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## **The Politics of Neglect in the Resettled Communities of Borgu: A Recipe for Armed Struggle**

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### **Abstract**

This paper attempted a contribution to finding solution to the incessant armed agitations that bedevilled all regions of the Nigerian political economy. Common consumption goods have eluded majority of the less privileged Nigerians. In cognizance of this, aggrieved youths take up arms in agitation for a fair share of the wealth that accrued to the federal government from the natural endowments of their local communities. The Borgu resettled communities are not exonerated from the politics of neglect and deprivations other regions are amplifying to the global community. Borgu produces electricity, but they do not have light, no quality schools, good access roads and efficient health facilities in spite of the sacrifices they make for national development. The paper recommended among others that good roads, electricity, health facilities and schools be provided for the people of Borgu.

## Introduction

Power in whatever perspective it is viewed, be it political, economic or electric power, is very central in the production process of any given political economy. The social relations of production in modern time is facilitated by energy (Nuclear, Tidal, Hybrid, electricity) in an attempt to maximize surplus value within the context of capitalist formation. It is a formation that gives premium to exploitation. This mode of production dates back to 16th century with emphasis on private ownership of means of labour and object of labour (Niworu, 2007). This capitalist mode of production dominates Europe and America in the late 18th and early 19th centuries as a result of innovations in science and technology which led to industrial revolution and large scale machine production (See, Ryndina and Charnikov, 1985, Afanasyev, 1980).

As capitalist development flourishes in Europe and America as a result of science and technology, the Nigerian state encourages state nurtured capitalism where the national bourgeoisies created an enabling environment for commission agents to flourish. General Olusegun Obasanjo, in his opening address at the colloquium on Black Civilization and Education during the 1977 FESTAC, identified four (4) categories of these commission agents as follows: (i) The commercial or business agents represented by the various groups forming the Nigerian Chamber of Commerce, Industries, Mines and Agriculture. (ii) The Bureaucratic Agents represented by Senior Civil Servants, officers in the armed and security forces and all those involved in the manipulation of state power from the local government level to Dodan Barracks. (iii) Technical Agents represented by engineers, architects, surveyors, medical doctors and (iv) The intellectual Agents, those who formulate and manipulate ideas like academic staff at different levels of the educational system, students of universities, polytechnics and colleges of education, lawyers on the bench and at the bar.

Consequent upon the new status of the Nigerian National bourgeoisies as commission agents, they nurtured state capitalism utilizing public fund in developing the up and down streams of the oil economy (Schatz, 1977). The search for crude oil began in Nigeria in 1908 by a German company known as the Nigerian Bitumen Corporation, but ceased exploration with the outbreak of the First World War. Shell D'Arcy, which later became Shell – BP Petroleum Development Company of Nigeria Ltd, entered oil exploration in 1937 and discovered oil in commercial quantity at Oloibiri and Afam Rivers State in 1956 (Angaye, 1986).

Apparently, with the discovery of oil in the 1950s, a cheap source of electricity was needed to power the oil rigs of the imperialists in the Delta Region. This need for cheap electricity led to hydrological survey of the Niger and Benue Rivers in 1953 which eventually led to the construction of the pioneer hydroelectric dam in Kainji, Borgu Local Government Area of Niger State leading to the relocation of Borgu communities to a new site.

### Elucidation of Theory and Concepts

The theoretical underpinning of this paper is public sector resource allocation as elucidated by Okowa in Ake (1985). This theoretical postulation emphasized that the provision of public facilities and services by the state and its agents has the potency to increase the consumption of goods and services of the group benefiting from such facilities. Okowa stressed further that

the physical productivity of any individual in a given society would depend, among other things, on the availability of social and economic infrastructure, health facilities, communication facilities, qualitative educational facilities, the availability of good sources of water supply, good road network, sustainable electricity supply, a clean environment, as well as recreational facilities are some of the items that make up the complex of social infrastructure, a deficiency of which will retard an area's development (Cited in Ake, 1985).

The sufficiency and efficiency of social infrastructure connotes development. Although as a social science concept, it eludes any precise definition. However, many students of change are of the view that development is the process by which a continuous increase in a system's efficiency produce the conditions which results in general upliftment of people in the society. It is that process which is concerned with the general improvement of man's living conditions. Thus, both the physical and psychological elements of development mutually reinforce each other in the process of general upliftment which is equal to an indispensable development (*Development outlook magazine*, 1986).

According to Goulet (1971), development implies change. This is one change in which development is used to describe the process of economic and social transformation within given society. Goulet distinguished three basic components of development as follows:

- i. **Life Sustenance:** This is concerned with the provision of basic needs such as health services, education, housing, sanitation, clothing, water supply and adequate nutrition. No country can be said to be developed, if it cannot provide all its people with the above basic needs. The major objective of development is to raise people out of poverty and provide basic needs concurrently.
- ii. **Self Esteem:** This is concerned with the feeling of self-respect and independence.
- iii. **Freedom:** Goulet conceived freedom as emancipation from the three evils of want, ignorance and squalor, so that people are better able to determine their destiny. No man is free, if he cannot choose, if he is imprisoned by living on

the margin of subsistence with no education and no skills. (Desai & Potter, 2008; Alabi, 2009; Adamu 2001; Aja, 1997; Fanon, 1967; Niworu, 2016).

In different perspective, Rodney (1972) opined that development is increased skills and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material wellbeing.

Development associated with giant national project like Kainji Hydro Electric Dam means change in the traditional values of the host communities. National project of that magnitude would attract people of different ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds from within and outside the country. The resultant effect of this increased literacy, urbanization, communication and mass media facilities, etc. It suffices to say that, these development expectations eluded the resettled communities of Borgu. (Niworu, 2003).

### **Settlement and Resettlement**

Settlement is a voluntary movement of selected people from their initial homes to wherever they choose to settle. Oyedipe (1983) submitted that settlement involves high degree of self-help with limited official assistance. On the other hand, resettlement involves involuntary relocation of the entire community to a new location as a result of war, political turmoil and natural disasters such as earth quakes, droughts and floods. In this case government officials are involved in the process of resettlement. Resettlement is different from settlement because resettlement seek to evaluate socio-cultural entities and not isolated individuals.

Cernea (1988) stated that resettlement is a consequence of planned change generated by major development projects and programs. Such relocation of people is consequence of building dams for irrigation or hydro power, urban development projects, water resources project, highway construction and mine development. Cernea stressed further that:

The nature of involuntary resettlement gives rise to special social and technical problems which are to a great extent different from and usually more severe than those encountered in cases of voluntary resettlement. A feeling of powerlessness and alienation engendered in those who are involuntarily relocated, especially when entire communities were uprooted from familiar surroundings to the extent that existing structures and social network disintegrates and tightly knitted kin group are displaced to new locations. This weakened social cohesion and the potential for productive group action is diminished. It is a disruptive and painful process economically and culturally. It dismantles productive system. It disorganizes the entire

human communities and it break up long established social networks severe environment effects and loss of valuable natural resources.

### **The History of Kainji Dam**

The history of Kainji Hydro-Electric Dam could be traced back to 1951 when there was an anticipation of the growth of industries and rapid development of Nigeria's urban centres which might result in high demand for electricity far ahead of its supply then. In order to minimize cost, a large and cheap source of power must be sought to ensure constant supply of electric power. An examination was then made of the hydroelectric potentials of River Niger.

In 1958, the Electric Corporation of Nigeria (ECN) commissioned Balfour Beatty and Company Ltd of Britain to investigate the hydro potentials of River Niger in the vicinity of Jebba. In the same vein, but separately done, was another investigation of the hydro potentials of River Kaduna at Shiroro gorge carried out by Sir Alexander Gibb and Partners in collaboration with Preece Cardew and Ridder on the request of the former Northern Nigerian Government and the Electric Corporation of Nigeria. Earlier in 1953, the Federal Government had commissioned the Netherlands Engineering Consultants (NEDECO) to carry out hydrological survey of the Niger and Benue Rivers. They published their report in 1959. It was on the basis of this report that the Niger Dam Project Committee made up of the representatives of the Federal Government, the government of former Northern Nigeria and the Electric Corporation of Nigeria recommended that "initial development near Kurwasa in Borgu province, followed by Jebba and Shiroro would be more beneficial to Nigeria".

The National Economic Council of Ministers did not hesitate to accept this recommendation in 1959. The consultant's report published in May, 1961 recommended that the first dam should be constructed at Kainji some Sixty-four miles downstream of Jebba. "This dam would provide sufficient electric power for many years, improved navigation through flood and allow large areas of land downstream of Jebba to be cultivated"

The development plan for an integrated system provided that when the power installation at Kainji (160MW) was completed, the next stage would be 500MW station at Jebba, followed by a 480MW Station at Shiroro gorge on River Kaduna. Under the plan, three stations combined together would produce, 1,940MW and would function as an integrated system capable of sustaining a maximum demand of 1,780MW at 55% annual load factor allowing for stand-by plant.

The firm of Sir Lindsay Parkinson (Nig.) Ltd., began preliminary works in May, 1963 and completed it in June, 1964. This work comprised 17 miles' access road from Wawa to Kainji on the west bank of the Niger and the erection of two bridges over the left and

right channels of the river. Work on the concrete dam itself started in May, 1965 after a year's preparatory work.

### **Borgu and the Politics of Neglect**

Borgu was a well-fortified kingdom that had never been conquered in the pre-colonial warfare until the French and British occupation of early 18th century. Borgu had successfully resisted the armies of might Songhai Empire in the 16th century and that of Sokoto caliphate in late 17th century. Borgu's military might was a force to be reckoned in traditional Africa, yet it was not a single state, but rather a series of independent kingdoms linked together by their common ancestors, cultures and defensive alliances (Anene, 1965). The Borgu confederal government consisted of five kings namely: Bussa and its tributaries, Wawa, Illo, Kaima and Nikki. Illo is now in Kebbi State, Kaima in Kwara State and Nikki in Benin Republic.

The origin of the aborigines of Borgu can be traced to Niger-Congo and Mande languages whose migration came from the Middle East through the North East of Benin Republic to the present day Borgu. Their forbearers according to oral tradition were Shuwa Arabs and Fulanis whose migration was facilitated by the trade routes of Sudan.

In the work of Stewart (1979), Ahmed Rabat a historian from Timbuktu wrote that:

Borgu to the South of Kukiya was a province of the kings of Mali during the period 1260 – 1564 although it was never completely subjugated. It is more correct to say that those who governed Borgu, who speak Bissan/Boko, a manding language, governed one of the outposts of the great Mali Empire, when the sphere of influence of Mali extended as far as the East, Katsina and Borgu.

On the other hand, the ruling aristocracy in Borgu are descendants of Kisra who has migrated from Persia in the present day Iran through North East to Borgu. The name Kisra was coined from Khosrau one of the great Persian kings of 6th and 7th centuries. In Borgu, Kisra means black king. Kisra migrated because he refused to accept the Islamic reforms of Prophet Muhammad (SAW). Kisra migrated with his followers through the North East to Borgu where he died leaving three sons namely: Woru, Sabi, and Bio. Woru the first son succeeded their father as the head of the immigrants. He left Bio the youngest of the siblings to found Illo now in Kebbi State while he proceeded to Swanla.

They separated from Swanla and Sabi moved southwest to found Nikki now in Benin Republic and Woru the eldest wandered towards South East to found Bussa where he said "Mabussa" meaning "I am tired", from which Bussa took its name. Like the case in most part of the North, when the ruling class came, they met the aborigines on their land.

This is the brief history of a nation whose heritage, monuments and productive assets were forfeited for the realization of national project in the magnitude of Kainji Hydro Electric Dam. The resettled communities include: New Bussa, Karabonde, Monnai, Duga, Ulakami, Shagunu, Amboshidi, Yumu, Ujiji, Rofia, Kokoli, Mahuta, Kasabu.

These communities are predominantly agricultural producers, producing large quantities of millet, guinea-corn, beans, rice, yam, onions and fish which they export to parts of the country and beyond up to Sudan. The speeches of Tafawa Balewa and General Gowon at the foundation laying and commissioning gave the powerless communities of Borgu hope that their situation would be better at their new site. Contrary to their expectations, they remain static with little impact of development in their communities. Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the Prime Minister of Nigeria stated at the foundation laying ceremony on the 31st August, 1964 that:

This is a practical Nigerian project. By that I mean this Dam, when completed, is going to offer facilities and services to all the Regions and to all the people of our federation and it is one of the projects I am sure is going to make a greater unity in this country

General Yakubu Gowon, the Head of State, stated on February 15th, 1969 during the commissioning ceremony that:

To us however, the successful completion of this project on schedule presents not only the laying of a foundation stone for the modernization of our nation, it is also symbolic of a breakthrough in our consciousness of what can be done for the development of our country

This age long occupation of the resettled people has been adversely affected as a result of the construction of the dam. About 86% of them revealed that against what was obtainable on their original home, their agricultural production has been affected negatively owing to their relocation to a new site. That they were displaced from their initial fertile land to a sandy soil that does not yield much. Vast fertile land for agricultural purposes on their new site had been in-undated by the waters of the largest manmade lake in Africa (Kainji Lake). Another substantial fertile land had also been conserved by the Kainji Lake National Park for their flora and fauna species thereby depriving the resettled people access to fertile land for their agricultural production – several members of the resettled communities had been imprisoned for cutting timber, grass or hunting in the national park.

As against their pre-settlement mud roof and thatched buildings, about 96% of the resettled communities answered in the affirmative that the structures at their new site were built with concrete bricks, painted in terra-cotta and roofed with asbestos roofing sheets. However, they complaint of been treated like second class citizens, if one

compares their residential buildings with those built for the staff of the Niger Dams Authority. They complaint that when they were relocated to new site, most of their buildings had no doors nor windows, kitchens were not provided at their new settlements as against what they left at their old site. The rooms in their new compounds did not tally with what they left at their old site and the sizes of the rooms are too small compared to what they called “Adede” (Big Room) at old site.

From a memorandum submitted by Borgu Native Authority to the Niger Dams Authority in 1968, it was stated that:

On the 14th of April, 1968, the last day of evacuation from old Bussa to New Bussa, after the emir had been welcomed at New Bussa, some of the resettled people returned home to notice that water was dropping into their rooms owing to technical fault in the roofing. They also noticed that water taps were so close to the toilets and bathrooms

Item number five on the memorandum stated that some properties belonging to the resettled people and Borgu Native Authority were not replaced nor compensated for. The properties include six (6) privately owned mud shops roofed with zinc, twelve (12) thatched huts used for storing grains and accommodation for canoe men at the bank of the River. These are sources of income for the resettled people which formed part of their livelihood and they were denied at their new site. Forty-eight (48) lockup shops belonging to the Native Authority were also not provided for at New Bussa which constitute a proportional loss of revenue to the Native Authority. Dispensary staff quarters, library, Dye pits from which the dyers earn their living were not replaced nor compensated for. Race course which was not only used for horse race, but for agricultural show and other social gatherings were not provided for in their new site.

The construction of Kainji Hydro Electric Dam led to the proliferation of government establishment and agencies but with little impact on the resettled people. They complaint of not getting employment from these government establishments nor access contract. The health and educational institutions established by the Dam authority were also far from their reach. This has placed them on the disadvantage position economically. It is similar situation of deprivation that triggered armed struggle in the Niger Delta region: Hutchful in Ake (1986) stated that:

Little social or infrastructural development has been undertaken by the oil companies or the federal and state government to compensate for the despoliation of the peasant’s natural environment by oil production activities. The peasant communities bordering the oil facilities are deprived of the most basic social amenities. In Rivers state there is no oil company that has built any school in the locality where it operates. All those facilities where they exist are for their employees. There is no hospital built by any oil company in the state. Scholarships where

they are awarded are not to the children of the local people. When they are asked to assist, they reply that these are not their problems and they refer us to the Federal Government.

### **Conclusion**

The existence of Kainji Hydro Electric Dam in Borgu with its enormous resources has little positive impact on the resettled communities of Borgu. The presence of the dam on their land did not improve the basic needs of the resettled people neither did the increase in the dam's revenue generation contributed to a greater sense of esteem for the resettled people.

It is worth knowing that apart from New-Bussa and the surrounding villages, the remaining resettled communities have no electricity. New Bussa that enjoys epileptic power supply have stage demonstration in 1970 before they were connected to electricity that is produced on their land.

The resettled communities have no common public consumption goods such as tarred access roads, functional schools with quality human and material resources, efficient health facilities, functional portable water supply system, their traditional occupation of farming and fishing is adversely affected.

These are the deprivations they suffered since resettlement in 1968 to date. They have written several protest letters to the authorities concern since 1970s to 2016 without any solution in sight.

Finally, with the agitations across all geopolitical zones of Nigeria for either control of resources, Islamic reforms in the social justice system or self-determination as an independent nation, with a permeating effect in the political economy of Nigeria, the young energetic youths of the involuntary resettled communities of Borgu may not be as patient as the older generation who had sworn to court affidavit in attestation to the National Assembly, the magnitude of deprivation and neglect Borgu people are subjected to. The youths might rather test the will of the state actors by replicating the type of agitation in the Niger Delta Region haven shared similar forms of deprivations. What I called in this paper electricity for oil production at the detriment of peasant economy of the host communities (Borgu and Niger Delta).

### **Suggestions**

The following are the way forward:

- i. Good asphalt roads should be constructed linking all resettled communities in Borgu.
- ii. Functional schools should be provided in the resettlement communities.

- iii. Efficient health facilities should be made available in the resettled communities.
- iv. The government establishments in Borgu should respect the federal character principles by giving employment to the resettled people from level 1 – 6. While for above level 6, conducive environment should be created by the authorities of the federal agencies for qualified candidates of the resettled people to compete.
- v. The National Assembly should expedite action in passing into law the act for the establishment of Hydro Electric Power Generating Areas Development Commission (HYPOGADEC) and 13% revenue on derivation should be given to states producing Hydropower with the local communities involved in its expenditure. These will cater for the needs of the communities on whose land Hydro Dams were constructed.
- vi. The entire Borgu resettled communities should be provided with sustainable electricity supply with lower tariff.

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**APPENDIX 'A'****PROTEST LETTER FROM INHABITANTS OF BUSSA DISTRICT**

C/o Waziri's Office  
New Bussa.  
9th August, 1971

The Manager of Operations,  
Niger Dams Authority,  
Kainji – New Bussa.

**LOSS OF LIVELIHOOD TO NEW BUSSA AND SURROUNDING VILLAGES**

We, the inhabitants of New Bussa town and surrounding villages are experiencing human and social problems which we strongly think and believe you are deliberately engineering in order to spoil the good relationship which exists between us and our State Government and thereby making us create lack of confident in our Government. By your actions, you have shown dislike for us, under-rated our intelligence and for many instances taken us for a ride and treated us as second class citizens because we are naturally law abiding citizens. But enough is enough, there is limit to human endurance. We are here below making a list of items which we feel in the interest of humanity, peace and unity your establishments should look into without any further delay with a view of seeing to it that we do not suffer any unnecessary hardship anymore because we are Nigerians.

**(i) Medical Treatment in the N.D.A. Hospital**

We want the Niger Dams Authority to note that we have been brought here to New Bussa as resettled people, we have sacrificed enough by vacating to new areas thereby losing our rich historical and cultural heritage in the interest of national development. As a result, we feel we should not be denied of vital social amenities such as medical treatment. This is very serious and lack of it is threatening our very existence. It is even to our knowledge that our State Government has contributed to the tune of £40,000 for the running of the Hospital so that free medical treatment could be extended to us but unfortunately some known Senior Officers of Niger Dams Authority are making it very hard if not impossible for us to enjoy equal benefits of the hospital as our fellow people working under N.D.A. and Kainji Lake Research. We wonder if this is how national unity could be achieved when some people would be dying while other peoples' health are being properly cared for. It is high time for N.D.A. Hospital to stop discriminating against us for we are all Nigerians, we should be treated as human-

beings, not in the way we are now being exposed. Justice delayed is justice denied therefore we need early action now not until after we are dead.

(ii) **Provision of light to New Bussa**

We all know that some N.D.A. Senior Officers hold wrong impression that we, New Bussa people, and its surrounding who have been resettled have got more than our share, because houses were built for us even some people are jealous hence they think that is enough for us and nothing more should be given to us. If not so, we are quite aware that the commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces, General Gowon through the Military Governor of Kwara State has ordered that New Bussa should be provided with light but through dislike for us, N.D.A. ignored the order and left us in the island of darkness while their workers, and family are enjoying light in their houses and on the streets in their quarters. We are calling those responsible to take up steps immediately to provide electricity to New Bussa town which is only a few miles away from the generating plant.

(iii) **Employment under N.D.A.**

We have all lost hope in getting employment for our children under N.D.A. because those in Authority there have created impression that we are second class citizen, illiterate and hence prefer appointing their brothers, friends or children of their relatives to any possible vacancy. We feel strongly that appointments internally should be extended to our people so that we may also enjoy the fruit of our labour because Kainji Dam is a National Project to which we have also contributed and should be manned proportionally. This is however not the case now. N.D.A. must check this evil before it is too late. Tribal grouping should be stopped in the interest of National Unity.

(iv) **Water Supply for Karabande People**

N.D.A. should remember that Karabande people have never suffered from lack of water in their old town before they were resettled but since their resettlement, they are terribly suffering from lack of water for domestic use in their village, for which N.D.A. has never taken action to remedy. It is a known fact that water is the second necessity of life, therefore we see no reason why these people would be resettled by N.D.A. and then have no water to drink. We are looking forward to seeing what action will be taken to provide Karabande people with adequate water supply to save them from the present hardship they are encountering.

(v) **Compensation of farm-lands**

It is a surprising that Kainji Lake Research people have also suddenly changed their attitude by copying N.D.A. who dislike us for not paying us our farmland compensation and hence cause great hardship and inconveniences to many people and their family today in New Bussa. It is unfortunate and wonderful to see a human-being treating this

fellow human being the way the Kainji Lake Research Project did to our farmers. If it is recalled, it was after we have cleared our farms ready for planting even some people had already planted their yams and were germinating that Kainji Lake Research people drove us away from our farm-lands without any notice and without paying any compensation to us up to the date of writing this letter. This have ruined our economy and will prevent us from getting our means of usual livelihood, paying our annual taxes and paying school fees for our children. We pray without any further delay our farm compensation would be paid to us.

**(vi) Compensation to Fishermen**

Before resettling us we have been promised that our fishermen would be compensated for all losses they would be involved, because when the lake was formed, all our fishermen lost all their canoes used for fishing and many of their fishing apparatus and these things have not since been compensated for. Also we have not heard anything about our two years' tax remission, compensation on our local shops in Old Bussa are still not paid, and no compensation yet paid on our dye pits. We need very speedy action on the matter; any further delay would mean a deliberate move to ruin us and our economy and since we are all Nigerians we should be given our entitlements.

After all, we the peaceful demonstrators feel that in the interest of peace and unity N.D.A. would be doing itself a great good work if it removes Mr. Amu, Dr. Shona, and Alhaji Sanusi Olagunju from New Bussa. We want to see change of administration. Also Mr. Abolarin and Mr. Alamiyo should be relieved of their posts under Kainji Lake Research Project.

We therefore view our misfortunes seriously and a remedy must be sought to heal our wounds without any further delay.

We are the inhabitants of New Bussa and the Surrounding villages.

cc: The Sole Administrator,  
i/c Borgu Division,  
New Bussa

cc: The Emir of Borgu,  
New Bussa.

Cc: The Provincial Police Officer,  
New Bussa.

– For information.

**APPENDIX 'B'**

**EXCERPT FROM A LETTER SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE  
COMMITTEE ON POWER, STEEL AND METALLURGY BY RESETTLED  
COMMUNITIES OF BORGU, 2016**

**COMPLAINS OF THE RESETTLED COMMUNITIES**

**ELECTRICITY SUPPLY**

That the free electricity promised the resettled communities by the Federal Government since 1960s has not been fulfilled

That apart from New Bussa, no any other resettled community is connected to electricity generated on their land

**EMPLOYMENT**

That Ibadan Disco did not employ indigenes of the resettled communities on permanent basis. That those in their service are called “Helping Hand” with peanut as their allowances.

**CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY:**

That since the inception of Ibadan Disco, did not embark on any project as business social responsibility

**CRACY BILLING:** In spite of the National Assembly directive to suspend the new tariff regime, Ibadan Disco continue to bill Borgu People outrageously. For example, from #5,000 to #15, 000 and above in some cases.

**THE RESETTLED COMMUNITIES DEMANDS:**

That the remaining resettled communities should be connected to electricity without any tariff as promised by the Federal Government

That henceforth, only the new extensions outside the resettled buildings should be billed and moderately

That Ibadan Disco should employ the indigenes of the resettled communities on permanent basis and not as casual helping hand

Signed

1. Borgu Local Government Chairman
- 2 Ajiyan Borgu: For Borgu Emirate Council
3. President, Federation of Borgu Youths

**APPENDIX ‘C’**

**NIGER STATE JUDICIARY, FORM 26, GENERAL FORM OF AFFIDAVIT**

**(GENERAL TITEL FOEM A)**

I, Alhaji Abdullahi Sabi of No 28, New Bussa, the District Head of Malale, Make Oath and say as follows:

1. I was Born into the Legendry family of Kisandogo in 1924 at Old Bussa
2. In the Year 1961, the Federal Government of Nigeria in collaboration with the then Regional Government acquired our land for the construction of Kainji Dam
3. Upon Completion of the project in 1968, the project was commission by the Head of State, Major General Yakubu Gowon on 15<sup>th</sup> February, 1969.
4. The Federal Government ordered the electrification of the resettled communities and declared free electricity tariff following a mass protest by the Youths against the patent discrimination by NEPA in early 1970s
5. That I make this solemn declaration consciously believing the same to be truth and by virtue of the Oath Act, 1990

Signed

**Date** 9/12/2016

**DEPONENT**

I certify that the above the above declaration has been interpreted to the declarant and that he/she appear clearly to understand the same and affix his/her mark to it in my presence

**Date**

**INTERPRETER**

Sworn at High Court of Justice in New Bussa. This 9th day of December, 2016

**BEFORE ME**

**Fees Paid: #20.00**

**Receipt No 000088652**

**Date 9/12/ 2016**

**COMMISSIONER OF OATHS**