

ARDP

Arewa Research & Development Project

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From the **Editorial Desk**

ON NIGERIA'S MARITIME BOUNDARY AND 'OWNERSHIP' OF OIL

Quite recently there has been renewed interest in an already popular subject in Nigeria's political discourse, which is the issue of 'ownership' of Nigeria's Oil and Gas Resources. During the Northern Elders' Forum Summit at Kano, held between 10 and 11 March 2014, Dr. Usman Bugaje, the Convener of Arewa Research and Development Project (ARDP) presented the ARDP's position at the Summit's Conference where he commented on the well-known 'bogus' interpretation of Nigeria's political structure by the 'prophets' of "Resource Control" and concluded his short remarks on contemporary dynamics of socioeconomic development around the globe, which he reminded the audience are increasingly based on ideas, creativity and innovations that are translated into marketable products rather than on export of primary raw materials.

The uproar that proceeded Dr. Bugaje's comments from a section of our 'national' media is hardly surprising; coming at the eve of a National Conference, or could be more properly termed 'Goodluck' Jonathan's National Dialogue that is expected by some to set in motion the process to actualize the 'principle' of "resource control". How this project of "resource control" would be maneuvered through the Conference remains to be seen. So far the 20 Committees of the Conference do not give any clear indication of the Committee to specifically deliberate on the issue.

Of course the ARDP believes that the on-going Conference is neither *representing* Nigerian citizens nor is it *representative* of Nigeria's political constituents structure as recognized by the Constitution to warrant serious expectations on

its outcome. The Conference is neither backed by Law nor is it operating under lawful political parameters. It is certainly a Conference that essentially lacks legitimacy.

The 2005 'Obasanjo' National Conference was convened to plot Third Term agenda, which was largely anchored on personal political ambition that was eventually squashed by a 'national' coalition of forces determined to save the little democratic asset so far attained. We wait to see similar fate for the on-going Conference, particularly given the fact that despite its serious legal and political limitations a good number of the conferees are patriotic and well-meaning Nigerians capable of salvaging the nation from the scourge of myopic political schemes capable of plunging the nation into socio-political calamity. How this project of "resource control" would be maneuvered through remains to be seen.

Notwithstanding, however, the ARDP further believes in the imperative of discussing all issues surrounding the concepts of "resource control", "fiscal federalism" or "true federalism" during the National Dialogue and hopefully come to grips with the meanings of these concepts and understand how they relate to historical reality of the Nigerian political system.

For all practical purposes, issues of Nigeria's Maritime boundary and ownership of oil and gas resources are almost settled matters except, perhaps, appropriate implementation of the facts before the political leadership of our country. Opinions are free but facts are sacred.

The maritime boundary of Nigeria's territorial waters has been increasing since law set it out as

12 nautical miles from the low water marks according to the Territorial Waters Act 1967 (CAP T5); LFN 2004. Section 1 sub-sections (i) to (iii) vested exclusive right of ownership of all petroleum resources on the Nigerian State. The Exclusive Economic Zone Act, 1978 CAP 116; LFN 1990 described the Exclusive Economic Zone of Nigeria, thus:

“There is hereby denominated a zone to be known as the Exclusive Economic Zone of Nigeria (in this Act referred to as the "Exclusive Zone") which shall be an area extending from the external limits of the territorial waters of Nigeria up to a distance of 200 nautical miles from the baseline from which the breadth of the territorial waters of Nigeria is measured”.

Section 1(2) of the EXCLUSIVE ECONOMIC ZONE ACT further mandates that:

“(1) Without prejudice to the Territorial Waters Act, the Petroleum Act or the Sea Fisheries Act, sovereign and exclusive rights with respect to the exploration and exploitation of the natural resources of the sea bed, subsoil and superadjacent waters of the Exclusive Zone shall vest in the Federal Republic of Nigeria and such rights shall be exercisable by the Federal Government or by such Minister or agency as the Government may, from time to time, designate in that behalf either generally or in any special case”.

The UNITED NATIONS CONVENTION ON THE LAW OF THE SEA among other provisions delimits the boundary of each littoral nation's territorial waters, and sets up the procedure wherein a country may extend their maritime limits. In 2009, Nigeria applied to the UN for extension of its Exclusive Economic Zone by 150 nautical miles.

The EEZ and the resources therein are the property of the FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA, wholly and corporately and not by a severable part of it.

Resource Control

It is necessary to examine the legal authority for the present status quo. This will be found in the *“Resource Control”* Judgement of the Supreme Court of Nigeria in **Attorney Generals of Abia State and 36 Others v Attorney General of The Federation of Nigeria (2001)**.

The case centred on a dispute between the Federal Government of Nigeria (“FGN”) and the eight littoral States of Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Lagos, Ogun, Ondo and Rivers States as to the seaward boundary of each of these littoral States (“the States”) in view of the fact that the determination of this issue would resolve whether or not these States were entitled to a minimum of 13% of all revenue accruing to the Federation Account on the basis of the derivation of natural resources from each of these littoral States.

It was the case of the Federal Government of Nigeria that the natural resources located within the continental shelf of Nigeria are not derived from any of these States as their boundaries ends at the low

For all practical purposes, issues of Nigeria's Maritime boundary and ownership of oil and gas resources are almost settled matters except, perhaps, appropriate implementation of the facts before the political leadership of our country. Opinions are free but facts are sacred.

water mark of the land surface of each of these littoral States. On the other divide, the littoral States, argued that their territories extended beyond the low water mark unto the territorial waters and also unto the continental shelf and the exclusive economic zone. They therefore contended that natural resources from both offshore and onshore are derivable from the respective littoral States territory and in respect of which each State is entitled to “not less than 13%” allocation of all revenues derived from these natural resources.

A principal issue before the Supreme Court of Nigeria for resolution between the litigants was *“a determination by this Honourable Court of the seaward boundary of a littoral State within the Federal Republic of Nigeria for the purpose of calculating the amount of revenue accruing to the Federation Account directly from natural resources derived from that State pursuant to the proviso to Section 163 (2) of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999”*. In other words the Court was asked to determine what constituted the southern or seaward boundary of each of the eight littoral States for the purposes of determining what would accrue to them as derivation revenues

It must be noted that Section 162 (2) of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria empowers the National Assembly to determine the

formulae for distribution of funds which have accrued in the federation account of the nation, provided that not less than 13% of the revenue accruing to the Federation Account shall be payable to States from which the natural resource (in this case crude oil) is derived directly.

The Supreme Court in the leading Judgement of Hon. Justice Ogundare, held amongst others as follows: -

1. That the Black's Law Dictionary defines natural resources as “any material in its natural state which when extracted has economic value.” The Supreme Court held that whilst natural resources like coal, natural gas, crude oil, potassium, etc fall within this definition, other items like ports, wharves, agricultural products, etc are not natural resources.
2. That the southern boundaries of all the eight littoral defendant States must be the southern boundaries of the old Western and Eastern Regions as defined in Laws of Nigeria of 1954, i.e. the sea. This is also defined in Section 11 of the Nigeria Protectorate Order in Council, 1922 and of Lagos State as defined in the Colony of Nigeria (boundaries) Order in Council, 1913.
3. On what was the boundary mark of the sea and the sea States, i.e.

littoral States, the Supreme Court held that “if the boundary is with the sea, then, by logical reasoning, the sea cannot be part of the territory of any of the old regions.” The case of the States that the boundary extended to the exclusive economic zone or the continental shelf of Nigeria was therefore rejected as untenable on this ground.

4. That the States as riparian owners, are entitled to the seaward extent of their land territory because by Common Law, all of the sea shore i.e. the seaward limit of their internal waters, belongs to the Crown.
5. Finally, held on the FGN's claim, that the seaward boundary of a littoral State for the purpose of calculating the amount of revenue accruing to the Federal Account directly from any natural resources derived from that State ... is the low water mark of the surface thereof or ... the seaward limits of the inland waters within that State for a State like Cross River State that has a lot of Islands.

The littoral States in turn also filed counter claims against the Federal Government. A counter claim is similar to an independent action; the rules of the courts however allows it to be heard together with the main claim where the disputes between the parties are similar and so it would

be more economical to hear the claim and counter-claim together.

On the littoral States counter claims, the Supreme Court held:

1. That the Federal Capital Territory is not a State or a Local Government within a State as defined in the 1999 Constitution and accordingly, they were not qualified for distribution of moneys deriving from the Federation Account.
2. That the 13% basis for computing the derivation to the States and upon which the States are counter claiming against the FGN could not be upheld by the Supreme Court as the 1999 Constitution gives the appropriate authority, in this case the President, pending a resolution by the National Assembly, a discretion on the percentage to apply provided that it is not less than 13%.
3. That the FGN, as a trustee to the States of the Federation, was liable to render an account to all the States. To be entitled to an order of the Supreme Court compelling the FGN to render an account of all revenue deriving from all natural resources, the States must have firstly demanded for the accounts and the FGN after the demand or repeated demand has

failed, refused or neglected to provide the accounts.

4. That the FGN was constitutionally not empowered to deduct as a first charge from the Federation Account sums of money to service the country's external debts.
5. That it was unconstitutional for the FGN to pay moneys directly to the Local Governments from the Federation Account to cater for primary education as by the 1999 Constitution, the primary responsibility for this function is with the States and Local Governments.
6. That it was constitutionally wrong for the FGN to charge the salaries, allowances and recurrent expenditure of the judiciary to the Federation Account instead of the Consolidated Revenue Fund.

7. That charging of the funding of the joint venture contracts and the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation priority projects to the Federation Account are inconsistent with the provisions of the 1999 Constitution and therefore invalid and unconstitutional.

The Supreme Court further held that the under listed policies of the FGN are unconstitutional

1. The exclusion of natural gas as a constituent part of derivation in computing natural resources.
2. Non-payment to States of proceeds from the Capital Gains Tax and Stamp Duties tax revenues.
3. Unilateral allocation of 1% of the revenue accruing to the Federation Account, to the benefit of the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja.
4. The 1999 Constitution

Nigerian State owns the petroleum resources both onshore and offshore. Inherently and historically the 36 'provincial' States of the Nigerian federation are pure administrative units created by the Nigerian State at different historical times essentially to achieve 'unity in diversity' and can only be referred as federal units and NOT federating units as erroneously implied.

having come into force on May 29th, 1999, the principle of derivation also came into force on the same date, i.e. May 29th, 1999. The FGN is therefore obliged to comply forthwith with the Constitution from that date.

It may be argued that the issue for determination before the Supreme Court in this case was not about resource control but about the onshore/offshore dichotomy, particularly when it comes to the distribution of revenue accruing to the Federation Account.

Retired Justice of the Supreme Court of Nigeria, Karibi-Whyte, JSC ruled in an interlocutory decision before the final decision of the Supreme Court in this case ***“I therefore am of the firm opinion that the Plaintiff's claim is limited and confined to the determination of the seaward boundary of littoral States. I so hold. Any other consideration will be preposterous and manifestly inconsistent with the fundamental principles of adjudication.”***

There is a difference between derivation from natural resources on the one hand and the control of natural resources existing in a State, whether littoral or not, on the other.

Derivation may be described as the recognition of a prior beneficial right that was subsequently expropriated. Thus, payment of a derivation is

The conception and reference to the States where petroleum resources are explored and produced, as 'oil producing States' is not only fluid but also misnomer. The only oil producing State in Nigeria is the Nigerian State, which wholly invested in its exploration and production to date.

a form of compensation and/or reparation for an expropriated interest.

Resource control on the other hand is generally centred on ownership or *dominus* of the resources (either *de facto* or *de jure*), which is why resource control is a politically sensitive matter.

Who Owns the Oil?

The legal determination of the cases before the Supreme Court of Nigeria provide the political roadmap to determine both the issue of resource control and the issue of dichotomy between onshore and offshore revenue.

Nigerian State owns the petroleum resources both onshore and offshore. Inherently and historically the 36 'provincial' States of the Nigerian federation are pure administrative units created by the Nigerian State at different historical times essentially to achieve 'unity in diversity' and

can only be referred as *federal* units and NOT *federating* units as erroneously implied. The conception and reference to the States where petroleum resources are explored and produced, as 'oil producing States' is not only fluid but also misnomer. The only oil producing State in Nigeria is the Nigerian State, which wholly invested in its exploration and production to date.

Regarding Nigeria's maritime boundary, it is the total landmass of the country that is the key element in delineating its offshore maritime boundary. And, the International Law of the Sea refers to the 'Sovereign' States at the Coast such as Gabon, Cameroon, Nigeria, Benin Republic, Togo, Ghana, etc., as the beneficiaries of maritime boundary and not littoral states.

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AMALGAMATION OF NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN PROTECTORATES: THE NORTH AS THE BENEFACTOR OF MODERN NIGERIA THROUGH COLONIAL TAXATION POLICY AND FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENT, 1914 - 1954

By:

In January 1947 a new constitution was introduced to Nigeria that provided for a Legislative Council with members, which for the first time ever included members from Northern Region. It also provided for Regional Council in each of the three regions. In the case of the North the Council comprises of the House of Chiefs and the House of Assembly. The regional councils acted as intermediary bodies between the Central Government and the Native Authority Administrations (NAA).

Six months before the Constitution come into effect, Sir Sydney Phillipson was appointed in June 1946, to:

- 1) Comprehensively study and make appropriate recommendations regarding the problems of the administrative and financial procedure to be adopted under the new constitution; and,
- 2) Examine, in the light of its historical antecedents, the problem of financial relations between the Nigerian Government and the Native Administrations with a view to making concrete recommendations as to the policy and procedure, which should determine those relations in the future.

In page 6 of his report, Phillipson noted, among other challenges involved as the result of the amalgamation exercise, the need for **“the method of taxation, direct and indirect,**



**Malam Adamu M. Fika,
CFR, GCON (Wazirin Fika)**

and the disposal of revenue as to benefit the country as a whole without creating jealousy and friction....” Phillipson went further to report that **“of special interest are the facts relating to the financial positions of the North and the South on the eve of amalgamation, particularly as these positions have, as will be shown later, been to some extent reversed in the course of the last thirty two years”.**

Phillipson had noted, “from 1906 when Southern Nigeria and Lagos became one Administration, the material prosperity of the South had increased with astonishing rapidity, whereas the North, largely depended on the annual grant of the imperial Government, was barely able to balance its budget with the most parsimonious economy. The North had received grants from His Majesty's Government averaging £314,500 for the eleven years ending March 1912”. However, one special feature that emerged in relation to the financial positions of the

North and South after the amalgamation was the preponderant contribution of the Northern Provinces during the thirty-two years covered by Phillipson's report, between 1914 and 1946, to the central fund of the Government as well as on common services.

Revenue and Expenditure 1914 to 1925/6

Government had the power to enact taxation law but the responsibility for collecting the proceeds of direct tax from individuals residing within the jurisdiction of Native Administrations had been assigned to the individual Native Administrations. The Native Administrations were allowed retaining 50% of what they had collected and passing on the remaining 50% to Government. While individual Native Administration expended the retained portion of the tax for various financial services including payment of salaries of their staff, the Government was responsible for executing some essential services in the provinces. The Table below gives the actual annual revenue contribution from the Native Administrations of Northern and Southern Provinces to the central fund as well as the expenditure incurred by the Central Government on the provincial services in the Northern and Southern Provinces:

TABLE 1: ACTUAL PROVINCIAL REVENUE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CENTRAL FUND AND GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE ON PROVINCIAL SERVICES, 1914 TO 1925/6

YEAR	ACTUAL	NORTHERN PROVINCES	SOUTHERN PROVINCES
1914	Revenue	770,979	207,778
	Expenditure	737,439	888,651
1915	Revenue	345,622	14,483
	Expenditure	27,720	33,824
1916	Revenue	483,041	358,737
	Expenditure	371,441	1,048,998
1917	Revenue	510,754	357,778
	Expenditure	257,705	727,693
1918	Revenue	450,897	290,979
	Expenditure	184,621	631,515
1919	Revenue	555,040	575,890
	Expenditure	350,276	1,154,307
1920	Revenue	579,210	588,955
	Expenditure	509,515	1,900,973
1921/2	Revenue	586,155	288,600
	Expenditure	351,581	865,939
1922/3	Revenue	563,580	101,500
	Expenditure	360,659	856,566
1923/4	Revenue	579,900	110,000
	Expenditure	377,891	960,620
1924/5	Revenue	610,620	115,170
	Expenditure	328,170	589,595
1925/6	Revenue	603,300	115,170
	Expenditure	351,096	693,625
TOTALREVENUE		6,059,198	3,008,196
TOTAL EXPENDITURE		3,830,223	8,736,786

Revenue and Expenditure, 1926/7 to 1938/9

In 1926-27 the share retained by each “fully organised” Native Administration was raised from 50 percent to 70 percent, while the not fully organised NA continued to retain the same 50%. Table II below gives the revenue contribution from the Northern and Southern provinces and the expenditure of the Central Government on Provincial Services in the Northern and Southern Provinces:

TABLE II: ACTUAL REVENUE FROM THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN PROVINCES AND ACTUAL EXPENDITURE INCURRED ON THE PROVINCIAL SERVICES IN THE NORTH AND SOUTH, 1926/7 TO 1938/9

YEAR	ACTUAL	NORTHERN PROVINCES	SOUTHERN PROVINCES
1926-27	Revenue	608,660	121,030
	Expenditure	361,102	708,752
1927-28	Revenue	645,800	143,850
	Expenditure	366,340	564,139
1928-29	Revenue	452,000	264,070
	Expenditure	349,057	629,904
1929-30	Revenue	499,295	327,166
	Expenditure	375,798	829,009
1930-31	Revenue	481,126	329,294
	Expenditure	377,056	587,100
1931-32	Revenue	461,781	277,163
	Expenditure	136,879	142,265
1932-33	Revenue	489,710	279,400
	Expenditure	134,223	140,171
1933-34	Revenue	551,328	287,020
	Expenditure	130,246	131,250
1934-35	Revenue	531,940	272,900
	Expenditure	126,445	116,379
1935-36	Revenue	518,325	272,300
	Expenditure	127,049	116,477
1936-37	Revenue	523,795	279,930
	Expenditure	140,411	304,345
1937-38	Revenue	579,100	291,050
	Expenditure	NA	NA
1938-39	Revenue	579,960	269,220
	Expenditure	NA	NA
	TOTAL REVENUE	6,929,820	3,414,393
	TOTAL EXPENDITURE	2,114,606	4,269,791

In 1937/8 Government stopped publishing the expenditures separately for Central Government and the Northern and Southern Provinces as the Southern Protectorate was split into the Eastern and Western regions with Headquarters at Enugu and Ibadan respectively. But the system of revenue collection by the Central Government and Native Administrations in the Provinces continued.

In 1932 the 70 per cent share of direct taxes being retained by the

“fully organised” Native Administrations was reduced to 60 per cent. And, in 1937 the policy "was rejected on the ground that it led to inequality of development and replaced by a policy of adjusting the apportionment according to the needs of particular Native Administration subject to the general conditions that: (I) The proposal objects of expenditure were such as were proper for Native Administration rather than the Government to undertake and finance; (II) The previous year's tax had been

satisfactorily collected; and,(III) The new expenditure was on purposes such as Nigeria as a whole could afford. The net effect of this policy was to allow Native Administrations of the Southern Provinces an increased share of tax amounting to £28,000 annually.

Based on the new policy the derived revenue from the provinces into the central revenue fund extracted from Nigerian Estimates are shown in the Table III below: -

TABLE III: ACTUAL PROVINCE REVENUE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CENTRAL FUND BY THE NATIVE ADMINISTRATIONS IN THE NORTHERN, EASTERN AND WESTERN PROVINCES, 1939-40 TO 1947-48

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>NORTHERN</u>	<u>EASTERN</u>	<u>WESTERN</u>
<u>1939-40</u>	<u>581,410</u>	<u>127,940</u>	<u>119,260</u>
<u>1940-41</u>	<u>597,000</u>	<u>123,300</u>	<u>120,100</u>
<u>1941-42</u>	<u>624,164</u>	<u>114,544</u>	<u>13,591</u>
<u>1942-43</u>	<u>620,000</u>	<u>124,000</u>	<u>130,050</u>
<u>1943-44</u>	<u>619,500</u>	<u>114,380</u>	<u>114,640</u>
<u>1944-45</u>	<u>594,740</u>	<u>114,140</u>	<u>125,791</u>
<u>1945-46</u>	<u>590,738</u>	<u>107,092</u>	<u>125,359</u>
<u>1946-47</u>	<u>364,620</u>	<u>109,760</u>	<u>49,220</u>
<u>1947-48</u>	<u>313,520</u>	<u>110,770</u>	<u>36,910</u>
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>4,883,028</u>	<u>1,054,882</u>	<u>824,969</u>

Relative Government and Native Administration Expenditure

Native Administrations were allowed to retain a portion of the proceeds of the taxes they collected for the purposes of executing projects and providing services devolved to them. In the course of his investigation of the financial relations between the Government and the Native Administration, Phillipson discussed some of the services provided by the Native Administration and gave what he called “relative Government and Native Administration expenditure:- Apart from their administrative, judicial and financial services already discussed, Native Administrations in general were allowed to make some provisions in their estimates for Agriculture, Education, Forestry, Medical and Health services and Works (Recurrent and Extraordinary). It will now be convenient to deal with these services in that order.

Agriculture:

The present relative expenditure of Government and the Native Administration expressed in percentages is 89.78 for Government, 7.82 for Northern Region, 1.67 for Western Region, and 0.73 for Eastern Region. These figures are interesting as showing how much more developed are Native Administration agricultural services in the North than elsewhere and how relatively minute the expenditure of the Eastern Region Native Administration is on this service.

Education:

The relative contributions in 1944-45 to the total expenditure on education were Government 79.28, Northern Region 13.37, Western Region 2.92, and Eastern Region 2.83. This is a large subject calling, however, for concise treatment, there was no field in which public interest was so strong and also widespread, and the Native Administrations obviously have an important part to play in the development of elementary education.

The contributions made by the Government and the Native Administrations to the cost, capital or equipment or recurrent, of educational institutions of all kinds have been determined in the past without reference to first principles. Even now the pattern of responsibility is variegated. Thus, the **two** primary schools (in Kaduna and Jos which are towns with special “enclaves” character). Then there were **twelve** in the Western Region, **ten** in the Eastern Region and **one** in Lagos. The Kaduna College, which incidentally was largely, built from Native Administration funds. The Teacher Training Centre at Bauchi and the other **two** Government institutions, which include Okene Training Centre and the Women's Training Centre Sokoto, were financed from Native Administration funds and also the Kano Law School. Therefore, these were institutions founded and financed by the Native Administration.

Forestry

In the year 1944-45 the relative percentage proportions of the total expenditure on forestry were- Government, 70.04, Eastern Region 15.30, Western Region 13.42. The performance of Eastern Region is attributed to the fact that in general the Government controls and manages the Forest Resources in that Region.

Medical and Health

The relative percentage contributions in 1944-45 to the total expenditure on Medical and Health services were Government, 78.50, Northern Region 11.58, Western Region 6.04, Eastern Region 3.88. It seems scarcely credible, but it is a fact that in 1935-36 the Government expenditure represented only 6.75% of the total expenditure of £214321. The Northern contribution represented 88.14% and Southern contribution represented 5.11%.

Below are tables of statistical information on relative contributions on work and services covering the period of ten years from 1935/6 to 1944/5 provided in the Phillipson's Report: -



F.D. LUGARD
 FIRST GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF NIGERIA

TABLE I
COMPARATIVE TABLE OF REVENUES, DIRECT TAX APPORTIONMENTS, ETC.

	Northern Region	Western Region	Eastern Region	Colony District
1. Population	12,553,802	3,811,390	4,856,220	174,200
2. Number of Treasuries	60	47	107	10
3. Number of Native Authorities	211	118	283	12
4. Total Direct Taxation	£2,040,870	£482,701	£429,144	£17,338
5. Native Administration share before latest COLA award	£1,676,250	£433,484	£319,024	£17,338
6. Government share expressed as a percentage	(a) 17.9% (b) 11.12%	(a) 10% (b) 7.7% (or 3.2% if subsidies are taken into account)	25.7	Nil (All receive subsidies).
7. Average incidence of Direct Taxation per 1 end of Population	3s 3d	2s 6d	1s 9d	1a 9d
8. Other Ordinary Revenue (excluding grants)	£217,555	£171,515	£171,152	£13,152
9. Grants	(a) £22,786 (b) £40,659	(a) £9,834 (b) £9,276	} Detailed figures are not available but items 10 and 11 negligible	(a) £4,150 (b) Nil
10. Trade and Industries	£107,065	£81,468		Nil
11. Agency Service	(a) £329,465 (b) £3,001	(a) £7,561 (b) £264	} £520 (Odual (Saka) Owerri Province)	Nil
12. Total Revenue	(a) £2,436,781 (b) £1,518 (Kappa-Kupu-Eggan, Kabba Province)	£713,402 £297 (Ekipon Benin Province)		£34,640
13. The smallest individual revenue	£555,921 (Kano)	£171,719 (Ibadan)	£30,030 (Bamenda Divisional, Cameroons)	£8,715 (Ikeja)
14. The largest individual revenue	23	6	2	Nil
15. Number of Native Administrations with revenues exceeding £20,000	11	14	70	9
16. Number of Native Administrations with revenues less than £5,000	5	7	4	10
17. Number of Native Administrations retaining 100 per cent of Direct Taxation (with or without subsidies) since latest COLA award				

The figures are the best available; though not set out in round figures, they cannot be regarded as other than estimates. According to Public Notice No. 9 of 1945: the number has probably changed since then. Subordinate Native Authorities not included. By an arrangement peculiar to the Eastern Provinces they receive at present a direct re-imbursment of the cost of "COLA": these figures would be very materially different if the arrangement followed in the other Regions, by which the cost of "COLA" is a direct charge on

Not a final figure: the Financial Statements of the Eastern Provinces for 1946-47 were not to hand at the time of compilation.

TABLE II
COMPARISON OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIVE ADMINISTRATION EXPENDITURE ON AGRICULTURE,
1935/6 TO 1944/5

	1935-36	1936-37	1937-38	1938-39	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45
1. Government Expenditure	£ 101,128	£ 111,256	£ 130,216	£ 137,482	£ 130,502	£ 139,346	£ 182,115	£ 233,877	£ 278,173	£ 334,790
2. Native Admin Exp.										
Northern Province	20,288	30,295	36,618	30,351	30,148	17,080	17,710	29,564	45,761	29,133
Western Province	1,733	2,338	2,896	4,100	{ 3,181 1,974	3,753	•	•	•	•
Eastern Province				•	•	2,231	•	•	•	•
Colony	—	—	—	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
<i>Total, N.A Rep</i>	22,021	32,633	39,514	34,451	35,303	23,064	•	•	•	38,069
3. Total Expenditure	123,149	143,889	169,730	171,933	165,805	162,410	•	•	•	372,859
4. Percentage Total Exp.										
Government	82.12	77.22	76.72	79.96	78.71	85.80	•	•	•	89.78
N.A.A-N.P	16.47	21.05	21.57	17.65	{ 18.18 1.19	2.31	•	•	•	7.82
W.P	1.41	1.63	1.71	2.38	•	1.37	•	•	•	1.67
E.P	—	—	—	•	•	•	•	•	•	0.73
Colony	—	—	—	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
-Figure unobtainable	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE III
COMPARISON OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIVE ADMINISTRATION EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION,
1935/6 TO 1944/5

	1935-36	1936-37	1937-38	1938-39	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45
1. Government Expenditure	£ 229,058	£ 247,795	£ 289,284	£ 269,152	£ 264,461	£ 259,546	£ 282,882	£ 352,896	£ 481,226	£ 485,113
2. Native Admin Exp.										
Northern Province	42,945	44,467	48,200	49,982	50,405	51,519	53,262	56,876	74,154	81,812
Western Province	8,192	9,201	11,240	13,215	{ 7,858	9,055	•	•	•	17,676
Eastern Province					{ 7,656	8,298	•	•	•	17,282
Colony	—	—	—	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Total, N.A Rep	51,137	53,668	59,440	63,197	65,919	68,872	•	•	•	126,770
3. Total Expenditure	280,195	301,463	348,724	332,349	330,380	328,418	•	•	•	611,883
4. Percentage Total Exp.										
Government	81.75	82.20	82.96	80.98	80.05	79.02	•	•	•	79.28
N.A.A-N.P	15.33	14.75	13.82	15.04	{ 15.26	15.69	•	•	•	13.37
W.P	2.92	3.05	3.22	3.98	{ 2.37	2.76	•	•	•	2.92
E.P	—	—	—	•	2.32	2.53	•	•	•	2.83
Colony	—	—	—	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
-Figure unobtainable	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE IV
COMPARISON OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIVE ADMINISTRATION EXPENDITURE ON FORESTRY,
1935/6 TO 1944/5

	1935-36	1936-37	1937-38	1938-39	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45
1. Government Expenditure	£ 58,733	£ 63,236	£ 66,630	£ 74,028	£ 66,373	£ 63,391	£ 57,210	£ 83,711	£ 105,401	£ 94,708
2. Native Admin Exp.										
Northern Province			7,932	9,469	12,024	12,141	12,944	20,676	31,924	20,555
Western Province	10,887	9,760	10,985	16,252	{ 16,299	12,000	•	•	•	18,140
Eastern Province				•	{ 1,171	1,095	•	•	•	1,808
Colony	—	—	—	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Total, N.A Rep	10,887	9,760	18,917	25,721	29,494	25,436	•	•	•	40,503
3. Total Expenditure	69,620	72,996	85,547	99,749	95,867	88,827	•	•	•	135,211
4. Percentage Total Exp.										
Government	84.36	86.63	77.89	74.22	69.23	71.36	•	•	•	70.04
N.A.A-N.P	—	—	9.27	9.48	{ 12.54	13.89	•	•	•	15.20
W.P	15.64	13.37	12.84	16.30	{ 17.00	13.52	•	•	•	13.42
E.P.	—	—	—	•	1.23	1.23	•	•	•	1.34
Colony	—	—	—	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
-Figure unobtainable	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE V
COMPARISON OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIVE ADMINISTRATION EXPENDITURE ON MEDICAL AND HEALTH, 1935/6 TO 1944/5

	1935-36	1936-37	1937-38	1938-39	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45
1. Government Expenditure	£ 377,671	£ 387,600	£ 462,630	£ 458,385	£ 442,403	£ 413,667	£ 423,745	£ 491,690	£ 605,452	£ 638,698
2. Native Admin Exp.										
Northern Province	42,241	49,135	68,832	67,405	67,738	68,187	70,874	74,319	100,806	94,114
Western Province	30,952	34,601	39,835	46,508	{ 32,646	33,063	•	•	•	49,151
Eastern Province					{ 23,130	23,064	•	•	•	31,576
Colony	—	—	—	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Total, N.A Rep	73,193	83,736	108,667	113,913	123,514	124,314	•	•	•	174,841
3. Total Expenditure	450,864	471,336	571,297	572,298	565,917	537,981	•	•	•	813,639
4. Percentage Total Exp.										
Government	83.77	82.24	80.98	80.10	78.17	76.90	•	•	•	78.50
N.A.A-N.P	9.37	10.42	12.05	11.78	{ 11.97	12.67	•	•	•	11.58
W.P					{ 5.77	6.14	•	•	•	6.04
E.P	6.86	7.34	6.97	8.12	4.09	4.29	•	•	•	3.88
Colony	—	—	—	•	•	•				
-Figure unobtainable	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE VI
COMPARISON OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIVE ADMINISTRATION EXPENDITURE ON SURVEYS,
1935/6 TO 1944/5

	1935-36	1936-37	1937-38	1938-39	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45
1. Government Expenditure	£ 55,043	£ 58,794	£ 65,465	£ 61,517	£ 58,270	£ 53,783	£ 46,662	£ 56,508	£ 56,838	£ 55,461
2. Native Admin Exp.	Ests. 9,970	Ests. 7,743	Ests. 8,494	Ests. 10,048	Ests. 10,451	Ests. 12,769	Ests. 12,314	Ests. 10,298	Ests. 13,662	Ests. 13,084
Northern Province										
Western Province	1,725	1,466	1,744	2,543	{ 1,872	1,744	•	•	•	1,693
Eastern Province					874	1,261	•	•	•	1,363
Colony	—	—	—	—	•	•				
Total, N.A Rep	14,695	9,209	10,238	12,591	13,197	15,774	•	•	•	16,140
3. Total Expenditure	66,738	68,003	75,703	74,108	71,467	69,557	•	•	•	71,601
4. Percentage Total Exp.										
Government	82.48	86.46	86.48	83.01	81.53	77.32	•	•	•	77.46
N.A.A-N.P	14.94	11.39	11.22	13.56	{ 14.62	18.36	•	•	•	18.27
W.P	2.58	2.15	2.30	3.43	2.62	2.51	•	•	•	2.36
E.P					1.23	1.81				1.91
Colony	—	—	—	—	•	•				
-Figure unobtainable	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE VII
COMPARISON OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIVE ADMINISTRATION EXPENDITURE ON WORK
RECURRENT, 1935/6 TO 1944/5

	1935-36	1936-37	1937-38	1938-39	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45
1. Government Expenditure	£ 186,289	£ 198,916	£ 313,602	£ 320,560	£ 357,885	£ 348,624	£ 460,689	£ 560,421	£ 586,925	£ 482,542
2. Native Admin Exp.										
Northern Province	199,034	189,109	208,193	182,691	179,944	179,500	223,545	239,687	429,597	247,918
Western Province	108,630	126,791	153,051	161,931	{ 104,468	108,137	•	•	•	133,529
Eastern Province					{ 58,599	51,977	•	•	•	84,410
Colony	—	—	—	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Total, N.A Rep	307,664	315,900	361,244	344,622	343,011	339,614	•	•	•	465,857
3. Total Expenditure	493,953	514,816	674,846	665,182	700,896	688,238	•	•	•	948,399
4. Percentage Total Exp.										
Government	37.71	38.64	46.47	48.19	51.06	50.65	•	•	•	50.88
N.A.A.-N.P	40.29	36.73	30.85	27.46	25.67	{ 26.08	•	•	•	26.14
W.P					14.90	{ 15.71	•	•	•	14.07
E.P	22.00	24.63	22.68	24.35	8.37	7.56	•	•	•	8.91
Colony	—	—	—	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
-Figure unobtainable	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE VIII
COMPARISON OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIVE ADMINISTRATION EXPENDITURE ON WORK
EXTRAORDINARY, 1935/6 TO 1944/5

	1935-36	1936-37	1937-38	1938-39	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45
1. Government Expenditure	£ 14,481	£ 275,602	£ 207,746	£ 244,888	£ 109,412	£ 48,633	£ 49,373	£ 110,329	£ 201,825	£ 388,751
2. Native Admin Exp.										
Northern Province	188,909	174,528	168,319	190,753	171,321	54,826	52,006	42,520	47,125	82,289
Western Province	10,931	11,376	17,072	21,035	{ 45,191	36,306	•	•	•	20,983
Eastern Province					{ 38,557	20,204	•	•	•	17,235
Colony	—	—	—	•	•	•	•	5	25	3,781
Total, N.A Rep	199,840	185,904	185,391	211,788	255,069	111,336	•	•	•	124,288
3. Total Expenditure	214,321	461,506	393,137	456,676	364,481	159,969	•	•	•	513,039
4. Percentage Total Exp.										
Government	6.75	59.72	52.84	53.62	30.02	30.40	•	•	•	75.77
N.A.A-N.P	88.14	37.81	42.81	41.76	{ 47.00	34.27	•	•	•	16.03
W.P	5.11	2.47	4.35	4.62	{ 12.39	22.69	•	•	•	4.08
E.P	—	—	—	•	10.59	10.64	•	•	•	3.39
Colony	—	—	—	•	•	•	•	•	•	0.73
-Figure unobtainable	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE IX
COMPARISON OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIVE ADMINISTRATION EXPENDITURE ON COMBINED SERVICES:
AGRICULTURE, EDUCATION, FORESTRY, MEDICAL AND HEALTH
SURVEY AND WORK RECURRENT
FOR THE TEN YEARS 1935-36 TO 1944-45

	1935-36	1936-37	1937-38	1938-39	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45
1. Government Expenditure	£ 1,007,922	£ 1,067,597	£ 1,327,827	£ 1,321,124	£ 1,319,894	£ 1,278,093	£ 1,453,303	£ 1,779,103	£ 2,114,015	£ 2,091,312
2. Native Admin Exp.										
Northern Province	314,478	320,749	378,269	349,946	350,710	341,396	390,649	431,520	725,904	486,616
Western Province	162,119	184,157	219,751	244,549	166,324	167,752	•	•	•	226,400
Eastern Province	—	—	—	•	93,404	87,926	•	•	•	139,164
Colony	—	—	—	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Total, N.A Rep	475,597	504,906	598,020	594,495	610,438	597,074	•	•	•	852,180
3. Total Expenditure	1,484,519	1,572,503	1,925,847	1,915,619	1,930,332	1,875,167	•	•	•	2,943,492
4. Percentage Total Exp.										
Government	67.89	67.89	68.94	68.96	68.37	68.15	•	•	•	71.04
N.A.A-N.P	21.19	29.39	19.64	18.26	18.17	18.21	•	•	•	16.53
W.P	10.92	11.72	11.42	12.76	8.62	8.95	•	•	•	7.69
E.P	—	—	—	•	4.84	4.69	•	•	•	4.72
Colony	—	—	—	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
-Figure unobtainable	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Principles and Procedure of Revenue Allocation to the Regions

Phillipson recommended an interim period of about five years during which the allocation of available revenues to the Regions should be made with “reference to the exiting expenditure on regional purpose therein, but with a gradual increasing approximation year by year” to bring about a state of things in which the contribution made by each region to the non-declared revenues was proportional to the required scale of expenditure in that region so that the latter would correspond to the former.

He also recommended the establishment of a Revenue Allocation Board comprising of the Chief Secretary as Chairman, the three Chief Commissioners or their representatives, the Financial Secretary as Deputy Chairman, and three others. This was to ensure that the allocations are made on an officially agreed basis in respect of each financial year

The principles of taxation and revenue generation introduced by Lugard in 1914, continued to be the basis of allocation of funds for financing regional purposes up to the 1948-49 financial year after the introduction of the Richard's Constitution. As part of the process of introducing and implementing the Constitution, Sir Sydney Phillipson was appointed as a sole fiscal Commissioner to recommend procedure and financial relations under the new Constitution. The Constitution provided for the establishment of Regional Council to which the Centre devolved limited set of

functions and financial responsibilities.

Phillipson recommended two principles: (a) principle of derivation and (b) principle of even progress. On the issue of derivation he states that each Region should receive for its purposes as follows:

- 1) The full amount of its share of direct tax and all revenue declared regional, and
- 2) It must be revenue in respect of national or important consideration of policy likely to arise,
- 3) A block grant from other revenues in strict proportion to the contribution, which the region makes to other revenues.

Principles on which to base the declaration of particular revenues as regional should be that the revenue must be identified with the region and locally collected by regional authority. With regard to principle of even progress Phillipson noted that,

“It is naturally the concern of the Government of Nigeria, and in the end to the advantage of individual regions, that progress should be even over

the whole territory; that the Standard of living and the degree of civilization throughout the country should be raised to a generally equal level; in short, that backward areas should receive special attention.”

He then revealed that, “I began my enquiry with a strong predisposition in favour of allocation available non-declared revenues strictly in proportion to population, population being, as it then seemed to me, the best available measure of human needs. That method appealed to me, as to certain others whom I consulted, as possessing the advantage considerable in present Nigerian circumstances, of being very simple and easy to understand. It has since become clear to me that it cannot be suitably applied, though population, particularly population in relation to the amount of true taxation, particularly population in relation to the amount of true taxation paid by the people of each region may prove to be a factor which the Revenue Allocation Board will wish in certain circumstances to take into account”.

After discussing the possibility of reconciling the two principles, he came to the conclusion that “there is in my view no way in which the two principles can be reconciled in practice and conjointly applied”. The following prepositions seem to me to emerge from the facts and considerations adduced above: -



Oil Rig in Niger Delta

(I) It should be an object of Nigerian and Regional fiscal action to bring about a state of things in which the contribution made by each region to the non-declared revenues of Nigeria is proportioned to the required scale of expenditure on regional purposes in that region so that the latter may correspond to the former. When that objective is reached any further available resources could be allocated according to the measure of the incidence per head of each regional population of the total true taxation, Government and local government, that is excluding revenues paid for services rendered or privileges received, reimbursements, etc. alternatively, the available resources might be allocated with the express purpose of bringing on backward regions or parts of regions.

(ii) Since it is out of the question that the inauguration of the new constitution should be marked by an enforced reduction of expenditure on regional purposes in any particular region,

there must be an interim period during which the allocation of available revenues to regions will be made with references to the existing expenditure on regional purposes therein, but with a gradual increasing approximation year by year to the objective states in (i) above. This will mean that a region which does not, where possible, initiate and otherwise support fiscal measures designed to achieve its due proportionate contribution to the revenues of Nigeria will find its progress retarded to the ultimate point of arrest.

Every year the procedure followed by Sir Sydney Philipson in calculating the Regional Allocations for any year was to allocate to each Region:

- a) An amount sufficient to cover the estimate necessary expenditure on existing regional services, allowing for their normal expansion, and on regional extraordinary public works allowing further for a five per cent margin on total estimated expenditure; and
- b) An additional

amount proportionate to the excess over the amount allocated under (a) above of a hypothetical allocation, based on calculations of the total contributions made by each Region to the total revenues of Government.

The allocations made under(a) were calculated on the basis of the best information available at the time concerning the expenditure required on regional services, namely, the estimates of the previous year revised and brought up to date in the light of current trends. The allocations in respect of Public Works Extraordinary were made in the following ratio:-

North 20: West 9: East 10

Reports of the allocations under (b) were made in accordance with the principles set out in the Sir Sydney Phillipson's report. First of all the total amount available for Regional allocations was found according to the formula above by subtracting from total estimated Nigerian Revenue the sum of:

- * Colonial Development and Welfare Expenditure;
- * Estimated Surplus;
- * Estimated Nigerian Services and Works Expenditure; and
- * Estimated Revenues from sources assigned to the Regions (i.e. Declared Revenues)

This amount was then divided up in the proportions arrived at by Sir Sydney (afterwards revised in the light of more recent data obtained from the Department of Customs and Excise) as those in which the Regions contributed to the revenues from sources not assigned to the Regions (i.e. non-declared Revenues), namely:

Northern Region	43.87%
Western Region	30.62%
Eastern Region	25.51%

And to those amounts were added the estimated declared revenues. For 1948-49, the allocations arrived at by this method were as follows:

<i>Regional share of non-declared Revenues</i>	<i>Regional declared Revenues</i>	<i>Hypothetical Allocations</i>
£	£	£
Northern 1,898,356	+542,420	=2,440,776
Western 1,324,998	+218,570	=1,543,568
Eastern 1,103,876	+219,840	=1,323,716

These figures were rounded off, to arrive at hypothetical allocation thus: -

North	West	East
£	£	£
2,440,800	1,543,600	1,323,900

The original allocations (a) were then subtracted from these hypothetical allocations giving the following balances: -

North	West	East
£	£	£
+555,800	+353,600	-349,200

As can be seen, the Eastern Region was thus in a position whereby its hypothetical allocation was less than its estimated necessary minimum expenditure while the hypothetical allocations for the other Regions were in excess of their estimated necessary minimum expenditure. In order to provide for the needs of the Eastern Region the "credit balances" of the other Regions were reduced by the amount of the Eastern Region's deficit in the same proportion as those balances bore to each other, as follows: -

North	West	East
£	£	£
-213,421	-135,779	+349,200

Giving the following allocations as modified: -

North	West	East
£	£	£
342,379	217,821	-

Following a revision in the light of the most recent information of the analysis of Department Estimates for 1947-48 on which allocation(a) was based and in view of unforeseen expenditure on the regionalization of further services, the sum required to provide a correct allocation(a) for the Eastern Region was found to be £90,804 in excess of that calculated previously. In order to provide approximately this amount further proportional reductions were made in the "credit balances" of other Regions as follows:

Adjustments to allow for Eastern Region's excess: -

North	West	East
£	£	£
-10,536	-79,914	+90,450

Giving final additional allocations(b), thus: -

331,843	137,907	90,450
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Adding allocations (a) and (b) together the final rounded total allocations were thus:

2,216,780	1,327,830	1,763,450
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Further adjustments in the Select Committee on the Estimates increased the Northern and Western allocations as follows for the specific purpose of Adult Education: -

North	West	East
£	£	£
4,500	2,996	-

During the course of 1948-49 supplementary allocations were made as follows to the Northern and Eastern Regions for Northern Region Educational Development and additions to the Catering Rest House, Enugu, to provide accommodation for Legislative Council members: -

North	West	East
£	£	£
150,000	-	10,000

Thus, giving final total allocations for the year: -

2,371,280	1,330,826	1,773,450
(43.31%)	(24.30%)	(32.39%)

Same procedure was followed for the years 1945-50 and 1950-1951 to give the figures for the years 1948-49 to 1950-51, being total regional allocation as follows:

	North	West	East
1948-49	2,371,280	1,330,826	1,773,450
1949-50	2,704,400	1,938,200	2,494,200
1950-51	3,084,000	2,189,000	2,775,000
Total	8,159,680	5,458,026	7,042,650

Conclusion:

Contrary to the pigheadedly propaganda, without the slightest shred of evidence, that following the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Protectorates in 1914 the South had contributed more financial resources to the development of the country than the North – with

an added uncharitable description of the North as 'parasite', the reverse was the case.

Since the amalgamation, and particularly during the formative years of Nigeria as a single political community, the North has proportionally contributed

more to the financial resources of the Central Government than the South. From 1914 to 1954, almost each and every year – with the exception of 1919/20 when the Southern Region exceeded the Northern Region with marginal figure – the Northern Region contributed proportionally higher to the

funds of the Central Government than the Southern Region.

Yet, incredibly, the Central Government expenditure to the Northern Region, during the same period, was far less than that of the Southern Region in spite of the fact that the North made the highest contribution to the revenue profile of the Central Government. In essence, therefore, what the Central Government expended on the Southern Region's services was higher than what the Region generated as revenues.

It suffices to note that many services that were supposed to be serviced by the Central Government in the Northern Region were left to the Native Administrations (NA) in the Region to undertake. In the course of his investigation Phillipson found out the true picture of the financial position of the Native Administration with regard to their financial capacities, which enabled them not only to provide services in their respective areas of jurisdiction, but also assisted the Government of Nigeria in various ways. In this respect, three main striking revelations from his report are:

(i) For many years following the amalgamation of the North and South, the financial resources of the Native Administrations (in the North) were generally sufficient for their needs. Indeed it is true to say that in the Northern Provinces the resources of the Native

Administrations were regarded as available for any useful purpose without special reference to the appropriateness of the charge; thus the main road from Sokoto to Zaria was constructed from Native Administration funds. No logical distinction appears to have been drawn between the objects of expenditure appropriated respectively to the Government and the Native Administrations. The aim was to get useful things done and the source of finance was a secondary matter. Although this may have resulted in anomalies and has even occasionally led to services and works being undertaken by Native Administrations for which the Government had declined to make provision, the phase was inevitable and may be regarded as justified by the results. This point is illustrated by the remark made by one officer some years ago: "I am afraid the hospital of which one wing is built by the Native Administration and the rest by Government does not arouse very much emotion in me.

(ii) During the economic depression of the early 1930s, Government was confronted with harsh reality of cutting down expenditure in the face

of falling revenue. "The Governor, therefore, found himself with no alternative, but to look to the Native Administrations, whose revenues were less affected by economic conditions, for assistance in balancing the Nigerian budget. This assistance was afforded in two ways; by the transfer to them of certain Government services and works; and by the reduction of their share of the proceeds of direct taxation. In the Northern Provinces the Native Administrations materially relieved the strain on the Government finances and to some extent arrested the process of drastic retrenchment then being followed by taking over on secondment a considerable portion of the Public Works Department staff, so continuing, but largely expanding an arrangement which was already in some measure operative and by undertaking a much larger share of financial responsibility for the execution of public works. By this method alone the Government obtained material relief during a period of acute stringency

(iii) It seems scarcely credible, but it is a fact that in 1935-36 the Government expenditure represented only 6.75% of the total expenditure of £214321. The Northern contribution represented 88.14% and Southern contribution represented 5.11%.

ARDP's Position Paper on the National Conference /National Security

By Usman Bugaje

Introduction

The sordid origin of the President's National Conference is too well-known to this audience to warrant any further commentary. As if to confirm all our fears, the President's nominees have not only dominated the membership of the conference but it has shown clearly his preferences and his proclivities. If anybody was in doubt where the heart and mind of the President is, the list of the conferees provides the evidence. Perhaps, since the Nigerian independence, the North has never faced the kinds of challenges it is facing today. In the last 15 years the North has been systematically impoverished, its legitimate share of the federal resources diminished, its teeming population, especially its youth, abandoned to their devices, its economic activities paralyzed in the face of increasing insecurity, its presence in the Federal services pruned, its region increasingly garrisoned and now invited to participate in a National Conference, whose outcome would appear to have been predetermined by a leadership that has made, to quote one of the leaders of the North, "tribalism and nepotism state policy." This indeed is a MOMENT OF TRUTH for the North. The North will have to decide either way; there is no room for neutrality, not anymore.

Let us examine a few issues:

- 1 The National Conference is illegal, illegitimate and funded in violation of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. It is illegal because there is no act of the National Assembly establishing or authorizing it. The executive arm is certainly free to establish committees to advise it on any matter but they must not pretend to convoke anything more than a mere administrative committee with no powers to take any decision, only recommendations to the President. So if we reduce the conference to what it is, it is simply a Presidential Committee and we should be able to see it as such and have the courage to strip it of all pretences. Indeed in the responses of both the executive and the legislature to public criticism of the conference, they have made the point that recommendations of the conference will eventually be brought to the National Assembly for consideration. So why the conference in



the first place? Wouldn't citizens be right to suspect some diversionary tactic here? Given the dearth of trust between citizens and their governments where can citizens find the benefit of doubt to give the government?

- 2 . The intended National Conference is Illegitimate not only because conferees where simply handpicked and didn't have any mandate to represent any constituency but also because the conferees did not even have the honor and dignity to elect their own leaders . That the leadership of the conference and therefore the rules and procedures of the

conference would be determined largely by a leadership handpicked by the President further denies the conference of any trace of legitimacy. For the avoidance of doubt let us ask the simple question: who would the handpicked conferees claim to represent? The President or Governor who handpicked them? Or who exactly? It certainly cannot be the over sixty percent of the poor citizens of this country who live under a dollar a day, sweating and struggling to keep body and soul together. By implication, any decision taken by this Conference is not implementable as it lacks both the legal authority and legitimacy. In fact, the delegates / conferees are not representing the legal constituencies in Nigeria as enshrined in the Constitution.

3 .We don't know much about the funding of this conference beyond the report that the President is allocating some seven billion Naira for the National Conference. But what we know is that, there is no money appropriated by the National Assembly for this conference. More importantly, section 80, (2), (3) and (4) of the

Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria has made it explicitly clear that no moneys shall be withdrawn from the Consolidated Revenue Fund of the Federation without an act of the National Assembly. So where is the money going to come from, if we may ask? Are we borrowing from the IMF or Paris Club? Or is it going to come from the missing or hitherto unexplained \$20 billion? We can't fail to see the seriousness of this fundamental breach of our ground norm! We can't ignore a constitutional violation of this magnitude! We can't be neutral in matters that are unconstitutional!

4 If truly the object of the conference is to discuss the vexing and urgent national issues, the existing Nigerian Constitution, under which the President holds his office and exercises the powers he wields, has prescribed all the structures and institutions - both political and legal - capable of generating the representatives of Nigerians that can discuss anything and promulgate all the needed laws and policies to address the

problems and challenges of the Nigerian federation. These existing structures, institutions as well as the representatives of the people are intact and in operation. These representatives of Nigerians are elected in conformity with the law of the land, and no matter how imperfectly they emerged but the process conform to the historically universal principles of representation since ancient times contrary to the President's reckless and vacuous way of producing the delegates of the Conference.

5 .Despite all these, and given the level of impunity in this government, the chances are that the conference may still continue; after all how many such violations have taken place. The general rule of while hopeful for the best, we must prepare for the worst would appear to apply here. The North may have to participate, even as it is illegal, illegitimate and funded by constitutional breach. It is not because much can come out of it but perhaps because being an instrument of propaganda and intimidation, the North must be there to stand

up to the grandstanding and empty threats of people who have made Northern bashing a state policy.

6 The North may wish to use the opportunity to educate many of the ignoramuses that have been lined up, who know nothing about the North, not even the country itself as many of them are like the proverbial fish out of water. In other words, the North should participate only to appropriately respond to political propaganda largely directed against it, which are founded on ahistorical and unscientific structure of the Nigerian State and to lay down the facts on the dynamics of the Nigerian social formation before the propagandists, their

mentors and apologists. The ARDP particularly believes that the North has never articulated any particularistic agenda to put any part of the country at a disadvantage. Our position is that the North should prepare to discuss issues in a fashion of a national discourse on a national stage and indicate willingness to discuss, negotiate, and renegotiate all issues relating to the corporate existence of Nigeria in a sovereign and constitutional framework.

7 The ARDP is of the opinion that some of the key or broad issues that may come up in the Conference, and which the North MUST appropriately respond to may include the following:

Structuring the Nigerian federation along the principles of the so-called "true federalism"

Here, it is being erroneously inferred - either out of political ignorance or political maneuver or both - that the 36 States of the Federation are "federating units" and should therefore operate and derive their powers and functions on the classical meaning of federalism, as in the case of the United States of America. Unlike the US where the States

were formally independent and sovereign polities that decided to come together to form the USA, in the case of Nigeria the existing 36 States are historically and structurally administrative units created, at different times, by the **Nigerian State**. The political reality of the 36 States of Nigeria only confers them the status of "federal units", which have largely been created to promote unity in diversity. No matter how one could shout out the concept of the so-called principle of "fiscal federalism" it doesn't confer states any inherent power(s) over anything Nigerian. But the North should be ready to renegotiate the political restructuring of Nigeria on its terms: either Nigeria operates the proper true federalism that guarantees all political and equitable access to national resources or any other new arrangement on mutually agreeable terms.

The institutionalization of the principle of resource control in the allocation of resources, or what is also referred to as operating the principles of fiscal federalism

Here, it is also erroneously propagated that fiscal federalism is equivalent or at least presupposes the principle of "resource control" by which the so-called 'oil producing states' should have greater share of the Nigerian oil revenues if they are "denied" complete control over their God-given resources. But it only requires an elementary

By implication, any decision taken by this Conference is not implementable as it lacks both the legal authority and legitimacy. In fact, the delegates /conferees are not representing the legal constituencies in Nigeria as enshrined in the Constitution.

understanding of the concept of fiscal federalism to appreciate the fact that it refers to principles by which tiers of government of a country appropriate common resources on the basis of fiscal responsibilities of each tier of government as enshrined in the constitution. On the other hand, the very conception of "oil producing states" is not only a misnomer but inherently illegitimate. The only oil producing state in Nigeria is the Nigerian state itself, which alone made all the investments in oil exploration and production since its discovery until today. The North should also reject and call for the scrapping of Ministry of Niger Delta Affairs and the Niger Delta Development Commission, both cannot legitimately be appropriating federal funds while their functions are for the benefits of a section of the country and the other sections do not have similar corresponding federal agencies.

Citizenship Rights

Here, the North does not have any problem with the promotion of the principles of equal rights and privileges to Nigerians wherever they choose to work and live. But, it must be fully realized that this principle is inconsistent with "resource control". If Nigerians are equal everywhere, to the extent that the same proponents of "resource control" are calling for the abrogation of State of Origin and substituting this with State of Residence, it then follows that all resources of the nation belong to all Nigerians and

therefore the basic principle of sharing resources would have to fundamentally rest on need, equity and fiscal responsibilities of tiers of governments to citizens under their jurisdiction. This is to be supplemented, however, by other appropriate principles to encourage wealth creation, economic growth and social development.

Security and Human Rights Violations

The security situation in the North has reached a point where the North can no longer continue to assume and hope that those with the responsibility to protect its citizens have the political will to do so. That the North has to collectively wake up to the 'war by other means' against its people is fairly obvious for all to see. This is not the place to say more. It should suffice to say that we cannot continue with our complacent, naïve and fatalistic attitude that has never served us. It is time to consider something radical and ultimate.

The Choice of an Appropriate System of Government for Nigeria is another issue that is certain to come up. The North must not be dragged into the futile debate of the Presidential or the Parliamentary system, which only diverts attention from the more fundamental issues of good governance. It is not so much the system of government than the entrenchment of corruption in our political culture and governance system. It is the attitudinal and value system

that informs the political culture that really matters and we should be able to retrace our steps and fall back on our values of honesty, hard work, dedication and selflessness.

Conclusion

The point has been made that even as the conference lacks both legality and legitimacy, we may not serve our cause by absenting our selves. We may even turn it into an opportunity to educate and inform and address the misinformation and propaganda against the North. In doing this we shall require a strong coordinating secretariat, which will provide the facts and figures so that Northern conferees will speak from the point of knowledge and the point of strength. This is critical to the role we must play in this confab. At this meeting, we must work out how that can be put in place. Even more urgent and more important is the issue of the Security and Human Rights violations in the North. The assault and humiliation on our persons and dignity have become unbearable. To say that we have been abandoned is to understate the gravity of the crises. Our children and more importantly God Himself may not forgive us if we leave this meeting without doing something serious and consequential. May the Most High guide us to that which is best.

This paper was presented to the Northern Summit in Kano on March 10-11, 2014 by Dr. Bugaje.

Communiqué of the Kano Meeting of Northern Elders and Leaders

The Northern Elders Forum (NEF) with support of some Northern Groups organized a meeting of northern elders and leaders in Kano on Monday 10th and Tuesday 11th March, 2014. The meeting registered an unprecedented attendance of northern politicians, leaders, elders, women and youth to discuss escalating insecurity in the north, the planned National Conference, the build-up to, and conduct of the 2015 elections and other matters related to the state of the North in Nigeria.

The meeting adopted the following positions:

i. On escalating violence in the North:

The meeting expressed major concerns of northerners over the seeming inability of the Federal Government to protect the lives and property of citizens. The shocking level of audacity with which the Boko Haram insurgency attacks and kills people, destroys towns and villages and commits unspeakable atrocities calls to question the existence of any political will to fight it, as well as the capacity of our military to successfully defeat it. The absence of any evidence that the federal government is pursuing other options to the current unproductive strategies is also very worrisome. The meeting noted that the failure to implement past reports and recommendations by the federal government and the current levels of anger and hopelessness among the victim populations are alienating entire communities

from the federal government.

The meeting resolved to demand that the federal government improves its capacity to protect citizens in the Northeast and many other parts of the North as the most minimal evidence that it is serious about its responsibilities. The failure to bring about an immediate end to violence in the Northeast and in Benue, Plateau, Nassarawa and

Kaduna States will be interpreted by people of the North as having been abandoned by the federal government. In that event, communities will be left with the only option of taking steps to protect themselves.



Alh. (Dr.) Yusuf Maitama Sule
 Dan Masanin Kano
 Convener, Northern Elders Forum

ii. The meeting expressed its sympathy with communities in the Northeast, and in particular, urges citizens to pray for the end of these damaging attacks on their lives and the return of young females abducted by the insurgents. Similarly, the meeting called on community leaders to work hard to expose those forces behind alleged herdsmen/farmers clashes in many parts of

the North.

iii. **On the Planned National Conference:** The meeting observed that in spite of widespread criticism against the planned National Conference, President Jonathan has decided to organize it. The composition of the delegation to this Conference moreover represents a serious indictment of the administration's claim to organize a Conference

that will address the complex problems of the nation, because it violates all the principles of justice, fairness, inclusiveness and equity. A Conference built on a foundation of injustice and contempt for all known values which should assure all citizens that it is not a design to weaken them will not produce any conclusions that are useful.

The meeting noted that many of the delegates are honourable and patriotic Nigerians who will not lend themselves to a scheme designed to compound our problems as a nation. It noted that many of the delegates share concerns of other Nigerians that the absence of fairness in representation and the possibility that the Conference could be used for the achievement of narrow, damaging interests is not one which should be supported by the presence of many notable, credible and distinguished Nigerians.

The meeting resolved to advise particularly northern delegates to demand that the obvious imbalance in representation between geo-political zones, religious and other interests be redressed before the Conference commences any business. It also advises all delegates to ensure that the Conference agenda is carefully chosen so that issues which may further threaten our peace, security, harmonious co-existence, the 2015 elections or which may offend the provisions of the Constitution are avoided. With regards to decision-making, the meeting advised delegates to seek to achieve full consensus on issues, or submit all positions and opinions to the federal government. Voting on any issue should be avoided, particularly in view of the possibility that majorities are likely to be contrived from the skewed composition of pronounced partisan interests. Finally, the meeting advises all delegates to be true to their consciences, and to withdraw from the Conference as soon as it becomes clear that it will be used to injure the interests of Nigerians.

iv. **On Impunity and Corruption:** The meeting

The meeting expressed its sympathy with communities in the Northeast, and in particular, urges citizens to pray for the end of these damaging attacks on their lives and the return of young females abducted by the insurgents. Similarly, the meeting called on community leaders to work hard to expose those forces behind alleged herdsmen/farmers clashes in many parts of the North.

noted that the absence of transparency in the management of our national resources has reached alarming levels. The endless controversies over missing funds are creating the impression of leaders who do not believe they are accountable to Nigerians anymore. The frustrations of Nigerians over the lack of information regarding the veracity of allegations, such as those of missing \$20b are very worrying. The meeting called on leaders at all levels to be more sensitive to the demands of their offices, particularly the obligations to uphold the rule of law and requirements of honest and accountable leadership.

v. **On the 2015 Elections:** The meeting noted that the 2015 elections will severely challenge the electoral process, given the very high stakes, including the possibility that President Jonathan will be a candidate. In the light of the high expectations of Nigerians that the elections will be credible and peaceful, the meeting called on all politicians to develop the highest levels of tolerance and a willingness to respect the will of the Nigerian people.

The meeting held at Kano on Monday 10th and Tuesday 11th March, 2014.

The Kano Declaration

by the Northern Elders Forum

1. We are Nigerians from the North, who convened the KANO ASSEMBLY on Monday 10th and Tuesday 11th of March, 2014 to discuss the state of the Nigerian nation, particularly the place and future of Northerners in its current disposition and in its future. We adopt this DECLARATION in the firm belief that it represents the essentials of Northern interests....

2. The ASSEMBLY was convened in pursuit of time-tested and honoured values and principles that have guided the perceptions of Northerners in Nigeria since the Amalgamation of 1914, and have determined the manner Northerners contributed to the building of our nation in the last 100 years.

The ASSEMBLY was particularly:

- i. SENSITIVE to the fact that Nigeria has just achieved 100 years of creation as one nation;
- ii. AWARE that Nigeria today faces quite possibly the biggest, cumulative threats to its corporate survival, peace and security since its creation 100 years ago;
- iii. CONCERNED that Nigeria's current leadership appears incapable or unwilling to lead it out of its multiple challenges;
- iv. CONVINCED that our current circumstances as

Nigerians and Northerners demand the highest levels of responsibility and commitment to our national survival, unity and progress from all sections and generations of Nigerians;

v. ENCOURAGED by overwhelming evidence that Nigerians and Northerners need courageous and committed Elders and Leaders to discuss and find solutions to our national problems.

vi. ASSURED that Northerners have no negative issues with any ethnic group in Nigeria, and have, in fact, enjoyed the full support and understanding of all groups and regions on issues the North raised in the interest of the peace and unity of Nigeria; same manner that the North stood by all ethnic groups when they had issues at historic turning points in our national history;

vii. CERTAIN that the problems of the North today are traceable only to inept and insensitive leadership at National and State levels, as well as the failures of other leaders who lack the courage to stand up to them in the interest of the people of the region and Nigeria.

3. Having taken stock of the totality of our circumstances, this ASSEMBLY:

I. APPRECIATED the proud and unparalleled role which the people and leaders of the North played in the growth and development of Nigeria;

ii. NOTED that the current status of the North in the context of the economy and politics of Nigeria is undeserved and unacceptable;

iii. OBSERVED that the combined effects of widespread threats to its security, deliberate efforts to deepen its economic problems and concerted efforts to weaken it further politically pose a grave danger to the North and the rest of Nigeria, west Africa and the entire continent of Africa;

iv. Understands that people of the North have to rediscover the intrinsic value in our cultural and religious pluralism, and discourage the manner they are exploited to weaken the region, while harnessing our diversity to create communities in which every citizen enjoys equal access to opportunities and justice, and lives in a secure environment.

v. RECOGNIZED the fact that the people of the North need to assess all options available to them and adopt strategies and plans that will mitigate their most serious problems themselves.

4. Consequently, this ASSEMBLY resolves to:

i. MOBILIZE the entire people of the North to resist further assaults on our security and political and economic fortunes

ii. SENSITIZE all levels of leadership on their duty to support the legitimate aspirations of Northerners to reverse the trends towards their further marginalization and irrelevance in the context of contemporary Nigeria;

iii. ENCOURAGE all Northerners to intensify the search for peaceful co-existence and sustained security in the region and Nigeria;

iv. PREPARE Northerners to deal with all their challenges, including those which seek to divide them and deepen their insecurity and political impotence;

v. MARSHALL all resources towards improving the capacity of the North to reverse the current trend towards its destruction or permanent incapacitation;

vi. RALLY all Northerners to unite, rediscover and pursue our common goals that include our historic unity, our political and economic development, the

A S S U R E D t h a t Northerners have no negative issues with any ethnic group in Nigeria, and have, in fact, enjoyed the full support and understanding of all groups and regions on issues the North raised in the interest of the peace and unity of Nigeria; same manner that the North stood by all ethnic groups when they had issues at historic turning points in our national history;

strength of our religious, social and moral values and respect for our diversity;

vii. RESTORE hope and faith of Northerners in their capacity and ability to negotiate a better deal in the context of contemporary Nigeria; or in any circumstances which best suit their interests.

5. Now, therefore, this ASSEMBLY DECLARES as follows:

i. The people of the North understand that the on-going challenges to security of life and property in the North represent acts of hostility against the people by leaders who have responsibility to protect them. These intolerable assaults must be stopped by this administration, or another responsible and committed leadership that should emerge in its place.

ii. The rather diabolical, purposive and systematic underdevelopment of Northern economic and social structures by the national leadership and some leaders in the North must be resisted; and policies which deepen inequity, underdevelopment and injustice against the North must be reversed.

iii. Political activities, including elections must respect the will of the people; and further attempts to deprive the North of its rights to benefit fully in the democratic process will be lawfully and firmly resisted;

iv. Unfair and unjust allocation of resources of the nation which deprive the North of its legitimate rights must cease; and

the North must intensify efforts to improve the exploitation and management of its own human and other resources;

v. The National Conference has no constitutional basis, or any form of legitimacy or authority to speak for the people of the North or other Nigerians. Its proceedings, conclusions and recommendations are therefore of no consequence and will not be accepted by the people of the North. The critical issues of national development are fairly well-known and can be incorporated in amendments of the Constitution.

vi. The North must work with other Nigerians to seek more legitimate avenues for discussing the nature and future of the Nigerian nation, including all options which may be negotiated with other Nigerians.

vii. The 2015 elections must be conducted in a peaceful atmosphere throughout the North and the nation; the armed forces and the police must not be abused in the process and the will of the people must prevail. Attempts to intensify insecurity or cause further divisions and violence around faith and ethnic groups in the North should be resisted by Northerners;

viii. The emerging culture of assault on Northerners behind the cover of fears of insecurity as well as the exploitation of their vulnerability in many parts of the South must stop. Northerners must work harder to protect the rights and privileges of all Nigerians from all communities who choose to live and work in the North.

ix. The North must work towards creating unifying political symbols and structures to ensure that the elections of 2015 produce leaders that will do justice to its interests.

Northern Elders Forum
 Kano, March 2014

Report on the Kano Conference On the North and National Conference

By: Prof. Abdullahi Ashafa

Preamble

Ever since President Goodluck Jonathan mooted the idea of a National Dialogue and even set up a Presidential Advisory Committee to that effect, many interest and pressure groups from different parts of the country have been expressing their views regarding the issue. When finally the Presidency announced the date and names of the selected delegates or conferees, to many, it was already clear where the mind and interest of the government were regarding the whole matter.

Sequel to this, a conference was organized by the Northern Elders Forum, one of the many existing fora in the northern part of Nigeria with a stake in the Nigerian Project with support from some Northern Groups. Tagged “The Meeting of Northern Elders and Leaders”, the aim of the conference was to discuss the state of affairs in the North, especially in relation to the escalating insecurity, President Jonathan's National Conference, the build-up to and conduct of the 2015 elections and other matters related to Northern Nigeria. The Northern Elders Forum expanded its platform to include other northern leaders, politicians,

among other coalition of northern groups, to discuss and take some common positions regarding what concerns the North in Nigeria.

Day 1

Opening Ceremony/Welcome Remarks

The leader of the Northern Elders Forum, Professor Ango Abdullahi, made the welcome remarks. He justified the need for the North to come together and agree on a common position regarding the National Conference and many other issues of concern for the North. He remarked that the National Conference 2014 was a kind of deliberate ambush on the north at a time it was been viewed as being incapacitated and helpless in spite of its numerous advantages in size, population and resources as well being a hitherto strong determinant of national politics. He recalled when the despised North of today was once a centre for trade, with an arable land that fed the nation, was an important stakeholder in the Nigerian project, and was the region upon which Nigeria relied on not just for food, security and economic emancipation, but also for political leadership. He called on all northerners to assiduously work hard to ensure that Region

was not short changed by all means possible by its detractors and those who never meant well for the Region and its good people. He thanked all those in attendance for answering the clarion call to Kano.

Remarks

Two people made some remarks, namely: retired AVM Mukhtar Mohammed, *Wazirin Dutse*, Deputy Chairman, Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF) Board of Trustees and leader of the ACF delegation to the conference. The *Wazirin Dutse* expressed delight that the Northern Elders Forum was playing the role it was supposed to play in giving a shining example for other Northern



Dr. Rabiu Musa Kwankwaso
Governor of Kano State

coalition groups to follow. He expressed his optimism that the mammoth crowd that answered the call of the Forum to attend the conference was a positive pointer to the very many good things to come for the North if it speaks with one voice on issues concerning that part of the country. He was equally hopeful that the common reactions of people from the north concerning the National Conference were similar in viewing the conference as unnecessary, diversionary, ill-timed, ill-motivated and shrouded with a hidden agenda aimed at putting the north at further disadvantage at a time that part of the country has been garrisoned and emasculated politically, economically and under security threat. He noted that the Nigerian leadership had no qualms to solving this insecurity proactively and genuinely.

The second remark came from the Chairman of the occasion and Convener, Alhaji (Dr) Yusuf Maitama Sule, *Dan Masanin Kano*, a former Nigerian Permanent Representative at the UN, and elder statesman. He took time to historicize the situation in North in particular and the country in general to the pitiful situation the North now found itself today. He lamented the level of negative changes at the levels of governance and inter-group relations when the north nose-dived from the positive and purposeful grand leadership style of its founding fathers. He reflected with nostalgia the legacy bequeathed

by the founding fathers of Nigeria, especially from the northern part of the country: Alhaji, Sir, Ahmadu Bello, *Sardauna of Sokoto*, Alhaji, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Mallam Aminu Kano and Joseph Tarka, and how today, the north having left power peacefully for Nigerians from other parts of the country in the spirit of unity, inclusiveness and togetherness is now being hunted and left at the mercy of merciless, incompetent, and corrupt bigots as leaders. He decried the state of affairs in the country, most especially in the north and called on all Nigerians to be God-fearing, tolerant, fairly minded and also to eschew all sorts of corruption and impunity for the Nigeria to truly move forward to playing the expected leadership role, which providence has put on it to lead Africa and the entire Black people of the world.

In his speech, the Executive Governor of Kano State, His Excellency, Dr Rabiu Musa Kwankwaso expressed his support for what the conference set to achieve. Represented by the Head of Service of Kano State, he called on all Northerners to get their act together so as to confront the executive irresponsibility being seen at the federal level especially in the manner it was treating Northerners and Northern interest in the scheme of things in the federation. He urged Northerners, regardless of ethnicity and religion to come together and re-enact the cohesion the Region had during the First Republic, if it must get

things done in the right way for this country.

Goodwill Messages

The Borno Elders Forum under the leadership of Ambassador Usman Gaji Galtimari presented the Goodwill Message and read from a prepared text by Zannah Hassan Boguma, *Zanna Boguma of Borno*. The message dwelled on the humanitarian crisis in Borno as a result of the continued wanton killing of innocent citizens by both the insurgent Ahlus Sunnah Lilda'awati Wal Jihad a.k.a. Boko Haram, and members of the Nigerian Armed Forces in the Joint Task Force (JTF) in the North Eastern part of the country. He described a situation where an entire community is wiped out, places of worship destroyed without recourse to even sparing women, children and the elderly as not just condemnable, but barbaric and could not in any way be linked to any religion.

He noted that *“for those of us from Borno, we have been seeing hell; our people are constantly decimated, especially in the last few weeks. Our towns and villages razed, properties destroyed, schools and places of worship burnt, even innocent travelers were not spared....From Kawuri to Izghe, from Konduga to Bama, from Buni-yadi to Mainok, from Shuwa to Madagali and from Mafa to Jankana, all within twenty days, tells you how vulnerable our towns and villages are and how inept the mission to contain the crisis by government.”*

Many people were left in tears when in a emotion laden voice Boguma narrated the state of helplessness and haplessness on one hand of the Borno people, on the other the Nigerian North east geo-political zone when he noted that *“we have to accept that the government has failed in their (sic) responsibility of protecting us, not because it is not capable, but because it lacks the political will to do so. It is therefore paramount upon us as Northerners to start thinking about a way out. We have all it takes to find solutions to our problems”*. This became necessary when he said *“this is when Borno needs you most, it is the time the North realizes that this is not the problem of Borno alone, this is the time for Nigeria to act swiftly...you should not fail them”*.

He concluded that the North has been turned into a war zone; a war that is meaningless and fought behind the shadows. He warned that unless those who were named as supporters, financiers and allies to the Boko Haram were brought to justice, until the Political Boko Haram were apprehended and prosecuted, until the operation to contain this madness is sincerely handled, lives of innocent villagers would continue to be sacrificed.

Keynote Address

The Plenary session was chaired by the Deputy Chairman, Northern Elders Forum, Wantaregh Paul Unongo. The keynote address was delivered by Dr. Hakeem Baba-Ahmed,

the keynote address was entitled: “The North: A Past in the Future.”

The address contextualized the present challenges facing the North in a historical perspective and likened it to the situation in 1953 when the North with a strong and visionary leadership had to decide either to accept immediate self-government to its disadvantages or reject it to a more auspicious time but at the risk of been derided and condemned by other Nigerians. He noted that today's North lacks the leadership type it had sixty years ago to take a stand on the National Conference 2014



Wantaregh Paul Unongo
Deputy Chairman, NEF

and get a nation to respect its position. This situation, it noted became visible under the Presidency of Olusegun Obasanjo from 1999, when the Northern political establishment crumbled and it ceased to determine the direction of political developments in the country, all of which facilitated the coming of President

Goodluck Jonathan who exploited the fault lines of faith and fear in a weakened North to his advantage in the 2011 elections and in convening the National Conference as well as towards the upcoming 2015 elections.

Having made some observations concerning the Conference as the least qualified of all Conferences in Nigeria to discuss any serious issues, Dr. Hakeem Baba-Ahmed further pointed at some fault lines while making some reservations on others; it also noted the emptiness in the expected outcome of the Conference, the likely areas of frictions the Conference would have to battle with in its working. He decried the Conference organizers' conspiracy against the North when it was blackmailed into presenting delegates to attend a Conference designed against all indices of fairness and justice and as a mere spectator, whose delegates were to enter a ring with one hand tied behind their back and whose only advantage were perhaps the few millions in allowances and three months in comfortable hotels away from the plight of their people.

A 5-man Panel of discussants followed Baba-Ahmed's presentation, namely Prof. Auwalu Yadudu a former Legal Adviser to former Head of State, Gen. Sani Abacha; Dr Abubakar Siddique Mohammed a member of the Presidential Advisory Committee on the National Dialogue; Barrister Solomon Dalung a public analyst; Malam

Garbadeen Mohammed, former President of the National Union of Journalists and Alhaji Buba Galadima, a politician. Almost all of these discussants seemed to agree that the National Conference looked both vertically and horizontally as a waste of time and resources and it was unconstitutional.

The Second Panel with the theme “*The Security Challenges in the North*” came after the Tea Break and was chaired by AVM Mohammed Al-Amin Daggash, former Chief of Defence Staff. Five people made presentations, namely: Abubakar Tsav a retired Commissioner of Police, His Excellency, Muhammadu Goni, former Governor of old Borno State during the Second Republic; Barrister Rhoda Ako, Civil Society activist; Gen. A.M. Jibril (rtd) and retired Maj. Gen. Mohammed Maina who was the GOC 3rd Division Jos under whose command the various peace efforts in Jos and the North east were carried out.

The common currency running from these presenters was that the security situation in the North was more than what meets the eyes. To them, apart from the lack of political will, much as the military and other members of the JTFs and their commanders were doing their best to contain the situation, there were some apparent strategic and logistical problems, which the governments had not done much to address in spite of the very many requests in that regard. Barrister Ako, whose activities in the crisis ridden North-east

took her many times to Borno narrated the sordid humanitarian situation in Borno each time she visited the victims, especially as it affected women and children. In positing that the security situation in the North could not be explain from the linear and well-beaten Boko Haram and Fulani narrative, she cited the example in Benue State where some alleged 'Fulani herdsmen' visited the village of Elder Paul Unongo in military uniforms for reasons not yet understood before they were apprehended by youth in the village and when a request was made, the suspects were transferred to Makurdi, the Benue State capital, supposedly, for further investigations, which had not been heard since then. She noted that what was more frightening about the incident was that neither of these purported Fulani looked like Fulani nor could they speak a single Fulfulde language. But surprisingly, thereafter, a troop of soldiers from Taraba State reportedly came to search for arms and ammunition in the village, instead of providing security cover to the defenseless villagers. At this level, Paul Unongo interjected to give a graphic description of what really happened in his village regarding the alleged Fulani. To him, the Tiv had been living in peace with the Fulani, citing himself as a product of that peaceful co-existence, having been born of a Tiv father and a Fulani woman. He argued that some have targeted the North for destruction from within instead of waging an open war. He was said to have been taken aback

when the suspected Fulani that came to his village could not even reply his greetings of *walijam* (good morning) in Fulfulde. Unongo was of the opinion that those holding power in Nigeria were misusing and misdirecting it against the North and that the situation in Benue State with regard to the so-called Tiv/Fulani conflicts was only been foisted to dismember the North from within.

DAY2

On the second day of the conference, which was held at Afficent Center, along Sultan Road, Kano, the Kano Declaration was read and it was followed by a presentation by the ARDP, which was made by its convener, Dr Usman Bugaje. Tagged “The North and the Challenges of Development” Dr Bugaje's presentation was a summary of what the ARDP had been doing since its first conference on ‘The North and Strategies for Sustainable Development’ held at Arewa House in December 2012 and the efforts being made to bring a compendium out of it entitled *The Northern Development Agenda*.

He narrated the beautiful findings by scholars who presented papers that the North has all it takes to be a major world economic player than the renter economy based on oil, which other Nigerians were using to blackmail it. The North, he noted, beyond rhetoric,

and on the basis of factual and scholarly evidences, also has oil and gas in large quantity among other extractive minerals as well as agro-allied resources that were sources of foreign exchange far greater than oil, but would only need time and good strategic planning to get attain that level. He however debunked the misleading contention that administrative states within Nigeria rather than the larger Nigeria State own resources found in their areas, arguing that the onshore/offshore dichotomy as ruled by the Nigeria Supreme Court, should have been a settled matter, yet detractors, with empty intellectual capacity keep harping on unconstitutional and illegitimate categorization of some states who never contributed a dime in neither exploration nor production, still refer to themselves as 'oil producing' and therefore 'owners of oil resources' to intimidate other Nigerians. The conclusion was that the ARDP document would provide the North with a window for the future on how to remain focus and relevant to Africa and the world, without either Nigeria as it is or without its oil resources.

In relation to the planned National Conference, ARDP circulated its well written and intellectually articulated position in a well packaged pack that contained among others, previous editions of its Newsletters as well as reports of the December 2013 Stakeholders Conference and table of contents of the ongoing

book on the *Northern Development Agenda*.

The second presentation of the day was made by Professor Ango Abdullahi, entitled "Why the North Needs Political Direction". Professor Ango argued that whatever direction the North would have, would be meaningless without the beautiful work the ARDP was doing in bringing its "must-use" book on the *Development Agenda for the North*. He commended the ARDP for all it was doing and encouraged it to do more and remain focus without distraction; he even placed ARDP at a comparatively higher pedestal than any of the existing groups working for the North. To him, the future of the North, its relevance within the Nigerian state, as well as the determinant of what its people and economy produce, would all depend on how the North factored or misuses the ARDP's Development Agenda, which would also provide the platform for any meaningful political direction the North would have for itself. He reiterated the need for Northern cohesion and chided those who selfishly appeared anti-North by mortgaging their conscience and eroding their little reputation for the crumbs falling under the table of those currently on power, forgetting that after all, power is transient and alluding.

The third presentation was by Dr Yima Sen on "Managing Pluralism in the North." Dr Sen argued that the plurality of the North is both its strength and

He noted that "for those of us from Borno, we have been seeing hell; our people are constantly decimated, especially in the last few weeks. Our towns and villages razed, properties destroyed, schools and places of worship burnt, even innocent travelers were not spared....From Kawuri to Izghe, from Konduga to Bama, from Buni-yadi to Mainok, from Shuwa to Madagali and from Mafa to Jankana, all within twenty days, tells you how vulnerable our towns and villages are and how inept the mission to contain the crisis by government".

weakness, but that efforts must be consciously made to convert latter into the former. This, he said, would be achieved only when Northerners understood and appreciated the serious challenges they were being confronted with. He urged Northerners never to give the breathing space for its detractors to explore against it.

In between all these presentations, as it happened the previous day, time was allotted for exhaustive discussion and input. Many northern interest groups were allowed ample time to express themselves, from which variety of opinions were expressed and polemical positions were canvassed, but at the end of it all, common positions were taken that were captured in the communiqué.

The Vote of Thanks was said by Retired General Paul Tarfa and the Conference was closed.

The conference held at Tahir Hotel, Kano on March 10-11, 2014

FOR THE RECORD

Being an Interview with the late Rev. Vongen Gambo Sanda on the Leadership Qualities of the late Sir Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto

Question: *What was your impression of who the Sardauna was before you met him and how did that compare with your later knowledge of him?*

Answer: I met him upon my return from the School of Agriculture in Ibadan. It was the time when movement for the independence of Nigeria was gathering momentum. I remember 1950 when Sarkin Zazzau made one of his most memorable speeches when he said: 'If southerners say Nigeria must be granted independence now, the north will secede and the route for the export of our groundnut and cotton shall be through the Sahara instead of the sea'. We were left in wonder of how that could be possible but, of course, we knew it was politics. It was during this time period that I began to hear of the Sardauna's name amongst the northern politicians.

I got to meet the Sardauna when I started work. Although those not in mainstream administration rarely interact with leaders, our opportunity normally comes when they come to the fields on visits. I specifically remember when I was in Kafin Soli and Sardauna was the Premier. On his tour to Dutsin-Ma they ate breakfast in my house (though they brought



Sir Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto

their food along). I arranged chairs for them to sit but was surprised that they preferred mats. I said to myself what sort of people in authority do we have? Anyway, that was when I was introduced to him. But since then, whenever we met he called me by my name. That was my first surprise with him - he doesn't forget people. Each time we met he was fond of saying to

me: why don't we see you? I will reply that it is because our job is out in the field (*laughter*). I never ceased to be surprised about how he doesn't forget people.

Question: *You specialized in agriculture and Nigeria's highest source of revenue was from it, what was his attention to the sector?*

Answer: Sardauna gave agriculture adequate attention. I told you that he was going to Dutsin-Ma on official visit but had to stop by Kafin Soli, which was a small settlement. His interest was the agricultural set up there. Aside from this, when I was at Samaru, I was aware of the efforts made by his government to improve the services rendered by the ministry of agriculture. They were giving money for capital as well as agricultural projects. When I was in Kaduna my job schedule was to do with agricultural extension services across the region so I was going round to all areas. That made me to appreciate what his government did to the agricultural sector. Tea and coffee production in Mambilla and Kabba were made possible through the efforts of his government. Groundnut pyramids and cotton were largely produced. And if the lip-support that is currently propagated is backed by similar action of Sardauna era, the story would have been different. We have now forgotten agriculture for oil.

Question: *Are there existing agricultural projects that were introduced since Sardauna's time?*

Answer: Specifically, I can talk of Samaru and Langtang South. We used to have demonstration farms in the areas to show them how to use new seed varieties and fertilizer. We select some farmers' plots and demonstrate so as to bring other farmers to see for themselves. That is how agriculture was boosted in the

north, which led to every farmer knowing fertilizer and its uses. And new variety of crops being planted now replaced the old ones our farmers were using that time. Some northern farmers did not use the sorghum or the rice they are planting now. Research and farming techniques introduced also helped in revolutionizing the way farmers work. Livestock production was also uplifted through the establishment of the Veterinary Research Institute in Vom (Plateau State). Livestock vaccines are formulated there also. Our people have learnt the job. All these are results of the Sardauna's period.

I got to meet the Sardauna when I started work. Although those not in mainstream administration rarely interact with leaders, our opportunity normally comes when they come to the fields on visits.

Question: *Your view is that if leadership does not have much to do with the sector of agriculture then it is not in tune with the needs of the north?*

Answer: Because it is said that majority of Nigerians are rural dwellers that are essentially farmers. So any administration that concentrates in spending money within urban centres without taking care of the rural areas where the bulk of our food is produced, then we shall contend with food import bills. Naira has greatly devalued, so if

we rely on importing food, we may end up not eating. Present government must refer back to what was done before so that they can learn to cater for agriculture; provide the farmer with his requirements; think of subsidy where possible as that is what America does to excel in agriculture. Government should create produce-purchasing programme from farmers in such a way that they can become sustained on the business.

Question: *Do you know anything of Sardauna that demonstrated, in practical terms, his commitment to agriculture?*

Answer: What I can recall is that he laid a lot of emphasis on staff training. I know this because of my involvement. They were sponsoring us for studies in the south and overseas. At that time people were not interested in blue collar jobs so agriculture, technical jobs were unattractive to them. The government made our salaries higher than those on white collar jobs. That was how many people joined us. They equally made funds available for importation of crop varieties that were researched upon at Samaru before pushed to the farmers through extension services. I doubt if such things are still done. Many research results are been withheld without putting them to use because funds are not available to release them through the extension services.

Question: *Sardauna was known to have operated demonstration farms; what logic do you think informed this?*

Answer: The logic of operating his own farms in Sokoto area was to show example that it could be done. He also demonstrated to northern wealthy men that they could establish large-scale farms that could be profitable and assist in developing the north. Although rumour circulated that Sardauna had used public funds to establish a farm, after his death those behind the rumour were proved wrong. We that worked with him knew that he didn't embezzle any public funds. The farm was established for demonstration purpose. It was turned to a learning institution on irrigation after his death. Many people copied him though I cannot say the level of success recorded.

Question: *If we digress from your agricultural sector, how would you assess his leadership and his achievements thereof?*

Answer: What I can recall within my career in the civil service of his period is that he worked hard to make us understand that northerners must strive to establish themselves within the scheme of Nigeria's nationhood. He succeeded in motivating us to take up federal appointments. He also tried in uniting the north to stand as an entity. Although we knew that he did so out of the love he had for the people, we were equally suspecting that politics would not allow what he was doing to endure. It was politics that eventually brought about the division of the country into states with the north fragmented to six. Though this was not done with the intention

of dividing people, it resulted in segmenting their thoughts and actions. The government meant to ensure that Nigeria remained as one arising from the Biafran succession bid. In Sardauna's time there is no corner of the north that he had not visited, even though some people were saying that he was going round to propagate Islam, we knew that as a Muslim, he had the right to practice his religion and everybody was doing his. Nonetheless, what he did administratively was by far greater for the north. Let me give an example with my area - Langtang. Before we got a division, it was by his personal intervention and efforts. That was how Norlan Division was made into Langtang, Wase and Shendam. The ministers from our area were against it but he forced it upon them. Secondly, I remember when I was at the government's farm in Langtang South when it was Norlan Division, the minister from my area branded me as the one politicking in agriculture and I never knew anything of such. And those that know me in Kaduna knew that I was not a politician. This campaign was aimed at hampering my promotion but when I wrote my explanations to the Premier's office, he again authorized that my promotion be given to me and he had me transferred to Abuja area. The whole issue arose from my refusal to serve as returning officer during elections. I can't forget Sardauna for showing his understanding of the situation. When we had cause to meet later he asked me: "ka bar siyasar? (Have you stopped politicking?) To which I

replied: "Dama ban yi ba," (I never did). (Laughter).

Question: *So you crack jokes with him?*

Answer: Yes, we used to. He was an amiable person. If he comes to the Plateau on tour, we used to go and greet him, and there is no way that he wouldn't call everyone by name.

Question: *If you want to remember Ahmadu what aspects of him do you think of?*

Answer: Well, I don't call him Ahmadu (laughter) and we didn't go to school together - he was my leader. How I knew him was as Sir Ahmadu Bello. He was a person that the north and indeed the whole nation are really proud of. He had done things worthy of praise. He held this nation together even though southerners view him as lover of the north only. But if he had not done all that he did for the north, Nigeria wouldn't have been what it is today. He uplifted the north to fare well to the point that all regions treated each other with mutual respect. That is the way I saw it. And he was in love with the people and the whole nation; there was no partiality in the manner of his administration. He didn't accumulate wealth as our present leaders do. There were many accusations of embezzlement against him but it proved otherwise upon his death. Many of us have learnt to be upright from him.

Question: *If there has been another Sardauna in the north, who would you say it is?*

Answer: It is absolutely difficult. There are many people that are at par with him that I cannot isolate and call one of them.

Question: *Reverend you have made reference to Sardauna's fairness.*

Answer: Sardauna as an individual was impartial. It is said that: "*ba'a mugun sarki sai mugun bafade*" (no wicked ruler only wicked confidants). We look at things from two main perspectives - political and religious. Perhaps he had given Muslims things that we non-Muslims lacked. However, I don't blame him. Politically, some of us were not pushy as others. Owing to where we come from, we do get aligned with others to share in their blames or faults. An example is what I had given in respect of my promotion. These sorts of things rubbed on us but I am totally exonerating Sir Ahmadu Bello.

Question: *This may explain why people are of the belief that the north never had someone like him up to now.*

Answer: What you said is absolutely right. What can be said about him and those behind him is that there are some of them that are good. Each of them has displayed his capabilities according but I have not seen someone I can favourably compare to him. I would rather stop at that (*laughter*).

Question: *Are there any physical projects that you see around to remind you of Sardauna?*

Answer: I will specifically mention top northern people that had served the north and Nigeria. They were propped up by Sardauna to reach high positions. A lot of scholarships were given that boosted the number of northern educated persons. Then Ahmadu Bello University if it were called any other name it wouldn't have been apt. The way he pumped in money into the project; trained many northerners; placed them to serve the nation, surely made him to deserve the honour. This trend still continues even though the institution has been taken over by the federal government.

Question: *Can you recall how you felt about the coup and death of Sir Ahmadu Bello?*

Answer: We became solemn. I was then in Kaduna near Hamdala Hotel. We heard gun shots in the night and when we reported to work, the next day, we all stood outside of our offices. That was how the news was broken to us. We all went back to our respective homes and for the whole week we were all restive. Government was given accounts different from the rumours circulating in town. We were extremely sad. We later got to hear the real story. We acknowledged the tragic loss we had suffered, but are yet to get over the shock.

Question: *What steps do you think we can take towards restoring the glory days of the past?*

Answer: The problem is that the changes needed even if we bring them forward youth don't take

advice. We are in position to let them know how things were done but whenever we tell them; they will say it has become history. This is specifically true as it relates to government business; one only needs to visit offices now to see what is being done in the name of work. There are no working materials and no money, but where is the money going to? The mindset of people has equally gone berserk; people are behaving as if they are not human. When you question the person he will be wondering because he's not likely to see what he's doing as bad. I do not know what level of damage repair that is needed towards restoring the better life of before. I do not know who will get into government to straighten things up. If one is given government money for a project, he will pocket everything and nothing will be seen. Or if the job is done, it will be of about 20% value of the money collected. So everybody is after money now. During Sardauna's era it is one's being a civil servant that is a pride. Such a staff is governed by even the kind of gifts he could receive from a government

When I was in Kaduna my job schedule was to do with agricultural extension services across the region so I was going round to all areas. That made me to appreciate what his government did to the agricultural sector.

contractor i.e. don't collect gifts before rendering the service expected of you. But today gratification comes first. Hence I cannot see how this can be discouraged unless if we are subjected to an extreme hardship that will compel us to concede that change is necessary.

Question: *Sardauna introduced the inter-generational method of working together between old and young, don't you think that this is a strategy that can be of help?*

Answer: This could be all right but you can only see such a strategy at work in the federal service and may be some southern state governments. But in the north if the governor is a youth, all his cabinet will be of his age group. This is the pattern I see in the north. It is so bad that northern candidates for elections are so young while their southern candidates may be retired professors, judges and the like. I am not saying that they are better in administration but the wisdom put into the process will certainly differ. If my group attempts to offer advice those in leadership will say that was before. Is our past dead?

Question: *Let me refer you back to where you discussed some aspects of Sardauna's attitude towards non-Muslims. Do you have any particular example to express his fairness in dealing with religious issues?*

Answer: I cannot recall anything in particular. But I know that Muslims were going

What I can recall is that he laid a lot of emphasis on staff training. I know this because of my involvement. They were sponsoring us for studies in the south and overseas. At that time people were not interested in blue collar jobs so agriculture, technical jobs were unattractive to them.

on pilgrimage to Mecca and Christians begun to peddle rumours that government funds were used to assist them. The government came out to state that if Christians wish to go on pilgrimage, they were free to do so. And that government extends assistance to every of its citizens once he is off shore because it wasn't for religious reasons that the government offered help to pilgrims. Though this arrangement has now been bastardised. My opinion on this is that government should have no reason to expend public funds to pay towards an individual's pilgrimage because I doubt if any of the two religious said this could be done. It is; however, fair to sponsor welfare officers that will help the pilgrims while on the pilgrimage. During Sardauna's era attempt was made to sponsor people using public funds but he retracted when Christians began to complain but now this is being done.

Question: *Reverend Sanda have you ever-collected gifts*

from Sardauna?

Answer: I have never been close enough to him to do so (*laughter*).

Question: *Any final thoughts on our discussions so far?*

Answer: I am offering prayer to us that have outlived Sir Ahmadu Bello. May we work towards emulating his habits and the manner with which he conducted his life. We should improve our way of life; have the feeling of their nation at heart; do away with selfishness, love of money and the quest for material acquisition. Sir Ahmadu Bello never held these as values worthy of pursuit. His life was exemplary and we should follow it. These are things we do in honour of his remembrance but if we deviate from them, then we have forgotten him.

Question: *Sir, we thank you.*

Answer: Thank you as well.

This interview was conducted in 1995 by Mal. Abdulkarim M o h a m m e d , MD Moving Image Ltd. Kano.

FOR THE RECORD

**Being an Interview with Alhaji Aliyu Magajin Garin Sokoto
 on the Leadership Qualities of the late Sir Ahmadu Bello,
 Sarkauna of Sokoto**

Question: *When did you get to know the late Sarkauna?*

Answer: I knew him since 1932. I was then in college while he was teaching, I was with him through to when he became the District Head of Rabah, Sarkauna of Sokoto and so on. I was always with him on his trips to the Middle Eastern countries. Wherever there was something to be gained, he had created opportunities for us.

Question: *What are some of the qualities you know of him?*

Answer: He adhered to keeping to time and he wanted things to be done as per rules and regulations. At that time we didn't know corruption as it now exists (*laughs*). When I returned home after the coup I came back



Alhaji Aliyu Magajin Garin Sokoto

with nothing. Sarkauna was hard working and he propagated Islam. I know of Gwoza where people were going about naked but he tried in converting them to Islam and he introduced dressing to them. He was deeply interested in relating with people and he had the fear of God in him. He was never known to retaliate what was done to him with malice or wickedness. He will instead reciprocate with good deeds. These are the few things that I know of him.

Question: *Sir, you first met the Sarkauna in 1932 but before then did you hear news of him?*

Answer: It wasn't news of him but he was my teacher. I was among the students that were running errands for him as well as doing his domestic chores. So it was not news of him but I knew him well.

Question: *I mean before 1932 did you hear anything of him?*

Answer: Well, then I didn't know him but I was aware that he was the fives captain at Katsina College. The game was his hobby up to when he became Premier. That is why the fives courts were located behind his house.

Question: *Can you recall what attracted you to him back in 1932?*

Answer: He was teaching me and you know that time each teacher had students that assist him do things for him at home.

Question: *What did you realize that if you did for him he was happy with?*

Answer: The school of those days differs from what it is now. A student then had no hero beyond his teacher. So whatever the teacher desired is what the student does, and honestly too.

Question: *What was the discussion about Sarkauna as a teacher around the circle of students?*

Answer: He was a teacher interested in jokes and games. He was even the games master. He takes us to picnics to Wurno, Tsagel, Gwadabawa and the rest.

Question: *What sort of culture was he trying to imbibe in you by taking you to picnics?*

Answer: Getting into the school system was itself imbibing its own culture. You must be obedient and well behaved towards your teacher, leaders, seniors and elders.

Question: *Have you had cause to work with him?*

Answer: That did not happen until when politics was

introduced. It was then that we worked together administratively. He became minister of works; of local government; and Premier of Northern Region. That is what I know at the time.

Question: *You have been mentioned as the link between him and any matter that arose for him to attend to in Sokoto, is that true?*

Answer: Yes - all I know is that before I was assigned to Kano, I was the chairman of the

Provincial Council in Sokoto which has connection with the politics in Kaduna.

Question: *What were the responsibilities of that job?*

Answer: Opinion leaders from Birnin Kebbi, Yauri and Argungu including members of the House of Assembly were been assembled quarterly so as to generate ideas and synthesize them into inputs; that was how the growth forum was created and we used to rotate the sitting amongst the places.

Question: *What projects can you think of that were carried out as a result of the forum's intervention?*

Answer: The greatest thing being done was sensitising people towards peace and helping one another. The business community were encouraged to take up business opportunities from anywhere in the world. Teachers and *Ulamas* were made to appreciate how compelling it was for them to educate the people, young and old; women and children. They were made aware of how noble their responsibilities were. Sardauna, had attended some of the sessions and he had delegated his ministers to attend so as to demonstrate the significance of the needs to all the concerned groups.

Question: *What can you say is the success of all these efforts?*

Answer: The biggest success was that all persons residing from Gwoza to Muri embraced Sardauna's idea of dressing themselves up as against going about nakedly. And they embraced Islam. It was pleasing to me to have seen that when I was sent on a mission to the area to appeal for calm following the assassination of Sardauna, I was overwhelmed with joy to have noticed the change in the people.

Question: *Can you recall any physical thing that you have noticed in the course of your travelling round the region, which made you feel good to have shared its success with Sardauna?*



SIR AHMADU BELLO
 SARDUNAN OF SOKOTO

Answer: That is what I told you earlier - that is succeeding in convincing people to pick up dressing culture and Islam as a new way of life. This was what greatly fascinated me.

Question: *You have said that you were always in Sardauna's entourage during his Middle Eastern trips, what were his activities in those trips?*

Answer: He was going round to meet people and develop person-to-person relationships with them. Jordan, Kuwait, Beirut, Saudi Arabia and the like had been visited by him. Any place of Islamic historical visit, he had visited and worshipped there in the course of these trips.

Question: *What prayer do you think he had in mind?*

Answer: Of course there is no prayer ahead of begging from Allah. For Allah knows whatever he wanted, expressed and inwardly. Generally, the Muslim prays for peace, provision of quality life both in this world and in the hereafter. And I believe every sensible person cannot go beyond this (laughter).

Question: *Sardauna had been adjudged as an extremely generous man. People were even saying that his earnings couldn't match his generosity. So they wondered what his source of money was?*

Answer: Even now, if a leader play host to some visitors, he is expected to accommodate, feed and give them parting gifts. Sardauna will be giving such

gifts, but he was not known to carry them for his personal use. He will give them out. He used to carry gifts of lion skins and similar items to the leaders.

Question: *How was he getting the money to do all these things and more?*

Answer: You cannot limit clothing material from Allah because he was generous; God continued to provide for him. He even went to a King; he gave him gifts including the wives.

Question: *You said you were Provincial Commissioner in Kano and you were there when a chance presented itself for a new emir to be selected. People thought the Sardauna was known for interference in such matter, he had candidates... (Laughter)*

Answer: That is quite true. People had been saying to me why didn't I take Sardauna's interest into consideration? My response was: "he didn't say anything to me". His stand was whoever the people wanted was his choice. So that there can be peace. He didn't over ride this with his personal relationship to somebody (laughter).

I was always with him on his trips to the Middle Eastern countries. Wherever there was something to be gained, he had created opportunities for us.

Question: *So it was true that he didn't attempt to influence the selection?*

Answer: He never spoke to me on somebody. He wanted the king-makers to be allowed to do their job. He didn't even come to Kano until after selection was done. And he didn't offer any advice to me as to what I needed to do at that time.

Question: *This is a very good lesson for leaders. They should learn to have public interest overriding their own. Are there similar examples you can recall?*

Answer: This is an injunction from God. It is not human wisdom. You are aware that if one pays money to be made an emir, alkali (judge) or leader, he shouldn't be given. This is Shari'a. If people adhere to this injunction, the leader and the led will enjoy the tenure blissfully.

Question: *If the younger generation wishes to know Sardauna, what information will you give them in this respect?*

Answer: What I know is that whichever country Sardauna visited whether European or Arab, it pained him to see a northerner dressing in foreign clothing at the expense of his own. He wanted everybody to dress in his traditional attire of the north provided you are among those to welcome him in the foreign country. I am absolutely sure that Sardauna will wear turban dyed in Sokoto with trousers made in Kano to meet with the queen of England.

Question: *What point was he making?*

Answer: That is it! One should uphold his own culture of heritage because it is where his pride lies. Borrowing alien culture is defeating one's own. Sardauna was quick to notice that the whites never embraced our mode of dressing as a result of their being with the Arab and likewise us. But our people are crazy about abandoning what we have for others!

Question: *There was mention of Princess Alexandria's visit to Sokoto when Sardauna ordered that she should be served with northern Nigerian meals.*

Answer: Yes. What was done to her was no exception to what was done to dignitaries on a visit here. It was Hausa food that he (Sardauna) was used to that was taken to serve his visitors. And it was what Princess Alexandria was served. He was a man who never looked down on what he had inherited and he was not keen about embracing alien culture with the exception of Islamic culture.

Question: *What would you say about how he related with non-Muslims?*

Answer: People like Michael Audu Buba and Peter Achimugu were as anyone of us to him. There was no difference amongst us.

Question: *How do you think we deviated from that posture which he had wanted to imbibe in us?*

Answer: We opted out for the principle of everyone for himself, God for us all. In other words we became selfish and self-centred. Everyone wants to go back to champion a local cause so as to grab a position for himself. This was not so in the old northern region which has now been divided physically and mentally. This has brought separation in real terms, which does not augur well for harmonious living.

Question: *If we are to gain back the glorious past, what do you think we need to do?*

The greatest thing being done was sensitising people towards peace and helping one another. The business community were encouraged to take up business opportunities from anywhere in the world.

Answer: Well, there was one elder Umar Giwa who said that he is going to the Queen of England to urge her to please come back and take over (*laughter*) because her reign was more peaceful.

Question: *Is that your opinion as well?*

Answer: No, it is his own opinion being an elderly person (*laughter*)

Question: *What can you say about Sardauna's efforts in propagating political awareness and education in the north?*

Answer: He certainly encountered a lot of difficulties. Many people became his enemies for championing the struggle for the northerner to measure up to national standards in all aspects. He worked towards developing the northerners to becoming District Officers, Agricultural Officers up to the post of Governor, Sir Kashim Ibrahim and Sir Muhammadu Sanusi were those to attain the highest level office. Sardauna ensured that the north had everything and knew how to do things well.

Question: *It is his standpoint on the north that made people to think he was not a nationalist - what do you think of that?*

Answer: It wasn't that he preferred the north to Nigeria. What he wanted was to beef up the development of the north to catch up with the south by all means necessary. That was his target. He wanted Nigeria but with equity between the south and the north.

Question: *What was the strategy he adopted to achieve for the north what he wanted?*

Answer: A good example is on the education sector. He actively engaged people across the board: members of the ruling houses, the rich and the poor to enroll in schools, the army, police and so on. There was apathy towards doing things like

these but he discouraged it. People embraced his ideas and today they are the better for it. Teachers were drafted to teach adults and the young up to the point when the number of educated persons rose significantly. People like Abubakar Gumi and Halliru Binji were made to rise to very high positions and repute. This was Sardauna's vision of how the north should produce people that can participate, on equal terms, within the Nigerian nation. This does not in any way mean that he was against the nation.

Question: *What was Sardauna's focus on developing the trade and industry sector?*

Answer: He had businessmen that were part of his audience whom he was constantly informing about new trade and industry opportunities. He will intimate them of what he had seen elsewhere and what they needed to do so as to develop their scope of business. Their growth, as he was seeing it, was to the advantage of the north.

Question: *Beside Bank of the North Limited, are there other business enhancing institutions that you know he had established?*

Answer: There is the Cement Company of Northern Nigeria here in Sokoto, Ahmadu Bello University in Zaria and many others. They are set up to develop the north.

Question: *If you think Sardauna, what thought comes to your mind?*

Answer: I normally think of him in terms of how he developed the north; propagation of Islam and how he respected other nations. He was able, through his visitations, to draw attention of the rest of the world to Nigeria.

Question: *Do you think there is anybody that can serve as the replacement of Sardauna since his death?*

Answer: There is one singer who said: "Yanzu a kawo wani kama tai" (let us produce someone like him). (Laugh). This is enough for you. It is not likely that we can get someone like him who has no want for himself but for the people. It is really unlikely. Leaders now own multiple numbers of houses

and cars. Sardauna died and left nothing behind except for one house here in Sokoto.

Question: *We are in need of someone like him. So what are the conditions that can produce such a person for us?*

Answer: It is just not possible to get someone like him because no one can serve people for the sake of God, without being selfish, hence it would remain an impossible task. Yet, God is capable of doing anything.

Question: *Sir, do you have any final remarks?*

Answer: We should pray that Allah grant Sardauna an eternal rest in 'aljannah'

Question: *Thank you very much.*

Answer: We are grateful too

This interview was conducted in 1995 by Mal. Abdulkarim Mohammed, MD Moving Image Ltd. Kano.

One should uphold his own culture of heritage because it is where his pride lies. Borrowing alien culture is defeating one's own. Sardauna was quick to notice that the whites never embraced our mode of dressing as a result of their being with the Arab and likewise us. But our people are crazy about abandoning what we have for others!



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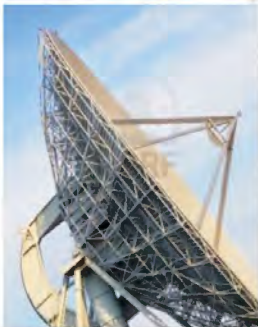
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