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INTRODUCTION

The beginning of the Year 2020 was full of promises, expectations and opportunities. The Kukah Centre outlined key areas of project implementation regarding good governance, inter-faith dialogue, leadership development and knowledge and memory preservation. However, like most NGOs, government agencies and international development partners, the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic severely dented the activity implementation of The Kukah Centre. Some projects were suspended, the office was closed and The entire Kukah Centre had to abide by the Federal Government COVID-19 lockdown and other regulatory measures.

After four months (March – June 2020) of lockdown, The Kukah Centre kickstarted

some skeletal services and project implementation. The key activities implemented by The Kukah Centre include: The Caritas Germany Project for training local communities on building social cohesion and countering violent extremism. The project is the second phase implementation after the pilot phase was completed in 2019. Again, the Centre obtained a grant from the Foreign Commonwealth and Development Office on mitigating the impact of COVID-19 on most vulnerable communities in northern Nigeria. The Centre also escalated the Digital Classroom project in 12 northern states, and cascaded the monitoring and evaluation phase of the project. The Kukah Centre, being the Secretariat of the National Peace Committee supported and facilitated peaceful governorship elections

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The Centre also completed the MacArthur Documentary on memory and trauma. highlighting the need for a national strategy on psvcho-social support for victims of violence and conflict beyond military and humanitarian interventions.

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in Edo and Ondo states. In addition to strategic meeting with key stakeholders, the Centre facilitated the signing of Peace Accords in both states to ensure that the outcome of the elections is accepted as long as it is adjudged to be free, fair and credible.

The Centre also completed the MacArthur Documentary on memory and trauma, highlighting the need for a national strategy on psycho-social support for victims of violence and conflict beyond military and humanitarian interventions. Some lecture series were equally undertaken by the Centre. The first was the lecture for students of the National Open University, Abuja on Terrorism and Violent Extremism: History and Ideology. The second was on Countering Violent Extremism in Christianity, delivered to the Nigerian Army. Two other lectures were delivered during the Unveiling Africa Project, first, on the Slave Trade Era and Religious Justification of Slavery, and on, the Fulani Jihad in West Africa (the Emergence of the Sokoto caliphate) and CMS missionaries in Northern Nigeria. The other lecture delivered by the Gender Desk was on Gender: The Role of Women in Peacebuilding in Nigeria.

At the international level, the Centre provided briefing on the recruitment of Children by Boko Haram and ISWAP around the Lake Chad border region to the Working Group on Children Recruited by Terrorist and Violent Extremist Groups based in the USA. The centre also participated on various conferences such as the implementation of DDRR in the Lake Chad border countries to Bonn (Germany) International Centre for Conversations (BICC). The Centre also delivered a lecture to the students of International and Diplomacy Studies at University of South Florida on Terrorism: History, Ideology and Counter Terrorism.

APPRECIATION

The Centre wishes to express her deepest sentiments of gratitude and appreciation to all her staff, consultants, donors, partners, supporters and friends for their contributions, loyalty and commitment to The Kukah Centre ideals. The Centre would like to thank her local partners such as the Atiku Institute for Research and Development, Afrigants, Institute for Peace Studies and Conflict Management, Taraba State University, Catholic Television of Nigeria, Kaduna Business School, Migtan Consultancy, Policy Legal Advocacy Centre, PLAC, Kaduna State Peace Commission, Justice, Peace and Development Commissions of Yola, Sokoto and Kaduna Dioceses, Plateau State Peace Commission, the Para-Mallam Foundation for Peace, Kimpact Development Initiative, YIAGA Africa etc for all the collaboration we have enjoyed over the past one year. The Centre is equally grateful to Caritas Germany, European Union, Swiss Embassy, the European Centre for Electoral Support, ECES, United States Agency for International Development, International Republican Institute, IRI, Foreign Commonwealth and Development Office, McArthur Foundation and all stakeholders and community members that collaborated with the Centre. 2020

ANNUAL REPORT

The Centre remains grateful to all the members of The Kukah Centre Board of Trustees whose commitment has guided and steadied the progress of the Centre. The Centre wishes also to express her profound appreciations to all those she has worked with on the field or at administrative level for their commitment and cooperation. Finally, all the members of staff at the Centre wish to appreciate the leadership, vision and commitment of the Founder, Most Rev. Dr. Matthew Hassan Kukah for his contributions. As the Centre overcomes the impact of the pandemic, it looks forward to the year 2021 with hope, expectations, great enthusiasm and preparedness.

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Mission

Believing that the pursuit of the Common Good of all citizens should be the basis for the existence of government, and that citizen participation in their own affairs should be at the heart of governance, we shall, through this Centre, aspire to set up a mediating institution for achieving this.

We shall seek to conceptualize, identify, design, clarify and articulate proactive mechanisms that will increase policy proficiency, effectiveness and efficiency, and public participation and input for the attainment of the Common Good and the pursuit of the ideals of good governance.

Vision

To aspire towards the attainment of a more humane, democratic and free society where citizens can live in real and true freedom, unencumbered by any structures of exclusion on the basis of ethnic, religious, social status, economic or gender differences.

Contents

PART 1

Acknowledgement Fast Facts Mission and Vision About Bishop Kukah About The Kukah Centre

PART 2

Programmes Areas of the Kukah Centre Partnerships in 2020 Our Results for 2020

PART 3

TKC Specific Interventions ? TKC International Influence?

ANNEXES?

Fast Facts



The rut and decay in our country today is evidence of a people who have not yet seen the light. The experience of northern Nigeria is evidence that nepotism is a counterfeit currency. The nation must therefore now pull together. ...We found our way here by the choices we have made as a nation over time.

Bishop Kukah

One of Nigeria's foremost public intellectuals, **Bishop Matthew Hassan Kukah** has delivered numerous lectures and written over seven books and scores of articles on various aspects of governance, faith, and public policy in Nigeria. He is well-regarded across the country, and has been called "the conscience of the nation" and "Nigeria's spiritual guide," among other praise.

Born in Kaduna State in 1952, Bishop Kukah's background and experience have motivated his work to promote stronger Nigerian national unity through interfaith dialogue and promotion of economic and social justice for all citizens. Bishop Kukah has deep experience in mediation and conflict resolution and has been a long-standing champion of peace and nation-building in Nigeria. These are the values that lie at the core of the work of the Kukah Centre.

Throughout 2020, Bishop Kukah has been engaged in public speaking, policy debates and engagements as well as travels to engage with international audience on the social and political condition of Nigeria.

The Kukah Centre

The Centre was established by Bishop Kukah to enhance and encourage greater citizen engagement in Nigeria, The Kukah Centre is a non-profit organization that promotes an active and engaged citizenry by providing support for inclusive dialogue and advocacy initiatives.

The Centre treats political leadership as a collaborative exercise and aims to promote governance structures which incorporate multiple levels of engagement, including individuals, households, small businesses, the private sector, NGOs and government. Interfaith dialogue is at the core of the Centre's work and involves actively promoting conversations among Nigeria's faith communities, as well as between leaders in faith and public policy.



The centre has been transformed into a National-Regional Think Tank that formulates policies on issues of peace, social cohesion, development, political participation, diversity, leadership training and knowledge promotion.

Programmes Areas of the Kukah Centre

Throughout the year under review, the Centre treats political leadership as a collaborative exercise and aims to promote governance structures which incorporate multiple levels of engagement, including individuals, households, small businesses, the private sector, NGOs and government.

Activities of the Centre falls into four major categories:





The Centre has succeeded in positioning itself as a global Research and Policy Think. It intends to increase visibility in the area of research, policy recommendation and engagement.

Part Two

Partnerships in 2020

Our Results for 2020

Partnerships To implement these activities and to achieve the objectives of its mission throughout 2020, The Kukah Centre adopted an approach that is collaborative. in 2020 The approach is designed to engage multiple stakeholders and consultants in project implementation. It also allows the Centre to maintain a lean and flexible core staff. The types of partners engaged include public engagement partners, advocacy partners, faith-based partners, programmatic partners, and funding partners. Some of the partners include: **Foreign Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO)** Afrigants **Caritas Germany Caritas Nigeria**

- **Open Society West** Africa (OSIWA)
- **European Union**
- Swiss Embassy
- Atiku Institute for Research and Development

- Women Interfaith Council (WIC)
- **Kimpact Development Initiative**
 - **YIAGA Africa**
- **Policy and Legislative** Advocacy Centre (PLAC)
- Institute for Peace Studies and Conflict Management, **Taraba State University**
- **Coventry University**, **United Kinadom**

- Knights of Saint Columbus, USA
- **Independent National Electoral** Commission (INEC)
- International Republican Institute. IRI
- **Catholic Television of Nigeria**
- Kaduna State Peace Commission
- **European Centre for Electoral** Support (ECES)

Programme Partners and Activities

Caritas Germany

The Kukah Centre in partnership with CARITAS Germany, designed and began the implementation of the 2nd Phase of the Leaders for Peace Nigeria project in Yola Adamawa State. The project, an intervention tailored towards building social cohesion in communities divided by violent conflict, is expected to be completed in August 2021 with skills acquisition for community members.

Foreign Commonwealth and Development Office, FCDO

The Foreign Commonwealth and Development Office project being implemented by the Kukah Centre is on mitigating the impact of COVID-19 in vulnerable communities, and addressing any issues of insecurity and threats to national stability that may arise as a result of government responses to the pandemic.

MacArthur Foundation

The Centre completed the MacArthur funded documentary on memory and trauma, highlighting the need for national strategy on the healing of memory as part of peacebuilding in Nigeria.

None of us, including me, ever do great things. But we can all do small things, with great love, and together we can do something wonderful.

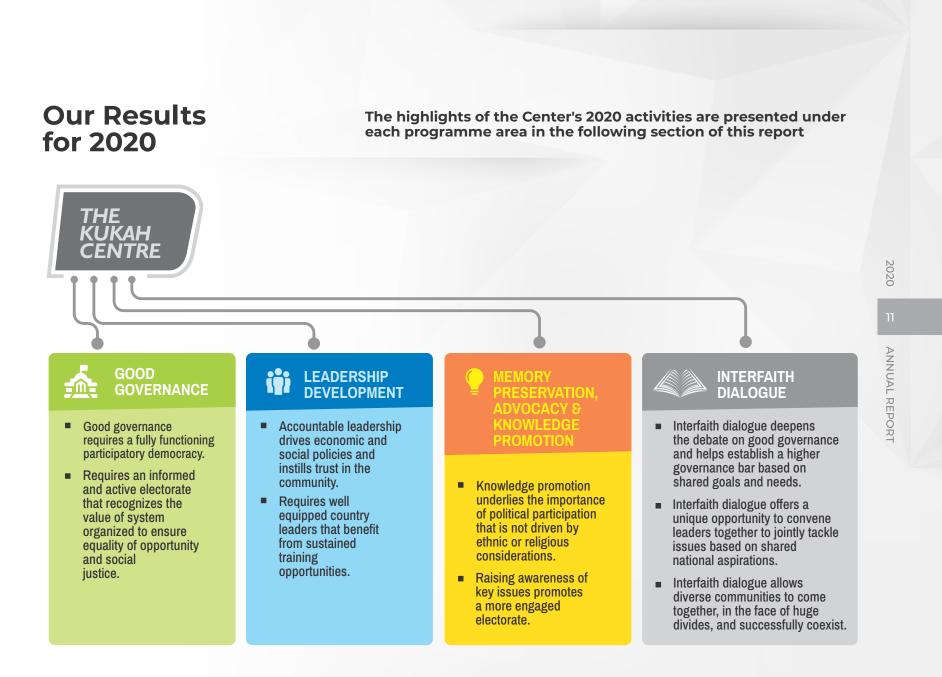
-Mother Teresa

National Peace Committee, NPC

The Kukah Centre, Secretariat of the National Peace Committee, facilitated all the activities of the Committee in 2020. Some of the most significant activities is supporting peaceful governorship elections in Edo and Ondo States.

PROFUTURO

This is also an ongoing project in partnership with the Catholic Bishops Conference, the Northern Governors Forum and ProFuturo, a Spanish NGO. The project is a program of education that provides access to digital form of teaching and educating children and young people. It is intended to keep kids off the streets, and refocus their minds on the acquisition of skills through technology. The 2020 project intervention had been about monitoring and evaluating the project as it is being implemented. It is also centred on developing a sustainability strategy that is context-based and local resource mobilisation.



Strategic Meetings for Interventions in Edo and Ondo Elections

In line with its mandate, the National Peace Committee supported the peaceful election process for Edo and Ondo states held on 20th September and 11th October, 2020 respectively. The Committee held a meeting on 11th September with INEC, the security agencies and various NGOs to examine the prospects and challenges for peaceful elections in the two states, and identify strategies for mitigating any difficulties that could derail the process. This was followed by a series of private engagements, phone calls, mediations and conversations that culminated in the signing of the Peace Accord in Edo and Ondo states.

Shortly be NPC interventions in Edo and Ondo states, series of meetings were held between the NPC Secretariat and representatives of INEC to fashion out modalities for closer collaboration and partnership. The INEC Chairman demonstrated that he is keen to work very closely with the NPC. He was in constant communication with the NPC Chairman and Convener. Working closely with the NPC secretariat, he followed up with the candidates to get their commitment to attend, he obtained security at the venue (large police deployment) and he ensured that the NPC VIPs would travel to the ceremony (a Presidential jet was put at the disposal of NPC to fly them from Abuja to Akure and back). It is clear that INEC needs the NPC for its convening power and credibility with the candidates, and that the collaboration is fruitful.

The NPC-Kukah Center worked closely with other CSOs for the organization of the event. Funding was secured through the existing EU grant to the NPC (and upcoming CH funding), but also by contributions by Yiaga Africa and ECES (TV broadcasts). Kukah Centre (NPC Secretariat) worked closely with Yiaga Africa to provide TV, Radio and social media coverage of the events. The Kukah Centre organised video recordings of NPC members to be aired before, during and after the ceremonies calling for peaceful elections. In Ondo, The Kukah Centre (NPC Secretariat) partnered with the 'Vote Not Fight' campaign (funded by USAID) was allowed to feature on the stage with the candidates after the signing of the accord.

GOOD GOVERNANCE



Signing of Peace Accords in Edo and Ondo States

NPC State-based Interventions and Growing Acceptance:

The NPC is known for intervening at the national level, with some peace conferences organised at the state level to call for peaceful elections. For the first time, key members of the NPC have physically travelled to the states to support a state-level peace accord signing ceremony. The impact of their presence of huge, with large turn out in both Edo and Ondo states. More than 90% of key stakeholders, and 100% of all the relevant stakeholders were present. There was genuine appreciation of the NPC intervention. General opinion indicates that the intervention helped achieve peaceful process in both Edo and Ondo states.

Leading up to the peace signing ceremony and the governorship elections in Edo and Ondo states, the national peace committee members were fully committed and played their roles in mobilizing the political parties, contestants, INEC and security agencies towards supporting peaceful elections in the two states. The NPC members were supportive of the processes, the organisation and the implementation. They made themselves available for all media engagements, and direct engagements with key stakeholders in the two states. The convening power of the chairman and the convener substantially supported the peaceful process.

The peace accord signing ceremony was very well organized in both Edo and Ondo states. They proceeded on time, they were well moderated and didn't last too long. Edo state lasted (1 hour 30 minutes), while Ondo state was (1 hour 50 minutes). It was attended by key electoral stakeholders, particularly all major political candidates, as well as traditional rulers, INEC, IPAC, security agencies and CSOs. The halls were well decorated (stage, banners etc), it was broadcast live on 3 TV channels, both regional and national, there were adverts in the print media and a good social media presence. In both events, adequate security was provided as a result of the meeting between the NPC, the IGP and the governors of the two states.

GOOD GOVERNANCE



2020 5 ANNUAL REPORT

Signing of Peace Accords in Edo and Ondo States ...contd.

FAITH = LEADERSHIP = PUBLIC PC

It was clear that these prominent national figures commanded respect with the political players in Ondo State. and that their presence significantly raised the profile. credibility and visibility of the event. Their presence also reinforced the need for total commitment to the Accord.

Credibility of the NPC: In Edo, the NPC Chairman, General Abdulsalami A. Abubakar, GCFR, was present, including the NPC Convener, Bishop Matthew Hassan Kukah and Prof. Ameze Guobadia. However, in Ondo state, the NPC was represented by the Sultan of Sokoto (head of the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs), Cardinal Onaiyekan and Bishop Kukah (convener). Unfortunately, Gen. Abubakar (chairman) could not travel, but he sent a video message that was broadcast. It was clear that these prominent national figures commanded respect with the political players in Ondo State, and that their presence significantly raised the profile, credibility and visibility of the event. Their presence also reinforced the need for total commitment to the Accord.

Messaging: The peace accord is comprehensive, encompassing not only the prohibition of violence but also the acceptance of the results and the recourse to legal means for any contestation. The messaging about compliance with the peace accord was underscored by all speakers, especially the Sultan of Sokoto for the NPC who stressed accountability and responsibility. The key candidates (APC, PDP and ZLP) all spoke and gave assurances of their commitment but there was no symbolic handshake or embrace, which was the sole procedural 'hiccup' of the ceremony (although this part cannot be scripted in advance). The specific provisions of the accord were read out during the ceremony, but more could be done to disseminate them (distribution of the text of the accord to all participants – the accord was not in the 'folder' that was given to all attendees for example; social media threads that highlight the specific provisions etc).



Foreign Commonwealth & Development Office Project – Mitigating the Impact of COVID 19 on Nigeria's most Vulnerable Communities

GOOD GOVERNANCE

The project was designed to change the perception of at-risk communities towards COVID-19 and mitigate the impact on security and stability in Nigeria through key stakeholders. The objectives of the intervention included: the need to deploy technology, the media (social and traditional media) to facilitate and augment project implementation throughout the intervention; deploy the voices of key stakeholders at the National Level, such as the National Peace Committee, to counter emerging threats to national security and stability; pay particular attention to the way COVID 19 and responses to it affect women and girls and identify strategies to address them in selected communities; facilitate effective communication processes through key stakeholders such as religious leaders, traditional rulers, and women-led organisations to limit the spread of COVID-19; advocate for a change in perception of local community dwellers towards COVID-19 in areas of risk communication and safety measures, by deploying local experts who speak the language, understand the socio-cultural contexts and have the skills to articulate and communicate the emerging threats associated with COVID-19 and collect data and information on perspectives, beliefs, and attitudes of communities towards COVID-19 that will help support the monitoring and evaluation of the project implementation.

In implementing this project, the Kukah Centre worked in partnership with the National Peace Committee and a network of religious and community stakeholders. The activities were tailored towards creating awareness,

18



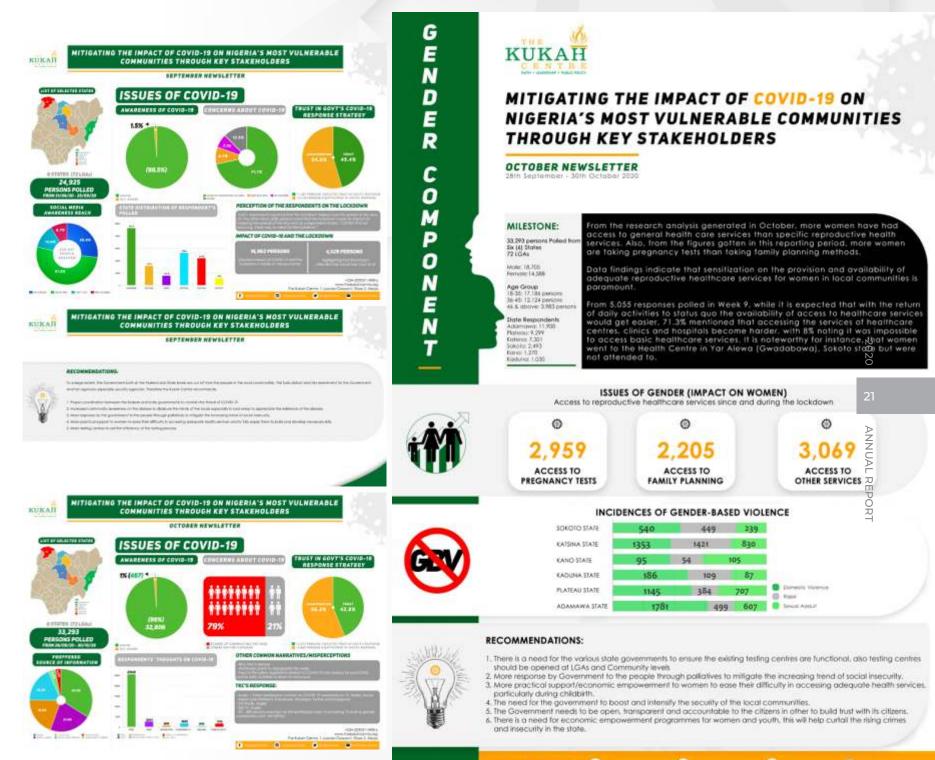
Foreign Commonwealth & Development Office Project – Mitigating the Impact of COVID 19 on Nigeria's most Vulnerable Communities contd



20 www.thekukahcentre.org

Furthermore. the Kukah Centre leveraged on its position as the Secretariat of the **Peace Committee to** engage the Committee members in engaging key stakeholders to intervene in anv issues of riots and public protests that could threaten the security, stability and peace of Nigeria.

empowering local religious leaders to listen and share their expert opinions with followers and community members on COVID-19. The Centre also designed an online and offline communication framework that produces and counters the wrong narratives emerging from religious and community leaders, and provide an expert understanding of what communities should do to limit the spread of the disease. Furthermore, the Kukah Centre leveraged on its position as the Secretariat of the Peace Committee to engage the Committee members in engaging key stakeholders to intervene in any issues of riots and public protests that could threaten the security, stability and peace of Nigeria. The centre also worked with certain implementing partners in the selected states of Adamawa, Katsina, Sokoto, Plateau, Kaduna and Kano states.



CARITAS Germany: Leaders for Peace in Nigeria (LIP)

The background and context of this project - Leaders for Peace in Nigeria: Promoting Peaceful Co-existence and Social Cohesion for People affected by Extremism and Violence in Wauru Jabbe Community, Yola, Adamawa State – is an offshoot of its pilot phase - Leaders for Peace in Nigeria: Supporting Religious Leaders Against Violent Extremism – a five-month pilot project implemented by The Kukah Centre (in partnership with The Development Initiative of West Africa (DIWA)) and supported by Caritas Germany. The intervention focused on the Wauru Jabbe community in Yola/Adamawa State in north east Nigeria. It was implemented between May 1 and October 31, 2019. The pilot project was evaluated in October 2019, and the project report was made available on December 6, 2019. The successes and challenges of the pilot phase has made it necessary to rework the project and title it - Leaders for Peace in Nigeria: Promoting Peaceful Coexistence and Social Cohesion for People affected by Extremism and Violence in Wauru Jabbe Community, Yola, Adamawa State – for greater impact, peace and social cohesion in the communities. The new project - Leaders for Peace in Nigeria: Promoting Peaceful Co-existence and Social Cohesion for People affected by Extremism and Violence in Wauru Jabbe Community, Yola, Adamawa State builds on the achievement of the pilot phase. It is predicated on the premise that to achieve peace and social cohesion in communities, an approach that counters extremist narratives and supports skills acquisition. It assumes that real change is likely when communities are trained in such a way that practical skills are added to the theoretical knowledge in order to equip the community to address concrete challenges to social harmony and peace within the community. e.g. creative problem-solving skills, handling tensions in the group, mediation on the one hand, and lobbying and advocacy on the other hand.

This new approach also assumes that community leaders have high influence on social cohesion within communities, and as such, need to be equipped with critical thinking and other relevant skills needed to facilitate and support peace

Inter-Faith Dialogue



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and social cohesion processes. This will be done through the Joint Community Action Plan, JCAP. The JCAP will encourage support for the consolidation of community project chosen during the pilot phase. It will facilitate sessions on community collaboration and partnership in completing the hospital Wauru Jabbe has chosen to build. Additionally, it will provide options for further training on skills acquisition. However, the type of skills on which the community will be trained will be determined by the community after the JCAP training. Whatever skills acquisition training is chosen by the community, it will follow the principle and criteria set up in the JCAP Manual, which states that the selected intervention or project needs to be within the principle of do no harm. Consequently, this new project will work with and train community leaders and members on:

- Preventing/Countering Violent Extremism and Building Social Cohesion
- Strategies for collaboration and sustainable development to complete the hospital
- Facilitate Skills Acquisition Training

Community Mobilisation in Wauru Jabbe, Adamawa State, Nigeria

In the context of the Leaders for Peace Nigeria project, the community mobilization was conducted in Wauru Jabbe from for two days, 3rd – 6th August, 2020. The community mobilisation was led by Fr. Atta Barkindo, who took the role of Ms Saratu Kiro as the project officer as Ms Saratu Kiro is on maternity leave. He was assisted by Mr Brendan Vallumi and Mr Sa'ad Ahmadu. Community mobilization, a process where groups are assisted in clarifying and expressing their needs, fears, initiatives and objectives in taking collective action to solve common problems within the community became necessary in the second phase of the Caritas Project in Wauru Jabbe. It emphasizes the involvement of the people themselves in determining and meeting their own needs. It is closely linked with the concepts of participation and resilience.

The objective of the community mobilization was to first review the pilot phase with the community, and identify ways and strategies for improvement. Second, it was intended to inform key actors (leaders and members of the community) about the second phase of the project. This included a presentation on nature, objectives, expected outcomes, outputs and activities that informed the logical framework of the second phase and how to improve them, including the funding limits of the donors. Importantly, the objective of the community mobilization was to get the community's buy-in for the second phase of the project from community members and leaders, with a clear explanation on the limits and funding constraints of the project. Community leaders and representatives of the different groups within the community attended the meeting held in Wauru Jabbe.

Furthermore, it was necessary to undertake the community mobilisation to address the challenges that emerged during the pilot phase implementation and as mentioned above. The mobilisation was also important because all human beings are essentially social animals who experience the need and desire to belong to a larger supportive community, and therefore the mobilization recognized that Wauru Jabbe's community aspiration for social cohesion cannot be solved on an individual basis - especially in the long-run. Therefore, Wauru Jabbe Community mobilization achieved the following:

- The community mobilization helped to define, represent and resolve their fears, worries and concerns about the pilot phase as well as the second phase.
- It helped to reinforce the community's commitment to be resourceful and take ownership of the project.
- It also helped Wauru Jabbe community to identify with the project, agreeing to contribute towards it, thus also improving the local relevance and sustainability. The success of this Caritas project will be directly related to a sense of ownership.

- The mobilization provided a platform for dialogue between the community and the Kukah Centre project team, so that all parties are aware of any constraints or limitations that may exist and so avoid unrealistic expectations being raised.
- The mobilization ensured that all community members, leaders and representatives have equal access to information about the second phase of the project. It also allowed for the introduction of thematic discussion around issues such as social cohesion, peace education and human rights education.
- There was 100% buy-in from the community on the second phase of the project. Assurances of support and willingness to participate in the success of the project were given. There was an overwhelming acceptance of the project.

However, it is important to mention some of the few challenges that emerged during the community mobilisation. There were thirteen (13) participants during the 2-day community mobilisation; 2 lead community consultants, 1 local chief and 4 ward heads (all male), 3 women and representatives from youths, Christian and Muslim councils as well as the security services. The inclusion of women and young girls in the community mobilisation remains low and an issue of concern. Again, the level of poverty and economic deprivation makes it difficult for the project team to keep community expectations low regarding the project.



It is predicated on the premise that to achieve peace and social cohesion in communities, an approach that counters extremist narratives and supports skills acquisition.

It assumes that real change is likely when communities are trained in such a way that practical skills are added to the theoretical knowledge in order to equip the community to address concrete challenges to social harmony and peace within the community.

Situation and Conflict Analysis in Wauru Jabbe

Following the community mobilisation, it was necessary to undertake Situation and Conflict analysis of Wauru Jabbe before any practical implementation will begin. The reasons for this are not far-fetched. The situation and conflict analysis highlighted whether or not there are social-economic changes have occurred since the pilot phase. Additionally, the situation and conflict analysis provided a clear idea on the new and emerging threats of conflict and insecurity and the impact on social cohesion in Wauru Jabbe. The analysis also underscored the drivers of both new and old conflict, the actors as well as possible strategies for peacebuilding. This includes identifying the spoilers both for the project and the need for peace. Importantly, the result of the situation and conflict analysis supported the review of the logical framework initially designed based on the findings from the pilot phase. It will also require a review and upgrade of the logical framework for the second phase. In providing situation analysis of Wauru Jabbe, different components should be taken into consideration. At the traditional level, Wauru Jabbe is a neighbourhood under Namtari District which falls under the Adamawa Emirate – directly ruled by the Lamido of Adamawa. Politically, it is a ward under Yola North Local Government Area of Adamawa state. It is a growing settlement on the outskirts of Yola, the Adamawa state capital city. It is made up of more than fifty (15) local ethnic groups such as Fulani, Hausa, Chamba, Marghi, Mumuye, Yangdang, Tiv, Yoruba, Igbo, etc.

The community is enmeshed in endemic poverty, with very limited social infrastructure but bulging population. According to the documents obtained from the District Head, the population of Wauru Jabbe is about 50,000 to 70,000 people. This was reflected in the number of households in each ward and the number of registered voters during the last general elections. The population is on the rise daily, and difficult to monitor. It is linked to factors such as internal migration, the northeast conflict and continuous displacement of people, increase in child marriages, lack of employment and the recent lockdown has also

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Inter-Faith

Dialogue





The community is enmeshed in endemic poverty, with very limited social infrastructure but bulging population.

led to unplanned pregnancies. Importantly, Wauru Jabbe being on the outskirts of Yola has cheaper land to purchase and the process of seeking approval for the building is less cumbersome for families. Other details of the population indicate that the Muslims population has an estimate between 38.000-46.000 and that of Christians is between 20,000 - 23,000. The differences in population could be linked to different reasons. Muslims have more than one (1) wife and are more likely to have more children. Again, evidence suggests that settlements in and around many state capitals of Northern Nigeria is determined by religion due to mutual suspicion. Consequently, less number of Christians will likely settle in Wauru Jabbe a place dominated by Muslims compare to other Christians dominated areas. Again, out of the estimated 50,000 - 70,000 in the community, the number of women is an estimated 25,000 - 30,000 while children make up of about 10,00 0-15,000.

Public infrastructure is lacking. There is only one Secondary School at the senior and junior levels to cater for the population of children indicated above. The same secondary school premises are also used as a primary school covering both morning and evening classes. There is also one dilapidated health center with no maternity ward to cater for women and girls. The community has no banks or market. The economic condition remains low and in bad shape. They are only able to access economic resources and opportunities by going into Yola the state capital.

The rate of illiteracy rate is very high, with 60% among men and over 80% among women and girls this is as a result of cultural and religious factors that continues to marginalize and discriminate on women and girls in accessing quality education. The poverty level is very high in the community with about 70% of the population live in the poverty and women are mostly affected. There are limited and almost non-existing education opportunities for women and girls. Women's ability to participate in decision making processes and especially in peacebuilding remains low. Women also remain low in the economic radar, with little participation in opportunities to generate wealth and be productive due to limited skills.



Strategic Meeting and Training



The project team held a strategic meeting with all the facilitators, implementing partners and community stakeholders on the nature of the project and its implementation. This was followed by the training of different community groups on issues of social cohesion, countering violent extremism, religious intolerance, parenting, critical thinking and gender. The training to be coordinated by the Programme Manager, and provided by the three experts (Sheikh Dogarawa, Frs. Atta Barkindo and Justin Dyikurk). The training highlighted the nature and processes of radicalization, expose them to the drivers and causes of violent extremism, train them on strategies for countering violent extremism and engage them on the best approaches to building social cohesion and peace.

30

Inter-Faith Dialogue



Leadership Development

Part of the Kukah Centre vision is to support leadership development for young people. However, considering the COVID-19, the Centre conducted online virtual trainings for young university students. The Centre designed series of lectures on issues such as education, insecurity, terrorism and violent conflict to engage young people, assemble their views and design policy recommendations for advocacy. The objectives were to interrogate Issues of national concern beyond what is seen; engage young people and train them to contribute to national discourse and to also present the Kukah Centre as a platform for debate and policy formulation.

TKC Lecture Series for Students of Open University, Abuja:

This lecture was divided into four parts – Part One was on Terrorism/Violent Extremism: History and Ideology. Part Two was centered on Local Drivers and Factors of Terrorism. Part Three had to do with International Links and Partnerships of Terrorist groups while Part Four centered on the Politics of Terrorism in Nigeria.



TKC Campaign on Gender Issues:

Leadership Development

The Kukah Centre 2020 Gender campaigned is an outcome of the research conducted by the Centre for the UNDP Borderland Research Network that highlights the need to analyse regional conflicts by looking examining the borderland cultural and socio-economic and political contexts. The research examines conflicts on regional borders around the Lake Chad as well as inter-state borders within Nigeria. Evidence suggests widespread abductions, kidnappings and abuse of both men and women, boys and girls. Thus, the conflict in and around Nigeria has substantially affected the lives of women, girls, men and boys, often in different ways. The gender aspect of the conflict should be understood in the context of the patriarchal societal structure and its widespread adherence to religious and cultural tenets. Colonialism and independence did little to alter this. In most of these conflicts, such as the terrorist activities, banditry and kidnapping for ransom, many men and women joined voluntarily to escape social conditions, while others were abducted and enslaved. Some endured abuse while others found a sense of belonging. Men have disproportionally been killed. Women remain the overwhelming majority among the estimated 1.8 million IDPs.

Beyond terrorist groups, women and girls **have also suffered in the hands of the security services. For example, considering the Boko Haram conflict,** in 2016 alone, security forces freed more than 12,000 people back from Boko Haram areas – and about 80% were women and children. They were assessed and transferred to 20 garrison towns and IDP camps set up by the military. Amnesty International

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34



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CAMPAIGN

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Let's put an end to Gender-Based Violence.

ZERO-TOLERANCE I GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE CAMPAIGN

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and Human Rights Watch have documented the dire conditions of detention, for these women and girls, including sexual abuse by soldiers. The patterns of this abuse appear to have evolved. Security personnel are alleged to have moved from rape to demanding "survival sex" from women and girls, trading sex in exchange for small favours that can make a big difference in the women's lives. With ISWAP's expansion from January 2018, and currently, the

more than 800,000 people under ISWAP and Boko Haram controlled territories, they continue to suffer abuse and sexual violence.

Women should not be seen only as victims of violence but also as participants in it. In some of these conflicts, women and girls, sometimes recruited and radicalised, are deployed as spies, messengers, recruiters and

Security personnel are alleged to have moved from rape to demanding "survival sex" from women and girls, trading sex in exchange for small favours that can make a big difference in the women's lives.

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36

The gender aspect of the conflict should be understood in the context of the patriarchal societal structure and its widespread adherence to religious and cultural tenets. Colonialism and independence did little to alter this.

smugglers. For example, increasingly, Boko Haram and its factions have turned to female suicide bombers to carry out some of their atrocities. Boko Haram deployed its first female suicide bomber in Gombe State in June 2014, and as of February 2018, a recorded 469 female "suicide bombers" have been deployed, and they have killed more than 1,200 people across the Lake Chad border region. Between January and August 2020, Boko Haram is alleged to have deployed about 3 suicide bombers, in Bama, Nigeria, Amchie, Far north Cameroon and Kaiga-Kindjiria, Chad. Though there is no evidence to suggest they were female suicide bombers, it has been documented that Boko Haram has been known to deploy more female suicide bombers than any other terrorist groups. A recent report by Mia Bloom and Hilary Matfess, Women as Symbols and Swords in Boko Haram's Terror, discusses in detail the vulnerability of women and young girls in IDP camps. Responses to the conflict have involved and affected women in unique ways. Hundreds of women help security forces to frisk women at checkpoints, gather information and identify suspects, and also sometimes to fight the terrorists.

Considering the rises cases of Gender-Based Violence, and also the role of women in supporting countering violent extremism initiatives as highlighted above, the Centre undertook massive and aggressive campaign to create awareness and sensitize the general public on gender issues.

Tweet activity



The Kukah Centre @KukahCentre

We no longer want a society filled with victims of any kind. We want a society that is educated in respect, equality, and freedom of all irrespective of our gender, religion, or culture. Let's all come together to put an end to all forms of GBV. #justice #advocates #kukahcentre pic.twitter.com/L54FFpy3H1



Impressions1,105Total engagements109Detail expands42Media engagements26Likes20Retweets12Profile clicks9

Published	Post	Туре	Targeting	Reach	Engagement
08/20/2020 6:24 AM	The second secon	6	0	291	6 7
08/20/2020 5:25 AM	Follow us and join on our social media pages and let's put an end to	6	0	804	18 39
08/15/2020 4:17 AM		6	0	330	8 13
08/15/2020 12:01 AM	Do you know that a study recently commissioned by the ministry of	ē	0	2К	80 80

Lecture for the Nigerian Army Leadership

Leadership Development

The Kukah Centre also supported a one-day training for the Nigerian Army. The training focused on religious intervention in mitigating the spread of insecurity in Nigeria. The Kukah Centre presented a paper on the role of religious leaders in countering extremis narratives of terrorists. It recognised that violent extremist narratives are compelling messages and ideology-based narratives, which combine facts with half-truths and misinformation to justify violent actions and to attract people to their cause. This is also happening within the context of the proliferation of sources of fake news and hate speech and increasing use of the press, broadcast media and worse, the social media for hate and dangerous speech and fake news. Professional media promote and add credibility to fake news and hate/offensive/dangerous speech, increasing the confidence of wrong doers and justify hateful and fake tendencies. Thus, the existence of psycho-social causes and socio-economic motivations, violent extremists in Nigeria and other climes always seek to use religious narratives to support and defend their activities, hence the need for religious intervention. For the major religions, religious leaders should emphasise areas of unity such as:

Monetheism - the belief in One God is the foundation of both Islam and Christianity. Both the Qur'an and the Bible attest to the existence of one God (Qur'an 112:1-4, Bible – Deutronomy 6:4). "Yahweh our God is one" (Deutronomy 6:4).

M

Divine Revelation - in Christianity, God reveals his will through His Son Jesus Christ and the scriptures. In Islam, God reveals divine will directly or through the words of the Prophet, as written in the *Qur'an*.

Prayer - prayer as an act of worship is common in both Islam and Christianity. The *Qur'an* requires Muslims to pray five times a day (Q 2:238-239, 11:114) while the Bible admonishes Christians to pray always (Luke 18:1, Mathew 4:10, 6:7-15).

Sacred Scriptures - both Islam and Christianity possess the sacred scriptures. For the Christians, it is the Holy Bible. The *Qur'an* is the Muslim sacred scripture.

They should also promote **Social Relations** - Social relations in terms of marriage unions, market unions, farming unions and community security networks; Participation in Education – Educational activities supported by the government. Promotion of meritocracy over and above ethnic and religious divide; Tackling **Common Problems** – Communities issues of poverty, health challenges, environmental and security difficulties. Communities come together to fight against these common problems and **Common Citizenship and Identity** – Civic responsibilities and the promotion of our common humanity.

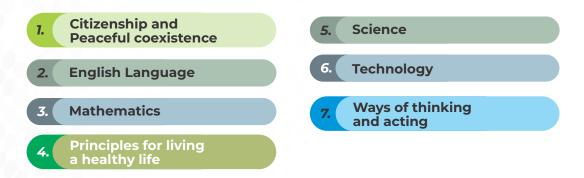


ProFUTURO

Leadership Development Despite the challenges brought forward by the COVID19 pandemic in Nigeria, the ProFuturo digital learning solution made more sense than ever imagined. The learning content provided the much needed platform for teachers and pupils across some Northern states in Nigeria for continuous learning. Besides the teachers, children and the entire family had the opportunity to engage with the online contents on **https://profuturo.education/en/resources-students/**

Since May 1, 2020, the ProFuturo project has created more than 1,600 additional hours of content available to students in Nigeria so that they can continue to learn from home, in an innovative and interactive way. Through videos, texts and interactive practical exercises, the student will progress in their learning and complete the different units:

The contents in the ProFuturo platform include:



TA:

Users' activity chart in the 12 states for the period under review is below:

ADAMAWA STATE -

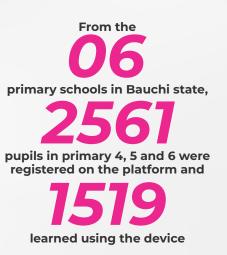
	SCHOOL	REGISTERED USERS	ACCUMULATED ACTIVE USERS
1	CAPITAL NURSERY/PRIMARY SCHOOL	877	607
2	DOUGIREI PRIMARY SCHOOL	272	112
3	HAMMAWA NURSERY/PRIMARY SCHOOL	353	30
4	LUGGERE PRIMARY SCHOOL	225	36
5	MODEL CENTRAL NURSERY/PRIMARY SCHOOL	352	240
6	MUSDAFA MODEL PRIMARY SCHOOL	214	47
7	ST. JOSEPH C.R.I NURSERY/PRIMARY SCHOOL	111	104
8	ST. RITA C.R.I PRIMARY SCHOOL	76	64
9	ST. THERESA NURSERY/PRIMARY SCHOOL	120	75
10	WURO-HAUSA PRIMARY SCHOOL	525	112
		3125	1427

There are 100 benefiting primary schools in Bauchi state. 3125 pupils in primary 4, 5 and 6 were registered on the platform.

used the device.

BAUCHI STATE	,
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	SCHOOL	REGISTERED USERS	ACCUMULATED ACTIVE USERS
1	ARMY CHILDREN SCHOOL 1	199	140
2	BABAMAJI PRY SCH	888	297
3	KOBI PRY SCHOOL	950	653
4	OUR LADY'S NUR/PRY SCHOOL	285	226
5	ST. JOSEPH NUR/PRY SCH	137	117
6	ST. PAUL'S NUR/PRY SCH	102	86
		2561	1519



	SCHOOL	REGISTERED USERS	ACCUMULATED ACTIVE USERS
1	31 AB BRIGADE ARMY CHILDREN SCHOOL, NORTH BANK	402	128
2	L.G.E.A PRIMARY SCHOOL, ICHWA	323	143
3	L.G.E.A PRIMARY SCHOOL, LOWCOST - NORTH BANK	496	365
4	L.G.E.A SCIENCE NUR/PRI SCHOOL, DEMEKPE	507	411
5	N.K.S.T PRIMARY SCHOOL, GAADI	390	170
6	N.K.S.T PRIMARY SCHOOL, HIGH LEVEL	289	124
7	ST. GREGORY NUR/PRI SCHOOL, IKPAYONGO	162	147
8	ST. JOSEPH'S PRIMARY SCHOOL, NYIMAN	514	258
9	ST. MARY'S NUR/PRI SCHOOL, NORTH BANK	84	80
10	ST. MICHAEL'S NUR/PRI SCHOOL, ALIADE	120	97
		3287	1923



used the device.

BORNO STATE

	SCHOOL	REGISTERED USERS	ACCUMULATED ACTIVE USERS
ſ	777 MODEL SCHOOL	487	181
	GAMBORU 1 PRIMARY SCHOOL	382	163
	JAJEL PRIMARY SCHOOL	425	128
	KIRIKASAMMA PRIMARY SCHOOL	192	90
	LAMISULA PRIMARY SCHOOL	583	211
ſ	MAFONI PRIMARY SCHOOL	250	142
	OUR LADY'S PRIMARY SCHOOL	246	179
-	POMPOMMARI PRI SCHOOL	486	162
	ST. HILARY PRIMARY SCHOOL	208	133
	ST. MARY'S PRIMARY SCHOOL	238	158
		3497	1547

From the 10 primary schools in Borno state, 3497 pupils in primary 4, 5 and 6 were registered on the platform and 1519 took part in the Demo class.

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	SCHOOL	REGISTERED USERS	ACCUMULATED
1	L.E.A SULTAN BELLO NURSERY/ PRIMARY SCHOOL	402	128
2	L.G.E.A ALIYU MAKAMA MODEL PRIMARY SCHOOL, BARNAWA	323	143
3	L.G.E.A PRIMARY SCHOOL, KURMIN GWARI	496	365
4	L.G.E.A PRIMARY SCHOOL, MAHUTA	507	411
5	L.G.E.A RIGACHIKUN II PRIMARY SCHOOL	390	170
6	L.G.E.A SHIEK GUMI MODEL PRIMARY SCHOOL	289	124
7	MODEL NURSERY/PRIMARY SCHOOL	162	147
8	ST. ANNE'S NURSERY/PRIMARY SCHOOL	514	258
9	ST. JOSEPH NURSERY/PRIMARY SCHOOL	84	80
10	ST. MATHEW NURSERY/PRIMARY SCHOOL	120	97
		3287	1923



There are

2803 pupils in primary 4, 5 and 6 were registered on the platform, while

> 150 learned on the device.

43 ANNUAL REPORT

2020

KANO STATE

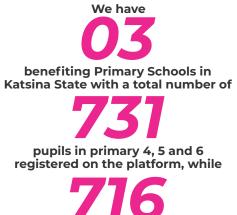
	SCHOOL	REGISTERED USERS	ACCUMULATED ACTIVE USERS
1	ADO YOLA SPECIAL PRIMARY SCHOOL	418	44
2	DORAYI KARAMA SPECIAL SCIENCE SCHOOL	810	686
3	GIDAN MAKAMA SPECIAL PRIMARY SCHOOL	295	201
4	HOLY CROSS PRIMARY SCHOOL	286	141
5	KOFAR KUDU SPECIAL PRIMARY SCHOOL	199	67
6	KURMAWA SPECIAL PRIMARY SCHOOL	394	36
7	OUR LADY OF FATIMA PRIMARY SCHOOL	206	129
8	ST. LOUIS PRIMARY SCHOOL	761	149
9	TUKUNTAWA SPECIAL PRIMARY SCHOOL	142	136
10	WADA KURA SCIENCE PRIMARY SCHOOL	243	238
		3754	1827

Kano State has 10 benefiting primary schools. 3754

pupils in primary 4, 5 and 6 were registered on the platform and

1519 learned using the device.

	SCHOOL	REGISTERED USERS	ACCUMULATED ACTIVE USERS
i T	COMPREHENSIVE NUR/PRY SCHOOL	385	375
2	ST. MARTIN DE PORRES PRIMARY SCHOOL	277	273
3	ST. MARY'S NUR/PRY SCHOOL	69	68
		731	716



learned using the device.

KEBBI STATE

	SCHOOL	REGISTERED USERS	ACCUMULATED ACTIVE USERS
1	ABUBAKAR GARI MALAM MODEL PRIMARY SCHOOL	571	404
2	ATIKU BAGUDU SCIENCE MODEL PRIMARY SCHOOL	1313	193
3	BAYAN TASHA MODEL PRIMARY SCHOOL	530	427
4	DR NASIR IDRIS KAURAN GWANDU PRIMARY SCHOOL	249	223
5	GWANDU EMIRATE MODEL PRIMARY SCHOOL	616	612
6	HAJIYA KUBURA MODEL PRIMARY SCHOOL	351	349
7	ST. DOMINICS NURSERY/PRIMARY SCHOOL	98	96
8	WAZIRI UMARU NIZZAMIYYA PRIMARY SCHOOL	507	303
		4235	2607

In Kebbi state, there are

participating Primary Schools. At least 2607 pupils in primary 4, 5 and 6 used the device from the 4235

pupils that were registered on the platform.

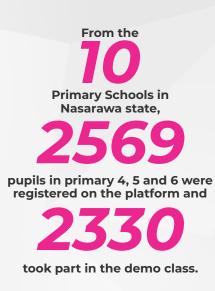
	SCHOOL	REGISTERED USERS	ACCUMULATED ACTIVE USERS
1	DUNAMA PILOT SCIENCE PRY SCHOOL, LAFIA	364	344
2	MONTESSORI D/C NUR/PRY SCHOOL, LAFIA	185	153
3	PILOT SCIENCE PRY SCHOOL, KWANDARE	223	211
4	PILOT SCIENCE PRY SCHOOL, NASSARAWA-EGGON	307	306
5	PILOT SCIENCE PRY SCHOOL, SHABU	265	157
6	QUEEN OF APOSTLE NUR/PRY SCH, SHINGE	226	193
7	ST ALOYSIUS CATHOLIC NUR/PRY SCH, DOMA	192	183
8	ST. JAMES PRIMARY SCH. LAFIA	289	276
9	ST. THERESA'S PRY SCHOOL, LAFIA	84	82
10	TA'AL MODEL NUR/PRY SCHOOL, LAFIA	434	425
		2569	2330

NIGER STATE

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2020 45 ANNUAL REPORT

SCHOOL	REGISTERED USERS	ACCUMULATED ACTIVE USERS
123 PRIMARY SCHOOL	111	76
ALIYU MU´AZU SARKIN YAKI MEMORIAL PRIMARY SCHOOL	361	
CHANCHAGA PRIMARY SCHOOL	369	106
IBB PRIMARY SCHOOL	301	44
KUYANBANA PRIMARY SCHOOL	649	348
LIMAWA MODEL PRIMARY SCHOOL	256	148
ST. MICHAEL'S NUR/PRY SCHOOL	59	
ST. WILLIAMS NUR/PRY SCHOOL, TUNGA		
STELLA MARIS ACADEMY	93	84
UMARU AUDI MEMORIAL PRIMARY SCHOOL	338	104
-	2537	910

From the **10** Primary Schools in Niger state, **25377** pupils in primary 4, 5 and 6 were registered on the platform and **910**

took part in the demo class.

	SCHOOL	REGISTERED USERS	ACCUMULATED ACTIVE USERS
T	EKAN LEA PRI SCHOOL CHWELNYAP	507	267
	FATIMA PRIVATE PRIMARY SCHOOL	201	194
	LEA GWONG PRIMARY SCHOOL	253	221
	LEA LAMINGO PRIMARY SCHOOL	236	46
	LEA PILOT SCIENCE PRIMARY SCHOOL TUDUNWADA	695	8
	LEA TOWNSHIP PRIMARY SCHOOL	59	
	OUR LADY QUEEN OF PEACE PRI SCHOOL	310	288
	RCM PILOT SCIENCE PRIMARY SCHOOL KABING	324	56
	ST LUKE'S PRIMARY SCHOOL	431	55
	TOLLEMACHE PRIMARY SCHOOL	85	59
_		3101	1194

In Plateau State, there are **10** benefiting Primary Schools. **3101** pupils in primary 4, 5 and 6 were registered on the platform and **1194**

exercised using the tablets.

From the **099** Primary Schools in Sokoto State,

4529 pupils in primary 4, 5 and 6 were registered on the platform and

1032 had the opportunity to use the digital learning solution.

FAITH . LEADERSHIP . PUBLIC PO

46

	SCHOOL	REGISTERED USERS	ACCUMULATED ACTIVE USERS
1	ABDULRAHMAN MODEL PRI SCH, ILLELA	666	18
2	AD BAFARAWA MODEL PRI SCH	715	330
3	ALMAJIRI MODEL BOARDING PRI SCH	132	71
4	HOLY FAMILY NUR/PRI SCH	106	101
5	SCHOOL FOR BASIC EDUCATION, MANA	199	132
6	ST. PATRICK'S PRI SCH, ILLELA	35	31
7	SULTAN TAMBARI CENTRAL MODEL PRI SCH	597	210
8	TURAKI MODEL PRI SCH	425	22
9	YAKUBU MU'AZU SCIENCE MODEL PRI SCH	1454	117
		4329	1032

	SCHOOL	REGISTERED USERS	ACCUMULATED ACTIVE USERS
1	HASSAN PRIMARY SCHOOL	484	37
2	HOWAI NURSERY/PRIMARY SCHOOL	356	352
3	LAMURDE PRIMARY SCHOOL	831	680
4	LOW COST PRIMARY SCHOOL	393	179
5	MALLAM GABDO PRIMARY SCHOOL	309	211
6	MAYO GWOI PRIMARY SCHOOL	254	209
7	MODEL NURSERY/PRIMARY SCHOOL	661	412
8	SALIHU DOGO PRIMARY SCHOOL	419	388
9	ST. MONICA NURSERY/PRIMARY SCHOOL	340	49
10	ST. PATRICK NURSERY/PRIMARY SCHOOL	57	41
		4108	2558

From the Primary Schools in Taraba state, 4108 pupils in primary 4, 5 and 6 were registered on the platform and 2558

used the device for class work.







A female pupil at Army Children Primary in Bauchi, Bauchi state responding to questions on the ProFuturo Digital Classroom device.



Achievement

- Some schools in Benue and Sokoto states conducted exams for their outgoing students [Primary 6] on the tablets.
- Gratefully none of the benefiting schools or our suitcases were attacked or destroyed during the ENDSARS protest/crisis that witnessed the destruction of so many government structures.
- More enrolments are witnessed as more students are flocking schools with the ProFuturo solution. Schools are also optimizing the opportunity by advertising pupils learning with the devices on their exercise books.
- Some partners are interested in the sustainability aspect of the project.
- The clamour/appeal by schools and stakeholders for more devices
- More children want to come to school because they are excited about the new programme.
- The capacity of 36 teachers has been enhanced on digital education as they can now teach their subject in a more and stimulating environment.
- ICT knowledge in the school is been enhanced to handle the digital classroom devices.



Challenges

- Due to the economic impact of the COVID19, teachers in these states are owed a minimum of 2months pay within Q4. This has dampened the dedication and enthusiasm of these teachers to use the solution as many of them do not even organize classes for the pupils.
- There are limited suitcases in all the schools due to the high number of pupils, hence the users' activity target for 2020 was unachievable.
- Teacher's capacity to handle all the courses and classes is low.
- Most of the teachers already trained are N-power Volunteers and their services have been discontinued.
- Low literacy levels among pupils, which is a barrier to their understanding and comprehending the language in the ProFuturo content.



Chief of Staff to the Bauchi State Governor, [M] Alhaji Ladan Salihu flanked by the ProFuturo Lead Consultant in Nigeria [L] Mike Magaji and the Project Manager [R] Lawson Eselebor during an inspection visit to some of the primary schools in Bauchi, Bauchi State.

50

Memory Preservation & Knowledge Promotion

In fulfilling this aspect of The Kukah Centre mission and considering the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, the Centre partnered with different organisations outside the country to conduct trainings, facilitate seminars and workshops on issues such as the history of slavery, Terrorism, child recruitment into violence and DDRR programmes around the Lake Chad borderland region.

The Decolonize Nigerian History Project

The Kukah Centre partnered with Unveiling Africa to design the Decolonize Nigerian History Project that was implemented in July 2020. The project responds to the dangerous absence of African centered and social justice perspectives on global Black history, African history, and Nigerian history in the Nigerian education, political and policy making systems. Where Nigerian history exists as a subject in the secondary school education system, this body of knowledge is exclusive to the few students that coincidentally choose history as an elective in senior secondary school. At the primary to junior secondary school level, students are taught Social Studies and Civics which are not substitutes for an African centered History education. Amongst other issues, Social Studies explore Nigeria as a natural and apolitical construct with origins in the 1914 amalgamation by Lord Fredrick Lugard. Critically, transatlantic slavery is largely unexplored, Nigeria's precolonial history is either negated, exoticized and presented as a body of knowledge without relevance in contemporary society.

Pictures from Chizoba and Fr. Emmanuel

Disturbingly, colonialism, global anti-black racism and its ongoing impact on Nigerian indigenous communities is underconceptualized, thus making room tor Nigerians to adopt and embody Eurocentric, economic centered and anti-black perspectives. Disturbingly, colonialism, global anti-black racism and its ongoing impact on Nigerian indigenous communities is underconceptualized, thus making room for Nigerians to adopt and embody Eurocentric, economic centered and antiblack perspectives. Equally, Nigeria's contemporary socio-political history and its interconnections to Nigeria's colonial and trans-Atlantic slave trade history. If one imagines Nigerians as critical players in the development of the country and continent, one sees that these adopted perspectives are detrimental to the country's development trajectory. In light of the above, this program seeks to expose and immerse Nigerians (youth and politically active actors) in African centered and social justice perspectives of Nigerian/global Black history. Ultimately, this program seeks to contribute to nation building efforts aimed at making Nigeria/Africa a more just, inclusive and people-centered society. Beyond Nigeria and the continent, the program seeks to make the world a more just and equitable place for all, especially for historically marginalized peoples -Blacks and other indigenous communities scattered around the world. Nigerians are part of a global community comprising of different races. More closely though, is their fraternal interconnection to the African and Black diaspora which Nigerians are largely unaware of until they leave the shores of the country and are faced with anti-Black racism and numerous types of identity crises. For Nigerians to be able to take charge for the transformation of the country, continent and world into a more just, inclusive and prosperous place for all, they need to be firmly grounded in their personal and communal histories. Foundationally, they need to embrace values/principles of social justice living, people-centered nation building, adopt an inclusive African centered/anti-black racism intellectual prism, and develop an interlocking understanding of their personal histories in relation to the histories of their community, country, continent and global community.

2020 53 ANNUAL REPORT

The programme was designed to develop Nigerian civic and political leaders who are well grounded in their histories and have an intellectual perspective that privileges social justice, prosperity and inclusivity for all. Accordingly, the program curriculum was divided into five-tiers. Framing the five tiers is the course introduction which establishes the program rationale and the conclusion that urges program participants to take action within their communities. The course started with a grounding exercise that enables participants explore three critical "why" questions - the why of the program, the why of an African centered perspective in our contemporary times and why it is necessary to be politically engaged and historically grounded.

These exploration of "why" questions inaugurated discussions and reflections on the global condition of the "Black body", the historic socio-economic realities of Africans in general and the urgent need for the emergence of historically conscious African leaders. Moving on, participants engaged with the theoretical

principles/concepts of people-centered nation building theories of African centered philosophies, African centered nation building/citizenship and politics/policy as a pathway to public service. As it relates to the curriculum core, the program took on a trans-historic perspective in looking at the African condition and African people. A transhistoric perspective moves away from analyzing the continent from a fragmented lens (for example, from independence), but from an interlocking lens that begins from pre-colonial times up until contemporary times. Accordingly, the curriculum core commenced with an investigation into pre-colonial civilizations and polities. In an interconnected way, it will move into the trans-Atlantic slave trade, the global dispersal of the Black population, the colonial era and postcolonial era.

Critically, transatlantic slavery is largely unexplored, Nigeria's precolonial history is either negated, exoticized and presented as a body of knowledge without relevance in contemporary society.

Lectures for Students and Partners in America and Germany

The lectures centered on the current context of insecurity in Nigeria, the recruitment of children and the DDRR processes around the Lake Chad border area. A seminar was held for students of the University of South Florida, and the goal was to familiarise the students with the conflict situation in Nigeria; highlight counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency efforts so far and engage students on strategic policy recommendations for ending the conflict in Nigeria. Another seminar was held with the Bonn Centre for Conversations. The Kukah Centre examined and analysed the different DDRR programmes around the Lake borderland region.

In Nigeria, the DDRR process began in 2015 under the office of the National Security Adviser. It was termed the prison-based deradicalisation programme (now correctional based deradicalisation programme). The programme was for ex-combatants undergoing judicial process (Convicted – Awaiting trial – Ongoing Trial). Additionally, the Operation Safe Corrider, under the Chief of Defence Staff was started in 2016, designed for 'Repentant' Boko Haram Members. They are processed in Maiduguri by a Joint Investigative Committee (JIC) and divided into 3 Categories: High Risk are sent to Kainji Barracks, Niger State; Low Risk are sent to Operation Safe Corridor for DRR and Innocent Civilians are sent to their state governments for DDRR.

In Cameroon, on the other hand, Security Service Agency Screens ex-

combatants, where high risk are separated from innocent civilians. High Risk are sent for prosecution under the provisions of Cameroon's Anti-Terrorism Act of 2014. Low Risk are sent for Rehabilitation and Reintegration. At this point, traditional authorities are asked to receive the low risk and innocent civilians associated with terrorists. They are kept in IDP camps and given support and assistance, and these IDP camps serve as period of transition. They are made to swear an oath on the Qur'an in the presence of the community and are reintegrated into the community after this ceremony.

For Chad, Boko Haram defectors, deserters and ex-combatants first come in contact with farmers and farmers. They are brought before traditional rulers and key community stakeholders. Key Community Stakeholders call the attention the security

services who conduct screening, disarmament and demobilisation to identify low and risks clients. High risk clients are prosecuted while low risk ones are sent to the rehabilitation centre - run by UNICEF, Ministry of Women, Early Childhood & National Solidarity. In Niger however, Boko Haram members are given the option of Surrender and Rehabilitation. They contact family members, who in turn contact the government. They are sent to Socio-Economic Reintegration Centre in Goudoumaria, about 200 km West of Diffa, and like other countries, high risk clients are prosecuted while low risk are rehabilitated.



Pope Francis Appoints Bishop Kukah Member of the Dicastery on Integral Human Development, Vatican City

The Holy Father Pope Francis has appointed His Lordship, Bishop Matthew Hassan Kukah, Bishop of the Diocese of Sokoto as a Member of the Dicastery for the Promotion of Human Integral Development. The appointment was contained in a letter to Bishop Kukah signed by His Eminence, Peter Cardinal Turkson, the Prefect of the Dicastery.

By this appointment, Bishop Kukah will join other members of the Dicastery drawn from different regions of the world to advise and promote the holy Father's concerns on issues of justice and peace, human rights, torture, human trafficking, care of creation and other issues related to the promotion of human dignity and development. The appointment, which is renewable is for an initial period of five years. The Council will be formally inaugurated on a later date.

The Dicastery for the Promotion of Integral Human Development was created on January 1, 2017, when four Dicasteries, namely, the Pontifical Councils for Justice and Peace, Cor Unum, Pastoral Care of Immigrants and Itinerant People and Health Care of Workers, were all merged by the Holy Father.

This appointment adds to Bishop Kukah's string of national and international engagements within the universal Church. He was first appointed a Consultor and later a Member of the Pontifical Council for Inter-Religious Dialogue, Vatican City and served under three Popes. He is currently, Chairman, Dialogue Committees of both the *Regional Episcopal Conference of West Africa (RECOWA) and the Catholic Bishops' Conference of Nigeria (CBCN). He was a member of the official Delegation of the Holy See that met with the Emir of Qatar when that country opened diplomatic relations with the Holy See in 2002. In 2016, he was nominated by the Vatican to represent Africa on the Advisory Board of the Vienna based, King Abdulazeez International Interfaith and Intercultural Dialogue, KAIICID. KAIICID is the fruit of the collaboration between the governments of Saudi Arabia, Austria and the Holy See for the promotion of worldwide Dialogue between world religions. Bishop Kukah comes to the Dicastery on the Promotion of Integral Development with a lot of experience in the areas of human rights, justice and reconciliation.



Launching of Catholic Church Building at St. Vincent De Paul Military Catholic Church, Army Cantonment-Gusau Zamfara state

1st Sunday of Advent is a remarkable day in our lives today and significantly finding our selves in the military barracks, where the Gospel of the day talks about been vigilant. A call to every humanity to be vigilant.

The Bishop in his homily said "Nigeria is a country where everyone has freedom to practice his or her religion but only in Nigeria again you are deprived of place of worship in a Federal institution". He thank Brig. Gen. OM Bello for the love and understanding he has for the church.

Bishop M. H. KUKAH Celebrates Mass, Blesses & Lays the Foundation Stone on the Proposed Site for St. Vincent De Paul Military Catholic Church, Nigerian Army Cantonment, Alasawa area, Kaura Namoda Rd, Gusau, Zamfara State. Brig. Gen. O.M. Bello (Commander, 1 Brigade Nigerian Army, Gusau) & Maj. Rev. Fr. C.G. Jiddere (Deputy Director Chaplain (RC) 8 Division), under the Chairmanship of Sir Joseph Maihula (KSJ), & Dr. Raymond Nwike & Chief Obiora Okeke.



ANNUAL REPORT

Independence Message by Bishop Matthew Hassan KUKAH, Catholic Bishop, Diocese of Sokoto on October 1, 2020



1: I want to first thank God Almighty the Father of all creation and the maker of Heaven and earth. Strange as it may sound, I would like to thank the colonial masters who wove our diverse peoples together and for all the efforts that they put into ensuring that we had everything a people had to launch itself into a modern state. It is a time to thank those brave and selfless missionaries who laid the foundation for our modern civilisation by providing us with high quality education. We must appreciate the context of colonialism and the fact that its driving philosophy was the exploitation of our resources and we must concede that they laid the solid foundation for extracting our resources for the development of their own country. Their interests were buried in the womb of the country they created. Today, we have destroyed the institutions they created and distorted their vision for our development.

2: On October 1, 1960 when we became independent, our joy clearly knew no end. It was my first year in primary school. We all turned out as neat as we could afford to be to hear Head Master talk about the terrible white men who had come and stolen our lands. I didn't understand this because I never saw anyone stop my father from going to farm. We played around freely in the village and so, I thought to myself, which land did white people take? I had seen only two white men in my life then. Both of them Priests and even though I did not know fully what a Priest was, they were good men and came from a very far country.

3: They had built a Church and school for our village and that was the first building I saw that was not thatched. It was impossible for me to understand how any white man could be wicked or even steal our land. The teacher talked about a new song which we were to sing in praise of our new country even though I did not see anything that was new. I had no idea what was being said in the song but we all tried to murmur something in excitement. The greatest treasure was the little flags and cups that were distributed to us. Holding to the first cup in my life and waving a little flag seemed like a great contradiction to the Head Master 's portrayal of the white thief.

4: We soon learnt the name of our new Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa the man who came to be known as the golden voice of Africa. In his speech on October 1, 1960, the Prime Minister announced that; our new day had arrived and promised to dedicate his life for the service of the country. He noted that our country had emerged without bitterness and bloodshed and that; building of our nation proceeded at the wisest pace: it has been thorough, and Nigeria now stands well-built upon firm foundations.

5: Barely six years later, we murdered him. He became a symbol of the blood sacrifice that has now drenched our country in a sea of blood arising from a civil war and endless circles of communal bloodletting which have now become part and parcel of our governance structure. Successive leaders have not come to terms with how to end this culture of death. Today, our country is littered with the very sharp pieces of broken promises. Yesterday's dreams have become our worst nightmares. As we look back today, watching our country drift in a wide sea of uncertainty, we ask, from where our help come? (Ps 121: 1). After sixty years, bloodletting has become embedded in our culture of existence. So, how do we celebrate?

6: There is enough blame to go around. We can blame the British, blame the politicians, blame the military but none of these changes anything. It is the fate of nations to go through the furnace and crucible of suffering. Under the banner of religion, Europe fought the 30-year war(1618-1648), the world lost millions of men and women in two wars propelled by human greed(1914-1918, 1939-.1945). Fleeing from the Kuomintang army, Mao led his people on the famous long march stretching thousands of miles (1934-1935). Mr. Mandela's long walk to freedom is a metaphor for the struggles against white domination. Journeys to greatness require more than just good people, more than just good will, more than just hope. Those journeys have to be led by men and women with vision and tested character prepared to mobilise their people towards the attainment of a goal.

7: It is easy to say that we have been one unlucky country. The evidence is glaring. One of our Presidents marveled at how a country that had taken so much beating was still standing. In spite of huge resources after 60 years, we cannot feed our people, we cannot keep our people safe, we are still in darkness, we cannot communicate with one another by roads or railways. What we inherited, we have either stolen, broken or thrown away. The nation is a wasteland littered with white elephant projects, conceived and abandoned but all paid for. Governance is a criminal enterprise, not a call to service.

8: No nation has ever taken a short cut to success not because we have not tried, but because no such road exists. The military, perhaps even worse than the colonial state destroyed the very foundations of our Democracy, Bureaucracy and public service by introducing a culture of arbitrariness and violence as a means to power. A combination of these laid the foundation for corruption as the worst manifestation of a culture of total lack of accountability.

To be sure, when General Abdusalami A Abubakar broke with the military tradition of clutching to power in 1999, he laid a foundation for the return to Democracy and a retreat of the military. We thank God that after over 20 years, we have conducted five back to back elections even in the most controversial of circumstances. After 16 years of being ruled by one political party, the nation decided it was fed up with arrogance and blatant thieving and looting that had become the political culture. Its citizens made a radical and unprecedented turn.

7: In 2014, the unexpected happened: a sitting President conceded defeat against the run of play and even well before the tally of all the votes had come in. The nation, well across ethnic, religions, regional and class lines believed it had turned the corner. The new President had campaigned on a rich menu of promises, ending



corruption, ending Boko Haram, ending poverty, uniting the country among others. He ushered in his administration by promising to uphold the Constitution and said he would belong to everyone and to no one. We all looked up in hope to a man who had campaigned on the key philosophy of Integrity and Character.

9: Today, the tide has turned. The President has turned his back on almost all the key promises he made to the people of Nigeria during his campaign. Our country now looks like a boiling pot that everyone wants to escape from. Nepotism has become the new ideology of this government. In following this ideology, it is estimated that the President has handed over 85% of the key positions to northern Muslims and has ensured that men of his faith hold tight to the reins of power in the most critical areas of our national life; the National Assembly and the Security Agencies!

10: In chapter 2 of our Constitution, under Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy, the Constitution states very clearly and unambiguously in Section 13 that: It shall be the duty and responsibility of all organs of government, and of all authorities and persons, exercising legislative, executive or judicial powers, to conform to, observe and apply the provisions of this Chapter of this Constitution.

Section 14(1) states very clearly that: The Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be a State based on the principles of

democracy and social justice. Article (b) follows by stating that: the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government: and subsection 3, states that: The composition of the Government of the Federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity, and also to command national loyalty, thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from a few State or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in that Government or in any of its agencies.

11: By adopting Nepotism as a primary ideology, clearly unable to secure our country and people, President Muhammadu Buhari is in flagrant violation of the Constitution which he swore to uphold. Today, our sense of national unity is severely under threat and test. Our common citizenship has been fractured and diminished. The principles of equity, fairness and egalitarianism on which our Constitution hangs have been assaulted and diminished.

12: Nigerian citizens feel collectively violated. There is clearly a conflict in narratives and understanding between the principles and ideologies contained in the Manifesto of the Party on which he campaigned and the brutal realities of today. It would seem that it was in anticipation of this dissonance that the President built such a firewall of protection around himself by the partisan selection of security Chief based on religious and ethnic affiliation. It could be the reason for the adoption of the same principles in the National Assembly today. The President has been quite diligent and focused in the pursuit of an Agenda that is clearly alien to the aspirations and hopes of our people across religious lines. Nigeria was nothing like this before he came. How long will this lie last before it melts in our faces? We are living a lie and we know it.

13: The motto of our dear nation reads, Unity and Faith, Peace and Progress. Today, where is Nigeria's Unity? Today, who has Faith in Nigeria? Today, where is the Peace? Today, where is the Progress? The whole world stood with Nigeria sixty years ago expecting us to lead Africa and beyond. TIME Magazine on December 5th, 1960 made our Prime Minister its Man of Year. No black person had been conferred with this honour. Where are we today with that trust?

14: At the end of his speech 60 years ago, our beloved Prime Minister thanked the missionaries for the great work they had done in Nigeria. We as a Church are still on out duty post, following the legacy of those who have gone before us. The Catholic Bishops spent the last forty days praying every day for an end to the killings. As we celebrate our independence today, I call on the President to please urgently make a turn and heed the voices of Nigeria's friends and the rest of the world.

15: We all face a dilemma: it is our national day but how can we sing a song when our country has become a Babylon? Where are the Chibok daughters? Where is Leah Sharibu? Who are the sponsored murderers who have overrun our land? Our land is now a pool of blood. Mr. President, please reset the clock before it is too late. I pray for you that God will touch your heart so that you embrace the ideals of those who came before you. This is not the Nigeria they dreamt of. This is not the Nigeria you went to war for. With hope in God, but sorrow in my heart, I say to Nigerians, let us stand together. Let us renew our faith. Our salvation is nearer now than when we first believed (Rom. 13:11). God bless our beloved fatherland.

Of Igbos, 2023 and 'Politics of Moral Consequence' -By Bishop Matthew Kukah

Dr. Chidi Amuta takes the cake for both elegant turn of phrase and sheer depth of thoughtful analysis. I read his recent piece in THISDAY, '2023: Igbos and the Politics of Moral Consequence' on a bumpy ride back to Sokoto.

The essay is not exactly a foolproof DIY tool kit for the construction of the road to Aso Rock for his Igbo kinsmen. However, it manages to identify some harsh pebbles and nails whose litter have made the journey to the Presidency a Golgothean challenge for the Igbos.

Instructively, the essay does not address the issues of why some have crossed with so much ease while the Igbos remain stuck in a frustration of Sisyphean proportions When I got back to Sokoto, I put a call through to Dr. Amuta to commend him for the essay and say how much I had appreciated his insights. But when I woke up the next morning, a few fresh thoughts came to my mind, suggesting that despite the brilliance of the essay, it had thrown up a few grey areas that required further exploration. Indeed, as I had tried to do in my Convocation Lecture at the Ojukwu University, Awka on 20th March, 2020, the need for a robust conversation about the future of our country is imperative.

Therefore, my intention here is not to respond directly to the issues raised by Dr Amuta by way of a rebuttal because I agree substantially with his summation. What I wish to add is done with the hope that we can create a momentum for an orchestra of voices to shape the future and destiny of a nation that is gradually and inexorably sliding and screeching to a precipice. I have a few insights to buttress that point.

As Secretary of the National Political Reform Conference (NPRC) in 2005, that offered me a front seat and helped me to appreciate the reasons why the politics of this country is devoid of the required content for building a great nation. In the course of the NPRC assignment, I came to appreciate that nothing, absolutely nothing, had changed in content and substance in terms of how, over time, these gatherings have been nothing other than dress rehearsals and platforms to negotiate, barter and trade ambitions for the future. The composition of these Assemblies is often so fractious that it often ends up being a theatre for negotiating centrifugal interests. In the end, it is the national interests that suffer while national cohesion becomes a delayed project.

What we call political parties, those rickety and dilapidated rickshaws we see changing wheels with every election, have always been conceived in the midnight of these so called Assemblies. Meanwhile, groups pledge false loyalties against one another along ethnic, regional and religious lines. This has been our fate right from 1977 through 1988, 1995 and 2013. The result is that the proceedings end up in the valley of the dry bones where they pile on top of their predecessors.

I have gone to this length to illustrate the fact that despite the presence of serious minded intellectuals, their expertise has often been subsumed in the narrow and clannish interests of their ethnic, religious or regional interests. But the old ways can no longer hold and the looming danger that lies before us has to be averted not by threats, but by deliberate planning and thinking. We are facing a new generation of young, bright and future looking men and women for whom the old ways are a serious obstacle. They have their eyes on a future that is not here yet. They have designed ways and means of pulling down the walls of hegemony that have held the future captive and made Nigeria the object of ridicule and obloquy. The youth have enough weapons to destroy this treacherous heist from its very foundation. www.thekukahcentre.org

Now to come back to Dr. Amuta. He raised the issues of what the country owes the Igbos under the doctrine of moral consequence. He carefully crafted a list of countries from where the rest of Nigeria can learn its lessons in recompense. But I see two problems here. First, Dr. Amuta assumes that his readers really understand the meaning of the doctrine of moral consequence. A definition of this notion would have been of great help so as to help situate his arguments in our context. Although he cites countries such as Australia, Rwanda or South Africa, it is important to understand that when applied to Nigeria, this theory requires conceptual and contextual clarifications.

First, as we know, in politics as in economics or any other aspects of human existence, culture defines, shapes and explains most behaviours. It is important to note that moral consequence as an ethical theory requires a cultural or theological underpinning. A given society has to have some form of common cultural understanding of its laws or ties that bind. All the countries that Dr Amuta listed have a Christian tradition. It would have been important to site any Muslim country which has applied this theory of moral consequence.

If we place moral conquentialism within the larger ethical template of Utilitarianism, we will have to wrestle with whether we derive our inspiration from Jeremy Bentham, Adam Smith, John Stewart Mill or John Rawls. We do not need to get into the arguments but it is important to note that here, we are on a slippery slope because the Nigerian politician is not guided or grounded by any of these deep philosophical postulations. Dem no wan grammar, remember?

The lack of an ethical framework to undergird all spheres of our life is what has led our country to a moral free fall in

all areas. We are groaning under the weight of corruption, but this is because Ethics has found no place in our educational systems or public life. Without ethics, we return to the state of nature in its most brutal form. Here, let us pause and spare a thought as to how this problem has been metastasized. As we know, life itself is a long journey of negotiation, consensus building and a struggle to ensure that the strong do not overrun the weak, that the urge to do good outweigh the urge for evil. We are therefore constantly negotiating these choices, seeking the greatest benefit for the greatest number. This comes at a great cost because it depends on human nature and nurture.

Dr Amuta believes that one of the problems that the Igbos face on their way to the Presidency is the fact that, in his words, 'It is an unwritten and unstated presumption that Nigeria can still not find in its heart to forgive the Igbos for Biafra.' I find this reading of the situation guite troubling because first, Dr. Amuta does not spell out which Nigeria he is referring to. Okay, may be our brother Chido Onuma overstated it when he said 'We are all Biafrans now'. Truth be told, there is resonance in that claim. Indeed, I was told by a senior military officer that the late Major General Hassan Usman Katsina called a meeting of retired military officers from the Middle belt to ask why they had become so frustrated and one of the Christian military leaders who actually was of the same generation as Katsina said: 'Were the civil war to start today, I will be on the side of Biafra!'

Perhaps the Igbos are to blame for not positioning their wind vane properly otherwise, Dr. Amuta will understand that his thesis is seriously flawed. The north unraveled a long time ago and what is left is a scarecrow that still frightens some ignorant people in the south. Evidently, the Igbos and others must cure themselves of their horrifying ignorance of the complex mesh that is northern Nigeria. We hear the ignorance about the north being one and united. Well, ask the Shi'ites, Izala, Tijaniya, the Middle Belt, ask the Nupe, Kanuri, and Hausa what they feel or believe about this north. A survey conducted found that while just 35% of Muslims in northern Nigeria wanted to be identified as Sunni, a whopping 30% just wanted to be Muslim, with no other label. Outsiders have refused to appreciate the mutations of identities within Islam and continue to ignore how most of this affects political choices. If Dr. Amuta and kinsmen do not appreciate this, then they will remain in the rain for much longer by default.

Despite painting the picture of the Igbos as having been sinned against (which is true), Dr. Amuta rather strangely places the burden of redemption on the shoulders of the same people by saying that: 'The Igbo political elite has to reduce its habitual fears and nervousness of the competing elite of other factions in the country'. How and why should the Igbos do this? After all, they have not invaded anyone's territory except through their economic presence. They have not destroyed any national assets. So, how is this gratuitous appeasement of other factions supposed to take place? How should the Igbos be charged for the fears and nervousness of other competing elites when they are the ones who should be afraid and nervous after the loss of their war?

I agree that the weaponization of Biafra may have long time consequences but I am slow to accept the conclusion that it is 'a tactical blunder that will frighten Nigeria.' We have to place this in context and not moralise it. The average Igbo youth today in his thirties of forties will know that in the last twenty years of our Democracy, every section of the country has gotten its President by some threats of spilling blood. This is not any attempt to glamourize violence, but let us be truthful in the face of the staggering evidence: Odu'a Peoples' Congress (OPC) in its raw form frightened the rest of the country after June 12th and it took this into the elections of 1999. They can claim they got a Yoruba man for President for what it is worth. The Ijaw Youth can also claim to have frightened the rest of Nigeria by blowing up pipelines before they received their son, President Jonathan as a concession of sorts.

Similarly, elements of Boko Haram in whatever shape or form, the killer men and women running riot in the country and murdering thousands of innocent citizens despite having been paid off, can claim credit to pursing an agenda in which fear is an investment. Threats of blood for monkey and baboon were loud in 2011. The Biafran agitators are a symptom not a disease. The real disease has been spread by the brutal politics of the other segments of Nigeria that inadvertently made violence the commodity of exchange for the Presidency. We can only reverse this ugly scenario if we are honest enough to accept that what we have as politics in Nigeria is blood and banditry by another name!

Dr. Amuta ends his beautiful essay with some troubling recommendations for the Igbos if they want to get the Presidency. First, he encourages the Igbos to adopt a policy of 'deft foot walk, negotiation with other groups, abandon disturbing pride, arrogance and noisy ebullience for fear that it will unsettle competitors'. He accuses the Igbos of 'not getting on their knees to seek a favour', and suggests what he calls 'pragmatic flexibility' as the way forward, because, as he concludes: 'When you go out to seek the lion's share of what belongs to all, you go in meekness'. Lord God Almighty!

First, Nigeria's political grounds are a treacherous slippery

slope of deceit and subterfuge and so, no amount of deft foot walk will do. You can only negotiate successfully if both of you understand and sign on to the same rules of engagement and agree on outcomes. The current administration is the poster child of this subterfuge and convoluted moral consequence. Those who sank their energy and money into this project have come face to face with the reality that their deft foot walk has led them blinded folded into a darkroom where they are asked to hopelessly chase the black cats of opportunity. Has President Buhari (the lion) shared what belongs to all even with the meek? Last time I checked, the lion hunts alone! The immoral power sharing method of this President has exposed the folly of those who believe that deft foot walk and negotiations are a guarantee for the future of the Igbos. The nation is wounded but I believe in the long run, the President has mortally wounded the north itself.

When Dr Amuta charges the Igbos with 'pride, arrogance, noisy ebullience' and suggests that they should fear the consequences of unsettling their competitors, he is, in my view, asking them to lie on their own sword helped by their competitors. To compound his case, Dr. Amuta suggests that the Igbos 'get on their knees to seek a favour' and then engage in pragmatic flexibility. However, he does not offer us examples of the rewards that have come to those who engaged in previous knee bending, fawning, obsequious or pragmatic flexibility in the past. I will like to see the list of those so rewarded, no matter how short it may be.

In conclusion, the task of rescuing Nigeria falls on the elite of Nigeria who must raise the bar for elitism in its capacity to redeem and rescue a people by imposing a new civilisation. African Democracy remains prostrate because it has still not freed itself from the clutches of both British colonialism and local feudalisms. The quality of men and women at the helm of affairs cannot rescue this county from its current state of decay and looming decomposition. The future does not lie on which region, religion or tribe will produce the next President. This is the legacy of the feudalists and hegemonists across the country and only a careful elite prescription can understand where the world is going.

The Igbos must reconnect with their Yoruba and other educated elite, replace the corrosive politics of ethnicity with the quality of mind that knows how to channel diversity to greater and higher goals. Tribal politics will continue to produce the toxic ingredients of death and destruction that has engulfed us. Contrary to what Dr. Amuta seems to suggest, I am convinced that the Igbos are the most politically advantaged: they have the ubiguitous presence and human and economic resources more than anyone. And, rather than seeing this as an incubus, I see it as an asset. If we elevate politics to a noble art of intellectuals setting goals and developing a vision for the larger society, we can then create the conditions for everyone to thrive no matter where they may be. Tribal politics have destroyed Nigeria and we must destroy its temple so as to free ourselves. Until that happens, the moral consequences of our politics will continue to be chaotic and violent. Nigeria will remain in the hands of violent and evil men, men of darkness already circling around the country and ready to lead us into darkness. Their footsteps are already on our doorsteps. We must find our black goat before darkness engulfs us.

Bishop Kukah built new Classrooms

The newly completed Classroom block built by His Lordship Most Rev. Dr Matthew Hassan Kukah for St. Patrick's schools Illela, Sokoto, Sokoto State. The Principal of the School, Sr. Chilia, took the Bishop round for inspection of the structure.



Bishop Kukah's Mother laid to rest



The late Mama Janet Hauwa Kukah, mother of Most Rev Matthew Hassan Kukah, Bishop of Sokoto, was laid to rest today at the family house in Anchuna, Zangon Kataf Local Government, Kaduna State.

Bishop Kukah was joined by the Metropolitan of Kaduna Province, Archbishop Matthew Manoso Ndagoso, and Bishops Kundi of Kafanchan Diocese and George Dodo of Zaria Diocese.

About 50 priests from Dioceses across the Province and Abuja also participatedd in the funeral Mass and witnessed the interment. Among the priests is Fr. Patrick Alumuku, the Director, SIGNIS Africa. Others who participated the Mass and witnessed the burial included Governor Simon Lalong of Plateau State, representative of Governor Tambuwal of Sokoto State, Justice Akhas of the Supreme Court and head of National Industrial Court and Malam Nuhu Ribadu, former EFCC Chairman.

The homilist at the funeral Mass is Fr. Joseph Umoru. He praised Mama Janet Hauwa Kukah was an embodiment of courage and Christian values.

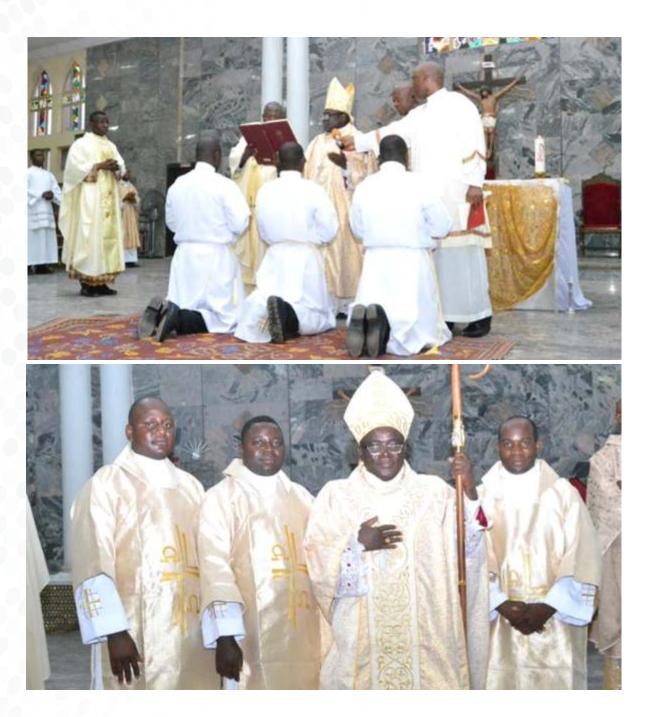
Charity to the less privilege - Bishop Kukah

Bishop M. H. KUKAH of the Diocese of Sokoto, through the diocesan Directorate of Justice, Development & Peace Commission (JDPC), supports the beggers & less privileged communities in Sokoto so as to facilitate & encourage them in their praying & fasting in the month of Ramadan & to stay Covid-19 free by observing good hygiene & necessary precautions. God bless Bishop Kukah, God bless the Catholic Diocese of Sokoto.



Bishop Kukah Ordained three Deacons

On the 31st of March, 2020 His Lordship Most Rev. Dr. Matthew Hassan Kukah ordained three Deacons. Reverends, Mika Suleiman, Luka Ayuba and Luka Yohana.



Bishop Kukah leads Prayer Procession in Sokoto

Catholics yesterday in Sokoto led by His Lordship Most Rev Dr. Matthew Hassan Kukah marched over 3 kilometers on a prayer procession in Black attires mourning the incessant killings of their fellow country men and women.

Addressing the crowd gathered at Holy Family Cathedral before the commencement of the procession, Bishop Kukah said "our procession is for God to have mercy on us, for God to touch the hearts of these men and women of evil by whatever name they call themselves. May God touch them and may God touch the hearts of those who are involved in their sponsorship."





"Today we are sending out a very strong signal to the government of Nigeria, Men and women of the Military who are also making a lot of sacrifice that we support them with our prayers for that's the best we can do. This is not the time to blame anybody. So we believe that God will hear our prayer that politicians will do the best they can do but we believe that sooner or later Nigeria will turn the corner."

Rounding up the rally, special intercessory prayers were made for the unity, peace and release of those still in captivity in Nigeria led by representatives of different Christian denomination as well as in Arabic by the Muslim community. The rally witnessed over a thousand Nigerians including women, children, Christians and Muslims displaying banners and placards calling for an end to insecurity in the country.



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