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BROADCAST BY HIS EXCELLENCY MAJOR-GENERAL YAKUBU GOWON, HEAD OF FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMED FORCES—1ST OCTOBER, 1970

UNITY, STABILITY AND PROGRESS

THE CHALLENGE OF THE SECOND DECADE OF NIGERIA'S INDEPENDENCE

My Dear Countrymen and Women:

Today we celebrate the 10th anniversary of our resumption of sovereignty and independence. We celebrate this solemn occasion in unity and peace. For this we offer a special prayer of gratitude to God.

The memory of our recent agony is fresh. During the ten years of our nationhood our country has been assailed by many crises culminating in the thirty month Civil War which ended in January. We shall mourn for long the thousand of youth who perished in the crises and the tremendous destruction of the war. But it would be unfair to the history of our efforts and achievements during those ten years to dwell only on the tragic aspect of the crises.

The crisis also led to a number of far-reaching positive developments by the re-organisation of the country into twelve states we corrected the structural imbalance of the Federation and fulfilled an essential condition for the country's political stability. Our success in the War of Unification confirmed the unity and territorial intergrity of the country. It also checked the divisive forces working for the further balkanisation of Africa and its re-colonisation. We guaranteed the intergrity of one of the largest markets in Africa—a pre-requisite for economy progress and a rising standard of living for the people. The smoothness and speed of brotherly reconciliation since the end of the war has been very gratifying. Indeed our valiant brothers who made the supreme sacrifice during the War died for a great and noble cause, and we are resolved not to fail them.

I salute our Armed Forces for their courage and dedication to duty during the dark days of the crisis. I thank once again all the citizens of this country for their endurance and resolution and for their unstinted support for the Government. Without such unalloyed loyalty and patriotism the Military Government would not have succeeded in saving the nation from disintegration and bringing it to the present state of confidence and hope for the future.

We should also rejoice that despite the many difficulties which we experienced, the country witnessed tremendous educational, economic and social progress during the last ten years. For example, our external trade amounted to £315 million in 1959 and in 1969 it has risen to £629 million. In 1959 we exported only half a milllion tons of crude petroleum. In 1969 27 million tons, and this year the figure should exceed 50 million tons. Industrial production has risen during the decade by over 300%. Secondary School enrolment doubled between 1959 and 1966. It is important to observe that we did better in all these fields in 1969 than before the War.

We are now at the threshold of what could be a great decade of faster development and modernisation. The Government is very conscious of the needs and aspirations of the ordinary man: for peace and security, a rising standard of living, and better opportunities for his children. These are the things which matter; the challenge before every Government, and they deserved priority.

We are all aware, however, that genuine progress can only take place in a situation which is stable. This is why the Federal Military Government attaches the greatest priority to its programme for orderly progress towards the restoration of normal constitutional Government which would pursue generally accepted national objectives and observed enlightened conventions.

We all need courage, realism, and patience in tackling the problems involved in returning the country to civilian rule. It must be done in such a manner that the final hand-over of the Government to elected representatives of the people may usher in a period of lasting peace and political stability. We must therefore not rush matters but should proceed very carefully.

I promised at the end of the War of Unification last January to let the nation know later in the year the Political Programme of the Military Government. The Supreme Military Council has decided on a Programme of the major task which it must accomplish before the government of the country can be handed over with a full sense of responsibility. The nine point Programme which is to guarantee peace, stability and progress in the country covers:

(*i*) the reorganisation of the Armed Forces;
(*ii*) the implementation of the National Development Plan and the repair of the damage and neglect of the War;
(*iii*) the eradication of corruption in our national life;
(*iv*) the settlement of the question of the creation of more States;

(*v*) the preparation and adoption of a new Constitution;
(*vi*) the introduction of a new Revenue Allocation Formula;
(*vii*) conducting a national population census;
(*viii*) the organisation of genuinely national political parties;
(*ix*) the organisation of elections and installation of popularly elected governments in the States and in the centre.

I propose to speak in some detail about these major issues confronting the nation. I repeat that they must be handled properly and with great care remembering very well the mistakes and events, mainly due to the inordinate ambition and the dishonesty of a handful of people, which led to the callapse of the first Republic.

THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN

I shall first speak about the National Development Plan. I am glad to announce that the Draft Plan is now ready. It will be launched later this month after final approval by the Supreme Military Council. The details will then be published. The Plan envisages an investment of £1,595 million in the period 1970-74. The five national objectives on which the Plan is based are to make Nigeria:

(*i*) a united, strong and self-relient nation;
(*ii*) a great and dynamic economy;
(*iii*) a just and egalitarian society;
(*iv*) a land of full and equal opportunities for all its citizens; and
(*v*) a free and democratic society.

The public sector programme will cost about £780 million.

We are determined during the next four years to intensify the process of transforming the structure of the Nigerian economy to make it a modern one, and to bring it nearer to the stage where our own domestic resources of capital and manpower will be adequate to ensure the continued development of the country.

It is, perhaps, much easier to prepare a Plan than to implement it. Implementing the Plan requires national discipline. It requires concentration on our chosen priorities and mobilising the support and energies of the people to attain the ambitious targets which we have set for ourselves. The Plan calls for a higher level domestic savings than we have achieved in the past.

past. It is very important to achieve the full revival of the war affected areas during the Plan period. It is equally necessary in the national interest to lay the foundations during the next few years for more even development in the country as a whole both economically and educationally. We must not allow the continued existence of sharp contrasts of development and backwardness to threaten the stability of this country.

REORGANISATION OF THE ARMED FORCES

Another major task for the Military Government is the reorganisation of the Armed Forces of the country. It is a matter of great pride that the Armed Forces of this nation and the Police have loyally and faithfully carried out their sacred duty over the past three agonising years. They succeeded in preserving the territorial integrity and the unity of this country as they were required to do by the oath of their office. In the process, the Armed Forces were multiplied many times over. A small colonial Army was transformed, literally overnight, into an impressive and powerful Army by any standard. The Navy and Air Force were also established as effective fighting units. During the War our Troops were camped in their thousands in the thick forest and in trenches in great discomfort. Our boys suffered these privations patiently and courageously in the great national cause. We are also mindful of the fact that with the rapid expansion of the Armed Forces, it was not easy to ensure the inculcation in every soldier and servicemen in adequate measure of all the noble traditions of the Nigerian Armed Forces.

It is, therefore, our task now that peace is restored to reorganise and redeploy our Armed Forces in order to increase their efficiency and their ability to maintain internal security, and defend the country against external aggression. At the same time we must ensure minimum standards of comfort in the interest of maintaining the morale of the Armed Forces.

The maintanance of efficient, loyal and happy troops is an essential precondition of stability in this country as it is in any other country in the world. The task before us in this regard will take time and will involve a great deal of money for barracks and equipment and supporting services. I hope that much of this task will be accomplished during the four year development plan. It is our firm resolve to maitain the noble tradition of the Armed Forces as impartial and non-partisan defenders of the country's integrity and unity and its Constitution. There should be no room in future for political interference with the Armed Forces, or their use in furtherance of partisan political ends. Only thus can stability be enhanced.

ERADICATION OF CORRUPTION

I shall now deal with the question of corruption in our own national life. This country needs the observance of more stringent moral standards. A new country cannot develop and attain greatness except its people are motivated by high ideals. We can no longer tolerate a situation in which some people in high positions abuse their office to enrich themselves. The tone of society must be changed if there is to be trust and confidence between the leadership and the people, For only then will people be happy to make the sacrifices necessary for achieving a faster rate of progress.

This is why the Military Government will intesify the drive against corruption in whatever quarters it may exist—civilian or Military. New measures will be introduced to make those found guilty of corruption to disgorge their ill-gotten gains. Special tribunals will be set up to deal speedly with corruption in all organs of the public services and our society generally. The war against corruption is a continuing process and the Military Government must set a new pattern in combatting this evil before return of civilian rule.

THE CREATION OF MORE STATES

The Federal Military Government is aware of the conflicting attitudes regarding the question of the creation of more states. The Supreme Military Council has given serious thought to this problem. You will remember that in November 1966 when I promised to create states, I enunciated certain principles which must be observed in the creation of states. I said then that:

(*i*) no one state should be in a position to dominate or control the Central Government;

(*ii*) each State should form one compact geographical area;

(*iii*) administrative convenience, the facts of the history, and the wishes of the people concerned must be taken into account;

(*iv*) each state should be in a position to discharge effectively the functions allocated to Regional Governments;

(*v*) it is also essential that the new States should be created simultaneously.

All these criteria have to be applied together. No one principle should be applied to the exclusion of the others. To give an illustration of what I have in mind; given the present size and distribution of the population and resources, the country could be divided into not less than eight and not more than fourteen states".

These principles were applied in creating the twelve States in May 1967. I am satisfied that the twelve states structure has in fact produced a basis for political stability in that the structual imbalance of the first republic has been decesively corrected. But I am aware also that there are certain grievancies which have led to the demand for more states. Some of these grievances relate to the question of more rapid development and more even distribution of social services and development projects. Some people also feel that all sections of a State should be fully represented in all the organs of Government in the State. We cannot satisfy these grievances by creating more states since there will be no limit to the number of States. Honestly, we cannot push the principle of creating more states too far.

We must bear in mind that the final analysis the ordinary people will judge us not by the number of State Governments and Commissioners which we create but by the rate at which farms are expanded and modernised, factories are built, new schools are established and more money comes into the hands of the ordinary people. For these desirable things to happen we need sustained economic progress. I have already referred to the next four year Plan. It was prepared on the basis of the existing twelve States. We are now mobilising our domestic resources on the basis of the existing twelve states to implement the Plan. We cannot stand still. There in no time to loose. I believe, therefore, that the instability and the difficulties involved in embarking upon an exercise of creating more states will not be worthwhile in the present circumstances. We want to press on with the task of modernisation, and improving the lot of the ordinary man. I give you my solemn pledge that the Federal Military Government will project the interest of all citizens in every part of this country.

It is therefore not our intention during the next four years to embark upon any exercise involving changing the present twelve states structure. We need time to settle down after the disruption of the war and face the immense task of post-war reconstruction. We live, however, in a dynamic society. The situation will be reviewed at the end of this period. If we are convinced then that it is in the national interest to create more states, the Military Government will create them before handing over to an elected government.

However, I take this opportunity to warn the nation of the dangerous consequences of ethnic and clannish exclusiveness in administering our affairs. Every Nigerian must be free to settle and work wherever he chooses to reside irrespective of his ethnic origin. This is why we fought a long war to preserve the unity of this country. We must remain true to our principles.

Moreover, free mobility of persons is necessary for ensuring the even spread of development all over the country in the shortest possible time. It will be the policy of the Federal Government, therefore, during the next few years to ensure that the correct policies and practices regarding the free mobility of Nigerians are implemented everwhere. I appeal to the leaders and ordinary people in all parts of the country to show an accommodating attitude to all Nigerians irrespective of ethnic and state origins.

A NEW CONSTITUTION

Another major task is the preparation of a new Constitution. I intend to set up a panel soon to prepare the Draft of a new Constitution. When the panel shall have completed its work, a Constituent Assembly will be convened at an appropriate time to decide upon a future Constitution for this country. There is no doubt in my mind that the experiences we have been through in the past few years will confirm us all in the wisdom of maintaining a Federal Constitution. I have been most cheered in my journeys throughout the length and breadth of this country by the spontaneous demonstration of all Nigerians, old and young, of their desire to live in ONE, NIGERIA, in peace and harmony with one another irrespective of tribe religion or creed. They will be demanding a Constitution which will allow the continued growth of one strong nation founded on justice and equal rights for all its citizens. We must be patient and careful enough to prepare a Constitution which will further these aspirations and avoid the mistakes of the past.

REVENUE ALLOCATION

Next, a Fiscal Commission will be set up to recommend a new formula for revenue allocation in the national interest. This will necessarily be linked up with the final distribution of functions between the Federal and State Governments. However, further adjustments may be made as necessary to the interim formula now being used.

NATIONAL POPULATION CENSUS

Regarding the census question, you will all remember that the last population census was taken in 1963 amidst a great deal of acrimony. It is usual all over the world to have a census every 10 years, and another census would be due by 1973. As you all know, the data collected during censuses are essential for economic planning, the organisation of elections and many other vital purposes. The Military Government will therefore conduct a national census before handing over to a cilivian government.

POLITICAL PARTIES

Another task concerns the organisation of political parties. There will be no question of returning to political parties that are merely state, regional or tribal blocks. I hope that during the next few years Nigerians, through working together for a greater nation, will articulate a distinctive national ideology and the objectives and goals of Nigerian Society. It is only in the context of such commonly accepted objectives and goals that the development of political parties can be a positive factor in national building. If we were to return to partisan politics before the country consolidates its unity and national purpose, we would be going back to the old days of permanent crisis and mutual blackmail. I wish now to remind the nation that the old political parties were dissolved by decree in 1966. When the time comes brand new parties founded on the widest possible national basis will arise.

FOREIGN POLICY

I shall now talk about our foreign policy. In Africa and World Affairs, Nigeria cannot be isolationist even if it so desired. The implications of our situation were well illustrated during our recent troubles.

We were much encouraged throughout the Crises by the overwhelming demonstration of suppo rt by African States. The moral support by the Organisation of Africa Unity was invaluable. I take this opportunity once again to thank the Heads of States and Government of the O.A.U. for their support and encouragement which enable Nigeria to overcome the manoeuvres of the enemies of Nigerian unity. The African states rightly saw in the unity of Nigeria an essential condition for African unity. Moreover, peoples of African descent throughout the world see in a strong Nigeria a banner of hope, and an instrument for achieving self-respect for the black man, so long degraded every where. Naturally therefore, our first concern must be to contribute effectively towards the stability of Africa. We shall work relentlessly for the total elimination of colonialism and racism from the African Continent, the fostering of African unity and the establishment of regional economic unions in Africa. In pursuing these objectives we would firmly adhere to our policy of respect for the sovereignty of every country in Africa. We have no territorial ambitions whatsoever.

Outside the African Continent, we shall work more energetically with all developing countries to sustain the independence of small countries, and to remove the obstacles to more rapid development placed before us by the economic domination and the trading practices of the richer countries. We shall also oppose human suffering and degradation anywhere in the world, or the suppression of the freedom and sovereignty of any country.

International relations should be founded on goodwill and peaceful co-operation. We shall, therefore, in the United Nations and other Councils of the world strive for the removal of the causes of conflict and for the promotion of world peace. We recognise that the Big Powers in particular, and other developed nations have a special role to play in promoting world peace and the economic development of the poorer countries. In this context, they should make a special constructive efforts in the United Nations Second Development Decade.

Our policy of non-alignment will be given more active expression. Nigeria will not be concerned with ideological conflicts. We shall therefore co-operate with all countries which are willing to work with us in developing our resources to improve the well-being of our people.

FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS

Lastly, the question of elections; when we shall have reorganised our Armed Forces, prepared a new Constitution, conducted a new census, purged the country of corrupt and unpatrotic elements and fulfilled the other task, already mentioned, it will remain the duty of the Military Government to organise free and fair elections in order to hand over the country to properly elected Governments. The elections must be properly arranged and supervised to ensure that the exercise is successful. We intend to do these things properly so that the new civilian government may be ushered in without recriminations.

A TIME TABLE FOR FINISHIG THE TASKS

My dear country men and women, it is not practicable in dealing with human beings to impose rigid predetermined time-tables for achieving such important and delicate task. At the beginning of 1967 when we hoped that good reasons would prevail the Supreme Military Council adopted a two year programme which was meant to restore the country to full civilian rule in 1969. Unfortunatly the intransigence of the former rebel leadership and the war of secession which they launched overtook our plans.

We are happy that the worst days are over. But the consequences of the war remain; the farms and factories and towns devastated in the War affected areas; the roads and bridges, school and social welfare services negleted all over the country while we concentrated all our resources on maitaining the territorial integrity and unity of this great country. It is the duty of the Military Government to wipe out the traces of the War. We hope to achieve this during the next four years. We shall also proceed as rapidly as possible during this period to deal with all the nine major issues which I have listed.

In order to carry out this programme successfully we shall require all the singleness of purpose, the courage, the hardwork and the patriotism which the Armed Forces and the entire nation displayed during the anxious days of War. The target year for completing our political programme and returning the country to normal constitutional Government is 1976. We shall hasten and try to complete the Programme earlier if possible. It is essential that we all work loyally together. We cannot afford to be distracted from these tasks by the unpatriotic activities of any group of persons. I shall report periodically to the nation on the progress of the Programme.

I am sure that I can count on the loyalty, devotion and dedication of the Armed Forces in the trying years ahead as we refashion the fabric of our society, and emerge into the world as a strong and modern nation, deserving of respect from all the countries of the world. I am also confident that my appeal will be heeded by all the citizens of this country to be prepared to make greater sacrifices, to work hard, to show faith, trust and patient in pursuing the great national goals ahead of us.

We have been guided in our actions and in preparing this Programme by the best interest of the people of this country especially the new generation. I charge the youth of this country to demonstrate the virtues of this resolution, dedication, and faith. I call particularly on those who aspire to the future leadership of this country, to be guided always by the highest ideals. You all have a special role to play in making Nigeria a great nation and a happier society. We owe it to out posterity and to African people everywhere to triumph in our enterprise in nation building. So help us God.

LONG LIVE ONE UNITED AND STRONG NIGERIA

JAWABIN DA MAI GIRMA MAJOR-JANAR, SHUGABAN GWAMNATIN MULKIN SOJA TA TARAYYA, KUMA BABBAN-KWAMANDAN RUNDUNAR SOJOJI YA YI TA GIDAN REDIO A RANAN DAYA GA WATAN OKTOBA, 1970

HADA KAI, ZAMAN TARE CIKIN KWANCIYAR HANKALI DA CI GABA

KALUBALOLIN DA AKA SAMU A KARNI NA BIYU BAYAN-SAMUN 'YANCIN KAN KASAR NIGERIA

Yanuwana 'yan kasa maza da mata:

A yau muna shagulgulan karo na goma da samun cikakken 'yancin kanmu. Muna kuma yi wadannan shagulgulan cikin kwanciyar hankali, hada kai da samun zaman lafiya. Saboda samun haka muna addu'a na musamman ga Sarki Allah mai girma.

Har yanzu dai cikin zukatanmu muna tune da irin dauki ba dadin da aka yi a kasarmu. A zamanin shekaru goman nan da muka samu cikakken 'yancin kanmu, kasarmu ta fuskanci wahaloli iri dabam-dabam, wanda ma suka kawo tashin yakin basasan nan da aka yi watanni talatin ana gabazawa, da kuma aka kare a cikin watan Janairu. Za mu ci gaba da juyayi cikin tausayi na dubban rayukan samarinmu da suka mace a lokacin wannan yakin, da kuma irin sauran hasaran da muka yi. Amma kuma zai zamanto kuskure ne cikin tarihin nasaran da muka samu a shekarun nan goma in har dai muka bada karfin yin nazarinmu da wahalolin yakin da aka yi.

Yakin nan da aka yi ya sa mun dauki wassu matakai zuwa ga kyakyawar ci gaba: wato kirkiro jihohi goma sha biyu a kasan nan ya sa mun gyara tafarkin mulkin tarayya da ba ta zauna sosai kan kafufuwanta ba, da kuma tabbatarwa da karfaffan ginshikin al'amuran siyasa. Nasaran da muka samu a yakin hada kai ya kara jaddada hada kai da kuma tsare mutuncin kasarmu. Yin haka kuma ya wargaza muggan aniyar nan na mutanen nan da ke kokarin karkasa kasashen Afirka da kuma maido da tafarkin mulkin mallaka. Mun tsare mutuncin daya daga cikin manyan irin wadannan kasuwoyin a Afirka—wato inda dai za'a sami ci gaban tattalin arzikin kasa da kuma kyautata yanayin zaman al'ummanta. Babban abin farin ciki ne da ganin irin yadda ake tafiyadda kuma cikin nasara da kyautata sanin ya kamata tsakanin al'umma tun bayan kare yakin nan babu shakka 'yanuwanmu nan da suka saida rayukansu a lokacin yakin nan, rayukansu bai bi ruwa a banza ba, sailin nan kuma mun daura kudurin aniyar da ba zamu basu kunya ba.

Ina gaida Rundunar sojojinmu saboda jaruntakarsu da kuma kulawa da ayyukansu a lokacin da ake cikin zamanin bacin rai. Ina sake nuna godiya ta ga dukkan al'umman kasan nan saboda kudurin da suka daura da kuma tsayuwar dukan goyon bayan da suka baiwa gwamnati. In ba don irin wannan goyon bayan ba da Gwamnatin mulkin soja ba ta sami cinnasara ba wajen ceton kasa daga wargajewa da maido ta kyakkyawar kuma haskakkiyar makoma.

Ya kamata kuma mu yi fariya da cewa ko da shike mun fuskanci wassu mawuyacin wahaloli duk da haka kasar nan tamu ta sami ci gaba kan harkokin ilmi, tattalin arzikin kasa da kyautata yanayin zaman duniyar al'umma cikin shekarun nan goma da suka wuce. Alal ga misali, ma'amalar cinikinmu da kasashen waje ya karu da fam miliyan £315 a cikin shakaran 1959 zuwa fam miliyan £629 a cikin shekaran 1969. A cikin shekaran 1959 mun sayar wa kasahen waje man fetur da ba'a tatse ba kusan akalla rabin miliyan ton ne. A cikin shekaran 1969 ya kai ton miliyan 27, sailin nan kuma a cikin wannan shekara ya wuce ton miliyan 50. A cikin shekarun baya kuma kayayyakin da ake kerawa a masana'antunmu ya karu da fiye da kashi dari uku bisa kashi dari. An ribanya yawan daliban da ake daukawa a makarantun sakandare tsakanin shekaran 1959 da 1969. Babban abin sha'awa ne mu yi li'akari da cewa mun fi samun nasara a wadannan fannonin a cikin shekaran 1969 fiye da zamanin da kafin yaki ya tashi.

A yanzu dai mun dauki shararriyar hanya ce wajen samun ci gaba cikin hanzari da kuma zamunta ba tare da ka ce na ce ba. Gwamnati na sane da irin bukatun da al'umma ke da su: wato na samun zaman lafiya da tsaro, kyautata yanayin zaman duniya na yau da kullum da kuma samowa 'yayansu kyakkyawar makoma. Wadannan dai sune manyan abubuwan da ake bukata; wato kalubalan da ke gaban kowace gwamnati, kuma suna bukatan a yi nazari da su da kyakkyawar manufa.

Dukkanmu na sane da cewan duk wani irin muhimmin ci gaba da za'a samu za'a samu ne in har ana cikin kwanciyar hankali da zaman lafiya. Wannan ma shine babban dalilin da ya sa Gwamnatin mulkin soja ta tarayya ta fi bada muhimancin shirye-shiryenta wajen samun ci gaba da kuma maido gwamnati mai bin tafarkin tsarin mulki wacce zata kamala harkokinta bisa ga yadda al'umman kasa ke bukata.

Dukkanmu na bukatan jaruntaka, sanin ya kamata da kuma hakuri wajen shawo kan wahalolin da muke fuskanta wajen maida tafarkin mulkin kasarmu ga fararen hula. Tilas ne a yi ta hanyar da wajen mika ragaman mulkin nan ga zababun wakilan al'umma za'a sami zaman lafiya da kwanciyar hankali irin ta siyasa kuma na zamani jin dindin. Saboda haka tilas ne kada mu gaggauta kan harkoki amma mu yi taka tsantsan.

Na dauki alkawari bayan da muka kare yakin hada kai a watan Janairu cewan zan shaida wa al'umman kasa kafin shekara ya kare irin shiryeshiryen harkokin siyasa da Gwamnatin mulkin soja ke yi. Majalisar Zartaswa ta sojoji ta zartas da kuduri kan wani shiri na manyan ayyukan da zata yi kafin a mika gwamnatin kasa ga fararen hula dauke da sanin alhakin da ya rataya wuyansu. Cikin ginshikan shirin nan guda tara da zai tabbatar da samun zaman lafiya, kwanciyar hankali da ci gaba a kasar nan da:

(*i*) Yi wa rundunar sojojinmu garambawul;

(*ii*) fara aiki da shirin ci gaban kasa da kuma gyara abubuwan da aka bata ko kuma ba'a yi ba a lokacin yaki;

(*iii*) shafe cin rashawa da hanci a zaman mu na duniya;

(*iv*) zartadda kuduri na karshe kan karin kirkiro jihohi;

(*v*) kafa tafarkin da za'a rinka raba gadon haraji;

(*vi*) kirgan yawan al'uman kasa wato *census*;

(*vii*) kafa jam'iyyun siyasa na kasa ga baki dayanta;

(*viii*) shirya yadda za'a tafiyadda babban zaben wakilai na majalisun dokokin kasa da kuma na jihohi.

Zan yi cikakken bayani kan wadannan batu da na ambata a sama da kuma suka fuskanci kasa. Zan sake jaddada cewan tilas ne a yi taka tsantsan da wadannan batutuwan, sailin nan kuma mu yi tunani da irin kuskure da matsaloli wadanda suka aiyana sabili da burin mulkin wassu mutane 'yan kalilan, wanda kuma ya kawo rushewar jamhuriya ta farko.

SHIRIN CI GABAN KASA

Zan yi batu da farko kan shirin ci gaban kasa. Ina mai farin ciki da in shaida muku cewan an gama shirye-shirye na farko. A cikin wannan wata za'a fara amfani da shi bayan da majalisar zartaswa na sojoji ta zartas da kuduri bisa kansa. Daga nan ne kuma za'a bada cikakken bayani. Wannan shirin na kunshe da jarin fam miliyan £1,595 a shekaran 1970-74. Manyan ginshikan wannan shirin guda biyar ne wadanda kuma manufa shine na maida Nigeria:

(*i*) hadaddiya, karfaffawa kuma ba mai dangana kan wassu kasashe ba;

(*ii*) a sami tattalin arzikin kasa mai amfani;

(*iii*) a sami kasa mai albarkan gona.

iv) kasa mai albarka da kuma baiwa kowane dan kasa dama daidaiwadaida;

(*v*) kasa 'yantaciya mai kuma bin mulkin dimokuradiyya.

Kudin da za'a kashe wajen kyautata yanayi al'umma ya kai fam miliyan 780.

Mun daura kudurin cikin shekaru hudu masu zuwa mu kara haskaka tattalin arzikin kasar Nijeriya ya zama irin na zamani, sailin nan kuma a kai shi ga matsayin da albarkan kasar mu da ma'aikata don a tabbatar da ci gaban wannan kasa.

Watakila zai zamanto mafi sauki da a yi shirye-shirye fiye da a tafiyad da aikin. In har dai ana bukatan samun cin nasaran wannan shirin tilas ne kowa da kowa a kasar ya tashi tsaye ya bada irin nasa taimakon. Wannan shirin na bukatan a fi bada karfi kan irin ayyukan da ake bukata cikin gaggawa da kuma taimakon al'ummanmu domin mu sami cin nasaran abinda muka sa a gabanmu. Shirin nan na bukatan a kara yawan tsimi da tanadin da muke yi a kasarmu fiye da na zamanin baya.

Abu ne mai muhimmanci a ciwo kan wahalolin tattalin arzikin kasa a 'yankunan da yakin nan ya shafa a lokacin da ake ci gaba da wannan shirin. Haka kuma abu ne mai muhimanci a cikin 'yan shekaru masu zuwa da a kafa ginshikin ci gaban kowane sashe na kasan nan daidaiwadaida kan matsalolin da suka shafi tattalin arzikin kasa da kuma na ilmi. Bai kamata mu bar banbancin ci gaban sassun kasan nan da kuma rashin ci gaban wassu ya yiwa kasar mu barazana.

GARAMBAWUL A MA'AIKATAN RUNDUNAR SOJOJI

Wani muhimmin aiki da ke gaban gwamnatin sojoji shine yin wa rundunar sojoji garambawul. Wani abin farya ne ga rundunar sojojin kasar nan da kuma 'yan sanda kan yadda suka tafiyadda ayyukansu cikin lumana da kuma nasara cikin shekaru ukun nan da suka wuce. Sun sami nasara wajen tsare mutunci da kuma hada kan kasarsu, a kamar yadda aka bukace su da yi bayan rantsuwar da suka dauka. Domin tafiyadda wadannan ayyukan an kara ribanya yawan sojoji. Cikin gaggawa sai aka maida karamar rundunar sojoji da ta fito daga hanyan masu mulkin mallaka ta zama daya daga cikin manyan rundunar sojoji. An kuma kafa rundunar sojojin ruwa da na jiragen sama sun zama masu yaki. A lokacin yakin nan sojojinmu sun kutsa kai cikin dokar daji, sun kuma zauna cikin ramuka ba tare da jin dadi ba. Yaranmu sun sha wannan wuyan cikin hakuri da kuma mazantaka domin tsare mutuncin kasarsu. Mun kuma sani cewan da shike cikin gaggawa mun kara fadada yawan sojojinmu bai

zamanto abu mai sauki ba da a tabbatar da ladabi da kuma biyayyan kowane soja ba a kamar yadda aka san sojojin Nijeriya da shi.

Saboda haka aiki ne a gabanmu na sake yiwa sojojinmu garambawul domin a kara inganta ayyukansu na wajen tsaron cikin gida da kuma tsaro in ko da Allahbashi za'a kawo mana hari daga kasashen waje. A sa'i guda kuma ya kamata mu baiwa sojojinmu abubuwan jin dadi domin su sami daman tafiyadda harkokinsu cikin tsanaki.

Abu ne muhimmi da a kula da lafiyar sojoji masu kuma cikin yanayin farin ciki wajen samun kwanciyar hankali a kasar nan kamar dai na sauran kasashen duniya. Saboda haka wannan aiki da ke gaban mu zai dauki dan lokaci sailin nan kuma za'a badda dimbin kudi wajen gina sabbin barakoki da kuma sayen muhimman kayayyakin aiki da dai makamatansu. Ina fatan za'a cimma yawanci daga cikin wadannan abubuwan da na zana a cikin shirin ci gaban nan na shekara hudu. Mun kuma daura kudurin ganin cewa sojoji zasu ci gaba da bin tafarkin nan da aka san su da shi tun aru-aru wato na tsare mutuncin kasar da hada kai da kuma tsare tafarkin mulkin kasa. Ba za'a yarda a sanya harkokin siyasa ba cikin ayyukan sojoji, ko kuma a yi amfani da su wajen cin ma burin siyasar wassu mutane 'yan kalilan. Ta haka ne kawai za'a iya samun zaman lafiya da kwanciyar hankali.

KAUDA CIN HANCI DA RASHAWA

A yanzu kuma zan yi batu ne game da cin hanci da rashawa a kasar nan tamu. Ya kamata kasar nan tamu ta tashi tsaye wajen inganta yanayin zaman tare. Sabuwar kasa ba za a iya samun ci gaba ba sai dai ko al'ummanta sun iya zaman tare Ba za mu yarda ba da ganin yadda wassu mutane da ke manyan mukamai ke amfani da matsayinsu domin kawai su tara dukiya. Tilas ne a canja ra'ayin zaman tare in har dai ana bukatan samun kyakkyawar sanin ya kamata tsakanin shugabanni da al'umma. Ta haka ne kawai mutane za su sami kwanciyar hankali ta yadda za su bada cikakken taimako wajen samun ci gaba cikin gaggawa.

Wannan ma shi ne dalilin da ya sa Gwamnatin Soja za ta kara ingancin yaki da kauda cin hanci da kuma rashawa a kowane sashe, ko na farar hula ko kuma na sojoji. Za'a dauki wassu sabbin matakai kan dukkan mutanen da aka same su da laifin tara dukiyan da ba na guminsu ba ne su maida su. Za'a kafa hukumomin bincike na musamman da a cikin gaggawa za su kauda cin hanci da rashawa a koina cikin kasar nan. Yaki da kauda cin hanci da rashawa za'a ci gaba da yinsa, sailin nan kuma Gwamnatin Soja za ta san yadda za ta yi maganin nan matsalar kafin a mika ragamar mulki ga fararen hula.

KARA KAFA JIHOHI

Gwamnatin Mulkin Soja ta Tarayya ta san yadda matsaloli suka zama rikitattu kan batun nan na kara kafa jihohi. Majalisar zartaswa na sojoji ta yi nazari da wannan batun kuma cikin tsanaki. Watakila zaku iya tunawa cikin watan Nuwamba na shekaran 1966 a lokacin da na dauki alkawarin cewan zan kirkiro jihohi, na jaddada wassu manufofi wadanda tilas ne za'a yi nazari da su kan batun nan na kafa jihohi. A lokacin na ce:

(*i*) babu wata jiha da zata sami matsayin da zata buwayi gwamnatin tsakiya ba;
(*ii*) kowane jiha zata zama bisa ginshikin jeyogarafiyya;
(*iii*) harkokin mulki su kuma zama masu sauki, harkokin tarihi, sailin nan kuma tilas ne a yi amfani da ra'ayyin al'umma;
(*iv*) kowace jiha za ta sami daman da za ta tafiyadda harkokinta a kamar yadda da suke a karkashin gwamnatin jihohi;
(*v*) zai zamanto muhimmin abu ne kuma a kirkiro jihohin nan a lokaci guda.

Tilas ne kuma a yi amfani da wadannan abubuwa da na zana. Bai kamata a yi amfani da daya matsalar a kuma bar wani ba. Bari in kara baiyana abin da na ke nufi; idan aka yi nazari da girma da yawan mutane da kuma albarkan kasa na yanzu haka, za'a iya raba kasar nan cikin jihohi takwas ko kuma kada su wuce goma sha hudu.

An yi amfani da wadannan manufofi a lokacin da aka kafa jihohi goma sha biyu a watan Mayu shekaran 1967. Na yi shukura da cewan ginshikin kafa jihohin nan goma sha biyu ya sa an sami daidaita harkokin siyasa fiye da yadda da suke a jamhuriya ta farko. Amma kuma na san cewa akwai wassu guna-guni da suka kawo bukatan nan na kara kafa jihohi. Wassu daga cikin bukatun nan na hade ne da batun ci gaba da kuma abubuwan jin dadi daidai-wa-daida. Wassu mutane na jin cewa ya kamata dukkan sassun jihohi su sami wakilci a dukkan ma'aikatun gwamnatin jihohi. Ba zamu iya cimma wadannan bukatun ba tun da shike za'a iya ci gaba da kirkiro jihohi da ba wanda ya san yawansu. A ainihin gaskiya ba za mu iya bada karfi kan batun karin kafa jihohi ba.

Tilas ne mu yi li'akari da cewan daga karshe al'umma ne zasu ga irin abubuwan da muka yi ba kawai ga tarin yawan jihohi da muka kirkiro ba a'a har ma da yadda aka kara ingancin gonaki, yawan masana'antun da aka gina, sabbin makarantu da kuma irin arzikin da mutane suka yi. Domin mu sami wadannan muhimman abubuwan tilas ne mu inganta tattalin arzikin kasar nan. Tuni na yi batu kan wannan a cikin shirinmu na ci gaba.

An kuma shirya shi ne a karkashin ginshikin jihohi goma sha biyu da muke da su a yazu haka. A yanzu muna amfani da albarkan kasarmu a karkashin jihohin nan goma sha biyu dommin tafiyadda harkokin wannan shiri. Bai kamata mu tsaya cif ba. Bamu da lokacin da zamu bata. Na bada gaskiya, sabili da ba wani amfani da za'a samu wajen bada karfi wajen batun kirkiro jihohi kuma, a cikin yanayin da muke ciki. Muna bukatan mu fi ba da karfinmu wajen zamunta al'amura da kuma kyautata yanayin zaman al'ummanmu. Na dauki alkawarin cewa Gwamnatin Mulkin Soja ta Tarayya zata tsare mutuncin dukkan al'umma da kuma abubuwan da ya shafe su a koina cikin kasan nan.

Saboda haka ba nufinmu bane a cikin shekaru hudu masu zuwa da mu dauki wani mataki da zai canja tafarkin jihohin nan goma sha biyu da muke da su a yanzu. Muna bukatan lokaci da zamu zauna kuma harkoki su koma kamar na da bayan wahalolin yaki da aka samu mu kuma fuskanci ayyukan nan na sake ginin kasa bayan yaki. Muna zaune ne dai a kasa mai albarka. Zamu kuma sake yin nazari da al'amura bayan lokaci. In muka tabbatar cewa kasa na bukatan a kara kafa jihohi to babu shakka Gwamnatin Soja zata kafa karfin ta mika ragaman mulki ga farar hula da aka zaba.

Ina bukatan daukan wannan dama da in yi wa kasa kashedi kan irin wahalolin da za'a samu in har muka shigadda batun kabilanci cikin al'amuran tafiyadda harkokinmu. Tilas ne kowane dan Nigeria ya sami 'yancin zama ko aiki a koina cikin kasan nan ba tare da nuna banbancin kabilanci ba. Wannan ma shine dalilin da ya sa muka yi yaki mai tsawon gaske domin tabbatarwa da hada kan kasarmu. Tilas ne kada mu kauce hanyar manufofinmu. Bugu da kari kuma tilas ne mutane su sami daman walawa domin a tabbatar da sabon ci gaba daidai-wa-daida kuma cikin gaggawa. Zai zamanto manufar Gwamnatin Tarayya ne nan da shekaru kadan masu zuwa da ta tabbatar da cewan kowane dan Nigeria na da yancin walawa a koina. Ina kira kan shugabanni da kuma mutane a koina cikin kasan nan da su yi wa 'yanuwansu yan Nigeria marhabin ba tare da nuna kabilanci ba, ko kuma jihohin da suka fito.

SABON TSARIN TAFARKIN MULKI

Wani babban aiki kuma shine tsara sabon tafarkin mulki. Ina da nufin kafa wata hukuma nan ba da jimawa ba da za ta tsara sabon tafarkin mulki. A lokacin da wannan hukumar kuma ta kammala ayyukanta, za'a kira taron majalisar wakilai a lokacin da ya cancanta domin ta yi nazari da kowane irin tafarkin tsarin mulki ne ya kamaci wannan kasa. Bani da shakka cikin zuciyana kan cewa irin abubuwan da suka aiyana a zamanin baya zai sa cewan mu bi tafarkin gaskiya shine na ci gaba da bin tsarin

tafarkin mulki irin na tarayya. A koina cikin kasar nan da na ziyarta akan karbe ni da hannu biyu-biyu, maza da mata, samari da tsaffi, kan bukatunsu na zama yan Nigeria daya cikin kwanciyar hankali ba tare da nuna banbancin kabila ko addini ba. Za su bukaci tsarin tafarkin mulki da zai ba su 'yancin daidai-wa-daida. Tilas ne mu yi li'akari mu kuma tsara tafarkin mulki wanda zai kara haskaka wadannan manufofinmu kuma guji irin kuskuren da aka yi a zamanin baya.

RABA GADON HARAJI

Za'a kuma kafa hukumar raba gadon haraji domin samun zaman lafiyar kasa. Wannan kuma zai shafi yadda za'a tafiyadda harkoki tsakanin gwamnatin Tarayya da na Jihohi. Watakila kuma za'a yi wassu 'yan canje-canje kan tafarkin wucin gadi da muke amfani da shi a yanzu haka.

KIRGAN YAWAN AL'UMMAN KASA

A kuma game da batun kirgan yawan al'umman kasa, zaku iya tunawa cewan kirgan yawan al'umman kasa da aka yi na karshe shine a cikin shekara 1963 a lokacin da ake rubuta. An saba a koina cikin kasashen duniya da a kirga yawan al'umman kasa bayan kowane shekara goma, saboda haka a cikin shekaran 1973 za'a sake kirgan yawan mutanen kasan nan. A kuma kamar yadda kuka sani, ana amfani da irin kirgan yawan al'umma kasa wajen shirye-shiryen ci gaban kasa, shirin yin zaben wakilai majalisa da kuma wassu muhimman dalilai. Saboda haka Gwamnatin Soja zata sa a yi kirgan yawan al'umma kafin ta mika ragaman mulki ga farar hula.

JAM'IYYUN SIYASA

Wani muhimmin aiki kuma shine na kafa jam'iyyun siyasa. Bai kamata a koma kan tsohon batun nan na samun jam'iyyun siyasa da suka shafi jihohi kawai ba, ko kuma na 'yan kabila guda. Ina fatan a cikin 'yan shekaru masu zuwa nan gaba 'Yan Nigeria, ta hanyar aiki tare domin samun gawurtatciyar kasa, zasu kafa jam'iyyun siyasa da zai shafi dukkan kasa kuma mai manufa guda. Ta bin irin wannan hanyar ne kawai wajen kafa jam'iyyun siyasa za'a sami cin nasara wajen gina 'yantatciyar kasa kuma mai albarka. In zamu koma irin tafarkin siyasar da aka saba wato na 'yan ku ci ku bamu kafin kasar ta sami cika burinta to babu shakka zamu koma gidan jiya na samun tashin hankali a kulluyomin. Ina bukatan a yanzu haka in tunatadda al'umman kasa cewa dokar mulkin Soja a cikin shekaran 1966 ya soke dukkan jam'iyyun siyasa. In lokaci ya yi zan kafa sabbin jam'iyyun siyasa da manufofinsu ya shafi kasa gabaki dayanta.

MANUFOFIN HARKOKIN WAJE

A yanzu kuma zan yi batu akan manufofinmu na kasashen waje A matsalolin da suka shafi kasashen Afirka da duniya baki dayanta, babu yadda za'a yi wa Nigeria in har ma tana bukatan hakan. A lokacin kasar ke fuskantar wassu wahaloli da 'yan zamanin, kowa dai ya ga batun da ke yi a fili.

Mun yi farin ciki da irin taimakon da wassu kasashen Afirka suka ba mu a zamanin da muke cikin yakin nan. Haka kuma irin taimakon da kungiyar hada kan kasashen Afirka ta bayar na da yawan gaske. Ina daukan wannan dama in sake godewa Shugabannin kasashen da ke da wakilci a cikin kungiyar hada kan kasashen Afirka saboda irin taimakon da suka baiwa Nijeriya wanda ma ya sa har ta sami daman shawo kan makiyan ta da basa kaunan ganin hada kai a kasar. Kasashen Afirkan nan a bisa gaskiya sun ga amfanin lailai Nijeriya ta hada kanta domin ma haka shine zai sa kasashen Afirka su hada kan su. Bugu da kari kuma al'umman da ke da jinin Afirka a jikinsu a koina cikin kasashen duniya sun ga cewan hadaddiyar Nijeriya ita ce fatagare su, wanda kuma zai zama ginshiki ne na samowa bakaken fata daraja, da da ake wulakantawa a ko ina. Saboda haka babban aikin da ke gaban mu shine na samowa kasashen Afirka kwanciyar hankali. Zamu yi aiki ba ji ba gani, ba dare ba rana domin kauda mulkin mallaka da nuna al'umanci a kasashen Afirka, kara karfafa hada kan kasashen Afirka da kuma kakkafa kungiyoyin tattalin arzikin kasa na jihohi a Afirka. A kuma bin kaidodin wadannan manufofi tilas ne mu bi tafarkin nan na baiwa kowace kasa 'yancin ta a Afirka. Ba mu da burin fadada kasarmu ko kadan.

A kuma sauran kasashen duniya da ba na Afirka ba, za mu yi aiki tukuru tare da sauran matasan kasashe domin tabbatar da 'yancin kanannan kasashe, sailin nan kuma mu kauda garkuwoyin da aka sanya bisa kan hanyar ci gaban ku cikin gaggawa wato wadanda kasashen da suka ci gaba suka sanya tun ma ba kan harkokin tattalin arzikin kasa da kuma ciniki ba. Zamu kuma la'anci wulakanta rayukan yan adam da kuma shan wuyansu a ko ina cikin kasashen duniya ko kuma danniyar 'yancin kasashen.

Tilas ne a sami ginshin hada kai tsakanin kasashen duniya ta bin fatan alheri wa juna da kuma hada kai cikin lumana. Saboda haka a majalisar dinkin duniya da sauran majalisun duniya zamu ci gaba da neman kauda hanyoyin nan da ke kawo tashin hankali da kuma haskaka al'amuran samun zaman lafiya a ko ina cikin duniya. Mun san cewan manyan kasashen duniya da kuma sauran kasashen duniya da suka ci gaba na da alhaki na musamman wajen inganta harkokin samun zaman lafiya a duniya da

kuma ci gaban matasan kasashe. A game da wannan ya kamata su dauki mataki na musamman a shirin ci gaba na majalisar dinkin duniya a karni na biyu.

Za'a kuma kara fahimtadda manufar nan namu na zaman 'yan barwanmu. Ba abinda zai dami Nijeriya cikin yakin cacan baki da na manufofi. Saboda haka zamu hada kai da dukkan kasashe da ke bukatan hada kai da mu wajen inganta albarkan kasarmu da kuma inganta yanayin zaman al'ummanmu.

ZABEN ZUWA MAJALISUN DOKOKI DA BABU CUKU-CUKU

Daga karshe, shine batun zaben falan daya rana daya kuma don balagaggu da babu cuku-cuku don zuwa majalisun dokokinmu; a lokacin da muka yi wa sojojin garambawul, shirya sabon tsarin tafarkin mulki, mu kirga yawan al'ummanmu, mu kauda cin hanci da rashawa a kasar mu, mu kuma sami cin nasara kan sauran wahaloli da na batu kai tun farko, zai zamanto alhakin Gwamnatin Soja ne da ta shirya zaben falan daya rana daya don balagaggu ba tare da wani cuku-cuku ba domin ta sami daman mika ragaman mulki ga zababbiyar gwamnatoci. Tilas ne cikin sanaki ta tafiyadda harkokin babban zaben nan domin a tabbatar da cewan an sami cin nasara. Muna da niyyar aikata wadannan abubuwa a hankali kuma ta hanyar gaskiya ta yadda za'a mika wa farar hula gwamnatoci ta tafarkin da ya kamata.

SHIRIN YADDA ZA'A KAMMALA WADANNAN AYYUKAN

'Yanuwana maza da mata, kun san an ce mutum sai Allah, Saboda haka ba zai zamanto daidai ba a ce in kana ma'amala da mutum ka bashi tabbas kan shirye-shiryenka wajen samun nasara kan muhimman matsaloli kuma mawuyata. A farkon shekaran 1970 mun yi fatan cewan shirin nan da majalisar zartaswa na sojoji ta zartas na shirin shekara biyu domin maida kasar ga hannayen mulkin farar hula a cikin shekaran 1969. Abin bakin ciki shine taurin kai da yakin da 'yan tawaye suka tayar sai suka bata mana shirinmu.

Muna fatan cewan kwanakin siradi sun wuce. Amma kuma wahalolin yakin nan har yanzu suna nan—akwai gonaki, masana'antu da kuma garuruwan da aka bata a 'yakin da aka yi, hanyoyin motoci da gadaje, makarantu da kuma ba'a kulawa da yanayin jin dadin al'umma kamar yadda aka saba, don mun bada karfinmu kan tsare mutuncin kan kasar mu da kuma hada kai. Alhaki ne kan Gwamnatin Soja da ta kauda duk wasu wahaloli da yakin nan ya kawo. Muna fatan mu sami nasara kan wannan matsalar nan da shekaru hudu masu zuwa. Zamu kuma sami ci gaba cikin gaggawa a wannan lokacin don mu sami nasara kuma kan muhimman ayyukan nan guda tara da na baiyana.

Domin a sami nasara kan wannan shirin muna bukatan kowa da kowa ya taimaka aiki tukuru kuma tsakani da Allah da kuma irin bajintar da sojoji da kasa ga baki daya ta nuna a lokacin da ake yakin nan. Muna tsammanin a cikin shekaran 1976 zamu gama ayyukan da ke gabanmu kuma mika ragaman mulki ga hannayen farar hula. Zamu gaggauta domin ko zai yiwu mu gama wadannan ayyukan kafin wancan lokacin. Muhimmin abu ne mu yi aiki tare kuma cikin lumana. Babu dama wata kungiya da ba sa kaunan ganin cin nasaranmu su zaci ko zasu kauda hankulan mu daga wadannan muhimman ayyukan. Daga lokaci zuwa lokaci zan rinka baiwa kasa rahoton irin ci gaban da ake samu akan wannan shirin.

Na tabbata zan bada gaskiya na ga sojojinmu domin samun cikakken goyon bayansu a wadannan mawuyatan shekaru da ke kan gabanmu domin mu za mu tadda kasarmu ta yadda sauran kasashen duniya ma zasu bamu darajar da ya cacanta. Na kuma bada gaskiyan cewa kowane na kasar nan zai ji bayanin nan da na yi kuma zasu dauran aniyar yin aiki tukuru domin cin nasaran wannan kasa tamu.

Mun yi nazari da irin matsalolin da ya shafi al'ummanmu ne tun ma ba samari ba a wajen shirya wannan shirin ci gaba. Ina kira kan samarin kasarmu da su tashi tsaye su kuma nuna bajinta da aiki tukuru. Ina kira ma musamman ne kan wadanda ke bukatan zama shugabanni nan gaba. Kuna da alhaki kanku kuma na musamman da zaku aikata domin ganin Nijeriya ta zama muhimmiyar kasa kuma mai kwanciyar hankali. Babban alhaki ne kanmu da kuma sauran kasashen Afirka da mu tashi tsaye domin gina sabuwar kasarmu mai albarka. Allah ka taimakemu.

ALLAH YA KUMA SA A SAMI HADADDIYA KUMA KARFAFFIYAR NIJERIYA.