Transcript

Nigeria’s Unity and Regional Socio-Political Groups: Influence and Impact of the Northern States Governors’ Forum

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I am extremely delighted to be at Chatham House today to meet with this distinguished audience. I am equally pleased to have met Gregory Kronsten, chairman of the roundtable meeting, Alex Vines OBE, chairman of the main presentation, and Head of the Africa programme at Chatham House, as well as other key officials here. Let me also acknowledge the remarkable work going on at Chatham House under the leadership of its Director Dr Robin Niblett, who is doing a wonderful job of sustaining the reputation of Chatham House as one of the most influential independent institutes on international affairs. I thank the organisers of this event especially Elizabeth Donnelly for the opportunity to use this platform for discussing issues with a view to promoting better understanding of Nigeria in world affairs.

I accepted to speak on Nigeria’s Unity and Regional Socio-Political Groups: Influence and Impact of the Northern States Governors’ Forum to show how we are responding to the developmental challenges confronting us as a nation, particularly in the northern states, home to approximately 52% of our nation’s population of over 160 million, these include 19 northern states out of 36 states plus the Federal Capital Territory (FCT).

In this age of information and communication technology, it is probably not news to tell this audience that we are a nation of ethnic diversities, high rising expectations and more often than not competing aspirations as well as continuous struggle for relevance by the fragmented elite. We continue to explore diversity for strength, unity and peaceful co-existence forging integrative and interdependent relationships based on common ties, language, aspirations and indeed fate. Therefore, the Northern States Governors’ Forum does not believe in the breakaway of Nigeria. Hence, the unity of Nigeria is sacrosanct in spite of the current challenges.

We recognise our diversities which predate the colonial period. However, the emergence of influential regional social groups in the country continues to shape the nation’s political and economic development. In the socio-economic and political development of the country, the NSGF has been playing critical roles in partnership with the Federal Government and development partners in responding to the challenges facing our states and the nation in general.

For instance, we initiated and supported the adoption of the ‘doctrine of necessity’ by the National Assembly and Nigerians in confirming the then vice president as the acting president to resolve the exploitation of the prolonged illness and absence from office of the then President Umaru Musa Yar’adua -
despite Section 144 subsection 1(b) and subsection 2 of the Nigerian Constitution. The Constitution provides that when the president is incapacitated, administrative power to act be transmitted to the vice president to avoid vacuum in leadership.

The problem of formal transmission came to the fore when members of the National Assembly demanded the letter by the ailing president before legitimizing the acting capacity of the then vice president. To date there is no certainty about what happened to the letter and whether or not it was written.

In honouring the Constitution, the Forum supported the making of Dr Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, acting president that was subsequently endorsed by the Nigerian Governors’ Forum (NGF) at the national level in spite of the antagonism originating from the South-South region. Notwithstanding such antics, he was confirmed by the National Assembly and sworn in as acting president paving the way for a peaceful transition after the death of President Umaru Musa Yar’adua on May 5 2010 and President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, sworn in on May 6 2010 as substantive President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Nigeria was further confronted with another challenge on the issue of zoning/rotation. This was a conflict between the supremacy of the nation’s constitution on the one hand and the People’s Democratic Party’s constitution on the other hand, and the perception of the people as well. The issue turned out to be one of the most contentious in the nation’s recent political history.

The Northern Governors’ Forum, which is the largest in Nigeria’s geo-political coalition, demonstrated its commitment to nation building in resolving the debacle. After due consultations, with 18 of the 19 governors in attendance only three voted for zoning, one was neutral but the majority (14) of governors agreed to abide by the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria because of the recognition of the supremacy of the 1999 Constitution as encapsulated in section (1) which states that: ‘this Constitution is supreme and its provisions shall have binding force on the authorities and persons throughout the Federal Republic of Nigeria’. And the provision of section 131 of 1999 constitution which states that: ‘A person shall be qualified for election to the office of the President if (a) he is a citizen of Nigeria by birth; (b) has attained the age of 40 years; (c) he is a member of a political party and is sponsored by that political party and (d) he has been educated up to at /east school certificate level or its equivalent’.

Arising from the above, therefore, the Forum acknowledged the right of President Goodluck Jonathan and indeed any other Nigerian to contest
legitimately and constitutionally for the office of the president. At that time in 2010 there were 16 People’s Democratic Party (PDP) Governors and 3 All Nigeria People Party (ANPP) Governors in the northern states while at the national level PDP controlled 27 States, other parties were in control of 9 states only out of 36 states. In addition, the Forum recognized the fact that the issue of zoning was a PDP affair as contained in Article 7.2(c) of the party’s constitution which states that: ‘In pursuance of the principle of equity, justice and fairness the party shall adhere to the policy of rotation and zoning of party and public executive offices and it shall be enforced by the appropriate executive Committee at all levels’. Therefore, as a mark of respect to the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, many northern governors - against the wishes of their people - went to campaign for Goodluck Ebele Jonathan at the expense of their political careers.

This explains the reason why some of the governors lost their elections and the violence that followed the elections in some northern states.

**Fuel Subsidy**

The Northern States Governors’ Forum in concert with the Nigerian Governor’s Forum alerted the Federal Government about the colossal wastage and corruption in the petroleum sector and demanded for its restructuring. Therefore, it supported the Federal Government when it decided to remove the subsidy on premium motor spirit (PMS) petrol to break the corruption cartel in the oil industry. This was to check corruption and monumental wastage to engender and stimulate growth and overall socio-economic development in the country. These positions were taken in the interest of national unity, integration and development. Indeed, surmounting the challenges of today’s world requires leadership with a moral compass — character, vision, integrity and courage to take difficult decisions to enhance socio-economic development, irrespective of whose interest is at stake.

**Religion - Regulation**

In view of the prevailing security challenges in Nigeria mediated by a religious moral practice deficit, we need to institutionalise regulation of preaching in northern states with appropriate legislation, sanctioning persons who exceed beyond the modus operandi. We realised that violence mediated by religion does not just happen in a vacuum but is fanned by clerics who have failed in maintaining the position of setting standards in moral and societal values. Our efforts toward this direction were the timely evacuation from a location in Niger State of about 9,000 members of an isolated sect operating under the name Darul Islam. This sect practised a doctrine of isolation with
unwholesome practices far removed from the Qur’anic injunction. Despite condemnation from certain levels of the society, we spared no time to dislodge the group peacefully, paid compensation for their farms and assets, and transported them to their various places of origin while other nationalities were deported to their home countries. Similar experiences are bound in some other states. For example, radical Shi’ite groups were dislodged before becoming security risks by Sokoto State Government. We have also established a Ministry of Religious Affairs in Niger State to provide proper supervision, coordination, and regulatory and other oversight responsibilities.

**Peer Review Mechanism**

Consistent with our common history, socio-economic and political circumstances, we adopted experience sharing as a mechanism for improved service delivery, where we exchange visits amongst ourselves to compare notes and espouse best practices in good governance in our peculiar circumstances - transparency, accountability and due diligence. We have been organising periodic summits on health, education, agriculture, economy and landmark decisions have been adopted to enhance delivery. We initiated the integration of western and Almajiri school systems, renovation of schools and provision of furniture and other learning materials, as well as incentives for teachers across the northern states. Other areas including, but not limited to, health, agriculture, infrastructural development, poverty reduction, employment generation, social security and economic development across our states, as well as in combating crime and insecurity. We have been doing that in fighting polio, high infant and maternal mortality and morbidities, youth unemployment and high illiteracy rates in our states.

The Forum has organised summits in health, education, agriculture and economy to address the issue of governance and development in the region. For instance, we have insisted that basic education must be free for all school age children in all the northern states to enhance school enrolment and to facilitate rapid socio-economic development that comes with quality education. Regarding infrastructure, we have initiated various mass housing projects, improved treatment and distribution of potable water, and are consistently exploring viable partnerships to invest in and improve the energy sector. In the health sector, we are also providing free health services to children of less than three years of age and pregnant women across our states through the MDGs and National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS). Through our health summits, infant and maternal mortality rates and HIV/AIDS prevalence have dropped in recent years.
Economy

The present social, economic and political quagmire Nigeria finds itself would have been avoided only if it practiced a single economy. The rate of corruption, wastage of funds, and massive duplication of projects could have been avoided if the revenue sharing formula had been fairly distributed across federal, states and local governments. A situation where policies and programs are lopsided in favour of the federal government, like the current situation where over 88 items are on the exclusive list and only about 16 on the concurrent list, encourage corruption, inefficiency and retarded growth at the state and local government levels where the majority of the people live.

Mobilizing Socio-Cultural Groups and Traditional Institutions for National Unity

The Northern States Governors’ Forum have continued to engage socio-cultural groups and traditional institutions for various socio-economic and development programmes. Some of these include the Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF) and the Traditional Rulers Council. The success recorded during the colonial era was largely due to the presence of a functional and well-streamlined traditional administrative system of governance in the north. Hence, the introduction of indirect rule through the use of local chiefs or other approved intermediaries and traditional laws and customs.

In Nigeria today, the traditional institutions are still a distinctive and respected leadership segment in the northern region. They continue to play crucial roles in ensuring the peace, stability and progress of our nation. The common people often rely on them as legitimizers and consult with them often for clarification and guidance on the direction to go in terms of development, adoption and policy compliance among other things, rather than with political leaders. In recognition of the vital roles they play in the society and to further empower them to assert authority in their domains, a bill is presently before the Federal Parliament to grant them constitutional powers. If the bill gets through and eventually gets presidential assent, traditional rulers in partnership with political leaders will be directly involved in the daily running of their domains in concert with other political leaders at local, state and national levels.

Overcoming Socio-Political Challenges

We have our peculiar problems and challenges; a fundamental one being leadership deficit. There is a gap of committed leadership that understands the nuances of governance and that which is conscious of the sensibilities of the political environment. Leadership deficit has over the years exposed Nigeria to high-level of corruption, bad governance, political instability and a
cyclical legitimacy crisis. Consequently, national development has been slow and the political environment uncertain. This problem started at independence and it was characterized by powerful regional governments and a weak centre with each region striving to ensure qualitative, competitive and pragmatic leadership and service delivery. However, this trend was reversed in favour of the Federal Government following the first coup of 1966, and the civil war between 1967-1970, coups, counter coups and failed transition programmes. All these resulted in poor planning, which exacerbated corruption, poverty and declining national interest.

**Security**

Security is a fundamental and foremost responsibility of government as enshrined in section 14 subsection (2) of the 1999 Constitution which states that: ‘the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government’. It is however sad to note that ignorance and poor education in the region has contributed extremely to security challenges, because a poorly educated youth would only be a ready tool for violence. Therefore, corruption, youth unemployment, endemic poverty, lopsided development, human rights violations, influx of refugees and a precarious and monolithic economy has scaled up security challenges in the region in particular and the nation in general. No matter the role of the region, the states are constrained as they do not control the security services (army, police, state security service and other intelligence agencies, customs, immigration, civil defence, prisons, etc.). Hence, states are handicapped in the use of the security apparatus that are largely federal and take instructions only from the federal authorities. States are left with local governments, traditional mechanisms and institutions.

It is also expedient to look at what happened in other parts of Nigeria, like the Movement for Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) in South East Nigeria that engaged the Federal Government in battle over a long period of time, and the Oodua People’s Congress (OPC) violence in Nigeria that were put under check, while in the South-South, the Niger Delta militants waged guerrilla war against government installations, kidnapping, killing and bombing oil installations of foreign companies operating in the region. The government of late president Umaru Musa Yar’adua introduced an amnesty policy to repatriate the militants from the creeks back to society. Today armed insurgencies and incessant cases of violent attacks on communities have reduced as most of the perpetrators of societal vices are in different parts of the world receiving training on skill acquisition programmes for self-reliance, while some are in school with full government sponsorship.
Violence and Islam

Ladies and gentlemen, it is indeed a sad reality that Islam in northern Nigeria is becoming violent with disastrous consequences on human and material values. The situation is spiralling out of control with waning effect on the unity and corporate existence of Nigeria. It is imperative to know the effect of the breakdown of moral chastity and religious sanctity on the life and style of our youths which have been devoid of direction and proper moral lessons from traditional Islamic institutions. Some teach outside the context of the holy books, while others engage in outright mischief to satisfy vested interest. In most cases, the young ones are taught how to uphold violence instead of towing the lines for peace and development as enunciated in the holy Qur’an and Hadith of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).

The absence of adequate social security flanked by poverty and burgeoning challenges from every conceivable aspect of societal life, coupled with monumental failure of parents, religious institutions and schools to shape and properly prepare budding generations on moral chastity, are the foundation of the disconnections. Before the sharp decline in the value system of honesty, truthfulness, integrity, reliability and consistency, northerners were known for hospitality and indeed traits of brother's keepers, as well as people who provided cover for their neighbours. This is what we are encouraging ourselves to do across the northern states in particular and Nigeria in general. For example in Niger State, everybody has equal opportunities to do business, be employed by the civil service and benefit from the state government free education policy. In Niger we do not discriminate, but make sure we uphold the doctrine of preaching against indigene/settler syndrome. The practice of isolating settlers has led to violent attacks which has accounted for the death of many innocent Nigerians.

Nigeria: A Historical Reflection

Distinguished audience, a journey down memory lane, focusing on how the present day Nigeria evolved would further enrich this interaction. As it is widely held, a nation that forgets her past indirectly jeopardizes its future. Nigeria is a country of diverse population of over 160 million with over 350 ethnic and linguistic groups. Several religious sects mutated in Nigeria into denominations, with the three principal ones being Christianity, Islam and traditional divinity.

The story about the creation of the entity called Nigeria began about 115 years ago, precisely on January 8, 1897 when one Miss Flora Shaw (as she was then known and addressed), was Colonial Editor for the famous
Flora Louisa Shaw was born in Woolwich where her father was stationed. She began her career in journalism in 1886 and was sent by the Manchester Guardian newspaper as the only woman reporter to cover the anti-slavery conference in Brussels.

In one of the many essays she wrote during her journalism expedition which first appeared in The Times on 8 January 1897, she suggested the name "Nigeria" (Niger area) for the British Protectorate on the Niger River. In her essay, Shaw was making a case for a shorter term that would be used for the "agglomeration of pagan and Mahomedan States" that was functioning under the official title, "Royal Niger Company Territories". Five years after she suggested the name "Nigeria", she got married to Lord Frederick Lugard in 1902. Lugard was made Governor of Northern and Southern protectorates in 1912 and presided over the amalgamation of the two protectorates in 1914 with administrative headquarters in the historic town of Zungeru in Niger State. Flora died in January 1929, and 16 years later, Lord Lugard died in 1945 at the age of 87 years.

In effect, Nigeria as a geographical entity came into existence about 98 years ago. Fifty two years ago on October 1, 1960, it became an independent state assuming responsibility for management of its social, political, legal and economic affairs. We must therefore understand that having evolved through various stages in our nationhood the drive for sustaining unity in our diversity has been the single challenge facing the country since independence.

Regional and National Unity

Nigeria as a multi-ethnic nation state with rich heritage of socio-cultural diversities, the multiplicity in language and culture across the thirty-six (36) states of Nigeria has made it easy for regional groupings to establish themselves for the purpose of identifying with one another and pursuing peculiar developmental interests. This phenomenon has been particularly strengthened by the role of language as a potent instrument for preserving and transmitting the people’s social norms and values. The social regional groups in perspective may be traced to the pre-colonial configurations of the geographical territory known as Nigeria today.

The formation of these social groups have been greatly influenced by ethnic and cultural ties and affinities that existed amongst the people who shared common ancestry or who have been linked by social values and cultural traits, tribe, religion, commerce, friendly relationships or conflicts even before the colonial era. This is indeed the reflection of the plurality of the Nigerian
The earliest dominant groups were identified along the northern and southern divides of Nigeria, reflecting the amalgamation of 1914. Today, further sub-groups have emerged along the six (6) geo-political regions of the nation [North West, North East, North Central, South East, South-South and South West]. The notable groups that have emerged in this regard include: Northern States Governors’ Forum, South-South Governors’ Forum, South East Governors’ Forum and the South-West Governors’ Forum.

Other prominent socio-cultural and socio-political regional groups include: Arewa Consultative Forum, Ohaneze Ndigbo and Afenifere, as well as a multiple number of regional youth associations. The Northern States Governors’ Forum is the largest of the regional social groups in Nigeria today, comprising 19 northern states. We have indeed paid our dues as a nation.

The 1966 military coup had far reaching implications for the stability of democracy in the country as it introduced some trends that were antithetical to development, such as the suspension of the Constitution, the introduction of unitary system of government (the federal government became stronger than the federating units), the arbitrary creation of states (three regions in 1960- colonial era, 12 States in 1967- Gowon’s government, 19 States in 1976 — late Murtala’s government, 21 and 30 States in 1987 and 1991 respectively by Babangida’s government, and 36 States in 1996 by late Abacha’s administration).

Other consequences of the military incursion are the surge in the cost of running government with the attendant manifestation of greed and excessive corruption in the political process, and the destruction of the ethos of the public service. However, the military organised or supervised three elections during their periods of dictatorship. These were (i) the elections of 1979 that brought Alhaji Shehu Shagari, under the General Obasanjo regime, (ii) the 1992-1993 elections under General Babangida and (iii) the 1999 elections under General Abdusalami Abubakar.

Lessons

Indeed, Nigerians need to learn from great world leaders purposeful leadership characterised by reformation, transformation and rehabilitation of the people, economy and society. To get the nation out of the leadership challenge, we need to adopt the servant leadership doctrine. The concept of servant leadership style of government therefore reflects institutionalized transparency, selfless approach to service, accountability and participatory
democracy. We must stress the need for servant leadership based on stewardship, commitment to masses welfare and development. For example in Niger State, we adopted the Servant Leadership style, where a servant leader perceives his role as a humble employee, a servant of the people, a steward who forfeits his personal interest and is more genuinely concerned with the welfare and development of others. He is more concerned with the greatest good for the greatest number. The guiding principle for me as servant leader is ‘selflessness’, ‘God first, others next, and I last’. Indeed, servant leadership is more concerned with excellent service delivery in the most humble and unassuming manner.

The Niger State Example

Finally, in practical demonstration of the ‘servant leadership’ concept, in Niger State, we introduced a fourth tier of government at the grass roots level, the Ward Development project concept established with a law and order implementation module structure, where the people are supported with monthly grants in all the 274 political wards across the 25 LGAs to initiate and execute projects that meet their needs and aspirations. We have also made education free which is paying off in the state. When we came in 2007, the school enrolment was about 613,000 while by 2011 it rose to 1.3million, a significant upsurge. Our free ECO/WAEC examinations policy is assisting indigent students in Niger State (irrespective of their states of origin) to write final secondary school examinations to gain admission into higher institutions of learning. In the agricultural sector, strategic reforms are being carried out to arrest the decline in agricultural contributions to the nation’s gross domestic product (GDP) in the past three decades due to dependence on the oil sector. We have the comparative advantage of the largest landmass of 10% of Nigeria’s 80% total arable landmass. We have comparative advantage in rice production as the largest rice producer in Nigeria with potential for export. Our strength in rice production ranks Niger State top in the country with production capacity to feed the whole Nigeria. Our annual economic growth rate stands at 3.4 per cent as at 2011; higher than the Federal Government of Nigeria benchmark of 3.2 per cent. It is therefore heart-warming to report that Niger State ranked lowest in poverty prevalence index in Nigeria by the records of the Nigeria Bureau of Statistics closely followed by Osun State in the South-west region.

Other areas of comparative advantage in Niger State include abundance of solid minerals and the state is currently carrying out an exploration survey for hydrocarbons in the Bida basin. Niger state is also rich in tourism potential with a variety of tourist sites. The potential in tourism in Niger State meet
world class standards waiting to be exploited. Niger State is also home to three hydropower dams located in Kainji, Shiroro and Jebba, contributing immensely to power generation and supply in Nigeria.

Conclusion

From the foregoing discourse on the activities of the Nigeria Northern States Governors’ Forum in fostering unity and progress in the northern region in particular and the country as a whole, we are confident in our effort to overcome most challenges confronting us as a nation. We have resolved to match our words with action by the standard we have so far set in terms of good governance and human capital development. Indeed our successors will have an easy opening for evolving programmes that will meet the yearnings and aspirations of Nigerians. Distinguished audience, ladies and gentlemen, the prolonged ill-health of late President Umaru Musa Yar’adua in 2010 posed serious security problems on account of an unprecedented crisis that came with it. Similar circumstances played out during the era of late General Sani Abacha, where a few self-seeking politicians created an artificial vacuum to manage affairs of state, thereby giving the impression that the general was in charge.

It is heart-warming that the NSGF handled the politicisation of late Yar’adua’s illness with utmost caution, maturity and patriotism in the overall interest of the nation. To get the nation out of the leadership challenge, we need to adopt the ‘servant leadership’ doctrine. We must stress the need for servant leadership based on stewardship, commitment to mass welfare and development. We have been raising standards for best practise in governance in Nigeria going the extra mile in making Nigeria’s emerging democracy a success.

I thank you all for the opportunity.
QUESTION AND ANSWERS

Question 1:
Do you think the Northern Governors’ Forum is relevant in today’s Nigeria?

Mu’azu Babangida Aliyu:
The NGF has its relevance. In the context of changing administrative boundaries and administrative reforms, to keep the unity and coherence of northern states’ policies we believe that the NGF is the best solution. It also strengthens solidarity between states, for example, in the case of Boko Haram, states less exposed to the threat have granted help to those more exposed through funding and so on.

Question 2:
Is it not a problem in Nigeria today that the central government was forced on us and does not represent the aspirations of the majority of our people?

Mu’azu Babangida Aliyu:
After 50 years we are still talking of central government being forced on the people and still 88 items are on an exclusive list of federal government remit, as you can read in the constitution.

Question 3:
Earlier in the year the NGF met and agreed that the North would produce the next president in 2015. In light of the current situation in the country, which threatens the unity of Nigeria, should that be the focus of NGF?

Mu’azu Babangida Aliyu:
There has been some misunderstanding here, as the NGF has not made any such decision. We have actually made a decision not to discuss possible candidacies at least until the end of 2013. Moreover, the only thing that we have said was that we will need to support only one candidate. I have read that communique; I partially drafted that communique so I am competent to
say what has been said there. The problem of media using hyperbole is a different issue, however, a very serious one.

**Question 4:**
What is the perspective of the northern governors on Boko Haram?

**Mu'azu Babangida Aliyu:**
There is an understanding that Boko Haram is foremost a political problem. This is one of many similar groups of thugs, who were mobilized for political purposes and were used during elections, etc. It is also clear that there have been promises made to the group that were not kept. Finally, we are aware that radicalization has taken place as a consequence, among others things, of public execution of some of the leaders and members of this group. The problem, however is that we today do not know which Boko Haram group is which, as there are many groups that act similarly to Boko Haram, but are not the original one. It is difficult to identify its leaders, attribute bombings and learn the motives.

**Question 5:**
More people seem to agree that socio-economic development in Nigeria will not be achieved without transferring the responsibility for development to the local level of government?

**Mu'azu Babangida Aliyu:**
Yes sir, if we want development, we have to go down to the units. What development? During my campaign during 2007 every place that I went the question was: 'why would we vote for you?' If the party that I was representing administered the state for 8 years without any tangible results in development, the policies at the state level were not implemented at the local level. During elections I spoke of how we improved our party and that I was as much a civil servant as a politician. And immediately after the elections I realized the challenge was to take development to local communities. Now I ensure that all local government areas receive their funds and I have pushed for reform of the distribution mechanism. Instead of going through all the levels of government I decided it should be delivered directly to the smallest
wards, because at that level everybody knows everybody and is able to control the management of these resources.

Moreover, we gave full control over the funds to these ward councils. Every month they receive a certain amount of funds and they decide how to use them. The next tranche is being delivered only after the ward council reports on how it used the previous tranche. And in 2011 it was precisely this experience that allowed me to be re-elected, despite a very difficult campaign. So yes, I agree we have to move development closer to the ground, because villages know best what they need.

Question 6:
Do you expect another Boko Haram based leader, or warlord, to come and divide Nigeria, or Africa?

Mu'azu Babangida Aliyu:
By my analysis there is no such threat, because of the fragmentation of issues. We are now cooperating with many people in order to mitigate the real threat: Al Qaeda which has funded many of the problems we have today. We are also observing closely the situation in neighbouring countries, as we fear developments in Mali, for example.

Question 7:
How serious are you about austerity measures, given the size of your entourage here today?

Mu'azu Babangida Aliyu:
You need to bring people to hear and understand how they are seen, what it is thought of what they are doing. So I am glad that you said what you did. Because I have the speaker of the state assembly here with me and he can now come back and say: ‘this is the thing that has been brought to my attention’. And it will be thought about and analysed.