THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONALIST THOUGHT AND NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS IN NORTHERN NIGERIA, 1939 - 1954

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A thesis submitted to the Postgraduate School, Ahmadu Bello University, in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in Political Science.

September, 1988

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THE FORMATION AND CONSULIDATION OF NATIONAL MOVEMENTS -

CHAPTER ELEVEN THE POLITICAL PARTIES

FIRST PHASE:

INTRODUCTION

Most African scholars who specialise in the study of Political Parties and especially African Political Parties are not agreed on the classificatory systems of political parties. While some authors such as Sigmund Neumann and Duveger analysed political parties in general, others such as Thomas Hodgkin, Schachter-Morgenthau, Post, Sklar, and Dudley deal exclusively with African, West African and particularly Nigerian politcal parties. These authors identified the following as the bases for distinguising one party from the other: (i) recruitment (ii) finance/structure and (iii) function. the terms "mass and patron" parties were used by Hodgkin to differentiate parties which recruit individual members from those who have a natural constituency among the ruling class. The differentiation can also imply differences in ideology between the two types of parties.[1]

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1. Hodgkin, Thomas, Nationalism in colonial Africa and African Political Parties by the same author; Duverger, M. Political Parties, translated by Barbara and Robert North, Methuen, London 1964; Schacter-Morgenthau R. Single Party systems in West Africa; The American Political Science Review Vol. 55, No. 2, June 1961; Post, K. W. J. Nigerian Federal Elections in 1959, London; Shlar, R. Nigerian Political Parties Power in an Emergent African Nationa NOK, Publishers, Enugu, 1983. Neumann, S. 'Towards a Compartive Study of Political parties' (in S. Newmann (ed). Modern Political Parties - ; Dudley B. J. Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria, - op.cit.

PARTY CLASSIFICATION

Maurice Duverger, on his own part - emphasises finance and structure as a distinguishing factor between parties. He thus emphasises membership and the nature of raising funds for the smooth running of the organisation.[2] Where the membership is levied some amount as subscription and collected and utilised for a definite party objective, especially political education or campaign for election, this party differs from that which depends to a large extent on a few individual patrons who finance party and can therefore control its activities. From the nature of funding of parties, the leadership structure or influence can easily be determined. Where funds are raised from the generality of memberships as in the case of the former, the leadership is more likely to be democratically elected by the membership; in the latter example, the converse is likely to be the case.[3]

Where function is used to distinguish parties as advanced by Neumann, the parties are either of "individual representation" or "parties of social integration." The latter has been given a sub-tyte, "parties of total integration." Both Sklar and Schacter-Morgenthau applied Neumann's system.[4]

Dudley, however, finds the terms and classificatory systems used by these writers both "inadequate and inappropriate". He found the symplified system of classification which is, in principle, based on type of membership/structure or ideology less objectionable.

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2. Duverger, Maurice, Political Parties op.cit pp. 63-64.

3. Dudley, op.cit, p. 302; Sklar R. op.cit, pp - 474-494, Passim

4. Ibid - p. 301.

Parties according to him should be categorised in the tradition of Max Weber simply as "status parties" (i.e. those representing the ruling elite either by power or wealth) as represented by the NPC and mass parties as represented by the UMBC, NCNC and NEPU as "mass parties." Dudley however, failed to elucidate on what grounds such parties should be so categorised.

The NPC from inception to its demise, clearly demonstrated its link with the traditional rulers who were appointed as patrons of their local branches and the elected leadership were chosen from the ruling aristocracy even when a clear choice from the "non-status" family was available.[5] The NCNC membership of the mass party category is not clear cut. While in some parts of the country it drew its support from non-status individaul or group membership where this dichotomy exists (Nothern and Western Nigeria) the same was not true in the case of the Eastern Region (where the NCNC had its main base) where status is determined less by the traditional power structure but more by the material possession of the individual.[6] On the whole , Dudley's Scheme is practical and operationally tidy.[7]

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5. See the section on the Northern Peoples Congress p - infra

6. The NEPU base structurally heirachical is largely in Hausa Fualni communities within and outside Northern Nigeria and membership largely drawn from the talaka - or commoners Jalingo, Ahmed Usman, The Radical Tradition in Northern Nigeria op.cit;

7. Dudley, Ibid, pp. 301-303.
In latter phase of the NCNC the party became restricted to Eastern part of the country. the Ibo's from where the party obtains its greatest support do not have centralised systems and as such status differentiation differs; the same with the UMBC whose support base is similar to that of the Ibo in terms of power structures - Middleton J, and Tait D. (editors) - Tribes Without Rulers, Humanities Press, NY, pp. 33-67.

In the following pages we would trace the formation of parties which can be conveniently classified as 'status' and 'mass' parties within reasonable limit of the definition of these terms. The NPC, for instance represented status both in its traditional and modern context since there is class convergence between those who were of royal origin and those who acquired modern education (intellectuals). On top of them, the Emirs and Chiefs who were coopted to serve as the patrons of the party. Even those who bestow legitimacy to the system, the traditional Ulema'a class were part and parcel of the structure so long as the Emirs and Chiefs were involved. There perhaps could be no better example of an elite or patron party as the Northern Peoples Congress.

The second category that of 'Mass' party encompasses the Northern Elements progressive Union (NEPU) and the various ethnic Unions which coalesced into the United Middle Belt Congress. The leadership and membership had virtually the same background except in both cases few of the leaders could be said to be part of the elite. NEPU, perhaps provided an excellent example of the Marxian concept of the leadership of a revolutionary movement by the disgruntled members of bourgeois class. Both Mallam Aminu Kano and Abubakar Zukogi were part and parcel of the royalty of Kano and Bida respectively and received the best education then available. The same was true of Raji Abdallah (NEPA/NCNC), in Okene, and Sa'adu Zungar (NEPU), of Bauchi. All these rejected the 'natural' constituency to which they belonged and joined forces with organisations whose objective was to change the system. In the case of the Middle Belt, it is perhaps a little bit more complex and requires a lot more historical background than presently available. Even here, Chief Joseph Sarwuan Tarka, was to Tiv land in status what Mallam Aminu Kano and Zukogi were to Kano and Bida respectively.

ORIGIN OF DISCUSSION CIRCLES

There were, according to Mallam Nuhu Bamali, three motives behind the formation of these organisations - to ooze out imperialism; to break down the idea of sole Native Authority and to prevent domination by Southerners. The cause of this feeling, "was that the number of educated men was growing but despite their qualifications, they were always relegated to the back row in the Native Administration Service. They became conscious of this and the result was friction between the educated men on the one hand, the Native Authority and the Europeans on the other.[1]

NORTHERN GENERAL IMPROVEMENT UNION

One of the first organisations to spring up in the North was the Northern General Improvement Union founded by Mallam Sa'adu Zungur in 1940. It Secretary was Mr. John Garba.[2]

The Union restricted its membership only to people of Northern origin and sought the co-operation of government. A debate on whether female education was a necessity was intelligently argued.[3]

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1. Bamali, "How the NPC was formed," Nigerian Citizen, - May 15, 1959.
2. Mr. John Garba, a christian Hausa from Kano was until his retirement an ambassador. Those present include M. Abubakar Imam; M. Aliyu (Turaki); M. Muhammadu Jumare; M. Aminu (Emir of Zaria - 1959-75) and M. TAfida, Sarkin Wusasa.
3. Daily Service, September 23, 1940. See also Zungur - A Biography (in Hausa) by Mallam Aminu Kano, page 2.

The Union began to discuss issues that British officials, and the Emir found sensitive. Some of these issues touched on their position and their salaries. Soon therefore, most of the members of the Union were dispersed including the brain behind the organisation, Sa'adu. He was transferred to Ancau,outside of Zaria to supervise the elimination of tse-tse flies. There, he contacted respiratory disease which was to contribute to his premature death.[4]

THE ZARIA UNION OF FRIENDS

The Zaria Union of Friends, was more than a Discussion Circle in many respects. Firstly, it was exclusive and secret. Secondly, unlike most of the Discussion groups, it was not bi-racial; most discussion groups had a sprinkling of British officials in them; thirdly, if it was not overtly political, its aims were political in nature. The Union stressed the need for unity and self-help. Prospective members had to be sponsored by a member and membership could only be conferred on one when the majority of the members present approve.

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4. Officials present at the occasionwere: Captain E. U. Walsh SDO, Dr. P. Caffery, Senior Medical Officer, Captain J. Symes, J. E. James, P. G. S. Bayliss, Dr. R. M. East Chairman of Gaskiya. Ibid., - page 3. Interview with Mallam Inusa Bompai who was his assistant at the school of Hygine, February 28, 1972.

> When membership is conferred, the new member in the presence of the members of the Union, takes an oath of allegiance which reads: "I willingly join the Union of Friends. I also pledge to do my best, without any second thought, to obey the laws of the Union and other decisions taken. And God Almighty willing, I shall do all in my power to promote Unity and Friendship among the members of the Union, and shall join forces with any one interested in promoting the cause of Islam.[5]

In a letter to Malam Jumare, Malam Iro, the Vice-President described the aims of the Union in a passable english, thus: "(1) As to make Tudun Wada (this is a suburb of Zaria, outside the city wall. It is in-between the City and the Sabon Gari where the educated Northerners reside) so modern as Sabo, is only to take care of all necessary such as to stop the old custom; (2) to make Zaria modern and decent; old customs to be stopped; (3) to reduce laziness. Only people to stop being proudness; and N. A. and Government warn the beggar s not to beg anybody and they must get occupation, or to join the Army, if they get nothing to do; (4) to raise the workers is to press them to be union and to stop being foolish and owing debts everwhere; (5) how to reduce bribery; only everything to be done openly. Then either N.A. or Government to employ some people who are very clever to take great care of the Departments.[6]

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5. Zaria Union of Friends Files - with the author. In Hausa translated by the author. Mallam Iro was the person who signed Zik's petition in Zaria and later withdrew under pressure.

6. Malam Iro Kayo to Malam Jumare, 6th September, 1943. M. Iro Kayo, it was who interpreted Zik's speech during the NCNC 1946 tour in Zaria. See reaction of Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo to his support for Zik in Section 1. supra Members include Abdulkadir Makama (President) who was the reporter at the Ziks lecture; Abdulmalik Mani both of Gaskiya Corporation.

From the above correspondence, it can be concluded that Malam Iro had only an average education (Middle School). He worked with a commercial firm. About thirty percent of the membership of ZUF were self-employed (tailors and drivers), another thirty percent worked for the Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo (then known as the Literature Bureau). Only about two out of the total membership of ten had only post-Middle School education. Although, a large number of the membership was not well educated they were selected because they were found to be liberal in their ideas.

Zaria, more than any other place in the North was the ideal place for the growth of such a Union. Beside the Zaria Middle School, there was the Pharmacy School at which Sa'adu Zungur and a host of others taught. There was an Army Depot which during the war conducted a number of training programmes for technicians in the communications and in medical fields. There was also the Gaskiya Corporation (then Literature Bureau) with a number of Katsina educated people who had fallen foul of their various Native Authorities. Where such a group of people congregated, they were bound to exchange ideas among themselves as to their future and that of their country.

BAUCHI DISCUSSION CIRCLE:

The circle, unlike many of its type in the North, originated from the Emir's Council. The desire was expressed at one of the Council's sittings to enlighten the people of Bauchi about World Affairs. Hitherto, only news about the Second World War dominated most discussions. According to the Emir of Bauchi,

M. Yakubu the council there and then approved of a meeting to discuss issues concerning the world in general. All those who were interested in such a circle were invited. They include, Europeans, Southerners and Northerners of all professions.

In one of its first meetings, three people were selected to run the affairs of the circle; one European, one Southerner and one Northerner. It was further decided against electing a permanent Chairman, rather, a Chairman was to be elected at every weekly meeting.

In its meeting of February 11th, 1944, a topic of major significance was debated. The topic of the debate was whether the North and Southern parts of the country would ever be united to form one single entity.

The Emir reported that one of the most important achievements of the circle was the doing away of status in the seating arrangement at their weekly meetings.

The Emir pointed out that people sat according to availability of chairs unlike at formal gatherings where "the seats of the Europeans, were segregated from those of the Chief's and the latter from the commoners." "In our meeting," the Emir wrote, "it is possible to see a carpenter seated next to a magistrate or even the Emir himself."

From its inception, the Emir said that he attended five weekly meetings; and all these, he fully participated in the debates. The following topics, according to the Emir were debated

upon:-

(i) Is the Native Authority type of administration better than any other system of rule in Northern Nigeria;

(ii) which is more important, a universal system of education, where all would be educated or an elitist type for a minority;

(iii) which is more important, general or technical education?

(iv) is it better for a man to marry one wife or several?

The above experiment in Bauchi was unparalleled and revolutionary for Northern Nigeria of that period - i. e. 1944. During the period under discussion, the Emir, who was sole Native Authority could hardly associate with commoners, let alone in general public in the manner related above.

Among the members of this discussion circle were the future rising stars of the North in particular and Nigeria in general. These were: M. Yahaya Gusau, (later Secretary of the NPC); M. Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (first Prime Minister of Nigeria); M. Aminu Kano (President of NEPU) and Malam Sa'adu Zungur (Secretary General of NCNC, 1948).[7]

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7. Emir's Report in Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo, No. 121. According to Sklar, the circle was set up at the instance of the Resident in order to bring the "hot heads" Aminu Kano and Saadu Zungur closer to the administration. This came in the wake, according to Sklar of provocative article witten by Aminu Kano in the West African Pilot. One Mr. Ibiam, a government dispenser, was the secretary of the circle, Sklar Parties and Politics op.cit., pp - 89n

All was well with the Bauchi Discussion Circle until serious political questions were raised which had the potential of unmasking the inconsistencies in the implementation of the policy of Indirect Rule.

One particular meeting, was uncharacteristically controversial. At this meeting, Sa'adu had harangued the European rule over Nigeria and attac ed from Lord Lugard to the Resident and the District Officer in charge of Bauchi. This long diatribe against officialdom, surprised many people.

At a subsequent meeting, Sa'adu got up and asked a simple but potentially dangerous question. "On what criteria are the salaries of Northern Emirs based?" The Resident got up and replied, that Emirs salaries were based on how much is collected in their domain. He asked further: "If this is the case why is it that the salary of the Lamido of Adamawa more than that of the Emir of Bauchi, since tax collected in Bauchi is far greater than that of Adamawa?" The Resident again pointed out another criterion - that of responsibilities. "What responsibilities?" asked Sa'adu. These, the Resident said included the number of homicide cases tried by the Emir's Court. Sa'adu, then pulled out a piece of paper and read out statistics, showing there were more homicide cases tried in Bauchi than in Adamawa. The Resident again did not relent. Another criterion, he said, is the order of precedence which was established since the days of Shehu Dan Fodio. Here again, Sa'adu floored him. Sa'adu pointed out that in the order of precedence from the days of Shehu, the Sultan was at the head, followed by the Gwandu, then Bauchi, Kano.

and then Lamido of Adamawa. He then querried:- "where did you get your own precedence list from?"[8]

The Resident felt humiliated publicly. This particular meeting of the discussion circle proved to be its last. No more meeting was summoned because of official displeasure with Sa'adu.

It was under this atmosphere that the Bauchi General Improvement Union (BGIU) was born.

It was a variant of the one formed by Sa'adu in Zaria called the Northern Provinces General Improvement Union.[9]

The Emir's hostile attitude to the new organisation was revealed when he attempted to proscribe the Union. In a petition which Mallam Sa'adu Zungur wrote to the Emir complaining about the Emir's alleged order for their dispersal during a meeting which was normally held at the Bauchi reading room, he alleged that Emir's message was conveyed to the meeting on 28th January, 1949 by no other person than the future Prime Minister, Mallam Abubakar Tafawa Balewa.

Aminu Kano recalled that the Emir's emisary was a member of the Emir's Council but did not refer to him by name. He went

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8. Aminu on Zungur - page 6. Incidentally, the Emir was the Chairman at that meeting.

9. See page. 428 supra.

there accompanied by a local authority policeman. He then gave the Emir's massage. The following dialogue ensued -

Member of Emir's Council (Balewa)

> "Sa'adu, Aminu, Baba Hala, and the rest of you, the Emir has directed that you disperse. He has proscribed your union."

Sa'adu Zungur -

> "Oh you member of the Emir's Council, we would like to know, are you only a messenger, to tell us what to do or must you also wait and see that the Emir's directive is carried out?"

Member of Emir's Council -

> Yes, I am only a messenger but you must disperse.

Sa'adu Zungur -

> "Go and tell the Emir, that the Union respects him, but we will not disperse."[10]

Mallam Sa'adu Zungur, in a protest letter to the Emir, complained that Mallam Abubakar Tafawa Balewa suddenly appeared and said - "The Emir after consulting his Council about your

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10. Mallam Aminu Kano, Sa'adu Zungur, A Biography, op.cit., page 7. Translated by the author.

organisation had decided to proscribe it. The Emir has directed further that no official of the Bauchi Native Authority should belong to the "party" in his "private capacity," and has further warned that no meeting of the party should take place anywhere in his domain."

Sa'adu Zungur told the Emir that the purpose of his letter was to ascertain whether indeed it was the Emir who had sent the emisary and why the Emir should decide to take such an extreme measure. He further querried, "Have we violated the law or the constitution by forming such an organisation?"[11]

A copy of this letter was sent to the Resident, who it is likely advised the Emir to be cautious, because the issue could be over-blown by the West African Pilot.

In his reply, the Emir regretted that there was some misunderstanding regarding his message delivered to them verbally by Balewa. For this reason, he said, he was putting it in black and white:-

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11. Letter to the Emir of Bauchi dated January 29, 1945 in Bauchi Bauchi General Improvement File. Bauchi N.A. Files No..150. National Archives, Kaduna. Those who were at the meeting when Balewa delivered the Emir's message were - Shehu Bauchi, Shehu Katagum, A. Lame, Aminu Kano, A. Akanbi, Dahiru Bara, Dauda Lame, Ibrahim Wudil, Adamu Cheledi, Hussaini Lame, Yelwa Bauchi, Mandara Dajin, Abubakar Maikobi, Yakubu Kirfi, Mamman Ranta, Musa Dun, Inuwa. The list as provided by Sa'adu was 20, but he claimed there were about 40 people in attendance.

(i) I will not frustrate any citizen of Bauchi who desired progress for the town.

(ii) Any Native Authority official is free to join any 'party' except that it should be in his private capacity.

(iii) Neither the government nor the Native Authority has anything to do with your 'party' and neither prevents people from joining any party.

The following are prohibited -

(a) No party meeting should take place in the General Office, N. A. Treasury, Workshop, Hospital, Veterinary, Prisons, Market stalls and other public buildings.

(b) You should not use N. A. facilities such as typewriter, pencils, pen-holders, foolscap etc.

(c) No N. A. officials should discuss union matters during official hours.

(d) There is no objection to your meeting in a private house.[12]

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12. Emir's reply to BGIU, January 30, 1945. *BGIU Files*, Ibid. National Archives, Kaduna.

A few days later, according to Mallam Aminu Kano, the Emir and Council invited the BGIU members and stated exactly what was conveyed to the Union in the Emir's letter. After listening to what the Emir had to say, as the union members prepared to leave,

Mallam Sa'adu Zungu said that he had an intervention to make. Sa'adu had wanted to know whose position was correct, the Emir's or that of Balewa. (Aminu consistently referred to Balewa as Council member. This is not because he had forgotten the personality involved, but he did not want to reveal who was actually involved) since Balewa had actually restated what he was told to inform the Union. The Emir pleaded with Sa'adu, that he did not want any controversy.[13]

Apparently, Balewa felt humiliated because the Emir and the Council had refused to own up the content of the message they asked him to deliver. He was not the only one sent to deliver the message, but his companion demurred under the pretext that he was to answer "the call of nature." This was revealed in an angry note written by Balewa to his "companion."[14]

In a letter to Barayan Bauchi (Balewa's companion despatched to sack the Union), Balewa informed him that "I saw a letter written

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14. Mu dai Sa'adu, ba rigima muke nema ba, ku tashi! Dogarai su ka karasa da "kai ku tashi in ji Sarki." Aminu, op.cit. page 8.

14. Aminu said that Baraya could not accompany Balewa because he was a secret member of the group. Interview with Aminu, May 7, 1972.

by you (Emir and Council) to the effect that I lied over the issue of the Union." Tell me -

a) The nature of the lies.

b) Can you swear on oath that what I said was different from what I was directed to say.

c) If I am right, I will never accept this humiliation, libellous and malicious act committed against my good name.

d) I am prepared to go to any length with anyone. This is a serious issue, and I wish to take it up to higher authorities. We all must take an oath as to who is right over the matter.

e) I swear in the name of God that I am better than anyone at intrigue.

f) An honourable person can make the supreme sacrifice over what he believes is right.

g) I have informed my superior officer (could this be Principal of the Middle School) over this battle that I have prepared myself for.

h) Whoever hits me, I will hit him back.

i) I do not want to cheat anyone except he who plans to cheat me.

j) Anyone in your position should never be found to be inconsistent, this is surprising!

k) If it pleases you, you may wish to inform the Emir about my feelings.

l) May God cause destruction on it (the system) all.[15]

From Balewa's hot words, it is clear that he felt extremely humiliated by the negative publicity his role in the affair has achieved. We do not know the immediate reaction of Balewa following his outburst. What we do know is that he played a prominent role in the removal of the Emir of Bauchi in 1954, when he was a very senior Minister in the Federal Government. This incident might have been a contributory factor but may not be the principal one.[16]

Official hostility to the BGIU forced the members to change their strategy. On leaving the Emir's palace, the BGIU members, decided to seek a meeting hall, since without one, the Union might collapse. A member, Mallam Waziri donated his building,

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15. Letter from Balewa to Barayan Bauchi undated, but presumably written a day after the meeting referred to by Mallam Aminu Kano. He signed the letter - Abubakar, the Son of Shetimma Ajiya. BGIU Files, op.cit., National Archives, Kaduna. Translated from the Hausa original by the author.

16. cf Balewa - "Call for Reform" A. D. Yahaya op.cit Appendix.

but it had no roof. Money was collected from members and a roof was provided. Mallam Sa'adu, sensing that it was the political orientation of BGIU that had brought it into a collision course with the authorities, thought it necessary to change its name - but without changing the character of the meeting. Thus, the change of name was effected from BGIU to Bauchi Community Centre. But even such a bland name was to put the organisation into more trouble than the previous formation.

The community intensified the debates over issues that were crucial to the political development of Nigeria. At times, Sa'adu and Aminu would go into offices to engage workers in discussion of political nature. In one of these trips, Sa'adu met with a Workshop Superintendent, Mr. Ogle, who according to Mallam Aminu Kano was ugly and meted inhuman treatment to his workers. The details of his activities were revealed in an article written by Sa'adu and published in the West African Pilot.

Mr. Ogle, on seeing this, attempted to assassinate Sa'adu with a revolver. He was subsequently fined - five pounds for illegal possession of firearms.[17]

The Bauchi Community Centre, in 1947 initially transformed itself into the Bauchi Branch of NEPA, which was a Pan-Northern Organisation.[18]

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17. Aminu on Zungur - The episode was lavishly and comprehensively reported in the West African Pilot.

18. For details, see the Chapter on NEPA.

KADUNA OLD BOYS ASSOCIATION - KOBA

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of an old Boys Association is known world wide. Because of the relative newness of educational intitutions in colonial territories, this phenomenon began to surface in these territories during the inter-war years and blossomed during the war and shortly after. In some instances students organisations formed the basis of political parties.

Two famous organisations on the African continent, one in the French and the other British colonial territories provide a paradigm against which the Nigerian experience can be viewed. The Ecole-Normale Bonty (was similar to Katsina College) situated in Dakar, Senegal was dubbed the pre-war Oxford of French West Africa. An Old Boy Association of this institution formed in 1944 became the most formidable group from which the political, commercial and bureaucratic elites of French colonial Africa emerged.[1]

Officially known as "Associations des Anciens Eleves et Amis de L'Ecole William Ponty" according to Morgenthau it was "regarded as potentially dangerous agitators." It was permitted to operate under strict conditions such as "no professional trade Union, political or religious activities or discussions."

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1. Morgenthau, Ruth. Schacter, POLITICAL PARTIES IN FRENCH SPEAKING WEST AFRICA OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS 1970 p.18; see also 251,335 passim. Hodgkin, Thomas, Nationalism in Colonial Africa.

While in the case of Ponty Old Boys, the old Boys applied for permission to organise themselves which was grudgingly accepted by the French Authorities with stringent conditions the Kaduna Old Boys came into existence at the instance of the school authorities. Gordon College in Sudan, provides an example quite dissimilar to Ponty. But like the Katsina College graduates, the Graduates Congress (the Old Boys Association of Gordon College, Khartoum) was founded in 1938 as a result of Government prodding and encouragement. Peter Woodward stated that the organisation in government's view was to provide;-

> an outlet for the energy of the intelligentsia. It had initially 1080 members (roughly one fifth of the graduates class). Committees were set up in the Northern Sudan and a monthly journal was founded. The leaders soon began to explore relations with the Political Service (government) and it was made clear to them that Congress was on probation and subject to the proviso that it did not regard itself as a political or representative organisation.[2]

The educated elites of Northern Nigeria in the period under review came exclusively from the only post-primary institution in the North, Katsina/Kaduna College.[3] The idea of forming an association by the graduates of this College was advanced by

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2. Woodward, Peter - CONDOMINIUM and Sudanese Nationalism: Rex Collins, London - pp. 18, 22-27 passim.

3. For the history and development of this institution, see Allen, A. R. - "The Development of Post Primary Education in Northern Nigeria 1916-60, unpublished M. Phil. Thesis at the Institute of Education, University of London and New Nigerian, April 21, 1972. Hubband, J. P. "Education under Colonial Rule: A History of Katsina College,1921-1942 unpublished Ph.D Thesis (University of Wisconsin 1973); The name has now been changed to Barewa Old Boys to incorporate Katsina, Kaduna and Zaria Colleges.

the principal of the Kaduna College Mr. E. L. Mort[4].

This initial meeting held in June, 1939 was an organisational one and because of its success, it was resolved that it would be made an annual event. The next meeting reported was that of 1941 where the attendance dropped off rather sharply, only about half of those who attended the previous meeting were in attendance. In his address to the last meeting, the Principal, Mr. E. L. Mort said:-

> I suggested you form the Old Boys Association two years ago. You agreed. When you came back last year, things went off well. If you want this Association to continue, you must select among yourselves officials who would run the affairs of the Association. Do not depend on me. I do not know how many of you will join the Association but there are about 350 old boys since 1921 (the year the College was founded). There will be no less than 50 who would devote their time to this organisation.

Mr. Mort described in great detail how his own Old Boys Association was organised and advised the Old Boys to organise their Association on similar lines. He further advised them to "communicate with each other by letters." Since they lived hundreds of miles from one another, these letters would draw them closer. The principal also suggested that they elect officials even if they were not materially present at the meeting. Dues should also be collected.[5]

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4. SNP DDN 1845, Nigerian Archieves, Kaduna. Katsina College was transferred to Kaduna in 1938.

5. Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo, June 26, 1941. Text of Speech in Hausa translated by this writer.

In the ensuing election, Alhaji Dongondaji was elected President, Malam Bello Kagara, Treasurer and Malam Abba Habib, Secretary. A member from each province was co-opted into the executive. An admission fee of one shilling was charged. Further mention of the activities of the organisation in the local press ceased suggesting the demise of the organisation. However, local units were known to exist in many provincial capitals.

THE KOBA - AN EVALUATION

Nuhu Bamalli, in his article stated that the demise of the Association was due mainly to the fact that the European officials became scared of its potential as a nucleus of future political organisation and so frightened the Emirs into introducing measures to curb it.[6] This view was supported by Governor Sherwood Smith when he wrote:-

> In the North, the first attempt to organise the tiny educated minority of the region under the auspices of the Association of Katsina College had failed owing to opposition from the more reactionary chiefs and their following.
>
> But though it had ceased to function openly, it had at least enable a handful of educated Northerners with liberal ideas on social and political matters to maintain contact with each other.[7]

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6. Nuhu Bamalli, How the NPC was founded, Nigerian Citizen, May 15, 1959.

7. Smith, B. S., But Always As Friends, p. 195. Except that Sherwood Smith blamed its demise on conservative Emirs.

M. Abubakar Imam too, in his famous correspondence with Lugard had claimed that it was the reactionary chiefs that killed what appeared to be an important initiative by the Katsina graduates. The Association had been running smoothly for at least the first three years and then later it collapsed. He went on:-

> Why it collapsed, the Europeans do not yet know. They think that it is the educated elements who are not progressive. But the truth is this. Some of the Emirs began to suspect the Union and those who are at their mercy were afraid and so found it safer to withdraw. This is an example of the suppression of free discussion.

M. Abubakar warned that Europeans should not take obedience of Northern Nigerians for granted as "to continue indefinitely while it is imposed by force. He further warned that "the pot is boiling and if no outlet is given to the steam, one may wake up one night and find it broken.[8]

The Old Boys Association is a phenomenon found throughout Colonial Africa. Hodgkin observes that though their aims are primarily social they "sometimes branch into other fields.[9]

In addition to official hostility, there were a number of other factors that contributed to the Association's demise. The first is that the North was vast and it was difficult due to

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8. Abubakar Imam, "The Problems of Northern Nigeria as the Natives Sees It. An account of an interview with Lugard." Memo - copy with the author, page 3.

9. Nationalism in Colonial Africa, by T. Hodgkin, p. 88. French West Africa and the Sudan.

the lack of means of communication for people to be constantly informed about the Association's activities. Secondly, transportation presented another problem. Thirdly, most of the members were teachers who were up to their ears in debts and so could not afford the fares to attend conferences. The fourth and probably the most significant was that the idea of forming such an organisation did not originate from the members themselves. Somehow, Mr. Mort saw the need for them to unite and exchange views annually. Thus, the organisation was born with a congenital defect - lack of will of its own.

THE ORIGIN OF NORTHERN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

The Northern Teachers Association founded as a non-political trade union was the logical outcome of years of suppressed discontent among the ranks of the Northern Nigerian Teachers, a majority of whom were serving under the Native Administration. A number of them were not only dissatisfied with their conditions of service, but also with the pace of change in the emirates.

It was not difficult to see why the Northern Teachers proved to do the most vocal of all the educated Northerners. Firstly, they were the most numerous, secondly, they had more than any other groups closer contact with the European staff, and finally, they were the only favoured group that benefitted from the Government Scholarship scheme tenable at the Institute of Education, University of London.

CAUSES OF DISCONTENT

In the first place, one of the main reason for their discontent was their future in the teaching profession. They were concerned over the fact that in the entire Northern Nigeria, the home of nearly twelve million people, there was only one Secondary School, that of Katsina, later transferred to Kaduna.

Of great threat to them was the Southern rapid educational and social advancement, which they felt if left unchallenged, would sweep them away.

The structure of the educational department was such that there were three separate educational authorities each operating independently of the others. There was the missionary institutio these institutions kept the teachers salary at the barest minumum The same was true of the Native Administration which was the main employer of Northern trained teachers. The most generous of these services was that of the Government.

In the Native Authorities the situation was much worse prior to the introduction of the United Kingdom one year professional certificate course, the Katsina graduates merely stagnated in the same position at a time when Native Authority scales were not regulated, and promotion to higher position rare. For these reasons, the educational institutions became reservoir from which the Emirs picked their treasurers, central court clerks and district heads, depleting the little supply there was of teachers in Northern Nigeria. Whatever position these teachers were posted to, their colleagues would observe that their salary and promotion potential was much better than theirs.

The situation led them to ask:-

> How can the teachers with educational background and his specialised training not hope to rise above the salary scale of a second class clerk? How is it possible for his colleagues with identical or inferior qualifications occupy posts normally held by Europeans in the other departments while he must stagnate on £128 or £200 every year? Is it deliberate attempt by the Government to nip the aspiration of Nigerians for self-government?

THE NORTHERN TEACHER

In 1943, a Conference was held at Ibadan to discuss the possibility of introducing African Administrative Officers into the Secretariat. At this Conference, the North was represented by the late Emir of Zaria, Mallam Ja'afaru, and the then Editor of the Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo, the government sposored Northern Nigeria Newspaper. The Northern representatives rejected the introduction of Southern Administrative Officers as District Officers into the Northern Emirates. But there were no Northerners.[10]

The few there were, mostly in the Education Department, were discouraged from taking the London Matriculation so as to quality for University Entry. The teachers believed that this was a deliberate plan to stifle the educational advancement of Northern Nigerians.

The end of the war ushered a fresh thinking on the part of the British Administration regarding education in the Northern Provinces. For it was in 1945, that the first batch of Northerners obtained a Government Scholarship tenable at the Institute of Education, London University. In this batch were Mallam Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Head-master, Bauchi Middle School; Alhaji Bello Kano, Headmaster, Kano Middle School; Alhaji Abdurrahman Mora, Teacher, Zaria Middle School and Mallam Yahaya Gusau, Teacher, Bauchi Middle School. The students were made to believe before they departed that theirs was a degree course, but on their arrival

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10. Report on the Conference by Abubakar Imam - 1943.

in the United Kingdom, they discovered to their chagrin, that the course was to last for one year only, and they were to receive a Teacher's Professional Certificate at the end. This deliberate deceit so infuriated these students, but there was no alternative than to stay.

Between 1945 to 1952, with the exception of 1951, an average of three students were sent overseas, either to the Institute of Education, London University or to Leceister University. In all, between these years, there were 27 teachers who had been to the United Kingdom for further training. As the ranks of these experienced and trained Northern Teachers increased, so was their relative deprivation. Among those who benefitted from this scheme were:- Mallam Aminu Kano; Shetima Shehu Ajiram, Mallam Salahu Fulani; Mallam Isa Koto, Mallam Nuhu Bayero, in addition to those listed above. It was these people who formed the nucleus of the Northern Teachers' Association.

In order to appreciate the insurmountable obstacle of forming an organisation that embraced the whole of Northern Nigeria, one would only look at the size of the region and poor communication and the fact that the teachers were separated from one another by territory unserved by roads. However, where teachers tended to concentrate as in the example of Kaduna-Zaria-Bauchi axis, it was possible for them to generate ideas and provide leadership in putting their ideas to work.

In Bauchi, prior to their departure for overseas studies, the gathering of teachers in both the Middle School and the Elementar

Teachers' Training Centre was impressive. The lists included Mallam Yahaya Gusau, Mallam Aminu Kano, Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and another influential, though invalided intellectual, Mallam Sa'adu Zungur. It was this group of people who formed the Bauchi Discussion Circle and later with the exception of Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, formed the controversial Bauchi General Improvement Union.

In Zaria, the intellectual climate was more conducive to the dissemination of ideas. For one thing, it was the home of the Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo. In this institution was a large number of old Katsina graduates, formerly teachers, who together with the teachers of the Middle School, like Mallam Abdurrahman Mora, Mallam Muhammadu Lapai and Mallam Juma'are formed the intellectual elites of the town. In Kaduna, at the Government College, there was only one Northern teacher, Mallam Isa Koto, who was a government teacher while the others were under the various native authorities who controlled the Middle Schools.

It was in these surroundings that the idea to unite and fight for a common cause was generated. The call for unity of Northern Teachers was made by Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, who signed a circular which was sent to all educational institutions

in Northern Nigeria.[11]

"This humble call," stated the circular, was "from a group of teachers who deem it right that an Association for the welfare of all teachers in Northern Nigeria is essential today. This is not a new vision. It has been dormant in all of us; but now is the time for its germination."

He called the attention of his colleagues to the fact that:- 'the rapid educational progress in Nigeria today among the Ibos and the Ibibios, must be a great lesson to us. We must (act) now or never.

At this time, the strongest branch of the institution with the most active members was Kaduna. We shall, therefore, analyse the draft proposal of the Kaduna Branch to the General Conference.

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11. "A call for the Unity of Northern Teachers" by Balewa, December 30, 1947. NTA Files with the author. Sklar indicates that the organisation was formed in London under the name Northern Welfare Teachers Association, Nigerian Political Parties, page. 91. There, however is no proof that this was the case.

    There is evidence to suggest that Mallam Aminu Kano hatched the idea of forming a Northern Teachers Welfare Association along with fellow students while in London. As the entry in his diary reveals, the idea was discussed with Shettima Ajiram who later became the first president and Aminu its secretary. Mallam confirmed that it was indeed formed in London and was saddled with the responsibility of transplanting it in the North on their return. The suggested name, Northern Nigerian Teachers Welfare Association was replaced by a much shorte acronym, NTA, Northern Teachers Association. This information was quoted from Aminu Kano's Diary of 1947 in Ahmadu Jalingo, Radical Traditions, op.cit., 202n. The name Northern Teachers Welfare Association was suggested among others by the Kaduna Branch of the NTA but rejected at the General Conference.

Discussing the most important aspect of any organisation, finance, the Branch suggested that an entrance fee of five shillings be levied and a monthly subscription of one shilling be paid. "Money is power," the Branch emphasised. The Branch exhorted the Association to "heap up money first, committees should raise money." The entrance fee should be paid directly to the central treasury and 25% of the monthly subscription should also be remitted to the central treasury.

Three months after the appeal was made, an organisational conference was held in Zaria, on March 15, 1948.[12] At this meeting, the following were elected officers:-

Shettima Shehu Ajiram	-	President
Mallam Abubakar TAlawa Balewa	-	First Vice-President
Mallam Hunu Zaria	-	Second Vice-President
Mallam Aminu Kano	-	Secretary General
Mallam Abdurrahman Mora	-	Assistant Secretary
Mallam Aliyu Mai-Borno	-	Financial Secretary
Mallam Yahaya Gusau	-	Treasurer
Mr. Abubakar Maiwada	-	Publicity Secretary
Mallam Muhammadu Lapai	-	Editor
Mallam Zakariya Dimka	-	Sub-Editor.

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12. This day is significant. On this day, 1903, Sokoto surrendered to the British troops. This was also the day, Northern Nigeria received its self-government. A letter to the Teachers Meeting, Zaria, March 9, 1948, signed by Yahaya Gusau, Abdurrahman Mora, Aliyu Mai-Borno, Haliru Binji and Aliyu Makarfi. NTA Files, copy with the author.

The aims and objectives of the Association are -

a) To promote the social status and social intercourse of the Northern Teachers of Nigeria.

b) To enable them come together for expressing their popular and solid opinions upon educational matters and any other matters relating to education and teaching profession.

c) To endeavour to help the Education Department and the Northern Board of Education and nominated members of the House of Assembly and any other organisation or body which stands for the propagation of education in Northern Nigeria as far as it (The Association) thinks it good to do so.

d) To endeavour to remove difficulties and obstacles which either hinder the progress of education or the welfare of teachers.

e) To act as a shed to individual members of the Association in all matters relevant to education, teaching profession and otherwise.

f) To seek the co-operation of parents of children in order to bridge the gulf between the home and the school life.

g) To find healthy means by which the present day numerous Koranic Schools in the North can be uplifted by which doing the moral education of the children may be better improved.

h) To encourage the Northern Teachers not only to work hard but to further their interests in acquiring more knowledge and skill.[13]

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13. Constitution, Rules and Regulations of the Northern Teachers' Association, NTA Files, Zaria.

CRITICISM OF THE BRITISH EDUCATION POLICY IN THE NORTHERN REGION

The Kaduna Branch of the Northern Teachers' Association, based mainly in the Kaduna College, on occasion, had received individual invitation to tea from the Chief Commissioner (Governor) of the Northern Region. On one occasion however, the Chief Commissioner decided to invite the teachers to tea, as a group - the Kaduna College Junior Members of Staff. They resented this discriminatory designation, for only Africans were in this category, and protested by refusing to attend.[14]

The correspondence between the invitees and the Commissioner following their action afforded them an opportunity to voice out their grievances which had piled up for decades and had had no unclogged outlet.

In their petition stating their reasons for refusing to attend "His Honours" party, the teachers said their action was a "protest against the whole set up of things in the Education Department in particular and the Northern Provinces in general."

The teachers asserted that as long as "certain grievances" remain, they felt that any social gathering with Europeans would not be healthy. They said that they were not against inter-racial mixing and co-operation as such, for only through such could the country realise meaningful development. However, "as long

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14. Letter to the Secretary, Northern Provinces, Kaduna, November,1 Mallam Abdurrahman Mora's File and interview with him - August 6, 1972 in Zaria.

as the cause for our grievances remain, we feel conditions are not favourable for the promotion of that real co-operation for which we all yearn. We therefore, do not believe that tea parties as such will be the solution to our problem."

They condemned the Education Department for taking the acquisition of a degree as the criterion for appointment to the Senior Service. "The bulk of the teachers in the North", they maintained had had no Univerisity Degree and so were doomed to 'an inferior status.'[15] It was clear to them that a University Degree was only obtainable through a full degree course at a University or by taking an external examination. The first channel was clogged since the Department had never sent any one to acquire a degree and would not do so for a foreseeable future.

MALLAM BELLO KAGARA: CAUSE CELEBRE

The teachers brought out the case of Mallam Bello,[16] a retired

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15. The Northern Teachers were not alone in this delimma. In.1944 the demand for overseas scholarship to attain degrees which would facilitate their entry into the higher echolon of the government civil service. The student had been told that henceforth Yaba College diploma would replace the Oxford and Cambridge School Certificate which may not be of any value outside of Nigeria. Sklar, Parties and Politics, op.cit, p. 48n; The crisis over opportunities to pursue higher education overseas became accentuat At least 69 scholarship awards had been made to the South while none had been made to any Northerner. Coleman, op.cit., p. 124. If the South could complain, the North had even greater reason to do so. In this regard, both the Northern and Southern intellectual had similar aspiration

16. Mallam Bello, an elder brother of Mallam Abubakar Imam. For his autobiography, see Abubakar Imam Memoirs, unpublished, 1988,

master of the Kaduna College, since its Katsina days, as an illustration of the unjust treatment meted to the African staff of the Education Department. Mallam Bello Kagara had put in over thirty years with the Department and retired as a Grade III teacher on a salary of £128 per annum. "No word of condemnation," exploded the teachers, "can be too strong for such act of gross injustice."

They recalled as Mallam Bello's former students, his influence without which "it would have been almost impossible for any of the principals under whom he served to run the College with any measure of success."

The case of Mallam Bello Kagara was wellknown by most of the teachers in the Northern Provinces, and they were apprehensive that "the same fate might befall them." The teachers felt that they were only being used as instruments by the Department to achieve its objectives, "but not to play any part in framing such 'objectives.'" One could only reach such a position by becoming an Education Officer, a post reserved "for the white men." The petitioners further pointed out that no other professional group excelled the teachers in "their high sense of responsibility and reasonableness," particularly in the Northern Provinces.

They lamented that their "respect for authority has been exploited to an almost unbelievable extent. We have not been vocal enough in the past. Our silence had been miscontrued as satisfaction with the situation. However, we now feel bottling

our grievances can be nothing but detrimental to the true interest of our country."

In support of their charge that the British Administration had deliberately neglected advancing the North educationally, the teachers pointed out that the scheme for granting scholarship had been initiated for the South as early as 1938, while in the North, only since 1945. Even then the scholarships for the South were for degree courses ranging between 2 to 4 years, and for the North only for 1 year, at the end of which they gained Teachers' Professional Certificates.

It is also significant that since the inception of the scholarship scheme, the South had 120 recepients to the North's 16, twelve out of which were teachers. They were not informed about the nature of the course and had the illusion of going for a degree course. On their arrival, however, this illusion was shattered when they learned that the course was a year's duration. This was to make them "more efficient teachers, and that they should expect no promotion".

> The petitioners complained that for years we have been told in the North not to pay the slightest attention to examinations such as London Matriculation, the Senior Cambridge and the School Certificate because they were valueless. For years we have been told our system of education in the North is in no way inferior to that of our Southern neighbours where these examinations are pursued with great avidity. But today, paradoxically enough, we see to our great horror that over 90% of the students at the University College of Ibadan are from the South and not from the North.

After critising the inefficient use of the English language in the Northern School systems, the teachers "candidly believe (that) a good many problems between the white man and the black man in this country will never arise," should the former observe a simple rule: "the Africans want to be treated and thought of as human beings."

The teachers found their conditions of service primitive and promised that the situation could not be expected to be tolerated for ever. They asserted that the Education Department had denied them "the exercise of that liberty of expression which is inalienable right of every human being and which, incidentally, that British people prize among their precious heritage."

The NTA played a very significant role in the formation of the Northern Peoples Congress (see the Chapter on NPC). The Secretary of the NPC, Malam Yahaya Gusau, a prominent member of the NTA, became the Secretary General of the party while the NTA's Secretary, M. Aminu Kano became its auditor.

When Malam Aminu Kano resigned from government service in 1950 he was appointed a full time paid Secretary of the Union. His association with teachers and the opportunities offered him by the organisation to travel within the North had been of considerable help to his later political career. For in 1954, he was elected the President of NEPU.

THE RISE OF THE NORTHERN ELEMENTS PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION - AN EXPERIMENT IN POLITICAL PARTY FORMATION

THE BACKGROUND

The Northern Elements progressive Association, formed on December 1, 1946 grew out of the Nupe Cultural Organisation, the Nupe Progressiv Union, founded earlier in the year. The Union had as its President, Malam Abdurrahman Bida, a Dispenser at the Kano General Hospital, and Malam Abubakar Zukogi as its Secretary. Like other cultural organisations in the urban centres of Nigeria, the aim of the Nupe Progressive Union was to "organise Nupes in Kano to consolidate themselves, to learn to help ourselves by our own efforts and to do all we can to improve our homeland.[1]

Other members of this organisation in Kano include Alhaji Kenei (sic) (School of Arabic Studies), Alhaji Danga, former Chief Alkali Bida and late Alkali, the Alkali of Kaca.

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1. The NEPA, according to an official secret report "had its origin in a Nupe Progressive Association organised there by Malam Abubakar Zukogi". Secretary, Northern Provinces, M. V. Back-house to the Chief Secretary to the Government, Lagos; marked "Secret" No. 42295/34. Kaduna, 26th August, 1947. National Archives, Kaduna. M. Abubakar Zukogi accepts this version: interview with M. A. Zukogi at his home in Bida, 22nd September, 1972. See the reference to the Nupe Union in West African Pilot as having been founded in the Burma war front; Vol. I p supra

council composed of the representatives of the tribes resident in Sabon-Gari. Between 1940 and 1942, Sabon-Gari was merged with the rest of the town to be administered directly by the Emir. Hitherto, the Township Local Authority was the focus of political activity, but with the change over to the Native Authority, Southerners, are now able to comment adversely on the way and manner they were being administered, by the autocratic (and unrepresentative) Native Authority.

The more vocal ones, had begun to write scathing articles against the system in the West African Pilot. Thus, the two groups, Southerners and the educated Northerners had two common enemies, the British Colonial Administration, and the Sole Native Authority, which was sacred and unassailable. There was co-operation, and exchange of ideas between the individual members of these two groups. And this led to the formation of the African Anti-colour Bar Movement in 1945 by M. Raji Abdallah and Osita Agwuna, both in the Government Service. In 1946, this movement "merged with a broader national front," the Zikist Movement.[2]

The NCNC National tour to solicit fund for its planned London trip to lodge a protest over Richards Constitution's four "Obnoxious Ordinances," (the Minerals Ordinanace, the Public Lands Acquisition Ordianance, the Crown Land (Amendment) Ordinance and the Deposition of Chiefs (Amendment) Ordinance, passed in the name of Legislative Council meeting as the Richards Consitution; [3] with its "beautiful

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2. The Kano Branch of the Zikist Movement was opened in April, 1946, Comet, April 9, 1946. See also Sklar op.cit., page 74, 96n.

3. See Coleman, op.cit., pp.283-4

idea" of Nigerian unity to which the idealistic educated Northerners subscribed, must have given them courage to boldly challenge the authorities.

Thus, on December, 1946, the Northern Elements Progressive Association was born. The leadership was drawn mostly from the two organisations, referred to earlier - the Nupe Progressive Union and the African Anti-Colour Bar Movement. The president of the NPU, Malam Abdurrahman Bida, became the President-General of the organisation from its formation to its demise at least in Northern Nigeria. At that time, there was no adult sufferage in the entire Northern Nigeria. Although, as a result of the Richards Constitution, a Regional Council (later House of Assembly) was established in the Northern Nigerian capital, Kaduna, its members were nominated members of the Emir's Councils, and other prominent individuals representing commercial or ethnic interests. Nor were the former elected to the Emir's Council.

NEPA can therefore, be described at best as a Northern Nationalist Movement. Its aims are:-

1. To foster a spirit of mutual understanding, sympathy and co-operation among all elements of Northern Nigeria irrespective of sex, creed or language.

2. To evolve and develop an invaluable sense of fraternity so that one Northerner's joys are the joys of all and his sorrows the sorrows of all.

3. To work selflessly and conscientiously towards mental and spiritual welfare of our people.

4. To study honestly and objectively, our social, economic, educational and political problems so that we can devise means of surmounting the great difficulties that are ahead of us.

5. To educate the masses in these fields; to educate them as to their rights and teach them the constitutional way of approach.

6. To work towards the solidarity of Nigeria as an indivisible whole.

7. To discourage tribalism, racialism, segregation or religious intolerance.

8. To submit constitutionally to the authorities with neither fear nor bias the opinion and sentiments of our people.

9. To be actively interested in everything and neutral in nothing that affects the destiny of this country.

10. To co-operate with all organisations working with a pure motive, towards the development of this our land - Nigeria, provided their aspirations are, after a final analysis not opposed to ours.

11. To raise funds from brethren and the public in pursuance of these aims.

12. Membership shall be open to all sons and daughters of Northern Nigeria, literate or illiterate, irrespective of language, locality or areas, and provided they are mentally balanced.

NEPA CONSTITUTION - AN ANALYSIS

The most important aspect of the Constitution is that of membership qualification. Articles 1, 2 and 12 stressed its Northern exclusiveness. The organisations such as the Northern Provinces General Improvement Union (Zaria, 1940) before it and many more after it, recognised that the "mutual understanding" of the "elements of Northern Nigeria" was essential in fostering a united North even though the organisation had pledged itself in Article 6, "to work towards the solidarity of Nigeria as an indivisible whole." NEPA appeared more liberal than some of the later political parties in terms of discrimination against women. It seeks co-operation among elements of Northern Nigeria irrespective of sex, creed

or language, and its membership was open "to all sons and daughters of Northern Nigeria....."

In Articles 6, 9 and 10, the organisation shows itself to be imbued with the idea of one Nigeria. The Secretary of NPU, late M. Abubakar Zukogi, became field Secretary while Malam Raji Abudallah, the co-founder of the African Anti-Colour Bar Movement, became NEPA's Secretary-General. The three were public servants. The President, was a dispenser, in the general hospital, then under the control of the Kano Native Authority. Both Malam Zukogi[4] and Malam Raji Abdallah were in the Civil Service, the former in the Forestry Department and the latter with the Public Relations Department as a Rediffusion Announcer.

Much as NEPA was an association organised for the achievement of political objectives, it cannot be called a political party, in the real definition of the term. One of the main functions of a political party is to aggregate societal needs and compete for power through an election.

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4. Malam Abubakar Zukogi was born on 17th July, 1917. He was a member of the Bida ruling family, from the Masaba ruling house. He attended the Kyari Elementary School in 1930-1934; Bida Middle School 1934-1938; Kaduna College 1938-1941 - the first batch of the College since its transfer from Katsina to Kaduna. Malam Aminu Kano who later joined forces with Zukogi, was also in this batch. After leaving Kaduna College, Malam Zukogi attended the School of Forestry in Ibadan between 1941-1942. The students were scattered early in order to help produce timber for the army. He served in most of the Provinces of the then former Northern Nigeria and was posted to Kano at the end of the war.

NEPA being the first organisation with well laid out aims and objectives influenced in no small measure a number of cultural and or political organisations formed in later years. For example, Clause No. 1 of the aims and objectives of "The Northerners of Today" (NOT) (founded October 13, 1948) reads: "to enhance mutual understanding between ourselves, Notherners....." While Clause 1 of NEPA's aims and objectives as quoted earlier, was: "to foster a spirit of mutual understanding, sympathy and co-operation among all elements of Northern Nigeria....." Both organisations (NEPA Clause 5) (NOT Clause 4) pledged to "preach and encourage mass education." While it was the aim of NEPA (Clause 8) "to submit constitutionally to the authorities with neither fear nor bias the opinion and sentiments of our people." THE NOT (Clause 7) would "give advise," to the best of our ability to the authorities if they so desire."

Shortly before it became a political party, five years later, in 1951, the Northern peoples Congress (which grew out of a merger of NOT and JMA) we could still discover the steady influence of the pioneer organisation, NEPA, on the aims and objectives of the former. Clause 2 (see NEPA Clause 1) of the NPC declared aims and objectives was "to advance the minds of the Northern Peoples in order to mutually understand one another so as to appreciate the new problems affecting them" for Clause 5 of the NPC aims and objectives (see NEPA and NOT Clause 8 and 7 respectively) the party sought to "advance its opinion and advise (the Authority) on any important matter affecting the country".

The Northern Peoples Congress (Clause 6; see NEPA Clause 10) would "foster understanding between itself and other existing political bodies and those to be formed in Nigeria, so long as we share similar views".[5]

What is surprising however, is that in spite of the fact that NEPU was a carry over of NEPA, both in name as well as in its following, its declared programme of political action contained no clause which bears any similarity either in idea or in interpretation of those of NEPA. Nor is there any similarity (short of the basic idea of integrating the people of Northern Nigeria which was common to all organisations) between the stated aims and objectives of the NPC (1954) as a political party and those of the NEPA.

From the above comparison of NEPA with the cultural and political organisations that developed between 1948 and 1951, one can deduce the following: the founding of NEPA up till the formation of NEPU, marked a stage in the Northern Nigeria political consciousness, in which the few educated elite, continuously attempted to educate the literate members of the society on their political rights, and the need for a united action in order to solve the social and politcal problems of the North. They did this by advocating reasonably achievable goals and emphasising the importance of cooperating with the authorities who stood in their way.

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5. Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo, 28th March, 1951.

MEMBERS

For an organisation such as NEPA which was under severe surveillance by the Colonial Administration, it is difficult to discuss its membership in the official sense. Three categories of members can however, be distinguished. Firstly, there were members who paid their enrollment fees of five shillings (50k) and a monthly subscription of two shillings (20k) and appear whenever invited to party meetings. The second category include those who were willing to pay their enrollment fee and the monthly subscription but unwilling to attend meetings for fear of molestation; and thirdly, there were those who shared similar views with the party but could do neither. For these reasons, it would be very difficult to compile a comprehensive list of NEPA membership which has remained confidential for sometime.

From the partial list of the NEPA party activist in Kano as well as elsewhere one can have an idea as to the compositon of the membership, their background and possible reason for joining:-

President	-	M. Abdurahman Bida, Nupe
Vice-President	-	Mr. Mba'ana Acka, Tiv.
General-Secretary	-	H. Raji Abdallah, Igbirra
Asst. Secretary	-	M. Abdurahman Howidy, Arab.
Treasurer	-	M. Abba Said
Field Secretary	-	M. Abubakar Zukogi Fulani/Nupe.

The rest of the membership in Kano include, Mallam Muhammadu Gambo Abuja, Cooperatives, Malam Yusuf M. Maje Abdullahi (Son of Kano Emir, Abdullahi), Idiaro, Education M. Muhammadu Musa Biu, Health, M. Joseph Abadaki, Education, M. Muhammadu Gaya, N. A. employee, M. Muhammadu Makarfi, Nigerian Railway, M. Mudi Ringim, Forestry, Mr. G. G. Turundu, P.W.D., M. Maitama Sule, Education and M. Abba Maikwaru Auxillary Police, M. Ben Waffy, N. A. Cooperatives. [6]

From the partial list, a number of observations can be made (1) NEPA was principally an organisation of the Northern educated, located at the first stage in Kano; who, excepting few of the members in the executive, and fewer still in the rank and file had no more than middle school education or less. (2) The executive was heavily dominated by a non-Hausa-Fulani group,

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6. This list was compiled from (1) interview with former members (2) a confidential Dossier of former members, Secretary to the Government, Lagos, No. 42295/34 Sokoto Prof. National Archives, Kaduna. The names of the members were said to have been divulged by Mallam A. Howeidy, then a Clerk at the Provincial Office and Assistant Secretary of the Organisation. See B. J. Dudley, Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria, page 75. This has been confirmed in an interview with the Executive members of the Association at Bida and Kano. Interview with Alhaji Abubakar Zukogi and Mallam Abdurrahman Bida. Interview with Mallam Raji Abdallah for over two years period at Kaduna and Kano - 1971-1973.

mainly from the Middle Belt. There was one Tiv, two Nupe and one Igbirra.[7]

These two observations, the fact that the organisation had no mass base, and could only attract very few first or second generation of the Katsina College graduates were responsible for its slow progress in getting many adherents even among the educated.

To enhance its image as a viable and credible organisation imbued with the spirit of selfless and devoted service to further the social and political advancement of the North, NEPA organised an extensive tour of the Northern Provinces to open up branches. One of the problems encountered by NEPA in its drive to open up branches in all the urban centres of the North was lack of the personnel who would devote their time to NEPA political activities.

As it was, since nearly all the members were either government or NA officials, neither the rank and file nor the executive could have the time to tour and establish branches. Secondly, the financial question. At this early stage, the party had no means of income other than the entrance free and the monthly subscription.

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7. M. Abubakar Zukogi descended from the Fulani ruling class of Bida, which has for all practical purposes become assimilated into the NUPE. H. Raji Abdllah is related to the Attah, the first Chief of Igbirra land.

And since the members were very few, the money collected was not enough to pay for the day to day running of the party activities (stationery etc) and at the same time tour this vast region on whatever might remain in the treasury.

In July of 1947, two executive members, Raji Abdallah and Abubakar Zukogi, General and Field Secretaries respectively were granted two months leave for which they had become due by their respective Departments. Just at this time, Raji wrote;-

> the Executive Committee of NEPA took a decision that required the General Secretary, and the Field Secretary to go to Sokoto and organise a branch of the Association there. It was contended that the invasion of, and success in this ancient capital of the Moslem Empire, would enhance the progress of the Organisation in all other centres of the North.

As Raji and Zukogi left Kano by train, they were followed by two detectives to Sokoto. At Sokoto they were to stay with the Sardauna, then the Head of the Central Administration but declined for fear of exposing him to local political intrigues.[8]

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8. Interview with Abubakar Zukogi at Bida on September 22, 1972. Also see "Followed and Fired". The First Instalment of Raji Abdallah's story in SPEAR, June 1968, pp. 30-31.

The foray into the "ancient capital of the Moslim Empire" was not entirely successful. Although a public lecture was later delivered "on the African Club Grounds - on which grounds, incidentally the questionable Treaty of Sokoto was as we were told signed." The organisers had difficulty obtaining a permit. During this lecture, the first of its kind in Sokoto indeed in all of Northern Region, they spoke deprecatingly of the "infamous Treaty of Sokoto" and questioned the legitimacy of European rule over Northern Nigeria.[9] A number of the progressive youths in the employment of the Sokoto Native Authority were enthusiastic about the new organsiation, but the delegation was unable to establish a local branch, which was one of their prime objectives. Another objective, which too, was not realised, was the support of the Sultan for the NEPA cause. Not only did he fail to support them but they were disappointed when the Sultan, instead of issuing them with a permit to organise a public lecture referred them to the District Officer. The latter referred them back to the Sultan. "I have been to the Sultan," Raji told the D. O., "but he sent me here; and now you ask me to go back to the Sultan. Who then, pray, is the authority here? You cannot take me in with this ruse. This is a perfectly legitimate request of a citizen, are you granting it? Whatever may be your reply, favourable or otherwise, let me have it in writing.[10]

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9. The Spear June 1968 p.32.
10. Ibid - p 32.

"Well, Malam, said the D. O. has this organisation of yours any connection, secret or otherwise, with any organisation in the South?"

Raji: Your Lordship, Sir, Almighty, I replied, "the question is, are you granting permission to a Northerner to convene a lecture meeting in a Northern City?" The District Officer, Raji recalled, later granted the permit. However, Zukogi contends that the District Officer refused to give the permit and the lecture was held without one.[11] According to Zukogi, they were disappointed over the Sultan's attitude that they left the town without bidding him farewell, even when requested to do so by the Sardauna.

Failing to gain a foot-hold in Sokoto although with a considerable good-will, NEPA then decided to send its Field Secretary, Zukogi to organise branches in all the urban areas of the North. His first target was Jos. The Tin City was more a fertile ground for the sowing of the kind of ideas NEPA wanted to see germinate on the Northern soil.

For one thing, Jos, was a cosmopolitan urban area with Ibo, Hausa and Yoruba ethnic groups predominating.[12]

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11. Interviews with A. Zukogi, September 22, 1972. and Raji Abdallah in Kano November 3, 1972.

12. Plotnicov . Strangers to the City, An Urban Man in Jos, Nigeria, op cit.

Secondly, it lacked the traditional aura and inhibition of the centralised administrative structures of the Hausa/Fulani Emirates. And, because of the two factors above, the city dwellers, educated as well as the illiterate labourers and traders, were sophisticated enough to appreciate NEPA's arguments and understand its political programme.

After a short stay, Zukogi succeeded in forming a branch in Jos. The foundation members include Mallam Waziri Ibrahim (UAC) until 1966, Minister for Economic Development, Alhaji Armiya'u, Public Works Department, a former Commissioner in Kaduna State; Tudu Kolo, retired Ambassador; Alhaji Gambo Hawaja; Alhaji Ali Iliya, both patrons.[13]

From Jos, Zukogi procceded to Bauchi, where more than any other city in the Northern Region it had its own share of political ferment due to the presence of Sa'ad Zungur, Yahaya Gusau and Aminu Kano. The Bauchi General Improvement Union founded by the trio had been superseded by the Bauchi Community Centre. Zukogi's visit therefore, reactivated political activities in Bauchi with NEPA providing the rallying point. With the people who have tried so many organisations, it was easy to form a branch. The size of the membership in Bauchi came close to rivalling that

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13. Interview with Zukogi. Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim reached the peak of his political career when he contested for the presidency of Nigeria in 1979.

of the headquarters in Kano.[14]

The Field Secretary's attempt to found a branch at Maiduguri proved unsuccessful due to an early warning given to the Native Authority employees not to associate themselves with the visiting Secretary. There were however, a number of individuals at Kaduna and Zaria and other Northern urban centres who expressed support secretly for the NEPA cause, but were not able to form formal branches in these towns. NEPA expansion activities came to a stop with the Maiduguri experience, and from then on it turned its attention to achieving concrete result in and around Kano..

WHO JOINED NEPA AND WHY

From the comprehensive list of the NEPA membership, it can be concluded that it was an elite organisation. The generality of the membership, were ill-paid Native Authority employees, hired

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14. The Honourable Members of NEPA (Bauchi Branch) in Raji Abdallah's NEPA Files. This branch include Mallam Muhammed Dungus (Bauchi Middle School), President; Ahmad Muhammed Sa'ad Zungur, Secretary Mallam Dauda Lame, Provincial Office, Treasurer; Gidado Jama'are (BMS), Financial Secretary; Othman Ja'afar (BMS), Honorary Committee Member; Ahmadu Jika (Forestry Department) (CM); Usman Katungu (N.A. Works) (CM); Ibrahim Tanimu (General Merchant)(CM); Shehu Bauchi (Supervisor of Works), Member; Umaru Bauchi (Medical Department); M. Abubakar S. Yaro (Health Department); M. Adamu Bauchi (R.S.M.); GArba Bauchi (D.O's Office); M. Balarabe Yamrat (N.A. Works); M. Bello Driver (N.A. Works); Isa Driver (N.A. Works); Alkali Sehu (N.A. Works). This branch was formed between later September and early October, 1947.

and fired at the pleasure of the Sole Native Authority in the person of the Emir. It provided a forum through which their grievances not only those concerning their conditions of service, but also those concerning the progress of the Region could be aired. NEPA was founded during the period in which the entire salary structure of the civil service was being reviewed by Mr. Harrigan. This was necessitated by the post-war run-away inflation.

Some of the educated elites, especially those educated at Yaba Higher College, were itching to attach themselves to an Association with a broad based support (a region wide organisation) instead of the localised literary and Old Boys Associations which were parochial and non-political, and at best transitory. In a reply to the NEPA General Secretary's appeal to join the new body, Mallam Jarma of the School of Agriculture wrote:-

> I am ready to cooperate with you to my utmost ability. This project, I am sure had been in the minds of young Northerners and I believe its promotion will be welcome by many of us. Dear Brother, you cannot (imagine) how delightful I was when last year, in February, I heard that a similar body has been formed at Zaria, but to my greatest surprise, I found that it died after its first meeting. But today, I think, we have able people such as you and many others who have the initiative of starting this organisation and who have the intelligence of not keeping it in Kano alone, but extending it throughout the country.[15]

There were a number of Yaba educated Northern youths who were discontented with the system of education and moreso with

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15. Mallam Ahmed Jarma to Raji Abdallah, March 22, 1947.

its rewards. "When I went to the Higher College," Mallam Jarma complained, before entering the Medical School, 1½ years hence, I learnt that the Medical School is a resting place, because you spend seven years (1½ years in the Higher College proper and 5½ years in the Medical School) and still as an AMO (Assistant Medical Officer). While if you go to England straight, you become full Medical Officer in six years, which is more economical and profitable. My friends in the Higher College and in Lagos town, were then saying to me:-

> why didn't your Native Authority send you to England straight? Why did you come here to waste your time in this Nigerian Medical School since your Native Authority can support you overseas... At least, I followed their advice and applied to my Native Authority through the Medical Officer (there) for scholarship to England to be trained as a full Medical Officer in July of 1945. They replied me through the Medical Officer that my application would be considered after passing my London Matriculation Examination which I took in June, 1946 and passed in Grade One... The Emir instructed a letter to be written to me direct from his office that he offered NO HOPES of a scholarship to me by the Native Authority whether I PASSED my London Matriculation or NOT. Seeing that a cousin of mine (the Emir) should stand against my progress like this, I decided NEVER to go back to the Native Authority.[16]

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16. Ibid., page 2. See also Coleman, op.cit., page 124 on the nagative reaction of Southern students to the Yaba College of Education. According to Coleman, "During the late 1930's dissatisfaction with Yaba increased and agitation for overseas education became more intense." See also letter of threat of withdrawal from the Nigeria College of Arts and Science, Zaria, pp 111-115, vol. 1 supra.

At the time this young Northerner applied for the Native Authority scholarship to study medicine in England, the Government of Northern Region had just evoked a Higher Education Policy by sending old School Masters of the Katsina College type to go to the Institute of Education, London University to study for a Diploma in Education, lasting one year. Only few of them were selected in 1945.

A Northern Government report suggested three reasons why Mallam Abubakar Zukogi, a member of the Masaba lineage of the Bida ruling house had become discontented thus leading him to participate actively in the new organisation. Phsychologically, the report said- "he is a turbulent man, arrogant, intelligent but also excitable." Secondly, Mallam Abubakar Zukogi, "during his service with the Forestry Department, he sought appointment as a District Head in the Bida Native Authority but was unsuccessful. He was considered too youthful to be successful in such a post. It is more than likely that his efforts to secure the District Headship which he coveted has left a sense of bitterness." It seemed Mallam Zukogi was not happy in the Forestry Department and his dispute with them "must undboutedly have a result of this kind." - (Sense of bitterness).

Mallam Bukar Dipcharima, who had represented NEPA in the NCNC delegation to the United Kingdom in 1947 presented another dimension in the character sketch of those who joined NEPA. A graduate of Kaduna College in 1939, be became a teacher at the Borno Middle School. According to the School authorities, "his

early reports were good" but it emphasised the he "shouted too much in his class." The report went on - "In 1942-1943 it was stated that it had been noticed that he had become disgruntled and intolerant of discipline. He was several times recorded as having shown a very intelligent interest in the war and in external affairs." Mallam Bukar was under a very close surveillance by the School Authorities towards the end of the war. "At the same time," the reports said "it was noticed that he was tending to mix more with the members of the non-Northern community then in Maiduguri and had begun to adopt an insolent attitude towards the European staff."

Indeed, Mallam Bukar Dipcharima, was a protege of Shehu of Borno who until his becoming Shehu was the Shehu of Dikwa. The Shehu "wrote that he was dissatisfied with Mallam Bukar's conduct and wished him transferred to Dikwa Division or elsewhere."[17]

Little wonder, therefore, Mallam Bukar Dipcharima, signified in the middle of 1945, his intention to resign his appointment.

Mallam Dipcharima secured employment with John Holt on leaving the Education Department. The report dated Mallam Bukar's change of attitude to 1942, when, it said, the "main influx of Ibo artisans occurred during the war."

Another NEPA member, was Mr. Ayilla Yough, a Tiv, who the

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17. Backhouse, op.cit., page 9.

report described as Zik's agent in Makurdi. Mr. Yough had been an employee of the Zik's Press in Lagos before he settled in Tivland.[18]

Also mentioned in the report, was Mallam Abba Kyari Metteeden, a Kanuri, who was born and bred in Kano. According to the report, he was "an ambitious youngman and is clearly not satisfied with his present job which does not enable him to use the abilities he considers he possesses.[19]

The sketches of the individuals discussed above show conclusively that the average educated Northerner was discontented, with - (a) condition of service in the government and Native Authority Departments where promotions and opportunities for advancement were lacking; (2) working under the Native Authorities at the pleasure of the Emir, there being no condition of service as such (3) there was resentment among the better educated ones for lack of opportunities to pursue further education abroad. These were execerbated by the pace of economic and communication development during the war; the exposure of these people to other Nigerians who exerted some influence on them. These were then the major contributory factors, that drove the young educated elites to found a vehicle through which they could vent out their grievances against the then existing colonial administrative machinery.

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18. Ibid., page 10,

19. Ibid., page 11,

PURSUING ITS OBJECTIVES: DOMESTIC ISSUE, THE CASE OF THE INFECTIOUS DISEASE HOSPITAL:

In pursuing its objectives, as stated in Clause (8) of its aims and objectives (to submit constitutionally to the authority with neither fear nor bias the opinions and sentiments of our people), NEPA adopted the constitutional method of petition writing. With barely two month of existence, NEPA in a petition to the Senior Resident opposed the rumoured plan of building in the city, and Infectious Disease Hospital. If the rumour had any foundation, wrote the petitioners, then,"we respectfully submit that such a Hospital, within the walls of the city, will be nothing short of a bull in a China shop - taking into account the congested state of the city and the fact what the disease are not only contageous but also infectious."[20]

In his reply, the Resident assured NEPA that indeed an Infectious Disease Hospital was to be located within the city walls, but the "site had received the approval of the Medical and Health Authorities and was not selected until every aspect of the matter had received careful consideration.."[21]

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20. The General Secretary, NEPA to the Resident, Kano Province, February 5, 1947. Raji Private Files.

21. E. W. Featherstone, Resident, Kano Province to Hon. Secretary, NEPA, No. 6410/4 February 15, 1947 - NEPA Files.

Having been assured that what they have learnt was an established fact, NEPA, in their second petition, raised the issues that are both political and technical in nature. "Is it not a fact," NEPA asked, "that the I.D.H. (Infectious Diseases Hospital) is to be removed from the Sabon-gari area because of its proximity to human habitation? If the city inhabitants are today unconcerned, as their silence shows, and because they do not realise the possible dangers attending the issue, can it be taken for granted that they may not, as time goes by become fully awake to realisation? If then they should look back upon the history of today would they be blame worthy to conjecture that the authorities had cared more for the welfare of others than their own?"

> "We have no personal axes to grind in this matter, Sir, but we would be failing in our duties as citizens if we failed to point out what might become the little rift within the lute..."[22]

It must be seen, in this paragraph that NEPA was fighting for the cause of the Hausa people resident in the Kano City whose welfare was not considered in locating the Hospital within the city. It might well be that the pressure to remove the Hospital from Sabon-gari came from the Southern communities resident there and NEPA was doing its utmost, as the champion of the silent majority (Hausa) to protect the city dwellers.

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22. NEPA to Senior Resident, Kano. Letter No. NEPA/C/1/6, February 24, 1947 - NEPA Files.

To support its case, NEPA quoted the views of noted public health authorities.[23] It must be noted here that the President of NEPA was a Medical student at the Katsina College and Dispenser with the Kano General Hospital who held that (a) the cite for *Small-Pox Hospital whether for infectious diseases* or not, or a work-house, or a population of as many as 200 persons. (b) the site must not have within half a mole of it a population of as many as 600 persons, whether in one or more institutions in dwelling houses. For the reasons stated, the site should be away from dwellings, high-way, public footpath and places of public resot..."[24]

Since it is probably that this is the first time, a society organised by Northerners had engaged the Provincial Administration in such a serious interlucution through the mdeium of letter, *no doubt, the administration would become suspicious of the intention* of such a society and as to who, if any, was behind its formation. In his reply, the Resident informed the Association that "the site for the Infectious Diseases Hospital was fixed as far back

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23. Text Book of Public Health, by Frazer, W. M., OBE, MD, Ch.B., M.Sc., Ph.D., Medical Officer of Health City and Port of Liver pool, etc and C.T. Stally Brasse, MD, CH.B., Ph.D., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. Lecturer on Public Health Administration, Union of *Liverpool, Tenth Edition, quoted* by NEPA in NEPA Files.

24. Ibid., pp. 471-472.

as 1939 when the present Chief Commissioner, Northern Provinces was Resident, Kano Province, and the drafter of this letter was in charge of Kano Division. The site was approved by the Native Authority and the Health Authorities and at no time since then has any doubt been cast upon the suitability of the site in question.

The Resident further requested "the help of your Progressive Association on our vaccination campaign" suggesting perhaps, that the Association should instead occupy itself with projects such as the above rather than attacking government decisions.

In what can be interpreted as suspicion of the organisation, its aims and objects the Resident, at the end of his letter wrote to say that "Mr. Featherstone had seen your original letter on the 5th of February and he is interested in the formation of your Association. He id doubtful, however, what is the title of the Association." The Resident expressed the desire to meet with "a deputation from the Association which will be able to explain to him more fully the aims and objectives of the Association and the extent of its memberships.[25]

Although, NEPA failed to convince the authorities of the undesirability of establishing an Infectious Diseases Hospital within the city walls, it did attract an unexpected interest to itself by the authorities which was a prelude to one of its difficulties.

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25. Resident, Kano Province to Hon. Secretary, NEPA, March 27,,,194

NEPA EDUCATIONAL AND POLITICAL PROGRAMMES:

In this section, we shall look into the ideas of NEPA on the educational and political problems of Northern Nigeria. In a circualr to the Emirs the party regretted "that the North has neither accepted the modern ways of the Europeans, as they have done in the South nor had it adopted the true religion of Islam. The struggle is for worldly power. We have suffered indignities in the hands of the European, because they rule over us by force. We then do not respect them as people but respect their awesome military power. Our land is separate from theirs and the same is true to our religion."[26]

The party urged the Emirs to change their attitude towards the Ibos and the Yorubas of the South, since unlike the British, "We shall live in the same country with them and they are our

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26. Circular letter signed by A. Zukogi, NEPA Files.

neighbours." The party then appealed to the Emirs that in order to ensure a better life for posterity, certain things have to be changed. Owing to the North's complacent attitute, NEPA claimed it has allowed Europeans as well as Southerners to dominate most of the job openings in the North. The party asked - "what is the value of our Koranic education if we cannot utilise them in the pursuit of Western education?"

The Association then suggested that they use the money in the Native Authority Treasuries or withdraw their investment abroad in order to send students overseas for further training on a provincial basis as given below:-

TABLE 7 - I

PROVINCE	NUMBER OF STUDENTS	TRAINING
Sokoto	20	Doctors, Engineers, etc.
Kano	20	Brick-layers, Locomotive Drivers.
Borno	20	Mechanised Farming, Veterinary etc
Katsina	20	
Bauchi	15	
Zaria	15	
Ilorin	15	
Bida	15	
Yola	15	
Plateau	10	
Benue	10	
Kabba	10	
Total -	185	

The North would therefore, send 185 students according to NEPA's recommendation. But as we noted earlier, the Emirs were not powerful enough to dictate to the Department of Education regarding the educational needs of the Region. Rather it was the Department that informed the Emirs of the Region's 'needs' and as far as the Department was concerned, there were not enough qualified Northerners to benefit from such courses overseas. Such a suggestion by NEPA at this time (1948) seemed revolutionary. But two years later, a variant of this scheme was instituted with the help of a public collection, the Northern Self-Development Fund.

In explaining the educational needs of Northern Nigeria, further, NEPA, through its Field Secretary, Mallam Abubakar Zukogi, demanded the setting up of three more Colleges in Northern Nigeria. He condemned, the British policy of shifting one College around "in order to fool us." This is in reference to Katsina College, which was shifted from Katsina to Kaduna and from Kaduna to Zaria. According to Mallam Zukogi, one College should be sited at Jos (Plateau) which would serve three areas, namely, Bauchi, Yola and Borno. another one should be sited at Minna to serve Ilorin, Niger, Kabba and Benue while the third should be sited at Kano or Kaduna for Zaria, Sokoto and Katsina. NEPA, also recommended that the Colleges being built at Zaria (known as Nigerian College of Arts and Science) should be a Central Technical Institution on the line of Yaba College.[27]

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27. Mallam Abubakar Zukogi in West African Pilot, October 17, 1947. It can be seen that as early as 1947, NEPA had got the idea of "catchment" areas now used as a formula for University admission.

In addition to recommending the establishment of more Colleges, NEPA made far reaching demands that were echoed by its successor, the Northern Elements Progressive Union. It demanded the following:-

a) an immediate rise in the prices of our crops, for NEPA, was aware of "the heavy amount of profit the shippers get per ton in England and America.

b) an urgent water supply by wells in Katsina, Zaria, Sokoto and Borno areas "so as to relieve millions of tax-payers and cattle owners who pay jangali in the face of the present acute water difficulties.

c) an urgent withdrawal of "all Native Administration's foreign investments to be banked in a special Federal Northern Native Administration's Bank Limited. The bank could then grant loan and advances for industrial projects.

d) we desire election by popular majority and not nomination of our representatives either into the Legislative Council.

e) each big Native Authority should send at least two men from its staff to England for special studies in either medicine or engineering, NEPA declared the "we cannot afford to import everything we need from overseas since more than 50% of our development fund will go to pay their salaries, expatriation allowances etc."

f) above all, NEPA called for the establishment of an "unofficial Tax Assessment Board for the North.

NEPA's attitude towards Chiefs in the Northern Provinces was also clarified in this document. It declared that the Northern Youths had now "understood that the Indirect Rule System is a system of using the local Chiefs and elders as stooges." The Europeans, therefore, exploited the "profound respect the people have for their Chiefs and elders." According to Zukogi, "the majority of our Chiefs are illiterate and cannot follow closely all the terminologies and phraseologies in obnoxious bill[28]

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28. Reference to the four Bills over which the NCNC protested to the Secretary of State for the Colonies - See the Section on NEPA and Southern Cooperation.

and other government ordinances which they have to approve and pass over to their subjects."

NEPA, said Zukogi, sympathised with the Emirs and Chiefs because "we have seen clearly how they are being led by the nose." While NEPA had profound respect for the Emirs and Chiefs, "we cannot be expected to respect those who do not respect themselves in that they see their people in misery and fail to press for the betterment of their conditions in so far as, so they think, they have nothing to worry for after all, they have been fixed on regular high salaries."

The demands made by NEPA, were in line with demands associated with most nationalist organisations in their struggle to achieve independence for their territories. The demands fall into four categories - economic, educational, social and structural changes.

On the economic, NEPA touched upon the sensitive issue of economic exploitation of the peasantry by the colonial administration. It was a well known fact that farmers were being paid chicken feed by the British commercial firms while they made awesome profits on exporting the produce abroad. If Zukogi's charges were general, his colleague, the Bauchi and the North-Eastern Correspondent of the West African Pilot was specific. In a running battle of words (and at times of arms) with an expatriate Mechanical Inspector, Mr. J. Ogle, Mallam Sa'ad Zungur gave the following example-

> In 1937, the cost per ton of Nigerian groundnuts as purchased by representatives of British private enterprise with the assistance of Nigerian government through the Local Chamber of

> commerce, was only £2. 17. 6d., when the average price per ton of this Nigerian product in the World Market outside the British colonies was £50/-/-"[29]

Mallam Sa'adu Zungur claimed that during the last four years (between 1944 and 1948) "over 3,000,000 tons of guinea corn and millet have been literally taken away free of charge by the Central Government through the Native Administrations from the poor peasants of the North. For, according to him, when the 'market' price of corn was six pence per measure, in towns and cities, the "administrators forced the farmers to sell to the U.A.C. (United African Company) at the killing rate of nine-tenths of a penny per same measure." In the case of millet and guinea corn, he said, while the cost per bag was £6/-/- - the British Administrators dictated through the Native Authorities that the same bag be sold to the U.A.C. (United African Company) for 75kobo.[30]

It can be seen therefore, that the issue of the sale of products was a lively political issue at the time NEPA was founded. This exploitation of the illiterate mass of Nigerian farmers was carried out through the collaboration of the oppressive and exploitative Native Administration system in the person of the Emir, who was the sole Native Authority.

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29. "Mask Torn off the Face of United Kingdom Imperialist Misrule," West AFrican Pilot, January 6, 1948, pages 1 & 4.

30. Ibid., page 2.

It was this amount, therefore, that Malam Abubakar Zukogi wished to be withdrawn. He suggested further that a special Federated Northern Native Administration Bank Limited be created and funded from the withdrawn reserve. The bank could then grant loan and advances for industrial projects.

The extent to which the investment issue had become political hot potato at this time could be guaged by yet another row between Malam Sa'adu Zungur and the District Officer, Bauchi. The District Officer had called Malam Sa'adu to query him on his source of information on the alleged loss of £1,000 by the Bauchi Native Administration through its investment abroad.[32]

At that time, the report sent ripples within the Kaduna Secretariat. The Chief Commissioner querried the Resident of Bauchi, and he in turn querried the District Officer to investigate how the information got leaked from the Bauchi Native Administration to the Press. Malam Sa'adu gave the following account:-

> On the occasion of the first official interview, I asked the District Officer to refer to the accounts of the Administration's investment in Blackburn, England and to my surprise, he said that he was not aware that the Bauchi Native Administration had any money invested in Blackburn.[33]

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32. West African Pilot, July 1, 1947, page 2.

33. West African Pilot, October 16, 1947, page 2.

It is for this reason, therefore, that NEPA sought for some structural changes in the Northern Native Administration system. (This will be discussed later).

Another economic issue which was discussed and debated upon by the Northern Intelligentsia which NEPA represented was the issue of Native Administration foreign investment. Mallam Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, at this time, a very close collaborator with the progressive forces, demanded to know during the Northern Regional Council Debates in October, the total Native Treasury reserve fund being held overseas, and he further demanded to know "as to when and how the Native Authorities" are likely to use their reserve fund. In his reply, the Secretary of the Northern Provinces revealed that as of March 31st, 1946, the latest date for which verified figures were available, the total native treasury reserve was £2,889,192 approximately £3,000,000. Of the above amount, about £2,000,000 was invested with Crown Agents in London and the Nigerian Saving Institutions.[31]

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31. The above reply to Balewa's question was published in the West African Pilot of October 16, 1947, page 1 & 4. Regarding the Nigerian Saving Certificate which consumed part of the over ₦1 million invested in Nigeria, the investors did not receive any interest. The policy of witholding the interest was announced by the Chief Commissioner, Northern Provinces at the 1940 Emirs and Chiefs Conference. He said inter-alia - "His Honour said that the second point which he wished to make clear was that there was no question of interest being paid on this money, as he knew that Moslem would not approve of that." Report of the 1940 Emirs and Chiefs Conference page 19 in File No. 24440, Vol. IV, (National Archives, Ibadan.

Malam Sa'adu Zungur further pointed out that he called the attention of the District Officer to the "fact that the press report under discussion did not mention any specific dates on which the losses had been sustained;" the fact of the matter was that the loss of £600 was suffered by the Bauchi Native Authority through its investment in Blackburn, England in 1941, and £533:6. loss suffered in Kenya in 1947.

Furthermore, Malam Sa'adu went on - "I showed him a copy of a summary of investments (up to 1941) of all Native Administrations in North and told him that I still had the intention of posing a series of questions to the Public Relations Officer on that score."[34]

Two other economic issues raised by NEPA, Field Secretary, include the training of Northerners so as to prevent the massive importation of expatriates to serve in the region and the setting up of an unofficial Tax Assessement Board for the North. Malam Zukogi claimed that over 50% of the Region's development fund went to salaries and expatrition allowances of expatriates. The logic of setting up of an unofficial Tax Assessment Board for the North is very clear. An official board, composed mainly

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34. Ibid., p.2 and the Extent of Nigerian Investment in foreign countries can be seen from the list below - Bida Native Administration had in Ceylon £1,200; Australia £413; India £2,569; New Zealand £1,071; Biu Native Administration had in Gold Coast £1,000; £600 in New Zealand. Bornu Native Administration had £10,000 in Ceylon; Australia £697; Blackburn £5,500; India £3,000; New Zealand £4,580 - West African Pilot, October 29, 1947.

of British officials, could not tax British companies as they should; the companies which exploited the peasant and recorded abominable profits.

The two demands dealing with the society's structure include the loss of confidence by NEPA in the Chiefs and elders and the desire to have election by popular majority instead of by nomination. The NEPA Secretary had declared that they could not be expected to respect those who do not respect themselves for they had failed to "press for the betterment of their people" who are in misery. The chieftaincy institution had therefore, lost its credibility of NEPA members, some of whom, including the Secretary were part of the ruling class. The desire by NEPA for election by popular majority and not by nomination to the Regional and Legislative Council would result in a major structural change which could bring about the eclipse of traditonal rule. It should be pointed out that members to the Regional and Legislative Councils were nominated from amongst Native Authority Councillors, who were nominated to that Council by the Emirs.

In 1949, during its exile in Lagos, NEPA (now changed to JANA) JAMIYYAR ALUMMAR NIJERIYA TO AREWA, Northern People's Congress or Party) issued a warning to Sir John Macpherson regarding the obstacles to genuine constitutional changes especially in Northern Nigeria. Its first target was the system of Indirect Rule, which "naturally encourages favouritism and nepotism". It pointed out that some paramount Chiefs on ascending the throne "embark on

a policy of purging out experienced District Heads and sacked Village Chiefs foron reason other than to replace them with their own Chiefs, immediate relatives and followers ....." It contended that such practice received the blessing of the administration. Under such a system, the party argued, "it will be almost impossible for the present regime to gather genuine public opinions in areas where rulers have been and are autocratic with the assistance of administrative officers who still retain the Lugardian mentality.[35]

The party wondered how the genuine opinions of the so-called pagan areas and districts of the North, ruled, since the British advent by Fulani, or Hausa District heads "on the spot" be gathered by the government remembering that these "pagan districts in most cases are not represented on Divisional and Provincial Councils?"

This is very significant point which was neglected by the administration with disastrous political repercussions. As it turned out, in the ALL NIGERIAN CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE at Ibadan in January, 1950, all the provinces in the North except Benue and Plateau, whose majority are "pagans," were represented. All the delegates from these areas were muslims. This omission of these two important provinces, was partly responsible for the formation of an organisation known as the Non-Muslim League which gave birth to the separatist Middle Belt Movement.

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35. West African Pilot, 15th January, 1949.

One can therefore, see that the NEPA recommendation is substantially different from that of Azikiwe. However, they both agree, it seems that Ilorin should be transferred to the West. (NEPA would have both Ilorin and the Yoruba part of Kabba transferred to the West, Whereas, Azikiwe would have Ilorin only. Kabba was to be part of Central State comprising Benue and Plateau.)[37]

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH

One of NEPA's principal objectives was "to co-operate with a pure motive, towards the development of this our land - Nigeria - provided their aspirations are, after a final analysis not opposed to ours." At this time, 1946-1947, there was one major political party in Nigeria, the NCNC which was Southern based but had as one of its founding members, the Tiv Progressive Union, the only single tribal organisation from the North that supported it. We have indicated earlier that M. Raji Abdallah, the General Secretary and one of the principal founders of the Association, together with Osita Agwuna founded the Kano Branch of the Zikist Movement, an appendage of the NCNC, earlier in 1946. Furthermore, the Association's objective of working "towards the solidarity of Nigeria as an indivisible whole" was also one of the NCNC's main aims. Consequently, an informal co-operation between NEPA and the NCNC based on this congruence of ideas, to NEPA was justifiable.

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37. For details, see Political Blue Print of Nigeria, 1943; and also The Presidential Address to the First Convention of the NCNC by Dr. Azikiwe at Kaduna, April 5, 1948, page 8.

In May of 1946, prior to the formations of NEPA, the NCNC had combed most of the Northern cities drumming up support for its all Nigeria crusade against the four obnoxious ordinances mentioned earlier. It hoped to raise funds as it travelled as well as to convince peoples of different parts of the country, especially the Hausa-Fulani and Kanuri elements of Northern Nigeria of the desirability of sending a delegation of the United Kingdom to protest against the implementation of the four obnoxious ordinances.

During their visits, they were received in Bauchi by Malam Sa'adu Zungur, in Zaria by Mr. Iro Kaya, and in Maiduguri by Malam Bukar Dipcharima. The latter was selected by the NCNC to represent the North in its delegation to the United Kingdom. Malam Dipcharima, had not before that time (early 1947) been a member of any political organisation. Early in April, however, NEPA had started its mail campaign to the educated elites of the North to join the new organisation. Malam Dipcharima was a recepient of one. Because of his support for the NCNC cause, principally the end of colonial domination and the unity between North and South, he automatically became a supporter of NEPA, although there is no evidence that he formally belonged to it.

Charges were bound to emanate from the Northern Nigerian government to discredit the credentials of M. Bukar Dipcharima as the representative of Northern Nigeria on the NCNC delegation. Indeed, just before the delegation set out on its first leg, the government had begun to circulate a letter urging the various

local authorities to play down the news of the delegation and to show the public that M. Burkar Dipcharima was not a true representative of the North. In the circular it was stated that "the Chief Secretary to the Government has been requested to arrange publicity for the fact that Mallam Bukar Dipcharima is a self-appointed leader who has no following among Northerners for whom he is not entitled to speak, he is an obscure person who can claim to represent only himself and a few unimportant cronies".[38]

Unfortunately, about two weeks before the circular was sent out, Mallam Bukar, though could not be said to be representing the entire North was issued with a mandate to represent NEPA, the only organisation which claims to represent the North. Because of the historical importance of this document, I reproduce it in full. It said:-

> All members of this Association are filled with joy and gratification at your selection. The NCNC has made no mistake and we trust, knowing you as we do, that you will be a square peg for a square hole. We hereby pledge to you our own whole-hearted support and also give you full mandate to speak not our minds - but the minds of our rising generation - to them in London.
>
> We have conducted a series of interviews (private) amongst the people here, and from the results, we can assure you that there are thousands of people astride this Association who would but for fear of possible consequence, have come out openly to give you mandate. One can hardly blame such people, knowing how strong and unrelenting the hold of imperialism is on the unfortunate people of this enslaved North.

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38. Circular N.P. No.49428/52, Kaduna, June 5, 1947 in Kano Provincial File No. C. 188, National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons, National Archives, Kaduna.

With you, we are comrades in chains and in sorrow; we are fellow victims of want in a land of plenty. You know all our problems; you know all our ailments; The imperial vampire has sucked your blood as ours: We have, together, been under the grinding teeth of the greedy combines; therefore, Bukar, speak out for us:

Why must we be slaves for ever? Why must we continue to suffer the indignities of the unilateral treaty forced upon our fore-fathers, at Wurno on 1st June, 1895? Why must our lands be crown-lands when we are said to be a protected people? Why must our kings be derogated to the status of Chiefs, who, even then - do not more than carry out orders from the real (alien) rulers? Why, in Allah's Name, should continous attempts be made to keep Nigeria divided into separate entities?

Tell them for us, Bukar, that we have started to think seriously. We cherish freedom no less than they in England do. Neither life is so dear nor peace so sweet as to be bought at the price of chains and slavery. We would rather die on our feet than live on our knees. Tell them we, here, are under no better democracy than the Hitlerite Germans were. Our farmers toil and labour all the year round and their harvest is taken (not bought) and they are given in-adequate compensation. The authorities pay what they will (and not what we demand) for our groundnuts. And yet the farmers, give preference to the production of groundnuts. Our raw materials are taken at controlled prices but we must pay exhorbitant prices for manufactured articles. Tell them it is time to call a halt, and in the interest of peace and humanity, let them retrace their steps and rectify, as they go, their wrongs, for as long as they remain they are a per-petual source of danger to peace. Tell them, in short, that it would take volumes, to compile a catalogue of "Imperial Wrongs" in this country.

> We are opposed to the obnoxious ordinances and to the Richards Constitution in which we see an attempt to create three separate entities in Nigeria. Those who today support this Constitution do so not conscien iously, but either because they have been bought over or because they do not understand. Tell them, while we deprecate Honourable Balewa's chauvinsitic utterances in the March sitting of the Legislative Council, we yet pity him knowing the unenviable position in which he was placed. Yes, Bukar, speak out for us and our full mandate we give unto thee. Though , the heavens come down we shall stand by you till the end. AND MAY ALLAH HELP US.[39]

We have quoted the NEPA mandate to Bukar Dipcharima because it throws full light on the major grievances of the educated class who were the main supporters of the organisation. Firstly, at the time of the NCNC delegation, NEPA was not an affiliate member of the NCNC; but Dipcharima was to speak out against the British Government political and economic policies in Nigeria, and thirdly, Dipcharima should speak out against the Richards Constitution which, they said, attempted to split the country into three separate parts. They are further more against Balewa's anti-South pronouncement but sympathised with the position in which he was placed. The Colonial Secretary granted audience to the NCNC delegation on

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39. NEPA Letter to Bukar Dipcharima, May 21, 1947. NEPA FILES.

the Administrative officials who "in their speeches had aimed at disuniting Nigeria and had given encouragement to one representative of the North who in Legislative Council had made a speech aimed at disuniting Nigeria." This was in reference to Abubakar Tafawa Balewa's speech mentioned in the NEPA mandate.

Discussing the economic issue, Dipcharima "referred to the low prices received from crops owing to the distances from the sea, which was one of the reasons for the poverty in the North. He considered also that the administration in the North was getting farther away from the masses and very little was being done to remove the marked difference between the North and the South.[42]

Although the delegation failed to convince the Secretary of State to repeal the four obnoxious ordinances, it achieved for itself the fame for promoting a cause supported by a number of assorted political groups. For NEPA, the Dipcharima trip further brought to official notice the cooperation between the organisation and the NCNC and their aspiration for unity and understanding between North and South. The administration had done all it could to discredit Dipcharima's credentials, yet most of his statements, which reflected the views of NEPA, later became the main issues on which even the most conservative of Northern politicians spoke. For NEPA, the Dipcharima trip had helped to publicise the organisation and its objectives and paradoxically, increased its chances of premature death.

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42. FN 193, P. 219
Note on the Conference, page 4. Details, see Coleman, J., Nigerian Background to Nationalism: pp 291-295.

NEPA IN EXILE:

An intensive investigation of the origin and activities of the Northern Elements progressive Association followed swiftly in the wake of NEPA's endorsement and support and participation in the NCNC led delegation to London in June, 1946. The administration was convinced, after a thorough investigation, that the NEPA "is Zikism dressed to resemble an indigenous and [43] spontaneous Northern Movement and that the leaders of NEPA have at their disposal all of the resources of the Zik Press including its Press Agents in the North."

This conclusion was based on the fact that two senior officials of NEPA, M. Raji Abdallah, General Secretary and M. Abdurrahman Bida, President, were also members of the Kano branch of the Zikist Movement with the former as its founding member and Branch Secretary and later its President. NEPA's trouble in Kano and elsewhere began with the close affiliation of the new organisation with the Zikist Movement, which was the most radical of all political organisations in Nigeria at the time.[44]

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43. Secretary, Northern Provinces to the Chief Secretary to the Government, Lagos, No.42295/34, of August 26, 1947.

44. Although Abubakar Zukogi was closely associated with the two, he had never been a member of the Zikist Movement. Interview with Zukogi, Bida, September 22, 1972.

In March, 1974, owing to the increase in political activities and participation thereof by civil servants against G. O. 40B,[45] the Chief Secretary to the Nigerian Government noted that the said law was being infringed. He pointed out that "certain subjects (which are so clearly of a political or administrative nature that no possible excuse could be offered for failing to recognise them as such ... Should civil servants desire to comment on the terms and conditions of their service they must do so through their recognised unions or associations."[46]

Shortly after the circulation of this notice, M. Raji Abdullah, then only a Branch Secretary of the Zikist Movement in Kano, at a meeting in Lagos was elevated to the Office of the President General of the Zikist Movement. As the new President-General elect, M. Abdallah was asked to deliver an acceptance speech which he gave on August 17, 1947. The lecture was entitled, "what is Zikism." It was this lecture which landed NEPA into trouble with

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45. This law prohibited officers without expressed permission from publishing or causing to be published, or speaking at any public on matters which may reasonably be regarded as of a political or administrative nature. Circular No. 33/1947 to Provincial Residents in MAK PROF 512, National Archives Kaduna.

46. Ibid., page 1.

the authorities. As Raji himself noted, "it was this very lecture that was later, as alleged, to earn me the wrath of the "masters" of our Civil Service."[47]

On his return to Kano both the organisation, NEPA and Raji himself were put under systematic surveillance and investigation. A dossier of all members, both actual and potential was compiled and sent to Lagos.[48] Raji was made to realise that his lecture on "Zikism" given at a public rally in Lagos, contravened the G. O. 40B mentioned earlier.[49] He was requested to "state in writing through the Head of your Department within seven days of the receipt by you of this letter any grounds upon which you rely to exculpate yourself". The letter had conveyed to Raji the news that his dismissal from the service was being contemplated under Colonial Regulation 66 and the charge was as follows;-

> That you, Malam Habib Raji Abdallah, Senior Wireless Monitor and Announcer, on or about the 11th day of August, 1947, at the Clover Hall, Lagos addressed a meeting, to which members of the public had access, on a subject reasonably to be regarded as of a political nature without the permission of the Secretary of State for the colonies for the Governors and thereby contravened the Provision of the General Order 40B.[50]

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47. Spear, June, 1968, page 36.

48. See Appendix to Secretary, Northern provinces' Letter to Chief Secretary, Lagos, August 26, 1947.

49. Letter No. P.7301/5 of 15th November, 1947.

50. Ibid, page 2.

Raji's submission was replied with a dismissal note which informed him that "it is necessary in the public interest that you be dismissed and you are hereby dismissed from the services as from the date of your receipt of this letter.[51]

Raji's dismissal raised a number of unanswered questions. Firstly, Raji and other members of the Association, especially Zukogi had given lectures in various parts of the Northern Provinces on issues which can be reasonably regarded as political without prior clearance. At Sokoto the principal topic on which both Raji and Zukogi lectured was "the infamous character of the Treaty of Wurno which gave the chartered company unlimited rights, which this company in turn surrendered to the Imperial Government on the revocation of its charter in 1900." Yet no verbal or written warning was received by Raji (Zukogi had by then resigned voluntarily from the Forestry Department). It seemed from the Government's reaction to Raji's Lagos lecture that so long as members of NEPA or any other nationalist organisations confined themselves to Northern Nigeria, they would be contained, but the moment they ventured outside the North, especially if allied to a Southern based organisation, such as NEPA was, such an organisation or individual had become a threat.

Not only in the Government, but there were within the Association certain Branches who were concerned with the NEPA's forays into the South. The latter would rather have NEPA establish itself

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51. No. P.7301/35 of 29th December, 1947. See also Raji's Account in SPEAR, August, 1968, pages 30-31.

securely in the North, first, before venturing into the South. After establishing the Bida Branch of NEPA in May, (the first Branch outside of the Kano Headquarters), Zukogi was reported to have given a public lecture in Lagos under the auspices of NEPA. The Bida Branch wrote Zukogi advising him "not to give further (sic) lectures in Lagos publicly but we request you to form as widely as possible, the provincial branches throughout Northern Provinces. When the object is achieved and NEPA is known throughout the North, then such lectures will be of great assistance."[52]

We have gone into detailed discussion on G. O. 40B and its first application in the North so as to show to what extent such a weapon could be used to get rid of budding Northern Nationalists from the Government Service. It was this same G.O. 40B that robbed the Northern Peoples Congress of its leadership, such as Dr. Dikko, Alhaji Yahaya Gusau and many others, in its formative period. Raji Abdallah wrote in his apologies that - "any Government who made laws and orders and would watch on with folded arms when such laws and orders were being violated would no longer be worthy of the name Government and, believe me, and sooner or later, dense and terrifying darkness must descend on her..."[53]

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52. Mallam Umaru Agaie to Zukogi, June 30, 1947; it may well be tha the Association heeded the advice of the only Branch then in existence outside the Headquarters and embarked upon provincial tours the following month - July. Mallam Umaru Agaie later became the First Secretary of the JMA in Zaria at its inception See the Section on NPC -pp.527-219infra.

53. Raji Abdallah in Raji Files.

However, as regards the G.O. 40B, itself, "our contention is," wrote Raji, "the G.O. 40B and other repressive laws should not exist in Nigeria." There was, he said, good reason for its existence in England "where government is of the people, by the people and for the people it would be alright, for the smooth running of the Civil Service, to introduce such silencing rules..." But in young Nigeria, he continued, "where the Government is alien, where this government is repressing the people and protecting them not against merciless exploitation but against progress, and where most of the educated youths who should speak for their country are in the Civil Service, the existence of such a gag (Order 40B) is unjustifiable and signifies bad faith and lack of trust." Raji maintained that it was immaterial to ask why Order 40B was not attached hitherto, but the important thing is that "many youths have felt, and secretly expressed righteous wrath and indignation at its existence. It has always been the question of "who was to bell the cat."[54]

After Raji's dismissal, pressure was put on the other members of the Association who were Government or Native Authority employees either by transferring them out of Kano or by outright dismissal from their jobs.

A case in point where direct pressure was used to secure

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54. Abdallah, R., "To my Zikist and the Public" Hand-written Raji Abdallah's Private Files.

resignation from the party, was that of Mallam Maje Abdullahi, the son of the then Emir of Kano, Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero. Mallam Maje Abdullahi was a foundation member of NEPA and was among its Executive Officers. He was also signatory to the famous welcome address to the NCNC delegates on their return from United Kingdom.[55] On hearing that Mallam Maje was amongst the ranks of the NEPA, Mr. Nwafor Orizu wrote:- "I also appreciate the role of Emir's son. I accept your request in good faith, and I promise that I shall recommend the Emir's son for scholarship..."[56]

By the end of 1947, the Administration viewed NEPA as a subversive organisation, what with its inter-locking relationship with the Zikist Movement. (The President-General of the Zikist Movement was also the Secretary-General of NEPA). The Administration therefore, found it unbecoming of a son of the Emir of Kano to belong to such organisation. As the tone of the letter suggests, his resignation must have been forced on him. He notified the President of NEPA that "I have made up my mind now and forever to dissociate myself from the so-called NEPA and any other activity of such nature... Times which revealed everything, will sooner or later

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55. Out of the five who signed this document dated October 6,,.1947, three lost their jobs, they are Abdurrahman Bida, Raji Abdallah and Abba. Two who were full blooded princes of Kano merely resigned from the party.

56. Orizu to Raji Abdallah - Raji Abdallah's Private Files,,September 22, 1947. At this time, Nwafor Orizu was the Head of the..American Council on African Education Inc. which recruits Nigerian students for American Universities. He later became President of..the Senate until January, 1966.

prove my conviction."[57]

A surprise audit check on the General Hospital Medical Stores found the NEPA President, Mallam Abdurrahman Bida, a dispenser short of some drugs. This was used as a convenient excuss for his dismissal.[58]

By dismissal, forced resignations and arbitrary transfers of NEPA members out of Kano, the administration succeeded in effect proscribing NEPA. Starting with Zukogi, Raji and Abdurrahman followed suit. Without those three, the party could not function. And it did not. In March, 1948, Raji Abdallah left Kano to assume

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57. Maje Abdullahi to President, NEPA, Kano Branch - January 21, 1948, Raji's Private Files.

58. Interview with Abdurrahman Bida, at Bida September 22, 1972 while admitting that indeed there was shortages of some drugs, he maintained that there were also surpluses in others. It is significant to note that beside being the President of NEPA, Abdurrahman Bida was also the President of Kano N.A. Workers Union. West African Pilot, September 20, 1948. (For a full account of the incident by M. Abdurrahman Bida see "Truth About City Hospital Story" in which he challenged the Commissioner of the Northern Provinces to recall his statement in "Council with the Emir of Kano, on Wednesday January 14th, 1948 to the effect that Abdallah was dismissed from the Government Service and he was the General-Secretary of NEPA. So, therefore, the Commissioner's only topic for the day in the Council was to let Abdurrahman Bida, the General-President, follow."

duty as full-time President-General of the Zikist Movement. He was soon to be joined by Abdurrahman Bida, President, Mallam Sa'adu Zungur, NEPA Secretary, Bauchi Branch and also NCNC Federal Secretary and Abubakar Zukogi, NCNC Field Secretary, who shuttled between Kano and Lagos.

The most important members of the executives have now virtually exiled themselves to Agege, Lagos, where a Branch had been formed on 25th October, 1947. Mallam Ali Dinar, a Kola nut trader was its first President and Yahaya Adda, its General Secretary. The latter had served in the army during the Second World War and was active in the Ex-Service Men Organisation.

Alhaji Gambo Sawaba, a famous NEPU Executive Member from Zaria, started his political career as a member of NEPA Agege branch.

The princiapl occupation of most of the Hausa people in Agege, was Kola-nut trade. It is for the most past, a homogenous community for most of them came from Kano. They buy kola-nuts from the Yoruba and then ship them to various cities in the North. In the course of this trade, the Hausa community, was usually in conflict with transport-owners be they private, transporters or public as in the Railways.[59]

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59. Cohen, A. Customs and Politics in Urban Africa, A study of Hausa migrants in Yoruba towns; Berkely, 1969.

NEPA provided that cement. It became not so much as the political party it needed to be in the North, rather as a cultural organisation with limited and concrete objectives.

With NEPA's exile to Lagos, most of the Branches in the provincial cities of the North became dormant. During its exile in Lagos it was closely associated with the NCNC since the party stalwarts, Raji and Zungur were also NCNC party executive members. When Raji along with other officials of the Zikist Movement notably Osita Agwuna were jailed for their "subversive lecture" early 1949, Sa'adu Zungur, formerly Assistant Secretary, NEPA, took over Raji's post as Acting General-Secretary. It was during this time that the name was changed from NEPA to JANA, Jamiyyar Al'ummar Nijeriya Ta Arewa.

In an advertisement,[60] the party executive - Abdurrahman Bida (President) and Sa'adu Zungur (Acting General-Secretary) notified the public that "the organisation known as NEPA has after mature consideration decided to change its name by discarding the English terminology and adopting a Hausa term. Henceforth, this Northern organisation should be called JANA. The reasons behind this sudden change of name from NEPA to JANA are psychological."

Although, isolated in Lagos from the political developments in Northern Nigeria, JANA (formerly NEPA) was represented at the foundation Conference of the Northern Peoples' Congress by a strong

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60. West AFrican Pilot, February 22, 1949.

delegation consisting of Sa'adu Zungur and Alhaji Ali Dinar, President JANA, Agege Branch. Sa'adu Zungur's contribution to this famous Conference is noteworthy. He dominated the discussion, due to his unequalled knowledge on the "content and wording of the proposed Constitution which lasted from 4 p.m. to 4 a.m. the next morning with but a two-hour recess for dinner and prayers.[61] Amongst the most controversial issues was the question of the eligibility of women for membership in the new cultural organisation. Sa'adu Zungur, as the elected adviser on Muslim Law, intervened, favouring their membership. He cited the practice of Shehu Dan Fodio, who admitted women into his classes. The name Northern Peoples' Congress was suggested by Sa'adu Zungur and adopted by the Congress. Northern People's Congress is a better translation of Jamiyya ta Arewa (JANA) than Northern Nigerian Congress, the name used until June 26th, 1949.

With the participation of JANA in the formation of an all embracing organisation for Northerners wherever they may be, it became absorbed into the mother union, JMA, which was non-political. Like JANA, the new organisation was established all over the Hausa Communities of Western Nigeria, principally, Osogbo , Ibadan, Ifo and Owode. With the increase in the activities of JMA (NPC) when it became a political organisation, JANA (NEPA) receded to the back-ground in the South and this caused the death of the

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61. Sklar, op.cit, page 93

Association as a formal organisation.

NEPA - EVALUATION:

To discuss NEPA's successes and failures, one had to look at its background, organisational structure, its memberships, its objectives, the state of political awareness in the region and finally the administration's reaction to it.

As discussed detailly in an earlier section, NEPA was founded by disgruntled educated Northerners principally in the Kano metropolitan area. From its foundation day, it came under the influence of the "Zikist Movement" and relied heavily on the NCNC organ, the West African Pilot, for the dissemination of the news of its activities. By coming under the Zikist influence, we do not mean to suggest that the party had the Zikist's organisational lines. Rather, we wish to emphasise the close relationship of its principal founders, Raji Abdallah, who was before the founding of NEPA, THE Branch Secretary of the Zikist Movement in Kano. He was later elected the President-General of the Zikist Movement.

It leaned too heavily for support, at its initial stage, to the South instead of concentrating its efforts in seeking popular support amongst the disgruntled educated but poorly paid government employees of Northern origin. Most Northerners first learned the news of the new organisation on the pages of the West African Pilot, which at that time was highly 'suspect,' in view of the anti-South current that was building up in the North. The Bida NEPA

branch which was founded by Zukogi reprimanded him (see communication in an earlier section) for giving a public lecture in Lagos and advised him to concentrate their efforts in organising provincial branches all over the Northern Region.

NEPA's early identification with the South and Southern organisations, which was inevitable (for reasons to be developed later) was one of the principal causes of failure. This Association with the Southern Organisation had two effects - (1) Concentration by the NEPA leadership on Nigerian problems and organisation at the expense of NEPA. (2) The identification with the South was used by the British Administration to under-cut NEPA in the most important places (among the superior Emirs) of the North.

Raji Abdallah, as the President-General of the Zikist Movement (elected in August, 1947, nine months after the founding of NEPA) and at the same time the General Secretary of NEPA, and a civil servant, to boot, had really not much time to devote to all these three time consuming activities. Raji lost his civil service job, (November 29, 1949) because of the public lecture he delivered in Lagos on August 11, 1947, under the auspices of the Zikist Movement, not NEPA. When he left to take over the central direction of the Zikist Movement in Lagos (March, 1948) as well as becoming the NCNC Federal under-Treasurer, the organisational structure of NEPA collapsed.

A cursary glance of the Vernacular Newspaper, Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo, between 1946 and 1948, would show a continous rise of anti-South

feeling, which was sometime officially inspired. The Administration was at pains to mobilize local public opinion against the NCNC 1946 Northern tour and encourage "reasonable" Northern educated elements to dissociate themselves from Zana Bukar Dipcharima who claimed to represent the North in the NCNC 1947 London Delegation. The Emirs of the North who were then under the tutelage , if not virtual control of the Residents and District Officers, were advised by the latter, to 'proscribe' the organisation in their jurisdictional areas, by ordering the Native Authority employees to stay away from such organisations.

Another contributory factor to NEPA's failure in achieving its objectives is its membership and organisational structure. Firstly, the Association was urban based, its membership drawn from the educated class. At this time most of the urban centres of the region were also the Provincial Headquarters and the seat of the Native Authority. Thus, one invariably finds, at these centres, a large group of educated Northerners who were employed by the Provincial ADministration in the various Departments and whose future in terms of promotion at least was uncertain.

Lacking any forum and organisation for representation, the advent of NEPA was a welcome news. To the bastion of the majority of the Northern educated class, the Native Authority, personified by the Emir, as the Sole Native Authority, the NEPA has a major constituency. The Native Authority employees had no conditions of service, and promotion was based not so much on achievements but on ascriptive values.

It was on these kinds of people and places that NEPA depended for its membership. There was no attempt made to exploit and capitalise (except on the pages of the Newspapers) upon the rising frustration of the farmers who had been experiencing lower prices for their products since the end of the World War II. Neither was there any attempt to enlist the support of a few traders whose efforts have been frustrated by Lebanese and European trading firms.

Apart from lack of popular support, another contributory factor for NEPA's failures was the fact that since most of the ranks and files were civil servants, they could not be (1) outspoken, (2) they had little time to devote to party activities in their areas, much less have the time to establish the organisation all over the region and lastly, they had no financial resources to finance their activities such as travel and publicity.

The growth of political parties is aided by constitutional developments that provide for political participation of the masses. Where ever mass participation in political activities is low, so will be the response to political organisations and mobilisation. This was the plight of NEPA. At the time of its formation, the population of the politically aware was appallingly low, and no election was permitted in the selection of people to Emirs' Council as well as the Regional Council in Kaduna established in 1947.

Lastly, the growth of a potential successor government to the colonial regime was not watched with pleasure. The authorities,

therefore, used all the weapons at its command; i.e. G.O. 40B; forced transfers and resignation to kill the organisation. Others who profess lukewarm support were kept under surveillance. Through this method, and since most of NEPA supporters were government or Native Authority employees, they were officially discouraged from joining or encouraged to withdraw if they were members. One other reason that may be adduced had been touched upon lightly in a previous section. This pertains to the social status of the NEPA leadership. Although Zukogi's origin was that of Fulani and belongs to one of the ruling houses in Bida, and Raji, too, an Igbirra, has some connection with Attah, the late ruler of Okene, these two gentlemen could be looked upon as having come from crucially important areas of the North enough to gain any wide following, in a society where social and ethnic background are important.

These reasons as well as other minor ones like infrequent personality clashes among the NEPA Executives, account for the failure of the Northern Elements Progressive Association, to mobilize the Northern people and hasten the dawn of their political awareness.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE NORTHERN PEOPLES CONGRESS

1949-54

Although formal and informal political organisations had been formed in the North between 1940 and 1948 in different parts of the country, none contributed directly to the formation of the Northern Peoples Congress than those of Kaduna, Zaria, Bauchi and Kano.[1]

A number of factors are responsible for this; First, the location; these three towns are located within a reasonable distance of one another. Kaduna was at that time the headquarters of the former Northern Region and contained a large number of educated Northern Youth. The only two post-primary institutions were located in Kaduna. These were Kaduna (this was later transferred to Zaria) and Keffi Government Colleges with a good number of indigenous Northern teachers. Many more were employees of the Northern government in the Secretariat. Zaria, on the other hand, had a newspaper establishement, the Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo, which had proved to be a training ground for young northern journalists, who helped spread political education in Hausa all over the North, and later through an English weekly, The Nigerian Citizen.

Other contributory factors, were, the presence at the time, in Zaria, of Dr. R. A. B. Dikko, the only northerner who qualified as a doctor and was then the Medical Superintendent at the Zaria

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1. These have been treated in previous chapters.

General Hospital. The Zaria Local Administration, too, has its headquaters in Zaria with a number of educated youths in its employment.

As the headquarter of the former Northern Region, the Northern Regional Council,[2] established by the 1947 Richards Constitution, was located in Kaduna. Members of the Regional Council, from all over the North congregated in Kaduna at least three times annually. Their presence in Kaduna, no doubt stimulated discussions about the future of the North, especially when the South had made considerat progress in mobilising their people and in raising their political consciousness. The case of Bauchi and Kano has been discussed earlier

During one of such occasions - the meeting of the Nigerian Legislative Council in Kaduna[3] in March, 1948 an event which changed the entire course of the political outlook of Northern Nigeria took place. Coincidentally, during the same period, the NCNC First General Conference was billed take place in Kaduna, with their President, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, a members of the legislative council then meeting in Kaduna, in the chair. Also present, were a large number of Northerners who were founding members of NEPA, and ally of the NCNC. Prominent among these were,

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2. The Council which was located in Lagos rotated its sittings around the regional capitals of Kaduna, Ibadan and Enugu.

3. Yahaya Gusau to Aminu Kano, March 8, 1948. This was contained in a letter to be read at the inaugural meeting of the NTA by Alhaji Aminu Kano. Yahaya Gusau added in his letter to Aminu that - "On your decision (conference) depends the greater part of our country's future for the next five to ten years". NTA Files, Zaria.

Malam Raji Abdallah and Malam Sa'ad Zungur.

Under these favourable conditions, therefore, a large number of educated Northerners numbering btween 60 to 100 met to "discuss a very important matter." Malam Yahaya Ilorin was the chairman of the occasion and was supported by distinguished people such as Yahaya Gusau, Raji Abdallah, Sa'ad Zungur and Abubakar Imam. For four hours they discussed the "chief barriers to progess in the North." They came to the inevitable conclusion that:-

> Among other things we need a newspaper of our own - a paper financed and controlled by us. Such a newspaper will be the backbone of any Society or Union we may form in the near future. We believe that Dr. Azikiwe is ready to help by giving all possible assistance in the way the whole affair should be conducted.

The main significance of this conference was that for the first time, notherners from all parts of the North were able to sit down together to deliberate on their political future. This was not the first meeting of educated Northerners, by any means; indeed several had taken place in the early forties, but none had deliberated on purely political issues.

Within a week of this development, March, 15th, an inaugural Conference of the Northern Teachers Association was held in Zaria. This gave Northerners from all corners of the North another opportunity to discuss their common problems. The Kaduna group was fully represented.[5]

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5. See details in the section dealing with the Northern Teachers Association.

It was as a result of these series of meetings discussed above that the Kaduna group met on October 10, 1948 to form an Organisation or Society which they named: "The Northerners of Toady."[6]

The main object of the Society according to its stated objectives, was to combat the fatal evils - which they identified as Laziness, Corruption and Ignorance.[7] The aims of the society were as follows:-

1. To enhance mutual understanding between ourselves, Northerners, and to cope with the activities of the world

2. To re-affairm friendship between ourselves, our neighbours and other nations of the world and to communicate with them;

3. To stand up to help ourselves by ourselves with all our intelligence, our wealth and our energy;

4. To take up the work of preaching and spreading Mass Education, and also to encourage athletic games which interests the public;

5. To be constitutionally law abiding citizens;

6. To co-operate with our spiritual heads our Malam, our traders, our co-workers and so on;

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6. The Northerners of Today - is actually an English translation of "Yaran Zamani yan Arewa." This has many connotations - a Youthful and educated group.

7. This was popularly rendered in Hausa as "Ci Uku wadanda suka cuci Arewa, Jahilci, Lalaci, da Zalunci."

7. To give advice, to the best of our ability, to the authorities if they so desire;

8. To encourage friendship with all existing and forth-coming Societies of the North;

9. To organise branches of this Society throughout the Northern Region and other places were the Northern kind are situated; and finally

10. To secure, borrow, rent or buy an area wherein we would be meeting and exchanging ideas for the benefit of ourselves.

The following were elected to the executive body of the Association:-

Mr. M. N. Julde	-	President
Malam Adamu Wushishi	-	Vice President
Malam Yahaya Gusau	-	General Secretary
Malam Isa Koto	-	Financial Secretary
Malam Abdurrahman Mora	-	Assistant Financial Secretary
Malam D. A. Rafih	-	Treasurer
Mr. T. D. Timothy	-	Assistant General Secretary
Malam Inusa Ringim		
Malam Hamman Maiduguri	-	Auditor
Malam Garba	-	Auditor
Malam M. A. Inuwa	-	Prop. Officer
Malam Abba Gana	-	Prop. Officer

> and Souther Nigeria[10] should be divided. I have received many letters from almost all the Provincial Headquarters in the North. I talked over the matter with Malam Makama[11] and Malam Imam and they suggested that we better form a union as to progress our country.

The Union, Dr. Dikko said, was open to all Northerners. An entrance fee of five shillings - (fifty kobo) was fixed. Dr. Dikko said that he had already written to all those who wrote to inquire about the organisation, to form their own organisations.

In his own contribution, one of the foundation members, and Editor of the Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo, Malam Abubakar Imam lamented that his experience has shown that every time northerners attempted to organise themselves, they had failed. He cited the example of the Kaduna group which had already gone far and urged his colleagues to emulate it. He said that although they were very few, every head of department should "go and inform his people of the need to form such a union."

There were two remarkable things about the formative state of this organisation. There was little or no religious bias regarding choice of leaders. Both Kaduna and Zaria group elected christians as president. In fact in Zaria at the initial stage both the President and Secretary were christians.

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10. Shagari, Shehu - Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo. The writer eventually became the President of Nigeria - 1979-1983. and "Plea for the Revi of Dual Mandate of N. & S. Nigeria, W.A. Pilot 28 August, 1947
11. The President of Zaria Union of Friends founded by him in 1943. A journalist by profession. Visited Burma during the war and wrote a book, Captain Makama. He was the son of the Waziri of Kano.

The other was the early surfacing of ideological division among the few members who were present. Malam A. G. Yusufu from Katsina, disagreed with Malam Imam in his call for co-operation with government. "You must remember," he said, "when Iraq was fighting for self-Government, Mr. Conut Barnadot was even stabbed to death but after all they succeeded." He also cited the example of India and asked: "How many times was Nehru (later to be the Indian Prime Minister) jailed? We must keep demanding for our rights and in the long run we must succeed if we only co-operate."

The issue of whether or not women should be admitted to the new union was heatedly debated, and in the end it had to be shelved. But this same issue was to come up again and to nearly threathen the cohesion of the new organisation. Simple as it might appear, the issue has religious and socio-cultural implications which could break as it infact did the fragile unity of the North.

In his closing remarks, Dr. Dikko, advised his colleagues to organise and award scholarships. "In future," he said, "we must participate in politics." "If we failed to do so, we will not get what we want." He said that although it was common knowledge that they were badly treated (by the British) he lamented the fact that "we have no power hence we are all quiet. We are not at all ripe to show our grievances."[12]

At the end of their deliberations, the following were elected office of the organisation:-

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12. Minutes of the JMA, March 10, 1949.

Dr. R. A. B. Dikko	-	President
Sarkin Ruwa, Malam Sanusi	-	Vice-President
Malam Umaru Agaie	-	Secretary
Malam Abubakar Tunau	-	Vice Secretary
Malam Tukur	-	Treasurer
Malam Ahmed Talib	-	Financial Secretary
Malam Abubakar Imam	-	Auditor
Malam A. Makama	-	Publicity Secretary
Malam Mamman Gusau	-	Executive Committee Member
Malam Nuhu,	-	Senior Visiting Teacher Executive Committee Member
Malam Gwadabe.	-	Executive Committee Member.

Zaria, as we pointed out earlier, had one advantage; it had a newspaper house. The Gaskiya Corporation was the publisher of Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo (Hausa) and the Nigerian Citizen (English). More than that, two of its senior employees Hausa Editor of Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo, Malam Abubakar Imam and his Assistant, Malam Abdul-Kadir Makama were founding members of the JMA. In fact, Malam Makama was the Publicity Secretary of the organisation.

It was through the medium of the Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo, that the JMA, Zaria, mobilised to form branches all over the North.

Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo, after reporting the formal establishment of the branch of the Northern Nigerian Congress (Jamiyyar Mutanen Arewa) at a meeting on February 6, 1949, published adjacent to the newstory the following appeal -

A Time for Northern Unity:

> It has taken us months to establish this organisation. In it are a large number of eminent personalities in Zaria, both in the public and private sectors. We have informed the Emir of Zaria, the Resident and the Cantonment (Officer-in-Charge of the Zaria Township). We are happy to note that similar organisations have been formed in Kaduna, Jos and Kano. We hope that one day, all these organisations, would meet somewhere, so as to ensure the unity of the North.[13]

One of the first reactions to such as appeal in the form of cautious inquiry came from Malam Aliyu Akilu, then of Labour Department in Lagos. "Following upon the publication of the establishment of a branch of (JMA) at Zaria in the Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo, I am directed by a group of interested Northerners resident in Lagos to request you to be good enough to supply us with a copy of the constitution..."

The Lagos group included among others Malam Adamu B. Dikko, of the Yaba School of Pharmacy.[14]

NTA AND JMA

The date, March 15, 1949, marked a milestone in the annals of Nothern Nigerian political history. For it was on this day,

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13. Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo - 10th February, 1949. The release which was signed the Publicity Secretary of the JMA and Assistant Editor, of Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo Mallam A. Makama was writting in Hausa, translated by the author.

14. Letter addressed to Hon. Secretary of JMA by Malam Aliyu Akilu, March 4, 1949, Malam A. B. Dikko mentioned above is not related to Dr. R. A. B. Dikko, the leader of the NPC. Malam Aliyu Akilu rose in the Northern Public Service to the post of Secretary to the Government of Northern Region under the late Sardauna.

and Malam Abdul-Kadir Makama; those representing Kaduna were Malam Yahaya Gusau, Malam Abdurrahman Mora and Malam Haliru Binji all from the Government College, Kaduna; Kano was represented by Malam Ahmadu Rufa'i and Malam Yusufu Maitama Sule while Malam Aminu Kano represented Bauchi and Jos branches.[15]

Three vital issues were dispensed with at this meeting. The first was the issue of naming the organisation. The meeting resolved that, in order to ensure unity, all organisations in the North should adopt one name and the name to be adopted was the Northern Nigerian Congress (NNC). The Hausa version of this name could not be agreed upon and thus deferred until a general meeting could be convened. The former name Jamiyyar Mutanen Arewa was therefore retained.

Secondly, in order to centralise the organisation, three Protem Executive Officers were nominated to supervise the activities of the various branches until they were formally confirmed at a convention. Dr. Dikko was elected Provisional General President; Malam Abubakar Imam, Provisional General Financial Adviser while Malam Umaru Agaie was to serve as the Provisional General Secretary. The mandate of these officers was to expire in June, 1949, when the party convention was expected to hold. Meanwhile, the Central Secretariat was to write letters calling on Northern Communities all over Nigeria and abroad to establish branches.

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15. Malam Yusuf Maitama Sule served as the Minister of Mines and Power under Balewa - 1960 - 1966.

What is significant about the establishment of the Central Secretariat is the domination of the Zaria group. This was done, more because they have the control of the only means of communication, the Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo, and the calibre of the personalities.

The third issue discussed at this meeting was the impending new constitution which was to replace that fashioned by Governor Richards. It should be recalled that Governor Macpherson had just replaced Richards and was interested in advancing Nigeria constitutionally and wished to involve the generality of Nigerian pressure and interest groups in its formulation..

The meeting resolved that each branch should submit a paper on how Nigeria should be governed to the interim General Secreatry. These views from all the branches will then be collated, synthesized, and forwarded to the authorities as the party's own proposals.[16]

The above meeting which took place on March 22, had upstaged a joint meeting between the Zaria and Kaduna branches proposed in a letter to the Kaduna branch dated March 17. The decision to hold such a meeting had earlier been taken at a meeting of March 13, 1949.[17] The meeting which according to the Secretary

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16. Report on the meeting between the Northern Nigerian Congress and the Northern Teachers Association at Zaria on 22/3/59. Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo, 26/4/49. Translated from the Hausa text by the author.

17. JMA, Zaria, Minutes of Meeting: March 13, 1949. At this meeting, six people were nominated to represent Zaria at the Kaduna meeting.

"will be of historical importance when the history of the renaisance period of the North comes to be written," was scheduled to take place on April 3, 1949.

The proposed agenda as set out in the letter include-[18]

a) Common name to be adopted through out the North;

b) Provisional General Secretary and Central Organisation;

c) Methods to putting aims to practice; and

d) Other matters.

It could be seen, therefore, that the need for the establisment or developing a Central organisation for the NNC has been agitating the minds of the NNC leadership in Zaria. The proposed meeting presented a unique opportunity which the NNC seized in order to dispense with the two items on the agenda - i. e. common name, and the Central Organisation.

The proposed meeting between Zaria and Kaduna branches did take place as proposed on April 3, 1949. From the minutes of the meeting,[19] it appeared that the delegation disagreed over the name to be adopted, Northern Nigerian Congress, in spite of its adoption at a previous meeting in Zaria a week and half earlier. The Zaria group was in favour of maintaining the name

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18. Letter No. NNC. 1/12, March 17, 1949, addressed to the Hon. Secretary, Jamiyyar Mutanen Arewa Ayau, Kaduna NPC Headquaters file copy with the author.

19. Minutes, April 10, 1949.

(NNC) while the Kaduna group felt that the word 'Congress' "does not reflect the ideology or the policy of the oraganisation," which was to fight the three evils (then prevailing in the North) Ignorance, Laziness and Corruption. The Kaduna delegation therefore suggested "Nothern Nigerian Union" which was accepted.

Another bone of contention beside the name of the party was the issue of Central Organisation. The Kaduna delegation felt that the three Provisional Executive Officers were too few to carry out the gigantic task ahead of the organisation. It was therefore resolved, that three more officers need to be added and these were - Malam Yahaya Gusau, Malam Abdurrahman Mora and Malam Aliyu Mai-Borno. All these were from Kaduna.[20] At this meeting, the Provisional Central Executive was empowered to work on a draft Constitution of the new Organisation.

The meeting went on to discuss the modalities of the General Conference to be held in June. A delegate proposed Zaria as the venue, but Kaduna was ultimately preferred because it would coincide with the meeting of the Northern Regional Council (House of Assembly). The presence of the unofficial members (the nominated members from the Provincial Councils for the most part of nothern education officers, such as Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Shettima Kashim, Malam Ribadu and Ahamdu Sardauna to mention a few) would give the organisation an opportunity to meet with these members and discuss the best way to put the new organisation

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20. Malam Aliyu Mai Borno became the first indigenous governor of the Central Bank. The Zaria group domination of the organisation has now been successfully dealt with by the Kaduna group.

on a sound footing.

Regarding Finance, the Conference resolved that the two branches, Kaduna and Zaria should bear the burden of staging the Conference, and later on the other branches could reimburse them.

On leadership, Malam Abubakar Imam, pointed out that whosoever was elected the leader of the party, he should be allowed to exercise executive powers guided by the fear of God, honesty and dedication to duty.

In implementing one of the resolutions adopted at the Kaduna Reconciliation Conference, the Zaria branch decided to pay a friendly visit to the Kano Youth Circle (Jamiyya Samarin Kano). The Zaria delegation was led by Malam Tukur of the Native Authority Treasury. Others in the delegation included Malam Nuhu, visiting teacher, Malam Ahmadu Rufai and the General Secretary, Malam Umaru Agaie.

Among the Kano Youths who received the Zaria delegation were - Sarkin Shanu, The District Head of Kano, as the Patron, Alhaji Abubakar, Malam Abdul-Kadir Na Adamu Danjaji (President), Malam Yusufu Maitama Sule (Vic-President), Sarki Dalha (Secretary), Malam Mamman Najega (Treasurer), Malam Sani Darma (Assistant Secretary), Malam Maje, (Prince) Malam Na Shariff, Malam Umaru Laburare, Malam Sule Norwa, Babaliya Manaja, Mudi Sarkin Turai, Umaru Loloki, Shaibu Na Maisaje, Malam Muhammed Mayo, Malam Ahmadu and Alhaji Musa Gashash .[21]

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21. This list is important for certain names later became prominent personalities in the public affairs of the country.

had adopted the name Northern Nigerian Union.

It seems from the Resident's intervention that the British Administration did not want the new Organisation to promote Northern Unity. Another interpretation, of this British interference is that the Administration wanted to steer the new organisation along the lines of the Muslim League of India, which later succeeded in separating Pakistan from India. There is also the other possibility that the British administration would like the organisation to consist only of autonomous provincial bodies loosely held together by a weak central administration. This is in conformity with the defination of the word 'League.'

Whatever the motives of the British Administration, the initial reactions of the Executive members of the JMA was non-committal. In their reply, the Executives informed the Resident that they would have the name he suggested in mind when they applied for registration.

Although Sokoto was a little late in joining the Northern Nigerian Congress, it was not without its local organisation which was known as the Youth Social Circle.[24] In a letter to the interim General Secretary of the Northern Nigerian Union, Malam Shehu Shagari, [25] informed him that the Youth Social Circle has converted itself into Jamiyyar Mutanen Arewa (Nothern Nigerian Congress), Sokoto branch. He gave the following as the officials

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24. See Sklar.

25. He held numerous ministeries in Balewa's regime. Establishment and Works; Finance in Gowon's administration and was elected President of Nigeria, in 1979.

of the new organisation - Malam Madugu Zurmi (President), Malam Gambo Abuja (Vice President), Malam Shehu Shagari (Secretary), Malam Garba Zaria (Assistant Secretary), Malam Mamman Jega (Treasurer), Malam Imam (Assistant Treasurer), Malam Sahabi Sokoto (Field Secretary), Malam Bello Gusau and Malam Tambari Alhassan (Auditors) and Sardauna of Sokoto, Malam Ahamdu (Patron).[26]

Malam Shehu Shagari went on to add that, they had already informed the Sultan of their new organisation, who found nothing wrong with it, so long as they remained law abididng. Furthermore, the Sultan had given them permission to use the premises of the Native Authority Printing Department.[27]

As a footnote to Shagari's letter, the Publicity Secretary, Malam Abdulkadir Makama, who was also the Assistant Editor of the paper informed his readers that Sokoto branch was the 15th branch so far registered. He specifically mentioned Borno, Ilorin, Nguru, Potiskum, Dikwa, Adamawa, Daura, Kazaure, Hadejia, Gumel, Okenne, Lokoja, Katsina as having remained silent. He called upon all Northern peoples in these and other areas to immediately set up branches in order for them to send delegates to the General Conference which was due in June.

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26. This letter was published in the Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo, May 7, 1949. Translated by the author - It is ironic that the Patron's name Sardauna of Sokoto, who later became the President General of the NPC, the Premier of the North came last, almost as an after thought.

27. Contrast this with the development in Bauchi.

Before the General Conference in June, two important meetings were held by the Zaria Branch. In the first meeting, two issues were raised:- Finance and the question of Nothern Unity. The meeting resolved that anyone joining the 'party' should pay an entrance fee of five shillings (50 kobo) and a weekly contribution of six pence (six kobo). The party imposed a levy on the executive members of not less than two shillings (twenty kobo) per member. In order to generate more funds for the party, a play was staged at which gate fees were charged. At a subsequent meeting[28] the Financial Secretary reported that from its inception to 16/10.49, the total amount collected stood at £30.7.4. and £14.2.4. while the remainder £12.10. was kept in the bank. At the play alone, £23.Øs 16d was realised.

From the above financial report, it can be seen that they new orgarination has displayed an important character of fully developed political organisations prudent financial management. Although, the amount shown above appears paltry, it has only to be compared with the limited nature of the Party's areas of expenditure.

One member however, was dissatisfied with the amount of money in the party's treasury. He lamented the absence of huge donations to the party by single individuals, which he said was being practised by the Egbe Omo Oduduwa. This view was expressed by Alhaji Aminu Kano.[29]

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28. Ibid - Proceedings of October meeting, 1949.

29. Alhaji Aminu Kano, who at this time was a teacher in Maru, Sokoto Province appeared to have been a guest of the party at this meeting. JMA Minutes op.cit.

One other issue raised at the May 7, meeting was how to foster Northern identity and unity. Malam Aminu Kano cited the example of Southern Solidarity, when it came to the assistance of one another if one was involved in a fight. He indicated that Ibos had served notice that their objective was to dominate Nigeria,[30] and warned Northerners to beware.

Dr. Dikko, the President, alluded to what later became the most contentious political issue - Northernisation Policy. He pointed out that the government had promised that if a Northerner

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30. This was a reference to Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe's address to the Ibo Union meeting at Aba, in 1949. NPC Proceeding of May 7, meeting; JMA (NPC) Minute Book, JMA Files, NPC Headquarters, Kaduna.

    Part of Zik's speech referred to by Mallam Aminu Kano is reproduced in order to show that its liberal interpretation could cause some concern among Northern as well as Southern ethnic groups; Zik said inter-alia:

    (a) Mighty nation shall rise again in the West of the Sudan, with love of freedom in their sinews; and it shall come to pass that the Ibo shall emerge, to suffer wrong no more, and to rewrite the history written by their ancestors. It is the voice of Destiny and we must answer this call for freedom and respect in our life time. The God of Africa has willed it. It is the handwriting on the wall. It is our manifest Destiny.

    Being a farewell message delivered at the close of the Ibo State Assembly convened under the auspices of the Ibo State Union at Aba on June 26, 1949. Zik A selection from the Speeches of Nnamdi Azikiwe, Cambridge University Press, 1961, pp. 246-249.

was available no Southerner would be employed in the North even if the vacancy was that of a labourer. Such a policy, he said, had already been effected in the firms, the N.A.'s were to come next.

The attitude of members to women participation in the 'party' was tested when Mallama Hadiza Mairam, applied for membership accompanied by an entrace fee of 25k. Two camps emerged; one predominantly muslim objected; the other christian, saw no reaons why a Northern woman should be barred from joining the organisation.

Those who opposed Hadiza's admission argued that, it would be embarassing to them if the Sultan were to visit them and find a woman in their midst. To the muslim group, there was a vary strong belief, prevalent at that time that women should not mix freely with men in public. Most of them had their wives under purdah or Kulle according to what they believe was God's injunction as contained in the Koran.

The christian group though in the minority were very vocal. This group was comprised Dr. R. A. B. Dikko, who apparently did not take part in the debate. Mr. Gbile Gundu, a Tiv and Mallam G. G. Turundu (Hausa), both of Gaskiya Corporation, expressed the view that since the organisation was to embrace all Northern Peoples, differing in tribes and religion, it was not proper to allow religious values of any type to be reflected in the philosophy of the organisation. This was the first time the seemingly uneasy alliance between the far North and Middle Belt

people and other christian members was disturbed with disastrous consequences. For it was responsible for Mr. Gundu's change of allegiance, from NPC to Middle Belt Peoples Party of which he became the President.[31]

THE KADUNA GENERAL MEETING

The President of the Kaduna Branch of JMA, Mr. Julde, introduced the Chairman of the meeting, Mallam Ali, Turakin Zazzau, from the Zaria branch to over 400 delegates. The Secretary was Mallam Isa Wali from Kano,[32] who was the Secretary of the Kaduna branch.

An unexpected guest suddenly appeared on the scene, he was the Ciroma of Kano, Alhaji Muhammadu Sanusi, who, in a short speech said that he was sent by his father, the Emir of Kano, Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero, to bring to the meeting a message of goodwill and wished the gathering God's blessings.

Also present was Alhaji Sanusi, the Ma'aji (Treasurer) of Zaria Native Authority who represented the Emir of Zaria. These were the only two of the most senior Northern Emirs and Chiefs who sent representatives to the occasion.

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31. Interview with Mr. Gbile Gundu at Abinsi, May 1972 and Mallam G. G. Turundu at N.A. Printing Office, Kano, June, 1972.

32. Mallam Isa Wali first came to limelight when he publicly disagreed that Islam enjoined its adherents to "lock-up" their women. He was appointed Nigerian Envoy to Ghana in the 1960s. Sklar, R., op.cit.

The attitude of the Sultan differed sharply from the two Emirs, however. In the Secretary's report he read a telegram purported to have come from the Sultan, but signed by the Sardauna of Sokoto, Mallam Ahmadu Bello.

The text of the telegram read as follows:-

> "I am directed by the Sultan to inform you of his receipt of your letter No. NNC.1/112 of June 6, 1949. He is gratified by your generous sentiments as expressed in the second paragraph and hopes that the meeting would be of great benefit to you."[33]

The reaction to this telegram was quick. In another telegram, the Sultan, this time, under his own signature, dissociated himself from the telegram purported to have been sent by him. He wrote:-

> I would like to draw your (Editor) attention to the story published in the Gaskiya No. 322 of 29th June, 1949 to the effect that I sent my blessings to the party. I completely dissociate myself from the message, and hope that you will publish this refutation on the front page of the next issue of your paper.[34]

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33. Telegram No. NAS/361/19 Sardauna's Office, Sokoto, June 16, 1949 - Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo, July 9, 1949. Translated by the author.

34. Sultan's telegram - Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo, July 9, 1949, translated by the author.

In a footnote to all these controversies, the Editor apologised to the Sultan for using the word blessing (sa albarka) instead of what the telegram stated in reporting the story. The Sultan, did not give his blessing to the party, he merely prayed that their deliberations might be beneficial to them.

Whatever it was, the Sultan's attitude contrasted sharply to that of the other two Emirs, who sent in their representatives. They both showered blessings on the party.

Several interpretations could be given to the Sultan's action. The most popular is that the Sultan had come under official pressure, by the British administration to dissociate himself from the organisation. This seems rather unlikely as the party at that time did not pose any immediate threat to British presence in the North. It could possibly be that the Sultan was genuinely concerned about the twist given to the telegram by the Editor's story. This also does not appear likely. What is most likely is that the Sardauna of Sokoto, as head of administration took the liberty to reply to the invitation without clearance from the Sultan. Or, alternatively, the Sardauna probably informed the Sultan about the invitation and was directed by the Sultan to reply in the negative. And as is consistent with administrative practice, such a letter is usually spiced with kind prayer or advice from such eminent personalities. This, most probably

was how the Sardauna saw it.[35]

Whichever interpretation is correct, one cannot escape reaching one inescapable conclusion - that there was no love lost between the two cousins - the Sultan and the Sardauna. For the Sultan's reply and rebuke was meant to serve as a public humiliation of the Sardauna who must have felt terribly embarrassed at the Sultan's attitude. If their relationship were normal, the Sultan could have only reprimanded him privately even if it were the British who were leaning on him.[36]

The most important item on the Agenda was the election of officers. The following were therefore elected - Dr. R. A. B. Dikko (President); Mallam Rafih and Mallam Yusufu Maitama Sule (General and Vice-President); Mallam Umaru Agaie (General Secretary); and Mallam Isa Wali his Assistant. Mallam Abubakar Imam was the Treasurer; Mallam Isa Koto (Financial Secretary); Mallam Aminu Kano and Mallam Julde (General Auditors); Mallam Abdulkadir Makama (General Publicity Secretary).

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35. See Adamu, Haroun Al-Rashid, The North and Nigerian Unity - where Abdullahi was directed by his brother Shehu Usman Dan Fodio, to reply to the letter sent by another learned personality in Daura.

36. The relationship between the Sardauna and the Sultan had not been all that friendly. Sardauna had been gaining in prominence and appeared as the Sultan's likely successor. He was jailed by the Sultan around 1942 but on appeal, the Sardauna was discharged and acquited.

The issue of naming the party came up for final resolution. Mallam Sa'adu Bauchi's (Zungur) opinion was sought. After elaborating on the various alternatives, it was decided that the party should stick with the Hausa version only - the 'Jamiyyar Mutanen Arewa.'

The Kaduna branch resolution prayed the party to consider the merger of the Yoruba people from Oke Ode and those in Okene Division with their kith and kin in the West. According to the report, this motion brought heated debate most especially from the Kano and Zaria delegations who vowed not to surrender an inch of Northern territory to the West. When this motion was finally put to vote, it was defeated.[27]

> It is interesting that it was Northerners themselves who first started this agitation, even though the Yoruba themselves were to develop it into a very serious political issue in the fifties.

A few months later, the Oni of Ife was to ask the government that the Yoruba in the Northern part should be merged with their kin and kith in the West.[38] This became the so-called "Ilorin-Kabba West Merger" plan by the Action Group led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo.[39]

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37. Report of the proceeding of the Conference in the Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo - June 29, 1949 - Text in Hausa.

38. Proceedings of the General Conference in the Constitution at Ibadan - 1950.

39. AWO, An Autobiography, page 216.

by Kano, Mallam Sa'adu Bauchi got up and turned the tables. In his contribution, which was spiced up with quotations from the Holy Qur'an and the Hadith and constitutions of other lands, Mallam Sa'adu supported Kaduna's motion. He drew general applause with his display of knowledge. When a division was called, Kaduna's motion, that the House of Chief be abolished carried the day.

Because of the tremendous interest and heat this topic has aroused, the President, Dr. Dikko, was reported to have said that, the matter was not closed. He said that, it would be referred to all the branches of the JMA for their comments before the JMA could take position on the issue.

The first general annual convention which took place in Kano in December came in the wake of the inaugural convention of June, 1949 held in Kaduna. Over ninety delegates attended the meeting. Not much was achieved at the meeting b t psychologically, it was important to bring Kano into the fold by recognising its strategic importance as a commercial city and where nascent political organisations had sprung up in the past. Earlier, after the unification meeting between the Zaria and Kaduna Associations in early 1949, the next port of call by the leadership was Kano. It was this meeting that encouraged the Kano association to affiliate itself to the JMA in time to attend the June inaugural meeting at Kaduna.

One significant achievement which later turned sour was the affiliation to the JMA of social organisations such as the

Taron Masu Zumunta (TYZ) and the Kano Youth Association.

It is rather ironic that the NPC held its last convention here in 1957, after which no convention was ever called.

The General Conference made some structural changes in the JMA organisation. Committees were set up to tackle specific problems, these were finance, education and a newspaper committee.[41]

The second Annual General Meeting of the Northern Peoples Congress JMA took place at Jos, in December, 1950. It was presided over by the President, Dr. R. A. B. Dikko and attended by many branches within and outside the country. In his speech, the President enumerated the achievements of the party during the year. The first achievement , he said, was the spread of literacy in the North with some of its members opening Voluntary Adult Literacy Classes. He also cited the successful conclusion of the campaign for the collection of the Northern Self-Development Fund. Members of the party, he said, had been appointed to the executive body of the Northern Self-Development Fund Organising Committee.

During the Conference, all branches submitted the report of their activities during the year. It was significant, however, that even at this stage, that is two years after the formation of the party, those who later dominated the party had not fully

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41. Dudley, B. J., op.cit., - page 79. See also Nigerian Citizen, January 6, 1950.

associated themselves with the party. Principal among these were - Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto; Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and Alhaji Muhammadu Ribadu.

An important decision which had tremendous impact on the political future of Northern Nigeria was the refusal by the NPC to become an umbrella organisation in order to co-ordinate the activities of other political parties in Northern Nigeria. The NPC had felt that although objectives of the various organisations were similar, the methods adopted for the achievements of these objectives were not. In this regard, therefore, it allowed organisations with deferring methods to have their own separate existence. This, therefore, allowed an organisation, known as the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) to break away and finally declare itself a political party.[42]

The NPC did not hold its annual convention in 1951, because its Secretary, Mallam Yahaya Gusau had been transferred to Jos, and his new job was so taxing that he was unable to convene a meeting. However, that year, happened to be the most eventful and crucial in terms of the party's existence.

Two important events were responsible - one, the impending

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42. See Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo of January 3, 1951 and Dudley, B.J., op,cit., page 80. The NCNC at its inception was a federation of a coterie of ethnic, social as well as professional organisations. It was later that the party adopted sing instead of group membership.

first election to the various levels of legislatures, Regional and Federal, under the newly introduced Macpherson Constitution and two, the implementation of regulation G.O. 40B, which restricted the participation of government employees in active partisan politics.

Immediately this order was clamped, an emergency meeting of the party leaders and the Parliamentary Group was convened in Zaria on October 1, 1951. At that meeting, Dr. Dikko revealed that the party had no option but to declare itself a political party and reorganise its executive. Immediately this was done, the Sardauna of Sokoto, a member of the Northern legislature and who until then had not enrolled as a member, applied for membership of the party and was immediately followed by Mallam Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. They thus became the first and second members of the NPC with its conversion to a political party. Dr. Dikko immediately relinquished the post of President and this was conferred on Alhaji Sanda Na Alhaji, a Hausa businessman in Lagos who until then had been the Deputy President.[43]

Meanwhile, Mallam Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto had risen

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43. Presidential Address of the 1952, NPC Kaduna Convention. The meeting for the conversion of the cultural organisation took place in October 1, not September 30, as stated by Dudley. This date is significant for Federal Constitution took effect, October 1, 1954 and later Nigeria became independent on October 1, 1960 - Dudley, B. J., Ibid., page 81

to become Deputy President of the Northern Wing of the party and the Parliamentary Leader of the party in both the Northern House of Assembly and in the Central Legislature in Lagos.[44] Prior to that and even later, the two personalities had no administrative responsibilities in the party, although Tafawa Balewa founded the NPC in Bauchi.

In his first statement as a declared politician, Sardauna stated -

> Every Society has its political organisation - even in the Koran, we are enjoined to "bring yourselves together and hold on to the word of God, strongly and together - but do not disperse yourselves..." The most superior person is he who consistently works for the good of the people... and dedicating oneself to one's own country whole-heartedly. I am able to confirm to you that the Chiefs are always willing to help us, we, the young ones of this country, the strong ones, those who will speedily modernise this country... Our objective is Nigerian Unity, mutual understanding, which will foster a strong and United Nigeria, so that one day, sooner or later, it shall govern itself. But, Nigerian Unity, as you all know, cannot be achieved until these regions (North, East and West), become equal, in education, in strength and in understanding - that is no region should be left behind. We are duty dound to make the modernisation of the North our first priority, so that it shall take its place among equals and run with them to independence. In these times, we do not want slackness, neither should we encourage the indisciplined speed that would in the end be counter-

44. Presidential Address - Ibid., page 2.

productive.[45]

Thus, the above speech made in 1952 was the policy and guiding philosophy of the North. Alhaji Aliyu Makaman Bida, the strongest man beside the Sardauna in the region put it more succintly, he called it "Disciplined Progress."

During the year, 1951-1952, the National Secretariat of the party sent out 48 and received 26 telegrams; 8,000 copies of the manifesto were sent to 76 branches, 1,000 copies of election publicity materials were sent out.

During that year also, the Deputy Secretary undertook a tour of most of the Northern Provinces.

One of the means of finding out the feelings of the branches on the future of their party and its policies is through the resolutions sponsored by them. The following selected resolutions from various branches are representative -

Zaria Branch

a) It is imperative for the party to struggle and win independence for the people of this country.

b) It is important that this party fight to prevent the cessasion of even a single inch of the

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45. Ibid., page 6. Original text in Hausa, translated by the author.

Northern territory to any region. (This is in reference to the discussion around that time of merging Ilorin and Kabba provinces with the Western Region).

c) The party should endeavour to retrieve the agreement entered into between our Chiefs and Emirs with the British with the view to amending sections that need amendment.

Lagos Branch

All members of parliament should be made to pay 1/6 of their salaries to the party as is the practice in the NCNC and the Action Group.

Katsina Ala Branch

Wanted to know what should happen if they summoned their Chief to a meeting but failed to turn up.

At the end of the meeting, the following were elected to run the affairs of the party-

National Officers

President	-	Alhaji Sanda Na Alhaji (Kano
Deputy President	-	M. Ahmadu, Sardauna of Sokoto[46]
General Secretary	-	M. Ibrahim Imam (Borno)
Deputy Secretary	-	M. Sa'adu Alanamu (Ilorin)
Financial SEcretary	-	M. Isa Kaita (Katsina)
Treasurer	-	M. Abubakar Imam (Katsina)
Publicity Secretary	-	M. Nuhu Bamalli (Zaria)
Field Secretary	-	M. Garba Abuja (Abuja)
Auditor	-	Alhaji A. Okene (O ene)
Adviser, Islamic Law	-	Walin Borno (Borno)
Legal Adviser	-	M. Sa'adu Zungur (Bauchi)

Regional Officers

President, Northern Region	-	Ibrahim Musa Gashash (Kano)
Deputy President	-	Michael Audu Buba (Plateau)[47]
Secretary	-	M. Umaru Agaie (Bida)
Deputy Secretary	-	M. Ibrahim Doma (Lafia)

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46. Sardauna's election to the post of Deputy President clearly puts him in line for the eventual leadership of the party. This is due in large measure to his role during the campaign for the Northern Self Development Fund.

47. It should be pointed out that out of the entire executive, only one person - Mr. Michael Audu Buba was christian. This gave the party the image of been solely for muslims.

Two important personalities missing in the list of executive members were Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and Mallam Muhammadu Ribadu. It is ironic that the most vocal of all Northern members, Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa in both the Regional and the Central Legislatures, had not been thought fit enough to hold a senior party post.

The new executive embarked upon rigorous expansion which involved a national tour by Mallam Isa Kaita, Mallam Garba Abuja and Mallam Ibrahim Imam, the General Secretary. By the time they ended the tour, they had registered over 45,000 members in over 100 branches.

As part of the reorganisation of the party, Mallam Abubakar Tafawa Balewa was commissioned to write a report and submit to the party's 1954 Convention. Up to 1954, the party headquarters was located at U6, Tudun Wada, in Zaria adjacent to the house of Mallam Abubakar Imam. Mallam Balewa felt that it was necessary for the headquarters to be cited in the Regional capital. He donated his house to be used as the temporary office until the party was able to build its own.[48]

Balewa's Reorganisation Report

Since the formation of the party, no attempt was made to critically look at the organisational structure, financing and policies of the party, until it was decided in 1953 to set up

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48. Gaskiya Tafi kwabo, May 5, 1954 - Report of 1954 Annual Convention.

a Sole Commissioner, in the person of Mallam Abubakar Tafawa Balewa to find a lasting solution to the issues mentioned above.

The report, is in three parts - (a) suggested reforms (b) summary of recommendations and (c) interpretation and critical analyses of manifesto.

The first issue tackled by Mallam Abubakar Tafawa Balewa was that of finance. The report observed that finance is the most important factor of any organisation. In most countries where political parties operate, he said, the main sources of party finance was through public collections, voluntary contributions and donations by supporters. He recommended that appeal for funds should be extended to organisations, companies, associations and individuals including expatriate and non-expatriate "who have the interest of the North at heart." He further recommended that elected members of the party in both legislatures, ministers and floor members alike should pay an unspecified levy into the party coffers from their salaries. Mallam Balewa specifically recommended that the Hon. Muhammadu Ribadu be appointed Financial Secretary. This was because, according to him "I want somebody capable enough to assist the National Secretary in his difficult job." He did not recommend who the Secretary General should be, but at the time, Mallam Ibrahim Imam was occupying that position but was to resign few months later.

Executive Committee

The Report recommended the establishment of an executive committee with full executive powers.

c) The following committees shall also be established to take care of specialised issues, thus -

i) Education Plan Committee

ii) Economic Committee

iii) Local Government Reform Committee

iv) Works Committee

Mallam Balewa stressed the importance of continuity of leadership in any organisation especially in a newly found one like the NPC. He stressed that -

> All the executive officers of the party, from the President down to the last of them should be better allowed to continue in office, at least until 1956; when a complete new political constitution is expected to be drawn for Nigeria. This equally applies to all members of committees. The greatest harm that the NPC can do to itself is to start quarrelling over positions within its own ranks. I can see no future for the party if such a thing is allowed to happen. I see no objection, if the party wishes apart from those already in office to strengthen memberships of some committees or bring in new members.[49]

This particular recommendation is full of hidden meaning. There appeared to be, at that time schemes for the presidency, and the obvious candidates for the post were either himself or the Sardauna of Sokoto. The incumbent President, was a wealthy but illiterate businessman, Alhaji Sanda N. Alhaji based in Lagos. There was definitely a crying need for a change of leadership

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49. Ibid., page 5.

at the top, but Balewa's caution is informed by the fear of serious rivalry between himself and the Sardauna which in fact could have happened had he not restrained his supporters at the 1954 Jos Convention where against his wishes the entire leadership was changed.

On the constitution of the party, Mallam Balewa seemed to be satisfied but decried the absence of emphasis on party discipline. "It must be realised," he said, "that no party organisation can succeed without strong discipline, individual or collective." Balewa could not make a firm recommendation on this all-important issue for fear of being "misunderstood." "This question of party discipline, he went on, "is to be one of top priority and the sooner it is tackled,and settled, the better." The party open-door policy must have irked Balewa for he threw the challenge to the party which shall have to decide whether it would throw its "doors open to all undesirable people, crooks, etc, or whether certain standard of morality/character will be the guiding factors for its membership."

This is a rather strong statement by Balewa.[50] He must have been disturbed by developments in the party where perhaps those whom he could identify as "crooks" or "undesirable people" had infiltrated the party, lowering the morality and or character level of membership expected of such a party. Under such circumstance

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50. Balewa at times, could be blunt. Compare Speech on Emirs, Letters written to Imam and Baraya in earlier sections.

therefore, discipline was the first casualty. Hence, in our view, his stressing the issue of party discipline.

Mallam Balewa after critically examining the issues of structure, administration, finance, leadership and discipline turned his attention to the NPC Manifesto. The Seven Point Manifesto, clearly states its ideological position. The main issue facing the nation and therefore NPC at the time were -

a) Federalism and the autonomy of regions;

b) Local government, their structures and possible reforms;

c) Democracy and its practical applications;

d) Emirs, Chiefs and their role in society;

e) Western education and indigenous cultures;

f) Self-government - independence and relationships with British and finally

g) Unity of the North.[51]

The NPC Manifestoes must address itself to these burning issues. Whether the manifesto as drawn reflected these realities was the task given to Balewa to sort out and make recommendations.

The NPC during the electioneering campaign of 1951 had issued

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51. Report - pp. 1-/12

a cryptic Seven Point Manifesto. These are -

1. Regional autonomy within a united Nigeria;

2. Local Government Reform within a progressive *Emirates*;

3. The voice of the people to be heard in all the Councils of the North;

4. To retain the traditional system of appointing Emirs with a wider representation on the electoral committee;

5. A drive through the whole North in Education, while retaining an increasing cultural influence;

6. Eventual self-government for Nigeria with dominion status with the British Commonwealth,

7. One North, one people, irrespective of religion, tribe or rank.

On each of these items, Mallam Balewa analysed, criticised and made recommendations.

Regional autonomy within a united Nigeria, according to Balewa should be interpreted to mean that "under no condition should the NPC allow the centre to interfere with the region in carrying out its functions; and its guiding principle shall

Northern Nigeria. He,therefore,cautioned the NPC to be careful, and that people must first of all be made aware of their rights as well as their obligations. He cited the example of NEPU which emphasised rights only without obligations.

The fourth item, that of retaining the traditional system of appointing Emirs with wider representation on the elctoral committee was, according to Balewa, vague. He therefore proposed that the party should unambigously commit itself to the following:-

a) That the office of an Emir or Chief shall remain hereditary.

b) That the most suitable candidate as chosen by the people shall be appointed Emir.

c) Succession shall be limited to fathers and sons, or shall it be made open to everybody who can claim to be member of the Royal Family however distant the family may be.

Mallam Balewa became unrestrained in his views of the traditional ruling class whom few years earlier he had publicly castigated. He wrote inter-alia -

> "Every chief should be made to regard himself as something of a common property of his people and as such his people therefore must have some control over some part of his conduct."

Malam Balewa querried the ambivalent attitude of the party towards the traditional rulers.

"It is time," he said, "that the party come out openly and state in very clear terms its policy as regards this question of very vital importance."

"Is it the aim of the party," he querried,

> to make all the chiefs in the region big and small, become purely constitutional heads of their areas or are they going to be allowed to weild some of the administrative powers or an influencing power over councils at all levels?

I would like the NPC to be bold enough to produce concrete proposals and set them out as its policy in general terms and let the chiefs choose whether or not to support the party, Balewa asked.

On education, Malam Balewa recommended that the party should have a Master Education Plan that will cover a period of years (3-5) to complete and a party committee be composed of the following should be set up to follow the matter:

Minister of Education	-	Chairman
Hon. Shetima Kashim		
2 Moslem and 2 non-moslem		members.

The report should be submitted to the party within the shortest time possible.

On self-government, Malam Balewa's cautious conservatism, surfaced. The NPC, he said, had no business discussing about independence and membership of the commonwealth. It should only speak for the North, and after all has not it been decided that each region could become self governing when it suited it? He advised the NPC to wait and see the repercussion of the Gold Coast,[52] independence before committing itself to such lofty ideal. He ended ominuously by stating that "the future of Nigeria as one country, even with the suggested federation is still uncertain." This is a belief long held by Balewa. In a communication to Imam in 1942, referred to earlier, he remarked that were he to be in a position, he would see to it that the two sections of the country - North and South went their different ways.

The seventh point in the NPC Manifesto which proposes equality of Northerners irrespective of their tribe, religion and rank, sounded rather hollow to Balewa in a society so ridden with class and religious differentiation. He saw it as a laudable objective if it could be achieved. With goodwill, on all side, he said, "a Kanuri, a Hausa, a Fulani, a Tiv or Birom (could) feel that they are one and the same thing." However, Balewa said that in order to achieve this, there must be a complete change of heart and purely changed attitude towards the way of approach to the many problems of the North, big or small." He went on to say:-

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52. See Reaction to Criticism on Imam for his refusal to endorse Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe's proposal for independence by 1953 in the Chapter on Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo.

of the party of which Balewa, who was at the receiving end, opposed.

The same argument can be extended to his special appeal that the party should pay special attention to the pagan areas later to be known as the Middle Belt. He was born amongst the non-Hausa/ Fulani, a non-muslim community of Bauchi Emirate, in the District of Tafawa Balewa. He had lived and grown up with them and had appreciated thier culture. Though, not a prince himself, but by virtue of the fact that his father was a servant in the District Head's household gave him special privileges which he appreciated were much better than his playmates at school or in the village square.

Balewa was again to return to this theme at the concluding part of his brief report -

> The NPC must pay special attention to the development of the less developed areas of the Region because the success of the party in winning the confidence of all the North depends on the conduct of the members of the NPC who deal directly on behalf of the party with the communities.
>
> In this regard, the party has great opportunity which any other political party in the North lacks at present. These opportunities are that the so-called backward communities are mostly part and parcel of the Native Authorities in whose councils the party boasts of many members. A very sympathetic approach to "THE PROBLEMS OF THE LESS PRIVILEGED AND BACKWARD COMMUNITIES IS OF AN URGENT NECESSITY IF THE PARTY IS TO HAVE INFLUENCE IN THESE AREAS.

At the 1954 Jos Convention, the party against the recommendation given in the report went ahead and elected new officials and the post of the President was to be fought between Balewa and Ahmadu, Sardauna. Of course, Ahmadu Sardauna won easily becuase of the same issue Balewa raised in 1950 and most recently in the report which was under consideration at the time of the election. Rank, therefore, played a major role in Balewa's defeat.

Although, Balewa had feared party in-fighting, electing a new executive to replace Alhaji Sanda Na Alhaji was highly desirable under the circumstance which called for the equals of Chief Awolowo for the West and Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe for the East. But from the election of the new President, who was then given wide powers of choosing his own cabinet, there ended the NPC of Balewa's dream. With the election of Sardauna as President General, rank foreshadowed everything else; the party stayed away from the so-called pagan areas, were the people had begun to agitate for a separate Middle Belt state to be carved out of the North, and the less privileged felt uncomfortable within the party and found a haven in the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU).

In spite of all these, the Convention noted Balewa's position paper on reorganisation and thanked him for a job well done. At least, the secretariat was transferred to Kaduna and secretariat personnel established and remunerated. More importantly, his friend, Malam Muhammedu Ribadu who was to play a vital role in both the party and the nation later was brought in to the executive This much could be said of the implementation of a beautiful and well written report.

Perhaps what Balewa had feared had begun to occur even before the Jos Convention. The resignation of Malam Ibrahim Imam, the General Secretary of the party on the eve of the Jos Convention was an ominous pointer to the fact that the party had begun to change course from what Professor A. D. Yahaya referred to as "the radical and reformist ideals of the educated group of the 1940's." He was replaced by Alhaji Inuwa Wada, of whom much will be said later in connection with the Kano Riot of 1953.

In time, however, what Balewa remostrated against, dictatorship, reared its ugly head. The Executive, which he had recommended to serve as a check on the leader was rendered moribund, and the convention which according to the constitution was the superior organ of the party ceased to be convened after 1957. From then on, the party blended into government and government into the party. All important party offices, were held by ministers either at the regional level or at the Federal level. Therefore a meeting of ministers at both the regional and federal level served to all practical purposes the Executive organ of the party. What is even more important, all ministers and their parliamentary secretaries, especially those in the Northern Region were either princes in their own right or they had to take on appropriate titles from their localities. Again - Rank, which Balewa had

earlier foreseen as the bane of the organisation.[53]

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53. The entire section was based on the Balewa Report entitled "Reorganisation of the Northern Peoples Congress: Notes for consideration by the Party Executive," mimeo, n.d., which from all indications was written in early 1954 for the consideration of the NPC Convention in May. For the conduct of the elections in which Alhaji Muhammadu Sanusi, the former Emir of Kano and Alhaji Bello Dandago, Sarkin Dawaki Mai Tuta from Kano, and later to be Speaker, played prominent role on behalf of the Sardauna, and Alhaji Ahmadu Kari from Bauchi on Behalf of Tafawa Balewa - see Yahaya, A. D., op.cit., pp.26-30: Sklar, R. ... Dudley, B. J., commenting on the Jos Convention wrote - "But having secured control of the party leadership, the parliamentary leadership has since 1954 stultified every attempt to alter the composition of the party executive. Not only has no election of a new executive been held since 1954, but alterations to the composition of the Executive have since become a responsibility of the President." - That is, the Sardauna of Sokoto." Dudley, B. J., op.cit., p. 127. For the Sardauna address to the Convention and its proceedings - see Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo, May, 1954; Whitaker, C. S., suggests that the resignation of Malam Ibrahim Imam, the General Secretary of the party might not be unconnected with the rejection by the Convention of a memorandum for the reconstruction of the party. He was also know to have problems at home in Borno with the Shehu himself. Whitaker, C.S., Continuity and Change, op.cit., p. 328; The memorandum referred to by Whitaker raises a serious doubt as to the authorship of the Report, analysed as having been written by Balewa. The Ibrahim Imam memorandum was supposed to be sent to the Convention, according to Whitaker, which he said, was rejected by them. In the report of the proceedings of the Convention, there was no indication that Ibrahim Imam was ever present; in fact his resignation was announced before the Convention. the Report which analysed, though not attributed to any author, was given to the author as a report of Balewa to the Executive Committee, which incidentaly, the convention accepted and was thanked for a job well down. Whitaker did not however indicate the areas of the Ibrahim's report which the convention disagreed with. In view of this weak evidence, the author believes the report just treated was authored by Balewa.

NPC CONSTITUTION

In the preamble to its Constitution, the Party enumerated seven objectives.[54] These include:-

1. To adopt and cultivate means that would foster better understanding and co-operation between the members and the Association and the Northern Community generally, so that by such co-operation we of the North may be able to attain to that unquestionable height so desirable especially at this time of our existence and thus enabling us to have one common ideal and objective.

2. To study and strive to preserve the traditions which bound culture to the past, while reforming these traditions to render them capable of meeting modern conditions.

3. To educate the Northerners of their civil and political responsibilities; to organise them to accept the leadership of Northern Peoples Congress, and to support its candidates for elections to the Regional and Central Legislatures and to Local Councils.

4. To study the cultural, social, political and economic pastimes of the Northerners so that they can adjust themselves to the present changing world with the view to

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54. Northern Peoples Congress: Constitution and Rules, Gaskiya Corporation, Zaria, 1955.

overcoming all the difficulties and barriers that are placed before them.

5. To appeal to the members to submit themselves to party discipline and loyalty; and those of them elected into the Regional Legislature shall be requested to work assidously towards the implementation of party programmes of work for all Departments of Government.

6. To inculcate in the minds of the Northerners a genuine love for Northern Nigeria and all that is northern, and a special reverence for Religion, Laws and Order and the preservation of good customs and traditions, and the feeling that the sorrow of one Northerner shall be the sorrow of all and that the happiness of one is also the happiness of all.

7. To make every possible effort in order to hasten the date of Self-Government for Nigeria and the consideration of introducing of a "Permanent Federal Constitution."

The membership of the party is "open to all people of Northern Nigerian descent irrespective of creed, rank or tribe."

It is clear from its objects and memebrship, The Northern Peoples Congress is a Northern Party, and for Northerners which

stood for the solidarity and progress of Northern Nigeria. The reason for founding a regional organisation, at a time when the leadership was committed to the unity of Nigeria, was brought about by the existence of two political organisations, the NCNC and the Action Group. The N.P.C. leadership believed that the two parties were committed only to the progress of their regions, East and West respectively. It, therefore became necessary for it to be the self-appointed champion of the Northern cause.

FINANCE:

Since the inception of the party in June, 1949, the Central Secretariat maintained records of its revenue and expenditure. The earlier record in our possession reveal that sources of the revenue for the party include branch registration fee which was equivalent of one Naira, five kobo; the second source was through the levy imposed on branch income. All branches were taxed one third of the income collected, the third course was through donations.

For the first quarter of 1950 about 38 branches registered at the rate of ₦.05K per branch. the total was ₦40.00. Twenty one branches paid up one third of their income which amounts to ₦255.00. Donations netted ₦172.00. Total revenue collected by the party during the first quarter was ₦467.00. During that period, the party incurred an expenditure of ₦88.00; leaving it with a net revenue of ₦378.00.

The annual financial statement for the year 1950 was as follows:-

TABLE 8 - I

Total Registration fee	-	₦57.00
1/3 branch income	-	₦487.00
Special income	-	₦7.00
Registration Cards and Party Objectives	-	₦100.00
Other sources	-	₦32.00
Total for the year, 1950	-	₦1,064.00
Total Expenditure	-	₦472.00
Net Revenue	-	₦592.00

There was a slight increase in the amount collected in 1951, the year the party changed its status from a cultural organisation to a political party. In that year, ₦2,123.00 was collected. There was a corresponding rise in the party's expenditure. The figure stood at ₦1,390.00; leaving the party with a net income of ₦733.00.

In the year, 1952, party members in the House of Assembly, Kaduna, Central Legislature, Lagos and ministers paid a percentage of their salaries amounting to ₦442.00. There was in that year also, a public collection drive by the party which was authorised by government. The drive netted the party ₦1,125.00. One major item of expenditure in the year 1952 was the national tour carried out by the party's officers, Ibrahim Imam and Isa Kaita; each of them covered over three thousand miles.

When Mallam Ahmadu Rabah, the Sardauna of Sokoto took over the leadership of the party, new sources of party revenue emerged. One source was not identified in the Record Book; both the source

and the amount marked secret. The other source was from Emirs who paid directly to the Sardauna, who at that time was also the Minister of Local Government. The Emirs who made the donations were - The Lamido of Adamawa donated ₦100.00; The Emir of Argungu ₦10.00 and the Emir of Daura ₦20.00.

From Sardauna, a lump sum amount of ₦2,418.00 was entered in the book, but there was no breakdown of the source and amount given by the donors; and by the end of July, 1954, Emirs and Companies support amounted to ₦2,460.00. Here again no names of Emirs or particular companies were revealed.[55]

N. P. C. - CONSERVATIVE OR RADICAL?

From the foregoing, the NPC can best be described as an establishment party, since the leadership was drawn from the families and organs headed by the traditional ruling class. However, the action of a number of branches, to some extent gave one the impression at least in its formative stage, that the party was radical and anti establishment.

The radicalism of one of the branches, Zaria, can be gleaned from a letter of protest sent by its Secretary, Malam Audu Makarfi to the Zaria Native Authority. In it, the secretary conveyed the disaproval of the local branch "of the way and manner Local Government Councils are run in this Emirate." He continued:-

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55. NPC Financial Record Book, NPC Headquarters, Kaduna.

> The NPC believes in the eventual Self-Government for the Northern Region, but it believes also that in order to run a self-governing Northern Nigeria as a modern state, it is very necessary that the masses of this country should be taught the art of government by allowing them to participate actively in the management of their own affairs.

The Secretary compalined that the Town and District Councils in the Zaria Home distric "have not been allowed to function." "In fact," he wrote, "there are thousands of people in the city who do not know of even the existence of the Town Council because it had never met. This slow process, in the view of the NPC, is a deliberate suppression of the peoples"right to progress and is detrimental to general progress of the Region."[56]

In another letter which appeared to be even more confrontational to the Zaria Native Authority, He Secretary to the Zaria Provincial Committee sought to know from the Emir of Zazzau, Alhaji Ja'afaru, the conditions governing (a) Forced and Communal Labour (b) Wages and (c) the working hours laid down for such labours. The Secretary went on to allege:-

> a) Reports have it that people are forced to work. It is true that the law allows forced or communal labour in certain respects, but force should not be applied in recruiting every kind of labour.

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56. Letter No. 2/130 NPC, Zaria to Zaria N.A., May 11, 1953. NPC National Headquaters, Kaduna - copy with the author.

b) It is learnt from the villagers themselves that with them there was nothing like working hours. They are made to work from 7.00 am to well after 5.00 pm in the evening or even until sunset in certain circumstances. It people could be made to stay on after the official closing time of work, they must be paid overtime. There is nothing like overtime in the villages.

c) This thorny question of wages. People have been known to have worked for one month and said to have got only thirty or even twenty shillings (₦2.00). There is no area in this province where the official rate of wages is under 13 kobo or 15 kobo per day.

The Secretary further alleged that the authorities were in the habit of using force to recruit cheap labour for contractors. This, according to the Secretary, amounts to exploitation. The party warned the authorities to "halt all these malpractices

at your earliest opportunity."[57]

No where in the Manifesto of the party nor in the composition of its leadership could one be convinced that the party could champion the cause of the masses as the Zaria branch had done. There is no doubt that the Native Authority was quite disturbed about the radical posture of a party which the Emir of Zaria was the the patron. From the records it does not appear that the Secretary had come under any pressure from the authorities to stop his confrontational posture against the Native Authority.

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57. Letter No. ZP/1/4 of 19th November, 1952 addressed to the Emir of Zaria by the NPC Zaria Provincial Committee. For the relationship between the Zaria Native Authority and the Northern People's Congress (NPC), see Yahaya, A. D., The Native Authority System, op.cit., Chapter 5. Compare this with the letter written by Malam Jamaare, a Science Teacher at the Middle School in 1941.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

SECOND PHASE:

THE MIDDLE BELT IDEA : THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE TIV TRIBE AND EMERGENCE OF TIV PROGRESSIVE UNION

It is not clear when the expression 'Middle Belt' came into use.[1] The term was coined to express the distinction, geographical, cultural, political, religious, economic and ethnic, long recognised between the land and people of the 'lower' and the 'upper' North.[2]

In spite of this manifested differences mentioned above, the British, obsessed with their pet idea of Indirect Rule, which had proved "remarkably successful" in the far Northern Provinces decided for the sake of uniformity to impose it on the people of the lower North, some of whom have never had centralised political system.[3]

Paradoxically, while the British saw the need for uniformity in the Administration structure, they showed greater preference

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1. The first time the phrase was used was in the Nigerian Citizen, August 5, 1949. It did not, however, specify which provinces of the North constituted the Middle Belt. Hitherto, the British Administration referred to the areas not under the Emirate and the Borno system as "Pagan areas."

2. For full details of this Northern duality see "The Northern Region of Nigeria, the Geographical Background to its Political Duality" by Buchanan, K. in The Geographical Review, Vol. 43, No. 4. October, 1953, p. 451. See also pp. 1-40 vol. I, supra.

3. An Excellent examples of reaction to this imposition is given by Donald, D. C., 'British Colonial Administration Among the Tiv 1900-1949.' African Affairs, Vol. 68, No. 273, October, 1969: Ballard - 'Pagan Administration in Northern Nigeria,' Savannah: Tseaya, J. I., Conflict and Integration of Tiv, For a detailed anthropological works on the Tiv, see Bohanan, Paul, The Tiv of Central Nigeria.

and appreciation for the Hausa-Fulani culture than they did for the people of the 'lower' North. This preference was more manifest in the protective educational policy of the Colonial Administration. The missionaries for instance, were barred from establishing schools and prøseletising within muslim emirates of the 'upper' North. They were however, given a free hand in the Southern part of the 'lower' North, and a conditional permission in the Middle part of the lower North.[4]

While the Colonial Administrtion was struggling to unify the North administratively, they, either knowingly or unknowingly undermined this very struggle by creating two antagonistic and rival religious blocs - muslim and christian within one political entity.

The two other factors that differentiate the 'upper' from the 'lower' North are ethnicity and the economy. The ethnic compositic and the size of each of the ethnic units in the lower North differ markedly from those of the upper North. In the latter, three main linguistic groups predominate. These are: Hausa, Fulani and Kanuri. For the most part, these groups are homogenous religiously

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4. Marxwell Lowry: Half A Century of Grace: Miller, H., An Autobiography, Rubingh, The Sons of Tiv: Crampton, E.P.T., Christianity in Northern Nigeria. See a similar case in the Sudan where muslims were prevented from entering non-muslim areas except christian missionaries -

and culturally. In the lower North on the other hand, only one ethnic group, the Tiv could claim more than one million people among the hundreds that are within the area. A very large number of these have a population of less than 50,000.

Economically, the upper North, for a geographical, positional and historical reasons, was more affluent. The table below show the position of the two areas on the factors discussed in the late forties.[5]

TABLE 8 - I

CONTRAST BETWEEN THE SUDAN ZONE AND THE MIDDLE BELT

MAJOR TRABAL GROUPS	SUDAN ZONE	MIDDLE BELT
Hausa	44.9	3.4
Fulani	27.2	5.9
Others	27.9	91.7
Religion:		
Muslim	87.1	21.7
NATIVE ADMINISTRATION		
Average Population	300,000	16,000
Economy:		
Average Revenue of Native Authorities	₦ 140,000	₦ 7,000

5. Buchanan - op.cit., page 452.

SECOND WORLD WAR AND ITS EFFECTS

The decade 1939-1945 was very crucial in the political history of Northern Nigeria. It was within the decade, 1939-1945, that World War II broke out. Since Great Britain was one of the principal antagonists, Nigeria as one of British principal colonies with the greatest human and economic resources got dragged into the war.[6]

The people who fought for the British were recruited mainly from the 'lower' part of the North. Even within this area, some areas were affected more than others. The Tiv in Benue and the people of the Plateau were more exposed to this intense human and economic demands of the war.

Our purpose now is to show the extent to which Indirect Rule, the impact of rapid modern economic and social changes, and the church, brought about the emergence of particularistic ethnic organisations, whose main objective was to cater for the welfare of the ethnic groups within a unit known as the Middle Belt.[7]

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6. Unongo, Paul Iyapuu - Where Do We go From Here? Mimeo. Copy with the author.

7. For the reaction - sometimes violent to impose Warrant Chiefs by the Tiv, see - Haroun Adamu, "Atem Ityough" in Pan Africanist' Vol. 1, No. 1 Fall, 1971: The Sons of Tiv op.cit., seayo, Justin. Conflict and Integration, op.cit. See also Afigbo, A. E., "Revolution and Reaction in Eastern Nigeria, 1900-1929. Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria, Vol. 3, No. 3 pp. 539-557; 1966, and "The Warrant Chief system in Eastern Nigeria: Direct or Indirect Rule, Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria. Vol. 3 No. 3., June, 1967, pp. 683-700 and Gailey, H. A. The Road to Aba, London University Press.

Professor Dudley has made the observation, that the ethnic movements which emerged in this part of the country during the war and after were essentially separatist; and secondly "they were all directed against the Hausa Fulani hegemony in the North." As the analysis of the two organisations would show below, the motivations mentioned by Dudley, were later developments after the individual ethnic organisations had coaleasced or allied with similar organisations in the area.[8]

Initially, the ethnic organisations were formed as a vehicle for the improvement of the lot of the particular ethnic groups; or as a vehicle for "righting the wrongs" meted to the people. In Benue and Plateau Provinces, each of the group under discussions, had problems peculiar to it, and at this time, in the thirties and forties the two main problems centred around local administration and local economic and development issues.

For the Tiv, the administrative problems dated as far back as when the British intruded into their land. For administrative purposes, Tiv-land was divided into two, each attached to a territory under alien control. The Aku of Wukari, the paramount ruler of the Jukun people was given authority over the Katsina-Ala Division, while the other half known as Abinsi Division was placed under the jurisdiction of the Chief of Makurdi, Malam Audu Dan Afoda. It should be mentioned, however, that all the towns mentioned, Katsina-Ala, and Makurdi, are settled by non-Tiv, Hausa - Fulani, Kanuri and Jukun.[9]

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8. Dudley, B. J. Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria - op.cit., page 90.

9. Donald, D. D., "British Colonial Administration among the Tiv - 1900-1949" - op.cit. Bohannan, L.P. The Tiv of Central Nigeria, London, 1953, pp 13-14, 37-42, passim.

By 1934, however, the two sections of the Tiv, Abinsi and Katsina-Ala Divisions were united under one Native Authority system. This facilitated the efforts began in the early twenties of establishing a supreme traditional authority for all the Tiv people in line with what was obtaining in the Emirates of Northern Nigeria.

The First demand for a Tor Tiv (Tiv Paramount Ruler) first surfaced at Abinsi in 1925. The meeting, according to an eye witness "unanimously accepted Mr. Chem Kibough, the first head-master of the Tiv Elementary School at Abinsi." There was, however, opposition from the two most influential individuals of the Division. Both of these individuals were non-indigenes, one, Malam Audu Dan Afoda, a Hausafied Yoruba from Ilorin, who had risen from a messenger to the Chief of Makurdi and member of the Abinsi Divisional Central Council, was himself interested in the post of Headship of the Council. The other, Malam Baba Tapinta, a Hausa from Kano, was singularly the most influential messenger and interpreter to the District Officer and had been a colleague of Audu from their Ibi days long before they settled in Makurdi.[10]

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10. Interview with Mr. Emmanuel Gbile Gundu on 28th July, 1972 at his home near Abinsi. Mr. Emmanuel Gundu dated the meeting some time in 1927. However, the first meeting of the Abinsi Central Council took place in 1927, which puts E. G. Gundu still at Abinsi for he graduated in the year. See also, "The Tiv Native Administration. An example of the Social Origins and Ethnic Particularism" by Justin Tseayo, A. B. U., Sociology Department Seminar Paper.

What is not clear, however, is whether the Paramount Chief of Tiv, was to function as the President of the Abinsi Divisional Central Council or as the Chief of an integrated Tiv-land. If it was the latter, the Tiv elite would have first asked for the unification of Tiv-land under one single administration before demanding a paramount Chief of all Tiv.

Before the Council meeting was over, Malam Audu Dan Afoda, was elected to be the President of the Abinsi Dvisional Central Council. This appointment, instead of satisfying the yearnings of the Tiv educated elements, further antagonised them for they detested being led they said, by a foreigner in their own land.

The territorial reorganisation in 1933, which merged the two separately administred Tiv areas, and centralised its administation at Gboko, provided a better climate for the intensification of the demand for a parpamount chief.

Two institutions became centres for Tor Tiv agitation - firstly, the newly formed Tiv Central Native Authority, manned by the Tiv educated elite and second, the Middle School at Katsina-Ala. These became the breeding ground of ideas. Though few in number, the elites in these establishments became a terror to the administration owing to their incessant petitions over the chieftaincy issue.

In 1937, the Central Council (Ijirtamen) took the acting Resident by surprise when it suggested "that there should be a Chief of Tiv." However, according to the acting Resident, "on close inquiry, in individaul clan areas, it was clear that there

was not the slightest desire or intention that an outside person (someone from a different clan) should have any control over the clan affairs."[11]

During the Council's meeting, the following year - 1938, a half-hearted demand for the appointment of "a paramount Chief to represent the Tiv tribe at the conference of Chiefs at Kaduna," was made. This demand was quickly dropped by the clan Councils themselves, but the agitation were fostered sporadically by members of the tribe, more with the view of their own self-aggradisement than to the interest of the people.[12]

The British officials were of the view that the society at large represented by the clan councils did not conceptually understand the institution and dreaded its functions which would include, among other things, intervention in local clan affairs. The officials saw the hidden hands of the educated elites at work and concluded that their support for such an institution was motivated solely by selfish interest. The officials had failed to reckon with their own policy which treats societies with paramount Chiefs as more superior to those which did not have, and, secondly, they failed to realise that the educated elites would not accept foreign Chiefs imposed on them, as was the case with the Aku of Wukari and Audu Dan Afoda of Makurdi until 1934.

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11. Tseayo, op.cit., page 10.

12. Beck, D. M. H., quoted in Ibid, page 47, The Conference of Chiefs in Kaduna was an annual meeting of Senior Emirs and Chiefs of the Northern Region.

The Tiv intelligentsia were for the most part concentrated at the Katsina-Ala Middle School; notable among these were Mr. Emmanuel Gundu, Mr. Cia Aka and Mr. Pagher Mue.

The most articulate of these was Mr. Emmanuel Gbile Gundu who, because of his political activities, was transferred to Kaduna in 1936, and later to Ilorin. Mr. Gundu however, maintained contact with Mr. Patrick Dem Kpuum, another Tiv educated elite who was at that time a Government employee at Zaria; Mr. Kpambe Adura and Mr. Pagher Mue, both of the Middle School Katsina-Ala.

In a petition[13] signed by these four, the petitioners drew the attention of the Resident that Tiv Division "covers an area of 9,860 square miles with a population of 559,260 people." The Tiv people, they pointed out were known by two principal names, the Mbaipusu (uncircumcised) and the Mbaichongo (circumcised).[14]

The petitioners were amazed that "this division which is under the protection (of the British) for over 30 years has no Chief of its own and is being administered by village Chiefs with the aid of Administrative Officers." "As sons of the soil," they went on:-

> we have no hesitation to inform the

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13. The petition dated November 16, 1938 was addressed to the Resident through the District Officer, Gboko. Copy with the author.

14. Bohannah, Paul, op.cit. p. 75.

> Honourable Resident that there is an incessant woe (sic) among the peasants in Tiv division about a Chief. In short, a Division which is being occupied by some wiser strangers must be favoured with a capable man in high authority for a better administration; moreover, it will also add to the honour and prestige of the country (Tiv-land) if such a worthy post is created...

They alleged that at the Council's meeting the previous year (1937), an election for the post of the Chief of Tiv was conducted and the village Chiefs voted overwhelmingly for Mr. Orodi, the Treasurer. After the election, the new Chief "was raised on high and carried around the town to show that he had been acclaimed Chief according to our native law and custom." They pleaded that the administration should grant him recognition.

The educated elite demanded the creation of a Tor Tiv in order to (1) enchance the prestige of the people who occupied a large expanse of land with over half a million people; (2) they detested the chaotic administrative arrangement; (3) demand was actually made by the peasants, and they were merely their spokesmen; (4) Tiv-land, they said was occupied by 'wiser strangers' (Hausa and Ibo) and as such it deserves to be ruled by a capable man (one of them) in high authority.

A number of factors have influenced the educated elites to seek for such a fundamental change in the political and administrative structure of their land. These are environmental, ethnic, and experiencial.

The environmental factor refers to the political environment within which Tiv Division was constituted. There were very few areas in the Northern Region, where the people had no paramount Chiefs, in the style of the far Northern Emirs. Indeed, the adminstration policy favoured these places for, according to them, their culture was superior. When the Tiv delegation attended the Emirs and Chief Conference at Kaduna, there were in all 260 village heads and elders, led by the president of the Tiv Council, a 'foreigner,' Malam Audu Dan Afoda.

The delegations appeared rather too large and unwieldy. It must have dawned on some of their literate members, that they should achieve a system similar to the ones they saw at Kaduna, with the awesome pomp and peagentry.

Secondly, if they were going to evolve such a system, why not select a Tiv man. A Hausafied Yoruba, though Tiv speaking could not be a substitute for a Tiv man.

Thirdly, the experience of the educated elite who had lived among centralised administrative system disappoved of their inchoate, and often choatic administrative system, without one central individual who could coordinate their activities on a continuing basis as is the case in the Emirate systems.

Above all, their educated elite wanted to create a niche for themselves in policy making positions in order to face modern challenges. It was their view that left to the fragmented and illiterate village Heads, Tiv-land might not progress as fast as they had wished.

During the war years, i. e. 1939-1945, the agitative politics of the educated class regarding the demand for the creation of the post of Tor Tiv escalated. The vehicle for this agitation was the newly formed Tiv Progressive Union (TPU).[15] The organisation was formed in Makurdi, and when the Secretary, Mr. Gbile Gundu, was transferred because of his political activities, the organisation's headquarters was shifted to Gboko.

Towards the end of the war, another force to be reckoned with in Tiv politics, the ex-servicemen, returned home, demobilised, unemployed and discontented.[16]

The alliance of these two groups, the TPU consisting mostly of the Tiv intelligentsia, and the ex-servicemen - action orientated men brought about the first incidence which proved conclusively to the administration that the Tiv would no longer tolerate any non-Tiv in leadership position in their territory.[17]

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15. Dudley, Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria, op. cit., pp - 91-92.

16. See G. O. Olusanya "The Role of The Ex-Servicemen in Nigeria Politics" JMAS, Vl. 2, August 1968, pp 221-232.

17. The Hausa-Tiv Riot in Makurdi over the appointment of the Chief of Makurdi when the position became vacant in 1947. See West African Pilot 20-30 September, 1947 - Passim.

Furthermore, the TPU, was one of the founding organisations of the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) in 1944 through a member, late Mr. Ayilla Yough, who was at the time an employee of the West African Pilot, a paper published by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe. Through this connection, therefore, Tiv-land became exposed to national politics, restricted as it then was.[18]

While the demand grew in intensity, very little thought was given to the functions to be performed by the Tor Tiv once he was installed.

Bourdillion's memoradum on the future political development of Nigeria sent round the provinces for comment elicited various responses. It is from the response of the Resident, Benue Province that we begin to see a gradual shift from the firm position against the creation of a paramount Chief to that of championing the cause of the Tiv vis-a-vis those of the others in the Emirates.[19]

The Chief Commissioner of the Northern Provinces, had proposed in his response to Bourdillion's memorandum, a Regional Council in which all the Emirates and other interested groups such as mining and business would be represented. Plateau, because of the concentration of mining activities there will represent the entire pagan areas which includes Benue Province.

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18. Sklar, R. Nigerian Political Parties op.cit., pp - 345-347

19. The position taken by the Resident was later echoed by the United Middle Belt Congress - that of discrimination against the minority tribes.

The fact that only one member was chosen to represent both Benue and Plateau Provinces evoked an outcry from the Resident, Benue Province. Writing on behalf of the Tiv Central Council, the Resident felt that the "pagan representation on the Northern Provinces Council is inadequate."

He claimed that "the Tiv Central Council representing more than 350,000 people, would expect representation in both upper and lower houses."

The Resident complained that:-

> recent attempts to select a candidate for the contigent position of 'Head of Tiv' have shown that there is a great difficulty in finding a basis for choice amongst the Heads of the main branches of the tribe but that it would be relatively easy for the council to agree on a 'representative' probably a senior civil servant with power to speak for it in the Northern Provinces council but not to dominate the existing authorities at home[20]

It has, therefore, become clear that the demand for the Tor Tiv had received a booster from the most unexpected quarter, constitutional advancement. For it was the Richards Constitution that finally set up two houses, House of Assembly and House of Chiefs from which the Tiv were to benefit. But whoever was selected would be addressed only as the Council's spokesman to external bodies, and had no locus standi at home. Both time and circumstances were to prove them wrong.

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20. Resident, Benue Province, Confidential File No. 131/23 of March 30, 1945. MAK. PROF. FILE No.131, National Archives, Kaduna.

The exigencies of the time called for someone with Makeri Dzakpe's experience. Between 1945-46, there were more demobilised soldiers in Tiv-land than there were educated people. These ex-servicemen, who, for the most part, had been unemployed had often become difficult to control (Makurdi Riot) and in the view of the officials, only Makeri Dzakpe understood their mentality and how to deal with them.

Mr. Gondo, on the other hand, was educated at Anune and Abinsi Schools, and became a Scribe thereafter. This in the eyes of the officials was not enough qualifications; and moreover, be belonged to the TPU.

Therefore, when the polls were finally taken, Mr. Makeri Dzakpe scored 25 votes to Gondo Aluor's 11, about 30 abstained.[23]

Whether by coincidence or by design, the two candidates came from the two sections of Tiv, Mbaicongo and Mbaipusu referred to earlier. In order to avoid animosity, Gondo Aluor was given the post of Deputy Tor Tiv.

The choice of Mr. Gondo Aluor from the Mbaicongo as deputy Tor Tiv, most writers believe, was based on the Tiv political philosophy or 'Ya na ityo' - eat and give it to your brother - a form of Tiv Communalism. This idea is common among all agrarian societies and it is not peculiar to the Tiv. Some writers refer to it as the principle of alternation and to others it is a principle of succession.

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23. Makar, T. op.cit., p. 390.

Whether indeed the Tiv had practised this principle prior to the advent of the British administration that brought the two sections under one umbrella, is now academic. We do know now that before the advent of the British Administration the Tiv politi system which is based on family, clan and district organisations, forced the participating families in a clan to demand rotational leadership. Mr. Ako Dzungwe, a former member of the Regional House of Assembly put it this way -

> It was the invariable practice of the Tiv tribe to arrange (for clans) to send members to representative bodies such as the Provincial Councils ... strictly in turn. For example, if last year, a certain clan sent a representative to a Legislature, then on the next occasion on which the Tiv would be asked to send a representative, then this particular clan would be at the bottom of the priority list. Should a clan whose turn it was to provide a representative be unable to produce a suitable representative, then the clan whose turn it was would provide the representative.[24]

The election of Makeri Dzakpe and his Deputy, Mr. Gondo Aluor provided the first occasion that this principle was applied in the whole Tiv context.

MAKERI DZAKPE - 1947-1956

When Makeri Dzakpe was finally selected by the Tiv Central Council (Ijirtamen), he was not to be the ruler of Tiv, rather he was to serve as their spokesman at the newly established Regiona

24. Ako Dzungwe quoted in Wallace T. W. "The Tiv System of Elections" Journal of African Administration, Vol. 10 1958 p. 56.

Council in Kaduna,[25] where he sat as a special member.

Between 1946 and 1947, Makeri served as Tiv representative on the Regional Council. His appointment as a second class Chief was confirmed on 29th March, 1947. However, details of his functions and the necessary local government reorganisation were not completed until sometime later. Two more years were to elapse before he was given a staff of office at a public ceremony in Gboko on November 2nd, 1949.

The fact that it took the British three years to complete the processes of investing Makeri with his authority as Second Class Chief demonstrates the reluctance on the part of the British, to establish such an institution among the Tiv.

Mr. Gondo Aluor, who lost the nomination, was there upon appointed the Deputy Tor Tiv. The post seemed to have been created by the British in order to provide a counter-weight to Makeri Dzakpe whose experience with the Central Administration was limited.

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25. It is noteworthy that in the Council there were two types of memberships - A member representing the Province, and a special member representing either "pagan area" or some minority groups or other special interests such as commerce, education etc. The Provincial member for Benue was Sarkin Loko, who was at best a District Head under the Emir of Nassarawa. The population of the entire District was less than 20,000 (rough estimate). The main reasons for selecting Alhaji Umaru was because there were large tin mining interests in his District.

It did much more. It pacified the considerable supporters of Gondo Aluor and assured them of access to power; the educated elite, who controlled the bureaucracy of the Native Administration and were for the most part supporters of Gondo Aluor, were also pacified. Above all, the creation of the post and the appointment of Mr. Gondo Aluor to it ensured the participation of the Mbaicongo clan of Tiv and limited the possibility of rivalry when the incumbent dies or is dismissed; for the deputy Tor Tiv is an automatic successor to the office of Tor Tiv.

THE INTRODUCTION OF POLITICS AND THE ESTABLISHENT OF TPU

The idea of forming a tribal union by the Tivs emanated according to one of its members "from Tiv Students and other Tivs who were then working in both the government and the Native Authority offices in 1940 or 1941." The objectives of the Union were (a) to cater for the welfare of the Tiv tribe and its people; (b) to promote educational advancement in Tiv-land; (c) to promote the unity of the five sub-divisions of the tribes etc.[26]

The Tiv Progressive Union, though a cultural organisation in its policies and orientation, was among the first association to join the NCNC at its inception in 1944. One of its leaders, Mr. Ayilla Yough, was at one time, a reporter, on the West African Pilot, and played host to the NCNC campaign team led by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe in 1946. One founding member, of the TPU who was to play

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26. Interview with Mr. H. O. Abaagu, one time Senator - 1960-1964 in Makurdi, May 16, 1972.

crucial role in the Tiv political awareness was Mr. E. G. Gundu.[27] He was a founding member of the NPC when he was an employee of the Gaskiya Corporation in Zaria in 1948. He was later elected to the Regional House of Assembly and the House of Representatives in 1951 and became the leader of the Middle Belt Peoples party in 1953 which allied itself with the NCNC.[28] Meanwhile, the Middle Zone League, founded by a few pastors from the Plateau, Southern Zaria and some parts of Adamawa merged with Middle Belt Peoples Party in 1955 to form the United Middle Belt Congress. The party came under the leadership of Mr. Joseph Sarwuan Tarka, a young Tiv Parliamentarian who immediately concluded alliance with the Action Group.

In general, 1939-1945, was the period during which ethnic or tribal unions flourished in most of the urban centres of the South. Because of its proximity to the South and owing to its cosmopolitan nature, Makurdi (Benue Province) too, became a centre of the growth of at least three ethnic associations - the Ibo State Unio the Idoma Hope Rising Union, the Jukun Youths Progressive Movement and the Tiv Progressive Union. For our purpose, only the Jukun Youths Progressive Movement and the Idoma Hope Rising Union need concern us here.

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27. See page 595 supra on his role in the agitation for the creation of The Tor Tiv, (The Chief of Tiv).

28. See Sklar R. op.cit., p.346, 95n; Dudley B. op.cit., pp. 94, 95 and 113n, Passim.

The Jukun Youth Progressive Movement was founded by Mr. Alexander A. Adams on 21st January, 1942. Like other ethnic unions, it, too, was founded by a group of urban based Jukun intellectuals, mostly clerks in government establishments. They include the following - Malam Adamu Gadu, Kankani Miya, Mr. Dennis Kuvala, Mr. M. J. Yakubu, Mr. E. J. Hamman, Mr. Danbaki Gainsa, Mr. David Dankaro, Mr. Harry U. Gambo, Mr. Benjamin B. Adams, Mr. Marshall Dankaro and the founder Mr. Alex A. Adams.

The Jukun Youth Movement had five objectives - (1) To promote and develop spirit of brotherhood, true love and comeradeship; (2) To combat ignorance, jealousy, intolerance and superstitutions; (3) To encourage thrift, self-help and cooperation; (4) To organise (when and where possible) and participate in all social engagements, remove all tribal clannish, social and religious prejudices and work together for all that will make for the progress of our land of birth Nigeria and mother Africa; (5) The Youths were not out to oppose all good governments and Native Authorities but shall endeavour to use all constitutional methods to press facts home should the occasion arise.[29]

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29. The Daily Comet, March 4, 1942.

The Idoma ethnic group, along with the two ethnic groups treated above, Tiv and Jukun were under the same adminstrative set up. Benue Province. The Tiv was the largest.

Idoma land lies in the most extreme Southern-Eastern end of the Northern Region which shared common border with the Igbo speaking part of Eastern Region. It formed the gateway to the North of the two important colonial agents of cha ge - Missionaries (mainly Catholic and Methodists) and the Railways.[30]

As in the case of most Nigerian ethnic unions, the Idoma Hope Rising Union was founded during the war. (1944). Its main aim like the others was to raise the status of the Idoma people by internally organising and mobilising the people for a sustained development. This, in their view could only be achieved through the creation of a centralised Native Administration System, since like their neighbours, the Tiv, they are ascephalous.

The Idoma Hope Rising Union (IHRU) achieved this objective in 1947 when Chief Ogri Oko was appointed the Och' Idoma, the Chief of Idoma people. The appointee, not being part of the educated

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30. For a detailed study of the Idoma people and their administrative set up see R. G. Armstrong, 'The Idoma Speaking Peoples' in Peoples of the Niger - Benue Confluence, edited by Daryl Forde, London, 1955 and Alvin Magid, Men in the Middle: Leadership and role Conflict in a Nigerian Society, Manchester University Press, 1976.

elite, the IHRU became estranged from the Native Administration and went into opposition.[31]

One of the members of the IHRU, Mr. James Oche was a founding member of the Middle Belt Peoples Union under the leadership of Mr. Gbile Gundu and this body entered into an electoral alliance in 1953 with the NEPU and NCNE.[32]

This electoral alliance in 1953 was a formalisation of years of informal working reltionship between the IHRU and the NEPU. In 1951, having been estranged from the newly formed Idoma Central Native Authority, the IHRU, voted in Idomaland along with the NEPU during that year's elections to the Northern House of Assembly.[33]

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31. Dudley, B. J. Parties and Politics in Northern Region, op.cit., p. 91. Magid, A. Men in the Middle opcit., pp 40-59 and for a detailed study of the Idoma Hope Rising Union (IHRU) SEE Albin Magid, 'Minority Politics in Northern Nigeria.' The case of the Idoma Hope Rising Union, in Nigeria; Modernization and The Politics of Communalism editors R. Melson and H. Wolpe, East Lansing, Michigan State University Press.

32. See page 639 infra

33. Dudley, B. J. op.cit, p. 51).

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE MIDDLE BELT IDEA - IN SEARCH OF A COLLECTIVE IDENTITY: THE EMERGENCE OF THE BIROM PROGRESSIVE UNION AND THE MIDDLE BELT PEOPLES PARTY

Birom [1] Progressive Union was formed in 1946, with the sole purpose of rendering "all possible and legal help to our Birom Youths, who have interest in and for the development of self and country. It is for the "good and welfare of the whole race".

The main aim of the union was the "unification of the many Birom districts widely spread and who have very little contact with one another." This lack of communication, was due in the main, to the hilly nature of the plateau, and the British non-challant attitude towards developing the areas which they had been exploiting for so long.

The union at its inaugural meeting resolved that:-

(a) Contributions shall be a duty obligatory on all enrolled members;

(b) No member shall take undue advantage of the Union's protection or otherwise act or speak without the union's expressed sanction against the state or any religion.

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1. The Birom are located on the Jos Plateau. For a detailed background on the area and the Middle Belt generally, see Introduction - pp - supra, Bukar, T. M. "Political Control Among the Birom" proceedings of the Fifth Annual Conference N ISER, Ibadan, 1956 and Dudley, B. J. op.cit, pp. 90-103.

In addition to its effort to unify the districts, the BPU sought also to -

(a) Create a sense of unity among the Birom tribes which come under the jurisdiction of the Jos Native Authority.

(b) To cater for the progress of all Biroms.

(c) To offer scholarship tenable at Higher institutions in Nigeria, West Africa and overseas to suitable Birom students.

(d) There shall be no religious or tribal segregational disputes during meetings.

(e) The Union aims at being more sectarian (sic) (non-sectarian) and non-segregational in all its aspects but to have interest in politics in so far as it tends to develop the economic condition of the entire "primitive" races of the Plateau.

(f) The union shall devote all its energy for the educational development of its "primitive" races within the Plateau.

The following were present at the inaugural meeting which was chaired by Messers. P. D. Fom; Major Rwang; Sha Dung; Haruna Nafusa; Maman Forawa; Lawrence For; M. G. P. Alli,

John G. Fom; A. H. Garba and P. M. Dokotri.[2]

At its second meeting the following were elected executive officers of the Union -

Mr. P. D. Fom	-	President-General
Mr. C. Tyres	-	Vice-President
Mr. P. M. Dokotri	-	Secretary
Mr. E. B. Gwong	-	Asst. Secretary
Mr. Rwang Pam	-	Treasurer
Major Rwang	-	Vice-Treasurer
Mr. Frank A. Adu	-	Spokesman
Mr. C. Malla	-	Asst. Spokesman

As in most ethnic unions all over the urban centres of Nigeria, the impetus, as has been observed by Coleman "for the formation of these associations came from educated elements in urban centres who usually retained the leadership...[3]

This was true in the case of BPU. The executive list was dominated by civil servants.

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2. (All these were contained in the minutes of the inaugural meeting which took place on the 7th of July, 1947, BPU, Minute Book. pp. 3-5; Dudley dates the formation of the Union sometime in 1945 which is incorrect. Dudley op.cit page 92. The History of the United Middle Belt Congress by Moses Rwang. Memeo, nd. copy with the Author. The original is in Hausa, translation by this author.

3. Nigeria, op.cit., page 215

Unlike other ethnic unions, however, who disclaim interest in affairs that lie within the domain of politics, the BPU stated explicitly, as one of its aims and objects to "have interest in politics in so far as it tends to improve and develop the economic condition of the entire 'primitive' races of the Plateau". Although the union was for the Birom, and from all indications with largely christian membership, the union resolved not to tolerate any "religious or tribal" disputes. In short it resolved to be "non-sectarian and non-segregational."

LEADERSHIP

The instability of the leadership structure of the BPU over a short period of time could be due to social and political pressures that had been mounted on incumbent officials. The first to resign as Treasurer of the BPU was Malam Rwang Pam, whose duties as the Chief of Jos and also special member of the Northern House of Assembly precluded his participation in the organisation, whose function was fast becoming political than social.

Both Mr. P. D. Fom, the President and Mr. Patrick Dokotri, the General Secretary, were unable to implement certain decisions taken by the union because of their being in the Civil Service. For example, the union had decided to send a letter of representation to the Resident, "demanding explanation for government release at Kaduna in this year's Chiefs Conference there that the land of the Biroms had been bought over..."

Because of "failure of official endorsement," the letter could not be sent. The officials of the union, the President and Secretary, being Civil Servants, they were not at liberty to sign any petition querrying government decision or action, on behalf of a social organisation.

Furthermore, the President, had earlier contravened the above and had received written warning from the District Officer, Jos, "about his political views and the letter states that, Mr. P. D. Fom had been responsible for letting out information to the Editor of the Northern Advocate - the matter published was said to have been of an administative nature."

It was decided there and then that these two officials be replaced. Malam Musa Wang and Moses Nyam Rwang were elected President and Secretary General respectively. It was also agreed that both the President and the Secretary should be salaried officials of the union. Three naira (₦3.00) was fixed for the President, while the Secretary was put on two naira fifty kobo (₦2.50).[4]

Shortly thereafter, the salaries were reversed; that of the Secretary became ₦3.00 and the President's ₦2.50.[5] The reversal of salary indicate the supremacy of the Secretary-General over the President.

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4. Minutes of 23rd October, 1949, BPU Minute Book, page 22.

5. Minutes of 2nd July, 1950, Ibid, page 35.

The President, Malam Musa Wang, who was a Commission Agent at Vom, it seemed, did not give the leadership required because his business occupied most of his time. The Secretary-General, Moses Rwang, an Ex-Serviceman of varied experience, and political sagacity took over the control of the organisation. On realising this, the President, informed his colleagues that he would wish to relinquish the post, for the reason stated above. This was unanimously accepted, and a new President, Malam Choji Jong, was elected to replace him.[6]

The tenure of office of Mr. Choji was longest amongst all the Presidents of the union since its inception. Two years after his election, he became apathetic and began to miss crucial meetings. The union then decided to replace him. He was replaced by Mr. B. B. Fom. He held the office until the BPU sub-merged itself in tumoultous politics of the Middle Belt.[7]

One of the most important officials who outlasted nearly everybody was the Secretary-General, Mallam Moses Rwang, 1947-1954. He happened to be the Secretary of the most important and crucial organisation at this very crucial period of political development in the Middle Belt. By virtue of his position in this pioneer organisation, Mr. Moses Rwang, more than any other single individual, influenced the formation of all the pan-Middle Belt Organisations from 1950-1966.

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6. Minutes of July 30, 1950, Ibid., page 37

7. Minutes of March 30, 1952, pages 74-75.

FINANCE

Like most ethnic organisations, the BPU depended solely on the contributions of its members. At the initial stage, "subscriptions and contributions" were made optional. It intended to fix a fee, which shall be determined and levied by the general meeting and approved by members.

The union inherited 'at birth' the sum of ₦5.00 (£2.10), property "of a union of the indigenous youth, whose aspirations and motives paralled with "the BPU but due to mismanagement, the union collapsed."[8]

Between August, 1946 and December; 1947, the union had collected from monthly subscriptions by members, the sum of ₦85.60 (£42.13.0d.). The following are the itemised list of expenditure and revenue from January to March, 1948.[9]

TABLE 8 - II

D A T E	NATURE OF REVENUE/ EXPENDITURE	COST	BALANCE
2/1/48	Money spent on grass	₦5.40	₦80.00
19/1/48	Labour	₦20.00	60.20
25/1/48	Revenue	2.85	63.05
25/1/48	Donation to Frank Adu	12.00	51.05
29/1/48	Revenue	3.50	54.55
11/3/48	Completion to complete hatching	32.09	22.00

8. Ibid., page 8: Dudley points out the Birom Progressive Union was founded in 1945. He probably might be referring to the defunct organisation. The BPU, as the Record of Meeting shows, was begun in 1946. See Dudley, op.cit. page 93.

9. Ibid., page 9.

In addition to expending the money on its own internal activities, the union expended money in order to cement its relations with some organisations external to the Northern Region. For example, both Mr. Mbonu Ojike and Mr. K. O. Mbadiwe paid a visit to Jos and were able to explain to the union their various missions. The union contributed ₦3.00 in support of Mbadiwe's African Academy, which he had founded in New York.[10] In spite of its lean purse, the union was able to sponsor two delegates to attend the NCNC Second Annual Convention in Lagos.[11] Other forms of expenditure include printing of membership cards, stationary etc.

In July, 1947, the BPU, became the second Northern Organisation after the Tiv Progressive Union (TPU, 1944) to affiliate itself with the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons (NCNC). Two memebrs, Mr. Dokotri and Moses Rwang attended the NCNC 1949 Conference, at which scholarship aid was requested for Mr. Dokotri to study law abroad. This, like that of Malam Aminu Kano, failed to materialise.

A year earlier, in 1946, the NCNC had undertaken a national tour to campaign against the obnoxious Ordinances, and Jos was one of the towns visited by the campaign team. It is likely that the contact between the BPU and the NCNC was made at this time. This early contact with the NCNC had a tremendous political impact on the alliance structures of small parties in the Middle Belt in the early fifties.

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10. Ibid., page 15.

11. Minutes of March 12, 1949, Ibid., page 15.

The BPU in addition to its achievement referred to earlier that of influencing the coming together of the several District Heads - of the Jos Division - fought and won a number of battles which had economic and political implications not only for Jos Division alone, but also for the future development of Nigerian political parties.

Under the auspices of the BPU, a new organisation with political and religious objectives - the Northern Nigerian Non-Muslim League was formed in 1949.[12] The union provided legal assistance to Mr. Moses Nyam Rwang, the union's Secretary and two farmers who were arrested for preventing miners from prospecting for tin in their farms. The defence lawyer, was Mr. Dennis Osadebey.[13] Their success marked a turning point in the union's popularity among the Birom people.

In 1947, the union successfully averted a Northern Government Policy "to remove all Biroms from Jos Division to settle them in Jama'a Division." This resettlement plan was most probably motivated by the desire of the mining company to remove the Birom from sites which they plan to prospect for tin. According to Moses Rwang, about twenty people from Zawang, a few miles outside of Jos, "volunteered and they were conveyed to settle in the new Division." On hearing this, the BPU protested to the Northern

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12. See the section on the Northern Nigerian Non-Moslem League on page 634 infra.

13. Mr. Dennis Osadebey, held an executive position in the NCNC and was between 1963- 966, the first Premier of the Mid-Western State (Bendel) of Nigeria.

Government against such mass evacuation of people. The government, thereupon reacted by setting up a Commission to inquire into the matter and to determine the general feelings of the people concerned. The Commission was composed of Chief of Wase, (Chairman), Mr. Sholade and Chief of Wamba.[14]

The union further petitioned the government on the open pits left by miners, rendering the farmers of the Jos area, landless. It suggested that the land be reclaimed. Having won this battle, it fought for the increase payment of compensation to farmers whose lands were taken over by miners.[15]

Thus, it can be seen that the motivation of the Birom Progressive Union, was not separatist, at the initial stage, as Dudley[16] had suggested. The main pre-occupation was political - that is, to unite the various segments of the Birom population under one central administration, with a first class Birom Chief at the Apex.[17] The second pre-occupation was economic. Tin mining was the most important economic activity on the Jos Plateau. The mining companies, were alienating peoples land with reckless abandon without anybody checking their unsatisable greed to acquire land by displacing their owners. The BPU, provided the check, though a very weak one, but a check, nonetheless, where none had existe

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14. Moses Rwang, Ibid., page 2.

15. In 1949, compensation to farmers was between ₦20.00 to ₦30.00 per acre; it rose to ₦58.00 in 1950. The BPU suggested ₦100.00 but by 1953, the government was only able to pay ₦86.00. Moses Rwang, op.cit., page 3.

16. Parties and Politics in Nothern Nigeria op.cit., page 9

17. See the details in "The Making of the Chief of Jos," Hoomkwap. G, an unpublished B.Sc. Thesis, Department of Political Science, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1970.

The transformation of this organisation whose original aim was for the betterment of the Birom people, to that of championing the cause, in conjunction with similar organisations of the people of the Middle Belt in their struggle for a separate state to be carved out of the then Northern Region of Nigeria, will be discussed in later pages.

THE AID 'BIROM SOCIETY'

Because of the publicity given to the plight and struggle of the Birom people by their vanguard organisation, the BPU, some people in far away Warri (then part of the former Western Region but now in Bendel) decided that something ought to be done to Birom people in order to bring enlightenment to the people of the area. In order to facilitate and rationalise the assistance, an organisation, known as "The Aid Birom Society" was formed.[18]

The society which was formed on 1st April, 1949, was not aware of the existence of the Birom Progressive Union until late November, 1949. The West African Pilot[19] published an article in which it was alleged that the society had intended to deprive the people of Birom of their land in the North. The Secretary, Mr. J. B. Akingba, appealed to the Birom Progressive Union not to countenance 'such propaganda' and enclosed for the union's information, the aims and objectives of the society. They include

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18. The Reference to 'Birom' was made for the sake of convenience. The term also includes "the Birom people proper as well as the other neighbouring tribes on the Bauchi Plateau."

19. West African Pilot November 14, 1949.

1. "To send some Birom youths to be trained at Trade Centre, say at Yaba, Kaduna and Enugu.

2. To educate some Birom youths in different middle and secondary schools all over the country.

3. To embark on healthy propaganda among the Birom so as to make them move abreast of the times such propaganda shall be by means of mobile cinema shows, lectures, and papers, radio etc.

4. To arrange for Birom Youths to spend their holidays with respectable families in different parts of the country.

5. To build a school in the heart of Birom land.

6. To form a board of trustees in the near future, to administer the funds of the society. Such a Board will consist - among others of responsible representatives of the B rom, the S.U.M. and the S.I.M. and of course of the A.B.S.

13. To establish a domestic science centre in the Birom land. These, various subjects like sewing, knitting, mother-craft, cookery etc. will be taught by a qualified staff.

14. To establish a Welfare Centre in the heart of Birom land. Here the needs of the Birom will be catered for.

15. To send Christmas gifts to Birom Children every year.

16. To appeal to all churches, mosques, and other religious bodies in this country to set apart one day of worship every year when collections made will be devoted entirely to aiding the Birom.

17. To offer annual prizes for good conduct and academic achievement to Birom Schools boys and School girls.

18. To strive in every lawful way to make the Birom keep abreast of the times.[20]

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20. "AID BIROM SOCIETY WARRI" - Aims and Objectives as containe in a letter to the Secretary, Birom Progressive Union, December 12, 1949.

was because the Native Authority revenue was sufficient. What the Birom lacked, he said, were teachers. Government, too, he said, was not lacking in funds to provide the Birom with schools.

In conclusion, the Chief of Birom suggested, in a rather undiplomatic manner depicting the arm twisting technique of the British colonial administrators, to his "Warri Brothers" to "convert this aid to their Native Authority which has not much money."[25]

It can be seen from the general tone of the letter that the Chief of Jos had succumbed to the District Officer's pressure to reject the money, because accepting the money might mean admitting that the South was more advanced than the North, which in the view of the British, was not the case.

The evidence above shows conclusively that the Chief of Jos, Mallam Rwang Pam who until he became the Chief of Jos, had been the Treasurer of the Union, must have pressurised the union into rejecting the money for the reasons, outlined above by the Chief.

Now, we come to the issue of the most appropriate collective name to be given to the different ethnic groups, who live in the area known as the Plateau Province. For one thing, no one ethnic group would accept to sub-merge its individuals identity by losing its name. The Kulere, for example, would protest if they were referred to as the Birom.

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25. Nigerian Citizen, October 20, 1950.

they were both designated as special members. One other member, Mr. S. O. James of Bukur, was also nominated to represent the interest of the Southern people in the Council.

Another act of commission carried out by the British administration was the non-inclusion of any representative of the two provinces, as a member in the Northern delegation to the Ibadan General Conference on the Review of the Richard's Constitution in January, 1950. The North's principal demands, those of parity in representation and disbursement of national income between North and South, were not acceptable to the other delegates from Western and Eastern Regions. As a result, the North decided that the South either conceded those demands or the North would consider secession.[29]

The North's secession threats brandished notably by the Emir of Zaria and the Sardauna of Sokoto, and the position taken by some muslim members of the Regional Council on motions concerning issues such as illegitimate children, inheritance of widows and grants to voluntary agency hospitals gave the christians in the North, the feeling that the muslim could not accommodate them.

Of particular relevance here is the issue of grants to voluntary agencies. The remarks made during the course of the debate, by both the Muslims and Christians show clearly, the beginning

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29. For the details on this issue, see the Chapter on "Northern Self-Help Development Fund" and also the Chapter on "The Making of the Macpherson Constitution" - 1949-1950.

of the end of future co-operation between the far Northern and Middle Provinces of Northern Nigeria.

In his own contribution on this volatile religious issue, the provincial member for Katsina Province, Mallam Iro expressed the fear that once voluntary agencies "are allowed to build a hospital they start to convert patients to christianity..." Alhaji Garba, a special member from Jos, remarked -

> "In this country, we do not appreciate the work these Voluntary Agencies are doing mainly on religious grounds because they interfere with our religion. These agancies are against our religion and as long as they are against our religion, we shall not cultivate any friendship with them..."

Mallam Rwang Pam, who until his appointment was the Treasurer of the Birom Progressive Union, felt concerned over the emphasis given to religion. He appealed to members to -

> "realise that in the Northern Provinces there are people other than moslems and these non-moslems are not confined to one particular area."

Mallam Rwang Pam was supported by Makeri Dzakpe, the Chief of Tiv.[30]

This particular debate in the Regional House of Assembly disturbed the various denominations of the Christian Missions in the entire "Middle Belt" area. They realised that if they did not mobilise to check what they saw as an anti-christian sentiment, in time, the missionaries might be asked to terminate their evangelical work and go home.

To frustrate such an eventuality, some missionary representatives from all over the Region demanded an audience with the Chief of Jos, who along with Mr. S. Oke, were the non-Moslem representatives in the House. Their mission was to find the answers to the following questions which concerned the future of christianity in the North -

> "Why did the Muslim members of the Northern House of Assembly move that Christian Missionary activities be terminated and the missionaries should pack and go home?"

First, they would like to know if the members actually moved such a motion. If it was true they did, what would the Chief of Jos recommend as a possible and practical course of action

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30. House of Assembly, Northern Regional Council Debates, December 8, 1949 - pages 105-110.

in order to protect their right of freedom of worship. Secondly, they proposed to complain to the Chief of Jos that the non-muslem people of the Northern Region were under-represented. They claimed that the non-moslem population was half that of the entire population of the Northern Region and were represented by two people only.[31]

On hearing about the proposed visit of this christian delegation, Mr. Moses Rwang advised the Chief of Jos not to receive them for fear that the Chief might implicate himself. Moses Rwang advised the Chief to -

> organise the meeting along political lines. The Chief accepted and directed that the meeting should be convened under the auspices of the Birom Progressive Union (of which Moses Rwang was the Secretary) and to prepare to accommodate the delegates. A day later, the Chief sent Pastor Dusu Ladan to me instructing me to go to Sura and contact Pastor David Lot with whom I should co-ordinate the activities. Pastor David Lot and I wrote to the delegates informing them about the cancellation of their meeting with the Chief; instead the BPU is hosting another meeting. 31a

Moses Rwang's motive for advising the Chief to turn the meeting into a nucleus of a political movement, was that the

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31. It is remarkable that the Christian representatives did not feel that Mallam Makeri Dzakpe, the Chief of Tiv, who have been outspoken on issues that affect the christian and animists population, did not qualify as their representative, 32nd The

31a History of the Development of the United Middle Belt Congress by Moses N. Rwang, mimeo - undated.

government might be more inclined to consider seriously, their demand as a political organisation than as a conglomeration of minority ethnic groups.

The inaugural meeting[32] was attended by delegates from all the provinces except Sokoto, Katsina and Kano. Moses Rwang suggested that the new organisation they were about to form be named the Northern Nigerian Non-Moslem League. At the end of the meeting, the following were elected to the Executive -

1.	Pastor David Lot	-	President General
2.	Pastor Dusu Ladan	-	Vice-President General
3.	Pastor Dagaya Kagoro	-	Treasurer
4.	Mallam Musa S.I.M. Bukur	-	Assist. Treasurer
5.	Mr. Moses Rwang	-	Secretary-General
6.	Mr. Joseph Kanwai	-	Assist. Secretary General
7.	Mr. Jonah Assadugu Numan	-	Div. Field Sec. General
8.	Mallam Dankwaram Billiri	-	Spokesman
9.	Mr. Musa Wang	-	Assistant Spokesman

From the process of its formation, the membership and the executive, and the name, one must come to the inescapable conclusion, that the Northern Nigerian Non-Moslem League was intended to serve as a counter-weight to the Pan-Northern Peoples Congress dominated by the Hausa/Fulani.[33] Besides its desire to protect

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32. May 10, 1950, Ibid., page 2

33. The fact that the President was a Christian, though Fulani, Dr. R. A. B. Dikko, did not change the perception of NNNML of the NPC.

the religion and the customs of the non-Moslems of the Northern Region, by "separating the non-Moslems from the Moslems," the new organisation had no stated political aims and objectives.

It is evident from the way Moses Rwang manourvered the Chief of Jos, and seized the initiative that Mr. Rwang had found the Birom Progressive Union of which he was the Secretary-General too particularistic and restrictive. Having served in numerous theatres of war overseas, Rwang's political consciousness, skill and foresight far outstripped those of his colleagues in the Birom Progressive Union. His contact with the NCNC with which the BPU had been allied since 1947 and his close relationship with Chief Dennis Osadebey made him to visualise himself as a future leader of the entire Region, if he could only find a way of bringing the various non-moslem groups together. The opportunity thus presented itself when he heard that the of Chief of Jos was to receive a delegation of clerics. By dissuading the Chief of Jos from seeing them, he seized the initiative of manoeuvering himself into a position of a convenor of the Conference. From his account, he dominated the Conference and even suggested the name the organisation fully adopted.

The list of the League's Executive, contains for the most part church notables, whose educational background was low.

From a cursary look at the Executive, the Protestant Denominatic of the Christian Missionary organisation seemed to dominate. Most of the members of the Executive were from the Anglican,

Sudan United Mission and the Sudan Interior and Lutheran Missions. The Catholics, were not adequately represented in the Executive, for they, too had an appreciable presence in the non-Moslem areas.

Not all the ethnic groups of the Middle Belt area were invited to this inaugural meeting. Although, Mr. Moses Rwang mentioned that representatives from Benue were at the inaugural meeting, the conspicuous absence of any Tiv on the Executive suggests that the organisation could be anything but stable. The Tivs are the largest single ethnic group in the entire Middle Belt area. Their absence might be due to the fact that the Tivs were under the sphere of influence of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission which was not probably getting along with the three denominations mentioned earlier, or at least there was social distance between it and the other three.

Another observation which needs be stressed is the quality of the leadership as represented by the Executive. Most of those on the Executive did not go beyond the theological seminaries of the different religious denominations, where the instructions, and preachings were carried out, for the most in Hausa and therefore none-literate in English. In addition, most of the members of the Executive were in the steady employment of the various Church organisations. For this reason they were more susceptible to "soft subterranean influence" and teleguiding by the missionary organisation, whose interest the organisation was out to protect. The exception to this, however, was the Secretary General, Mr. Moses Rwang, who seemed to be the odd man out.

Moses Rwang asserts that in 1952, Pastor David Lot along with other pastors resigned from the Presidentship of the Middle Zone League, when pressure was brought to bear on them to do so by their respective Church organisations. It was, he claimed, as a result of the pastors' resignation that he became the President of the organisation with Albatan Yarima Balla, as General Secretary. This election, according to Mr. Rwang, took place at Kagoro.[35]

Reporting the same meeting of the party, Middle Zone League, Professor Dudley noted that the Middle Zone League, decided to ally itself with the NPC for two reasons. First, "with the general identification of the NPC with the Chief and Native Authorities, it was thought that such an alliance would minimize the growing victimisation which the NPC through the Chiefs and Native Authorities was bringing to bear on Non-NPC party members. Secondly, the alliance, it was felt would give the MZL an insight into the working of an NPC government. This experience would stand them in good stead should they realise their objective - a Middle Belt State.[36]

From all indications, the Kagoro meeting proved to be a watershed in the life of the MZL. From the point of some member organisations

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35. Yarima Balla, later became Deputy President General of the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) under Mallam Aminu.Kano.

36. Pastor David Lot was even appointed a minister without Portforlio in Ahmadu Bello's cabinet. See Dudley, op.cit., page 95.

of the MZL, which had provided an umbrella for the Middle Belt tribal groupings, Pastor David Lot had 'hijacked' the party and had 'sold out' to the 'enemy'. It was at this point that the youthful radicals, who had associated themselves with the NEPU and NCNC made a bid to take over the leadership of the Middle Belt through a vanguard organisation they named Middle Belt Peoples Party.

This new organisation appeared to have been initiated by four individuals each representing his own tribal union. Mr. E. G. Gundu, was one of the founders of the Tiv Progressive Union;[37] Malam Bello Ijumu - the leader of the Ijimu Progressive Union[38] and the Secretary-General of NEPU:[39] Malam Abdullahi Ohiare, Igbirra Tribal Union and Mr. James Oche of the Idoma Hope Rising Union.[40] All these tribal Unions cater for the interests of tribes located in the 'Middle Belt.'

While the non-Moslem League/MZL was led by religous leaders, born of religious sentiment, the Middle Belt Peoples party was political in its orientation and had among the leadership journalist and professional politicians.

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37. Tiv Progressive Union was an affiliate of the NCNC since 1944.
38. IPU is village association, with Bello Ijumu as its leader in Kano.
39. See also, Dudley op.cit., p 72-105; and Sklar, op.cit., pp 321-376.
40. See Maghid, Men in the Middle, a history of the Idoma people.

In a circular[41] signed by these four, it was revealed that the fundamental differences between them and the Northern leadership i. e. "the Sardauna and his gang," were that (1) the Northern leadership was against independence in 1956, which they supported; (2) the Middle Belt was discriminated against by the Northern government. Regarding the issue of self-government for Nigeria in 1956, the signatories of the circular believed "beyond any shadow of doubt that educationally and intellectually honourable members of the Middle Belt are equal to those of the West and the East and capable of representing our people in a self-governing Nigeria. The Southern domination propaganda", they said, was "a divide and rule tactic employed by the imperialist." They were confident that in a self governing Nigeria, greater consideration will be given to the educational, and economic progress of the North, and within "ten years we shall have achieved for ourselves what the British are unwilling to achieve for us in over 50 years." They appealed to honourable members of the Northern House of Assembly from the Middle Belt to "vote strongly for self-government in 1956."[42]

On discrimination, the signatories revealed that the Northern government had systematically discriminated against the Middle Belt both socially, and economically. The following are the most significant examples cited in the circular -

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41. Circular, dated May 15, 1953. Mr. Deem Kpuum papers, copy with the author.

42. Ibid., page 2.

(1) In the North self-help development scholarships, no person from the Middle Belt was thought fit to receive any award.

(2) The North turned down 200 scholarships from the West: the Middle Belt was not consulted.

(3) Trainees in the army in Sandhurst come from outside the Middle Belt.

(4) In employment, people from the Middle Belt are regarded as non-genuine Northerners and are very often rejected on that ground.

(5) No ministerial appointment from the Middle Belt etc.

It is therefore, clear from the above, that a new leadership for the people of Middle Belt, with attractive and saleable if hyperbolic idea had emerged. Their position was both ideological (anti-imperialist) and existential. But no where in the document heralding the formation of the Middle Belt Peoples party was the creation of a separate state for the people of Middle Belt, considered as a viable alternative to the existing 'unacceptable

political order.' However, they expressed the fear that if 'Middle Belt' representatives in the Nothern House of Assembly voted against our freedom (self-government) and allow the North to be cut away from the South, the Middle Belt will suffer greatly ..." They went on-

> We are asking you to stand boldly and defend the interest of your people in the House by forming a united bloc from the Middle Belt in the question of self-government for Nigeria.

In spite of the fear expressed above, they did not take the ultimate step of suggesting to their legislators to seek for the creation of a Middle Belt State out of the then existing Northern Region.

Before the organisation was formally launched, Mr. Emmanel Gundu, attended a very important meeting of the Tiv Progressive Union (TPU) where he sought the opinion of the members as regard the self-government in 1956 issue. The minutes of the meeting reads -

> The discussion which took place at this meeting on the request of Honourable E. G. Gundu (MHR) was on self-government in 1956. Hon. Gundu wanted to test the feeling of the Tiv Progressive Union a body representing all sections of the Tiv Division. During the debate it was revealed that there were two or three members strongly against the attainment of self-rule in 1956. While the overwhelming majority led by H. O. Abaagu and Aindigh Chuul spoke in favour. When the matter was put to

vote it was 49 in favour, 7 against 6 were neutral.[43]

By taking such a stand, it is clear that the Tiv people (through the TPU) was the only group - an entire ethnic group - and a very large one at that - that deviated from what became a general Northern stand - opposition to self-government in 1956. The MBPP, therefore, was championing this cause, as was its counterpart, the NEPU, in the far North. The party knew very well, that it had the mandate of at least the Tiv people. From this time on, the Tiv people like the NEPU, continuously remained out of step of the general Northern political stand.

When the Middle Belt Peoples Party was formally launched with Mr. Emmanuel Gbile Gundu as its President, it became clear that polarisation among the so-called culturally homogenous people, along ideological lines, had been established.

As pointed out earlier, one of the cardinal principles of the new organisation, was the achievement of self-government in 1956 along the line of the Enahoro motion. The principle was enunciated at the Party's inauguaration.

The Middle Zone League, which at this time had allied itself with the NPC came out strongly against this particular policy

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43. Minutes of TPU meeting, May 3, 1953. mimeo. Copy with the author.

of the MBPP. In a press release [44] the MZL dissociated itself from the new organisation and claimed that it drew its membership principally from the NCNC and NEPU. "The Middle Zone League," stated the release, "is against the achievement of self-government in 1956, while the MBPP is for it,"

"At the end of 1953, the Middle Belt Peoples Party found itself in a formal alliance with those parties which supported self-government in 1956. These parties are the NCNC and NEPU. A meeting of the Alliance Parties was called in July 1953 in order to prepare for the 1954 elections, the House having been dissolved."[45]

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44. Nigerian Citizen, June, 16, 1953: The stand of MZL is in consonance with official SUM stand. The Church was against independence which paradoxically allied it for different reason with the NPC with dominant muslim leadership - see Boer, J. Op.cit., Ferrant observation regarding The self-government movement: "in this movement," he wrote, "are a lot of highly paid men whose pay is entirely dependent on the white man being here. If the white man went, the black man would not give them a penny. (Boer, J. Missionary Messengers of Libration in Colonial Context: A Case Study of the Sudan United Mission. Amsterdam: Rodopi 1979. pp. 301-302. Some missionaries feared that with independence, the future was uncertain.

> "It is only a few days ago", wrote Richmond, "that a writer in one of the Lagos papers said that while he appreciated the work which missionaries had done, yet they were but the Tools of British imperialism and that when Self-government came to Nigeria as is expected in 1956, then we would have to go like the rest of the white-folks. It may be wild talk, but it is an indication of feeling on the part of many." Boer, op.cit., 1984, pp 110-111 passim.

45. From "Minutes of the Joint Meeting between Representatives of the Executives of the NCNC, NEPU and MBPP on July 25, 1953 at Jos. Mimeo - copy with author.

NCNC Representatives - Hon. Kola Balogun (National Secreatry);

Messrs R. D. Nyamsi (Member NEC); B. E. Ogbuagu (Member NEC and Secretary to the Joint Meeting); A. E. Antia (Jos Branch President); C. I. Omesi (Jos Branch Secretary) and C. I. Onuocha (Executive Member, Jos Branch).

NEPU Representatives - Mallam Aminu Kano (Federal President); M. Abba Maikwaru (Federal Vice-President); Bello Ijumu (Federal Secretary); Malam Sani Darma; Shehu Satstima; Yarima Balla; Gambo Sawaba; Lamin Sanusi; Lawan Dambazau; Bala Tela; Yahaya Adda; Isiyaku Gwamna; Sambon Barka; Abubakar Tambawal; Mailabeji; Baffa Mahmud and Tanko Waziri (all members of NEC).

MBPP Representatives - Hon. Moses Nyam Rwang (Assistant Secretary); Mr. H. O. Abaagu and M. Yabagi Bida.

At the meeting, Malam Aminu Kanu, the NEPU Federal President was elected Chairman. The meeting was to "confirm the NEPU, MBPP and NCNC alliance and finalise all arrangments for the federal elections." It was revealed at this meeting that as a result of the alliance the NCNC had donated £100 (₦200.00) and a kit car to NEPU and that more funds were to be expected. Both the cheque for £100 and the key of the car were presented to NEPU.

A tripartite election committee comprising 12 members, four from each party was formed. The following were elected as members

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

THE FORMATION OF NORTHERN ELEMENTS PROGRESSIVE UNION - 1951-54

INTRODUCTION

This section summarises the formation and the major highlights of activities of the Northern Elements Progressive Union from inception to 1954, the period, Mallam Aminu Kano became its President General. The published works on the organisation and its leader is copious.[1]

It is intended, however, to highlight certain areas which previous writers on the subject failed to give prominence to.

The entire study is replete with references to the contribution of the Mallam Aminu Kano who rose to become the leader of the party. It can be seen from his writings in the early 40's that the NEPU as a revolutionary idea in search of revolutionary change in Northern Nigeria existed. What remains to be founded was the structure and leadership.

The ideas and activities of Mallam Aminu Kano runs through almost every chapter of this thesis. NEPU as an organisation

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1. The literature of NEPU as a political party is rather exhaustive. For a detailed study see: Sklar Nigerian Political Parties Capter VIII; Chaper IX pp - 418-422 and Appendix III; Whitaker, C.S. The Politics of Treation Continuity and Change in Northern Nigeria - Background to Nationalism - chapter 17, Dudley B. J. Parties and Politcs in Northern Nigeria chapers III and V; Post. K. W. J. The Nigerian Federal Eletions 1959 pp. 71-77; Paden J. N. Religion and Culture in Kano chapters 7 & 8; Mackintosh, J. P. Politics and Government in Nigeria chapter 6. JALINGO, Ahmadu Usman, The Radical Tradition in Northern Nigeria, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of Edinburgh, August 1980 and Feinstein, Alan, African Revolutionary The Life and Times of Nigerias AMINU KANO.

have been treated in connection with nationalism, elections and alliances in many sections of this thesis.[2]

NEPU

Confusion surrounds the formation of this organisation, which was launched on August 8, 1950. The confusion arose principally because there had existed in Kano a political party or association by the name Northern Elements Progressive Association, but which by 1949/50 had all but disbanded and its executives finding the atmosphere in Kano unconducive to political agitation, went into self exile in Lagos and changed the name of the organisation to JANA, (Jamiyyar Alummar Mutanen Arewa) in short, an Organisation for the Northern masses.

Another reason for the confusion arose because some members of NEPA, either formally or informally were among the principal promoters of the Northern Elements Progressive Union. One of the members of NEPA, Mallam Abba Maikwaru was the President of NEPU.

The first time the acronym was used happened to have been in error. Mallam Ben Waffy, a Kanuri/Shuwa Arab, an employee of the Native Authority Cooperative department wrote to the NEPA President

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2. See the chaper on Mallam Abubakar Imam and The Gaskiya Corporation: pp. 241-329 supra; Chapter on Northern Teachers Association pp.450-463 and the chapter on Birom Progressive Union pp. 610-647 supra, and the chapter of Northern Protest Fund and the Rise of the Sardauna of Sokoto - pp 360-427 - supra.

regretting his inability to attend the inaugural meeting which had taken place on December 1, 1946. He addressed the letter to the President, NEPU and copied to Secretary, N.E.P.U.[3]

After NEPA had been sent to self exiled to Lagos, several social groupings emerged in Kano. The pulsating dynamics of the Kano business community and the ever increasing regulatory power of the Native Authority at the time and the salutory effect of the constitutional changes that Nigeria had begun to undergo created the atmosphere under which interested groups had to get together to protect and advance their interests. Besides, the Kano muslim Hausa/Fulani community, especially the younger and more educated ones could not be insulated from their compatriots in the Sabon Gari area of Kano where the NCNC had established an effective branch with the West African Pilot read with great avidity, as its propaganda weapon.

It was therefore, under this atmosphere that several Youth Social and Discussion Clubs emerged to replace the moribund NEPA. First, there was the Nothern Teachers Association which was founded in 1948. It mobilised the educated class, principally Teachers at the Kano Middle School without any possibility at that time of posing a threat to the authorities. The Native Authority, being the largest employer of labour had been used to Union activities, and one of the union leaders, M. Abdurrahman also NEPA leader had

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3. Malam Ben Waffy to president NEPA, Kano letter dated December 3, 1946, hand written, copy with the author.

just been dismissed from the NA service. The new NTA, therefore had to be cautious and work within its constitution - to remain non-political.

Two organisations, Taron Masu Zamunta and Kano Youth Association, were the extant organisations at the time Zaria and Kaduna began their series of meetings which culminated in the formation of JMA.[4]

While these groups were forming, another group, that of the wealthy class of Kano had begun to form a limited liability company, perhaps the first of its kind contemplated by any Northern group, the Kano Citizens Trading Company Limited. They had advertised the sale of 50,000 shares at one pound each. About 9,000 shares had already been paid for and the remainder was up for sale.

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4. The (Taron Masu Sumunta) - "Friendly Society" does not appear to be a strong organisation, since all works on this period only indicate the name of the President, Mallam Abba Maikwaru. The membership list of the Kano Youth Association has been provided elsewhere in this study (see p. s42 supra From all indications it has not developed an ideological character for it accommodated all elements of Kano Society - the ruling Hausa/Fulani aristocracy; the merchants of Arab extraction and the "Yan bakin kasuwa" a not so complimentary reference to the Hausa city community, most of whom are traders. see Jalingo, A. op.cit, page 217, Dudley, J. Parties and Politics, op.cit, p. 79 and Skalar, R. p. 150).

for the Kano delegation[6] to form the NEPU, an acronym for Northern Elements Progressive Union.

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6. (According to Dudley the party was formed on August 5, 1950, when the two social organisations, the Taron Masu Zumunta (TYZ) and the Kano Youth Circle (KYC) merged to form NEPU under the leadership of Mallam Abba Maikwaru; but the party could still exist under the cultural umbrella of the JMA. Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria pp 80-81; Feinstein, went a little further by indicating the promoters of the new organisation who on being rebuffed by the NPC decided to form the NEPU. These include Malam Bello Ijumu, Maitama Sule and six other members unidentified by him. It was however indicated that this group consulted Mallam Aminu, then a teacher. Mallam Aminu Kano, according to this version was not only aware of the plan but he actually encouraged it but remained in the background; As the author himself puts it, "Aminu's role in the organisation of the NEPU was slightly hazy." African Revolutionary pp. 122-123; However, Whitaker suggests that the expulsion of Aminu and Zungur was contemplated at the Jos convention of the NPC for being too radical and this infuriated their colleague who then decided to opt out and found NEPU; he too belived that the organisation was founded by 8 people but could only mention M. Abba Maikwaru; see also his analysis on Fagge the base of TMZ where Abba Maikwaru lived as a settlement of strangers mostly from Damagaram (Zinder) in Niger Republic, The Politics of Tradition o.cit, pp. 358-9. Sklar, R. also had his own list of 8 people, but this differed from the one recently unearthed by Ahmadu Jalingo. see Sklar Nigerian Political Parties op.cit, p. 94; Ahmadu Jalingo's list consists of the following nineas the founding fathers of the NEPU;

Abba Maikwaru,	(Hausa, trader)
Babba Dan Agu di	Fulani (Royalty)
Abdulkadir Danjaji	Hausa Trader
Babaliya Managa	
Bello Ijumu	Yoruba
Maitama Sule	Hausa Teacher
Mudi Spikin	Hausa
Sabo Bakin Zuwo	Hausa
Sani Darma	Hausa

Jalingo contends that Malam Aminu maintained a secret contact with this group see Anon. "The Leader out," in West Africa (No 2070, December 15, 1956) pp. 1013-1014. Quoted in Jalingo, Ahmadu, "The Radical Tradition in Northern Nigeria", op.cit., p. 217, . M. Bello Ijumu recalls that the organisation was formed in his house in Sabon Gari and confirmed the date August 8, 1950 as the probable date of its formation. Interview with Bello Ijumu in Kano, May, 16, 1982. There is however a fixation by NEPU supporters with the figure 8; The party was formed by 8 people; on August 8, the eight month of the year ---" See also Interview with Bello Ijumu in The Triumph 2 May, 1982.

The party's ideological position is unmistakably supportive of the Talakawa, and the language[7] was unequivocally both democratic and socialist. In its declaration of principles, it spoke of "a shocking state of social order" existing in Northern Nigeria which was being supervised under a "Family Compact" in an autocratic form. It described the Native Authority system as unscrupulous and vicious which gave rise to "antagonism of interest mainifesting itself" in the marxian dialectics of "class struggle between the members of that vicious circle of the Native Administration on the one hand and the ordinary Talakawa on the other."

The declaration called for the resolution of the said antagonism only through the emancipation of the Talakawa from the domination" of those whom its described as "conduits" by the reform of the present autocratic political institutions into Democratic Institutions. The control of these institutions, it pointed out, must be in the hands of Talakawa "for whom alone they exist". And, in the view of the NEPU, the Talakawa must emancipate themselves, rather than wait for others to do it for them.

The NEPU viewed the machinery of government including the armed forces as the guardians of the "privileges" of this selfish minority group". It called upon the Talakawa to "organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government including these forces which may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow

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7. (Hausa language and political Thought).

of Bureaucracy and autocratic privilege."

The NEPU as the party of the Talakawa declared itself hostile to the party of the oppressors since, according to it, the interest of those it spoke for is diametrically opposed "to all sections of the master class."

It concluded by declaring its entry into the field of political action as the only political party of the Talakawa with the ferocious determination of eliminating the "party of hypocrites and traitors to our mother country." It called upon all sons and daughters of Northern Nigeria to rally under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought on this vicious system of administration which deprives them (talakawa) of the fruit of their labour and that POVERTY may give place to COMFORT, PRIVILEGE to EQUALITY and political, social and economic slavery to FREEDOM.[8]

The influence of Marxism in the NEPU declaration of principles was enough to scare both the British administration and those whom the NEPU described as 'Family Compact' rulers. From the composition of the NEPU leadership at that time, less than 5% of them were aware of the ideological basis of what informed its the declaration of principles, which no other party after over three decades was able to produce.

In earlier documents the party stated both its political stand and programme of political action and Election Manifesto.

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8. Northern Elements Progressive Union - Declaration of Principles, October, 1952 - National Archives, Kaduna. -

In August, 1950, the month in which the party was formed, it issued a Five Point Plan, which NEPU accepted the "gospel of one United Nigeria" and affirmed its commitment to forstering "unity and cooperation among all Nigerians irrespective of tribe, religion or other extraenous circumstances." It described the educational system of Nigeria as separatist and called upon the British administration to break all "barriers in the way of educational association between Northern and Southern youths even in Native Administration schools.

The party believes that every body is born free and is equal to any other person except what the party described as 'environmental influences.'[9] It however lamented the fact that "the Northern people have stagnated throughout the ages as hewers of wood and drawers of water" and asked "must we not see the end of such outrage on human society?"

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9. This aspects of equality is derived principally from The Kuran - chapter - verse - which the NEPU used as its motto; Ina Akra ..... see the Influence of Islamic Political Thought on Northern Radicalism in - Jalingo - op.cit. Paden J. op.cit pp ; For a detailed historical the view of Arab Intellectuals and encroaching western thoughts and values see: Sharabi, Hisham, Arab Intellectuals And The West: The Formative years 1975-1914 - Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore and London, 1970, see especially Chapter II & III 'Theoretical Foundations of Islamic Reformist' and 'The Ideology of using throught from the Kuran derives from the original NEPA, where Raji Abdullah, like Aminu Kano was an Islamic Scholar. NEPA's motto was ..... see. chapter 'NEPA, its Formation and Collapse'.

It concluded by describing truth as invincible. It was confident that with justice of its cause "as an armour and the resources of our people", all would be well in Nigeria at no distant date.

Towards the end of that year, 1950, it became clear that elections to the three Regional Houses of Assembly would be held and NEPU, with a few branches in the urban areas of the North, would be the only Northern based political party to contest. The election which was to be held in 1951, was viewed by NEPU as undemocratic and its Programme of Political action published in April, 1951, declared its intention to send delegation to the Secretary of State for the Colonies to protest against the rubber stamp constitution (Macpherson), 1951) which it said "aims to suit the North politically." It would demand the complete democratisation of what it described as "organised autocracy" the indirect rule system as well as to fight the recommendation of electoral college as the system of election to be adopted.

NEPU declared in its manifesto that it would redically change the courts of law and would seek the complete "separation of the judiciary from the Executive and the legislative. As it was, the emir who was the executive head legislated and was the Chief Justice of the highest court of appeal in the Emirate. It saw the importance of newspapers as strategic and pledged to set up one. It identified Northern farmers, craftmen, workers, women and children as the group whose basic rights it would fight for.

It further identified the chronic educational and economic imbalance between North and South and predicted that the "weight of political activity" would continue to be one-sided so long as this lopsidedness persisted.

It described as "shocking" the fact that neither the government, the Native Administration nor individuals, "had been able to train a single lawyer, doctor, engineer, economist, journalist, educationist, etc," after fifty years of the imposition of the British rule. It also lamented the lack of "a single national press owned by Northerners."

NEPU saw the development of professional skills in such areas as law, journalism,medicine, economics, etc as prerequisite for national development. It argued that since no government, Native ADministration or any individual was ready to assist Northerners to acquire them, it appealed "to all leading Obas of the South or the nationalists and political leaders such as Drs Azikiwe, Maja, Sir Adeyemo Alakija, Messrs Ojike, Awolowo, Mbadiwe, Eyo Ita, ... to come to our rescue by giving our youths scholarship awards in the above field of learning and with a financial help open a national press.[10]

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10. This plea was partly answered. The Comet, printed in Kano previously owned by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, was passed on to NEPU, when the party alligned itself to NCNC.

NEPU warned the above nationalists that unless they responded positively to the above call, "Self-government cannot be achieved at the stipulated time and the helpless Northerners should never be blamed for any draw back in the political activity of Nigeria.[11]

In another document entitled "our political stand," signed by its secretary, Bello Ijumu, NEPU believed that the time had come for the North to stand on a strong political platform and felt duty bound "to dictate to the British government our likes and dislikes or to lay down our plans for the progress of the country." The party also believed in a "United Nigeria under a federal government." In an obvious reference to the "separatist" position of the NPC, NEPU declared that it abhored "the separatist plan which makes a Nigerian to think he only belongs to one region and cannot act in any other region as a free citizen." Similarly, NEPU hated "an act which will hinder a progressive region from supporting a backward one in a united Nigeria."

Above all, NEPU believed "in self Government for Nigeria in five years." By its calculation, NEPU would like Nigeria to be free by 1956. This position taken by the NEPU was a popular position by nationalists. Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe in his Blueprint published in 1942 had argued that British should quit by the mid-fifties. Mallam Aminu Kano, in 1946 was to be the first

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11. Northern Elements Progressive Union. Programme of Political Action - 3/4/51 in NEPU Files No. 100 - National Archives, Kaduna. See the rumpus over the Self-government issue in Chapter. 18 infra

Northerner to demand for total and unconditional independence, although, he did not state the time frame within which it could be attained.[12] Two years later, the Action Group was to demand on the floor of the House that such self government should be attained by 1956, a demand which brought down the Macpherson Constitution.

It is clear from the above ideological position and programme of action, that NEPU was a radical party conceived as a vehicle of achieving attitudinal and political changes in Northern Nigeria. It correctly diagonosed the problems of Northern Nigeria and realised early enough that these could not be solved without the support of the South. It identified, correctly too, the most important agents of change in colonial setting - education, press and the legal profession, whose absence had been responsible, among other things, for the late political awareness of the North.[13]

It sought early enough to ally itself with the South at a time when the NPC and its leadership had mobilised the North to view the South as a serious threat to its way of life because of South's headstart in education, and the control by Southerners of jobs and the economy. The NPC's position on the South proved to be more popular with the Northern masses and as such NEPU

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12. Compare this with the statement by Alhaji Yahaya Madawaki of Ilorin who stated in 1942 that independence for Nigeria was 50 years away. See 'Chapter on Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo' pp.241-329

13. See Introduction pp. 1-41

had a problem at its birth.

Also ranged against the NEPU was the traditional ruling elite, who had the firm control of the all-pervasive native administration. The societal changes advocated by the NEPU described the Emirs and Chiefs as "parasites" Meanwhile, this same class of leadership had been embraced by the Northern Peoples Congress and had been given the title of Patrons of the branches of the party in their areas.

There was also the British administration who must have been and indeed were alarmed at NEPU's radicalism to the extent of applying marxist dialectical analysis to the Northern situation. The NEPU emergence came hard on the heels of a number of "destablising" developments nation-wide and the British saw it as a logical extension of these events. The Enugu Iva Valley massacre and the reactions it evoked were a source of concern leading to the proscription of the Zikist Movement and the hounding of its officials all over the country. At that time, also, plans were afoot to identify communists within the administration and outside of it with a view to declaring it an illegal organisation and possession of communist literature a criminal act. Worse still, the British administration could not condone such destabilisin propaganda in its "last line of defence," Northern Nigeria where they were about to set up a "modern" system of administration on class basis.

MALLAM AMINU KANO

There is no record to substantiate the assertion that Mallam Aminu Kano, the late leader of the Northern Elements Progressive Union had been one of the principal brains behind the formation of the NEPU. Evidence, however, abounds as to his impact in the leftist orientation of the party shortly after he joined.

The anti-establishment stance, was due, in large measure to Mallam Aminu Kano's abiding desire to modernise if not what he described as the Anglo-Fulani ruling oligarchy[14] in the Northern Region.[15]

A greater testimony of his nationalistic vigour was his uncompromising belief in the inalienable right of Nigerians to rule themselves and the undaunting courage to publicly declare such belief, at a time when such public statement was considered heretic.

"Years ago" he wrote sympathetically "some people had been clamouring that Nigeria was ripe for the attainment of self-

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14 For his view on Emirs and Traditional Rulers in general, see Mallam Aminu's "Review of Dr. Miller's Have We Failed in Nigeria?' Mallam's views on the traditional rulers was similar to that expressed by Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa in 1950. Yahaya, A. D., op.cit., A.

15 Typescript 1952 - copy with the author, and see also his letter of resignation to the Deputy Director of Education, Kaduna, 1951.- copy with the author and Alan Feinstein - African Revolution op.cit., pp.117-130.

government and it ought to attain it in a few years time." Most of these people, he said, were Southerners. Although, Southerners had the feeling that Nigeria does not extend beyond the South, Northerners, he claimed, could be accused of the same parochial tendency. In spite of this, he said, like them, "we in the North must fight for Nigeria's self government." He wondered, however, as to who was to champion such a laudable cause. "Would it be the British or the Emirs?" he asked rhetorically.

Mallam Aminu disclosed that the secret of the Southern successess lay in their ability to unite and form organisations for mutual assistance. In order to propagete the activities of their organisations, he said, they established newspapers. "Our weakness," he pointed out "is lack of united front and a critical leadership that would give us direction."

Mallam Aminu called upon northerners to form a viable political organisation which would render assistance to "ourselves and to the children of the underprivileged class in the pursuit of education."

He challenged the few educated elite, who, like himself were the Katsina College graduates, to be courageous and found and sustain an organisation capable of uniting the North.[16]

It is noteworthy that this article which featured in the

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16. Mallam Aminu Kano, "A Bamu Mulki Kammu" (Give Us Self-Government) - Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo, March 3, 1946.

Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo, a government vernacular newspaper was even allowed to be published. Why such an article was allowed is now a matter for conjecture. It may be that his colleagues, Katsina graduates, who shared his views, smuggled it in. But then no major article of such political significance could escape the British editor. It may also be that the British staff had wanted to fly a kite to see to what extent such an outslandish idea was shared by the paper's readership.

Mallam's challenge came at a time when the South was boiling, the Richard Constitution had made a tremendous impact on the South and the NCNC was planning a tour of Nigeria to mobilise people against some of its provisions. As at that time, there was no single organisation in the North which could pass for a major social or political party. Eight months later, however, NEPA was born in Kano. To what extent this new development is traceable to Mallam's article is hard to say.[17]

Two years later, in far away London, Mallam Aminu Kano had an opportunity to discuss with his former teacher, Alḥaji Yahaya Gusau, the possibility of setting up a teacher's welfare organisation to cater for the specific interests of Northern teachers. Both had been students at the Institute of Education, London University. On his return to Nigeria, the organisation known as the Northern

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17. See Chapter on Northern Elements Progressive ASsociation. It is important to note, however, that though the Association was founder in Kano, his home-town, he was not known to have contributed to its formation.

Teachers ASsociation was formed in Bauchi and inaugurated in Zaria on March 15, 1948 with Mallam Abubakar Tafawa Balewa as Vice-President and Mallam Aminu Kano as Secretary General.[18]

For two years, therefore, Mallam Aminu Kano adminstered an organisation whose activities transgressed the borders usually allowed for a trade union organisation under the circumstance. It was at once a pressure group; pursuing the interest of the North in general; a Trade Union organisation working exclusively for the interest of Northern Teachers and most importantly a ground for agitative politics looming dangerously in the horison.

His sojourn in Bauchi spanning a decade of his formative and restless years coincided with the presence of his former teachers and ideological mentors, and other elder members of that exclusive club of graduates - Katsina Old Boys in the town Foremost among the most active of these were - Mallam Sa'adu Zungur and Mallam Yahaya Gusau. Under their tutelage, he served in various organisations which sought to confront both the Native Administration, i.e. the Emirs, the Regional Government and the British presence in Nigeria. The group was aided by the foremost organ of the nationalist and agitative politics, the West African Pilot, the mouthpiece of the NCNC of which Mallam Sa'adu Zungur was its correspondent for the Northern Protectorate. This relationship between Mallam Sa'adu Zungur, Aminu Kano, Zik and the West

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18. See the section on Northern Teachers Association, pp 450-464. ~~See also Sklar, op cit., pp [illegible] and Feinstein, A., op cit.,~~ [illegible].

African Pilot was later to provide Mallam Aminu Kano with a national base and audience for his brand of agitative politics. For, in the same year, 1948 when Mallam Aminu Kano was elected Secretary General of the Northern Teachers Association, Mallam Sa'adu Zungur too, became the Federal Secretary of the NCNC. The only occupants of that post had been Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe and who had been elected to become the President of the Party. It also transpired, too, that Mallam Yahaya Gusau, the third member of the Bauchi"gang of four,"a year later, became the founding Secretary General of the NPC, later to be the ruling party in the North.

N.E.P.U. Vs THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES

Maitama Sule, like others before him, such as Abdullahi Maje,[18a] was dissuaded by British officials from taking politics as a serious career. Such pressure overt and covert exerted by British officials, through persuasion and or through the threat of the use of General Order 40B had robbed Northerners of potential leadership at the early stage of its awareness. Once such glaring evidence emerged through the admission of Sir Bryan Sherwood

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18(a) See Maje's letter to the Secretary General of NEPA resigning from the organisation after he had come under official pressure Maje was the son of Abdullahi Bayero, then Emir of Kano. (1947). See Chapter on NEPA -pp.464-526 supra. See also Jalingo op.cit., on Maitama Sule, p. 216 and Personal interviews with Alhaji Maitama Sule - 1972-1975, various dates.

Smith, that they dissuaded Maitama Sule from going into politics. Their actual reason for doing so, it now appeared, was that he would have opted for NEPU since he was known to be a founding member. This conclusion became inevitable since no one dissuaded him when he was approached to contest for a seat to the Federal House under the platform of the Northern Peoples Congress, the party which the British favoured.

As to how leadership recruitment by the British denied the radicals a crop of leaders in Kano and indeed in other parts of the Northern Emirates was surreptitiously conducted, Smith was most forth-coming:-

> Happily in Douglas Pott[19]... I had an able lieutenant whose specialty was local government and whose happiest attribute was his ability to win the friendship of the younger generation of Northerners... John Purdy[20] and David Lloyd Morgan, the two District Officers working in Kano City,

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19. Douglas Pott was the able lieutenant of Sir Bryan Sherwood Smith and his trouble shooter who diffused Tafawa Balewa's "revolution" by craftly drafting a report which substantially left the Emirs and Chiefs with their power intact - see Balewa's call for Reform - A. D. Yahaya, The Native Authority System, op.cit, Appendix. Reaction to Balewa's Address in Sherwood Smith, op.cit, pp.208-210 also see The Native Authority Law, 1954, Government Printer, Kaduna, 1954 resulting from a report written by Potts and Maddocks.

20. John Purdy, the District Officer in charge of Kano City who negotiated with the Sardauna, Ribadu and Ciroma Sanusi, the date, scope and route of the Kano demonstration against the visit of Chief S. L. Akintola, deputy leader of the Action Group for the May 15, 1953, lecture Riot subsequently erupted on May 16, 1953 - see "Self-Government Motion and the Collapse of the Macpherson Constitution" Chapter 18, p.702-711. infra.

> were equally sympathetic in their outlook, and between us we built up, at least on paper, a team of potential leaders for whose energies and abilities we tried to find acceptable outlets in preparation for higher things, in the future. One of the rebels, a young school master named Mallam Maitama Sule, did everything possible to abandon Native Authority Service for free-lance politics, but Douglas and John Purdy dissuaded him. Eight years later, he was to become Federal Minister for Mines and Power and one of the most promising ministers in the Federal Government.[21]

There was however, one man, who, Smith lamented could not bring to toe. Although of different temperament and ideological persuasion, Smith admitted that Mallam Aminu Kano was closely associated with Mallam Abubakar Imam (Editor, Gaskiya), Mallam Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and Makaman Bida all of them older than Mallam Aminu Kano by at least, ten years. He described Mallam Aminu Kano as a -

> "compelling conversationalist with an original mind and considerable organising ability, he was possessed of great charm when he elected to exercise it. But from his school days onward, he had been constantly at odds with authority, a tendency that brought him into early conflict with his Emir." [22]

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21. Sherwood Smith, Sir Bryan - But Always As Friends, op.cit., page 212. Emphasis added.

22. Sherwood Smith, Ibid., pp. 207-208.

All attempts by Sherwood Smith to recruit Mallam Aminu Kano and channel this "organising ability" to the benefit of the British Administration failed. He lamented:-

> "I had hopes, at one point, that I might persuade him that I and others like me, were equally bent on reforming the N. A. though not with fire and sword. Perhaps, he might even agree to harnessing his undoubted gifts and fiery energy to the same cause?

Smith however did not regret that he failed to persuade Mallam Aminu Kano to join forces with him and "reform the N. A." without fire and sword. His reasoning, with hindsight, was at best self-serving. "Looking back," he stated unrepentantly -

> it was as well that I failed. The Northern Peoples Congress was destined to sweep the polls and to retain political mastery in the North from then on. A total absence of criticism even uninformed and unreasonable criticism could be good neither for ministers nor for their party. Therefore, any opposition would be better than none, and Aminu's leadership had at least attracted the interest and sympathy of many who would have withdrawn their support had the party fallen irretrievably into the hands of its wild men. [23]

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23. Sherwood Smith, Ibid, pp. 207-208.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

THE MAKING OF A NEW OLIGARCHY

When democracy was forced on the British administrators of Northern Nigeria, they devised means whereby the new leadership could constitute a continuation of the old oligarchic system they had fought to preserve: the Native Authority System. They used the following methods to achieve their aim:-

Firstly, at the Regional Consitutional Conference, the Northern Constitutional Drafting Committee stipulated that only Northern Nigerian male adult of twenty five years or more, resident for three years should be qualified for franchise. This stipulation isolated two groups of otherwise eligible citizens within Northern Nigeria, though for different reasons. First Southerners, there were a large number of Southerners made up largely of Ibo and Yoruba, and from minority areas in the South, living within the strangers' quarters (Sabon Gari) of the urban areas of the North. For the most part, these were higly educated and socially mobilised groups who were working in both the private and public sectors. Their being denied the franchise in the North constituted the first concrete measure of Northern reaction to its years of isolation, feeling of deprivation and fear of domination.

When this recommendation was adopted at the Constitutional Conference, the Eastern delegation issued a minority report stating -

> in the absence of the existence of a recognised Northern Nigerian citizenship status, we find it difficult to follow the reasoning which prompted

or Divisional Colleges, and (4) Provincial Colleges.[3]

The crux of the committee's recommendations was that of adding another stage, in which previously selected members, principally members of the Native Authority not exceeding ten percent, and exempted from participating in the 3 or 4 lower stages, was to be injected at the provincial level. The reasoning of the committee is as follows:-

> We feel that a Provincial Electoral College composed solely of representatives elected in the manner recommended ..... would certainly at this stage of the development of Northern region, contain very few members with experience of public affairs on a level higher than that of the village or the district. Such a body could not, unaided, satisfactorily discharge the duties entrusted to it nor would it command the full confidence of the vast majority of the people. In order to strengthen these colleges, we recommend that to the members found through the electoral system there should be added members, not exceeding ten percent of the total membership nominated by the Native Authorities of the province and their councils at joint meetings.[4]

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3. Jalingo A. U. - Radical Traditions op.cit., p. 244 quoted from File No. KANO PROF PRE/42, P.1 NAK.

   There were 5 levels in Katsina province.

1.	Primary elections	Hamlet level
2.	Sub-Intermediate	Village level
3.	Intermediate elections	District level
4.	Final Intermediate elections	Emirate level
5.	Final elections	Provincial level

4. Review of the Constitution - Report of the Joint Select Committee of the Northern Regional Council, pp. 1-5 Government Printer, Kaduna, 1951.

THE POLITICAL PARTIES

The first of the series of elections began in the first week of September, 1951. At that time there were only three political parties, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroon, (Citizens) (NCNC the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) and the Middle Zone League (MZL). The NPC at this time was still a cultural organisation. It therefore missed at least two stages of the election, since it came into the political scene as a political party on the 1st of October, 1951, just before the last stage of the elections. According to H. G. Jelf:-

> At the beginning of the elections there also existed the "Jamiyyar Mutanen Arewa," JMA (NPC) a non-political organisation formed, perhaps, to defend the culture of the North against the imitative westernism of the Ibo. It was composed of influential Native Administration officials, many of whom now sit in the House of Assembly - it was a sober and respectable organisation intended to preserve the Northern moslem way of life.[6] Once the elections started and events, at least in the large towns, were not quite as was expected,[7] the party declared itself a reformist political party and took the name of "The Northern Peoples Congress" (NPC). This was a dramatic change .....[8]

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6. Emphasis added.

7. It was difficult to establish who was not expecting the result as they turned out.

8. H. G. Jelf, The Northerner Goes to the Polls, Corona, op.cit., June, 1953, p.214.

> The fact which I wish to stress and which I earnestly suggest should be stressed as widely as possible over the Region is that, unless the adherents of the present regime whether members of the NPC or not abandon what I understand to be a general policy of saying 'it cannot happen to us' in favour of an all-out drive to put their views and the facts before the public as a whole and so organise themselves that their candidates, who after all are in general the best available in terms of both experience and integrity are selected and elected by means of organisation, political disaster can very well and quite unnecessarily, befall this regime.

He further warned that in his opinion the NEPU was not representative of popular opinion and as such should not be allowed "to pursue its way uninterrupted. He went on:-

> If infact this well organised minortiy movement, which has already succeeded in stampeding the Syrians into subscribing large sums of money gains further impetus, the activities of the NPC will be of purely academic interest. To repeat what I have frequently said before, the Executive of NEPU, and its founder members are a worthless lot both in terms of mental calibre and experience. hey do however possess drive, zeal and an appreciable measure of organising ability. This thing can spread and it will spread unless responsible Africans who have the real future of the North at heart get down to it at once and organise a counter-offensive.

The Resident was not particularly surprised that NEPU had won Kano City. He pointed out that an advance warning had been given to the "local moderates" that if "they did nothing about it, this would occur."[11]

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11. Bryan Sherwood-Smith, Resident, Kano Province memo No. P/104/1 to Secretary to Government, Northern Provinces, (October 29, 1951) copy of memo with the author.

1. that every Branch should go to the Emir or Chief and cooperate with him, after you have voted for those that deserve to be voted .... The person you vote for does not necessarily have to belong to the NPC, however, you may vote for him on condition that he will join the party immediately he is voted in.

2. you should be consistent in voting for those you voted for at the lower stages.

3. You should lobby others to assist you in voting those whom you choose.

4. You should be aware that the Sultan of Sokoto, the Emir of Gwandu, the Emir of Kano and those of Zaria, Katsina and Abuja and the members of the House such as the Sardauna, Tafawa Balewa and Walin Bornu,[14] and those who headed the collection of the Northern Development Fund, are in support of the NPC.

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14. These three, have now taken a commanding lead of Northern Nigeria displacing the radicals civil servants who had been ousted by G. O. 40 B.

NEPU which had declared itself a political party[18] about a year before the commencement of the first stage of the elections articulated its political programme which it dissiminated in a few centres in the North, being inchoate at the time. The programme is as follows -

1. Mechanisation of agriculture and improving of animal husbandry to increase food production, in order to raise the standard of living of the people and thus stabilise our internal economy.

2. Progressive reforms of our system of education so as to provide appropriate intellectual, technical and moral training.

3. A scheme to dam river Niger to provide[19] water for drinking and irrigation as well as for improved water transport and the production of electricity.

4. Introduction of a local government system to be based on a popular democratic elections and thus do away with the autocratic Native Administration's (N.As), and sound town and country planning.

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18. August 8, 1950.

19. This proposal enunciated in 1951 was taken seriously by Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and resulted in the construction of the Kainji Dam in the late 50s and early 60's.

5. Reforms in the laws relating to transport and the provision of better trunk and feeder roads.

6. Introduction of a uniform judicial system throughout Northern Region for the purpose of establishing the rule of law.[20]

7. Development of local (primary) and secondary industries in order to provide employment and thus reduce the present high percentage of unemployment.

A number of issues that bedevilled the North at the time can be discerned from the NEPU programme; low level of agricultural productivity due to outmoded system of land use and cultivation; low intellectual attainment compared to the South due to paucity of schools, concern for rapid industrialisation and domocratisation of the Native Authority - (Sole Native Authority system), the introduction of the rule of law and the reduction of the rate of unemployment.

Clearly, NEPU, in 1951, was ahead of its time.The British officials would not, therefore, be comfortable with these radical ideas which if implemented would transform Northern Nigeria, a process which would send them packing prematurely.

The electoral process - and its farcical nature was ably describec by the architect of the mobilisation of the NPC and the man who

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c.f. The introduction of the Penal Code of Northern Nigeria.

20. NEPU Party Programme 1951 quoted in Ahmadu U. Jalingo - op.cit., p.229.

ensured that its candidates won massively throughout the North. He was, at once the Chief Electoral Officer, and also the Resident of Kano, Mr. Bryan Sherwood Smith, later to be rewarded with the Governorship fo Northern Region. He was the presiding officer at the final stage of the multi-tiered system of the election. His description of the electoral processes deserves to be quoted in some detail:-

> As soon as I called for nominations the NPC supporters sprang smartly up in turn and reeled off their list of party nominees one by one. NEPU then followed, and, finally, a series of unknown names were put forward from the back of the hall on the basis, obviously, of "You nominate me and I will nominate you." At least, in the early afternoon, just before the time for prayer, the list was closed and I retired to the back room for a cold drink and a sandwich lunch while the NA Printing Department struck off the numbered ballot papers. After prayer, the college reassembled. Voting would now begin. The ballot box was in a small room behind the main hall, and to this I now withdrew. Each member in turn would enter, mark his list, fold his ballot paper, and put it in the box. The younger men got through the business quickly, and all I had to do was to sit back and meditate. But when it came to the turn of the aged worthies from the outer districts, not one of whom could read or write, the trouble began. "May Allah prolong your life" said the first. "A and B and C and D on this list," which I had to read aloud to each one, "are known to me. They are good men, and if you will show me where to make my mark, I will choose them. But, as for these others," with a confiding smile, "who would you suggest?" I have already told you," I replied patiently, "that I cannot advise you. You must decide yourself." I heard what you said, came the reply, "but, disarmingly, "nobody can hear us here. In the name of Allah tell me who to choose." This difficulty I solved by reading through the

list of candidates, asking after each one "Yes or No?" until his tale was complete. Another one said, "Who did Mallam X vote for? I would like to choose the same as he did". One rheumy-eyed graybread came to the point at once. "Wallahi!" he said, I told them that I did not wish to come here. There was no such foolishness in old days. It is the young men, always wanting something new. I cannot see the paper. In the name of Allah, do it for me."

In the case of more than a dozen, I had to hold and guide the pen hand, after cajoling from them the names of those for whom they wished to vote. Several contrived to lighten proceedings by volunteering illuminating, and occasionally scurrilous, comments on the habits and integrity of candidates of whom they did not approve. In general, however, when faced with the necessity for making a decision, the choice was shrewdly made.[21]

The responsible people and the Resident and the Chief Commissior was alluding to at least in Kano, were the 20 people declared elected as listed below:-[22]

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21. Sherwood-Smith, Bryan op. cit., p. 225

22. Jalingo, A. U. Radical Tradition op.cit., Table. 1:5 p. 232

TABLE 8 - III

KANO MEMBERS IN THE HOUSE OF A SEMBLY AFTER 1951 ELECTIONS

	Name	Profession	Nominated by	Remarks
1.	Muh. Sanusi	Emir's eldest son District Head and Heir Apparent	Chief and D.O.	Did not stand for election
2.	Bashari	N.A. Adviser on Moslim Law	Chief and D.O.	Did not stand for election
3.	Alh. Ahmade	District Head	Chief and D.O.	Did not stand for election
4.	Usman	N.A. Staff Supervisor	Inuwa Wade	Did not stand for election
5.	Bello	Ed.Offr.(N.A.)	Chief and D.O.	Did not stand for election
6.	Galadima Hadejia	District Head	Chief and D.O.	Did not stand for election
7.	Ma'ajin Gumel	N. A. Treasurer	Chief and D.O.	Did not stand for election
8.	Ibrahim	Trader	Bello	Did not stand for election
9.	Alh.Nabegu	Trader	Bello	Did not stand for election
10.	Ma'ajin Hadejia	N.A. Treasurer	Sambo	Did not stand for election
11.	Madakin Hadejia	District Head	Chief and D.O.	Defeated in primary election

TABLE 8 - III (cont'.)

	Name	Profession	Nominated by	Remarks
12.	Sambo	District Head	Chief and D.O.	Defeated in primary election
13.	Muhammed	District Head	Chief and D.O.	Defeated in primary eletion
14.	Alhaji Abubakar	Distric Head	Chief and D.O.	Defeated in primary election
15.	Munir	N. A. Supvr. of Works	Chief and D.O.	Defeated in primary election
16.	Muhammed	D.H. and Emir's brother	Chief and D.O.	Defeated in primary election
17.	Dandago	District Head	Chief and D.O.	Defeated in primary election
18.	Inuwa Wada	N.A. Chief Clerk	Chief and D.O.	Defeated in primary election
19.	Maje	N.A. Dev.Sec.	Chief and D.O.	Defeated in primary election
20.	Jibir	Emir's Private Secretary	Chief and D.O.	Defeated in primary election

Of the twenty, 16 or 80% of those who won were nominated by the Emirs of the four divisions i.e. Kano, Gumel, Kazaure and Hadejia. The remaining four, or 20% were nominated by individuals. These four were also employees of the Native Authority system, therefore responsible to the Emirs.

According to Ahmadu Jalingo, in Kano District alone, seven Native Authority employees contested the elections and of these, four were actually defeated by NEPU candidates. But in the end, all the four defeated candidates, finally won the election at the last stage. In all, ten or 50% of the members of the Kano Province were defeated, but were finally voted in at the final stage to represent the Province. Another fifty percent of those who won the election, did not actually contest the election at the various stages except the final one where they were introduced as part of the 10% injection alluded to earlier.

Thus, it becomes clear why Mr. Bryan Sherwood Smith, the Resident of Kano province had to caution the Northern Administration of the impending disaster should the government refuse to intervene to stop a clear NEPU victory at the early stages of the elections. The Nigerian citizen, also echoed this concern of the Resident in its editorial already quoted.

Of the twenty members "elected" only two were listed as traders the remaining 18 were either employees of the various Native Authoritie or princes and District Heads of the four Emirates or both. Indeed, one of the members, Alhaji Muhammadu Sanusi, was the eldest son of the then reigning Emir of Kano and heir apparent to the throne.[23]

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23. For the relationship between Sherwood Smith and Sanusi see Bryan - Sherwood Smith, But Always As Friends p. 220; Sherwood Smith told me that Sanusi was an arrogant Emir and anticipated the cirsis between Sanusi and Sardauna. He further disclosed that Sanusi had once threatened to resign or actually resigned over the telephone. Interview with Sir Bryan Sherwood Smith in Sutrey November 21, 1971.

In his capacity as the head of the Native Authority Administration, he was at once a candidate and also an electoral officer.

At the end of the last election exercise and after satisfying himself that the responsible people had won, the Resident, Mr. Bryan Sherwood Smith had this to say in his memoir . He did not of course reflect his anxiety of impending NEPU victory in his memoir: He said inter alia:-

> This result accorded with the general pattern in the other provinces, most of which had already voted. All over the region, even in areas where Moslems were in a minority, the NPC, or organisations, that supported the NPC, had either swept tha board or found a secure footing. Later, there were claims that thanks to the electoral college system, the result gave a completely false picture of the extent of the support that NEPU commanded. But, out of interest, I had checked the Kano province primaries to find that, even in this province where they were stronger, NEPU had only won 10 per cent of the primary elections.
>
> At the time, as I drove homeward, I had reflected that, taking the eletions as a whole, the most heartening result was the high proportion of able and responsible men who had been chosen in nearly all of the twelve provinces. Still, it was a pity that Aminu Kano had not got through. A new House would have all the solidity it needed. A firebrand or two would do no harm, and success might have taken some of the bitterness out of Aminu's system. The region needed all the able men it could muster, and of Aminu's ability there could be no question".24

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24. Ibid. p. 225.

CONDUCT OF ELECTION AND RESULTS IN OTHER PROVINCES

In the first stage (primary) of the election in Plateau Province, about 250,000 people, chose 7,000 representatives; at the next level about 5,000 electors chose 500 men. These 500 produced 54 who were to go to the provincial and the last stage of the election. Onto the 54 were added the 'ten percent' injection selected by the Native Authorities in the province.

> In Adamawa no party except perhaps the NPC gained any success. In Bauchi, two NEPU members were elected in Azare town but only one from the whole province reached the final electoral college where he was defeated. In Benue, the NEPU had three members in the final electoral college which was less than 3% of the total membership. In Bornu one NEPU candidate reached the final electoral college, but he was then heavily defeated. The party did however achieve a considerable success in Maiduguri and Nguru primaries, but were never in sufficient numbers to dominate a District election. In Ilorin, non-party men were all elected. In Kabba, two of the member of the House of Assembly belong to Progressive Unions.[25]..... In Katsina, one NEPU candidate was elected in Malumfashi town in the primary elections, but never got further in the electoral chain. The final memebrs were all either non-party or NPC. In Niger, the NEPU had limited degree of support in Bedde (Bida) and Minna, but not sufficient to achieve any electoral success.
>
> All the members of the House of Assembly from ~~this~~ Plateau Province are either Middle Zone League (MZL), Birom Progressive Union or the NCNC.

This system of polling, was referred to as "whispering vote" because the registered voters merely whispered the name of the person they wish to vote for into the ears of the electoral officers who then ticked the name. At the end of the provincial college, the following were elected; a Mission Paster, 3 Native Authority

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25 These are local ethnic Unions.

officials and the paid Secretary of a political party. Thus, out of the five three of the six Native Authority official injected at the final stage were elected into the Northern House of Assembly.[26]

Fourty percent of the members of Plateau Province in the House contested at the last stage of the elections and won.27

In Sokoto, NCNC members gained certain initial successes in Sokoto town and Gusau, but in the later elections were overwhelmed by non-party candidates, who together with NPC, filled all the provincial places. In Zaria province, the NEPU/NCNC combination had considerable success in Kaduna stranger settlement sections, obtaining about two-thirds of the seats. Of these, the NEPU had one third. Similarly, the NCNC gained twenty one seats in the Zaria stranger settlement elections. In the intermediate elections, Kaduna returned two NEPU representatives to the provincial college, but in Zaria, the NCNC were defeated by Northerners. In the end, only non-party or NPC representative were elected to the House of Assembly.[28]

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26. C. R. Niven, "Elections in Northern Nigeria" in Corona, May, 1952, pp. 179-182.
27. See - "The Northerner goes to the poll" in Corona, June 1953, p. 217.
28. Jelf H. C., op.cit., pp 258-259.

Thus, when the Provincial college elections were held all over the Northern provinces, except in Benue, Kabba and Plateau Provinces where opposition parties won a few seats, all the early victories of the NEPU and the NCNC were wiped out and the Native Authority "injected" candidates in most of the provinces in the far Northern emirates won their seats easily.

The loss of the NEPU and other opposition parties was due to the fact that they were against officially sponsored candidates. Most of the electoral arrangments were organised by the Native Authorities. In Kano, especially, the machinery was under the supervision of Alhaji Muhammedu Sanusi, then the Ciroma of Kano, who was himself a candidate. This then was the principal reason for the defeat of the NEPU. However, H. G. Jelf suggests three other causes:-

1. NEPU's radical ideological position and "their abuse of all in power and in office became even more pronounced concentrating even more venomously against personalities and indeed the whole Fulani regime.

2. Secondly, "both the nature of their campaign and their successes alarmed the "Jamiyyar Mutanen Arewa" (NPC) whose leaders forthwith changed their party into a political one and became an active contestant in the remaining phases of the election.

3. Thirdly, the influence of rural representatives who were indifferent to and ignorant of party politics ..... whatever the contesting parties may claim, the rural representatives were elected without a "party ticket" and were themselves uninterested in the programmes of the contesting parties [29]

These, therefore, were the causes attributed by a Senior Administrative Officer as being the contributory factors to the failure of the NEPU. But it is discomforting to note that out of the ten percent of the total number of those injected at the top only about one percent lost the election. The successful injected members were mainly Native Authority Chief Scribes, Treasurers, Supervisors of Agriculture and of Works, School masters, and educated District Heads A further breakdown of the elected injectees, give a clearer picture of the success of the British Administration in installing the Native Authority system no the new constitutional framework. Of the 81 Native Authority employees elected, thirty three or 43% were councillors and District Heads (these were Native Authority policy makers and administrators), thirty or 37% came from education department seven or 9% from Works and Development, three or 4% from Agriculture, eight or 10% were Treasurers, Ten or 12% were Chief Scribes or their Assistants, three or 4% were Native Court Judges; three or 4% were medical personnel one was a policeman personnel and another one of the Forester. [30]

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29. Jelf, Ibid., p.259
30. Jelf, Ibid., p.260

Whatever were the causes of the NEPU failure which ensured the return of the "injectees," as analysed by Jelf, the NEPU had its own reasons as to why it lost the elections. In a petition by the Party signed by its leader (to the Secretary of State for the Colonies) who led a one-man delegation to London , the party saw the following as contributing to its defeat;-

a) The ten percent injection

b) Voting mechanism - whispering votes or voting by showing of hands in public instead of the use of ballot box in secret compartments.

c) Involvement of Native Authority officials and contestants as electoral personnel.

d) Those arrested for trumped up political offences rather than on indictable offences were prevented contesting

e) Lack of freedom of assemble and propagate party policy and manifesto.

In its petition to the Secretary of State, the party discussed the above electoral anomalies in detail. First, party called for the abolition of the system of 10% injection of Native Authority nominees to the provincial Electoral College. Secondly, it further called for the abolition of Indirect election as a whole. Thirdly, it recommended the use of the ballot box instead of the orthodox system of election by either whispering to the ears of the electoral officer or by the show of hands at a public gathering. Fourthly the party recommended further that only those sentenced to a term

of more than six months for all indictable offences should be debarred from contesting elections. Fifthly, Freedom of Assembly advised the party, should be allowed opposition parties. Finally, the party called for a change in the appointment of Returning Officers who themselves are either candidates or members of government parties. In particular, the party complained of the appointment of the Sarkin Shanu of Kano as information officer for the constituency in which headas to contest the election in that election. It concluded that when the NEPU delegation saw the Minister of State for the colonies in London, 1952, the minister had this to say:-

> While he was not without sympathy for the feelings of the NEPU, he suspected that the party represented only a minority opinion of Northern opinion. He was convinced that the present electoral system accorded with the wishes of the majority.....

The NEPU, in its 1955 petition had claimed that given "the normal freedom accorded an opposition party at any free and direct election in the Northern Region," it would form the government in the Region. They gave the following results in a direct election as an evidence of that claim. In the Zaria town council elections, with 43 seats, NEPU won 26 to NPC 14 while independents scored 6.[31]

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31. Letter to Secretary of State for the Colonies from Aminu Kano, 19/12/55. Copy with the author. See also various petitions by NEPU on the elections in Jalingo, A.U. op.cit., Appendix 1A to 1C pp. 407-428.

In conclusion, it has become clear in designing a democratic system for Nothern Nigeria, the British officials made sure, they carried the Native Authority personnel to control the new government of Northern Region. We saw this effort succeed as they imposed Native Authority nominated representatives as members of the Regional Councils designed by the Richard's Constitution. These Native Authority personnel representing all the various departments of the Native Authority, including a large number of princes of all the emirates, were actually the representatives of the Emirs, in the new Council. In addition, the Emirs themselves represent themselv in the council of Chiefs in order to check the "liberal" tendencies of the House. Even the new party, as we have seen, had the support of the Emirs, and members were urged to consult them before they took any decisions. The elections of 1951, was not an election; it was a selection system organised in order to give a semblance of popular will, while retaining the loyalty of the new institutions to the old order.

PART VI

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN:

SELF-GOVERNMENT ISSUE AND THE COLLAPSE OF MACPHERSON CONSTITUTION

Enahoro's Independence Motion

With the above background, we can now analyse the collapse of the Macpherson Constitution. The issue of the granting of Independence to Nigeria was the immediate cause. The issue of Independen was introduceby a member of the Action Group in the House of Represent tives, Chief Anthony Enahoro. His party, the Action Group, had in its election minifesto of 1951 declared: "As our objective, therefore, we will seek to terminate British rule during the five year period of our tenure of office."

It was in fulfilment of this objective that Chief Enahoro introduced a private member's bill in the following words - "That this house accepts as a primary political objective the attainment of Self-Government for Nigeria in 1956.[1]

The initial Northern reaction to the bill was as described by the Sardauna, Malam Ahmadu, who had met privately with Chief Enahoro and asked him to withdraw the bill. According to the Sardauna, "it would be very embarrassing to us (Northerners) if it were to be debated." Chief Enahoro duly presented his bill and as arranged, the debate, not only nearly brought down the government prematurely but nearly caused the break up of the fragile federation.[2]

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1. Awo, An Autobiography op.cit., p. 238.

2. For the details of the members' reaction to the Bill, see AWO, pp 238-248; My Life: Bello, Ahmadu Sardauna pp. 100-148. see also Daily Times April 1-10, 1953, Daily Service, the same period. see also The Nigerian Citizen for April, 1953.

Before the bill was debated, the Northern members through the Sardauna introduced an ammendment accepting the principle of self-government for Nigeria without any deadline for achieving it. The Sardauna said:-

> We from the Northern Region never intended, nor do we intend to retard the progress of any Region. Nor do we say that those who demand self-government, if it is for their own Region alone are wrong. For after all every community is the best judge of its own situation. In this regard, Mr. President, the people of the North are the best judge of their own intention and we feel that in our present situation we cannot commit ourselves to fixing a date for the attainment of self-government. We are fully aware of all the implication involved and we want to make it clear that the destiny of the North is in the hands of the people of the North.[3]

As pointed out earlier, the lack of Northern participation in the affairs of Nigeria between 1914-1947 because the British had convinced the Emirs that there were no Northerners qualified to do so, would one day be raised as the main cause for the delay for future constitutional advancement.[3a] The Sardauna, in his speech alluded to this when he said inter-alia:-

> Sir, whatever Nigerians may say, the British people have done them a great service by bringing all the different communities of Nigeria together. The great day came with the introduction of the Richards Constitution in 1947, when for the first time in our history, indigenous citizens of the North sat side by side with the South to legislate for one Nigeria and share in the discussion of Nigerian affairs. That

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3. My Life, op.cit., page 118.

3a. NEPU had warned Southern Nationalists that if they failed to help the North, "Self government cannot be achieved at the stipulated time" NEPU (1951) see P 659 supra.

> was in 1947. Meanwhile, Sir, our comrades in the South had been taking part in the discussion of their own affairs in the legislature as far back as 1922.[4]

So for the North, it was self-government for Nigeria as soon as practicable.

Before the Sardauna's ammendment was moved and seconded, Alhaji Ibrahim Imam moved that the debate on the motion be adjourned. Chief Obafemi Awolowo spoke and his speech signalled the begining of the end of Macpherson Constitution and what is more, the sowing of the seed of discord in Nigeria's inter-regional relationship. The Chief said inter-alia:-

> We find that the Northern majority is not only being used in having their say. This is a situation with which we find it absolutely impossible to accommodate ourselves...
>
> There is no doubt in anybody's mind that when the division comes, the North will win the day and this momentous motion would have been postponed indefinetely. With a situation like that, as I said before we are not prepared to accommodate ourselves... I would like to say, Sir, on behalf of the Western Region that we will not stay here to continue this debate.[5]

And so, the Western delegation followed by those of the East led by Dr. K. O. Mbadiwe walked out. The independence issue had temporarily united the Action Group and the NCNC. According to Chief Awolowo - "When the motion for self-government and the ammending and dilatory motions were being moved and debated,

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4. Ibid., page 119. Independence for the North after only 9 years of its participation in national affairs.
5. Awo, An Autobiography, op.cit, page 241 quoted from Legislative Council Debates. March 31, 1953.

Dr. Azikiwe had been sitting in the visitors gallery and had waited outside to embrace and congratulate Awo and his colleagues. Soon after this episode, an alliance of the two parties NCNC and AG was struck.[6]

Shortly thereafter, resignations from the Action Group Ministers began to flow in. The Oni of Ife was first to tender his resignation followed by the three Action Group Ministers. With the withdrawal from further participation in the affairs of the Federal Government by the Western Region, the Macpherson Constitution had all but collapsed.

With its collapse also, there was a subterranean threat to the continued unity of Nigeria. For in his final remark, the Sardauna threw in a vague threat similar to the one issued by the Emir of Zaria, Malam Ja'afaru at the deadlocked Ibadan Constitutional Conference in January, 1950. The Sardauna said in the same words as the Emir; "The mistake of 1914 had come to light and I should like to go no further.[7] Within a month, the North was going to propose that Nigeria should become a confederation.

Meanwhile, the Northern members of the House who had rejected the self-government bill were treated to a hostile reception outside the Parliament by the highly politicised Lagos crowd.

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6. Awo - op.cit., p.

   Ibid., p. 241.

7. My Life - op.cit., page 133.

This hostile treatment followed the members at every Railway Station as they journeyed back home from Lagos to Kaduna, Zaria and Kano. On this harrassment, the Sardauna said:-

> The House adjourned at 11.05 a.m. and we went out into the screams and insults of the large crowd of Lagos thugs waiting for us in the courtyard... The Lagos politicians had certainly gone out of their way to stir up trouble for us. We found that it was by no means over when we pulled out of Iddo Station. Whenever the train stopped, we were surrounded by angry crowd of demonstrators. Even when we slowed down by village crossings, we were assailed by boos...
>
> We had hoped that when we crossed the border that we should be alright but all the way along the line, even to the last station before Kaduna railway people and Southern elements gave us no peace.[8]

The Daily Time issue of April, 1953, confirmed the Sardauna's story. It reported under the headline "CROWDS JEER NORTHERNERS." In the report it said that crowds standing outside the House of Representatives, booed and jeered at Northern members as they came out of the House yesterday. The crowd called members "Ole" (Thief) "stooge" as they walked to their cars. Only the presence of the police, who cordoned off the crowd kept them at a distance.[9]

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8. Ibid., page 134.

9. Daily Times, April 5, 1953.

The Northerners who were sympathetic to the position taken by the Northern representatives in Lagos were enraged by the hostile treatment the representatives received in Lagos. The Editorial opinion of the Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo, a government newspaper, reflected the feelings of this group. It stated:-

> There are two ways in which the North can seek the reforms required and make war on ignorance, tyranny and sloth within its borders. It can endorse the policy of the Northern Peoples' Congress with which the Western Region Yoruba-land agrees, that is regional autonomy. In this way the people of each region would work out their own destiny within a unified pattern. This is the first way.
>
> The second way is for the North to support those who proposed a unified Nigeria. Everything should become a scramble; Western education being the qualification for power. If we follow this alternative it would be tantamount to admitting that the North is unable to take up the struggle for its future and for the well-being of its people and the region as a whole. The North would be compelled to bring in Southerners with their higher education and their "sence of justice" to take over the key posts in the region so that the Southerners can lay the foundation of "justice" in the North and stamp out tyranny,. In this way the ordinary man, even if he does not understand English, will receive "respect, courtesy, freedom and justice" - just as today he receives these things at the Railway Station, at the Government Hospital, at the Public Works Department, at the Goods Shed, at the Post Office, at the Canteens, and in the Trains where the Southerners who are in charge show a sample of thier "justice" their "incorruptibility", their "helpfulness" to the ordinary Northerner who does not understand English!".

This would help us understand the reaction especially of the people of Kano to the proposed visit by the Action Group Deputy Leader, Chief S. L. Akintola to campaign for the support of self-Government in 1956, an issue which had been deadlocked at the House of Representatives.

The ill feelings of the North against the South that had been carefully nurtured on the one side by the British on the side of Northerners against the South erupted into a serious violence between Northern and Southern communities in Kano. The issue of independence has excerbated the deteriorating relationship between Northern and Southern Communities who for the most part were divided along religious, ethnic and economic lines. The local press, both in its public opinion and editorial opinion had pointed out the danger of accepting self-government. Among these danger was the possibility that the Southerners would take over the place vacated by the Europeans as a result of self-government.[1]

The Kano Riot and its aftermath

No sooner had this proposal been made public than the supporters of the NPC organised a demonstration in Kano.

The NPC leadership visited Kano to ensure that the demostration took place. Those who sought for the permit to organise a demostration included - Sardauna of Sokoto, the de-facto leader of the NPC and Northern Minister for Local Government; Malam Muhammadu Ribadu, Central Minister in Lagos, and the Ciroma of Kano, Alhaji Muhammadu Sanusi defacto Emir of Kano. During their discussion with the Senior District Officer in charge of Kano, Mr. R. J. Purdy

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11. Address of M. Inuwa Wada - Report p. 46.

There are number of questions to be raised as to the origin of the fracas. The Commission concluded categorically that "the trouble was started by lawless Northern elements in large numbers largely from Kano City but also from Fagge itself."

From the evidence received by the Commission there is enough circumstanctial evidence to warrant reaching a different conclusion that is to say that the riot was officially sanctioned. The way and manner the Commission glossed over the role played by Inuwa Wada speaks for itself. His provocative and inciting address and the illegal declaration of Saturday as a holiday constitute enough offence, though there is no evidence to suggest that his 'thousand men' were under orders from him to commit such heinous atrocities. Malam Inuwa Wada was merely reprimanded for this and the reprimand noted in his file. For what was he reprimanded?[14]

The other issue is that of the involvement of the national leadership of the NPC in the planning of the procession by the local branch of the party in Kano. There is no doubt that the Northern leadership were angered by the hostile reception they got in the South who supported self-government. This is more so because for the most part, the NPC leaders were of the aristocratic background and not used to the political culture of the crowd

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14. Interview with M. Inuwa Wada, inside a Nigeria Airways plane Lagos to Kano. February 12, 1983. Mallam Inuwa Wada recalled that, they,the Youth,could not take the insult and disgrace.

heckling and booing and name calling, especially princes in their own right being called 'Thieves' publicly. But this is a new Lagos political culture which they would soon get used to. In time, the North, too, developed its own name calling which was much worse - a feature of Lagos and generally Southern political behaviour. It goes without saying that they too had supporters in their home-base who could heckle them. This is a normal human reaction. But when the NPC leadership had accepted to hold their procession on Friday instead of Saturday, why then did Mallam Inuwa Wada, a responsible member of the Kano community decide to give N. A. employees a holiday in order for them to hold an illegal procession on Saturday. Was this decision unilateral or did it have the blessing of the NPC and the British authorities?

From the evidence adduced before the Commission and the way and manner the Commission treated the case of Mallam Inuwa Wada, Saturday's rally was officially instigated, although it is doubtful whether the resultant murder and arson was premeditated.

The British officials had sanctioned or even planned the Kano riot in order to convince both the Southern politicians and the British government at home that there was considerable support for the continuous maintenance of British presence in Northern Nigeria, and inevitably in the whole country.

The solidarity of the NPC with the British Administration on the issue of self-government is further confirmed by an emergency meeting of the National Executive Committee of the party which

took place at Bassawa, near Zaria on the same date as the Kano riot on 16th May, 1953; indeed, only the Kano delegates failed to attend because of the riotous situation there.[15]

NPC: Moving towards confederation

The Bassawa Conference[16] was called specifically to discuss the self-government issue and the subsequent mal-treatment of the Northern politicians in the South. The Conference reviewed the position of the North in the context of a united Nigeria. A minority opted for secession from Nigeria, while the majority took a more moderate line that of confederation. Sardauna put it more succintly:- "Lord Lugard and his Amalgamation were far from popular amongst us at that time. There were agitation in favour of secession; we should set up on our own; we should cease to have anything more to do with the Southern people; we should take our own way."[17]

The Sardauna stated that there were two things against opting for secession. First, he said the bulk of Nigerian revenue was derived from custom duties collected at the coast, and collecting the Northern share would be near impossible. Similarly, goods from Northern Nigeria may be blocked on its way to the coast.[18]

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15. See the position of the missionaries on self-government in the Chapter on the Middle Belt. pp. 587-627 supra.

16. See Niven's account on the emergency meeting in Nigeria Kaleidscope - op.cit., p.249.

17. My Life, op.cit, page 135.

18. See Niven, Ibid.

The crisis situation resulting from the Lagos incident was much more serious than most works on the period made it out to be. The man who conducted the affairs of the House of Assembly preceding the Lagos event and the Kano riot, Sir Rev. Niven gave a vivid account on how precipitously close to breaking Nigeria was at the time. After the economic and stop arguments historical had outweigh the advantages of secession, Niven remembered -

> "very clearly discussing the problems with the Sardauna and studying the Lagos scale maps to see whether it would be possible to get the French to build an extension of their Dahomey (Port Novo) railway either to Mokwa, just north of Jebba or to Sokoto.

The Sardauna and his colleagues were mollified and later adopted a compromise which did everything "but demanded secession." Sir Niven recounted how the British Colonial Administration reacted to the situation. "The high officials of the Northern Administration," he said:-

> From the governor down were horrified at the whole idea but could do nothing about it. They felt in some way which was not disclosed, that I should have prevented the situation from developing or that when it had reached that point, I should again in some unspecified way have stopped the proceedings. Anyhow, the question was put, and the Ayes had it unanimously. (Point Eight Programme)

Sir Niven noted that the Colonial Office was terrified.

This development, he wrote:-

> raised a nightmare in the Colonial Office, who by now powerless in practice, still had the legal supervision of Nigerian affairs. The resolution was taken with the gravity it deserved. The Sardauna was pacified by Macpherson's promise of an immediate new conference in London to give the Regions real authority in their own areas and to reduce their links with Lagos to the most slender that were practicable. This, of course, pleased the other Regions which saw possibilities of either self-government for themselves by this new turn in events.

Sir Niven's influence over the affairs of Nigeria during this crisis period is perhaps underestimated in his memoirs. However, he allowed us a glimpse of how he influenced the partial solutions to the constitutional crisis of 1953. He stated:-

> I had, at one stage, an informal discussion with the permanent head of the Colonial Office. Sir Hilton Poynton, about this matter of Regional autonomy. I suggested that the only way to make the Regions really feel satisfied that they were on their own in all the subjects that they could justifiably claim, would be for them to have their own governors with all the trimmings of that exalted office. If so, he asked, what about the present office of Governor of Nigeria? Well, that could only be a Governor-General, repeating once more, the position of the Amalgamation of 1914. And so, it came to pass.

Rather immodestly, Niven asserted that it was from this simple idea in Nigeria that the practice spread to the Gold Coast (Ghana) and later "all over the Commonwealth."[19]

Although, Niven had considerable knowledge of the happenings in Nigeria, he was economical with details. Memoirs of colonial officers are often subject to British Cabinet Office censorship and it is believed that Niven's memoirs is a shadow of its original. In his account, the British have been completely exonorated by him as they appeared 'helpless' when the Northerners wanted to break up the country. Further research may reveal that this is more public relations for the British.

These obstacles economic and political forced the Northern leadership to modify their stance and settle for a loose confederal system where each region would be self-governing and autonomous. After deliberation, the following resolutions known as the Point Eight Programme was adopted -

1. Each region shall have complete legislative and executive autonomy with respect to all matters except the following:-
   a) Defence
   b) External affairs
   c) Customs, and
   d) West African Research

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19. Ibid., pp. 249-251. Sir Niven did not originate this idea as he claimed. See Balewa's Resolution (1949) in vol. I pp 345-346 supra.

created. The Boards of such corporations shall be composed of experts with a minority representation of the Regional governments.

7. All revenues shall be levied and collected by the regional government except customs revenue. Customs duties shall be collected at the port of discharge by the Central Agency and paid to each region. The administration of the customs shall be as organised as to ensure that goods consigned to each region are separately cleared and charged to duty.

8. Each region shall have a separate public service.[20]

In addition, the Conference recommended that the government should set up machinery to seek popular opinion for the ammendment of the Constitution along the resolution mentioned above.

The above resolutions were later introduced by Alhaji Ibrahim Imam, the General Secretary of NPC at a hurriedly convened meeting of both Houses of Assembly and of Chiefs on May 18, 1953.[20a]

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20. Awa, Eme, Federal Government In Nigeria, University of Califonia Press, Berkely and Los Angeles, 1964, p.45.

20a. The meeting was convened at the instance of Sardauna, Niven op.cit p. 249.

Before we discuss the referendum on the above constitutional ammendments, it is pertinent to observe that the Point Eight Programme was designed by those who had all along desired a separate existence for the North so as it could develop without the intrusion of Southern politicians and Southern Press. Resolution No. 2 which sought to abolish both legislative and executive bodies in the centre is in line with the position taken by the Chiefs at the instance of the Northern British Advisers between 1925 to 1945. This situation would be repeated again in 1966.

Before the British embarked upon setting up the machinery for the testing of public opinion as to whether Nigeria should be self-governing, confederal or federal it first of all engaged in a subtle and subterranean campaign against self-government for the North. In a five page paper entitled "Self-Government." which was circulated amongst the opinion leaders of the North, the government defined self-government and went on to explain structure and function of the Northern Regional Government. The Northern Government, the paper said "is a long way from self-government in that the majority of its staff in similar positions are still appointed by the Colonial Office in London and it is very dependent upon non-Northerners to fill most of the posts in the technical departments and clerical service." It further believed that both the Eastern and Western Regional Governments "are more self-governing in this respect than the North because they have more Nigerians sufficiently qualified to be employed by them.[21]

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21. Self-Government - paper by the Northern Regional Government in Sokoto Provincial Files, No. 1391, Kaduna Archives, Copy with the author.

The British Administration were aware that the Northern leadership was most upset by the lack of Northerners in both the technical and clerical services of the Northern Public Service. If the British left prematurely, therefore, the Northerners felt, Southerners would dominate the Northern Public Service. This line of argument was in line with the thinking of the Northern leadership. It is in order to remedy the situation that they embarked upon the Northernisation Policy.

The British went on to intensify the pressure by observing that a "country must have a good civil service at all levels. It is possible for a country to be fully self-governing in its law-making powers and yet have to employ <u>strangers</u> in its civil service."

The strangers referred to above of course are Southerners. Other more discouraging obstacles were created in order for the Northerners to conform and live under the British paternalistic administration... They are:-

a) In a self-governing country, the leaders, whether central, regional or local must be prepared to take responsibility for their decision, and some decisions will not be popular. In the past it has often been convenient for it to be made to appear that British officials were responsible for unpopular

decisions. Examples of such decisions are:- increased taxation, rates, land acquisition, certain medical measures, and refusal of applications for promotion, up-grading, etc. If the British still remain when self-government is achieved, they will be advisers only. The responsibility for the taking of decisions will not be theirs.

b) "In the world of trade and commerce, prosperity comes by different races and countries freely trading with each other. They will only do this if they have confidence in the stability of a country. For example, no one will buy groundnuts in Northern Nigeria for export if he thinks that the Railway communication will break down through strikes, or that the local government (i.e. Native Authorities) are so ineffective that the motor roads will be impassable, or that the government at all levels is so weak that it cannot control corruption or maintain peace and order.

You must be sure that your government institution and services are sufficiently well established to provide this stability and give confidence to overseas commercial firms."

c) "The region is at present unevenly developed. In one place there may be a competent Local Government, rich enough to provide adequate services for its peoples, but another may lack this advantage and may still be undeveloped. With self-government, thought must be given as to how the undeveloped areas will be safe-guarded and developed up to the level of their neighbours."

d) "Under self -government, the British officials will only remain in the country if the leaders of the country want them to remain and if they themselves wish to. Those that do remain will do so to assist or advise but they will have no authority to intervene."

e) One final point. A country may become self- governing and yet remain in the British Commonwealth, as India had done

and it is hoped Nigeria will do.

> The commonwealth is a free association of self-governing countries with Britain as the first among equals by virtue of age and tradition. This association is very valuable to all its members particularly in the sphere of international politics and economics. It helps for instance to solve the expensive problem of self-defence. By being a member of the commonwealth, Nigeria could share in the commonwealth's defence programme in which the wealthier and elder members assist the younger and less prosperous.[22]

After brain-washing the reader - who invariably is a Northern opinion leader, the paper went on to ask some suggestive questions.

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22. See the Anglo-Nigerian Defence Pact entered into as a condition for independence. The matter was raised at the National Assembly by Chief Obafemi Awolowo and after a bloody student demonstration, the government abrogated the pact. See Gordon Idang, Nigeria, International Politics and Foreign Policy - 1950-1966, p. 41.

    Claude Phillips, Jnr. The Development of Nigeria Foregin Policy, Northwestern University Press, Evanston, Illinois, 1964; Gordon Idang, "The Politics of Nigerian Foreign Policy: The Ratification and Renounciation of Anglo-Nigerian Defence Agreement: African Studies Review", Vol. 13, No. 2 (September 1970), pp. 227-251.

People were suposed to ask one another the following questions and if the asnwer to all these questions is "yes" then "you" are ready for self-govrnment. If however, the answer to some of them is "no" then "you" may still need some external help and support. The qustions are as follows:-

a) Can the Northern Region at present provide an honest, efficient and incorrupt civil service, both in the Region and in the Native Authority, capable of administering the laws and policies outlined by the Regional and Local Governments?

b) Will the country be able to provide for its own defence?

c) Can the Regional and Local Governments big and small maintain peace, order and stability sufficiently to give people from other countries confidence to invest capital and develop trade?

d) Are your leaders, Regional and Local, prepared to take personal

responsibility for necessary decisions, however unpopular? Particularly the imposition of taxes?

e) Have your leaders developed to such a sufficient degree the sense of financial responsibility to be able to handle efficiently both Regional and Local Government finances?

f) Is there a sufficient number of people with an interest in the Region as a whole to make sure that the Regional Government will act for the benefit of all and not for the advantage only of one class, religion or tribe?

The next step taken by the British was to justify to the British Home Office that the Northern position on the self-government was not only that of a handful of their representatives, rather, it had the support of the generality of the Northern population. To this end, a "referendum" was organised by the British Administrators. The referendum took two forms - the provincial and subsidiary meetings. In the Provincial Conference which according to the report on the "referendum" is "as fully representative of all sections and classes of the community as possible, where the two resolutions already mentioned could be

debated." The subsidiary meetings consist of as many councils as possible including village councils. The resolutions were simplified and translated into eight languages.[23]

REFERENDUM IN THE PROVINCES

The Northern Nigerian population in 1953 was about 18,000,000 The "referendum" only sampled the opinion of about 1,000 or 0.01% of the population. This, in itself would have been statistically significant had it not been for the fact that those whose opinion was sought were pre-selected.

In Bauchi Province, about 106 people were consulted, 68 or 64% of these were N. A. Officials and 36% were farmers, traders and representatives of political parties. In Benue, out of 115 about 96 or 83% were N.A. officials, the rest 17% were representative of political parties. In Borno, out of 81 members, 69 or 85% were N. A. officials and the remainder 15% belong to special interest groups such as farmers, traders and political parties. In Ilorin, 100 people expressed their opinion and 94% of these were N. A. officials and the rest 6% represented farmers, traders and political parties. In Kabba, a total of 102 were convened and about 62% were N. A. official while political parties constituted

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23. Northern Region Referendum on the Constitution: Provincial Conference and Subsidiary Meetings, in Sokoto Provincial. Files No. 6390/S.I. National Archives, Kaduna. The total number of people consulted in the provinces of Northern Region was 1,00

16%. In Kano, the total was 131 and the N. A. shared 53% and 31% were farmers, traders and parties. Katsina received 100% N. A. employees or those appointed by them to represent special interests. Niger, too recorded 97% N. A. employees. Plateau recorded the lowest figure for N. A. employees, 31%; farmers alone had 36%, mission and traders had 10% and 14% respectively. Sokoto scored 98% N. A. employees while Zaria had 70%.

From the above analysis, it is clear that N. A. employees or N. A. connected members who formed both the provincial and subsidiary meetings formed about 85% of those whose opinion was sought on the self-government issue.

Their views on this matter, as far as the issue was concerned was similar to those members of the established order of which they were a part.

The question which formed the basis of the Referendum are as rendered below:-

a) As you all know, Nigeria is divided into three Regions. Firstly, the Northern Region in which the major political party is the Northern Peoples' Congress, secondly, the Western Region which is mostly Yoruba and which is led by Mr. Awolowo and the Action Group and thirdly, the Eastern Region which is

mainly Ibo, whose principal leader is Zik, the political parties being the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons and the National Independence Party.

b) Each Region has a large degree of control over its own affairs but the Central Government in Lagos has power over all three Regions.

c) The Eastern and Western Legislatures have said they wish for self-government for the whole of Nigeria in 1956, but the Northern House of Chiefs and the Northern House of Assembly have agreed that 1956 is too soon for Nigeria as a country to have self-government.

Self-government would mean that there would be an end to British rule in Nigeria and all power would be handed over to Nigerians.

Question One: Do you think that the Northern Region of Nigeria will be ready for self-government in 1956; in other words, within three years' time?

d) The Northern House of Chiefs and the Northern House of Assembly ask that each Region be given almost complete control over its own affairs including many matters which are at present controlled by the Central Government in Lagos. In this way, each Region will be able to go forward in its own way as it wishes without interferring with the other Regions.

Question Two: Do you agree with this?

e) There are of course a number of things which are the concern of all Regions or matters which Nigeria by itself cannot do. Firstly, Nigeria has a very small Army no Navy and no Air Force because it cannot afford them and it cannot therefore, defend itself from enemies from outside without the help of the British. Therefore, the Northern House of Chiefs and the Northern House of Assembly think that the defence of Nigeria and also its relations with other

countries should be a matter for a central authority acting in co-operation with the British.

Question Three: Do you agree with this?

f) More than half of the revenues of Nigeria come from Custom Duties levied on goods coming in or going out of the country. If the Regions are to be independent of each other it will be necessary for the authority at the Centre to be responsible for ensuring that each Region gets its proper share of Customs revenue.

Question Four: Do you agree with this?

g) The Northern House of Chiefs and the Northern House of Assembly think that no more laws should be made in Lagos but that they should all be made by the Regions concerned. They also think that there should not be a Government at the Centre which can say what all Regions are to do or not to do. Each Region

should be independent except for the matters of Defence, its relations with other countries, and customs.

Question Five: Do you agree with this?

h) The Northern House of Chiefs and the Northern House of Assembly think that each Region should have its own Public Service. The North wishes to have as many Northerners as possible in the Public Service and also the Europeans that they need until Northerners are trained to take their places. (emphasis added). They also wish to keep and recruit such Southern Nigerians as they need. They feel that if the North has its own Public Service it will be easier for it to obtain the people that it wishes and to train Northerners for the Public Service. If this does not happen, Northerners will not get a proper chance and the North will not get the people that it wants from abroad.

Question Six: Do you agree with this?

i) The Northern House of Chiefs and the Northern House of Assembly think that the Railway, the Air services, the Ports, the Electricity services and the Coal Mines should be in the hands of independent Corporations composed mainly of representatives from the Regions. In this way, they would not be subjected to political interference but will be concerned only with serving the people of the country.

Question Seven; Do you agree with this? [25]

It thus can be seen how the British manipulated and expoited the traditional system of Northern Nigeria in order to perpetually cling to one of its economically viable and politically prestigious colonies in the Empire. They succeeded in convincing a higher proportion of the educated elite and all of the traditional ruling class, that they have a common cause - the British and

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25. Northern Region Referendum, op.cit. Appendix F. Some of these questions were partly answered during the crisis of 1966. The pancity of Northerns in the regions vital services became glaring when Southerners fled home as a result of the anomic situation then prevailing in the North consequent upon the coup of January 15, 1966. See Haroun Adamu: Makurdi, Half a Centry of crisis op.cit. and M. E. Zuckerman, "Crisis in Nigeria: The Economic Impact on the North "in the Journal of Modern African Studeis VIII (No. 1 1970) pp. 37-54.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

THE FEDERAL SOLUTION

The collapse of the Macpherson Constitution in 1953 over the Enahoro Independence motion and other short-comings,[1] called for an early get together of prominent Nigerian leaders of thought representing extant political groupings of various shades of ideological and or geo-political positions.

One of the major faults of the Macpherson constitution of 1951, was that it neither satisfied the Federalists, notably, the Action Group led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo and the NPC led by the late Sir Ahmadu Bello nor the unitarists the NCNC and its allies, NEPU, and the MBPP, under the leadership of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe. The new constitution had powers concentrated at the centre, and leaders of governments in the various regions had very little room for manoeuvre. Above all, mutual suspicion of each other's political intention was partly responsible.

It would be recalled that at the Ibadan General Conference on the Constitution, northerners had expressed fear that the two regions in the South, i. e. West and East, would during a crucial vote, fuse themselves into a monolithic group and out-vote the North. In order to prevent this eventuality, the North demanded and got a parity in the number of legislators at the centre - national parliament. The South of course was not happy with this situation. Regarding the South, Coleman observed:

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1. See the Chapter on the Macpherson Constitution and its collapse; see also Awo, An Autobiography op.cit., pp. 239-241.

It is important that these positions are analysed in order to show how much concession each side had to make in order to preserve temporarily the fragile unity of Nigeria.

The Genesis of Federal Idea

First, Chief Obafemi Awolowo and the Action Group. Because of his political experience in Lagos, he was convinced that ethnicity would remain a dominant factor in Nigerian politics. Consequently, he advocated for a federal system of government with "as many zones, regions or states as there were linguistic or ethnic groups in the country, and each region should have a legislature of its own. A central parliament in which all the ethnic groupings would be represented should be established, while each region would be led by one of their men, Nigeria would be led by one acceptable to them all.[5] Thus, when the Egbe-Omo Oduduwa, a cultural organisation and its political wing, the Action Group, were formed, federalism, was the centre-piece of their constitutional policy. Neither the party nor the leadership changed from this position.

Indeed the position of Bode Thomas, Awo's deputy on Federalism is quite unequivocal:

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5. AWO, - "The Evolution of a Federalist" op.cit, page 163. Awo's federalist ideas were informed by the views of Indian nationalist leaders. Bode Thomas, Awo's deputy was a strong believer in federalism.

6. Bode Thomas: "Regionlisation Policy" Daily Times, Daily.Times, October 11, 1953: Sklar, R. Parties and Politics, op.cit, page 103, 37n. Dr. Azikiwe, Nnamdi, The Development of Political Parties in Nigeria, (London, 1957) page 16. See also Zik: A Selection from the Speeches of Nnamdi Azikiwe, Cambridge University Press, 1961. page 322

Similarly, the late Sardauna of Sokoto and the party he represented believed a federal set-up with a weak centre to be the best system for Nigeria. One of the principal policies of the Northern Peoples Congress was that there should be "one North, one People irrespective of religion, tribe or rank."[7]

It was not surprising therefore, when the two parties, initiated negotiations for possible coalition in August, 1952 and later in the same year, Chief Obafemi Awolowo met the Sardauna in Kaduna. From their discussions reported by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, but neither denied nor corroborated by the late Sardauna, it becomes clear that both the NPC and AG shared common political beliefs. At their meeting in Kaduna.

> Chief Awolowo said that he;
>
> stated frankly and categorically that whatever we the present leaders might do at present, the forces of self-government were presently abroad, and unless we took the lead and harnessed them into constructive channels towards the end in view, we would all be swept away by the powerful tide that was now unquestionably gathering strength.
>
> I told him (Sardauna) that after seeing some parts of the Northern Region, I had no doubt that the Region provided a fertile soil for either communism or the type of gangstar politics being propagated by some political leaders in the country. I also said that I met some of the revolutionary elements in the North. They were certainly not as opulent and influential as people like himself, but they were gathering in momentum and appeared to have a great future.
>
> I felt, I continued, that it was in the best interest of the North and of the country that neither the communist type nor the gangstar type of politics should gain ascendancy in the Northern Region. For if either of them did, then woe betide all decency, order and good faith in the country. I argued that it was urgent that he should assert his leadership by encouraging the nationalist elements aligning himself with them and moulding their

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7. P. 569 supra

efforts.[8]

This raproachement between the Sardauna and Awolowo, placed the former at a greater advantage to play a mediatory role between Chief Awolowo and the central government at the onset of the constitutional crisis. Consequently, an agreement between the two parties for coalition was signed on February 2, 1953 by M. Ahmadu Bello (Sardauna) and M. Abubakar Tafawa Balewa for the NPC and Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Chief Bode Thomas for the Action Group. Because of its significance the full text is as reproduced below:-

> Five Northern ministers, three from the Region and two from the centre, flew to Ibadan to meet the Western Regional and Central Ministers to discuss ways and means of strengthening Nigerian Unity and accelerating its progress and freedom. The meeting decided to establish a coalition between the leaders of the Northern and Western legislators with a view to their pursuing a concerted policy both in the centre and in the regions. The first meeting of the coalition will be held in Lagos in March, 1953. The meeting expressed strong desire to work in cooperation with leaders of the Eastern Region who believe in the achievement of unity and freedom of Nigeria through honesty, selfless service and orderly progress. The meeting notes that the political atmosphere in the East is clouded with confusion and uncertainty and fervently

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8. Daily Times, April 9, 1953. The Sardauna told Awo that it was as a result of coopting the radical elements. that he encouraged a North-wide tour by the Secretary of the NPC Mallam Ibrahim Imam (a radical). Shortly after the tour, Mallam Ibrahim resigned. He did so because according to him, leaders were " autocratic, irrational, not loyal and not sincere to the party's cause... The party does not accommodate my revolutionary and radical views and as such I cannot reconcile with the reactionary and imperialistic party politics." Paden, John Ahamadu Bello, op.cit., p. 152. Daily Times, April 9, 1953, p.3.

looks forward to the time when it will be possible to include in the coalition leaders from the Eastern Region.[9]

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9. Ibid., The aborted agreement, Daily Times, April 10, 1953.

About a week after the return of Bode Thomas, deputy leader of Action Group from a goodwill visit to Kaduna, (February, 1953) the Sardauna and his entourage visited Ibadan and discussed two issues, according to Chief Obafemi Awolowo. These were the non-fraternisation policy of Action Group declared by the Party and coalition between the Parlimentary bodies of the two parties.

> "In regard to the former," Awolowo said, "we stated certain conditions which must be satsified by Sir John Macpherson) before the non-fraternisation woud be lifted. They were not difficult conditions. In fact, they merely required Sir John to fulfil undertakings which he himself had given to us on June 10, 1952. In this connection, they flew to Lagos to confer with Sir John.
>
> They later returned to Ibadan. Sir John did not appear to be willing to fulfill the conditions required. Nevertheless, they appealed to us to lift the non-fraternisation because of their and our oba's intervention.
>
> We assured them we would put their request before an executive committee for consideration. With regard to the coalition, we concluded an agreement which was signed by Sardauna, Bode Thomas, Balewa and myself."

The publication of the agreement was stalled by the Sardauna group twice, according to Awolowo. When he could not hear from them, he released the pact. It does appear that since the Sardauna failed to give the go-ahead for the publication of the agreement, it meant unilateral with-drawal from the signed agreement.

Awo was angered by Jaja Wachuku and the British. Jaja Wachuku according to Awo had boasted that he would

> break the coalition which we had established with the North and then turn the tables against us by entering into one with the North. He felt that he could handle the North better; and before long he would be in control of the House of Representatives." Awo was also convinced that the British had dissuaded the Sardauna from implementing the agreement.

Neither the Sardauna of Sokoto, Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello nor Chief Obafemi Awolowo in their autobiographies explained why the most destructive and destabilising event - the Enahoro Independence motion - was allowed to feature in spite of their agreement for coalition. Sir Ahmadu Bello was simply shocked that such motion of monumental importance should be introduced without previous discussion.[10]

On his part, Chief Obafemi Awolow simply noted that the issue of self-government was one of the four basic principles of his party. It,therefore, appeared on the order paper for March 31, 1953.[11]

This position - that of Chief Obafemi Awolowo's desire to precipitate a constitutional crisis, was responsible for not consulting with his alliance partners, the NPC. On his failure to consult his party, and only secured the support of his Obas and Chiefs at the last minute, the Chief said:-

> The 1953 self-government motion was filed by Chief Anthony Enahoro without previous consultations with the party. He asked for my imprimatur and I gave it on my own responsibility. It was after the text of the motion had been published in the newspapers that the other leaders of the party knew about it. There was a sharp controversy within the party as to whether the motion should be proceeded with or withdrawn. From the very start, I knew that the

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10. My Life, op.cit page 112.

11. AWO, op.cit, page 238. He went on to explain how the motion came about but failed to explain in detail his differences with the NPC. However, for details see Daily Times, April 10, 1953 - Awo's Press Conference

majority of the leaders and the rank and file of the party supported the motion, and I made up my mind to be firm. Those who favoured a withdrawal criticised Chief Enahoro for acting impetously in the matter. I stood by him like the rock of Gibraltar; and it thus became my turn to be castigated for acting on such a momentous and grave issue without any previous consultations with my colleagues. My defence was that the policy of the party on the issue was irrevocably settled, the year, 1956 had been proclaimed by us and we had even gone to the extent of fixing a specific date in that year. The present motion did no more and no less than to reflect our declared and well-known policy.

In the circumstances, I considered it superfluous to hold further consultations with my colleagues on a matter on which the stand of the party had been settled beyond the slightest shadow of doubt.

In reply to my argument, two further points were raised. Firstly, it was pointed out from the look of things the motion might precipitate a constitutional crisis. If that happened, we would need the backing of the Obas in the Western Region, but they had not been consulted. To me, this was a serious point and was well taken, but I and a few others undertook to contact the Obas without delay and secure their support. It was to their credit that the Obas readily gave the support sought. Secondly, it was argued that it would have been much wiser if we had taken steps to carry the NPC with us on the issue of a target date before tabling a motion on it. Those of us who supported the motion felt that the best thing to do for the rapid political advancement of Nigeria was to provoke the Northern leaders out of their cast-iron shell of ultra-conservatism.

If we waited for their good time, we would never go forward at our desired pace.[12]

It is clear from the foregoing, that Chief Obafemi Awolowo had decided deliberately to "precipitate a constitutional crisis,[13] without counting the cost to the unity of his party, the Action Group, without consulting with his Obas and Chiefs who at the material time formed the bedrock of his political support; nor did he give much thought to the reaction of "ultra-conservative Northerners.[14]

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12. Ibid, pp.254-255.

13. In his reply to one of the criticisms, Chief Obafemi Awolowo declared that if they had deferred the motion, a motion in the terms of Sardauna's amendment might be moved and passed in the Northern Legislature before August. In that event, every Northern member in the House of Representatives would be obliged to vote according to the decision of their legislature - Daily Times, April 10, 1953, page 4.

14. Awo's strategy was to force a debate on the issue and break the solidarity of the Northern group. Thus, if the motion was debated, Awo had counted on a revolt by at least seven to ten Northerners who would either vote for the motion or abstain from voting, which would have ensured victory for the motion.

    The issue would not have gone to that extent, said the Chief, but for the involvement of Mr. Jaja Wachukwu. The truth of the matter, according to Chief Awolowo was, while both he and Enahoro had beg to make headway in swaying both the Sardauna and the younger Northerners, "Jaja Wachukwu and his colleagues stepped in to sow the seed of suspicion and fear in the minds of the Northern leaders. They played their part well, but the present generation and posterity will surely curse them for the despicable role they played in obstructing our onward march to liberty." - Daily Times, April 10, 1953, page 3.

Nearly three decades later, the negative impact of this episode is yet to be wiped out of the Nigeria body politic.

The Northern reaction came to pass as predicted.[15]

NPC/AG Coalition Agreement

In the AG/NPC coalition agreement, it was explicitly stated that the first meeting of the two partners would take place in March, 1953; the date remained open. There was no indication that such a meeting did take place; for if it had, one would have thought that the crucial issue of self-government would have been discussed and the modalities for its presentation agreed upon.

However, according to Chief Obafemi Awolowo, a date had been agreed upon between the two parties but at the appointed date, the Action Group delegates assembled and waited for the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC) delegation to no avail. They simply failed to show up, he said. He was of the view that the British officials, once again, had prevailed upon his Northern compatriots not to continue with the dialogue! The hurt feeling nursed by the AG leadership might have pushed the party into taking a precipitated action to introduce the motion knowing fully well that both the NPC and the British would oppose it.[16]

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15. See the Chapter on Self-Government. supra.

16. Interview with Chief Obafemi Awolowo in June 16, 1975 at his Park Lane Residence, Lagos. See Daily Times, April 10, 1953.

This may not be surprising. The British officials could have prevented a relationship, that if allowed to develop could have strengthened the unity of the country.[17] Both Okonjo and M. J. Dent agree with the view that the British officials especially Sir Bryan Sherwood Smith had encouraged the new Northern crop of nationalists not to cooperate with their colleagues from the South. Sir Bryan himself recounted his negative reaction to the NCNC national tour of 1946 when he advised that Emir of Abuja to write a letter to the government owned Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo, denying that the NCNC had an encouraging receiption in Abuja.[18]

He as Resident of Sokoto, launched the Sardauna of Sokoto, who eventually became the Northern Premier into the political arena, while his deputy, the late Makaman Bida, Alhaji Aliyu, was Sherwood Smith's protege, while as Resident, Niger Province.[19] His close relationship with Balewa has also been amply documented.[20]

A colleague of his, though of much younger generation pointed

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17. This episode coincided with the Governorship of Sir Bryan Sherwood Smith, an arch "Northerner" who groomed the pioneer leadership group as Resident of Sokoto, Niger and Kano. *and District Officer in Zaria. He did not relish the "purity"* of Northerners to be contaminated by Southerners.

18. Sir Bryan Sherwood Smith - But Always As Friends, op.cit, pp. 160-163.

19. Ibid, op.cit, pp. 162-163 and 189-192.

20. Ibid., Appendix.

While it is incontestible from the evidence above that the Northern leadership because of the British policy of isolating and insulating them from external influences, were at the mercy of the British, their Southern colleagues, notably, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, did not empathise enough as to woo them early from the spell cast by the British. The attempt was made, unfortunately, after the harm had been done.

Chief Obafemi Awolowo stood a better chance of getting the Northerners to his side. Most of the Northern leadership certainly the Sardauna and Balewa were at the constitutional conference at Ibadan. Neither Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe nor Chief Obafemi Awolowo were present there. Chief Awolowo stated -

> The All-Nigeria Conference (styled, the General Conference) for the review of the Richards Constitution met in Ibadan from January 9, 1950 to about the end of the month. I was not a member of the General Conference. When I was elected as one of the representatives of the Western Region to the General Conference, I declined... Dr. Azikiwe did not participate in the review at any level. He was elected as one of the representatives of the Eastern Region to the General Conference but he was absent throughout its proceedings.[27]

Chief Obafemi Awolowo's reason for failing to attend the

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27. Awolowo, Awo, op.cit, page 215. It was much easier for the two leaders, Awo and Zik to distance themselves from the constitution since they were not personally involved in its framing. Their parties were however strongly represented. See the Report on the General Conference on the Constitution.

General Conference is interesting. His major complaint was against his people Western Nigerians, especially the Yorubas. He stated that their performance at the Regional and General Conference for the review of the Richards Constitution had shown that they were unorganised, and were lacking in concerted programme and effective leadership. At the Western Regional Conference the spectacle of the "motely crowd which our representatives presented so nauseated me that I declined election to the General Conference."[28]

One would have thought that Chief Obafemi Awolowo stood a better opportunity to organise his team and shape their thinking at the General Conference. His failure to do so had robbed him of a singular opportunity to give his own people leadership and direction. Worse still, it denied him the opportunity to meet, confide in, and develop a long lasting friendly relationship with the potential leadership groups from both East and the North.[29]

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28. Ibid., page 215.

29. The leadership crisis that engulfed the Nigerian Youth Movement has caused much bad blood between Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe. It went beyond that. The Ibo renaissance in Lagos nearly resulted in an inter-tribal clash between the Ibo and the Yoruba. The role played by Chief Obafemi Awolowo in denying Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe a seat in the national parliament from Lagos - through the Western House of Assembly - further deepened the political gulf between the two potential leaders vying for the one seat in the Nigeria political set-up. Thus, neither of these two had any close dealing with those selected from the North by the British officialdom to speak and act on behalf of the North. AWO, opcit., pp. 346-348. Anyam, F., Men and Matters in Nigerian Politics - Lagos, ed, Okoye, Mokwugo, Storm on the Niger, Fourth Dimension.

For Chief Obafemi Awolowo, the Ikoli-Akinsanya Crisis[30] seemed to have been the watershed in his political thinking. For the aftermath of the crisis transformed him from a visionary Nigerian nationalist into one who believes that to build a Nigerian Nation, one must have a tribal base. He noted that -

> After the Ikoli-Akinsanya crisis of 1941, I lost complete touch with my few Ibo friends and colleagues; they regarded me with suspicion and I found it hard to trust them either. Furthermore, because I had dared to criticise Dr. Azikiwe publicly, I had incurred the ire of many an Easterner. At that time, too, I knew very little of the Northern Region and its politicians.[31]

In 1947, Chief Bode Thomas, Awo's deputy, had expounded a regionalisation plan which was in accord with what most Northern leaders held very dear - partial independence, from central interference. He advocated that Nigeria should be divided into three permanent regions, and three political parties to take care of each region.[32] The three parties would then join at the centre to supervise matters affecting the country in general.[33]

The advantages, according to him were -

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30. Awo, op.cit, page 248.

31. The only Northerner mentioned in Awo's Book in this early period was Mallam Jumare. He was an Under-Secretary of the NYM in 1942 - AWO, op.cit, page 120.

32. Chief Bode Thomas was the lawyer who defended the Sardauna in a case of embezzlement in Zaria - Omotoso, K., Just Before Dawn, Spectrum Books - 1988, page 65.

33. Awa, E. O., Federal Governemtn in Nigeria, op.cit, pp.28-29. Nnamdi Azikiwe, The Development of Political Parties London, pp.15-16

1) to give the persons directly concerned the exclusive right to determine issues that were their own local affairs;

2) it would produce leaders from each organisation who would join together to accept whatever political responsibilities might be granted to Nigeria in the near future; and

3) it would satisfy Northerners who had always been suspicious of Southerners, that the South had no intention of dominating the North or interferring in its domestic affairs.[34]

The three points plan by Chief Bode Thomas was not lost on the Northern leadership. In particular, his third point, of assuring Northern leadership at a time of high suspicion that Southerners were not out to dominate the North nor to interfere in their internal affairs, must have endeared him

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34. Chief Bode Thomas sterling qualities were revealed by Chief Obafemi Awolowo thus - "Our team of three was led by Chief Bode Thomas who was then my deputy. Chief Thomas was an exceptional character in a number of ways. He has a rare gift of intuition which bordered on the prophetic. Whenever we had acted in accordance with his warning and advice we had been the happier for it; but on the few occasions that we had rejected them in deference to logic, we had regretted our indiscretion. He was a brilliant lawyer with a quick and acute perseption of obstruse legal technicalities. He had a peculiar temperament which alternated with perfect ease between alluring, persuasive calm, and a roaring tempest. We all adored him for his unique endownments... AWO, pp. 258-259.

to them.[35]

Precisely, for the reason stated above, one would have thought that Chief Awolowo should have been at the Constitutional Conference to make acquaintance with the Northern politicians whom he had never known and to renew his friendship with the Easterners whose friendship he had lost since the Akinsanya crisis.

The leadership role was thus left to Chief Bode Thomas, whom the Northern politicians found agreeable and amiable. Perhaps, the politics of Nigeria would have been different if the mantle of Western leadership fell into his hands. But, he did not live long.[36]

Although, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe did not attend the Constitutional Conference, he had been in touch with the politics and the politician of the North; those in opposition, for the most part. It is

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35. Unlike Chief Obafemi Awolowo, who had no Northern politican friend, Chief Bode Thomas had as a very close family friend, Alhaji Muktar, a Kano businessman resident in Lagos, and an influential member and a founding father of the NPC. He was a special member of the Western House of Assembly representing Northern interests. Chief Bode Thomas died under suspicious circumstances. Interview with Alhaji Muktar, Lagos, 1973. Alhaji Muktar was NPC Vice-President for the Western Region - Sklar, op.cit, page 94 n. Chief Bode Thomas, who was installed the Balogun of Oyo was immersed in Oyo local politics and "died suddenly after a brief illness at the age of 34" - Ibid, op.cit, page 236.

36. See the contribution of Chief Bode Thomas in the Proceedings of the General Conference, Ibadan, January, 1950.

relevant to point out here that his papers, the Pilot and Comet gave support to opposition parties in the North. His NCNC 1946 tour of the North galvanised the Northern youth, his delegation to the United Kingdom included at least one Northerner, Bukar Dipcharima; he gave refuge to Northern nationalists in exile - such as Raji Abdallah (President General of the Zikist Movement and an executive member of the NCNC, later NPC Party Manager, Mallam Abubakar Zukogi, Mamman Bida top members of the NCNC. He appointed Mallam Sa'adu Zungur, from Bauchi to the post of Secretary General of the NCNC in 1948. He gave hope of scholarsh to Northerners in particular, Mallam Aminu Kano, though this did not materialise. He had the support of the Tiv, by supportin the collection of Relief Fund for the victims of Hausa/Tiv Riots in 1947; he supported the Birom Peoples Union with legal assistan and was later in alliance with NEPU, the main Northern opposition party and the newly formed Middle Belt Peoples Party.[37]

The Sardauna, had his prejudices of Southerners and had little opportunity to associate with them. Like Chief Obafemi Awolowo, until he shot to national political limelight, he was basically a regional politician, who was shot to national limelig as a result of the constitutional crisis in 1950 and 1953.[38]

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37. See the Chapters on Gaskiya Corporation and NEPA.

38. See the Chapters on Northern Self-Development Fund and The Rise of the Sardauna, also Paden, J., Ahmadu Bello, Hudahuda Publishing Co., Zaria, 1986.

There are of course other equally important factors which were responsible for the constitutional crisis. This crisis could however, be amicably resolved, if the coalition alliance, negotiated between the Action Group and the NPC had been allowed to work. The principal factor was the ambiguity of the Macpherson Constitution with regards to the power of appointment of senior officers.[39] Sardauna's allegation that Chief Obafemi Awolowo's initiated constitutional crisis was in order to outdo the NCNC as the foremost nationalist party should not be discounted as a contributory factor.[40] In fact, Sardauna was right, according to Chief Obafemi Awolowo -

> There has been unending argument as to which party first declared 1956 as the date for Nigeria's independence. If the truth is to be told, it was the Action Group that first made the declaration at its Owo Conference in April, 1951. It was not until August of the same year at its convention in Kano that the NCNC made a similar declaration.[41]

According to Coleman, between 1943 - 1951, there had been ma ny calls for the British withdrawals in principle but no specific date was mentioned. He went on to assert that -

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39. AWO, op.cit., pp. 232-233; and Awolowo, O., Adventures in Powers - My March Through Prison, pp. 206-208.

40. Sklar, R., op.cit, page 129.

41. AWO, op.cit, page 251. Zik's Atlantic Charter drafted on the high seas in 1943 called for independence in 15 years, which puts his deadline for 1958 - Coleman, op.cit, pp. 238-239.

> The first explicit target date advocated by an organised nationalist body was the year 1956... The date was first declared a nationalist goal by the National Rebirth Assembly which met in Lagos on March 27, 1951 for the purpose of recommending changes in the organisational structure and constitution of the NCNC in preparation for the electoral campaign later that summer. At its Owo Conference, the following month, the Action Group decided, that Nigeria must be free 'within five years.' In the subsequent electoral contest between the NCNC and the Action Group in the Western Region (including Lagos), politicians and their followers became irrevocably committed to, if not prisoners of, the mutual target date, their electoral competition had established.[42]

There, therefore, were the three who were to determine the fate of Nigeria, at the epoch making event - the self-government of 1956 motion moved by Anthony Enahoro. It had already been pointed out that the NPC/AG coalition collapsed, principally because the British desired that it should, and in order to hit at the British who stood between him and his Northern colleagues, Chief Obafemi Awolowo decided to go for broke. Thus, the motion - and the misunderstanding that caused Nigeria its future.[43]

The crisis that followed the introduction of the self-government motion has been treated in a separate chapter.

Suffice it to say that it saw the end of the new understanding

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42. Coleman, op.cit, page 398, see also n. 41. page 475.

43. Awo had disagreed with this view. But throughout the three page long press release, the British wedge between Sardauna and himself wounded him - Daily Times, April 10, 1953.

between the West and the North and brought about a temporary marriage of convenience between the West and the East. The marriage of convenience between AG and NCNC was consummated in an accord to be implemented in two phases. The first phase was that of coalition during the succeeding parliamentary sittings; and the second was prior to the London Constitutional talks. During the first phase, the two parties agreed to the following (1) the motion for self-government in 1956 would be relisted at the next meeting of the House; (2) efforts would be made to ensure that the House would be reconvened for that purpose as soon as possible; (3) the central ministers would be free to speak and vote on the motion when it was made.[44]

The second phase of the accord could not be implemented because no such opportunity presented itself, for when the Northerners got home, they organised themselves and protested against the treatment meted them in the South. This protest culminated in the Kano riots and subsequent meeting of the Northern leadership in which they came close to seceding from Nigeria.[45] As a compromise, a "point eight programme" was adopted which would reduce Nigeria

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44. Sklar, R.,op.cit, page 129, n.94 quoted from Daily Times, April 4, 1953.

45. See the Chapter on Self-Government and the collapse of Mcpherson Constitution, supra.

from the quasi-federal system it was to a confederation.[46]

Perhaps, the British needed such crisis that engulfed Nigeria to jolt them from their complacent mood about Nigeria's constitutional development; perhaps it was too much a jolt that even if the cracks were patched up, it would leave, for eternity, a sour taste in Nigerian communal and regional relations. The latter, in my view, is more correct, though, the British took immediate steps to rectify the defects of the Macpherson Constitution whose operation gave rise to the explosion that nearly rocked the foundation of Nigeria's existence as a single national entity.

Shortly, after the May riots in Kano and about the time the Northerners had begun to call for a confederation, the colonial office, invited representatives of various political organisations

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46. See "Collapse of the Macpherson Constitution," and Sklar, op.cit, page 132, n.99. Southern reaction to the confederation proposal was predictable. According to Awo - "Leaders from Southern Nigeria charged that these proposals were inspired by a memorandum prepared in 1939 by a Colonial Office official and that expatriate officials in Nigeria has guided the NPC to see them. Nevertheless, there were other sources from which the NPC could have drawn inspiration not the least important of which were the reorganisation theory of Bode Thomas, the arrogance and vindictiveness of the major Southern leaders and the broad hints of the Colonial Secretary in his speech in the House of Commons in May of the same year." The NPC, on their part, Awo went on, defended themselves on the ground that (1) "the NCNC and AG had introduced party politics for which there was no constitutional provision, into the central legislature; (2) the existing constitution proved unworkable; and (3) Southern leaders treated Northerners with contempt and regarded them as tools of expatriate officials. Awa, E., Federal Government in Nigeria, page 46. See also, Awolowo, O., Thoughts on Nigerian Constitution, Oxford University Press, pp. 1-18, 1966. See Oyinbo, supra.

to London for a review of the derailed Macpherson Constitution. The major parties were led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo (AG) Chief Nnamdi Azikiwe (NCNC) and the Sardauna of Sokoto, Ahmadu Bello (NPC). There were smaller parties, such as the NEPU and its allies, the Nigerian Independence Party (NIP). In all, they were 19 delegates and 39 advisers.[47]

The position of the major parties were very clear, each had a trump card; the North, i.e. the NPC had its confederation proposal but could settle for federation if the terms were acceptable; the West (AG) and East (NCNC), had self-government but were divided on the issue of federalism; the minority parties, especially, the NEPU, were concerned about individual freedom and democratisation i.e. one man one vote, direct and secret balloting to be conducted all over the region, at the same time.

NCNC/AG in Secession bid

Shortly before the conference, the NCNC and the AG had entered into a secret agreement in which they threatened to secede from the country if their demands were not met. The salient points of the agreement were -

> Federalism was accepted in principle with the temporary assignment of residual powers to the regions. The central legislature would either be bi-cameral, or would provide for equal representation of Regions in a uni-cameral chamber. The demand for self-government in 1956 would be renewed. Should the North remain implacably opposed, the Alliance would demand that a Constituent Assembly be called to prepare

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47. AWO, op.cit, page 46. Bello says there were 46 advisers - My Life, op.cit. page 116.

> for self-government in 1956. In the event of a refusal of the Secretary of State for the Colonies to cooperate, the Alliance would summon a constituent assembly of Southern Nigeria, draft a Constitution and declare the independence of Southern Nigeria. The question of the status of Lagos would be deferred for the time being pending discussions on the constitution of a self-governing Nigeria.[48]

The two leaders did not stop there. They passed notice officially on the Governor that if their demands were not met, they would secede. They declared in a joint letter that:-

> This....is the last constitution conferring dependent status which we are willing to operate. The constitution will come to an end in ....1956 or by earlier breakdown or abrogation. If any of these.... events occur, we demand that Britain, in all friendly spirit, should accord us Dominion Status within the British Commonwealth of Nations. If she refuses to do so, we will unhesitatingly declare our independence and proceed to assert it

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48. Sklar, op.cit, page 129, Fn.92 quoted from Daily Times, November 27, 1953. There was a deep seated disagreement between the two parties with regards to how the NPC should be treated. "The case of the NCNC, and the plea of British officials" according to Awo, "were that we should take it easy with the NPC leaders. I thought this was a mistaken policy. Those who aspire to political leadership must on no account be sheltered from the hard knocks which a political career in a democracy inevitably entails. Besides I am convinced that the separation of the North from the rest of Nigeria would of a certainty lead to economic disast for the North. No sane Northern leaders, in my view, would ever try it, however, much they may threaten to attempt it." AWO, op.cit, page 253. The Sardauna of Sokoto substan was in accord with the economic argument pointed out by Awo but would differ with the methods employed by Awo to achieve democracy - My Life, op.cit., pp.115-130.

whatever the consequences might be.[49]

This was the furthest threat so far anyone had made to the existence of Nigeria as a single entity.

Two important issues need to be raised here. First, the threat of secession by the Southern leaders if their demand especially that of self-government were not met and the divergent opinion held by the two parties in relation to the position of Lagos. It is self-evident, that if they were to have succeeded in seceding from the rest of the country, the issue of Lagos would have caused another split rendering the two component units as independent territories. The disagreement over Lagos was to come later.

As it turned out, the alliance lasted only four months; it was hatched in April and collapsed in August, 1953. The issue of Lagos was the cause of the collapse of the alliance.

As for the achievement of the London conference Chief Awolowo remarked:-

> In the first place, the unity of Nigeria was saved by the alliance (NCNC/AG). The NPC had gone to the 1953 conference with a proposal that Nigeria should be transformed into a confederation or a customs union in which each of the three regions would enjoy a status slightly short of that of a sovereign state. The proposal was resisted by the Action Group - NCNC alliance and mightily backed by Lord Chandos. Then, one morning at the

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49. Awolowo and Zik to Sir John Macpherson quoted in Coleman, op.cit, page 402; see also, Tamuno, Tekena, Separatist Agitation in Nigeria, JMAS, (8, 1970).

> conference, the Sardauna, who had not until then uttered a word, broke his silence and declared that he agreed that Nigeria should continue as a federal union. He was cheered; and for his generous 'concession' in this regard, Lord Chandos awarded Lagos to him as Federal Territory.[50]

Chief Obafemi Awolowo further stated that the alliance shifted Zik's stance from a unitarist to a federalist. On the issue of self-government in 1956, over which the two parties had agreed to secede if the demands were not met, he pointed out that their demand was met half way "when a declaration was made that in 1956 Her Majesty's government would grant to those Regions which desired it full Self-government, in respect of all matters within the competence of the Regional government."[51]

Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe on his part, accepted federalism in order to entice the Northern leadership to drop their demand for a confederal system of government reducing Nigeria to a mere custom union. The Sardauna dropped the idea of confederation when Lagos was excised from the West.

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50. AWO, op.cit, page 243.

51. Ibid, page 244. The Sardauna in his own account confirmed Awo's statement that he remained silent throughout the deliberation until according to the Sardauna after 5 days of discussions when he spoke in favour of a federal system of government. He however, regretted that he had to abandon the 'Eight Point Programme' which he was mandated to pursue. In spite of that however, for him it was victory for the NPC. Bello, My Life, op.cit, page 180.

Among the most important decisions reached in London were (1) that Nigeria should be truly federal state; i.e. with limited and specific powers allocated to the federal government, and the residual powers to the Regions; (2) Regional governments would be controlled by Nigerian ministers who would be in charge of their departments with a Nigerian Premier as the head; (3) issue of self-government for whichever region that decided to have it, was resolved.

In accepting a federal solution to a territory already divided into three disproportionate Regions that were given greater powers at the expense of the centre, the Nigerian leaders of the major parties representing the three regions, could be said to have knowingly sown the seed for future conflict. For, in both territorial size and population, Northern Region alone is equal if not larger than the two Regions - East and West put together.

One of the essential conditions for the workabiliy of a federal system is as John Stuart Mills[52] says:-

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52. Mills, J. S., Representative Government. (Everyman ed.) pp.367-8 quoted in Wheare, K.C., Federal Government, Galaxy Books, NY., 1964, pp.50-51. See also Oyovbaire, S. Egite, 'The Theory of Federalism - A critical Appraisal,' Nigerian Journal of Political Science. Vol. I, No. 1, June 19, 1979, pp.78-91.

Ume A. Eleazu, Federalism and Nation Building - The Nigerian Experience, 1954-64. (Iltracombe - Stockwell, 1977); Ballard, J. A., "Administrative Origins of Nigerian Federalism" African Affairs, Vol. 70. October, 1971.

> that there should not be any one state so much more powerful than the rest as to be capable of vying in strength with many of them combined. If there be such a one, and only one, it will insist on being master of the joint deliberations, if there be two, they will be irresistable when they agree; and whenever they differ everything will be decided by a struggle for ascendancy between the rivals.[53]

In spite of the difference in size, Sir Authur Richards, the real author of Incremental Federalism by creating some three semi-autonomous regions had observed that 'Nigeria falls naturally into three regions, the North, the West and the East..."[54]

Although, the two leaders, Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe had seen the need for the breaking-up of the country into smaller and more manageable units, yet when the time came to pursue the issue before settling for a federal system, they remained silent.[55] The Sardauna, for his part, would not concede

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53. Mills, J. S. could not have forseen a country like Nigeria when he made the above assertion. Hardly had the federation was announced when groups demanded the break-up of the various regions, such that from a modest demand of one in the North, we have 12; from one in the West, we have 5; from one in the East, we equally have 5. Thus bringing the total to 21 states where at the birth of the Federation in 1954 only 3 had existed.

54. Nigeria Sessional Paper No. 4 CMD. 6599 (1945) quoted in S. Egite Oyovbaire Federalism in Nigeria, Macmillam Publishers, 1985, page 31.

55. For their ideas on creation of states, see Zik, N., Political Blueprint of Nigeria, op.cit, and Awolowo, O. Path to Nigerian Freedom.

to the break-up of the North since to him Northern Nigeria was a political entity carved out by his great great grand-father, Shuhu Usman Dan Fodio. Each leader, therefore, stood to lose if the extant Regional arrangement were disturbed. Professor Awa puts it more succintly:-

> That the three major parties and their leaders sought strong regions at the expense of the Federal government, primarily in their individual interests, is borne out by the following facts - The equilibrium among these parties could easily have been disturbed by a shift in the main sources from which they drew their strength, and any one of them might have suffered reverses. For instance, if the regions were split into smaller unites to accommodate the main ethnic groups, new parties and leaders would certainly emerge, as Nigerian nationalism tended to develop along ethnic lines... In view of this power configuration, the leaders of the three major parties advocated not only retention of existing regional boundaries, but also expansion of the functions and powers of the regional governments... It is difficult to avoid such conslusion, for both Azikiwe and Awolowo had previously regarded the size of regional units as a fundamental problem in Nigerian Constitutionalism and both had advocated more than three regions.56

The question of the break-up of Nigeria into smaller units ante-dated the period of nationalist agitation. E. D. Morrel, suggested the breadk-up of the country into four units even

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56. Awa, E. O. op.cit., page 47.

before the amalgamation.[57]

C. L. Temple, a Lieutenant Governor of the North advocated the break-up of the country into seven provinces. According to his plan, the North should be broken into three - Hausa States, Benue Provinces and Chad Territory; and four in the South, i.e. Lagos Colony, Western, Central and Eastern Provinces.[58] By 1939, the British had themselves divided the South into two regions with River Niger as the boundary.

In 1943, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe proposed the division of the country into eight protectorates.[59]

Chief Awolowo's position is reflected in the recommendation of Western Regional Conference to the Ibadan Constituent Assembly.

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57. Morrel, E. D., Nigeria, Its People and Its Problems: London, 1912. The four divisions were as follows - Northern or Sudan Province - comprising regions were Islamic civilization had been well established, i. e. Kano, Sokoto, Borno and Zaria; (2) Central Province, consisting of non-moslem areas of Zaria, Nassarawa, Bauchi, Niger, Yola and Muri Provinces, (3) Western Province, Oyo, Abeokuta, Ondo, Benin, Kabba, Ilorin, Borgu, Warri and Ijebu Provinces; (4) Eastern Province, consisting former Eastern Region with Benue Rivers as its Northern boundary. See Ibid, page 8.

58. Western, Central and Eastern Provinces, Crowder, M., The Story of Nigeria, op.cit., page 197.

59. (1) Northern - Katsina, Kano Zaria Provinces (2) North-Western - Sokoto, Niger, Ilorin Provinces; (3) North-Eastern - Borno, Bauchi, Adamawa Provinces (4) Central - Kabba, Benue, Plateau Provinces; (5) Southern - Warri, Benin, Onitsha, Owerri Provinces; (6) South-Western - Ondo, Ijebu, Abeokuta, Oyo, Lagos Provinces; (7) South-Eastern - Calabar, Ogoja Provinces; (8) Cameroons - Southern and Northern. Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe - The Blueprint of Nigeria, Lagos, page 11. See also Chief Obafemi Awolowo's criticism of Zik's proposals - Awo, op.cit., page 167.

Like the other two regions, the West recommended a fedral system of government; though unlike them, it should be "formed on an ethnic and/or linguistic basis," but it explicitly stated that the three Regional arrangements should be retained.[60]

The Political, Economic and Citizenship implication of Federalism

POLITICAL

The Nigerian type of Federalism along with India and Pakistan has been described as federations "in reverse." These types of federations "evolved by way of political evolution from former unitary colonial structures. In this type of system there would be the tendency "to want to give the centre more powers than it is, in fact, capable of exercisin

Incessant - demand for state creations, such as had begun to surfac in Nigeria during the mid-fifties, had been a special feature of the three federations 'in reverse'. In this type of federation

> Movement for new states based on tribal, linguistic or ethnic affinities, have owned their origin to the argument that colonial provincial boundaries are quite antificial and thus fail to reflect the real diversities. Consequently, they enable the majority groups to discriminate against the minority enclaves they control --- Demands for state reorganisation in India, Pakistan and Nigeria had an important impact on Federalism. It is difficult for a new federation to settle down to economic development if there is an acute uncertainty as to what the number and size of the constituent units

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60. Awolowo, O. Thoughts on the Nigerian Constitution, op.cit., page 7. Professor Awa's claim quoted earlier on the selfishness of the Nigerian leadership with regards to holding their political bases is amply justified.

should be. [61]

By 1955 the parties formed on ethnic basis especially in the North (MZL, MBPP, TPU, IHRU, etc) coalesced into one political organisation with one singular objective, that of forcing the hands of the Britsih administration to carve out a Middle Belt State out of the massive Northern Region. The same demand was also made in the East for the creation of Calabar, Ogoja and Rivers (COR) states; while in the West, the creation of Mid-West was demanded. Prior to handing over the reigns of power to Nigerians in 1960, the British government set up the Henry Willinks Commission[62] to ascertain the fears of minorities in the three Regions but recommended against the creation of the demanded states.

However within seven years of gaining independence, Nigeria had been split into 12 states. As more pressure was mounted on government, more states were created until by 1987 the number had jumped to 21 states. The demand for more states has not abated.

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61. Cannell, F. G. - "Political Implications of Federalism" in U. K. Hicks, F. G. Cannell, et al (editors) Federalism and Economic Growth in Underdeveloped Countries: A symposium, London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London, P. 53-54.

62. Report of the Commission (Appointed to Enquire into the Fears of Minorities and the Means of Allaying Them (Chairman, Sir Henry Willink), 1958

63. See Report of Panel(Chairman. Justice Ayo Irikefe) Appointed to investigate the issue of the Creation of More States and Boundary Adjustments in Nigeria (1975) also see A. D. Yahaya, "The Creation of States' in S. K. Panter-Brick (edi) Soldies and Oil: The Political Transformation of Nigeria, (London Frank Cass, 1987).

Economic

There is a dearth of economic arguments by the nationalist leaders for the forms of political associations they desired for Nigeria - either unitary or federalism. Towards the end of the 40's and the early 50's the most important economic issue was the revenue allocation formula to be adopted. The North, in particular felt that it was not getting its fair share from the national revenue - that is, it was getting less than what it was contributing.[64] It therefore recommended that revenue should be allocated on the basis of population - having the largest population and at the same time contributing the largest in taxes.

At the Ibadan General Conference, the North made a case for 50% share of the national revenue. This was stubbornly opposed, but a commission was agreed upon which was to study and make recommendations.[65]

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64. For the details of the economic benefits in a federal system, see the scheme adopted by W.T. Newlyn where he suggested two motives.- amalgamation motive and separation motive - the motive for amalgamati is believed to be "the hope of some general economic advantage" to the whole unit; separation motive, on the other hand mean "a divergence of economic interest between the units leading to the desire to remain independent." The economic arguments by the propone of federalism had not been adequately brought out similarly, the unitarist position maintained by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, had an economic implication which has all along been subsumed by the political motive Newlyn, W. T. - "The Role of Fiscal and Monetary Policy in Federalism and Economic Growth" - op.cit, page 90.

65. The Commission stated four basic principles to be followed in its assignment. These were - (i) Equality (Justice); (ii) Liberty; (iii) Fraternity and (iv) Efficiency. Ezera, Kalu, Constitutional Development in Nigeria, op.cit, page 148.

The revenue, according to the Commission was to be shared out on the basis of three main principles - Derivation, Needs and National interest.[66]

As a result of the changes brought by the 1954 Constitution which devolved more powers to the regions, each of the region got some money from the Marketing Boards. The West according to Chief Obafemi Awolowo got £34 million.[67]

Raji Abdallah's criticism in 1948 of the way and manner the nations revenue was shared and spent especially on Education set the pace for the furore over the "inequitable" system of revenue allocation.

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66. Ibid, page 149; On this basis, the revenue of 1950-51 "would be £3.5m for the North, £3.2m for the West and £2.5m for the East. The financial position of the East remained unchanged: the North and West gained £1m and £4m respectively." The North was given a capitation grant of £2m so that the North could "make up for difficiencies in equipment." Ibid, pp. 149-150. For details see Hazelwood, Arthur, "The Finances of Nigerian Federation," West Africa, August 27, 1955.

67. Awolowo, O., Awo: An Autobiography, op.cit, page 276. The economic implications of adopting the 'Wheare Model' of Federalism. Dudley was to observe, that of strong regions and weak centre, brought about a reversal, where the regions had to depend on the centre for financial aid. "Economic factors, on the other hand, have gradua altered the working basis of the model by tending to sorbordinate the regions to the centre which is now being called upon to give a necessary lead to the regions - Dudley, O. J., Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria, op.cit, page 272. For Revenue Allocation Formul see Phillips, A. O. "Nigeria's Federal Financial Experience," - Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 9 (1971). Oyevbaire, S.E. 'The Politics of Revenue Allocation' in K. Panter-Brick (ed). Soldier and Oil: The Political Transformation of Nigeria, (London. Frank Cass, 1976). Phillips, A. O. "Revenue Allocation in Nigeria, 1970-8 - Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies, Vol. 17, 1975, Phillips, A. O. Three Decades of Intergovernmental Financial Relation in the Federation of Nigeria, Quarterly Journal of Administration (Ife) Issue 5, 1971 and Rupley, L. A. "Revenue Sharing in the Nigeria Federation" Journal of Modern African Studies - (19, 1/981); and Teriba, O. Nigerian Revenue Allocation Experience, 1952-1965: A Study in Intergovernmental Fiscal and Financial Relations, Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies - 8 (1966).

He directed his attention to Lagos -

> I contend that Lagos (with due deference to her position as the capital of Nigeria today) is only an infinitestimal part of the whole vastness known as Nigeria. If "a Nigeria went to Smithreens, there could possibly be no Lagos." But "a Lagos" might go "earth to earth" and ashes to ashes and dust to dust" and there yet remain enough of Nigeria to live on, comfortably.

In Lagos, he wrote, Yorubas from the various kingdoms can be found. There were people of different ethnic groups who have made Lagos their home.

Raji was worried about the pace of development of Lagos, with revenue which according to him was Nigerian.

The statistics he provides went beyond the issue of Lagos. The estimate of revenue for the year 1943 showed the following -

TABLE 9 - I
General Tax:

Northern Provinces	-	£500,000.00
Eastern "	-	£122,000.00
Western "	-	£125,000.00
Colony (Lagos)	-	£ 5,000.00

TABLE 9 - II
Livestock Tax

Northern Provinces	-	£120,000.00
Eastern "	-	£ 2,000.00
Western "	-	£ 50,00
Colony (Lagos)	-	N i l

Raji then compared the revenue figure to that of expenditure on education alone:-

TABLE 9 - III

Northern Provinces	-	£ 2,341.00
Eastern "	-	£47,000.00
Western "	-	£34,000.00
Colony (Lagos)	-	£17,000.00

Although Raji's grouse was with Lagos getting a big share - but the general picture itself encouraged people like RAji to conclude that the North was not getting its fair share out of the nations revenue substantial part of which was derived from its area. This point was made by Mallam Bukar Dipcharima at the NCNC delegation meeting with the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London.[68]

Northernisation Policy

This policy, that of providing employment for Northerners only in the Northern Region was a natural outcome of the development of a separate Northern identity within the context of a united Nigeria. The poor attention the British paid to the development of Western Education in the North resulted in the paucity of manpower which the massive region needed if it was to develop economically. Thirdly, there was the fear of the extent to which people from the South could be dependent upon

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68. Raji Abdallah, "Signing our Death Warrant," typescript - September 1948, copy with the author. The Northern insistence by the Western leadership to excise Lagos from the West, can be traced to Raji's calculations. Lagos could not gulp the nation's resources and yet remain an integral part of the Western Region, hence the pressure for it to be excised from the West and be developed as a separate Federal Capital Territory. See the Current Debate in the Constituent Assembly on the Status of Abuja (1988-9).

with government confidential and security matters.[69]

This policy was one of the concrete reactions by the Northern governing elite to Northern Nigeria's years of isolation and relative socio-economic backwardness wis-a-vis the South. The policy had been in practice, though informally, from the time of Lugard and was only formalised when the Northern elite were at the threshold of taking contro of the operations of government.

Lugard's policy on the discrimination against Southerners in the Public Service of Northern Nigeria was made in the form of personal conviction which he and those who believed in him and the policy applied. Writing about Native Education Policy in Northern Nigeria, Lugard declare

> Naturally, half educated or ignorant youths from the coast are not so reliable a class as I would wish to see placed in position where money responsibility is incurred. They do not speak Hausa... The Mohammadan educated classes will become (as they already show of becoming) the staunch supporters of British rule that they have always been.[70]

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69. Indeed one of the main reasons for pushing this policy vigorously, according to Alhaji Adamu Tafawa Balewa, was the incessant leakage of government secrets to the West African Pilot in the 40's. The British, he said, had traced the sources to the Southern clerical staff in the Government Secretariat, Kaduna and in the Native Administration Headquarters and government Provincial Offices all over the Region. Adamu Tafawa Balewa interview, Bauchi, August 27, 1987.

70. Lugard to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, September 26, 1906. National Archives, Ibadan).

Some other enthusiastic Lugardists over-stepped their bounds and went beyond Lugard in implementing the policy. One such officers was Mr. W. R. Crocker, who wrote the following in his diary in 1933;-

> "all the 15 contractors were Ibos and Yorubas. Hence, all but four or five have been discharged and the contracts are being given to responsible Idomas (Northerners) who, I find to do the work just as well, more honestly, and with less strife between them and the labourers."[71]

The true feelings of the Northern Nigerian educated elite on Northernisation Policy emerged in reaction to the Nigerian Government's Policy on Nigerianisation.[72]

In June, 1948, the Governor of Nigeria, Sir John Mcpherson appointed the Nigerianisation Committee (the Foot Commission) to make recommendation on the recruitment and training of Nigerians for the senior service positions. The Commission made the following recommendations:-

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71. Crocker, R. W., A Critique of British Colonial Administration: George Allen and Unwin, 1936. Diary entry of November 20, 1933.

72. In 1948, Dr. R. A. B. Dikko mentioned at a party meeting that such a policy was being pursued. The Chapter on Northern Peoples Congress, (NPC) p. 547 supra; also see Mallam Abubakar Imam's position at the Ibadan General Conference on public service in 1942 - chapter on Gaskiya Corporation. pp. 241-314 Supra.

a) that Nigerians should be appointed as fast as suitable candidtes with the necessary qualifications come forward;

b) that there should be a body with unofficial representation to judge suitability;

c) that there should be a special efforts to provide scholarships and training courses for the service to ensure that the necessary qualifications were obtained and candidates did come forward;

d) that there was also to be a recognition of the special claims of the Regions.[73]

Between August and December, 1948, the Northern educated elite began to grumble about the eventual effect of the policy on Northern Nigeria. This grumbling later surfaced in the form of editorials in the influential, semi-official vernacular newspaper 'Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo.' In it, the Editor exlaimed: "what a fantastic Term - Nigerianisation-: This is something at once to be happy and to be angry about." "In the South" the Editor pointed out, "this is a happy turn of events, unlike in the North, where it is the opposite. If one thinks a little, one would understand

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73. Nicolson, I., "The Machinery of the Federal and Regional Government," in Nigerian Government and Politics, J. I. Mackintosh (edit), George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, page 170. See also Phillipson, Sir Sydney and ADebo, S. O., The Nigerianisation of the Civil Service The Government Printer, Lagos, 1954.

why this term, instead of bringing joy to the hearts of Northerners it has brought sadness." The Editor asserted that in the view "of most Northerners, indeed including the Emirs," this competition would lead the North through disastrous paths."

It was the editor's view, it was the civil servants who actually run the machinery of the government, with Emirs and Chiefs playing the second fiddle.

"We do not," he maintained, "understand government policy. We are afraid the North might willy nilly fall into the abyss that the Emirs and Civil servants so much dreaded. We have continuously asked the government to make our share available to us out of that money voted for Nigerianisation, because we cannot compete with the South. But it has been maintained that the North must compete with the South for the money though her failure to get anything out of it is a forgone conclusion. God is great! (Allah Akbar)."

He lamented that the North's "deteriorating position is already noticeable. At the University of Ibadan, he pointed out "there are about 120 students. These are the ones under intensive training to displace the Europeans. Out of these students, only THREE are from the North. The failure which we much feared for the North had already begun."

He made the following recommendations:-

a) Northern elders, civil servants should not stop making their demands for their own share of the Nigerianisation money. Northerners should

actually determine what the share should be and demand it:

b) the educated elite of the North like Shetima Kashim (Sir Kashim Ibrahim) should be promoted to the rank of senior service, though they do not possess the required degree;

c) if the money was made available and Northerners were raised to senior service status, they should be sent to the United Kingdom and United States of America for advance study for a year or two;

d) the youthful and the brilliant ones among the Northern students and workers, should be offered scholarships to work on their London Matriculation which would lead them into the University, or alternatively, a special class be opened for such a study in one of our secondary schools.[74]

See 779

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74. 'Nigerianisation' An editorial on Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo, December 15, 1948. The Editor, Mallam Abubakar Imam was member and later Chairman of the Northern Public Service Commission where he implemen the Northernisation Policy - of which he was one of the principal architects. These recommendations should have come at least a decad earlier. For Abubakar Imam, this was a major change of position. In 1942, he declined to append his signature on the "Atlantic Charte drawn up by Zik seeking among other things, a specific number of scholarships. Although, he rejected the idea then, he however, added, that someday, he would champion the cause himself. Perhaps the day had dawned. The Northern leadership were faced with a real crisis situation to which they had no answer. Cf, the Chapter on "Gaskiya Corporation" pp. 241-329 supra.

Another important personality, Mallam Ahmadu RAbah, the Sardauna of Sokoto expressed a similar opinion in a different way in 1948. Contributing to a debate in the Northern House of Assembly, the Sardauna said:-

> I am sorry to have to make the following remark at this juncture, namely: do my honourable friends realise that with the approach of retirement of senior officers leaving behind some who do not care much about our customs, we are being left to steer a perilous course between the Scylla and Charybidis.[75]

Two years after this speech, he became the parliamentary leader of the NPC in the House and eventually, the Premier of the North in 1954. With him as Premier, and Imam as an important member of the Public Service Commission and later Chairman, the implementation of the Northernisation Policy could no longer be impeded.[76]

By 1952, the Foot Commission Report came for review. Sir Sydney Phillipson and Mr. Simeon Adebo were requested to compile a report on the progress made on the Nigerianisation since 1948.[77]

Shortly after taking office, the new Northern Regional Executive Council met and decided that:-

a) No appointment for non-expatriate officers other

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75. Northern House of Assembly Debates, December 3, 1949, page 57.

76. See Paden, Ahmadu Bello, op.cit, pp. 137-172.

77. Between 1948 and 1952 - the following developments had taken place. Political parties had been formed on regional basis; a quasi-federal system of administration has been established.

than those of Northern origin should be made without prior consultation with the Lieutenant Governor;

b) If there is a suitable Northerner with the necessary qualifications, available, he should be appointed in preference to other claimants.[78]

On reviewing the Northern position, Phillipson and Adebo sympathised with the position in which the Northern Regional Government found itself adding that it was "a perfectly natural desire of any community which in the case of the North, must, owing to the present paucity of suitable and qualified Northerners take the form of keeping the places open for their own people."[79]

By the time the Report was published, the Lyttleton Constitution, which ushered in a federal system with powerful regions had been promulgated. The new administration in the North had the task of defining who a Northern should be:-

1. A Northerner, is a person who, by descent from his or her father is a member of a tribe or a community of people indigenous of Northern Region. Aby case of doubt as to whether a particular person possesses the required membership of a tribe or a community indegenous to Northern Region shall be decided by the Public Service Commission.

2. Any other person may be deemed by the Public Service Commission in its absolute discretion

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78. Phillipson, Sir Sydney and Adebo, S. - The Nigerianisation of the Civil Service - The Government Printer, 1953. page 63.

79. Ibid., page 63

to be a Northerner if he or she possesses either of the following qualifications:-

a) he or she resides in a community indigenous to Northern Region and is, in the opinions of the Public Service Commission accepted by the Community as one of themselves;

b) his (or her) another was a Northerner.[80]

From 1954 onwards, the Nigerian Federal System would be plagued by the issues considered in this Chapter - (i) the political implications - state creation and the system of government to be adopted - parliamentary or Presidential; (ii) the economic implication - Revenue allocation - the size of Federal share vis-a-vis that of the states and the disposal of economic and industrial opportunities throughout the federation and finally statism - and the Federal character and citizenship issues.

These issues are yet to be resolved 34 years after. At the time of writing they dominate the debates at the Constituent Assembly which was set up in May, 1988.

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80. Northerners' DEfinition of: A Directive from the Government of the Northern Region "File No. 8 EST.57. October 27, 1955. National Archives. Kaduna. See also the NPC Memorandum to UK Parliamentarians as Northernisation Policy - Daily Service, November 23, 1953.

CONCLUSION

There is very little doubt that the Indirect Rule system of Administration and its concomitant constitutional, social, political and economic policies pursued by the British in Northern Nigeria has been mainly responsible for the slow emergence of an agressive and adversary nationalism in the territory. The delibrate denial of general enlightenment and formal education to the people of the North robbed the area of an opportunity to form an elite class whose size and exposure would have placed them in the vanguard of political organisations.

Early attempts to form organisations whose objectives were found to be inimical to the imperialislic interest of the British were nipped in the bud. The British were, however, more than willing to support any organisation that had no connection with the South and Southern nationalist leaders and newspaper proprietors; so long as those organisations agreed to utilise the political structures recognised by the Indirect Rule System - The Traditional ruling elite.

In this connection, the chapter on the Making of a New Oligarchy is of great importance to the understanding of the recruitment and training of both the political and bureaucratic leaders not only of the North but of Nigeria as well.

The British colonial policy had succeeded in setting the parameters and criteria for the recruitment of its successors. They did not live it to chance, for they have a lot at stake -

First, in order to safeguard their current and future investments, and also the largest market for their manufactured goods and service (Finance and Insurance) industries.

Secondly, to safeguard British values manifested in the adoption of West-minister model of the parliamentary system and an open economic system which will guarantee trade libralisation and ensure importation of British capital goods and services.

The suppression by the British in the early 50's of radical parties, such as communist cells and Zikist Organisation and marginalisation of progressive parties and Trade Union groups, has set a tradition of anti - radical tendency among the ruling elites - the successors to the British colonial administration. This class of the ruling elite is found in the political, business and bureaucratic sectors, including the security services.

It can be observed from the political history of the country since independence that the North due to the special relationship with the British, analysed in the thesis, has been the support base of the British. Ironically, it has also become, as Chief Obafemi Awolowo confirmed in 1951, the hot bed of radicalism and extremism. This can be explained by the presence of those factors (hither to absent) whose presence or absence, promote or impede respectively the emergence of aggressive and adversary nationalism. Until now, all those who have ruled Nigeria be they civilian or military have come out of the British plan and strategy for keeping Nigeria within its camp, economically and ideologically.

The next decade will be crucial in determining whether the new Nation's leadership will evolve from those sympathetic to the values of the British or from those whose umbilical chords had never been attached to them.

APPENDIX A

THE MIDDLE BELT IN DISTRESS

We, the undersigned representing a cross-sectional opinion of all the political and tribal organisations of the Middle Belt Provinces - Benue, Plateau, Ilorin, Niger, Adamawa, and Kabba Provinces - consider it is high time we made our long standing desire known to you and upon which we are bent to work actively and constructively from now onwards, no matter whatever sacrifice we may have to offer in order to achieve our purpose for the interest of the people in the Middle Belt of Nigeria.

In the past we have stomached too many grievances, descriminations, insults and incoveniences from the Government of the North and ist stoges in cases of Education, employment and general improvement for our people who are tax payers. Many serious decisions affecting the interest of the North as a whole have usually been taken by the Emirs, the Sardauna and his gang without consulting the Chiefs and people in the Middle Belt, and we can site many examples:

(a) In 1950 the Emirs decided to cut the North off from the South which aroused the indignation of the entire people of the Middle Belt.

(b) When the Secretary of States for the Colonies, Mr. Iyttleton came to Nigeria last year the Sardauna told him that he

would require expatriate Officers from England to come and dominate the North for the next thirty years.

(c) During the sitting of the House of Representatives last month, the Sardauna of Sokoto, Ibrahim Imam from Barno, Abubakar Imam from Zaria and Sarkin Shanu from Kano spoke for the North against the self Government motion which was not to the interest of the people in the Middle Belt.

NO CONFIDENCE IN THE SPOKESMEN

That we vehemently oppose the habit of imperialism making the Sardauna and his gang and the Emirs of the North to be the Spokesmen of the people in the Middle Belt as from now onward for simple reason that this so called spokesmen of the North have never had the occasion of visiting the people in the Middle Belt much more of knowing their wishes and aspirations. As such their decision on the Self Government motion is not binding on the people in the Middle Belt Region. Their decision is only a tactful way of gaining more power, fame and position from the imperialist.

DISCRIMINATION GALORE

Cases of discrimination by the Northern Regional government against the Middle Belt are too many to need elaboration

(I) In the North Self-Help development Scholarships, no person from the Middle Belt was thought fit to receive any award, although the people in the Middle Belt are

the most progressive educationally.

(2) The Northern Government turned down the 200 scholarships awards by the West without any regard for the people in the Middle Belt.

(3) Recently three boys have been flown to U. K. to study Lay, and none is chosen from the Middle Belt.

(4) Trainees in the army in Sandhurst come from outside the Middle Belt.

(5) In employment people from the Middle Belt are regarded as non-genuine Northerners and are very often rejected on that ground.

(6) Even in the appointment of Ministers in the Northern Executvie council there is obvious discrimination against the people from the Middle Belt Region, the Middle Belt provinces are the most progressive educationally and yet there is no Government Education Institution of note. Instead one finds a concentration of higher Institution in a place like Zaria with less progressive Elements.

In Zaria alone one finds the Following:-

(1) The Traffic training School

(2) School of Science Art & Technology.

(3) Secondary School

(4) Clerical Training College

(5) Agricultural School

(6) Pharmacy School

(7) Overseers School and Social Welfare Department. Compare this with the position in the Middle Belt and you will see the deference,

CONFIDENCE IN OUR CHIEFS AND MEMBERS

We have confidence in most of our people and members in the Middle Belt and we believe that they are the only Chiefs and members who know the wishes and aspirations of our people. They know our grievances and can voice them in any Legislature in Nigeria.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH

We, the undersigned representing the opinion of the entire people of the Middle Belt deem it right NOW to fight out the caurse of our Honourable Members whereby they can have freedom of speech or expression to say "YES" or "NO" to anything that is affecting the interest of our people and not to be under any obligation, influence or fear of the imperialist, Emirs, or of the Sardauna of Sokoto and his gang.

We do not want any Honourable member or Chief to be under any misapprehention or misunderstand or be deceived by the imperialist and their stooges. Our simple aim is to fight for your interest and the interest of those whom you represent so that you may at any time be free to speak your mind according to the dictate of your conscience in the Northern House of Chiefs or Assembly and in the House of Representatives like your counterparts - Chiefs and Honourable members in the Western and Eastern Regions of Nigeria.

SELF GOVERNMENT IN 1956

We believe beyond any shadow of doubt that educationally and intellectually all the Hounourable members of the Middle

Belt are equal to those of the West and East and therefore, capable of representing our people in a Self Governing Nigeria. We therefore entertain no iota of fear about this Southern domination propaganda staunt which is only a devide and rule tactic employ by the imperialist. In a Self Governing Nigeria, greater consideration will be given to the Educational and economic progress of the North, and within ten years we shall have achieved for ourselves what the British are unwilling to achieve for us in over 50 years. Those who voted against the Self Government motion did so in order to please the powers - that - be in order to safeguard their positions and continue to Lord it over the Middle Belt as usual. It is probably that the Self Government motion will be opened at Kaduna in May 18th 1953, and as such all Chiefs and Honourable members are being asked to attend the meeting jointly. We advise you strongly to vote for Self Government in 1956. If you vote against our freedom and so allow the North to be cut away from the South in the Middle Belt will suffer greatly and we will remain perpetually under illitracy, poverty and disease in the hands of our foreign and local rulers, while the people in the South are not making a double march for free and compulsary education and Medical treatment apart from economic security. You too can make such projects for abundant life for your people if the Finance is placed in your hands as in theirs.

YOUR TASK

Having explained matter as above, we trust that you can reason things out for yourself and read between the lines. What you must bear in mind is that if the motion for Self Government comes up you must declare 1956 to be the year of fate. If you from

the Middle Belt are not in the majority you should rally round yourselves and form an opposition in the House whereby you will at least make your voices heard by the world. Register your minority opposition, and have the courage of your conviction and walk out if things are been pushed down your throats, you will have the support of all the people in the Middle Belt and South.

Remember that the Action Group central Ministers and the Oni of Ife resigned their portfolios which earned each more than £2,000 yearly. These are worthy examples to all of you. Some Eastern Ministers also resigned. The Obas and the Ministers in the South sacrificed their own interest for the interest of their people.

We are asking you to stand boldly and defend the interest of your people in the House of forming a United block from the Middle Belt in the question of Self Government for Nigeria. We realise the fact that you may be cajoled, threatened or victimised in any manner to make you submit to imperialism but we urge you to remain firm, remember that you are coming back to the Middle Belt. What we want is to interpret the feelings of the masses of the people fo the Middle Belt. If you do that, you will always have our support. Anything short of that is inimical to our interest and must be resisted.

OUR NEXT STEP

We have decided to tour the Middle Belt extensively to arose the interest of our people and set our plans in consultation with all our tribal and Political organisations such as the Middle

Zone League; the Idoma Hope Rising Union; the United Tiv United Movement; The Ilorin Progressive Union; The Igbirra Tribal Union; Kabba Progressive Union; Yagba Youth League; Ijumu Progressive Union; Igala Divisional Union; Kabba Divisional Union; Lokoja Men's Progressive Association, Benue Elements Welfare Association. The Nupe Patriotic Union; The Adamawa Progressive Elements; and the Birom Progressive Union.

If you are a Legislator from the Middle Belt please interprest the yearnings of the people for Self Government in 1956. Remember that you will always return to the Middle Belt for "He that is not for us is against us".

SIGNED

(1) Bello Gumi)
) For Kabba Province
(2) M. Abdullah Ohiare)

(3) ----------

(4) ----------

(5) ----------

(6) ----------

(7) ----------

(8) ----------

N. B. You are invited to an emergency meeting of all the Honourable Members in the Middle Belt that will be held at No 2 Jos Road Kaduna on Sunday May 17, 1953, at 9.30 a.m. for fuller explanations. Any failure to attend this important first meeting will be viewed seriously.

J. Oche
c/o No. 4, Ibadan Road,
Kano,

May 2, 1953.

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LIST OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED, PLACES AND DATES

Chief Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, London, Nov, 1971

Alhaji Abubakar Zuhogi, Bida, July 17, 1972

Alhaji Abdurrahman Bida, July 8, 1972

Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Apapa, 1972,1974 - 75, Various dates

Mr. Deem Kpuum, Gboko, June 8, 1972

Alhaji Sani Kwantagora November 10, 1972

Mallam Aminu Kano, Kano, Lagos, 1972 - 80 Various dates

Alhaji Aliyu Turaki, Zaria, 1972 - 73 Various dates

Alhaji Abubakar Imam, Zaria, 1977 - 80, Various dates

Alhaji Mijinyawa Sambo, Makurdi, June 10, 1968

Mr. Gbile Gundu, Abinsi, April 16, 1972

Alhaji Yarima Balla, Maiduguri, Septemter 10, 1972

Mr. Moses Rwang, Bukur - Jos, August 15, 1972

M. Ibrahim Birin Gwari dirver, Zaria, July 6, 1972

Alhaji Iro Kaya, Tudun Wada, Zaria, 1971 - 73 Various dates

Alhaji Inusa Bompai, Tudun Wada, Zaria, 1971 - 73 Various dates

Mr. Henry Abaagu, Makurdi, April 14, 1972

Alhaji Garba Abuja, Kano, 1972 - 73 .Various dates

Alhaji Ali Dinar, Agege, Lagos July 10, 1972

Alhaji Gambo Sawaba, Zaria, February 10, 1972

Alhaji Nuhu Bayero, Zaria, May 15, 1972

Alhaji Lawal Dambazau, Kano, 1972; 1980 - 83 Various dates

Alhaji Gambo Hawaja, Jos September 15, 1972

Alhaji Umaru Lanni, Bauchi, September 6, 1972

Alhaji Hassan Kosashe, Bauchi September 6, 1972

Malama Marka (Saadu Zungur) September 7 1972

Alhaji Mahmud, Imam of Bauchi, September 5, 1972

Alhaji Yakubu Wanka, Bauchi, 1971 - 75 Various dates

Alhaji Adamu Tafawa Balewa, Bauchi, 1971 - 75 Various dates

Alhaji Nuhu Bamalli, Zaria, 1971, 80 - 83

Hajiya Gambo Sawaba, Zaria, 1971, 80 - 83 Various dates

Sir. Bryan Sherwood - Smith, outside London - October 6, 1971

Dr. Rupert M. East, outside London, October 4, 1971

Alhaji Umaru Orante, Maiduguri, September 11, 1972

LIST OF PRIVATE LIBRARIES USED

1. Alhaji Abubakar Imam, Tudun Wada, Zaria
2. Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Bauchi
3. Alhaji Aminu Kano, Gwammaja, Kano
4. Alhaji Mijinyawa Sumbo, Makurdi
5. Alhaji Yarima Balla, Maiduguri
6. Alhaji Ragi Abdallah, Kaduna and Kano
7. Alhaji Yusufu Dantsoho, Kaduna
8. Alhaji Sani Kwantagora, Kaduna
9. Mr. Moses Rwang, Bukuru, Jos
10. Alhaji Gambo Sawaba, Zaria
11. Alhaji Mudi Sipikin, Kano
12. Mr. Deem Kpuum, Gboko
13. Mr. Henry O. Abaagu, Makurdi
14. Alhaji Aliyu Turaki, Zaria
15. Garba Abuja, Kano
16. Alhaji Iro Kaya, Tudun Wada, Zaria
17. Alhaji Inusa Bompai, " " Zaria
18. Alhaji Abdurrahman Mora " Zaria

LIST OF PRIVATE LIBRARIES USED

1. National Archives Ibadan
2. National Archives Kaduna
3. Colonial Office Library, London
4. Public Record Office, London
5. Rhodes House, Oxford
6. Africana Collection, Northwestern University Library, Evanston, Illinois, US.
7. Yale University Library, New Haven Con. USA
8. The Historical Library Of The Church Of Ther Bretheren General Offices, Elgin, Illinois, USA.

NEWS PAPERS AND MAGAZINES

Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo (Cited in appropriate foot notes)

Comet	Various	dates
Pilot	"	"
Nigerian Citizen	"	"
The Daily Service	"	"
Daily Times	"	"
New Nigerian	"	"
The Nigeria Magazine	"	"
Spear Magazine	"	"