



## **RADICALISM, POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS, MARGINALIZATION AND THEIR IMPACT IN THE AGITATION FOR THE CREATION OF KARADUWA STATE (KATSINA), NIGERIA FROM 1987 TO PRESENT**

**Dr. Waisu Iliyasu and Umar Dahiru**

Department of History and Security Studies, Umaru Musa Yar'adua University, Katsina,  
Nigeria

**ABSTRACT:** *Radicalism, political consciousness and marginalization are important tools in the discourse of peasants' history throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. This is true because they were used to fight against exploitation and oppression of the upper class against the down trodden. It bases on this that the paper discusses them and examine how they contributed in the agitation for the creation of Karaduwa state from 1987 to present. However, it should note that the two words; Karaduwa and Southern Katsina will be used interchangeably throughout the paper, i.e meaning the same.*

**KEYWORDS:** Radicalism, Political Consciousness, Marginalization, Karaduwa, Katsina

### **INTRODUCTION**

In order to adequately understand radicalism, political consciousness and marginalization and how they triggered agitation for the creation of Karaduwa state it is important to stress the fact that these activities could traced back to the activities of Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU). NEPU was one of the political parties that emerged in the 1950 when the British attempted to give Nigeria independence. Thus, NEPU as a radical political party joined other parties like Northern People's Congress (NPC), United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC), Action Group (AG) and National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC) in the struggle for independence in the country. NEPU therefore, emerged to break the shackles of oppression and exploitative system, which intercepted the wheel of progress to move forth for a better future for the people of Nigeria. The party was established to end colonial rule and bring about freedom and justice in Nigeria. By extension, it means the emancipation of the down trodden from all forms of exploitation and oppression. Therefore, within a short period of time, radical ideas, political consciousness continues to spread very fast in oher part of the country and indeed Katsina province in particular. The impact of this on the polity was that NEPU members suffered a lot of humiliations from Katsina Native Authority. This did not stop people from joining NEPU due to the fact that the seed of radicalism had already been sown in the area. It was this and many more that consequently shaped the thinking and thought of the people of Karaduwa in the fight of their rights throughput he colonial period and after. This was seen in the later years of independence when the radical ideas help them to fight against injustice, marginalization e.t.c entwine in the agitation for the creation of Karaduwa state



## Radicalism in Karaduwa

Right from the scratch, the founders of NEPU, with Abba Maikwaru spearheading the struggle, had no illusions about the enormity of the task before them, or hurdles they must encounter. But with faith in the cause of the struggle and determination to succeed, they set out courageously and proudly in their '*Forward Ever, Backward Never*' motto towards the realization of democracy and social justice. Their first strategy was to intensify NEPU's mass appeal in every nook and cranny of region through the propagation of the party's ideals in a manner comprehensible to the ordinary people.<sup>1</sup> Thus, within a short period of time NEPU succeeded in establishing branches all over the country with NEPU leaders travelling to several towns to deliver lectures and establish new branches. For example, from 1950 to 1955 many branches were established in Bauchi, Azare, Maiduguri, Makurdi and Jos. In most of the branches, NEPU advocated for a new brand of social welfarism through reforming the autocratic institutions of traditional rulers in Northern Nigeria.<sup>2</sup> Thus, within a short period, the activities of NEPU attracted the attention of many people from Katsina, Zaria, Sokoto and Keffi. As regards to the former, there were people like M.D Yusuf, Honorable Datti Aliyu Malumfashi and Sanda Kaita among others. These people were the first to embrace NEPU from Katsina emirate.<sup>3</sup>

Soon after the commission of Katsina NEPU branch, other branches followed suits. Thus, the people of Karaduwa were first to requested for the opening of NEPU office in their area. The reason behind this request according to Halliru Maigemu was because these areas had large number of NEPU followers in Katsina province more than anywhere. Added to this was because the area was for long antagonist to the established authority as such, they had for long been terrorized by the N.A. For them opening NEPU office in the area would safeguard them from the atrocities of the N.A having had the backing of Malam Aminu Kano the leader of the party.<sup>4</sup> In an oral interview with Tanko Yakasai he stated that the opening of Karaduwa branch was to his credit. According to him, the people of the areae sent a delegation to the party in Kano requesting for a branch to be opened for them. NEPU sent Tanko to Funtua from where he was accompanied to the village by some members of NEPU.<sup>5</sup> He says

On my arrival to Funtua I was attached to one of the local leaders by name Sarki Dankade who accompanied me to the village. Early in the morning we rode our bicycles and went to the village. This happened to be during rainy season, thus we crossed many streams and ponds before reaching the village and each time we came across a stream or pond we had to descend from our bicycles and carry them on our shoulders before we could reach the other side. Upon our arrival at the village we were warmly received and given a good reception. We held a meeting, conducted election to new branch officers and gave lectures to new members on the aims and objectives of the party.<sup>6</sup>

With the opening of the branch a brave and dedicated NEPU member who served the party with his energy and property emerged as the leader. In discussing the contributions of Maibaka in the spread of NEPU Magaji submits that

A NEPU branch was opened in Karaduwa in 1954...Maibaka was elected as the leader of the party. He was a brave man who served NEPU with his energy and property. He was said to have been responsible for the spread of NEPU to the neighboring villages of Guga, Mabai and Ruwangodiya.<sup>7</sup>

### Political Consciousness

Having established branches in most of the towns in Karaduwa, the leaders of the branches adopted different strategies to spread NEPU ideas. One of the strategies was delivering of lectures and house-to-house campaigns in order to spread the gospel of NEPU. In most of their campaigns they discredit the N.A and exposed their atrocities against the people of Southern Katsina. To achieve this, they used speeches, poems and publications of Malam Aminu Kano and his disciples in attracting the support of new members.<sup>8</sup>In one of such speeches, Malam Aminu according to Whitaker was quoted to have said that 'we interpret democracy in its more traditional radical sense, and that is the rule of the common people, the poor, the illiterate, while our opponents the (NPC) interpret it in its more modern sense, that is the rule of the enlightened and prosperous minority in the supposed interest of the common people'.<sup>9</sup> It is interesting to note that the speeches and publications of NEPU were targeted to fight colonial oppression and the autocracy of the traditional rulers. That was why in most of the provinces in towns and villages in Karaduwa, the speeches and publications served as bible for the members of NEPU.<sup>10</sup>Some of the publications of NEPU include *Manufofin da Ka'idoin da Sharuddan Jam'iyar NEPU*(1951), *NEPU Jam'iyar ceton Talakawa* (1959) etc .In fact Musa Musawa a well-known NEPU activists in Karaduwa confirmed this when interviewed that:

We tell our people that whatever Malam Aminu and his disciples said during campaign and rallies... serve as guiding principles and manifestoes of NEPU members in their efforts to spread radicalism and fight against oppression in Southern Katsina. This strategy helped a lot in winning the support of the *Talakawa* in the area.<sup>11</sup>

NEPU poems also served as important tools for mobilization in most of the branches in Karaduwa. One of the classical poems used NEPU activists in the area according to Halliru Maigemu used by NEPU in Katsina was the Sa'adu's poem titled *Jihadin Neman Sawaba* which was composed in 1956.<sup>12</sup> The poem ranks next to his *Arewa: Jamhuriya ko Mulukiyya* in the genre of his poetic excellence. Thus, Yakubu<sup>13</sup> succinctly argues that the poem was widely recited aloud in chorus at NEPU political rallies, at opening branches, meetings or any gathering of NEPU members. The poem exposed the maltreatment meted out to the *Talakawa* and the ineptitude of the N.A system

Besides, the development of adult literacy classes especially in Funtua and Malumfashi a development that aided the circulation of provincial vernacular news sheet also aided political consciousness in Karaduwa. For example, by the end of 1958 Karaduwa was said to have 816 adult classes with approximately 9, 397 people in Musawa, Kankara, Malumfashi and Funtua Districts <sup>14</sup> The increase in the number of literate adults paved way for the spread of human right and political freedom in all parts of Karaduwa especially in the villages located along



the railway line of Maska and Kogo districts. This was true because the railway line gave a considerable impetus to the spread of ideas a development that encouraged people to support for opposition. Conflicts between the *Talakawa* and *Masu Sarauta* therefore became inevitable and people continue to join NEPU.<sup>15</sup>

Other forces were the establishment of Church Missionary Society Station in 1902 being the only Christian settlement in Babban Dodo. The activities of Christian Missionaries led to the spread of ideas in Zaria and beyond. As it has been the practice, missionaries came along with western education which greatly helped in the spread of western ideas in Northern Nigeria.<sup>16</sup>

For Karaduwa, the activities of the missionaries were said to reach the area through two newspapers; the *Daily Comet* and the *West African Pilot*. Their readership mostly came from the Igbo and Yoruba working in government offices and European firms in Funtua and Malumfashi. The Hausa element working with N.A also patronized the paper secretly for fear of being victimized by their employers if caught devouring the contents of what the employers described as instrument of propaganda.<sup>17</sup> By implication, the wider circulation and readings of the *Daily Comet* and *West African Pilot* among the people of Karaduwa was another avenue in the spread of political consciousness. Not only that the papers were critical source of inspiration for the radical elements in the area as they continuously challenged the rotten system of N.A until a full-fledged democratic principle was established.<sup>18</sup>

In addition, the papers educated the masses on how to resist forced labour conscription that was rampant during the time. Comments and editorials in the papers tagged forced labour as a violation of human rights. The two most popular columns in the *Comet* written by Danmasanin Kano and Malam Aminu called *Hantsi Leka Gidan Kowa* and *Aradu* were very critical for their continuous public enlightenment on the abuses of human rights. Hence Malam Aminu's column often depicted the colonial officials, the N.As as people retarding the attainment of democratic principles such as freedom of speech, association as well as other fundamental human rights.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, it were these ideas that gave the people of Karaduwa the leverage to challenge anything that would touch their fundamental human rights. This was seen vividly in their various attempts for the creation of Karaduwa state as will be seen in the next subheadings.

### **On Marginalization**

The state is a crucial institution in the class formation process going on in Katsina emirate since 1987. This is so because it facilitated the process of primitive accumulation and regulates economic and political life. Consequently, the control of the state institutions and bureaucracies is one of the ways used by northern Katsina to marginalize the south (Karaduwa). For Iro Anda, the relationship between southern Katsina the north from 1987 to date was that of unequal partners with the former the worst for it. Thus, even before then the story was not different. Karaduwa had suffered marginalization in the state. Looking for instance in the area of elective officers in the state, Karaduwa has always come out short-changed, with the office of Deputy Governor as it only lot. But offices like that of the Governor, Secretary to the State Government, Speaker and Head of Service (H.O.S) always came from the north.<sup>20</sup>

Apart from the political offices, the bulk of the state civil servants came from the north possibly because there are more educated people in the north than in the south. Coupled with this is because of their closeness to the state capital and they have large number of people in the civil service more than any zone in the state. The table below shows the number of civil servants from the north and south of Katsina state in the period from 1987 to 2013.

**Table: 1 State Civil Servants from Northern and Southern Katsina from 1987 to 2013**

S/No	Year	North	South	Total
1	1987	6,010	201	6,211
2	1988	6,022	218	6,240
3	1989	6,215	293	6,508
4	1990	6,320	261	6,581
5	1991	6,351	280	6,631
6	1992	6,401	273	6,678
7	1993	7,210	258	7,968
8	1994	7,289	270	7,659
9	1995	7,381	393	7,774
10	1996	7,546	345	7,891
11	1997	7,821	321	8,142
12	1998	7,829	256	8,085
13	1999	8,321	300	8,620
14	2000	9,165	3,361	12,526
15	2001	11,362	3,366	14,728
16	2002	11,527	2,682	14,209
17	2003	9,468	4,529	13,997
18	2004	10,000	4,116	14,116
19	2005	11,241	1,982	13,223
20	2006	10,478	2,890	13,368
21	2007	12,206	4,381	16,587
22	2008	12,592	5,614	18,206
23	2009	14,273	3,718	17,991
24	2010	13,347	4,829	18,176
25	2011	16,175	3,331	19,506
26	2012	11,569	6,112	17,681
27	2013	11,970	6,629	18,599

**Source:** Adopted from Katsina state Civil Service Annual Reports, 1987, 1995, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2008, 2011, 2012 & 2013, Government Printer, Katsina, Pp. 10, 11, 9, 12, 15 & 16

In opinion of Sani Zangon Daura, the north-south dichotomy in Katsina is also reflected in social infrastructure and economic activities that concentrated in the north, despite the fact that Karaduwa is the food basket and the industrial base of the state. Therefore, marginalization of Karaduwa continued to have a profound effect on the development of the region. This is because of the manner the state projects were implemented especially in relation to the location of industries, water supply, education, agriculture and health care services in the state. Therefore, instead for anticipated hope and happiness for the creation of



Katsina state, the people of Karaduwa experienced despair, despondency and apprehension at the prospect of a partial existence as second class stake holders in the state of theirs.

### **Educational Differences**

Educational difference is another aspect which helped northern Katsina to dominate the southern part. This is true because since during the colonial period northern Katsina had enjoyed relative advantages over most of the regions in the emirate and by extension Northern Nigeria in general as it has been discussed in the previous paragraphs.<sup>21</sup> Educational differences between north and south continued to widen over periods of time to the extent that the north could boast of a tradition of literacy and civilization of western type over most district in the south. However, it has not change hand even after the country's independence in 1960. This is because the educated elites from the north had gone far ahead of the southern elites because of the opportunity they got during the colonial period Added to this was that most of the schools constructed during the First Republic were located in the north. It was only during the 1981 to 1983 period that Karaduwa began to witness increase in the construction of primary and secondary schools especially in the major towns of Funtua, Malumfashi, Kankara, Bakori, Faskari and Danja. The trend continued even during the military regimes in the state to the extent that most of the military administrators in the state concentrated their attention in the northern part of the state. The argument is that Katsina north is housing every state and federal establishments. These include Hassan Usman Polytechnic, Umaru Umaru, Musa Yar'adua university, Federal University Dutsin-ma, federal College of Education Katsina, National Open university, Katsina Steel Rolling Mills (now Dana Steel Rolling Mill) etc. This is unjustifiable according to Senator M.T Liman considering the fact that Southern Katsina covers an area of 9,280.30 square kilometres with a population of 1,899,285 million people as at 2006 National census.<sup>22</sup> The area is also blessed with human, agricultural and mineral resources. In spite of all these the zone is deprived and marginalized in many critical aspects. In terms of education Southern Katsina could only boast of School of Remedial and Basic Studies in Funtua, School of Midwifery, Malumfashi, College of Administration, Funtua none of which is even a diploma awarding institution.<sup>23</sup>

However, it bases on the above that the people of Karaduwa agitate for the creation of their state devoid of sentiments or bias as they are witnessing in Katsina state. As such they made so many attempts to actualize their dream. The first attempt was in 1994 when the people of area followed suits with their counterpart from other part of the country in their quest for statehood. The committee received a total of seventy two (72) requests for new state and two thousand three hundred and sixty nine (2,369) demands for local government, and two hundred and eighty six (286) proposals for boundary adjustments.<sup>24</sup> It was based on this that the people of southern Katsina followed suits with other to first demand for the creation of Karaduwa state out of Katsina state. The table below illustrates the request for new state received by the committee in 1994.



**Table: 2 Some Selected Request for new States received by the NCC in 1994**

S/no	Present State	Proposed State	Proposed Capital
1	Abia	Aba	Aba
2	Akwa Ibom	Itai	Ikot Ekpene
3	Bauchi	Gombe	Gombe
4	Jigawa/Katsina	Bayajidda	Daura, Kazaure or Gumel
5	Katsina	Karaduwa	Funtua/Malumfashi
6	Ogun	Ijebu-Remo	Odogbolu or Ijebu-Ode
7	Sokoto	Zamfara	Gusau
8	Taraba	Mambila	N.A
9	Plateau Nasarawa	Akwanga	
10	Osun	Oduduwa	Ille-Ife or Illesha
11	Niger/Kebbi	Kainji	Kontagora
12	Kaduna	Gurara	Zonkuwa Kafanchan
13	Kwara	Pya	Kabba

**Source:** Adopted from *Federal Republic of Nigeria Report of the Constitutional Conference, Vol. 2, op. cit*

In the end, General Sani Abacha announced the creation of six states bringing the number of the states in the country to thirty-six (36). The new states were Bayelsa, Ebonyi, Ekiti, Gombe, Yobe and Zamfara state.<sup>25</sup>

With the return of democratic rule in 1999 under the leadership of President Olusegun Obasanjo, the agitation for state creation resurfaced again especially at the eve of his first tenure in 2003. The agitation did not last long, but it should be noted that Karaduwa people were among those that presented their request to the National assembly for the creation of Karaduwa state.<sup>26</sup> Similarly, the speech of the Speaker House of Representative, Right Honourable Dimeji Bankole in 2004 on the issue of state creation by the National assembly. The people of Southern Katsina also submitted their request for the creation of Karaduwa state. In his remarks the speaker contends that:

The creation of Karaduwa state was already a settled matter and congratulated the people of Southern Katsina in advance for having their agitation successful on what can I say? Congratulation!! I want to explain that the creation of Karaduwa state *in sha Allah* will come to stay. And as you would say in the north *Shikenan!!*<sup>27</sup>

Responding to the above statement, the leader of the delegation, Honourable Aminu Bello Masari who presented the memorandum to Bankole said that the proposed state was economically viable and had been the food basket of the Katsina. He further stated that the agitation of Karaduwa state has been on since the regime of general Sani Abacha and was genuine with the headquarters at Funtua. He reiterated that the proposed state derived its name from a river. Karaduwa is a river which divides northern from Southern Katsina.<sup>28</sup> Indeed with the promise of the National Assembly in 2014 on its attempt for the amendments

of the 1999 constitution, the people of Southern Katsina also presented their request to the Speaker Right Honourable Aminu Waziri Tambuwal. According to the delegation, the proposed Karaduwa state expected to be created out of the present Katsina state with eleven Local Government Areas of the state.<sup>29</sup>

## CONCLUSION

By and large it can be argued that radicalism, political consciousness and marginalization were the reasons that led to the agitation for the creation of Karaduwa state. This is true if one considers the nature and manner in which the people of Karaduwa suffered untold hardship from their counterpart in Northern Katsina. Added to this, was the idea of change which they harbored since during the NEPU which greatly help them in the course of the movement. This is because the seed of radicalism had been sown in the minds of many people in the area. Therefore, the agitation for the creation of Karaduwa state is a course which is believed to be struggle which would be realize in the near future.

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