUME I

INTERIM REPORT OF THE SENATE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN KADUNA CRISES AND OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY



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CRISES IN SOUTHERN KADUNA AND OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This interim report is the outcome of the intensive legislative visits to Kaduna and Zamfara States on the reported crises in Southern Kaduna and other parts of the Country. It was equally drawn from submitted memoranda from stakeholders, extensive interactive sessions with States Governments, Security Agencies, Non-governmental Organizations, Religious Organizations, Traditional Rulers, other institutional stakeholders and victims.

2.0 BACKGROUND

This 8th Senate under the leadership of Distinguished Senator Abubakar Bukola Saraki, constituted the Ad Hoc Committee on the Southern Kaduna Crises and other parts of the Country at its sitting on Tuesday, 10th January, 2017, upon a motion by Senator Danjuma La'ah from Southern Kaduna Senatorial District. It mandated the Ad Hoc Committee to look into the remote and immediate causes surrounding the crises in Southern Kaduna, and other parts of the Country. The mandate of the Committee was predicated on the reported deaths, injuries, loss of properties and displacements of the communities, occasioned by consistent attacks by Herdsmen in the Southern Kaduna Senatorial District of Kaduna State particularly, and indeed other States like Zamfara, Benue, Enugu, Abia, Taraba, Kano, Nassarawa, Delta and Edo amongst others.

The Senate through the Committee therefore, considered it expedient and patriotic duty to adopt nonpartisan interventions, to unravel the immediate and remote causes, and proffer lasting solutions to this recurring and wide spreading barbarous incidents of waste of lives and properties in the Country.

The Committee met on 17/1/17 and 18/1/17, considered the nature and sensitivity of the assignment, number of the affected States to

be visited and logistics involved, co-opted one other member (Senator Philip Aruwa Gyunka – Nasarawa North Senatorial District), and resolved to visit the affected States and communities in phases, starting from Southern Kaduna, Kaduna State and Zamfara State.

At its subsequent meetings after the visits to Kaduna and Zamfara States, the Committee deliberated on the presentations, submissions, observations and findings during the visits, in line with its mandate. It further considered the scheduled plan to visit other affected States, to enable it promptly present well informed and comprehensive report to the Senate.

However, due to the recurring and wide spreading barbarous killings and destruction of properties under various guises in the Country recently, coupled with the paucity of funds to complete the assignment, the Committee considered it extremely expedient to present an interim report and appropriate recommendations to Senate for immediate intervention by the relevant authorities to curb the permeating menace.

2.0 MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMITTEE

1. Senator Kabiru I. Gaya	Chairman
2. Senator Mao Oluabunwa	Member
3. Senator Kabiru G. Marafa	Member
4. Senator Dino Melaye	Member
5. Senator Isa H. Misau	Member
6. Senator Solomon O. Adeola	Member
7. Senator Nelson A. Efiang	Member
8. Senator Philip Aruwa Gyunka	Member

3.1 SECRETARIAT

1. Chidinma R. Osuagwu, Esq	Clerk
2. Umonko I. Micheal	Assistant Clerk

4.0 COMMITTEE FINDINGS/OBSERVATIONS

4.1 KADUNA STATE

Remote Causes

- i. There existed long time unresolved animosity capable of triggering deadly conflicts at any slightest provocation in Southern Kaduna, and indeed the whole State.
- ii. This animosity was predicated on different factors based on different interests in Southern Kaduna such as settler/indigene dichotomy over land; lack of fairness and justice in governance considerations by various administrations; illiteracy and youth unemployment; and manipulation and exploitation of the vulnerable youths and communities by the self-serving Elites and Politicians to cause division along political, religious and ethnic lines.
- iii. The resultant crises from these animosities were sometimes hijacked by criminals, bandits and cattle rustlers, who were either Fulanis (Foreign and Locals) or the acclaimed Natives.
- iv. The perpetrators of these crises were never arrested, prosecuted or punished, and the victims of the crises were never compensated.
- v. Recommendations contained in various White Papers and Reports of different Committees constituted by the previous Governments to resolve the issues and put an end to the Crises were never implemented by the previous Governments.

Immediate Causes

- vi. The recent crises in Southern Kaduna started in May, 2016 with unresolved dispute between a Farmer and Herdsmen over grazing route and destruction of farm land produces, which resulted to an assault on the Farmer, subsequent avenged killing of a Fulani Harbo and destruction of a Fulani settlement; reprisal and counter reprisal attacks.

- vii. The situation has been hijacked by unidentified assailants and gunmen alleged to be Fulani Herdsmen (non-Natives), who occasionally attacked the communities from the surrounding forests, which confirmed the alleged attack by foreign Herdsmen, whose relatives must have been caught in the web of the various crises in Southern Kaduna.

Interventions

- viii. The presence of the Nigerian Army, Police and other security agencies in the areas helped to calm the situation although the communities were still apprehensive of unforeseen attacks.
- ix. There was no adequate response from NEMA and SEMA to the affected communities to cushion the effect of displacements, lives and properties lost in the crises.
- x. Due to the intervention of the Federal and State Governments, Non-Governmental Organizations, National Assembly, and Religious Organizations, the affected communities have resolved to settle their differences and allow peaceful and harmonious co-existence.
- xi. The Committee noted and acknowledged the efforts of different Committees to resolve previous conflicts in Southern Kaduna and Kaduna State, as evidenced in the under listed White Papers/Reports submissions by the Governor of Kaduna State and the affected communities on:
 - a. *Committee to stamp out attacks on Southern Kaduna Communities – February, 2016;*
 - b. *Reconciliation Committee on Ninte Sarki Crisis (where the recent crisis erupted) in Godogodo District of Godogodo Chiefdom, Jema'a Local Government Area, set up by the Jema'a Local Government Security Council, comprising representatives of Gwong Chiefdom, Jema'a Emirate Council, Kaninkon Chiefdom, Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), JNI, Jema'a Local Government Council, and Social Welfare Department of the Jema'a Local Government Area: The Reconciliation Committee in its findings named the perpetrators of the crisis, the victims, properties lost and*

destroyed, demands of the aggrieved parties and their resolve to live in peace, with the support of the Government and other stakeholders - 2016;

- c. The Kafanchan Peace Declaration: By Representatives of 29 Communities in Five Flashpoint Local Government Areas (Kachia, Kaura, Jema'a, Sanga and Zangon Kataf) of Southern Kaduna, to Kaduna State Executive Governor, Mallam Nasir El-Rufai: Under the coordination and mediation of Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD) - 23rd March, 2016;*
- d. Judicial Commission of Inquiry into the Clashes between the Islamic Movement in Nigeria (IMN) and the Nigerian Army (NA) in Zaria, Kaduna State between Saturday 12th and Monday 14th December, 2015;*
- e. 2011 Election Violence and Civil Disturbances (VOLS. 1 & 2);*
- f. Interim Report of the Kaduna State Judicial Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances of 2nd November, 2001 in Gwantu Town of Sanga Local Government and the Affairs of the Local Government Councils indicted by the Kaduna State House of Assembly Committee – February, 2002;*
- g. Judicial Commission of Inquiry into the Communal Crisis between the Bajju and Ikulu Chiefdom – August, 2001;*
- h. Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Kaduna State Religious Disturbances of February, 2000;*
- i. Jema'a Emirship Staff of Office Riots Judicial Commission of Inquiry - 1999;*
- j. Judicial Commission on the Inquiry into the Post Presidential Election Disturbances in Kaduna State;*
- k. Zangon Kataf (Market) Riots Judicial Commission of Inquiry (June 1992 & September 1992);*
- l. Committee to Investigate Causes of Riots and Disturbances in Kaduna State (6th – 12th March, 1987), and*
- m. Commission of Inquiry into the Gure/Kahugu Disturbance in Saminaka Local Government Area;*

4.2 INTERVENTION BY KADUNA STATE GOVERNMENT

- i. The Government of Kaduna State constituted several Committees and Commissions of Inquiry in the past, on the crises in Kaduna State generally including the post 2011 election crisis, where a Peace Building Committee was established, to restore peace to Kaduna State. Unfortunately, most of the resolutions of the Reports of those Committees/Commissions were never implemented.
- ii. Presently, the State Government has started gradual implementation of the recommendations in the White Paper of the Report of a Committee constituted to find ways of stamping out attacks on Southern Kaduna, chaired by General (Rtd) Martin Luther Agwai.
- iii. It has boosted and invested significantly in internal security to the tune of about **₦15.61 Billion**, filling the gap left by the Federal Government on security.
- iv. Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue has mediated and supervised with the support of the State Government, the Kafanchan Peace Declaration to resolve the prevalent Farmer/Grazer issues and the return/resettlement of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs).
- v. 29 Communities in Southern Kaduna have unveiled a Peace Apology Bill Board in Samaru-Kataf, as a peace building process in the affected communities.
- vi. 32 Communities raised Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) to rebuild the destroyed Churches and Mosques, with the commitment of the State Government to assist and unify them.
- vii. The State Government has strongly resolved to punish the perpetrators of the crises and has mandated the Director State Security, to investigate, identify and prosecute them.

4.3 ZAMFARA STATE

Immediate Causes

- i. The recent crises in Zamfara State were characterized by high profile crimes of armed banditry/robbery, kidnapping, rustling and rape.
- ii. These crimes has been permeated by the migration of most of the displaced Boko Haram in the North East, to Zamfara State.

Remote Causes

- iii. The reason for these criminal attacks on innocent citizens was predicated on the inability of the Government and constituted authorities to amicably resolve the disputes arising from the alleged delineation of existing grazing routes/reserves; conversion of grazing reserves, ponds, farmlands; and destruction of farm crops between the Fulani Herdsmen and Farmers in the State.
- iv. Many lives and properties were lost and destroyed as a result of the numerous attacks though not adequately reported.

Interventions

- v. The major perpetrators of these various crises have been identified but not prosecuted, due to their resolve to embrace peace and stop further violence, though at the instance of the State Government.
- vi. The identified repentant perpetrators currently synergize with the Government and Security Agencies to combat further crimes, recover rustled cattle and arms in circulation in the State.
- vii. Due to lean resources and inadequate support from the Federal Government, victims of the crises have not been adequately compensated notwithstanding the continuous relentless but struggling efforts of the current State Government.
- viii. The resilient efforts of the current State Government through its reconciliatory and dialogue approach coupled with the presence and support of the Nigerian Army, Police and other

security agencies, have helped to restore relative peace in the State.

- ix. Due to paucity of funds, the State Government is unable to accelerate its initiated programme on disarmament, de-radicalization, rehabilitation and reintegration of youths; compensation of victims of the unfortunate crises; and consolidate the recorded peace in the State.

4.4 INTERVENTION BY ZAMFARA STATE GOVERNMENT

- i. The Zamfara State Government under the leadership of Governor Abdul-Aziz Yari Abubakar, promptly dispatched security forces to the affected communities to ensure immediate return of normalcy.
- ii. The Governor visited the affected places and condoled with them.
- iii. Relief materials and packages were immediately supplied to ameliorate the suffering of the victims.
- iv. The State Government set up a 33 member Assessment and Relief Committee led by Rt Hon Sanusi Garba Rikiji, Speaker of the Zamfara State House of Assembly, on 23rd November, 2016, to investigate the causes of the recent attacks on innocent persons by unknown gunmen; offer concrete suggestions on how to address the crises; and provide suitable relief packages to the victims. The Governor formally presented a copy of the report to the National Assembly through the Committee and solicited for State budgetary support in the 2017 Budget consideration, to enable the State adequately restore the economic situation in the State.
- v. The State Government has so far committed the total sum of **N14.9 Billion** on security matters in the State as evidenced in the Volume 1 of the Executive Summary of the Report on the security administration and management of Zamfara State (June 2011 – February, 2017), submitted to the Committee by the Governor.

5.0 COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 KADUNA STATE

- i. The Kaduna State Government should review, implement and enforce the recommendations of the various White Papers and Reports on the:
 - a. *Kafanchan Peace Declaration by representatives of 29 communities in the affected areas, under the coordination and mediation of Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD);*
 - b. *Report of the Reconciliation Committee on Ninte Crisis;*
 - c. *the 2011 Election Violence and Civil Disturbances; and*
 - d. *Report of the Committee to stamp out attacks on Southern Kaduna Communities.*
- ii. The Kaduna State Government in collaboration with the security agencies and relevant bodies, should embrace everybody irrespective of ethnic, political and religious leaning or affiliation and set up a Committee to encourage dialogue for peace to reign within Southern Kaduna and Kaduna State as a whole.
- iii. The people of Southern Kaduna, irrespective of their differences should equally embrace, support and cooperate with the State Government in its efforts to restore peace and normalcy in the areas.
- iv. The Religious Leaders should advocate for peace and abstain from incitement of the people against one another.
- v. The Politicians should not capitalize on religious and ethnic differences of the people for their personal political gains.
- vi. The State Government should strengthen Government owned Institutions/Establishments in Southern Kaduna.
- vii. All law enforcement agencies should be neutral in the enforcement of law and order in Southern Kaduna.
- viii. The Inspector General of Police (IGP), should be mindful of posting of Officers and Personnel to Southern Kaduna and indeed the whole country, to avoid posting of the bulk of officers who are mainly indigenes of a particular area.

- ix. The Federal Government should as a matter of urgency, hasten the establishment of the proposed Army Garrison in Southern Kaduna to forestall future occurrences of the crises.

5.2 ZAMFARA STATE

The Zamfara State Government should as a matter of urgency and priority, accelerate its initiated programme on the disarmament, deradicalization, rehabilitation, and re-integration of the youths who have denounced crime; and make adequate compensation to the aggrieved victims, for permanent peace to reign in the State.

5.3 GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

- x. The States Governments should collaborate with the Traditional, Political and Religious Leaders to immediately initiate, monitor and implement **holistic** reconciliation strategies through regular and **inclusive** Town Hall meetings, in order to restore permanent peace in the affected communities.
- xi. The States Governments should liberate the youth from mental and economic colonization by the Elites, by embarking on an elaborate education and sensitization of the youths on governance, and creation of employment opportunities for them; States should consider their peculiarities, look inward and identify their strengths in programmes and activities they have comparative advantage such as agriculture, manufacturing, mining, waste management, amongst others, and maximally engage the youths.
 - i. The States Governments should synergize with neighbouring States Governments on the protection of the States territorial borders from unwanted elements, assailants and criminals in whatever guise.
 - ii. The Federal Government should establish relief intervention warehouses/centres in each State of the Federation; and make resources available to NEMA, to adequately and

promptly meet the immediate needs of the affected communities in times of crises.

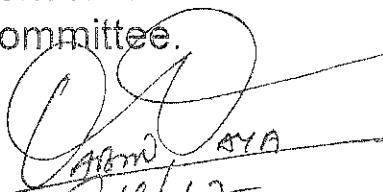
- iii. The Federal and States Governments should review the Constitution to address the settler/indigene dichotomy across the country; role of Traditional Rulers; and issue of State Police.
- iv. The Federal and States Governments should review and reinforce the existing laws on illegal acquisition and possession of fire arms and ammunitions, in order to curtail, if not prevent the proliferation of arms in the country.
- v. The Federal Government should intervene through the special service wide votes to assist States with security challenges through funding and reimbursement of the huge sums spent on security.
- vi. The Federal Government should consider enhanced budgetary allocation for the Security Agencies in the Budget to enable them procure modern technology equipment; and embark on a holistic research and capacity development, required to curb the alarming emerging menace of cattle rustling, armed banditry/robbery and kidnapping.
- vii. The Federal Government should as a matter of urgency, review the bilateral and immigration agreements with the neighbouring countries, especially with regards to the International Grazing Routes and the ECOWAS Trans-human Pastoral Protocol which allow free movement of Nomads with their cattle: Need for registration, duration of stay of Nomads and their cattle; and check for possession of dangerous weapons at every border entry point.

6.0 CONCLUSION

The Committee wishes to emphatically state that the remote cause of the various crises, which have been clothed with different names, was basically hinged on scramble for limited land and its inherent resources against continuous increasing population and the prevalent economic downturn. The crises in the visited States are viewed as time bomb, capable of escalating and permeating to other States if not holistically and nationally addressed. Unfortunately, the idle youths are ever willing to be used to permeate the ferment, and take advantage of the proliferated arms and ammunitions in the country. This is inimical to our survival as a nation and raises a major concern which calls for urgent national action. The time is now.

The Committee therefore expresses its profound gratitude to the Senate for finding it worthy to undertake this assignment and re-assures the Senate of its willingness to complete the assignment to other affected States on resumption from Easter break.

Senate is therefore invited to consider the recommendations of the Committee.

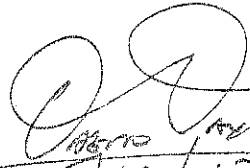

5/9/17
Sen. Kabiru I. Gaya
CHAIRMAN


5/9/17
Chidinma R. Osuagwu, Esq
COMMITTEE CLERK

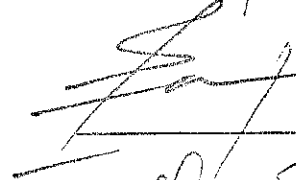
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ENDORSEMENT PAGE

1. Senator Kabiru I. Gaya
(Chairman)


5/4/17

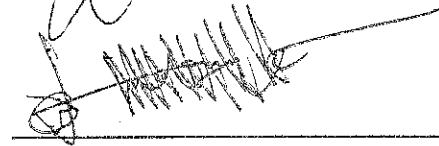
2. Senator Mao Oluabunwa
(Member)



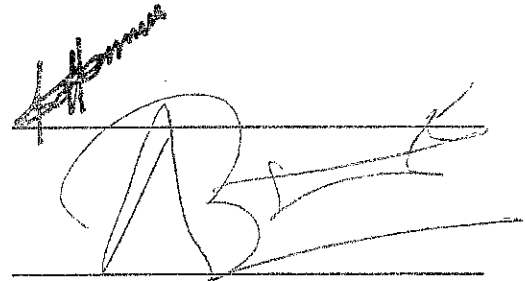
3. Senator Kabiru G. Marafa
(Member)



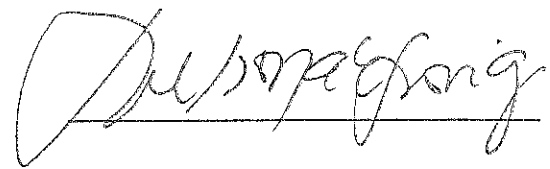
4. Senator Dino Melaye
(Member)



5. Senator Isa H. Misau
(Member)



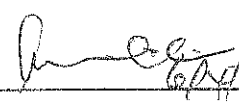
6. Senator Solomon O. Adeola
(Member)



7. Senator Nelson A. Efiang
(Member)

8. Senator Philip Aruwa Gyunka
(Member)

9. Chidinma R. Osuagwu, Esq
(Clerk to the Committee)


6/4/17