



National Christian Elders Forum

Motto: Watch & Pray that we may be one ...

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25th April, 2020

NIGERIA IS NOT A MISTAKE: IT REQUIRES REINVENTING

MEMORANDUM

BY

NATIONAL CHRISTIAN ELDERS FORUM (NCEF) TO LEADERS OF THE SOUTH AND MIDDLE BELT OF NIGERIA

TABLE OF CONTENT	PAGE
Highlights	3 - 5
Introduction	6 - 8
Native Nigerians	8 - 10
Lugard's Promises	10 - 12
Nigeria a creation of Colonialism should we be proud of it, Yes and No?	12
United Africa Company (UAC)	12 - 13
The promising and well-conducted youth	13 - 14
Reasons for Amalgamation	15 - 16
Willink's Commission	16 - 17
Ideological Problem	18
1975 Coup	18
Buhari's First Coming	18 - 19
Babangida's Experiment on Transition to Sharia not Democracy	19 - 20
Abacha's Stealth Jihad Rule	20 - 22
The Courts as Instrument of Jihad	22
Buhari Second Coming	22 - 23
Nigeria Contending with Jihad	23 - 24
Our Heroes Past	24 - 25
Us and Them	25 - 26
Democracy is Abode for Nigerians	26 - 27
Conclusion	27 - 28

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HIGHLIGHTS:

- The Amalgamation of 1914 has been given different interpretations. NCEF in this 23 page Memorandum is setting out to clarify these issues, more so, since four out of the six geo-political zones in the country belong to the Negro race representing 386 ethnic nationalities compared with the Negroid race having 3 ethnic nationalities.
- The Sardauna in page 133 of his autobiography wrote, **“I rise to associate myself with the last speaker. The mistake of 1914 has come to light and I should like to go no further.”** Echoing this sentiment, Alhaji Mohammed Mahadi Shehu on 30th March, 2020 in the SUN newspaper was quoted as saying, “When the Amalgamation of Nigeria took place, virtually everybody’s head in this country was not up. In other words, nobody realized the consequences of merging this country. With the passage of time, with the knowledge, with clear daily happenings it was realized long ago that the Amalgamation was done in haste, out of mischief without taking into consideration the peculiarities in Nigeria.” For a Northerner to say that Amalgamation was done out of mischief, is the height of ingratitude.
- Alhaji Yerima Shettima, was quoted in the SUN Newspaper as saying “The collective interest of the North is that the average northerner believes that we will ensure, we will mobilize towards 2023. We must negotiate, we must lobby to retain power, we can’t afford to lose power, the only thing we have at hand. **With all the insecurity that we have in the North, poverty, unemployment, lack of direction and vision by this present administration you still want the North to lose power?** It is not possible.” [Why North won’t surrender power in 2023 – Yerima Shettima – **The Sun Nigeria Newspaper 28th March, 2020**]. NCEF is at a loss how insecurity, poverty, unemployment, and lack of vision constitute strategy to retain power?
- The entitlement mentality displayed in the statements above is behind the Sharia Movement in Nigeria which seeks to supplant Democracy with Sharia as National Ideology. The members of the Sharia Movement who live in Dar-al Islam (abode of

peace) have deliberately turned Nigeria into Dar-al Harb (abode of war). Sharia is deliberately promoted to corner the wealth of Nigeria.

- It is also clear that this entitlement mentality was deliberately crafted and nurtured by Frederick Lugard who said, “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...” It must be remembered that in Sokoto State at one time, vehicle number plates borne the inscription “**born to rule**” which showed clearly that the Negroids see themselves as ordained rulers of Nigeria after the departure of the British.
- It is very clear that the British deliberately handed the 386 (out of 389) ethnic nationalities to the Fulani who unfortunately see themselves as successor colonialist which led to arrogance and desire to change the system of government from Democracy to Sharia. However, the NCEF does not see this conspiracy as sufficient to break Nigeria into bits but recommends Re-Inventing the country which is the main reason for this memorandum.
- It is stealth jihad for the courts especially the Supreme Court, the last hope of the ordinary man, to be Sharia constituted to influence Sharia over Democracy. Above all, it is stealth jihad when the whole object of imposing Sharia on Nigerians is to constitute the Muslims as “us”, and the Christians as “them”, in a country where the Christians had labored to promote civilization and modern living both at home and in the Diaspora. The memorandum shows how the Sharia movement through stealth and conventional jihad ensured that Nigeria remains Dar-al Harb, the abode of war. Nigeria post COVID-19 must be fully re-invented and transformed to a Democratic entity.
- It is not enough under the circumstances to say that our heroes past who are still alive spoke to the Islamist President in private. If they did, then it is time for them to do so in public. We believe that it is the void created by Generals Gowon, Obasanjo and Danjuma, who understand our national value system that is now being filled by members of the Sharia movement to corner the wealth of Nigeria for the use of a few. NCEF is grateful to God that these men are still alive, because they are Christians who should be able to put a stop to conflict of ideology of Democracy and Sharia and the drift of Nigeria to Alice in wonderland. The three Generals must come out openly to say which side they belong: Democracy or Sharia. They cannot be on both sides. The NCEF is convinced that the demand for Sharia **ideology is merely a camouflage to control the wealth of Nigeria** through the use of force and deceit (stealth jihad).
- The leadership of PANDEF, Afenifere, Ohaneze and Middle Belt Forum must persuade these Generals who are living heroes to intervene and in particular speak to all the soldiers, Emirs, Obas, Ezes, Chiefs and in particular the Sultan of Sokoto to soft pedal in promoting Quran as his Constitution, in other words, he wants Nigeria to be an Islamic state.
- The Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria in January 1st 1914 is one of the few “gifts” the white man gave the black man. Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Protectorates in Nigeria provided for Africans a new hope of salvation and civilization. Amalgamation was able to provide in Nigeria a home for one in

every four black person through the world. Amalgamation 'united' two races - (a) the Native Nigerians with about 386 tribes, who are Negros and (b) immigrant group of brown skin, Arab descent from the Middle East today's Hausa, Fulani and Kanuris.

- The mistake made by the British would appear to be the inability to have appreciated the incompatibility of the two ideologies of “**Democracy**” and “**Sharia**” that they were leaving behind. Britain had all the opportunity to have converted all Nigerians to Democracy.
- The solution therefore is that Nigeria must enter into post COVID-19 negotiation on the basis of equality of its ethnic nationalities: 389 in total. There is no free lunch; there is also no freedom on a platter of gold. We must take back our freedom by peaceful means; after all, native Nigerians are supposed to be educated. To import Fulanization or Arabization on other Nigerians as discussed in the Memorandum and that seemed to have worked in the past can no longer work in the future. The eyes of Christians and other Nigerians are now opened.
- The NCEF is of the view that Amalgamation of January 1, 1914 is not a mistake, but a very important event that gave birth to Nigeria in the 19th century that now requires re-inventing. There must be re-inventing of Nigeria.

Elder Solomon Asemota, SAN
Chairman
National Christian Elders Forum (NCEF)

25th April, 2020

MAIN PAPER

NIGERIA IS NOT A MISTAKE: IT REQUIRES REINVENTING

MEMORANDUM

BY

NATIONAL CHRISTIAN ELDERS FORUM (NCEF) TO
LEADERS OF THE SOUTH AND MIDDLE BELT OF NIGERIA

CHALLENGING OUR HEROS PAST

An open memorandum to leaders of Native Nigerians:

- (i) Chief E. K. Clark - Pan Niger Delta Forum (PANDEF)
- (ii) Chief Akere Reuben Fasanranti - Afenifere
- (iii) Dr John Nnia Nwodo - Ohaneze N'digbo
- (iv) Dr. Pogu Bitrus - Middle Belt Forum

Introduction

The Amalgamation of January 1, 1914 uniting Northern Nigeria and Southern Nigeria as one country, has made it very clear to the National Christian Elders Forum that there is need for this memorandum, as four of the zones represent the Negro race in Nigeria. They can in reality be regarded as the natives of Nigeria as distinct from the Negroid Nigerians of Arab descent who migrated to Nigeria.

The Sardauna of Sokoto in his autobiography wrote: "I then made the shortest speech that I have ever made and possibly one of the most important: **'I rise to associate myself with the last speaker. The mistake of 1914 has come to light and I should like to go no further.'** I was referring to the Amalgamation that took place in that year between the old independent governments of Northern and Southern Nigeria." [My Life Ahmadu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto, pg. 133] Unfortunately negative interpretations have been given

to this statement therefore the NCEF has decided to proffer its understanding of the Amalgamation.

Chief Enahoro moved his motion for Nigeria's independence in 1956, this was in 1953 when the North was of the opinion, rightly in NCEF's, view that they - the North was not ready for independence. The Sardauna continued in his autobiography concerning the treatment the Northern Prime Minister got on a journey from Iddo Train Terminus in Lagos to Kaduna: "this journey just about finished it for us. We were all not only angry at our treatment, but indignant that people who were so full of fine phrases about the unity of Nigeria should have set their people against the chosen representatives of another Region while passing through their territory and even in our own. What kind of trouble had we let ourselves in for by associating with such people? Lord Lugard and his Amalgamation were far from popular amongst us at that time. There were agitations in favour of secession; we should set up on our own; we should cease to have anything more to do with the Southern people; we should take our own way. "There were however two things --- over the wharf." The second difficulty was similar to it. Would it be possible to send our goods down to the coast for shipment by rail or road, and what guarantee would there be that they would get there at all? We depend on the railway for the greater part of our transport and that is Federally owned and operated; we would have to use the Southern roads and they are built and maintained from Southern funds." [My Life Ahmadu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto, pgs. 135 - 136]

For some years now, Nigerians have been forced to drop history as a subject taught in secondary schools to the extent that on March 30, 2020, one Alhaji Mohammed Mahadi Shehu was reported to have said "When the Amalgamation of Nigeria took place, virtually everybody's head in this country was not up. In other words, nobody realized the consequences of merging this country. With the passage of time, with the knowledge, with clear daily happenings it was realized long ago that the Amalgamation was done in haste, out of mischief without taking into consideration the peculiarities in Nigeria. [Amalgamation of North, South by the British was a mistake - Mahadi Shehu - **The Sun Nigeria**] For a Northerner to say that Amalgamation was done out of mischief, is the height of ingratitude.

A day before - March 28, 2020 a very good friend of late Chief Enahoro, Yerima Shettima, who for some years has been the National President of Arewa Youth Consultative Forum (AYCM), and who gave Nd'igbo seven days to quit the North was quoted as saying, "The collective interest of the North is that the average northerner believes that we will ensure, we will mobilize towards 2023. We must negotiate, we must lobby to retain power, we can't afford to lose power, the only thing we have at hand. With all the insecurity that we have in the North, poverty, unemployment, lack of direction and vision by this present administration you still want the North to lose power? It is not possible." [Why North won't surrender power in 2023 –Yerima Shettima – **The Sun Nigeria**]

NCEF is at a loss to why there poverty, unemployment and lack of vision, should constitute a strategy to retain power and concluded that members of Sharia movement set up by Sir Ahmadu, Sheikh Gumi, Ahmed Joda and others in 1961 during the 1st Republic, of which we believe Alhaji Shehu and Yerima Shettima are members are exhibiting their importance. They, we believe were merely testing the strength of Sharia rule - a system of rule and society of which an important ingredient is the operation of Islamic law in Nigeria. Since then jihad (stealth) by various government headed by (Muslims and Christians) were pursued to the extent that in 2020 late Chief Enahoro has once again to be "pardoned" by a Sharia compliant President. Otherwise on what basis did Enahoro serve as a Federal Minister under Gowon and at one stage was chief negotiator on the federal side with the Biafrans without pardon? It is very clear that members of the Sharia movement who live in **Dar-al Islam** who have turned Nigeria into a **Dar-al Harb**. Dar-al Islam and Dar-al Harb means the abode of peace and abode of war. Sharia movement has decided for the first time to pardon Enahoro for the crimes he committed under colonialism, now that Nigeria has new colonial masters in the Villa.

Native Nigerians

The four zones of South-South, South-West, South-East and Middle Belt have one thing in common, what the political scientists' regard as **identitarianism** - the process of showing, proving and recognizing who or what is relevant to Nigeria. The four zones referred to above comprise of Negro Nigerians, a majority of whom are Christians who are in competition with the non-natives (Negroids) Hausa, Fulani and Kanuri who are of

Arab descent and mainly Muslims. Since Amalgamation there have been discussions as to the type of government suitable for Nigeria. While all Nigerians comprising 389 tribes agreed on Democracy and Parliamentary system, the British it would appear were unaware that the non-native Negroids see themselves as a superior race to the natives with an ambition to replace the British colonial masters at independence. This explains the situation whereby the native Negroids took to Western education the immigrant Negroids as classified by Lugard, took to the military for their education. To create a Dar-al Harb (an abode of war), as exhibited in Nigeria of the 21st century.

The British also appreciated the fact that immigrant Negroids could be relied upon with British help and support to continue with “colonial rule” after independence. The oil wealth in Nigeria was also placed under their control which explains why Negroids dominate the Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC). This is very clear from the statement of Sir Ahmadu Bello when he said **“our aims were very simple. To develop the country to the fullest extent in the shortest time; to preserve the peace, good order and friendly relations between all our different peoples; to conduct an efficient and impartial administration; to ensure for all, freedom of thought and religion, to do good to all men. You will see that we were never militant ‘nationalists’ as some were. We were sure that in God’s good time we would get the power. The British had promised this frequently and we were content to rest on these promises; there was plenty of work ready at our hand for us to do.”** [Emphasis supplied] [My Life, Sir Ahmadu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto pg. 86] Sir Olaniwun Ajayi in his book wrote “before Nigeria’s independence and soon thereafter, two of Nigerian leaders of Northern extraction – namely: Sir Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, who later became Nigeria’s First Prime Minister and his colleague in NPC who was the First Premier of Northern Region, Sir Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, are on record to have said that Nigeria was an estate of their grandfather whilst the Prime Minister stated that Nigeria was not one country. The words of each of them were as follows: “Since 1914 the British Government has been trying to make Nigeria into one country, but the Nigerian people themselves are historically different in their background, in their religious beliefs and customs and do not show themselves any sign of willingness to unite... Nigerian unity is only a British intention for the country.” Sir Ahmadu Bello said: “The new nation called

Nigeria should be an estate of our great grandfather, Uthman dan Fodio. We must ruthlessly prevent a change of power. We use the minorities in the North as willing tools and the South as conquered territory and never allow them to have control over their future.” [Nigeria: Political power imbalance - The bane and chain down of Nigeria’s progress and development, pgs. 70 - 71]

The flag and ceremony after independence suggest a handing over from the British to Fulani Negroids. The Sardauna wrote “About twenty miles upstream of Sokoto and on the north bank-that is, on the opposite side of the river from Sokoto-is the little town of Rabah. It was here that I was born in Iglo. My father was the District Head. There are forty-eight District Heads in Sokoto Emirate and he was one of them. Only seven years had passed since the British drove out the Sultan Atahiru from his own capital, chased him across Nigeria and eventually caught up with him and his devoted followers on the borders of Bomu. Here he made a last stand, on a deserted hillside, and died fighting, far from his people and his home. **His standard was found near his body. It was folded up and taken to England.** Only this year, after Independence, was it brought back and formally restored to the present Sultan **at a distinguished ceremony.** It had been very well preserved and was given back in a large and handsome frame.” [My Life - Ahmadu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto pgs. 1 - 2] It must be remembered that in Sokoto State at one time, vehicle number plates borne the inscription ‘**born to rule**’ which showed clearly that the Negroids see themselves as ordained rulers of Nigeria after the departure of the British.

Lugard’s Promises

In addition to the above, Willink wrote in his report, “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 disfavour.” [Emphasis supplied] [Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the fears of Minorities and the means of allaying them, pg. 55]

Lugard himself wrote, “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.” [Lugard Colonial Report: Northern Nigeria 1902 pg. 26, Sir Olaniwun Ajayi - Nigeria: Political power imbalance - The bane and chain down of Nigeria’s progress and development, pg. 66]

Sharwood-Smith remarked on Tafawa Balewa thus: “...the key was to avoid fragmentation of the North, an undivided North was one that would be the major player in an independent Nigeria. The government must therefore stand firm against demand for a Middle Belt Region...” it became very clear that the whole object of Amalgamation was not only to provide a life line for the North but also to install a particular tribe as future rulers of Nigeria.

“Sir James Wilson Robertson one time Nigeria’s Governor-General of Nigeria wrote: “the general outlook of the people (North) is so different from those in Southern Nigeria as to give them practically nothing in common. There is less difference between an Englishman and Italian, both of whom have a common civilization based on Greek and Roman foundations and on Christianity, than between a Muslim village in Sokoto, Kano or Katsina, and an Ibo, Ijaw or a Kalabari. How can any feeling of common purpose of nationality be built up between people whose culture, religion and mode of living is so completely different? When the British go, what will keep these diverse peoples together within the artificial boundaries drawn on the maps in the 1880s and 1890s.” It could be asked whether it was this disposition as stated above that led him to arranging election rigging in favor of Northern Nigeria while he was in Nigeria so that the northerners, fit or unfit, merit or no merit would inherit, from the British, political power and authority over Nigeria.” This of course is not correct, the Negroes of the North with over 300 tribes who are not Hausa, Fulani or Kanuri look very much like other native Negroes throughout Nigeria including the two major tribes of Igbo and Yoruba of the South.

It is very clear from the above that the British deliberately handed the 386 ethnic nationalities to the Fulani who unfortunately see themselves as successor's colonialist which led to arrogance and desire to change the system of government from Democracy to Sharia. The NCEF does not see this conspiracy as sufficient to break Nigeria into bits but recommends Re-Invention which is the main reason for this memorandum.

Nigeria a creation of Colonialism should we be proud of it, Yes and No?

Kwasi Kwarteng in his book Ghost of Empire wrote “perhaps no other country in the modern world is more a creature of empire than Nigeria” in addition to the fact that the name Nigeria was an invented one given to us by Flora Shaw a British journalist and commentator who later married Lugard. It is pertinent therefore to state briefly how Northern Nigeria and Southern Nigeria become one country in 1914 Lugard as the Governor-General of the two Nigerias now amalgamated to one.

United Africa Company (UAC)

George Goldie took over a company ran by one of his fathers in-law which brought him to West Africa. Goldie reformed it and named it the United Africa Trading Company - the precursor to United Africa Company that Dahlton Ogieva Asemota became the first African manager. Kwasi Kwarteng continued: “British businesses and enterprise which so often then formed a path then that was later followed by the bureaucrats and pith-helmet wearing district commissioners. Goldie was granted royal charter which allowed the company monopoly of the Niger Delta and further up river. The British Prime Minister, the third Marquis of Salisbury in 1879 said “the colonial mission in Africa, according to the Prime Minister, was about money and commerce: The objects we have in our view are strictly business objects. We wish to extend the commerce, the trade, the industry and the civilization of mankind. We wish to throw open as many markets as possible, to bring as many consumers and producers into contact as possible; to throw open the great natural highways, the great waterways of this great continent. We wish that trade should pursue its unchecked and unhindered course upon the Niger, the Nile, and the Zambesi.” [Ghosts of Empire Britain’s Legacies in the Modern World, pg. 278]

This was the time when men like Goldie regarded imperialism as a highly businesslike matter. Goldie was opposed to slavery “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 nineteenth century.” He obtained Royal Charter for it in July 1886 and was able to persuade native chiefs to sign away many of their rights over their country “**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 Kings 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 (Limited) forever the whole of our territory extending from the boundary of Akassa territory to Kolama territory.’ Not only would land be signed over 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 country, 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.’ [Ghosts of Empire Britain’s Legacies in the Modern World, Kwasi Kwarteng, pgs. 279 - 280] These agreements did not stop the Benin expedition of 1897 when the British looted artifacts, jewelries etc in their expedition. Neither did it stop the destruction of the Oyo Empire or the attack and overthrow of the Sokoto Empire. All the Empires - Oyo, Benin, etc including Sokoto were colonized by the force of arms and cannot be regarded as a mistake.

The promising and well-conducted youth

It is pertinent at this juncture to refer to the metaphor of the then Secretary of State Lord Harcourt at the Colonial Service dinner in 1913 when he said “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." [Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria: A Documentary Record, AHM Kirk-Greene, pg. 30] The reasons why the Muslim North is regarded as promising is no doubt, because of the future which the colonialists have planned for it.

Land throughout Nigeria was taken over by the British and became crown land with respect to minerals, which today vest minerals in the federal government. Lugard wrote "With the exception of a small quantity of Gold (2865 ozs. In 1917), and of coal (which is for the present a Government monopoly) the only mineral developed in Nigeria is tin, of which 9966 tons of ore were exported in 1917, valued at 1.5 million sterling (4, 140 tons in 1913). In furtherance of the desire of the Imperial Government to explore fully the mineral wealth of the Empire, a geological survey has recently been inaugurated. I thoroughly subscribe to the view that all mineral syndicates should produce proof that their capital and control are predominantly British. Since minerals in Nigeria are the property of the Government this presents no great difficulty." [Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria: A Documentary Record, AHM Kirk-Greene, pg. 109] The military under the doctrine of Dar-al Harb (abode of war) extended Northern Land Tenure throughout the country. In fact the South was treated as a colony of the North. "Ian Nicolson, who has called Amalgamation 'a very saddening experience.... After studying the work of his [Lugard's] forerunners who administered Southern Nigeria'. In harsh words, he castigates Lugard's administrative plans as **'trampling on all the carefully nursed seedlings of civilized government, law and legislature, and substituting authoritarian adminstrocracy in which the whole emphasis was away from the coast, away from the law and education in its widest sense'**, and concludes that **Lugard's Amalgamation place Nigeria in a state of arrested development, with its institutions of government left on the whole 'dormant and static' for the net thirty years.**" [Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria: A Documentary Record, AHM Kirk-Greene, pg. 26] Although Ian Nicolson suggested 30 years, it extended over 106 years.

Reasons for Amalgamation

In sum, whatever political praise or blame may, in the nonchalant nature of hindsight, be attributed to the unification of the two Nigerias and the creation of one Nigeria-to this day at least a patriotic motto, implicit in the Republic's first constitution and explicit in its emblem and national anthem-the motive seems to have been primarily that of economic common sense. Hence the unanimous verdict of Nigeria's historians. Variouslly they write of 'owing to financial difficulties and to conflict over railway policy, the British Government instructed Sir Frederick Lugard to bring about an Amalgamation.....', 'the practical reasons mainly concerned railways and revenue 'it [dissatisfaction with divergent railway policies] served to bring matters to a head by hastening the decision in favour of Amalgamation', 'the immediate reason for the decision to amalgamate the two Nigeria's was economic expediency... furthermore, there was the pressing need to co-ordinate railway policy', and 'the practical result of the Amalgamation was to enable the large revenue of Southern Nigeria to be spread out for the development of the whole of Nigeria [and] to put an end to the financial difficulties of the North...' Such unhesitating certainty stems, of course, from Lugard's own appreciation of the situation in the Report, where he summarizes the 'necessity for Amalgamation' under the two headings of finance and railways. Not only had the Northern Protectorate been running at a substantial operating loss-in itself a direct contradiction of one of the traditional British colonial maxims, that every territory must be self-supporting-but its treasury had been subvented by heavy grants-in-aid from both Great Britain and the Southern Protectorate, at the very time when the prosperity of the South was increasing rapidly thanks to the high duties imposed on liquor imports, especially 'square face' or trade gin. Such a source of revenue was unknown to the Moslem North. Ironically, as Crowder observes, the much vaunted Northern line from Baro to Minna was built with funds diverted from the revenue of the Southern Protectorate." [Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria: A Documentary Record, AHM Kirk-Greene, pg. 30]

Lugard himself wrote "Necessity for Amalgamation: (a) Finance: such in brief were the antecedents which had given to the North and South their divergent characteristics and policies. 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. in 1905-stood at 5s. 6d. a gallon in 1912, and afford an ever-increasing revenue, without any diminution in the quantity imported. They yielded a sum of £1, 138,000 in 1913. The North, largely dependent on the annual grant from the Imperial Government, was barely able to balance its budget with the most parsimonious economy and was starved of the necessary staff, and unable to find funds to house its officers properly. Its energies were concentrated upon the development of the Native Administration and the revenue resulting from direct taxation. Its distance from the coast (250 miles) rendered the expansion of trade difficult. Thus the anomaly was presented of a country with an aggregate revenue practically equal to its needs, but divided into two by an arbitrary line of latitude. One portion was dependent on a grant paid by the British taxpayer, which in the year before Amalgamation stood at £136,000, and had averaged £314,500 for the 11 years ending March, 1912.

Lugard continued: (b) Railway

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. In the opinion of Sir John Eaglesome, Director of Railways, the line, when it reached the Northern Nigerian frontier at Offa, should have crossed the Niger at Pateji." [Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria: A Documentary Record, AHM Kirk-Greene, pgs. 58 - 59]

Willink's Commission

The Secretary of State for the colonies in 1957 appointed a commission with four terms of reference:

1. To ascertain the facts about the fears of minorities in any part of Nigeria and to propose means of allaying those fears whether well or ill founded.

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

Native Nigerians have since Amalgamation contended with conventional jihad that included riots, Boko Haram, Fulani herdsmen ignoring the more effective and deadly stealth jihad. Willink wrote: “the whole structure of the proceedings leading to independence is based on the belief that Nigeria means to follow the road of liberal democracy and parliamentary government; to base parts of the structure on the opposite assumption is to invite governments to do their worst.” Only to find out that Nigeria has been place in the hands of Hausa/Fulani.

The Commission made reference to Hausa/Fulani as an **ideology**. Willink 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.” [[Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the fears of Minorities and the means of allaying them, pg. 66]

Ideological Problem

We have shown above that the Nigerian problem is ideological and went further to established this fact. It is necessary to inform the elites of the Sharia movement who see non-Muslims especially native Nigerians as spoils of jihad, especially after independence in 1960, when conventional and stealth jihads have been regularly employed and it is a great wonder that Nigeria has not crumbled.

1975 Coup

The overthrow of General Gowon in a palace coup of 1975 began the epicenter of the ideology of Sharia in Nigeria. The Murtala/Obasanjo rule was a mere preamble. The real Sharia experiment began with the Buhari first coming to Abacha era when it began to decline after the military handed the baton to a Christian, General Obasanjo. As some of us in the NCEF participated peripherally in governance at this period, we have decided to use two publications (1) *Soldiers of Fortune: Nigerian Politics from Buhari to Babangida 1983 - 1993* by Max Siollun published in 2013. (2) *Transition Without End*, edited by Diamond, A. Kirk-Greene and Oyeleye Oyediran published in 1997 to show that the regimes of the trio Buhari, Babangida and Abacha were by far inferior to the regime of Goodluck Jonathan yet the spokesman for Buhari's second coming Lai Mohammed cannot stop blaming the Jonathan regime of PDP. A party over 40% members moved to APC after PDP lost thus both PDP and APC were founded and funded by the same Sharia movement that has since dominated the politics of Nigeria.

Buhari's First Coming

Max Siollun wrote that the military regarded itself as patriotic defender of the national interest. Unfortunately the military has been unable to separate Democracy from Sharia and which of the two is better for Nigeria. Today 2020, it can correctly be said that the military in no small way reduced democratic influence to accommodate Sharia "Although Nigeria had an elected government, some officers in the Armed Forces, could not divorce themselves from politics. Some senior military officers drafted a list of government ministers they wanted President Shagari to remove, and nominated their referred replacements. They delegate their boss, Lt. General Wushishi, to submit the list to Shagari on their behalf." [pg. 7] Shagari also recalled in the book how Shagari enlisted Lt.

Generals Jalo and Washishi to order Buhari to pull back from Chad. The same Buhari today is relying on Chad to defend Nigerian territory against Boko Haram.

On Coup Baiting: it would appear that Shagari got it wrong that “frustrated opposition politicians who were defeated in the elections cavorted with, and incited army to depose him via a military coup.” Now we know that Shagari was depose because he was not a member of the Islamist’s group known as “Sharia movement” in the Nigeria Army. Shagari was told that Buhari was planning a coup against him, Buhari was confronted, he denied it and later overthrew Shagari. Some lawyers had no difficulty in suggesting that the coup against Belewa, Gowon and Shagari were revolutions. They are not and still remained a crime to this day.

Babangida’s Experiment on Transition to Sharia not Democracy

There is need to re-examine Siollun’s contention that Babangida was the “first Nigeria ruler to come to power by design rather than by choice.” This is partly correct except that coming to power as military President was not designed by Babangida alone. It was designed by a “movement for the actualization of Sharia in Nigeria” or a movement by similar name formed to promote sharia as an ideology for Nigeria. This explains the reason for Babangida’s transition without end.

The beginning of President Babangida’s rule began “almost immediately Babangida initiated one of the most ambitious, imaginative, complex, and expensive transitions from authoritarian rule that has ever been attempted anywhere. Ultimately, it would also prove to be one of the most protracted, controversial, unstable, and unsuccessful. So frequently and fundamentally were its timetables and ground rules changed, so staggering were the corruption, abuse of power, and cult of personality surrounding it, that most Nigerians came to doubt that it would ever be completed. In the process of trying to track, interpret, and explain the agonizing twists and turns of this process - and the deepening descent of this African giant into political turmoil, endemic conflict, and economic depression.” [Transition Without End Larry Diamond, Anthony Kirk-Greene and Oyeleye Oyediran pg. xv] It is submitted that the above development took place because Babangida intended the transition to be to Sharia not Democracy.

The political scientists made up of Larry Diamond, Anthony Kirk-Greene and Oyeleye Oyediran summarized Babangida's rule and transition thus "as we have already indicated, our subject concludes with no such happy ending. Although it began with much promise and participation and was virtually unprecedented for the elaborateness of its planning and design, the military's political transition programme in Nigeria must be judged a sweeping and unambiguous failure. **It failed to return the country to civilian rule (much less to democracy).** It failed to bring forth a new political culture, it failed to control corruption and improve accountability. It failed to mitigate ethnic, regional, and religious conflict and cleavage. Despite initial strong commitment to liberalization, in the end it failed miserably to reform and revitalize the economy." [pg. xvii] Above all Babangida annulled the June 12 Election, the freest in history of Nigeria. NCEF can attest to this fact as most of the members of the NCEF have over six decades of public service in Nigeria that include participation on all the General elections so far conducted in Nigeria. All in the attempt by Babangida to turn Nigeria to an Islamic state, having stealthily joined the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) in 1988.

Abacha's Stealth Jihad Rule

The only way one can describe Abacha rule is to call it stealth jihad rampage. The three political scientists named above summed the situation thus "any doubts about the Abacha government's intentions were dashed by the arrest of Abiola on 23 June 1994, after he had returned to Nigeria to form a "government of national unity" and then in a public speech on 11 June declared himself president; and by the harsh repression unleashed on the political and civic campaigns for democracy in attempting to break an economically debilitating strike of oil workers that began on 4 July, partly in support of calls for the restoration of democratic institutions and implementation of the June 12 election. 'Abacha resorted to bribes, threats, arrests, and eventually, when these methods failed, forcible dissolution of both of the oil workers' unions. In repressing popular mobilization and dissent, Abacha picked up where Babangida left off, once again dissolving the NLC executive; violently suppressing pro-democracy demonstrators (with numerous fatalities); breaking up opposition meetings; renewing the war on the press with a new wave of arrests, assaults, and closures; and arresting a wide range of **pro-**

democracy leaders and activists, including NADECO vice-chairman Anthony Enahoro, the widely esteemed nationalist leader who had been such an outspoken critic of Babangida's duplicity. Meanwhile, Abiola was charged with treason and imprisoned indefinitely, while his health deteriorated and he was denied regular access to his physician. Through it all, not one member of Abacha's stellar cabinet of politicians resigned in protest, and Kingibe, the former SDP chairman and Abiola running mate turned foreign minister, became the staunchest defender of the military regime on the international stage." [Transition Without End Larry Diamond, Anthony Kirk-Greene and Oyeleye Oyediran pgs. 576 - 577]

It was very clear that Abacha continued the Islamization policy of Buhari and Babangida before him. Buhari and Abacha were adept in prebendalism, defined by Wikipedia as "political systems where elected officials and government workers feel they have a right to a share of government revenues, and use them to benefit their supporters, co-religionists and members of their ethnic group". This supports the view that Sharia movement promoted and adopted prebendalism as a first step to Islamic State.

To make matter worse, native Nigerians are blacks, the most despised coloration of the human race. The Sharia movement, having learnt the rules of the game from the perspective of race and religion - truth become subjective and Democracy a sin or sacrilege. Under these circumstances unity of purpose becomes very difficult and in some cases impossible to achieve. Those in the North promoting Sharia are all members of the Sharia movement. The Muslim North is land-locked. The Mediterranean Sea is too far away and the Atlantic Ocean is still the more convenient gateway. This is in addition to the huge investment on infrastructure by Nigeria as a whole. The NCEF is convinced that Nigeria will not break up but if it does it will be into two countries, one country for the natives of Nigeria and (b) the other for immigrants Negroid Nigerians thus two countries based on ideological systems of Democracy and Sharia. The Muslims North began their stealth movement by establishing Jama'atu Nasril Islam (JNI). The JNI was able to get the Sunni Muslims and the Shiite Muslims to jointly attack Christians in 1979 at the ABU, Zaria. However all the while members of Sharia movement in government were able to

use stealth jihad to get the Heads of States both Muslims and Christian to reduce the effect of Democracy.

The Courts as Instrument of Jihad

It is stealth jihad for the courts especially the Supreme Court the last hope of the ordinary man to be Sharia constituted to influence Sharia over Democracy. Above all it is stealth jihad when the whole object of imposing Sharia on Nigerians is to constitute as “them”, the Muslims and “us” the Christians, in a country where the Christians had laboured to promote civilization and modern living both at home and diaspora. Above shows how the Sharia movement through stealth and conventional jihad ensured that Nigeria remain Dar-al Harb the abode of war. Nigeria post COVID-19 must be fully transformed to a Democratic state.

Buhari Second Coming

Buhari Second coming was a very successful, civilized jihad in that he was elected president after the following statements:

- “We cannot be blackmailed into killing the Sharia idea. Sharia must be spread all over Nigeria.” Muhammadu Buhari (Freedom House Radio interview, 2000)
- I can die for the cause of Islam if necessary. We are prepared to fight another civil war. We cannot be blackmailed into killing Sharia.” – Muhammadu Buhari (Freedom House, 2000)
- “I will continue to show openly and inside me the total commitment to the Sharia movement that is sweeping all over Nigeria... God willing, we will not stop the agitation for the total implementation of the Sharia in the country,” (In a speech, which he delivered at a seminar organized by the Supreme Council of Sharia in Nigeria, August 2001)
- “Muslims should only vote those who will promote Islam. We are more than the Christians if you add our Muslim brothers in the West.” - Buhari (Liberty Radio Kaduna, 2003)
- “The declaration of state of emergency to fight Boko Haram in 3 northern states is a grave injustice against the north.” - Muhammadu Buhari (Liberty Radio, June 2, 2013)

- “Boko Haram members should be given VIP treatment not killed. It’s injustice to kill them.” - Muhammadu Buhari (Liberty Radio, June 2, 2013)

Native Nigerians have over the years contended with conventional jihad in the hands of Boko haram, Fulani herdsmen and bandits including stealth jihad by various government headed by Christians and Muslims.

Nigeria Contending with Jihad

The takeover of Mission schools converting them into Muslim schools was stealth jihad to slow down education among Christians especially - in Southern Nigeria, of which Lugard wrote “the coast area had been open to European influence for upwards of half a **century**, **there were (as might be expected)** a very large number of schools, by the agency of which a great part of the coast population had attained a degree of education varying from a few barristers and doctors who had qualified in England, to the less than half educated school boys who, with a smattering of English and arithmetic, seek admission to the lower ranks of the clerical and other services. In 1913 the average attendance at Government schools in the South was about 4,600 and in assisted mission schools about 12,500. To these must be added a number of pupils vaguely estimated at from 20,000 to 30,000 in unassisted schools, which were not under no control or inspection by Government, but of whose very numbers or existence the Government had no precise information.” [Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria: A Documentary Record by A.H.M. Kirk-Greene pg. 146] Gowon did not realize the stealth jihad involved when he (government) took over mission schools in 1973. Some of these mission schools are yet to be returned to their legitimate owners. To show that Sharia movement members are still in charge of “Alice in Wonderland” economy and politics.

It is stealth jihad to provide a Constitution that has one Police Force and one Inspector General who asked law abiding Nigerians to return their double barrel shotguns while allowing Boko haram and Fulani herdsmen to walk about freely with AK47 rifles. It is stealth jihad that Gowon, Obasanjo and Danjuma refused to come to the aid of native Nigerians to which they also belonged under the guise of statesmanship and neutrality, in the face of life and death when no man or woman can be neutral. It is stealth jihad for

the President to visit victims of Fulani herdsmen atrocities only to say to these victims that they must learn to live peacefully with their neighbors. It is stealth jihad to provide for repentant Boko Haram members while neglecting their native Nigerian victims.

It is stealth jihad for Nigerian troops to be absent in the fight against Boko Haram or to waste time for the benefit of Boko Haram. It is stealth jihad for Government institutions and the courts to prevent and or manipulate free, fair and elections. Security votes is perhaps the most powerful instrument for stealth jihad including excessive pays unrelated to the amount of work.

In the process Nigeria is divided to an extent that some Christians refuse to speak out in this is a matter of right and left, life and death, Democracy v. Sharia.

Our Heroes Past

Our heroes past refused to speak out in public when Boko Haram, Fulani herdsmen killed native Nigerians men, women and children in thousands. It is not enough under the circumstances to say that our heroes past who are still alive spoke to the Islamist president in private. If they did, then it is time for them to do so in public. We believe that it is the void created by Generals Gowon, Obasanjo and Danjuma, who understand our national value system that is now being filled by members of the Sharia movement to corner the wealth of Nigeria for the use of a few. We conceded that General Danjuma is a billionaire in his own right. The three military heroes are part of the remaining senior Generals trained by the British, to whom they handed over the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. General Gowon became military Head of State for 9 years while General Obasanjo became military Head of State for three years and later President for two terms of eight years. General Danjuma was an Army Chief of Staff and Minister of Defence. General Danjuma, a member of NCEF, warned Nigerians of the fact that the Nigerian Armed Forces were no longer able to protect the Nigerian citizens. To use his words "if you wait for the Nigerian Army, you will be killed. So protect yourself." The NCEF is grateful to God that these men are still alive, Christians who should be able to put a stop to conflict of ideology of Democracy and Sharia and the drift to Alice in wonderland.

The three Generals must come out openly to say which side they belong Democracy or Sharia. They cannot be on both sides. The NCEF is convinced that the demand for Sharia **ideology is merely a camouflage to control the wealth of Nigeria** through the use of force and deceit (stealth jihad). Security vote which is stealth jihad is lavishly provided. Some Armed Forces officials retired, in addition to their pension and 5% of Local Government revenue allocations as traditional rulers on retirement are progressively establishing a class of Nigerians relying on the ideology of Sharia. **Traditional rulership has being extended to Republican South/East** instead of Democracy. The leadership of PANDEF, Afenifere, Ohaneze and Middle Belt Forum must persuade these Generals who are living heroes to intervene and in particular speak to all the soldiers, Emirs, Obas, Ezes, Chiefs and in particular the Sultan of Sokoto to soft pedal in promoting Quran as his constitution, in other words, he wants Nigeria to be an Islamic state once this is done, Nigeria will return to a Constitutional Democracy bound by the rule of law.

“Us” and “Them”

Huntington’s postulation “Two Worlds: Us and Them: While one-world expectations appear at the end of major conflicts, the tendency to think in terms of two worlds recurs throughout human history. People are always tempted to divide people into us and them, the in-group and the other our civilization and those barbarians. Scholars have analyzed the world in terms of the Orient and the Occident, North and South, Center and periphery. **Muslims have traditionally divided the world into Dar al-Islam and Dar al-Harb, the abode of peace and the abode of war.** This distinction was reflected, and in a sense reversed, at the end of the Cold War by American scholars who divided the world into “zones of peace” and “zones of turmoil.” The former included the West and Japan with about 15 percent of the world’s population, the latter everyone else. Depending upon how the parts are defined, a two-part world picture may in some measure correspond with reality. The most common division, which appears under various names, is between rich (modern, developed) countries and poor (traditional, undeveloped or developing) countries.” [emphasis supplied] [The Clash of Civilization and the Remaking of World Order, Samuel P. Huntington, pg. 32] It is very clear from the fact of history that Nigeria is of two worlds - a well conducted youth and a Southern lady of means. The

Muslims and the Christians a federation of North and South paid for by the South. If Gowon, Obasanjo and Danjuma remain aloof, Nigeria will be permanently divided into us and them, war and Islam. Us, the elite who control all the resources and them, those with less than N5,000 in their accounts including aged the disabled who through no fault of their remain vulnerable. This explains the reasons why Nigeria a Republic has traditional rulers and subjects.

Democracy is Abode for Nigerians

It is clear that the APC is the **abode** of **Muslims** in Nigeria, having accepted a non-elected Muslim appointee of the President as a de-facto Vice President to “replace” the President’s democratically elected running-mate that was elected along with the President in 2015 and 2019. This in our view is because the Vice President is not a Muslim. True Democracy, on the other hand, accommodates all citizens irrespective of religion and all citizens must therefore be involved in peaceful negotiation for a better **post COVID-19 pandemic in Nigeria**. Looking at Amalgamation of 1914 positively the NCEF has concluded that it was a blessing not mistake, blessing because of the quality of human being that are Nigerians.

We native Nigerians with a shared concern for Democracy must therefore negotiate with the political class for genuine Democracy, equality and rule of law as its ideology. Native Nigerians must help to get true democrats elected so that our elected representatives will ensure that we, the natives political agenda of Democracy, equality and rule of law will prevail at an election and Nigeria re-structured. Native Nigerians must participate in electoral campaigns, educational outreach, protest actions etc aimed at convincing the citizens, natives and immigrants of the issues of concern to PANDEF, Afenifere, Ohaneze and Middle Belt Forum. NCEF suggest name change to **Native Nigerians Movement (NNM)** we must however take the first step of understanding our problems and all members NNM must be part of it.

Nigeria presently has 12 Sharia states and only two, Governors Wike of Rivers and Obaseki of Edo are the Governors who have publicly declared that their states are Christian states. What are the others waiting for? Because it is clear that Christians cannot be part of the abode of war and abode of Islam at the same time, they can only be

one or the other but not both. As a result **Nigerian Christians must change the abode of war to an abode of peace through promotion of Democracy only.**

We have no doubt that the elite in the Sharia movement of Nigeria have a lot to say about the short comings of Gowon, Obasanjo and Jonathan who no doubt would have performed better had they known at the time that Nigeria's problems were generated by the conflict of two incompatible ideologies of Democracy and Sharia. CSMN told Obasanjo in 2018 about this conflict after which he made his statement on Fulanization. However both Gowon and Jonathan listened patiently but said nothing. NCEF pray that God will now help them to speak out. COVID-19 is a period of reflection and we invite all Nigerians to read and reflect.

Conclusion

The Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria in January 1st 1914 is one of the few "gifts" the white man gave the black man. Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Protectorates in Nigeria provided for African (pagans) a new hope of salvation and civilization. More importantly education which opened our eyes and minds to distinguish between good and evil, which enable us discard some of our practices such as killing of twins and children that survive their mothers at birth and the worship of idols, etc.

Amalgamation was able to provide in Nigeria a home for one in every four black persons through the world. Amalgamation 'united' two races - (a) the Native Nigerians with about 386 tribes, who are Negroes dark skinned and who are non-immigrants who became mainly Christians. (b) immigrant group of brown skin, Arab descent from the Middle East today's Hausa, Fulani and Kanuris. They are mainly Muslims and would prefer Sharia to Democracy.

The only mistake, we submit, made by the British would appear to be the inability to have appreciated the incompatibility of the two ideologies of **Democracy** and **Sharia** they were leaving behind. Britain had all the opportunity to have converted all Nigerians to Democracy, but the man on the spot, the son of a Parson, became an atheist and worked against his father's conviction and promoted injustice. This was a mistake made by the

British. Human Rights provisions in the Constitution were not sufficient to convert those in the Sharia Movement or the Hausa/Fulani who not only believe in - **a rule and of society of which the important ingredient is the operation of Muslim law - Sharia**, were encouraged to remain Muslims. In addition to this, is the fact that Hausa/Fulani and Kanuri are immigrants from the Middle East that want an Arab identity for **all** non-Muslims not only in Nigeria but throughout Africa. This is not likely or possible because jihad alone cannot promote belief.

Now that Nigerians know that the conflict and incompatibility of the two ideologies of Democracy and Sharia is responsible for the retardation of Nigeria and the black race, the problem for Nigeria, we of the NCEF believe, is half solved.

The solution therefore is that Nigeria must enter into post COVID-19 discussion on the basis of nationalities 389 in total towards Nigeria. There is no free lunch; there is also no freedom on a platter of gold. We must take back our freedom by peaceful means, after all native Nigerians are supposed to be educated. To import Fulanization or Arabization on other Nigerians as discussed above that seemed to have worked in the past cannot work in the future. The eyes of Christians and other Nigerians are now opened. Discussion as to (a) identify; (b) Democracy or Sharia combined will see the end of Boko Haram, Fulani herdsmen, bandits and stealth jihad that has reduced Nigeria to a Banana Republic combined with Alice in wonderland. The NCEF is of the view that Amalgamation of January 1, 1914 is not a mistake, but a very important event that gave birth to Nigeria in the 19th century that now requires re-inventing.

God bless Nigeria

Solomon Asemota, SAN
For and on behalf of
National Christian Elders Forum (NCEF)

25th April 2020