ARDP

Arewa Research & Development Project

TARIHIN TUSHEN KYAWAWAN AL'ADU NA SHUGABANCI DA YAKI DA CIN-HANCI DA KUMA TABBATAR DA ADALCI A NIJERIYA TA AREWA.

HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS OF LEADERSHIP VALUES ON ANTI-CORRUPTION AND SOCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

DARAJA'A NƎM FUWUMA JAMABE'E DUKSHINZƎ KƎLA JIREGANA GƎRTƎ'A HAKKU JAMAYE'A KAKKALRO SAOBE SURO YALA NIGRIABE

TARIHIN TUSHEN KYAWAWAN AL'ADU NA SHUGABANCI DA YAKI DA CIN-HANCI DA KUMA TABBATAR DA ADALCI A NIJERIYA TA AREWA.

Akwai damuwa da yawa game da tasirin cin hanci da rashawa a harkokin mulkin jama'a, wanda ya kasance ɗaya daga cikin manyan matsalolin wajen samar da kyakkyawan sakamako wajen samar da ayyukan more rayuwa a cikin ƙasashe masu tasowa. An fassara cin hanci da rashawa a matsayin 'yin amfani da ofishin gwamnati don tara dukiya'.Tare da yin amfani da karin magana, "babakere tare da karfin ikon da babu iyaka", Robert Klitgaard (masanin al'amuran mulkin jama'a) ya laƙanta cin hanci da rashawa a lokacin da wani zaiyi babakere a kan al'amari ko aikin jama'a, tare da ikon zartarwa ko hanawa ba bisa wata hujja ba. Saboda haka, rashin nuna gaskiya a cikin al'amuran jama'a, da ƙin bin hujjoji daga shugabanni da kange al'umma daga bin sawun al'amuran mulki shine ke haifar da yanayin cin hanci da rashawa. Hakan ne ke nuni da cewa cin hanci da rashawa yana faruwa ne sakamakon mumunar tafiyar da mulkin jama'a.

Saboda haka, sinadarin yaƙi da cin hanci da rashawa yana da nasaba da tsarin samar da dabarun zamantakewar al'umma ta samar da sa idon al'umma domin tallafawa da kuma karfafa shugabanci mai kyau. Manufar kyakkyawan shugabanci yana ɗaukar nauyin lissafi game da tsarin zamantakewa, inda 'yan ƙasa da suka zabi gwamnati zasu sa idon cuɗanya mai ma'ana a akan shugabannin mulki - wanda shine maƙasudin tsarin demokraɗiyya - domin kula da haƙƙoƙin jama'a da samun ingantattun ayyukan more rayuwa. Sa idon al'umma tare da cuɗanya da shugabanin mulki zai rage, ko kuma ya hana, aukuwar cin hanci da rashawa. Wannan shine ke nuna dangantar sa idon al'umma da yaƙi da cin hanci da rashawa.

A bisa jinƙan al'ammura, daulolin mulkin na nahiyar tsakiyar Sudani, waɗanda sune suka haifi Arewacin Nijeriyar wannan zamani, sun samar da tanade-tanaden Shari'a da ɗabi'un jagoranci game da yaki da

cin hanci da rashawa. Saboda haka, a cikin aiwatar da wannan aikin gangamin a kan yaki da cin hanci da rashawa da kuma inganta tsarin sa ido a zamantakewar al'ummar Arewacin Nijeriya, musamman jihohin Borno da Zamfara, Cibiyar bincike da bunƙasa Arewacin Nijeriya (ARDP) taga mahimmancin raba wasu ƙasidu waɗanda shugabannin Daular Usumaniyar Sakkwato da Daular Borno suka wallafa a kan shugabancin al'umma da siyasarsu.

Mun yi la'akari da cewa fahimtar tarihi na tushen jagoranci a kan cin hanci da rashawa da kuma inganta zamantakewar jama'a zai yi amfani wajen taimakon ƙoƙarin ƙungiyoyin wannan zamani wajen bayar da nasu agaji ga gwamnatoci wajen yaƙi da cin hanci da rashawa a harkokin gwamnati. Saboda haka, hanyoyin da za a tsara domin sa idon al'umma zasu samar da hanyoyin cuɗanya da gwamnati inda kungiyoyin al'umma za su taimaka wajen gudanar da harkokin jama'a cikin ayyukan gwamnati.

(Shugabannin aiwatarwa, Na ƙungiyar ARDP)
ShirinYaƙi da Cin Hanci da Samar da Hanyoyin Gyaran Al'amurra a Arewacin Nijeriya.

HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS OF LEADERSHIP VLUES ON ANTI-CORRUPTION AND SOCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

There is an overwhelming concern on the impact of corruption in public affairs, which represents one of the major obstacles to achieving effective social service delivery in developing countries. Corruption is generally understood as the 'misuse of public office for private gain'. Using the formula "monopoly plus discretion minus accountability", Robert Klitgaard sees corruption when someone has monopoly power over a good or service, has the discretion to decide whether one receives it and how one gets, and is not accountable. Hence, the absence of transparency in the conduct of public affairs, the refusal of those in power to account, and the lack of meaningful citizen participation in decision-making contribute to the conditions for corruption to happen. Such conditions show that corruption occurs as a consequence and manifestation of bad governance.

Thus, anti-corruption inherent monitoring strategies begets social accountability as the framework of action to support and sustain good governance. The concept of good governance carries with it connotations of social accountability, where citizens and citizens groups constructively engage government – which, in essence, is what democracy is all about – for the purpose of monitoring the use of public resources towards improved delivery of services, community welfare, and protection of people's rights. Social accountability is thus to provide the constructive engagement between citizens and government through civil organizations' monitoring, which could minimize, if not pre-empts, corruption. This explains the logical connection between anti-corruption and social accountability.

Mercifully, the pre-colonial polities in the Central Sudan, out of which modern Northern Nigeria emerged, embodied the ideals (policies) and programs about leadership values on anti-corruption and social accountability. In its implementation of the project on Anti-

Corruption and the Promotion of Social Accountability in Northern Nigeria, with particular attention to Borno and Zamfara States, the Arewa Research and Development Project (ARDP) finds it extremely important to share some extracts propounded by the leadership of the Sokoto Caliphate and Borno Empire on political leadership, anti-corruption and social accountability.

We envisioned that understanding historical foundations of leadership values on ant-anti corruption and promotion of social accountability will rhyme with the efforts of donor agencies and governments towards looking at new ways the civil society can assist in fighting corruption in public administration. Thus, social accountability mechanisms will revolve around citizen engagements with government in a systematic manner to provide and sustain horizontal accountability in the conduct of public affairs.

(The ARDP Co-ordinating Team)
Project on Anti-Corruption and Promotion of Social Accountability in Northern Nigeria.

DARAJA'A NƎM FUWUMA JAMABE'E DUKSHINZƎ KƎLA JIREGANA GƎRTƎ'A HAKKU JAMAYE'A KAKKALRO SAOBE SURO YALA NIGRIABE

Ku suro lardə'a fuwutə hadizana soye letəgəramza rumiya awo karəgə kuttabe kura fal ndusoye kəladən zəktəna faldə shima lamar kura'a yamaye soye jiregana suro jama'a notonzabedə.Shi jire adə alama kərta au razəgə jamabe kaune liwunəmro yikke gairo shagozana.Samma dukshinzə dəye, wumangalwo'a kam harribtə'a shi ganabe dəa nzərfatto'a bas. Ilmuma laa Robert kligaard dəye guljin dən wono-shi jire-gana adə alama kambe duno kərmaibe faidatə kam soa ratsəgəiya daji am anyi hakkinza sawandənyi yaye awo sha zəktsənaba balle njimalta. Nangadəro suro jamaro chiida kəndoben jire fəletəbaso sandi kurawa jamabe sodəye kəla jire ganaben bam naptaso, kuru am jire'a soa yikkəm chida ngəla kəndobaso dəye səkkə daryenzə affinzə yaye kal-lan kəlagotin.

Daji na-allan ruwiya shi jire-gana adə kambowoso, nəm adal-ba fərtəworo isə gumnati dəa bannajin. Nangadəro ku rumiya kərigə-jire-gana gərtəbe kəndodə shima dea nəm adalla, chida ngəla'a tadaro sambin.Ndaran yaye ferno gumnati adalbedə tadanzə də nəm adalla hakku jamaye kakkalro kənjo'a. na donyi karapka'a ngəla-ngəlaso chiza kəla kəlza lamar jamaro kakkalro chida kəndobe də sandiya katennaro waljin.Daji adəma gumnati nəm kam-be jamaye tawatta'aye zarnzədəwo. Shi hakku jamabe tawatta'adəye sambisoro ndəwu ndi kate gumnatiya jamabe'a də shima karapka'a jamaye jili-jili soa katedəro yikkem namtə ndəwubero walzai. Daji adə-tədiya lamar də kaaye lai-kanəmbe-lairo waljin.

Na-allan daji jire-ganaso, jama haribtəsoye baro waljin. Kangesəbe halnzə sədənyi'a yim zaman nasara'abe dən lardəa Afrikabe hatta yala'a Nijeriayabe kuyema suronna adəlan, kəla nəm adalye mbeji, jireye mbejiye dən affiso kakalro bejin karrakəla futu chanjire tədənadən missal gonəm kakkalro letəben karapka kulashi's chidaa yalaa lardəyero deo'aye shiro Arewa Research and Development

Project gulzain dəye kəla kərye'a alama Borno gai, Zamfara gai ladən jire tədəben, misalwa gumnati adin Islambe kurebe alama daula Sokotobe shiro Sokoto Caliphate gulzain dəgai daula kanem bornobe shiro Borno Emirate gulzai dəgaiso lan misalwa gowono.

Nangadəro kurundə ladənna, hal jamasoa kakkalro notəm jire tawattagabe dən karapkaa hakku jamabero mbəltama soa gonəm katedəro yikkodə, awo zaumaro kakkalye kuru sandənayero chure. Shi hakku jamaye soa kakkalro tawttaa adə karapkaa soa katedəro yikkodəye gana-ganamen awoa kakkalgənyi soa sasein kuru lairo sikkənne, kuru shi gumnati dəyero shima kakkalwoye, shima herwoye.

(Bayan adə na karapka kulashi'a chida'a ngəla yalaa lardəbero deoye shiro Arewa Research and Development Project (ARDP) yen təwando.)

HAUSA VERSION

KASHIN BAYAN SHUGABANCI

1. Shugabanci A Matsayin Amanar Allah

Babu shakka, mulki wakilci ne daga Allah, kuma amana daga Annabin Allah. A duba irin martabarsa da kuma irin nauyinsa. Idan shugaba ya bi hanyar madaidaiciya sai taqawa ta yi zarra a kan bukatunsa na duniya, idan kuwa ya fandare sai taƙawarsa ta zama baiwar buƙatunsa na duniya. Saboda haka ka ji tsoron Allah (kila ka yi nasara) ka kwana da sanin cewa "Duk wani rai zai-ɗanɗani mutuwa, kuma za ka karɓi cikakken sakamakonka a ranar hisabi. Saboda haka duk wanda aka 'yanta daga wuta, aka kuma shigar da shi Aljanna to lallai ya yi galaba, domin kuwa wannan duniyar ba kome ce ba illa hanyoyi na yaudara".

(Daga Shehu Abdullahi dan Fodiyo, wanda ya tsakuro daga Imam Muhammad Ibn Abdulkarim al-Maghili. (1504): a cikin littafinsa *Diya ul-Hukkam*, Yamusa 1990:8).

2. Shugabanci A Matsayin Abin Bayyanawa Dalla-Dalla

Ka san da sani yaɗan'uwana, cewa ɗaya daga cikin babban bala'in da zai Faɗa wa bawa (na Allah) shi ne ya zama shugaba, domin buƙatar ya yi cikakken bayanin muƙamin. A ƙa'ida kowane bawa zai yi cikakken bayanai akan kalamansa da ayyukansa da kuma mu'amalolinsa. Idan an naɗa shi shugaba, to lallai banda nauyi ayyukansa da ke kansa, za a kuma buƙaci bayani a kan waɗanda ya shugabanta. To idan ba zai iya sauke nauyin da ke kansa da kyau ba, ya ya matsayinsa zai kasance ke nan idan aka nemi ya yi bayani dalla-dalla a kan ayyukan waɗandà ya shugabanta? A kan wannan ne aka ce. "Duk wanda Allah ya dankwafar to ya gode masa, domin kuwa ya rage masa wahalar nauyi wanda lallai sai ya yi bayaninsa dalla-dalla. Wannan yana cikin waɗanda ba su da bayanin da za su yi da yawa, illa dai rigingimun duniyar nan, wadda babu wani abu a cikinta illa

damuwa, idan kuwa ba haka ba, babu abin da zai samu a lahira illa azaba. A dalilin haka ne Manzon Allah tsira da amincin Allah su tabbata a gare shi ya ce " kuna so in gaya maku wani abu a game da shugabanci da kuma abin da yake nufi?" Sai (masu sauraronsa) suka ce "E, ya Rasulullah," sai kuma yace "farkonsa shi ne zargi, kashi na biyunsa shi ne nadama, kashi na uku shi ne azaba a ranar tashin ƙiyama".

(Sarkin Musulmi Muhammad Bello, a cikin Usul al-Siyasa, (Wallafar) Yamusa 2004:11)

A cikin Al-Janharah an ruwaito cewa Ali b. Abi Talib ya ce, "na ga Umar b. al-Khattab da sassafe a kan wata dabba sai na ce da shi "ya Amirul Muminin, ina za ka je?" Sai kuma ya amsa "wani raƙumi da aka bayar sadaka ya ɓace shi ne nake neman sa". Sai na ce, "ka aza wa Halifofin bayanka aiki ya Amirul muminina da wannan abu" sai ya ce "kada ka zarge ni ya Abul-Hasan domin na rantse da wanda ya aiko Muhammad (Annabi) da annabci cewa idan tunkiya za ta ɓace a gaban tekun "Euphrates" za a tambayi Umar ya yi bayani a kanta a ranar tashin ƙiyama, domin kuwa babu wani girma ga shugaban da ya ki kulawa da dukiyar musulmi".

3. Shugabanci A Matsayin Alheri

Muhimmancin shugabanci da kuma nauyin muƙamin sun samo asali ne daga abin da aka ruwaito daga Manzon Allah, tsira da amincin Allah su tabbata a gare shi, wanda ya ce, "adalcin shugaba na rana ɗaya, yafi ibadar wani wanda ba kowa ba ta shekara saba'in."

Manzon Allah, mafi kyawon rahama da mafi ɗaukakar gaisuwa su tabbata a gare shi ya ce, " mutumin da ake ji da shi kuma wanda ya fi kusa da Allah shi ne shugaba mai adalci, amma mutumin da Allah ya fi ƙi kuma wanda ya fi nesa da shi, shi ne azzaalumin shugaba". Manzon Allah, tsira da amincin Allah su tabbata a gare shi ya ce, za'a

rubuta kyawawan ayyukan adalin shugaba da daraja, adadin ayyukan dukkan talakawansa, kuma ladar duk wata salla da ya yi za a ba ta darajar salloli 70,000 da wasu suka yi. Tunda haka ne babu abin da yafi ga bawan Allah kamar a bashi mukamin shugabanci. Allah ya sanya sa'a ɗaya ta rayuwar shugaba ta yi darajar rayuwar wani mutum gaba ɗayanta. Duk wanda bai yi la'akari da muhimmancin wannan gata ba, ya damu kansa da zalunci to Allah zai sashi cikin maƙiyansa.

(Sarkin Musulmi Muhammad Bello, Usul al-Siyasa, Yamusa 2004: 11-12)

4. Shugabanci A Matsayin Yi Wa Mutane Hidima

Duk wanda Allah ya jarabce shi da muƙami *(wilaya),* to ya yi aiki tuƙuru wajen sauke nauyin. Koda yake yana iya zama fitina duk da haka yana ɗaya daga cikin manyan alheri. Duk mutumin da ya sauke nauyinsa da kyau ya kuma yi godiya ga Mai Rahama to zai samu farin ciki marar ƙarewa, irin wanda ba a taɓa yin irinsa ba. Ta ɓangare guda kuwa duk mutumin da ya kasa sauke nauyinsa, da godewa mai bayarwa, to zai shiga fitina marar iyaka, wadda sai dai kurum a kwatanta ta da kafirce wa Allah mai girma da ɗaukaka.

(Sarkin Musulmi Muhammad Bello, Usul al Siyasa, Yamusa 204:11)

Lallai shugaba ya kula da jin daɗin mutane. Kada ko da wasa shugaba ya ɗauka shi ne ya mallaki lardin da aka ce ya shugabanta ta yadda ƙasar ta zama ta ƙashin kansa, wadda zai iya bayarwa ga wanda yake so, kuma ya hana wanda ya so. Wannan irin aikin zamanin jahiliyya ne. Ya san da sani cewa an ba shi amanar kula da mutane ne domin ya kula da addininsu da kuma buƙatunsu na duniya.

(Shehu Abdullahi Ibn Fodiyo, Diya'ul Hukkam fi ma hukum wa alaihim min al ahkam 1807, Yamusa 1990:13)

Kula da jin dadin mutane ya fi warkarwa fiye da amfani da ƙarfi. An faɗa cewa mulkin shugaba shi ne mutuncinsa, ƙarfinsa shi ne rashin nuna bambanci, dukiyarsa kuwa ita ce kula da jin daɗin mutanensa. Ba a yin nasara da yin yankan ƙauna, ba a yin mulki babu ilmi, kuma ba a yin shugabanci da ɗaukar fansa.

(Shehu Usman Ibn Fodiyo, Bayan Wujub al-Hijra. El Masri, 1978:150)

5. Sugabanci A Matsayin Adalci.

Shugaba yana samun nasara ne a kan maƙiyansa kwatankwacin adalcinsa ga mutanensa, ana kuma yin galaba a kansa wajen fafitikarsa daidai irin zaluncinsa.

(Shehu Usman Ibn Fodiyo Bayan, Wujab al-Hijra, El masri, 1978: 150)

Dole ne shugaba ya tabbatar ya yi adalci, kuma ya kyautata. Adalci shi ne ya ba kowa haƙƙinsa. Duk ɗaya ne ko wannan haƙƙi an samo shi daga kansa ko kuma daga wasu. Kyautatawa kuwa ita ce ya yi abu mai kyau, ya bada kyauta daga dukiyarsa amma ba daga ta wani ba.

Ana yin adalci yadda ya dace idan ya duba koke-koken masu husuma daidai wa daida; ta yadda ya karɓe su, da yadda suka zauna a gabansa, da yadda ya dube su, da yadda ya yi musu jawabi, da dukkan sauran al'amurra da suka shafe su, ba tare da fifita wani sashe ba. Kada ya amsa gaisuwar wanda ya gaida shi da nuna tsananin jin daɗi da sanayya, kuma kada ya yi magana da shi fiye da kima, sai dai fa idan ya fahimci cewa mutumin ba shi cikin waɗanda ake husumar da shi, kuma amsar da ya bayar ba za ta jawo wani abin da aka haramta ba.

Dole ne shugaba ya zauna a gaban jama'a a kullum, yadda mutane musamman mata da yara za su iya kai wa gare shi. Bai wadatar masa ba, ya dogara ga waɗanda ya naɗa (su kula da al'amurran jama'a) irin su alƙalai da sauran ma'aikatan gwamnati. Domin kuwa kila ƙorafe-

ƙorafen mutanen a kan waɗannan mutanen ne, domin haka tilas ya yi musu adalci. Idan ba haka ba kuwa sai ya zama tamkar kwaranga ga masu ita, ko kuma mai riƙe ƙahunnan sanuwa ga mai tatsa. Halifofi (Allah ya jiƙan su) sun cire ma'aikata masu gaskiya, a sanadiyar kuka da aka yi a kansu, kuma abin da suka yi, ya yi kama da tausayawa. Kyautatawa ita ce ruhin mulki, rashinta shi kansa zalunci ne.

(Shehu Abdullahi dan Fodiyo, a cikin Diya ul-Hukkam, Yamusa 1990: 9 – 10)

Na furta cewa, nasara daga Allah ta ke, Allah ya ce kada ku ɗauka cewa Allah bai sane da abin da masu mummunan aiki suke yi. Yana jinkirta masu ne ya zuwa ranar da idanawa za su bubbuɗe cikin kiɗima. Diya al-khulafa, ya ce: Wannan ayar cikakken gargadi ne ga azzalumai kuma cikakken rarrashi ga waɗanda ake zalunta. Ka'b ya taɓa ce wa Abu Huraira, an faɗa a cikin Attaura cewa. "za a yi rugu-rugu da gidan azzalumi." Sai Abu Huraira ya amsa da cewa, haka ma an faɗa a littafin Allah cewa: "Waɗancan su ne gidajensu sun ragurguje domin ɓarnar da suka aikata. Zalunci shine abu mafi sauƙi wajen hana samun falalar Allah da kuma jawo bala'i. Ibn Abbas ya ruwaito Manzon Allah ya ce, "ku yi hattara da addu'ar wanda aka zalunta, domin babu shamaki tsakaninta da Ubangiji." Abu Huraira ya ruwaito cewa Annabi ya ce, "wanda ya zalunci ɗan'uwansa ta mutuncinsa ko dukiyarsa, to lallai ya gyara kwatankwacin zaluncin da ya yi kafin ranar da babu dirhami ko dinari. Domin kuwa a wannan ranar idan mai laifin yana da wani aikin alheri, za a rage su daidai yawan zaluncin da ya yi. Idan ba shi da wani aikin alheri, za a ba shi wasu munanan ayyukan wanda aka zalunta." Sa'id Ibn Zaid ya ce ya ji Annabi ya ce, "duk wanda ya ƙwace wani ɗan taƙin ƙasa, za a kaurara taƙin ya kai girman ƙasa ta bakwai a rataya masa ita a wuya". Anas ya ruwaito Annabi ya ce, "ku taimaka wa ɗan'uwanku walau shi ne mai zalunci ko wanda aka zalunta". Sai ya tambaya cewa, "ya

Manzon Allah, za mu taimaka masa idan an zalunce shi, to amma ta yaya zamu taimaka masa idan shi ne ke yin zaluncin?" Sai ya ce, "ta hana shi."

An ce wani shugaba ya rubuta waɗannan layuka na baitoci a kan darduma:

Kada ka yi zalunci idan kana da muƙami
Domin yin žalunci yakan sa tagumi.
Idanunka na gyangyadi wanda aka zalunta na zaune.
Yana la'antarka, kuma Allah na sane
Addu'ar wanda aka ƙwara, lallai ta kai ka
Halin ƙunci da muzantawa da kuma damuwa

Bilal ya ce, ka ji tsoron Allah a kan mutumin da ba shi da mataimaki sai Allah. An ruwaito Annabi ya ce, Allah ya ce. "Fushina ya fi tsanani a kan mutumin da yake zaluntar wanda ba shi da mataimaki illa ni".

(ShehuUsman Ibn Fodiyo, Bayan Wujub al-Hijra, El Masri 1978:140)

Annabi ya ce, "duk mutumin da ya yi sulhu a tsakanin abokan adawa biyu, kuma ya yi zalunci (to lallai ya san da sani) la'anar Allah na a kan duk mutane azzalumai." Ya kuma ce, "akwai mutane uku waɗanda Allah ba zai dube su ba a ranar tashin ƙiyama; maƙaryacin mai mulki da mazinacin tsoho, da talaka mai ji da kansa" Ya kuma ce da sahabbansa "Wata rana zata zo da za kuci wasu sassa na Gabas da na Yamma, dukkansu za su kasance a hannunku, kuma dukkan waɗanda za su amshi shugabanci za su shiga wuta, sai fa waɗanda suka ji tsoron Allah mai girma da ɗaukaka suka yi taƙawa, kuma suka yi aikinsu tsakani da Allah".

Annabi tsira da amincin Allah su tabbata a gare shi, ya kuma ce, "duk wani bawan Allah da aka naɗa ya shugabanci al'amurran mutanensa, amma ya yi cuta, ko ya ƙi ya basu shawara mai kyau, ko ya tausaya masu, to Allah zai hana shi shiga Aljanna." Ya kuma ce, "duk wanda aka naɗa ya shugabanci al'amurran musulmi, amma ya ƙi ya kare su tamkar yadda zai kare iyalansa, to lallai zai sami mazauninsa a wuta". Ya kuma sanar cewa, "mazaje biyu daga al'ummata ba zasu sami cetona ba: azzalamin shugaba da kuma fanɗararren zindiƙi wanda a koda yaushe yake saɓa wa dokoki."Ya kuma ƙara da cewa, "wanda zai sha uƙuba mafi-tsanani a ranar tashin ƙiyama shi ne shugaba mai kama-karya".

(Sarkin Musulmi Muhammad Bello, Usul al-Siyasa, Yamusa, 2004:11-12)

6. Shugabanci A Matsayin kyakkyawan Abu

Kyakkyawan aiki shi ne darajar hali. Tunda Ubangiji ya sani ba kowa ne yake wadata ta adalci kaɗai ba, yana buƙatar kyakkyawan aiki wanda ya fi adalci martaba sai Ubangiji ya hada su tare. A taƙaice shi ne talakawa suna da rakuni iri uku ne ga shugaba: tsofaffi; da ƙanana; da kuma, na tsaka-tsakinsu. Tilas ne shugaba ya kula da tsofo tamkar uba, na tsakiya a matsayin ɗan'uwa, ƙarami kuma kamar ɗa. Saboda haka ya girmama babansa, ya kyautata wa ɗan'uwansa, kuma ya nuna ƙauna ga ɗansa".

(Shehu Usman Ibn Fodiyo, Bayan Wujib al-Hijra, El-masri, 1978:66)

7. Shugabanci A Matsayin Tanajin Abu Ma Fi Kyau

Idan Ubangiji na son jama'a sai ya mika shugabancinsa ga mutane mafi kyau daga cikinsu. Sai kuma ya basu waɗanda za su taimaka masu. Irin waɗannan shugabanni su ne za su jagoranci jama'a ta hanyar da ta dace, kuma su yi ayyuka daidai-wa-daida. Za su nemi shawarar mutane masu ilmin da ya dace kan warware matsaloli. Za su

nemo muhimman mutane, da mutane masu ilmi da kwararru su taimaka ta fannoninsu. Za su darajta addu'oin mutane masu taƙawa, domin al'ummar ta ci-gaba ta kowacce fuska. Irin waɗannan shugabanni za su ƙara girma ga matanen da suka cancanta, su hana wa waɗanda ba su kamata a ba su ba.

(Sarkin Musulmi Mahummad Bello, Ifadat al-Ikhwan, Tukur, 1999:77)

8 Shugabanci A matsayin Hanyar koya Tarbiyya

Lallai shugaba ya umurci mutanensa su yi adalci, da kyawawan ayyuka, kuma su guje zaluntar juna, su so abubuwa kyawawa su kyamaci munana. A gwari-gwari dai kyawawan halayen shugaba da ayyukansa hotone na kyawawan ayyukan mutanensa da halayensu. Saboda haka idan suka yi ɗa'a ga Ubangijinsu mai Rahama da Girma da Ɗaukaka, sai ya sanya tausayi a zukatan shugabanninsu, su kyautata masu. Amma idan akasin haka ne, suka ƙi bin umurnin Ubangijinsu suka nemi su yi fasadi a duniya, sai ya sanya shugabanninsu tursasa masu, a karshe su zalunce su. Allah Mai Girma da Daukaka yace "Sai muka kyale wasu daga cikin maɓarnatan suka mulki wasu (sakamakon abin da suke so su mallaka." An kuma ruwaito a Hadisi cewa za a mulke ku "kwatankwacin yadda kuke".

(Sarkin Musulmi Muhammad Bello, Usul al-Siyasa, Yamusa 2004:16-17)

9. Shugabanci A Matsayin Hali Abin Koyi.

Mulki tarnaki ne ga kwamacalar zukatan mutane. Saboda haka duk wani shugaba ya rungumi halin girmamawa, walau a birni ko a kauye. Ka nuna sonka ga abu mai kyau, da kuma mutane na gari; ka nuna ƙiyayya ga fasadi da mutane masu alfasha. Ka ƙawata jikinka, ka shafa wa lumfashinka turare, ka yi tufafi masu ado da ƙyale-ƙyale da aka halasta, ba tare da koyi da wasu ba, ko ta kwashe kuɗin baitul mali a tatuke shi. Kada ka zuba wa kanka zinari ko tagulla ko tulin

siliki domin yin haka abin kunya ne, abin da aka ƙi ne, kuma bai dace ba. Ka zauna a harde idan ka zauna. Ka natsu iyakar iyawarka, babu mutsu-mutsu ko da da hannu, idanawanka su riƙa kallon ƙasa-ƙasa suna dubi mai ma'ana, kuma ka yi kallo a tsanake. Ka tunkari mutane cikin mutunci kada ka buɗe bakinka ko da hamma za ka yi. Idan hamma ta kama ka, faɗi sunan Allah za ta wuce. Amma idan ka bari kwaɗayin ya ci ƙarfinka, to ka rufe bakinka da bayan daya daga cikin hannuwanka. Wani sha'iri (marubucin waƙa) ya ce :

Kada ka taɓa yin dariya da ƙarfi
Domin makafi kurum ke yin haka.
Ta ƙarfafa wa makantarsu.
ka rungumi son yin shiru ko yaushe
Domin mai surutu bai cika kuɓuta ba
Idan har sai ka ce ƙala to taƙaita a tsanake
ƙasƙantar da kanka domin lokacin mutuwa
Sai ka yi wa kanka kiyamul laili.

(Shehu Abdulahi Ibn Fodiyo, wanda ya tsakuro daga ImamMuhammad Ibn Abdulkarim al-Maghili (1504) a Yamusa 1975: Tsakuren naan an ɗauko shi ne kai tsaye daga littafin na Imam al-Maghili.)

SHUGABANCI DA FAFITIKAR YAKI DA CIN-HANCI

1. Shugabanni Masu Gaskiya Ke Haifar Da Kyakkyawar Al'umma.

Shugabanni tamkar marmaron ruwa ne, su kuma ma'aikata kamar laulawan ruwa ne. idan marmaron ruwa tsaftatacce ne ƙazantar laulawa ba za ta yi masa kome ba. Amma idan ruwan gurɓatacce ne, to tsaftar laulawa babu wani tasiri da za ta yi (ga kyawon ruwan)

(Sarkin Musulmi Muhammad Bello, Usul al-Siyasa, Yamusa 2004: 11 da 16)

2. Haramcin Cin-Hanci Da Ayyukan Barna.

An haramta wa shugaba da ya taɓa wata dukiyar da aka samu ta ƙamuya-muya, alal misali ta cin-hancin da aka samu domin naɗa alkali ko wani ma'aikaci. An yi ijima'i kacokam cewa amfani da irin wannan dukiya haramun ne. Tana lalata addinin, kuma ta buɗe wata wagegiyar ƙofa ga ɓarna, da kuma tursasa wa talakawa. Domin jami'an za su ji tunda an amshi kuɗi wajensu ladar ba su muƙamai, to su ma lallai su mayar da su daga jikin talaka.

Wani abu kuma wanda aka yarda cewa shi ma haramun ne, shi ne karɓar cin-hanci a madadin shugaba, ko wasu jami'ai kamar alƙalai da sauransu. Wato al'adar karɓar wani abu daga wajen daya daga cikin masu husuma ko dukkansu, ko dai kafin a yanke shari'a, ko bayan an yanke. Haka ma haramun ne a karɓi kyauta daga talakawa. Domin wannan hanya ce da za ta kai ga fitinu iri-iri. Idan kyauta ta iske mutumin da ke da iko, adalci da kyautatawa za su sami hanyar rabuwa da shi, kuma abin da ya yi shi ne ya sayo wa kansa muhalli a wuta.

(Shehu Abdullahi Ibn Fodiyo, Diya'al Hakkam 1990:10)

3. Fasadi A Kasar Hausa Ta Karni na sha Tara.

Ɗaya daga cikin hanyar mulkinsu ita ce gina ikonsu a kan abubuwa uku, Mutane, da mutuncinsu da kuma dukiyarsu, duk wanda suke so su kashe, ko su kora daga ƙasa ko su ci mutuncinsa, ko kuma su ci dukiyarsa, sai su yi domin biyan buƙatunsu ba tare da wata hujja a shari'a ba. Ɗaya daga cikin hanyar mulkinsu, ita ce aza wa mutane kudi wanda shari'a ba ta ce ba, irin wanda suke kira jangali, ko kudin gari ko kuɗin salla. Ɗaya daga cikin hanyar mulkinsu ita ce cin duk wani irin abinci da suke so da gangan, walau shari'a ta halarta ko ta haramta, da kuma sanya duk wani irin kaya suke so, Walau shari'a ta halasta ko ta haramta, da kuma shan duk wani abu da suke so walau shari'a ta halasta ko ta haramta, da kuma hawan duk wata dabba da suke so, Walau shari'a ta halasta ko ta haramta, da kuma żama da matan da suke so, ba tare da aure ba, da zama a cikin fadojin da aka yi wa kawa, da shimfiɗa dardumai masu laushi da kwalliya yadda suke so, walau sharia ta halasta ko ta haramta.

Ɗaya daga cikin hanyar mulkinsu, ita ce jinkirta biyan bashi wannan kuwa zalunci ne. Ɗaya daga cikin hanyar mulkinsu ita ce abin da sarkin kasuwa yake karɓa daga duk waɗanda suka yi hulɗar cinikayya, da kuma naman da yake karɓa daga rundawa a duk ranar kasuwa. Ɗaya daga cikin hanyar mulkinsu, wadda kuma wani abu ne sananne ita ce duk wanda ya rasu a ƙasarsu, za su ɗauki kayansa su kira shi 'gado', sun kuwa sani ko shakka babu cewa zalunci ne. Ɗaya daga cikin hanyar mulkinsu ita ce su aza haraji kan attajirai da sauran matafiya.

Ɗaya daga cikin hanyar mulkinsu, wadda kuma sananna ce, ita ce idan kana da wanda kuke shari'a, kuma ya riga ka wajensu ya ba su kuɗi, to ba za su karɓi batunka ba, duk kuwa da cewa sun san gaskiyarka,

sai fa idan ka ba su abin da ya fina abokin shari'arka. Ɗaya daga cikin hanyar mulkinsu ita ce su hana mabuƙaci ya gansu.

Ɗaya daga cikin hanyar mulkinsu, itace bayar da kyauta ga wanda ya yi masu iso ga mai mulki. Daya daga cikin hanyar mulkinsu ita ce ƙarya da zamba da girman kai. Ba za ka taba ganin wani daga cikinsu wanda baiji da kansa ba, kuma duk wani wanda ya nuna rashin girmama su ko ɗan yaya, za su hukunta shi a kan haka.

(Shehu Usman Ibn Fofiyo,*Kitaba al-Farq*, M. HIskett: 7-11)

4. Kyauta Ga Jami'an Gwamnati

Akwai hadisin Annabi a Sahih Buhari a a game da dokar da ta shafi kyaututtukan da ake ba su, cewa Annabi ya naɗa wani mutum mai suna Ibn Al-Lutbiyya a matsayin gwamna. Da mutumin ya dawo wajen Annabi, sai yace: "Ya Manzon Allah, wannan naka ne, wannan kuwa an ba ni ne kyauta." Sai Annabi ya ce, cikin fushi: "Ta yaya mutumin da muka ɗauka ya yi mana wani aiki zai ce. wannan naka ne, wannan kuwa an ba ni ne kyauta?" Mene ne ya sanya bai tsaya a gidan ubansa da uwarsa ba, ya gani idan za a aika masa da kyauta a can.?"

Malik ya ruwaito cewa Umar Ibn al-Khattab ya riƙa kwace rabin dukiyar gwamnoni. Idan ta bayyana cewa bayan ya naɗa su gwamnoni suna da dukiyar da wadda a da ba a san su da ita ba. Dalilin wannan kuwa shi ne koda yake abin da gwamna ya samu ba tare da an ba shi cin-hanci ba halal ne, to amma ba shi da hujjar amsarta, domin yana riƙe da babban mukami a matsayinsa na gwamna, kuma zai iya samun abin da wasu ba su iyawa ta halal. Saboda haka sai a zuba rarar dukiyarsa a baitul mali. Attab Usayd ya taba cewa. "Tsakani na da Allah abin da kawai na amfana daga aikin da Manzon Allah ya ba

ni shi ne riguna guda biyu, waɗanda naba yaro na (mai suna) Kaysan."

A cikin Shurb al-Zulal (bayan baitocin) an ce ka bar duk wani abu wanda shugaba ya amsa domin ya yi hukunci, ko da kuwa hukuncin daidai ne, kada Ka ci shi.

Sai ya ce:

Kwatankwacin wannan ita ce kyautar da aka ba mai mulki, duk wannan haramtacciyar riba ce ta kuskure.

(Shehu Usman Ibn Fodiyo, *Bayan Wujub al-Hijra*, El-Masri 1976: 74 -75)

Cikin irin wannan ruɗun shi ne akwai wasu mutane da suka ɗauki cin –hanci a matsayin 'kyauta'. Wannan ma kuskure ne kuma ruɗu a ijima. Domin an bayar da ma'anar 'kyauta' da cewa wani abu ne da aka bayar domin a ƙarfafa soyayya, alhali cin-hanci wani abu ne da aka bayar domin a rusa haƙƙi na halaƙ (na wani), ko kuma domin a samo abin da yake haram.

(Shehu Usman Ibn Fodiyo, Hisa al-Afham, F.R. Siddiq 1989:125)

5. Sanya Ido A Kan Ma'aikatan Gwamnati

Lallai dangantakar shugaba da ma'aikatansa ta zama kamar ta makiyayi a tsakiyar Mafaɗatan Zakoki, sune za su kula da mutanensa a madadinsa, shi kuma yana sanya ido a kansu. Duk wata ɓarna tana fitowa ne daga mugayen ma'aikata. Lallai shugaba ya binciki duk wani mutum wanda ake kyautata zaton sa ne da yin ɓarna, alal misali mutumin da shaidu na kwarai suka furta cewa an sami giya da wasu lalatattun mutane a gidansa lallai ya bincika zargin, idan gaskiya ne, ya hukunta wanda ake zargi, ya kuma yi maganin fasadi, ko kuma ya yi fushi dashi ya la'ance shi.

(Shehu Abdullahi Ibn Fodiyo, Diya al-Hukkam, Yamusa, 1990:9)

6. **Bayyana Dukiyar Da Aka Mallaka.**

Lallai shugaba ya zama yana son ya san hakiƙanin halin da ƙasa ke ciki domin son tabbatar da gaskiya ba domin kyashi da haɗama ba. Wannan ya shafi al'amarin ma'aikatansa, ta ƙoƙarin ya san halin da suke ciki, ta hanyar ƙirga dukiyarsu kafin ya naɗa su, da kuma sanya ido a ayyukansu lokaci-lokaci. Ya gargadi duk wanda ya a kasa aikinsa; ya kori waɗanda suka wuce-gona-da-iri, kuma ya maye gurbin duk wani wanda aka yi kuka da shi. Duk wanda aka samu yana da dukiya fiye da wadda ya samu a wajen aikinsa, to tilas ne shugaba ya amshe ta ya mayar da ita baitalmali. Idan an tabbatar da asalin dukiyar, to ya ƙwace rabinta daga ma'aikacin

(Shehu Abdullahi ibn Fodiyo, Diya al-Hukkam, 1990:9)

7. **Ba Sani- Ba- Sabo Da Ma'aikatansa.**

Dole ne shugaba ya zama ba-sani-ba-sabo a mu'amalarsa da ma'aikatansa da yaran gidansa. Za su iya yaudarar shugaba domin amfanin kansu. Su nuna masa yin zalunci daidai ne, ta haka kuwa sai su jefa shi a wuta, domin biyan buƙatunsu. Ba ka da babban maƙiyi tamkar mutumin da yake neman halakaka. Ma'aikata da yaran gida a ma fi yawan lokuta bayi ne na abinci da jima'i da sauran kananan bukatu, domin samun biyan bukatunsu. Irin waɗannan mutane suna iya amfani da shugabansu su biya bukatunsu, kuma ma ai aikinsu domin taimakon kansu ne, ba domin taimakonsa ba. Alamar wannan ita ce da zarar sun ji jita-jita cewa za a kori gwamnansu daga aiki, a maye gurbinsa da wani, dukkansu za su juya masa baya, su fara kamun-kafa ga wancan mutumin. Za su yi hidima a duk inda kuɗi suke kuma su miƙa wuya...

(Sarkin Musulmi Muhammad Bello, Usul al-siyasa, Yamusa 2004:16)

8. **Shawara Ga Ma'aikatan Hukuma.**

Ma'aikatanka da kai suke kdyi. Idan ka yi zalunci, sai ka zama tamkar dabbar da ta samu ciyawa ta ci ta batse har ta yi kiba. Sai kibarta ta zama sanadiyar halakarta, domin an yanke ta aka cinye domin kibar.
(Sarkin Musulmi Muhammad Bello, Usul al-siyasa, Yamusa 2004.16).

9. **Dukiyar Maɓarnatan Masu Mulki.**

Ka sani cewa ra'ayin malamai ya bambanta a kan batun dukiyar masu mulki. Wasu daga cikinsu sun ce "Babu wani abu da yake halal daga cikin dukiyarsu ko ga masu kudi ko ga talakawa, domin maɓarnata ne. kamuya-muya ta dabaibaye dukiyarsu. Dokar ta shafi ma fi yawan mutane. Saboda haka dole ne a guje ta". Wasu suka ce "Ta halasta ga masu kudI da talakawa idan mutum bai gane cewa ta haram ce ba hakkin na a kan mai bayarwa". Wasu kuma ("Ta halasta ga talakawa amma baga masu kudi ba".

Nace gaskiyar magana ita ce duk wata dukiya wadda aka san masu ita (ba tasu ce ba), to haram ce, a Ijima'in malamai, amma duk wata dukiyarsu wadda ba a san ta su wace ce (suka handame) ba, to halal ce a ra'ayin malamai Muhammad b. Abdul-Rahmann al-Barnawi ya fadi a wakarsa Shurb al-Zulal:

Duk wani abu haramtacce, wanda kuma an san mai shi
Duk wata hanya ta samun shi ɓattata ce, ya dan'uwana
Sai dai idan an yi niyyar mayarwa tsakani da Allah
Ga Mai ita, idan haka ne dauki ba hamayya
Amma dukiyar da ba a san ta wace ce ba ita halas ce, an yarda a more ta.

Na fada cewa abincin masu mulki halal ne idan mai nukewa (lalacewa) ne, kamar yadda fitaccen ra'ayi ya nuna. Ahmad al-

Zarruƙ yace. Wannan doka ce ta shari'a, haka kuma Muhammad b. Abd al-Rahman al-Barnawi ya faɗa a Shrub al-Zulal:

Abinci mai nukewa na iya zama halal
A yadda fitacciyar doka ta nuna abokina
Kin amfani da shi taƙawa ce, kamar yadda doka ta ce.
Ga duk wanda zai iya guje wa
Abin da ake tababa (shubha) to ya guje shi.

(Shehu Usman Ibn Fodiyo, Amsar Shisummas, a cikin O. Bello & H.T. Norris, 2001:14)

KANURI VERSION

FERNO NƏM WURABE (FOUNDATION OF LEADERSHIP)

1. Nəm Fuwuma Də Aman Alabe (leadership as God's trust)

Haiya maro shi kəntəwo siyasabe də kənjo kəmayeye kuru nəm kazalla nabi Alabeye nangadəro awo shiro hiwata'a də daraja'aye kuru zauro kuewowuye. Shi fuwumadə lai ngəla gowono'a daji dunya au awo dunyabero shim kazəjimba, amma dunyaro dunya gulwonda daji nəm adalnzədə zəwurin. Nanga dəro Ala-ritamaro walle (waneye nasartəmin). None naskuwoso sai kərmu sətambiya, kuru yim chinoo'a də kəla kundonəmbe wooson sai nya soworiya. Ndu duwo kundonzə ngəlawono yaye, sha zaumae sakkin, dalilzədə awo dunyabero zəktənyi dəyə səkkə.

2. Nəm fuwuma namtə sikkel jirebe (leadership as accountability)

Yaa harami, takne dea nəm fuwuma jamayee karəgə zauzə kura fal də shima jim jirebe awo dimma sammayen nya kulasta də. Ngaila dənna kənjiwoso kəla mana'anzə'a kundoanzəa halwanzeaben sha kushetin. Shila fuwuma jamabero walwono'a ngawo kəla kundonzəben sha kushezanabe man, kəla jamanzəbeyen sai sha soworiya. Daji kamdə halzə battiro walwono'a shi yawalnzə, dalilzədə awi sədə kəla hakku jamanzəben təmoyin? Adəma nangaro gultin, adu-do kəmandeye hakku jamabe dawunzəro lujiwo yaye, kəla hakku adəben sai sha tuworiya. Shi donyi lamar dunyabeye sha bəlezənyi adə sha gawurtin, amma adəgənyiya sai shiye njokkunotiya kəla kundoanzə diwi-diwiben

Adəma nanga Nawi Alabe (SAW) guljin nandiro kəla ndu fuwuma'a awo surodən dəgana'a gulge wa'o? (daji kərəntəwu soye a-aa ada) daji Nawi Alabe (SAW) ye gulwono "badiyaranzədə shirwu, kən indiminzə də chanongəna'a kən yakkəmidə azəbtə yim chinoo'abe"

Ali bin Abi Talib suro hadithzə al-jawhana yen guljin jim fal dina suwa fit Umar Bin Al-khattab kəla dabba kaskataben sha churukkonye chuworukko, yaa kura muminnaye ku ndara lenəmin wokkonya daji wono, kalima alangkaro sowodina fattəgəna mangin wono. Daji nge-gulwokko, halnəmbe fəlezəna nyi Ala-ritamaro.

Daji shiye wono wande ayauro rumi kam Muhammad'a sunotənadən kashi bukkəna, chi kənadugu sham yendo chim fal fatkatə yaya, yim chinoo'a Umar'a soworin, dalilzədə fuwuma jamanzəro chəssəngənyidə sha azəbtin dəro shauma ba wono.

3. Nəm fuwuma martawa'a (leadership as beneficence)

Faida nəm fuwuma jamabea kazəyi do surodən dəgana'a ɗə futu kingiyam Alabe (SAW) be guljn dən wono "fuwuma jamabee jirenzə kawu falye də, modua kamfalye saa fitulur (70yrs) yea kozəna" Nawi Alaye (SAW) guljin " kam təragənaye ala'a sha karəngəye də shima fuwuma donyi jiremadə, amma kuru kam Kəmandebe waazəna danodə shima fuwuma donyi shi adalgənyidə." Kuru Nawi Alabe (SAW) guljin "fuwuma jamaye kundonzə ngəla faldə, kundo ngəla jamanze duksobe'a tilowo wono" kuru mukkowa sala am dəwu fitulur (70,000) yea tilowo wono."

Daji adəgaimaro wallono'a ashi shim Alayen awo ardi'ata nəm fuwuma jamaye gai gullewe. Kuru na kəmandeyen kənda fuwuma jamaye loktu fal (one hour) ye də alama kam falye kənda ngəlinzəbe'a tilowo nangadəro ndu yaye kam hal adə kolzə lezə jama njokkunotəro gaiyaa shi wano kəmandeyero waljin dəro shaəma ba.

4. Nəm fuwuma jamaro chidatəbe (leadership as service to the people)

Kuru ndu donyi nem fuwuma jamaye dawunzəro lujiwo yaye, chidanzə'a Ala-ritalan sədə. Salaam taltə mbeji amma shi de alai gawurabe kurawo. Ndu duwo chidanzea Ala-ritalan kəlzə chido yaye, shaə-bamaro shi karəgə kəji'aye kuru haraiyero dəgai kuru donyi hakkunzəa Ala-rita baro sha sədiyaye, shə bamaro njokkunotinne kuru kəmandə'a sasəranyi gairo gotin. Guwuaro wallimiya dole jamaro njiskəmin. wande shi gumna sə affiso chidaanzəbedə ka'anzəro gozənyi; Ala affiyaye səragənaro shin, wazənaro dapchin adəgai gənyi. Hal jiri adə lai kolzənaye kuru nəm jahilro walzənaye. Nozə dea sha galatə adə jamaro chissəgə hakku jamaye cho dəmaro dea sha gala'ada.'

Jamaro njista'a falde duno bəriye dəwu faidatə'a kozəna dea. Dea wande njassənyende, nzando kərmaibedə shima himmanzə gai, jiren naptagai, kuru nəlefa jamanzəyero chinəm datəgai shima dea razəgənzəye danowo. Nduma lai koltəlan fuwujinba, nduma taljinba ba, kuru duwun soye ba.

5. Nem fuwuma namtə diyel jireba (leadership as Justice)

Fuwuma ndaraye yaye kam kəla kəladoanzəben nasartəna rumiya jamanzə'a jiren rozəna; kuru ndu do sha ruzana ruwiya shi jirenzə ba. Fuwuma wroso karwaramzə də jire'a hal-ngəla'a. ndu yayero jirenzə tawattsəgə jire adə na nduyendo səmon kam dəro chin yaye kal. Kuru hal ngəla dəye jama soro liwunzən butu luwu bana sədə, wande baitəmbal jamayen gozənyi, kuru am indi kambiita fuwunzəro lizaiya, ngəllaro suru, nozoru sədə ritəso, gotəgəso baro jiremaro jirenzə tawattsəgə. Ndu do lezə sha adujiya wande sadən fəska kolzənyi, wande chilan suluwunyi, sais a jiremadə asujiya allando ja'awu jirebe kalaktsəgə. Fuwuma jamabe də sambisoro dawu jamanzəyelan naptsə,

kamu'a, duli'a samma sha sorus. Kuru am galagalazəna alama sharaso chidawu soro affiso wande kolzənyi, Dalilzədə burwuwa laa də waneye kəla am galazəna anyiyenno waljin nangadəro loktu loktulan chi jamaye kərənzə jiremaro jirenzə cho. Hatta sawaa Nawi (SAW) soma am galazana soa sosotuluwuna kəla burwu jama mewuyen. Dalilzədə shi nəm ngəla adə shima zar kərmaibewo, nəm ben-nzədə isə nəm diwi bəl-fokro waljin nangadəro shi sambisoro kənasar na Alayen kənandeye gulzəna-Ala de kundo kəladoabe sodəyea nozəna sai lejin jirebero sandi'a wujuwo.

Diya al-khulafa ye guljindən wono: shi shi luwuran adə kam njokkunoma dəa shi njokkuno'ata dəa duksoro ishara təngər sədəna wono. Ka'ab ye yim fal Abu Huraira ro guljin Ala-torah ye gulzəna: fato njokkunomaye də wurtin; kuru Qur'an kambo yee tawotsəgəna. Ibn Abbas yee guljin rasulu (SAW) guljin "wande kam njokkuno'ataro riskəwi dalilzədə sandi Ala'a ma dea karəngəwo". Ndu yaye kam kamanzə njokkunozəna də datelaman gawara mazə dalilzədə yim dinarso, kungunasoye faljinba ishin dea wono. Yim adəadə halzə ngəla-ngəla duk samou kam njokkuno'ataro sadiin, shima halzə ngəla-ngəla ba'a ayauwa kam njokkuno'atabe də shiro kalaktsain. Kuru Sa'id b Zayd guljin Nawi Alaye (SAW) gulzo wono "ndu duwo chidi gana kamma dolen chimowo yaye, yim jjirebe na shima dəa chapcha tulur-ro sadə dawunzəro kolzain "Anas ye guljin Nawi Alaye (SAW) gulzo: Yanəmgana'a banana, shima njokkunomawo au njokkunoa'ata yaye" Daji chuworo yaa Nawi Alaye (SAW) gəle shi njokkuno'ata dəye gənyi shi njokkunotəna dəye wa wanonya, Nawi Alaye (SAW) yo aa! Shi njokkunotəna dəadaptəmau wono, Bilal b Sa'ad yee guljin Alaro rinəmiya kam Ala-taskomayero rine wono. Nawi Alaye (SAW) guljin kəmande gulzo wono kam wa Ala dəgənyiya gəratəgəramzə gadə ba'a njokkunojin dəro gəra'akin wono. Nawi Alaye (SAW) guljin "ndu yaye kam

watəma indiye katero gaə jire gana sədiya kəmandeye sha lanjin wono" Kuru Nawi Alaye (SAW) guljin yum laira waajiya, am yakkə (3) də Kəmandeye sandiya kalaktəma surinba wono: kura do kattuma'a, kamkura do shirkama'a kuru kam muskodea do kəlanzə awashinna. Kuru Nawi Alaye (SAW) sawaanzəsoro guljjin, "yim ishinna mbeji yimdonyigədia'a fəte'a samma kərigənən buwi, kuru sandi samma rokkondonno walzai, saide am kurissa jamaye gozanaso sandima kannuro tamin. Saide am Alaro rizanamaso sandima gawutain, dalilzədə lai sak zaa hakkunza'a jirelan kəlanzalan sasagənamaso sandima Zannaro tamin wono.

Kuru Nawi Alaye (SAW) guljin ndu duwo fuwuma jambero walzə, jamanzəa hariptsə, sandiro hakkunza daptsəyi yaye au kanjimoli ba'aro waljiyaye zannaro gayinba wono. Kuru waltə gulwono "ndu duwo hakku mushimmaue mukkonzəro saakke do alama kəntanzə faijingairo sandiya faitəro waajiyaye shaə bamaro konnuro gayin. Kuru Nawi Alaye (SAW) guljin "suro wumma'anyiyen am indi rahma sawandinba wono-fuwuma jamaye do jirebaa'a, kam kuru kaiya luwuranne fanjinba ngal kojinna. Kuru kam donyi yim jireyea sha njokkunozaidə ffuwuma jama kam kanjimoli ba'a də".

6. Hal-ngəla shima ferno nəm fuwuma jamayeo (leadership as goodness)

Shi nəm ngəla adə alama kazəmu hal taasanave gai. Tənda Kəmande Alaye nozəna, nduso gənyi jiren naptalan fuwujin adəgai, shih al ngəla dəye yaana jirebe nanga dəro Kəmande am indisoa karramzəna. Dukshi manadəyedə, am sana yakkə soa lezəna:-kam kura'a, gana'a dawu-dawu'a. daji fuwuma də kam kuradən namtə babayen səta, dawu-dawuye dəa namtə ya'anaben səta, ganama dəa namtə tadaben səta nangadəro hakki babanye kəlanzən səsagə, yanzaanaro bana sədə tadanzəa sasabtsəgə.

7. Nəm fuwuma namtə ferno nəm ngalwobe (leadership as cultivation of excellence)

Shi kəmandebe jamaro chəkkərawo'a sandiro fuwuma ngəla galazənyin kuru am sandiya banatəwuye chin, fuwuma jili anyi jamanza'a zawal saklan sonotinne, lamarranza'a kakkalro sonotinne. Sanbisoro shawari hangalwuye gozai kəla kazəyi jamanzaye galtəyen. Amma kəntəwo'a kəntəwoa'a, hangalwu'a am kamba'ata goza fella fella woson bana ləatarza sadin. Kuru modua salihhayeye mazai kəla jama sodə kəaye lai-kanəmbe lai lan dasawuyen. Am jili anyi, am donyi darajanza haptaasandəna soa haptsa;a kuru am nadəro nazaanyi soye nanza kakkallan gənazai.

8. Nəm fuwuma jamaye namtə kurita hangalye (leadership as moral responsibility)

Shi fuwuma jamaye ngəladə sambisoro amzə'a jire'a hal-ngəla'alan shimojin, kuru jire-ba gərjin, kuru kamanza'a saraa, hal-ngəla lajibtsa, hal-diwi kolzaro sandiya shimojin. Tangarratro shi fuwuma hangalla ulzaiya, kam wofila'a kəmburamma jamanzəbe nozəna kuru sandiro nəmdəlitəna bas dəma. Daji hal ngəla fəlegada'a Kəmandeye karəgə fuwuma dəyero Ala-rita kolzəyinne, jirenzən jamanzero ngənebtinno waljinne.

Amma gəle jamadə jire kolza Alaro ashizaiyya, daji fuwumanza dəa kərizə sha hal kuttu'ayero sədin kuru sandiya njokkunojinno waljin. Kəmande Mai Alaye gulzəna-am ayau kəndowu sodə, am kakkallanza sanddiro galagəyen. Kuru hadith yee gulzəna "futu hal-ndo ləatarro nandia sonotin wono".

9. Hal-ngəla missal fuwuma jamayee asutəbewa (leadership as exemplary conduct)

Shi kəntəwo adə awo kəndəaram tigə kwongala wosoro gartəgənaba falzə. Fuwumawooso, fatoa karaga'a sòn daraja kəlanzəbe gotəro fatkəne kuru jama soyero yikkeraye. Wande jiregana'a, kam jire gana'a dukso karero fatkəmi, kəlanəmro yikkaadə, wande ronəm shiwolləmi, na Alaye-gənanzənan napne, wande baitəmbal tərattəmaro wallimi, wande dinarso liwulaso au zan kurwowu-korwowuso ra'ami dalilzədə adə noaguaye, kam soye ngəknzainne, kuru kakkal gərziye. Himmatəne sawulwnem kəleafaro napne, wande zae shimbe ra'ami nodowu gone. Kam soa fəska ngəlan kapkəgəne, wande was am yikkəmin maro nozanyi hatta kuru wasamma chəkkəm yaye kənanəmro askərne.

Wasamsə nya zəkkəwo yaye, ngawo mukkoben chinəm zarane. Nyarima dəy guljin. Wande fal-falro kasadə gonəmi, adə kəmbu shima kəmbu-kəmbunzə nangaro chinəm liwe dalilzədə kalla-ngewuma shima lailan liwumawo mananəmi mbu'a wande sənana gərnəmi kuru jire njirne. Sambiyaye kərmu ishinno gone daji karəgənəm kuttujinba.

NƎM FUWUMA JAMABE'A KAMBƎLI JIRE GANA GƎRTƎBE'A(LEADERSHIP AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST CORRUPTION)

1. Fuguma'a Jirea'so Sandima Jama'a Ngalwo Soa Sonotin (Honest Leaders Produce Decent Societies)

Guwuma'a ngəla sodə alama nji kadawu̧ ba'agai, kuru kouna'anza soye alama kazaa njiye ngəlagai. Nji shimadə ngəla'a, daji kadau surodəbe də affima sədimba. Amma nji shimadə kadauwaro walwono'a daji kadau surodəbe dəye nji dəa gana bannajin (i.e. nəm tahir njiye də bannatin)

2. Nəm Diwi Jire Gana'a Risaa Kəmbu'abe
(illegality of bribery and corrupt practices).

Fuwuma wooso razəa lai battilan sabtənawoso'a letadə shiro haram, alama misalro kunguna mowom shara au chidama kura laa galatə də razəə'a lai attaamen sabtəna də namtə harramben kara. Dalilzədə hal adəbe lai launa au shirwunyeso, kam gana'a ratkənebeso kajin nanga dəro.

Dalilzədə sandi am nanzan kawo samonna anyiye daryenzədə sai asarza kalaktsaiya do, hatta no kam ganaben samoyin yaye kuru lai haram fal dəye shima, susu kura dəbero gamna am gala-galazain anyiyen kunguna mowodə. Alanna manawu indi soye nan kawu shara kamtuiro gaun kunguna mowo sogai.

Anyima halwa donyi daryenzədə isə fitənaro sadə yazəyin də. Sa risa'a adə musko kam kəntəwoma berogaiya'a, daji jireye nanzəlan fərəsshin, daryenzən shi kam adə sai konnu lairabe sətambiya.

3. Jire-Gana suro miladiya 19th sədi Afuuno'abe (Corruption in the 19th century Hausaland)

Yim adəlan laiya kərmaizabee faldə shima kəla awoa yakkəben kərmai kəndo də: kam jamayea, darajanza'a kəntanza'a. kuru ndu do lamarzaro shim chikko yaye kala halza adəa faitəben kam yezo yaye chenin lai sharable ndasoma zagainbaro. Laiya dəbefalza dəye kunguna'a sharamaye gulzənyi soa kəla amma soro zənaza'a mowo də, misalro alama jangal au kunguna ngajibe au kunguna sallabe. Kuru laiya kərtəwonzabe'a faldə shima, chakka'acha'aliyason kəmbu saraana bas bu də awo adə halal au haram so ba'aro. Kuru kazəmu ronzabe kəmuso, nji ronzabe kənzaso, dabba saragənaro kəmbaso, nya'aso baro kamuwa ronzabe karnəm gotaso, balbal shawa-shawa gartaso, kələsə ngalwo-ngalwo fernəm naptaso, awo anyi saima adinne səragənayen kal daptsənayen kal sadin dəma.

Kuru laiya kəntəwonzabe soye falzədə, kusu duwan rəmbo-baso, none adəye jire-gana dano. Laiya kəntəwonzabe soye falzədə, mala-kasugubeye awo kungunaro na amma zəga sabtsənaso, yim kasugu'awooson shi mala dəye awo da-ro na sunuriwaben zəga sabtsənaso.

Kuru laiya kəntəwonzabe soye falzədə, ndu-do chidinzan boowoona yaye təmanzədəa waratatəso, ngawo halshimadə diwiro nozanabeson. Kuru laiya kəntəwonzabe falzədə gam na kasuuwonso, bulagurowu soyen kunguna mowoso, laiya kəntəwonzabe faldə, shima nya kəsainəmma laa katendoro mana karrago'a sandiro kunguna chiya, nyi affi jirenəmma mananəm kərəntinba, saide nyiye ka'anzə dəa kawuknəm cham gənyiya.

Laiya kəntəwonzabe faldə so ngodoma soriya wanza china kərəb zaksain. Laiya kəntəwonzabe faldə, kam fuu maiben sandiya

songorinro kunguna kənjo. Laiya kəntəwonzabe faldə, kattəwu kamta'a, wuma-ngalwo fəlata'a, kuru ndumaro kasam yintəbe sadinba, ndu-do wuma gulwono yaye sha sata azabtsai au howonzai alama sandiya darajatəbabe fəlezogai.

4. Am Kurawa Gunmatibero Risa'a Kənjo (gifts to public officials)

Suro wadado sandiro risa'a kənjobe gultənadən, Hadith laa suro Sahih Al-Bukhariben guljin-wono yim fal Nawinde Muhammad (SAW) kam shiro Ibn Al-Lutbiyya gulzain dəa gumnaro galawono sa kam adə na Nawinde Muhammad (SAW) bero walgatənya, daji wono yaa kingiyan Alabe ngo adə ka'anəm kuru adəye wuro chado wono. Daji Kingiyam Alabeye gəra'ataro wono awi nangaro kam adəro chidazəro sha galanyeya ngo adə ka'anəm, kuru kakke guljin? Ngamaro fato yanzə'a awanzə'aben namzə suru shiro leman zuwozainna.

Imam Malik ye suro Kittawunzəben guljin Umar Ibn Al-khattab də kam sha galaza do razəgv səwandəna də kəndəgaramzə chabee dəa kozəna'a reta ləman dəbe duk səmonyin wono. Adə jire dalilzədə shi gumna gai svramtə, shiro risa'ama sadənyi yaye awo zəgandində gana gənyiro notəna nangadəro ləman də na kəngantinzə ye dəa kozəna'a, farak yeatiya, retadə baitəmbalro suwat fitəyin.

Yim fal Attab B. Hsayd guljin, Ala-nangasoro kənganti do kəngayam Alayee was= galasənan fandəkkəna dv, gənaje indi, kuru attəma wakkilnji kaysanro chokko wono. Suro kittawu Shurbal Zulad (shataru) dəye guljin affiso awo kura dəye shara kamtalam gozəna du kolgənyi halalzəyaye amma shara də kakkalman wande gonəm kəmbudv ra'ami wono. Guljin dən wono Adə missal kafelo gumna'aro tənasodv, amma anyi samma fərtənzadə lai herben gənyin kadeo.

Suro tajirwa'a anyiyen amlaa sodə risa'a dina alama kafelo gairo go'ada. Adə jiregənyi kuru mana foudube'a kal. Shi kafelo adə, kənjo donyi nəm kam dunomatəgəye, amma risa'adə kənjo donji awo kakkalgənyi kərinəm ra'ammaro deo, yo! Adəye sharaye wazəna.

5. Amwuraa Gumnatibe So'a Shimlan Nyewo (surveillance of public officers)

Shi kura jamabe gulzaiyyaa alama sunyin dawu bəndiya zau-zauben gai, sandiya shiro shiru fiza'ana kuru shiye sandiro chissəyin. Lamar jire ganabe wooso fərtənzədə chidawu sənana adəma daji shi kura dəye ndunza yaye kam ayauma dəa kulassə tawatsəgə. Alama kəna fato kumilye na donyi am hal diwiya diwaya leza tussain gai. Ngawo kulassə tawatsəgənabe daji ayauma dəa howonzə kəla jire gananzəben, au ngəllaro səmonza gərzə sandiya yita yaazəgə.

6. Razəgə Au Kəntanəm Bayentə (declaration of assets)

Shi kura jamabe adə sambisoro kəndəgaramzə jirebe'a nəm tahir be'au missal gizə wande kəla-raakkiso, sirondiso sədənyi. Adəye kambowoso lamar sha chidawunzəa farabe, halfin kasəruro kulassə nozə, razəə au kəntanza nozə kawu sandiya chidaro gotinno, kuru loktu-loktulan chidanza kulassə suruye.

Ndu yaye kam baasəsər chidaba sədin dəa ngaizə, kam jire ba'a dəa duzə, kuru kam kəlanzən kalla fitinwoso gaddab falzə. Ndu yaye kam razəgənzə ngal kəngantinzəbea kozəna yaye, razəgə adəa kwat səmou baitəmbalro suat fizəgə. Shi razəgədən gana shaənzə'a reta razəgə dəbe də səmoiya baitəmbalro fizəgə

7. Nəm Kərrashim Kəla Chidawuben Gota (resoluteness against personal staff)

Shi kura adə, kəla lamar chidawunzə ben nəm kərrashim au himma gozə. Dalilzədə sandiro fəska kolzəiya kəla-rao kəlanzabero awo kakkal gənyi sadə darye sha njiro fizagai. Nduma kam ngawonəm rukkiyamaro watəmanəmwo ba. Sandi chidawu fatoye anyi bia bui, yei, fumai de gənyiya awo sandi ngalwo'aba, kəla məradənza anyi galtəben shi kura dəa kaidu njiro fita'aye sambiso dawarzai. Awo'a kəlanza gənyiyanduma fal ngurnozanaba nangadəro. Misalro, gamnanza sotuhuwu kam gade galazai fangada'a sadən shiro ngawo kalaktsa'a na kam tudube dəro waltagai. Dalilzədə sandi ndara yaye na ngo'alan kasərwu.

8. Showori Kura'a Jamabero Kənjo Be (advice to public officials)

Yim fal Umar ye kura chidawu fanzəbe sə gulwono, guwuma karəgə kəji'a də kam donyi chidawunzə shiro kurnotanadə wono, kura fuwumaye lahənzədə kam donyi chidawunzə shiga shirwuzana də wono. Nangadəro jire ganaro kantənawo wono. Dalilzədə chidawundə sodə nandima dea ngangazai wono. Jire gana chədən, nji namtə dabba kajim kəli ngəwuro zəwu kulzuna'a aya kalwo. Dalilzədə kungulzə adə shima səkkə sha asuza darye sha sata duwanzai.

9. Razəgə Kura'a Jire-Ganawu Sobe (the wealth of corrupt rulers)

None dea kəla awi shi razəgə kuraa jamabee dən bayenna gade-gade kadda ruwozana. Laanza soye ada-razəgəfinzana halal ba, au galiwu au ngudima, dalilzədə sandi anyi lai herben gənyi jaganto ada. Jama kambowoso yaye adəma gulza nangadəro kam suro kəntəwoben kana'a kantə dea. Kuru am ba soye ada, razəgənzə adə galiwu dəa ngudi dəa gayirzənyiro her sədinna, razəgə də halal ada. Shi hakku də

kəla kam kənjomabe dən karra nangadəro la'a soye ada: kam ngudi banatama dəma ngolawo dalilzədə galiwu də shi galiwu də nda ada. Futu rukkindən: razəgəza ndawu yaye, kəmanza notəna dəa halal gənyi amma kuru razəgədə kəmanza notənyimadə sandiro halal ada ngəwu soye (adə awu kasatta'anawo) Muhammad B Abu Al-Rahman Al-Barnawi ye suro kitawunzə nagə manabe shiro "Shurb Al-Zulal" ben guljin dən wono. " Affiyaye awo jire ba'a do kəmanza noa'ataa laiwin do sha chawando yaye haram wono, yaa haramii sai de jirenzən awo shimadə kalakchin, gulwono gaiyi ya. Ta'anasmaro kənanzəro kalaktuina, daji razəgə'a donyi kənanza notənyima sodə, sandiya gota də amarrataga wono"

Daji shi kəmbu kuraa jamayee də awo bum-yertabero wallono'a, sandi halal wono, adə tawatkataga. Ahmad Al-Zarruq guljin "adə wada sharable kasatkataye tawatkata'aye" kuru Muhammad b Ahd Al-Rahman Al-barnawi yee suro kittawunzə shrub Al-Zulal yea gulzəna. "kəmbu bum yernəmin də amarrataga wono, adə futu farakro wadabe gulzəna də yaa haraamiya kəmbu shima adə kollamyen nəm tahir dimma wono, dalilzədə ndu duwo lamar shaə baro chidoma'a daji kolle sha alanzəa wono.

NB: *please note that this translation was based on the tenets of the standard kanuri orthography which accepts the town kanuri as generally accepted in that all kanuri dialects adjust themselves to the town kanuri for easy communication and understanding by all speakers of the language .*

ENGLISH VERSION

FOUNDATIONS OF LEADERSHIP

1. Leadership as God's Trust

Verily, political power is a vicegerancy from Allah and a stewardship from God's Apostle. How great, then its dignity and how heavy are its burdens. If the leader follows the path of righteousness, piety will take ascendency over his worldly desires; if he goes astray, his piety will fall victim to worldly lust. Therefore fear God [perchance you may succeed]. Know that "Every Soul shall have a taste of death and you shall receive your full recompense on the Day of Judgement. Then whoever is spared the fire and is admitted to Paradise has indeed triumphed for the life of this world is but chattels of deception."

(Shaykh Abdullah Ibn Fodio, quoting Imam Muhammad Ibn Abdulkarim al-Maghili [d. 1504]; in Diya ul-Hukkam, Yamusa, 1990:8. The Quotation is from the original text of Imam Maghili)

2. Leadership as Accountability

Be informed, my brother, that one of the most serious misfortunes that may befall a servant [of Allah] is to be a leader for the consequences of having to render a full account of the office [Normally] every individual servant is accountable for his speeches, his actions and his circumstances. If he is made a leader, he shall, in addition to his personal responsibilities, be held accountable for his subjects. So if he cannot discharge his personal responsibilities adequately, how will his position be if he were to be held accountable for the actions of his people? It is said for this reason that "whomsoever is placed by Allah in obscurity should praise Him, for He has lightened for him the burden of responsibilities, for which he shall be accountable. He is one of those with easy account, saved from the troubles of this world, as there is nothing in it but censure;

otherwise he shall have nothing but torture in the World to come. It is for this reason the Messenger, may Allah's blessings and peace be upon him, says, "would you like me to tell you about leadership and what it is?" [His listeners) said, 'Yes, o Messenger of Allah." And he said, "The beginning of it is blame, the second part of it is regret, and the third part is the torture of the Day of Resurrection."

(Caliph Muhammad Bello, Usul al-Siyasa, in Yamusa 2004:11)

In *al-Jawharah* Ali b. Abi Talib is reported to have said, "I saw Umar b. al-Khattab one early morning on a hump-backed animal and I said to him, "Oh commander of the Faithful, where are you going?' And he replied, "A camel donated as charity is lost and I am looking for it.' I said, "You have humbled (by your action) the caliphs after you Oh Commander of the Faithful.' He said, "Do not blame me oh Abul-Hasan. For I swear by Him who sent Muhammad (the Prophet) with a prophetic mission, that if a lamb were to get lost at the bank of Euphrates, Umar would be asked to account for it on the Day of Resurrection, for there is surely no reverence for a ruler who neglects the Muslims [property]."

(Caliph Muhammad Bello,Usul al-Siyasa, Yamusa, 2004: 17 – 18)

3. Leadership as Beneficence

The importance of public office and the gravity of its position comes from what has been reported from the Messenger of Allah, may Allah's blessings and peace be upon him, who said, "The justice of a ruler for a single day is better than the devotion (of an ordinary man) for seventy years."

The Messenger of Allah, may the best of blessings and the most sublime of salutation be upon him said, "the favourite and the closest

person to Allah is a leader who is just, but the most hateful person to God as well as remotest from Him is a tyrant ruler." The Messenger of Allah, may the blessings and peace of Allah be upon him said that the (good) deeds of a just leader will be recorded in heaven as equal in worth to the (good) deeds of his entire subjects. And (the reward of) every prayer he performs is worth (the reward) of 70,000 prayers (performed by others)." Since this is so, there can be no greater blessing for a servant of Allah than to be granted the rank of a leader. For Allah causes one hour of the leader's life to be worth the entire existence of another person. Whoever does not comprehend the significance of this favour and keeps himself busy with oppression, may risk being placed by Allah among His enemies.

(Shaykh Muhammad Bello, Usul al-Siyasa, Yamusa 2004: 11 – 12)

4. Leadership as Service to the People

And, whosoever is tempted by Allah with public office (wilaya), should exert himself in discharging its obligations. Although it can be a misfortune, it is nevertheless one of the greatest blessings. Any person who discharges his obligations [well] and thanks the Benefactor will acquire an endless happiness the like of which never exists. On the other hand, any person who could not discharge his obligations and thank the Bestower shall suffer an endless misfortune, which can be compared only with disbelief in Allah the Most High.

(Caliph Muhammad Bello. Usul al-Siyasa, in Yamusa KAN :11)

The governor has to see to the welfare of the people. The governor must not think that he is the owner of the province over which he is made to govern; whereby the land becomes his personal property which he can give to whom he likes and refuse whom he wishes. Such action is misguided and belongs to the Days of Ignorance [Jahiliyya].

He should realize that he has been entrusted to take charge of the people only for the purpose of looking after their religious and temporal interests

(Shaykh Abdullahi Ibn Foduye, Diya'al Hukkam fi mu letu wa alaihim min al-ahkam c 1807, Yamusa, 1990: 13)

Seeing to the welfare of people is more effective than the use of force. It has been said that the crown of a leader is his integrity, his stronghold is his impartiality and his wealth is [the welfare of] his people. There can be no triumph with transgression, no rule without learning and no leadership with vengeance.

(Shaykh Uthman ibn Foduye, Bayan Wujub al-Hijra, El-Masri, 1978: 150)

5. Leadership as Justice

A Leader gains victory over his enemies according to his justice over his people and is defeated in his struggles according to his injustice.

(Shaykh Uthman ibn Foduye, Bayan Wujub al-Hijra, El-Masri 1978: 150)

The leader is also under obligation to observe justice and goodness. Justice is that he restores to everyone his right. It is all the same whether that right is extracted from himself or from others. And goodness is that he does a good deed by giving donation from his personal property and not from anyone else's.

It is in the interest of justice to treat equally any two disputants with regard to their entry (into his presence), the way they sit, the way he looks at them, how he addresses them and in all matters connected with them without showing favour to either of them. Whoever greets him, he should not return the greeting with an excessive mood of cheerfulness nor kindness; and must not talk much to him, until it is

clear to him that the person is not involved in the litigation, and that his reply will not lead to what is unlawful.

The leader must sit in audience everyday where people and especially women and children can reach him. It is not enough for him to rely on those he appoints (to deal with peoples affairs), such as the judges and other civil servants. This is because complaints from the ordinary people may possibly be against these servants, in which case, he must treat them justly; otherwise he will become like a house ladder to the owners; or a holder of cow horns for the milkers. The Caliphs (may Allah be pleased with them) had dismissed honest employees on account of complaints (lodged against them) and their action was closer to piety. Goodness is the spirit of authority, and its absence is wickedness itself.

(Shaykh Abdallahi Ibn Foduye, Diya ul-Hukkam, Yamusa 1990: 9 - 10)

I say, success is from God: God has said: Deem not that God is heedless of what evil 'doers work: He is only referring them to a day when eyes shall stare [in terror]. Diya *al-Khulafa'* states: This verse is a sufficient warning to the oppressor and sufficient consolation to the oppressed'. *Ka'b* [once] said to Abu Hurayra, it is mentioned in the Torah that the house of him who oppresses will be ruined.' Abu Hurayra replied, and that is [mentioned] in God's Book: "Those are their houses, fallen in ruins because of the evil they committed." Thus oppression is the thing most conducive to the withholding of divine favour and the occurrence of catastrophes. Ibn 'Abbas reported the Prophet as saying, Beware of the imprecation of the oppressed because there is no barrier between it and God.' Abu Hurayra related that the Prophet said, He who has done an injustice to his brother either to his person or property, should make amends to him in the same measure as the injustice done before a day when [there will be] no dirham or dinar. [For, on that day] if the wrongdoer has any good

deeds [to his account] they would be reduced to amount of the injustice he has done. If he has no good deeds [to his credit], some of the bad deeds of the one wronged will be transferred onto him.' Sa'id b. Zayd said that he had heard the Prophet say, He who unjustly seizes a span of land, [that piece will be enlarged into] seven earth's [and] made a collar for him.' Anas reported the Prophet as saying, "Give aid to your brother be he the oppressor or oppressed. He asked, "O Messenger of God, we give him aid when he is oppressed, but how can we give him aid when he is oppressing?' He said, 'by stopping him.'

It is related that a leader inscribed these lines of verse on his carpet:

> *Do not do injustice if you are in a power position. For doing injustice leads to regret.*
> *Your eyes take to slumber but the wronged one is sitting up invoking curses on you und God's eye does not sleep. The imprecation of a wrong man will, undoubtedly, deliver you.*
> *Into the abode of degradation, humiliation and adversities.*

Bilal b, Said said, Fear God with regard to a person who has none to help him except 'God.' The Prophet was reported as saying, "God says: "My anger is greatest against a person wronging one who has no helper except me."

(Shaykh Uthman Ibn Foduye, Bayan Wujub al-Hijra,El-Masri 1978: 140)

The Prophet said, "Any man who arbitrates between two opponents and commits injustice [should bear in mind that] the curse of Allah is on all unjust people." He [also] said, ("There are three people on whom Allah will not look on the Day of Resurrection: a lying ruler, a

fornicating old man and a poor man who gives himself airs."] To his companions one day the Prophet said, "A day will come when you will conquer some parts of the East and the West and they will both be in your hands, all those who will take public office will be in Hell fire, except those who fear Allah the Glorious, the Most High and have followed the path of piety and discharged their duties honestly."

The Prophet, may the blessing and peace Allah be upon him, also said, "any servant of Allah appointed to take charge of the affairs of his people who cheats or refuses to give them good advice, or fails to treat them sympathetically, will be denied access to Paradise by Allah." He [also] said, "whoever is appointed to take charge of the affairs of Muslims and fails to protect them as much as he would protect his own household, will certainly take his seat in Hell." He also declared, "two men from my community will not have my intercession: an unjust ruler and a loathsome heretic who always oversteps the prescribed limits." [Further] he said, "He who will suffer the greatest torture on the Day of Resurrection is the tyrannical ruler."

(Shaykh Muhammad Bello, Usul al-Siyasa, Yamusa 2004: 11 -12)

6. Leadership as Goodness

"As for Goodness (ihsan), it is the source of nobility of character. Since God knows that not everybody prospers through justice alone, but also stands in need of goodness which is superior to justice, God has enjoined them both. To sum up, subjects stand in relation to the leader in three groups – old, young and mid-way between the two. The leader must treat the old
one as a father, the middle one as a brother and the young one as a son. Let him, then, be dutiful to his father, generous to his brother and affectionate to his son'.

(Shaykh Uthman Ibn Foduye, Bayan Wujub al-Hijra,El-Masri 1978: 66)

7. Leadership as Cultivation of Excellence

If God wishes people good he gives leadership in their affairs to the best of them. He also gives them those who will help them. Such leaders would lead the community in the right path and put matters in correct places. They would seek the advice of people who have ideas that are handy in solving problems. They would find powerful people, knowledgeable people and experienced people to help in their different spheres. They will value the prayers of pious people so that the community will fare well in every respect. Such leaders would advance people who deserve promotion and hold back those who do not merit advancement.

(Caliph Muhammad Bello, Ifadat al-Ikhwān, Tukur, 1999: 77)

8. Leadership as Moral Responsibility

The Leader should order his people to observe justice, goodness and avoid doing injustice to each other; and to love good deeds and hate evil deeds. In short the moral value and the conduct of the leader is a reflection of the moral value and the conduct of his people. Therefore, if they behave well in the sight of their Beneficent Master, the Glorious and the High, He will inject mercy in the hearts of their leaders to do good to them. If, on the other hand, they disobey their Lord and seek to corrupt the world, He will cause their leaders to subdue and consequently ill-treat them. The Most High said: "Thus we let some of the wrong-doers have power over others (because of what they want to earn)." And in the Hadith it is reported, that you will be governed "as you are."

(Caliph Muhammad Bello, Usul al-Siyasa, Yamusa 2004: 16 – 17)

9. Leadership as Exemplary Conduct

Authority is a curb to the willful souls of men. Every leader, then, should put on the mantle of dignity, whether in town or country. Manifest your love of what is excellent, and of worthy people; show

your hatred of corruption also corrupt people. Adorn your body, perfume your breath and make comely your apparel with the adornments that are permissible without imitation or reducing the treasury to bankruptcy. Do not deck yourself with gold, or silver, or voluminous silk for that is shameful, ignoble and improper. Sit cross-legged when you seat yourself; be still as far as you are able and do not fidget even with your hand. Let your eyes be downcast though your looks be searching and your glances observant. Approach men with due courtesy. Do not open your mouth even in order to yawn. If the urge to yawn come to you utter the name of your Lord and it will pass from you. But if you have allowed the desire to overpower you then cover your mouth with the back of one of your hands. The poet says:

> *"Laugh not loudly ever for only the blind do thus to the increase of their blindness. Be covetous of silence always for seldom is the talker safe. If you must speak, be brief and clear; be humble against the time of death and so forestall regret. "*

(Shaykh Abdullah Ibn Foduye, quoting Imam Muhammad Ibn Abdulkarim al-Maghili (d 1504] in Yamusa 1975:8. Above is from the full quotation from the original text of Imam al-Maghili)

LEADERSHIP AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST CORRUPTION

1. Honest Leaders Produce Decent Societies

Leaders are like a spring of water and all your officials are like water-wheels. If the spring is pure, the filth of the water-wheels cannot harm it. If on the other hand, the spring is polluted, the purity of the water-wheel will have little effect on the purity of the water).

(Caliph Muhammad Bello, Principles of Politics,Yamusa 2004:11 and 16)

2. Illegality of Bribery and Corrupt Practices

A ruler is forbidden to touch property acquired unjustly, such as through bribe obtained for appointing a judge or any other officer. The use of such property is unanimously regarded as illegal. It corrupts the religion and opens the doors wide to abuses and oppression of the poor. For the officials may feel that since money is obtained from them as a reward for appointingthem to office, they in turn must recover it from the common people.

Another thing agreed upon as being illegal, is the collection of bribes on behalf of the leader or other officials like the judges and other employees. That is the act of collecting something from one of the disputants or from both of them, whether before passing a judgment or after it. It is also illegal to accept gifts from the common people. For such action is the door leading to all types of calamities.

When a gift finds its way to a man of authority, justice and goodness will find its way out of him, and what he does is to purchase for himself a place in hell.

(Shaykh Abdullahi Ibn Foduye,Diya'al Hukkam, Yamusa, 1990:10)

3. Corruption in 19th Century Hausaland

And one of the ways of their government is the building of their sovereignty upon three things: the people's person, their honour, and their possessions, and whomsoever they wish to kill or exile or violate his honour or devour his wealth they do so in pursuit of their lusts, without any right in the Shari'a. ***One of the ways of their government*** is their imposing on the people monies not laid down by the Shari'a, being those which they call janghali and kudin gari and kudin salla. ***One of the ways of their government*** is their intentionally eating whatever food they wish, whether it is religiously permitted or forbidden, and wearing whatever cloths they wish, whether religiously permitted or forbidden, and drinking what beverages (ta'am) they wish, whether religiously permitted or forbidden, and riding whatever riding beasts they wish, whether religiously permitted or forbidden, and taking what women they wish without marriage contract, and living in decorated palaces, whether religiously permitted or forbidden, and spreading soft (decorated) carpets as they wish, whether religiously permitted or forbidden.

One of the ways of their government is to delay in the paying of a debt, and this is injustice. ***One of the ways of their government*** is what superintendent of the market takes from all the parties to a sale, and the meat which he takes on each market day from the butchers.

One of the ways of their government which is also well known is that whoever dies in their country, they take his property, and they call it 'inheritance', and they know that it is without doubt injustice. ***One of the ways of their government*** is to impose tax on merchants, and other travelers.

One of the ways of their government which is also well known, is that if you have an adversary (in law) and he precedes you to them, and gives them some money, then your word will not be accepted by them, even though they know of your truthfulness, unless you give them more than your adversary gave. ***One of the ways of their government*** is to shut the door in the face of the needy.

One of the ways of their government is the giving of a gift to one who conducts them before the ruler. ***One of the ways of their government*** is lying and treachery and pride, and you cannot see one of them who does not give himself airs, and anyone who shows the least lack of respect (for them), they punish him for that.

(Shaykh Uthman Ibn Foduye, Kitab al-Farq, Hiskett, 1960: 7-11)

4. Gifts to Public Officials

As to the law concerning gifts offered to them, there is a Prophetic tradition in Bukhari's Sahih that the Prophet appointed a man called Ibn alLutbiyya as governor. When the man returned to the Prophet, he said, "O Messenger of God, this is for you and this was given to me as a present." The Prophet said angrily, 'Why should a man whom we employ to perform a task for us say, "This is for you and this was given to me as a present?" Why should he not have stayed in the house of his father and mother to see if a present were sent to him there!'

Malik related that 'Umar b. al-Khattab used to confiscate half of the governors' possessions when it became apparent that, after being appointed governors, they had wealth which they were not previously known to possess. That is due to the fact that, even though what a governor acquires without being bribed is lawful, nevertheless, he is not justified in taking it, because he is in a powerful position, by

virtue of being a governor, and can gain lawfully what others cannot. So his surplus wealth has to be deposited in the State Treasury. 'Attab b. Usayd once said, 'By God, the only thing I gained from the work the Messenger of God charged me with, was two garments which I gave to my client, Kaysan."

In *Shurb al-zulal* after (the verse) Leave everything which is taken [by the ruler] in return for passing judgment, Even if the judgment is just, do not consume it,
he said:
And the like of that is the gift given to the governors, for all of it is unlawful profit from error.]

(Shaykh Uthman Ibn Foduye, Bayan Wujub al-Hijra, El-Masri, 1978: 74-75)

Among these illusions is that some people consider bribe as meaning 'gift'. This is also false and an illusion according to consensus. For a 'gift' is (defined to be) something that is offered with the object of promoting (mutual) love; while a bribe is a thing that is offered in order to nullify a genuine right (of other) or to procure a thing that is illegal.

(Shaykh Uthman Ibn Foduye, Hisn al-Afham, Siddique, 1989:125)

5. Surveillance of Public Officers

The leader should be to his employees like a shepherd among wild lions; they look after his people for him and he looks after them. All corruption come from evil employees. The leader should investigate the case of any person who is strongly suspected of moral corruption; such as a person in whose house wine and immoral people are testified, by competent witnesses, to have been present. He shall investigate the allegation; if it is true, he shall punish the accused and

stamp out the corruption; otherwise he shall warm and chide him.

(Shaykh Abdullahi Ibn Foduye, Diya'al Hukkam, Yamusa 1990: 9)

6. Declaration of Assets

[The leader] must be motivated by his desire to find out the true state of affairs on the basis of piety, and not by malice and greed. This applies to matters connected with his employees, by seeking to know about them, by counting their wealth before their appointment, and by looking from time to time into their works. He shall rebuke anyone who fails in his duty; dismiss those who transgress; and replace any person against whom many complaints were made.

Whoever is found to have wealth above what he earns from his work, the leader shall confiscate and restore it to the treasury. If he is doubtful about the origin of the wealth, he shall confiscate half of it from the employee.

(Shaykh Abdullahi Ibn Foduye, Diya'al Hukkam, Yamusa 1990: 9)

7. Resoluteness against Personal Staff

The leader must be resolute by being on his guard against the employees and [the house] servants. For their own advantage, they will deceive the leader, make injustice acceptable to him and thereby throw him into the fire, in order to attain their own objectives. You have no worse enemy than a person who is aiming at your destruction. The employees and the house servants are often slaves to food, sex and base desires. In order to satisfy their desires, such people will surely use their ruler as a snare to achieve their purpose. Their services after all, are for their own benefits and not for him. The indication of this is that if they hear some false rumours that their governor would be dismissed from office and someone else would be

appointed in his place, they would all turn their backs on him and ingratiate themselves with that person. Wherever there is money, they offer their services and prostrate......

(Caliph Muhammad Bello, Principle of Politics, in Yamusa, 2004: 16)

8. Advice to Public Officials

He [Umar] also wrote to the head of his employees, Abu Musa al-Ash'ari, saying, "The happiest leader is he whose subjects are happy with him, and the most unfortunate of rulers is he whose subjects are miserable under him. So beware of injustice. For your workers are imitating you. Then if you commit injustice, you would be like an animal in a green pasture, which eats so much that it becomes fat. Its fatness then becomes the cause for its destruction, since it is slaughtered and eaten because of it.

(Caliph Muhammad Bello,Principle of Politics, Yamusa, 2004: 16)

9. The Wealth of Corrupt Rulers

"You should know that the opinion of 'ulama' differ regarding the wealth of rulers. Some of them have said: "Nothing of their wealth is lawful to either the rich or the poor because they are wrong doers. Their wealth is overwhelmed by unlawfulness. The law applied to the majority. So, it is incumbent to avoid it." Others have said: "It is lawful for the rich and poor if he does not realize that it is illicit. The responsibility rests only on the giver". Others said: "It is lawful for the poor but not for the rich".

I say: the truth is that whatever part of their wealth the owners of which are known is illicit according to consensus and any part of their wealth the owners of which are unknown is lawful according to the general view (*mashhur*).

Muhammad b. Abd al-Rahman al-Barnawi stated in his poem shurb al-Zulal.

> *Any unlawful thing the owners of which are known. Any means of obtaining it is illicit, oh brother. Unless with the intention of returning it, in all sincerity to its owner [if this be so] then take it without opposition. As for that property the owners of which are not known, It is lawful and its means are permissible*

I say, the food of rulers is lawful also if it is perishable, according to the well-known view, Ahmad al-Zarruq said: "It is the clear juristic rule and its essence' and Muhammad b. Abd alRahman al-Barnawi also stated in Shurb alZulal;

> *Perishable food may be lawful According to the clear rule, oh friend Abandoning it is piety, according to what is clear [rule] For anyone who is able to do without doubtful things (shubhah]so run away.*

(Shaykh Uthman Ibn Fodusye, Reply to Shisummas, in Bello and Norris, 2001: 14.)

Reference:

1. Hamid Bobbayi (ed), Principles of Leadership Acending to the the Founding Fathers of Sokoto Caliphate (CRIO, Abuja, 2011) PP 1-13; PP 85-94

Bibliography:

1. Bello, O. and Norris, H.T. (2001), Reply to Shisummas by Shaykh Uthman Ibn Foduye, Sokoto: Islamic Academy.

2. El-Masri, F.H. (1978), Ed. And trans., Urhman b. Fudi, *Bayan wujub ala-i'-ibad*, Khartoum University Press – Oxford University Press.

3. Hiskett, M. (1960), "Kitab al-Farq"; A Work on Habe Kingdoms Attributted to Uthman dan Fodio", BSOAS, XXXIII, 558-79. Republished by the Sokoto Sultanate Council, Bicentenary Edition, 2004.

4. Saddique, F.R. (1989), Ed. and trans., Uthman b. Fudi, *Hisn al-afham min juyush al-awham* (Islam against Illusions), N.P, Kano.

5. Tukur, M. (1999), *Leadership and Governance in Nigeria: The Relevance of Values*, London: Hodder and Stoughton.

6. Yamusa S. (c.1990), Guide to Administrators, being the translation of the Diya ul-Hukkam of Shaykh Abdullahi bnFoduye, Kaduna: Sultan Ibrahim Dasuki Foundation.

7. Yamusa, S. (2004), Principles of Politics, being the translation of Usul al-Siyasa of Sultan Muhammad Bello, Sokoto Sultanate Clouncil: Bicentenary Edition.

ARDP
Arewa Research & Development Project

Arewa Research & Development Project

A Publication of the

Project on Anti-Corruption and Promotion of Social Accountability in Northern Nigeria

Supported by

MacArthur Foundation