



National Christian Elders Forum

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

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

NIGERIA: THE IMPERATIVE OF TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

In the confidential memorandum we submitted to Christian Senators on July 25, 2017, the National Christian Elders Forum (NCEF) recommended that among other things, “...there is need for a Truth Commission to open our eyes because as it is suggested above, we entered British colonialism with our eyes shut and now with our eyes open could not see when we were colonized by the Fulani/Hausa. A full disclosure of individual, institutions and organizations will heal the wounds of two-time colonial **misery**;

A Truth and Reconciliation Commission has become necessary in view of the speed with which the Government of Nigeria is pursuing what we know as Sharia compliant policies, these include amendment of the constitution, Federal appointments in violation of Federal Character Principle, Sukuk, and the fact that no member of the Senate, Christian or Muslim, or the staff of the Senate has contacted NCEF since July 25, 2017 when we met with the Christian Senators and there has also been no acknowledgment of our Memo.

As we do not intend to continue Press controversy with the Nigerian Supreme Council of Islamic Affairs (NSCIA) we have decided to send this memo to the Chairman of the Governing Party, the APC and through him to the Vice President of Nigeria to express our understanding of the meaning of Sharia and how it has negatively impacted on our

country. We reject the appellation of ignorance in present day 21st Century when their exist Internet and Google to be precise and English translation of the Quran and other Islamic literature as we have exhibited below. We emphasize that we are not ignorant, we however want to say that we are prepared to ventilate our knowledge or ignorance before a legally constituted Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

In this memo on the above topic, we dealt with Sharia and Jihad, what advocates of Jihad in modern time say, including collaboration between Sunni and Shiite Muslims in the promotion of Jihad elsewhere and in Nigeria. We pointed out that Jihad is obligatory, that waging Jihad is a constant state of war that must exist between the Dar-al-Islam and Dar-al-Harb. We postulated that God must be a Nigerian, because both Stealth and Conventional Violent Jihad are being waged simultaneously in the country yet Nigeria has survived and continues to survive.

We traced the friendly relationship between British “man on the spot”, Lugard and the Emirs and the fact that the British approved the Fulanis right of conquest of some part of northern Nigeria and drew attention to the fact that Lugard had issues with Christianity notwithstanding the fact that he was the son of an English parson. The British loved the North, its weather and polo game.

In modern times, the Muslim Brotherhood has recast Jihad as not just strictly warfare, but also a revolution and an anti-colonialism. Muslim rulers who refuse to adopt Sharia are adjudged as apostate. We defined both the Stealth and Conventional Jihads.

FIRST LEGISLATIVE ACT AT INDEPENDENCE

The first legislative Act enacted by the Parliament in 1961, the State Emergency Act of 1961, was a strange way of celebrating Independence with Jihad legislation. In our views, the following examples, among many others, are Jihads:

- i. The coup of 1975 is Jihad because no armed forces in the world would overthrow their commander in chief for delay in handing over power the “bloody” civilians. Retirement that followed the overthrow was Stealth Jihad, wherein over 90% of those retired were Christians, Monsignor Martin appointed to look into these

retirements was himself retired. Maitatsine uprising was jihad. The Riots in Kano 1953, 1954, 1982, 1991, 1995, Kaduna in 1987, 2000, Katsina 1991, Bauchi, Tafawa Balewa 1991, 1994, 2000, Portikum 1994, Plateau 1994, Jos 2001, Borno 1998 etc were all Jihad. Thereafter, Boko Haram. Religious Riots became routine events in Northern Nigeria that progressed to the East.

- ii. It is Stealth Jihad to co-opt Christians into the ruling elite by appointments, remuneration especially members of the National and State Assemblies with Jumbo pay and other inducement that elevate them into the status of Neo-colonialists, replacing expatriates in various Government Reservations, set up by Lugard in order to develop a new kind of noble men and women.
- iii. Nigeria's membership of OIC in 1986, was Stealth Jihad so also was Babangida's transition without end and it is the view of the NCEF that the "death" of Abiola and Abacha have the hallmarks of jihad. The 1999 Constitution is be valued as the compilation of the spoils of jihad since amalgamation of 1914, in that the North remained the same; the South has to pay for the land locked disadvantage of the North and revenue distribution with contribution in favour of one region.

We thereafter recited our first hand experience of Stealth Jihad since the inauguration of the CAN Trust Fund which was established in Makurdi on 9th July, 2014. The objectives of the CAN Trust Fund include rebuilding Christian infrastructure in some states following the activities of Boko Haram and Fulani herdsmen, funding CAN Secretariat, establishment of Christian institutions to transform CAN into an institution, and so on.

The first salve came from a prominent Church Group had accused NCEF that its flier on CAN Trust Fund: "as worrisome and arrived at the following conclusions: (a) that people will think that CAN is **"sourcing for funds to build a Christian Army to fight the Muslims"**; (b)NCEF "reduced Christians to mere children by assuming that the disunity in CAN is from without whereas the problem is deeply within", and; (c) That Christian Elders should not "further polarize the Body of Christ in Nigeria." We were able to overcome this challenge when we pointed out that **"Weapons win Jihad but it takes Ideas to win the Peace"**.

Thereafter the DSS struck. The Laity members of the Board of Trustees of the CAN Trust Fund were invited to the SSS Headquarters. They were compelled to make “statements under caution” before they were released. In our letter of protest, we informed the President of CAN as follows:

- i. The Elders took considerable time deliberating on this incident and frowned at the act of impunity by the Intelligence Agency. For most of the Elders, it was a confirmation that the Intelligence Service in Nigeria has aligned itself with the Islamists to truncate Democracy and emasculate Christianity. The Elders resolved that a strongly worded letter condemning the action of the SSS should be written and the President of CAN should sign it. For one, the SSS failed to issue an official letter of invitation to the Trustees and failed to acknowledge the letter written by CAN that it should have channeled its invitation through the President of CAN. The letter would also condemn in very strong terms, the demand of the SSS that the Trustees should make statement "under caution" connoting they had committed a crime.
- ii. As Christians, we have not heard of any reported case of Islamic insurgents, Fulani herdsmen or other anti-Christian agents being paraded, prosecuted, or convicted by the courts for the repeated murder, rape, arson, wanton destruction of Christian habitations in this country, the fact that the Jihadists have been on rampage in this notwithstanding.
- iii. CAN is and will always be disposed to dialogue with your office on issues relating to the Islamists persecution, activities of the Christian Church in Nigeria and the general peaceful coexistence off the ethnic nationalities and religious communities in Nigeria.
- iv. Having considered the negative effect of your interrogation “under caution” of the distinguished members of the Board of Trustees of the CAN Trust Fund on the Christian Community in Nigeria, **it is demanded that a written public apology be tendered to these distinguished Nigerians.**

BILL ON NGO'S ACTIVITIES IN NIGERIA

The NCEF is convinced based on circumstantial evidence contained in this memorandum, that the NGO's Activities Bill, now before the National Assembly is another attempt to truncate the ability of Christian organizations to raise funds for its activities. We associate ourselves with the views of Prof. Chidi Odinkalu that **“this is the most dangerous piece of legislation that has come for consideration in the National Assembly since the return to Civil Rule in 1999”**.

CONCLUSION

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission would provide a platform for those for and against, Islamism, political Islam or Sharia. NCEF is protesting against various jihads committed against Nigerians which include killing of the Abiolas, killing of demonstrators in Lagos, co-opting some Christians as junior partners in Government in order to promote and enhance jihad over the years in Nigeria. Amnesty can be granted to some to bring the political parties on board. No moral distinction should be made by the Commission between the violence used to promote jihad and the violence employed to oppose jihad. Fortunately, Christians do not have the equivalent of Boko Haram and Fulani herdsmen and a Commission will prevent a revenge group from developing in the future to prevent hate speeches, pogrom or genocide.

Nigeria needs to re-define the basis of its existence as a country in search of Nationhood. Those who were killed or suffered as a result of jihad, people like Alfred Rewane, the Abiolas, Tunde Elegbede etc need to be “heard” from their graves. And those who suffered such as Pa Abraham Adesanya, Chief Ayo Adebajo, Chief Olu Falae and others also need to be heard and there is not a better forum for this than a Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Truth and Reconciliation Commission is an antidote for hate speech and retaliation and above all an instrument for Reconciliation and National Unity to promote Nigeria from a country to a Nation. Nigeria has to be liberated from political Islam a.k.a. Islamism or Sharia.

God bless Nigeria.

For: National Christian Elders Forum (NCEF)

Solomon Asemota SAN

September 25, 2017

MAIN DOCUMENT

NIGERIA: THE IMPERATIVE OF TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

In **the Guardian** of Saturday September 23, 2017, the NSCIA accused CAN of Islamophobia, to which an appropriate reply has been sent. It is however true that NCEF is wary of **political Islam** or Islamism because in Nigeria, a country with more Christians than Muslims, Christians are being regarded as people of book, who are required to pay Jizya with willing submission and feel themselves subdued. (Q9.29) What NCEF reject however is to be labeled **ignorant**. NCEF is not, and no Muslim or Christian should suggest to us, that we do not know the meaning of Islamic Sharia and what Jihad stands for especially in the present day (21st century) when there are English language translations of the Quran and other Muslims texts.

The NCEF does not intend to enter into Newspaper controversy with NSCIA but has decided to raise this issue of Jihad in Nigeria with All Progressive Party (APC) that has a Christian as Chairman and another Christian (Pastor) as the Vice President of Nigeria, with a view to countering Muslims who call Christians, People of the Book: “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.” (Q9:29). Thus, Christians and Jews are afforded a third choice not available to polytheists: convert, die or submit to Islam as dhimmis” (See **Mark Durie**, *The Third Choice: Islam, Dhimmitude and Freedom*, (Deror Books, 2009) This is a subject which the NCEF believe is better handled by political parties especially one in government as the APC.

Christians cannot be left at the mercy of Islamists in Nigeria and CAN is absolutely right to regard Sukuk as “**Jihad with money**” or **Stealth Jihad** which it is.

Sharia and Jihad

What is meant by “jihad”? Is it merely a personal struggle to be the best possible Muslim, as we are told by our Muslim brothers in Nigeria. Or does it mean holy war, the pursuit of a global Islamic state (caliphate) that rules in accordance with sharia? That is being practiced in Nigeria by the Intelligence arm of government - Boko Haram, Fulani herdsmen. 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. “Fighting is prescribed for you” (Q 2:216); “Slay them wherever you find them” (Q 4:89); and “Fight the idolaters utterly” (Q 9:36). Among the most categorical of such Quranic entries and the most often cited as authoritative by the shariah scholars is the “Verse of the Sword”: “So when the sacred months have passed, then fight and slay the pagans wherever you find them, and seize them, beleaguer them, and lie in wait for them in every stratagem of war; but if they repent and establish regular prayers, and practice regular charity, then leave their way free to them; for surely Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.” (Q 9:5) These are not hate speeches but words of the Quran and importantly, actions of the present government in “collaboration” with Boko Haram and Fulani herdsmen.

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 (including the sharia states) in Nigeria, must advance in one or more carefully delineated ways. Jihad means to wage war against non-Muslims, and is etymologically derived from the word mujahada, signifying warfare to establish the religion.

This, no doubt, is one of the many passages of the Quran that encouraged the British to ensure that Jihad continued after amalgamation in 1914, handed power in 1960 to those from whom they took power. Udoh Udoma wrote: “on the issue of title to land, ‘Sir

Frederick Lugard, in 1902 declared that: the Fulani hold their suzerainty by right of recent conquest ... and I can myself see no injustice in the transfer of the suzerainty thus acquired to the British Government by the same right of conquest. This suzerainty involves the ultimate title to all land, the right to appoint Emirs and all officers of state, the right of legislation and of taxation.” [History and the Law of the Constitution of Nigeria, pgs. 48 - 49] The “man on the spot” Lugard has issues with Christianity although he was born the son of a Pastor in India. Some alleged he was a non-practicing Christian who believed that he understood Islam, which he considered suitable for black Africans. He often referred to Christians as “so called Christians”. Kwasi Kwarteng wrote: “the social difference between the three regions had actually become wider during the period of British rule, in the two or three decades before the independence of Nigeria in 1960. The roots of tribal nationalism lay to ‘a great extent in the uneven educational development of the country’. The Western Yorubas had enjoyed earlier contact with European missionaries. They were literate and had converted to Christianity, and now they had acquired a large degree of control over the businesses, the professions and the civil service. The Eastern Igbos had started their own process of development in the 1930s and 1940s to eliminate what they perceived to be the economic and social gap between themselves and the Yorubas. In the North, the Emirs, the feudal lords and their retainers still maintained an iron grip on power and restricted Western educational opportunities, which they believed were corrupting influences, for their people” [Ghosts of Empire Kwasi Kwarteng pgs. 301-302] The situation has not changed much, with the Bill now before the National Assembly to control NGOs in the country in 2017.

The English loved the North; the climate is hot and dry as opposed to the steamy and malarial South; life is slow and graceful, if you happen to be an Englishman or an Emir’. The snobbery and class-consciousness that underpinned so much of British life in the early twentieth century found the idea of feudal rulers familiar and charming. The bias towards the north was a trait that the Foreign Office itself acknowledged in 1970: ‘it was an article of faith in Eastern Nigeria, and had been for decades, that the British were hopelessly biased in favour of the feudal Emirs of the North; there was some basis for this,

since the North retained the highest proportion of British officials, many of them coming from the Sudan with a romantic passion for Islam and for polo-playing aristocrats. In the polo-playing north of the country, pageantry, royalty and invented traditions were combined in the institution of the durbars, imported from India. [**Ghosts of Empire Kwasi Kwarteng pgs. 301-302**] Surely pageantry and Durban can continue, but to establish 250 traditional rulers not leaders, first batch in Abia State in 2002 is definitely unprogressive and a vain attempt to catch up nobility so much admired in the North.

Advocates of Jihad

Moving to modern times, Abu al-A'laMawdudi (1903-79), the Indian-born (and later, Pakistani) thinker, paved the way for Muslim Brotherhood ideologues 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. Nigeria is in this category and the APC government is working very hard to remove her apostate status to a sharia state status. The NCEF is of the view that the coup of 1983 against President Shehu Shagari a Muslim is because he was adjudged then to be an apostate. A correct Muslim leader not an apostate succeeded him.

Jihad in the path of Allah we are told is a mainstay of the religion of Islam 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.”

“Against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power, including seeds of war, to strike terror into the hearts of the enemies of God and your enemies, and others besides.” Q. 8:60. 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. It is a statement of fact that Sheik Gumi and many other Muslims scholars in Nigeria were trained in Sudan. 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. In Nigeria, the Shiite, Suni coalition was demonstrated in the students riots at ABU in 1980 in the Report of Tribunal of Inquiry on Kano Disturbances, part of which reads: "Deputy Chairman, Ibrahim El-Zakzaky, who was expelled from ABU Zaria on 14th December, 1979, for his role in fomenting M.S.S. unrest on the campus, El-Zakzaky was the brain behind a demonstration in Zaria by M.S.S. members on 4th May, 1980, when ten bus-loads of the members drove round the city with the following inscriptions in the buses:- (a) 'Down with the Nigerian Constitution' and (b) 'Islam only.'" [Pgs. 88 – 89] The Pan-Islamic prospective has since been terminated and, today, El-Zakzaky is in jail without trial and his "caliphate" razed to the ground. We are told that there is no basis in doctrinal Islam for concluding that jihad means anything other than waging holy war for the implementation of shariah 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 as 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 also to note that participating in jihad by all Muslims is compliancy, which is founded in Quranic verse 2:216: "Prescribed for you is fighting, though it be hateful to you." 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." **Islam is "under obligation to gain power over other nations" which explains why**

Islamists everywhere are pretending to be democrats to gain power only to turn round to subvert the Constitution and Democracy that brought them to power. There are indications that these were the objectives of the military regimes between 1975 to 1999 and the allegation that the 1999 Constitution was intended as spoils of jihad such as substituting 389 ethnic nationalities with over 700 local governments thus ensuring that Chapter II is non-justiciable. Other factors deployed for this purpose include the distributaries nature of revenue, where those who contribute nothing get more by virtue of being successors to the British – neo-colonialist getting more than those who produce resources for the country, and, of course, Sharia as an alternative to Democracy in the same Constitution, thus ending with one country (Nigeria) and two systems, Democracy and Sharia, an example of modern day Stealth Jihad. These are facts and not hate speeches.

Waging Jihad

A constant state of war that must exist between the Dar al-Islam and the Dar al-Harb Sharia contains the protocols to be followed in waging jihad. Fight in the name of Allah and in the “path of Allah.” Combat those who disbelieve in Allah. Do not cheat or commit treachery, nor should you mutilate anyone or kill children. Whenever you meet your polytheist enemies, invite them [first] to adopt Islam. If they do so, accept it, and let them alone. . . .If they refuse, then call upon them to pay the jizya [poll tax imposed on Dhimmis]; if they do, accept it and leave them alone. 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. It is very unfortunate that in Nigeria both stealth and conventional jihads are being waged simultaneously against non-Islamists. It is a miracle that Nigeria still survives as a country. No wonder the popular saying that “God is a Nigerian”.

Al-Shaybani's injunction about the requirement to issue the call to Islam (dawa) before launching an attack (jihad) against the infidel is very instructive. This legal requirement remains valid and relevant today. It was applied by Boko Haram in Borno, Yola and Adamawa. The choice given to People of the Book (Christians and Jews) who are not compelled to convert but must **submit to Islam, pay the jizya, and live under Muslim domination as dhimmis** is also instructive. This part of the jihad has been accomplished in Nigeria. Since lawful warfare is essentially jihad and aim is that the religion is Allah's entirely and Allah's word is uppermost, therefore all Muslims, those who stand in the way of this aim must be tackled. 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. It is a process of head or tail non-Islamists are the losers

Civilization or Stealth Jihad

11. Conventional jihad in the form of violent acts, often referred to by some as "kinetic" jihad, dominates the attention and activities of those responsible for national security. **But the more dangerous threat, especially in the long run**, is what the Muslim Brotherhood calls "civilization jihad or stealth jihad" – a form of jihad considered an integral, even dominant element of jihad that is as obligatory for sharia's adherents as the violent kind - Boko Haram and Fulani herdsmen. Non-violent jihad is a kind of assault that does not kill but intends to **subjugate**. In the case of Nigeria, the jihad has all security and intelligence apparatus of government 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. The objective of the Stealth Jihad is the same as the violent jihad where non-Muslim Nigerians would be subdued under Dar al-Islam. Sharia-Compliant Finance: is a form of stealth jihad. **Stealth and Conventional since Amalgamation of 1914** including flattery and (Taqiyya) deceit, lying/Taqiyya. It is permissible for a Muslim to lie especially to non-Muslim to safeguard himself personally or to protect Islam. **It will be recalled that for 10 years 1986 – 1996,**

Muslim leaders including Babangida said that Nigeria had not become full member of the OIC. Taqiyya, without a doubt.

Shehu of Borno: Letter from the slave of God...to our good helper, our prop, the solver of our difficulties, the one who carries our heavy burdens, Governor Lugard with salutations more scented than the musk perfume and sweeter than honey. May God prolong your life, the keeper of those who keep others.

Emir of Bida: Sent...salutations and good will shining bright as do the planets and constant as their light as the return of morn and eve, oh! My Chief, my Leader, we ask God to prolong your life in prosperity and health. My present to you is a sword in a silver scabbard and two gowns.

Emir of Yola: To the Deputy of the King of England, the Governor, who holds all our country in his hand and rules it all. A thousand salutations and fealty and homage repeated.

Emir of Jama: I and my people, all of us, will not refrain from praying for you morning and evening...I told my people to rejoice at your safe return. We rode our horses and raced. I read your letter morning and evening and it makes me very happy.

Emir of Nupe: Many beautiful salutations, a clean love...my present to you are two turkeys, 1 package of plantains and 1 of limes. [**The Tale of June 12 Omo Omoruyi, pgs. 298-299**] these are flattery bordering on Taqiyya. Lugard was determined to reward the Emirs for their loyalty to the British Government. He wrote on **Efficiency and Loyalty of Native Administrations: Northern Province:** "the loyalty throughout the War of the Moslem ruler (who could appreciate something of the magnitude of the struggle) has been remarkable, and there is reason to believe that it is no mere profession, but arises from a genuine conviction. [**Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria pg. 71**] The above facts explain the love between the man on the spot (Lugard) and the Emirs of the North.

First Act of Independent Nigeria

The first Act was passed by the House of Representative a few months after Independence and signed by our Native Governor-General in 1961. It is only the contemplation of a jihad that can explain why a people still rejoicing after securing independence, would so soon contemplate emergency powers. The contrived declaration of State of Emergency in 1962, when two members of the Western House of Assembly of a particular religion mounted the table, shouting fire on the mountain run, run, run, was nothing but jihad. This led to the installation of Chief Akintola as Premier of Western Nigeria after a rigged election. The coup of January 1966 was staged by Christian ethnic groups which failed - so were subsequent coups: Okar, "Obasanjo", "Diya" all failed mainly because these were ethnic groups, Ndigbo, Minorities, Yoruba all trying to overthrow the "North" (Muslim North), the successors to the British in Nigeria. It is also Stealth Jihad that made Christians in the North to join Muslims to stage the July 1966 coup that led to the Civil War, which was fought mainly by the Christian North and South against mainly Christians of the East (Nd'igbo). The coup of 1975 is Jihad because no armed forces in the world would overthrow their commander in chief for delay in handing over power the "bloody" civilians. Retirement that followed the overthrow was Stealth Jihad, wherein over 90% of those retired were Christians, Monsignor Martin appointed to look into these retirements was himself retired. Maitatsine uprising was jihad. The Riots in Kano 1953, 1954, 1982, 1991, 1995, Kaduna in 1987, 2000, Katsina 1991, Bauchi, Tafawa Balewa 1991, 1994, 2000, Portikum 1994, Plateau 1994, Jos 2001, Borno 1998 etc were all Jihad. Thereafter, Boko Haram. Religious Riots became a routine events in Northern Nigeria that progressed to the East. It is Stealth Jihad for a Muslim president to ignore the fact that there are more Christians than Muslims in Nigeria, the requirement of Federal character under the Constitution to appoint mainly Muslims as heads of various arms of the armed forces, the police and paramilitary organization, Civil Defence, Customs, immigration etc. The President has and continues to stage Stealth Jihad against the people of Nigeria.

It is Stealth Jihad to set up a commission of enquiry concerning Boko Haram the Galtimari Panel to investigate insurgency in North East on which his report was submitted, White Paper was not released. It is Stealth Jihad to abduct over 200 Christian girls, humiliate them by raping them yet refuse to release them especially the over 100 of them still in custody.

It is Stealth Jihad to co-opt Christians into the ruling elite by appointments, remuneration especially members of the National and State Assemblies with Jumbo pay and other inducement that elevate them into the status of Neo-colonialists, replacing expatriates in various Government Reservations, set up by Lugard in order to develop a new kind of noble men and women.

Nigeria's membership of OIC in 1986, was Stealth Jihad so also was Babangida's transition without end and it is the view of the NCEF that the "death" of Abiola and Abacha have the hallmarks of jihad. The 1999 Constitution is be valued as the compilation of the spoils of jihad since amalgamation of 1914, in that the North remained the same; the South has to pay for the land locked disadvantage of the North and revenue distribution with contribution in favour of one region.

First Hand Experience of Stealth Jihad: National Christian Elders' Forum (NCEF)

We reproduce below, excerpts of the meeting of NCEF of Wednesday, February 15, 2017. Part of the minutes reads: "The Chairman called on Gen. Dogonyaro to brief the meeting on his experience with the SSS. Gen. Dogonyaro informed the meeting that he visited the SSS in the company of another military General and met with the Director of Operations, Mr. Bassey, and the Assistant Director of Operations, Mr. Yussuf. He also met with the Director General of the SSS, Mr. Daura. **The Intelligence Officers wanted to know why the CAN's video was produced with the claim that it could incite people to violence.** Gen. Dogonyaro refuted their claim and insisted the video was produced to raise support for Christian victims of insurgency. The SSS officials wanted General Dogonyaro to provide a written statement but he declined on the ground that the SSS did

not issue him a written invitation. After Gen. Dogonyaro, the SSS met with Justice Anigbogu, Mrs. Demuren, and Mr. Lemo. They were accompanied by the Legal Director of CAN, Barrister Samuel Kwamkur. The objective was also to verify why the CAN's video was produced. The Elders protested when the SSS asked them to make a statement "under caution". After some consideration, they agreed to do so, under the circumstances, this constitute harassment and intimidation by the SSS because in making a statement "under caution" implies committing a crime. Interestingly, the SSS was interested in **how the video could be stopped from circulating**. The Trustees informed them that they were not in control of the Social Media. The Elders took considerable time deliberating on this incident and frowned at the act of impunity by the Intelligence Agency. For most of the Elders, it was a confirmation that the Intelligence Service in Nigeria has aligned itself with the Islamists to truncate Democracy and emasculate Christianity. The Elders resolved that a strongly worded letter condemning the action of the SSS should be written and the President of CAN should sign it. For one, the SSS failed to issue an official letter of invitation to the Trustees and failed to acknowledge the letter written by CAN that it should have channeled its invitation through the President of CAN. The letter would also condemn in very strong terms, the demand of the SSS that the Trustees should make statement "under caution" connoting they had committed a crime. The Elders agreed that the letter to be written to the SSS should be made public. They also resolved that none of the Trustees should visit the SSS again. Dame Priscilla Kuye who was yet to make her visit was advised to desist from going to the office of the SSS."

It is pertinent to point out that the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) is the umbrella body of all Christians in Nigeria. It was established in August 1976 to foster unity and oneness amongst the various Christian groups in the nation. Every Christian assembly in Nigeria established upon sound scriptural doctrine and every individual Christian is a member of CAN. CAN is structured along five Church groups, known as Blocs, as follows:

- i. CCN – Christian Council of Nigeria.
- ii. CSN – Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria.

- iii. CPFN/PFN – Christian Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria/Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria.
- iv. OAIC – Organization of African Instituted Churches, and
- v. TEKAN/ECWA – Tarrayar Ekklesiyoyin Kristi A Nigeria/Evangelical Church Winning All

The highest decision making organ of CAN is the National Executive Committee (NEC). This body on the 9th of July, 2014 in Makurdi, Benue State, realizing enormity of the various challenges confronting Christianity and individual Christians in Nigeria, established the CAN TRUST FUND to mobilize critical funding for the Nigerian Church. The NEC identified the pressing needs for which funding is required as:

- Rebuilding critical Christian infrastructure willfully destroyed by the enemies of Jesus Christ.
- Responding to the needs of Christian victims of religious insurgency.
- Mobilizing effective media campaign both locally and internationally to tell the story of the persecution of Christians in Nigeria.
- Funding the CAN Secretariat for greater effectiveness.
- Promoting and protecting the rights of Christians in Nigeria.
- Mobilizing 24/7 prayer cover for Nigeria.
- Building critical institutions and structures that will strengthen Christianity in Nigeria.
- Setting the pace for Christian welfare and intervention.

In the NCEF's draft letter to DSS through the President of CAN for his signature, we wrote in part: "Please note further that the CAN TRUST FUND has the National President of CAN as the Chairman, the Heads of the five Blocs of CAN who are Clergymen and the five laymen invited to your office as Members. If you had conceded to the suggestion that

you deal with the leadership of CAN, you would have been spared the embarrassment of inviting the sixth person on your list Ambassador Tanko Yusuf of blessed memory, a man who died in 2001 at the age of 75 and was never a member of the Trust Fund, for interrogation. It might be pertinent to remind you that the persecution of the Church in the Northern parts of the country clearly predates the emergence of Boko Haram. The jihad which has had the full support and participation of prominent Nigerian Islamist leaders in the past has assumed dangerous dimensions in recent times and the security agencies and successive governments have not only paid lip service to the protection of the Nigerian Christian against the devastating effects of the jihad but clearly identified with the cause of eradicating the Christian faith from Nigeria. **We stand to be corrected.** The actions of the security agencies and some influential government operatives tend to re-echo and lend credence to the claims of the late Sardauna of Sokoto, Sir Ahmadu Bello in his Independence speech on 1st October, 1960 that **“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 rule over us and never allow them to have control over their future.”** We don’t want to believe that your agency is towing the same line although your recent actions seem to so indicate. The onus is on you and your organization to prove to the satisfaction of the average Nigerian Christian and other peace loving Nigerians that you are not in the vanguard to hurt, discredit, desecrate and exterminate Christians and Christian institutions in the country.”

“As Christians, we have not heard of any reported case of Islamist insurgents, Fulani herdsmen or other anti-Christ agents being paraded, prosecuted or convicted by the courts for the repeated murder, rape, arson, wanton destruction of Christian habitation in this country, the fact that the jihadists have been on rampage in this country notwithstanding. The world perception of the situation in Nigeria, according to some is that Nigeria is among the countries where it is very dangerous to be a Christian. The leaflet produced by the South African based organization, MATYRS FOR CHRIST, (copy

attached) portrays Nigeria, verged in purple as one of the countries with High Religious Persecution. Is it not of concern to you that the recent invitation and cautioned statement of Christian leaders during the meeting with the DSS has lend credence to this assertion by foreign organizations that Nigeria is hostile to its Christian Community. This, we guess, is not your desire. CAN is and will always be disposed to dialogue with your office on issues relating to the Islamists persecution, activities of the Christian Church in Nigeria and the general peaceful coexistence of the ethnic nationalities and religious communities in Nigeria. In this regard, therefore, the other members of the Trust Fund, and in particular, Dame Priscilla Kuye has been advised not to honor any invitation from your office relating to the activities of CAN as neither the respected Dame nor any other lay member of the Trust Fund can actually speak on behalf of CAN or any of its agencies and operations. Having considered the negative effect of your interrogation “under caution” of the distinguished members of the Board of Trustees of the CAN Trust Fund on the Christian Community in Nigeria, **it is demanded that a written public apology be tendered to these distinguished Nigerians.**”

It is further advised that your organization should be more circumspect in dealing with the Body of Christ in Nigeria, if not for any other reason, to ensure and promote the confidence of the average Nigerian Christian in the government of the day. Christians need to have confidence in the government to be able to appreciate any of its efforts in the right direction to address issues of persecution and marginalization of Christians in Nigeria by agents of radical Islamism, both in and out of government. Please be assured of our highest consideration.”

The President of CAN for personal reasons was unable to sign the letter, but “DSS operatives” in CAN’s Secretariat in Abuja must have sent this draft to the DSS.

Before this encounter with the DSS, the a prominent Church Group had accused NCEF that its flier on CAN Trust Fund: “as worrisome and arrived at the following conclusions: (a) that people will think that CAN is “**sourcing for funds to build a Christian Army to fight the Muslims**”; (b)NCEF “reduced Christians to mere children by assuming that the disunity in CAN is from without whereas the problem is deeply within”, and; (c) That

Christian Elders should not “further polarize the Body of Christ in Nigeria.” These are weighty allegations that require some explanations and comments.”

We wrote to the Catholic Secretariat in June 2016, part of which reads: “The whole objective of President Buhari and Sultan of Sokoto both Muslim ex-soldiers (Military Generals) influenced, no doubt, by the Islamic Brotherhood in a post-Islamist Nigeria, can be summed up thus: **“Post-Islamism:** Emerging from the anomalies of Islamist politics prevalent since the early 1990s, post-Islamism represents an effort to fuse religiosity and rights, faith and freedom, Islam and liberty. It seeks to turn the underlying principles of Islamism on their head by emphasizing rights instead of duties, plurality in place of a singular authoritative voice, historicity rather than fixed scripture, ambiguity in place of certainty, and the future instead of the past. **It strives to marry Islam with individual choice and freedom, democracy, and modernity (which post-Islamists stress) to achieve what some call an alternative modernity.** Its advocates hope to reverse the discourse of violence so ingrained in the ideologies and practices of some (but not all) Islamist trends today, in order to dial back the current association of Islam with violence. Post-Islamism is expressed in acknowledging secular exigencies, in freedom from rigidity, and in breaking down the belief in a monopoly of religious truth. **In short, whereas the fusion of religion and responsibility mark Islamism, post-Islamism emphasizes religiosity and rights.”** [Civilian Jihad: Nonviolent Struggle, Democratization, and Governance in the Middle East Edited by Maria J. Stephan, Pg. 44][Emphasis supplied] Please don’t be fooled into believing that what happened to Christians in North Africa in 4th Century cannot happen to Nigeria in the 21st Century. It will, if some Nigerians especially Christians, decide that they have nothing to lose if they convert to Islam because they will be safe and have food on their tables. At that stage, it will be too late to cry over spilled milk.” [NCFE letter to CSN July 1, 2016]

It was after the failure of the Catholic Church to terminate the Trust Fund that the DSS took over in order to stop CAN from having a Trust Fund in order to make Christians dependent on Sukuk dispensed by the Sultan and Muslim clerics from time to time.

Bill on NGOs' Activities in Nigeria

The NCEF is convinced that the new Bill for an Act to provide for the establishment of the **Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) Regulatory Commission for supervision, co-operation and monitoring of Non-Governmental Organization, Civil Societies Organizations etc.** In Nigeria and for related matters objective of the Commission now before the National Assembly is the latest attempt to stop CAN from floating a Trust Fund but the Nigerian Government, after the first two attempts – the CSN and the DSS have failed. As the video of Prof Chidi Odinkalu shows, the Bill is intended to restrict and stop the activities of NGOs. He said “As you well know, the Nigeria’s National Assembly is currently considering the NGO Regulation Bill for passage, it has gone through the first reading, the second reading and now in Committee stage, and later this month the committee on NGOs in the House of Representatives in Abuja will be holding a public hearing on the Bill and it is important that you understand what this Bill means and its implications for both yourself as a citizen and for the country in general. Let me be clear this is **the most dangerous piece of legislation** that has come for consideration in the National Assembly since the return to civil rule in 1999, it covers the activities of every entity and everybody that is not government and in affects Churches, Mosques, schools, universities, hospitals, everything as well as humanitarian operations wherever they are taking place in the country whether in the North/East or in the South/East or the South/South whether in the Middle Belt or in the North/West or South/West.

It is totalitarian in consequence. Now what does the Bill require? Basically all resources, all funds, everything that are collected or liable to be collected and made available to service community, individuals in need in this country will be subject to Abuja before you can raise funds in your church and in your mosque. You have to get Abuja’s permission. After you have raised money you have to return them to Abuja for Abuja to tell you what to do with them and when you have done that only Abuja can help you do your audit. Nobody can operate anything without clearance from Abuja; it is worse than a totalitarian piece of legislation. For the old mamas and old papas doing osusu in the village that is

involving credit, before you do your collections you come to Abuja for clearance and after you have done your collections before you share the money or rotate the collected money among the beneficiaries you come to Abuja for clearance. Ahmadiyya Movement would have to come to Abuja for clearance. Nasfat will come to Abuja for clearance before doing anything. The mosque that do collection every Friday to support the people in their congregations and their communities will have to account for that money, to civil servants who will either tell them what to do or collect and transfer into their pockets.

The Churches will be out of business, the Mosque will be endangered. This is what the Legislators want us to subscribe to and as a citizen you have got to understand that this means that they will be voice of criticism for government, nobody can tell government anything. What this body proposes to do, what government is proposing with this Bill that after it has been passed, everybody organizing in Nigeria under any form, students, old students association, Rev. Sisters in convents, Rev. Fathers and Pastors whatever they may be, Imams and Alfas, everybody, you will have to apply to Abuja for them to register you to operate. They will have to agree, they can refuse to register you in which case you cannot do anything. Now, if they agree to register you however you will have to only hold that license for only two years after those two years you will have to apply to them to renew your license. If they agree at that time to renew your license you can operate for another two years, if they do not agree that license lapses. If you try to do anything without that license you will be liable to be imprisoned for 18 months summarily and can so the problem is that we will not have enough prisons for the number of people who will go to jail under this law and if they are sympathetic and agree not to send you to jail you may be let go with the fine of N500, 000.

The civil servant will collect this money in the name of the politicians, it will be used to file up political powers that will not be accountable to any one of us and this is why I am saying that this is the most dangerous piece of legislation that has been considered in our country today in the past 20 years but you can do something about it. This does not have to be the law; this will not be law if you agree as the citizen that you are the boss. You must contact your Legislator at the State level, contact your Abuja contact as you will,

your distinguished Senators in your senatorial zones and tell them this will not happen. This is your country too and unless you fight for it these people will destroy it, not just for you, but your children and your grandchildren and that, they do not have the mandate to do. My name is Chidi Odinkalu. I am a Nigerian citizen.” **This is Stealth Jihad and Islamism in action** by Islamists who are against Freedom and Democracy.

Now that we have been able to establish the motives and objective of this toxic Bill, it is clear that the Islamists’ agenda can only do harm to Nigeria and we all must join hands to stop it – all Nigerians not just Christians.

Nigeria cannot afford a situation whereby an Islamist in the name of a law maker will extinguish what is considered the bedrock of Nigeria **‘being’ and development that preceded amalgamation**. Lugard wrote: “a review of the Administration would be incomplete without a reference to Christian missions, which, in the South, have exercised so great an influence on the development of the country, and borne so predominant a part in educational progress. No doubt their influence has been much weakened, as elsewhere in Africa, by the more effective administration of the country, and the advent of Europeans of all types since 1895. In the South they preceded, and the North for the most part followed the establishment of administrative control.” [**Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria pg. 158**] Now a jihad is being waged against Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) and the NGOs to prove the point that Democracy and Sharia are incompatible. Islamists ancestors took over a thousand years to establish. **This jihad must be resisted with knowledge and fortitude.**

In April 2016, in a paper titled **Weapons win Jihad but it takes Ideas to win the Peace**, we wrote that the mantra of the ruling party, the APC is **change** and change means fight against Corruption. Unfortunately, there are many other issues that require attention, in some cases, more heinous than Corruption such as Treason which is an offence for attempting to overthrow the government of the state to which one owes allegiance either by making war against the state or by materially supporting its enemies.

As we are now being confronted with the pursuit of National Unity and wellbeing of all Nigerian citizens, peace requires reconciliation between the people of Nigeria and the

reconstruction of Society. Nigerians need to transcend the divisions of the past, the walls built in the past which, unfortunately, generated criminality, gross violation of Human Rights of which 102 years of amalgamation failed to abate rather enhanced by dual ideology of Liberal Democracy and Islamism has widened and, today, there are various Nigerians, Northerners, Christians, Catholics, Evangelists, Protestants, Nigerian Muslims, Islamists Shiites, Sunni etc and Animists and other Religion. This is in addition to over 500 languages, and the sooner we reconcile these people group into one indivisible country with one direction - Democracy, the better it will be for all inhabitants. Nigerians and non-Nigerians alike must begin the process of bridge building by first pulling down the walls which the British Colonialists, our Religions, Geographic Tribal and Ethnic differences that has produced a Nigeria “what this means is that Nigeria is ruled by a multi-layered institutionalized oligarchy, composed of self-serving politicians, businesspeople, political fixers, "godfathers," former military officers and elite bureaucrats who share a common interest in gaining access to the clientelistic networks responsible for the redistribution of petro-rent. Even though fractions of the oligarchy occasionally do represent the interests of their ethnic, regional, and religious communities, they have much more in common with members of the oligarchy than with increasingly impoverished constituencies they claim to represent. Again because political parties are owned by major oligarchs (godfathers), they not only strangle democratic reform movements but, in effect, block developmental gains because they lack any recognizable ideology, active membership programmatic platform, or desire to transform Nigerian living standards.” [Shari’a Politics: Islamic Law and Society in the Modern World edited by Robert W. Hefner Pg. 248]

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

Commission is set up to handle Truth and Reconciliation in all its ramifications is put in place.

CONCLUSION

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission would provide a platform for those for and against, Islamism, political Islam or Sharia. NCEF is protesting against various jihads committed against Nigerians which include killing of the Abiolas, killing of demonstrators in Lagos, co-opting some Christians as junior partners in Government in order to promote and enhance jihad over the years in Nigeria. Amnesty can be granted to some to bring the political parties on board. No moral distinction should be made by the Commission between the violence used to promote jihad and the violence employed to oppose jihad. Fortunately, Christians do not have the equivalent of Boko Haram and Fulani herdsmen and a Commission will prevent a revenge group from developing in the future to prevent hate speeches, pogrom or genocide.

Nigeria needs to re-define the basis of its existence as a country in search of Nationhood. Those who were killed or suffered as a result of jihad, people like Alfred Rewane, the Abiolas, Tunde Elegbede etc need to be “heard” from their graves. And those who suffered such as Pa Abraham Adesanya, Chief Ayo Adebajo, Chief Olu Falae and others also need to be heard and there is not a better forum for this than a Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Truth and Reconciliation Commission is an antidote for hate speech and retaliation and above all an instrument for Reconciliation and National Unity to promote Nigeria from a country to a Nation. Nigeria has to be liberated from political Islam a.k.a. Islamism or Sharia.

God bless Nigeria.

For: National Christian Elders Forum (NCEF)

Solomon Asemota SAN

September 25, 2017

Solomon Asemota, SAN (Chairman), Gen. Joshua Dogonyaro (rtd), Archbishop Magnus Atilade, Dr. (Mrs) Kate Okpareke, Dr. Ayo Abifarin, Gen. Zamani Lekwot (rtd), Bishop Joseph Bagobiri, Elder Moses Ihonde, Elder Nat Okoro, Gen. T. Y. Danjuma, Elder Matthew Owojaiye, Justice Kalajine Anigbogu (rtd), Elder Shyngle Wigwe, DIG P. L. Dabup, Sir John W. Bagu, Dr. Saleh Hussaini, Elder Mike Orobator, Justice James Ogebe, JSC (rtd), Dr. Chukwuemeka Ezeife, Chief Debo Omotosho, Dame Priscilla Kuye, Dr. S. D. Gani, Amb. S. T. Dogonyaro, Mrs. Osaretin Demuren, Prof. Yussuf Turaki, Dr. Musa Asake, Pastor Bosun Emmanuel (Secretary)