

A CASE FOR ONE NIGERIA, ONE SYSTEM

A paper presented on October 25, 2019 @ the Catholic Bishops
Conference of Nigeria, Benin City by Solomon Asemota, SAN

ADDING VALUE TO MY FAITH: REPORTS AND COMMENTS

Chapter One

Introduction

Drawing from the Communique of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of Nigeria (CBCN) and the wish to suggest that one appreciate fully the character of our Islamists Muslim brothers. We, Christians could be said to be partly responsible for the poor state of our nation and the lack of better appreciation of the state of our Nigerian Nation.

Particulars

1. Nigeria is the only country in the world with a population of about 200 million where both Christians and Muslims have approximately 100 million each.
2. That "during the 1970s and 1980s, over thirty countries in the world drifted from authoritarianism to democracy – democratic political system, while Nigeria drifted from democracy to authoritarianism"¹
3. That democratization was most successful where Christian and Western influence were strong" except in Nigeria where the military was able to change Nigeria to a "Muslim"² dictatorship, thus allowing a few to obstruct the wish of many. The military hijacked democracy and handed over the country to the Islamists;
4. That during this period "Muslims were said to be made up of about one-fifth of the world's population, but in the 1990s they have been far more involved in inter-group violence than the people of another civilization"³
5. That the "Islamists propensity towards violent conflict also suggested the degree to which Muslim societies are militarized – the average force ratio and military effort ratio of Muslim countries were roughly twice of Christian countries."⁴
6. That "Muslim states also have had a high propensity to resort to violence in international crisis, employing it to resolve 76 crises out of the total of 142 in which they were involved between 1928 – 1979."⁵
7. That with such restless neighbors, other Nigerians ought to have protected democracy and democratic institutions in their country, but they did not. Nigerian Christians thereby failed to learn from Sudan where the bloodiest Muslim/Christian war went on for decades resulting in the breakup of the country into two – Sudan and Southern Sudan. It is better to learn late than never.

¹ Clashes of Civilization and the Remarking of World Order, Samuel P. Huntington pg. 192

² Clashes of Civilization and the Remarking of World Order, Samuel P. Huntington pg. 193

³ Clashes of Civilization and the Remarking of World Order, Samuel P. Huntington pg. 256

⁴ Clashes of Civilization and the Remarking of World Order, Samuel P. Huntington pg. 258

⁵ Clashes of Civilization and the Remarking of World Order, Samuel P. Huntington pg. 258

In this paper, the presenter drew the attention of our Bishops to the fact that the British did not tutor the Fulani on democracy. The British and the man on the spot Lugard, were not motivated by liberal ideas of democracy rather the empire stood for order and rule of law at the same time was highly satirical and snobbish, the very opposite of an egalitarian, plural and liberal institution highly personalized by him due to some bias against educated non-whites. The presenter, after thorough appraisal, came to two incontrovertible conclusions:

- a. That Nigeria's problem stem from conflict of ideologies of Democracy and Sharia developed from the two religions - Christianity and Islam that found its way into Nigeria through conquest and colonialism. The Negro race in Nigeria is mainly Christians while the Arab Negroid who came as visitors, traders and Imams to Nigeria were mainly Muslims both the British and the Arabs. The by-products of the two religions Democracy and Sharia are incompatible.
- b. The British in a ceremony in Sokoto when the caliphate flag was returned to the Sultan in 1961, suggest the return of power to the caliphate based on the narrative of Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto in his book **My Life** when his statement is read along with the claim of Miyetti Allah that the North is theirs by conquest and the Sharia concept of Sacred Space, one can understand the reason for the jihad and fault line wars that are taking place in Nigeria by the Fulani against other Nigerians who refuse to appreciate the fact that Nigeria is at war – jihad.
- c. That (a) and (b) notwithstanding, 2019 is not time for recrimination but time for reflection, understanding, unity and teamwork by all Nigerians to save their country – the giant of Africa and not to dismantle her as is being suggested in certain quarters.

One nation, one system should be Christians' agenda for Nigeria.

Facts of Islamization

The Sun newspaper of August 29, 2019 puts to rest, the doubt about Islamization in Nigeria: "The Federal Government has accused Sheikh Ibraheem El-Zakzaky, leader of the Islamic Movement in Nigeria (IMN), of being sponsored by Iran to replicate in Nigeria the 1979 violent revolution that led to the forceful takeover of power in the Arab country. In a fresh process filed before the Federal High Court, Abuja, the Federal Government stressed that members of the IMN do not recognize President Muhammadu Buhari's authority. It argued that the plan of the IMN leader and his sponsors was to forcefully turn Nigeria into an Islamic state. The Federal Government, therefore, urged the court to dismiss the suit the IMN filed to challenge the order that proscribed its activities in Nigeria. It told the court that the relationship between El-Zakzaky and Iran started shortly after the said revolution toppled a sitting government. It said El-Zakzaky, who was a Shia activist in the university, "heavily influenced" by the Iranian revolution, had since galvanized his followers and brainwashed them to "unleash mayhem against the Nigerian state and its citizens."

The above facts confirmed what was established at the inquiry into the Kano Disturbances in 1981. The Sun publication continues: "In a 56-paragraph counter-affidavit deposed to by the deputy Commissioner of Police in charge of operations, FCT Command, Enyinnaya Adigbo, on behalf of government, told the court that he had the consent of the Attorney-General of the Federation, the National Security Adviser, and the

Inspector-General of Police (all Muslims) to depose to the affidavit. DCP Adiogu swore: “That from history and facts available, the movement called **Islamic Movement in Nigeria**, founded by El-Zakzaky, has its sole aim of **creating an Islamic state**. That Sheikh El-Zakzaky was heavily influenced by the Iranian revolution, which saw Ayatollah Khomeini take power in 1979 after the overthrow of the Shah in a popular uprising. Khomeini remains the Islamic Movement in Nigeria’s main inspiration. That members of IMN first pledged allegiance to Khomeini at their gatherings, and then to their local leader, Sheikh El-Zakzaky. The IMN, he further swore, views itself as a government, while Sheikh Zakzaky as the **only legitimate source of authority in Nigeria**, does not recognize the authority of the Nigerian government, and views its leaders, both Muslims and Christians, “as corrupt and ungodly.” [Emphasis supplied]

It is pertinent to say that there are very few Christian leaders in government who are able to appreciate the fact that the source of legitimacy of President Buhari, Nigeria’s President, President of Senate and Chief Justice of Nigeria. (Heads of the three arms of government), may not have come from the Nigerian Constitution because these public office holders swore to uphold the Constitution with their hands not on the Quran, or by an affirmation but rather with pouches slung on their shoulders. Nigerians are yet to be told what was in that pouch. **The import of this is that the officers making the oath do not, in reality, believe in Democracy but in Sharia and therefore consider it un-Islam for them to swear to the oath of allegiance to a Constitution that they do not believe in, with their hands on an exposed Quran.** This, in my view, explains why it would seem that the Muslim President of Nigeria, Muslim President of the Senate and the Muslim Chief Justice of Nigeria would not swear to an oath to protect and preserve the Constitution seen as a man-made law. DCP Adiogu continued: “till date, Sheikh El-Zakzaky enjoys the support of Iran in all the activities of the Islamic Movement in Nigeria, including the **agenda to make Nigeria an Islamic state**. That as a result of El-Zakzaky’s movement’s activities, many Muslim youths have converted to Shia Islam of the Islamic Movement in Nigeria. That the main aim of the Islamic Movement in Nigeria is to propagate the ideology in Iran and turn the country (Nigeria) into an Islamic state as was done in the Iranian revolution of 1979.” [Emphasis supplied]

The above facts confirm also the allegations by the Christian Social Movement of Nigeria (CSMN) some 20 years ago, and the National Christian Elders Forum (NCEF) recently, that Islamists are bent on Islamizing Nigeria. Each time the CSMN and the NCEF made such a statement on Islamization of Nigeria, the Islamists ensured that a Church leader is procured to issue a statement to the effect that no one in Nigeria is attempting to Islamize Nigeria. Now that the statement is, as the saying goes, “from the horse’s mouth”, these Church leaders are no doubt convinced that Islamization was and is real, and would now participate in any non-violent means that could halt the process. To do so, non-Muslim Nigerians need to understand Islamism also known as Political Islam

Islam as an Ideology

The Nation newspaper in its Editorial of October 4, 2019 titled **Multipronged Warfare**, reads in part: “an unusual seminar reflected the Nigerian Army’s multipronged approach to the war on terror. The focus of the September 30 **Spiritual Warfare Seminar** at the Nigerian Army Resource Centre, Abuja, was, indeed, thought-provoking: ‘**Countering insurgency and violent extremism in Nigeria through spiritual warfare.**’

“It is reassuring that the programme didn’t signal the army’s abdication of its responsibility on the battlefield, but highlighted the spiritual dimensions of physical warfare. The Chief of Army Staff, Lt. Gen. Tukur Buratai, who was represented by the Chief of Administration, Maj. Gen. Sani Yusuf, said: **“It is easier to defeat Boko Haram and ISWAP terrorists than their ideology because while we degrade the terrorists and their havens, the narrative of the ideology grows the group.** Therefore, communities, families and groups should join in the fight and narratives to reject and prevent the ideologies of the terrorists and extremist groups.” [Emphasis supplied]

This call for a collective effort against extremism is in order. It is true that religious terrorism is driven by a mindset. It is also true that the war on terror is essentially a war against a mindset. It may be said that while physical warfare targets terrorists, there is a need for psychological warfare to combat the mindset that drives terrorism. This is where the collective conscience comes in.

However, beyond collective responsibility, there is certainly an important role for religious organizations in the war against extremism. Buratai said: “Religious bodies and organizations in particular, which interface regularly with the grassroots, should be in the forefront of this spiritual battle and fashion out ways of stepping up their roles. It is a well-known fact that terrorism and terrorist groups cannot be totally eliminated by mainly military actions. This means focusing our efforts on the underlying narratives through ideologies employed by these terrorists to lure innocent citizens into their fold.”

Indeed, religious organizations are in a position to influence behavior by denouncing extremism and promoting religious tolerance and harmony. This is where the spiritual warfare that the army called for comes in. “The need to defeat the ideologies of Boko Haram and ISWAP is based on the awareness that it is the ideologies that enhance their resources and help to recruit new fighters to their fold and, as such, kill their ideology and the terrorist movement withers and dies,” the Editorial continued:

“No doubt, there are religious organizations that encourage extremism. A case in point is the Islamic centre at Rigasa, Kaduna State, which the police raided on September 26. More than 300 people, many of them in chains, including children, were freed by the police. One of them, Hassan Yusuf, said to have a PhD in Energy Economics, said his relations had dragged him to the centre two years ago. He was quoted as saying: “My extended family accused me of converting to Christianity...they think they are helping me because, since I became a Christian, I am supposed to die. But bringing me here according to them, is to de-radicalize me instead of death.” It is very clear that all terrorists in Nigeria profess Islam as their religion but not all Muslims are terrorists. It becomes a tragedy when conducts of a few Muslims in authority are similar to tenets of the Islamists. The narrative continues.

“This disturbing picture reflects intolerance, the kind that fuels extremism. The centre’s involvement shows how institutions can encourage extremism. This should be discouraged. While the army’s spiritual warfare seminar is helpful, it shouldn’t distract the military from physical warfare. The war on terror is a war that must be won. Those on the battlefield must concentrate on physical warfare. The Nigerian society should not accommodate religious extremism, or extremism of any kind. In the final analysis, the authorities should deal with the socio-economic conditions that encourage extremism,

particularly poverty and ignorance. The troubling Boko Haram insurgency needs an effective military response; in addition, it requires a constructive approach to overcome destructive extremism.” The two publications concerning (a) facts of Islamization and (b) call for spiritual warfare against terror contains elements of taqiyya – deceit - one of the tenets of Sharia.

With respect to facts of Islamization, no mention was made in the affidavit concerning the involvement of Sunni Islamists in the Islamization jihad of Nigeria. In 1981, at the Aniagolu Commission of inquiry on Maitatsine religious riots in Kano, both Sunni and Shiite Islamists jointly as Jama’u Nasril Islam (JNI) attacked Christians in Kano. To suggest in 2019 that the Shiite are the sole dramatis personae in the Islamization project is to be economical with the truth. With respect to spiritual warfare, the Chief of Army Staff failed to tell Nigerians that the elements of the negative ideology he referred to are tenets of Sharia, which the Nigerian Government introduced to compete with Democracy.

The Muslims in Nigeria have not hidden the fact that they are opposed to human rights because in Islam, all rights belong to God as humans have no rights. The Muslims in Nigeria did not come out to say that they are opposed to Democracy rather they have worked hard stealthily, in collaboration with some Christians, to make Democracy difficult to function properly in Nigeria. For the reason that Democracy and Sharia are incompatible and the main reason for Nigeria’s stagnation can then be placed squarely on the operation of two dramatically opposed ideologies in one country.

Any system of man-made law is considered as illicit [unlawful, forbidding] under Sharia since Allah has already provided the only law permitted by Sharia. Islam and Democracy can never co-exist in harmony, and this explains Nigeria’s Democracy that ignores the Constitution, and relies on rigged elections. “Sovereignty in Islam is the prerogative of Almighty Allah alone. He is the absolute arbiter of values and it is His will that determines good and evil, right and wrong.” [Kamali, Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence, 3rd Ed.] In other words, humans have no rights.

Sharia as a Political Instrument

What cannot credibly be denied, however, is that:

- a. Sharia is firmly rooted in Islam’s doctrinal texts and is favored by influential Islamic commentators, institutions, and academic centers;
- b. Sharia has for over a half-century, been lavishly financed and propagated by Islamic regimes; and
- c. due to the fact that Islam lacks a central, universally recognized hierarchical authority, authentic Islamic moderates and reformers have an incredibly difficult task in endeavoring to delegitimize Sharia in the community where it matters most, the world’s Muslims.

The Sharia system is totalitarian, in that it imposes itself on all aspects of civil society and human life, both public and private.

Sharia is Anti-Nigerian Constitution

Those who, today, support Sharia and the establishment of a global Islamic state (caliphate) are, in reality, supporting objectives that are incompatible with the Nigerian

Constitution, especially civil rights which the Constitution guarantees including the representative, accountable government the Constitution authorizes. Thus Sharia rejects fundamental premises of Nigerian society and values including:

- a. the proposition that the governed have a right to make law for its people;
- b. the republican democracy governed by the Constitution;
- c. freedom of conscience; individual liberty;
- d. freedom of expression;
- e. economic liberty;
- f. equal treatment under the law;
- g. freedom from cruel and unusual punishments; and
- h. an abiding commitment to deflate and resolve political controversies by the ordinary mechanisms of federalism and democracy, not wanton violence.

Sharia seeks to supplant the Nigerian Constitution with its own totalitarian framework.⁶

Impunity Compounded the Danger

As indicated herein, there is plenty of blame to go round. The truth is that under the military and now, the two major political parties – PDP and APC, government has completely failed to grasp the true nature of the enemy to the extent that a charge of ‘party to an offence’ of jihad and treason could be laid against them. The military, PDP, APC have failed to act against an enemy be it Boko haram, Fulani herdsmen or jihadists which they call bandits but who, as adversaries, are fighting to re-instate the totalitarian Islamic caliphate and impose sharia globally.

Stealthy and pre-violent jihad in various administrations has proved more effective especially when the kinetic or conventional jihad are at a lull or are temporarily suspended. The military intelligence agencies and civil police etc seem to have neglected their professional duty to understand the legal basis of jihad that includes the preservation of a system of government, laws and freedoms guaranteed by the Nigerian Constitution in accordance with their oath of office “to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.”

Chapter Two

Colonial Policy and Islam in Nigeria (Lugard)

The tendency to think in terms of two worlds recurs through human history. People are always tempted to divide people into us and them, whites and blacks, civilized and barbarian and presently Dar el Islam and Dar al-Harb. Lugard was a colonialist to the core and the high priest of “them and us” as shown in his massacre in Kano for which he was rebuked by Winston Churchill and his segregation of Europeans and natives of Nigeria. He 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

⁶ Mohamad Akram, An Explanatory Memorandum: On the General Strategic Goal for the Group, May 22, 1991, Government Exhibit 003-0085/3:04-CR-240-G U.S. v. HLF, et al., United States District Court, Northern District of Texas, <http://www.txnd.uscourts.gov/judges/hlf2/09-25-08/Elbarasse%20Search%203.pdf>, 18. Hereafter cited as Explanatory Memorandum

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, &c., 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 area as far as possible available.”⁷ It is, in the above circumstance, that Lugard statements below should be understood. He continued,

“At the time of the conquest of the Mohammedan Emirates in 1903, I declared that the British Government would not interfere with the religion of the people, and **‘every man should be free to worship God as he chose’**. The Emirs, though they have not been very consistent in the matter, no doubt view with dislike and distrust the efforts of Europeans to convert their people to Christianity, the more so that the administrative and judicial systems, and the social life of the people is, to such a large extent, based on the teaching of the Koran, and so intimately associated with religion, that the Emirs not unnaturally fear a weakening of their authority and a breakup of the social system if their religion is undermined. The Government, in these circumstances, has considered it right to be guided by the wishes of the Emirs and their councilors, who have given such abundant and striking proofs of their loyalty during the War, in which their co-religionist, Turkey, is opposed to us. While recognizing mission activity in Pagan areas, the Government desired to discourage propaganda in Moslem districts.”⁸ This statement showed Lugard as a fallen Christian, message of Christ proselytizing is not propaganda.

One often wonders why the British preferred the Negroid Fulani who were mostly Muslims but were, at that time, light skinned and at a racist period of 1914 – 1960 rather than the Negro that embraced Christianity and the Christian way of life with both hands. The answer can be attributed to Lugard whose religious belief was badly shaken, notwithstanding the fact that he was the son of an Anglican clergy. History has it that Fredrick Lugard on Christmas day 1891, as a captain, was the Resident and chief representative of the Imperial British East Africa Company in Buganda. The narrative continued “of all the freelance imperialists who promoted the scramble, Lugard was to prove the most tenacious and, ultimately, the most successful. In the next forty years no other proconsul would put such a powerful moral stamp on the character of European rule in Africa. Significantly, both his parents were missionaries, and his hero was David Livingstone. He had sailed to Africa more to cast away his life than to build an empire. As a brave, priggish young officer of the East Norfolk Regiment, based on Lucknow in India, he had lost his heart to a beautiful divorcee called ‘Clytie’ (her full name is not known). In 1881, while campaigning in Burma, he received a telegram to say that Clytie was close to death after overturning her carriage at Lucknow. He rushed back to India only to find she had sailed for England. He sailed to England and found her - it would seem - in bed with one of her admirers. The shock unhinged Lugard, **he lost his faith in God**, threw up his career and then took a boat as a deck passenger down the Red Sea, hoping to die in a noble cause. The British consul at Zanzibar told him that the British missionaries of the African Lakes Company based in Nyasaland were beleaguered by the local Arab slavers and needed a knight errant to organize their defence. Lugard obliged - and was dangerously wounded in both arms when leading a reckless charge against the Arab slavers’ stockade at Karonga. After his recovery, he returned to England a convert to the

⁷ Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria Kirk-Greene pg. 162

⁸ Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria Kirk-Greene 160

case for the British "government to intervene in Africa: Imperialism was the only antidote to the East African slave trade."⁹ This background explains some of Lugard's actions in Nigeria.

Colonial Nigeria and Colonial Sudan

It is necessary to consider and appreciate, why Sudan has influenced administration, the way of life and thinking of Nigerian Muslims and the fact that this influence began well before amalgamation and continued during colonialism and well after independence. Today, Sudan has broken into two countries the Muslim North and Christian South. To prevent this from happening to Nigeria, there is need to appreciate the influence of colonialism and Islam propounded in Sudan and applicable to both countries. "To understand the culture of imperialism from the point of view of the people who actually ran the British Empire, **the Sudan Political Service (SPS)** is as good a place as any to start. The SPS was instituted in 1901, and a regular system of recruiting young university graduates was in place by 1905. These recruits, unusually for the time, were chosen on the basis not of examinations but a series of interviews. It was the duty of the Sudanese government agent in London to sift through hundreds of applications forms and letters of recommendation, and then invite a short list of candidates to the selection board in London. The Sudan Political Service was regarded as the **elite of the Africa Service**, and enjoyed a prestige comparable with the Indian Civil Service. Service in Sudan was very much about character and not merely brains; Sudan was where the '**best of the imperial breed**' could exercise an unlimited sway over natives. They were not the mere '**by-producers of the race**', but 'excellent specimens of our (British) academic and athletic culture'. Of the fifty-six recruits taken on between 1902 and 1914, twenty-seven had a Blue from Oxford or Cambridge."¹⁰ Thus the Sudan political service was not only a '**role model**' but also a training ground for colonial officers drawn from the best of British colleges and universities." While Lugard did not attend Oxford or Cambridge University, he attended Sandhurst Military Academy and was recruited into the Colonial Service. Sir James Robertson the last Governor General of Nigeria attended both Military Academy in Sandhurst and Oxford University" and served in Sudan.

"A degree in Classics or History from either Oxford or Cambridge was highly valued. Even in 1952, in the final year of recruitment, every successful candidate was a graduate of Cambridge University. Sudan itself covered a vast area, there were poor communications and the young recruit was to spread the reams of paperwork with which other civil servants had to grapple. Once chosen, the successful candidate would be on probation for two years, until examinations in **Arabic** and **Law** were passed. Indeed, the ability to play polo became so important in Darfur that it often dictated who was to be transferred there. In Khartoum, there were the balls at the Grand Hotel and the garden parties at the Governor's palace, and there were two clubs, the Sudan Club and the Khartoum Club, membership of which was determined by income and status."¹¹ The presenter had the privilege of visiting Sudan in 1968 with the then Inspector General of Police, Alhaji Kam Salem to appreciate, firsthand, the special position of Sudan as an elite service. As guests of the Nigerian Ambassador, the connection and influence of Sudan over Nigeria was

⁹ The Scramble for Africa: White Man's Conquest of the Dark Continent from 1876 to 1912 Thomas Pakenham pg. 413

¹⁰ Ghosts of Empire Kwasi Kwarteng pgs. 237 - 238

¹¹ Ghosts of Empire Kwasi Kwarteng pgs. 238 - 243

discussed freely. At that time, the population of Nigerians in Sudan was said to be over 3 million. The Ambassador though a Northerner and a Muslim was quite open that the writer was not seen as a “spy”. One is not too sure if a Christian was ever made an Ambassador to Sudan.

Kwasi Kwarteng continued, “that is how the scene looked in 1930s, but, behind the façade of tranquil, unquestioned British supremacy, there lurked the menace of religious fanaticism. The British always had the **Sudan Defence Force in the background, a highly mobile and well-equipped force for ‘frontier protection and military operations’**. The Sudan was the ‘**home of fanaticism**’ and had always been called the ‘**Land of the Dervishes**’. Sudanese religious enthusiasm had been particularly vexing to Wingate at the beginning of the twentieth century, and he had done all he could to assuage the religious sensitivities of the Muslim population.”¹² [Emphasis supplied] One wonders whether this explains the Military and Para-Military build-up in Nigeria now being undertaken by the Minister of Interior or is the buildup mere coincidences as states do not have a Police formation of their own for their internal security. “**To appease the Muslims of the north, Christian missionaries had been forbidden in that region, while the government had itself undertaken the building of mosques.** ‘The policy of the Sudan Government’, boasted the official Foreign Office handbook of 1919, had always been, ‘and remains, that of **encouraging Islam in all its legitimate modes of expression.** --- During the First World War, Britain became deeply concerned about the prospects of Muslim nations following the Turkish Sultan – who, as caliph in Constantinople, was the designated head of the Islamic world – in siding with the German Kaiser.”¹³ The same policy of Christian communities being prevented from proselytizing in Muslim areas was also adopted in Nigeria, as Lugard also said that the special treatment of the Emirs was a reward for loyalty. It will be wrong for anybody in Nigeria to suggest that the growth of Christianity in Nigeria was influenced by the British government. This, rather, is attributed to the missionaries.

Sudan Connection and influence on Nigerians

Lugard in his report wrote: “with the kind assistance of Sir R. Wingate, the experiment is being made of bringing two or three teachers from Gordon College for the Arabic-speaking population of Bornu. They will come direct overland, and the Resident, Mr. Palmer, has himself proceeded to Khartoum to test the route. The Shuwa Arabs of Bornu are a particularly intelligent race, and, if the experiment succeeds they may later provide teachers for other schools, and pupils for the Technical Institute.”¹⁴ This shows the early connections between Sudan and Nigeria. Sheikh Gumi, on the other hand, wrote explaining why he was sent to Sudan rather than Egypt for his further studies. He wrote: “the reasons why the government chose the Sudan in order to counter the Egyptian offer were obvious. Not only did the Sudan have more in common with us culturally, but it was also effectively under British control. Nationalist and religious politics were generally subdued and in no way violent. It was, therefore, considered safe enough for us to go there rather than plunge into the midst of the anti-European turmoil boiling in Egyptian campuses.”¹⁵ He also relayed his experiences on landing in Khartoum in 1953 as students

¹² Ghosts of Empire Kwasi Kwarteng pgs. 243 - 244

¹³ Ghosts of Empire Kwasi Kwarteng pg. 244

¹⁴ Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria: A Documentary Record A.H.M. Kirk-Greene pg. 157

¹⁵ Where I Stand Sheikh Abubakar Gumi pg. 65

including Shehu Galadanci and five others: “we arrived at Khartoum to meet the Sudan firmly under the grip of the colonial masters. In real terms, its physical development was not significantly better than ours at home, although the differences potentially were apparent. **What struck us particularly as we came to know the place better was the large population of Hausa speakers.** It was believed that there were nearly a million West Africans in the Sudan, the majority of whom spoke Hausa. Some were temporary settlers who had come on foot and wanted to stay for a short time and earn enough money either to complete their pilgrimage to Mecca or return home. Among these, only a few settled there eventually and found their own homes. There were others, however, with a more sedentary history, who arrived in exile with Sultan Muhammad Atiku Mai Wurno, in the wake of the colonial conquests of Frederick Lugard. Altogether, the Hausa speakers lived around Khartoum and other places, mainly in the Gezira area.”¹⁶ He went further to say “looking back at it, one can say that in a way **all of us had been individually affected by our stay in the Sudan. Personally, I count the time as the first close training I had in Arab life and culture.** I was able to understand the Arab social world and situate it within the context of my Islamic reading.”¹⁷ [Emphasis supplied] Arab life and culture in the North, English life and culture in the South all imported into Nigeria by Arabs and Europeans.

British Preference

The British government **deliberately and intentionally** laid the foundation for the crisis that has been rocking the nation since 1960. Before independence, the clarion call in the Colonial Office was, “we must not let the North down”. **By the North, the British refer to the Muslim North, and, in particular, the Fulani.** (Nevertheless, to counter Fanaticism, Willinks, QC, provided Human Rights provision in the Independence Constitution of 1960 which have remained part of our Constitution till date. This implies that the British themselves are aware of the brutality of the fanatics.) Oliver Lyttleton, the Secretary of State for the Colonies wrote on 17th August, 1953 “... we cannot let the North down. They are more than half the population, more attached to the British and trustful of the colonial service than the other two. The successor of Lyttleton, Alan Tindale Lennox-Boyd, stated on 17 November, 1954, “my main concern, like yours, at the moment, is about the attitude of the North. My predecessor made it abundantly clear at both the London and Lagos Conferences that Her Majesty’s Government would not, (repeat not) let the North down.”

In its ungodly determination to appoint the fanatics as neo-colonialists over the other federating units in Nigeria, the British government violated every tenet of decency and fairness when it declared, in the minutes of London Conference prepared by M.E. Allen, assistant Undersecretary Commonwealth Office and A.W. Snelling, assistant Undersecretary of State, on 21st October, 1958, that: “nevertheless, so far as the United Kingdom is concerned, it would appear that in the last resort, we must make sure that the Government of Nigeria is strong even if, possibly, **undemocratic or unjust**” This unfortunate statement was repeated in 1962 at a meeting held by R.S. Hudson, E. R. Hammer and C.A.G. Wallis, all of the Colonial Office that: “... **So far as the United**

¹⁶ Where I Stand Sheikh Abubakar Gumi pg. 66

¹⁷ Where I Stand Sheikh Abubakar Gumi pg. 67

Kingdom is concerned, it must make sure that the government of Nigeria is strong, even if possible, undemocratic or unjust.”¹⁸

On this **tripod of injustice, inequality, and unfairness**, Britain prepared Nigeria for independence. The census figures were falsified by the British in favor of the (fanatic) North, the election was rigged in favor of the (fanatic) North; even the Police Force was skewed to acquiesce to the demand of the (fanatic) North. Against all norms of fairness and equity, the British refused to carve out a Middle Belt Region in the North while the South was divided in 1939 to East and West and later, further divided by Balewa through the establishment of the Mid-West Region in 1963.

The British favored the Fulani as their successor and used unethical methods to achieve this objective. Thus other Nigerians became two-time colonial subjects, first under the British 1914 – 1960 and thereafter colonial subject of the Fulani – 1960 till date. The only other choice available to others is to refuse to act as colonial subject of the Caliphate through Sharia by refusing to be governed outside the Constitution.

Chapter Three

Conversion Campaigns

“In the periods of 1964 and 1965, a significant phenomenon occurred that has led to the Sardauna being regarded as **“leader or patron”** of Islam throughout Nigeria, and not just the North. Apart from the reformed brotherhood organizations, there are hundreds of localized Islamic study groups, and young people's societies throughout the country, that are eager for assistance in their endeavors, especially in providing copies of the Qur'an to their members. Most of the correspondences are in English. The Sardauna uses international and domestic funding to meet many of these requests, but administratively channels the requests through the JNI.”

“By 1965, the JNI has become a major coordinator of private funding for Islamic education, not only in the north, where it has its organizational base, but throughout Nigeria. The administrative and personal skills of the central committee provide a high level of integrity and efficiency in the field of Islamic education. It is against this background of popular demand and organizational resources that the Sardauna's **“conversion campaigns”** may be viewed.”¹⁹ At the time, Christians did not have a unifying organization or the equivalent of JNI. The promotion of Islam helped the Muslims to speak with one voice that led to the demand for Sharia and culminated in Nigeria as a country with two systems – Democracy and Sharia

Among the leaders of JNI were Abubakar Gumi, Shehu Galadanci and Ibrahim Dasuki who later became the Sultan of Sokoto. “Ibrahim Dasuki notes that the Sardauna's visits to Mecca and his meetings with other Muslim leaders at the international level fundamentally influenced his thinking. He felt that there was no single organization

¹⁸ Nigeria: Political Power Imbalance, The bane and chain down of Nigeria's progress and development Sir Olaniwun Ajayi pgs. 56 - 59

¹⁹ Ahmadu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto: Values and Leadership in Nigeria John N. Paden pg. 555

taking care of religious aspects of life in the north. In Southern Nigeria, there were many religious organizations and it was embarrassing for the Sardauna to travel abroad and be asked, **“Who speaks for Islam in Nigeria?”** The purpose of the JNI was to give a voice externally on behalf of all Nigerian Muslims, to co-ordinate Islamic activities within Nigeria and to try to educate the people. The Sardauna's role as Vice-President of the World Islamic League brought him into close association with Saudi Arabia”²⁰

“According to Abubakar Gumi the original Idea for JNI occurred during the 1962 pilgrimage, but when they came back they realized that five mallams - (i.e. the three promised by the Sardauna and two by Gumi) - were not enough for society's needs. --- The Sardauna's Arabic was meager, but he wanted to collect the books of the jihadists. The headquarters was in Sokoto, and the Sardauna's son-in-law, the Marafa, handled the collection. --- The Sardauna was a big man. “Whatever you tell him and say ‘this is religion,’ he accepts it. If you do not tell him the truth and he finds out, he does not cut you off, but he does not believe you anymore”²¹ From the above narrative, the conflict of cultures began with the Sardauna not only being concerned with the welfare of Muslims but also their spiritual aspect which provide for the unity of Muslims in furtherance of their religion.

The Christian leaders – Zik and Awolowo had little interest in the spiritual aspect of Christians; they were interested in the supremacy of their tribes Nd’igbo and Yoruba and as a result when the attack on Democracy began, ethnic rivalry could not withstand the onslaught. No ethnic nationality is able to contain Islam in Nigeria as it has become very clear that only Democracy can do the job. This makes it imperative that all Democrats Christians, Muslims and Animists, must come together for the furtherance of Democracy in Nigeria.

It was only in 1976 that the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) was formed, after a Muslim wondered who should offer the Christian closing prayer in view of the fact that there were many denominations. In other words, who among the Christians would speak for Christianity? The Christians rose from Dodan Barracks to the Catholic Secretariat then at Race Course (now Tafawa Balewa Square), Lagos where the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) was formed 14 years after the formation of the **“Movement for the Victory of Islam”** (JNI), over Christianity. Since then, CAN has always deferred to JNI on all matters concerning Islam even when such contradicts the basis of Christianity such as Human Rights and Democracy. One is of a very firm view that Islamization of Nigeria began with amalgamation in 1914. Unfortunately, the Mother Church, the Roman Catholic Church seemed to have handed over Christianity in Nigeria to a convert from Islam. A new organization, NIREC has been formed by the Sultan of Sokoto to speak for all Muslims and Christians in religious matters - not CAN to speak for Christians.

Jama’tu Nasril Islam (JNI) formed January 5, 1962

Jama’tu Nasril Islam means **Society for the victory of Islam**. This clearly means victory over Christians and Animists in Nigeria. JNI drew up its rule and regulation for the society and membership is open **only to all Muslims in Nigeria**. The inaugural meeting

²⁰ Ahmadu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto: Values and Leadership in Nigeria John N. Paden pg. 559

²¹ Ahmadu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto: Values and Leadership in Nigeria John N. Paden pgs. 561 - 562

of JNI was held in Lugard Hall, March 9, 1964. JNI provided active support for the Sardauna in his “**conversion campaigns**”. This explains, at the time, why Islam was regarded as fast growing because of government’s investment in the religion.

The Sardauna in his campaign used the metaphor of “jihad” to refer to a variety of endeavors to enlighten and educate people.” He was quoted as saying “therefore when the wishes of the people are sought in this particular issue which amount to a jihad I will call on all Northern men and women to cast their votes.”²²

By 1965, the JNI had become a major coordinator of private funding for Islamic education, not only in the north, where it has its organizational base, but throughout Nigeria. The administrative and personal skills of the central committee provide a high level of integrity and efficiency in the field of Islamic education. It is against this background of popular demand and organizational resources that the Sardauna’s “**conversion campaigns**” may be viewed.²³ The views of two prominent members of the JNI - Abubakar Gumi and Shehu Galadanci are relevant in assessing the importance and activities of the JNI. These conversion campaigns became government policy paid for with public funds.

“Two major “northern” points of view came to attach to the JNI, which was termed a “Kaduna perspective” and a “Kano perspective,” Some of the key figures in the JNI in Kaduna were Ibrahim Dasuki, Ahmed Talib, Haliru Binji and Abubakar Gumi. The Kano perspective tends to be associated with the reformed brotherhoods, although some Islamic scholars (such as Shehu Galadanci, Hussaini Adamu, Hassan Gwarzo, Na’ibi Wali) were in a position to see both sides at close range.”²⁴

“Shehu Galadanci (presently in charge of the National Mosque) provided a perspective on the JNI and Council of Mallams which is not intimately connected with the organization in Kaduna even though he was one of the official delegates from Kano Province, He suggests that the official meetings of the JNI and the mallams (ulama) brought together the ulama in the Northern region for two reasons: 1) to ensure that the ulama were playing an important role as leaders of the community, i.e. as traditional leaders in the Islamic context, teaching people and guiding them on the right path; 2) (implicitly) to try to get the support of the ulama since the Sardauna knew they had the masses, the students and important people with them. (This was pure religious politics) At that time, Galadanci was Principal of the School for Arabic Studies (SAS), Kano, and attended the first meeting of the Council.”²⁵

It became very clear that “The Sardauna was trying to bring in local mallams so they could understand the modern approach to things. His key advisers (above) were suggesting ways to modernize the mallams and gear things in the Islamic way, but using a modern approach, i.e. trying to bridge the gap to the mallams. The Sardauna was keen to instill a sense of unity among the mallams and the masses. At the same time, the Sardauna used the JNI to bring in the traditional rulers, such as the Emirs of Kano and

²² Ahmadu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto: Values and Leadership in Nigeria John N. Paden pg. 551

²³ Ahmadu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto: Values and Leadership in Nigeria John N. Paden pg. 555

²⁴ Ahmadu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto: Values and Leadership in Nigeria John N. Paden pgs. 557 - 559

²⁵ Ahmadu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto: Values and Leadership in Nigeria John N. Paden pg. 562

Katsina. When the Sardauna addressed the gathering, he emphasized the link which is Islam. He told the mallams: “We, have nothing to feel proud of except to be Muslims and Muslim leaders.”²⁶

“The Sardauna undertook this endeavor (jihad) both as Premier and as Leader of Muslims; he was, in the footsteps of Usman dan Fodio and the jihad. The JNI was set up by the Sardauna to consolidate the northern states, and make sure the north is one, and there is peace and stability in the country. (After the death of the Sardauna, the JNI felt it should not continue in isolation, and therefore brothers in the south were invited. Dasuki was the key figure to change to a national orientation. Later, the JNI came under the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs. Note, there are three distinct groups: the JNI, the Council of Mallams, and the Supreme Council. The Sultan is the head of all of them, and there is considerable overlap of functions and personnel.”²⁷

There was no Christian equivalent for Southern Christians and Nigeria in general of what the Sardauna did for Muslims in Nigeria – to promote Nigeria to a Muslim country. What took place in Nigeria during this period was not an isolated case, it was the development of Muslim Brotherhood established in Egypt that was imported into Nigeria by Muslim scholars headed by Sheikh Abubakar Gumi.

Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt

Egypt is very important in the development of Islamism worldwide, with the founding of the Muslim Brotherhood in 1928. In October 1956, there was political comment in Nigeria about the visits to Cairo and Saudi Arabia, and some allege that the NPC had a definite link with the Islamic Congress of Egypt and that Colonel Anwar al Sadat (Minister of State for Egypt) has announced that the Sardauna invited President Nasser to visit the Northern Region. The contacts with Egypt and Saudi Arabia were seen by some Nigerians as a political threat. (The NPC denies all charges, and notes that the Islamic Congress first made its contacts in Nigeria with the Action Group of the Western Region, and only later visited the Northern Region. The NPC affirms its declared policy of religious freedom, equal opportunity for persons of all religions).²⁸ It was very clear that it was not only the NPC that engaged in Religious Politics, as it was alleged that the Action Group (the party in power) first sponsored pilgrims to the Holy Land

The NPC once again went on record that its policy was and always had been to bring the Northern Region into fullest and closest membership of the British Commonwealth and states quite categorically that it has never at any time entered or sought to enter into negotiations or any other relations with President Nasser or the United Arab Republic and the Sardauna concluded that he “should further like to inform the Action Group and their supporters that **Islamic brotherhood is stronger than that of blood** and therefore wherever Muslims are in the world, they are our religious brothers.”²⁹ This statement seems to affirm the mantra of the Muslim Brotherhood of “God is our objective; the Koran is our law; the Prophet is our leader; jihad is our way; and death for the sake of Allah is the highest of our aspirations.”

²⁶ Ahmadu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto: Values and Leadership in Nigeria John N. Paden pg. 563

²⁷ Ahmadu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto: Values and Leadership in Nigeria John N. Paden pg. 564

²⁸ Ahmadu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto: Values and Leadership in Nigeria John N. Paden pg. 284

²⁹ Ahmadu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto: Values and Leadership in Nigeria John N. Paden 285

What is the Muslim Brotherhood?

The Muslim Brotherhood was founded in Egypt in 1928. Its express purpose was two-fold: (1) to implement Sharia worldwide, and (2) to re-establish the global Islamic State (caliphate). [174: Official Muslim Brotherhood Website, www.ikhwanweb.com] Therefore, most Islamic organizations worldwide have the same objectives. They differ only in the timing and tactics involved in realizing these objectives.

It is evident from the Creed, and from the Brotherhood's history that violence is an inherent part of the Muslim Brotherhood's tactics. It is alleged that the Muslim Brotherhood is the root of the majority of Islamic terrorist groups in the world today. [Ehud Rosen, "The Muslim Brotherhood's Concept of Education," *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, vol. 7]

The Muslim Brotherhood believes that its purposes in Africa is jihad especially the one better advanced by the use of non-violent, stealthy techniques. In that connection, the Muslim Brotherhood, through the JNI, established relations with, influenced and, wherever possible, penetrated government circles in the executive, legislative and Judicial branches at the federal, state and local levels; the law enforcement community; intelligence agencies; the military; penal institutions; the media; think tanks and policy groups; academic institutions; non-Muslim religious communities; and other elites. The JNI engage in all of these activities and more for one reason: to subvert the targeted communities in furtherance of the Muslim Brotherhood primary objective – **the triumph of sharia**. [177: Isarel Elad Altman, *Strategies of the Muslim Brotherhood Movement*, Series No 2, Paper No 2.

The Genesis of the Brotherhood

The defeat of the Ottoman Empire and its allies led to the Empire's dissolution as a unified entity in July 1923, and the establishment of the modern state of Turkey by Mustapha Kemal, who was given the title "Ataturk" or "Father of the Turks." [178: *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Turkey/Ataturk)] Determined to tie his country firmly to the West, Ataturk sought to diminish its Islamic character, notably by abolishing the caliphate in favor of secular rule. Ataturk also banned the growing of beards by men and wearing of headscarves by women; banned the call to prayer by muezzins; abolished the Turkish language's script and replaced it with Latin script; and made the Turkish military the custodians of secular tradition.

The dissolution of the caliphate and the transformation of Turkey from the center of the Islamic world to a secular nation did not sit well with some in the global Islamic community (ummah). One of those determined to restore the caliphate was Hassan al Banna, the son of a Muslim imam who lived outside of Cairo, Egypt. In 1928, he founded an organization known as the al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin, the Society of Muslim Brothers or the Muslim Brotherhood (MB), for the purpose of unifying the Islamic states under a new caliphate and subordinating all lands to the Caliph's rule pursuant to sharia. [179: Official Muslim Brotherhood Website, www.ikhwanweb.com]

"The Muslim Brotherhood is an International Muslim Organization which seeks to establish Allah's law in the land by achieving the spiritual goals of Islam and the true religion which include the following:

a) The need to work on establishing the Islamic State;

b) The sincere support for a global cooperation in accordance with the provisions of the Islamic Sharia.

The Muslim Brotherhood in achieving these objectives depends on the following means:

c) Make every effort for the establishment of educational, social, economic, and scientific institutions and the establishment of mosques, schools, clinics, shelters, clubs, as well as the formation of committees to regulate zakat affairs and alms;

d) The Islamic nation must be fully prepared to fight the tyrants and the enemies of Allah as a prelude to establishing the Islamic state.”

Muslim Brotherhood in Nigeria

It has become very clear that the Muslim Brotherhood influence in Nigeria which is through the Society for the victory of Islam which encompasses JNI, a, b, c, and d above became part of its objectives. Sheikh Gumi wrote in his book **Where I Stand** “At first, a few colleagues and I applied for study scholarship in Egypt. This was at the height of the Suez Canal confrontation and the Egyptian President, Gamel Abdel Nasser, was being rudely vilified in the European press. An equally loud warning was pouring out to colonial governments in Africa with significant Muslim populations, to beware of Nasser's attempts ‘to turn Muslims against UK’. For that reason, as soon as news of our application to Egypt leaked out, a long authoritative statement was published in Gaskiya ta fi Kwabo newspaper, explaining that whoever left his service to study in Egypt would not be re-employed. When we saw the article we were not deterred, and got prepared to lose our jobs in the government. So confident were we that we let the authorities know our plans. They must have realized the implications early though, for the Northern Region Scholarship Board soon advertised for scholarships in the Sudan and we applied. The reasons why the government chose the Sudan in order to counter the Egyptian offer were obvious. Not only did the Sudan have more in common with us culturally, but it was also effectively under British control. Nationalist and religious politics were generally subdued and in no way violent. It was, therefore, considered safe enough for us to go there rather than plunge into the midst of the anti-European turmoil boiling in Egyptian campuses.³⁰ Gumi continued, “when the results were declared later in the year, seven of us had been selected. Included were Shehu Galadanci, later Professor of Arabic and the first Vice-Chancellor of the Usman Danfodiyo University, Sokoto; my friend Halliru Binji, currently Professor of Islamic Law in the same university; Abdulkadir Okekere, now a career diplomat and an ambassador; Bibi Farouk, formerly Deputy Governor in Kano; and the late Dr. Hassan Gwarzo, the Grand Khadi, Kano State. Mallam Aminu Yakubu, the seventh successful applicant, had to give up his award on account of his appointment by the Emir of Kano into his council as the Walin Kano.”³¹

Chapter Four

The Kano Disturbances Tribunal of Inquiry

At the Aniagolu Commission, set up by President Shehu Shagari to inquire into the Kano disturbances of December 1980, in which the presenter was counsel to the National Security Organization (NSO), it became very clear, from the proceedings that both the Sunni and Shiite Muslims did not approve of the 1979 Constitution especially areas dealing with Human Rights. The Commission found as follows: “In the light of the

³⁰ Shariah: The Threat to America an Exercise in Competitive Analysis Report of Team ‘B’ II pgs. 64 - 65

³¹ Where I Stand Sheikh Abubakar Gumi with Ismaila A. Tsiga pgs. 65 - 66

totality of the evidence before us, including the analysis of the schedule of clashes and incidents affecting religious groups to which we have referred, we have identified the main causes of friction and incessant religious strife. They cover matters such as deliberate provocative preaching, the reference to rival groups as infidels or pagans or that because certain groups add new tenets to Islam and make additions to the Hadith, they are not Moslems. Others relate to alleged wrong misinterpretations of the Koran and the Hadith; but the climax of it all was reached in two extreme cases which we have noted viz:

(a) The profanation of the venerable name and authority of the Holy Prophet which the Maitatsine episode exemplified including, in that case, the propagation of a neo-socialist religious doctrine regarding worldly possessions which was completely strange to Islam.

(b) The revolutionary flavor in the noted activities of the Moslem Students Society (MSS - whose representatives were not called to testify) which even qualifies to be classified as subversive and treasonable, added to their public abhorrence of alcohol that brought them into conflict with other groups.

Muslim Students' Society (MSS)

We quote the NSO Report on the MSS, Appendix (VI) exhibit 83 items 9 at page 4 in full: “(ix) 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. In May 1979, the Militancy of the MSS was amply demonstrated when its members in Ahmadu Bello University (Zaria) attacked non Moslem students members of the Palm-Wine Drinkards Club (the Kegites) in the University campus in protest against the consumption of alcohol by Kegite members at a party”. This was in 1980, thirty nine years ago. The same complaint is being made, this time by the Sunni against the Shiites.

It is pertinent to mention that the Brotherhood's own explanatory memorandum identified list of organizations and organizations that are friends of Muslim Brotherhood and they include Islamic Society, Muslim Student Association (MSA), the Association of Muslim Social Scientists and Engineers (AMSE), Islamic Medical Association (IMA), etc that have since been registered by the Corporate Affairs Commission. In order to be considered by the Muslim Brotherhood as one of their organizations or an organization of Muslim Brotherhood's friends, all such organizations must embrace the Muslim Brotherhood creed “**Allah is our goal, the messenger is our guide, the Quran is our law, jihad is our means, and martyrdom is the way, Allah is our inspiration.**” The point being made here is that over the years, Nigeria had enemies in their midst that pretend to be friends and brothers.

The Report continues “On 18th May, 1979, the MSS members also staged a violent demonstration on the ABU campus following the expulsion of eight Executive members of the students union as a result of the attack on the Kegites. They were protesting the alleged persecution by the University authorities. During the rampage that followed, MSS

members (dubbed mini Ayatollahs for adopting the Iranian religious leaders style of dressing), backed by thugs recruited from outside the campus, attacked and burnt the Vice-Chancellor's office and lodge, as well as the University's Senior Staff Club and damaged cars and other property. The rampaging MSS students later took refuge in the Mosque on the campus and refused to surrender to the Police, until Abubakar GUMI personally intervened. This act, no doubt was a form of Jihad. It shows the fraternal connection between JNI and MSS.

On 29th September, 1980, MSS students in ABU destroyed many alcoholic drinks at a kiosk on the Campus. 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 fomenting MSS unrest on the campus, El-Zakzaky was the brain behind a demonstration in Zaria by MSS members on 4th May, 1980, when ten busloads 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 Musulmi Nigeria" (calling on Moslems in Nigeria) in which he condemned the Nigerian Constitution for being anti-Islamic and **called for an Islamic revolution**, and urged Islamic students to rise against the Federal Government. He also demanded the recognition of the Sharia Law. El-Zakzaky is reported to have visited, on several occasions and, recently, returned from Iran where he was said to have received training in planning and executing students' unrest. All the above were with the connivance and concurrence of JNI.

Rigid Adherence to Tenets of Islam

On the other side are traceable such factors as rigid adherence to the dogmatic tenets of Islam in what we may describe as the strict Islamic Conformist group, very learned and constituting the elite but uncompromisingly resentful of any introductions into Islam of new ways impatient of what they describe as ignorance and like the opposing side, completely intolerant - a single devastating attitude of mind that we found permeating the whole gamut of the religious conflict in this part of the country. Indeed Alhaji Nariwu Kabara head of the Quadiriyya group, stated in evidence before us that **so long as one group insists on describing the others whom they do not approve of as non-Muslims, so long shall there be disharmony**. Now that the Sunnis do not approve of the Shiites, the Shiites are called non-Muslims even though both the Sunni and the Shiites regard Sharia as their source of governance and Quran as their Constitution. It is pertinent to state that with the overthrow of Shehu Shagari and the takeover by Buhari junta in 1983, all Muslim groups were united under JNI. Before these however, the leaders of the JNI - Gumi, Dasuki and Galadanci made it clear that they were not prepared to accept some provisions of Human Rights under the 1979 Constitution. It must be stated that the riots were between Muslim sects, yet Ibo traders' stalls were burnt and many killed for no justifiable reasons. The incidence of Igbos becoming casualties in the clash between Shiites and Sunnis makes a statement. In the conflict, Igbo were dispensable to both sides and therefore were maimed and killed.

The Commission continued “all of them without exception, whilst recognizing the freedom of religion guaranteed by our Constitution in Section 35, **nonetheless insist that, by reason of Section 41, such freedom cannot be absolute but should be subject to some constraints. Section 41 (1) states inter-alia.** Nothing in Sections 34, 35, 36, 37 and 38 of this Constitution shall invalidate any law that is reasonably justifiable in a democratic society.

(a) in the interest of defence, public safety, public order, public morality or public health.... They further argued - Professor Galadanci - Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki and Alhaji M. Gumi that although the Constitution allows a man to practice whatever religion he chooses, **this presupposes also an acceptance of the existence of certain universal but immutable tenets of religion practiced by the majority, particularly in the Islamic faith.** That indeed the proponents of changes, innovations or variations must treat those principles with reverence and not desecrate them by either introducing wrong interpretations or additions nor by the creation of new Prophets of their own. If they do any of these things which offend against the religious susceptibilities of the majority, Professor Galadanci stated bluntly that “they should be stopped by Government or the Law enforcement agencies.” It is clear from the above, the assumption that Muslims are in the majority in Nigeria has been erroneously established as a fact.

The Commission in its findings wrote: **“this Tribunal found it difficult to get this category of Religious leaders to concede that, under our constitution, a man may practice any religion of his choice in whole or modified form or even an entirely new creation of his own so long as in doing so he does not profane or condemn or ridicule other peoples doctrine by means of public speeches or the use of cassettes, That so long as he does not use abusive words or in any way employ compulsion, blackmail or threats in converting followers to his side our Constitution guarantees him the freedom to so worship.”**

It was said in conclusion, notably by Professor Galadanci, and strongly supported by Alhaji Abubakar Gumi, that our Governments contributed to the discord amongst the various groups by creating, as it were, a vacuum in its policy formation and thereby also in the spiritual part of humanity. We quote “I thought human beings have three important parts in them, we have the physical, the intellectual and the spiritual. Now, Government is doing quite a lot to develop and improve the physical wellbeing of the people. Secondly, Government is doing all it can to develop the intellectual abilities of the citizens in this country. We have schools, secondary schools, teacher training colleges, polytechnics and intellectual abilities of the citizens in this country. **Unfortunately nothing has been done about religion. We do not have to declare any State religion before the Government take this.....after all Religion is a very important part of culture.**

In the light of the foregoing and the evidence before this Tribunal, in addition to that from witnesses already mentioned, including also the testimony of His Royal Highness, the Emir of Kano, the Ex-Emir of Kano, His Royal Highness, Sir Muhammadu Sanusi and His Royal Highness the Sultan of Sokoto, any measures designed to promote peace and harmony which includes stability must stem from an acceptance of three basic principles.

(a) That the affected people or groups of people are lovers of religion which forms an important aspect of their life. In fact it is more appropriate to say that it goes to the very root of their existence manifested by the total degree of daily devotion to Islamic education and prayers.

(b) That inspite of all efforts by Government Authorities, Emirs and Voluntary religious organizations, such as the JNI, including also the partially successful endeavor at legislative control attempted in Sokoto State in 1979, the fact remains that discord and conflicts sometimes complicated by leadership crisis, (Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki) sometimes by factors of affiliation to political parties certainly since 1979 have continued to feature prominently in inter-religious group relations and,

(c) That because instability and threats to public peace and order are a natural consequence of the religious clashes which the discord breeds with the potential for escalating into serious disturbances such as we witnessed recently in Kano, the matter should assume the nature of a major concern to all Governments of the Federation.”³²

Recommendations of the Commission

The Commission made the recommendations below in addition to other recommendations: “Accordingly the Tribunal recommends to State Government both the Galadanci Report and the consequent Sokoto State Edict of 1979 for consideration and adaptation in terms suitable to local conditions. **Government should avoid showing preference to particular religious groups: Above all, Governments must refrain totally from exhibiting any attitude of special patronage or show of preference or favor to any particular religious groups or leaders. They also have a duty to ensure a fair and even distribution of the nation’s meager resources to enable all shades of accredited religious opinions wishing to reach the people to do so provided that they conform with existing regulations.** We are of the opinion that in so doing one of the proclaimed sources of bitterness would be removed.” It is the view of the presenter that till date, Governments of Nigeria have shown special patronage to Sunni Muslims in Nigeria.

Finally, it is the view of this Tribunal that so much work is yet to be done to educate the public on the need for tolerance and co-existence in a plural and secular society such as Nigeria. That we are part and parcel of a changing world and that the process is a continuing one from which fresh and exacting challenge will emanate from time to time and must be contained within reason and the law of the land. Maitatsine has departed from the scene of the religious conflict after falling victim to the ‘virus of intolerance which he typified and gave expression to by violent reactions, kidnapping and slaughtering of innocent human beings. He even turned himself into a fake “prophet” and, in so doing, desecrated all the goodness and reverence that Islam stand for.”³³

From the above background, this presenter insist that it is the conflict between these two sects of Islam the Sunni headed by Saudi Arabia and Shiite headed by Iran and the working relationship between the two sects today that the Federal Republic of Nigeria headed by President Buhari have decided to provide an alibi – that the Shiite are the ones and not the Sunni who are Islamizing Nigeria to cover his government’s Islamization policy which includes conventional and stealth jihad. It is the tale of the pot calling the kettle black. The above facts constitute an incontrovertible fact that Nigeria has been Islamized by both Shiite and Sunni Islamic sects in the country. Now that it has been established without a shadow of doubt that the Federal Government is involved in the Islamization of Nigeria, it is the duty of all Nigerians, including the Church, to demand

³² Report of Tribunal of Inquiry on Kano Disturbances pgs. 88 - 90

³³ Report of Tribunal of Inquiry on Kano Disturbances pg. 91

that the Federal Government should stop its Islamization policy and return the country to Constitutionalism and Democracy. This is what the Constitution demands of us as citizens of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

President Shehu Shagari's view of the Report

Shehu Shagari was unable to implement Aniagolu's recommendations fully but he wrote in his Autobiography "I appointed a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the causes, determine the extent of damage and submit recommendations on how best to prevent a recurrence. Eventually, the Council of States deliberated on the issue and agreed on certain measures to be taken by the Federal and State Governments to deal with or prevent such ugly situations in the future. The Federal Government also paid compensations to the victims of the disturbances. The captured rioters remained in custody for a considerable period without being arraigned to court due to some legal technicalities. After about two years, they were released on grounds of prison de-congestion exercise approved by the Council of States. After their release, the aliens among them were deported. Ironically, the remnants of the Maitatsine fanatics eventually re-grouped and reappeared at Bulumkuttu Quarters, on the outskirts of Maiduguri, in 1983, and almost repeated the same carnage as the one inflicted upon Kano previously. There were subsequent 'Maitatsine' uprising in Kaduna and Gombe, but each was dealt with decisively by the Police who had by then developed some experience and confidence in how to deal with war like fanatics. It must be pointed out, however, that the re-occurrence of this nasty episode could have been prevented if all the governments of the federation had co-operated sufficiently and implemented the recommendations of the Aniagolu Commission which investigated the first disturbance of Kano in 1982. Unfortunately, some of the State Governments, especially the Kano State Government, for purely political reasons, had refused to co-operate. This is yet another example of the tragedies of the politics of confrontation of our opponents in the Second Republic."³⁴

The military was able to unite the different Islamic sects in Nigeria that resulted in the gains of Islamism now being exhibited in all the arms of Government and its three tiers – Federal, State and Local Government to the disadvantage of non-Muslim Nigerians. From the above facts, Lugard by not allowing proselytizing in Muslim areas in Northern Nigeria helped in Islamizing Northern Nigeria. Sir Ahmadu Bello the Sardauna of Sokoto and Premier of Northern Province continued where Lugard stopped by establishing the Jama'tu Nasril Islam (JNI) promoting conversion campaigns that today, **we have a Nigeria where the Islamists have become the Neo-colonial masters.**

Daily Trust of October 12, 2019 in an article titled **They're free to be Shiites but not IMN members – IGP Adamu**, it was reported: "The Inspector-General of Police (IGP), Mohammed Abubakar Adamu, was a member of the federal government delegation to the United Kingdom that met with legal experts and visited some international media outlets in London over the \$9.6bn case with Process and Industrial Development (P&ID). On the sidelines of their meetings at the Nigeria High Commission, he spoke with Daily Trust on security and peace initiatives in some parts of the country, the proscription of IMN and the P&ID case, among other things. Excerpts: **IGP Adamu: No, it's not every Shiite that is targeted. There is an organization called the Islamic Movement in Nigeria (IMN). That's the organization that has been proscribed. So, if you're a**

³⁴ Shehu Shagari: Beckoned to Serve, pgs. 324- 325

member, you're a terrorist, you either denounce being a member of the organization, behave well and recognize the government, because they don't recognize our constitution, they don't recognize constituted authority, in as much as you don't recognize our government and you don't recognize our constitution and you are a member of that movement, you're a terrorist. And if you come out to protest or to disrupt the peace of everybody, we treat you as a terrorist. [Emphasis supplied]

The above statement by the IGP is evidence that the Executive arm of Government is involved in stealth jihad and is now convenient to use the IMN who were once partners to the Sunni Muslims as alibi or scape-goats with respect to Islamization of Nigeria.

Jihad as a Tenet of Islam

Islamic jurisprudence, fiqh in Arabic, forms the legal context for Sharia and its rulings. As such, it relies first and foremost on the Quran and cites its verses to support the caliphate and jihad. Nigeria has a Caliphate and requires Jihad to make it complete as has been shown earlier.

Sharia 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 Sharia 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), 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 animists: convert, die or submit to Islam as dhimmis. [96: See Mark Durie, *The Third Choice: Islam, Dhimmitude and Freedom*, (Deror Books, 2009)] It would appear that it is this choice that Islamists in government, Boko Haram, Fulani herdsmen are offering to Christians, Animists and non-Islamist Muslims.

In the Quran and in later Muslim usage, the word jihad is commonly followed by the expression *fi sabil Allah*, "in the path of Allah." [97: Douglas E. Streusand, "What Does Jihad Mean?" *Middle East Quarterly*, September 1997. For a listing of all appearances in the Quran of Jihad and related words, see Mohammed Fu'ad 'Abd al-Baqi, *Al-Mu'jam al-Mufahras li-Alfaz al-Quran al-Karim* (Cairo, Matabi' ash-Sha'b, 1278), 182-83; and Hanna

E. Kassis, *A Concordance of the Quran* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 587-88]. **By describing the warfare of jihad as something sanctioned by Allah himself, Islamic authorities set it apart from the common tribal warfare of the time and elevated it to a superior status as something sacred.** This is what we face in Nigeria and to tell us otherwise, is yet another stealth jihad and Taqiyya or deceit.

The West and the Arabs

The cause of the renewed conflict between Islam and the West thus lie in fundamental questions of power and culture. Kto? Kovo? **Who is to Rule? Who is to be Ruled?** The central issue of politics defined by Lenin is the root of the contest between Islam and the West. There is, however, the additional conflict, which Lenin would have considered meaningless, between two different versions of what is right and what is wrong and, as a consequence, who is right and who is wrong? So long as Islam remains Islam (which it will) and the West remains the West (which is more dubious), this fundamental conflict between two great civilizations and ways of life will continue to define their relations in the future even as it has defined them for the past fourteen centuries. Nigerian Christians do not seem to appreciate this fact.

These relations are further roiled by a number of substantive issues on which their positions differ or conflict. Historically one major issue was the control of territory, but that is now relatively insignificant. Nineteen of twenty-eight fault line conflicts in the mid-1990s between Muslims and non-Muslims were between Muslims and Christians. Eleven were with Orthodox Christians and seven with adherents of Western Christianity in Africa and Southeast Asia. Only one of these violent or potentially violent conflicts, that between Croats and Bosnians, occurred directly along the fault line between the West and Islam. The effective end of Western territorial imperialism and the absence so far of renewed Muslim territorial expansion have produced a geographical segregation so that only in a few places in the Balkans do Western and Muslim communities directly border on each other.

Conflicts between the West and Islam thus focus less on territory than on broader inter-civilizational issues such as weapons proliferation, human rights and democracy, control of oil, migration, Islamist terrorism, and Western intervention.”³⁵ Until non-Muslim Nigerians appreciate these points, plan for self defence, Nigeria may never know peace.

Sharia and Jihad

What is meant by “jihad”? Is it merely a personal struggle to be the best possible Muslim? Or does it mean holy war, the pursuit of a global Islamic state (caliphate) that rules in accordance with Sharia? Sharia 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).

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³⁵ Clashes of Civilization and the Remarking of World Order, Samuel P. Huntington pg. 212

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)

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Thus, Christians and Jews are afforded a third choice not available to polytheists: convert, die or submit to Islam as dhimmis.

In the Quran and in later Muslim usage, the word jihad is commonly followed by the expression *fi sabil Allah*, “in the path of Allah.” By describing the warfare of jihad as something sanctioned by Allah himself, Islamic authorities set it apart from the common tribal warfare of the time and elevated it to a superior status as something sacred.

The Application of Sharia

The enemy fights jihad at the command of and in legal compliance with Sharia expressly to achieve its global imposition. Indeed, Sharia is law of the land within the Dar al-Islam (Abode of Islam or those places where Sharia is implemented) and its imposition within the Dar al-Harb (Abode of War or places where Sharia is not implemented at all or not fully implemented).

For example, consider the commentary about the importance of Sharia and its centrality to Islam of Abdur Rahman I. Doi. Doi, who died in 1999, born in India but lived and taught Islamic law in Malaysia, Nigeria (where he taught in ABU Zaria), and South Africa. In **Sharia: The Islamic Law**, he wrote: In the Sharia, there is an explicit emphasis on the fact that Allah is the Lawgiver and the whole ummah, the nation of Islam, is merely His trustee. It is because of this principle that the ummah enjoys a derivative rule-making power and not an absolute law-creating prerogative. The Islamic State, like the whole of what one might call Islamic political psychology, views the Dar al-Islam (Abode of Islam) as one vast homogeneous commonwealth of people who have a common ideology in all matters both spiritual and temporal. The entire Muslim ummah lives under the Sharia to which every member has to submit, with sovereignty belonging to Allah alone.³⁶

For Doi, Sharia is incompatible with democracy: “It is because of this principle that the Ummah enjoys a derivative rule-making power.” Unfortunately, that is not a minority view. Rather, it is the position of the collective Islamic scholars speaking in consensus (*ijma*).

³⁶ Abdur Rahman I. Doi, *Shariah: The Islamic Law*. (Kuala Lumpur: A.S. Noordeen, 1984), 5. Cited hereafter as Doi, *shariah*

“Sovereignty in Islam is the prerogative of Almighty Allah alone. He is the absolute arbiter of values and it is His will that determines good and evil, right and wrong.”³⁷

“Islam, it is generally acknowledged, is a ‘complete way of life’ and at the core of this code is the law of Islam.” It follows that: “No other sovereign or authority is acceptable to the Muslim, unless it guarantees the application of these laws [Sharia] in their entirety. **Any other legal system, howsoever attractive it may appear on the surface, is alien for Muslims** and is not likely to succeed in the solution of their problems; it would be doomed from the start...A comprehensive application of these laws, which flow directly or indirectly from the decrees (ahkam) of Allah, would mean that they should regulate every area of life, from politics to private transactions, from criminal justice to the laws of traffic, from ritual to international law, and from the laws of taxation and finance to embezzlement and white collar crimes.”³⁸ [Emphasis supplied]

For those who hold out hope that a more moderate form of Sharia might exist or be developed that would be more compatible with Western mores, principles, and rights, Doi makes the point that Sharia is absolutely immutable: The Sharia was not revealed for limited application for a specific age. It will suit every age and time. It will remain valid and shall continue to be, till the end of this life on earth. Its injunctions were coined in such a manner that they are not affected by the lapse of time. They do not become obsolete, nor do their general principles and basic theories need to be changed or renovated.³⁹

In fact, as was noted above, doctrinal Islam holds that within the first two centuries after the death of Mohammed, the Mujtaheed (the recognized Islamic scholars of the day) came to consensus (ijma) regarding various aspects of Sharia. Once the Mujtaheed completed this process, and an agreement among the scholars was established on an issue, that element of Islamic law became permanently established as an element of sacred law.

“The Sharia cannot be amended to conform to changing human values and standards. Rather, it is the absolute norm to which all human values and conduct must conform.”⁴⁰

Sharia is a program wholly at odds with the democratic form of government and way of life: “Muslims know that Allah is the Supreme Being in the universe, therefore, His laws and commandments must form the basis for all human affairs.”⁴¹ It also notes that, “The basis of the legal and political system is the Sharia of Allah. Its main sources are the

³⁷ Mohammed Hashim Kamali, *Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence*, 3d rev. ed., (Cambridge, UK, The Islamic Text Society, 2003), 8.

³⁸ Mohammed Hashim Kamali, *Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence*, 3d rev. ed., (Cambridge, UK, The Islamic Text Society, 2003), 8.

³⁹ Abdur Rahman I. Doi, *Shariah: The Islamic Law*. (Kuala Lumpur: A.S. Noordeen, 1984), 5. Cited hereafter as Doi, shariah. 466

⁴⁰ Hamdy Al-Husseini & Abdullah Farag, IOL Correspondents, “IAMS Delegation to Visit Darfur: Al-Qaradawi,” IslamOnline.net, Hamdy Al-Husseini & Abdullah Farag, September 1, 2006, accessed June 12 2010, <http://www.islamonline.net/English/News/2004-09/01/article02.shtml>

⁴¹ Yahiya Emerick. *What Islam is all About: A Student Textbook, Grades 7 to 12*, 5th rev. ed. (Lebanon, Noorart, 2004), 381.

Quran and Sunnah. Muslims dream of establishing the power of Islam in the world.”⁴² In short, “The law of the land is the Sharia of Allah.”⁴³

The Classical Sources on Jihad

There are, moreover, a number of recognized compilations that systematize and codify Islamic law. They spell out the duty of jihad as holy war, which all Muslims, must advance in one or more carefully delineated ways.

In Chapter O, 09.0, Reliance of the Traveler states: “Jihad means to wage war against non-Muslims, and is etymologically derived from the word mujahada, signifying warfare to establish the religion. And it is the lesser Jihad.” Al-Misri goes on to explain that the “greater” jihad is the struggle for the spiritual self.⁴⁴ Under Sharia, the meaning of ‘jihad’ connotes force and violence.

Contemporary Advocates of Jihad

Moving to modern times, Abu al-A’la Mawdudi (1903-79), the Indian-born (and later, Pakistani) thinker, paved the way for Muslim Brotherhood ideologues such as Hasan al-Banna (1906-49) and Sayyid Qutb (1906-56) to recast modern jihad in the fiery language of revolution and anti-colonialism of the times and not just strictly warfare to expand Islamic legal and political dominance – whether against oppressive colonialist forces or Muslim rulers (“the near enemy”) who were judged apostates because of their failure to uphold Sharia. An article on March 13, 2010 by the Islamic cleric, Iman al-Khashab. It extolled the virtues of jihad, provided doctrinal references for his position and described violent warfare against infidels as the “sixth pillar of Islam.” Al-Khashab wrote: Jihad in the path of Allah is a mainstay of the religion and a great religious duty, as the Prophet (PBUH) said: “The most important thing is Islam, and it is supported by prayer, and its apex is jihad in the path of Allah.”⁴⁵

The Shiite and Iranian Views of Jihad

Khomeini’s ideology found its way into the 1989 Iranian constitution, as well. In the Chapter dealing with the “Religious Army,” better known as the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC). Quranic verse 8:60: “Against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power, including steeds of war, to strike terror into the hearts of the enemies of God and your enemies, and others besides.”

It was this pan-Islamic perspective that brought the Iranian regime and its terror proxy Hezbollah to work with Osama bin-Laden, Ayman al-Zawahiri and an incipient al Qaeda in Sudan in the early 1990s in an operational alliance to conduct a unified jihad against the West. That Sunni-Shi’a alliance, formed under the aegis of the Sudanese Islamic figure, Hasan al-Turabi, solidified and intensified throughout the 1990s, with joint attacks against Khobar Towers (1996), two American embassies in East Africa (1998), the USS Cole (2000) and the attacks of September 11, 2001. The Sunni Shiite alliance also took place in Nigeria in 1980 in ABU riots against Christians.

⁴² Emerick, What Islam is All About, 377.

⁴³ Emerick, What Islam is All About, 376.

⁴⁴ Ahmad ibn Naqib al-Misri, Umdat al-Salik (Reliance of the Traveller: A Classic Manual of Islamic Sacred Law), rev. ed., trans. Nuh Ha Mim Keller. (Beltsville, Amana Publications, 1994).

⁴⁵ Translating Jihad, March 18, 2010, <http://translating-jihad.blogspot.com/2010/03/moheet-purpose-of-jihad-isto-establish.html>

There is no basis in doctrinal Islam for concluding that jihad means anything other than waging holy war for the implementation of Sharia and the establishment of the caliphate throughout the world. Indeed, a scholarly consensus on the definition of jihad was achieved over a thousand years ago – because it was impossible not to have consensus on the question: Allah commanded it and Mohammed confirmed it. In both direct and indirect divine revelation, the meaning of jihad as holy war was made clear.

Jihad is Obligatory

It is important next 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 the Muslim community, the holy war is a religious duty, because of the universalism of the Muslim mission and [the obligation to] convert everybody to Islam either by persuasion or by force.” Ibn Khaldun asserts that this is because Islam is “under obligation to gain power over other nations.”⁴⁶ Damage inflicted upon the enemy may consist in damage to his property, injury to his person or violation of his personal liberty, i.e., that he is made a slave and is appropriated.

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 them, enslave them, kill them, 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 and the first to write extensively on the *Siyar* or Islamic Law of Nations. An important staple of Islamic jurisprudence, Shaybani’s *Siyar* was translated and annotated by the respected contemporary scholar, Majid Khadduri, in 1966. 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. This seems to explain the religious disturbance in Northern Nigeria since the Kano riot of 1954.

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. . . . The army may launch the attack by night or by day and it is permissible to burn [the enemy] fortifications with fire or to inundate them with water.**

⁴⁶ “Shariah-Compliant Finance: Benign or Belligerent?” Continuing Legal Education Course (Law Offices of David Yerushalmi, P.C. May 2009), <http://www.davidyerushalmi.com/Law-Offices-of-David-Yerushalmi-presentshariah-compliant-finance--disclosure--seminar-for-online-viewing-b9-p1.html>

Al-Shaybani's injunction dealt with the requirement to issue the call to Islam (dawa) before launching an attack (jihad) against the infidel. This legal requirement remains valid and relevant today. Al-Qayrawani also notes the choice given to People of the Book (Christians and Jews), who are not compelled to convert, but may submit to Islam, pay the jizya, and live under Muslim domination as dhimmis: Since lawful warfare is essentially jihad and since its aim is that the religion is Allah's entirely and Allah's word is uppermost, therefore according to all Muslims, those who stand in the way of this aim must be fought. As for those who cannot offer resistance or cannot fight, such as women, children, monks, old people, the blind, handicapped and their likes, they shall not be killed unless they actually fight with words (e.g., by propaganda) and acts.

Civilization or Stealth Jihad

Jihad in the form of violent acts, often referred to by some as "kinetic" jihad, dominates the attention of most Christians and Animists in Nigeria. However the more dangerous threat, especially in the long run, is what the Muslim Brotherhood calls "civilization jihad" – a form of warfare that Robert Spencer claims has more popularly been dubbed "stealth jihad."

According to him, this form of jihad is considered an integral, even dominant element of jihad that is at least as obligatory for Sharia's adherents as the violent kind. Dawa - the call to Islam that by Islamic law must precede jihad, simply because this kind of assault do not kill but intended to subjugate. Inability to appreciate the threat posed by stealth jihad, jihadists are free to proceed unimpeded, infiltrating and subverting along lines specifically tailored to today's liberal, multicultural-minded non-Muslim populations in ways that are genuinely difficult to recognize, oppose or counter. An example of stealth jihad is Federal Government's refusal to allow State Police but would however allow States to rely on hunters and vigilantes for State security. The same is the case where elected persons in the National Assembly are allowed to nominate and declare their salaries. The development which has led to the situation where they are the highest paid legislators in the world, is designed to compromise the law makers to allow for Sharia pliant laws in the country.

The objective of the Stealth Jihad is the same as the violent: subjugation of Dar al-Harb to Sharia, which would result in the non-Muslim world being subsumed under Dar al-Islam.

Other Tenets of Sharia

Abrogation ('Al-mansukh wa al-nasikh' in Arabic—the abrogated and the abrogating): verses that come later in the Quran, chronologically, supersede, or abrogate, the earlier ones. In effect, this results in the more moderate verses of the Meccan period being abrogated by the later, violent, Medinan verses. "When we cancel a message, or throw it into oblivion, we replace it with one better or one similar. Do you not know that God has power over all things?" (Quran 2:106)

Apostasy ('Irtidad' or 'Ridda' in Arabic): The established ruling of Sharia is that apostates are to be killed wherever they may be found. "Anyone who, after accepting Faith in Allah, utters Unbelief, except under compulsion, his heart remaining firm in Faith—but such as open their heart to Unbelief—on them is Wrath from Allah, and theirs will be a dreadful Penalty." (Q 16:106) "Leaving Islam is the ugliest form of unbelief (kufr) and the worst.... When a person who has reached puberty and is sane voluntarily apostasizes from Islam,

he deserves to be killed...There is no indemnity for killing an apostate..." (Umdat al-Salik, Reliance of the Traveler, Chapter 08.0-08.4)

To understand what is meant by kufr, or unbelief, it is instructive to move on to Book O, "Justice" in the Reliance of the Traveler. In the Chapter on "Apostasy from Islam," it states:

- "Leaving Islam is the ugliest form of unbelief and the worst."
- "Whoever voluntarily leaves Islam is killed."
- "When a person who has reached puberty and is sane voluntarily apostatizes from Islam, he deserves to be killed."

This is an absolute rule in Sharia that does not admit of an alternate interpretation. Recall Abdul Rahman, the Afghan national who, in 2006, converted to Christianity. When the Islamic authorities found out about his conversion, Rahman was sentenced to death for apostasy. The European Union determined this was a human rights violation and they reacted by threatening to withhold five hundred million euros in economic aid from Afghanistan.

This created a significant political and legal issue for Afghan President Hamid Karzai. If he failed to put Rahman to death for apostasy, he would be violating Islamic law (and the Afghani Constitution in which Sharia is the Law of the Land) and failing in his duty as a Muslim leader. If carried out the sentence, he would lose the European economic aid.

The solution: Rahman was declared insane. Under Islamic law, declaring a person insane is one of the only ways a Muslim leader (who is required to follow Sharia) can avoid putting the apostate to death. In the Western world, this would be an abominable human rights violation, but under Sharia, it can be the only thing that allows the authorities to avoid imposing the death sentence that is prescribed by Islamic law for apostasy.

The enumerated reasons in Sharia for declaring a Muslim an "apostate" include: "to deny any verse of the Koran or anything which by scholarly consensus...belongs to it" and "to deny the obligatory character of something which by the consensus of Muslim...is a part of Islam." This means that Islamic law makes violation of scholarly consensus an unambiguous act of apostasy.

So, if one were to disagree with something where there is consensus among the scholars, one could be charged with apostasy and put to death. This Sharia concept of "scholarly consensus" effectively precludes any effort to moderate or reform any element of Sharia sustained by such consensus.

Reliance underscores the magnitude of the crime of apostasy in Book C, "The Nature of Legal Rulings": Here, the author notes, "Scholars distinguish between three levels of the unlawful: (1) minor sins...; (2) enormities...; and (3) unbelief (kufr), sins which put one beyond the pale of Islam... and necessitate stating a Testification of Faith..."

The only way a Muslim who is declared a "kufr" can escape this is to recant and recite the Shahada (the declaration of Islamic faith in Allah and the Prophet), thus declaring a new testimony of faith. He has to re-enter the Islamic faith, as it were.

Gender Inequality: Testimony of a woman before a judge is worth half that of a man. Women are to receive just one half the inheritance of a male. Muslim men are given permission by Allah in the Quran to beat their wives: “As to those women on whose part ye fear disloyalty and ill conduct, admonish them first, next refuse to share their beds, and last, beat them.” Muslim men are given permission by Allah to commit marital rape, as they please: “Your wives are as a tilth unto you, so approach your tilth when or how ye will....” Muslim men are permitted to marry up to four wives and to keep concubines in any number: “...Marry women of your choice, two, or three, or four; but if ye fear that ye shall not be able to deal justly with them, then only one, or a captive that your right hands possess...” Muslim women may marry only one Muslim man and are forbidden from marrying a non-Muslim. Under Sharia, to bring a claim of rape, a Muslim woman must present four male Muslim witnesses in good standing. Islam thus places the burden of avoiding illicit sexual encounters entirely on the woman. A Muslim woman who divorces and remarries loses custody of children from a prior marriage.

Hudud Punishments: is “a fixed penalty prescribed as a right of Allah. Because hudud penalties belong to Allah, Islamic law does not permit them to be waived or commuted. Let not compassion move you in their case, in a matter prescribed by Allah, if you believe in Allah and the Last Day: and let a party of believers witness their punishment.” (Qur’an 24:2) On that account, We ordained for the children of Israel that if any one slew a [Muslim] person—unless it be for murder or for spreading mischief in the land—it would be as if he slew the whole people....The punishment for those who wage war against Allah and his apostle, and strive with might and main for mischief through the land is execution, or crucifixion, or the cutting off of hands and feet from opposite sides, or exile from the land...” (Q 32-33)

Islamic Supremacism: belief that Islam is superior to every other culture, faith, government, and society and that it is ordained by Allah to conquer and dominate them: “And whoever desires a religion other than Islam, it shall not be accepted from him, and in the hereafter he shall be one of the losers.” (Q 3:85); Ye are the best of Peoples, evolved for mankind.” (Q 3:110); Non-Muslims are “the most vile of created beings” (Q 98:6); Be “merciful to one another, but ruthless to the unbelievers” (Q 48:29); It is the nature of Islam to dominate, not to be dominated, to impose its law on all nations and to extend its power to the entire planet.” (Hassan al-Banna, founder of the Muslim Brotherhood); Islam isn’t in America to be equal to any other faith, but to become dominant. The Koran should be the highest authority in America, and Islam the only accepted religion on Earth.” (Omar Ahmad, Council on American Islamic Relations co-founder/Board Chairman, 1998)

Lying/Taqiyya: It is permissible for a Muslim to lie, especially to non-Muslims, to safeguard himself personally or to protect Islam. Let not the believers take the disbelievers as friends instead of the believers, and whoever does that, will never be helped by Allah in any way, unless you indeed fear a danger from them. And Allah warns you against Himself, and to Allah is the final return.” (Q 3:28). He who makes peace between the people by inventing good information or saying good things, is not a liar.” (Bukhari vol.3:857 p.533)

Slander/Blasphemy: In Sharia, slander means anything that might offend a Muslim: “... The reality of tale-bearing lies in divulging a secret, in revealing something confidential

whose disclosure is resented. A person should not speak of anything he notices about people besides that which benefits a Muslim to relate or prevent disobedience.” (‘Umdat al-Salik, r3.1)

Zakat: the obligation for Muslims to pay zakat arises out of Qur’an Verse 9:60 and is one of the Five Pillars of Islam. Zakat may be given only to Muslims, never to non-Muslims. Zakat is for the poor and the needy, and those employed to administer the (funds); for those whose hearts have been (recently) reconciled (to Truth); for those in bondage and in debt; in the cause of Allah; and for the wayfarer: (thus is it) ordained by Allah, and Allah is full of knowledge and wisdom. (Q 9:60) “Of their goods take alms so that thou mightiest purify and sanctify them....” (Q 9:103) “Zakat is obligatory: (a) for every free Muslim and (b) who has possessed a zakat-payable amount [the minimum that necessitates zakat] (‘Umdat al-Salik, h1.1). According to Sharia, there are eight categories of recipients for Zakat: The poor; Those short of money; Zakat workers (those whose job it is to collect the zakat); Those whose hearts are to be reconciled; Those purchasing their freedom; Those in debt; Those fighting for Allah (Jihad); Travelers needing money (‘Umdat al-Salik, h8.7-h8.18) • “It is not permissible to give Zakat to a non-Muslim...” (‘Umdat al-Salik, h8.24)

Concept of Sacred Space

The concept of Sacred Space is a well-developed one in Sharia, which centuries of commentary have established as authoritative. Indeed, Sharia is an aggressively territorial system that holds all land on earth has been given by Allah to Muslims in perpetuity: Since the world already belongs in its entirety to Muslims – whether currently in reality or prospectively – they are both destined and obligated to dominate it.

Land already conquered and occupied by Muslims as well as any space ever gained in the past for the forces of the faith are waqf and considered sacred ground, endowed by Allah to the ummah or Muslim people forever. If ever such space has been lost, it is the duty of all Muslims to regain it, by jihad, if necessary. In keeping with the Sharia principle of Sacred Space, each of these places is to remain the target of declarations of ownership by the forces of jihad and repeated terrorist attacks and plots by Muslim jihadis intent upon returning them to the Dar al-Islam.

Sacralizing new or reclaimed territory for Islam is an ongoing venture in which migrant and converted Muslim communities in the West are constantly engaged. Such Muslims may first sacralize the spaces within their own homes and mosques while later generations typically move outward to claim an ever expanding share of the public space. This Muslim mission to sacralize new physical ground for Islam has been especially obvious in Europe. There gigantic mosques “mega-mosques”) have been going up across the continent since the mid-20th century, when infusions of Saudi oil money began to make such massive buildings possible. The mosques, with their towering minarets, attest in a deliberately physical way to the presence and dominance of Islam. As Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan stated in 1998, “The mosques are our barracks, the domes our helmets, the minarets our bayonets, and the faithful our soldiers.”

The neighborhoods around such mosques often are purchased in an incremental way, too, gradually expanding to encompass apartment buildings and even entire city blocks occupied exclusively by Muslims. This tactic (in the U.S.) often involves Muslim real

estate agents who ensure homes occupied by Muslim will always be occupied by Muslim families. By establishing such a network of Muslim-controlled space, in which adherence to Sharia is enforced and from which non-Muslims are excluded, Islamic communities seek the ability to live in imitation of Mohammed and the earliest Muslims after the hijra (the move from Mecca to Medina). Muslims also demonstrate their dominance by requiring non-Muslims who may be permitted access to such areas to comply with Sharia while in Muslim space.

In many cases, as these areas expand, they become not only ghettos where crime flourishes among an immigrant population that refuses to assimilate, but actual Sacred Space where Sharia is practiced in contravention and supersession of local law. All too often, as is the case in France and elsewhere, such enclaves are avoided by the security forces, which literally cede sovereignty by abrogating their duty to enforce local law in such areas.

The concept of Sacred Space also explains why Muslims who conquer enemy territory traditionally erect mosques and Islamic Centers literally on top of the destroyed sacred places of other faiths. Examples of this practice include: the great Hagia Sophia mosque in Istanbul (formerly the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Constantinople); the al-Aqsa Mosque and Dome of the Rock Mosque, both built on Jerusalem's Temple Mount, directly above the remnants of the Jewish Second Temple; and the Cordoba mosque complex – the third largest in the world – which transformed a Christian cathedral in the capital city of the Moorish kingdom. The city conquered in the 8th century, was the headquarters of what came to be known as the “Cordoba Caliphate” for the next 500 years.

Sometimes, mere proximity to Muslims' Sacred Space, where displays of Islamic supremacy are expected, is sufficient to compel Westerners to censor their speech or alter their behavior or dress. Examples include female journalists who don a headscarf for an interview with a Muslim personage and Western political figures who do the same thing, even when they are visiting Muslim heads of state whose own wives do not wear the hijab. This sort of behavior demonstrates a kind of pre-emptive submission on the part of non-Muslim Westerners who adopt a subservient mentality of dhimmitude, erroneously believing their diplomacy, interview or outreach will better for it.

Nigeria a Miracle

From the facts above, it is nothing short of a miracle that Nigeria can still exist as the only country in the present world where both Christian and Muslim population are equal. It has become very clear that whereas the Muslims want to give Christians the North African treatment of the 13th century – convert Christians through jihad to Islam, the Christians want to give Muslims the modern treatment that Christianity and Democracy provides life more abundantly and to provide life here on earth as it is in heaven. While Muslims in Nigeria are prepared for war (jihad) and would appear to be rehearsing with Boko Haram, Fulani herdsmen and bandits, the Christians are relying on miracles. An understanding of the precarious nature of the existence of Christian/Muslim in Nigeria would help in no small measure in the view of this presenter to formalize the miracles.

Chapter Five

The Sultanate and Nigeria

The Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs on October 9, 2019 issued a press statement titled Muslim and the Nation, which, no doubt, undermines our Democracy. Part of the statement reads:

1. The Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (NSCIA), under the leadership of its President-General and Sultan of Sokoto, His Eminence, Alhaji mad Sa'ad Abubakar, CFR, mni, held its Expanded General Purpose Committee Meeting on Saturday, Muharram 28,1441 (September 28,2019) in Abuja.
2. The meeting engaged in a critical assessment of the state of the nation, expressed serious concerns about the frequency and intensity of kidnapping, banditry and bloodletting. The Council urged the Federal Government, the security agencies and all stakeholders to urgently reverse the ugly trend.
3. The Council appreciated the social intervention programme of the Federal Government and acknowledged the creation of the Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs, Disaster Management and Social Development to coordinate such interventions in the given areas. It is our view that there is a strong relationship between poverty and insecurity and this view is reinforced by the saying that a hungry man is an angry man. We urge Government to provide enough resources for the Ministry to actualize the needed interventions in making life more meaningful to the displaced, the disadvantaged and the unemployed.
4. The Council urged restraint on the issue of mosque/ DPC demolition in Rivers State while awaiting the report of its fact-finding Committee. Meanwhile, we believe that students of Rivers State University (RSU), who had won the case against religious discrimination at the High Court and the Court of Appeal, should be given respite and be allowed to re-build their demolished mosque and practice their religion without let or hindrance. We therefore urge the Rivers State Government to halt its unnecessary and time consuming gimmicks of appealing to the Supreme Court on a matter that is clear and unambiguous. The Council urged the Muslim Students in Rivers State to still bear the pains of the deprivation of fundamental human rights by the Rivers State authorities while the apex Court decides.
5. The Council is mortified by the growing spectrum of hate, bile and bigotry targeted at Muslims in the South Eastern part of Nigeria. We warn that under no condition should the viral threats against Muslims be actualized as those who live in glass houses should not throw stones. We cannot afford to ignite another war. The episode of 1966-1967 should be a lesson to those who can learn from history. What Nigeria needs is mutual cooperation and peaceful co-existence not religious intolerance and ethnic jingoism.
6. The Council also advised Nigerian Muslim girls/ ladies not to shirk away from exercising their religious obligation of wearing hijab in schools and at work places while appealing to anti-hijab elements to toe the line of reason by halting the harassment or intimidation of hijab-wearing Muslim women. As recently published in some National newspapers, United Kingdom and United States of America are among countries where female Muslim military and security personnel are allowed to wear hijab with their uniforms as a mark of recognition for their religious rights. Muslim women should not be barred from wearing hijab in public space In Nigeria.

7. Nigeria cannot reinvent the wheel and those who claim that Muslim women are not educated are the ones using hijab to discourage them from schools and the public space therefore playing unwittingly into the narrative of the extremists who insist that Western education is not compatible with Islam. The anti-hijab hysteria must stop if we are serious about reducing the number of out-of-school-children among whom Muslim girls constitute a significant number.
8. It is rather unfortunate that University of Ibadan whose founding fathers championed the cause of scholarship by establishing the Centre for Arabic Documentation, introduced Certificate and Diploma programmes in Islamic Studies and Arabic, created Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies and tapped the resources of Arabic to create and enrich Ibadan School of History is the same university being used by a bigot to eliminate the programmes, discouraged Muslim girls from International School, Ibadan, segregated Muslims from Christians in the classrooms so that the latter can be given more attention, fixed official meetings for the period of Friday worship and insisted Muslims must be de-Islamized before benefitting from a school established by the university. We insist Boko (western education) is halal (lawful) while the University of Ibadan is insisting on declaring Boko as haram. Lawmakers should initiate bills that would streamline and unambiguously legitimize the use of hijab in public institutions in the country.

The document was signed by one Aselemi Ibrahim, the Head of Public Relations and Communication.

The Sokoto Legacy - Caliphate

The Sokoto Caliphate⁴⁷ was established in the early nineteenth century in much of what later became Northern Nigeria. The caliphate replaced city-state systems which had been officially Muslim for several hundred years, but became highly syncretistic, blending several religious and cultural practices. The caliphate is relevant to an understanding of Ahmadu Bello because it represents the legacy of the political culture and is the largest and most salient pre-colonial community in Nigeria. It followed the Maliki School of law, within the Sunni tradition.

There is a sharp distinction in the literature on the Sokoto Caliphate between the early years of the reformers (p. = *mujaddadai*; s. = *mujaddadi*) who, through their campaign or endeavor (*jihad*) established the patterns of values and leadership in the community, and the later adaptation of authority and community patterns to accommodate many of the local customs (including stratification principles) of the Hausa states and their neighbors.

Thus, the legacy of the Sokoto Caliphate in the early twentieth century is a mixture of original principles and examples, and later institutionalization of the emirate systems.

It is very clear from the above that the caliphate was re-introduced by English speaking Muslim scholars in 1963 to begin the Islamization of Nigeria as Caliphate.

⁴⁷ The term "caliphate" as distinct from "Islamic state" came to be used to describe the Sokoto heritage by English-speaking scholars in about 1963. It is used in a generic sense throughout this book, even where its historical use might appear anachronistic

NSCIA Unfortunate Statement of October 9, 2019

The above press statement by NSCIA is not only unfortunate but very much in bad faith. The Islamists in Nigeria think that Christians are stupid and cowardly and that Taqiyya and voodoo imams have succeeded in shaping the minds of Christians in a manner that any fascist's method adopted by the Muslim Brotherhood in the guise that Islamism is sufficient to replace Democracy, Human Rights and Freedom developed from Christianity can now be replaced by Sharia in Nigeria. It will not work. The attack on Twin Towers in New York on September 11, 2001 only enabled a better Tower to be constructed and served as a memorial to all those who died in the jihad.

The so-called caliphate in parts of Syria and Iraq are supposed to be a show piece, which attracted some Nigerians. This so-called caliphate has however ceased to exist on earth today. The strategies of the Islamists who are now in Magreb are convinced that Africa is available for them to pick. After all Africa South of the Sahara was their hunting ground only the in 19th century which enabled them, Islamists - through the British to introduce Certificate of Occupancy first in the North and, today throughout the country. That Islam is ordained by Allah to conquer and dominate the world. As such, it is sufficient for them (Islamists) to conquer Nigeria and change it from a Democracy to Caliphate in the belief that Islam is superior to every other culture, faith, government and society.

The Islamists in Nigeria were able to co-opt a few Christians who worked to create the impression they are the majority in Nigeria and therefore had the audacity to humiliate and dominate other Nigerians especially the Negro race/indigene that constitute over 70% of the Nigerian population.

Chapter Six

Reasons for Amalgamation in 1914

“In 1906, a further step in amalgamation was affected 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 and in 1905- stood at 5s. 6d. a gallon. In 1912, it afforded an ever-increasing revenue, without any diminution in the quantity imported. This 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 to a country with an aggregate revenue practically equal to its needs, but divided into two by an arbitrary line of latitude. One portion was dependent on a grant paid by the British taxpayer, which, in the year before Amalgamation, stood at £136,000, and averaged £314,500 for the 11 years ending March, 1912.” The above also explains why without gratitude, VAT from alcohol in the South and other areas are shared to include areas where alcohol is not sold.

Railways

To the financial dilemma there was now added a very pressing difficulty in regard to Railway policy and control. The North, to ensure the development of its trade and to

secure its Customs duties, commenced a railway from Baro, a port on the Niger, to Kano in 1906. The South responded by pushing on the Lagos Railway to the Frontier, and obtained the Secretary of State's sanction to carry it on in the North, to effect a junction with the Baro-Kano line at Minna."⁴⁸

The two reasons listed above for amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigerias are for the benefit of the land locked Muslim North. Till date, the Christian South has continued to provide for the Muslim North, yet its leadership has not attempted to use what they have which include ports, oil, gas, etc to get what they want – development and peace. Meanwhile, the Muslim North on the other hand, use cattle to demand that they are entitled to grazing land, RUGA, etc throughout the country and also as an offensive weapon for Jihad. Southern leaders have never regarded the South as a unit, and has never called the attention of the North to the fact that it is landlocked and that the “Southern lady of means” is the one who provides 90% of the money for housekeeping. The Fulani - a minority tribe is thus able to impose their Islamic values on the rest of Nigeria.

Chapter Seven

The North before Independence in 1960

For the above proposition on findings and report of the Commission also referred to as the Willink's Commission to enquire into the fears of minorities and the means of allaying them is very instructive for this purpose.

Willink's Commission

“In the Northern Region today (1958) this Islamic society as its home in the great Emirates of the northern part of the Region and extends in varying degrees towards the south and east. There is the faith and the law of Islam; there is a tribal grouping, the combination of the Fulani, the Hausa, the Nupe and the Kanuri, all formerly ruling tribes, most of whom have long been adherents of Islam; there is the Hausa language, widely used as a lingua franca; there is a system of administration based on the Emir and a feudal pyramid below him—all these elements fusing to make what may for convenience be called the Northern System.”⁴⁹ After independence, the land system and the use of Certificate of Occupancy became the law applicable throughout Nigeria, a land law system which regards non-Northerners – Southerners as aliens who are not entitled to own land in some parts of the North.

“The Northern region, though it contains more than half the population of Nigeria, is far behind the two Southern regions in the number of persons educated in the English language; that is why it was until recently usual to find Southerners throughout the Northern region in posts as clerks, overseers, artisans, ticket collectors and the like; today there is sharp resentment at their presence. They are regarded as foreigners and are now being discouraged, sometimes by very positive steps, from taking or even keeping employment of this kind – a process greatly to the advantage of those whose homes lie

⁴⁸ Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria A. H.M Kirk-Greene pgs. 58 - 59

⁴⁹ Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the fears of Minorities and the means of allaying them pg.

within the Northern region but who were least under the influence of the Northern system and most exposed to missionary influence.”⁵⁰

This is the general background of the 16,148,000 population of the territory, 8,441,000 of whom are Fulani and Hausa; there are 1,175,000 Kanuri and 347,000 Nupe. Thus, if the four tribes who, at different times, ruled over wide areas are taken together, there is in the North, as in the East and West, a majority group, which has a tribal basis, and which may be thought of in contrast to a number of minor ethnic groups; it would however be easy to exaggerate the parallel, because Islam has to some extent blurred the sharp edges of tribal differences and the Islamic way of life is probably a more important fact than tribal Christians.

Hausa/Fulani as recent Ethnic Group in Nigeria

At the beginning of the 19th century, there arose among the Fulani, a nomadic people which had come into the territory more recently than the Hausa, a man of learning and piety, Othman dan Fodio, a reformer and zealot for Islam, who acquired great influence in the Hausa state of Gobir. A stage was eventually reached when there was no room in the state for his authority beside that of the pagan Chief of Gobir, whom he was forced to defy, and there broke out a civil war which is often referred to as a Jihad, though it seems at first to have been reforming revolution and only later an external war against unbelievers. Was not purely tribal; although the Fulani element in Othman dan Fodio party was strong, there were many Hausa with him; it seems to have been struggle between strict Muslims on the one hand and on the other pagan and those who were lax in their observances. The immense prestige of Othman dan Fodio turned the scale and by the end of the first decade the 19th century the orthodox and predominantly Fulani party of dan Fodio was widely successful; he himself became Sarkin Muslimi or Leader of the Faithful and established his capital at Sokoto, when he divided his dominion between his son and his brother, retiring himself to a life of teaching and contemplation. The result of this revolution was that in all but one of the Fourteen Hausa states, a Fulani ruling house was established and each of the fourteen rulers accepted a green flag as a token of spiritual allegiance to Sokoto.⁵¹

Here it should be explained that, in the Northern Region, for most of the people “Government” means “Local Government” the division of powers between the Regional Government and the Local authorities is such that the Emirate constitutes a state within a state. The British officers who succeeded the first administrators under Lugard were scrupulous to observe his promises and the Northern Region has remained behind the protective wall of the Colonial Government as an Islamic society, singularly unaffected by change in the rest of the world: Islamic law of the Maliki school is administered, purdah is observed by women and western innovations are in some quarters regarded with disfavor.⁵²

⁵⁰ Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the fears of Minorities and the means of allaying them pg. 53

⁵¹ Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the fears of Minorities and the means of allaying them pg. 54

⁵² Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the fears of Minorities and the means of allaying them pg. 55

Fears of Minorities in the North including Christians

The principal fear expressed in the Northern Region is that after independence the more conservative tendencies we called the Northern System will gain the upper hand, while recent move in the direction of democracy will be abandoned, together with that tolerance of non-Muslims and all minorities which is at present a part of the NPC political philosophy. **What is feared, in short, is a swing back towards Islamism conservatism and the autocratic rule of the Emirs.** The presence of missionaries in the southern or minority areas led to far more being spent on both schools and hospitals than in the Muslim North.

There are some areas, predominantly pagan or Christian which form part of the Emirates, particularly the southern parts of Zaria and Ilorin. Both areas it has sometimes happened that large groups of non-Muslims have been ruled by District Heads who are officials and are appointed by the Emir and it was represented that this was contrary to the traditions of people who had been accustomed to the rule of traditional Chiefs of their own. This we believe to be a genuine grievance in some areas. These fears regarding Chiefs and the Administration were coupled with a number of allegations regarding the use of contemptuous expressions and social practices. It was alleged that the stricter Muslims would not eat with non-Muslims that they referred to them by contemptuous names, and that it was feared that Muslim practices such as the observance of purdah and prohibition of alcohol would be extended and made compulsory. The reference to contemptuous name Kafri and prohibition is still being used in the pursuit of Islamization.

Among some tribes the consumption of native beer is regarded not only as a pleasure but as a religious duty and is also said to be an important element in diet; it seems to us that to prohibit this among pagan people is a move not likely to be taken by a **Government which intends to retain elections or democratic procedure.** Complaints were made that the teaching of Hausa in schools was compulsory, that minorities were therefore in danger of losing their mother tongue and that this was part of a deliberate plan to strengthen Hausa and Fulani influence throughout the Region. We received representations regarding the position of women in the Northern Region of the future. At present, it is customary among the wealthier Muslim families to observe purdah; women suffer certain disabilities in the law courts under Muslim law (to which we refer in the next chapter) and throughout the **Northern Region women are unable to vote.** In the non-Muslim communities, this distinction between the sexes is regarded as unnatural. It is pertinent to mention the fact that at one-time, seats in the Federal House of Representatives were allocated to the North and South on equal basis, women were not voters and those eligible to vote in the North are thus less than those of the South. This practice has made it impossible for Nigeria to conduct a credible census since amalgamation. To cure this, is to conduct a census devoid of revenue allocation. In other words, State and/or Local Government collect taxes and pay a percentage to the Federal Government. In such a case, both indigenes and settlers will be treated as equal. This seems not to be permitted in Islam under the tenet of Islamic supremacy.

Fear from the Middle East - Islam

From a number of witnesses we heard allegations that the Government of the Northern People's 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. Foreign policy will be a matter for the Federation; if it were true after independence, that the Northern People's Congress held views on foreign affairs quite different from the rest of Nigeria's they would need control of the Federal Government to put them into effect, and they can hardly control the Federal Government without the support of their own minorities. If the NPC could compel the minorities to vote for their candidates, and give them control of foreign policy, then the minorities might have cause for fear. It is surely more likely that they would have to modify their policy to win the votes of non-Muslims. Unfortunately, this policy has not been modified in view of the fact that elections are manipulated.

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. It has been established that all the claims by both Christians and Animists at the time were not only impressive but well-founded.

It was stated that whereas Christian Missions had difficulty in obtaining permission to build churches, Muslims could set up a mosque wherever they liked. This allegation has also been proved to be well-founded.

Hausa/Fulani as an Ideology

He wrote: **“many witnesses have referred to their fears of Fulani-Hausa domination, and though the meaning of this phrase was not always expressed in terms, or even consciously analyzed by those who used it, it clearly implies a system of rule and of society of which an important ingredient is the operation of Muslim Law. Some witnesses have specifically referred to this system of law as an object of fear”**. This shows clearly that the phrase Hausa/Fulani constitute an ideology.

Common Law, Sharia and Native Customs

There are at work - side by side, three distinguishably different systems of law; in the first place, Nigerian law based on the Common law of England as modified by Nigerian and British Statute; Native Law other than Muslim Law; and finally Muslim Law, which, in turn, is divided into the strictly Koranic Law known as Sharia and the law arising from the prerogative of the ruler, which is known as Siyasa. Since 1960 when the word sharia was included in only one section of the Constitution till today, the 1999 Constitution is replete with Sharia. Thus there is the triumph of Sharia over Native law.

To enquire into the relationship between these different systems in any detail would be a task for a special Commission; neither our terms of reference nor the time available to us would permit such an examination, even if we were competent to undertake it. But some consideration must be given to the nature of those fears regarding the law which are felt by minorities.

Fear of Sharia

These fears are, in the main, of two kinds. There are those arising from the fact that Muslim law makes a distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims and there is also a group of fears based on the belief that the judiciary is, at present, closely associated with the executive and that in the future, this association may become closer. The evidence of a male Muslim is of greater value than that of a woman, a Christian or a pagan; indeed, in

some traditions the only evidence that is admissible in any degree is that of an adult male Muslim who is regular in his observance of religious duties ---

It is open to the court to give a Muslim accused the option of swearing on the Koran that he is innocent and if he accepts this challenge he is discharged, being left, if he is really guilty to the vengeance of Heaven. This alternative, however, is not in theory open to a Christian or a Pagan. The Muslim Law of homicide takes no account of intention or provocation, while, under the Common Law and under the Statute Law of Nigeria, provocation may reduce the offence from murder to manslaughter.

Repugnancy Principles

The British colonial masters before independence provided the test to which Sharia law and Native laws must pass before they are accorded recognition. Sharia and Native customs must be in accordance with Common law principles of (a) with natural justice; (b) Equity; and (c) Good conscience.

For the above reasons, some Sharia tenets of taqqiya – lying, jihad, honor killing under Sharia were rejected by the British, only for them to be re-established by law in 2002 in 12 Northern States. The custom of killing of twins, Osu were also rejected as Native customs. The above explains the rationale when “**quote sharia politics**”

British Preference for Fulani as Successors

The British were fixed on the Fulani as their successor and this view was expressed by Lord Lugard himself: “I believe myself that the future of the virile races of this Protectorate lies largely in the regeneration of the Fulani. Their Ceremonial, their colored skins; their mode of life and habits of thought, appeal more to the native population than the prosaic business-like habits of the Anglo-Saxon can ever do. Nor have we the means at present to administer so vast a country. This, then is the policy to which, in my view, the administration of Northern Nigeria should give effect, viz, to regenerate this capable race and mold them to ideas of justice and mercy, so that in the future generation, if not in this, they may become worthy instruments of rule. My desire to utilize the Fulani as rulers has been described in a former report and has met with the approval of the Secretary of State. They are unfit at present to exercise power except under supervision; nor do I hope for any great success in the present generation, but I hope and believe that with careful guidance, their sons and grandsons will form invaluable rulers under British supervision and that their superior intelligence can be developed as a useful asset in our administration.”⁵³

After Lugard, Willink decided that in order to assuage Christians and minorities (Animists) a human right provision would be sufficient to prevent the Islamization of Nigeria. So far, Human Rights provisions have been a stumbling block for the Islamization and a metaphor to Fulani colonization, in that because the Fulani were not the original ethnic nationality, it may be incorrect to say that Northerners are neo-colonialists – colonized by Nigerians. The British know what they were doing, to hand over to the Fulani who came to Nigeria in the 19th century and were lighter skinned Muslims with whom they could do business and are still doing businesses.

⁵³ Lugard: Colonial Report, Northern Nigeria 1902 Page 26, Paragraph

There is need for non-Fulani Nigerians to demand through democratic processes for the Fulani to choose whether they want to be regarded as Africans (Negro) or Arabs Negroid. Non-Fulani Nigerians, especially the Negro who constitute over 70% of the population of Nigerians want to be Nigerians. If the Fulanis opted to be Nigerians, the fear of them and us would have been removed and we can have one Nigeria, one system.

Chapter Eight

Catholic Social Thoughts and the Lay Faithful

Since the establishment of CSMN on September 27, 2001, the Movement has been guided by the Catechism of the Catholic Church and in particular, areas on the lay faithful, participation in social life, the common good and authorities in civil society.

Lay Faithful

On lay faithful: “The term 'laity' is here understood to mean all the faithful except those in Holy Orders and those who belong to a religious state approved by the Church. That is, the faithful, who by Baptism are incorporated into Christ and integrated into the People of God, are made sharers in their particular way in the priestly, prophetic, and kingly office of Christ, and have their own part to play in the mission of the whole Christian people in the Church and in the World.”

“By reason of their special vocation it belongs to the laity to seek the kingdom of God by engaging in temporal affairs and directing them according to God's will.... It pertains to them in a special way so to illuminate and order all temporal things with which they are closely associated that these may always be effected and grow according to Christ and maybe to the glory of the Creator and Redeemer.”

“The initiative of lay Christians is necessary especially when the matter involves discovering or inventing the means for permeating social, political, and economic realities with the demands of Christian doctrine and life. This initiative is a normal element of the life of the Church: Lay believers are in the front line of Church life; for them the Church is the animating principle of human society. Therefore, they in particular ought to have an ever-clearer consciousness not only of belonging to the Church, but of being the Church, that is to say, the community of the faithful on earth under the leadership of the Pope, the common Head, and of the bishops in communion with him. They are the Church.”

“Since, like all the faithful, lay Christians are entrusted by God with the apostolate by virtue of their Baptism and Confirmation, they have the right and duty, individually or grouped in associations, to work so that the divine message of salvation may be known and accepted by all men throughout the earth. This duty is the more pressing when it is only through them that men can hear the Gospel and know Christ. Their activity in ecclesial communities is so necessary that, for the most part, the apostolate of the pastors cannot be fully effective without it.”

“Hence the laity, dedicated as they are to Christ and anointed by the Holy Spirit, are marvelously called and prepared so that even richer fruits of the Spirit maybe produced in them. For all their works, prayers, and apostolic undertakings, family and married life, daily work, relaxation of mind and body, if they are accomplished in the Spirit - indeed

even the hardships of life if patiently born - all these become spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ. In the celebration of the Eucharist these may most fittingly be offered to the Father along with the body of the Lord. and so, worshipping everywhere by their holy actions, the laity consecrate the world itself to God, everywhere offering worship by the holiness of their lives.”⁵⁴

Participation in Social Life

“Human society can be neither well-ordered nor prosperous unless it has some people invested with legitimate authority to preserve its institutions and devote themselves, as far as it necessary, to work and care for the good of all. By ‘authority’, one means the quality by virtue of which persons or institutions make laws and give orders to men, and expect obedience from them.

Every human community needs an authority to govern it. The foundation of such authority lies in human nature. It is necessary for the unity of the state. Its role is to ensure, as far as possible, the common good of the society.

The authority required by the moral order derives from God: ‘Let every person be subject to the governing authorities. For there is no authority except from God, and those that exist have been instituted by God. Therefore he who resists the authorities resists what God has appointed, and those who resist will incur judgment.’

The duty of obedience requires all to give due honor to authority, and to treat those who are charged to exercise it with respect, and, insofar as it is deserved, with gratitude and good-will. Pope St. Clement of Rome provides the Church’s most ancient prayer for political authorities: ‘Grant to them, Lord, health, peace, concord and stability, so that they may exercise, without offence, the sovereignty that you have given them. Master, heavenly King of the ages, you give glory, honor and power over the things of earth to the sons of men. Direct, Lord, their counsel, following what is pleasing and acceptable in your sight, so that by exercising with devotion and in peace and gentleness the power that you have given to them, they may find favor with you.’

If authority belongs to the order established by God, ‘the choice of the political regime and the appointment of rulers are left to the free decision of the citizens. The diversity of political regimes is morally acceptable, provided they serve the legitimate good of the communities that adopt them. Regimes whose nature is contrary to the natural law, to the public order and to the fundamental rights of persons cannot achieve the common good of the nations on which they have been imposed.

Authority does not derive its moral legitimacy from itself. It must not behave in a despotic manner, but must act for the common good as a ‘moral force based on freedom and a sense of responsibility’: A human law has the character of law to the extent that it accords with right reason, and thus derives from the eternal law. Insofar as it falls short of right reason it is said to be an unjust law, and thus has not so much the nature of law as of a kind of violence.

⁵⁴ Catechism of the Catholic Church Articles 897 - 901

Authority is exercised legitimately only when it seeks the common good of the group concerned and if it employs morally licit means to attain it. If rulers were to enact unjust laws or take measures contrary to the moral order, such arrangements would not be binding in conscience. In such a case, 'authority breaks down completely and results in shameful abuse.'

'It is preferable that each power be balanced by other powers and spheres of responsibility which keep it within proper bounds. This is the principle of the "rule of law", in which the law is sovereign, and not the arbitrary will of them.'⁵⁵

Common Good

"In keeping with the social nature of man, the good of each individual is necessarily related to the common good, which, in turn, can be defined only in reference to the human person: Do not live entirely isolated, having retreated into yourselves, as if you were already justified, but gather instead to seek the common good together.

By common good is to be understood "the sum total of social conditions which allow people, either as groups or as individuals, to reach their fulfillment more fully and more easily." The common good concerns the life of all. It calls for prudence from each, and even more from those who exercise the office of authority. It consists of three essential elements:

First, the common good presupposes respect for the person as such. In the name of the common good, public authorities are bound to respect the fundamental and inalienable rights of the human person. Society should permit each of its members to fulfill his vocation. In particular, the common good resides in the conditions for the exercise of the natural freedoms indispensable for the development of the human vocation, such as "the right to act according to a sound norm of conscience and to safeguard . . . privacy, and rightful freedom also in matters of religion."

Second, the common good requires the social well-being and development of the group itself. Development is the epitome of all social duties. Certainly, it is the proper function of authority to arbitrate, in the name of the common good, between various particular interests; but it should make accessible to each what is needed to lead a truly human life: food, clothing, health, work, education and culture, suitable information, the right to establish a family, and so on. 1909 Finally, the common good requires peace, that is, the stability and security of a just order. It presupposes that authority should ensure by morally acceptable means the security of society and its members. It is the basis of the right to legitimate personal and collective defence. Each human community possesses a common good which permits it to be recognized as such; it is in the political community that its most complete realization is found. It is the role of the state to defend and promote the common good of civil society, its citizens, and intermediate bodies.

Human interdependence is increasing and gradually spreading throughout the world. the unity of the human family, embracing people who enjoy equal natural dignity, implies a universal common good. This good calls for an organization of the community of nations

⁵⁵ Catechism of the Catholic Church Articles 1897 - 1904

able to provide for the different needs of men; this will involve the sphere of social life to which belong questions of food, hygiene, education, . . . and certain situations arising here and there, as for example . . . alleviating the miseries of refugees dispersed throughout the world, and assisting migrants and their families.

The common good is always oriented towards the progress of persons: "The order of things must be subordinate to the order of persons, and not the other way around." This order is founded on truth, built up in justice, and animated by love."⁵⁶

The Authority of Civil Society

"God's fourth commandment also enjoins us to honor all who, for our good, have received authority in society from God. It clarifies the duties of those who exercise authority as well as those who benefit from it.

Those who exercise authority should do so as a service. "Whoever would be great among you must be your servant." The exercise of authority is measured morally in terms of its divine origin, its reasonable nature and its specific object. No one can command or establish what is contrary to the dignity of persons and the natural law.

The exercise of authority is meant to give outward expression to a just hierarchy of values in order to facilitate the exercise of freedom and responsibility by all. Those in authority should practice distributive justice wisely, taking account of the needs and contribution of each, with a view to harmony and peace. They should take care that the regulations and measures they adopt are not a source of temptation by setting personal interest against that of the community.

Political authorities are obliged to respect the fundamental rights of the human person. They will dispense justice humanely by respecting the rights of everyone, especially of families and the disadvantaged. The political rights attached to citizenship can and should be granted according to the requirements of the common good. They cannot be suspended by public authorities without legitimate and proportionate reasons. Political rights are meant to be exercised for the common good of the nation and the human community."⁵⁷

Chapter Nine

Northern Nationalism in Nigeria Nationalism

The basic belief of nationalism is that the nation is, or should be, the central principle of political organization.

Language is often taken to be the clearest symbol of nationhood, not everybody in the North speaks Hausa. A language embodies distinctive attitudes, values and forms of expression that produce a sense of familiarity and belonging. Christianity spread Hausa in Northern Nigeria with the translation of the Bible to Hausa. The same applied to Yoruba and Ibo. The concept of Muslim North and Christian South is no more than a geographic expression which still apply in the North in spite of state creation of 1975 because the

⁵⁶ Catechism of the Catholic Church Articles 1905 - 1912

⁵⁷ Catechism of the Catholic Church Articles 2234 - 2237

Islamists removed the word Muslim from North to be controlled by the caliphate with Sharia as its constitution.

Religion is another major component of nationhood. Religion expresses common moral values and spiritual beliefs. Religious fundamentalism is very much a creature of the modern world. Indeed, most commentators treat it as a distinctively modern phenomenon and deny that it has historical parallels. The upsurge in religious fundamentalism in the final decades of the twentieth century confounded advocates of the so-called secularization thesis, who argued that modernization is invariably accompanied by the victory of reason over religion and the displacement of spiritual values by secular ones. In many parts of the world, religious movements have gained a renewed potency. This became evident in the 1970s within Islam, and was most dramatically demonstrated by the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran.

In different parts of the world, it has taken different doctrinal forms and displayed contrasting ideological features. What is clear, nevertheless, is that fundamentalism arises in deeply troubled societies, particularly societies afflicted by an actual or perceived crisis of identity. The Negroid in Nigeria wished they were Arabs, yet the world sees them as Africans not as Arabs. Ruthven (2004) thus emphasized that fundamentalism is driven by a 'search for meaning' in a world of growing doubt and uncertainty. Nevertheless, supporters of the thesis have argued that the advent of global terrorism is best explained in civilizational terms; in particular, as a manifestation of the conflict between Islam and the West.

Secularization has contributed to the decline of traditional religion and a weakening of what is seen as the 'moral fabric' of society. In that sense, fundamentalism represents a moral protest against decadence and hypocrisy; it aims to restore 'rightful' order and re-establish the link between the human world and the divine. Christian right in the USA, which explains the relationship and affinity between the Sultanate and princes of the Catholic Church in Nigeria and the introduction of NIREC.

The impact of post-colonialism helps to explain why, although fundamentalism can be found across the globe, its most potent and influential manifestations have been found in the developing world. Colonial rule invariably devalued and often suppressed indigenous cultures, meaning that postcolonial societies inherited a weakened sense of identity, compounded by a debilitating attachment to western values and institutions, particularly among elite groups. Political independence also failed to bring about social emancipation; rather, traditional imperialism was replaced by neocolonialism, ensuring continuing global inequality and a subordination to western powers and interests. In such circumstances, religious fundamentalism has been attractive both because it offers the prospect of a non-western, and often specifically anti-western, political identity, and because, particularly since the decline of revolutionary socialism in the 1970s, it articulates the aspirations of the urban poor and the lower middle classes.

Finally, fundamentalism has been fuelled by the advance of globalization, not least through its cultural and economic impact on the developing world. The complex relationship between globalization and religious fundamentalism is examined in greater detail in the final section of the chapter. Moreover, while some fundamentalisms have been associated with violence and anti-constitutional political action, others have supported law-abiding and peaceful behaviour. Religious fundamentalism is essentially a

style of political thought rather than a substantive collection of political ideas and values. As a programme for the comprehensive restructuring of society on religious lines and according to religious principles, fundamentalism deserves to be classified as an ideology in its own right.

It is pertinent to emphasize that this presentation constitutes a Nigerian senior lawyer's view point, who also happens to be a law faithful in the Church. His recommendations may not accord with the gospel message that are outside his training as a lawyer, he therefore demands a gospel direction if he is proved wrong.

Non-Muslim Nigerians Dilemma

J. R. Seeley suggested that "colonization" was an instrument of God for Christianizing the world". He continued: "it was a sign of Anglo-Saxon racial superiority. It was cultural. It was a hangover from a less enlightened age. It was an instrument of progress for the spread of enlightenment throughout the world."⁵⁸ No matter what one's opinion is, one must agree with Kwasi Kwarteng that "It is a mistake to think that administrators were motivated by liberal ideals of democracy. In many cases, they chose careers in the empire precisely because they were not democrats. They were elitists, men who could write Latin and Greek epigrams and had sought to wield power without having to go through the convenience of being elected." Milner himself remained 'profoundly distrustful of the enfranchised.' To argue that he and his colleagues were promoting democracy stretches the truth. The empire stood for order and the rule of law, but we must not pretend that its character was something other than what it was. **The imperial administration was highly stratified and snobbish. It was the very opposite of the egalitarian, plural and liberal institution that some historians have portrayed.** George Orwell remembered of his own education, 'it was universally taken for granted ... that unless you went to a "good" public school (and only about fifteen schools came under this heading) you were ruined for life'. The people who ran the empire would tacitly have agreed with this statement. Yet the narrow educational field did not preclude men of modest means, brought up in obscure families, from climbing the ladder. Among the administrators there were the sons of parsons, of university lecturers and of civil servants. In fact the majority were from middling, anonymous families, without the pride of lineage associated with true aristocracies. It was at the public schools and, to a lesser degree, at the universities that the elite swagger and famously lofty sense of superiority were cultivated."⁵⁹ [Emphasis supplied]

The above can be inferred from the annexation of 1914 and its administration up to independence in 1960. Enlightened educated Christians in Nigeria are presently at a disadvantage in education e.g. cut-off marks and in employment and a Nigerian who could not produce his school certificate has been adjudged to be preferred to a university degree holder on the issue of qualification to be President of Nigeria. That gender inequality ensures that this lady of means (South) has the responsibility to provide for her husband (North). This is Sharia not Common Law. Sharia ensures that Sowore was in custody for alleged Treason charge while the leader of Miyetti Allah is dictating policies including RUGA. Two systems in one country, one for the Muslims (Sharia) and Common Law for others (non-Muslims) result in discrimination and confusion.

⁵⁸ Empire Ways J. R. Seeley, pg. 2

⁵⁹ Ghosts of Empire Kwasi Kwarteng pgs. 5 - 6

There is need to state some historical facts as for example, the metaphor of Lord Harcourt to wit: **“we have released Northern Nigeria from the leading strings of the Treasury. The promising and well-conducted youth is now on an allowance “on his own” and is about to effect an alliance with a Southern lady of means. I have issued the special license and Sir Frederick Lugard will perform the ceremony. May the union be fruitful and the couple constant! The Nigerias are not designed to be a great “Trust” but a great “Federation”.**⁶⁰ This was not a telegram from Lord Harcourt to Lord Lugard as suggested by some Nigerians, but an after dinner speech at a colonial service dinner in 1913 at which Lugard was not present. Nigeria has neither been a great Federation nor even a great Trust.

“It is also incorrect to say that the instrument of amalgamation was signed in Zungeru, northern Nigeria in 1914 as there was no such document. In any case, the colonial masters did not sign any agreement that would bond them. Before we go into details of the nature of amalgamation of 1914, there is need to draw attention to the nature and quality of agreement between the British, Goldie, and our chiefs, Kwarteng wrote. “To men like Goldie, imperialism was a highly businesslike matter. Although he did much to suppress slavery in West Africa, where Arab and Fulani raiders were still trafficking in human slaves at the end of the ninetieth century, Goldie was pragmatic even about this evil trade”⁶¹. Kwarteng continued. “Goldie's flexibility was shown by how, in the early to mid-1880s, he managed to grow the National African Company (which had taken over the assets of the United Africa Trading Company), finally acquiring a Royal Charter for it in July 1886, at which point it became known as the Royal Niger Company. During this period, he persuaded local chiefs to sign away many of their rights over their country in a series of treaties which, it seems, were often imperfectly understood by the chiefs themselves.

Between December 1884 and October 1886, a period just short of two years, the company had signed 237 separate treaties with local chiefs. The treaties followed a typical formula: 'We, the undersigned, King and Chiefs of Sengana, with a view to the bettering of the condition of our country and people do this day cede to the National African Company Ltd forever the whole of our territory extending from the boundary of Akassa territory to Kolama territory'. Not only would land be signed away in this way, but legal authority was likewise handed over. 'We also give to the said National African Company ... full power to settle all native disputes arising from any cause whatsoever'. In return for this generous concession, the company would allow the chiefs considerable autonomy. It would be given 'full power to mine, farm, and build in any portion of our territory', while it would promise not 'to interfere with any of the native laws or customs of the county, consistent with the maintenance of order and good government'.

The treaties were always signed by interpreters like James Broom Walker Apre, native of Akassa, who would solemnly declare that they were 'well acquainted with the language of the King and people of the country (and had) truly and faithfully explained the above Agreement, and that they understood its meaning'.⁶² This cannot be said to be a civilized

⁶⁰ Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria Kirk-Greene pg. 30

⁶¹ Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria Kirk-Greene pg. 279

⁶² Ghosts of Empire Kwasi Kwarteng pgs. 279 -280

agreement. It was one sided and matters arising if a colonialist was involved, the Chief cannot interfere. This was how the British taught us civilized manners.

Amalgamation by Telegrams

In the case of amalgamation the hopes and objectives are explicitly stated in various telegrams between London and the Governor-General Lugard in Lagos Nigeria, His Majesty's telegram to the Governor states: His Majesty the King, on December 30, 1913 sent the following message, through the Colonial Office, to Sir Frederick Lugard, Governor-General of Nigeria. "On the occasion of the formal amalgamation of the two Nigerias, I wish you to convey to the emirs, chiefs, and all the inhabitants of the new Protectorate and the Colony my best wishes for their future happiness. Pray assure them of the great interest I take in all that concerns their welfare and express **my earnest hope that great prosperity may be in store for them.**" – GEORGE R.I. **Note there were no emirs in the whole of Southern Nigeria.** [Emphasis supplied] It was not intended that Nigeria should become a Muslim country.

Sir Frederick Lugard's reply was received by the Secretary of State for the Colonies on January 1 which reads: 'On behalf of his Majesty's most loyal devoted subjects within the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria and all the inhabitants of Nigeria who live under his Majesty's protection, to all of whom I have taken steps to convey his Majesty's most gracious message, I humbly offer my own and their most heartfelt thanks for his Majesty's wishes for their future happiness and his interest in their welfare and hopes for their prosperity. We all feel deeply this new evidence of his Majesty's ceaseless thought for his people and his overseas possessions, and I pray you to assure his Majesty of our abiding loyalty to his Throne and person and, of our deep gratitude for his most gracious message on the occasion of the formal amalgamation of the two Nigerias.'

Mr. Harcourt, the then Secretary of State after whom Port Harcourt was named, also sent the following telegram: "I offer you my congratulations on the completion of your arduous task of uniting Northern Nigeria and Southern Nigeria in a **common form** of government, and I trust that the new Administration, now established, **may actively promote the well-being of all classes of the inhabitants of Nigeria and the development of its great resource.**' [Emphasis supplied] Note 'common form' means one system' form not two, and to develop its great resources not to make oil and gas national assets and solid minerals, state assets.

To this, Sir Frederick Lugard replied: I have caused your message conveying your hope that amalgamation Nigeria will be for the well-being of all classes and the development of its resources to be promulgated throughout Nigeria. It will give utmost satisfaction and pleasure on behalf of the inhabitant of the country to respectfully tender our most sincere thanks. I am deeply sensible to your kind congratulations to me personally."⁶³ Amalgamation has failed to protect the Christians that embraced Christianity and Western culture with both hands.

⁶³ Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria Kirk-Greene pg. 270 [Reprinted by permission of The Times, 3 January, 1914]

Boko Haram Products of Dupes

It is very clear that Nigerians were duped by the Islamists with Western education, Alhaji Sani Kontagora, a publisher once boasted that a mixture of Islamic and Western education was far more important than Western education including PhD holders. This set one thinking resulting in the conclusion that what Kontagora meant was the tenet of Islam which the Muslim Brotherhood re-introduced in its Constitution manuals and organization, which were outside the reach of most Nigerians until recently.

Nigerians were encouraged by Dupes to think favorable of Sharia, by exhibiting same as the best form of government the world requires including jihad against humanity committed in the name of Sharia. It has since become clear how susceptible the Nigerian Judiciary was to Sharia propaganda. Islamist infiltrated the three arms of government. Those who are alleged to have converted from Christians to Islam and vice versa are more likely to be dupes, in that they are trusted, and in some cases they become pastors or Imam. So one is not surprised when Islamists get to the pinnacle of Christian organization, such as the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), or the Nigeria Bar Association the effect of their being Dupes come to the surface. For the purpose one has chosen two examples:

- (a) The Nigerian Bar Association of which this presenter has been a member since 1970, and Treasurer in 1973.
- (b) The Christian Association of Nigeria, this presenter helped to organize after travelling throughout the country and thereafter established a model office for CAN in Benin City.

Lawyers must not fail Nigeria

This presenter presented an Address at the Special Session marking the opening of the 2018/2019 Legal Year in Edo State Judiciary at High Court 1, Benin City, on October 12, 2018, part of which reads: "I reproduced below part of the narrative of **Tell Magazine** concerning the event at the Bar Conference in Port Harcourt. In particular, "Tell Magazine Edition No 37, September 14, 1992, with a front page captioned **Wild Wild Lawyers**. What happened about the sudden emergence of Learned Amazon in the person of Mrs Priscilla Kuye who fought government to a standstill over the observation of a rule of law? Or what about the coming together of pro establishment lawyers to unseat her as the NBA president? The publication continues,

"For the first time, a "Northern Lawyer" Bashir Dalhatu, was seriously contesting for the leadership of the NBA. That was big news for us. So, Isibor. He saw chaos, acrimony, accusations and counter accusations by the learned friends. "It was a real commotion," "From what I saw, the NBA cannot be the same again." The learned gentlemen were at each other's throat, both in the metaphorical and physical sense, as the day of election drew near. According to him, it was the timely intervention of the court, through an interim injunction, that saved the body of learned colleagues from a total eclipse in broad daylight. The aborted NBA conference in Port Harcourt. It focuses on the intrigues, behind-the-scene jostling, the coups and counter coups that turned the erstwhile gentlemen of the bar into **wild, wild lawyers.**"

“Wild, Wild Lawyers

Intrigues and bad politics reduce rivalry for Nigerian Bar Association’s leadership to a war of guttersnipes, making mockery of revered association of learned gentlemen and defenders of law and order.”

Those of us who were in Port Harcourt at this conference did not know then that the whole scenario before and after the conference was a stealth jihad by the Islamist who are sworn enemies of Democracy, Human Rights and rule of law in their promotion of Sharia.

The publication continues: “Witness a titanic struggle for the leadership of the Nigeria Bar Association, NBA. It had entered the records as the worst conference in the **106-year history of the association**. A show of shame,” one called it. Another dubbed it a “charade.” For yet another “it was a capital disgrace for the entire legal profession.”

Some held the position that the association was too confrontational to the Federal Government because Priscilla Kuye, the first woman to lead the bar, had been “hijacked” by the radical members of the profession. Other felt Bashir Dalhatu, a Kano-based legal practitioner who was regarded as the main challenger to Kuye, was being sponsored not only by the conservative group, but by the government to decapitate the NBA and return it to its firmly “irrelevant status”.

A Lagos based lawyer of radical disposition, argued that Dalhatu was the government’s “baby,” judging by the amount of patronage he has enjoyed from the government since 1977, especially from the Babangida administration. For example, the regime made Dalhatu a member of the Constitution Review Committee in 1987 and 1988 proceeded also to make him a member of the Constituent Assembly. In 1990, the same government made him chairman of the Nigerian Agricultural and Co-operative Bank, during which period he was also a member of the governing council of the Nigerian Institute of Advanced legal Studies, Lagos.” It is pertinent to state that this presenter was also a member of the 1987/1988 Constituent Assembly.

“Perhaps by far the most divisive factor was the public utterance of Saleh Michika, the governor of Adamawa State that it was time a northerner took over as president of the Nigerian Bar Association. The same Michika earlier had called on the country’s military president not to hand over power to a civilian president next year because he is the only person who can handle the nation’s economy.”

As part of the battle plan, the Dalhatu group was said to have mobilized government lawyers in the Northern th ministries of justice to attend the Port Harcourt conference to ensure victory for their man. The presidency may also have been hoodwinked into the plan. TELL learnt that a top security officer who, like Dalhatu, is from Kano State, reportedly told the President that a popular multimillionaire and big-time publisher, had contributed some #5 million to a large sum of money for Kuye’s campaign and that since the millionaire’s motive was questionable, there was need to counter it by mobilizing Dalhatu with funds. A total sum of #10 million was said to have been disbursed, but this could not be confirmed.” The presenter submits that this story was mere fabrication as no \$5million was paid.

The presidency lent its sympathy to Dalhatu because Kuye, through her activist campaign for the rule of law, dented the image of the government and the military. Dalhatu's camp succeeded in booking all the accommodation of Presidential and Olympia hotels, the two leading ones in Port Harcourt.

Some of his supporters came in chartered flights while others came in state transport corporation vehicles and some others in government saloon cars with clearly marked registration numbers. They also alleged that varying sums of money were given to the lawyers, with return tickets to come to the conference venue to vote for Dalhatu. "spending spree of the Dalhatu people, according to the Kuye camp, was more of a scandalous spectacle than in Rivers State NBA where two lawyers allegedly hijacked N400, 000 meant for a bigger group. Dalhatu saw nothing wrong in the way of the government's disrespect for the rule of law and contempt for the judiciary. Kuye's re-election battle plan rested was her record in office especially the defence of the rule of law and protection of the integrity of the judiciary. Although Kanmi Ishola Osobu was also in the race, everyone knew the contest was between the incumbent and Dalhatu.

The speech of Mohammed Bello, the nation's Chief Justice in which he criticized the boycott of courts by lawyers did not go well who felt it could have profited Dalhatu and worked against Kuye. Bello had condemned the lawyers' boycott of courts as unconstitutional, unethical and an abuse of the client-lawyer relationship. Since Kuye support the boycott, it was obviously a rebuke for her. Another criticism against Bello's speech was the fact that the boycott which, itself, was the subject of a case in court could still come to the Supreme Court. In this sense, Bello is seen as unfair and doing damage to a party in the case."

At the morning session, at a point the lawyers snatched microphones from themselves and upturned the rostrum on which Kuye and her executives were seated. It was chaos incorporated. Of course, that ended the morning session.

Kuye had invited Gani Fawehinmi to address the house and express gratitude to the NBA for the support he and four others received when the government detained them and organized a hokum of a trial on charges of treason against them. Fawehinmi thanked the entire members of the bar alright but he did not stop there. He said: "I must pay my respect and commend the role Kuye played and then say that the first time we are having a woman president, she has shown that she is the iron Lady of the of the Nigerian Bar, the Margaret Thatcher of the Nigerian Bar and the Indira Ghandi of the Nigerian Bar."

Dalhatu's supporters One of them mounted the rostrum and again snatched the microphone from Fawehinmi, leading to another uproar. The session also came to an abrupt end.

Chief Judge of Ondo State. Aguda on that occasion gave a reply to the nation's Chief Justice when he said the boycott of the courts by lawyers offended against a section of the Nigerian Constitution. He said it was not written anywhere in the Constitution that lawyers could not boycott the courts in defence of the rule of law." It is pertinent to state that the CJN then was a Muslim, while CJN Ondo was a Christian.

“Kuye's supporters alleged that Dalhatu's men had brought to the conference even those whom they suspected were not lawyers to ensure victory for him at all cost. Among those brought, they alleged, were security officials and, perhaps, thugs some of whom were armed. A serving lieutenant-colonel in the army was said to have led a delegation of 250 lawyers and non-lawyers to the conference. Mission: Vote for Bashir Dalhatu.

Very senior official of the Federal Ministry of Justice, was also said to have masterminded the payment to the Supreme Court in Lagos, practicing fees of as many as 2,500 names in bulk contrary to the standard practice of each individual paying his own fees.

The top official, it was also alleged, had camped 250 student-lawyers in a nearby town (some say Aba and others Awka) in readiness for the voting. As both sides were alleged to have performed rigging plans it became practically impossible to make progress so the conference slid into another riotous session, which was to bring a final end to the annual meeting of the lawyers. Kuye camp. The trouble arose, it said, because non-lawyers were fraudulently accredited to vote. Said the source: “we reached for Gani’s book **Bench and Bar in Nigeria** which lists all lawyers till 1988. From 1988 till date, we had certified copies of the list of those called to the bar by the Law School. We insisted we could check all lawyers with these documents. The Dalhatu people got wind of this and knew the game was up and this was when they turned violent.” Whatever the story, violence was guaranteed. Something had to be done.

An order of a Port Harcourt High Court made by Justice P.N.C Agumagu was read, amidst the confusion to the house, restraining the NBA from dissolving the offices of the national officers or from removing any current officer or from conducting elections. Kuye and Adesuyi Olateru-Olagbegi had a difficult time trying to get the delegates to listen to the court order. When, eventually, they succeeded in doing so, some delegates shouted No, No, don’t let Kuye escape, at which point some of them were set to inflict on her, physical harm. One Emeka Nwosu, a stoutly built lawyer of about six feet six inches however shielded the bar president and whisked her out of the Port Harcourt Civic Centre, the conference venue, through the back door.

As Falana later told TELL in Lagos, by Tuesday, August 25, it was clear to him and three other colleagues of his, Luke Aghanenu, Akin Ladipo, and Anozie Obinnaya that the annual conference, and indeed the election of new executives could not be successfully conducted because of the unruly behavior of lawyers. Working underground, they went ahead and filed the motion in court and followed all the process personally until they secured the order and ensured it was passed to the conference. In anger and frustration, lawyers went wild, broke chairs and used them freely as missiles and everyone had to disperse.

Of Falana's action, Fawehinmi said "that was very good. That brilliant young man and his other friends have shown leadership qualities not only for the profession but the entire country.

All of a sudden, the affairs of a professional association became an extension of Nigeria's national politics. The utterances of Governor Saleh Michika of Adamawa State that a northern indigene should be the next president of the NBA was not taken low lying. "if the north thinks now is the time for them to produce the president of the bar, why do

they not always want to hear that now is the time for the south to produce the president of the nation."

As Fawehinmi explained last week, "I think the desperation by some people to ensure that Kuye is removed at all cost because of the amount of money that has allegedly been spent led to great tension and subsequent disruption of the conference. But it could have been worse if we had the election."

Those disgruntled that the election was cancelled have now constituted themselves into a planning committee after announcing that it had suspended the executive under Priscilla Kuye, contrary to the Port Harcourt court order. The planning committee has also promised to organize the 1992 conference for October 25 in Abuja. Not leaving anything to chance, Femi Falana also got an order of an Ikeja court last week to restrain the group of lawyers from parading themselves as members of the planning committee of the NBA. The order also restrained them from organizing, holding or arranging any meeting of the association as well as disturbing or meddling in the affairs of the national executive committee of the body as presently constituted.

Takeover of Professional Organizations through Stealth Jihad

The above narrative constituted the modus operandi of the jihad (both conventional and stealth) used to destroy professional organizations in Nigeria that made it possible for the Intelligence Services in the promotion of Sharia to take over these organizations. The Nigeria Bar Association was last in the "takeover" of professional organizations including the Medical Association, etc, that were taken over stealthily and Chief (Mrs.) Priscilla Kuye would not allow the Bar Association to be taken over without a fight. The Nigeria Bar Association after this fracas went into limbo for over three years before the new Association that was Sharia compliant came on board. The Bar by its leadership position is the protector of the Judiciary and Human Rights of the people. Events of September 1992 was the month and year when Sharia lawyers took over from the Common Law lawyers in Nigeria that begin the steep decline of Nigeria in the comity of Nations.

At the opening ceremony of the Nigerian Bar Association Annual General Conference in Abuja on August 26, 2018, His Excellency, Muhammadu Buhari, President, Federal Republic of Nigeria, declared as follows: **"I believe that lawyers can contribute to another core objective of enhancing our business environment and promoting social justice by promoting respect for the Rule of Law; contributing to the law reform process and putting national interest and professional ethics above self in the conduct of their business. Rule of Law must be subject to the supremacy of the nation's security and national interest.** Our apex court has had cause to adopt a position on this issue in this regard and it is now a matter of judicial recognition that; where national security and public interest are threatened or there is a likelihood of their being threatened, the individual rights of those allegedly responsible must take second place, in favor of the greater good of society." [Emphasis supplied] [Para. 15 – 16]

Since then, there seem to be a mis-understanding as whether or not, the Chief Justice of Nigeria, Justice Walter Onnoghen should have lectured the President there and then on the supremacy of the Rule of Law. I join those who hold the view that Judges do not make legal pronouncements at opening ceremonies. Those who want pronouncement made should file an action in court and Judges will interpret the law.

The jihad against the NBA ensured the Islamists' control of the legal profession in Nigeria. It will be naïve, in the circumstance, for the CJN to enter into a debate with an Islamist President. It is pertinent at this juncture to draw attention to two events after the enactment of the 1960 and 1999 Constitutions which showed clearly that Nigeria is one country with two ideologies, one open and the other shrouded in secrecy, one written, the other unwritten and stealthy. This explains I submit, why and how it seems that Nigeria has been working hard to overtake India as the country with the largest number of people living in extreme poverty in the world. Brooklyn Institute in its recent world poverty clock has estimated that 87 million Nigerians are currently living in extreme poverty. The main reason for this state of affairs besides leadership failure is the politics of Democracy and Sharia.

Chapter Ten

Colonialism and the Nigerian Church

The British insulated the Muslim North from the Christian faith by preserving and enhancing colonial rule which, in effect, means rule by minority. It is argued that this policy was responsible for “the unfortunate rivalry between Catholics and Protestants among Ndi’gbo”⁶⁴ that created new social cleavages. The Adoration Ground incident of March 7, 2002 and the attitude of Catholic and Anglican members of the Aniagolu Commission could be interpreted to mean “ensuring that there is no unity between them (Ndi’gbo) for the advantage of the Islamists.”

On the other hand, Lugard resented the Yoruba for many reasons, to the extent that the Yoruba accused him of imposing on the South – the notorious Nigerian System of administration for the purpose of humiliating and depressing the unity of any loyal and progressive community.”⁶⁵ “The British was determined and did ride rough-shod over the feeling of Southern Nigeria and this seemed to have continued especially as the instrument of coercion are all in the hands of the Muslims and, apart from the Navy, all stationed in the “Muslim” North. One had hoped that with the creation of twelve states by Yakubu Gowon in 1967, “the traditional political terminology of the ‘North’ and the ‘South’ the trigger-phrases of the Nigerian administration since 1914 if not earlier,”⁶⁶ would be discarded. Not so, the military ensured that it remained and in the protection of neo-colonialism of the Fulani. This is neo-colonialism that the North must rely on funds from the South to lord it over them – the South. The South seems to fund its neo-colonial masters – Fulani.

Sharia and the Nigerian Church

Islam was lavishly propagated by moderate Muslims - reformers who held sway before and after independence until 1975 with the overthrow of General Gowon. Thereafter, the military enacted laws that tended to destroy democracy from within such as changing from parliamentary to presidential in a country with two ideologies thereby replacing

⁶⁴ A History of the Church in Africa, Bengt Sundkler and Christopher Steed, 729

⁶⁵ Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria AHM Kirk-Greene, pg. 25

⁶⁶ Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria AHM Kirk-Greene pg. 35

Democracy with Sharia which is a totalitarian. Sharia imposes itself on all aspects of civil society and human life both public and private. Sharia is anti-Constitution.

Sharia sought to establish a global Islamic state and is opposed to human rights provisions under the Constitution as suggested earlier. It is opposed to representative, accountable government and, as a result, sabotage free, fair and credible elections. The military experimenting on stealth or conventional jihad, began the campaign that seeks to supplant Nigerian Constitution with its own totalitarian framework of a presidency. It also established an intelligence service for Sharia after suspending the Constitution.

The JNI in Nigeria is the Muslim Brotherhood's effort in a settlement process to establish itself inside Nigeria and, once established, undertake a 'grand jihad' aimed at destroying western values – conversely Christian values. Settlement process in effect means “eliminating and destroying” the Christian way of life.

Under the two political parties established by Babangida, there was to be no difference between them, a little to the right and a little to the left. The two political parties were to promote Sharia and, today, with over 100 parties, the aim remains the same – **an Islamic Sultanate of Nigeria**. These two parties (now 100) are still pursuing the same objectives which explain the unprincipled movements from one to other without compulsion. Buhari was elected whether true or false, he and the other elected representatives are supposed to represent us. Unfortunately, unelected representatives in most cases, Islamists, are appointed to run the government. With the age and health of Mr. President even his Ministers cannot see him often. The Executive is left in the hands of unelected persons not the elected Vice President. The Legislature, is irrelevant having been compromised with inflated salaries and allowances and thereafter constituted a rubber-stamp – to accept and pass Bills from the Executive. Our representatives especially, Christians, are made to see things in the direction of Sharia as the Judiciary has been “Sharialized” and is no longer equipped to appreciate the difference between Common Law and Sharia. Nigeria has thus become a Sharia country waiting to transform to a caliphate – full-fledged Sharia state.

Christians and Church leaders have failed to appreciate the complimentary subversive campaign posed by groups like JNI, Muric and other Muslim groups in the promotion of full Sharia as reflected in violent jihads while also promoting stealth jihad as in the control of all branches and tiers of government, objecting to State Police, equating non obligatory visit to holy land by Christians to Muslims obligatory visit to Mecca and Medina, paying Legislature salaries well beyond the norm etc, all intended to weaken Democracy and promote Islamic tenets such as Abrogation, Gender inequality, Islamic supremacy, Lying/Taqiyya, Slander/Blasphemy, Underage marriage, Zakat. Today, some democrats are begging for re-structuring of Nigeria rather than use their majority at their disposal to ensure that re-structuring takes place. They would rather beg than work for re-structuring.

The **Daily Trust** of September 20, 2019 in an article titled **How Buhari, Atiku, INEC spent billions at tribunal**, stated in part: “President Muhammadu Buhari and former Vice President Atiku Abubakar as well as other agencies involved in the 2019 presidential election case spent billions of naira pursuing and defending the case at the Presidential Election Petitions Tribunal (PEPT), checks by Daily Trust revealed. Investigations

revealed that what was spent in the last few months at the tribunal would not be the end of the battle, as lawyers who made a lot of money from political parties and politicians during the sitting would look forward to another fortune as the case moved to the Supreme Court. “This is because, as usual, political parties and their candidates are ready to spend any amount to ensure that they win elections either through the ballot box or through the courts. Also, remember that judges and other judicial officers receive some allowances...This makes prosecuting petitions very expensive.” It is clear that Democracy has been made very expensive to destroy it.

Christian Collaborators

The British during the period of colonialism were able to colonize most countries of the world with the aid and assistance of those that can be referred to as local collaborators. These collaborators were chosen by the man on the spot, screened by the Intelligence department before they are empowered by the colonial government.

The neo-colonial version in Nigeria has made it possible, as has been shown earlier with respect to lawyers, the same modus operandi applied with respect to the takeover of other professions in the country and the Christian Association of Nigeria. The colonial policy of divide and rule made it difficult to have unity in Christianity after the skirmish in Christendom that brought about Protestants.

While the Sardauna was working hard to unite Muslims and to speak with one voice, the Christians came together in 1976 to have one umbrella body – the Christian Association of Nigeria. The umbrella and unity lasted for some time before the Association became the spokesperson of the Islamists in Nigeria which made it difficult for the CSMN to work in harmony with CAN and, recently, an inter-religious organization – NIREC has been formed to add more verve to the promotion of Islamism (Sharia) over and above Democracy.

Collaboration in the Promotion of Sharia

Christians in Nigeria (including the CSMN) over the years, have been against the Islamization of the country which the present leadership of the Association argued that was not true, until very recently when the government itself came out to say that Islamization is true, but only the IMN was involved. The CSMN however regards this statement as taqiyya (deceit) and/or stealth jihad as has been suggested earlier in this presentation.

CAN’s leadership tried to join in the conversation by suggesting that it had a solution to RUGA and commissioned one Professor Charles Adisa and the Nigerian Christian Graduates Fellowship to conduct a Research on the RUGA. Professor Adisa and the Nigerian Christian Graduate Fellowship published its research paper which is summarized below.

Nigerian Christian Graduate Fellowship’s Published Paper

The paper captioned “**Startling research findings on Fulani herdsmen: the result of the research about Fulani herdsmen**”, written by Nigerian Christian Graduate Fellowship, signed by one Professor Charles Adisa and issued by the News Team of Chinua Achebe Centre for Leadership and Development was published in the social media. It contained facts that are plausible and suggests that jihad – stealth and

conventional rather than failure of leadership is the basis of the problems confronting our country, Nigeria.

Summary of Research Paper

The research paper can be summarized thus: **since January 2016, there have been documented deaths of approximately 1000 Nigerians from across the Middle Belt, the South-south, and Southeastern parts of the country from these co-ordinated Fulani herdsmen attacks.** Rather than engendering a strong condemnation of the Fulani herdsmen's carnage and unifying the rest of us towards a common cause solution, the contrary is the case. What we have are only confused State executives, who do not even understand the magnitude of the problem at hand. The above facts are in accord with the views of CSMN.

Normal state security protocol demands that to solve a problem, one need to first understand the problem. We therefore dispatched a fact finding team to the North and South/Eastern part of the country and came to the conclusion that there seems to be a willingness and eagerness for the violence to end.

1. The Fulani herdsmen terrorists are Fulanis but mostly non-Nigerians;
2. The Fulani Herdsmen terrorists do not own cattle;
3. The Ama-Hausas and Garki locations harbor 80% of the Fulani herdsmen killers;
4. The Fulani herdsmen that accompany cattle from the North to the South per season do not own cattle.

There are about five (5) million Fulani people in Nigeria making them one of the smallest ethnic group in the country. About 60 percent of the Fulanis in Nigeria are governors, Pastors, Imams, Emirs, Sultan, House of Rep members, Importers, Exporters, Ministers, Oil well owners, lecturers, Vice Chancellors, Ministers, and Senators etc. In a nutshell, the Fulani control all sectors of the Northern economy. These rich Fulanis own all the cattle being reared in Nigeria.

They constantly need to import their poor brothers and sisters from outside the country to increase their population (the Fulanis always either marry into rich families or they would marry only Fulani to maintain their pure race). The poor brothers help with menial jobs. In Garki and Ama-Hausa settlements all over the country, there exist a few Nigerian Fulanis (some are born in these states) who coordinate the cattle business. These are the unofficial Fulani herdsmen's security team whose job is to protect the Fulani herdsmen and cattle.

Lastly, there is a group of Fulani herdsmen who rear the cattle from the North to the South. These are at the bottom of the Fulani Herdsmen ladder.

6. Fulani Herdsmen Attack

“What constitutes a Fulani herdsmen attack? The Fulani herdsmen who accompany the cattle will locate the nearest Fulani settlement and if there is none, will locate the nearest Garki or Ama Hausa settlements. When they arrive, they will narrate their story. The Fulani (Nigerian middlemen) cattle managers will notify their top Fulani Herdsmen which in this case, include governors (like El Rufai) and other top Fulani Bourgeois who own the cattle. A decision will be made about whether there should be an attack or not on the said village or host community. Most times, Fulani herdsmen in the military and

police are notified and everyone sends a representative. Neighboring settlements send out representatives and arms cache are opened and arms are distributed to the participants.”

7. Solution as contained in the Research Paper

Most of the “Ama-Hausas” settlement and the local communities suggested a ban on grazing in the affected states.

Abia State suggested that these cattle be penned in the north while government releases money for people in the South to plant grasses, process the grass, and send to the north. They agree that the solution is very simple; ban grazing, establish ranches for the cattle in the north, pay the southerners to harvest grass and send to the north. With this, everyone would be pleased with the outcome. This solution is expected to generate one (1) million jobs in the South and about 500,000 jobs in the North. Also Fulani herdsmen terror will be totally eliminated.

“These attacks are well coordinated and sometimes involve the approval of senators and influential men in Abuja. Even our President, Mohammed Buhari, has a herd of cattle and hence is a Fulani herdsman; corroborating the information we received from respondents on ground. Fulani herdsmen attacks involve all Fulani ethnic members in Nigeria. Most times, these attacks happen only because “respectable men” sanction them.”

Professor Charles Adisa and the News Team of Chinua Achebe Center for Leadership and Development.” It is pertinent to state that the Nigerian Christian Graduate Fellowship did not consider the Islamic concept of sacred space in Sharia.

Presenter’s Views

It is the view of the presenter that the above does not justify the introduction that “the most significant problem that African nations face is lack of leadership. Normally, Leadership should be an intentional conscious effort to attend to the people’s needs and aspirations. But in Africa, even though many of those that are thrust into the position of leadership mean well, they lack the capacity to lead and meet the people’s hopes and aspirations. Apart from lack of adequate preparation for leadership, one other notable factor that had inhibited good leadership among African leaders is the seemingly non-existent structures for research and information management in the society. Hence, many well-meaning leaders often do not have the requisite information needed for a thorough appraisal and resolution of problems as they arise.” The facts contained in the News Team of Chinua Achebe Center for Leadership and Development do not suggest failure of leadership rather it suggests why Christian Heads of State – Gowon, Obasanjo and Jonathan were unable to appreciate properly that the problems confronting Nigeria are the twin problem of Fulanization and Islamization through Jihad. Nigeria has been at war (jihad) since 1914 when the two protectorates were merged into one country. The British discovered Islamization late, just before independence which explains why fundamental human right was included in the 1960 Independent Constitution and other subsequent Constitution.

The Aniagolu Commission

The Islamists at the Aniagolu Commission in 1982 as stated earlier showed clearly that some Muslims demanded that human rights must be subject to Islam, but the Commission did not accept such interpretation. Jihad is war – holy war to make Nigeria an Islamic country. The Adisa research paper suggest that there are five (5) million Fulani

people in Nigeria while only three (3) million are Nigerians, 60% of the three (3) million Fulanis are “**governors, pastors, imams, emirs sultan, representative members, importers, exporters,, ministers, oil-well owners, lecturers, vice-chancellor, chancellors, senators, etc.** In a nutshell, the Fulanis control all sectors of the Northern economy. The rich Fulani own all the cattle being reared in Nigeria.” This is Fulanization

1. The above facts explain why the Fulanis, as a minority, cannot accept democracy as a government of the majority in Nigeria. In other words, it is a matter of faith for the Fulanis who are mainly Muslims to accept that Democracy is superior to Sharia.
2. Stealth jihad has, over the years, been undertaken by 60% of Nigerian Fulani in position of wealth and authority. This, they did, by retaining some colonial **laws** such as treason and sedition and arguments such as Nigeria not being ripe for State Police, cattle routes, RUGA, etc;
3. They also protect other Fulanis involvement in Boko Haram, Fulani herdsmen and banditry having empowered them.
4. They reduce the effect of Islamism through sustained propaganda to provide soft-belly targets as suggested in the research paper;
5. The city Fulani provide all the arms and ammunition required by Boko Haram and Fulani herdsmen. They also finance and maintain Miyetti Allah and other Islamic militant organizations on their radio and television stations. The above makes it necessary that all heads of the Armed Forces, Police, Para-Military, etc must be Fulani.

From the above facts, it is very clear that Christian leaders – General Gowon, General Obasanjo, President Jonathan could not do much because all the democratic institutions were (and are still) in the hands of the Islamists. To say that these leaders failed for lacking in capability to lead is an unfair assessment. Their administrations were hampered by the conflict of ideology Democracy and Sharia, which most Nigerians could not then comprehend in addition to the fact that the intelligence community was (and still is) Sharia compliant.

RUGA: The Church Response in the 21st Century

The Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) organized what it styled as 2019 Church Leaders Stakeholders Summit with the theme RUGA: The Church Response in the 21st Century facilitated by Dr. Supo Ayokunle, Dr. Caleb Ahima, E. A. Adeboye and David Oyedepo with Professor Charles Adisa (referred to earlier) as the seminar moderator

At the end of the RUGA Summit CAN, concluded thus:

1. No to RUGA
2. No to Amended Waterways Bill
3. .A private sector driven, sustainable, conflict free, profitable and environmentally friendly alternative to RUGA.

Pastor Adeboye summed up the Conference with sardonic humor when he said, “He that eats cow meat that is watered by the blood of his brother is as guilty as the one who killed his brother.” We, of the CSMN and NCEF, were convinced that the whole object of the RUGA conference was to focus attention of Nigerian Christians on RUGA after two visits by executives of Miyetti Allah to CAN President at the National Christian Centre prior to this summit. It is pertinent to point out that what was contained in NCGF’s paper signed

by Prof. Adisa and published by Achebe's Centre was not reflected in the statement of CAN after its summit, a classic case of **running with the hare and hunting with the hound**.

By this meeting both the President of CAN and leader Miyetti Allah appear to have tried to divert attention from the real issues bedeviling Nigeria, Sharia at war (jihad) with Democracy resulting in one country with two systems. Democracy is open and transparent. Sharia is jihad – stealth and conventional. The only non-violent means of changing the Nigeria State is the promotion of the ideology of Democracy and Rule of Law. We must cultivate the shared values of Singapore which places priority on the nation before (ethnic) community and society before self; recognizes family as the basis unit of society; regard and community support for the individual; consensus instead of contention; racial and religious harmony. Nigeria is an African society not European or Arab and must remain so even though English is our lingua Franca. Here is a situation whereby the CAN President is holding meeting with a confession terrorist, yet not a word about Sowore who is in detention for the contemplation of a revolution, the two ingredients that constitute an offence. Actus reus the Latin word means **guilty act**. The wrongful deed that compromises the physical component of a crime and that generally must be complete with mens rea to establish criminal liability [Black's Law Dictionary pg. 44] is lacking in Sowore's case in that he was arrested and detained before the so-called revolution." This has been the state of our criminal law since 1914 and has not been repelled. Two standards in one country, one for leaders of Miyetti Allah and another for Sowore like in the past when a coup was a crime when you fail, but no crime when you succeed, one country, two standards and two systems is almost running Nigeria aground.

It has become very clear that Islam is not in Nigeria to be equal to any other faith including Christianity but to be dominant. Islamists believed that Islam is superior to every other culture, faith, government and society having been ordained by Allah to conquer and dominate. Some Christians were recruited and empowered to speak for Christians even though they are in the minority. These Christians, as prey, were made vulnerable by their misplaced trust in the Fulani who as Muslims and heirs of Othman Danfodio, employed Taqiyya/lying, one of the tenets of Islam to convince them not withstanding its true meaning. "Let not the believers take the disbelievers as friends instead of the believers, and whoever does that, will never be helped by Allah in any way, unless you indeed fear a danger from them. And Allah warns you against Himself, and to Allah is the final return." (Q 3:28) This is not to say that all Muslims are liars, it is to say that all Islamists are.

Foreign herdsmen in NLTP: 5 Northern state governments disagree, Vanguard of October 13, 2019

"Following the inauguration of the National Livestock Transformation Programme, NLTP, by Vice President Yemi Osinbajo, investigations revealed that five of the seven pilot states have concluded plans not to accommodate foreign herders in the programme. They believe foreign herdsmen are responsible for most atrocities attributed to herders and are ready to accommodate only indigenous cattle rearers. These came as Taraba State said NLTP is Rural Grazing Area, RUGA, in disguise, while Benue warned that it would not accept anything in conflict with its anti-open grazing law. The two states maintained their earlier opposition to the creation of colonies for herdsmen, saying the Federal Government should key into their ranching programs. While inaugurating the NLTP at

Mayo-Balewa Local Government Area in Adamawa, Vice President Osinbajo had said the programme is different from RUGA, adding that NLTP was approved by the National Economic Council, NEC, while RUGA was a project of the Ministry of Agriculture. He said NLTP, targeted at supporting the development of Nigeria's livestock sector, is to be implemented in seven pilot states of Adamawa, Benue, Kaduna, Plateau, Nasarawa, Taraba and Zamfara.

However, when Sunday Vanguard felt pulses across the states, there were still suspicions over the real intention of NLTP, just like the sentiments that trailed RUGA settlement programme. Apart from Benue and Taraba, other pilot states have earmarked sites for the project, but are mainly at the teething stage of preparations. This, in the view of the presenter is both taqiyya and stealth jihad.

Zamfara: We're a step ahead of FG

In Zamfara, Sunday Vanguard learned that the NLTP has been included in the RUGA settlements project of the state government. Director-General, Press Affairs, Malam Yusuf Gusau, said the state government had components of NLTP in its project, when laying the foundation of three RUGA settlements in the state. He said Zamfara is one step ahead of the Federal Government on the programme, noting that the state is at the execution stage. Also, Gusau said N8.2 billion has been earmarked for the establishment of three RUGA settlements across three senatorial districts, adding, "each settlement will cover 1,000 hectares of land and will also include a mosque, western and Islamic schools, livestock plan, grazing reserves, and hospitals. Also Chairman Miyeti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN), Zamfara State chapter, Alhaji Ahmad Husaini told **Sunday Vanguard** that NLTP was included in the RUGA project in Zamfara. He also maintained that herders from foreign countries would not be accommodated, saying they are the ones fomenting trouble across Nigeria, as the project was designed to benefit only the indigenes of the state.

Nasarawa: Dissent as govt earmarks 7 LGAs for NLTP

Nasarawa State government said it has earmarked lands in seven out of its 13 Local Government areas for NLTP, to promote dialogue and reconciliation in the state, with Governor Abdullahi Sule saying 300 employment opportunities could be generated in each of the council area. He said areas designated for the programme would have schools, clinics, as well as security posts, as his administration is concerned about security. The job issue is important, but for us in Nasarawa State, our interest is more in the area of security," he stressed. However, Sunday Vanguard discovered that most communities in the state are vehemently opposed to the programme, no matter the form it would take. Speaking on the issue, Senator Suleiman Adokwe, whose community was earmarked for the programme, said the Presidency is only interested in creating colonies for herders. He said: "No community has been consulted. I have not been called by my community or the Village Head. Considering my age and my standing in the society, I should have been invited to look at the proposal. "The land is not just there. There is population explosion in Nigeria and most of the cattle routes are no longer available because human beings have occupied them. Also, it is erroneous to believe that it is only one ethnic group that has the monopoly of rearing cattle.

Nasarawa State Governor, Abdullahi Sule

“If there is a policy of developing cattle, sheep or goats, it should be for everybody. There are fears because everyone is seeing it as a policy that aims at assisting a specific ethnic nationality. I hope our state government has the land to give people, because some communities will simply not accommodate total strangers. We know the Fulani in Nasarawa State. There are a lot of Fulani in Nasarawa State that have integrated with the people, even to the extent of inter-marrying. So what special scheme of resettlement are those behind the policy going to do?”

Taraba: NLTP is RUGA in disguise

Senior Special Assistant to Governor Ishaku on Media and Publicity, Bala Abu, who spoke to **Sunday Vanguard**, said Taraba State had made its position clear before now, explaining that the ranching law passed by the state House of Assembly would be implemented holistically. He said: “We have a position that we have adopted a long time ago and it has not changed. We have our internal initiative which led to the passage of a law on ranching and it restricts the indiscriminate movement of cattle. It also allows us to use pilot ranches. We believe the NLTP is RUGA in another way and we are not going to change the position we have already adopted. We have a law and we are going to live by the provision of that law and make sure that the law is implemented. On the adoption of NLTP by Northern Governors Forum, Abu said: “Taraba government was also not represented at the meeting and we are not bound by the decision taken. We believe that any other policy on livestock or movement of cattle around the country that contradicts the law that we have passed is not acceptable to us. When asked if the state government had been contacted on NLTP, Abu said no correspondence had been received, neither is any committee in place for its implementation.

Adamawa: Programme at formative stage

Adamawa State Livestock Transformation Office has swung into action to actualize the NLTP, with five grazing grounds created in different parts of the state. A top official of the agency, who pleaded anonymity, told Sunday Vanguard that the reserves are located at Gongoshi in Mayo, Nassarawo Jada in Jada council and Daushe in Song council. Other grazing grounds are Guyaku in Gombi and Sorau in Maiha. He added that the implementation of the programme is still at formative stages, adding that some decisive decisions had been taken. One of the proclamations, he maintained, is that foreign herdsmen would not be involved in the programme. He added that the proposed beneficiaries of the NLTP in the state have been shortlisted, pending the full take-off of the scheme.

Plateau: Programme to commence amid anger

In Plateau State, Governor Simon Lalong is putting modalities on the ground to implement the NLTP, while many indigenes fume. However, to ensure that Plateau people understand what the NLTP entails and the plans on ground, Director-General of Plateau Peace Building Agency, PPBA, Mr. Joseph Lengmang, urged the people to be patient as the plan is being implemented in the two pilot local government areas of Kanam and Wase, adding that mapping had been done to demarcate the areas. NIPOST infrastructure to drive social intervention programmes(Opens in a new browser tab) Lengmang, whose agency is involved in the implementation of NLTP, told Sunday Vanguard that the plan has the potential of improving the fortunes of the state. He acknowledged the controversy about land-grabbing and attributed it to lack of strategic

communication, which would make the people understand and embrace the policy. He reiterated that the sole aim of the policy is to ensure peace and peaceful co-existence between the herders and farmers, irrespective of where they come from, saying: “we have started discussions in the media about this. The NLTP is a response to the controversies generated by RUGA. We made it clear that we in Plateau State do not subscribe to RUGA. What we are subscribed to is the potential that abounds in NLTP.

“For Plateau, we are piloting the ranching system. It is a huge opportunity for us to deal with certain security challenges and at the same time provide multiple streams of opportunities for improving livestock through the modernization of the processes of livestock production in our state. NLTP is done under the PPP framework. It is not only the Federal Government that is bringing money for the pilot phases, but there are also international non-governmental organizations and donors like the German Development Corporation, GIZ; European Union and USID among others. Speaking on the guidelines for the implementation, he said: “For us in Plateau, there is no concrete policy yet, until the outcome of this pilot project. If it proves to be positive, the policy will be implemented fully. Once ranching works and there is a guideline on how individuals can key into it, hopefully, it will lead to the prohibition of open grazing in the state.

Governor Samuel Ortom of Benue State and Darius Ishaku of Taraba State

“The governor has already created State Steering Committee headed by Professor Ochapa Onazi and the Secretary is Professor John Wade. In that committee, we have experts from agriculture, the judiciary and media. The NLTP has already commenced in Plateau with what is happening at the moment, as resources are being mobilized and the modalities for operation are being put on ground. Garga in Kanam and Wase grazing reserves are the locations for the ranching. Mapping has been done, enumeration has taken off, while the technical work has already begun. Also, Professor John Wade, Director-General, Research and Statistics, and Secretary, Ranching Committee, said: “I am not aware of any fund released by the Federal Government. On the part of the state government, there is a budgetary provision of about N250 million.”

Benue: NLTP must conform to anti-open grazing laws

The Benue State government said it is not opposed to the implementation of NLTP in the state, as long as it does not conflict with its anti-open grazing law, which bans open grazing of all animals. Deputy Governor of the state, Mr. Benson Abounu, made the position of the government known shortly after attending and Northern Governors Forum meeting in Kaduna. He said: “The programme would be acceptable to the state as long as it conforms with the state anti-open grazing law, which provides for the establishment of ranches and livestock administration, regulation and control. “The fundamental thing about NLTP is that any state that keys into the programme is expected to have it as its programme, even if some help regarding the funding is coming from the Federal Government. With regards to Benue, whatever is going to happen in this area of animal husbandry has to be in conformity with the local laws of Benue that are in existence. Principally, that law says there should be no open grazing and there should be ranching of animals. On his part, Chairman of Benue Tribal Leaders, Chief Edward Ujege, urged the Federal Government to be fair in dealing with the challenges posed by the herdsmen crisis in the state.

Ujege said: “Why has the Federal Government not released the meager N10 billion it promised to release for the reconstruction of the communities destroyed by armed herdsmen? Look, our people are still languishing in internally-displaced persons, IDPs, camps. They are everywhere in Benue because their ancestral homes were destroyed by herdsmen, while our children cannot go to school; and they are talking of taking our land to implement NLTP for herdsmen. We have given an emphatic no to the plan when a team came from the Federal Government to introduce the plan to our people. We all stood up in one voice to reject the plan. Anything happening that does not comply with our Open Grazing Prohibition and Establishment of Ranches Law is not acceptable to us.

Gunmen allegedly attack group leader in Abia for leading protest (Opens in a new browser tab) We heard the Federal Government would provide 80 percent of the funding. For us, it is Greek gift. We are not going to accept it and if it means our people dying of hunger, so be it. Even if there is money tied to the plan, we do not want the money; let them keep their money. We are not giving any part of our land for that, because we do not have lands. Only a few days ago, a northern governor said in an interview that all these plans are being made to accommodate Fulani herdsmen of all nationalities, because they do not stay in one place but move around.”

Violence as a Threat

In addition to Taqiyya, one of the most effective tactics employed by Islamists throughout the world is to intimidate their opponents to silence through death threats, murder, acts of mass terrorism, beheading being broadcast on the internet and social media. All these actions are obviously useful to minimize resistance to the Islamists’ agenda. Church leaders must realize that there are contradictions in what the Islamists say and do. Their religion permits them to lie and deceive non-Muslims. It must be pointed out that without the **collaboration** of some Christians, Muslims and Animists, Jihad, stealth and conventional would have failed in Nigeria. Islamist Muslims are very few. Therefore we must not become the instrument of a very few jihadists in our midst in the promotion of jihad.

Destroyed Mosque in Port Harcourt and Jihad

It is on the above principle of sacred space, that the correct appreciation of the alleged destruction of Mosque should be viewed. The Governor of Rivers State is being told, indirectly, to expect a jihad, in that any land that Muslims have used as a prayer ground constitutes Sacred Space (Mosque) for which a jihad can be undertaken. This is stealth jihad before the real jihad and must be resisted by all Christians in Nigeria especially those in the Christian State of Rivers. Mosque demolition is not mere immature politicking as suggested by Chief Albert Horsefall as suggested in the **Daily Trust** of Sunday, September 22, 2019. It was reported to have said “from what my Northern friends explained to me, they said a Mosque can be any space outside where people gather to pray”. Chief Horsefall was not told of Sacred Space and jihad. From the fact enumerated in this presentation, Nigeria has been at war and the same Daily Trust of same date had this front page caption **Bandits kill more Nigerians than Boko Haram, robbers, kidnappers, cultists, others**, which reads thus: “Armed bandits operating in different parts of the country have ended the lives of more Nigerians than the dreaded Boko Haram terrorist group and other violent criminal gangs in the last nine months. Boko Haram, which has killed tens of thousands of Nigerians in its 10-year-old insurgency, used to be in the lead on the tally of killings by violent groups. The terrorist organization once

captured and held on to Nigerian territories in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa states, declaring them as part of an Islamic Caliphate, under which communities were subjected to the group's harsh interpretation of the Islamic law. The sect, once ranked the world's deadliest terrorist group by the Global Terrorism Index (a report published annually by the Institute for Economics and Peace) has been in decline since 2014."

"Boko Haram was flushed out of the local governments under its rule by Nigerian security forces into the fringes of Sambisa Forest and Lake Chad, from where the group has continued to launch 'isolated' attacks on military and civilian targets. Both military and civilians have come under renewed attacks by the Boko Haram terrorists this year, with recent media reports showing that they were better armed than ever and had acquired sophisticated drones capable of giving them an edge in their war against Nigeria. But a review of newspaper reports from January to September show that bandits, who also operate in the northern part of the country, have pushed Boko Haram to a second position when it comes to killing more Nigerians. While Boko Haram killed 370, representing 18.97 per cent of 1,950 Nigerians killed by violent groups, bandits killed twice as much, with a toll of 875 to their name, which is equivalent to 44.87 per cent. Cultists, armed robbers, kidnappers and other groups ended the lives of 705 (36.15 percent) in parts of the country. Bandits have, in the last few years, run aggressive campaigns of killings and pillaging in mostly rural communities in parts of Zamfara, Kastina, Kaduna, and are now spilling into Sokoto, Kebbi and Niger states."

"The cases reviewed show that armed bandit activities claimed the highest number of lives within the period under review, as a total of 875 killings were recorded between January and September. A monthly breakdown shows that 168 deaths relating to banditry were recorded in June, 163 in May while 151 deaths were recorded in April. Similarly, the month of August recorded 59 deaths, 159 in February and 110 in March. The months of January recorded 29 killings relating to armed bandits, while 36 were recorded in September. Zamfara State recorded the highest number of attacks by bandits, leading to the killing of 145 people, followed by Kaduna with 253 while Katsina recorded 207 deaths." This is a war situation or better still what jihad feels like.

Banditry

"Bandit" redirects here. For other uses, see Bandit (disambiguation). Banditry is the life and practice of bandits. The New English Dictionary on Historical Principles (NED) defined "bandit" in 1885 as "one who is proscribed or outlawed; hence, a lawless desperate marauder, a brigand: usually applied to members of the organized gangs which infest the mountainous districts of Italy, Sicily, Spain, Greece, Iran, and Turkey".

In modern usage the word may become a synonym for "thief", hence the term "one-armed bandit" for gambling machines that can leave the gambler with no money.[1]

Christian Right

The Christian right or the religious right are Christian political factors that are characterized by their strong support for socially conservative policies. Christian conservatives seek to influence politics and public policy with their interpretation of the teachings of Christianity. In the United States, the Christian right is an informal coalition formed around a core of conservative evangelical Protestants and Roman Catholics. The Christian right draws additional support from politically conservative mainline

Protestants, and members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. The movement has its roots in American politics going back as far as the 1940s and has been especially influential since the 1970s. Its influence draws, in part, from grassroots activism as well as the focus on social issues and from the ability to motivate the electorate around those issues. The Christian right is notable for advancing socially conservative positions on issues including school prayer, intelligent design, embryonic stem cell research, homosexuality, euthanasia, contraception, sex education, abortion, and pornography. Although the term Christian right is most commonly associated with politics in the United States, similar Christian conservative groups can be found in the political cultures of other Christian-majority nations. We need such a Christian organization and CAN, can be reformed to perform such a function in the struggle between Democracy and Sharia in Nigeria.

Chapter Eleven

Nigeria's March to Sultanate

In a paper I presented at Ibadan titled **Nigeria's March to Sultanate** to the members of the Justice Development and Peace Commission [JDPC]. In the Introduction, I asked the question: Does one compromise one's Christian faith when one works for the conversion of Nigeria to a Sultanate? Sultanate is defined as – the rank or position of a sultan, an area of land that is ruled over by a sultan. Events however seem to suggest that Nigeria is on the march to becoming a Sultanate, ruled by a sultan.

In the paper I suggested there is no dispute that Nigeria is a Muslim country. Nigeria on its own volition after it was considered sufficiently Islamic by those steering her towards becoming a sultanate applied for membership of the OIC and was accepted. This OIC had only one resolution at the time “to preserve Islamic Spirit, ethical, social and economic values, which will remain one of the important factors of achieving progress for mankind”. (Charter of OIC). It was established in Jeddah in 1972 and it has the conference of kings and heads of state and governments as the supreme authority of the organization.

Nigeria has responsible individuals but does not seem to have what Obama regard as “responsible institutions, with a focus on supporting good governance -- on parliaments, which check abuses of power and ensure that opposition voices are heard; on the rule of law, which ensures the equal administration of justice; on civic participation, so that young people get involved; and on concrete solutions to corruption like forensic accounting and automating services -- strengthening hotlines, protecting whistle-blowers to advance transparency and accountability.” Nigeria needs new responsible individuals to set up responsible institutions. No doubt the above explained why other countries were moving from Totalitarian to Democracy, Nigeria moved from Democracy to Sharia country.

The Politics of Religion in Nigeria

In Nigeria there are two views to the subject,

- (a) Nigerians who hold the view that religion and politics are essentially different and there should be no relationship between them. This group sees religion as part of its ethic and private life. Based on this view religion is about man's relationship with God, while politics is about man's life in general; and

- (b) The second group believes in the homogeneity of religion and politics. They say that there is no difference between the two, and argues for the unity of the two, and believes that political affairs should be administered by men of religion or politics.

This unfortunately has resulted in the two systems as propounded by the two groups manifesting itself in the governance of Nigeria, and the conflict thereby has reduced Nigeria to a failing state.

Constitutional Development

Nigeria had four constitutions. In 1960/63 at independence Federal constitution and four regional constitutions, North, East and West and in 1964 a Mid-West constitution was added. These constitutions were consolidated into one constitution in 1979 and thereafter Abubakar's 1999 Constitution.

Revenue Sharing

The 1963 Constitution under section 140 provided for 50% of the proceeds from royalties and rents, with a distributable pool to be distributed in such manner as may be prescribed by the National Assembly. The 1979 Constitution on the other hand went on to list the number of states (19) and Local Government in the country under the Fourth Schedule. For the first time, Local Government became a National issue, rather than state. This also attracted revenue direct from the Federal Government. This no doubt is to ensure that the Federal Government has some control over Local Governments throughout the country.

Warped Revenue Allocation

It would appear that the military was not satisfied with the gains of the North in the 1979 Constitution, and had to overthrow the Shagari democratically elected government in 1983, and later gave us the 1999 Constitution by which time more states and local government had been created and a new section 162(2) provided, with the creation of Revenue Mobilization Allocation and Fiscal Commission which says: "The President, upon the receipt of advice from the Revenue Mobilization Allocation and Fiscal Commission, shall table before the National Assembly proposals for revenue allocation from the Federation Account, and in determining the formula, the National Assembly shall take into account, the allocation principles especially those of population, equality of States, internal revenue generation, land mass, terrain as well as population density: Provided that the principle of derivation shall be constantly reflected in any approved formula as being not less than thirteen *per cent* of the revenue accruing to the Federation Account directly from any natural resources".

Assets, namely Population, Land, Land Mass, Terrain etc, which the North has in abundance, were made the bases for the allocation of revenue derived from the Niger Delta.

Land Use Act

The Land Use Act appropriated all land belonging to the Ethnic Nationalities. The preamble to the Act provides: "Act to vest all land comprised in the territory of each State (except land vested in the Federal Government or its agencies) solely in the Governor of the State, who would hold such land in trust for the people and would henceforth be responsible for allocation of land in all urban areas to individuals resident in the State and

to organizations for residential, agricultural, commercial and other purpose while similar powers with respect to non-urban areas are conferred on Local Government”.

The 1999 Constitution weighed heavily in favor of the North and as long as the disunity of the East and West are guaranteed, and they alternate in the mainstream of politics in Nigeria, the Niger Delta where oil and gas are produced would continue to remain poor, backward and neglected. Any agreement that weighs too much in favor of one party is unlikely to succeed. Local government most countries of the world is a State Affair, and in Nigeria it is also tied to Revenue Allocation, which was responsible in my view for the Federal Government reaction to the additional local government created by Lagos state government. If states become independent financially, they must have reasoned, the grip on that state will be loosened and democracy strengthened.

Traditional Rulers

Lugard introduced Indirect Rule in 1914 and expanded same to areas that had no traditional institutions. “The system of Native administration in the separate Government of Northern Nigeria had been based on recognition of the authority of the native Chiefs. The policy of the Government was that these Chiefs should govern their people, not as independent but as dependent Rulers. --- This system is clearly only adapted in its fullest application to communities under the centralized rule of a paramount Chief, with some administrative machinery at his disposal, and finds its best exposition in the Moslem communities of the North. Nevertheless, its underlying principles are applied, to the varying extent to which it is possible in each case to apply them, even to the most primitive communities in the North. The first step is to endeavor to find a man of influence as chief, and to group under him as many villages or districts as possible, to teach him to delegate powers, and to take an interest in his ‘Native Treasury’, to support his authority, and to inculcate a sense of responsibility.” [*Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria, pages 70-71*]. There were provisions for traditional institutions in the 1960 Constitution, section 42(2)(a) and (b) – House of chiefs in the Region. After military incursion into politics, the 1979 constitution abolished two tier representations in this State Houses of Assemblies and made the Senate elective. Yet traditional institutions became very widespread, and huge sums of money is spent on stipends and governors most of whom are “selected”, grant recognition to monarchs and even the courts now sometimes ask suspects to produce traditional rulers as surety and men of influence are being made traditional rulers in 2009.

Sarkin Musulumi

Recently the profile of the Sultan of Sokoto has come to loom very large and very strong. As Sarkin Musulumi (King) of all Muslims, his authority extends to all Muslims in Nigeria. As a Nigeria in a Muslim country there is an attempt in my view to turn Nigeria to a Sultanate surreptitiously. As a Benin I have respect for my Oba – the Oba of Benin. He preserves and protects the culture of the Benin people and in some cases the culture of Edo people as a whole. Any attempt to impose the Oba of Benin on other Nigerians will be considered wrong. The same I believe applies to other Ethnic Nationalities. However, the Emirs of the North have dual responsibilities as religious and political leaders – the homogeneity of religion and politics. Traditional institutions that accept this homogeneity are now growing in leaps and bounds throughout the country, more so in the South-East and South-South. This fact is being exhibited everyday by the amount the Niger Delta Governors spend on Traditional Rulers outside the Region, some say to

protect their political offices because votes do not count. Traditional Rulers of the Region now want to be treated as Emirs and therefore are not in sympathy with democracy. Some Christian leaders now accept the theory that political affairs can be administered by men of religion and are co-opted into the ruling elite club. Nigeria is regarded as the most religious country in the world because in my view, Nigeria spends more money on religion than any other country in the world. At the same time it has also become more corrupt because corruption is an instrument of government and also more violent because violence is also being used as an instrument of the day to day administration.

This explains in some ways why there are so many recruits in religion, the armed forces, police and other similar agencies to inhibit democracy. This truism is reflected in the statement of Rtd. Gen. Enang Essien who served in the Army for 33 years in an interview with The Nation newspaper in an article titled **Emirs more powerful than Southern Kings**: “In Nigeria, they say politics is the game of numbers, and if you look at it the North is the most cohesive unit. One factor they have is the religion, besides the feudal system. The Sultan was my course mate in the NDA. When he was a defence attaché in Pakistan, just before he came to become the Sultan, I was also there doing what you call National Defence Corps. Today, as a Sultan, he cannot be opposed. Even Presidents must consult with him when taking major decisions. So, if you are talking about promotion, even in the army, tell me, if there is a promotion board and the Emir of Kano or Shehu of Borno shows interest, who is that person that won't listen to them? Compare that to the Obi of Onitsha or Obong of Calabar showing interests. These things were there and are still there. That is the truth.” [*The Nation newspaper, Sunday, October 11, 2009*]

Nigerians must be told explicitly about the march to Sultanate given the circumstance under which Nigeria became a member of the OIC. Why should an ethnic group have a traditional ruler outside its territory? Why should there be a Sarikin [King] Hausawa in Lagos, who explained his position thus: “My position as the Sarikin Hausawa of Lagos State and also the Chairman of Arewa Council of Chiefs in the state, by implication, means that all northerners, technically, are under the control of the Arewa chiefs, of which I am the chairman. And so, the responsibility is first and foremost to be able to coordinate our people economically, socially and politically within the context of Lagos State as a whole; then you must move from there to the point that Lagos State is not just any place. It is a metropolitan city-state where almost all ethnic groups in Nigeria interface and even with other nationals. In this regard, it is our duty to ensure that all northerners live in harmony with the other ethnic groups that are in the state, --- “representing the people at the level of the government of the state, in other words, if there is anything to be done or if there is a thing that concerns the Hausawa, we are there to represent the interests of the Hausawa In Lagos. We also settle disputes and conflicts between them”. [*The Nation, Saturday, October 10, 2009*]

One must therefore commend the South-East Traditional Ruler who recently banned Ezes, [Igbo Kings] outside Igbo land.

Co-option of Christians

With respect to co-option, there are two types. Voluntary co-operation include those who join because there is a lot to gain if they are co-opted into the ruling elite; through association - open or secret. They join and they are rewarded. The other, is the involuntary co-option. Those who are critical of government are invited on the pretext

that they are needed and are co-opted so as to “come and chop” Corruption, money laundering and other vices are instruments in the hands of the government to induce people to come and join the club of rulers. This is how traditional and religious leaders are trapped. Sometimes, it is the award of national honours that is used as inducement. There is no clearer evidence of this than the Minister of State of the Federal Capital Territory who was reported to have said he would convert to Islam if the incentive is right. Part of the statement reads: “MINISTER of State of the Federal Capital Territory Administration, Chief Chuka Odom, a devout Christian, shocked many on-lookers in Abuja on Friday when he declared that he would consider converting to Islam if the incentives are attractive. ----Chief Odom, who recently confessed that he jettisoned the celibacy of the Catholic faith by running away from the seminary against the wishes of his father, however, did not elaborate on the type of incentives that would make him abandon his Christian faith to become a Muslim.” [*Bankole Makinde, Abuja - 20.09.2009*]

In addition to coercion, intimidation and co-option, corruption is also an instrument used to co-opt and to silence critics and oppositions.

Security

What does security mean in Nigeria? The President always talks about security yet Nigeria is about one of the most insecure countries in the world. Security votes we are told, are not audited. In addition to budget for the security agencies, state governments are obliged to make provisions for funds, vehicle for the police etc. However, the truth is that we have two competing ideologies, one written – democracy. The other is the unwritten ideology that requires the excessive use of force and surveillance: “Egypt’s ruling party (no, he corrects himself, “the party of the ruler”) has no popular support and “the so-called legitimate opposition parties are essentially dead corpse... most Arab regimes maintain their power in remarkably similar ways. At the apex of the system sits either a single authoritarian ruler, be he a monarch or a president, or an ever-ruling party or royal family. The ruler is shored up by an extensive *mukhabarat* (intelligence service) employing a vast network of informers...One retired Egyptian diplomat - put the size of his own country’s internal security apparatus at about 2m people. Bloated civil services, say Brookings’s Mr. Pollack, provide the regimes with a way to dispense patronage and pretend-jobs to mop up new graduates...one of the regimes’ most effective instruments of control is the elaborate system of democracy – sham democracy, that is – they have devised in order to channel and contain political dissent.” [*The Economist, July 25 2009*]

The PDP is very much the party of the ruler while the quest for Sultanate seemed to have hindered Nationhood for Nigeria because the Arabs: “for a start, failed to make their people free: six Arab countries have an outright ban on political parties and the rest restrict them slyly. They have failed to make their people rich: despite their oil, the UN reports that about two out of five people in the Arab world live on \$2 or less a day. They have failed to keep their people safe: the report argues that over-powerful internal security forces often turn the Arab state into a menace to its own people. And they are about to fail their young people. The UNPP reckons the Arab world must create 50m new jobs by 2020 to accommodate a growing, youthful workforce – virtually impossible on present trends...” [*The Economist, July 25 2009*]

It would appear that we seem to copy the Arabs for obvious reasons – some Nigerians are of the Arab stock. Our government has also failed to make us free. It has made us poor in spite of our oil and gas wealth. The Nigerian Government like the Arabs, has failed our youths and this is summarized by Is’haq Modibbo Kawu, as follows: “In my view, the Nigerian state must create jobs in the public sector as well as allowing the private sector to do same. Any deluded ideological fixation with a private sector-led jobs creation mantra will only lead the country to perdition. The youth is restless because the jobs are not there and with the way things are going we will harvest an explosion of crisis in the future. Our ruling class can continue their looting binge while deluding themselves that their so-called private sector will create jobs. But police statistics also talk about gangs being led by highly educated young men who are unemployed; what is the age bracket of those who kidnap as business? Those who stand by road sides hawking sex? Who are the Yahoo boys? What is the average age of those desperately trying to run out of Nigeria? It is the youth; they have lost hope about this country and are expressing their frustration in various types of crimes. Believe me, we are sitting on a very active volcano of youth despair, and when it erupts, the lava can consume the Nigerian state!”

Mukharabat in Nigeria

A sizeable number of Nigerians since 1975 have been employed as security operatives and intelligence officers to aid the military regimes. From time to time, they were released into the civil service, parastatals, external services in the professions, trade and industry, even churches and today it will not be out of place to put their figure as twice the size of Egypt’s equivalent security operatives. Some were recalled to form political parties, stand for elections etc, still very much under the control of those promoting the anti-democratic agenda. This explains in my view why efforts are being made to sweep the crimes committed by some Governors especially those of the Niger Delta who provided funds for the promotion and entrenchment of a Sultanate Nigeria under the carpet. They are regarded to be “on his majesty’s service”. This also explains the lamentation of Mrs Farida Waziri as reported in Vanguard of Friday, October 16, 2009 on page 6, part of which reads: “ABUJA—THE Chairman of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Mrs. Farida Waziri, yesterday cried out over what she alleged as deliberate obstacles set against the commission in its prosecution of former governors and other political office holders.”

Those “in his majesty’s service” must not be heard to say that crime pays in Nigerian. “His majesty” must give way for democracy.

Election Cases

The courts have consistently held that election cases are different, thus giving the impression that justice in election cases is different from others. In *Abubakar vs. NEC* [2004] 14NWLR, pt841, pg.536, V. A. O. O. O. O. said: “It is often repeated that election petition and rules applicable to it and its procedure are unique. It is the reason why election petitions are described as Sui generic, they are different from other proceedings, They stand on their own, bound by its own rules... Defects or irregularities which in other proceedings are not sufficient to affect the validity of the claim are not so in an election petition.”

It is unfortunate that it is the Supreme Court that has laid down this precedent starting from Chief Obafemi Awolowo vs. Alhaji Shehu Shagari & Ors whose judgment was delivered on Wednesday, 26th September, 1979. In the judgment of the Supreme Court, the court interpreted $12\frac{2}{3}$ of 19 states to mean something different from mathematical correctness, with a rider that this interpretation should not be used as a precedent. The recent case of Buhari vs. Yar'Adua which gave judgment in favour of Yar'Adua is another anti-democratic judgment. Before then the Supreme Court had given judgment in Obi case resulting from gubernatorial election in Anambra and the Amechi's case of River State. One thing is very clear from these cases, that our apex courts – the Supreme Court and the Court of Appeal as the case may be, ignore section 14(1) that requires that the courts must apply principles of **democracy** and **Social Justice** and section 14(2) that provides for the participation of the people in their government that should ensure fairness through free, fair and transparent elections. In all these cases the justice in them should have been to return to the electorates, to conduct afresh polls so that “practice will make perfect.” Rather, the courts seem to want to be the organ that chooses the “elected” representatives of the people as the colonialists and the military had done in the past.

Complaint by Mike Ahamba SAN

In Buhari's case, his counsel accused members of the panel two of whom are in the Supreme Court and three in the Court of Appeal, of breach of judicial oath and petitioned the National Judicial Council that these Judges should be removed. [Vanguard, October 9, 2009]. One of the Judges has also petitioned the Disciplinary Committee of the Bar Association that Buhari's lawyer, Chief Mike Ahamba, SAN be disbarred for professional misconduct. I have had the privilege of reading both the judgment and the complaint against these five Justices and without preempting the outcome of this struggle, one can attribute the main reason for this conflict to the fact that our courts in election cases deliberately ignore section 14 of the Constitution on principles of Democracy and people participation. This is particularly painful when the same Constitution gives the courts under section 6(6)(a) a “blank cheque” as it were, to do justice. It provides under (6)(6) that the judicial powers vested in accordance with the foregoing provisions of section “(a) shall extend **notwithstanding anything to the contrary** in this constitution, to all inherent powers and sanctions of a court of law”. One wonders whether the courts conduct has anything to do with Sultanate status for Nigeria.

Onus of Proof in Election Cases

It is strange that a candidate should be required to prove facts that are within the knowledge of INEC. Would it not be appropriate for the development and strengthening of democracy if INEC is made to establish that it conducted free, fair and credible elections? This means that the Evidence Act should be amended even before 2010 Anambra Election. To place the proof of election cases on the petitioner who is handicapped in several ways, is to ignore that section of the Constitution that the Nigerian State is based on the principles of democracy and social justice.

Reasons for commitment to Democracy

I need to explain my commitment to the struggle for Democracy and opposition to the plan to make Nigeria a Sultanate. It is apt to recall the often quoted statement by Winston Churchill in the House of Commons on November 11, 1947 to the effect that: “No one pretends that democracy is perfect or otherwise. Indeed it has been said that

democracy is the worst form of government except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time.”

Zbigniew Brzezinski, one time US Secretary of State and National Security Adviser in March, 1994 said: “Russia can be an empire or a democracy, but it cannot be both”. It is my belief that Nigeria can be a Sultanate or a democracy but it cannot be both. It is the attempt in my view to be both a democracy and a Sultanate since independence that has reduced Nigeria to a failed state.

Dichotomy of North and South

A.M.H. Kirk-Green wrote in the forward of the book **Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria** on page 33 thus: “By this stroke of the pen, General Gowon not only established twelve states instead of four in Nigeria; he has also brought to an end a way of administrative, political and fiscal life that had endured since 1900, had received confirmation in 1941, and had, despite the political tremors of the 1950s caused by hopes of fission and refusion, remained apparently sacrosanct in the vocabulary of both colonial and independent Nigerian administrative thought.”

M. H. Kukah in his book **Religion Politics and Power in Northern Nigeria**, Page 42 wrote: “Thus, by this time Gowon was overthrown in 1975 and Gowon was executed in 1976, despite many setbacks, Benue-Plateau state had become a symbol of the aspirations of the non-Muslim peoples of the Middle Belt, and at the same time, a threat to the northern ruling class. S. K. Panter Brick & P. E. Dawson came to the conclusion that “the idea of one North is dead. Its ghost lingers on, but it is no longer practical politics.”

Yet today, over 40 years after the creation of states, some Nigerians are still promoting the dichotomy of North and South rather than a Nigerian Nation, which has led to the neglect of the Niger Delta and resulted in the arms struggle. Unfortunately there are still private arms in private hands in Nigeria and it is estimated that it is surpassed only by America in the world. We must ensure that these arms are not used, and I therefore invite you all to join in what my friend Wole Soyinka calls **intellectual militarism**. If any person or group have anything better than democracy, they should make it public and subject it to public discourse. The weapon Nigeria needs today is intellect not fire arms to be used against innocent Nigerians.

Arab System Experiment in Nigeria

I have tried in this presentation to make a case for Democracy and separation of religion from politics. This is in addition to section 10 of the 1999 Constitution which provides as follows: “**The Government of the Federation or of a State shall not adopt any religion as State Religion.**” I have tried to show above that this provision notwithstanding, Nigeria is being systematically turned into a Sultanate no doubt because having been able to establish 12 sharia states in the country, and because those pursuing the Sultanate agenda are in control of the three arms of government - the Legislature, Executive and Judiciary, they have imposed Islamic religion on the rest of Nigerians. It should be very clear to everybody that replicating Arab system in Nigeria has failed us.

Where are the Elders?

Prof. Pat Utomi in The Guardian newspaper of Wednesday, October 14, 2009, captioned **Where are Nigeria’s elders** wrote: “I must say strongly as a very senior Nigerian that

there was a greatly missed opportunity in that our Head of State was not advised properly to come to this assembly'. I hereby call, nay I beg our elders in Nigeria to speak up! There is no use pretending that all is well. All is not well! Nigeria is drifting! We are losing our place in Africa and if we do not halt this drift we will be a big 'agbaya' or a "big-for-nothing" in the international community and the vultures will begin to encircle us. I call on the elders of Nigeria to please come to her aid and add their voice to that of Professor Gambari. We have lost the great Gani Fawehinmi and we need another national conscience to help us get some perspective especially in these days when we are not faced with tyranny as such, but with weakness at the centre. We should remember that if evil triumphs because good men do nothing, then mediocrity will also triumph if elders do nothing. The empire is drifting and the emperor is naked. We should not see it as the lot of a child to point this out when there are elders in the land. Where are Nigeria's elders? Once again, God bless Nigeria." This presentation is my humble contribution as an elder.

Court of Public Opinion

I wish to conclude by saying that the death of my colleague Chief Gani Fawehinmi, S.A.N. has created a vacuum in the country which has to be filled by all Nigerians this time in the **"court of public opinion"** to engineer social change in which security operatives, spies undercover agents etc would participate, as we cannot have a Sultanate in competition with democracy, which brings me to the question I earlier asked. **"Does one compromise one's Christian faith when one works for the conversion of Nigeria to a Sultanate? In other words is it a sin?"** I have no direct answer not being a priest, but I would like to know as my conscience tells me that it is wrong as a Christian to work directly or indirectly for Nigeria to become a Sultanate.

Repercussion

Immediately this paper was presented, the Secretariat of CBCN gave instructions I believe that Mr. Asemota should be regarded as "persona non grata" with respect to speaking at JDPC gathering. A standing lecture with JDPC Ijebu-Ode was cancelled, as a result of which this presenter wrote to the CBCN Secretariat, to find out whether the ability to distinguish between the voices to God with that of the devil was reserved only for priest and pastors. Rev. Fr. Ekpeyong the Secretary of the CBCN then invited this presenter to Abuja as CBCN's guest for one night where the issues were discussed, at the end of which the position reminded the same until this presentation.

In 2002, this presenter presented two papers on Islamization, after which one of the reviewers who was then the Secretary General CBCN in his review said without reading the papers that "Christians are not as helpless as the presenter made of them". Fortunately both the other reviewer Prof. Peter Ejiofor and the Bishop of Enugu, Bishop Gbuji disagreed. In fact, Prof. Ejiofor said he had read the papers and to use his words contained "mine of information". It was clear that CBCN wanted the activities of this presenter to stop the activities of CSMN which had been dubbed the "Catholic thing" to stop. Out of frustration this presenter who was and still the President of the Boards of Governors of CSMN to suspend activities.

In 2015, the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) President Oritsejafor in action and press statement, refused to abide with the dictates of the Sultan, and refused to subject Christians to the dictates of Serkin Muslimin, that the presenter became convinced that CAN President, Pastor Oritsejafor appreciated the incompatibility of Christianity and

Islamism, appointment was secured for a meeting between the CSMN and CAN President where it was agreed that an alternative voice for Christians in Nigeria should be the National Christian Elders Forum (NCEF) with this presenter as the Chairman. It has become very clear that all those who think that Democracy and Sharia are compatible do so for lack of knowledge and understanding of the implication of dual ideology in one country. The only other country which one nation, two systems have been tried in China, with Hong Kong as part of China with a different system. It has not worked. The failure of Nigeria as a nation is the failure of one nation, two systems – Democracy and Sharia.

Chapter Twelve

Democracy as Unifying Factor

It is very clear that America's unity as a nation is derived mainly from its Constitution and the practice of democracy. The American Constitution was framed by 54 Christians, **28 Episcopalians, 8 Presbyterians, 7 Congregationalists, 2 Lutherans, 2 Dutch Reformed, 2 Catholics, 2 Methodists, 3 Deists.** Church membership then "required sworn adherence to strict doctrinal creed, which included belief in the Bible as God's revelation and trust in Jesus Christ as the Son of God"⁶⁷

"In forming a new nation and developing its Constitution the following century, the delegates at the 1787 Convention did not intend to put into practice new and untried ideas. The framers of the American Constitution based their political concepts on the tried and tested ideas of the past. These men were intelligent, well-educated, and widely read. They combined the best ideas they read about how to establish a government for the United States."⁶⁸

"The founders of the American nation held this view of human nature and were not interested in the utopian schemes of the French free thinkers of that time. They knew that human beings are not capable of functioning, most of the time, with unselfish motives such as the good of society. Rather, the best that can be expected of most men most of the time is that they pursue **an enlightened self-interest**, working at productive jobs in order to earn money for themselves and their families, obeying laws because they don't want to go to jail, etc. **They designed a government with this view of human nature in mind.**"⁶⁹ [Emphasis supplied]

Christians "not only believe civil government is ordained and established by God, they also believe that God has given civil government only limited authority. The same power that grants authority to government, also limits that authority."⁷⁰

On May 20, 1775 more than a year before the Declaration of Independence, a group of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians gathered in Charlotte, North Carolina, out of concern over the conflict with Britain. They declared the colonies free and independent and used such phrases as "We do hereby dissolve the political bands which have connected us with the

⁶⁷ Christianity and the Constitution: The Faith of Our Founding Fathers John Eidsmoe, pg. 43

⁶⁸ Christianity and the Constitution: The Faith of Our Founding Fathers John Eidsmoe pg. 17

⁶⁹ Christianity and the Constitution: The Faith of Our Founding Fathers John Eidsmoe pg. 21

⁷⁰ Christianity and the Constitution: The Faith of Our Founding Fathers John Eidsmoe pg 25

mother-country and hereby absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British crown." And, "We hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people; are, and of right ought to be, a sovereign and self-governing association, under control of no power other than that of our God and the general government of Congress; to the maintenance of which we solemnly pledge to each other our mutual cooperation and our lives, our fortunes and our most sacred honor. The document, prepared by a Presbyterian Elder Ephraim Brevard, was sent by a special messenger to the Continental Congress. That fact, coupled with the almost identical language used, makes it likely that Jefferson and his committee drew from the Mecklenburg Declaration when they drafted the Declaration of Independence."⁷¹

American Constitution enable Americans to absorb humans from all parts of the planet, blended into one and rose to become the strongest and most powerful nation in the world. The above seems to explain why the military chose to replace parliamentary system in the country with the presidential system.

Fault Line War

A fault line war is one that takes place between two or more identity groups (usually religious or ethnic) from different civilizations. It is a communal conflict between states and non-governmental groups. Most often, the issue in a fault line war is often over territory, but it could also be over the control of people. The issue at stake in a fault line war is very symbolic for at least one of the groups involved. Because the issue is one of fundamental identity, these wars are longer and more difficult to resolve than conventional warfare. It is very clear from the above definition obtained from Wikipedia that Boko Haram, Fulani Herdsmen and Banditry are instruments of fault line war. Thus Nigeria is plagued both by jihad and fault line wars. The unfortunate aspect of this war is that most non-Muslims do not know of these wars that have been going on since the 1950s.

Ten years ago, Huntington wrote: "The West's universalist pretensions increasingly bring it into conflict with other civilizations, most seriously with Islam and China. The most dangerous clashes of the future are likely to arise from the interaction of Western arrogance, Islamic intolerance, and Sinic assertiveness. So far, rivalry with China has been kept in check. Nigeria is faced with the problem of Islamic intolerance.

Huntington continued: "the sources of conflict between states and groups from different civilizations **are, control of people, territory, wealth, and resources, and relative power, that is the ability to impose one's own values, culture, and institutions on another group as compared to that group's ability to do that to you.** Difference in secular ideology between Marxist-Leninism and liberal democracy can, at least, be debated if not resolved. Differences in material interest can be negotiated and often settled by compromise in a way **cultural issues cannot.** It is human to hate. For self-definition and motivation people need enemies: competitions in business, rivals in achievement, and opponents in politics. They naturally distrust and see as threats, those who are different and have the capability to harm them. The resolution of one conflict and the disappearance of one enemy generate personal, social and political forces that give rise to new ones. "The 'us' versus 'them' tendency is", as Ali Mazrui said, "in the

⁷¹ Christianity and the Constitution: The Faith of Our Founding Fathers John Eidsmoe pgs. 25 - 26

political arena, almost universal. In the contemporary world the “them is more and more likely to be people from a different civilization. Simultaneously, common culture also encourages cooperation among states and groups which share that culture, which can be seen in the emerging patterns of regional association among countries, particularly in the economic area. [Emphasis supplied] This explains why Islamization and Fulanization are being imposed on other Nigerians – who seemed ignorant and helpless.

One suggests that it will be unfortunate if Christians and democrats in Nigeria are forced to embrace Sharia. The ICRC has just reported the following as a result Boko Haram’s activities: **22,000 Nigerians missing in North East** as a result of the activities of insurgents. The figure is the highest number of missing persons registered with the ICRC in any country, the humanitarian agency said in a press statement posted on its website, September 2019 ICRC said nearly 60 per cent of the missing Nigerians were minors at the time they went missing. Every parent’s worst nightmare is not knowing where their child is.

This is the tragic reality for thousands of Nigerian parents, leaving them with the anguish of a constant search. People have the right to know the fate of their loved ones, and more needs to be done to prevent families from being separated in the first place. The release quoted the ICRC President, Peter Maurer, as having said this after a five day visit to Nigeria. This is one of the woes that jihad and fault line wars have imposed on the country. Little wonder that Nigeria is classified as war zone for the purposes of marine insurance.

In an interview titled **Rogue Elite Controlling Nigeria's Destiny** in the **Sunday Telegraph** of September 22, 2019, it was reported that Gen IBM Haruna stated thus: “Imagine a country that had a booming textile industry, petroleum refineries, steel industry and sprawling manufacturing sector. Midstream, everything collapsed and all the investors packed and left the country. The economy was thriving and the standard of living was good but now where is all the money? The kind of insecurity we have on our hands today is more political and economic. The political dimension transcends our internal politics while the economic dimension transcends military strategy. The nation is challenged and all our institutions need to come together to have a concerted policy that would bring about security, stability, socio-economic and political development in the country. There must be synergy among all levels of government and the security apparatus. The insecurity requires a broad-based collaboration beyond just having a war office. If the politicians are thinking on their own, the economic managers are on their own and the military is on its own, we are not likely going to have a national concerted effort to win the war against insurgency and banditry. The fight against insurgency is more than just military operations and mounting checkpoints and road blocks along the highways.” It will be recalled that it was General Theophilus Danjuma who first drew attention of Nigerians to the fact that we cannot rely on the Army for our security. We need a better future for our children and grandchildren.

Solution

It is clear from this presentation that Democracy and Sharia are incompatible, which explains why electoral processes have been made not to favor Democracy but work against it. The first solution therefore, is to put the onus of proof on the electoral body to establish that it can conclude a free, fair and credible election. Billions of tax payers’

money cannot be spent only for the law to demand proof of allegation from a candidate who has spent money for campaign etc, when, in some cases, the court should take judicial notice of the future of the Electoral Commission.

This country needs a political solution not jihad or wars. Nigeria's policy-makers, financiers, businessmen, judges, journalists, community leaders and, the public at large, must be equipped with an accurate understanding of the nature of Sharia fault line wars and the necessity of keeping Nigeria's government and politics Sharia-free. At a minimum, this will entail non-acquiescing to – the concerted efforts now being made to allow barbaric legal code to become established in this country as an alternative, parallel system to the Constitution.

Nigerian government agencies and organizations should cease their outreach to Muslim communities through JNFI fronts whose mission is to destroy our country from within as such practices are both reckless and counter-productive. Indeed, these activities serve to legitimize, protect and expand the influence of enemies of Nigeria. Nigeria must also discourage patriotic Muslims from providing actual assistance to the jihadists.

Chapter II of the Constitution on Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy should be made justiciable so as to make them impossible for any other ideology to be promoted outside Section 13 and 14(1) and (2): which provide as follows:

“13. It shall be the duty and responsibility of all organs of government, and of all authorities and persons, exercising legislative, executive or judicial powers, to conform to, observe and apply the provisions of this Chapter of this Constitution.

14. (1) The Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be a State based on the principles of democracy and social justice.

(2) It is hereby, accordingly, declared that:

(a) sovereignty belongs to the people of Nigeria from whom government through this Constitution derives all its powers and authority;

(b) the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government: and; (c) the participation by the people in their government shall be ensured in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution.”

Practices that promote Sharia – including Sharia-compliant finance and the establishment or promotion in public spaces or with public funds of facilities and activities that give preferential treatment to Sharia's adherents – are incompatible with the Constitution and the freedoms it enshrines and must be proscribed. Such measures will, of course, be controversial in some quarters as they will certainly be contested by Sharia-adherent Muslims committed to jihad and others who, in the name of exercising or protecting civil liberties, are enabling the destruction of those liberties in furtherance of Sharia. Far from being seen as anti-Islam, their opposition should be seen as an opportunity – a chance to see, at a minimum range, for a long-overdue debate, on the need to protect democracy as the sole ideology for Nigeria.

With respect to the missing N400m for which the Army convened a General Court Martial (GCM) to try Major General Hakeem Otiki, it was reported that “the President said the proceedings will be guided by the Federal Republic of Nigeria Constitution 1999 as amended, the Armed Forces of Nigeria Act 2004, the Evidence Act, the **Holy Bible**, the **Holy Quran** and relevant authorities.” We, Christians must object to the use of the Holy Bible as an alibi for the dominance of Sharia in our judicial system. The Holy Bible has no

part to play and affirmation has always been part of our legal system but the Holy Bible has never been. This, no doubt, is stealth jihad. In any case, when did a known coup plotter become a Grand Khadi? We must not return as part of our laws and culture, what we rejected during the period of colonization, death and amputation contrary to Natural Justice, Equity and Good Conscience referred to in legal parlance as repugnancy test, such as amputation as an acceptable punishment in the 21st century. [Vanguard September 18, 2019, pg. 4]

Conference on One Nation, Two Systems

In this presentation, one has tried as much as possible to exclude hate speech against the Islamists and their Christian collaborators. This effort must be appreciated in view of the number of souls, Christians, Animists and Muslims killed since amalgamation during the pogrom, civil war and now Boko Haram and Fulani herdsmen in the quest to Islamize Nigeria.

It should also be appreciated that the Nigerian Christian Elders Forum of which I am the leader in the country, developed out of necessity when it became very clear that the Islamists' agents of the Muslim Brotherhood was about to take over the country and turn it into a caliphate. In the paper titled **Nigeria's Match to Sultanate**, I referred to a publication in the Guardian newspaper of Wednesday, October 14, 2009 by Prof Pat Utomi, captioned **Where are Nigeria's elders?** He wrote: "I must say strongly as a very senior Nigerian that there was a greatly missed opportunity in that our Head of State was not advised properly to come to this assembly'. I hereby call, nay I beg our elders in Nigeria to speak up! There is no use pretending that all is well. All is not well! Nigeria is drifting! We are losing our place in Africa and if we do not halt this drift, we will be a big 'agbaya' or a "big-for-nothing" in the international community and the vultures will begin to encircle us. I call on the elders of Nigeria to please come to her aid and add their voice to that of Professor Gambari. We have lost the great Gani Fawehinmi and we need another national conscience to help us get some perspective especially in these days when we are not faced with tyranny as such, but with weakness at the centre. We should remember that if evil triumphs because good men do nothing, then mediocrity will also triumph if elders do nothing. The empire is drifting and the emperor is naked. We should not see it as the lot of a child to point this out when there are elders in the land. Where are Nigeria's elders? Once again, God bless Nigeria." This was ten years ago and I concluded my paper thus: "I wish to conclude by saying that the death of my colleague Chief Gani Fawehinmi, S.A.N. has created a vacuum in the country which has to be filled by all Nigerians this time in the "court of public opinion" to engineer social change in which security operatives, spies, undercover agents etc would participate, as we cannot have a Sultanate in competition with democracy, which brings me to the question I earlier asked ten years ago. "Does one not compromise one's Christian faith when one works for the conversion of Nigeria to a Sultanate? In other words is that not sin? I have no direct answer not being a priest, but I would like to know, as my conscience tells me, that it is wrong as a Christian to work directly or indirectly for Nigeria to become a Sultanate."

There is no doubt that we compromise our Christianity, when we join Muslims to say that God decides who should be our ruler. This is not the teaching of the mother Church: "Every human community needs an authority to govern it. The foundation of such authority lies in human nature. It is necessary for the unity of the state. Its role is to

ensure, as far as possible, the common good of the society. The Catechism of the Catholic Church continues:

“The authority required by the moral order derives from God: ‘Let every person be subject to the governing authorities. For there is no authority except from God, and those that exist have been instituted by God. Therefore he who resists the authorities resists what God has appointed, and those who resist will incur judgment.’ The duty of obedience requires all to give due honor to authority, and to treat those who are charged to exercise it with respect, and, insofar as it is deserved, with gratitude and good-will. If authority belongs to the order established by God, **‘the choice of the political regime and the appointment of rulers are left to the free decision of the citizens.’**”⁷²

If the Nigerian Church had answered the question and concluded that Christians would compromise their Christian faith when they work for the conversion of Nigeria to a Sultanate, Buhari would not have been President today. Democracy, then and now, is the secularized residue of Church doctrine of the people of God – Christians.

We hope that the “Islamic” Government of Nigeria that professes to run democracy will call for a conference on “One Nigeria, Two Systems” where proponents of Sharia as another source of legislation in the hope of converting Nigeria to a Sultanate will come forward with arguments on why Sharia is good for Nigeria. Fortunately, the Head of the Nigerian Judiciary presently is a Sharia graduate and so is the Attorney General of the Federation and numerous other Judges, Senior Advocates of Nigeria and others. They should also, as has been done here, show that unlike this paper that seeks to enthrone Democracy as the ground norm, Sharia should be preferred. It should be a battle of ideas not jihad or fault line wars.

If however the Federal Government is unwilling to call such a conference then a Christian state or group of Christian States should join hands to call such a conference. The conference should also provide the opportunity for Nigerians to discuss, which is more vile a sin, corruption assisted by agent provocateur or downright treason. The legal and religious implication of scared space and the healing effect of oil and gas in the hope that for once, Islamists would show gratitude to Kafirs for their Islamist wealth and property. We all believe in Democracy for Nigeria and we should all be ready for the battle of words (not arms) against our stealthy Islamists jihadists. **If however those opposed to re-structuring and are unwilling for a Conference persists in their conviction, then Nigerian democrats must come together and use constitutional provisions available in the Nigerian 1999 Constitution after ostracizing all fifth columnists responsible for giving the Fulani false majority. This must be done by first identifying with a political party that agrees to re-structuring the country. We must not continue to go cap in hand like colonial subjects to beg the Fulani that Nigeria should be re-structured.** One recommends that with the correct appreciation and interpretation of the Nigerian situation Democracy and Sharia having been established, there is need that some prominent Nigerians are keyed into the quest for solution.

⁷² Catechism of the Catholic Church pgs. 416 - 417

It is recommended that the CBCN should first ascertain the truth or otherwise of the facts contained herewith to therefore seek the opinions of eminent Nigerians - General Yakubu Gowon, General Olusegun Obasanjo, General Theophilus Danjuma, Professor Wole Soyinka, Chief Emeka Anyaoku and the leaders of cultural organizations like Afenifere, Ohaneze Ndigbo and Middle Belt Forum. Thereafter, Traditional Rulers, JNI, ACF and other Islamic organizations in the country, especially all those that have one thing in common, that of having enjoyed the golden age of Nigeria before and after Independence.

The content of this presentation, I pray should be made the basis of discussion to arrive at the conclusion whether Nigeria is better off, with one ideology of Democracy or two - Democracy and Sharia. I have taken the liberty to publish this paper in the media because one is sure of the facts and the law on the subject of Democracy and Sharia.

The Way Forward

Colonial Police of which the presenter was a member unified the Ranks that were hitherto styled European and African thereby reducing the ladder between the Constable and the I.G. Colonial ranks were restored by the present Administration back to what it was during colonialism.

This colonialism of the colonial master and the African was recently exhibited in the Nigerian Railway Corporation. The Muslims are the present day European and the Christians the Africans. As no other explanation can be given in the way Elder Nat Okoro, a Christian and the first Nigerian Managing Director of the Corporation who as an "African", received N99,000 as pension while Alhaji A. A. Abubakar a Muslim, received N1 million monthly, a situation that was reserved in the past for Europeans because their standard of living is higher than the Nigerian.

The above, is possible because the Muslims (North) ensured that they (Northern Muslims) select for us Christian South those who should lead us. Usually, those selected are not the brightest among Christians, but are empowered financially and the federal might put at their disposal. As collaborators in neo-colonialism, they do not raise any objection. And if the Christian Southerners do, they are styled as not representing the people (Christians). This explains why the Muslim Islamists were able to effect changes in the Public Service Corporations and parastatals without any revolution. It was the use of stealth jihad by those in government - military juntas and, now, through rigged elections and conventional jihads by the armed forces, para-military and the intelligence communities in addition to Boko Haram, Fulani herdsmen, bandits. From time to time, an alibi is provided that it is the Islamic Movement of Nigeria that wants to Islamize Nigeria. At other times, that Boko Haram and its collaborators, herdsmen and bandits need to be crushed notwithstanding the amount of resources and manpower available to those who are engaged to fight Boko Haram. The Islamist group was founded by the former Governor of Borno State, Ahmadu Sheriff, who later became the Chairman of one of the two major parties the PDP, and after helped to found the other major party the APC. With the Islamic concept of taqiyya and jihad and the ease with which politicians move from one major party to the other and the "new found" ideology Islamism for which Imams have been imported for Saudi Arabia and the Chief of Staff of the Nigerian Army's suggestion that Nigeria requires spiritual solution to solve the Islamic problem, suggest complete takeover by the Islamists. The situation is not helped when the Sultan comes out to say he did not recognize any Nigerian Constitution, the only constitution he

recognized was the Quran, shows clearly that Sharia is the dominant ideology in present day Nigeria and the law applicable.

Sharia has overtaken Democracy. This presentation can be regarded as a handing over note to future generations to appreciate fully how and why the giant of Africa has failed and decide whether they are prepared to inherit a failed Nation. If they don't, it is the view of this presenter that they must accept CSMN the Catholic thing and make it work which this presenter, as one of the founding fathers, intended that it should be.

2. Christians in Nigeria and other democrats within Islam and traditional religion, having tasted Democracy and Sharia, should work for the restoration of Democracy as the sole system in Nigeria.

3. As part of the move to restoring Democracy, a Truth and Reconciliation Commission should be established to examine the fears of Nigerians generally and allay the fears of those who believe in Democracy and this presentation and, one to be presented by a Sharialist, to aid those who are to serve in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Conclusion

Christians do not have an Army or a Police Force of their own but Muslims do. Buhari has become an elected dictator – who dispenses Constitution strains, when he said that Rule of Law is subject to security and that the courts should uphold this contention. In the circumstance, Christians have to advocate for themselves, if they don't, no one will do it for them. Shakespeare wrote in Julius' Caesar that neglect is more vile a sin than self-love. This vile sin was exhibited by Christians in Nigeria over the years, in that since amalgamation, Christian South has been providing for the upkeep of the Nigerian family, first, import and export dues at the ports and later oil and gas, yet Christians have never made a fuss and continued diligently as the Southern lady of means. The well-conducted youth of the North has demanded that cows should be the new “god” of the country, worshipped to such an extent that cattle trails become sacred land incorporated into law and custom, that what belongs to the South – customs, oil and gas belong to the whole country, but gold, tin, colombite etc found in the North, belongs only to the Fulani dominated North only.

It is time that Christian South began to trumpet its contribution of oil and gas. The slogan “Go With One North in One Nigeria” coined during the Civil War should be replaced “**Go with one Nigeria, one System, one Destiny**”. Christians need to work for an Nd'igbo President not to beg for it.

Christians must prevent war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. Christians do not want the Sudan experience that resulted into its breakup into two countries. Nigeria must not be carved out in the image of Sudan.

Over the years, the Islamists in Nigeria tutored by the British have ensured that votes do not count, a practice that is common in Islamic states. Tunisia has broken this jinx by electing a university professor rather than a business magnate. For the first time vote counted in Sudan. The hold the Islamists have on Nigeria, over the years, ensured that votes do not count and the 2019 election is the worst. The solution therefore, is to ensure that votes count which will ensure that the Islamists are defeated. Sharia and Democracy are incompatible.

Christian Heads of State and Governors since and after Aguiyi-Ironsi in 1966 are Northerners and Southerners believed that they were able to ascend the high office at the behest of the successor to the British – the Fulani. In the circumstances, there is the need to emphasize that Nigerian Negroes and Christians have a superior right to these positions as indigenous Nigerian over and above those who collaborated with the British through indirect rule to colonize Nigeria and later as proxy of colonialism after independence in 1960.

Your Eminence, your Grace, my Lords, I have been a Christian all of my 82 years on earth. I was taken to Jos, Plateau State in 1942 by my mother to re-marry and first enrolled at the St. Paul's School just a stone throw from our house. St. Paul's was an Anglican Igbo school where I learnt how to read and write Igbo. Two years later, I was in St. Luke's School which was mainly for Yorubas where I learnt Yoruba. Hausa came naturally. I finished standard six in 1952 but could not attend a secondary school in Jos because there was none. The best then was the Middle School in Gindiri and being the beginning of Northernization policy, I could not be admitted and had to return to Benin City in 1953 to learn Edo afresh. I could safely have passed for an Edo speaking Jos man, but the place of residence clause rather than state of origin was not the norm. Although an Anglican, I was baptized as a student of Immaculate Conception College in 1954 and became a Catholic. My childhood in Jos was groomed by Sierra Leoneans in a cosmopolitan city with Africans from Ghana and other parts of Nigeria, and it ensured that I grew up a Nigerian rather than an Edo man. Unfortunately, with the frequent riots in the North which I now know as jihad, most of my teachers in Jos had to re-locate to the South. Late Chief Omoz Oarhe from Sabongida Ora, my headmaster had to leave Jos for Benin City and Mr. Sunday Adejumo to Akure, Ondo State. Mr. Sunday Adejumo is now 96 years old.

I have also had the privilege of 60 years involvement with the law, 12 years as a superior Police officer and 48 years as a legal practitioner with 34 years as a Senior Advocate. I am ashamed to say that my faith which Samuel Ajayi Crowther, Bishop Shanahan, Patrick Kelly, Bishop DK Miller and others bestowed on us Nigerians seemed to have been abandoned by their successors while some of us have, unfortunately, become facilitators of Islamists jihad.

In the book **The Second Burial of Bishop Shanahan**, the author Desmond Forristal narrated how Bishop Shanahan approached the Obi of Onitsha for land. He wrote: "the King of Onitsha, sitting on a throne and wearing a golden crown, received Lutz graciously in audience. He would be happy to grant him a site on the river bank but for the fact that the area had already been given to Bishop Crowther. He suggested that since Crowther was not using the land, he might be willing to let Lutz have it. Lutz went to see Crowther, who readily agreed. I received this land for the cause of God', he said, magnanimously, take it."⁷³

One has often wondered why Christians in Eastern Nigeria cannot unite and thereafter extend this unity to all Christians in Nigeria. In the book **A History of the Church in Africa**, the authors, Bengt Sundkler and Christopher Steed, wrote "the eastern region was composed of a number of ethnic groups which, generally, lived in dispersed clusters of

⁷³ The Second Burial of Bishop Shanahan, Desmond Forristal pgs. 43 - 44

homesteads, detached from the few large towns of the region. This network of communities lent a particular character to Catholic and Protestant work and education. With little or no Islamic influence in the region, one of the main concerns of the Churches was the prevalent belief in traditional religion. --- Another feature of the eastern region was the unfortunate rivalry between Catholics and Protestants, especially in Igbo areas, which sometimes created new social cleavages.”⁷⁴

One suggests that it is time that we, Christians in Nigeria, begin to consider whether the unseen hands of the British was responsible for these social cleavages and lack of Christian unity? After all, the British in Islamic dominated Northern region preserved and enhanced Islam by the colonial policy of indirect rule which insulated the Northern region from the Christian faith. One thing is clear and it is that we, Christians, are mainly responsible for the success of jihad and fault line wars in Nigeria as part of their facilitators. When CSMN was registered in 2001, the majority of members of the Board of Trustees included Cardinal John Onaiyekan; Archbishop Emeritus (Dr.) Patrick Ekpu; Archbishop (Dr.) Anthony Obinna; Solomon Asemota SAN; and Mrs. Ifueko Ize-Iyamu, a majority of six out of ten as Catholic and CSMN was the styled “Catholic thing”. CSMN was rendered comatose when some Priests decided that the Catholic Church was a ‘fada’ Church and the lay faithful are meant to be guided. The action crippled CSMN until recently when it became clear that some Priests are contractors to the Intelligence Services dominated by Islamists. It is time that the Catholic Church in Nigeria, the world’s mother Church, should assume leadership with the instrumentality of the social teaching of the Catholic Church. CSMN for the lay faithful and CAN for the Pastors. As a lay faithful, I know that the Church is One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic and, that Democracy is the secularized residue of Church doctrine, of the people of God, our consideration of the choice of political regime which the Church itself say is “left to the free decision of the citizen”, cannot be left to the lay faithful like me, especially when the choice is between Democracy and Sharia. Silence in the circumstance, is not golden. The lay faithful need direction and guidance. My lords, I plead that you continue to pray for us who are prodigal sons and daughters of Christ and, like Saint Paul, have the courage to return to Christ in person and in spirit.

All Negro tribes in Nigeria cannot withstand the Negroids - Hausa, Fulani and Kanuri but Christians as a group, can, provided the Sharia compliant Christians are made to understand that Democracy and Sharia are incompatible. This presentation is titled “A Case for One Nigeria, One System” and I have taken side with Democracy. I owe no apology to anyone because, in all my 60 years involvement with the law, I have always taken sides. As a Police officer and prosecutor, I was on the side of the prosecution; as defence counsel, I was also on the side of the accused, as an arbitrator, I have taken sides with the law and facts. As professionals, we are always able to overcome our emotions. I hope a Muslim not a Christian “contractor” will present the side of Sharia. No Nigerian should therefore sit on the fence in this struggle for the future of Nigeria.

The above presentation is a precursor to the book titled “**Nigeria’s 60 Years in the Wilderness**” to be released by the presenter in 2020. This presentation is free and can be accessed at the CSMN website: www.csmnigeria.org. Donations are welcomed through cashless methods only with the Account details:

⁷⁴ A History of the Church in Africa the authors Bengt Sundkler and Christopher Steed pg. 729

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God bless Nigeria

Elder Solomon Asemota, SAN
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October 25, 2019

A CASE FOR ONE NIGERIA, ONE SYSTEM

A paper presented on October 25, 2019 @ the Catholic Bishops
Conference of Nigeria, Benin City by Solomon Asemota, SAN

ADDING VALUE TO MY FAITH: REPORTS AND COMMENTS

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