

THE HAJJ EXERCISE IN NIGERIA: CHALLENGES, CONSTRAINTS AND DRAWBACKS

The Muslim pilgrimage, hajj, is the observance of specific acts in places in and around the sacred city of Mecca in Arabia at the end of each Muslim year during the twelfth lunar month of *Zhul-Hajj*. The observances of hajj are based on the Holy Qur'an (2:196-203, 3:96-97, 22:26-30) and the *sunnah* the practice of the Prophet Muhammad, (may the Peace and blessings of Allah be upon him). They commemorate certain events in the lives of the Prophet Ibrahim, his wife Hagar and their son Prophet Ismail, peace upon them. The main object of the hajj, as in any other form of Islamic worship, is to create the spirit of submission to God and to nourish spiritual joy. The spirit of the hajj is the spirit of total sacrifice —of personal comforts, worldly pleasures, the acquisition of wealth, the companionship of relatives and friends, the vanities of dress and personal appearance, and of pride relating to birth, national origin, accomplishments, work, or social status. Along with the declaration of faith (*shahadatayn*), prayer (*salat*) five times a day, fasting (*sawm*) during the month of Ramadan, and alms (*zakat*), making the pilgrimage at least once in a Muslim's lifetime completes the five fundamental personal obligations of the Muslim. The unity of place and time as well as its regular annual occurrence gives the rite of pilgrimage in Islam great religious importance especially among the West African Muslims (*Takari, sing, Tukrur Pl*) of which the Hausa stands out ¹. Pilgrimage is among the Islamic institutions that made the most important contributions to the development of states already formed ².

The earliest recorded pilgrimage from West Africa is that of the Kanem Bornu *Mai*, King Dunama bin Umme of the Sayfawa dynasty. According to H. R. Palmer's *Diwan* (1926), *Mai* Dunama made the pilgrimage twice between 1098 and 1150 and died returning from a third journey ³. However, *Mai* Dunama may not have been the first pilgrim of the Sayfawa since the *Diwan* also tells us that his father, *Mai* Umme bin Abdel-Jalil (1058-1097), died in the land of Masr (Egypt) having intended or even accomplished a pilgrimage ⁴.

The Islamic pilgrimage tradition continued to persist in the Sayfawa dynasty. The great scholar Muhammadu Bello who was also a son and lieutenant of the Islamic revolutionary, Shehu Usman Danfodiyo, acknowledges the longstanding Islamic reputation of the Sayfawa in his book *Infaq* (translated 1957). According to Bello, the Sayfawas' ancient ancestors were good and devout Muslims who included many pilgrims ⁵. Among the eighteenth century *Mais* of Bornu there were three pilgrims—*Mai* Dunama bin Ali, *Mai* Hajj Hamdun bin Dunama, and *Mai* Muhammad bin Hajj Hamdun.

It was probably immediately after the Muslim conquest of Northern Africa in the seventh century that the faith of Islam found its way across the great Sahara to West Africa⁶. By the eleventh century early Arab sources record the conversion of some African chiefs to Islam⁷. Remarkably, the earliest available records of pilgrimage also date back to the same period. From then onwards, a steady and continuous tradition of pilgrimage developed in West Africa, particularly in Nigeria⁸.

Organized Hajj: The Pre-colonial Period

The history of organized pilgrimage caravans from Kano dates back to the early nineteenth century when caravans were regularly started from the city. According to the *Kano Chronicle*, the Islamization of Hausaland began in the middle of the fourteenth century by Malian *wangara* traders⁹. Although Hausaland was by this period already on the route of pilgrims from the Western part of the Sudan, nevertheless available historical accounts do not suggest an interest in the pilgrimage among the Hausa rulers and governing class in contrast to the Mais of Bornu¹⁰.

The longstanding pilgrimage highway of Hausaland known as the Sudan route ran from the cities of Katsina and Kano through Aïr (Agades), the Fezzan and Aujila into Egypt or else across the Nile¹¹. The leader of a caravan was known as the *madugu* under whom intending pilgrims would congregate and travel, often on foot. In the pre-colonial period, there was little formal organization of travelling to hajj and the journey was usually undertaken at the discretion of private individual and groups. The organization was often informally assigned to the *madugu* who was usually an important personality such as a scholar, wealthy merchant or notable person who automatically assumed the status of the *Amiral Hajj* (Pilgrims' Leader). At the beginning of this century groups of pilgrims from the south, especially Yorubaland where the Fulani jihad had established Islam in Ilorin and Oyo, traveled northwards to Kano or Bornu where they joined the caravan¹². An early English explorer, Barth, who came to Kano in 1857, estimated the city's population at 30,000 but added that the figure doubled during the main caravan season¹³.

The pilgrims usually visited the rulers in the capital cities of the lands through which they passed in order to solicit alms and "safe conduct"-- usually escorts, in case of clear danger, or a standard letter of introduction giving the name of the recipient and the seal of the issuer. However, formal visits to the rulers were not always necessary. In some cases, well-to-do volunteers played host to the passing pilgrims and *ulama* (Islamic scholars) offered 'du'a' (prayers) for safety.

Organized Hajj: The Colonial Period

The British colonial occupation of what is today Nigeria lasted effectively for a century: from 1861 until 1960¹⁴. The year 1906 marks the real beginning of British administration throughout Nigeria as the North was finally occupied in that year. The British, aware of the potentials of hajj in forging global solidarity among Muslims, wanted to curb the flow of pilgrims in order to protect their own interests in Nigeria. Rigid rules restricted the number of pilgrims while ‘good conduct’ was ensured through surveillance by escorts and at strategic posts along the pilgrimage land routes up to the Sudan. Colonial policy was to discourage contact among the various national segments of the Islamic community. Some of the measures introduced by the British colonial government were modern travel requirements such as passports, immigration control, health regulations and some payment of deposits for services in the holy land¹⁵.

A positive aspect of these measures was the introduction of motorized trucks buses and, finally, aircraft. As the pilgrims’ transportation facilities were improving to the point where a quick trip was possible, the British came to regard the pilgrimage as less threatening. New travel formalities, combined with modern travel facilities, brought revolutionary changes in hajj organization in Nigeria. As early as 1920, His Majesty, the Emir of Katsina Alhaji Muhammadu Dikko pioneered the Hajj by sea when he traveled aboard a British steam boat from Lagos through London and Cairo¹⁶. His Majesty was followed in 1927 by the famous Kano businessman Alhaji Alhassan Dantata who traveled by the same means through Morocco and Egypt in company of fifteen persons after obtaining passports from the colonial *Resident* in Kano¹⁷. In 1931 the *Waziri* of Kano, Muhammadu Gidado Dan Malam Mustapha traveled on the hajj by road along with selected family members¹⁸. Sixteen years after his first journey by sea, the Emir of Katsina traveled by road along with a renowned Kano merchant Alhaji Ibrahim Ringim, who bought a light truck for the Hajj journey. He took along with him his son Alhaji Uba Ringim (then about 15) and his teacher Malam Shehu Usman and joined the Emir’s entourage on a request by the Emir of Kano¹⁹.

In 1937, the famous Emir of Kano, His Majesty Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero (Sarki Alhaji) traveled on the Hajj by road in the company of forty persons including family members²⁰. Two other Kano merchants, Alhaji Muhammadu Nagoda and Alhaji Haruna Kassim, who traveled in 1944 in a truck from Nagoda’s fleet, followed his route. Alhaji Haruna Kassim was to become modern Nigeria’s most prominent private pilgrimage travel agent.

Organized Hajj By Road

The first fully organized hajj journey by road undertaken by a group from Kano occurred in 1948 when three merchants, led by Alhaj Muhammadu Nagoda ²¹, provided lorries for the long trip to the Sudan (the terminus of the land route), charging each pilgrim 20 pounds. The pilgrims then crossed the Red Sea to Jeddah by ship from the port of Suakin near Port Sudan. The journey usually lasted six months. The year 1948 was a turning point in hajj by road. That year Alhaji Mahmud Dantata (1922-1983), jointly with Alhaji Haruna Kassim and Alhaji Ibrahim Musa Gashash, established the West African Pilgrims Association (WAPA). Their aim was to facilitate pilgrimage travel by road and air. Buses and lorries were provided for the road journey that passed through Bornu to Chad and onto the Sudan Republic. Later, when air transport became more readily available, the WAPA established a new corporation, Hajj Air Limited, to handle hajj travel by air ²². It is not certain which of the two: the Pilgrims Aid Society (PAS) of Kano or the WAPA / Hajj Air Limited pioneered the mass pilgrims transportation by air from Kano, but it is certain that the PAS obtained the approval of the colonial Resident in Kano to airlift pilgrims from Kano in a West African Airways Corporation (WAAC) aircraft. The Director civil aviation in Lagos, gave the approval for the airlift ²³.

Organized Hajj by Air

The prosperous modern business of hajj by air went on side by side with the hajj by road option through the 1950's. However, hajj by road must have begun to decline by the end of the decade as air travel was becoming popular, safer, faster and cheaper. Perhaps hajj by air was given impetus partly by a recommendation of Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki who was stationed in Khartoum, Sudan (September, 1960-October, 1961) where he became aware of the considerable obstacles that intending Nigerian pilgrims encountered in the Sudan. Thus, during this period the overland route for the pilgrimage was discouraged in favor of the air route ²⁴. Pilgrimage by air also received a boost in the late 1950's as Northern Nigerian leaders began to visit London more frequently for constitutional talks. It became possible to stop in Saudi Arabia on the way home to Nigeria for the hajj or the *umrah* (a shorter, voluntary visit to Mekkah that can occur at any time of the year, also referred to as the lesser hajj) ²⁵.

Direct Government Involvement In Hajj Affairs

During the budget session of the Federal House of Representatives in Lagos early in 1953, a member, Alhaji Abubakar Imam tabled a motion for the establishment of the 'Nigeria Office' in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia to cater for Nigerian pilgrims. The motion was accepted with minor amendment and Imam was asked to submit a proposal on its actualization. As the motion was motivated out of concern rather than personal experience, Alhaji Imam decided to perform the hajj himself that same year in order to study the real problems and report back. He departed Kano on 27th July 1953 in a plane chartered by the *Nigerian Pilgrims' Aid Society Limited*, which started operating in Kano in 1951. In September 1953, shortly after his return from the pilgrimage, Alhaji Imam recommended for the appointment of a pilgrims commissioner to accompany the pilgrims yearly; the establishment of a dispensary at the major pilgrims centres; the provision of accommodation for the pilgrims in Mecca and Medina; and the control of fees and charges that are indiscriminately imposed on the Nigerian pilgrims. He also recommended for the recognition and commendation of meritorious services rendered to the pilgrims by officials and volunteers in Nigeria and Saudi Arabia ²⁶. All the recommendations were accepted in principle and for the purpose of implementation the Government appointed a three-man hajj delegation led by Alhaji Isa Kaita, a Northern Nigerian Regional minister. The delegation submitted a report on the pilgrimage to the Northern Regional and Federal Governments in 1954 when there were only about 300 to 400 official pilgrims from Nigeria each year. As he came face to face with the issues involved in the Hajj Operation, Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, the Sarduna of Sokoto and the Premier of Northern Regional Government, became very interested in the hajj. In 1955 the Sardauna led a four-man delegation to Saudi Arabia to personally investigate hajj conditions and to advise the Government.

The commission focused on several thorny operational problems such as the *mutawwif* (local guide) agency to be responsible for guiding Nigerian pilgrims in the holy land, the absence of accommodation for Nigerian pilgrims, the lack of medical facilities, and arrangements for reception at Jeddah's sea and air ports ²⁶. Meanwhile, Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki was assigned to Kano as a pilgrims' officer to assist Nigerian pilgrims at Kano airport on matters of hajj operations especially relating to passports, visas, customs and immigration formalities, health requirements and foreign exchange.

In 1958 the Federal Government of Nigeria became involved in the hajj operations. Its concern at this stage was the welfare of some 21,000 Nigerian pilgrims of uncertain diplomatic status in the Sudan as well as another 20,000 West Africans, mostly Nigerians, who were facing deportation from Saudi Arabia. Consequently, the federal government appointed a goodwill mission under the leadership of the Sardauna to find ways of solving the problems of the Nigerian pilgrims in both the Sudan and Saudi Arabia. In this manner, the pilgrimage began to take on the characteristics of a high-level diplomatic delegation ²⁷.

Earlier in the year the Northern Regional government had formed a partnership with the Kano-based businessman Alhaji Haruna Kassim to handle pilgrimage traffic. The company, *Alharamaini Limited*, provided cheap and dependable service to both land and air pilgrims ²⁸. Following the recommendations of the goodwill mission, the Nigerian pilgrims' office in Jeddah was raised to a diplomatic status, a mutawwif fee was introduced and offices of Alharamaini Limited were established in the Sudan and Arabia. Alharamaini Ltd. was granted a license by the Northern Regional Travel Agency Licensing Board along with many rival agencies that sprang up in subsequent years, mostly in Kano. The agencies depended largely on chartered foreign airlines such as Sabena and British Caledonian. In 1965 the Ministry of Civil Aviation authorized Nigerian Airways to take over the airlift of pilgrims ²⁹.

By 1960, the year of independence, the pilgrimage was not only a major event in the religious life of the Northern Region, especially Kano, a city that has been a pilgrim center for centuries. It was also becoming a major logistical exercise, with problems of fare structure, money handling, baggage allowances, foreign exchange and flight schedules. Statistics indicate that in 1956 only 2,483 Nigerians went on the pilgrimage. However, the numbers rose geometrically to 48,981 in 1973 and 106,000 in 1977 ³⁰. Refer to Table-1 for the official record of hajj pilgrims from 1979-1998. The practical arrangements became increasingly complex, but civil servants had acquired sufficient experience to handle them and to cope with new problems as they appeared.

The Northern Nigerian Regional Government set up its first Pilgrims Welfare Board in 1965, following the earlier example of the Western Region in 1958. The Board's duties were to collect hajj fares, to arrange passports, to collect and issue tickets, to obtain visas, and to arrange for vaccination. When twelve states were created out of the four regions in 1967, most of them set up State Pilgrims Welfare Boards to carry out the same functions. For its part, the Federal Government created a section under the Ministry of External Affairs (now Foreign Affairs) known as the Nigerian Pilgrims Commission to serve as the link among the State Boards.

Concerned about the lack of preparation, both material and spiritual, of the average Nigerian pilgrim, the Northern Nigerian Regional Government set up a high commission in January, 1961 to report and advise on the religious aspect of the pilgrimage and on the problems of destitute Nigerians in the holy land. The commission investigated the conditions laid down in Islam concerning Muslims' obligations on the holy pilgrimage to Makkah. It paid particular attention to conditions effecting important groups such as people without sufficient funds for the journey, the insane, the blind, the sick and disabled, the very old and the very young, pregnant women and unaccompanied women.

The committee noted that "... people in the above categories suffer great hardship on the journey to Makkah; some of them constitute a grave social problem there and do great damage to the prestige of Nigeria ... , The Federal Government... intends to control the immigration of such people in the future." ³¹. It also became clear to the government that the enormous responsibilities involved in the transportation of thousands of pilgrims annually and the provision of welfare services could not remain entirely in the hands of private travel agencies. The problem was one of working out a form of diplomatic representation during the transition period to independence, of effecting the arrangement with the Alharamaini Company and of considering the whole issue of pilgrimage as government concerned. It should be noted that, by now, both governmental (public) and non-governmental (private) organizations actively participated in various aspects of the hajj. The public sector however bore the bulk of the responsibilities for policy formulations and for the administrative and technical support necessary for the annual hajj operations.

Private pilgrims travel agencies continued to grow in number until they became beset with many problems, including absurd competition, exorbitant commissions to subagents that lowered profits, delays in airlifts, baggage losses and a poor attitude toward pilgrims' welfare. The private agencies that undertook most hajj arrangements on behalf of the intending pilgrims were also blamed for being unreliable and exploitative since their owners were primarily motivated by profit maximization. The public sector too was blamed for certain lapses regarding policy and technical support. Although governments at regional and federal levels realized the need for involvement in the important affairs of pilgrimage, no clear and comprehensive policy was formulated to guide hajj affairs. Kano State, the major pilgrims centre in Nigeria, nay in West Africa, made a modest attempt in 1968 to put in a controlled measure through an edict cited as the *Travel Agencies (Control) Edict, 1968*.

On the aspect of technical support, the then Nigerian Airport Authority (NAA) now Federal Airport Authority of Nigeria (FAAN) was blamed by the general public for the January, 22 1973 plane crash in which 180 returning Nigerian Pilgrims lost their lives when their Boeing 707 aircraft force landed at the Kano International Airport due to poor visibility as well as poor and inadequate landing aids ³².

The Nigerian Pilgrims Board (NPB), 1975-1989

In order to correct this situation, the Federal Government of Nigeria issued Decree No. 16 of 1975 establishing the first Nigerian Pilgrims Board to coordinate and control the annual pilgrimage to the holy land at the national level. There were several reasons for setting up the board. The number of pilgrims continued to grow as hajj travel became easy, affordable, and popular. It became clear to the government that the enormous responsibilities involved in the transportation of thousands of pilgrims annually and the provision of welfare services in a foreign country could not be left in the hands of private travel agents. The rise in standards of living and travel both locally and internationally necessitated more extensive and efficient services for pilgrims. Nonetheless, the private agencies showed little concern for pilgrims' comfort, welfare and moral guidance ³³. Meanwhile, the government deepened its longstanding involvement in hajj operations through several important agencies such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nigerian Airways, the FAAN, the Customs Service, the Immigration Service, the Port Health Services, and the Central Bank. Consequently, there was a growing need to coordinate the activities of these various agencies with those of the Pilgrims Welfare Boards in the states. The hajj had developed to the point where it had acquired far-reaching implications not only for economic and welfare policies but also for national security and international relations.

The Nigerian Pilgrims Board that formally came into being in July 1975 was charged with many functions. It was responsible for coordinating the activities of the independent State Pilgrims Welfare Boards and for securing sufficient aircraft to transport pilgrims to and from Saudi Arabia. The NPB established and maintained pilgrims transit camps for accommodating and processing pilgrims. Medical personnel, welfare officers, pilgrims' guides and porters were provided to cater to the needs of the pilgrims. In addition, the federal Board had to arrange for the pilgrims' travel documents and foreign exchange while trying to maintain accurate statistical data on the Nigerian pilgrimage. The NPB had the responsibility of distributing the hajj seats allocated by annual quotas that were approved by the President, see Table-3. It also set up the machinery for public education about the hajj including the dissemination of information to libraries and the mass media.

Although the board was authorized to supervise air transportation, it merely extended the monopoly over the supply of aircraft that Nigeria Airways had enjoyed since 1965. Naturally, setting up the NPB required the abolition of the private pilgrims' agencies and their replacement with state boards. The NPB also opened regional offices in seven cities — Kano, Lagos, Port Harcourt, Maiduguri, Sokoto, Kaduna, and Ilorin. Recently, additional offices were opened in Abuja and Katsina. These regional offices serve the host states and their neighbors by providing pilgrims with transit camps and processing centers and by serving as points of departure and arrival. The regional centers are supposed to coordinate the extensive operations of the state boards. The state boards screen and register intending pilgrims, collect fares, prepare travel documents, obtain foreign exchange allowances, draw up flight schedules with the centrally designated airline, and care for pilgrims' welfare from their departure until their return home.

If the private travel agencies deserve the credit for popularizing the hajj and contributing to the revival of the hajj tradition in Nigeria, the pilgrims welfare boards at the federal and state levels deserve the credit for standardizing and improving the hajj organization throughout the country. However, these institutional innovations have also created many new problems in their own right. In addition to suffering from the corruption and poor work ethic that plague the Nigerian public service in general, the NPB also struggled with a number of special difficulties. Because the board was under the purview of the Ministry of External Affairs (now Foreign Affairs), the board lacked the autonomy it required in order to discharge its responsibilities effectively. Moreover, the board's functions overlap with those of Nigeria Airways, which continued to enjoy the monopoly over the airlift of pilgrims that it acquired in 1965--ten years before the NPB was established ³⁴.

Since 1978 the Federal Government has used annual quotas as part of its policy to restrict and control the number of Nigerian pilgrims, see Table-2. Ironically, this measure significantly boosted 'international pilgrimage' i.e. unofficial hajj traffic by private arrangements that were not under state control. Government restrictions also fueled several forms of criminal activity such as widespread bribery, corruption, favoritism, and black marketeering in the allocation of hajj seats to individual pilgrims. It is noteworthy that, despite all of the problems of hajj organization that arose prior to the NPB, there was never any thought of limiting the growth of pilgrimage in Nigeria when the hajj was in the hands of the private sector.

Demands to reduce the size of the Nigerian pilgrimage arose only after it became dominated by the state. Among the reasons advanced by Government for this action two were emphasized: to reduce drain of the Nigerian foreign reserves; to reduce the suffering of the Nigerian pilgrims by reducing their number. The fact that what remains of hajj organisation and operation in Nigeria today is the same as obtained in the years this policy was introduced i.e. 1978 means that the measures were either ineffective or not enforced³⁶.

For many years, organizing the hajj flight schedule has been a serious operational problem that seems to reflect managerial rather than technical shortcomings. Officials of both the airlines and the pilgrims' boards often appear incompetent in handling flight schedules and logistics. In general, hajj managers have inadequate incentives to develop a sense of administrative professionalism. They are discouraged by frequent interference from politically influential persons, by inadequate financing from the government budget, and by the ephemeral tenure of boards that are appointed and dissolved in quick succession as well as the unacceptable attitudes and behaviours of the pilgrims themselves.

The Nigerian Pilgrims Commission (NPC) 1989-1991

In a bid to distance itself from the mounting problems of pilgrimage affairs, the Federal Government of Nigeria promulgated Decree No. 6 of 1989 establishing the Nigerian Pilgrims Commission (NPC). The Decree repealed the Nigerian Pilgrims Board Act of 1975 and charged the new Commission with responsibilities for the general welfare of Muslims undertaking hajj or umrah. Setting up the Commission was a compromise between the two extremes of Government disengagement and direct control of hajj affairs. The decree clearly reflected the Government's intention to make the Commission autonomous. The NPC was authorized to charter aircraft by appointing the airline of its choice, thus doing away with the Nigeria Airways' monopoly. The Commission was also permitted to appoint its own staff, and for the first time, the hajj authority was empowered to initiate and establish a *Hajj Savings Scheme* to serve as a forerunner to interest-free banking (popularly known as Islamic Banking). In practice, however, the NPC's autonomy was narrowly circumscribed because powerful Government functionaries often interfered with its functions even in the choice of airline. Indeed, it was the collective decision of the Commission on January 17, 1991 against one such airline that led to the Commission's dissolution only one week later. In fact, the Government went ahead to appoint the same airline that the Commission had rejected only to plunge the country into a tragic disaster when one of the planes crashed in Jeddah and killed all the 500 Nigerian pilgrims on board who were on their way home³⁷.

The Directorate / Office Of Pilgrims Affairs (DPA / OPA), 1991-The Present

In 1991, the Directorate of Pilgrims Affairs (DPA) was set up under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in 1995 its functions were transferred to the Presidency under the ill-fated Task Force. Amid growing revelations of corrupt practices by its leaders, the Task Force was dissolved after Saudi Arabia imposed a total ban on Nigerian pilgrims in 1996 that included even Nigerians residing abroad. In 1997, a Sole Administrator was appointed to run the Office and it has remained under the Presidency throughout the military era.

Conclusion:

The Hajj In Nigeria—Past, Present And Future

Since the establishment of the Government hajj authority in 1975, Nigeria's pilgrimage has experienced dramatic changes. The cost of hajj transportation has risen continuously and, at times, geometrically. In the meantime, the Pilgrims Basic Travel Allowance (PTA) has been cut and foreign exchange rates have risen to unprecedented levels. Since 1978, hajj seats have been allocated through a restrictive quota system designed to limit the number of Nigerian pilgrims. Nonetheless, the Government has failed to formulate a policy that would control the large and ever growing traffic of 'international pilgrims' i.e. the unofficial pilgrims, despite the menace and embarrassment they pose. Thus, Nigeria still lacks a clear and comprehensive policy for hajj and umrah that could support permanent and sustainable improvements in pilgrimage organization and operation. It is all easy to blame the Government on the corruption and ineptitude within the rank and file of its officials but to be fair to it, blame should be apportioned appropriately among all the parties concerned i.e. the Pilgrims Welfare Boards, the Airlines and the pilgrims too. Additionally, the Saudi Arabian Government too contributes to the problem through the vagary of its ever-changing policies rules and regulations on the hajj.

Since the inception of the national pilgrimage system, the hajj authorities at Federal and State levels have come under heavy criticism - some that is justified and some that reflects the ignorance of the critics. Many of the difficulties that have crippled the effectiveness of successive pilgrimage organizations stem from their lack of autonomy and their total dependence on the Government. The absence of administrative autonomy is the root cause of the ephemeral life of the numerous Boards and Commissions and this lack of continuity, in turn, is responsible for the lack of skills, initiative, foresight and good planning among their personnel.

The Nigerian pilgrims too contribute to some setbacks in the annual hajj exercise through inadequate enlightenment, disorder and general disregard for rules and regulations that make for civilized and disciplined behaviours. For instance, the Nigerian pilgrim is notorious for excess luggage, evasion of cargo charges and boarding pass racketeering in collaboration with airline staff. There is however, no doubt that, by and large, hajj authorities at the national and state levels render important services to the pilgrims. They have gone a long way in standardizing and improving hajj operations in the country even in the absence of a clear, comprehensive and sustainable hajj policy.

The absence of a sound and realistic hajj policy appears to be the most serious shortcoming of the pilgrimage organization in Nigeria. This has deprived Nigerian Muslims of the comfort and convenience provided by sound hajj schemes such as the Malaysian *Tabung Hajj*. It is high time that Nigeria developed a policy to provide a convenient method of payment of the hajj fare along the lines of the Hajj Saving Scheme (HSS) mentioned in the NPC Decree of 1989. The Government should also arrange alternative means of travel by sea and by land, especially in view of the recent and seemingly permanent paradox of economic hardship accompanied by astronomical increases in airfares and cargo charges. Policy-makers should take into full consideration that hajj is obligatory for Muslims at least once in a lifetime. Above all, it should be well noted by all concerned that the Nigerian constitution does not declare Nigeria a secular state i.e. it only states that the government of the Federation or of a State shall not adopt any religion as a state religion. Thus, Nigeria's constitutional framework does not completely separate religion and politics and it does not prevent an active Governmental role in pilgrimage management. The Government must continue to be involved in the hajj affairs for the same reasons that brought it in, in the first instance. Its involvement should however be divested from politics. Sensitive matters such as appointment of airlines, fixing of fares, appointment of officials, deployment or recruitment of full and part-time staff must be de-politicized.

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February 1999.

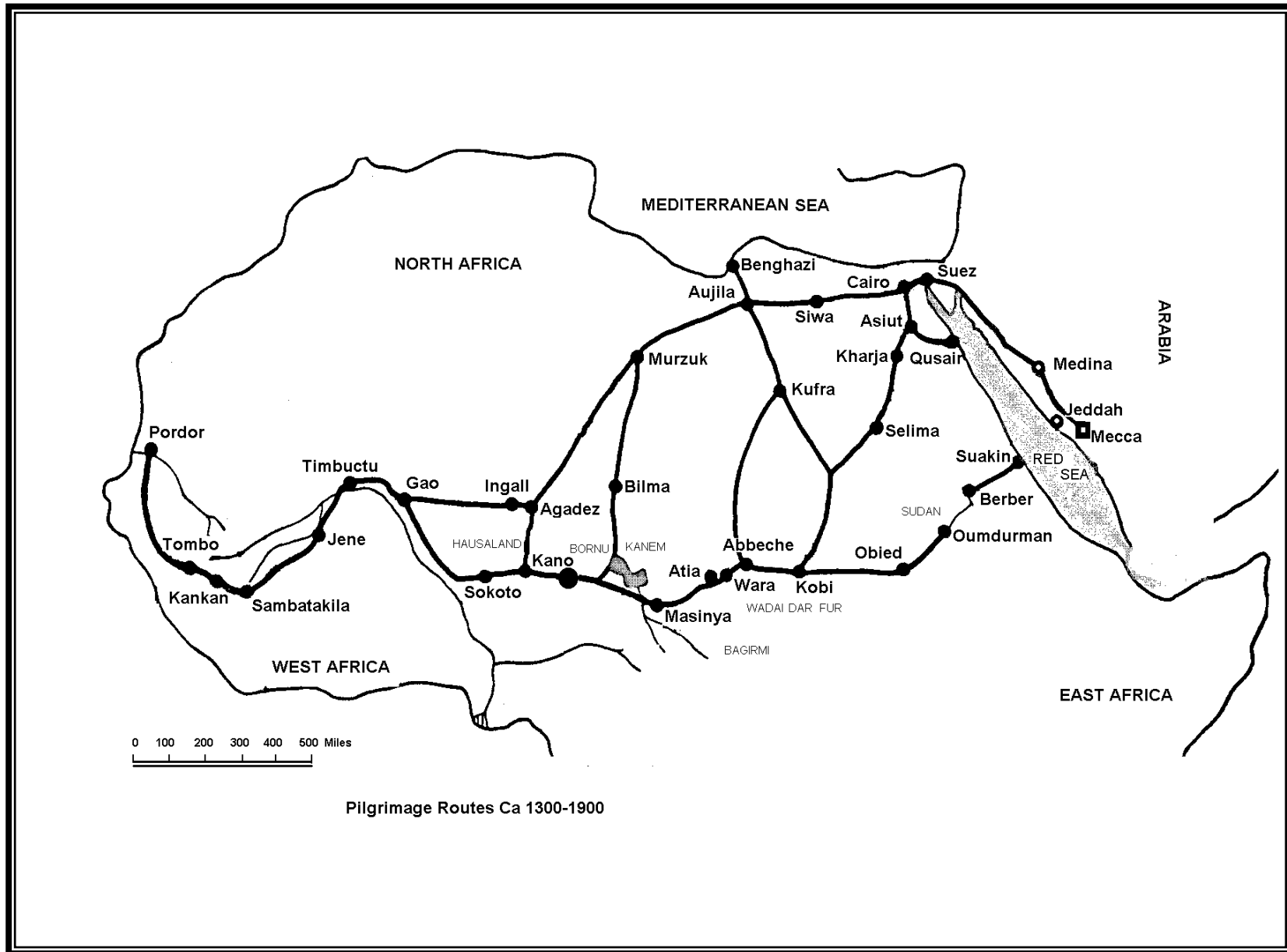


Table-1: West African Pilgrims Entering The Sudan At El-Geneina & Leaving At Suakin (By Land), 1909-1971.

YEARS	Entering	Leaving	Total Pilgrims	West African Pilgrims	Remark
1909	N/A	N/A	5,983	N/A	
1910	N/A	N/A	5,765	N/A	
1911	N/A	N/A	3,061	N/A	
1912	N/A	N/A	4,196	N/A	
1913	N/A	N/A	4,565	N/A	
1914	N/A	N/A	-	N/A	
1915	N/A	N/A	-	N/A	
1916	N/A	N/A	-	N/A	
1917	N/A	N/A	3,772	N/A	
1918	N/A	N/A	3,681	N/A	
1919	N/A	N/A	3,810	N/A	
1920	N/A	N/A	4,653	N/A	
1921	N/A	N/A	5,684	N/A	
1922	N/A	N/A	4,616	N/A	
1923	N/A	N/A	4,922	N/A	
1924	N/A	N/A	3,621	N/A	
1927	N/A	N/A	589	* All Nigerians	
1929	N/A	N/A	3,866	2,338	
1930	N/A	N/A	4,791	3,525	
1931	N/A	N/A	2,414	1,558	1000 others not in Saudi Arabian Statistics
1932	N/A	N/A	1,348	780	
1933	N/A	N/A	970	509	
1934	N/A	N/A	1,532	891	Another 1,259 secretly passed through smaller ports
1935	N/A	N/A	1,576	1,164	
1936	N/A	N/A	3,404	2,550	
1937	N/A	N/A	6,346	4,787	
1938	N/A	N/A	8,159	6,046	
1939	N/A	N/A	5,523	4,217	
1940	1,868	N/A	3,824	3,734	
1941	1,021	N/A	2,085	1,818	
1942	835	N/A	8,467	7,048	
1943	995	N/A	7,690	5,336	
1944	2,428	N/A	6,818	5,269	

YEARS	Entering	Leaving	Total Pilgrims	West African Pilgrims	Remark
1945	877	N/A	6,999	5,480	
1946	501	N/A	8,404	6,886	
1947	668	N/A	12,044	9,881	
1948	1,058	N/A	11,105	N/A	
1949	2,074	N/A	5,071	N/A	
1950	222	N/A	N/A	N/A	
1951	1,500	N/A	N/A	N/A	
1952	2,764	N/A	N/A	N/A	
1953/4	12,880	N/A	N/A	N/A	
1954/5	14,880	N/A	N/A	N/A	
1955/6	7,600	N/A	N/A	N/A	
1956/7	8,850	N/A	N/A	N/A	
1957/8	8,941	6,526	N/A	N/A	
1958/9	7,778	5,363	N/A	N/A	
1959/60	7,012	6,460	N/A	N/A	
1960/1	7,454	N/A	N/A	N/A	
1961	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	No Pilgrims Enter legally
1962	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	No Pilgrims Enter legally
1963/4	1,429	N/A	N/A	N/A	
1964/5	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	No Pilgrims Enter legally
1967/8	55	3,440	N/A	N/A	
1968/9	239	1,963	N/A	N/A	
1969/70	122	3,066	N/A	N/A	
-	N/A	-	N/A	N/A	No Pilgrims Enter legally
1970/1	N/A	4,906	N/A	N/A	

Source: Originally taken from J. S. Birks': *Across The Savannah To Mecca* (pp 147-8) this table was adopted and adapted from the 1983 National Hajj Conference Paper No. NCH/83/6. The 1927 figures were obtained from the 'Report on the Pilgrimage', 1927: The document from No.8 - ARCHIVES, EASTERN (ARABIA) CONFIDENTIAL and dated October 17, 1927 is marked ' ----- PROPERTY OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT' NO 462 Pages 146-162. Additional Information (in brackets) on 1931 and 1934 figures are from Roman Loimeir's paper-mentioned in the Bibliography.

Table-2: Official Nigerian Pilgrims Record 1979-1998 (By Air)

Year	Pilgrims
1979	50,580
1980	66,370
1981	78,000
1982	49,849
1983	49,390
1984	19,503
1985	19,470
1986	19,468
1987	19,468
1988	17,552
1989	17,936
1990	9,358
1991	30,000
1992	20,108
1993	30,652
1994	54,889
1995	56,485
1996	5,417
1997	24,193
1998	18,371

Source: *Office Of Pilgrims Affairs, Ministry Of Foreign Affairs, Abuja, Nigeria.*

Table-3: Federal Government Allocation Of Hajj Seats In Nigeria By States (1978-1982)

States	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	Total
Bauchi	2,000	2,000	3,500	3,750	1,914	13,164
Benue	500	500	1,000	1,000	488	3,488
Borno	4,000	4,000	4,500	4,500	3,413	20,413
Gongola	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,500	1,341	9,841
Kaduna	8,000	8,000	11,000	11,000	6,949	44,949
Kano	12,000	12,000	14,000	14,000	9,265	61,265
Kwara	2,500	2,500	4,500	4,500	2,196	16,196
Niger	2,000	2,000	2,500	2,600	1,537	10,637
Plateau	2,000	2,000	3,500	3,750	1,920	13,170
Sokoto	4,500	4,500	6,000	7,000	3,535	25,535
Anambra	250	250	250	200	200	1,150
Bendel	1,500	1,500	500	500	500	4,500
Cross Rivers	250	250	250	200	200	1,150
Imo	250	250	250	200	200	1,150
Lagos	3,500	3,500	4,500	4,000	2,316	17,816
Ogun	1,000	1,000	2,000	1,500	890	6,390
Ondo	500	500	500	400	341	2,241
Oyo	3,000	3,000	4,500	3,000	2,195	15,695
Rivers	250	250	250	200	200	1,150
Abuja	-	-	-	200	400	600
Totals	50,000	50,000	65,500	65,000	40,000	270,500

Source: Nigerian Pilgrims Board

Notes.

1. This view could be supported by the research work of J. A. Works, Jr. (PhD), Pilgrims In A Strange Land: Hausa Communities In Chad, Columbia University Press, New York (1976) see pages 5-6 in particular including the statistics.
2. M. Hiskett's: The Development of Islam in West Africa, page 313.
3. Quoted in Umar Al-Naqar's: The Pilgrimage Tradition in West Africa, P. 27.
4. *Ibid*: Page 27
5. *Ibid* page 28. See also NCH/83/7, page 4 of Articles & Conference Papers under Bibliography.
6. See NCH/83/7 pages 1-2
7. Quoted in Umar Naqar's: Page xxiv.
8. *Ibid* page xxiv. See also NCH/83/7, page 3.
9. See page 197 in J. F. Ade Ajayi & M. Crowders: History of West Africa, Vol. I. See also page 1-2 of P. B. Clarkes: West Africa and Islam.
10. On this view, see page 35 of Umar Al-Naqar's *Op. Cit* and pages 279-280 of J. N. Paden's Ahmadu Bello Sardauna Of Sokoto: Values And Leadership In Nigeria. For a contrasting view or argument see NCH/83/7, pages 4-5 mentioned above. As well as unpublished paper entitled A Journey To the East... at the Kano State History and culture Bureau, Kano, Nigeria.
11. Page 104 Umar Al-Naqar's *Op. Cit*, and Page 9 of NCH/83/7.
12. P. B. Clarkes page 227 *Op. Cit*
13. Quoted in Webster, Boahen and Idowu's: The Revolutionary Years- West Africa since 1800, Page 65.
14. In 1861 Britain seized the little Yoruba Kingdom of Lagos as a means of controlling the activities of Brazilian slave traders there and the overland trade route which ran from Lagos, through the heart of Yorubaland to Hausaland via Jebba on the Niger, see pages 131-2 of: The Growth of African Civilization: The making of Modern Africa Vol. 2, by Ayandele, Afigbo, Gavin and Omer-Cooper. See also pages 131 and 139 of Nigeria A Modern History for Schools by Akpofure & Crowder.
15. See pages 25 and 280 in J. N. Paden's: *Op. Cit*. See also NCH/83/8, pages 3-5 of Articles and Conference papers under Bibliography. See also pages 19-22 of NCH/83/7 for elaborate discussion on this issue of colonial control of pilgrimage. See Roman Loimeir's article The Nigerian Pilgrimage scheme: The Attempt to Organize the Hajj in Nigeria. This subject is also touched in page 7 of an unpublished paper at the Kano State History and Culture Bureau entitled: Hajj By Road Through the Ages.

16. Roman Loimeir in his paper *Op. Cit* states “Henceforth, the British ‘rewarded’ Muslims by granting permission to undertake a pilgrimage when they believed that their co-operation with the colonial power was ‘especially excellent’. Thus in 1921 they allowed the particularly ‘regime friendly’ sitting Emir of Katsina, Muhammad Dikko, to travel to Mecca by ship from Lagos to London and Cairo”. This was the first royal Hajj of the 20th century from Nigeria and the first ever known by sea from there.
17. In 1927 the famous Kano merchant, Alhassan Dantata led a pilgrimage with fifteen companions from Lagos through France, London and Cairo. Roman Loimeir mentioned this in his paper *Op. Cit* but a more accurate and detailed information on this voyage is available with Alhassan Dantata’s grand-son and name-sake, Alhassan Sanusi Danatata, in Kano. Records in his private collection include:
- (i.) List of the 15 companions
 - (ii.) Passports of some of them
 - (iii.) Correspondence on the subject between the Colonial Resident, Kano Province and the Secretary, Northern Provinces, Kaduna on the one hand, and the latter and the Chief Secretary to the Colonial Government of Nigeria in Lagos on the other hand.
 - (iv.) Souvenir photographs from the journey
- Alhaji Baba Latsu Alfindiki, also a famous Kano merchant (1895-1952) was said to be the first to travel on the Hajj by sea in 1926 and Dantata might have been encouraged by him to do the same the following year see page 48 of the book (in Hausa) entitled: Kano State Jiya Da Yau AD 999, 1864-1968.
18. See page 181 of Mu San Kan Mu (a book in Hausa) by Alkali H. Sufi.
19. Apparently. The Emir of Katsina Muhammad Dikko also went on the Hajj by road in 1936 as he did by sea in 1920 His contemporary. The Emir of Kano Abdullahi Bayero, arranged for Ibrahim Ringim, a Kano merchant who bought a light truck purposely for the Hajj journey, to join the Emir of Katsina’s entourage. This information is confirmed from personal interview I had with Mal. Muhammad Bashir a brother and deputy to Imam Buhari of the Uba Ringim Zawiyah (mosque cum Islamic Centre) close to Alhaji Uba Ringim’s residence on 16/9/1999 and with Alhaji Baba Uba Ringim (Alhaji Uba Ringim’s nephew). Alhaji Uba was the eldest son of Alhaji Ibrahim Ringim and was with him on that journey. He was about 15 years old then. This royal Hajj by road voyage was first mentioned in a book entitled: Kano State Jiya Da Yau A.D. 999, 1864-1968 pages 60-62.
20. Page 20 of the book Kano State Jiya Da Yau *Op. Cit* mentioned this royal Hajj by road from Kano without date or details. The other book: Mu San Kan Mu *Op. Cit* gave the date and details including names of the wives and children as well as some important Emir’s councilors, aides and courtiers in page 188.
21. This is mentioned in a thesis for M.A. (History) submitted by Abdulkarim Umar Dan’Asabe to the Bayero University, Kano entitled: Comparative Biographies Of Selected Leaders Of The Kano Commercial Establishment (1987) at the Kano State History and Culture Bureau, Kano, Nigeria.

22. See page 54 of Buba Abdulkareem's M.A. thesis (Bayero University Kano, Nigeria) entitled: Hajj Operation In Nigeria: A Case Study Of Its Impact, Problems And Solutions. See also Vol. I of Hajj Project, page 16 (see Bibliography).
23. This information on Pilgrims aid Society, Kano could be obtained from a documentary file No R.921 (Pilgrims Traffic 1951) at the Kano State History & Culture Bureau, Kano, Nigeria.
24. For a similar view, see page 532 of J. N. Padens, *Op. cit.*
25. *Ibid* page 280
26. See Abubakar Imam Memoirs, page 191-204 (see Bibliography)
27. J. N. Padens, *op. cit.* page 280-283
28. *Ibid.* Page 288-290. See also Roman Loimeirs paper, *op. cit.*
29. Alharamaini Limited was mentioned in Roman Loimeirs paper but Padens treatment was move elaborate. See pages 285, 258 and 298 of the book: AHMADU BELLO op. cit. Hajj Project op. cit. also mentioned the formation of this company but erroneously gave its sole ownership to the Government see pages 54-55 of Vol. II.
30. In page 56 of this volume *op. cit.*, it was stated: "As a result of these unhealthy developments, the Ministry of Civil Aviation in 1965 authorised the Nigeria Airways, which is the National airline to take over ... from the agents." He went on to say: "it was from this year (1965) that the Nigerian Airways came officially into the operation of Hajj ... and continued to enjoy the exclusive monopoly of operating Hajj flights to and from Saudi Arabia"
31. Quoted in P. B. Clarkes: *Op. Cit.* page 246.
32. Quoted in J. N. Padens: *Op. Cit.* from a footnote (No.4) on page 531.
33. Following the incident, a commission of inquiry was instituted in March which began its sitting in Kano immediately and continued through April revelations made to the commission led the general public in Kano, nay Nigeria, to believe that the mishap was a direct result of these two factors one natural, the other man-made. See editions of New Nigeria newspaper for the months of April - May 1973 for some of the proceedings and revelations.
34. Inference was made to this lapse in this paper. (See note30), see also Hajj Project VOL II Pages 55-7. Buba Abdulkareem's Thesis *Op. Cit.* discussed this problem more extensively and from a wider perspective in chapter 4.

35. On the monopoly over pilgrims airlift enjoyed by the Nigeria Airways since 1956, see note 28. Buba Abdulkareem's Thesis *OP. Cit.* treated very elaborately the issue of overlap of functions between the Airways and the NPB. See chapter 4, especially pages 91-95. Paper NCH/1996/PAPER 4 of the National Conference on Hajj was particular on this issue of 'tussle' between the two government agencies. Pages 7-11 reveals the intrigues involved and their repercussions and especially the constraint within which the NPB (and its successor, the (Nigerian Pilgrims Commission) operated. Vol. I of the Hajj Project *Op. Cit.* also mentioned this problem in page 18.
36. On the issue of restriction of number, see pages 59-62 of Hajj Project Vol. II; *Op. Cit.*; pages 12-14 of NCH/83/Paper 8; pages 246-247 of P. B. Clarke's, *Op. Cit.* and page 95-97 of Buba Abdulkareem's Thesis *Op. Cit.* for further discussion. This controversy though currently silent is the view held by the national government but it being widely refuted by the general public including well-informed persons and groups.
37. This issue was critically discussed at the 1994 National Conference on Hajj in paper NCH/1996/PAPER 4

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Informants:

1. **Malam Aminu Yadi**, Khalifa (disciple and successor of) late Imam Mahmoud Umar Yola. Imam Mahmoud was a little known but vastly and deeply knowledgeable Muslim scholar of repute in Kano. He died while he was Imam of the second largest and oldest general mosque – the Abdullahi Bayero mosque, Fagge, Kano. Malam Aminu who carried on tutorship of the late Imam’s disciples resembles his late tutor in character and scholarship. I was introduced to him by the world renowned *Dan Masani* of Kano, Alhaji Yusuf Maitama Sule (one time Nigerian Permanent Representative at the UN) who described Mal. Aminu as ‘the historian of the Kano royalty and aristocracy’.
2. **Alhaji Ibrahim Bello Ringim**, a graduate of the Al-Azhar University, Cairo (1967) is an educationist and public administrator above all, a reputable Islamic scholar. He was one time a director with the Kano state Ministry of Education where he headed the Educational Resources Department and the Islamic Education Department, which he was instrumental in founding. He later became the secretary, Kano state Pilgrims Welfare Agency (1975-1977) and when he retired from the public service, became the first Secretary-General of the Islamic Foundation of Nigeria whose headquarters is in Kano.
3. **Alhaji Muhammad Ibrahim**, Executive Director, First Bank of Nigeria had an impressive career in the first generation Northern Nigerian Civil Service and was one of the pioneer ‘senior service’ in the Kano State Government of Nigeria in 1967. He left the government in 1979 from the post of ‘super’ Permanent Secretary and joined the services of the premier and largest bank in Nigeria. As Assistant Secretary in the office of the Premier, Northern Nigeria, he was in charge of pilgrimage (Hajj) Affairs. When he transferred to the Kano State Government in 1967, he retained that duty in his schedule until 1975 when an edict was promulgated setting up the first Kano State Pilgrims Welfare Agency.
4. **Alhaji Bashir Ibrahim**, a retired educationist and Senior Civil Servant in the Kano State Government. He retired as a Director and served as the Secretary, Kano State Pilgrims Welfare Agency from 1980-1983.
5. **Alhaji Alhassan Sanusi Dantata**, a grandson of the famous Kano business tycoon, Alhassan Dantata, is, in the tradition of the family, active and successful in commerce but, unlike most members of the family, with perhaps the exception of his father, he is committed to learning and devoted to the study of Islamic theology, history, mathematics and astronomy. He is the family’s historian and archivist which pastime took him to the Buckingham Palace where he was shown the room in which his grandfather was lodged in 1927 when he left Nigeria in company of fifteen relatives, staff and associates from Lagos via France, London and Cairo for the Hajj.
6. **Alhaji Idi Hadejia** was a surveyor with the Hadejia native Authority, (NA) which he used to represent annually at the Kano office of the Northern Nigerian Pilgrimage Board set up in 1965. Serving with diligence as a Pilgrims Welfare Officer on the annual pilgrimage, Alhaji Idi rose to become the first Zonal Officer for Kano when the Nigeria Pilgrims Board was set up in 1975. He acquired fame as a result and his wealth of experience has made him an authority on Hajj organisation in contemporary Nigeria.

7. **Alhaji Bello Salih (Kurawa)**, of Kano was Senior Staff (later Manager, Kano Office) of the defunct Electricity Corporation of Nigeria (now NEPA) when Kano State was established in 1967. Like Alhaji Idi Hadejia, Alhaji Bello would take his annual leave during the Hajj season and come over to Kano to help with the Hajj organisation and operation.
8. **Alhaji Shehu Adamu**, retired Social Welfare Officer with the Kano State Government used to be deployed annually during the Hajj Season to the Kano state Pilgrims Welfare Agency between 1975-1980. As a pioneer staff of the Agency he was partly instrumental to the shaping of the agency's functions and structure and had vast and bitter experience from pioneering a venture in which the nobility and the commoners have equal stake.
9. **Alhaji Maiwada Abubakar**'s name in Kano is synonymous with the Makkah and Medinah (Pilgrimage) Travel agency, which he set up in 1961 in partnership with Alhaji Sani Hanga, Alhaji (late) Labaran Nakyauta, Alhaji (late) Malam Na-Alhaji Nasidi and Alhaji Abdu Nagogo. Alhaji Malam was to set up his own agency later and to become a member of the pioneer board of the Kano State Pilgrims Welfare Agency set up in 1975, following which all private agencies were banned.
10. **Alhaji Sani Hanga**, (the author's father) mentioned above was an active partner in the promotion and founding of Makkah and Medinah Travel Agency. He performed the Hajj himself in 1951 by air and a number of times before setting up the agency in 1961. He is a ready reference on many local issues concerning the Hajj.
11. **Alhaji Inuwa Tangaza**, founded the Nujumul Hujjaj Travel Agency around 1964 after a long and difficult struggle during which he sought and enjoyed the good advice and assistance of Alhaji Sani Hanga whom he wanted to woo away from Makkah & Medinah Travel agency. Alhaji Inuwa has worked closely with late Alhaji Haruna Kassim for many years and was fully conversant with the problems and prospects of the business of Pilgrimage Travel Agency.
12. **Mr. Robert Bianchi (Umar)**, an American Muslim from Chicago, Illinois (real name Robert Bianchi) was god-sent to Nigeria between May and June 1999. Conducting research into the Hajj Organisation in Nigeria, he was introduced to the Kano State Pilgrims Welfare Agency from the Office of Pilgrims Affairs, Abuja. We found in him a ready ally with whom to exchange views and information on a subject of common interest. He it was who suggested publishing this paper in a reputable journal and gave a number of names and addresses including the African Studies Review. In addition he provided a transcript of Roman Loimeir's publication. The "Nigerian Pilgrimage scheme. The Attempt to organise the Hajj in Nigeria, *Das Nigerian Pilgrimage scheme: zum versuch, den Hagg in Nigerian zu organisieren*, Africa Spectrum, 2:701-14, 1988 (copy available).
13. **Malam Muhammad Bashir**, brother to Liman Buhari of the Uba Ringim Zawiyyah, Kano, works at the Kano state History and Culture Bureau. It was double advantage chatting with him on the historic hajj by road of 1936 in which the Ringim family joined the royal entourage of His Highness, the then Emir of Katsina Alhaji Muhammadu Dikko. He mentioned Kabiru Uba Ringim as his source of information but advised me to corroborate the facts from Baba Uba Ringim.

- 14. Baba Uba Ringim**, educated in Cairo, Egypt along with his brother Kabiru (mentioned above) he was devoted to scholarship to the pleasure of his late uncle and guardian, Alhaji Uba Ibrahim Ringim. Late Alhaji Uba Ibrahim Ringim enjoyed great respect in Kano both for his family background, his fabulous wealth and above all for his devotion to Islamic scholarship which drew him close to the eminent scholars of the *Tijjaniyya* sect in West Africa. In his late years, up to his death in early 1999, Alhaji Uba was kept private company by his two young nephews in whom he confided a lot of information including the story of his Hajj by road (when he was about 15 years old) accompanying his father, Alhaji Ibrahim in 1936 in a light truck bought by the father just for the Hajj voyage.
- 15. Malam Salisu Alhassan**, of the Kano State Ministry of Land and Environmental Planning is also the Secretary of the Nigerian National Committee on Hajj by Road. He was very helpful both as a ready reference and as a link with the Islamic Education Trust, Zaria, Nigeria, which provided – free of charge-the complete set of the 1983 Hajj Conference Papers.

Sources Of Information (Institutions & Organisations).

- (i.) (National) Office of Pilgrims Affairs (OPA) Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Abuja, Nigeria.
- (ii.) Organized the second (1994, Kaduna) and third (1995, Abuja) national Conferences on Hajj
- (iii.) Zonal Office, OPA, Federal Ministry Of Foreign Affairs, Kano, Nigeria.
- (iv.) Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria (Main Library).
- (v.) Kano State Pilgrims Welfare Agency, Kano, Nigeria.
- (vi.) Kano State History & Culture Bureau, Kano, Nigeria.
- (vii.) Reference Library / Archives, Office of the Secretary to the State Government, Kano, Nigeria.
- (viii.) Kano State Library, Kano, Nigeria.
- (ix.) Directorate of Security and Council Affairs, Government House, Kano, Nigeria.
- (x.) Islamic Trust of Nigeria, Zaria – Organised the first National Conference on Hajj in July 1983 (Zaria).
- (xi.) Council Of Ulama; WAFF Road Mosque Forum (Kaduna) and; the National Council of Muslim Youth Organisations (NACOMYO) jointly organised the fourth and last National Conference on Hajj in September 1996 at (Kaduna, Nigeria).