

# ARDP

Arewa Research & Development Project

*Newsletter*

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# 2015:

## In Search

# RESPONSIVE LEADERSHIP

*Include issues on:*

- Science and Technology
- The Youth
- The Media



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# From The Editor-in-Chief

## NIGERIA: EXPLORING LEADERSHIP IN TIMES OF PARADOX AND COMPLEXITY...

**M**ost African societies, and indeed Nigeria, certainly need leadership skills. We do need general leadership skill development, but most prominent on the list is the development of the leadership itself. Leadership goes beyond basic skills; one does not need degrees in engineering or physical sciences to deal with basic popular issues such as sanitation and toilet issues, with electricity generation and distribution, with provision of safe drinking water, with basic education, with basic housing, with basics in health care and disease prevention, etc.

But, today Nigeria needs 'leadership' to solve these very basic social issues. More particularly, however, it needs leadership vision, courage and commitment to create leadership values in public governance and economic value-added. Nigeria needs more than just "transformational" leadership of representing the people, of growing political involvement and of political technicalities. In contemporary political and socio-economic global order, Nigeria faces the added challenges of values-based leadership: leadership that is focused on economic wealth creation; on equitable wealth distribution values; and, purpose and meaningfulness of leadership's actions to society.

It is important to stress that the more economically-oriented values-based leaderships is rather new but is critical.

Empirical studies all over the globe tend to suggest strong positive correlation between value based leadership and effective corporate governance capable of short and long term planning and guaranteeing equity, growth and development.

Over the last 20 years or so, Nigeria has witnessed gradual collapse of public institutions of governance and social services. And, the most worrisome consequences of this state of affairs is the total disorientation of public service as the instrument of governance, which would have to ensure that governance (at all levels) runs as corporate scientific business. With the total collapse of the appropriate bureaucratic system in Nigeria today, our politicians, as public officers, operate with neither the "art" nor the "science of politics".

As we approach 2015, Nigeria is, indeed, in search of leadership in times of paradox and complexity. We are in search of leadership amid constraints of trust. Empirical accounts of public institutions consistently identify leadership as a crucial explanatory variable. Conventional wisdom in the field of public administration research, on the other hand, suggest it is impossible for leaders to single-handedly create an organization that effectively serves multiple, complex and mutually exclusive goals in a volatile environment. Curiously, however, the role of leadership in institutionalization processes is widely recognized. Hence, as Nigeria marches through to 2015 - which, perhaps, is the defining moment of its hundred years of

existence - it faces the critical leadership challenges to wither through the needed institutionalization processes.

Nigeria now needs a leader with a planned organizational change. That is, a leader with a purposeful consideration to bring about the desired change in the country in the most effective manner with specific strategic goals in mind. There are three dimensions to societal change: content, process and context. The first two dimensions refer to the choices related to formulating a change strategy, that is, how to bring about change and which changes should be made. How change is brought about often refers to the strategies and tactics that are used. Which changes should be made refers to a focal point where change needs to occur, such as in the political structures, personnel, technology, quality management, physical environment, etc. The change context is the context in which change will take place.

The main focus of this issue of ARDP Newsletter is on leadership. It contained the abridged versions of the two

presentations on "Values and Leadership" during the December 2012 Conference on "the North and Strategies for Sustainable Development" by Bishop Idowu Fearon and Dr. Usman Bugaje. In addition, we also produced transcripts of Interviews with the Late Malam Liman Ciroma and the Late Chief Sunday Awoniyi conducted by Malam Abdulkarim Mohammed, Managing Director of Moving Image Company based in Kano, in 1995 and 2003 respectively. The contents of these interviews will, I hope, give some reflections on the substance of leadership that gave political and social direction to Northern Nigeria. It is intended here, that, we reflect on the past with the view of the present in order to prepare us for the future. "The future is always entwined with the past and by definition takes place in the present".

**Dr. Kabiru S. Chafe**  
Director, Arewa House

# VALUES AND LEADERSHIP

by: **Josiah Idowu-Fearon PhD (ABU)**

## Introduction:

Permit me to express my appreciation to the organizers for this privilege to present a paper to this group of eminent indigenes of Arewa at this point of our national history. The situation in our country calls for a serious soul-searching exercise among our political, traditional and religious elites. There is a need to come together, reason together and chart a new path so as to give hope to our teeming youths who seem to have lost confidence in their elders. I do hope this conference will produce a blue-print for these youths so as to regain confidence and compete confidently with their colleagues from the other parts of the country.

## Some Working Definitions:

In order to communicate adequately, it is essential to have some understanding of the two main concepts in the topic assigned to me which are, *Values* and *Leadership*. How are these concepts used in this presentation?

*Values.* Values deal with “*what ought to be*” rather than simply “*what is*”. We therefore can say that “Value is whatever that is approved, esteemed or desired. It is the assessment of a worth of a thing.” From this definition, it could be said that values have the capability of influencing peoples selection from options available through modes, means and ends of action by a person on the society in general. It therefore follows that the behaviour of a people is determined by their estimation of what is valuable or not valuable. What an individual therefore accepts as valuable for the human society is what is known as human values.

## Relationship between Human Values and Social Organisations

Every individual has a role to play. This cannot be achieved without taking the rules binding the society together seriously. It is with regard to this societal rules and regulations that the society is developed. What that implies is that every member of any given society has the responsibility to promote and maintain a high degree of societal regulations so as to produce a high quality

personality in the society. Consequently, the individual is permitted to do whatever he/she wants within the rules of the society to achieve the expected high societal needs. Today in *Arewa* there seems to be a very serious disconnect between these two among our leaders, they fail to demonstrate this connection and so our youths lack good role-models. The roles families used to play in modeling the children along this line seems to be eroding very rapidly. The scenario is very frightening indeed and there is a need for an urgent remedy!

## Relationship between Religion and Human Values.

The given in Nigeria is that of pluralism – both *religiously* and *tribal*. Each given religion is unique with adherents maintaining their own religious values and views. The question we need to consider is how the two major religions in Nigeria work together to live by the core values enshrined in our constitution.

Chapter 11, Section 23 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria states: the National ethics shall be *Discipline, Integrity, Dignity of Labour, Social Justice, Religious Tolerance, Self-Reliance, and Patriotism*.

*Arewa* is blessed with adherents of both *Islam* and *Christianity*, in this part of the country are found very serious-minded adherents who will not compromise their faith, beliefs and practices. One would therefore expect this part of the country to be the most peaceful and better developed than any other parts of Nigeria. Alas! that is not the reality on ground. What has therefore gone wrong *with yan Arewa*? Why is this part of the country so unevenly developed, why can we not use our religious values to achieve progressive development? Hopefully, the organizers of this Conference will help us to return to where we used to be!

## Leadership

*Leadership is the art of motivating a group of people to act towards achieving a common goal.*

Two essentials are captured in this definition: *Inspiration* and *Preparation*.

Effective leadership is based upon ideas, but won't happen unless those ideas can be communicated to others in a way that engages them. In other words, the leader is the inspiration and director of the action. He is the person in the group that possesses the combination of personality and leadership skills that makes others want to follow his direction. I have found among our current

to follow his direction. I have found among our current leaders, two politicians (Mallam Ibrahim Shekarau and Arc. Namadi Sambo) and one religious leader, the Sultan of Sokoto to be good examples of leadership today, we need a lot more to begin to effectively transform our society and give hope to our youths in this part of Nigeria.

***Some Comments on the two concepts defined above:***

Our *values*, as enshrined in our constitution are not known, taught and therefore lived in the north. The elites need to understand what these values are and then live them out so as to become role-models for the youths.

***Leadership and Arewa:***

In the modern age, good leaders are an **enabling force**, helping people and organisations to perform and develop, which implies that a sophisticated alignment can be achieved – of people's needs, and the aims of the organisation. Unfortunately, in *Arewa*, we are still holding on tenaciously to the *traditional concept of leadership*. By that is meant **the leader remains directing chief at the top of a hierarchy**. This is an incomplete appreciation of what true leadership must be. Effective leadership does not necessarily require great technical or intellectual capacity. These attributes might help, but they are not pivotal.

***What is our understanding of Good Leadership?***

Good Leadership in the modern age requires **ATTITUDES** and **BEHAVIOURS** which characterise and relate to HUMANITY. Good leadership demands:

**Serving**

The concept of serving is fundamental to the leadership role. Good leadership involves **SERVING** the people you represent. Ineffective leaders tend to invert this principle and consider merely that the leader must be served by the people (*Jesus Christ said, I am among you as your servant*). This faulty idea

among our leaders in *Arewa*, the notion that leadership is an opportunity to take, to acquire personal status, advantage, gain, etc, at the expense of others is grossly wrong and it is what has brought us to where we are today. Leadership is and should be an opportunity to give; to serve the people. The modern notion of “*servant leader*” and “*servant leadership*” attributed to Robert K. Greenleaf (c.f his 1970's essay, *The Servant as a Leader*) is what we need today in *Arewa*. We need to restore it, it agrees with our two main religions in this part of Nigeria! Friends, leadership is centrally concerned with people. Of course, leadership involves decisions and actions relating to all sorts of other things, but **leadership is special compared to any other role because of its unique responsibility for people i.e. the followers of the leader**. Good leadership demands emotional strengths and behavioural characteristics which can draw deeply on a leader's mental and spiritual reserves. This is where ethical values are of utmost importance. Leadership relies most on things like trust, inspiration, attitude, decision-making and personal character.

Good leadership depends on attitudinal qualities, not management processes – hence, the need for the following listed values:

- Integrity
- Honesty
- Humility
- Commitment
- Sincerity
- Wisdom
- Determination
- Compassion
- Sensitivity

**What to do?**

For *Arewa* to move and get developed, all able and eligible *yan Arewa* must be given an opportunity to elect their leaders, leaders who will be accountable to the people, leaders who are prepared to listen and be just in governance. Our leaders must, as a matter of urgency bring their religious convictions into governance. Our leaders must work on the common religious ethics of both Islam and Christianity for *Arewa* to make progress and develop evenly like some other parts of the country called

# VALUES AND LEADERSHIP

by: USMAN BUGAJE

Let me start with what I consider a legitimate digression. I get worried when we start discussion on the problems of this country and people, who ought to know better, dismiss the role of knowledge and evidence-based arguments. Since 1999, there is an increasing discomfort with 'long grammar' or 'dogon turanci' a euphemism for academics, among the emerging political class. Some of these political leaders who have become governors and have succeeded in intimidating their opponents and arranging for 100% election success at local government elections have proudly acclaimed themselves to be "professors" of politics, deriding the educated and proving how unnecessary it is to go to school anymore. One of these governors, while acknowledging attack on his government was reported to have said that, "a lot of falsehood has been published over the years in newspapers about my government and I never lose sleep over them because less than five percent of ... people [in my State] can read and understand what is written in newspapers!" Can we now see where the so-called 'Boko Haram' may be getting its inspiration? Doesn't this suggest a nexus between this type of governance and the 'Boko Haram' phenomenon? How can such a political leadership, which takes pride in the ignorance of its citizens, bring about development in the 21<sup>st</sup> century?

This kind of negative values of ideo-phobia, the fear of ideas and the denigration and trivialization of knowledge is taking over our politics and the consequences are already colossal. A political leadership that is ignorant and anti-learning naturally stands wisdom or logic on its head without even realizing it, just like an illiterate person can turn a page upside-down without realizing it. Once in power this kind of leadership attracts its ilk, as the old line goes, 'birds of a feather flock together', and the corridors of power become taken over by ignorant and often frivolous men and women who can see in power only the opportunity to pillage public resources for personal aggrandizement. The disastrous state of basic education in the North, our inability to address deepening poverty, our failure to provide

social services to our beleaguered communities, our total helplessness in the face of insurgents, criminals and rogue elements in our security systems all emanate from the fact that we have leaders who have no clue and seemingly irredeemably so. We must not continue to underestimate the danger of ignorance; we have already done so at our own peril.

What do we mean by Values? Why Values and Leadership? What exactly is the problem?

## What are Values?

According to a philosopher, "Overall, values may be defined as the highest ethical parameters, standards and criteria through which individuals, groups and societies order their goals, determine their choices and judge their conduct as these pertain to fundamental aspects of life, be they in the sphere of personal or public affairs. Political values thus provide the basic measure by which the wrong and right postures or attitudes are decided in societal matters of an essentially political nature. Values guide action; they are standards for evaluating action." He added that, "it is reasonable to accept that values exercise a broad influence on the conception of phenomena, orientation to authority, attitude to community formation and expansion, views of knowledge, science and technology and attitude to reform and change."

It can easily be seen that values are a product of world view, a particular philosophy of life and conception of the world which defines the place of man in the hierarchy of being (ontology) and provides man a theory of knowledge (epistemology) which furnishes man with the criterion to determine which information is authentic or legitimate and which is not and how to differentiate knowledge from opinion. Values are integral to the frame of mind of individuals and provide that prism through which the world is seen and interpreted as well as the filter through which human desires and fears are expressed. It should be easy to see why values are determined, conditioned and nourished by religion, culture and civilization.

The current political system we are operating had been crafted and nurtured over the last three hundred years or so, in a culture and civilization, which had been divorced from its religious ethos, fed on the ideas of John Locke on liberty, Voltaire's opposition to the Catholic Church and Adam Smith's concept of free

market capitalism. Having been stripped of its Medieval Christian ethos and built on the utilitarian values of the Enlightenment, the western liberal democracy, comes with a hierarchy of being and a theory of knowledge that admits of only human reason, on which it places its highest premium. We are having to operate a system of politics which is patently Western European and whose values are at variance with our societies in which God still sits at the top of our hierarchy pyramid, and nourishes our theory of knowledge. This mismatch between the values of our operating political system and that of our socio-cultural environment is a great source of our political problems. This issue has been sufficiently addressed in Mahmud Tukur's 'Leadership and Governance in Nigeria: the Relevance of Values.'

### **Why Values and Leadership?**

Values are so powerful in determining the quality of leadership that there is huge volume of research on this subject. Many companies and corporations have spent fortunes trying to identify the values that work for them and to train their leaders to acquire them. A recent empirical study on 'The Role of Values in leadership', published by the 'Integral Leadership Review' discovered that ignoring the values of leaders comes with disastrous results in companies. In the words of its author, "Executive selection based on experience, tenure and education to the neglect of their values, neglect the invisible force that drives visible results." In other words, "this finding indicates that personal values are more fundamental leadership attribute, than the age, tenure, functional experience and education in the process of how leaders influence organizations." Thus the argument on generational shift in leadership is not as powerful as the argument on paradigm shift.

In an earlier study, the now famous Marshmallow Test, conducted in the 1960's the connection between values and leadership is even more revealing:

"Walter Mischel's marshmallow test is one of the best-known studies in the history of psychology. In the 1960s, Mischel, then a professor at Stanford, took nursery-school students, put them in a room one-by-one, and gave them a treat (they could choose a cookie, a pretzel stick, or a marshmallow) and the following deal: They could eat the treat right away, or wait 15 minutes until the experimenter returned. If they waited, they would get an extra treat. Tracking the kids over time, Mischel found

that the ability to hold out in this seemingly trivial exercise had real and profound consequences. As they matured and became adults, the kids who had shown the ability to wait got better grades, were healthier, enjoyed greater professional success, and proved better at staying in relationships—even decades after they took the test. They were, in short, better at life." This test actually tests self-discipline, self-control, and the ability to postpone gratification.

### **What Exactly is the Problem?**

We are all worried about the increasing inability of the Nigerian state to work. Indeed we are frightened by the depth of decadence that our nation has fallen, the extent of the collapse of our institutions and the rate at which the very fabric that holds our embattled society together is tearing to shreds. We are worried that our political, religious and traditional leadership don't seem to be able to stop what appears to be a free fall into the social, political and economic abyss. [Sometimes it appears as if they are working in unison to the detriment of the society they claim to care about] We are worried that as things are looking today our society has no future until we can fix the problems of leadership. Some of us look back with a lot of pains to see how things were some 50/40 years ago, particularly the values that used to define our society and checks and balances that used to keep our leaders in constant check. It is important we give a glimpse of these checks for the benefit of the young.

Clearly there was a gradual erosion of these values and a corresponding deterioration of the character of our men and women.

This trend has been on for some time and scholars have captured this descent to the abyss. Mahmud Tukur, who wrote his thesis over thirty years ago and published it about twelve years ago, has observed that:

"In contemporary Nigeria on the other hand, no particular qualities are insisted upon as qualifications for seeking or being elected to a leadership position. In fact, conventional wisdom has it that neither democratic government nor genuine representation can be said to subsist unless the system is based on direct popular elections conducted through the brokerage of political parties. The conditions for adoption as candidates and for winning appear to be possession of sufficient wealth with which to bribe party workers, notables and other hangers-on; ability to bring out the vote; public appeal by way of promises of development projects and amenities and the prospect of distributing

jobs to supporters or spreading 'the benefits of office' among them. The highest premium, then, is placed on consummate salesmanship, suavity and the capacity to argue persuasively regardless whether there is much substance to the whole exercise of electioneering."

In trying to show the nexus between violence and votes in our kind of democracies, Paul Collier, in his *Wars, Guns and Votes*, written just over two years ago, noted that, "if being honest and competent does not give you an electoral advantage, then the honest and competent will be discouraged. Crooks will replace the honest as candidates. Simply put... democratic politics in the countries of the bottom billion tends to attract candidates with criminal records." What more, "electors are frozen in ethnic loyalties and so support their own politicians even if they are criminals." P27 embellishing his research with stories like that of deputy governor in the 2007 elections in Nigeria, who was racing with the police to get sworn in before they could reach him to arrest him. Summarizing his findings at the end of the chapter the author said, "It is time to sum up where we have got to, and it is not attractive. Democracy, at least in the form it has taken to date in the societies of the bottom billion, does not seem to enhance the prospect of internal peace. On the contrary, it seems to increase proneness to political violence. Probably related to this failure to secure social peace, democracy has not yet produced accountable and therefore legitimate government." P49.

Sam Nda Isaiah, wrote only a week ago, "In its latest report, EIU has rated Nigeria as the "worst place to be born in 2013". This is the first time Nigeria is achieving this rare feat reserved only for very few countries in the world in the 66 years the EIU has been in this business. Nigeria came last of the 80 countries analyzed and researched. Nigeria is ranked 80th out of the 80 countries considered with a score of 4.74 out of 10, just below Kenya, which scored 4.91. The study measures the parameters that provide the best environment for the safest, healthiest and most prosperous life in the coming years. The quality-of-life index deployed in the analysis and research was calibrated around critical

areas like trust in public institutions, crime and government policies."

Sam Nda continued to say, "Even war-torn Syria at the 73rd position did much better than Nigeria. That means that Syria, in spite of the war going on, has better quality-of-life than Nigeria because government policies in Syria are still friendlier than in Jonathan's Nigeria. Those who did this survey do not know Jonathan and are not among those who want to bring down President Jonathan "because they lost the last elections".

**What to Do?**

Clearly our values have been eroded overtime and our current leadership recruitment system is, to say the least, faulty. It has had and continues to unleash serious and disastrous consequences on our polity. We must correct it urgently or we go down the drain. Correcting this faulty recruitment system would appear to be more urgent and more consequential than the so-called constitutional amendments. We must identify and build consensus around those key values that are critical to leadership today. We then must find a way of promoting these values and finding a mechanism of mainstreaming them into our politics.

Some of these key values must include:

1. Knowledge
2. Courage
3. Sacrifice
4. Integrity
5. Justice

As for the mechanism to mainstream these into our political system and culture, I leave to the distinguish audience for discussion.

**We then must find a way of promoting these values and finding a mechanism of mainstreaming them into our politics.**

# SKILLS ACQUISITION AND PROMOTION OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

By:

**ENGR UMAR B. BINDIR PhD.**

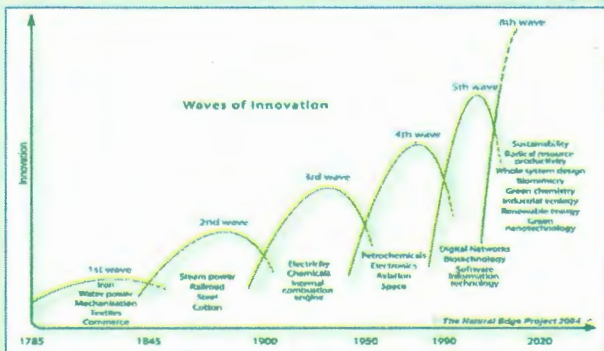
## KEYWORDS

- SKILLS
- ACQUISITION
- PROMOTION
- SCIENCE
- TECHNOLOGY
- THE NORTH

## GLOBAL "NATIONAL" TRANSFORMATION TARGETS

- Absolute poverty is totally eradicated
- Every man, woman, and child in the Country should have access, not just to basic minimum needs, but to all the opportunities to lead a happy, secured and fulfilling life
- Country emerges as a knowledge and a learning society built on values of hard work, honesty, discipline, productivity, and a collective sense of purpose

THE EVOLUTION OF SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION (STI)



SOURCE:

Hargroves, K. and Smith, M.H. (2005) *The Natural Advantage of Nations: Business Opportunities, Innovation and Governance in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Earthscan, London.

## DEVELOPMENT CLASSIFICATION

- DEVELOPED } 1ST, 2ND
- EMERGING/FATIQUED DEVELOPING
- LEAST DEVELOPED } 3RD
- UNDERDEVELOPING
- UNDERDEVELOPED

“World 3 (the third world) refers to those countries – Bangladesh and Nigeria are examples – that are in severe straits with no clear path to a positive future”  
Source: *21st Century Technologies: Promises and Perils of a Dynamic Future*, OECD 1998, Ch. 2, page 34

## THE 50 YEARS EXPERIENCES

- FEW OR NO GLOBAL PRODUCTS
- FEW OR NO GLOBAL COMPANIES
- FEW OR NO GLOBAL KNOW-HOW, SKILLS AND CAPABILITY SERVICES
- FEW “GLOBAL” PATENTS
- ETC

## THESE ARE SERIOUS PROBLEMS

“WE CAN’T SOLVE PROBLEMS BY USING THE SAME KIND OF THINKING USED WHEN WE CREATED THEM”

ALBERT EINSTEIN (German Born American Physicist 1879 – 1955)

## THE CLEAR CALL FOR GEAR CHANGE

## NIGERIA'S.W.O.T.ANALYSIS

- STRENGTH
- WEAKNESS
- OPPORTUNITIES and
- THREATS
- HIGH POPULATION (NEARLY 200 Million) – S/O
- NATURAL RESOURCES (Agro/Minerals/Water) – S/O
- OIL & GAS RESOURCES – S/O
- POVERTY (60 – 70%) – OVER 100 MILLION – W/T
- DOMINANCE OF RURAL LIFE – W/T
- WEAK PHYSICAL INFRASTRUCTURE – W
- WEAK SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM – T
- WEAK KNOWLEDGE SYSTEM – W/T
- WEAK “LOCAL” INDUSTRIES – W
- CORRUPTION CHALLENGES – T
- MATURING DEMOCRACY – O, etc, etc!

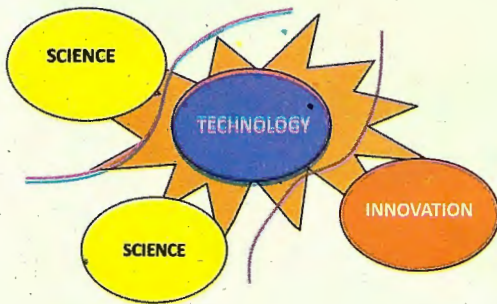
**DESIRED DEVELOPMENT??**

- **MODERNISED** ECONOMY
  - WELL FOCUSED **PRODUCTIVE** NATION
  - **CREDIBLE** GLOBAL VISIBILITY
  - GLOBAL **COMPETITIVENESS**
  - **DYNAMIC** POPULATION
  - **MEET THE DEFENCE/SECURITY** NEEDS
  - **VIABLE KNOWLEDGE ECONOMIES**
- ALL CLEARLY DEPENDS ON ST&I VIBRANCE  
"IT IS THE MASTER KEY"

**SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, INNOVATION SYSTEM**

- **STRATEGIC TECHNOLOGY ACQUISITION**
- **SOUND TECHNICAL EDUCATION**
- **EXCELLENT TECHNOLOGICAL R&D**
- **VIABLE TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER STRATEGY**
- **INVENTIVE and INNOVATIVE**
- **DYNAMIC IMPACT ASSESSMENT**

**DECODING THE STI SYSTEM**



- **SPECIALISTS (SCIENTISTS)**
- **HIGHLY TRAINED AND QUALIFIED**
- **EXPENSIVE TOOLS AND FACILITIES**
- **CONCEPTS, DOCUMENTS, DATA AND STATISTICS**
- **CLEAR KNOWLEDGE**
- **PUBLICATIONS/PhDs (PROMOTION ?)**
- **RESEARCH INFRASTRUCTURE (Labs & Equipment)**
- **CITATION/ACADEMIC PARTNERSHIPS...**
- **RELEVANCE ?**

**STI...**  
**HIGH LEVEL, QUALITY KNOWLEDGE (S)**

↓  
KNOWLEDGE, PUBLICATIONS and PhDs

**DEVELOPMENT (T)**  
POSSIBILITIES AND APPLICATIONS  
(Development)



- **TECHNOCRATS (ENGINEERS, ARTISANS.... OTHERS)**
- **HIGHLY SKILLED IN TRANSFORMING KNOWLEDGE**
- **PROOF OF CONCEPTS ON PRODUCTS AND PROCESSES**
- **PRODUCTION PROCESSES**
- **INFRASTRUCTURE**
- **PROTOTYPES AND PILOT PLANTS**
- **PATENTS**
- **OTHER IPs...**
- **RELEVANCE ?**

**STI...**  
**HIGH LEVEL, QUALITY KNOWLEDGE (S)**

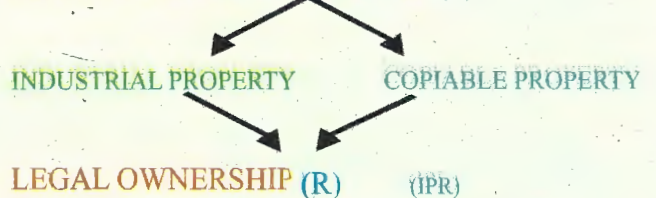
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↓  
**INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY-IP (T)**

**STI ...**  
**HIGH LEVEL, QUALITY KNOWLEDGE (S)**

↓  
KNOWLEDGE, PUBLICATIONS AND PhDs

↓  
**INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY-IP (T)**



**TARGETED OUTPUTS....**

**1. INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY.**

- PATENTS PAT. #
- TRADE MARKS™
- INDUSTRIAL DESIGN®
- TRADE SECRETS
- HIGH LEVEL KNOW HOW
- TECHNICAL SKILLS
- MANAGERIAL SKILLS
- etc

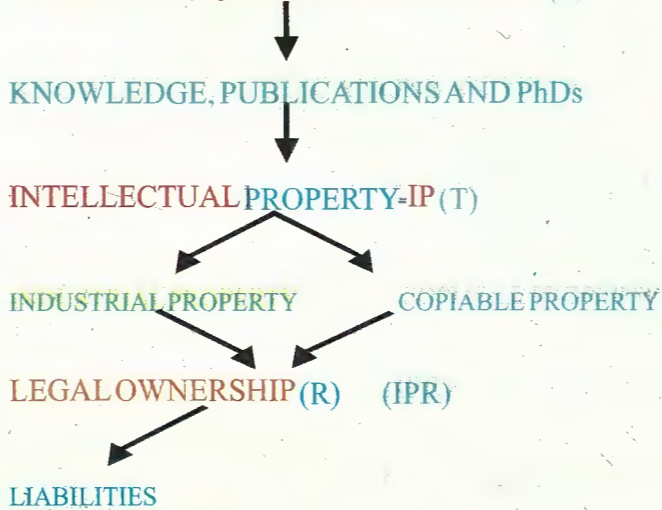


**2. COPYRIGHTS ©**

- CREATIVE EXPRESSION
- LITERARY
- MUSIC
- SOFTWARE
- DATABASES
- PLANT VARIETIES
- GEOGRAPHICAL INDICATORS
- TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE
- LAYOUT DESIGN
- etc

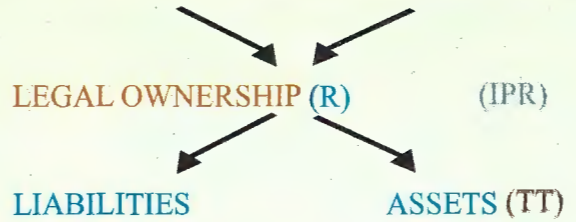
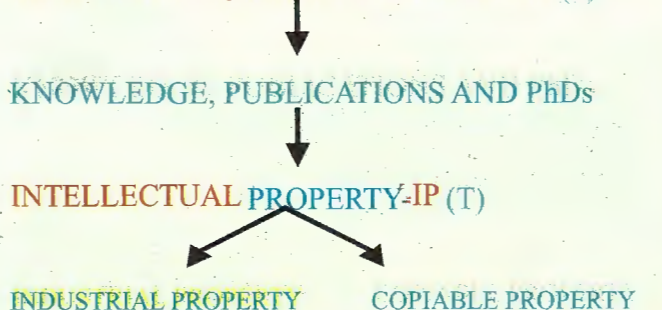
**STI...**

**HIGH LEVEL, QUALITY KNOWLEDGE (S)**

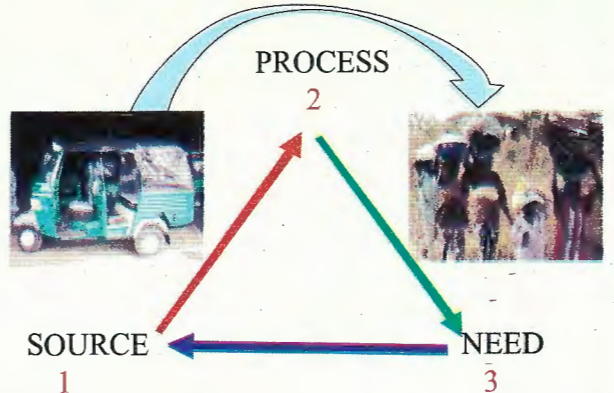


**STI...**

**HIGH LEVEL, QUALITY KNOWLEDGE (S)**



**TECHNOLOGY (IPR) TRANSFER (Skill)**



**INNOVATION (I) SOLUTIONS AND PRODUCTS**



- **EVERYBODY..... ARTISANS**
- **FEASIBILITY AND FINANCING**
- **IP MANAGEMENT & LICENSING**
- **PRODUCTION, MARKETING, BRANDING....**
- **BUSINESS PLANNING/MANAGEMENT**
- **PRODUCTS**
- **PROCESSES**
- **KNOW-HOW SERVICES (Consultancy, etc)**
- **RELEVANCE?**

**Trade marks:**

- Made by "Nokia"
- Product "N95"
- Software "Symbian", "Java"



**Patents:**

- Data-processing methods
- Semiconductor circuits
- Chemical compounds

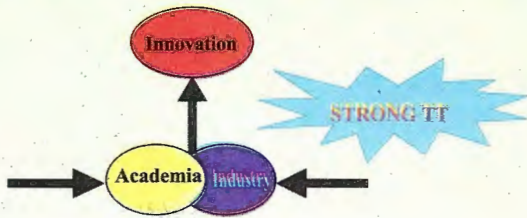
**Trade secrets:**

- ?
- Industrial Designs (some of them registered):**
- Form of overall phone
- Arrangement of buttons in oval shape
- Three-dimensional wave form of buttons

**Copyrights:**

- Software code
- Instruction manual
- Ringtone

## SUMMARY- COUNTRY STI DYNAMICS



### (A) ACTIVE/DOMESTIC/INTERNAL

- UNIVERSITIES
- POLYTECHNICS
- RESEARCH INSTITUTES
- INDUSTRIES

SMEs, JOBS, INDUSTRIALISATION...  
DEVELOPED COUNTRIES (e.g. US, EUROPE)

- Prioritised Technology Acquisition **Focus** and **Mentor**
- Strong Intellectual Property (IP)
- Intense Deployment of ICT
- Viable Research - Industry Linkage models  
- Hi-Tech companies, Efficient Technology Incubation, Science and Technology Parks, Research Parks, Innopolis, Technopolis, etc
- Economic Diversification!

## CLEAR COMMITMENTS AND INTENSITY" ON KNOWLEDGE (STI)

## STI ANALYSIS IN NIGERIA

### KNOWLEDGE INFRASTRUCTURE

- 125 Universities
- 125 Mono-Polytechnics, 98 COE
- Over 300 Research Institutions
- 38 IPTTOs
- World-class Industries
- Large pool of high class capacities (Professors, PhDs, Professional bodies, Diaspora capacity)
- Research capabilities (Labs, Workshops, Libraries)

### DISTRIBUTION OF UNIVERSITIES

- TOTAL = 124 • NORTH = 47 • SOUTH = 78
- FEDERAL = 38 • FEDERAL = 20 • FEDERAL = 18
- STATE = 37 • STATE = 17 • STATE = 20
- PRIVATE = 50 • PRIVATE = 11 • PRIVATE = 39

TOTAL = 100%	NORTH = 38%	SOUTH = 62%
FEDERAL = 30%	FEDERAL = 16%	FEDERAL = 14%
STATE = 30%	STATE = 14%	STATE = 16%
PRIVATE = 40%	PRIVATE = 8%	PRIVATE = 32%

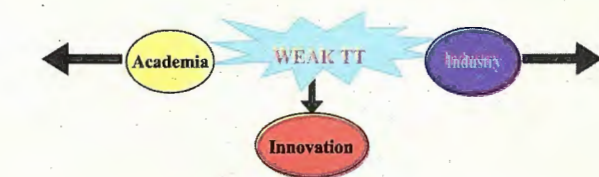
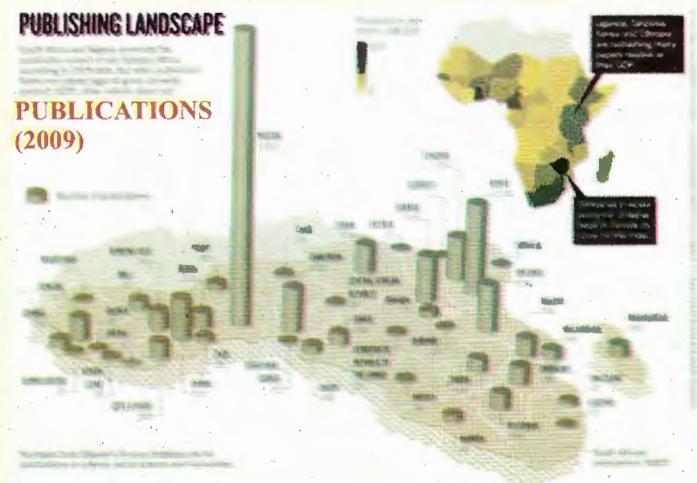
SERVING 62% POP    SERVING 38% POP

## ARE THESE WORKING??

### OUTPUTS AND PERFORMANCE ??

#### PUBLISHING LANDSCAPE

#### PUBLICATIONS (2009)



### (B) PASSIVE/FOREIGN/EXTERNAL/

- FOREIGN SOURCES
- DEVELOPING/UNDER-DEVELOPING COUNTRIES (AFRICA)

## THE NIGERIA PLAN!

TRANSFORMATION AGENDA and VISION 20-2020

## WHO ARE THE TOP 20 ???



### KEY ATTRIBUTES

- National STI Policy (practical and implementable) on moving **ALL SECTORS**)
- Vibrant Science, Technology and **Innovation (STI)** system!
- Institutional **Systems** of Innovation (**NSI**)!
- Sustained Research and Development (R&D) **Investment!**
- **Raw Material** Endowments and downstream value addition!



## US PATENT NO:5,800,819 (1998)!



**United States Patent** (19)  
Wannhebe et al.

(11) Patent Number: **5,800,819**  
(48) Date of Patent: **Sept. 1, 1998**

(54) **PIPER GUINEENSE, PTEROCARPUS OSLUN, EUGENIA CARYOPHYLLATA, AND SORGHUM BICOLOR EXTRACTS FOR TREATING SICKLE CELL DISEASE**  
(75) Inventors: Charles Wannhebe, Abuja; P. O. Ogunyale, Oyo; K. S. Gamanuel, Abuja; R. N. Nadiptari, Abuja; J. I. Okogun, Abuja; Babatunde Samuel, Abuja; Aklu Olunola, Abuja; Abayomi Oriadipo, Abuja, all of Nigeria

(56) **References Cited**  
U.S. PATENT DOCUMENTS  
4,473,550 8/1984 Robinson 424/195.1  
3,225,447 7/1963 Wannhebe 514/349  
5,447,720 8/1995 Fatuba 424/195.1  
5,449,516 9/1995 De Araujo 424/195.1

(73) Assignee: National Institute for Pharmaceutical Research and Development Federal Ministry of Science and Technology, Abuja, Nigeria

**OTHER PUBLICATIONS**  
Houston, Amer. J. Clin. Nutr. 26:1261-1264, 1973

**Primary Examiner**—David M. Naff  
**Assistant Examiner**—Janet M. Kerr  
**Attorney, Agent, or Firm**—Shook, Hardy & Bacon L.L.P.

(57) **ABSTRACT**  
A phytochemical composition for treating sickle cell disease is provided. The composition is a cold water extraction product of a mixture containing *Piper guineense* seeds, *Pterocarpus osun* stem, *Eugenia caryophyllata* leaf, *Sorghum bicolor* leaves and potash. Also described are mixtures of phytochemicals used for preparing the extraction product, methods for making the extraction product, and methods for using the extraction product.

(21) Appl. No.: 786,313  
(22) Filed: Jan. 21, 1997  
(30) Foreign Application Priority Data  
16 25, 1996 (NG) Nigeria RP12369  
(51) Int. Cl. A61K 35/78  
(52) U.S. Cl. 424/195.1; 514/314; 514/815  
(58) Field of Search 424/195.1; 514/814; 514/815

13 Claims, No Drawings



**NOBEL PRIZE**

Nobel Prize in Physics



Nobel Prize in Chemistry



Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine



Nobel Prize in Literature



Nobel Peace Prize



Nobel Prize in Economic Science in Memory of Alfred Nobel



**NIGERIA'S" TECHNOLOGY BANDWIDTH**

- HIGH
- INTERMEDIATE
- LOW
- TRADITIONAL

DESPITE THESE R&D OUTPUTS, CREATIVITIES AND INNOVATIONS ON THE GROUND....."

**THE REALITIES???**

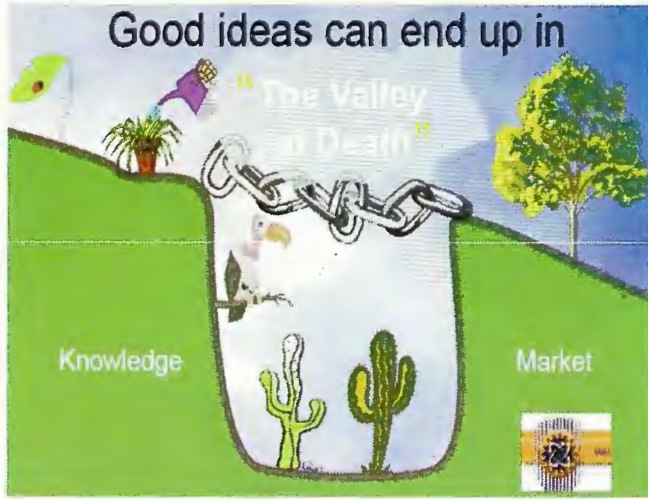
**RURAL LIFE DOMINATES**

- OVER 60% OF THE POPULATION
- OVER 100 MILLION

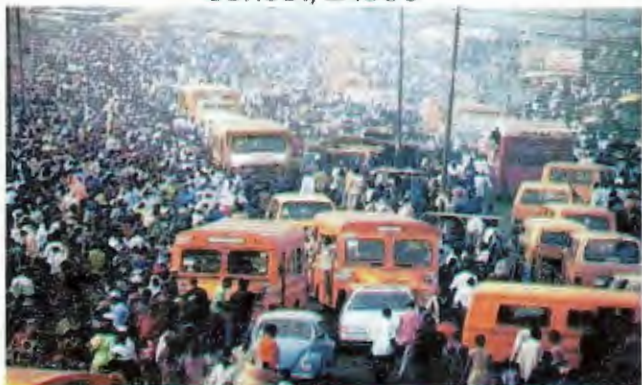
**BASIC EDUCATION**



**THE FUNDAMENTAL NIGERIAN "HIDDEN" CHALLENGE????**  
**(PRACTICAL!!)**



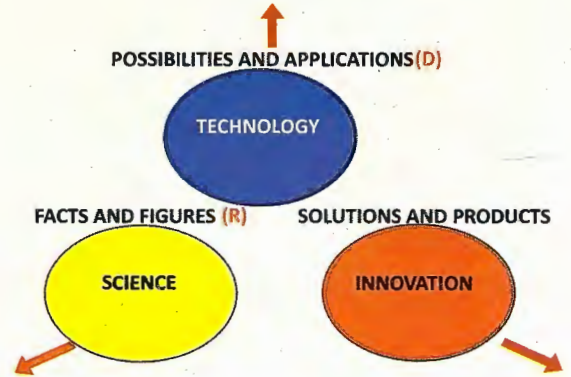
**NET RURAL TO URBAN RESULT:**  
**OSHODI, LAGOS**



**THE ISSUES!!!**

- "WEAK" INDUSTRIALISATION POLICY
- ENTREPRENEURSHIP VENTURE CAPITAL/ TECHNOLOGY RISK FUNDS
- WEAK COMMERCIALISATION POLICY
- WEAK IP MANAGEMENT SYSTEM
- TECHNOLOGY ENTREPRENEURSHIP  
 - PRODUCT, PROCESS, EXPERTISE
- FEASIBILITY, BUSINESS PLANS,

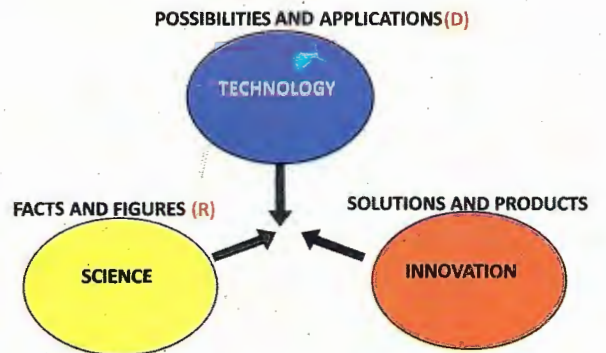
**BRANDING, FINANCING**  
 • etc etc!!!!  
**REALITIES OF STI POSTURE?**



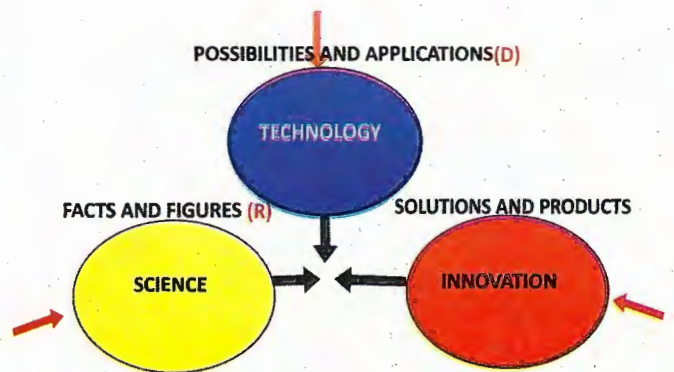
**CLEAR NEED FOR TRANSFORMATION**

**WHAT TO DO TO OVERCOME???**

**NETWORK THE STI ELEMENTS**



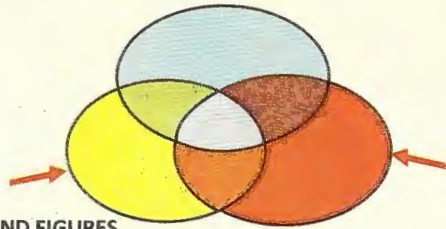
**STI GOVERNANCE**



**STI POLICIES**

**HELIX OF EFFICIENT DEVELOPMENT DELIVERY**

POSSIBILITIES AND APPLICATIONS

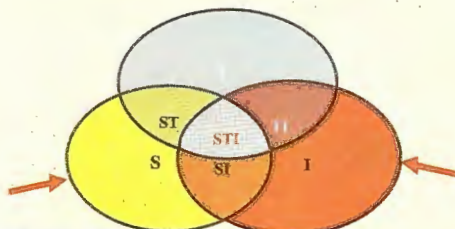


FACTS AND FIGURES

SOLUTIONS AND PRODUCTS

**UNLEASH THE INTERNAL KNOWLEDGE ENERGY**

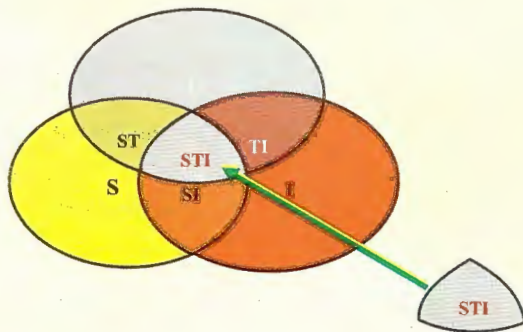
POSSIBILITIES AND APPLICATIONS



FACTS AND FIGURES

SOLUTIONS AND PRODUCTS

**THE SIZE OF THE STI**



**GOVERNMENT**



- (LEADERSHIP)
- POLITICAL
  - ECONOMIC
  - MORAL
  - TECHNOLOGICAL



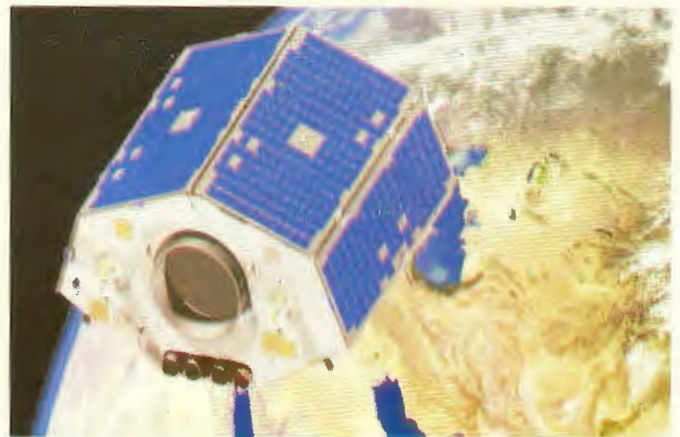
INDUSTRY/ENTERPRISE



KNOWLEDGE (STI)

**KEY INDICATORS TO STI TRANSFORMATION AND ATTAINMENT OF VISION 20-2020**

**SPACE TECH**



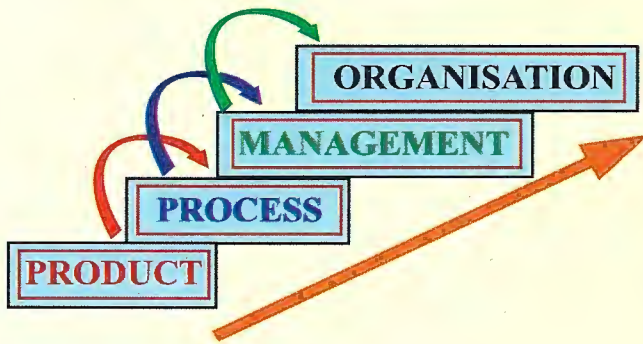
**NURTURE A FAVOURABLE ENVIRONMENT**

- STRONG INDUSTRIAL POLICY,
- INDUSTRY VENTURE CAPITAL & TECHNOLOGY RISK FUNDS!
- STRONG MANAGEMENT CAPABILITIES (FEASIBILITY, BUSINESS PLANS, BRANDING, COMPETITIVE, etc)
- STRONG IPR POLICY AND MANAGEMENT
- STRONG TECHNOLOGY ENTREPRENEURSHIP (INCUBATION, SMEs PRODUCTS, PROCESSES, EXPERTISE) etc!!!!

**SO IF WE RESOLVE TO...**

- Apply **STI** for development
- Transfer **TECHNOLOGY**
- Generate **EMPLOYMENT**
- Create **WEALTH**
- Develop viable **SMEs**

**....WE MUST BE INNOVATIVE**



**CONCLUSIONS & PROPOSALS/ADVOCACIES**

**..WE MUST BE PRACTICAL"**

**(Political support and Political cycles)**

- **Immediate** – very important
- **Short Term**
- **Medium Term**
- **Long Term**



**(1) GROWING A VIABLE MIDDLE CLASS"**  
**(SUPPORT LEADERSHIP INNOVATIVELY)**

**DELIBERATE SKILLS-BASED EMPLOYMENT  
 GENERATION AND WEALTH CREATION"**  
**MASS JOBS CREATION PACKAGE**



## 4) THINKING OUT OF THE BOX TO LINK **ACADEMIA TO INDUSTRY**" (Strategic Technology Transfer)

### SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY PARKS

#### GLOBAL EXPERIENCES

##### RESEARCH PARK

##### ▼ Surrey Research Park, UK



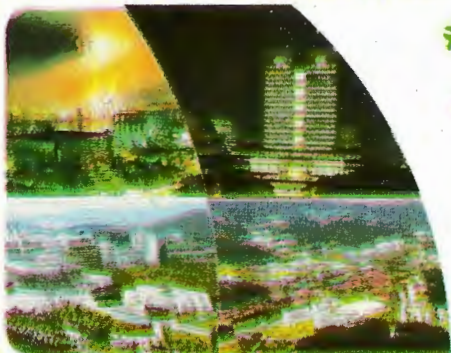
##### USA

##### RESEARCH TRIANGLE PARK

Research Triangle Park (RTP) a public/private research park, created in 1959 by leaders from business, academia and industry  
 • Operated and managed by RTP Foundation  
 • Size : 2830 Ha  
 • Built area: 1,7 M Sq.m  
 • 37000 employees  
 • IBM : 13300  
 • GLAXO SMITH KLINE 5000  
 • NORTEL 3000  
 • CISCO 2500



Korea's Leading Innovation Cluster,  
Daedeok INNOPOLIS in Daejeon Metropolitan City, Korea



### • RECIPE TO FAILURE!

#### THE IMMEDIATE PAST?

- STEEL INDUSTRY (Ajaokuta, etc)
- AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY (VW, Benz, Styre etc)
- INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT CENTRES (IDCs)
- COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY FREE TRADE ZONES!
- STATE GOVERNMENTS EFFORTS (INDUSTRIAL PARKS, LARGE MARKETS, FCT SCIENCE VILLAGE, CROSS RIVER STATE TINAPA, etc)
- AKWA-IBOM STATE PARK (TFZ)
- SUCCESSES?
- THE CLEAR NEED FOR SKILLS & TECHNOLOGY



### BEWARE!!!

TO LEARN BUT DON'T COPY DIRECTLY



- INDIVIDUAL UNIVERSITIES?? (NO)
- BUILD ON FRESH SPACE (NO)
- SYNERGY, PARTNERSHIP & CLUSTER APPROACH?? (YES)

### NIGERIAN MAIN CLUSTERS OPPORTUNITIES

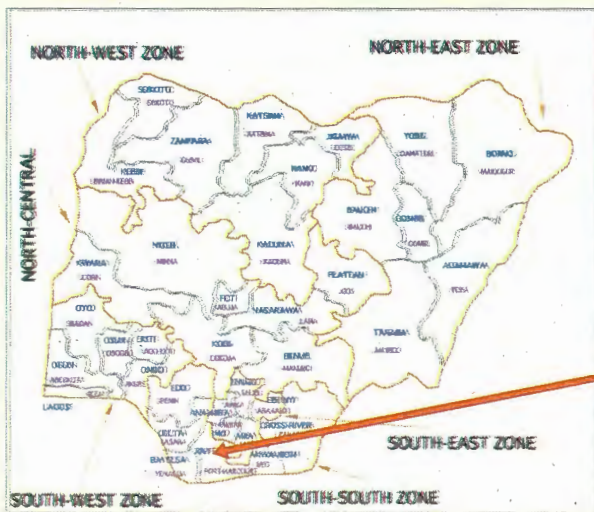
#### EXAMPLES:

- RIVERS STATE – OIL & GAS CLUSTER
- OGUN STATE – AGBARA CLUSTER
- ANAMBRA STATE – NNEWI CLUSTERS
- KANO STATE – KANO ICT PARK
- KADUNA STATE – ZARIA CLUSTER
- FCT – ABUJA TECHNOLOGY CORRIDOR

### TRADITIONALLY!!

- THIS IS ATTRACTIVE/FEASIBLE!
- TRADITIONAL **COPY SYNDROME?**
- DOWNPLAYING LOGIC, ENDURANCE AND HARDWORK!
- THIS IS NOT VIABLE!

## RIVERS OIL AND GAS CLUSTER



## AGBARA INDUSTRIAL CLUSTER...

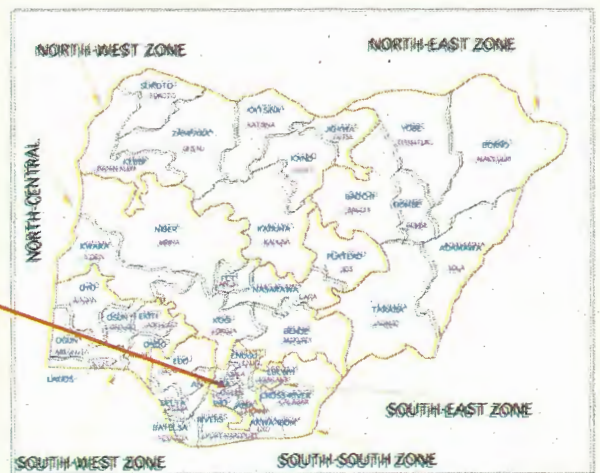
- Reckitt Benckiser Nig. Ltd
- Nestle Nigeria Plc
- Unilever Nigeria Plc
- Evans Medical Plc
- Beta Glass Plc
- Lotus Plastic Plc
- GSK GlaxoSmithKline Consumer Plc
- UAC Nigeria Plc
- SCOA Nigeria Ltd
- Frutty & Nutty
- Procter & Gamble Nig. Plc
- Access Bank
- Zenith Bank

## OIL AND GAS CLUSTER...

- Eleme **Petrochemical** Company (the largest Petrochemical Company in Africa South of the Sahara)
- An **Ammonia** Plant
- An **Ethylene** Plant
- Two fully fledged Petroleum **Refineries**
- A **Fertiliser** Company of Nigeria
- The Onne Oil and Gas **Free Trade Zone**
- Oil and Gas **Jetties**
- etc

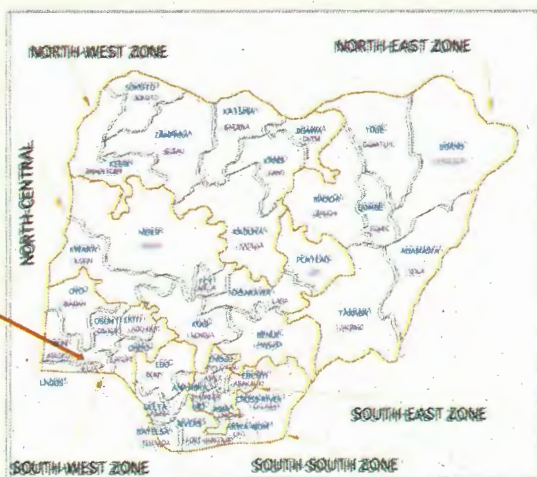


## THE NNEWI ENTREPRENEURIAL CLUSTER



## NNEWI ENTREPRENEURIAL CLUSTER

## AGBARA INDUSTRIAL CLUSTER



**THE KANO ICT PARK**

4



**ZARIA ACADEMIC CLUSTER...**

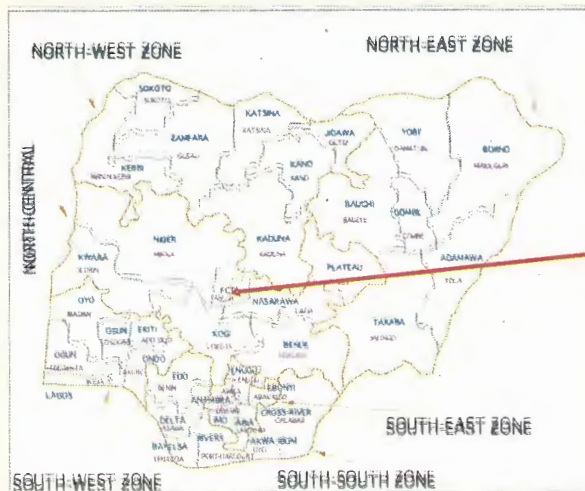
- Ahmadu Bello University
- Federal College of Education
- Nigeria College of Aviation Technology
- Nigeria Institute of Transport Technology
- Nigeria Leather Research Institute
- Ahmadu Bello University Teaching Hospital
- Nigeria Military School
- Division of Agricultural Colleges
- National Agricultural Extension Research and Liaison Services
- National Animal Products Research Institute
- Institute of Agricultural Research
- NILEST
- NARICT
- etc

**KANO ICT PARK FACILITIES**



**ABUJA TECHNOLOGY CORRIDOR**

6

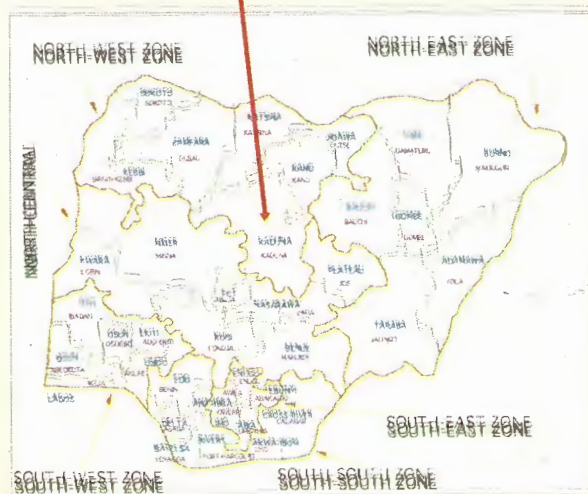


**ABUJA TECHNOLOGY CORRIDOR...**

- NATIONAL STADIUM
- NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SPORTS
- AMUSEMENT PARK
- CHINA CIVIL ENGRG. CONST. CORP.
- SILVER FOUNTAIN MEDICAL CENTRE
- CAPITAL CITY CONFERENCE CENTER
- DEFENCE UNIVERSITY
- SPACE R&D AGENCY
- NIGERIAN COMMUNICATION SATELLITE LIMITED
- NATIONAL BIOTECHNOLOGY DEVELOPMENT AGENCY
- ABUJA TECHNOLOGY VILLAGE
- AFRICAN UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY ABUJA
- NATIONAL PARK
- NATIONAL JUDICIAL INSTITUTE
- IDU INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX
- INTERNATIONAL CANCER RESEARCH

**ZARIA ACADEMIC CLUSTER**

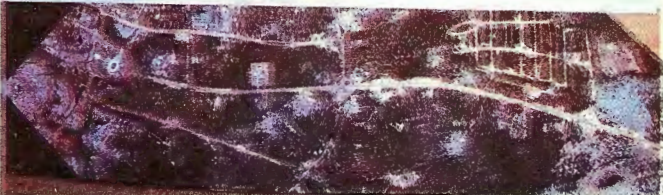
5



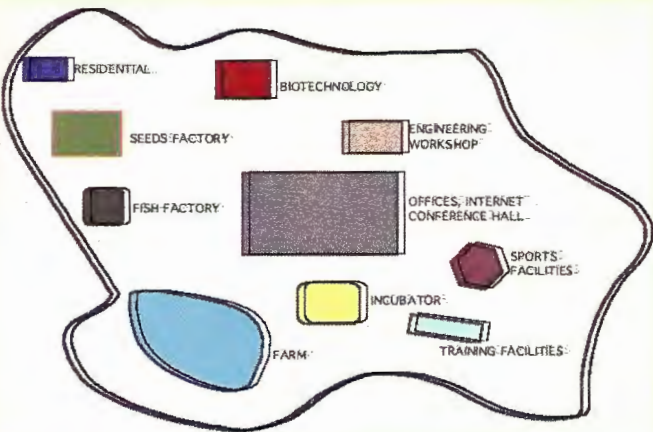
**CENTRE**

- INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR COMPLEX
- NILE UNIVERSITY
- BAZE UNIVERSITY
- FEDERAL STAFF HOSPITAL
- AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF MEDICAL SCIENCES
- etc etc

**Africa's Premier Science, Technology & Innovation Corridor, Abuja (APSTICA)**  
"Towards Vision 20:2020"



**STP SCHEME**



**(5) STRATEGIC NATIONAL POSTURE AGENDA 1777**

NOTAP'S CONTRIBUTION ON 20-2020

WHAT?

**1 777**

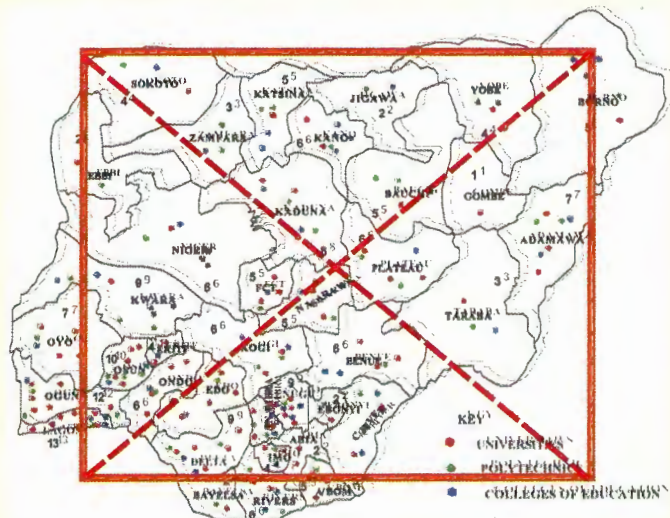
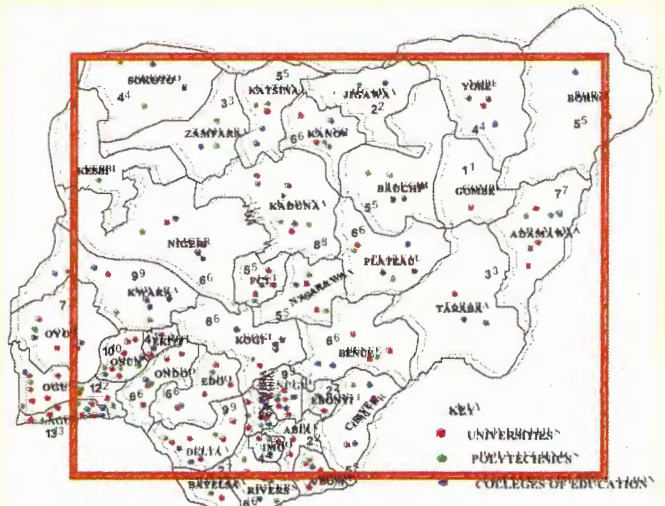


**ONE UNITED NIGERIA(1)**

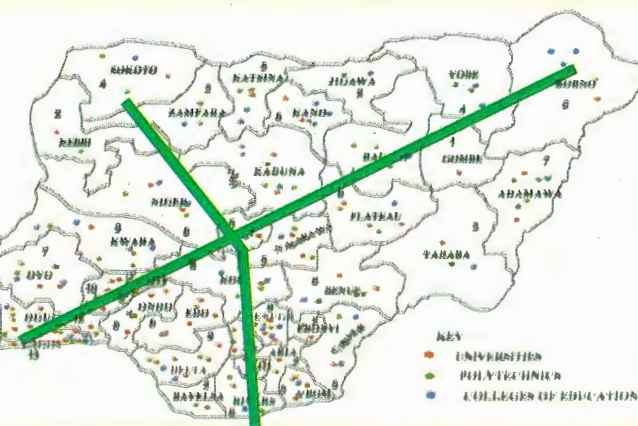
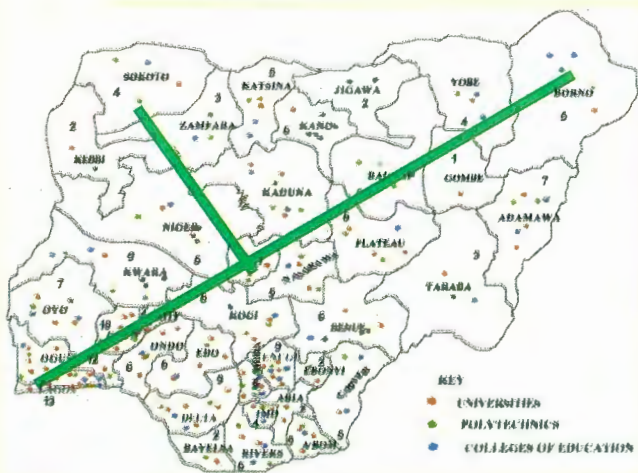
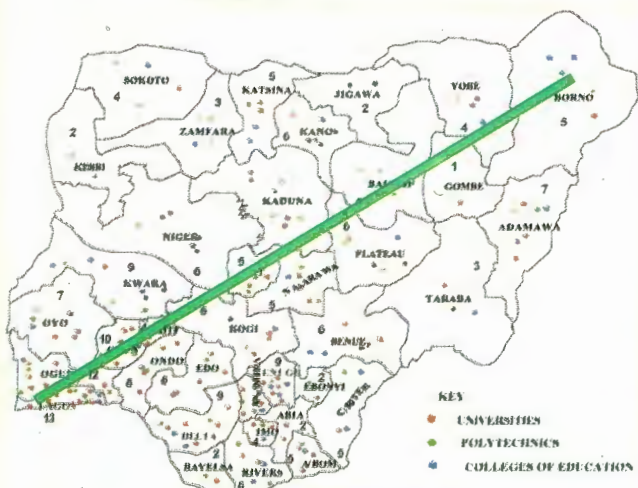
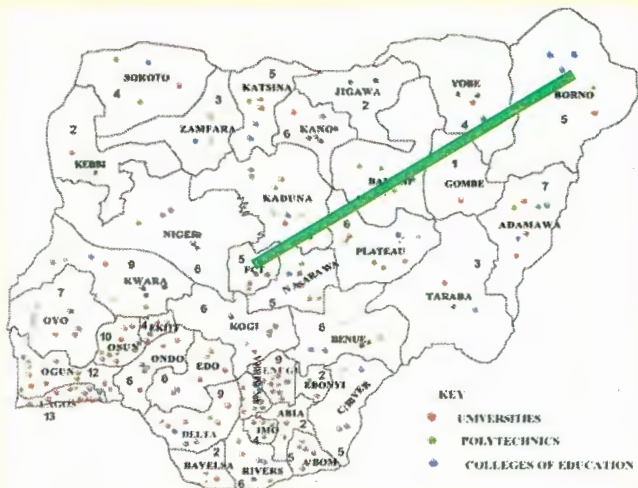


**ONE NIGERIA PROJECTS**

**RECTANGULAR NIGERIA!!!**

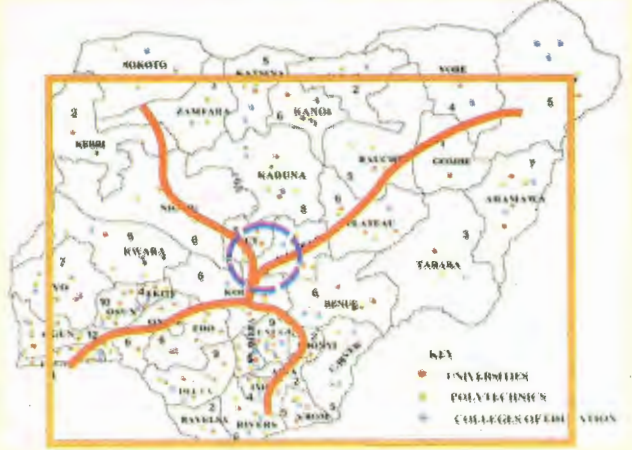


**A ONE NIGERIA PROJECT**





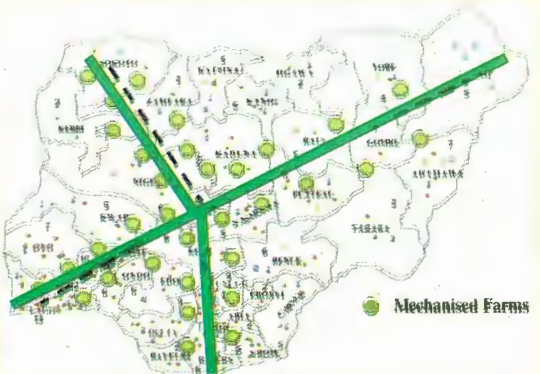
## ONE NIGERIA PROJECTS



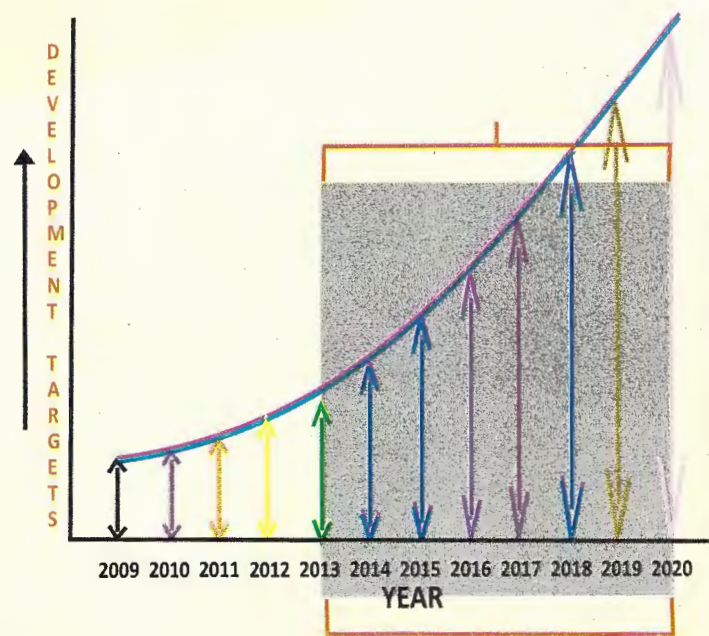
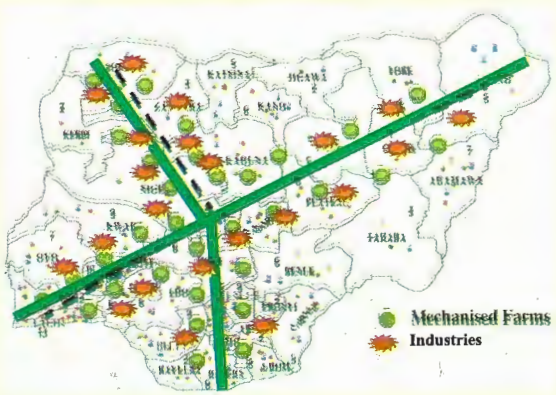
### MECHANISED FARMS

1 (7) 77

IN THE NEXT (7) YEARS (20:13 to 20)



### INDUSTRIES



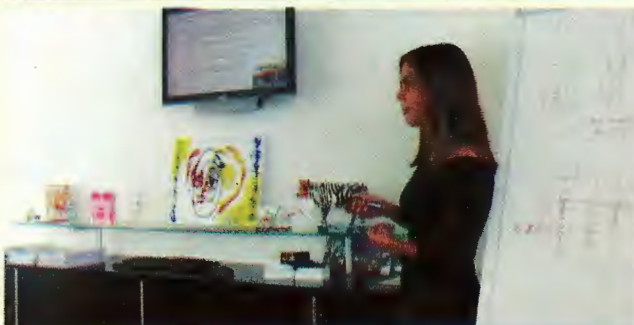
1 7 (7)

**GLOBAL PRODUCTS - (7)**

1. **UNIQUE FOODS** - *ponmo*, garri
2. **BIO-RESOURCE FRANCHISE** – Red goats, mushroom, fish
3. **HEALTH** (Niprisan sickle cell drug - sorghum)
4. **BASIC EDUCATION** (Science lab & lab kits),
5. **ICT Innovations** (Tele-medicine/ Tele-education)
6. **HOUSING** (Equipment and Houses)
7. **SPORTS** (football, boots, electronics, foods)

1 7 7 (7)

**BUILDING (7) MNCs**  
(**KNOWLEDGE CONTROL & HIGH WAGE EMPLOYMENT**)





**INFOSYS (Banking Software) - INDIA**



**BUILDING (7) NIGERIAN MNCs"  
(WHYNOT? SOME EXAMPLES!!)**

1. **DANGOTE** – Materials, inputs, food, etc  
– Communications business
3. **ZINOX** – ICT Hardware innovations
4. **CWG** – Software and Services innovations
5. **BIO-ORGANICS NUTRIENTS** – Food fortification and food security
6. **WE** – Oil and Gas Engineering
7. **INNO/AUTOBAHN** – Affordable Automobiles

**(6) ESTABLISHED NATIONAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT FUND**

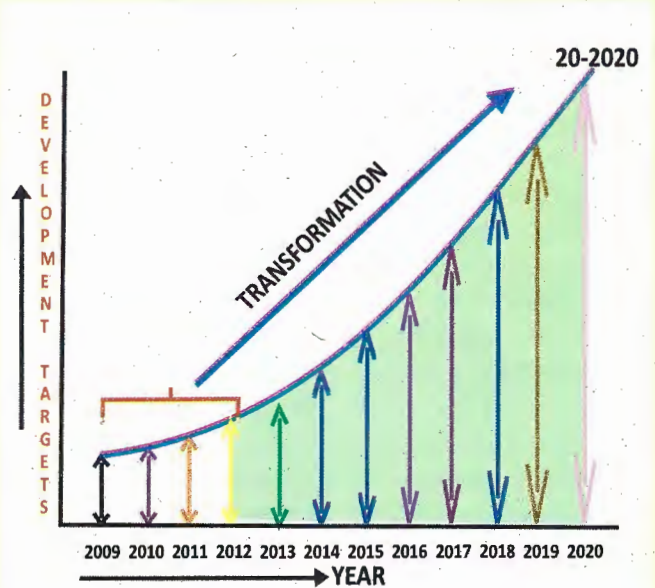
**(NRDF)**  
“minimum of 1% GDP”?

**HOW?**

Not only necessarily through Government budgets only

**CENTRALISE R&D FUNDS!!!**

**(7) APPROVED A NRDI COUNCIL (CHAIED BY THE PRESIDENT)  
POSITION KNOWLEDGE GOVERNANCE IN THE CENTRE**



**ACQUIRING SKILLS AND PROMOTING SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY FOR DEVELOPMENT IS AN IMPERATIVE TO TRANSFORMING THE NORTH**

# NORTHERN YOUTHS AND THE NEED TO RECLAIM NIGERIA

By  
Professor A.M. Ashafa

## Introduction

I am indeed delighted to be with you today as the Guest Speaker in this famous Federal Co-operative College Kaduna. Let me first thank and congratulate the Gamji Memorial Association, under the leadership of its President, Malam B.K. Bulama, for organizing this session. Your invitation came at a time we at the Arewa Research and Development Project (ARDP), being a group of concerned academics and professionals under the auspices of the Arewa House envisioned the need to engage the youth in the North and raise their consciousness regarding what the nation expects of them as tomorrow's leaders. The term Gamji, it should be noted, is a Hausa name for a blossom tree known for its serenity that accommodates and gives comforting shade to anyone that goes to cool off under it. In a traditional Hausa setting, under Gamji tree people sit to ponder-over issues concerning the society. However, with the kind of productive democracy in the North after independence under Sir Ahmadu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto, Hausa musicians were those who popularised and extended this term in reference to the late Sardauna, the only Premier of the defunct Northern Region of Nigeria in appreciation of his democratic principles, generosity, simplicity, sagacity, large-heartedness as well as rare leadership qualities and style in accommodating dissenting opinions and views in running his humane administration, which by today's callous, sad, frustrating and shameless standard can best be regarded as saintly.

I am equally pleased that those who organized this lecture are youths who are conscious of themselves and have decided to bring me to share the views on their future, the future of the North in particular and Nigeria at large. Certainly we live in a different North left by the late Sardauna who parted this world 47 years ago. That North he left behind is what we all look up today with nostalgia and frustration in relation to the messy situation the North found itself today.

Under the leadership of Gamji Sir Ahmadu Bello, the North moved rapidly in transforming the region into modernity where democracy and development centered on human beings were the hallmark of leadership and governance. To him governance was a trust that must be upheld and delivered with both sanctity and fear of God as well as in recognition of the diversity of the North. He succeeded in making the North an unbeatable competitor and a positive factor in the unity, stability and development of the country, far from what uninformed, myopic and mischievous people from the other side of the country would prefer to describe it. These people, in spite of possessing university degrees, failed to be cosmopolitan and enlightened and yet feel superior to Northerners. They accumulate certificates without discipline and wisdom that education is supposed to offer and were therefore not refined to becoming humane, democratic and accommodating but avaricious and 'Northphobia'.

If the North under the Sardauna were characterised and treated as such by its detractors, what more of now that it remains the shadow of its former self, incapacitated both by its leaders and those that had been longing to see its grave? Today, northerners cannot raise their heads in the Nigerian affairs; its leaders have compromised the teachings and legacies of the first generation leaders; they don't speak when it matters most and when they so speak it were inaudible and bereft of ideas and not matching the potency that were needed to make a point. For example, only recently that the Sultan of Sokoto called for amnesty for the Boko Haram as a good starting point to solving the insurgency that engulfed the North but was embarrassed by the President in a tactless and porous statement that was not befitting a reply to the person and office of the Sultan.

To further demonstrate that the North is now a conquered territory within the federation and its people now in chains and pains and clearly haple

and helpless under a regime literally captured by parochial ethnic jingoists, opportunistic politicians and unrepentant criminals, the elders in Borno and Yobe states were in the same vein tongue-lashed by President Goodluck in his belated visit to these parts of the 'presidentially excised' Nigerian federation, which came only because the Governors in the opposition parties defied all odds to visit Borno State. The President's visit was not

only hollow, but covered with controversy, criticism, resentment and mass opposition. When the President went to Borno and Yobe, it was not to sooth the open wounds of the people and it was without any policy proposition to either resolving the insurgency or to accepting proposition on how to go about doing so. Instead of being there to talk of reconciliation, reconstruction and rehabilitation, Mr. President's statements rather made nonsense

the essence of being an elder in Nigeria. He rather alerted us that the North is today an orphan in the scheme of things under his administration. When the President gave a condition to the elders in Borno and Yobe to take responsibility for any security mishap following their calls for the dissolution of the Joint Task Forces in their states whose presence and activities, without any rule of engagements, were allegedly said to not only detrimental and a source of grievous security risk than the so-called Boko Haram, but also constituted the major source

of losses in both human capital and constricting the economies of these states, he knew quite well that neither these elders in Borno and Yobe nor the Sultan have control over the security to take responsibility of any breach of security when the President should order the removal of the JTFs.

In view of all these, we are likely to be forced to think that the entire security situation in the North is being politicized; the aim, which many pundits have argued is

aimed at 2015 in order to replicate what happened in 2011 when riding on the insecurity situation, elections were manipulated. If this be true, which is undoubtedly plausible, then it is neither in the best interest of what is aimed at in 2015 nor of those who are to benefit from the manipulation come 2015 that amnesty be granted to Boko Haram and the withdrawal of the JTFs across the northern states. Rather we expect reinforcement of forces with possible

declaration of emergency rule across those Northern states most likely to constitute threat to the possible manipulation expected in 2015. In this way and for the North, it would be trapped in a triangle and in the proverbial the chicken has come home to roost because the North has allowed itself to be understood that the more it is allowed to be peaceful and stable, the more it would put its axe together to halt what was not completed on January 15, 1966.

We all know that the event of January 1966 created havoc for the North and for the entire Nigeria. Since then politicians would argue that the greatest threat to

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democracy is the military. But it must be emphasized that the impoverished youth, who are energetic and well-educated but left to be idle and unemployed, leaving in poverty and frustration in the midst of plenty are the greatest threat to our nascent democracy and stability. The youth constitute well over 70 percent of the country's population but are being underutilized, pauperized with no alternative that seem to be planned for them at a time they are becoming more impatient every day is a dangerous development. Is there any wonder that the Niger Delta militants and Bakassi Boys miscreants, the Southeast kidnapers and MASSOB, the Southwest Area Boys-cum OPC and the Boko Haram insurgents are youths? If nothing is done about and for the youths, not only that democracy is under serious threat but the country would be under imminent collapse.

#### **Who are the Youths?**

This is an interesting question because it goes to tell us who are those that are supposed to reclaim Nigeria for us and our children's children. I remember when in 1991 the late Nnamdi Azikiwe was celebrating his 87<sup>th</sup> birthday, he was humorous to have declared that "Today I am 87 years young". When I talk of the youths here I really mean those young adults that are being regarded to be between the ages of 15 and 30 or what others says from 16 to 40. These are period of human energy capable of being productive or destructive depending on how such energies are channeled and utilized. For example, Usman Dan Fodio waged his jihad that transformed the landscape of this part of Africa at the youthful age of 35. Further example of Nigeria's founding fathers will reinforce this argument. Zik of Africa for example was born in 1904 and at 30 he had completed his education and had started a newspaper of his own in Ghana in 1934 and in his 30s and 40s had become a pan Africanist of repute; Sardauna was born in 1909 and at 26 he was already a District Head of Rabah and at 37 in 1947 he had become the leader of the JMA that became NPC and Premier at 45; Awolowo was born in 1909 and at 35 in 1944 he had completed his studies at the University of London and in his early 40s he had founded the AG as a formidable regional party; Tafawa Balewa was born in 1912 and at the age of 34

he had been elected into the Northern Regional House of Assembly and later Legislative Assembly in 1947 and at 40 he was a Minister and Prime Minister of Nigeria at 47. Samuel Akintola was born in July 1910. At the age of 39 he was already a qualified lawyer trained in the UK and became Minister of Labour, then Health and later Communication and then Aviation. He crowned it with being the Premier of the Western Region in 1959. Michael Okpara was born in December 1920 and at the age of 32 he was into the Eastern Regional House of Assembly and held various cabinet positions including Minister of Health, Agriculture and Production. And the famous Malam Aminu Kano was born in 1920 and in his 30s he was a voice to be reckoned with in Nigeria's politics where he mentored many and remains a good example. In short, the founding fathers of Nigeria started their carrier in their formative ages. Who then said our youth today cannot collectively make a difference from the messy scenario we now face in this country? But because the youths are taken for a ride we have made nonsense of what youthfulness is all about so today the youth leader of the largest party in Africa is a little above 60 year old man whom the party of deceiving people and in marginalizing the proper youths foisted as a youth.

#### **Appreciating the Challenges of Nigerian Youths**

Africa is the world's youngest continent, as the proportion of youth among the region's total population is higher than in any other continent. In 2010, 70 percent of the region's population was under the age of 30, and slightly more than 20 per cent were young people between the ages of 15 to 30. The socio-economic conditions of young Africans in South Africa, Kenya, Ethiopia, South Sudan, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Rwanda have improved in recent years, but considerably in the decline in Nigeria. While there has been an increase in school enrolment over the past 20 years in most African countries, the gender gap in education in Nigeria has not been narrowing; generally, young Africans, especially in Nigeria, continue to face major difficulties in the realms of higher education, employment, health, and participation in decision-making processes.

Youths have the potential to be of great impetus for Nigeria's development, provided that appropriate investments in health and human capital are made.

However, if youth issues are not addressed, and if high rates of youth unemployment and under-employment persist, the negative development indices in Nigeria could be worse affected and our democracy and togetherness as a country under threat.

The recent global financial crisis is affecting young people much more than the general population, given the fact that most of those presently unemployed are youth. This sentiment has been expressed in terms of civil unrest, as demonstrated most prominently by youth that gave birth to the Arab Spring, and is as Sanusi Lamido Sanusi the CBN Governor said recently, hardly unconnected with what generated the Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria.

The global financial crisis notwithstanding, poverty, low levels of participation in national and local decision-making processes, poor infrastructure, and conflicts have led thousands of young people to migrate from rural to urban areas. Many have crossed borders within Africa, and others have left the continent, in search of better educational opportunities and livelihoods.

Dissatisfied youth are often more likely than old adults to challenge their situation actively and to become a socially destabilizing force, as evidenced by increasing demands for change on the continent and exemplified in the Arab Spring. For these reasons, many African countries are placing greater emphasis on youth development except in Nigeria where they are reserved and drugged for rigging elections.

Even with the much talk on lower standard of education, today's young people in Africa are more numerous and better educated than ever before. These young people represent a great opportunity, but also enormous challenges to the countries must rise.

Africa's strong economic growth of the last decade has translated into fewer jobs that are not enough for the teeming young people. The economy is not particularly favourable for young labour market entrants, ie school graduates. Especially in Nigeria, working poverty and vulnerable employment continue to be realities for the majority of working class people where the 'take home' doesn't take workers home. Especially in Northern Nigeria whose poverty has been on the rise and whose path of economic development has been decimally low, if not constrictive, the rates of youth in the informal sector especially the unproductive *achaba* is a threat to productive enterprises that will make it competitive in a federation that looks at it as one without oil and therefore unproductive, consumerist and parasitic.

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### Reclaiming Nigeria and the Agenda for Action

Politically conscious Nigerians hold varied opinions regarding the need to redeem and liberate Nigeria from its predators. I was reading an analyst the other time who categorized Nigerians' opinions into three.

The first he said were those who have woefully failed in managing the affairs of the country; who do not care about the security and welfare of the common man and that is why for 14 good years, they have not been able to fix the problems even in a single sector of the economy. That these set of people were those who do not want opposition because they would prefer their party to continue misruling and looting the nation for the next 60 years or their sympathizers who in one way or the other benefit from the party. These are those who blindly and shamelessly justify, support, applaud and defend the ill-conceived, ill-timed and uncalled for Presidential pardon of known Nigerian criminals for ethnic, selfish and primordial political interest.

In the second group he said were those who believe that what Nigeria needs at the moment is an opposition party that will oust the ruling party at the center. To this people, merger of opposition parties into a single strong opposition is the best thing that has ever happened to Nigeria in recent times as they strongly believe that the problem of Nigeria will be far reduced

if the dominant party can be defeated in 2015.

The last of the three categories were said to be those who are neither satisfied with the performance of the PDP nor see the emergence of APC as the solution that Nigeria needs. To these people, the solution to the myriads of Nigeria's problems lies in the hands of the youths. What this means therefore is that old and spent horse politicians should be completely alienated from the scheme of things as far as reclaiming Nigeria is concerned because they are either part of the problem or have at one time or the other being members of the party they hate most this time and their supporters who couldn't solve, but compound our problems. This group want the youths to form a movement that will be solely comprised of youths who in turn will contest and fill up public and political offices. Anything short of this to these Nigerians is like putting old wine in a new bottle.

The best way to turn things around in favour of the youth is in the field of education that is liberating as well as in the kind of politics through a movement that the youths should be preoccupied with at this point in time is how to make positive impact on who becomes the next President, Governors, Senators, etc in the forthcoming elections, while formulating long term strategies for opening up the space for youths to actively participate in political venture. The youths can set a target date where certain percentage of the Governorship, Senatorial, National Assembly seats, etc will be reserved for the youths within a political party that they have chosen to align with. To do this, they need to be empowered

by the requisite and qualitative education. The youth must be mobilised to take education serious. Though they have been showing great interest, the opportunities are very limited.

***Moving Nigeria's Educational System Forward to Reclaim Nigeria***

Concerted efforts by Governments, partners and initiatives such as Education for All have had a very positive impact on youth education in some parts of Africa, other than Nigeria, which has continued to play politics with the establishment of universities both at federal and state levels. Moreover, measurable education returns and favourable outcomes in the labour market remain limited in Nigeria.

To me the principal reasons for Nigeria's high unemployment rates are not limited to the following:

- 4 Corruption: The resources meant to turn around the economy are being daily stolen away and stashed in the private pockets of those who are under oath to do the right thing. Schools and universities are established not for what the citizens may benefit but what those in government would embezzle away. It has come to the level that applicants have to bribe themselves to get employed and no wonder we are witnessing the shameless 'My oga at the top' scandal famous in the social media today.
- 4 Education Mismatch: there is system mismatch between educational systems and the skills needed in the labour market, and the saturated public services and small private sector bases that are unable to employ large numbers of people. It is not surprising to find, therefore, that potential employers say that our institutions aren't graduating people with the skills they need to enhance their success. At the university level, Nigeria has the highest number of universities of technology or agriculture faculties as well having the highest share of social science and humanities graduates. Yet its share of engineers is the lowest. Only 2% of students are in agriculture and engineering respectively. Experience worldwide has shown that no nation has achieved technological and socio-political advancement where less than 15% of its qualified young citizens have access to tertiary education. The US has achieved over 80% access while in Europe the average is 35%. In emerging economies like South Africa and Brazil, the percentage of access to tertiary education is 18% and 25% respectively and which Nigeria had

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squandered all the opportunities to be ahead of. This means there is need to fundamentally address the skills gap, as well as the skill mismatch. The abilities of job-seekers are falling short of the ambitions of industry. Other relevant reasons include labour demand barriers, such as observed discrimination by employers towards young people on the grounds of lack of experience; information gaps between job seekers and potential employers; and barriers to the creation and development of business opportunities, particularly in gaining access to financial, physical and social capital.

4 White Collar Job Mindset: Another reason for high youth unemployment rates is a mindset that tells educated young people that they must be employed in white-collar jobs.

In relation to this sentiment, a low status is also afforded to vocational training. Furthermore, most young people in Africa do not finish school.

4 The labor markets Dimension: The rate at which young people find jobs depends on how prepared the labor market is to receive them, and how ready they are for the labor market. Even with high primary school enrolment with an equal number of girls and boys starting school, today primary school completion can no longer be our goal. In the North today, it is observed that out of every 100 students who start primary school, only 40 transition to secondary school; and just 8 of this group go to universities or tertiary institutions to learn the skills. How then are we prepared to move the North and the country forward as well give it an edge in an increasingly competitive world?

To provide young people with the right skills and to overcome skills mismatches therefore, governments must focus on expanding education beyond primary

schooling and improve its quality and relevance. Analysis has shown however that higher education is linked to higher unemployment among young people, but also to better employment status, higher wages and lower unemployment among adults.

### Conclusion

It was Edmund Burke who noted that “evil in society thrives where men and women of good conscience say or do nothing.” The youths in the North must rise to the occasion of these serious challenges. Today's and tomorrow's world are for the youth; they must not remain aloof; they are not be casual about their fate and generation of youth to come. They must reclaim Nigeria and they cannot do this without adequate preparation in education,

values of hard work, honesty and transparency, patriotism and love for the country, etc. You must understand your history. By next year Nigeria will celebrate its 100 years as a nation after the amalgamation. Some say that amalgamation was a mistake; but our biggest mistake is the kind of democrats we have who dashed our hopes, squandered our goodwill, messed up our resources and future and yet rewarded with 're-election". Our worse mistake is to allow these continue. And when and how do we end this? Your education must be used to liberate and reclaim this

country. You must be ready to make sacrifices. Arab youths have done theirs abruptly and violently, we must do ours calculatively, timely, differently but effectively. Enough blood has been shed in and for this country, yet no sacrifice will be too much for Nigeria to walk straight. The North too must be reclaimed by responsible youths to return it far and above where Gamji had stopped. The time of the spent horses is over and should be sealed off for good. As I stop here I wish to sincerely thank the organizers for the invitation and opportunity and the audience for your patience in listening. May God help Nigeria!!!!

White Collar Job Mindset:  
 Another reason for high youth unemployment rates is a mindset that tells educated young people that they must be employed in white-collar jobs.

# REPORT ON THE THIRD AREWA MEDIA FORUM ANNUAL LECTURE

## Leadership failure is the cause of crisis in the North – AMF

**A**gainst the backdrop of the state of insecurity and the resultant political and economic crises in the North, Arewa Media Forum (AMF), has held its Annual Lecture with the theme, “Crisis of Leadership as a Source of Conflict in Nigeria: The Way Forward.”

The event, which was held on 13<sup>th</sup> April 2013 at the Main Auditorium, Arewa House, Kaduna, had in attendance prominent personalities like Professor Ango Abdullahi (*Magajin Rafin Zazzau*), who chaired the occasion, Archbishop Idowu Fearon, Anglican Diocese, Kaduna, who served as the Guest Speaker, and the Emir of Kazaure, His Royal Highness Najib Hussaini Adamu, Father of the Day.

With utmost frankness, these personalities and other participants discussed the burning issues of insecurity in the North, its effects on the region and entire country and the role of leaders and the media in the birth of the unfortunate situation. A number of solutions to the problems were also proffered by the speakers.

The discourse began with a brief introduction by the Chairman of the Forum, Malam Muhammed Haruna. He recalled the previous lectures in which issues relating to the North, such as street begging and leadership failure were discussed, noting that the theme of this year's lecture was informed by the incessant violent crisis in the region. “It is a common knowledge that the North has for some time now been enmeshed in violent crisis with dire consequences not only on the region but the entire country. The aim of this lecture is to discuss the issues involved, with particular emphasis on the

role of leadership, and the way out,” he said.

The introductory remarks of the chairman of the occasion, Professor Abdullahi, set the tone for the discussion, as he briefly highlighted the historical antecedents that led to the present state of insecurity. According to him, current events only brought out what has been on the threshold since 1914. “After the amalgamation in 1914, our fathers worked hard to gain independence and subsequently helped in the moulding process. Unfortunately some people were not interested in the unity of the country so they staged a coup, killing northern political and military leaders, and terminating the first democratic journey.” He said since that first coup, it had been one

problem leading to the other, culminating in civil war and the consequent creation of states which eroded the monolithic nature of the North. He observed that cohesion of the North made it possible for the region to control the federal government. “But today the North is so fractured that some elements have come in through the doors opened for them by some Northerners, and we are no longer a united entity. We have many bodies; ACF, MBF, etc, yet things are getting worse.”

For a way out, he said, the divisive lines must

be broken so that “we talk from the same platform”. To this end, the media has a role to play, according to him. “The media has the role of bringing about unity and peace in the North. We all have the duty to bring back the image of the region.”

In the views of the Emir of Kazaure, the inability of leaders to enforce the law is the main cause of underdevelopment and insecurity. In his words; “Enforcement of the law is the basic foundation for development. With enforcement of the law there will be free and fair election, people will pay their taxes,

“The media has the role of bringing about unity and peace in the North. We all have the duty to bring back the image of the region.”

they will be accountable to the state and the state will be accountable to them. There will be no diversion of public money to private pockets. But where a society is lawless, anything goes.”

While acknowledging the fact that the lawlessness could be traced to leadership failure, he stressed that “our attitude of condemning and confronting leaders is not helping matters; we must be persuasive in our approach; fish out the positive from the negative and highlight it. That is the best approach in this critical time of our history”.

The Emir also decried the absence of history in our school curriculum, saying “in the absence of history, which is the authentic and objective account of our past, we derive our information and knowledge from the media, which at times are skewed and parochial.” According to him, we must dig deep into our past and revive the values that promote good governance, peace and unity, if we are really interested in an enduring peace.

Speaking in the same vein, the Chief Host/Special Guest of Honour of the occasion, Governor Alhaji Mukhtar Ramalan Yero of Kaduna State, who was represented by his Director-General, Media, Malam Ahmed Maiyaki, observed that all other factors that may have contributed to the present unfortunate situation took root from lapses in



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leadership. And the leadership shortcomings, according to him, have since degenerated into myriads of other problems such as collapse of moral values, increase in social vices, lack of respect for human life, corruption and disunity among the various ethnic groups that make up the North.

To tackle the present challenges, he said, “We must reflect on the good old days when the North used to be a great region, cohesive and united to the envy of all other regions in the country. At that time, religion, ethnicity, social status and political party affiliation were all secondary in the face of the collective interest of building a strong and economically viable Northern Region.”

He further observed that in those days, “Leaders were not greedy and did not convert public wealth into private riches. There was respect for common good and there was sanctity of human life and the North was prosperous and united. That was the Northern Region bequeathed to the present generation by the late Premier Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto.”

However, the situation, he said, has changed for the worse particularly since the dawn of the present political dispensation in 1999. “Rather than becoming a source of forging greater unity amongst the various groups in the North, our democratic experience has been mired in increased level of acrimony and deadly crises... because of the unhealthy struggle for power by leaders and the resort to 'do or die' tactics as a means of participating in the political space.”

The governor stressed that the only way out was for leaders to treat people equally and fairly irrespective of differences and there must be no deliberate attempt at annihilating any group. “We

must also embark on reviving our moral values by inculcating sound upbringing in our youths; that way, the incoming generation will evolve with love and respect for one another irrespective of any dichotomy.”

Archbishop Idowu Fearon, the Guest Speaker, captured the totality of the theme of the lecture in his paper eloquently presented, with relevant verses from both the Qur'an and the Bible to support his points.

The Archbishop, who holds a PhD in Islamic Studies, began by stressing the fact that Kaduna is the fulcrum of Nigeria; if it is stable, the North is stable, and if the North is stable the country is stable.

He therefore called on the leaders and the followers to do away with religious extremism and embrace tolerance and love for one another. According to him, we must go back to the religious teachings and see what Islam and Christianity have in common and emphasise those common ties. “Both religions teach belief in one God and the fact that God created all, He is different, He is good. They also teach us to love God and our neighbours. If we adhere to these, we will live in peace, which religions are aimed at generating.”

He said the North is experiencing insecurity today largely because of the activities of those he described as practical atheists, those who are 'deeply religious', who believe in God by words while their practical

“Everyone is in leadership position, we must be servant and guardian leaders who protect their communities and uphold justice, trust, righteousness and keep promises.

deeds deny God. Noting that effective leadership is based on ideas and leaders are the directors of ideas, Fearon asserted, “Everyone is in leadership position, we must be servant and guardian leaders who protect their communities and uphold justice, trust, righteousness and keep promises. The leader must be humble; he must consult with the people. And the followers must be obedient to their leaders and at the same critical, providing constructive criticism to direct the leader aright. We all have a part to play and we must play it well if we are to get out of the situation in which we found ourselves.”

The Archbishop's paper presentation was followed by contributions by the discussants. One of the discussants, Professor Kyari Mohammed, Director, Modibbo Adama University, Centre for Peace and Security Studies, Yola, summed up the guest speaker's paper, and opined that the main problem bedeviling the country is lack of strong institutions. Drawing an analogy from the regime of the former president of the United States, Mr. George Bush, he said “though Bush wasn't a good leader, because the system was working well, he managed to finish his tenure without major failures.”

He observed that the current insurgency in the North was as a result of failure of crisis management by the leaders and called for the strengthening of institutions rather than building the system on personalities.

The discourse was rounded off with comments from the audience, one of which was a suggestion that the AMF lecture should be held thrice a year instead of annually.



# Progress Report on the Syndicate Groups' Activities

**T**he meeting of the Conveners of Syndicate Groups was held at the Arewa House, Kaduna on 23rd April 2013 with Senator John Shagaya - Acting Chairman, Col. Hamid I. Ali (rtd), Hajiya Rabia Adamu Eshak, Malam Isa Modibbo, Prof. Abubakar Siddique Mohammed and Usman Suleiman in attendance. Apologies were received from Dr Usman Bugaje, Dr Kabiru S. Chafe and Engr Bello Suleiman.

The meeting which was presided over by Senator John Shagaya considered and adopted the minutes of the last meeting after some minor amendments. It also considered the following as matters arising from the minutes of last meeting. Media/Strategy Committee was noted that there were people that can easily be employed to do the job. But it was suggested that reliance should be placed on people that could easily be mobilized particularly when there is the need for releases. To this effect, names of people in the media industry such as Emmanuel Yawe, Shuaibu Lili, Ishaq Qauran- Mata, Ujudud Sharif, Baba Yola Toungo were suggested. Malam Isa Modibbo was mandated to contact them.

ii. Meeting with Members of the National Assembly. It was recalled that before Dr Usman Bugaje travelled out of the country, arrangement for the meeting with members of the National Assembly had reached advanced level. However, contact with the National Assembly was disrupted following his absence from the country. It was concluded that when Dr Usman Bugaje returned to the country, he will be requested to re-establish contact with them.

iii. Fund Raising The meeting re-emphasized the importance of raising funds in pursuit of projects that will impact on the lives of northerners, but cautioned against fund raising because of the attendant suspicions that are often associated with it. Instead, it was suggested that whenever the need for such funds arise, this could be effected through personal appeals to well-spirited personalities and institutions.

## Progress Reports By Syndicate Groups

i. Peace and Security Syndicate Group Col. Hamid Ali (rtd), the Convener of this group reported that his group met three times and expressed his satisfaction with the doggedness of the few that committed themselves to the spirit of the assignment. He explained that his group started by making an overview of the security situation in the country and tried to contextualize the security problems in historical perspective with a view to establishing the pattern and root causes of the security problems as a step to proffering the right solutions. A number of crisis situations were identified in the various phases of Nigerian history and 1999 was singled out as distinct in terms of the frequency and dimension of the crisis. This state of things was attributed to the hurried way the transition to civil rule was handled in 1999, giving room for the emergence of people to positions of authority who should otherwise, have no business with it. The group identified the following security challenges that need to be focused on: Religious conflicts, Boko Haram Insurgency, Armed banditry, Fulani/farmers conflicts The Convener assured the meeting that by the end of May his group will come up with the first draft of their assignment and by the end of June the final draft will be ready. He appealed to other members to work hand-in-hand by sharing documents where necessary. He finally, requested the Chairman to allow him to co-opt Prof. Abubakar Siddique Mohammed into his group. The request was granted by the Acting Chairman.

ii. Social Sector Syndicate Group Hajiya Rabi'a Adamu Eshak, the Convener of the Social Sector Syndicate Group reported that the group held two meetings and explained that the turnout to the meetings was poor. According to her, the group started with a review of the terms of reference provided by ARDP. She explained that the social sector encompassed broad spectrums of related fields – Education, Health and

Youths Development. In the field of education, she explained that the group zeroed on basic education because of its significance as the fulcrum upon which the other sectors of education i.e. secondary and tertiary education revolve. She argued that if basic education is well taken care of, the complaints about the standard of our university education would be a thing of the past. In the area of health, the group decided to focus on primary healthcare, while in the area of youths development, the focus is on how to integrate the youths into the main culture of the society. She pointed out that for the purpose of their assignment, the group will split into three teams with each team focusing on one of the above sub-sectors. Each of the teams, she added, will identify key stakeholders relevant to its area of concern and come up with a plan of action. She was happy that some northern states' Governors such as Rabiu Musa Kwankwaso of Kano, Ibrahim Shema of Katsina and Muazu Babangida Aliyu of Niger states were beginning to have interest particularly on education and therefore, the agenda could be of much use to them.

She presented a template that would be used by each of the three sub-sectors in designing the plan of action:

- Vision
- Mission & Core values
- Broad Strategies (Short, Medium, Long and Visionary Terms)
- Goals
- Specific Objectives
- Interventions
- Specific Activities
- Targets
- OVIs
- Time Frame
- Partnerships
- Resources
- M&E Plan

There is a need to reconcile some sections of the North who were divided particularly during the 2011 election.

The Convener explained that the group is aware that a lot has been done and was able to collect policies on education and health from Arewa House, institutions and donor agencies to help it in its assignment. She added that parameters for interventions were also developed. When things were put in place, a powerpoint presentation of it would be made. The meeting adopted the template presented by the Convener for the use of all the other Syndicates. Thus, Hajia Rabia Adamu Eshak was requested to make available the template to the other Syndicate Groups. The Acting Chairman, suggested that in addition to basic education, the group may consider including special education, especially for the judiciary and members of the National Assembly in whatever package it may design.

iii. Political Power Syndicate Group  
 Sen John Shagaya, the Convener of the Syndicate Group on Political Power, reported that his group met twice at Abuja, but observed that the meetings were not well-attended, a problem he attributed to financial constraints affecting some members of the group. The Convener explained that his group started by taking a general overview of the Terms of Reference (TOR) provided to them at the end of which a sub-committee was formed to give it

deeper thought. A copy of the modified TOR was circulated at the meeting. He further explained that at the end of their deliberations, the group came up with the following suggestions:

i. There is a need to reconcile some sections of the North who were divided particularly during the 2011 election.

ii. A leader that could speak with one voice for the North is needed and should be shopped through a process that should commence with the nomination of certain number of people from each geo-political zone. One person should be chosen out of the number of people that were nominated as the northern leader.

iii. Watch the role of traditional rulers to avoid mudslinging them, particularly by politicians  
iv. To support youth groups to emerge and hold inter-faith dialogues. If ARDP Secretariat will not object, the syndicate group would mandate the youths to put up a proposal for onward submission to the Secretariat.

The Convener assured the meeting that a 5-10 pages document on the way forward will be prepared by his group for submission at the next meeting.

iv. Values and Leadership Syndicate Group Malam Isa Modibbo represented this group as a result of the unavoidable absence of the Convener Engr. Bello Suleiman and his deputy, Hajiya Maryam Bewell. He explained that the group had exciting deliberations. Their meeting commenced with a review of the TOR. Thereafter, the group identified what integrity, honesty, etc are all about. According to Malam Isa, the group appreciated the leaders of the societies that were in existence long before colonialism down to the colonial administrators and the first generation of northern leaders. He argued that values as universal principles are sine-quo-non for the sustainable development of nations. He extensively cited from the experiences of other nations around the globe to support this assertion. The group observed that technology helps in changing the value systems of nations. It also observed that those saddled with leadership never bothered to mentor others, leading to a generational gap with attendant grave consequences. It was also noted that some of our traditional leaders refused to sustain leadership values especially as it relates to accountability and trust. This was true of leadership generally as currently constituted, thus, breeding all the problems we are facing today as a people. The group therefore, strongly emphasized the need to reinforce the ethos of accountability in our body

polity. Equally, the respect for leadership needs to be reinforced.

The group also made the following suggestions:  
i. That people should be encouraged to demand for accountability from their leaders, especially as freedom for such is guaranteed by the Freedom of Information Act.

ii. Political pressure should be put on state and federal legislative assemblies to reinforce the concept of accountability in governance.

iii. The National Assembly should be used to empower anti-corruption agencies in their fight against corruption

iv. Critical and strategic methods should be employed to ensure that the objectives of ARDP are met. This may include facebook, twitting, blogs, town-hall meetings. A proposal for town-hall meeting is available with the group.

The meeting observed with deep concern the increasing use of the traditional institutions by politicians in the course of which they destroyed the traditional institutions. Cases of this nature were cited particularly during the 2011 election to

buttress the point. It was therefore resolved that political pressure need to be asserted on the National Assembly to consider providing a role in the constitution for the traditional institutions as obtainable in other parts of the world. It was also felt that there is the need to meet the traditional rulers to properly brief them.

The group also recommended that a handbook on values be produced and widely circulated to reorient the youths and start the process of moulding good leaders. With the absence of any other business, Col Hamid Ali (rtd) moved for the adjournment of the meeting and was seconded by Malam Isa Modibbo. The meeting was adjourned after a closing prayer by Prof. Abubakar Siddique Mohammed.

*The National Assembly  
should be used  
to empower anti-corruption  
agencies in their  
fight against corruption*

# FOR THE RECORDS

## Being an Interview with the Late Malam Liman Ciroma on the Leadership qualities of Sir Ahamdu Bello, the Sarduna of Sokoto

**QUESTION: Sir, can you recall the first time you met Sardauna?**

**ANSWER:** Officially, it was when I reported to work in the Premier's Office, which was in July of 1961. But I first met him when I was working at Jos Museum and he was Minister of Works. He came on tour at our place, which is a federal office, even through he was a Regional Minister. I was working on photographs when my boss (Bernard Hague) brought him into the dark room. He then asked me questions, which I answered, about my job. After he had left my boss came in with Mr. Lantan who came from the British Museum. Lantan said this about Sardauna: "Imposing, isn't he?" That was where I first saw him. We met the second time at Hill Station Jos where a party held in his honour. He then called to ask me: "Za ka zo ka yi mani aiki ko?" (Will you come and work for me?) I said, "Yes". In July of 1961, I was given the schedule of Assistant Secretary II to work in the Premier's Office. I was the first African to be on that schedule. It was after me came Garba Ja Abdulkadir, Adamu Ciroma, Salisu Daura, Usman Waziri, Justice Kalgo and others. The schedule handles Native Authority politics, matters of the traditional rulers, Northern House of Assembly, etc. In addition, I wrote the speeches of the Premier. In fact the whites used to brag that it was the most important schedule in Kaduna. The nature of the job demanded that one worked extra time and even when not at work, one's whereabouts must be

known so that he can be reached whenever the need arises. Although means of communication were not well developed, we were using Police signal to deliver prompt messages. But the signals are brought in cyber meaning they were coded messages, which had to be decoded by the security. It was indeed an efficient way of ensuring that things were done promptly.



Perhaps one of the most sensitive issues in my schedule dealt with filling up vacant seats of emirs. Once a signal is received on such a vacancy, the premier will rise a memorandum on who was recommended after due consultations, that goes to the Governor for approval. And when the approval is done, a warrant is standing-by for the Government Printer who produces what goes out as notice of instalment. Though the procedure is standard, the selection of successor is usually tough and volatile. Yet we treated every issue with dispatch.

**In the course of our interview with Alhaji Abdulrahman Okene, he cited the case of appointing Emir of**

**Jama'a that had bedeviled the government for about two years. Are you saying that was an exception rather than the rule?**

First of all, Abdulrahman was the Resident in Zaria. But this was a case that had some peculiarities associated with it. It was the major assignment I confronted upon my resumption to duty at the Premier's Office. Jama'a Federation has about four ruling houses. Sarkin Jama'a used to be the only one known as a first class emir and member of the House

of Chiefs. Other emirs came about in the area among who are the "Yan Kasa" (indigenes), as they are referred to. So as the emirship became vacant the Northern Region Government enacted two orders. The first is an order that the emirship of Jama'a Native Authority (not that of Jama'a Federation) is solely for Jama'a sub-ordinative authority people. The second order states that Jama'a Federation Native Authority has no say in the affairs of installing an emir in Jama'a sub-ordinative authority. In the printing process of these orders, things got mixed up. The second order got printed before the first one, which resulted in burning up all gazettes to rectify these mistakes. It was installed back in 1961.

**As the Premier's speechwriter what do you understand to be how he wanted his speech to be written? Especially when whatever he said was a policy pronouncement?**

It is not that I was the one writing for him what to go and say. As an Assistant Secretary II, I was making the first draft and then pass it through to those ahead of me. There were two of them: Deputy Secretary to the Premier and the Secretary to the Premier. They will vet my submission before passing it to the Premier who also edits to suit his purpose. I can, however, recall a draft, which I made that probably impressed them. It was when the Western House of Assembly adopted the motion that they were creating the Mid-Western Region. The motion had to be supported by the Federal Government and one other Region. Both Northern and Eastern Regions were not opposed to the motion but we did not want a similar thing for the North. So I was given the assignment to draft the Premier's speech in the Assembly to support this motion. In the draft I said: 'Every Region in Nigeria has the aspirations of carrying out programmes that will foster its growth and development in whatever way it deems appropriate. The people of Western Region have

ant to develop in unity devoid of division'. This was the way I approached the assignment and my superiors agreed.

**Usually, the Premier was known in rewarding job output that impressed him. Did you get any promotion or commendation for the speech you have just cited?**

This was not the Premier's job. He does not influence the system in promoting any person. These sorts of things began later. Civil Service has a separate path that was uniquely its own without interference from outside of it. Later I got to the level of Deputy Secretary to the Premier from 1964-1965.



**Sir, let me bring you forward to this time. Recently, the former President Alhaji Shehu Shagari decried the manner in which Nigerians are fond of putting down their leaders and nation even publicly. How will you compare this trend with what it used to be during Sardauna's era?**

I think what President Shagari said has a lot of sense in it. The present attitudes of our people lack obedience and good culture. This may be because the leaders are not abiding by the ethics of leadership. If a leader upholds the dignity of leadership, there are hardly any of the subjects that can disregard him or the nation. A good example is Ali Akilu who was the Secretary to the Government of Northern Region. He was hardly known. He was driving himself to the office but today's Secretary to the State Government (SSG) goes about with an official vehicle, a driver and an orderly.

**What are the differences in the way government businesses are conducted now and how they were in Sardauna's era? If there would be need for improvement, what advice can you give?**

There is great difference in the manner things are done in the North and the South. Our own part has

learnt to do things in consonance with our culture. The traditional institution had established systems covering legal, treasury, police, etc, that are of non-European origin. This is indeed civilization. Mankind, according to reknown historians, thus far, witnessed over twenty civilizations. Out of them Western Civilization, which is based on Christianity, is the current one. There are Islamic, Roman, Greek, Egyptian Civilizations, which are all around the Mediterranean and Middle East where first signs of development emerged. The North has quite a bit of influence from there. The Trans-Saharan trade route facilitated the way we benefited from an interaction that enriched us from the civilizations of the Mediterranean and Middle East. That is why one may notice that the North does not make political noises. The Europeans came to conquer us knowing fully well that the time shall come to pass, and we positioned ourselves in anticipation without much ado. Those who do not understand this misconstrued us for not wanting independence. Even when the imperialists were around, we got round to doing things, so those who were emerging as players had the opinion that they had to be noisy to be result-oriented. They were confrontational towards the imperialists, a trait they carried along towards the indigenous government.

If we had opted for coalition government during Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa's regime, Nigeria could have succeeded. But sadly we chose government of opposition but in governance collaboration serves better. Even during Shagari's government there was call for coalition government, which was again turned down. We want to copy from the West but we should realize that Africans do not tolerate criticisms and divisions. This shows that we are still attempting to govern without referring to how we are.

**This takes me to the question in respect of the Islamic-African European marriage that Sardauna was said to have done so well. Do you have any reaction?**

We were extremely lucky that our leaders fully understood the significance of our cultural heritage. We that embraced western education had the belief that if we did not stuck-in wearing a shirt, short and stockings, it's as if we were the backward guys. While we view those wearing traditional attires

***The Europeans came to conquer us knowing fully well that the time shall come to pass, and we positioned ourselves in anticipation without much ado.***

with contempt and as being backward. It was in this kind of mindset that we started off. The beginning of politics provided itself as the means, through which the Northerners enlightened the Southerners on the importance of projecting our indigenous modes of dressings. If you stumble on a photograph of the National Assembly of the time, you are likely to see one bunch in 'Babbar riga' and others in suits, probably made of wool that is too warm for our weather. But later you can hardly see Dr. Namndi Azikwe or Obafemi Awolowo in suits. The vogue of using African attires caught up even with our diplomats. Some nations in the continent also embraced the idea. Sardauna, who was persistent in wearing traditional wears, even when on overseas trips during the winter seasons brought all these about. Your culture, as he had thought, gives identity, prestige and honour.

**What or whom do you think is responsible for bringing about the political power shift from coastal Nigeria to the hinterland? This question should be understood in the context of the Southern parts coming into contact with the west and westernization long before the Northerners; therefore the North ought to be disadvantaged because politics and administration were conducted using western standards.**

I think what we ought to understand is: what is education? If you came to me speaking in English, German or French – do you call that education? Every person can learn language. Education is greater than language. The art of administration is not learnt overnight. If you go round the villages around, the most relevant worker is likely to be the Ward Head (dagaci). He works round the clock in service of his people but who pays him commensurate salary? But may be he inherited the position therefore he assume it as a responsibility without any fuss. It is in this part of the country where you will find households that treat a son and a houseboy without any class difference; the wives and maids eat from same pot; there is abundant fairness in the way people are treated. The quest for material acquisition is also not a do or die affair with us.

Our traditional trades were literally killed by the Colonial Administration. The moment the rains stopped our people will begin to clear their farms. The stalks were used for fencing houses, calabash bowls and spoons were made, cotton was processed into threads; in short people were gainfully engaged. All these stopped because of the imported products from abroad. New ways of making money emerged even though very few individuals make it legitimately. Wealth is then illegitimately accumulated with corresponding recklessness on how it is used. All these are the signs of new times that I knew were becoming the pattern of life, which the Europeans brought. Hence they are still creeping into us, and it would take us time to learn what impact they would have on us as a people. Even the concept of democracy is not fully practiced yet. England

only gave women the right to vote in the 1920's. America gave the blacks right to vote in the 1960's. And one must own a house to cast a vote in England before. In Russia, there was a time an individual could not leave the farm he labours in and it doesn't belong to him. So everything in the world is changing but we have to copy something. The prerequisite, however, remains that it should be adapted to suit our peculiarities and purpose. We must, also, be honest and just in our assessment and adoption.

The elections we conduct, are they fair? How much are people buying the votes? Who doesn't know? Do we then continue to deceive ourselves? Can one without money be voted for? Who will vote him? Or hasn't it happened where someone won an election and another person was announced as the winner? May be as the time goes on we shall discover what is better for us in the nation.

Politics is a game  
 of numbers  
 and the North  
 is more populated  
 than the South.

**Despite all these explanations, English is the official language of Nigeria and Europeans' criteria is used in recruiting staff; yet the Northerners have held political power that is been attributed to Sardauna's foresight, your comment?**

Politics is a game of numbers and the North is more populated than the South.

Aside from this, the white man was ruling us until he gradually led us to independence. Firstly, the Governor appointed the ministers as he wished. Before the white man left, they set out to appoint the Prime Minister. If the white man had wanted he would have picked either Awolowo or Azikwe but he opted for Abubakar. Why did the white man do that? It was because he saw the qualities in the candidate chosen. And as Abubakar Tafawa Balewa was killed, what was discovered that he had amassed? You know if one is of good character he doesn't need to go to town singing about it. That is it. The Northerners have been ruling the nation and some others have not;

but it is not political administration that was the government. Beside the leadership where do our people stand? How many of us are employed by the government? We are merely like referees. And now that we are striving towards change, I do hope that it comes in peace.

It was a pity that Chief Moshood Abiola was not given the chance to rule the nation. He should have been left for us to see the outcome. The political impasse/crisis that resulted wouldn't have come about. And if he were teleguided to whatever outcome of his presidency, the Hausa Fulani would have been exonerated from blame. It was made as if the faults were from us but we were not responsible.

**If we are to remember Sardauna for all this period that he had been gone, what is the best way to do so?**

We thank God. Remembering Sir Ahmadu Bello is always with us. There are many projects that keep on reminding us of him. They include Ahmadu Bello University, Ahmadu Bello Stadium, Road and others. His projects are so important because they impacted on the North. During his tenure he was visiting every nook and corner of the land. He was going by road except for places where they have airstrips or airports. He was doing all these things when he was fifty something years old. Yet, you could pass him for a much older person. He had served this land that is why his name is constantly honoured.

Since he died there had been no one that spoke bad of him and if that is done, it must be out of ignorance or misunderstanding. No human being can be said to be perfect but if you weigh his good and bad works, the former outweighs the latter. One will be willing to forgive the bad works.

**If history is to remember him, as that is your discipline, how is it likely to do that?**

How can you ask this question? Haven't you seen the book written on him? Just read it. I am in the History of Northern Nigeria Committee. We are in the process of publishing it. We sought for assistance from General Muhammadu Buhari as Head of State to get President Dauda Jawara of Gambia to come and launch the book at Ahmadu Bello Stadium in Kaduna. Before the time, General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida became the Head of State and upheld the promise made earlier. An aircraft was released that brought President Jawara for the launching and it became the most successful, probably in the whole world. Professor John N. Paden had lived in Kano and he had stayed in Kaduna for months writing the book. He had left

nothing untouched. So go and read the book.

**I have read it. Sir, we thank you for granting us this interview**

Thank you too.

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## FOR THE RECORDS

Being an Interview with the Late Chief Sunday Awoniyi CON,  
 on the Leadership qualities of Sir Ahamdu Bello, the Sarduna of Sokoto

**QUESTION: In a nutshell sir, who is Chief Sunday Awoniyi?**

**ANSWER:** Well, I am Sunday Bolorunduro Awoniyi. The name Sunday makes me a Christian. You cannot be more Christian than Sunday. And the name Awoniyi makes me a Yoruba man. I come from a place called Mopa in Kabba Division called Okunland which is now broken down into five local governments. I attended Mopa Baptist School founded by my father and his friends in 1932, the very year I was born. He was their leader. I thereafter attended the first primary school in the whole Northern Nigeria, the Holy Trinity School, Lokoja. The school was established by the African Bishop, Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther in Lokoja in the year 1830. From Lokoja I went to the Middle School in Okene from 1947 – 1950. From there I went to the first secondary, school in Northern Nigeria. i.e. the Barewa College, Zaria from 1950 – 53. From there I went to the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology, Zaria from 1954 56, and then the University College, Ibadan where I graduated in 1959 and joined the Northern Administrative Service as an Assistant Secretary in June of that year.

Since then many things have happened. I was lucky to have met the Premier, Sir Ahmade Bello, at the very formative period of my civil service career. In fact even slightly before. I worked closely with him for several months before I was posted to Bauchi

Provice as an Assistant District Officer, ADO. At the time, young and relatively inexperienced as I was because of shortage of staff, I ran two divisions together, Lafia and Nassarawa Divisions, during the Tiv riots of the 1960. I then went on secondment in 1961 to the Federal Civil Service as an Assistant Secretary and was posted to the Federal Ministry of Mines and Power in Lagos. There I met my minister, Dr. Yusuf Maitama Sule (Dan Masanin Kano). We, the graduate administrative officers, were encouraged to transfer to the Federal Civil Service but I said: "I was not sufficiently enamoured of the bright lights of Lagos to wish to transfer to Lagos." Therefore, after 18 months in Lagos, I reverted to the Northern Civil Service in 1962 and was posted to the Premier's Office as Acting Senior Assistant Secretary, Security. I was dispatched to Niger Province to be Provincial Secretary of that Province in 1964, taking over from the late Malam Liman Ciroma, a brilliant, astute, extremely knowledgeable and courageous officer. He taught me a lot.

There were some administrative and security problems in Plateau just before the Federal elections of 1964. I was therefore transferred urgently to Jos to take over as Provincial Secretary, Plateau Province. After that, I went back to the Premier's Office as Deputy Secretary to the Premier. I was Deputy to Ali Akilu who was Secretary to the Premier and Head of Service. People often make the mistake of saying I was Private Secretary to the Premier. I was never that. Nonetheless, I was lucky also to have worked in the Northern Executive Council as its Secretary and



therefore directly answerable to the Premier. With the creation of states in 1968 by which time I was an Under Secretary in the Governor's Office, I took active part in the breaking up of Northern Nigeria into six states and was closely involved in the division of assets between the six Northern States. Then with the deployment of staff to states, I was deployed to my state, Kwara State, from 1968, as the first Permanent Secretary in the State Ministry of Finance, till 1970. In 1970 I went overseas on a course at the Imperial Defence College, London.

On my return to Nigeria, I transferred in 1971 to the Federal Public Service and was appointed Permanent Secretary, Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs. I served in that Ministry for five years, making me the longest serving Permanent Secretary of that Ministry. Then with the overthrow of General Yakubu Gowon by General Murtala Mohammed, I was posted in 1975 to the Ministry of Petroleum as Permanent Secretary. I worked for nearly two years in that Ministry and decided to retire voluntarily at the age of 45. That is it.

### POLITICS

I got involved in politics not as a politician but as a retired civil servant or an administrator sucked into politics, if you like. I always say I cannot be a politician with all the contortions; the lying; and the stabbing in the back, which are so characteristic of our politics in this country. But I believed very, very strongly that we could establish a very strong political party, in which all Nigerians will feel comfortable irrespective of religion, tribe or sex to pursue his or her political interest in a harmonious, all inclusive atmosphere. I believe fervently in that project. And here we are, regrettably things haven't turned out as we planned or worked so hard for.

**Sir you first mentioned meeting the Premier when you got a job but then retracted to say you met him even earlier. Could you recall the very first time you met him?**

as when he paid a visit to Barewa College. It was in 1953 when I was in my final year and he really galvanized us. He told us the exact position the North was in education vis-a-viz the rest of the country. And that if anyone of us did very well in our studies, we were about to take Cambridge School Certificate Examination, we could get scholarships and go ahead to earn degrees in universities. That was a most interesting experience. He told us too that he was going to push education in such a way that every Provincial Secondary School in the North will become a full – fledged secondary school. Don't forget, ours was the only full fledged secondary school in the entire vast North at the time.

We applied to all the regional governments and got the permit to raise money throughout the Federation for that school.

But more intimately, at a personal level, I met him in 1954. We, the young students who came from my home town, Mopa, during a Christmas holiday, met and decided we wanted to build a secondary school. We told our parents that we could do it even though it could take years and years. That was in December 1954. We started collecting donations. I went to the Premier's office in Kaduna dressed up in my Barewa

uniform, with my school badges pinned on as football captain, hockey eleven and in athletics. I thought I looked good. I marched to the Sardauna's office with a letter requesting donation for the secondary school project. As I walked in he said: "Yes?" I greeted him and said: "I have a letter for you sir." He asked me what was in the letter? I said: "Sir the letter is here". He said: "Tell me what is in it. You are more important than the letter." I was standing, so he asked me to sit down. I said, "no sir I prefer to stand." And he said "Ok, if you wouldn't sit I will stand." So I sat down. Then I told him my mission to collect donations for Mopa Secondary School. He pulled his drawer and gave me twenty-five pounds! It was the largest sum of money I had ever touched in my life, so I brought out my receipt book and wrote him a receipt for 25 pounds and thanked him profoundly. As I got half way out of his office he said:

"Young man come back", which I did. He said I had

just committed an offence. Quickly, I placed his money on his table and grabbed the receipt. He laughed and laughed and said that I should give him his receipt and take my money. He then explained to me, "You have no right to go about collecting money from members of the public without a permit issued under the Public Collection Ordinance. Go to the Regional Library and look up the law and apply to the Government for a public collection license."

We applied to all the regional governments and got the permit to raise money throughout the Federation for that school. That was my first intimate experience of him.

But you see, when I left university I was posted to his office as a Temporary Assistant Executive Officer (AEO) pending my degree results. And when my results came and I had passed my degree, for some reason I was not interviewed for sometime for appointment; so I stayed in the Premier's Office for months with little to do.

**What do you mean when you said you were not interviewed for appointment?**

Interviewed as an Administrative Officer class IV. There was nothing much to do for me but as chance would have it, there were some Provincial Annual Reports, which should have been edited for publication. I think they were for 1957, or 1958 or something. Having nothing to do, I edited one of them, I believe for Adamawa Province, and showed it to my superior officer, Mr. Reynolds an English man. I said if he found it okay I could do the rest. So Mr. Reynolds, a fantastic gentleman, sent the file and the edited report to the Head of Service, and Secretary to the Premier, Mr. Seaford, in those days. He in turn sent the file to the Premier. When the file came back, Reynolds jokingly said to me; "Sunday, you have an appointment with the big man." I inquired who the 'big man' was and he said the premier. The premier had written in the files: " Let the officer who



amended this Report speak to me." I had dressed casually to office in a long sleeve shirt and trouser. No coat! So, Mr. Reynolds lent me his somewhat oversized coat. I marched up to the Premier on the first floor of the office. He looked me up in my strange oversized coat and said "Yes? I responded saying: "You asked me to see you." I showed him the file. He asked whether it was me who amended the Report and whether I worked in the office. I said: "Yes sir." He asked: "How long have you been here?" I told him over two months. I came here to collect money from you for a secondary school project in Mopa my home." He told me to sit down. As if there was a little bit of conspiracy between us, he looked around, and said northerners who did well, and had a degree or diploma from any post secondary institutions should be brought to him so that he could encourage and congratulate them. He said "They don't want you here." And we laughed. He then asked whether I had been interviewed for appointment and I said no. He said I should continue editing the annual reports of other Provinces like Bauchi, Benue, Borno, etc, in alphabetical order. As I finished each one I should come for us to agree what photographs should form the illustrations in each report. From time to time as I finished work on each report I would go to the Ministry of Information for

illustrative photographs for each Provincial Annual Report.

It was a unique and educative opportunity. I worked very fast and very hard. As we worked, he would ask whether I had been interviewed. But he never interfered in the affairs of the civil service. I was finally interviewed and posted to Bauchi Province. I went to tell him. He wished me luck, encouraged me and gave me money for petrol. That is the Premier.

**You have been heard to describe him as a huge person in terms personality, dressing and stature. How did that impinge upon you that first day you met him?**

He was such an imposing figure. He dressed well, like the prince that he was. He looked at you straight in the eye. He had a great laugh. The way he laughed was deep from the bottom of his stomach; not the cosmetic laughter of some people from their jaws only. He impressed you as a forceful man who nevertheless was genuinely interested in the person standing before him. It always struck me that this big man talking to me was an unusable man. He had that easy, honest way of talking to people and putting them at ease. If you saw him and you didn't know him, he could look intimidating. You may not feel comfortable before him. But immediately he begins to talk to you, the whole atmosphere becomes relaxed. He had this way with people and he had a fantastic sense of humour.

**You once gave an assessment of the Premier's achievements within an eleven-year period. Can you recast your mind back to that?**

Well, one thing that I found so fascinating with the Premier was his strong preoccupation with the North. Everything he did was to push the interest of the North- the common man in the North. He knew that the North was greatly disadvantaged in the Federation. And so he encouraged anybody that he felt had the ability to help move the North forward. He pulled you along willy nilly by his examples. You could not be in the Premier's office and not be on your toes. And if you did a good job he would commend you on file with a "ty", i.e., "thank you," or "excellent" and he would sign it "Ahmadu". I went on an overseas course for three weeks at the British War Office, London in 1962 shortly after my

posting to the Premier's Office to do security. Unknown to me, by the time I returned to Nigeria after the course, the War Office had already written and sent a confidential report on me to Kaduna on my performance on the course. The report was minuted to him by the Head of Service for his information. A couple of days later, I went with friends to his residence. In the presence of the large crowd usually present in his house, he called me and I went forward to where he sat. All eyes were on me

– Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries, very senior as well as junior civil servants. Then he said "This boy, though young in age and rank, he went to the UK on an important training and came first." I was greatly embarrassed. Then he asked Hassan Lemu, his principal Private Secretary to bring me my gift. It was a beautiful, heavily embroidered dress. "I tell you all" he said "give these young northerners a chance and they will excel." I felt like fainting. So sudden, so unexpected.

**He once gave you a wristwatch I believe?**

Yes, that was in 1962. I was sent to Lagos on secondment as I said earlier, and after eighteen

months I decided to revert to the Northern Civil Service. I was posted to his office as Senior Assistant Secretary (Security). In that capacity, you prepared Monthly reports about the security situation of the Region. The report incorporated the reports from the police, the military, the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Social Welfare, and Administration Officers and Residents from the 13 Provinces and some 54 Divisions. The Regional Security Committee sat to consider the Report, with the Premier as Chairman. There were some six other members. During my very first meeting as Secretary of the Committee, the Premier noticed that I was not taking copious notes and he was uncomfortable. So at the end of the meeting he said:

And if you did a good job  
he would commend you  
on file with a "ty", i.e.,  
"thank you," or "excellent"  
and he would sign  
it "Ahmadu".



“ Secretary, are we going to have a minute of this meeting?” I said “ Yes Sir.” He then handed over to me a beautifully wrapped gift box and asked me to open it. I did, and in the box was a pretty gold – plated Omega watch. Then he said: “ People don't come late to my meetings, and this watch is to emphasize that fact.” At that time I had a cheap Japanese watch with fishes drawn on its dial.

So you didn't go late to anything involving the Premier. He was such a stickler for time. But see what is happening today on state occasions. If a meeting or ceremony is scheduled for 10am, it may not start until 12 noon or even later. They say all that is for security precautions. It is incredible. It is gross discourtesy to the people and a waste of their precious time.

**Talking of meetings, there was one you were in attendance with the Premier when an issue for**

**providing funds to the University of the North (Ahmdu Bello University) was discussed. Can you recall what happened?**

Yes. You see there were, at the beginning, many opponents against the university being established. Today, people talk about the Premier as if he didn't have opposition. He had opposition against some major things he was trying to do. But He was a persuasive man. He listened and where necessary he accommodated opposing views. But once he was convinced, he just got on with it. Ahmadu Bello University was one of those. There were people who laughed at us that we were establishing an oversized secondary school and not a university. But really what is a university? Great academicians, great lecturers of international repute, good library, great teaching, etc. It isn't buildings. But great content and quality. The Premier was bent on this university, to give the North accelerated qualitative

education and professional training.

There was this occasion at an Executive Council meeting when some additional funding (may be some thousands of pounds or so only), was needed for Ahmadu Bello University; by then it was University of the North. The Ministry of Finance had to do some juggling around with the Northern Nigeria budget in order to find additional provision for the university with the overall budget approved by the House of Assembly. It was not like today when you can just use public funds not approved by the legislature just because you are the Chief Executive of the state or country.

The budget was operated in such a way that if you were going to change expenditure in a head of the estimates, it had to be thoroughly examined and approved by the Cabinet. Therefore, the funds requested for the university was discussed and found within the provisions in the overall budget of the Region as approved by the House of Assembly. At the end of the meeting in question on that day, everybody was relieved but one minister was unhappy and was grumbling. So the Premier called his name and asked "What is the matter?" The minister replied and asked "Why are we expending so much money and time on this university when we know that for a long time, the majority of the students there will be Southerners because we haven't got Northern students to fill this University?" As the minister finished the Premier

exploded. He called the minister by name and said: "Why is your horizon so low? While it is true that for sometime the majority of students will be from the south, a day will come when the majority of the students will be Northerners. In the meantime, the more of these young ones who come to the university from the South, the more the Southerners will know us and it will be good for the unity of this country. A day will come when even the Vice Chancellor will be a northerner." There was a tense silence in the council chamber! But typical of the Premier, he cracked a joke and the whole council

burst into laughter. That was the man. He would never put you down and keep you down. He genuinely loved people and sought to encourage them to do their best every time.

The premier said one thing one day: "We in the North have a responsibility for preserving this Federation." Just like that. And the way he was going to work for preservation of this federation is for us to know more of ourselves in Nigeria. He wrote in one of his statements: "The progress we have made so far, we have made because we were able to convert to our friends those who would have

rather been our foes."

What you do not know you may begin to doubt; what you doubt, you may begin to hate; and what you hate, you may wish or be tempted to destroy. He believed that the greatest thing this Federal Republic needed, was more and better knowledge of ourselves.

I know that he was beginning to stretch his hands out to the rest of the country to achieve just that. He made a proposal whereby a given number of Northern Civil Servants would be sent to the Eastern and Western Civil Services to work for some period in those services. In return, a similar number from each of the two regions

would come to work in the Northern Civil Service for a period also. He was working for the integration of the bureaucracies of the Regions. But before we really got to do anything about this, he was murdered. He had got Northern Nigeria to a level in education and the quality of its civil service that it was able to compete on equal basis within the Federation. He was quite happy and proud of that. That was the Premier.

He made friends very easily. Those who came to him, he received with such a warmth to a point that they could never be indifferent to him thereafter.

**"He called the minister by name and said: "Why is your horizon so low? While it is true that for sometime the majority of students will be from the south, a day will come when the majority of the students will be Northerners."**

That's the man.

**One of the criticisms of him was that he was merely a Northern based leader who was indifferent to the rest country. How did you see him in that respect?**

Oh! He cared very much for national unity and the Federation. We the younger ones at that time used to say if only he had gone to the centre, Nigeria's integration would have been accelerated. On the other hand, we had to accept that if he had gone to the centre, what he was able to achieve in the North in eleven years, would not have been achieved by any one else – the accelerated level of education, the reform of the local government system, modernization of the public administration and pulling us to our feet in the North by the scruff of our necks. Nobody else could have done it. He was the right man, at the right time, in the right place: by birth, by experience, by this drive, courage and will. He was very committed. When you see what he did in Sokoto Native Authority (NA), it was fantastic. He cleaned it up. With his experience there he went ahead to clean up the NA system and build the North, he succeeded to a great extent before he was murdered.

He was a stickler for training in every conceivable field. If you were trainable, you were found some training course relevant to your work. That was why he was so keen on the development of the Institute of Administration, Zaria. It had the very best lecturers and tutors drawn from all over the world. And if there was any deficiency in anything that we were doing in the North, he got a special programme organized to cure it. If there was deficiency in treasury practices, agric, forestry or law, etc, he addressed them. For instance, the whole idea of reforming the court system, and the NA system, were predicated on a series of courses and seminars at the Institute of Administration, Zaria. He was so farsighted.

The exchange programme between the Regional Civil Service for better mutual understanding was very dear to his heart. And if he traveled to the South, he didn't stay in hotels. He stayed in the homes of individuals. That was the premier. He was a disciplined man and he loved to have disciplined people around him. How could you lie to the Premier about anything or against anybody. Lying? You wouldn't dare. He was bound to know. And when he did, heavens help you. But today lying

administration and politics. Today, people lie and promise things they know they cannot fulfil or that they do not even intend to make efforts to fulfil. How can a minister say government is going to do such and such a thing and not do it?

The Premier would have pulled up such a minister. To political opponents, he was generous.

**Can we give an example of his attitude to lying? I recalled you mentioned an incidence in the Tiv land.**

The Premier went on a tour of Benue Province to campaign in some constituencies whose seats were held by the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) in the Federal Parliament. His Ministers and local party supporters had hoped that with the Premier himself campaigning they could capture one or two seats from the UMBC for the Northern People Congress (NPC). So the Premier went to Benue Province to campaign. One morning, a speech was drafted for him to deliver. He read the draft and he noticed that he was being made to promise to build a cottage hospital, and a bridge over a river for the community. He asked whether the two items were provided for in the current estimates or in the capital estimates of the Region? They replied "No sir, but it would be good politics." The Premier declared openly that he would rather lose than lie to win a seat. He amended the speech and campaigned truthfully. That is the Premier for you.

I had a very interesting experience when I was secretary to the Executive Council, i.e., the Cabinet of Ministers. There was a procedure for obtaining an urgent Cabinet decision if a formal council meeting was not possible. The procedure was called "written opinion." You see, Executive Council meetings were held once a week. As Secretary it was my duty to draw up a list of memorandum of the Premier to approve for the agenda of the Council. But if there was something very urgent and it became necessary to take a decision before the next council meeting, as Secretary to the Council, you prepared a written opinion. You would state the problems or issues in a memorandum, putting the arguments for and against whatever decision or action was desired. Each minister and the Premier received a copy. They would each indicate on a form attached to the memo their support or objection to the action proposed. As secretary, you added up the number in favour and against. Then you submitted a minute to the Premier on the result. If he

approved the majority view, that was a council decision, just like any other decision taken at a formal council meeting.

One day my staff and I worked late into the night on a written opinion and circulated it to the Premier and the ministers late that same night. At about 11pm, the Premier's private Secretary, Hassan Lemu, rang me to say I had a query from the Premier. A query about what I asked? He said the query was on my written opinion and that the Premier was annoyed and wanted to see me the next morning! I wondered what it was that I might have done wrong. I read it carefully. I was satisfied with both the grammar and the content of my submission. That same night Hassan sent the file containing my memo to the Premier back to me. On it the Premier queried me: "on whose instructions was this written opinion issued?" Blissfully, I went to bed. The query was easy to answer. Because it was one of the ministers, whose names I wouldn't call now, who came to my house well after office hours and said there was huge flooding in Bedde Emirate of Borno Province. He said that the Komadugu Yobe river had burst its banks and that the place was in utter confusion, and the people could no longer feed themselves. Therefore, there was urgent need to release grains

from the strategic grains reserve in Kano to prevent people starving. He said I should not allow any minister to push me around or compromise the government." I apologized and I said I didn't know that it was only the Premier as Chairman of Council who could give instructions for a written opinion to be issued.

**Sir, I was overwhelmed to find out that as at your time, the Northern Region Government had three aircraft?**

Yes, the small fleet was called the Northern Communication Flight (Norflight). It was very essential for government work and mobility. We had three aircraft: one Heron, one Piaggio and one Piper. They were very useful because the distances were great and roads, especially during the rainy season, may not be passable for up to twelve hours after a rainfall. Very often if it rained, there would be road signs forbidding any lorry to pass through for a given period. Such directives were rigorously enforced too. The "Norflight" was very important.

As for the use of aircraft of Norflight, unlike today when airplanes belonging to the government are being used like "Kabu - Kabu," or "bolekaja." In those days whenever the premier was traveling on a private visit such as to his farm in Bakura or to Gusau, his Private Secretary made a requisition for a plane. The order of protocol and priority for the use of planes at that time was the Governor of Northern Nigeria first, followed by the Premier, the Chief Justice, then the Finance Minister and so on. There was system and order in their use.

The aircraft fleets were under the control of the Secretary of the Executive Council. Whenever the premier used an aircraft for his private trips, his Private Secretary received a bill and the Premier paid. In other words, the Premier paid for any private use of the Aircraft. The Premier was a stickler for correct conduct. He would not use any asset of government for his private end. No, not at all. That was the Premier, strictly obeying the rules and regulations on the use of public assets.

**It is reported that there was opposition to government's desire to increase the aircraft fleet. Can you confirm this report?**

No. It wasn't a plan to increase the fleet. They wanted to sell the Heron to buy a bigger aircraft. Some of us, the young officers in the Premier's office

That was the Premier,  
 strictly obeying  
 the rules and regulations  
 on the use of  
 public assets.

**“The civil service was the only establishment in this country at the time that could sit down, do qualitative work and dared to suggest to the military that what they were trying to do was not good for the country.”**

Can you imagine how our governors today, with their contempt for their fellow men, particularly their poor civil servants, would have behaved in similar circumstances?

**Talking about the civil service, you described it as small, efficient and insulated from politics.**

At independence we had a Mr. Bruce Greatbatch as Secretary to the premier and Head of Service, a fantastic fellow. A workaholic, a bulldozer. He would be the first person to get to the office and the last to leave. He was a disciplinarian. As Nigerians will put it, “He worked like anything.” We were lucky in his leadership. His was leadership by example.

I will tell you a little story about him and his attitude to work. I went to the Federal Civil Service on secondment from 1961-62. In the end I decided to revert to the Northern Civil Service. So the Premier's Office ordered that I should return to Kaduna urgently from Lagos to Kaduna via Kontagora in those days. I arrived Kaduna at night around 9pm and went straight to report to Mr. Greatbatch in his house. He was working on some papers.

I introduced myself elaborately saying “I am

Sunday Awoniyi from ministry of mines and power, Lagos, reporting for duty sir,” He did not even bother to look up from what he was doing. He said “where are you staying?” I said with “ Stephen Ade John Sir.” “Ade John, yes he is a good man,” he said. The day was on a Saturday. Then he said “Let us meet in the office tomorrow morning at 8 O'clock.” So I said, “Tomorrow Sunday Sir”? He said: “Yes, Sunday, tomorrow Sunday. There are no Sundays in the premier's office, or Fridays either.” He got up and shook me good night. The Premier's Office was a disciplined office and you just worked round the clock. The Northern Civil Service was a small civil service, yes. But what it lacked in numbers it made up for in hard work and quality delivery.

**How would you compare it to now?**

(Laughter). Compare it to now? The civil service has been deliberately bastardized and destroyed by the military after General Yakubu Gowon. Gowon's successors destroyed the civil service in a most cowardly and sadistic manner as if they were engaged in a vindictive military campaign against a foreign enemy. The civil service was the only establishment in this country at the time that could sit down, do qualitative work and dared to suggest to the military that what they were trying to do was not good for the country. So it had to be destroyed by the military to provide them unimpeded license for the destruction of all our other institutions, systems, procedures and regulations which were the underpinnings for good governance.

**Sir, your cousin was said to have won an election under the Action Group in your Kabba province even though you were seen as very close to the Premier who was of the Northern People's Congress (NPC). What are you thoughts?**

Hon. Jomoh Rueben Alege was my cousin. He contested election to the Federal House of Representatives on the platform of Action Group (AG), Chief Obafemi Awolowo's party and defeated the NPC candidate, the Sardauna's party. At that time I was in the Nigerian College, Zaria on Northern Scholarship. My name is Sunday Awoniyi, a Yoruba name, which has exactly the same meaning as Awolowo. So there could be no hiding the fact that I am a Christian and a Yoruba and that the vast supporters of Awolowo's party in the area I come from in Mopa, Kabba Division, were Yorubas. Yet at that

time, there were no fewer than eight of us from Mopa who were awarded Northern Government Scholarships, to go and study in universities overseas and in Nigeria. We all graduated and were all employed in the North. We knew what was happening in other Regions in the country to people whose parents or communities were in opposition to the regional government.

In later years I asked the premier how come we were treated with such fairness and generosity? He laughed and said: "You are all Northerners and the political iniquities of the fathers shall not be visited on the children." And when my cousin, Alege, did not get re-elected to parliament, the premier called him and ask him what he was going to do. Soon after he got him a job with the Electricity Corporation of Nigeria (ECN) to enable him continue to earn his livelihood. The Premier was very generous. He really had no opponents that he held with any form of odium to wish to destroy or reduce to penury.

J.S. Tarka the leader of the UMBC opposition would come to my house from Gboko in Benue Province. My wife would prepare a meal for him. Usually, Tarka would ask me to arrange for him to see the Premier in the evening. They would meet and talk at length. Sometimes the Premier may call me to sort out whatever Tarka's problems were, even where sorting them out will be to the political benefit of Tarka. Such things did not bother the Premier. Often if Aminu Kano was coming from Lagos after Parliamentary sessions, he would send a telegram to the Premier stating when his train will be in Kaduna and the Premier will invariably go to the Railway station with one or two of his ministers and wait for Aminu Kano's stop-over. They will chat until the train departed. So there was this commonality of interest, ease of access and affection between these northern political leaders on anything Northern, largely because of the way the Premier related to them. They worked together for the common man. They were all interested in uplifting the North. It was only a question of difference in the method and approach. One was in a hurry, the other thought it should be gently – gently and rooting it firmly in northern tradition and values.

**There is this incidence that Mudi Sipikin narrated and said the Premier was at the Railway Station by 1:30am to see him on his return trip from Port Harcourt on NEPU mission.**

I am not surprised. That was the premier. Somebody was telling me recently of the case of a young man who defeated the NPC candidate in one of the constituencies of the Regional assembly in Adamawa. He was a staff of the NA. While the local NPC were bent on persecuting him, or as they say these days, "dealing with him," the Premier sent somebody to go and congratulate him. The elected man was so amazed and touched that he crossed the carpet to join the NPC. Harassment at the local level of political opponents was never the Premier's way. He worked always to assuage bad feelings. He would draw near him. Someone he knew was being ill treated to show that he had no ill feelings towards him in spite of what his own people may be doing to him. He did a lot of that.

The Premier's Private Secretary, Abubakar Umar, was telling me a story some time ago. There was this man who sat always in front of Sultan Bello's Mosque, Kaduna, near the premier's residence, abusing the Premier.

### **Was that the 'suya' man?**

He said it was a man who was always abusing the Premier whenever he drove past to go to the office. Suddenly the man disappeared from his usual place. The Premier asked of him when he noticed his absence. He asked one of his staff to find out whether anything had happened to the man.. it turned out that he had been imprisoned for debt owed to someone. The Premier said they should inquire how much he owed. He paid the man's debt and instructed that the man must not be told who paid the debt for his release. Of course there was no way of hiding that kind of magnanimity; the man got to know. He became an absolute supporter of the Premier (Laughter). The premier did a lot of such kind deeds.

**God, see what small, mini-minded vindictive, egocentric dwarfs are doing, misruling us today!!**

When I reflect today, the Premier just grows larger and larger beside the midgets who parade themselves as great leaders today. In those days, we just were young, daring brats who did our work to the best of our abilities and were proud to be Northerners. We were made to feel that we owned the North together. There were no outcasts unless you deliberately chose to be one and behaved like one, if there was any injustice that we got to know of or that got reported to us from whatever source, we put pen to paper to seek redress.

If government wanted to do something we thought

was inappropriate for good reasons, we put pen to paper. We were expected to do just that. On one occasion they wanted to buy a set of cars. The finance boys wrote very strongly against it. The Premier agreed but when the file came back from him he wrote humorously: "But do you want us to go on donkey backs?" (Laughter).

**Incidentally, I will like you to react to this – Mudi Sipikin said they had Sardauna within NPC as an agent of NEPU.**

The Sardauna knew what NEPU wanted and what people like Mudi Sipikin wanted, stood for and fought for. He respected their stand and integrity and he was friendly with them to the annoyance of the Kano establishment. If the Premier knew of any of their problems, he would sort it out or get someone to sort it out for them without showing his hands. Now, the Premier used to pull the legs of some of us in his office by calling us "Yan NEPU" (NEPU elements). (Laughter). Because the truth of the matter was that we were young and rather radical and therefore more sympathetic to NEPU much of the time. The ministries didn't like it. He knew it, yet he didn't hold it against us. (Laughter).

**But people say that though he was an elite and of the ruling class, his heart was yet for the poor man.**

The Premier was very proud of his background, his heritage and his upbringing. He had a great deal to be proud of in his ancestry. No doubt about it. But all that, as far as he was concerned, was a blessing from God which also conferred duty and

responsibility towards others particularly the poor. You dare not take that away from him. He was scrupulously against meanness and misuse of office. If you were a man in a position of advantage or authority and you were mean or unscrupulous, he just couldn't stand you. Now, as I have often said, when the premier walked by, his generosity of spirit seemed all pervading. You felt it. And he moved as if he was enveloped in the fear of his Creator to whom he believed he was answerable for all



his actions and that his earthly belongings belong to all. There is nothing he had that he couldn't give away. That was the man.

Sardauna believed that it was his duty to cater for the well-being of the common man. It was his religious duty, supported by the unique opportunity God had given him. He strove always to uplift the small man.

One day he was having a meeting with some well to do businessmen. At the end he said: "While I will do everything to make it possible for every Northern businessman to make money, when the interest of the common man clashes with the interest of the rich man, I will be found on the side of the common man."

**Sir, you said when you were Provincial Secretary of the Plateau Province, all the problems of today were present then but you didn't witness the same extent of the crises of today. What can be responsible for the out of control nature of today?**

Well, if you are a leader and you are selective and discriminatory in the actions you take, when some of those actions are consistently detrimental to the interest of some groupings in a multi – cultural, multi – ethnic, multi- religious state like the Plateau Province, you are bound to get into serious trouble. You the leader

become a major part of the problem. Immediately you show partiality, those you favour will boast and flaunt it about, while those whom your actions place at a disadvantage will feel like outcasts who have no stake in your administration. Antagonisms of varying intensity is bound to germinate, grow and spread.

The Sardauna of Sokoto was always on the move. If there was any problem brewing anywhere, he was there by road or by air. Take a typical example; I was the Provincial Secretary of Plateau Province in 1964. I keep saying today, over forty years later, that there is no problem in the Plateau State of 2005 that did not exist in my Plateau Province of 1964. The problems are exactly the same: ethnicity, settlers, religion and land. The difference between that time and now is that the problems were managed maturely, impartially and as a matter of deliberate choice and not by chance. If the Premier got information that there were problems in sensitive and volatile Plateau, he would fly to Jos to deal with them. In addition, I as Provincial

Secretary was regularly and frequently on tour and wrote situation reports to Kaduna, so did my Divisional Officers (Dos), settling reports to Kaduna, so did my Divisional Officers (Dos), settling and preempting problems.

You see the administration of the Sardauna was all encompassing. The peace and internal cohesion of the Plateau Province was a thing we the Administrative Officers, senior and junior, had to work for. Let us say there was a chieftaincy problem, we would look at it most critically and if it is the creation of a new chiefdom that would sort it out, the chiefdom would be created, usually after an objective enquiry by an impartial body. Politics was not allowed to pollute the relationship between the administration and the common man.

Plateau Province was UMBC. If there was any problem I couldn't sort out as Provincial Secretary (or with my provincial Commissioner, when that office was created), I would refer it to the Premier's office. If it was still possible to sort it out administratively, Ali Akilu would probably come to Jos as Secretary to the



Government and feel the pulse of the place and give us directive if need be. If it was too political the Premier would probably pay a working visit. The Premier had his ways of doing things. If there was a problem in the Plateau, for instance, he would probably pick ministers from Kabba Province, Benue and may be Katsina and assign them the job of looking for answers. If ministers from outside are sent by the Premier to a locality to help them sort out problems, they were strategy of "a dan basu kunya" (shame them, to make them see reason). The man who is raving mad very often will pipe down. If the need for such a person to meet with the Premier was identified, the meeting was arranged. In some instances giving appointments that take the troublemakers away from the locality resolved matters.

**It is reported that the Premier had empathy for the Niger Delta situation. How true is this report?**

He did, very much. The Premier said about this pollution and things.

**"Those who may feel that the problems of oil producing areas are not in their backyard and feel a safe distance from oil communities should be reminded that Nigeria is an entity within one environment. Decay in one part will ultimately affect the rest of the nation. The fate of the mineral producing communities should be a concern for all."**

That was over forty years ago. This is what I am talking about. His farsightedness and his willingness to bring everybody in the country together. That was the Premier. He was too sincere, too disciplined, and too serious minded to make a statement he did not believe in. Had he lived, he would have laboured and used his influence to ensure a better deal over the years for the oil producing communities. There is no doubt about that.

**Sir, if you are now to cast back your mind to him on the issue of religion, what are your thoughts?**

He took his religion very seriously indeed, but he believed that you should hold on to your religion and let the other man hold on to his religion. An abuse on the other man's religion is an invitation to the other man to abuse your own religion. Here I

am, a Christian. If I was working late in the office, let's say we had a meeting and it became necessary for me to work on a Sunday, the chances were that the Premier would ring my house and if my wife, Florence, said to him that I was in the office, he would ring to ask me whether I had been able to go to the church?.

When the New Testament Bible was translated into modern English, he asked me if I had bought a copy, I said no sir. He asked why and I said because I was brought up on the King James Version written in Shakespearean English. I love the poetry. The Premier said I should buy a copy for myself because there was always great research into these great religions. He gave me money to buy copies for my self and my friends. That is the Premier for you.

**There was the issue of his drive for conversion to Islam.**

He did his conversion drive but he concentrated mainly on the pagan areas. He did not try to convert you from Christianity to Islam. When you take a look at the ministers who were closest to him, a good number of them were Christians: Samuel Ajayi from Kabba, Micheal Audu Buba from the Plateau, Abutu

**"Religious tolerance? I don't like to use the word "tolerance" any longer, because the word tolerance pre-supposes that some good individual was doing the tolerating, enduring the inconvenience which the other foul man constitutes."**

Ogbekpa from Idoma Benue. He did not use religion against you neither did he hold your tribe against you. He embraced everybody in such a way that within a space of eleven years, it was possible for most of the people in the Northern Region: Kanuri, Idoma, Igbira, Hausa, Bachama, Yoruba, Funlani, etc to call ourselves Northerners.

One of the most sensitive positions in the Northern Civil Service was that of the Secretary to the Executive Council, SEXCO. The first indigenous officer to hold that office was Mallam Yahaya Gusau (My maths teacher at Barewa College), a Muslim, a Hausa – Fulani from Gusau. He was followed by Mallam Abdulrahman Okene, a Muslim, an Igbira from Okene in Kabba Province. He was followed by Mallam Kure Mohammed, a Moslem, a Nupe from Niger Province. He was followed by Mr. S. Ade John, A Christian and a Yoruba from Mopa in Kabba Province. Ade Omolokun, a Christian a Yoruba man from Mopa in Kabba Province. Sunday Awoniyi handed over to the Late Mr. Ayo Omolokun, a Christian, a Yoruba from Mopa, Kabba Province. Four Christian Yoruba men from one place, Mopa in Kabba Province occupied that sensitive office in an uninterrupted succession. It deserves to enter the Guinness Book of Records.

The premier did not look at your place of origin, your tribe and your religion at all. Your capability, loyalty and commitment were what counted in your progress and your postings within the service.

**Sir, Peter Achimugu served on the Penal Code Committee that introduced Shari'a and he was a Christian. What informed his membership?**

He did. It was a committee of people of various religions and backgrounds composed by the government to work on the Penal Code for the North. Peter Achimugu, a Christian, was on that Panel. He was a Native Court Judge, an Igala from Idah. The Premier managed Sharia and the Penal code very skillfully. Everybody felt comfortable.

Religious tolerance? I don't like to use the word "tolerance" any longer, because the word tolerance pre-supposes that some good individual was doing the tolerating, enduring the inconvenience which the other foul man constitutes. It connotes that I object to you and your ways, your beliefs and all, but I am such a good liberal minded man that I can tolerate you, an objectionable being. So I prefer to use "religious accommodation." It connotes that we shift positions a bit to give one another some space

for harmonious togetherness. This mutual accommodation was a function of the whole Northern psyche. In Barewa College, Zaria, Yakubu Gowon and I were Christians. The college was divided into six houses. The two of us were House captains in a college with a student population of 360 of whom only 26 were Christians. As House Captains, it was our responsibility to wake up Muslim boys in our Houses to go and eat the morning sahur (meal) during the fasting month of Ramadan. And on Fridays, it was our business to make sure the Muslim boys went to the Mosque. We Christians prayed in the Physics laboratory every morning with one Mr. Millos, a retired Naval officer leading the prayers. Religion was not a thing that caused strife at all. It is a tragedy that our rulers should exploit religion so thoughtlessly for political gains.

Politically today, what is so painful for those of us who started the People's Democratic Party (PDP) was that we were determined to strengthen existing areas of accord and create new ones.

We thanked God that religion had been pushed to the background with the Moshood Abiola / Baba Gana Kingibe Presidential ticket under the Social Democratic Party (SDP), which was a Muslim – Muslim ticket. I was glad and prayed that henceforth religion would not longer be a big component in our political arithmetic.

As for the use of ethnicity for politics, we made progress too to de-emphasize it. Olusegun Obasanjo was rejected totally and disgraced electorally by his Yoruba people in the 1999 general Presidential elections. He did not win even in his ward. Yet the other over 250 ethnic groups of Nigeria said "no we want him to lead us whether he had the support of his tribe or not". But today under Obasanjo, religion and ethnicity have become instruments for gaining political advantages regardless of the great upheaval it was bound to cause. It is terrible.

**I recall that Mr. Desmond Wilson (white man working with the Northern Region Government) carried out an assignment for the premier. What was the gift given to him in appreciation?**

He carried out an assignment to investigate the Sokoto Native Authority. It was quite evident that a large number of people were bound to be prosecuted and the NA purged. Many qualified NA staff would have to leave. Accordingly, Mr. Wilson forewarned the premier, mindful of the fact that a majority of those to be affected were the premier's relations. The

Premier instructed him to do his job and that he shouldn't worry about the relationship they had with him. Culprits must be dealt with appropriately. So Desmond went ahead and cleaned up the Sokoto Native Authority. In appreciation for a job well done, the Premier presented Mr. Wilson a copy of the Holy Bible. Wilson was a Presbyterian Christian.

**At the final lap of Sir Ahmadu Bello's life, there was the coup and then his death. You were one of those who discussed with Major Chukwuma Nzeogwu after his coup. What were the issues you raised?**

Well, I got to the office early, as usual, on that morning of the 15<sup>th</sup> January, 1966, I met the messengers weeping and lamenting that the Premier had been killed. I immediately rang the Premier's house. No reply. I rang the Brigade's Headquarters and some character answered. I said I was calling from the Premier's office. He shouted that there was no more Premier's office and slammed the phone. I rang again and introduced myself and said: "If you don't allow me to speak to whosoever is in charge over there, you will be responsible for whatever consequences may follow." There was silence on the phone and some noise in the background. Then he asked for my number and name again, which I gave him. He promised to get back to me. He never did.

But there was Mr. John Smith who had held the post of Deputy Secretary to the Government, which was the post I was holding at that time. He was very helpful. John Smith was a very clever and knowledgeable man. We were very good friends. I liked him very much. But later that morning, Mallam Saka Aleshinloye who worked with Radio Kaduna was able to smuggle a copy of Nzeogwu's broadcast to me before it went on air. John Smith knew Nzeogwu. Apparently, they attended the same Catholic church. It was John who arranged an appointment for me to see Nzeogwu at 5pm that day. I drove into the Brigade Headquarters to see Nzeogwu. You could see soldiers all over the place nervous and feverish with activity. As I parked my car, one officer who I did not recognize came to me and said "Sir, what do you want here?" he appeared to be interested in me and presumably my safety. It turned out that he was one of the officers who led some soldiers to Jos, Plateau during the 1964 elections to show the flag. I used to give the officers dinner or drinks. So he knew me from my Plateau days. I told him my mission and he said, "**Follow me**" and he took me straight to Nzeogwu. Nzeogwu sat behind a huge table. All that young man had with him was an Apex writing pad and a lead pencil. A lady nurse stood behind him nursing his wounded neck. A chill ran

down my spine because I knew immediately that we were really in trouble. So this was the murderer who had just killed his unarmed superior army officers and assassinated the Premier! Somehow I felt no fear whatsoever. What I felt was a deep mixture of revulsion and contempt, which I still feel today whenever I remember that setting.

I introduced myself to him and he said "**Were you awake last night with all that happened last night** ? I said "No." In any case one of my officers, Alhaji Lere had been shot. Why kill him? He said it was an accident and that he was looking for Ali Akilu because he had learnt that three million pounds (£3,000,000) had been missing from marketing Board money. That was when I lost my composure and spoke up. Ali Aliku? £3,000,000? This is a man who would not even remember to claim his mileage. And I went on and on. Nzeogwu asked whether I trusted him. I said "Yes of course." Ali would not take anybody's penny. I explained to him how government was run. I call the Provincial Secretaries in the 13 Provinces by phone between 8am – 11am. If the provinces did not receive the usual necessary guidance from me over the North. The man (Ali Akilu) you are asking of is my boss. He controls and gives directives to the civil service.

Major Nzeogwu then calmed down looking very tired. He wanted to know what I thought should be done. He said "You people up here are honest civil servants. You would have been on your way to Lagos by now, if only those stupid people had not fouled it up in Lagos just killing innocent people." What an irony! He too had killed the innocent here in Kaduna but here he was railing at the killings in Lagos! He continued to complain that Lagos was full of corrupt people and that we would have been on our way by air to Lagos to take over the ministries. That was what he kept on saying. So I suggested he must first of all meet the Permanent Secretaries, then the Commissioner of Police, M. D. Yusuf. He said I should call M. D. to come and see him so that "they could have a natter." I said although I didn't know where M.D. and most other people were, if there was assurance of everybody's safety, I could begin to get the message to people, especially the ministers who were hiding and the public officers who were bewildered and not at their desks. He said, "**oh yes, we have given that assurance.**" So I persuaded him to hold the meeting with the Permanent Secretaries the following day at 10am.

I then requested to see Sir Kashim Ibrahim whom he held on the bare floor in some office at his headquarters. He agreed. But when I suggested he should allow me to move Sir Kashim back to the

Government House, Nzeogwu flared up and said "never". I then said what about moving him to one of the Government Guest Houses with soldiers guarding him if he thought it necessary? He said we should discuss that at the scheduled meeting tomorrow. However, he said: **"I don't want him to go to Maiduguri and give us problem."** I assured him that Sir Kashim Ibrahim was a through gentleman who would not betray any word of honour he may give. So he said: "okay till tomorrow."

Consequently, I started phoning round and I got the message to Ali Akilu NOT to come out and certainly not to the office for the meeting tomorrow. Nzeogwu had earlier said he was going to put a bullet through Ali. Next day, I was in the office very early to try and prepare for the meeting, and to my horror there was Ali in his office. I pleaded with him not to attend the meeting. I gave a graphic description of the venom in Nzeogwu when he spoke about him. Ali just said quietly but firmly: "Sunday, I am Head of Service. If you the serviceman is going to see him, I will lead. I will insist on one thing, he must give me a public trial before shooting me" Ali was a brilliant man. He displayed such courage that day, which when you look at his small frame, you didn't suspect was there. He had guts.

We went to see Nzeogwu with Ali leading us. I drove Ali Akilu in my wife's little Triumph car and the permanent secretaries followed. The meeting settled down. Nzeogwu looking tired and worn out made some rambling remarks at the end of which he asked for comments from the Permanent Secretaries individually starting from the first man on the left. At this point Ali interrupted him, and introduced himself and said: "I am Ali Akilu, the Head of Service, I will

speaking for the service. They are free to contradict me or make their own views known, as is our practice. But I speak for the service." In his analytical way, Ali poured out the problems that needed urgent action, and issues that needed clarification for normalcy to be restored quickly. It was a masterly delivery in short, pithy sentences. When he finished, I knew that putting a bullet through Ali was no longer on Nzeogwu's card. Not one of us said a word after Ali had spoken. Ours was a disciplined cohesive service. Ali had spoken and that was it.

Nzeogwu was visibly moved. In a quiet subdued voice, he said "I am sorry you cannot continue to be the Head of Service. But you can help us." Then he asked: "Who is Durlong? And simply declared Mr. Ignatius Durlong, the Permanent Secretary, Education at the time, as the Administrator and Head of Service of the North.

We drove back to Ali's office. We all felt pain for what had happened but probably greater apprehension for the future of the country. Somehow

Nzeogwu's rambling performance provided some form of comic relief. As we analyzed it we saw little that made sense. Everybody, including Durlong laughed at the grandiloquent appointment Nzeogwu conferred on him.

Before me left Nzeogwu's office, I believe some three of us stayed behind to see Sir Kashim. Nzeogwu produced an agreement for Sir Kashim to sign. In it, Sir Kashim pledged that he was not going to cause any trouble and so on. He signed the document and I was able thereafter to persuade Nzeogwu to allow me take Sir Kashim to one of our

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Guest houses along Degel Road.

I was sorry for the country. I saw within the first few days of the coup the arbitrariness of our Nigerian kind of military. It showed early that they thrive on rumours and that talebearers, and flatterers are their preferred friends. Without ever having met Ali, Nzeogwu accused him of complicity in the disappearance of Marketing Board money. Without any knowledge of Mr. Durlong, his antecedents, character and capabilities, etc, Nzeogwu appointed him administrator – a pointer to the way the Nigerian kind of military prefers appointing men to important positions in preference to men of character and acknowledged ability. Yet, some of the finest Nigerians we have are military men. But the image of arbitrariness is what has prevailed about our military.

**When was the last time you saw Sir Ahmadu?**

The very last time I saw him was on the 14<sup>th</sup> of January 1966.

We held a Regional Security Council meeting that day. He was presiding. I cannot remember why I was at the meeting.

We had a system of security alert whereby if anything of a security nature happened in the

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Premier's house, an alarm system would be activated, alerting the Brigade Headquarters, the Commissioner of Police Office and the residence of the Senior Assistant Secretary, Security. The system worked that night; so what when the Premier's house was under attack the alarm in the house of Malam Lere, the Senior Assistant Secretary sounded, and he rushed to the Premier's house in his car and he was killed.

There is no armour against destiny. What will happen will happen. At the Regional Security Council meeting of that 14<sup>th</sup> January, Lere had reported to that meeting that there had been some military movements in Tudun Wada at night for several days. The Army had breached the instruction, which made it necessary for them to inform the security office of any military movements at night so that the local people in the area concerned could be warned in order not to get them frightened.

Brigadier Ademulegun, the Brigade Commander and the Commissioner of Police were there at the meeting! Brigadier Ademulegun apologized to the premier at the meeting for the lapse and promised to check and report back. In a matter of twelve hours later that night, there was the coup and the Brigadier and his wife were murdered. The wife was pregnant and her stomach was riddled with bullets in a most sadistic and vengeful way. Col. Shodeinde another



**What really was his plan or programme?**

senior Yoruba officer, was also murdered in his house.

**How was the Premier killed?**

If you read the book written by Ladi S. Adamu on the wife of Sardauna, titled: “ Hafsatu Ahmadu Bello, Unsung Heroine,” there is a graphic description of what happened. There were indications that the coup was going to happen but the premier was fatalistically resigned to his fate. All entreaties for him to get out failed. In his inner thoughts, a leader does not run!

**Sir, now thinking about him, what memory of him do you have?**

He is a blessed man in many ways. His achievements have been unsurpassed. Not just in the north but in Nigeria and beyond. What he had wanted to do would have benefited the whole black race. Nigeria, as I always say, is the greatest gift of God to the black man. Nigeria is the one country that could be developed to become the pride of the black man everywhere. But for Obasanjo's egocentric and incompetent management from 1999 to date, Nigeria would have become the toast of the world, if he had allowed men of patriotism and record of excellence to run the country as we had envisaged it. Sardauna's vision of Nigeria's greatness would have been substantially achieved by now but for the tragedy of 1966. This would have been spread to the West Africa sub – region first and then the whole continent of Africa. There is no doubt about it. He had genuine love of human beings irrespective of place, religion, ethnicity, linguistic or political differences. Why I say he is blessed is because his reputation and name are growing daily. It is as if his star shines brighter every day as the cloudy character of those after him provides the background foil to highlight his own transparency of character and achievements.

The nonentities who succeeded him have tried to bury his fame. They cannot succeed because they are phony while he was solid, genuine and substantial. They are phony while he was solid, genuine and substantial. They are self – seeking while he was people serving and immeasurably superior to them in every way. His influence is lasting.

Today, those of us who were lucky to have worked under him know no other standard except that which he set for us. And whenever I speak to the younger ones, I feel pain because unfortunately they know nothing except corruption introduced shamelessly

by the military and their collaborators. Not all of the military are corrupt by any means. There are some fine military officers. But there are some despicable characters among them who have debased their honourable profession and ravaged the country they swore to serve. They have fouled up this potentially great country and they are still at it. God will save us from them.

**People seldom ask of the Premier's like**

(Laughter). God does not make his type everyday. He makes them from time to time and then breaks the mould for making them until next time. The premier was totally committed in a unique way to the good of his fellow man. He was extremely generous in spirit as well as in gifts.

**Zoning of Nigeria. What are your views?**

I particularly don't care about zoning in relation to who rules Nigeria. Immediately you say that you are struggling for your man from your so called zone to be president, it implies that you expect him to feather the nest of your zone by being partial in favour of your area and disadvantageous to the other parts of the country. The whole essence of unity and commitment to the common good is defeated. I want a leader who will hold the country as the Sardauna held the North in such a way that everybody would be committed to Nigeria because the leader, by his policies and example, gives everyone a strong sense of belonging through justice, fair-play and fair sharing. One North, one people and one destiny' was not an idle slogan.

It was a reality which he deliberately fostered. Once a man is able to lead this country on the Sardauna's Principles, I don't care his size or shape or religion; tribe, language or region provided he can make us feel ' One Nigeria, one people and one destiny' for the glory of God and the black race. All these funny characters gallivanting about saying they want to lead, where are their leadership qualities? None. May God give us a leader who is spiritually righteous, gifted with vision like the Sardauna, with which he can lead the nation to achieve based on integrity, correctness of thought and action, love of God and his fellow man.

**Sir, we thank you for sharing your wonderful thoughts and experience with us.**

Always my pleasure. I have spoken at this length in the hope that it will be useful especially to our younger generation.

# REPORT ON THE CONFERENCE ON GOVERNANCE AND SECURITY IN THE SAHELIAN STATES: FROM CRISIS TO SUSTAINABLE RECOVERY HELD AT SAIS, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON DC APRIL 11-12, 2013

## From Dr. Usman Bugaje

*“A crisis of security and governance has traversed states across the Sahelian region of West Africa. From the Tuareg insurgency in Mali to Salafist militancy in northern Nigeria, security issues have also emanated from Algeria, Mauritania, southern Libya, Niger and Chad. The spaces of the Sahel are not “ungoverned”, though states have a great deal of difficulty projecting power throughout vast territories. This conference focuses on the issues of governance and development underlying the evolving security dilemmas in Sahelian states. Panels will examine the political and economic foundations of conflict in northern Nigeria; Problems of political recovery and regional accommodation in Mali; sources of contentious politics in other states; and policy options for addressing issues of governance and development in the region.”*  
 (Organizing Committee)

In their welcome and introduction Professors Peter Lewis and Paul Lubeck of SAIS/African Studies tried to capture the problem in its various dimensions. In trying to delineate where we are, seven key points were noted, viz: weak states in the Sahel that are unable to defeat insurgents; Insurgents are drawing from Sahelian inspiration and support; increasing poverty and poor economy are driving recruitments into the insurgents camps; low human capital development in these areas feeds into the crisis; youth bulge (66% under 35), high rate of population growth only compounds the problem; weak institutions precipitates collapse of authority; all these puts to test the resilience of states like Nigeria. How we got here? Bad politics, which led to bad governance as evidenced by the fall outs of ECOMOG, Sara-Suka, 'Yan Daba, 'Yan

Kalare, Kauraye, 'Yan Jagaliya, of course MEND, etc. Reference was made to Muhammad Yusuf and his messages since his days at the Markaz Ibn Taymiyya. Some of the messages focused on the flawed elections, corruption in high places, conspicuous consumptions in the midst of abject poverty as well as social and political exclusion; exclusions being the main causes of conflict around the world for sometime now. A correct understanding and proper appreciation of the causes is essential to a proper resolution of the crisis.

### Keynote by Leonardo Villalon

The keynote tried to give an over-view that covered Mauritania, Burkina Faso, Chad, Cote d'Voire, Mali Senegal and Niger. It tried to examine government process, judging them to be parasitic and playing out into a fragile state. Some of the specifics include the degree of democratization, liberalization, forms of state institutions, multiplicity of voices in public debate, international and internal pressures and efficiency of governments. Taking Mali as a case study, the administration unit had no capacity and the state was very much a hollow shell. Any recovery would require the reconstruction of the army, rebuilding administrative capacity, restoring social order, strengthening the social contract, setting a platform for negotiating with groups and defining the role of Islamic organization.

### Summary of Plenary Sessions

There were four plenary sessions in all. The first concentrated on Northern Nigeria:

Islamism Insurgency and Collapse of Authority. The four speakers were Prof Paul Lubeck of SAIS, Usman Bugaje of the ARDP, General Abdulrahman Dambazau of Harvard University and John Campbell of Council on Foreign Relations. Prof Paul Lubeck rolled out the depressing statistics on human development indices, which defined the abject poverty, neglect and wanton abandon of the peoples of the Northern States of Nigeria.

The deterioration over the period of one and a half decades was ironically when the revenues accruing to the states was the highest in the history of the country. This underscores the crisis of governance and raises questions as to the viability of the States as federating units. Paul Lubeck proceeded with a host of practical proposals to turn the economic fortunes of the Northern states round, focusing on the revival of agriculture, industries, particularly leather, and Youth employment, which he adds must come with an appropriate population policy.

In his presentation, Bugaje considered the etiology of the Northern Nigerian insurgency, reinforcing the earlier statistics with other facts: Nigeria continues to slide downwards in social, economic and political conditions. The country ranks 14<sup>th</sup> out of 177 countries on the Failed States Index for 2012, being the only country not formally at war or war ravaged with such an abysmal

rating. Similarly, the Mo Ibrahim Index on good governance, which rates African governments on four key indicators of:

- i. Safety and rule of law
- ii. Citizen participation and human rights
- iii. Sustainable economic activity, and
- iv. Human Development puts Nigeria right at the bottom at 41 out of 53 countries in 2011.

Nigeria continues to be rated very low on all

indices including the UN human development index. He made the point that while the rhetoric is undoubtedly Islamic, the driving factors are clearly socio-economic and political. The inextricable link between violence and current political culture was also established.

General Dambazau rather expectedly worried over the use of the military in counter-insurgency without

the requisite terms and regulations of engagement. The absence of proper coordination among security agencies and the posting of soldiers who are often not properly trained or even properly recruited had created enormous problems for the military. The public resentment and the stress they are often subjected to would appear to undermine the

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constitutional and professional role of the military; deployments at times of election was another way of undermining this role. Lack of properly defined rules of engagement was another source of great confusion; it was often not clear what exactly constituted the minimum force.

Ambassador John Campbell started with terminology problems and labels used on the insurgents. He delineated the different streaks of violence, some criminal; some settling political scores often lumped together. He went further to make the point that the Islamic claims of *Boko Haram* would appear to be aspirational rather than a clear political program. For him the insurgency is essentially a grass-root revolt against the Nigerian political economy. Islam for him only provides the vocabulary of protest. He worried about the Nigerian government's understanding of the problem; for the absence for any concrete plan to address the economic problems within the counter insurgency program shows a poor appreciation of the problem itself. He could not see how an amnesty program would work without a commensurate economic program.

All the speakers in the panel came to similar conclusions, which was that the core of the causes of the problem are economic problems and that there must be an economic recovery program as the core of the solution.

The second plenary chaired by Prof Paul Lubeck discussed Sahelian States in comparative perspectives: Governance and Security, Ibrahim Yahaya of University of Florida, Col. Birame Diop, Partners Senegal, and Leonardo Villalon of University of Florida as the speakers. Ibrahim Yahaya spoke on his country Niger, how they have managed to remain an oasis of peace in the continuous turbulence of the Sahel. Even as the borders remain porous and even after the Libyan crisis, despite the poverty levels, Niger has remained relatively peaceful. A lot has to do with the quality of

governance, the strength of institutions and the political will to act.

Col Birame Diop spoke generally on the nine Sahelian States with a focus on Senegal, which has also been relatively peaceful. The nine Sahelian States are characterized by political instability as evidenced by coup d'états, except for Senegal, very low Human Development Indices, poor literacy, youth bulge, 70% between 17-30 years, high youth unemployment, long and porous borders and bad politics, which is the greatest source of insecurity. The security architecture in many of these states is dangerously fragile. The major challenges facing these states are how to reorganize their security architecture, develop a strong national security policy, professionalize the security sector and broker a strong civil-military engagement. Leo's assessment of Chad was not too different. Some of the peculiar features include the presence of the

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Chinese, the growing debt and the narrowing of the constituency of the President as he uses the oil wealth to develop a Zagawa state. What may be helping is the western-trained new bureaucracy, which from 1995 is slowly changing the Chadian political landscape.

Chaired by Eamonn Gearon of SAIS, the third plenary concentrated on Mali: Explaining the Collapse of Governance and Reconstruction of the State, had as speakers Susanna Wing of Haverford College, Andrew Lebovich of Open Society Initiative for West Africa, Roland Marchal of CERI and Jaimie Bleck of University of Notre Dame.

Roland showed that the roots of the Malian crisis are to be found in the crisis of political economy, as issues of land ownership and access to water are the real issues behind the veneer of religion. Governance was also an

issue since the cabinet was divided between a Prime Minister who is not a politician and Sonogo the coup maker whom even as a military officer was more popular due largely to his attack on the unpopular political elite and political culture. Roland believed that the absence of an economic recovery plan is the greatest undoing of the Malian peace effort and the rush to elections without resolving the underlying issues is most unwise. Andrew, while corroborating the fact that AQIM, MUJAU, ANSARU and MNL represents certain vested interest in the North of Mali, added that some of these interests include drug trade and the French vested interests too.

In his submission, Kidal for example would appear to have been left to MNL by the intervening French army. The inadequacy of the African peace keeping troops has already been alluded to. The Malian army would have to be constructed from the scratch. Already over 400, 000 Malians have been displaced by the conflict, adding to the crisis of governance. A national dialogue is necessary in the reconstruction of the Malian state.

On the other hand, Jaimie concentrated on territorial integrity and the election blues. Polls taken recently have shown support for the Malian state and even the Malian army but weary of politicians and their corrupt ways. There is thus a good basis for the transition. Some of the obstacles that need to be address would include, security, the interethnic conflict in the North, displaced people, electoral process and the need for transparency.

The Future of Governance and Security in the Sahelian States, which was the fourth Session, was chaired by Usman Bugaje of the ARDP. The speakers were Jennifer Cooke of Center for Strategic and International Studies, Ambassador Mamman Sidikou, Embassy of the Republic of Niger, John Paden, George Mason University, Hugh Roberts of Tufts University.

Jennifer established the inextricable nexus between governance and security and

emphasized the need for the building of trust and mutual respect. Building trust and national cohesion is a long time challenge. The first step in the restoration of security, she argued, is the restoration of legitimate government. This will facilitate the rebuilding of the social contract, which then breeds trust. It is only legitimate and trusted government that can manage diversity. The US government has many times mistaken the trappings of democracy for genuine democracy. The responsibility of the US government to be faithful to Leahy Amendment was stressed. The deployment of drones in Niger was in this respect, particularly worrying and ill-advised. The US ought to have learnt from its mistakes.

Ambassador Sidikou admitted to the weakness of the Sahelian States, especially Niger itself. The war in Libya has brought substantial negative impact on family income, country's economy and indeed security. Yes, even as the deployment of drones has been done with the consultations of the ECOWAS and even as they have been promised to remain un-armed, security in Niger, he argued, needs more than drones. It needs huge development assistance, smart investments to address the issues of deepening democracy and the decentralization of governance.

John Paden reminded the audience of the size of Nigeria, with a population about 170m people, the size of Japan and Russia, one of the major

challenges is how to accommodate diversity within a federation and blend federalism with national unity. Another huge challenge is the rent-seeking and huge corruption; some reports put it that \$6b was stolen from oil revenue. Education is another challenge, there are between 10-12m children out of school, perhaps the largest anywhere in the world. All these tend to undermine the economy and precipitate security problems.

There is no way we can address the security challenges with out addressing the economic and development issues. But rather than a Marshall Plan, perhaps we should try the Manhattan plans, so that rather than throw money, we should be seeing to throw ideas: the kind of ideas expounded by Lubeck on the economy, the kind that Dambazau was calling for and the kind that Usman is pursuing under the ARDP. We also need to change the old narratives by developing new narratives that encourage citizens to stay together. Hugh Roberts argued that Algeria is a key player in the Sahelian

conflict. It has its own experiences in managing these conflicts and it hosts the AQIM and the ANSARU; of course there are intriguing concerns about the Algerian regime, its views on Libya and Mali were ignored not without consequences. Algerian regime is complex and not easy to understand, their security architecture is difficult to discern. But their experiences are essential in the final resolution of the Sahelian conflicts.

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**Discussions**

The audience was made up of post-graduate students from SAIS and other institutions around DC, staffers and experts from the State Departments and host of the big names in the Washington policy circles. Expectedly there were quality discussions on many of the issues raised. On the deployment of the drones for example not only was the consultative process within ECOWAS quarried but the claim that the drones would not be armed was contravened by reference to a Pentagon statement to the effect that if and when necessary the drone could be armed. Many took serious exception this deployment and invoked the Leahy Amendment as a final resort. Another issue was the carefully examined was the various counter insurgency measures taken by the various Sahelian States. The Niger-Delta amnesty program was generally judged to have been a failure, not only because it is, in its current form, unsustainable but also because it has not proved to be value for money. Part of the problems was that it was poorly conceived, never thought through and clearly unsustainable. Now that the flow of funds is drying up the restiveness is gradually

returning. Heavy rent-seeking contracts are needed to keep a tap on the restiveness; for how long, is clearly uncertain.

Expectedly, there were lots of discussions around the human rights issues. The lack of accountability and transparency in the conduct of the military in the counter insurgency against Boko Haram came under scrutiny and condemnation. Any use of force by the State that

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cannot be held to account by civilian authority cannot be justified in a democracy. Indeed it was argued that without transparency and accountability the State use of force is not distinguishable from the insurgency itself. American government was particular cautioned to ensure that in all its dealings no human rights of citizens of any country are violated. That is what the Leahy Amendments were all about.

A major point that appears to be lost on the States struggling with insurgencies is the fact that TRUST, which has its roots in the legitimacy of regimes, is

conspicuously missing. But TRUST is key to the resolution of the crisis without which no counter insurgency measures can work. Building TRUST between citizens and their governments requires a long-term investment, yet the social contract remains the leading doctrine of political legitimacy in the modern State.

The prognosis for the Nigerian insurgency was generally not looking good; partly because the

driving poverty and exclusion are still not part of the counter insurgency program of the Nigerian government; and partly because the trust and confidence necessary for dialogue and resolution is still yet to be cultivated; if anything the posture of government was still as belligerent as that of the insurgents.

### **The Message of the Conference**

The conference has reached some measure of consensus on certain issues.

1. The Sahelien insurgency may be couched in Islamic phraseology and Islamic rhetoric but its real etiology is rooted in bad governance. Islam only provides the vocabulary of protest but the seeds of the crisis and the drivers of the violence are clearly socio-economic and political exclusion. Any attempt to reduce the phenomenon to a religious revolt and link it to some international terrorism is to mistake the symptom for the disease itself which will not only represent a wrong diagnosis but portends a dangerous prognosis.
2. Hence any counter insurgency which fails to address the roots of the problems, the grinding poverty, the agonizing exclusions and the brutal suppression of what for many are genuine grievances, is not only bound to fail but destined to compound the crisis. There must be an economic recovery plan as an integral part of the counter insurgency for the problems to resolve. The international community has a responsibility to partner

with these States in this respect

3. One of the major challenges the Sahelien States which have fallen prey to insurgency is the weakness of the State not only in terms weak institutions, weak economy worsened by high population, but the lack of trust between citizens and the governments emanating from the absence of legitimacy. It is important that these State understand that building trust is a key adjunct therapy.
4. In Nigeria the 2015 presidential contest is a major additional stress on the existing fault lines and the crisis at hand. In point of fact it represents a major source of insecurity in the country. It is particularly important that this issue is not ignored or allowed to spiral out of control as it can feed into the fears and anxieties of many.
5. The very nature of the Sahelien terrain and the inter connectivity of the States makes counter insurgency a regional issue that requires a regional strategy and cooperation. The wilderness, the long and porous borders, the massive corruption, the weakness of state institutions all speak to the need for cooperation not only among the Sahelien states but between the latter and the international community.

# *Congratulations*



**LT. GEN TY DANJUMA, GCON**  
*Jarmai Zazzau*

*The Arewa Research and Development Project (ARDP)  
rejoices with the good people of Zazzau Emirate  
and the nation on the well-deserved recognition and  
appreciation on your role as one of the  
Founding Fathers of Modern Nigeria.*

*Signed*

**Dr. Usman Bugaje**

**Convener, ARDP**



**ARDP**

**Arewa Research & Development Project**



# NEW NIGERIA DEVELOPMENT COMPANY

## ABOUT NNDC

We are one of the leading conglomerates in Nigeria with a very proud heritage and enviable track record of achievements, providing a wide range of services. So great has been our impact on development, so rich our wealth of experience and so profound our commitment to building a sound economic foundation for the region and the country for about 56 years.

We have become a fertile ground and a source of growth and development for companies, industrial concerns and indeed the nation's economy. With investments in manufacturing, properties, commerce and finance, agriculture, hotels, etc. With more than 7 subsidiaries.

## Mission Statement

Our mission is to be a diversified holding Company which derives its financial strength from steadily increasing profitability and funding resources based on our distinctive competence in managing equity investments and operating selected businesses within industries having superior economic and growth potential.

Our leadership image is built on high professional management, progressive human relations and ethical values, rooted in deep commitment to Nigeria's economic growth.

## Brief

**Established:**  
1949

**Incorporated:**  
1968 (RC4591)

**Authorized Share Capital:**  
500,000,000 ordinary shares  
of N1 each

**Share Holders:**  
The Governments of  
the Nineteen  
Northern States of  
Nigeria

**Principal Activities:**  
Development,  
Finance and Holding  
Conglomerate

## HEAD OFFICE

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