

**WEAPONS WIN JIHADS BUT IT TAKES
IDEAS TO WIN THE PEACE**

BY

NATIONAL CHRISTIAN ELDERS FORUM (NCEF)

22nd April, 2016

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April 20, 2016

His Eminence
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Your Eminence,

WEAPONS WIN JIHADS BUT IT TAKES IDEAS TO WIN THE PEACE

Christians have no choice but to transform CAN into an established Organization for the promotion and protection of Christianity in Nigeria in the face of the threat of Islamism otherwise known as – Political Islam, which has no single creed or political manifesto but certain common beliefs such as that (1) Nigerian Society should be reconstructed in line with the Religious principles and ideals of Islam.

(2). The Islamists are demanding that Section 10 should be replaced by an Islamic State in which Religious principles and authority have primacy over the political principles and authority; and

(3). That the West and Western values which Christians over the years, have adopted in Nigeria are corrupt and, to an extent, justifies Jihad against the West and Nigeria and its values.

In the circumstance, Nigeria requires new ideas to win the peace and promote stability of the Nation.

The Quran and Jihad

Shariah scholars typically cite as authority for Jihad from the Quran any of the 164 verses that specifically refer to Jihad against non-Muslims in terms that include military expeditions, fighting enemies, or distributing the spoils of war. Among these are: "Fighting is prescribed for you" (Q 2:216); "Slay them wherever you find them" (Q 4:89); and "Fight the idolaters utterly" (Q 9:36). Among the most categorical of such Quranic entries and the most often cited as authoritative by the shariah scholars, is the "Verse of the Sword": "So when the sacred months have passed, then fight and slay the pagans wherever you find them, and seize them, beleaguer them, and lie in wait for them in every stratagem of war; but if they repent and establish regular prayers, and practice regular charity, then leave their way free to them; for, surely, Allah is Forgiving, Merciful." (Q 9:5) As regards pagans (or polytheists),

therefore, the doctrine is clear: Convert or die. The treatment for “People of the Book,” Christians and Jews, is controlled by a Sura 9: “Fight those who believe not in God nor the Last Day, nor hold that forbidden which hath been forbidden by God and His Apostle, nor acknowledge the Religion of Truth, even if they be People of the book [Christians and Jews] until they pay the Jizya with willing submission and feel themselves subdued.” (Q 9:29) Thus, Christians and Jews are afforded a third choice not available to polytheists: convert, die or submit to Islam as dhimmis.⁹⁶

The Hadiths and Jihad

The Hadith are the second source of shariah. Throughout those Hadiths considered authoritative, Jihad means warfare. The Hadith collections of Sahih al-Bukhari and Sahih Muslim are accorded the highest level of authenticity by Islamic scholars and both include hundreds of references to Jihad. Each and every one of these citations leave no room for doubt that Jihad means warfare. For example, one of the most oft-cited Sahih al-Bukhari Hadiths about Jihad says: Narrated abu Huraira: Allah’s Apostle said, “I have been ordered to fight with the people till they say, “None has the right to be worshipped but Allah,” and whoever says, “None has the right to be worshipped but Allah,” his life and property will be saved by me except for Islamic laws and his accounts will be with Allah, (either to punish him or to forgive him). --- Muslims are to fight “the people” who do not worship Allah until “they” all submit to Islam. This is not a command to convert non-believers but to subjugate them to “Islamic laws.”

Jihad in Nigeria

Mbazulike Amechi in **The Sun Newspaper** of Sunday, April 17, 2016 was reported to have said “looking at the situation in Nigeria today, I get very worried. Very seriously worried --- Everything is going out of hand. Security is not improving. Security is getting worse. The promise about cleaning out Boko Haram in good time was not met. Apart from Boko Haram, in other parts of the country, there has been increase in the number of cases of armed robbery and kidnapping. In places like Rivers State and Bayelsa State there have been mass murders, senseless killings of people for political reasons. Then, coming to the ordinary man or woman in the country, they are now placed in a position of near hopelessness. Nothing is working again in the country”, he went on to say “I believe that the panacea will come from a declared or undeclared state of emergency in the country. We are in emergency in this country. The government should not be partisan at this stage. The government should not be a government of one political party at this stage. The government should not be a government of one particular tribe or one particular Region at this stage. The government

should not be a government of one dominant Religion or anything at this stage. The government should formally or informally, whether declared or not, operate a state of emergency where everybody will be involved. --- We are moving fast towards being a failed state. Nigeria is fast becoming a failed state. And if people in government are really serious about this, they should involve everybody. They should not be partisan about it. They should not go into myopic political partisanship in the country. We are in a state of emergency, more serious than physical war. --- I think the President's silent act may be because he is a Fulani man, and these Fulani herdsmen are his brothers and sons. He is an ex- service man. Where did these Fulani cattle herdsmen procure their sophisticated weapons with which they wiped out a whole village; with which they burnt down houses and occupied those places? And the President of the country keeps quiet about it? But when young boys embark on demonstrations demanding the release of Kanu from detention and the actualization of Biafra, they line up soldiers and mow them down. Is he not thinking that this country is one country? So, the President's silence over the atrocities being committed by these Fulani herdsmen makes him look suspicious to me." **[Buhari caged by 8 powerful men]** We, of the National Christian Elder Forum (NCEF) share his view, and believe that a Jihad is taking place in Nigeria as summarized in this paper from the period of Amalgamation, the First Republic, Military Rule, Second Republic, Military Rule up to 1999 when we began democratic process hindered by dual ideology of Liberal Democracy and Islamism. There is need for non-Muslim even Muslims indeed all Nigerians who cannot read Arabic to understand some tenets of Islamism especially as it affect them including Jihad in all its ramification which, to us, National Christian Elder Forum (NCEF) is responsible for the near hopelessness of the Nigerian State.

Jihad is Obligatory

With the correct meaning of Jihad within shariah thus established, it is important to note the compulsory nature of participating in Jihad , which is founded in Quranic verse 2:216: "Prescribed for you is fighting, though it be hateful to you." ... In general, the obligation to Jihad is a collective one (*fard kiffayah*) and only becomes a personal one (*fard 'ayn*) when Muslim lands are invaded or occupied by an infidel force that is uninvited. Ibn Rushd, writing in 12th Century Seville and Cordoba, Spain during the so-called "Golden Era" of Islam invoked the consensus of the scholars in his seminal book titled *Bidayat al-Mudtahid wa-Nihayat al-Muqtasid*: ...This obligation [to Jihad], when it can be properly carried out by a limited number of individuals, is cancelled for the remaining Muslims, is founded on [Q 9:122]: "It is not for the believers to go forth totally," "Yet to each, Allah has promised the reward most fair" [Q 4:95] and, lastly, on the fact that the Prophet never went to battle

without leaving some people behind. All this together implies that this activity is a collective obligation. . . . Most scholars are agreed that, in his dealings with captives, various policies are open to the Caliph or Imam [head of the Islamic state]. He may pardon, enslave, kill or release them either on ransom or as *dhimmi* [non-Muslim subjugated to the Muslim regime], in which latter case, the released captive is obliged to pay poll-tax (*jizya*).”

Waging Jihad

Muhammad ibn al-Hasan al-Shaybani, who lived in the 8th and 9th Centuries, was an important jurist of the Hanafi School of Jurisprudence... Shaybani wrote that a constant state of war must exist between the *Dar al-Islam* and the *Dar al-Harb* and explained the protocols to be followed in waging Jihad. Fight in the name of Allah and in the “path of Allah.” Combat those who disbelieve in Allah. Do not cheat or commit treachery, nor should you mutilate anyone or kill children. Whenever you meet your polytheist enemies, invite them [first] to adopt Islam. If they do so, accept it, and let them alone. . . .If they refuse, then call upon them to pay the *jizya* [poll tax imposed on Dhimmis]; if they do, accept it and leave them alone. . . .If the army [of Islam] attacks Dar al-Harb and it is a territory that has received an invitation to accept Islam, it is commendable if the army renews the invitation, but if it fails to do so, it is not wrong. The army may launch the attack by night or by day and it is permissible to burn [the enemy] fortifications with fire or inundate them with water. Boko Haram has, for over five years now waged a Jihad against the Nigerian State.

In the Daily Trust of 22nd April, 2016, it was reported that the Kaduna State Government has asked the state High Court, “to sentence 50 Shiites members to death for allegedly causing the death of a soldier ... 50 ‘suspects’ were among the 265 persons currently in custody during the Shiite clash with the military on 12th and 14th December, 2015.” The NCEF recalls the partnership of the Sunnis and the Shi’ites against Christians as contained in the Aniagolu’s Commission of 1982, part of which reads, “The Moslem Students’ Society, (MSS) – This militant students’ organization with headquarters in Lagos, is believed to have been set up, with the active encouragement of GUMI and JNI, to propound extreme religious views in furtherance of the JNI’s objectives. Its executive members particularly in its branches in Ahmadu Bello University (ABU) Zaria, University of Sokoto and Bayero University, Kano, are known to be **extremists**. The MSS branches in the North have no belief in the Nigerian Constitution, do not recognize the existence of the Federal Government, and abhor the sale and consumption of alcohol in the campuses where they exist. MSS extremists also have a firm belief in the ultimate **attainment of an Islamic state** in the country; through an Iranian-type revolution ... The most militant of the MSS members would appear to be its Deputy Chairman, Ibrahim El-Zakzaky, who was expelled from ABU Zaria on 14th December,

1979, for his role in fermenting MSS unrest on the campus. El-Zakzaky was the brain behind a demonstration in Zaria by MSS members on 4th May, 1980, when ten bus-loads of the members drove round the city with the following inscriptions on the buses:

- a. Down with the Nigerian Constitution;
- b. Islam only.

On 20th August, 1980, El-Zakzaky was reported to be circulating in the Northern states, pamphlets captioned, "*Fadakarwa ga Musulmin Nigeria*" (Calling on Moslems in Nigeria) in which he condemned the Nigerian Constitution for being anti-Islamic, **called for Islamic revolution**, and urged Islamic students to rise against the Federal Government. He also demanded the recognition of the Sharia Law." The NCEF is of the firm view that due to the schism between Iran and Saudi Arabia, the Shi'ites in Nigeria are on the receiving end of the Islamists Jihad. The fear of Christians however, is that after the Sunnis have dealt with the Shi'ites in Nigeria, they will turn on the Christians as they have done before.

In the Nation newspaper of the same date, (22nd April) on page 4, there is a caption, "DSS: Shiites Wanted to Create Islamic State". The report went to state, "The Department of State Security (DSS) and others yesterday testified against the Sheikh Ibrahim El-Zakzaky-led sect, the Islamic Movement of Nigeria (IMN), otherwise called the Shi'ite, with DSS alleging that the ultimate objective of the group was the establishment of an Islamic state, based on their doctrines."

Amalgamation of 1914

Amalgamation of 1914 was supposed to amalgamate two countries, one Southern Nigeria and the other Northern Nigeria. Amalgamation is defined as "the act of combining or **uniting** two countries into a new country." In the official speech of Lord Lugard delivered on New Year Day in 1914, he concluded by saying "I trust that as one **united** country, Nigeria will increase in prosperity and wealth and its people in happiness." Unfortunately, both the colonizing British and their collaborators and partners merely erected barriers before and after independence of 1960. The NCEF now say 'knock down walls Mr. President' and it's now time to knock them down.

By the middle of 1914, six months after amalgamation, **The Times of Nigeria** in an Editorial wrote: "the amalgamation of 1914', is, **broadly speaking the conquest and subjugation of Southern Nigeria by Northern Nigeria**. Northern Nigerian system, Northern Nigerian laws, Northern Nigerian Land laws, Northern Nigerian Administration, must be made to supersede every system in Southern Nigeria." [**Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria pg. 24**] It would appear that 'conquest' here also connotes conquest of Christianity by

Islam. Conquest by the North is synonymous with conquest of Christianity by Islam. All Northern Organizations are mere branches of Jama'atu Nasril Islam (JNI) – victory for the propagation of Islam. The name itself which connotes victory, suggests that there is a war between Islam and Christianity in Nigeria. All other organizations of the North - from Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF) to Northern Elders Forum, Governors' Wives and Governors etc, have only about 10% Christians while the flagship - JNI has 100% Muslims. To understand the situation, North is synonymous with Islam – Muslim North and while the South is synonymous with Christianity. The wall erected by the British between 1914 and 1960 and afterwards.

Ian Nicolson, a Lagos Colonial Civil Servant at the time and an anti-amalgamator, castigated Lugard's administrative plan as “trampling on all the carefully nursed seedlings of **civilized government**, law and legislature, and substituting authoritarian adminstrocracy in which the whole emphasis was away from the coast, away from the law and education in its widest sense' and concludes that Lugard's amalgamation places Nigeria in a state of arrested development with its institutions of government left, on the whole, 'dormant and static' for the next thirty years” [**Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria pg. 26**] The conflict of ideologies of Democracy and Islamism is responsible for Nigeria's static position since the early 1970s with the overthrow of General Yakubu Gowon and the rise of Islamism. Boko Haram in 2016 suggests trampling on civilized government.

Reasons for Amalgamation

It is pertinent to remind Nigerians of the two main reasons for amalgamation of 1914 “Lugard's own appreciation of the situation in the Report, where he summarizes the 'necessity for amalgamation' under the two headings of **finance** and **railways**. Not only had the Northern Protectorate been running at a substantial operating loss-in itself a direct contradiction of one of the traditional British colonial maxims, that every territory must be self-supporting-but its Treasury had been subvented by heavy grants-in-aid from both Great Britain and the Southern Protectorate, at the very time when the prosperity of the South was increasing rapidly thanks to the high duties imposed on liquor imports, especially 'square face' or trade gin. Such a source of revenue was unknown to the Moslem North. Ironically, as Crowder observes, the much vaunted Northern line from Baro to Minna was built with funds diverted from the Revenue of the Southern Protectorate. With the completion of the Baro-Kano railway line in 1911, the financial position was to be completely reversed, for within a matter of months the North was showing an enviable surplus from its export earnings now that it had access to the coast. Indeed, the economic

consideration of the land-locked North searching for an unimpeded outlet to the sea has twice since, 1953 and again, 1966, taken on a vivid significance in any rethinking of the country's administrative structure." [Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria pgs. 29 – 30] The Report continues "in 1906, a further step in amalgamation was effected in the South. Southern Nigeria and Lagos became one Administration under the title of the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria. From this date the material prosperity of the South increased with astonishing rapidity. The liquor duties-increased from 3s. in 1901 to 3s. 6d. in 1905-stood at 5s. 6d. a gallon in 1912, and afford an ever-increasing revenue, without any diminution in the quantity imported. They yielded a sum of £1,138,000 in 1913. **The North, largely dependent on the annual grant from the Imperial Government, was barely able to balance its budget with the most parsimonious economy** and was starved of the necessary staff, and unable to find funds to house its officers properly. Its energies were concentrated upon the development of the Native Administration and the revenue resulting from direct taxation. Its distance from the Coast (250 miles), rendered the expansion of trade difficult. Thus the anomaly was presented of a country with an aggregate revenue practically equal to its needs, **but divided into two by an arbitrary line of latitude**. One portion (North) was dependent on a grant paid by the British taxpayer, which in the year before Amalgamation stood at £136,000, and had averaged £314,500 for the 11 years ending March, 1912." [Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria pgs. 29 – 30] It is strange that amalgamation that provided the life line for the North is now being renounced by the matrix of North for Northerners, the North an arbitrary line of latitude which ceased in 1967 when General Gowon created 12 States - the main instrument that broke the backbone of succession and saved Nigeria as one country not two countries of 'North' and Nigeria.

It is pertinent to point out the reasons for amalgamation – Finance and Railways after amalgamation, played little or no part in strengthening unity of the two countries. As a matter of fact, both were abandoned especially Railways. The reason can be found in the book titled **Empire: The British Imperial Experience from 1765 to the Present**. The author, Denis Judd wrote: "There was certainly continuity, however, in one crucial area of imperial overlordship: the need to seek out, negotiate with and, in the last resort, control **collaborationist** groups within the Empire. This meant different things in different contexts. In India, it meant leaving a third of the country in the hands of local princes; **in Northern Nigeria it meant the establishment of a system of 'indirect rule', whereby the British collaborated with the Muslim emirs**; sometimes it meant backing one tribe or faction against another, as in the support of anti-Mahdist elements in the Sudan, or,

occasionally, profiting from any friction between the Masai, the Luo and the Kikuyu in Kenya.” [Pg. 238] Unfortunately, unity was played down by the British and her collaborating partners in Nigeria and concerned themselves in erecting walls between the collaborating partners and other Nigerians.

Amalgamation and the Creation of Barriers between Christians and Muslims

Barriers erected by the British included city for Muslims and new town Sabo Gari, GRA for non-Muslims, separating Christians, Muslims and whites from natives, Lugard wrote: “all townships are divided into a European and a native quarter, separated by a non-residential area of a quarter of a mile in breadth, which extends round the former. This belt is kept clear of undergrowth, and may be used for recreation, and even for garden allotments, in which high-growing crops are not allowed. Non-residential buildings may be erected upon it, such as Churches, court-houses, Stores, etc., provided they do not impair its utility as a fire-break, on the side of the native quarter. Europeans may not reside in the close vicinity of a township but must live in the European areas far as possible available. --- Not only is it to the mutual convenience and comfort alike of Europeans and of natives, that this system of segregation should be enforced, but since medical science has now established the endemicity of yellow fever, and shown that natives (especially children) are ‘Hosts’ from which mosquitoes become infected with its germ, and that of malaria, it has become a matter of the first importance. ‘Sections 59-61 of the Ordinance’ (writes the Director of the Medical Services) ‘will revolutionize the social life of Europeans residing in Nigeria. They will live healthier lives, be more comfortable, and not tend to degenerate into mere machines.” [[Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria pgs.162 - 163] Till this day, Christians do not live in (Birnin) City unless converted to Islam. Colonial habits die hard and till this day GRAs are reserved for the privilege few Nigerians.

Special Schools for Muhammedans

Governor General Speech at the opening of Katsina College in 1922 sums up British education policy for Nigeria. This College is designed, to serve all the Muhammadan Emirates in Nigeria, and, as you are aware, the young men who will receive in it their training are drawn from every part of the Muhammadan State. --- It is very necessary that the youths who will receive their training in College, and 'who will thereafter carry the torch of learning and knowledge to all parts of the Muhammadan Emirate. --- For to these young men will hereafter be entrusted the duty of training and instructing the boys who attend the Provincial Schools in which they will later be employed. And it will fall to them to teach those boys, not only the lessons learned from books which they will here acquire, but the

way that good Muhammadans should live, the good manners, good behaviour and the courteous deportment without which mere book-learning is of little worth. ---- [Excerpt from a speech by Sir Hugh Clifford, G.C.MG., on the Opening of the Training College for Muhammadan Teachers at Katsina on Sunday, the 15th March, 1922] Dual policies - one for Muslims another for Christians. It took the "conquest" of the South issue for Christians from the Northern Provinces to be admitted into Katsina College, later called Barewa College.

From the above, it became clear that Muslims in Northern Nigeria are regarded by the British as partners as a result of the role the Emirs played in colonialism - Indirect rule.

Size to Maintain Conquest

To maintain the conquest of the North over the South an unusual federation was established by the British Sir Henry Willink described it thus "a Federation of an unusual composition, in that one of the three constituent elements was slightly larger in population than the other two put together, while in each of the three Regions it was possible to distinguish between a majority group of about two-thirds of the population and minority groups amounting to about one-third" [Pg. 1] All effort to break the barrier erected which made the Yoruba speaking Nigerians part of the North was declined by both Lugard and James Robertson Willink wrote: "the Ilorin and Kabba boundary dispute - Yorubas in the North "thus, until the Second World War, it is true in general terms to say that though there had been some dissatisfaction as to the actual line of the border and changing opinions on this question, the broad principle that the Ilorin Division was Northern had been accepted. With the approach of independence and the general heightening of sectional feeling, to which we have already referred more than once, it was to be expected that the return of the Yoruba peoples of Ilorin and Kabba to the Western Region should be raised, and, as independence grew closer, the interest taken by the Yoruba people in the area which they had lost so long ago was bound to grow. In September of 1949, the Western Regional Conference met in Ibadan to discuss the question of constitutional changes and recommended that states should be formed within a Federal System on an ethnic or linguistic basis. --- On 1st March 1951, the Governor, Sir John Macpherson, gave an assurance that he would personally examine the boundary question and reach a decision when the new Constitution had come into force. In September of 1952, eighteen months later, the Governor announced his decision, which was published as Extraordinary Gazette No. 46 of the 3rd September. For our purpose, this may be summarized. In Sir John's opinion "the Ilorins, who constitute more than half the population of the Emirate, have made the Northern pattern of administration their own and have shown virtually no desire to amalgamate with the West" --- finally decided that there

should be no change in the inter-regional boundary. In conclusion, Sir John Macpherson asked those concerned to remember that the boundary in question was not a boundary between two foreign states but between two Regions which are integral parts of a single country, and hoped that there would be no further controversial discussion of this matter. **[Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the fears of Minorities and the means of allaying them Pgs. 76-77]**

This artificial boundary preferred by the British to the National River Boundaries of Nigeria and Benue has become a boundary separating an Islamic nation from a Christian nation, the non-existent North from the non-existent South. We need to be reminded the Terms of Reference “we were appointed by you in September, 1957, as a Commission with the following terms of reference: -

1. To ascertain the facts about the fears of minorities in any part of Nigeria and to propose means of allaying those fears whether well or ill founded.
2. To advise what safeguards should be included for this purpose in the Constitution of Nigeria.
3. If, but only if, no other solution seems to the Commission to meet the case, then as a last resort to make detailed recommendations for the creation of one or more new States, and in that case:-
 - (a) To specify the precise area to 'be included in such State or States;
 - (b) To recommend the Governmental and administrative, structure most appropriate for it.
 - (c) To assess whether any State recommended would be viable from an economic and administrative point of view and what the effect of its creation would be on the Region or Regions from which it would be created and on the Federation.
4. To report its findings and recommendations to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.”

Fears of Minorities North and South who are mainly Christians

At the Commission, minorities were fearful of swinging backwards to Islamic conservatism and the automatic rule of Emirs. They have been vindicated with the number of ex-military officers who are now Traditional Rulers in the country ostensibly to return Nigeria to the emirate system before colonial rule.

The Commission, in answer to this problem, wrote “on the whole, however, the most important question is whether Chiefs are to become less powerful or more. It seems that development is, at present, in the direction of the Chief coming to occupy a position much

nearer that of a Constitutional monarch than at present and if this process continues, questions of this nature will become less important.” This was so until Islamism became an ideology in the country.

a. Fear of Political Influence

The Commission wrote: the Northern System of Government is in a state of transition; in the past, power was entirely in the hands of the Emirs; in the last fifty years, they have been guided and advised in the use of their power by British Residents. But the Residents will now change their functions, if they remain at all, and it will be for the newly elected Government of the Northern Peoples Congress to guide and advise the Emirs; change is bound to come and one may suppose that there will be gradually established within the Party **a balance of power between the Emirs and the elected politicians**, many under the Native Authorities. From the point of view of allaying the fears of minorities and confirming the unity of Nigeria-which is the point of view to which our terms of reference direct us-it seems to us desirable that the trend of change should be towards an **increasing control of the Forces of Law and Order by Federal and Regional Governments rather than by Native Authorities**. [Pg. 59] Unfortunately, State Government, have little control over forces of law and order. The Traditional Emirs powers are being restored stealthy by illegal and unconstitutional organization such as Boko Haram, Fulani herdsmen and some organizations concerning Markets and Road Traffic.

b. Fear of Foreign Policy

With respect to **Fears Regarding Foreign Policy**, the Commission wrote: “from a number of witnesses we heard allegations that the Government of the Northern Peoples Congress had exhibited a sympathy with nations of the Middle East-particularly with nations of the United Arab Republic which resulted from a common allegiance to Islam and which after independence, might cause a grave divergence on foreign policy between different elements in Nigeria. [Pg.61] The fear of minorities in this circumstance was well founded. Nigeria today is a member of the OIC and Saudi Arabia Military Coalition.

c. Fears of Religious Intolerance

The Commission concluded that both Christians and Animists expressed fears to us regarding the future; once again, these fears were not particularly impressive when marshaled item by item, but that a general feeling of apprehension exists we have no doubt. We should however say, at the outset, that those who appeared before us as representatives of Christian bodies stated clearly that they did not wish for any political separation.

“It was stated that Muslims in the Northern Region had, on occasions expressed hostility towards Christian Missions; there have been isolated instances of this in the Northern House of Assembly and elsewhere, usually however expressed with some qualification. We have little doubt that there has been intolerant behaviour on both sides and that some of the Christian Missions have provoked retort but we suggest that exceptions of this kind should be forgotten on both sides. The general attitude of the Northern Region of Government has been expressed in their Statement of policy made on 14th November, 1957, which contains the following passage: “subject only to the requirements of the Law and public order the Regional Government has no intention of favouring or advancing any Religion at the expense of another. --- With regards to proselytization and missionary activity amongst all shades of denomination in the religious groups which make up the Region, the Regional Government has demonstrated, time and time again, both by word and by deed in the form of very considerable financial assistance, that it welcomes vigorous and extensive enterprise in the educational and social fields. Subject only to the considerations referred to previously, the Regional Government does not intend to place any curb in the religious activities of missionaries or on their right to receive converts amongst other religions. This is the declared policy and we have no reason to suppose that it is not the intention of the Government to carry it out.”

“It was stated that whereas Christian Missions had difficulty in obtaining permission to build churches, Muslims could set up a mosque wherever they liked. It would not seem to us unreasonable that permission to set up a Church should be refused in an area which is predominantly Muslim, but we were unable, in fact, to find any case of permission being refused absolutely. In the few cases in which specific allegations were made, we found, on pursuing the matter that the Mission had been offered an alternative site which they had either refused or failed to take up. Apart from the general considerations of public order and the avoidance of occasion for dispute, there has, sometimes been a legal difference, in that special permission from the Government is required under the Land and Native Rights Ordinance for a grant of land to a body of persons foreign to the Northern Region; this has in the past usually applied to the Christian Missions, and has affected their applications, not only for Churches but for sites on which they could set up some building for “a class of religious instruction” (which apparently usually means a class of religious instruction for adults). No permission is necessary to hold such classes; it is only for land that permission is required. Requests for land are investigated in the first place by the District Head and delay at this level may occur and may occasionally be deliberate. [Pg. 64]

The Willink's Commission sided with the Emirs and thereby failed to break the walls erected. Rather it strengthened the walls. Today, notwithstanding Section 38 of the Constitution, these walls has remain solid.

Western Regional crisis

After the Willink's Commission, the conspiracy against Yoruba West and Chief Obafemi Awolowo created another barrier between North and West, Muslims Sunni against the Ahmadiyya and the Hausa/Fulani and the Yoruba.

I was rather curious at the time as to what could have prompted the Government of Western Nigeria so soon after the attainment of national Independence in 1960, to require from me, a legal opinion on the extent and limits of the emergency powers provisions in the Independence Constitution. Upon further enquiry by me, the late Chief S. O. Ighodaro, then the Attorney-General and Minister of Justice, informed me that they had heard rurnours that the Federal Government, to which their party, the Action Group formed and constituted the official Opposition in the Federal Parliament, was planning to create a situation where they would be able to declare that a state of emergency existed in Western Nigeria and whereby they would then proceed to dismiss the Governor of the Region, dissolve its Government and Houses of Assembly and Chiefs and then govern the Region directly through Federal-appointed functionaries. I then proceeded to examine the matter in depth. **[In Our Days Dr. Festus Ajayi autobiography. Page 464]**

Section 65 of the then Constitution of the Federation of Nigeria 'contained in the Second Schedule to the Nigeria (Constitution) Order in Council, 1960, Statutory Instrument No. 1652 of 1960, issued by Her Majesty, the Queen in Council in England and published both in that country and in Nigeria, dealt with the present matter in its Sub-Sections (1) to (4) comprising a total of less than thirty lines. In its Sub-Section (1) it stated that the Federal Parliament may, at any time, make such laws for Nigeria or any part thereof, with respect to matters not included in the Exclusive Legislative List or the Concurrent Legislative List as may appear to Parliament to be necessary or expedient for the purpose of maintaining or securing peace, order and good government during any period of emergency. In Sub-Section (3) period of emergency" was defined as meaning any period during which - (a) the Federation is at war; (b) there is in force a resolution passed by each of the Houses of Parliament declaring that a state of public emergency exists; or (c) there is in force a resolution of each House of Parliament supported by the votes of not less than two-thirds of all the members of the Houses declaring that democratic institutions in Nigeria are

threatened by subversion. **[In Our Days Dr. Festus Ajayi autobiography. Page 464]**

It was therefore my view that any Parliamentary resolution which declared that a state of public emergency existed as mentioned in paragraph (b) could only have been contemplated by the Constitution as a situation where there had come into existence facts or events not amounting to a state of war or to a threat of subvention of democratic institutions but still indicating objectively that a state of public emergency did in fact exist.. A correct interpretation of the provision therefore would not permit of a situation where, anything remotely appearing like any emergency did not exist In fact, even if short of war or a threat to democratic institutions, but was simply so termed arbitrarily by resolution in bad faith and contrary to the facts as a state of public emergency. **[In Our Days Dr. Festus Ajayi autobiography. Page 465 - 466]**

This legal position notwithstanding, the Federal went on to conspire with some Yoruba and Midwestern politicians to declare a State of Emergency in Western Region, Dr. Ajayi continued his narrative “as I was in my office about noon time in one of those late May days, a close friend of mine the Director of Public Prosecutions in the Ministry of Justice, the late Justice Adegboyega Ademola, bussed me on the intercom to come at once to his office which I did and, when I got there, I met him answering a call on the telephone whereupon he asked me to pick up the second telephone receiver which was a party line within his office. What he was being told by a very high ranking expatriate Police Officer, the then Commissioner of Police of Western Nigeria, was that he had credible information that the Federal Government was intending to declare a State of Emergency in Western Nigeria; dismiss or remove from office, the Governor, the Ministers and the Members of the House of Chiefs and House of Assembly; and appoint an Emergency Administrator to run the government of the Region during the period of Emergency” **[In Our Days Dr. Festus Ajayi autobiography. Page 474]**

Ajayi and Justice Ademola went to see Chief Awolowo to pass on the information to him. He wrote “in our presence, the late Chief Awolowo telephoned the late Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the Prime Minister, and, after exchanging banter with him, stated that he, Chief Awolowo, understood that the Federal Government was planning to declare a State of Emergency in Western Nigeria. Although it was only Chief Awolowo who was listening on the telephone, yet what we could faintly over-hear was that Sir Abubakar was assuring him that the Federal Government had no intention of doing anything of the kind and had said that only a mad-man would contemplate doing such a thing which would no doubt lead to

the ruin of the economy of the entire country. Chief Awolowo then turned to us and said that we, ourselves, would have observed from the trend of his discussion on the telephone that the Prime Minister of the Federation had, himself, specifically denied any intention to get a State of Emergency declared in the West.

We then went back with the Chief upstairs, where he informed the assembled Party men of the object of our mission and his consequential telephone discussion with Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa [In **Our Days Dr. Festus Ajayi autobiography. Page 475-476**] This is Taqiyya.

For those of us Nigerians old enough at the time (1960), it was clear to us that had this conspiracy not taken place, the politicians in Nigeria would have grown and mature. We are of the NCEF of the firm view that this conspiracy triggered the ill-conceived coup of January 15, 1966. Professor Ali A. Mazrui said that “Nigeria had never, before 1966, been jointly disenchanted by the same government. While the people of other countries might have resented colonialism together, the people of Nigeria had not even shared a joint feeling of anti-colonialism together. The North especially had been too suspicious of the South, and too cautious in her assessment of independence, ever to get worked up into a strong feeling of Nationalism. Perhaps, in those years there had also developed a basic Anglophilia within the Northern elite that refused to be transformed into an anti-British militancy for the sake of independence. Nigeria, therefore, approached independence without the unifying services of a shared spirit of anti-colonialism. [Power, Politics, and the African Condition, collected Essays, Ali A. Mazrui, Vol. 3, page 103].

We share this view and wish to add that the arrogance of Sandhurst trained cadet officers, who organized the coup without proper appreciation of the situation in Northern Nigeria which the British faced and the power of the Emirs failed woefully after the coup to hold the North. This fact notwithstanding, we agree with the views of Dr. Ajayi when he concluded that “over forty clear years after the declaration of the State of Emergency in Western Nigeria on the 29th of May 1962, not a few are still saying that that was the day when the wrong turning was taken in Nigeria’s political history leading later to the controversial Western Nigeria Elections of 1965’. The people’s bloody revolt against the rigged result; the first ever attempted military coup-d’état in the country on the 15th of January, 1966; the first Military Regime from the 17th of January, 1966, the counter coup-d’état of the 29th of July, 1966; the Nigerian Civil War of 1967 to 1970; the prolonged succession of military regimes and the consequential strangulating of the democratic culture and its practitioners; indeed

all the current topical issues that are encapsulated in the expression the National question. **[In Our Days Dr. Festus Ajayi autobiography. Page 468]** We need to return to the Nigeria question at a Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Military Re-Enforced Existing Walls

The military government of Murtala Mohammed, Muhammadu Buhari, Ibrahim Babangida, Sani Abacha and Abdusalami Abubakar not only re-enforced the existing walls but erected new ones especially between the Armed Forces and the populace, the Islamists and Muslims on the one hand and the Islamists and non-Muslims on the other. However in this paper we will deal with the regime of Ibrahim Babangida

It is a statement of fact that military President Babangida is regarded as the Chief Architect of Muslim Rulers of Nigeria who strengthened all the walls erected by the British and erected new ones. He is also the first Nigerian Ruler to come to power by design rather than by chance. The other is President Buhari in 2015. It was Babangida that erected the permanent wall between Muslims and Christians when he surreptitiously upgraded Nigeria to full membership of the Organization of Islamic Co-operation (OIC). When questioned by the Press about the matter, the CGS, Commodore Ebitu Ukiwe (an Igbo Christian from the South), stated that “membership of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) had not been discussed by the AFRC and denied that Nigeria had joined the OIC”. Despite being the regime’s official number two, Ukiwe was later to discover that in the Babangida regime, there was ‘government within a government’, and he was an outsider. This action by the AFRC is evidence of Northern conquest of the South.

Unknown to Ukiwe, Nigeria had sent a delegation to the OIC and secretly joined it. The delegation led by the then Mines and Power Minister, Alhaji Rilwanu Lukman and several other prominent Nigerian Muslims included Ibrahim Dasuki (Secretary-General of the Supreme Council on Islamic Affairs), Abubakar Alhaji (a Permanent Secretary in the National Planning Ministry) and Abdulkadir Ahmed (CBN Governor). This decision was taken without a debate before the AFRC or the National Council of Ministers and without the knowledge of Ukiwe, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Professor Bolaji Akinyemi or the Information Minister, Colonel Anthony Ukpoko. All three were Christians. The fact that such a sensitive decision was taken in secrecy without debate and the knowledge or consent of the regime’s most senior Christians, antagonized many Christians. It also made many Christians suspect that joining the OIC was the first step, in a broader scheme by the Muslim-led government, to Islamize the country. Today, Nigeria is an Islamic country as shown below.

Babangida also created “a second generation of brash and cosmopolitan nouveau riche with new money and little of the first generation elite’s restraint apart from restructuring the National Security Organization (NSO) into three or more security outfits.

Conquest Mentality

The Sunday Tribune of Sunday, 17 April, 2016 with the title **The North is suffering:** reads in part “we convey to Mr. President our sincere felicitations and pray God to continue to guide you as you steer our national affairs through these difficult times. We have consulted a broad spectrum of opinions in the North, and decided to meet with you and present advice and suggestions that will assist your administration. This is our token contribution to your efforts, and it is made with sincere intention to assist you. ---“We advise Mr. President to review the proposed allocations in consultation with the National Assembly. We wish to draw Mr. President’s attention to the fact that over **75 per cent** of all Federal Government Public Service employees are from the three geo-political zones in the South. This means that virtually the same percentage of recurrent spending will go to Nigerians from the South.”

It is unfortunate, that Nigeria has some Nigerians who are Nigerians in New York but Northerners when they return home to the country. Thus, they have “dual” citizenship when they are in the country but united one Nigeria they are abroad. Non Northerners have not complained to the President that only Conquest Mentality will encourage anyone to complain of suffering when, in a country, as diverse as Nigeria, one section occupy the following **Posts** President, Commander-in-Chief, President of the Senate, Speaker of the House of Assembly, Chief Justice of Nigeria, “the body language of Mr. President further suggests that only Muslims especially Fulanis are capable of implementing Section 14(b) of the Constitution on Security and seems to explain why the National Security Adviser (NSA), Director-General, Directorate of State Security (DSS), the Minister of Defence and Minister of Interior both without Ministers of State are Muslims. The National Christian Elders’ Forum (NCEF) is very uncomfortable with this arrangement, the inference being that Christians who constitute over 50% of the population, are not relevant with respect to security. Christians want to participate fully in matters of security and it will be unconstitutional to deny Christians of 388 other Ethnic Nationalities in Nigeria the opportunity to participate in the security of Nigeria especially the implementation of Federal Character in our Constitution. The question we ask is “are Christians irrelevant because a Jihad is in progress?”

In addition to the above, Christians have not complained that four Ministers will disburse over a quarter of the Budget of the whole country. **2016 budget proposal: Total Budget proposal of N6.06 Trillion;** Interior Ministry - N451, 942, 552, 070; Education - N367, 734, 727, 223; Defence - N312, 213, 355, 618 and Works, Power and Housing - N422, 964, 928, 495 and the **Total - N1, 554, 855, 563, 406.** This is why and how the Arewa is suffering, in addition to the fact that Heads of the Judiciary – Court of Appeal, Chief Judges, Federal High Court, and High Court of Abuja are all from one section of the country. We need to remind the ACF that since oil was discovered in the country that provide for 90% of the country's Budget, Arewa has not credited the South-South Zone, not to talk of the South, with any contribution towards the development of the country.

We have no doubt, that it is this conquest mentality that makes it necessary to have 90% of the Security Institutions in the North, all Military Bases, Air Force and even a Boat House in Abuja. This is, in addition to Boko Haram, Fulani Herdsmen, Civil Defence under the NSA with more powers than the Military and Police, Vigilante Group of Nigeria, Religious Police. It is very clear from the above, why some Christians and impartial observer believe that a Jihad Stealth and Conventional is taking place in Nigeria with the Commander-in-chief as the Chief Jihadist.

The Chibok Girls

Two years ago, over 200 girls, mainly Christians were abducted in their dormitory in Chibok. Not one of these girls have been seen except for a video released by Boko Haram last December 2015 showing fifteen of the Chibok Girls. It is very strange that a large number of girls can be abducted without a trace by the Intelligence Communities of Nigeria and the Neighboring countries of Chad, Niger, and Cameroun. The logical conclusion is to suggest the Intelligence Communities have hands in this criminality.

Pastor Tunde Bakare on April 2016 said “We are not unmindful that the Nigerian State failed to provide security for our daughters as they gathered to write their final examinations despite prior Intelligence Reports that suggested they were in danger. “It is most severely injurious to see that the fate of our daughters has been frequently politicized. Rather than rise to the occasion as stakeholders and custodians of the security and welfare of the citizens of this nation, political parties and politicians have paid lip services, using our pain and plight of our daughters to score cheap political points. “We are not convinced that the matter of our daughters has been given the needed thoughtfulness. “We do not believe that

those who are in a position to act have taken sufficient actions towards addressing the issue or even towards claiming our anxiety as waiting parents.” “We do not believe those concerned have taken sufficient actions concerning the rescue of these girls”. “We believe they are still alive, at least no evidence, satellite evidence that they are in a mass grave. We believe they are alive. It remains a scar on the soul of this nation until these girls are brought back,” and we agree with Pastor Tunde Bakare President Buhari needs to look inwards.

Security

The Security and Intelligence Community need to be completely overhauled as it would appear that the insecurity in Nigeria is mainly caused by those charged with security.

Separation of powers, the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary was designed to ensure that power is distributed evenly. When therefore the Executive – the Military stages a coup and suspends the Constitution and the Legislature, power become lopsided and prone to dictatorship. This fact, no doubt, is responsible for the present struggle between the Legislature and the Executive.

For about 40 years military rule, our Executive Arm that remained developed and became very powerful resulting in a situation where the Intelligence Arm of the Executive need to be subject to a Judicial Commission as it would appear to be the invisible government which for very many years ruled through proxies with thousands of operatives (Mukharabat in Arabic) that have erected walls against Christians and Muslims, North and South in Nigeria. The Secret Police developed Coup mantra to overthrow government and now it has developed into Change Baiting. This is possible because the Military Constitution of 1999 provide for the right to vote by all Nigerians without the corresponding right to be voted for. Rather Nigerians vote for political parties and not individuals which explain why Independent Candidacy is excluded in the Constitution. Political parties in Nigeria are the products of the Intelligence Service that is aimed at promoting the victory of Islam and the conquest of Christianity.

Security and Jihad in Nigeria

The Sokoto Caliphate was established in the 18th Century. The Kanuris have often held the view that they brought Islam to Nigeria about a 600 years before the Fulani arrived Nigeria and therefore entitled to a Caliphate of their own and they set about to establish one and the main promoter is a former Governor of Borno State, a Kanuri who despite the provision of Section 10 of the Constitution and his oath of office to protect and defend the Nigerian

Constitution appointed the second in command of Boko Haram into his cabinet as Commissioner for Religious Affairs.

We refer to Vanguard of August 29, 2014, part of which reads: “ABUJA—FORMER Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, Minister, Malam Nasir El-Rufai and immediate past Chief of Army Staff, Lt-General Azubuike Ihejirika (rtd), Thursday, accused each other of sponsoring the deadly Boko Haram sect that has been terrorising many parts of northern Nigeria since 2011 with over 5000 people killed.--- According to Ihejirika, “When the Boko Haram operation started, supporters of the sect like El-Rufai said that there was nothing like Boko Haram and that the army was just killing innocent youths. If you also remember, not too long ago, some of their supporters including El-Rufai said that I was re-inventing the killing of the Ibos during the Biafra war following government’s determination to rid the country of terrorism.”

Dr Stephen Davis

Marilyn Ogar mni, Deputy Director, Public Relations Department of State Security Services Abuja at that press briefing which a section of the media captioned “**SSS clears Ihejirika and Sheriff, Arrest Seven ‘Fraudulent’ Associates of Stephen Davis**” alleged, among others, that:

- i. On 29th August 2014 Stephen Davies an Australian described as a self-styled negotiator alleged that “Ali Modu Sheriff (Senator) and former Governor of Borno State and former Chief of Army Staff” Lt. Gen. Azubuike Ihejirika (rtd) were among the chief sponsors of the Boko Haram sect
- ii. That Stephen Davies premised his “findings” on discussions with several field commanders of the sect who allegedly expressed its willingness to negotiate in 2013 with the Federal Government if Davis would spearhead such dialogue. To buttress this, he posted a photograph of himself taken in 2013 with some alleged sect members
- iii. That it has been established that they (seven suspects) “were part of a **well orchestrated plan to spread falsehood, undermine and discredit efforts of government to end terrorism**” [Emphasis supplied]
- iv. That Stephen Davis **mounted pressure** on a fake Boko Haram Commander Abubakar Yusuf (aka Baba Sani) **to affirm that Sheriff was indeed a sponsor** [Emphasis supplied]
- v. That Junaid Idrissa Khadi and one General Ashafa “went with Stephen Davis on a journey to a remote part of Marte LGA Borno State on a **false mission to rescue**

the Chibok school girls. That Stephen Davis **single-handedly conjured the indictment on Ihejirika** that the military under former COAS was responsible for the several failed attempts by “Davis to make contact with the Presidency” [Emphasis supplied]

- vi. Marilyn Ogar concluded thus **“It is necessary to state that Davies and his cohorts are among several other local and international groups who are out to make merchandize of Boko Haram insurgency through concocted and fabricated stories. These subversive campaigns are also aimed at permeating and shaping political discourse as well as challenge the integrity of our National Security and stir discontent among Nigerians and our esteemed allies in the war against terror”** [Emphasis supplied] These were all manufactured falsehood which the Chairman of the National Christian Elders Forum (NCEF) had to correct.

Today Sheriff who moved from APC to PDP is now the acting Chairman of the Party.

The Vanguard of September 1, 2014 reported “The biggest topic in town has to do with another, perhaps more dangerous disclosure by Australian Boko Haram negotiator, Stephen Davis, whose interview with Arise TV on Thursday, August 28th went wild on the Net. In a nutshell, Davis accused three major political players as being responsible for what Boko Haram has become. The first person he mentioned was former Borno State Governor, Alhaji Ali Modu Sheriff, whom he accused of setting up Boko Haram in order to win elections and suppress political opponents. Sheriff’s case is already well documented. In fact, I have said so on this forum, and I voiced the same opinion when I met with Sheriff’s now estranged political godson, Governor Kashim Shettima of Borno in the presence of other journalists of mainly northern extraction in Abuja about two years ago. When I said it, there was pin-drop silence, as if I had said something abominable, and the governor quickly defended Sheriff. I was dumbfounded when I noticed that most of my colleagues nodded at every word he uttered in Sheriff’s defence. I was truly an odd man out.”

The Vanguard of September 4, 2014 reported “The All Progressives Congress (APC) like many well-meaning Nigerians had resolved long ago that the issue of the Boko Haram insurgency should not be politicized. In view of this, the APC expressed its willingness and readiness to cooperate with the Federal Government in neutralizing the insurgency. Regrettably however, instead of accepting this offer of cooperation, the PDP-Federal Government has consistently pointed accusing fingers at our Party, the All Progressives Congress (APC), as the sponsor of Boko Haram. They have called us all sorts of derogatory

names, but failed to provide any shred of evidence to support their claim. It has been very clear to us that the vehemence and persistence of this accusation, the deliberate distortion of statements made by our leaders to paint us as Boko Haram sponsors and the way the PDP-led Federal Government has gone to hire foreign PR firms, at a huge cost to taxpayers, as well as foreign and local hack writers to push this narrative, they were struggling hard to cover up something. We waited patiently knowing that the truth will one day surface. In a rare moment of truth, a top official of the Jonathan Administration, no less a personality than the former National Security Adviser (NSA), Gen. Andrew Owoye Azazi, situated the Boko Haram problem within the PDP. Shortly thereafter he was fired, and he later died in controversial circumstances. Still we waited. --- When the government declared a state of emergency in three worst-hit states of Adamawa, Borno and Yobe in 2013, thousands of troops were deployed to the three states. But the unusual happened. The number of attacks simply skyrocketed. It is common knowledge that in any territory that has been placed under a state of emergency, the military takes charge of security, erecting checkpoints as part of efforts to keep a tab on security. Such was the situation in Borno in April 2014, when over 200 girls were abducted and driven away in many trucks. Soldiers posted to a nearby checkpoint were said to have withdrawn shortly before the attack. Who ordered their withdrawal? Some of the trucks in which the girls were being carted away broke down, yet no one challenged them. Despite this bizarre occurrence, they refused to accept responsibility and continued to cast aspersion on our Party, the APC, as the sponsor of Boko Haram. Still we waited. Boko Haram routinely enriched their arsenal with tanks, Armoured Personnel Carriers, guns, trucks and other military equipment which they seized from the Army. From the videos they release from time to time, one could see Boko Haram insurgents driving around unchallenged in convoys of up to 60 vehicles made-up of tanks and other military vehicles they seized from our military, in a territory that is under a state of emergency. What is happening? No one could fathom it. Still we waited. A man known to all as the kingpin of Boko Haram, a man who helped to arm them so he could win elections and decimate his opponents was moving around with the best security ever. He is a known ally of the President and he is not known to be under any immunity. Yet he was never arrested or even questioned. Still we waited. --- Dr. Stephen Davis, a man hired by the President Jonathan-led Federal Government to negotiate with Boko Haram for the release of the Chibok girls decided to speak out, believing the best way to tackle the insurgency is to expose the sponsors. And who are they? On international television last Thursday, and as you have just seen and heard, he named former Borno Governor Ali Modu Sheriff and a former Army Chief, Gen. Azubuike Ihejirika, as the sponsors of Boko Haram. Prodded by Sahara Reporters in a subsequent interview on whether Gen. Buhari and Mallam Nasir el-

Rufai were sponsors, he said the Boko Haram commanders who gave him the names of their sponsors did not mention their names. The die is cast. The truth is finally out! Boko Haram sponsors have been exposed. They are within the ruling PDP. They are friends of President Jonathan. He cannot pretend not to know who they are and what they have done and are still doing. His myriad of intelligence agencies, including the DSS and the DMI, cannot pretend they do not have any information on these men. It is true that Ali Modu Sheriff was, until recently, a member of our Party. But the Party always suspected that he was a mole, planted to hijack or at best weaken the new Party for the PDP. He is not new to that role. He helped to decimate his former party, the ANPP, to an extent that the number of states under its control fell from seven in 2003 to three by the time he left as Governor.”

It is clear from the above that Boko Haram is a made in Nigeria Terrorist Group and it is unfair on the rest of Nigeria that those responsible for Boko Haram are very much in charge of affairs in present day Nigeria.

Facts in rebuttal of the allegations by the Department of State Security Services (One)

- i. That Stephen Davis was an Adviser to President Obasanjo later President Yar’adua before President Jonathan. Both Presidents Obasanjo and Jonathan are alive to testify to this fact and you have access to both men
- ii. That in October 2010, President Jonathan appointed Gen. Azazi now late, as his National Security Adviser and, by January 2012, Nigeria’s Security Forces had received massive injection of funds to the tune of almost \$6 billion to escalate the fight against Boko Haram
- iii. On 22 June 2012, Gen. Azazi was removed and replaced with Lt. Colonel Sambo Dasuki a Muslim from Northern Nigeria designed in part, to send strong message to the North, Muslims and Boko Haram in particular, that Jonathan is not anti-North or anti-Muslim. Davis made an input to this thinking. This appointment rather than curtail the activities of Boko Haram insurgency seem to have escalated them
- iv. June 2013, women (Boko Haram wives) held by the military without charge were released on the authority of President Jonathan, a major breakthrough in establishing goodwill between Boko Haram and the Federal Government. On 19th June 2013, Shekau sent a message with an emissary nominating five persons including Abu Zamira Mohammed to participate in Peace Dialogue and sign a peace agreement. Two of the five are well known to the Federal Government
- v. Shekau was wounded in action against Nigeria’s military forces. A video clip found during a raid of Boko Haram camp by the Nigerian Army showed Shekau limping

thus confirming report that Shekau had been shot. **On 25th June 2013, the leadership of Boko Haram that came to Abuja to meet with Stephen Davis revealed that Shekau was dead. Nevertheless, the leadership group said that Boko Haram was unanimous in the desire to enter a peace accord and that would ultimately lead to a ceasefire**

- vi. On the 26th June 2013, the leadership of Boko Haram authorized the release of a statement declaring a ceasefire for 60 days with immediate effect. The statement noted that during the ceasefire period, meetings would take place between Boko Haram and the Federal Government of Nigeria to agree and sign a peace accord
- vii. It was on the basis of the agreement that Barrister Aisha Wakil and her husband, a High Court Judge in Borno State visited Abuja where we, (Justice Wakil and I), fine-tuned the Agreement prepared by Stephen Davis for signature. We thereafter took a joint photograph at the Hilton Hotel Abuja- Extreme left is (1) Junaid Idrassa Khadi, (2) Stephen Davis, (3) Barrister Aisha Wakil, (4) her husband Justice Wakil, (5) Solomon Asemota, and the elder son of Yesuf's landlord, Alhaji Bubakura Fugu

The above represent a portion of the content of the letter from Solomon Asemota SAN, Chairman of the NCEF to the DG DSS

The letter continued:

Governor Ali Modu Sheriff former Governor of Borno State

- i. **Information regarding the allegations against former Governor Sheriff** as you know came from numerous sources over the course of years. There was information from Boko Haram members, Community members, Youth, Elders and Public Servants. The information from a wide variety of sources was remarkably consistent. This was contextualized and generally supported by formal reports and Sheriff's arrest by the Cameroonian Government
- ii. The 2010 Intelligence report by a Nigerian security agency suggested that Mr. Sheriff was personally involved in the recruitment, training and dispatch of Boko Haram fighters, under the full cover of Idris Deby, the Chadian President. Sheriff is reported by the social media on December 22, 2014 to have said "only Chadian Government can stop Boko Haram". My suspicion is that having provided base in the three North/Eastern States, the last push and over running Nigeria the way the ISIS did in Iraq would have been complete with Fulani herdsmen all over the country.
- iii. Some allegations related to the ECOMOG militia group set up and funded by Sheriff which finds some support in the report of the Galtimari Panel handed down in May

2012. The Goodluck Jonathan Administration had set up the Ambassador Usman Galtimari Panel to investigate the genesis of the insurgency in the North East, part of its report stated thus:

iv. “Yusuf was co-opted by the then Borno State gubernatorial candidate, Ali Modu Sheriff for the support of his large youth movement, in exchange for full implementation of Sharia and promises of senior state government positions for his followers in the event of an electoral victory.” [Curbing Violence in Nigeria (II): The Boko Haram Insurgency, International Crisis Group, Africa Report N°216, 3 April 2014]

v. Again in 2012, Sheriff was arrested by Cameroonian authorities as he entered Cameroon from Chad. His arrest was connected to his alleged support for Boko Haram. High level political pressure saw Sheriff released.

vi. The Borno Youth for Peace and Restoration of Democracy is one of many representative bodies who have formally and publically complained about Sheriff and continues to call on the Federal Government to take action against him. The SSS sitting as “Court of Appeal” must have considered the facts above and decided that Sheriff not only has no case to answer but that the whole world must be misinformed by it. This, to my mind, is sabotage of Legal and Judicial process by the SSS.

7. **General Azubuike Ihejirika former Chief of Army Staff (COAS)**

Criminal Code Act Chapter 2, Parties to Offences (Section 7 Principal Offenders)

“When an offence is committed, each of the following persons is deemed to have taken part in committing the offence and to be guilty of the offence, and may be charged with actually committing it-

- (a) Every person who actually does the act or makes the omission which constitutes the offence;
- (b) Every person who **does or omits to do** any act for the purpose of enabling or aiding another person to commit the offence;
- (c) Every person who **aids another** person in committing the offence;
- (d) Any person who counsels or procures any other person to commit the offence.

In the fourth case, he may be charged either with himself committing the offence or with counseling or procuring its commission.

A conviction of counseling or procuring the commission of an offence entails the same consequences in all respects as a conviction of committing the offence.

Any person who procures another to do or omit to do any act of such a nature that, if he had himself done the act or made the omission, that act or omission would have constituted an offence on his part, is guilty of an offence of the same kind, and is

liable to the same punishment, as if he had himself done the act or made the omission; and he may be charged with himself doing the act or making the omission.” [Emphasis supplied]

There are evidences which would be disclosed at the appropriate time of all the protection offered by the General to Governor Sheriff at the Presidency. It is therefore incorrect to assume that Stephen Davis singled handedly implicated the General. General Ihejirika implicated himself as per Section 7 of the Criminal Code Act.

8. Stephen Davis

Stephen Davis entered Nigeria on May 3, 2014 for the specific and only purpose of seeking the release of the Chibok girls and at least 300 other girls who have been captured by Boko Haram in the last 12 months.

- i. Following discussions with the Presidency Stephen Davis travelled to Borno State on May 6, 2014 in the company of General Ashafa of Military Intelligence in a military aircraft provided by the Presidency.
- ii. As the visit was to be discrete, it was decided that General Ashafa and Stephen Davis would be met at the military airbase by a civilian and then travel in a private vehicle. To this end, Davis contacted Junaidu Idris Khadi and requested him to pick up the General and himself from the military airbase. Junaidu is a Kanuri and this they required as it was known that some of the girls only speak Kanuri language.
- iii. They travelled to the Pinnacles Hotel which General Ashafa had arranged and paid for accommodation for both of them

These facts are within the knowledge of the Directorate of State Security Services, but for some strange reasons, decided to “doctor” them. Surely, the Secret Police must have known when Stephen Davis entered Nigeria and how he travelled to Borno especially by military plane provided by the Presidency. Why one may ask, did it decide on fiction or fabrication rather than facts? From the facts as contained herein, the DSSS, Police, Military Intelligence and other security agencies in Nigeria cannot say they are not aware of the notorious facts concerning former Governor Ali Modu Sheriff as one of the sponsors of Boko Haram.

9. Activities in Borno State

- i. Over subsequent days, they, Davis and General Ashafa met with the CMD of Maiduguri University Teaching Hospital who, at the direction of the Presidency, was co-opted to provide medical team support for any kidnapped girls that might be handed over. Junaidu provided transport from the hotel to the hospital; and attended the meeting

with the Director at the hospital. These facts could be verified from the CMD and General Ashafa

- ii. Davis and Ashafa subsequently set out on a trip to receive a group of Chibok girls who were to be handed over near Kirenowa. Junaidu Idris Khadi accompanied the Maiduguri University Teaching Hospital Medical team. At New Marte, they picked up a military escort and continued to Kirenowa. The handing over was “**sabotaged**” and after staying at a military barracks in the field, they returned to Maiduguri. Junaidu Idris Khadi was later excluded from all other activities of the team
- iii. It is strange that the SSS can manufacture such falsehood concerning Davis’ visit to Borno. It is very clear from the above that Nigeria is at war with itself.

10. **Civilian Leadership**

Permit me at this juncture to state unequivocally that you are yet to come to terms with the leadership of civilians as most of the allegations that you presented to the Nigerian public on December 16, 2014 are all fabrications and mis-information typical of the Abacha dictatorship, the Khalif’s intent on making Nigeria an Islamic state. The Directorate of State Security Service seem to be an organization established for this purpose.

16. **Shekau and Democracy**

Boko Haram leaders Abubakar Shekau in one of his latest video was reported to have said in Hausa translated to English “Before I start talking to my brothers who believed in me and the religion of Allah **not the religion of democracy**, not that of western education, those who believed in the religion of the Quran not that of the Constitution and not Religion of the Emir of Kano, Sanusi Lamido Sanusi, Jonathan, Obasanjo, Atiku, Babangida, Obama, Bush, Clinton, **but the religion of Allah,**” he said” [Premium Times, December 17, 2014]. The conclusion which one can draw from this is that the Department of State Security Service and Shekau have identical agenda. There is this slogan in the country which says security must not be left in the hands of the security agents alone, it is every body’s business. You can see in the evolving drama how dangerous it would be for the ordinary citizen to try to assist security agencies.

17. **President’s Lamentation**

Mr. President lamented recently that he receives contradictory advice on issues. President Jonathan who spoke at the 2014 Christmas Carol organized by the Aso Villa Chapel, at the old banquet Hall of the Presidential Villa, Abuja disclosed that “for every issue he had to take a decision on, multiple suggestions that were most times contradictory, were given to him. --- Because it is quite challenging for a leader;

for every subject that you want to take a decision on, you will have multiple suggestions. Some contradictory, some to the left, some to the right, some to the centre. But you must take a decision. It is only God that can guide you to take the right decision that will not bring suffering to your people”

One wonders the type of advice you gave to Mr. President concerning Stephen Davis before your public denouncement. One would have thought that as Secret Police you will provide accurate information to the President in private but you chose a press briefing in competition with the Nigerian Police. It is clear that it is the Directorate of State Security Services that is making merchandize of Boko Haram insurgency by protecting Sheriff and others. While Boko Haram instill fear on the populace by executions, murders, arsons, abductions, kidnapping, rape, mayhem etc, which they record on video and distribute in and outside Nigeria, the DSSS instill fear through falsehood against innocent Nigerians and foreigners who try to help Government.

It is my hope and prayer that this ideological war of liberal democracy and Sharia may not result in the disintegration of Nigeria.

Asemota SAN reply was circulated to six Nigerians

19. Circulation

I have decided to classify this letter “top secret” and restrict the circulation to the following Elder Statesmen:

- (1) General Yakubu Gowon as a member of Council of State
- (2) John Cardinal Onaiyekan, the Spiritual leader of Catholics in Nigeria as a practicing Catholic
- (3) His Eminence Pastor Ayo Oritsejafor, President of CAN as I am the President of the Social Wing of CAN known as Christian Social Movement of Nigeria
- (4) Prof Wole Soyinka
- (5) Chief Albert Horsfall; and
- (6) Chief A. O. Alegeh SAN President Nigerian Bar Association (NBA)

In the addendum to the above letter dated December 29, 2014

21. 2011

(i) On 28 June 2011 we held a Meeting in the Transcorp Hilton Hotel with Boko Haram representatives when the photograph attachment was taken By Alhaji Baba Kura Fugu (Baa Fugu’s eldest son and brother-in-law to Mohammed Yusuf, late leader of Boko Haram), Present were Mrs. Aisha Wakil and her husband Judge Wakil. Also present at

the meeting were Governor Shettima, his Chief of Staff and Chief Security Officer, Mr. Solomon Asemota SAN and Junaidu Idris Khadi. Meeting was convened by Dr. Stephen Davis.

(ii) The Boko Haram peace offer communicated through Baba Kura Fugu was that the Federal Government of Nigeria should:

1. Rebuild the mosque (that Yusuf built with Baa Fugu's support);
2. Compensate the widows of fighters killed in the "war";
3. Train the widows in cottage industry so they can support their families;
4. Let the children go to school;
5. Employ the Boko Haram fighters after they surrender;
6. Provide amnesty for all Boko Haram fighters who surrender; and release all Boko Haram detainees.

(iii) In return the Boko Haram will surrender and disarm

Governor Shettima responded by offering to:

1. Rebuild Baa Fugu's house;
2. Compensate the widows of deceased Boko Haram fighters;
3. Retrain the widows;
4. Provide schools for the children; and
5. Employ the surrendered fighters in a large scale agricultural project.

(iv) After the meeting Governor Shettima asked Stephen Davis to arrange a private meeting for him with NSA Azazi as Azazi had not responded to any of Shettima's requests for a meeting. Shettima also said, "I have a problem with my boss" referring to former Governor Sheriff. Shettima offered further details and it became clear to Stephen Davis that Sheriff has effective control of Shettima and has used what is termed "the political Boko Haram" to help him achieve his electoral victories and build his power base. Stephen Davis subsequently arranged a meeting between Azazi and Shettima which Stephen Davis attended.

(v) The photo-attachment was taken after this meeting after Governor Shettima and his entourage had left the room.

(vi) Progress continued with the back channel to the degree that a peace agreement was imminent. Before the peace deal could be finalized former President Obasanjo intervened with a visit to Alhaji Baba Kura Fugu on Thursday September 15th. To that point the Stephen Davis channel discussions with the JAS and Baba Kura Fugu in particular had been very discrete to ensure all parties fully understood the terms, the process and were in agreement. Secrecy was key to success. Following Obasanjo's meeting with Baba Kura the former President made much of the meeting in the media

exposing Baba Kura and by Saturday 17th September Baba Kura Fugu had been assassinated in Maiduguri. The peace deal was off the rails. Trust and security was shattered. They started again slowly and quietly rebuilding trust.

22. 2013

(i) The draft Peace Accord document was drawn up over the several months and modeled on the MEND peace accord which Stephen Davis had been the interlocutor. The draft enshrined the terms agreed between the Boko Haram and the FGN. The Boko Haram leaders requested Judge Wakil and Stephen Davis requested Mr. Solomon Asemota SAN to review the draft, with both of them.

(ii) On 18 July 2013: A meeting was convened at 11.00am which both Judge Wakil and Mr. Asemota attended as an independent legal expert whom Stephen Davis might consult as required. The Boko Haram leaders were present. The Judge wanted a Preamble to the Peace Accord and this was constructed. The final draft was then returned to the Presidency for comment.

(iii) 21 July 2013

17.00 Peace Accord signed by Boko Haram at the Arcade Hotel in Abuja. The signed documents were then given to the Presidency for countersigning.

(iv) President Jonathan was satisfied that the FGN should sign the Peace Accord on the basis that the Boko Haram was only one faction of the wider Boko Haram group. Other factions as may exist should then be offered the opportunity to enter into a Peace Accord on the same terms. At President Jonathan's direction Stephen Davis gave a briefing on progress to representatives of the DG-SSS, NSA, military at a meeting chaired by Minister of State Kabiru Turaki.

(v) Those who signed the July 2013 Peace Accord on behalf of Boko Haram were:

- Ibrahim Liman Imam (currently detained by SSS as Saleh Ibrahim)
- Adam Abdullahi Maisandari (currently **detained as Abdullahi Saleh**)
- Abu Zamirah (captured and killed)
- Abubakar Ibn Yusuf (currently **detained as Abubakar Yusuf**)
- Tahiru Umar (resides outside Nigeria)
- Abdullahi Hassan (deceased)

(vi) Boko Haram's representatives made a video supporting the Peace Accord and calling on Boko Haram members to surrender. The Presidency was aware of the video which was to be used to encourage all armed Boko Haram and other factions to surrender. The video was uploaded to YouTube on August 3, 2013.

(vii) Stephen Davis was photographed with some of the JAS members who participated in the video as a proof of Stephen Davis' presence and authenticity much as he had done with Asari Dokubo when he finally agreed to a peace deal in September 2004.

24. I am once again sending a copy of this addendum to:

1. General Yakubu Gowon as a member of Council of State
2. John Cardinal Onaiyekan, the Spiritual leader of Catholics in Nigeria as a practicing Catholic
3. His Eminence Pastor Ayo Oritsejafor, President of CAN as I am the President of the Social Wing of CAN known as Christian Social Movement of Nigeria
4. Prof Wole Soyinka
5. Chief Albert Horsfall; and
6. Chief A.O. Alegeh SAN President Nigeria Bar Association (NBA)

In the circumstance by what standard do we judge our Secret Police? Are they for us Nigerians or for the Islamists? The Intelligence Service must stop taking Nigerians for a ride. The question is did the Secret Police create Boko Haram factor for the conquest of Christians or the South?

Truth and Reconciliation

The mantra of the ruling party, the APC is **change** and change means fight against Corruption. Unfortunately, there are many other issues that require attention, in some cases, more heinous than Corruption such as Treason which is an offence for attempting to overthrow the government of the state to which one owes allegiance either by making war against the state or by materially supporting its enemies.

As we are now being confronted with the pursuit of National Unity and wellbeing of all Nigerian citizens, peace requires reconciliation between the people of Nigeria and the reconstruction of Society. Nigerians need to transcend the divisions of the past, the walls built in the past which, unfortunately, generated criminality, gross violation of Human Rights of which 102 years of amalgamation failed to abate rather enhanced by dual ideology of Liberal Democracy and Islamism has widened and, today, there are various Nigerians, Northerners, Christians, Catholics, Evangelists, Protestants, Nigerian Muslims, Islamists Shiites, Sunni etc and Animists and other Religion. This is in addition to over 500 languages, and the sooner we reconcile these people group into one indivisible country with one direction - Democracy, the better it will be for all inhabitants. Nigerians and non-Nigerians

alike must begin the process of bridge building by first pulling down the walls which the British Colonialists, our Religions, Geographic Tribal and Ethnic differences that has produced a Nigeria “what this means is that Nigeria is ruled by a multi-layered institutionalized oligarchy, composed of self-serving politicians, businesspeople, political fixers, "godfathers," former military officers and elite bureaucrats who share a common interest in gaining access to the clientelistic networks responsible for the redistribution of petro-rent. Even though fractions of the oligarchy occasionally do represent the interests of their ethnic, regional, and religious communities, they have much more in common with members of the oligarchy than with increasingly impoverished constituencies they claim to represent. Again because political parties are owned by major oligarchs (godfathers), they not only strangle democratic reform movements but, in effect, block developmental gains because they lack any recognizable ideology, active membership programmatic platform, or desire to transform Nigerian living standards.” **[Shari’a Politics: Islamic Law and Society in the Modern World edited by Robert W. Hefner Pg. 248]**

In order to build the bridge among all Nigerians, we must establish complete picture as possible of injustices committed in the past. Settling old scores between the Dasuki’s and Buhari in isolation of other rulers and coup plotters cannot be regarded as a good solution while ignoring the untold sufferings which resulted from these injustices. While this is going on, our President Buhari should concentrate on rulership while a Commission is set up to handle Truth and Reconciliation in all its ramifications is put in place.

Fulani Herdsmen

From the evidence of important Christians and Southerners taken hostage by the Fulani herdsmen, and the Inspector General of Police who said although these herdsmen are Fulanis they are not Nigerians. They are armed with sophisticated weapons AK47 and the likes; they are good at map reading etc. In short, they are mercenaries and Islamists, imported into Nigeria for Jihad.

Why would a Nigerian, Christian Negroid with no affinity outside Nigeria who did not own a cow want to employ Fulani herdsmen to attack his community? One does not need to be a crime guru to appreciate that a form of Jihad by the Islamists is taking place and our Secret Police are looking the other way. This explains why the DSS need to be investigated. From independence to this day, colonial collaborators see themselves as successor to the British and other Nigerians as subjects. This explains why in a democracy, we have two conflicting

ideologies – Democracy and Islamism; dual government - one within the Constitution and others outside the Constitution by the collaborators who now and then appoint Southerners and Christians as proxies and agents in Nigerian Democracy.

President Muhammadu Buhari said at the recent meeting of OIC "in my inauguration address on 29th May, 2015, I mentioned that Boko Haram is a mindless, godless group who are as far away from Islam as one can think of. I assured Nigerians that at the end of the hostilities when the group is subdued the Government would commission a sociological study to determine the origin, the remote and immediate causes of the movement, its sponsors, its international connections if any, to ensure that measures are taken to prevent a recurrence of this evil. The outcome of the proceedings of this conference will be useful in that regard." [The Guardian, Wednesday, March 30, 2016]

A Truth and Reconciliation Commission now is more appropriate and we do not need to wait.

Ideas win the peace, the basis upon which we send this petition and make two Recommendations only:

- a. Overhaul the Intelligence Service, make it a Nigerian not a “Northern” Institution in the promotion of Islamism.
- b. A Truth and reconciliation Commission to establish the platform for future relations of all Nigerians.

God bless Nigeria.

April 2016

Mr. Solomon Asemota, SAN (Chairman), Gen. Joshua Dogonyaro (rtd), Prof. Joseph Otubu, Gen. Zamani Lekwot (rtd), Dr. (Mrs) Kate Okpareke, Dr. Ayo Abifarin, Bishop Joseph Bagobiri, Elder Moses Ihonde, Elder Nat Okoro, Justice Kalajine Anigbogu (rtd), Elder Shyngle Wigwe, DIG P. L. Dabup, Sir John W. Bagu, Dr. Saleh Hussaini, Elder Mike Orobator, Chief Olaniwun Ajayi, Justice James Ogebe, JSC (rtd), Dame Priscilla Kuye, Dr. S. D. Gani, Mrs. Osaretin Demuren, Dr. Musa Asake, Pastor Bosun Emmanuel (Secretary)