



APPENDICES¹

▲ APPENDIX 1

THE VIOLENT POLITICS OF RELIGION AND THE SURVIVAL OF NIGERIA²

Press Statement by Ahmadu Bello University Lecturers, 1987

Since last Friday, 6th March, 1987, violent attacks have been launched against life, property and places of worship in most of the major cities and towns of Kaduna State. Churches and mosques; hotels and cinemas; businesses and vehicles; private homes and persons have been attacked, smashed up and systematically set on fire, in an unprecedented campaign of violent religious politics clearly aimed against the survival of our country.

In these seven days many people have been killed and wounded. Many more have been harassed, molested, completely frightened and made totally insecure. Over a hundred churches and a few mosques have been burnt down completely. Right now

in Zaria, almost all economic, educational and other activities have stopped. Hundreds of people are on the roads and motor parks and railway stations looking for transport to travel back to their hometowns for safety and security. The basis of normal life has been severely shaken. In spite of reports and warnings from concerned individuals and organizations, three days after the start of the violence, police and security forces were completely absent from the scene. Citizens were left completely at the mercy of the violent mobs. This apparent abdication of responsibility by Government must be taken very seriously.

This type of violent campaign of Muslims against Christians is unprecedented in the history of our country. It directly threatens her continued survival as a single entity.

We, the undersigned citizens of...Nigeria, who have no other country...but this one, have witnessed and personally experienced this violent attack against one of the foundations on which our country exists, namely the *secular nature of the Nigerian State* and its duty to protect the rights of everyone to practice his/her own religion without any hindrance....

In January, 1986, some of us were forced to issue a signed statement warning over the handling of Nigeria's relations with the Organization of Islamic Conference, and the way Israel and the Vatican were being used by sinister and reactionary forces to undermine the unity of our people and the sovereignty and integrity of our nation. That statement is entitled "*Nigerian Foreign Policy Should Actively Foster Nigerian Unity Based on Our African Identity and Destiny.*" It was pointed out that this campaign of systematic manipulation of religious sentiments is being conducted for the sinister and reactionary purpose of diverting the attention of the people of this country from the urgent tasks of economic reconstruction and the working out of...[*Next few words illegible.*]

In the long term, the purpose of this campaign of political manipulation of religious sentiments is to entrench religious con-

flicts in all facets of our national life, so that the Nigerian agents of imperialism, working under the cover of Christianity and Islam, financed by Zionism and Arab reaction, can always hold the unity of this country to ransom, build up the forces for its destruction, and ultimately break it up so as to give a serious blow to the movements for democracy, social and national liberation, which are now making great advances all over Africa. The individuals, groups and organizations waging this campaign against the unity of the people of this country, are particularly afraid of, and very hostile to popular mobilization and debate at the grassroots level over who, and what is responsible for what has gone wrong with this country in the last 25 years, and how these retrograde and backward forces and elements can be overcome for genuine economic, social and political progress. They therefore wear the cloak of religion in order to confuse and divert the attention of our people from their harsh conditions of existence, and how to positively transform these conditions in a permanent and systematic fashion.

Our experience of the current events and all evidence available to us, have convinced us that the violence and arson of the last seven days was not the brain work of hooligans. It is...believed to be the latest stage of a campaign which started about ten years ago in the so-called "Shari'a Debate"³...in 1976/77.

At that time it was aimed at creating political constituencies for political leadership, whose records showed that they had nothing to offer our people. This strategy failed and therefore they now turn again to the manipulation of religious sentiments and religious symbolism to cover up their complete bankruptcy and failures.

Right now we can see behind the killing, maiming and arson a return to the 1976/77 scenario. Only this time the level of violence and the threat to national security and survival is much higher. But just as 1976/77 was only two to three years away from a return to civilian democracy, so 1986/87 is also only two to three years away from a return to civilian democracy in 1990. The basic difference,

however, is that progressive development among the people of Nigeria and the rest of Africa over the last ten years have made these backward and reactionary forces more determined to entrench religious conflict in Nigeria...and to ultimately wreck it....

...This campaign has reached this totally unacceptable and very dangerous level because successive Federal Governments have toyed with one of the foundations on which Nigerian unity exists, namely the secular nature of the Nigerian State and its sacred... [*not legible*]. A strong impression has been created that some organizations and individuals can, with arrogance and impunity, incite and threaten people of other religious beliefs and will get away with, at most, only verbal reprimands or appeals to be tolerant.

...This campaign of violent religious politics has reached the very dangerous levels it has because several powerful media organs, particularly the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria, Kaduna, have been allowed to be used by a tiny backward oligarchy which survives on inciting one section of Nigeria against another. Anybody who listens...since January 1986 and particularly since Monday, March 9, 1987, knows that something sinister and violent was being systematically planned against the unity of...Nigeria and against the peace and stability of the country.

We, the undersigned, therefore want to warn, in a very solemn way, all our brothers and sisters...that we are fast coming to the brink of catastrophe. The events of the last seven days are very serious and very dangerous for our individual and collective survival. All those citizens committed to the unity of this country, for which so much blood has been shed, have to stand up and make a choice between fear, timidity and inertia in the face of systematic destruction of the foundation of our nation, and a determined struggle to crush these forces of destruction and save our country and our future.

We call on the Federal Military Government (FMG) to shed all ambiguities and hesitation, and to declare and reaffirm that the

Nigerian State is SECULAR and one of its most fundamental responsibilities is to *protect the right of every citizen and resident to practice the religion of their choice*. We call on the FMG to implement this decisively and clearly in practice by identifying publicly, and punishing according to the law all the rich and powerful individuals who are known to be behind this campaign of violent religious politics aimed at destroying our country.

We call on the FMG to ensure, in all parts of the country, the security of life and property and places and of freedom of belief and worship of everyone.

We call on the FMG to affirm and promote the exercise of the fundamental human rights of individuals and the collective self-defense of all the people against any form of aggression, be it external or internal.

We call on the FMG to make, as a matter of utmost urgency, full reparations to all those who have suffered damages. In particular, we ask...*[not legible]* that the right of facilities for worship by all religious groups is restored and guaranteed in all places where they have been destroyed.

We are convinced that the sinister and utterly reactionary forces behind this campaign of violent religious politics with the aim of destroying our country are made up of a tiny oligarchy determined to maintain its power, wealth and privileges at all costs, including violent and well-organized mobs in the name of religion. We are also convinced that the majority of the people of this country and the popular organizations are capable of being mobilized to overcome them and defend the unity of our people and the integrity of our country. We therefore call upon the Nigerian Labour Congress to mobilize all the workers of this country around a campaign against religious and all sectional politics.

LONG LIVE THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA.⁴

▲ APPENDIX 2

SUBMISSION TO THE KADUNA STATE COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY INTO THE RECENT DISTURBANCES IN KADUNA STATE⁵

Chief Daniel Gowon, 1987

Waves of Vandalistic Campaigns

There were *FOUR* waves in all. The first wave of the campaign of terror comprised of multiple of hundreds of “*Jihad / Allahu Akbar*”-chanting individuals whose job from what they did was pulling down the fence, destruction and setting the old Church and first Hausa church to be put up in the North, which was built in 1929, ablaze and some private homes. Every moveable item in the Church was taken out of the Church and burnt. Initially they thought the carpet in the Church donated by Brigadier S. Ogbemudia on behalf of Bendel State Government in 1973, would easily catch fire. Despite dousing with petrol, it burnt little, but the Church became full of soot. All windows and doors were deformed, burnt or smashed and crosses stolen or broken. An attempt to collapse the Church proved abortive. Other waves (3) performed similar acts of banditry and vandalism. In all, about 21 homes were burnt in Wusasa. Most of the Christian selected occupants of Wusasa... were chased out and ejected from their homes by the vandals.

How the Family House⁶ Was Set Ablaze

The vandals forced the gate...they started their business by breaking all the glasses to the doors and windows and that gave them the opportunity of pouring petrol on all the curtains and setting the house on fire.... Most of those...are boys under the age of 15 years with their guides.... They used all sorts of dangerous

weapons such as daggers, cutlasses, broken bottles, stones, sticks, etc. I was wounded while trying to escape....

My glory and joy was that there was no loss of life recorded within the community. All the family excluding myself escaped unhurt with our two vehicles, but was unable to remove anything from the house including all the souvenirs belonging to one time Head of State.... All in all the losses sustained materialistic was colossal.

Molestation and Provocation of People

Almost every one in Wusasa was molested, especially the Christians. They were asked to recite the Muslim creed. Some were beaten...and left for dead, naked on the street. Mrs. Denejo Ibrahim and Mrs. Asaber Naandeti were victims, while some were ruffled and cut.

Molestation and provocation were definite indications towards a total collapse of law and order. These were what fueled and heightened the one-sided sectarian conflict inflicted on Wusasa. I thank God that my people turned the other cheek. Had their reaction been any different, only God knows where it would have led.

I want this honourable body to note that although Christians were the target, some Muslims suffered just as much, for example Alhaji Aiyelero and Deputy Commissioner of Police, Alhaji Isa Inusa had their property burnt. Justice Bello was ruffled and several others. These events occurred within the area of my jurisdiction.

▲ APPENDIX 3

DEATH AND DESTRUCTION AT BAPTIST SEMINARY,
KADUNA, IN 2000*Yusuf Gwadah*

The students and staff at the Baptist Seminary were aware that there was going to be a march on that Monday by the Christians to oppose the attempts to get shari'a into Kaduna State. However, the authorities of the seminary refused to allow them to participate. Some time about the middle of the day, they started hearing noise coming from the town side of the seminary and learned that there was trouble going on. They could also see smoke billowing up on that side. After a little while, a group of young Muslim boys gathered up outside of the seminary and it appeared that they were going to cause trouble. The school officials called the seminary students together and told them that they were going to try to defend the school. The seminary is totally surrounded by a concrete wall about eight feet tall. However, the officials felt that it was better to keep the Muslims some distance away from even the wall. Therefore, all or nearly all of the students went outside the gate and lined up in front of the seminary to try to defend the school. There were about 150 students in the seminary and all or nearly all participated in the defense. The Muslims lined up not much more than 100 feet away and they started fighting.

The only weapons that either side had were stones and sticks. I think some of the Muslims also had some knives. However, the battle was basically a contest of throwing stones. The Muslims would throw stones at the seminary boys and the seminary boys would throw them back. Every once in a while, a group of the Muslims would make a rush for the seminary and when they came close enough to the seminary boys they would fight with sticks. If

one of seminary boys fell down during the fight, the Muslims would all rush toward him and that would require the other seminary boys coming to his defense.

At one point, the seminary boys looked up and saw one of their fellow students coming toward the seminary from town. He had to pass through the Muslim mob or go around them some way. However, the Muslims spotted him, chased him down and started beating him. Although he was out of their zone of safety, the seminary boys rushed out in mass to where they were beating the boy. They drove the Muslims away enough to get the student and take him inside the compound.

Later that day, a Muslim came riding a motor cycle up a certain small road that was apparently under the control of the seminary students. It was obvious that he was a Muslim so the students told him to go back. However, he refused and said that he wanted to go join the fighters. When he tried to pass through, he was attacked and beaten and apparently killed. I witnessed that incident. I had never seen anyone die like that and it was very unsettling. I should also point out here that all of the defenders of the seminary were not seminary students. Other "Christians" in the area who knew the battle was going on came to the seminary to try to defend it. In fact, many people came to the seminary for safety because they thought it would be well defended.

The fighting of the seminary students was primarily defensive. They were simply trying to defend the seminary. However, there were others who became much more aggressive as illustrated by the killing of the boy on the motorcycle.

A couple of other things were going on during the battle. The telephones were still working in the seminary. The principal was able to get through to the local police chief and told him that they were under attack. However, the police chief who was a Muslim said that there was trouble everywhere and there was not much he could do. The principal talked to the Baptist Mission headquarters in

Ibadan and explained their desperate condition. He eventually was able to reach Professor Abaje, who is the president of the Baptist Seminary in Ogbomosho and also the personal chaplain of President Obasanjo. Prof. Abaje was able to reach President Obasanjo and the president called the police chief in Kaduna. The police chief told him that there had been some trouble but everything was under control. There has been a whole lot of discussion about this Muslim police chief's handling of this crisis. Many Christians are convinced he knew about the plans for this in advance. It is generally thought at the very least that he did not handle this thing very evenly.

The second thing that happened that day was that the Muslim village chief of that area kept shuttling back and forth between the seminary boys and the attacking Muslim boys. He would come over to the Christian side and say,

"Please don't fight. We are all one people. We should not be fighting one another." The seminary boys would tell him,

"Sir, we don't want to fight. They are the ones who are attacking us. If they will go away, we will stop fighting. We have no desire to fight anyone." The chief would then walk over to the other side and talk to them. He apparently shuttled back and forth several times that day. He reported to the seminary boys that the Muslims were very stubborn and were refusing to listen to him.

This battle went on for two or three hours. It was a strange atmosphere. It was not really a very angry mob. It was almost like a game. One group would be on the offense and the other was on the defense. One group would get the upper hand for a while and then the other group would get the upper hand. The two groups were fairly evenly matched and just played their deadly game for several hours. However, eventually the mob grew weary of the game and left. When they did, some of the students were able to take the seriously wounded student whom they had rescued to the Air Force hospital that was about a mile or so away from the seminary compound. Shortly after he got there, the student died. He was a first-

year seminary student. So there was at least one casualty on both sides that first day. Things were relatively calm at the seminary on Monday evening. They all tried to rest but it was difficult to sleep.

The next morning about 6:30 or so, the Muslims attacked again. This time they brought a much bigger mob. There were hundreds of Muslims. The seminary boys once again went outside the wall to try to defend the seminary. During this battle, there was a thick smoke that was hanging over the area. It was so thick at times that it partially obscured the enemies only a hundred feet or so away. Though they fought valiantly, they were greatly outnumbered on Tuesday. They kept being driven back against the wall. They would fight and drive the Muslims back a little less each time. Finally around 11:30 AM, they realized that they could no longer defend the seminary from outside the fence. Therefore, they all withdrew inside the compound wall and shut the big metal door.

All during this time I did not know what was happening to my wife and two children. Someone had put a tall ladder up against the compound wall in the back. The wall must be at least eight feet high. And while the battle had been getting heavy outside the wall, the school officials had decided to evacuate the wives and children and others over that back fence. So by the time the students had to retreat inside the wall, nearly everyone else had escaped over the back wall. The area behind the seminary was more of a bush area. The few houses in the area were primarily owned by Christians. There was an Air Force base about a mile away on that side of the seminary so the seminary families, including one American Baptist missionary family, trekked to that base.

Once the Muslims got access to the wall, they did two things. First, they brought in some kind of heavy device and started pounding away at the wall. They eventually broke a hole in the wall. However, apparently the hole was a bit small at first and they were afraid to pour through the hole at first, because they knew

that the seminary boys were on the other side of the wall waiting for them. No one wanted to be the first person through the fence.

The second thing they did was to throw petrol over the wall onto one of the dormitory buildings which was very close to the wall. As soon as they were able to soak the thing down with petrol, they somehow managed to throw some burning object over the fence that caught that dormitory building on fire. So during the latter part of the battle, one of the seminary buildings was burning inside the compound.

By this time, it was obvious that the students would not be able to save the seminary. Therefore they started withdrawing and going over the back fence a few at a time. However, some had to stay near the breach in the fence to keep up the noise and keep throwing stones in order to discourage the Muslims from coming inside the fence until most of the students had escaped over the wall. I was one of the last ones to leave the front lines, but there was still one or two there when he ran for the back fence and went over. Apparently all of the students who were inside the compound were able to safely escape over the wall.

Since there was a lot of smoke and noise, it took a while for the Muslims to actually come inside the compound. However, they eventually came inside and started burning buildings. Apparently at first, they were just burning buildings. However, when they discovered that there were no people inside the buildings, they started looting the dormitories and houses before burning them. Later when the students were able to go through the burnt rubble, it was obvious that the Muslims had carried away anything that they considered to be valuable.

It took a little while for the students to get to the Air Force base. The soldiers stationed there had all been waiting on orders from above to move into the town and try to stop some of the looting and killing. However, they never did receive any orders. Finally after the seminary boys came straggling in, some of the officers

decided that they would do something on their own. So they took a vehicle and some troops and drove to the seminary. When they got there, they caught many of the Muslims inside and were able to arrest about twenty of them. Some of them were brought back to the Air Force base where I saw some of them. They had apparently been beaten by the soldiers very seriously. They were later turned over to the police but no one knows what happened to them after that.

When the Air Force soldiers got to the seminary, the Muslims had destroyed everything except three missionary residences that were on the back part of the compound near the ladder where the people had escaped. Apparently they were systematically going through the compound looting and burning. Fortunately, the soldiers got there before they got to that part of the compound. However, they burned everything else. All the dormitories were destroyed and everything in them which had not been looted. The administration building and the library and all ten thousand books in it were destroyed. There was absolutely nothing left of the seminary.

The next day, when I and some other students got back to the seminary, we found the bodies of two more of our fellow students. These students had apparently been in an annex which was a short distance away. They had apparently been trying to get to the main campus but were ambushed by the Muslims and killed. A security guard and the sixteen-year-old son of another employee of the seminary were also killed. There were also several of the community people who died in or around the seminary.

▲ APPENDIX 4

KADUNA'S KILLING FIELDS⁷*Bala Abdullahi and Kayode Kolade, 2000*

By Thursday when Kaduna State Government relaxed the curfew from 24 hours to 12, and inaugurated a 5-man judicial commission to investigate this week's two days of rioting by Christian and Muslim youth, hundreds of people lay dead in the streets of Kaduna. Another hundred more were wounded and the city reduced to rubble. Kaduna's latest pogrom, the fourth since 1987, is no doubt the worst in terms of scope of damage and loss of human lives.

President Olusegun Obasanjo had to go on the air Wednesday to strongly condemn the carnage, describing it as barbaric, criminal, unpatriotic and unwarranted display of religious zealotry. The two-day riots climaxed weeks of agitation for and against adoption of Sharia as the legal system of the state. While Muslim-dominated local governments strongly supported sharia adoption, those from the Southern part which are predominantly Christian strongly opposed it.

By the time the State House of Assembly committee on Sharia concluded public sitting last Thursday, Christians apparently believed that the state government had taken a stand on Sharia. It was based on this assumption that the leadership of Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), Kaduna State chapter, last Sunday February 20, passed a message to churches in the town calling Christians to meetings at various points.

The meetings took place at St. John's Cathedral, Unguwar Rimi, St. Joseph Cathedral and Catholic Social Centre both in the heart of Kaduna metropolis as well as Catholic Resource Centre, Abakwa. As early as 6:30 that Monday morning, Christian youth,

men and women assembled at the designated points to receive the last word from their leaders as to what to do.

At the end of the sermon, they went chanting "Rest in peace Sharia." Many of them also carried placards with inscriptions opposing the call by Muslim leaders to adopt Sharia. Throngs of demonstrators filed up Independence Way, Ibrahim Taiwo Road and Ahmadu Bello Way. Another headed down College Road apparently towards Sir Kashim Ibrahim House, the official residence of the state governor.

The protestors forced their way in by scaling its walls and overpowering the handful of security men on duty. There they demanded an assurance from deputy Governor Stephen Shekari that Kaduna would not take a cue from Zamfara State which adopted Sharia as its legal system last year.

Mr. Shekari appealed to them to be calm and to show understanding as the state government had not taken a decision on the Sharia issue. He advised them to direct whatever their grievance was to the consultative committee on Sharia set up by the state government. The committee, he said, comprised both Christian and Muslim clerics.

Views vary as to which group started the molestation and subsequent vandalization and killings. Mr. Sa'idu Dogo, Secretary of the Kaduna State branch of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) claimed that Christians were attacked near the central market by militant Muslim youth. "Initially we (Christians) retreated, but when the attack continued and property was set ablaze, we had no choice but to retaliate almost spontaneously," he said.

But Dr. Sirajo Abdulkarim, member of the Islamic Trust of Nigeria, disagreed, saying that aside from the graphic misunderstanding and misconception on the part of the Christians on what Sharia is all about, "they attacked us (Muslims) as they exercised their fundamental human right to protest against Sharia along the way."

In his own account, the acting Secretary-General of Jama'atul Nasril Islam (JNI), Malam Ja'afaru Makarfi while speaking with newsmen said that "until the burning of a mosque along Ibrahim Taiwo Road the Christian anti-Sharia protests, were all peaceful. This singular act provoked the Muslims to revenge."

Invariably, the claims and counter-claims turned into a confrontation, with men, women, and children running helter-skelter searching for safe havens. Like a bush fire, the religious skirmishes spread to all nooks and crannies of the city, leaving scores dead, and hundreds of thousands wounded or maimed, while property including churches and mosques worth millions of Naira were destroyed.

Notwithstanding the spirited efforts of the state government to restore order, the self-styled "liberal state" was blasted into world news headlines. A dusk to dawn curfew was announced but hostilities continued.

The senseless human waste spread through Monday night and all of Tuesday as more mobile Police and army units poured into troubled neighbourhoods to restore peace and inject sanity. The state government in another desperate effort to save lives and property issued another press release with...the Deputy Governor, Stephen R. Shekari appealing for calm and understanding while the curfew was extended from 12 noon to 6 am the next day.

The deputy governor stated *inter alia*:

following an assessment which I undertook this morning (Tuesday) to some parts of Kaduna metropolis and environs, it has become absolutely necessary for me to again caution the people of this state. It is disheartening to observe that in spite of the passionate appeals made to citizens on the need to eschew violence of any form, there are strong indications that the senseless destruction of lives and property will not ordinarily abate.

In view of this, he said, "I have accordingly directed the closure of all offices and businesses forthwith. No movement would be

allowed into and within the metropolis with effect from 12:00 noon." He warned that anybody who flouted those orders would have himself to blame. "People should remain in their residences until further notice," the statement concluded.

Despite the curfew and passionate appeals from eminent religious leaders, looting and killings continued at Tudun Wada, Rigasa, Unguwar Sanusi and Sabo, Unguwar Sarki, Kawo areas of the state capital where streets were littered with human corpses, and churches and mosques torched, shops and stalls were razed to ashes, while vehicles were terribly vandalized.

Rev. (Dr.) Matthew Hassan Kukah, National Secretary General of the Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria expressed utmost sadness over the incident but he said he saw it coming but put the blame on the doorsteps of some governors who were playing politics with Sharia. The violence of the week was "a signal to the political class that this fire could consume everything," he said, adding that though Sharia was a legitimate demand by Muslims, they must follow the constitutional process in prosecuting it.

He claimed like other Christians that the legitimate Christian demonstration that went out of control, was engineered by hoodlums, and expressed optimism that Nigeria has an incredible capacity to recover from the bestiality as Muslims and Christian leaders are signing peace pacts which enjoin followers of the two religions to live together in peace.

Similarly, the Sultan of Sokoto and President-General, Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs, Alhaji Muhammadu Maccido and Emir of Zazzau, Alhaji Shehu Idris in separate addresses called on both Muslims and Christians to exercise restraint and live in peace with one another. Both traditional rulers stressed that "what we fail to achieve through peace, there is no way it could be achieved through violence." Both religions preach peace and tolerance of one another.

This is Kaduna. The story of a self-styled liberal state where murderous adventure, wanton destruction of lives and property

had in the last few days halted business and commercial activities. The story of Kaduna is that of frustration, humiliation and uncertainties. It is a story of man's inhumanity to man in the name of religion. This was how a journalist from the Lagos-Ibadan press axis summed up the tragic drama in Kaduna, a strategic city in the heart of Northern Nigeria.

Mr. Ismalia Bitrus, narrating his ordeal to the *New Nigerian Weekly* lamented over the whereabouts of his two children who are yet to return from school since Monday when the riot started.

But to Sunday Jonah, it was a horrendous crime as he painfully gave details of how his elder brother Gregg Jonah set out on that fateful early Monday morning for the office and bidding the family farewell and pleading with his 3-month pregnant wife to take the children to school on time, but never returned home.

But that of Ismaila Badru was more graphic as the wife in tears narrated how her husband and breadwinner "was butchered in cold blood in my presence and painfully watched by our two daughters aged 4-6 years."

At the 44 Nigerian Army reference Hospital, where many people took refuge, their stories were agonizingly reflected in their narration. Many claimed to have seen humiliation, borne misery and had been mentally tortured for days.

The sense of frustration was evident in Emeka Amadi's narration of how he and his apprentices watched helplessly from a hide-out away from his electronics shop as hoodlums broke in, looted some electronics and set the shop ablaze. He stressed that "as soon as peace returned, I am leaving Kaduna and the North generally, let them continue with their Sharia."

An account was also given of an unidentified man at Tudun Wada on Tuesday who went to his two children's school to take them home. On his way he fell into the hands of the rioters. He was ordered to give up the two children and was himself macheted to death in the presence of his children who thereafter were released to go home.

The story of Malam Dauda Adamu Kiru who narrowly escaped death was equally graphic. He told the *New Nigerian* that he came to Kaduna specifically to trade in the weekly Monday market, Kakuri. He said at about 3 p.m Monday, when news reached him that Christians were protesting the purported adoption of Sharia in Kaduna State, he and five others from Kiru in Kano state sensed trouble, adding that as they were contemplating what to do, there was a sudden stampede in the market.

He said they resolved to trek to the residence of a relation at Nasarawa in Chukun Local Government where they hoped to take refuge until the situation improved. But unknown to them, Nasarawa is predominantly inhabited by Christians with a handful of Muslims scattered here and there. They hardly slept that Monday night and on Tuesday as early as 6 a.m. the battle line had been drawn. The Muslims gathered at one end of the suburb while the Christians whose population was four times bigger took up position at the other end. While the cat and mouse game lasted, three representatives from the Christian side came on to them for a peaceful talk and succeeded in convincing them that they had lived together for over 30 years as brothers and sisters and there was no cause for them now to see each other as enemies. They all agreed but, unknown to them, the resolution was a ploy to gain time for reinforcement to arrive from adjoining villages.

He said, 15 minutes after the agreement, the whole area was besieged by youths carrying weapons including sophisticated guns. "They began to shoot indiscriminately and before we knew it, they overpowered us, there was nowhere to run to because we were surrounded," said Malam Dauda.

He added that in the ensuing commotion, he along with his host and one other person he did not know scaled the wall of a neighbour who was an Igbo man. It was the Igbo man who provided them cover in his bedroom until Wednesday afternoon when the military intervened. Dauda said Allah having saved him he

would never return to Kaduna. His story could easily have been told also by Christians who lived in areas dominated by Muslims.

At about 2 p.m., Tuesday, Muslim youth stormed the Ibukun Oluwa Baptist church in Abakpa, burning it and the living quarters in the premises. Eye witnesses told the *New Nigerian Weekly* that a driver with the National Electric Power Authority (NEPA) had his throat sliced and burnt for daring to challenge the youth.

Their action, according to residents was to revenge the attack on Muslims elsewhere in the metropolis. They did not stop at the church but headed for nearby Gondola hotel and all residential houses believed to be inhabited by Christians on Jaji road they also torched.

This spontaneous reaction on Monday unconsciously had set the tone of events to come the next day. Apprehensive of what would come, most people in the area, women and children had begun to evacuate to the Nigeria Defence Academy where security was guaranteed. The men remained behind to watch over property.

Reports reaching U/Shanu had it that Christians from Abakpa had taken up arms and by 11 a.m. had reached Dan Kano road in U/Shanu. The incident on Dan Kano road was an ugly one. The Muslim youth made sure they destroyed every house they believed was inhabited by Christians. They destroyed a small church on Dan Kano road, a beer parlour in the adjoining street, the car of the owner of the church who lived together with other Muslims at No. 25 Dan Kano road which they thrice threatened to set on fire but for the pleading of Muslim elders.

After the Tuesday's fracas, alignment afterwards had been by one's religious leaning, until the news of Wednesday night that security agents had together with Christians brought in some boxes which the Muslims suspected were arms. The Muslims reached the Saint Peter's church where the boxes were deposited requesting to see their contents. That was shortly after Christian leaders in Abakpa had sent an emissary to the Hausa leaders seeking a peaceful resolution of the crisis.

Unconfirmed reports as at press time had it that the boxes were opened in the presence of the Muslim youth who apparently were satisfied that they contained no weapons after all. Peace talks were started, and tension was doused in the process, but residents of these two suburbs still were not comfortable following reports of looting in the night of Thursday.

People who took refuge at the 44 Nigerian Army Reference Hospital were still lamenting their losses in human life and property, and lack of food and shelter, when some Nigerien⁸ nationals stormed the barrack. The vigilant military authorities arrested three of them, while one was shot dead as he struggled to escape.

...Despite efforts by the Kaduna State government and security agencies and appeals by religious leaders and eminent Nigerians for cessation of hostilities, the crisis spilled over to adjoining cities. *New Nigerian Weekly* learnt that a teacher with Al-HudaHuda College, Zaria, Mr. Musa Bakan was killed following a spillover of the bloody Kaduna religious riot into Zaria. The deceased was attacked and killed at his residence Wednesday at the premises of the college by an irate mob who also burnt his private car.

Confirming the incident, the Assistant Commissioner of Police in-charge of Zaria, Mr. Suleiman Lawal said already the corpse of the victim had been recovered and taken to Ahmadu Bello University Teaching Hospital (ABU), Zaria.

He said about 11 people had so far been wounded including a police inspector who was stabbed at the scene of the disturbances, which spread to Zaria on Tuesday night.

In its concerted efforts to get to the root of this week's mayhem, the Kaduna State government has set up a 5-man judicial commission of inquiry to investigate the immediate and remote causes of the religious unrest. Swearing in members of the commission on Thursday, the deputy governor, Mr. Stephen Shekari said it was unfortunate that people who should know better about what the two main religions stand for which according to

him is peace, love for one another and tolerance engaged themselves in senseless killings.

The commission, he said, would advise on how to “put such acts behind us once and for all in order to enable us to forge ahead with our development programmes.” The commission which has four weeks to conclude its assignment is under the chairmanship of Justice Ja’afaru Dalhat. Other members are Alhaji Akilu Idris, Mr. P.Y. Lolo, Mr. Victor Gwani and Alhaji Tukur Usman. Mr. Dominic G. Yahaya would serve as secretary, while Mr. Gamaliel Kure is the commission’s counsel.

This is the fourth time in two decades that Kaduna’s hot pot of religious politics has boiled over. The first was in 1987 in the College of Education, Gidan Waya, Kafanchan where one Reverend Bako while delivering a sermon allegedly made a blasphemous statement against the person and prophecy of Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.). At that moment, the handful of Muslims present including a lady challenged him. A free-for-all fight ensued spreading pretty fast like a wild fire into Kafanchan township and to other local governments like Zaria, Kaduna and Birnin Gwari among others.

The blood trail of the first crisis has been followed by others. In 1992 the Atyeb community of Zangon Kataf local government and the Hausa community who have been living together and intermarried for several decades took up arms against each other. Zangon town was destroyed with more than 1,000 lives lost. Scores of refugees returning to Kaduna and Zaria towns with machete and gun wounds inflamed passion and the spillover nearly consumed the entire city of Kaduna.

The 1987 and 1992 incidents are supposed to serve as a big lesson in the danger of religious bigotry and ethnic cleansing. Alas, another incident took place in the historical town of Kafanchan over the installation of the new emir of Kafanchan, Alhaji Isa Mohammed, who succeeded his late father early in 1999. The peo-

ple of Jema'a who claimed to be the original indigenes of the area had been agitating for self-determination and a chiefdom of their own independent of the emirate system. The heavy loss of lives and property is still fresh in the minds.

▲ APPENDIX 5

ESCALATION OF RAGE⁹*Onimisi Alao, 2000*

Someone who had known Rigasa, a suburb of Kaduna metropolis for a long time and visited the place early afternoon of Thursday February 24 said: "Anyone who sees Rigasa now and still chooses to live there must be joking as no normal human being will want the place after this material and human wreckage."

The observation made on the fourth day of tension in the whole of Kaduna metropolis, following the Monday-Tuesday violent clashes between people opposed to Sharia, an Islamic legal system being canvassed by the Muslim communities.

A visit to the place by the *New Nigerian* on Sunday hours after confirmed that observation. Stench of burnt human bodies that still littered the place was thick enough to push anyone back. Turning towards the ravaged hitherto sprawling Rigasa from the Bakin Ruwa/Nnamdi Azikiwe Expressway end and Abuja Road in Rigasa, half a kilometre away lay nine human corpses. Between Abuja Road and Naira Road were nineteen corpses, most of them by the Rigasa main road and the rest on the outlining streets but visible from the main road.

For about six kilometres, the residential houses which still stood could not possibly outnumber those that have gone up in flames.

Hausa-Fulani Muslims could be seen in the houses that were still habitable, some of them discussing in groups. Some were gathered for the 1 p.m. prayer, but apart from them, virtually all people of other tribes, made up of Kaje, Igbo and Yoruba had left the town either because their houses had been burnt or because they suddenly were too lonely and afraid of what might happen to them if they remained.

Human destruction was less as you come out of Rigasa into its adjoining Asikolaiye, Angwa Sanusi, Tudun Wada and Tudun Nupawa, but losses suffered by individual traders, churches and hotels is enormous. While only few churches and hotels/bars remain unburnt in these places, traders in certain strategic business streets either had their shops burnt down or, if the shops were owned by someone who enjoys the arsonist's sympathy, the contents are drawn out into the streets and burnt.

The popular Chanchangi corner area of the long and winding Ibrahim Taiwo Road is popular for all sizes and models of second hand refrigerators and other household products. The refrigerators in their thousands now lie in a burnt waste.

The first five houses on the left as you get into New Bida Road of Tudun Nupawa from the new fire station end have been burnt down while about half the number of shops on the entire stretch of that road were emptied into the streets and burnt. Curiously, unlike Lagos Street where most of the shop owners had called to see what had become of their shops or could be retrieved from the wreckage, the charred contents of the shops of New Bida Road remain on the road, as at Thursday afternoon, with the few cars using the road having to meander round the wrecked heaps.

On vantage Lagos Street, similar destruction was seen on all sides. If one stood where the road entered Ibrahim Taiwo Road, around the Sheik Abubakar Gumi Central Market, since traders vacated the market following the on-going reconstruction of the market, many of the traders had been using both sides of the two streets for their business activities. The hundreds of fairly permanent shops and thousands of makeshift stalls on the two streets now lie so flat on the ground an observer could mistake the wreckage for a bulldozer destruction, but for the burnt ashes.

On the western side of popular St. Joseph Cathedral Church stood three carcasses of burnt cars. Of course, all the stalls on that

side of the road are a burnt ruins while the large Abdulrahman Labaran Electronic store with its stock of new television and radio sets and other electronic gadgets of varying sizes had been similarly destroyed. Most of the other shops down about one and a half kilometres of Lagos Street to Abuja roundabout had their stock brought onto the street and burnt.

The Ibrahim Taiwo Road part of central market known for its sewing machines and materials has also been burnt, with two bloated human bodies still lying around as at Thursday.

Kaduna's prime commercial district, the Ahmadu Bello Way is a scene of destruction of a different dimension. While the makeshift market around Leventis was sore, the only other shops that were safe from Leventis roundabout to Katsina road are those of steel doors and burglar proof too strong for the vandals to open. On this stretch of Ahmadu Bello Way, big names in business have been substantially weakened. Headquarters of Kaduna's long known confectionery outfit, Nanet, lay in ruins. Four cars of a nearby motor sales company were completely burnt with the wind-screens of several others within the premises smashed.

More pitiable is another motor sales company close by which has all its cars, numbering not less than sixty, completely burnt. The massive three-story structure on Ibrahim Taiwo Road by Ahmadu Bello Way housing another of Labaran Electronics sales outfit was not spared.

The shops in Ramat Shopping Mall on Kano Road that could be opened had their contents brought out and smashed with a failed attempt actually made at burning some of the shops. Failed attempts were similarly made at burning the St. Joseph Catholic Cathedral. The large Kano Road mosque beside the church would have been in complete ruin save for the fact that the fire put to burn it succeeded in finishing the carpets. The entire length of the street separating the mosque and the church which has for years served as home for "Kano Road beggars" has also been burnt, with

the dozens of beggars now taking refuge on the veranda of houses close to the Kano Road bus stop.

Along Abeokuta road in the same Kaduna City centre, three churches laid in burnt waste with the fourth one having its furniture and stationery brought out before they were set on fire.

Down Sardauna Crescent bus stop, some dozen houses have been burnt, including a large two storey office and business complex not more than a few months old. An eyewitness said further loss was prevented by residents who teamed up, irrespective of religious leaning, to ward off the rampaging youth. He disclosed however that two lives were lost to the rampage.

“I can't agree that violence could erupt and spread to almost all the areas of Kaduna in that enormous swoop as we have seen,” said someone. “Except those in the GRAs,¹⁰ I have not seen anyone who did not have a taste of trouble that Monday when it all started.” He concluded in these words: “Some influential figures are behind this thing. They had a score to settle and this has been their time.”

▲ APPENDIX 6

AVOIDABLE CARNAGE IN KADUNA¹¹*Umar Sanda, 2000*

Residents of Kaduna woke up last Monday and began their daily chores oblivious of the crisis ahead. Children had been taken to schools, workers had gone to work and traders had gone to the markets. Many had seen processions heading towards Lugard Hall, the seat of the State Assembly and Sir Kashim Ibrahim House, the offices and official residence of the State Governor.

The procession appeared peaceful. It was not much different from the processions they had almost gotten used to seeing since the State Assembly inaugurated a Special Committee to collate public opinion about the request by some Muslims for the “introduction” of Sharia in the State’s legal system. The only difference was that last Monday’s processions were much longer, and they headed towards more than one direction. The processions of the previous weeks had been shorter, comprising delegates from one or two local governments at a time, and they headed straight to the State House of Assembly. Their missions were to express their support for the call to introduce the Sharia in Kaduna State.

By last week, when the Committee wound up its public sitting, it appeared that the proponents of *sharia* had carried the day, going by a number of factors. In the first place, when the issue of *sharia* was first discussed at the State Assembly and a decision was taken to constitute an ad-hoc committee, the Christian legislators declined membership of the proposed committee. The assembly was not deterred by the refusal of the Christian members of the Honourable Assembly to participate. It went ahead and constituted an all-Muslim committee. That was the first cause of worry for the Christians about the objectivity of the report that the committee was going to submit.

Secondly, and perhaps resulting from the initial loss of confidence in the impartiality of the committee, the Christians decided to ignore the committee when it started its public sitting. Thus, while Muslim delegations from each of the state's 23 local governments were trooping to Lugard Hall to express support for the *sharia*, a very few Christians bothered to go and express their opposition to the request for the introduction of the *sharia*.

Thus, by the time the committee wound up its sitting, the general impression was that there were more people rooting for *sharia* in the state. When this realization dawned on the Christian leadership, an attempt was made to save the situation. And that attempt was to gather as many Christians as possible to go and make their position on the *sharia* very clear to the government—legislators and the executive.

Apparently, the Christian leadership realized very late in the day that in a democracy, it is those opinions that are publicly articulated and are seen to be shared by the majority of the people that carry the day. They could not expect the State Assembly Committee on *sharia* to come out with a report that would favour them especially that they did not, unlike the Muslims, take it upon themselves to impress it on the Committee that they had a large constituency and that that constituency was opposed to the *sharia*.

The appeal by the Christian leadership in the state to all Christians to congregate at selected churches as early as six in the morning on Monday to go on a peaceful demonstration was one way the leaders thought could remedy their earlier mistake. But barely four hours later, what was planned as a peaceful demonstration had gone violent. Many lives were lost and property worth hundreds of millions of naira destroyed.

Was the demonstration the best means of getting their position across to the government? If the State Assembly appeared to have made up its mind to get *shari'a* introduced, could the same be said of the executive arm of the government? Was the call to demonstrate

shrouded in secrecy? Where were the state security agencies? Was their permission sought? If so what steps did they take to ensure that the whole demonstration was conducted peacefully? If their permission was not sought, what steps did they take to stop the demonstration from taking place? Or were they taken by surprise on Monday morning when they woke up and found some churches and Christian Social Centre filled with people?

Demonstrations certainly constitute one of the most dramatic ways of making a political statement. It brings one's cause to the fore, beyond the purview of those who would normally take a decision on the matter. Where one has a strong case and one suspects that justice may not be done, a demonstration puts the decision-makers on the spot. But the way demonstrations are organized and conducted makes a lot of difference in whether the much sought after sympathy would be gained or lost.

The Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) leaders might have resorted to demonstration because they felt the State Assembly Committee's report was not going to favour them. And for that reason they concluded that *shari'a* was a fore-gone conclusion in Kaduna. They ignored the very important fact that the legislature, alone, does not constitute the government. There is the executive and the judiciary. If the CAN leadership had looked beyond the legislature it would have found in the state executive a listening ear. Did not Governor Ahmed Makarfi establish a bi-religious body co-chaired by a Christian and a Muslim cleric to advise him on the *sharia*? Is that indicative of somebody who had already made up his mind about what to do?

The capability of the law enforcement and security agencies in detecting and nipping in the bud unlawful activities is seriously called to question by their performance last week. Security agencies are supposed to be on the alert at all times and have their feelers everywhere. The security agencies could not have feigned ignorance of the impending demonstration of last Monday as circulars

were sent to all churches in Kaduna, and Christians were invited in their tens of thousands to congregate at selected places at an appointed time.

The Kaduna State Police Commissioner is reported to have said that no permission was sought by the demonstrators before they embarked on the march. Granted that it was impossible at that time to seal off the premises they were occupying in order to prevent them from demonstrating. The next most reasonable thing to have been done was to get the organizers of the march to sign an undertaking to be held responsible for any breach of the peace that will result from their activities.

Indeed, the question of the propriety and even efficacy of a demonstration to make their point came up at the meeting of the Christian leadership. Some foresaw the peaceful demonstration getting out of control and cautioned against it.

There is ample evidence that the CAN leadership did deliberate on the possibility of the peaceful demonstration going out of control. But a faction of the Christian leadership, mostly CAN executives—the political wing of the church—thought that unless the message was sent loud and clear before the Assembly Committee wrote its report, it would be too late. The issue, as far as they were concerned, was whether to risk the imposition of *sharia* because they had not expressed their opposition strongly, even when there is the possibility of the process of that expression degenerating to violence. A few priests cautioned against the march. But they were over-ruled. Nonetheless, at their churches on Sunday, they advised their flock not to participate in the demonstration being called for the following day.

The spate of violent communal and religious crises in the country the last few decades is symptomatic of one problem: the failure of the state.

It is high time the state performed its reason for being. It is high time governments governed. It is high time the society gave to

the state the support it requires to perform its roles. Governance is a contract. And in all contracts, it takes two to enter it and fulfill its obligations.

Unfortunately, in Nigeria, as in most Third World states, the contract is made to be one-sided. The state is expected at all times to meet its part of the contractual agreement—protect lives and property; enhance the living standard of the citizens, etc.—without a corresponding expectation on the part of the citizens, to render unto the state and indeed, other citizens their duties and responsibilities.

It is instructive to note that when some residents of some suburbs of Kaduna decided to fulfill their social responsibilities as citizens, they were able to ward off the rioters from their wards and quarters. At Kawo and Kabalan Doki, two suburbs of the city, Muslims and Christians forgot their religious differences and kept the rioters at bay. They did not wait for the police or soldiers to come, which would have been too late for them. If only we can all resolve to take our responsibilities to ourselves, our families, our community, our state, our nation and our God seriously, we shall save ourselves a lot of the trouble that we find ourselves in.

▲ NOTES

¹ Since these appendices are written by Nigerians, I remind you of my comments in the Introduction about the English used by some Nigerian writers. These appendices occasionally display this tendency. I have taken the liberty to standardize a few of the more obvious cases.

² A press statement by some lecturers of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Friday, 13th March, 1987. This document has been appended to the CAN news release, “The 1987 Kaduna State Religious Disturbances: A Modern Day *Jihad* Being Inflicted on Nigeria,” (1987?). A significant section of this document is interpretative and really belongs in one of the next volumes. However, since the group is an inter-religious one, it could not be classified under either Christian or Muslim. In addition, it is preferable to keep the document together. Hence it is appended to this

volume, but it will be referred to in some of the next volumes.

³ For information about this debate, see Boer, 1979, pp. 478ff and 1984, pp. 142ff.

⁴ This document is signed by 22 lecturers, both Christians and Muslims.

⁵ Only the relevant sections are reproduced. I have left most of the non-standard English intact.

⁶ This was the Gowon family house. Daniel's brother, Yakubu, is a former Head of State. Their parents lay buried in the front yard.

⁷ *NN*, 26 Feb/2000, pp. 4-5.

⁸ That is, a citizen of Niger, not of Nigeria.

⁹ *NN*, 27 Feb/2000, p. 13.

¹⁰ Acronym for "Government Residential Area," a colonial leftover somewhat equivalent to a suburb.

¹¹ *NN*, 27 Feb/2000, p. 3.

