

**THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF MUHAMMAD BELLO TO THE ISLAMIC
POLITICAL THOUGHT, WITH REFERENCE TO CONTEMPORARY LEADERS**

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ABSTRACT

This paper examined the contributions of Muhammad Bello for the Islamic Political thought and the triumph of Sokoto Caliphate. It was also observed that most western political thought centered on the contributions of Euro-centric political philosopher, political theorists neglecting the contributions of numerous political thinkers of African, Asian and Latin American origin . “Devine Rights of Kings” is adopted as theoretical framework in guiding the analysis of this work. The paper critically reviewed the existing literature both conceptually, empirically and thematically and relied on secondary source of data and examination of official documents as its methodology. Major findings has it that Muhammad Bello’s political thoughts have blended religion and politics (theology) which western theorists and philosophers particularly, Aristotle, Plato and Machiavelli have profusely attempted to separate. Such as the issues of ethics, values and morality. The paper concludes that the Bello’s principles of politics as enunciated in his ‘Usul-alsiyasah” is still relevant in the contemporary politics thus making him a great political thinker of African origin contrary to the Euro-centric, western type political thought which considered African civilization as savage or even nonexistent.

Keywords: *Islamic Political thought, Muhammed Bello, Jihad, Leader, and Contemporary.*

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Most western political thought centred on the contributions of Eurocentric political philosophers, political theorist neglecting the contributions of numerous political thinkers of Africa, Asian and Latin American origin. Also observed by Bullock (2002:30-31)" the standard story of History in western literature treats history of political thought" as the narrative of a western mainstream and the non-western as nonexistent or peripheral to it". When indeed the so-called western political thought is not the only political thought. It is not even the universally accepted global political thought for qualifying and measuring the value and integrity of other political thoughts which could be much older and richer than the western political thought. The western political thought is a single tradition out of very many political thoughts. (Bako: 76- 77)

The African Political thought which is also very rich has been reflected by the articulate section of the community comprising of its leaders, statemen, writers, poets, social reformers etc. through various line of transmission and assuming different forms like written texts of literature such as essays, poems, songs, drama in cultural celebrations and rituals, artistic expressions in paintings and sculpturing; abstract and concrete symbolic images and in the memories and genealogies of historical narrations, praise-singers and story tellers.

A significant aspect of the African political thought was the one centred on Islamic region. Although, the religion of Islam is alien to the African communities, it played a dominant role in the transformation of a sizeable geographical entity in West

Africa in the early 19th century. Through a Jihad a political thoughts which have shaped and would continue to shape and influence political activities in the region. Among the many scholars and writers of the period was Muhammad Bello whose thought on politics is of more relevant to the contemporary leaders. This paper seeks to expose and place on footing relevant to its place on contemporary political thought.

Operationalization of Key Concepts:

Islamic Political Thought

The ideas and philosophy of Islamic scholars who have excelled and famous in the Islamic scholarship is referred to as the Islamic Political thought. The thought of such scholars has also been subsumed or rather encapsulate as a course of study in the various academic citadel of learning. The articulated ideas of Khaldun, Ibn Batuta among others has been immense to the development of Islamic Political thought.

Muhammad Bello:

Muhammed Bello was the first son of Shaykh Usman Ibn Fodiyo, leader of the Jihad movement in Sokoto Caliphate. Born in 1782 and grew up under the care of his father, the Shaykh and his Uncle, Abdullahi Ibn Fodiyo, who were two of the most prominent scholars of the time. He is knowledgeable in Kor'an and Islamic thought.

Jihad

Jihad is originally an Arabic word, meaning to wage a holy war on unbelievers for the sake of spreading Islam in the name of Allah as enjoined by Islamic religion. It also implies a continuous strive to live a moral and virtuous life by the individual. The Sokoto Jihad waged by Danfodiyo in 1804 was meant to purify Islam among Hausa rulers who were accused of mixing the Islamic religion with pagan practices.

Leader

The oxford dictionary (2005) defines a leader as one who guides others in action of opinion. In other words, it implies person who takes the lead in any business enterprises or movement. The international Encyclopedia of social science vol. 9 and 10 (1968), operationalize the term leader in the following phrases. "A leader is one who is repeatedly perceived to perform acts of living. The term leader has traditionally implies a person clearly distinguished from others in power status, visibility and in any number of character traits each as decisiveness, courage, integrity and intelligence", a leader is "a person who occupies a position of high level responsibility".

To Eleckmar (1956). Leadership is the centralization of effort in one person as an expression of the power of all". The forms of leadership may include. Positional or formal, elective representation; and the informal leadership.

Judging from the above we can deduce that a leader can both be "born and made or achieved. And such a leader might be charismatic, venovelent and so on. Therefore, no society cn exist without the existence of a leader. And the absent of a leader may mean a "state of nature", where life was brutish, nasty and short.

Contemporary

This is described as most recent or relevant event and issue that dominate the socio-economic, political and economic spheres of the society. Contemporary may also include an issue that is subject of discourse, which may have a multiplier effect on the national development. The concept also referred to as a living or accruing event at the same time. Therefore, contemporary is concern with the recent happening in the continent or the globe at large. For example, the attitude of the old generation is clearly

different from the contemporary youth in terms of discipline, respect for elders and the national values. Ghani (2017:11).

METHODOLOGY

In a way to have an empirical result and to fill the missing gap, this paper critically reviewed the existing literature both conceptually empirically and thematically and relied on secondary sources of data, and examination of official documents as its methodology.

2.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This paper adopts the theory of “Divine Rights of Kings” to guide the analysis of this work. The theory is often called the “Divine Origin”. The theory presupposes that the state has been established by an ordinance of God; its rulers and divinely appointed, they are accountable to no one or authority but God. (Appadorai, 1974). The pronouncements of King James II, Napoleon among others buttressed thrust of the Divine theory.

The caliphate established by Danfodio in 1804 through a Jihad was rooted in the Islamic tenets which sources were the Holy Kor’an, the Sunnah (deeds and sayings of the Holy Prophet Muhammad SAW) and Ijma (settled issue by learned Muslims clerics).

The theory of “Divine Rights of Kings” also posits as the oldest of the evolution of “government”. It further maintained that government is ordained by God. That is to say the leaders are God representative on earth. It therefore means or believe that since God has chosen His representative by Himself, the representative should be

respected as God Himself. For instance, some Kings in Europe. Particularly King James I (1603 – 1628) of both Scotland and England believes that Kings are the representative of God. In that instance, it is believed that though God created the world, but He could not come down directly. Since God could not come down, it became necessary for Him to have a representative whom He has vested authority and power over the men in the society. To that extent, whatever He ordered must be carried out or done. Anybody who therefore disobeys the Kings has disobeyed God. In that, the King is direct representative of God on earth.

In buttressing the theory, however, the character of King of France Louis XIV who was quoted to have said “I am the State and the State is mine, when you have seen me, you have seen the State”. King’s assertion recognized the facts that Kings are the representatives of God and they were charged with the responsibility of controlling human affairs in the society. (Isaiah, 2000). Ibn Khaldun has been the greatest proponent of the theory of Divine Rights of Kings. This was later supported by Appadorai (1974:30).

The strengths of the theory :

1. That the Divine theory of Rights of Kings has addressed the Hobbesian State of nature, where life was brutish, nasty and short.
2. The theory also recognized the sovereign authority as a mark of respect.
3. The Leviathan entered into contract with the rulers for obligation to exercise it. The theory enlightened the society that leadership is a “will” of God.

The weaknesses of the theory has it that the leaders who were claimed to be God Representative, later tend to be irresponsible, tyrant and autocratic. To the extent that

the Kings are using the God position or authority to cover up their evil deed. The Emirs that were emerged after Usman Dan Fodio are cases in point. Also, in the recent time, one of the Nigeria's Heads of State Late General Sani Abacha died through the divine intervention which gave way to the contemporary dwindling democracy in Nigeria.

3.0 MUHAMMAD BELLO (1782 – 1837): LIFE AND TRAINING

Muhammad Bello was the first son of Shayk Usman Ibn Fodiyo, leader of the Jihad movement in Sokoto Caliphate. Muhammad Bello was born in the year 1782. He grew under the care of his father, the Shayk and his Uncle, Abdullahi Ibn Fodiyo, who were two of the most prominent scholars of the time. Bello was gifted with intelligence, understanding, wisdom, retentive memory, eloquence and mastery of Arabic language such that within short time, he reached a certain stage of learning which could not have been reached by anyone else in a long period.

As a child, when he was staying with his grandmother, Hassanah, he was observed to be preferring solitude to the company of his peers. At the age of ten, he appeared to have known a lot about his father's activities especially the issue of Jihad. Bello might have started receiving elementary education earlier than the children of his own age, as it is always the case with children of scholars. After reading the Holy Qur'an and acquiring knowledge, he mixed with the companions of the Shayk and listened to his sermons and assimilated his teaching until he gained much experience in the art of leadership and acquired tremendous knowledge within a very short time.

Like the Shayk and Abdullahi, Bello had studied the various branches of learning known in those days under the supervision of various scholars. Under Abdullahi, Bello studied numerous subjects such as Arabic language, the principle of theology. Under

Shayk, he had to repeat for proficiency the study of what he had learned already under Abdullahi such as the principle of theology and hadith. He also read with the Shayk the Qur'anic exegesis and many other branches of learning. Perhaps, one of Bello's greatest teacher was Muhammad Ibn – Muhammad al-Wankari, who taught Bello for twenty years. Under the supervision of his teacher, Bello again studied several books which he had previously studied. Through this practice he was able to become versatile in all these subjects, which formed the basis of scholarship in those days. Muhammad Bello succeeded his father as the Amir, Al-Muminun in 1817 (Malumfashi, 1973:33) and adopted the title of Sultan. Bello ruled Sokoto Caliphate eventually up till 1837 when he died thus making him a political thinker and a ruler comparable to V.I. Lenin, Mao-TseTung, Nkurmah to mention a few.

4.0 THE NATURE OF THE CONCEPT "JIHAD" AND THE BACKGROUND OF 1804 SOKOTO JIHAD

"Jihad" is originally an Arabic word which implies to wage a holy war on unbelievers for the sake of spreading Islam in the name of Allah as enjoined by Islamic religion. It also means a continuous strive to live a moral and virtuous life by the individual. The Sokoto Jihad waged by Danfodio in 1804 was meant to purify Islam among the Hausa rulers who were accused of mixing the Islamic religion with pagan practices. The present day Islamic insurgency in many parts of the world especially in the Middle East which the West and the U.S. termed "Fundamentalism" and or "Terrorism" is also viewed as a form of Jihad by the perpetrators and their supporters.

Fundamentally, Islam means total submission to God in word and deed. It is a guide to a complete way of life of its followers. Islam is based on three foundation

i.e. worship or 'Ibadat', Faith – in the existence of god, belief in His Messengers, belief in His Angels, belief in the Holy Scriptures, belief in the day of judgement and belief in destiny (good or bad) and 'Muamalat' or relationships of individuals and groups in society.

The aspect of Ibadat is founded on five pillars. These are the belief in the "Kalimat Shahada" which is the existence of holy but one God and Prophet – Muhammad (PBU) is His Messenger, observance of five daily prayers, payment of Zakkat, Fasting the month of Ramadan and performance of Pilgrimage to the Holy land (Haji to those who can afford) (Binji, 1957:3- 5). There is controversy among historians on the causes of the jihad movement in what was then called Hausa land. The jihadist leaders particularly Usman Danfodio, Abdullahi Fodiyo and Muhammad Bello advanced the causes of the jihad. To these scholars, the exploitation of the peasants by the rulers in the form of excessive levels and taxation as a source of discontent that was why when the jihad was waged, the masses joined hands and overthrow the existing social order (Usman, 1979, Smith, 1961). Whatever the reasons for the jihad, it was an undisputable fact that it led to the establishment of Sokoto Caliphate in 1804 covering an area of about 250,000 square miles, thus, composing of the substantial area of the existing Northern Nigeria, Niger and Cameroon republics in West Africa. It was the largest Islamic polity not only in West Africa, but Africa in the 19th century (Bako, 79). The Jihad culminated in the unification of over two dozen sovereign societies by reconstituting them into a single political entity with Shayk Usman Danfodiyo being its first and founding Caliph (Usman, 1979:55).

The Sokoto Caliphate which survived for a hundred years as a political entity

from 1804 – 1903 had during this period produced eleven successive caliphs, hundreds of emirs, chiefs and their scholars. These leaders did not only develop highly impressive administrative machinery, a strong and balanced economy but also a sophisticated corpus of intellectual and political thought and ideology through which the entire Muslim communities were governed and likewise related to the non-Muslim communities and systems (Last, 1967).

It is however important to note that before the Jihad could be declared, Shaykh Danfodio had already provided a class analysis of the society where he categorized the classes in Hausa society to be made up of three distinct classes namely the “Mustakin” who comprised of the elite and rulers of the society and were seen as exploiters – whom the Jihad sought to uphold and were eventually uprooted. The second category were the peasants, labourers and mass of the people who were exploited. He called them the “Munafin”. The last category was the intellectuals who provided inspiration, leadership and mobilization of the exploited against the exploiters as a vanguard was required for the jihad.

4.1 THE CALIPHATE’S THOUGHTS ON FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES

The essence of including this section is to give the reader an insight into what three main jihad leaders considered explicit for a strong and dynamic policy. It is for this reason that they collectively shared similar ideas on important issues which would be highlighted below.

4.2 THOUGHT ON SCHOLARSHIP AND ITS FUNCTIONS IN SOCIETY

It is evident to note that scholarship are considered live responsibilities of societal knowledge and very crucial for its survival, production, reproduction and

development. They identified three types of scholarship and scholars –namely: the first being the ruling class, who were motivated and self centred scholarship produced by Palace or Venal scholars (Ulama-al-Su). These scholars produced and tailor scholarship in order to suit and glorify, promote and defended the ruling class, even when the ruling class stand against truth, people and society for securing material, possessions, honour and official positions. These type of scholars were noticeable mostly in the days of the pre-jihad Hausa rulers (Oligarchies). The second category of scholarship hinges on those that produce scholars for it own sake or excitement of their individual intellect, notably, the western classical philosophers. To them, this scholarship has no direct social bearing or responsibility and indirectly serves the ruling class and status quo. More especially, those tht engaged in futuristic production – Ilm-al-Kalam and ilm-al-ghayb). The last category is concerned with scholars that produce knowledge based on objectivity or truth and reality geared towards problem solving and advancement of the people and society to build an Islamically morally and materially acceptable society. It is to this category of scholars that every forward looking leaders should favour and associate with.

4.3 THOUGHT ON ISLAMIC FORM OF GOVERNMENT, ITS IDEALS, STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS

The triumvirate of Shayk Danfodio, Abdullahi and Muhammad Bello advocated for an Islamic State built on the principles and practice of Sharia. Its ideas are to establish justice by the leadership. Islam, at least, in the case of the Sokoto caliphate proposes:

- a. A decentralized and federal system of government due to the problem of

distance and poor communication system in those days (Bako, 86)

- b. Multiple structures of government i.e. the executive (the Caliph and his ministers (Waziri) etc. Judiciary (Qadis), Council of Ulama (Scholars) and establishment of "Shura" or consultation structure in the running of the affairs of the State.

The Islamic ideals condemn feudal hereditary system of succession and advocates that it

should be made open to all those who qualify to rule. The main purpose of Islamic according to the triumvirate are to establish Islam, convert unbelievers, discourage oppressors and every cause of corruption and to repair Mosques, markets, look after the poor, aid the needy and order people to learn knowledge and teach it. (Bako, 87).

The gap in this segment is that the contemporary so called "Shura" have deviated from the ideal, structure and the thought of the caliphate and Islam, just for material gain.

4.4 THOUGHT ON THE RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS OF DISADVANTAGED GROUPS

Leaders of jihad movement identifies certain groups in the community and regarded them as disadvantaged and provided certain special rights and obligation for them. These disadvantaged groups included women, slaves and non-believers. Women are considered as the bedrock of the Islamic Revolution and accordingly were extended rights which were denied them before the jihad. These rights, included right to education, right to representation in government, right to association and right to human dignity, not to be treated as articles of decoration or sex. Slaves also participated actively in the jihad against Hausa rulers. In the process of the jihad, most of the slaves were set free and their rights to freedom, settlements and pursuit of decent life restored

to them.

In spite of the Islamization process of the Sokoto caliphate, a large section of the population resisted being converted to Islam and retain their pagan religion. Their main target in the jihad was the syncretic and despotic leadership of the Hausa rulers (oligarchies), not the subject under the Islamic philosophy of “Adhimma”, the non-Muslim groups and minorities were accorded the following rights: to practice their religion and right to security and protection of their lives and properties from external and internal attacks. On their parts, these minority and pagan population were expected to perform certain obligations especially recognition of the sovereignty of the Islamic State, payment of “ Jizya” a special levy to the State for maintenance of security and must not embark on any that could lead to the conversion of Muslims back to paganism.

Other issues like thought on theory of revolution; administration of justice and thought on Islamic principles of politics were solely the advocacy of different individuals among the triumvirate. For example, Shayk Abdullahi especially thought on administration of justice while Muhammad Bello wrote on “Usul-alSiyasah” or the principle of politics to which we now turn to, in greater detail.

5.0 MUHAMMAD BELLO’S POLITICAL THOUGHT IN USUL-AL-SIYASAH

It was established that the “Usul-al-Siyasah” or the Principles of Politics written by Muhammad Bello in 1906 – 07 was at the request of Umanum Dallaji, the first Fulani Emir of Katsina after it was captured (Yamusa, 1975:9). It was a form of letter of advice on how the ruler, the subjects and the state public servants should conduct themselves in line with the norms of the Sharia – the Islamic legal system. It was an attempt to teach these categories of people, their rights and obligations towards the State.

Based on the disposition of the author, Muhammad Bello and the Islamic tenets as enshrined in the Holy Kor'an and Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) which were his sayings, deed and silent approval, guided Bello through the writing of Usul-al-Siyasah.

The work can conveniently be divided into three segments: The first sections concerns the high authority of the State or provincial level i.e. the Imam or the Emir or the Governor, while the second and the third concern the officials of the State and the common people respectively.

As for the ruler, he should be pious and far from liking leadership for its pleasure, otherwise, he will be inclined to use his position to achieve his personal interest. Bello believes that the only suitable person to public office is one who is called upon to take charge of it. But anyone found to be asking for it, will most likely succumb to temptation and fall into bad practice contrary to the norms of the sharia. The rulers should keep the company of good scholars who will not hide the truth from him for fear of his displeasure and must be intent on listening to their advice. He must be generous, tolerant and always ready for self-sacrifice or else his people will desert him.

The rulers should provide public amenities for his subjects by encouraging all sorts of legitimate trades. Fortresses, bridges, markets and roads should be constructed and maintained to improve the prosperity of the State. As for the common people, they should realize that their conduct will certainly reflect on the conduct of the ruler. If they behave well, Allah will cause their rulers to have sympathy for them. But if on the other hand, they misbehave, Allah will cause their rulers to ill-treat them.

5.1 HIGHLIGHTS OF BELLO'S PRINCIPLES POLITICS

Below is a highlight of the Islamic principles of politics as enunciated by Muhammad Bello. The principles are seven, all of them – signifying the meaning of justice.

The first principle contains the six qualities of a ruler: (1) Pious (2) Follower of the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammed (S.A.W) (3) Concern with the affairs of the hereafter (4) Free from temporal desire and for liking leadership, let alone being interested in rulership (5) that leadership should not be given on one who seeks it (6) forbid asking for it unless one is called upon, because of his leadership qualities and he has something good to offer the society.

The second principle according to Bello is that the leader should have these qualities:

1. The person to lead should be kind;
2. More inclined to forgiveness than anger
3. Generous, persevering and tolerant
4. Good nature to sacrifice self
5. Brave, stouthearted, unshakable and firm in temper as well as steady – support to his employees and subjects

The third principle is that the Emir or ruler should always yearn for religious scholars and be a desirable listeners to their advice. He should only listen and deal with the third category of scholars identified above.

The fourth principle consists of conditions qualifying whoever wants to holds public office. To this end, justice is considered as a condition for qualifying whoever

wants to hold public office. He is to choose state employers from his good person. The happiest and best ruler is the one whose subjects becomes prosperous and the worst ruler is the one whose subjects are unhappy with him.

The fifth principle is that leader should command his subjects to do justice, be generous and avoid doing wrong. The sixth principle is about maintenance of Islamic state. the Imam or leader should work and attract the survivors of artisans and encourage industry. He should provide security, transportation, market and general prosperity.

Ruling base on the dictum of the rule of law and treatment of subjects with kindness, constitute the seventh principle of leadership.

6.0 AN ASSESSMENT OF BELLO'S PRINCIPLES OF POLITICS

There is no doubt Muhammad Bello distinguished himself as a great scholar and prolific political thinker of the 19th century – West Africa with his Usul-al-Siyasah – and indeed numerous other political writings. No doubt, many scholars across the world consider his writings in their reference to Islamic political thought and the issues of leadership and governance.

Fundamentally, Bello's political thoughts have blended religion and politics which western theorists and philosophers particularly Aristotle, Plato and Machiavelli have profusely attempted to separate. The issues of ethics, values and morality in politics were the concern of Muhammad Bello. He sees these virtues as part and parcel of one another and was inseparable. His insistence on piety on the part of a ruler and similar other qualities in the first principles testify to this assertion. As a form of an evaluation, we may say that politics as practice upto today by individuals and corporate

organization deviate from the teachings of Bello. In reality, to continue to recognize piety on a ruler is a difficult task as most rulers and nations alike pursue self interest rather than interests of the majority.

Tied to the first principle, Bello advocated for giving leadership to anyone with virtues qualities but fundamentally on person(s) who do not seek for it. This is a Kor'anic injunction or doctrine and saying of the Prophet. The point is made that anybody who seeks leadership will be tempted (intoxicated) by power to abuse it because "power corrupts". However, among the Muslims desperately seeking for power, they cite a section of the same Holy Kor'an (Chapter 12:55) where leadership was sought by one of the greatest Messengers of God, Prophet Joseph. This they do to justify their quest for leadership vis-a-viz power in society.

Bello himself was tempted to seek for leadership contrary to his teachings, because when Usman Danfodio died in 1817, he ascended the throne without waiting for nomination or selection by the relevant bodies, particularly by Shaykh Abdullahi Gwandu. Also, Bello declared one eminent scholar Abdulsalam as an "apostate" for not recognizing Bello's authority/ascendency to the throne. Bello fought and defeated him at a battle in Zamfara shortly after his ascension to the throne (Bako, 2000).

Another important aspect of the principles is its advocacy of "merit system" in the selection of state officials. Bello insisted that the leader must not exhibit "favouritism" and by extension "God-fatherism", "tribalism" or "quota-system" in the choice and or recruitment of public servants. A quality favoured by Bello is selecting state officials based on persons' fear of God and knowledge. The merit system of today is not different from what Muhammad Bello called for. Modern bureaucracies as

conceived by Marx Weber (Ngu, 1994) are structured and vacancies are filled by qualified persons having acquired certain level of training. What obtains today especially in Nigeria is bureaucracy filled with mediocre and corrupt officials partly because they did not merit the position. In addition, the advocacy of merit system calls accountability and transparency which Muhammad Bello strongly emphasized. Nigerian leaders and those of Africa and other third world countries are clamouring for accountability from public servants. Bello had advocated for that, more than 100 years ago.

Muhammad Bello, in his last principle enjoined the subjects to “behave well” as “Allah will cause their rulers to have sympathy for them. But if on the other hand, they (subjects) misbehave, Allah will cause their rulers to ill-treat them”. Going by this, Bello wanted leaders to have submissive, obedient and cooperative citizenry. To the modern political theorists, this would serve as naivety because of the heterogeneity and complexities of individuals and societies. However, the basic issue is for a citizenry that will support and cooperate with the leadership for provision of social services. This is to make leadership less burdensome, less complex, problem-solving and focused.

A fact to note, although an ugly one, was that the Islamic caliphate could not be sustained beyond 1907 following the forceful annexation of the area and its subsequent incorporation into what became Nigeria by the colonialists. Even after Nigeria’s independence in 1960, it must be stated clearly that one of the key personalities who agitated for its independence was Ahmadu Bello, a descendant of Muhammadu Bello who eventually added the name Bello in his name as a mark of great respect to the original Bello. It is a point to note that, Ahmadu Bello, the then Sardauna had done

greatly for the country and his name is to important national momuments like the famous Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria; Ahmadu Bello Stadium, Kaduna to mention a few.

By and large, we should realise the fact that the “Usul-al’Siyasah contained issues on leadership and governance alone, thus ignoring the other vital aspects of politics. These aspects were the form or type of government- democracy or authoritarianism, the party system, elections and suffrage etc and what they applied. Although, leadership and governance are central to a polity, the usul-al-siyasah would have been a masterpiece had it incorporate these other sensitive issues which Islam in its great wisdom addresses audaciously.

7.0 CONCLUSION/RECOMMENDATIONS

It has been established that Islam as a religion and guide to a way of life has been used effectively by the Fulani in 1804 to wage a jihad which paved the way for the establishment of great empire in what is now Northern Nigeria, parts of Niger Republic, Cameroon and Chad. With the empire, came great political thinkers especially Muhammad Bello whose principles of politics and leaders contributed towards the consolidation of the empire more than the former Soviet Union which was founded by V.I. Lenin under Marx’s principles or doctrines and China in the days of Mao-Tse Tung. Muhammad Bello’s principle as enunciated in his “Usul-al-Siyasah” is still relevant and continue to be so, thus making him a great political thinker of African origin, contrary to the Euro-centric, western-type political thought which considered African civilization as savage or even non-existent. However, the point of departure is that after Muhammad Bello, successive to power into the caliphate and other emirates’ western education is

use as a criterion for the traditional institution's staff of office.

The paper concludes that the contemporary leaders should be generous, persevering and tolerant. They should also be brave, stouthearted, unshakable and firm in temper as well as steady-support his employees and subject. In this regard justice should be considered as a condition for qualifying whoever wants to hold public office. Least of these mentioned, there shall be crisis of legitimacy in contemporary leadership.

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