



APPENDICES

▲ APPENDIX 1¹

ISLAM IN AFRICA CONFERENCE: COMMUNIQUÉ²

*Jointly Issued by the Islamic Council, London;
The Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC)
And the Newly Founded Islam in Africa Organisation (IAO)*

FURTHER DETERMINED to evolve a permanent Islamic body which has firm roots in and is securely anchored to the long-standing ideals and values of Islam, designed to articulate the hopes and aspirations of Muslims in Africa and coordinate Islamic work variously undertaken by Muslim communities and organisations and to initiate projects which would assist in improving the lives of Muslims on the continent and the Muslim world as a whole, we, the delegates assembled here at ABUJA, this first day of Jumada al Awwal, 1410 (28/11/89), DO HEREBY RESOLVE:

To call on Muslims throughout Africa to unite as an important part of the Ummah which is blessed with the guidance and mercy brought by the Messenger of Allah, Muhammad (PBUH).

To urge Muslims, who have been separated by imposed geopolitical barriers of artificial boundaries drawn up by imperialists to serve colonial and anti-Islamic interests, to cooperate with their brethren throughout the Muslim world with a view to reinstating a strong and united Ummah which is determined to fulfil the commands of Allah, the Almighty.

To call upon the Ulama to close their ranks and thereby facilitate unity among the Ummah and to urge them to unite and to strive to remove all barriers between them and the general Muslim populace, especially the youth.

To call on Muslims to review the syllabi in the various educational institutions with a view to bringing them into conformity with Islamic ideals, goals and principles and to serve the needs of their community.

To urge Muslims to pay special attention to the education of women at all levels.

To encourage the teaching of Arabic language which is the language of the Qu'ran, as well as the lingua franca of the continent and to strive for the restoration of the use of Arabic script in vernacular.

To urge Muslims to establish strong economic ties between African Islamic countries and other parts of the Muslim world in order to facilitate mutual assistance and cooperation in commerce, industry and finance with a view to evolving a sound economic system based on Islamic principles.

To form a permanent body to be known as Islam in Africa Organization under the trusteeship of representatives to be selected from among the participating countries; to perform, among other functions, the state activities and seek to attain the goals and objectives as provided for in the annexure to this communiqué.

The Conference salutes and highly commends the efforts

which the Muslim youth are making in the service of Islam and pledges its full support for them in this worthwhile endeavour.

The Conference notes the yearnings of Muslims everywhere on the continent who have been deprived of their rights to be governed by the Sharia and urges them to intensify efforts in the struggle to re-instate the application of the Sharia.

The Conference notes that modalities for the establishment of the African Muslim Media Practitioners Association in Nigeria has been set in motion. It appreciates this noble move and urges Muslims in the media organisations to offer it all the support it needs to succeed.

The Conference unanimously expresses its gratitude and appreciation:

To the government of peoples of Nigeria for the interest shown in the Conference and, in particular, extends its thanks to the President, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Nigeria, General Ibrahim Babangida for the stimulating inaugural address which he sent to the conference and [which] was delivered by General Sani Abacha, the Chief of Army Staff of Nigeria;

To the Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs and the Islamic Affairs and the Islamic Council, London and the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC) for sponsoring and organizing the Conference;

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INSPIRED by the Unity of Allah, the Creator and Lord of the Universe; MOTIVATED by the Qur’anic declaration, “Verily, this year (Islamic) Ummah is one...,” and DETERMINED to comply with Allah’s directive contained in the Qur’anic *ayah*, “And hold fast to the rope of Allah, and do not break up into factions,” the PARTICIPANTS at the Islam in Africa Conference on this First day of Jumada al-Awwal, 1420 A.H., (28/11/89), DO HEREBY RESOLVE to found the Islam in Africa Organization (IAO) with the following as its objectives, viz:

- To undertake vigorous human resource development programmes.
- To serve as a mouthpiece for the articulation of issues of common concern to Muslims in Africa and the Muslim world generally.
- To commission experts to write the history of Islam in Africa and of Muslims and their institutions from authentic Islamic view-point and to retrieve literary works and artifacts pertaining to this.
- To establish Islamic Tertiary and Vocational Centres which are designed to train Da'wah workers who will be trained to acquire trades and skills which will equip them to be self-employed and productive.
- To ensure the continuity of the noble work initiated at this Conference.
- To cooperate with other national or international Islamic organisations for the attainment of its stated objectives.
- To promote unity, spiritually and materially, among Muslims all over the world, particularly in Africa.
- To promote peace, harmony and general human development and strive to remove all forms of discrimination.
- To support, enhance and coordinate Da'wah work all over Africa and propagate the knowledge of Islam throughout the continent.
- To encourage research efforts on Islamic matters and publicise the research findings.
- To undertake and encourage the translation into various African languages of Islamic works, their publication and distribution.

- To support the establishment and application of the Sharia to all Muslims.
- To encourage vigorous participation of Muslim Youths in all spheres of its activities and to ensure that women are accorded their due rights and roles in society in accordance with the Sharia.
- To ensure the appointment of only Muslims into strategic national and international posts of member nations.
- To eradicate in all its forms and ramifications all non-Muslim religions in member nations (such religions shall include Christianity, Ahmadiyya and other tribal modes of worship unacceptable to Muslims).
- To ensure that only Muslims are elected to all political posts of member nations.
- To ensure the declaration of Nigeria (the 24th African and 46th World member of the OIC) a Federal Islamic Sultanate at a convenient date any time from 28th March, 1990, with the Sultan of Sokoto enthroned the Sultan and Supreme Sovereign of Nigeria.
- To ensure the ultimate replacement of all Western forms of legal and judicial systems with the Sharia in all member nations before the next Islam in Africa Conference.
- To organise an Islam in Africa Conference regularly as well as seminars, symposia, conferences, workshops and colloquia.

Towards the attainment of these ends, therefore, a Steering Committee, with membership drawn from the following countries as well as the Islamic Council, London and the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC), has been set up, viz: Nigeria, Niger, The

Gambia, Mauritania, Senegal, Libya, Tanzania, Sudan, Tunisia.

The permanent headquarters of the Islam in Africa Organization (IAO) shall be in Abuja, Nigeria. The Steering Committee has been assigned the special task of the details establishing the IAO in Nigeria, including structures and constitution within six (6) months. The Conference decided that the Steering Committee should also work out detailed plans for transforming a national political party in each member nation into a National Islamic Party, and that the National Republic Convention (NRC) of Nigeria should be made to serve this purpose in Nigeria as the only recognised National Islamic Party of Nigeria. These political parties so approved shall be the only ones to produce leading government (executive and legislative) functionaries. The NRC of Nigeria and other parties shall have their names changed to reflect the Islamic nature of their purpose.

The Conference further agreed and decided that the IAO should, for the time being, operate from the facilities of the Islamic Council, London, and not from that of the OIC (that has become too controversial in Nigeria).

The joint Conference finally ratified the admission of Nigeria as a full member of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference, OIC, and thanked the government and people of Nigeria for having generously donated US\$21 billion to the Islamic Development Fund of the OIC, and sincerely requested the federal government of Nigeria to implement all policies and programmes of the OIC to show the whole world that Nigeria is truly an Islamic nation.

▲ APPENDIX 2

RE: PROMOTING RELIGIOUS PEACE AND SECURITY
IN NIGERIA: MEETING OF DISTINGUISHED ELDERS
AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS³

Jabani Mambula

The Committee;

I would like to express my gratitude and appreciation once more for this opportunity given to leaders and religious leaders in this country once more to discuss and find out ways of preventing religious intolerance and rioting in the northern part of the country. I send this memo as my personal view after serious consultation with all the ten Church denominations in the fellowship of Churches of Christ in Nigeria TEKAN and other denominations who are either Associate Members or otherwise. I will write the points raised one by one from a Christian point of view as follows:

1. While talking about religious riots in the northern states, we should make it clear that it is “Some northern states” and not lump them all together. To be more direct is to say the far northern states. Middle Belt where Christians are more in number have never experienced Religious riots.
2. Of all the riots none have been caused by Christians because Christians have more control over their members than the Muslims who fight amongst themselves as well as against the Christians. To call a spade a spade, the riots, though some feel [they] have been political, [are] purely religious because either the more fanatical Muslims wanted to eliminate the more tolerant Muslims or eliminate the Christians so the total Islamisation of Nigeria could be effected, which I feel is impossible. Because after every riot against the Christians, all the Churches experienced tremendous growth in membership

from backsliders as well as new converts and are more determined to suffer for Christ as Jesus said in Matthew 5:11-12.

3. The late Sardauna of Sokoto, though a very staunch Muslim, had never advocated Islamisation by violence. We admire him for his tolerance and Islamisation by persuasion and, in fact, he achieved more than any of the fanatical leaders in conversion to Islam. This method has been comprehensively used by Christians and is still the method in Christian evangelization. So the method of approach by the present Muslims should change, the alternative of which would be continued disturbances which will wreck this nation, especially the North.
4. The historical discrimination against Christians is well known as follows:
 - (a) Denial for building places of worship especially in the far northern states.
 - (b) Denial for Religious Teaching in schools for Christian pupils.
 - (c) Denial for places of burial in some far northern states.
 - (d) The recent dismissal of four highly-ranked Christian workers in NNDC because they set aside a short time to pray during office hours and are all replaced by Muslims.
 - (e) Many promotions and lucrative appointments in the Nigerian army have been done by luring Christian officers of Northern origin into Islam.
 - (f) Out of my ten Church denominations, none has got a plot in Abuja though most of their applications have been in since 1980. All these Churches are fully registered with their Certificates of Incorporation.

- (g) Seizure of schools and hospitals and refusal to return them to the owners in spite of the fallen standards.
- (h) Denial of the rights of indigenes to be appointed as District Heads or Village Heads who are of Christian religion in favour of their Muslim brothers, e.g. Tafawa Balewa and Southern Zaria.
- (i) Building of Mosques in Government houses and public places like motor-park stations, etc., including the Presidential Complex at Abuja, but no provision for [a] Christian Chapel.
- (j) Non-recognition of Israel at Ambassadorial level to give a sense of security to Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land.
- (k) The continued claim by the Muslims, e.g. Gumi, that: Christianity is nothing; no Christian can become the Head of State; Christians constitute only 15% of this nation, or Jesus is a bastard. Such outrageous claims are against all reason since out of the four zones of Nigeria, only one zone is predominantly Muslim, i.e. the far northern states (Kano, Sokoto, Katsina, Borno, Bauchi); Christians are the majority in the Middle Belt, West and the East.
- (l) In the creation of Local Governments, States like Kano, Sokoto, Katsina though predominantly in the Sahel area which are thinly populated are given more Local Governments as against the thickly populated areas of savannah in the Middle Belt where Christians are the majority.
- (m) Continued claims by the Muslims that Nigeria must remain in the OIC and imposition of Sharia in the country's Constitution.
- (n) Wrong detention by the Military regime of prominent

Christians after the abortive coup of April 1990, but nothing has been done to Muslim fanatics who openly insulted the Government [saying] that Babangida's Government is an infidel government and his followers will not recognise it and that the battle line has been drawn (*Tell Magazine*, No. 4, May 6, 1991, p.18).

5. CAN (Christian Association of Nigeria) has written and warned the Government about the continued injustices under 4 a-n above but there has been no change.
6. Unjust removal of some development in predominantly Christian areas to predominantly Muslim areas like:
 - (a) Customs area office from Plateau to Bauchi
 - (b) Headquarters Central Bank to Bauchi
 - (c) NITEL Headquarters to Bauchi
 - (d) NEPA Headquarters to Bauchi
7. The future of Nigeria as far as children are concerned will be bleak in that the Government has encouraged the States to have two types of uniforms in schools—one for Muslims and one for Christians. This serves no purpose.
8. The Christians have never been given credit for their love for peace. And Muslim riots are blamed on both sides—it is unfair.
9. Christians now fear living in certain parts of northern states for their lives and properties being destroyed. In fact, foreigners from Chad, Niger and the Cameroons live more comfortably than Nigerian Christians.
10. The Government should strictly administer this nation as in the Constitution which guarantees freedom of religion, secularity of the State, quota system in appointment of the top posts in the Government by merit, etc.

Recommendations

1. Let the Government strictly rule according to the Constitution and the secularity of the country should be religiously maintained.
2. Return all the Schools and Hospitals to the rightful owners under the former condition.
3. The historical discrimination under paragraph 4 a-n should be rectified within the life of this regime.
4. The Quota system should be strictly adhered to in appointments to top positions in the Military, Civil Service, Government institutions etc.
5. The Government should stay clear from indulging in religious affairs.
6. This forum created at the initiative of MAMSER should be given every encouragement and continue to advise the Government especially on Religious issues.
7. State appointments in key positions e.g. the Governor, the Army Commander, the Police Commissioner, and the State Director of SSS must be mixed—Christians and Muslims in each State of the Federation to avoid making biased, one sided decisions.
8. Northern Christians should be given their fair share in the appointments in ICCA and Federal Parastatals like NNPC, Ministers, and Bank Directors, etc.
9. The Muslim–Christian School Uniforms should be abolished with immediate effect so the Northern people could feel once more together.
10. The far north Muslims should not frown whenever Middle Belt is mentioned.

11. Relationship with the State of Israel should be normalised to avoid discrimination especially against the Christian pilgrims who have to go through other countries to obtain their visas and for the diplomatic coverage in case of trouble.
12. Muslims should stop building Mosques in public places like the Government houses, motor parks, markets, etc.
13. Teaching of Christian Religion in some far northern states should be reintroduced.
14. Inflammatory utterances by key Muslim leaders against Christians should be stopped.
15. The idea for Islamisation of this Nation by all means must stop.
16. The OIC and Sharia matter should be dropped.
17. Each registered Religious body with their certificate of incorporation should be given plots to build their places of worship in Abuja.
18. The abduction of young Christian girls must stop.
19. The use of the word “*arne*” for Christian believers should stop and whenever an acceptable animal is slaughtered by a Christian, it should be eaten by a Muslim and vice versa.
20. Whoever committed arson or murder as in the case of killing innocent school children in Bauchi should be publicly executed.

Conclusion

I would like to conclude by saying that I was very much encouraged by the successful meeting we had on the 11th July, 1991 at Kaduna. I still remember the word from one of our elders that “*Ranar wanka ba’a boya cibi*” and the startling revelations that followed, which made both the Christians and Muslims alike to speak

frankly and honestly with each other and the genuine truth prevailed over the devilish suspicion which had been dominating similar meetings in the past. Such similar meetings as ours should be immediately held whenever there is rumour or happenings as in Bauchi and Katsina and the blame appropriately directed on the culprits with corresponding punishments. Any state Governor who has failed to maintain peace, be he a Military man or a civilian, should be removed immediately in case of a Military man, and suspension followed by election in case of a civilian Governor. Politically, there should be no discrimination—where Muslims are genuinely the majority, don't force Christians on them and vice versa. The present committee of 6 should be enlarged to 8. I wish the present committee God's guidance as they will be looking into every aspect of such submission and incorporate all the genuine ideas to bringing a lasting peace and security to this Nation especially in the troubled northern states.

Humbly submitted,
Reverend J. P. Mambula
General Secretary TEKAN
25/7/1991

▲ APPENDIX 3

RECENT HAPPENINGS AND EVENTS IN THE COUNTRY:

*A submission by the TEKAN Study Group
to the Panel of Investigation⁴*

We of the TEKAN Study Group abhor and condemn in no uncertain terms the mayhem, violence, arson and unprovoked wanton destruction of churches and personal houses and property of Christians, and the unjustifiable infliction of injuries and heartless manhandling of Christians. We heartily condole and sympathise with the victims of this savage behaviour and destruction.

We also want to thank the government for the appointment of a panel to look into the matter. However, we wish to make it known that we object to the composition of the panel. In the interests of impartiality, and to inspire confidence in the panel, the federal government should include three members from CAN on this panel. The behaviour of the Kaduna state government and its agencies has left much to be desired. There seems to have been tacit support for the riots through deliberate non-intervention in them. Because the state government's impartiality is questionable, a neutral body should have been appointed.

Religious War

The dangers that would result from a religious war erupting in the country cannot be overemphasised. It is a war that nobody wins. Examples abound—Northern Ireland, Lebanon, Sudan, Chad, etc.... We must therefore do everything in our power to prevent a religious war in this country. We must show, by the just trial and punishment of the instigators of these riots, that we will not sanction such a war.

Provocation

We totally disagree with the contention that the events in Kafanchan were provoked by Reverend Abubakar Bako quoting from the Qur'an. Knowledge of the Qur'an is not the exclusive preserve of Muslims. Just as Muslims use the Holy Bible to attempt to prove that Muhammed is the last Prophet, so Christians quote the Qur'an to prove that Jesus is the Word of God and that He was conceived by the Holy Spirit. Books written by Muslims quote the Holy Bible profusely; so, too, books written by Christians frequently refer to the Qur'an. There are books written comparing the Holy Bible and the Qur'an. Indeed, universities and colleges offer courses on the comparative study of religions.

Nor are we aware of any quoting of the Qur'an in order to disparage Islam or show disrespect for Muhammed, the Prophet of Islam. Reverend Bako quoted the Qur'an to demonstrate the superiority of Jesus Christ as testified to even in the Qur'an, not to cast aspersions on Muhammed or Islam.

The claim of provocation is therefore hollow and empty. Moreover, Islamic preachers (e.g. Sheikh Gumi and many others) quote from the Holy Bible. Does this give Christians the right to go and assault such Muslim preachers? Of course not! The MSS must not be allowed to escape with such a hollow argument. The governor himself, in an appeal for peace, quoted from both the Bible and the Qur'an. There is no exclusive ownership of religious books; if they are truly from God, and not merely a production of the opinions of human beings, they are for all people.

The Security Forces

It is very important and pertinent that the non-intervention of the security forces and the state government be investigated. For the rioters to have had a free hand to ravage and destroy for at least 18 hours, unrestrained by the presence of any of the armed forces, is utterly baffling. It is an absolute indictment of the Governor, the

Commissioner of Police, the Army Commander and the Director of the State Secret Service, and is sufficient justification for their removal from office. We call for the removal of these... authorities, for as long as they hold their positions, the investigation will not be able to come out with the truth of their behaviour, to expose their role in the events, and to determine how far the non-interference by the security forces encouraged the rioters. For a section of the citizenry to have been exposed, without protection, to destruction, violence and arson for 18-24 hours is very serious. It is therefore very important that the mystery surrounding the inaction of the authorities be unravelled. The truth cannot be found out with the authorities remaining in office. It will give them the opportunity to cover up. What is more suspicious is that even the traditional rulers who are the fathers of the nation also failed to act. All these inactions point, we feel, to a hidden conspiracy.

Students' Society

It is becoming more and more obvious that students at the institutions of higher learning are being used by certain groups of powerful individuals for personal ends. We call on the government to examine carefully the involvement of students with the Society while at these institutions. Our institutions of higher learning should not become a military reserve camp to recruit rioters to perpetrate violence against society by the enemies of society. We cannot build a stable and peaceful egalitarian society if our institutions of higher learning are converted to centres for breeding riots and violence to be used by people whose sole aim is to get the country to serve their evil designs.

Rumours

It is very necessary that we carefully check some false pronouncements, capable of encouraging violence, which have been made by certain religious leaders. For example, we are not sur-

prised that these riots came at a time when certain powerful religious leaders were showing great interest in the religious composition of the country. Only last year, a respected Muslim religious leader claimed that 85% of Nigerians are Muslims. He later changed that claim to 80% and finally this year reduced it to 70%. Evidently, Islam is losing ground fast and therefore is in need of a *jihad* to reverse the trend. Christians naturally become the victims of such a *jihad*, for the Islamic losses are considered to be the result of conversions to Christianity.

The Soul That Sins, It Shall Die

It is a deliberately false and misleading excuse to claim that the riot at Kafanchan caused the riots at Kaduna and Kano. What has the quarrel at Kafanchan to do with an innocent soul in Kaduna or Kano? If we are to adopt a system of vicarious guilt, Nigeria will cease to be a nation. Any person using the riot at Kafanchan as an excuse for his violence elsewhere must be punished severely. The government must come out clearly on this issue. Innocent people should not be made to suffer because of violence unconnected with them. If we say that a crime by a Muslim in Sokoto or Maiduguri is a crime by all Muslims in Nigeria, or that a crime committed by a Christian in Gongola or Abeokuta is a crime by all Christians, then where are we heading as a nation? Surely to self-destruction and total chaos! How can an innocent person be declared a criminal from crimes to which he was not privy? We are becoming a haven for religious fanatics and a gilded cage for innocent and law-abiding citizens. We urge the government to check this dangerous trend before it is too late.

Injustice Is License for Criminals

Systematic injustice towards Christians has become a licence for Islamic religious fanatics to constantly commit arson and violence against Christians. [These fanatics] have also found out that

no matter what they do against Christians, Christians do not retaliate and the government and law enforcement agencies do not punish them, contrary to... the Penal Code Law which states:

Whoever destroys, damages or defiles any object of worship or any object held sacred by any class of persons with the intention of thereby insulting the religion of any class of persons with knowledge that any class of persons is likely to consider such destruction, damage or defilement as an insult to their religion, shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to two years or with a fine or with both.

How many times have churches been set ablaze and how many times has an object like a cross, which is sacred to Christians, been destroyed or damaged? How many times have Christian places of worship been defiled? How many times have Christians and their religion been insulted? Who among the perpetrators of such crimes has been imprisoned or fined? Thus, through acts of commission and omission, action and inaction, has the government not only encouraged but aided and abetted such actions against Christians.

In the same manner, section 213 [of the Code]: "Whoever voluntarily causes disturbance to any assembly lawfully engaged in the performance of religious worship or religious ceremonies shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year, or with a fine or with both."

How many times have Christian religious processions been stoned? How many times have Christians assembled for religious worship been stoned and...beaten up? How many among the perpetrators of such acts have been jailed? To the best of our knowledge, [no one] has been punished. The government and law enforcement agencies are thus accomplices in these crimes against Christians. They have in effect declared Christians persona non grata in the land and thereby have exposed them to all manner of evil treatment.

Religious fanatics have taken this as a licence to become lawless and to consider their religion the religion of the government.

Other injustices also contribute to the impression that Islam is the religion of the government. Appointments and promotions seem to have religious undertones. Through discriminatory appointments and promotions the impression is created that we are an Islamic state and that the land belongs to Muslims. For example, the army has thrown out the seniority principle to bring about religious bias among its leadership. Senior officers who are Christians have either been retired or made to serve in the government under their juniors who were given leadership positions because they are Muslims.

Thus, today we have leadership as follows...⁵

In addition, most policy-making positions are reserved for Muslims. Such biased appointments therefore are a psychological booster for crimes against Christians.

Citizens' Rights

The Constitution guarantees the fundamental rights of every citizen. However, the following rights are denied to Christians:

1. The right to plots to build places of worship in some states.
2. The right to religious education for their children in states like Kano, Sokoto, Borno and others.
3. The right to freedom of religion. Schools which the government took over from the churches have been given Islamic names and now operate as Islamiya schools.

Ban on Public Preaching

The ban placed on public preaching is meant to cater to the wishes of the Islamic fanatics. With the possible exception of the events at Kafanchan, we are not aware of any riot which resulted

from public preaching. There was none. The ban placed on public preaching and procession is therefore meant to prevent Christians from performing the duties required by their religion, and to curtail Christian growth. It is strictly against Christians because through such preaching Christianity has been growing by leaps and bounds. Moreover, while the ban is placed on Christian activity, Muslims continue to block major streets, roads and highways every Friday to perform public worship. Every Friday, Christians tolerate the curtailing of their freedom of movement, but Muslims refuse to tolerate a Palm Sunday procession or an Easter Monday public worship assembly, which occurs only once a year. The government, to protect the feelings of the Muslims, bans such acts and becomes insensitive to the feelings of Christians.

All these acts by the government have created the impression that Christians are aliens in the country. Christians are clearly treated as being inferior to the Muslims. Muslims do not even need a certificate of occupancy to build a mosque. Mosques... have proliferated in government ministries and parastatals. Schools and government institutions of learning have mosques but no chapels. Laws which are made to be obeyed are flagrantly violated. We are becoming a lawless nation to accommodate Islamic religious fanaticism.

The Current Crisis

While we agree with President Babangida that the present rampage was meant to lead to the overthrow of his government, it is nevertheless based on religion. According to an investigation of those arrested in Gongola, the Commissioner of Police of Gongola State found that

These young men... would appear to belong to an organization whose objective is to destroy the secular government and entrench a pro-Iranian Islamic government. According to them, this is a long-term effort which has already been set in

motion. The young men are members of a larger organization existing in all parts of the country. This and the act of the young men are not capable of causing a breach of the peace, but constitute a threat to the security of the nation.

Since the revolution “has already been set in motion” and particularly since it is “a larger organization existing in all parts of the country,” we have clearly not yet seen the end of the matter. It is very necessary that the security forces perform the duties which are expected of them. It is our prayer that the government will fully implement the provisions of the Constitution. The government that fails to implement the Constitution and to enforce obedience to the law of the land is calling for disaster and chaos.

We of the TEKAN churches and indeed all Christians pray that the day will never come when our turning the other cheek reaches 70 times seven. If the government allows the provocation of Christians to reach 70 times seven, she will have only herself to blame.

Mr. Chairman and members of the panel, we are praying for you earnestly. We pray that God will guide and give you wisdom to get to the root of the problem and to be able to discover the true causes of the riots. We hope that those involved, no matter how powerful, will be brought to justice. Let us save our country from never-ending bloodshed.

May God bless.

▲ APPENDIX 4

THE VIOLENT POLITICS OF RELIGION
AND THE SURVIVAL OF NIGERIA⁶

Press Statement by ABU Lecturers

Since last Friday, 6th March, 1987, violent attacks have been launched against life, property and places of worship in most of the major cities and towns of Kaduna State. Churches and mosques; hotels and cinemas; businesses and vehicles; private homes and persons have been attacked, smashed up and systematically set on fire in an unprecedented campaign of violent religious politics clearly aimed against the survival of our country.

In these seven days many people have been killed and wounded. Many more have been harassed, molested, completely frightened and made totally insecure. Over a hundred churches and a few mosques have been burnt down completely. Right now in Zaria, almost all economic, educational and other activities have stopped. Hundreds of people are on the roads and motor parks and railway stations looking for transport to travel back to their hometowns for safety and security. The basis of normal life has been severely shaken. In spite of reports and warnings from concerned individuals and organisations, three days after the start of the violence, police and security forces were completely absent from the scene. Citizens were left completely at the mercy of the violent mobs. This apparent abdication of responsibility by the Government must be taken very seriously.

This type of violent campaign of Muslims against Christians is unprecedented in the history of our country. It directly threatens her continued survival as a single entity.

We, the undersigned citizens of Nigeria, who have no other country but this one, have witnessed and personally experienced this violent attack against one of the foundations on which our country exists, namely the *secular nature of the Nigerian State* and

its duty to protect the rights of everyone to practise his/her own religion without any hindrance.

In January 1986, some of us were forced to issue a signed statement warning over the handling of Nigeria's relations with the Organization of Islamic Conference, and the way Israel and the Vatican were being used by sinister and reactionary forces to undermine the unity of our people and the sovereignty and integrity of our nation. In that statement, entitled "Nigerian Foreign Policy Should Actively Foster Nigerian Unity Based on Our African Identity and Destiny," it was pointed out that this campaign of systematic manipulation of religious sentiments is being conducted for the sinister and reactionary purpose of diverting the attention of the people of this country from the urgent tasks of economic reconstruction and the working out of... [Next few words illegible.]

In the long term, the purpose of this campaign of political manipulation of religious sentiments is to entrench religious conflicts in all facets of our national life, so that the Nigerian agents of imperialism, working under the cover of Christianity and Islam, financed by Zionism and Arab reactionaries, can always hold the unity of this country to ransom, build up the forces for its destruction, and ultimately break it up so as to give a serious blow to the movements for democracy, social and national liberation, which are now making great advances all over Africa. The individuals, groups and organisations waging this campaign against the unity of the people of this country are particularly afraid of and very hostile to popular mobilization and debate, at the grassroots level, over who and what is responsible for what has gone wrong with this country in the last 25 years, and how these retrograde and backward forces and elements can be overcome for genuine economic, social and political progress. They therefore wear the cloak of religion in order to confuse and divert the attention of our people from their harsh conditions of existence, and from how to positively transform these conditions in a permanent and systematic fashion.

Our experience of the current events and all evidence available to us have convinced us that the violence and arson of the last seven days was not the brain work of hooligans. It is believed to be the latest stage of a campaign which started about ten years ago in the so-called "Sharia Debate"⁷ in 1976–77.

At that time it was aimed at creating political constituencies for political leadership, whose records showed that they had nothing to offer our people. This strategy failed and therefore they now turn again to the manipulation of religious sentiments and religious symbolism to cover up their complete bankruptcy and failures.

Right now we can see behind the killing, maiming and arson a return to the 1976–77 scenario. Only this time the level of violence and the threat to national security and survival is much higher. But just as 1976–77 was only two to three years away from a return to civilian democracy, so 1986–87 is also only two to three years away from a return to civilian democracy in 1990. The basic difference, however, is that progressive development among the people of Nigeria and the rest of Africa over the last ten years has made these backward and reactionary forces more determined to entrench religious conflict in Nigeria... and to ultimately wreck it....

... this campaign has reached this totally unacceptable and very dangerous level because successive federal governments have toyed with one of the foundations on which Nigerian unity exists, namely the secular nature of the Nigerian State and its sacred... [not legible]. A strong impression has been created that some organisations and individuals can, with arrogance and impunity, incite and threaten people of other religious beliefs and will get away with, at most, only verbal reprimands or appeals to be tolerant.

... this campaign of violent religious politics has reached the very dangerous levels it has because several powerful media organs, particularly the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria, Kaduna, have been allowed to be used by a tiny backward oligarchy which survives on inciting one section of Nigeria against another.

Anybody who listens ... since January 1986 and particularly since Monday, March 9, 1987, knows that something sinister and violent was being systematically planned against the unity of... Nigeria and against the peace and stability of the country.

We, the undersigned, therefore want to warn, in a very solemn way, all our brothers and sisters... that we are fast coming to the brink of catastrophe. The events of the last seven days are very serious and very dangerous for our individual and collective survival. All those citizens committed to the unity of this country, for which so much blood has been shed, have to stand up and make a choice between fear, timidity and inertia in the face of systematic destruction of the foundation of our nation, and a determined struggle to crush these forces of destruction and save our country and our future.

We call on the Federal Military Government (FMG) to shed all ambiguities and hesitation, and to declare and reaffirm that the Nigerian State is SECULAR and one of its most fundamental responsibilities is to *protect the right of every citizen and resident to practice the religion of their choice*. We call on the FMG to implement this decisively and clearly in practice by identifying publicly and punishing according to the law all the rich and powerful individuals who are known to be behind this campaign of violent religious politics aimed at destroying our country.

We call on the FMG to ensure, in all parts of the country, the security of life and property and places and of freedom of belief and worship of everyone.

We call on the FMG to affirm and promote the exercise of the fundamental human rights of individuals and the collective self-defence of all the people against any form of aggression, be it external or internal.

We call on the FMG to make, as a matter of utmost urgency, full reparations to all those who have suffered damages. In particular, we ask... [not legible] that the right of facilities for worship by

all religious groups is restored and guaranteed in all places where they have been destroyed.

We are convinced that the sinister and utterly reactionary forces behind this campaign of violent religious politics with the aim of destroying our country are made up of a tiny oligarchy determined to maintain its power, wealth and privileges at all costs, including violent and well-organised mobs in the name of religion. We are also convinced that the majority of the people of this country and the popular organisations are capable of being mobilised to overcome them and defend the unity of our people and the integrity of our country. We therefore call upon the Nigerian Labour Congress to mobilise all the workers of this country around a campaign against religious and all sectional politics.

LONG LIVE THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA⁸

▲ APPENDIX 5A

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF CHRISTIANS,
JEWS & MONOTHEISTS

Corporate Headquarters 5HR,
1211 Geneva 1 Switzerland

15th February, 1990

*Proposals for Restoration of Religious Peace and Harmony to Nigeria
to Prevent Continued Oppression of Christians, Ahmadiyyas and
Other Religious Groups by Moslem Fanatics and Fundamentalists⁹*

Dear Sirs and Madams:

For a start, it is necessary to inform you that our agents stumbled upon by chance, copies of strategic documents here unto attached. On a closer perusal, you'll agree with us that it is imperative that all hands must be on deck to ensure that Nigerian Moslem Fanatics and Fundamentalists do not have their way to Islamise Nigeria.

We have now seen an urgent need for all Christians irrespective of their denominations to rise up as one and support the Ahmadiyyas in fighting the Moslem Fanatics and Fundamentalists to a standstill. There is no sacrifice too great to make; you should all be ready to demonstrate to the world that you are strongly against the Islamisation of Nigeria.

All efforts and activities geared towards achievement of this objective should start now, any demonstrations or dissent by Christians and Ahmadiyyas after 15th March, 1990 may be too late. May God bless you all.

Very Sincerely Yours,
Adam Townsend
General Secretary, ICCJM.

P.S. As a result of the very short time left for execution of projects, and the most strategic nature of attached information and documents, it was decided that one of our trusted agents should personally deliver documents as appropriate to you in Nigeria.

▲ APPENDIX 5B

ARAB AFRICAN INTERNATIONAL BANK¹⁰

International Head Office: 5 Midan Al Saray,
Al Koubra Garden City, Cairo
Telephone: 25094 - 25095 - 25096
Telex: ARBFR 92071 - AAIB 93531

SPAC 22 TSQ/AAIB

3rd August, 1989

The General Secretary
The Islamic Council
London, SW1X 8BX

Dear Sir,

Re: Enquiries Concerning Identification of Operators of
“Special Secret Deposit Account Nos: ...

Thank you for your enquiries conveyed per letter IC/8HOS/4 dated 8th June, 1989. Our inability to make an immediate response as requested for was occasioned by a policy known to you, which requires us to first clear such issues and requests with the Executive Council of the OIC, and the Governing Board of our bank; it is now our immense pleasure to inform you that we have been fully authorised to answer questions raised by you as follows:

- (i) Special Secret Deposit Account No. ... Is operated by General Ibrahim B. Babangida of Nigeria, status of the account as at 30/6/89 is US\$57.48 billion.
- (ii) Special Secret Deposit Account No. ... Is operated by Lieut-General Sani Abachi of Nigeria, status of the account as at 30/6/89 is US\$15.2 billion.
- (iii) Special Secret Deposit Account No. ... Is operated by Alhaji Abubakar Alhaji of Nigeria, status of the account as at 30/6/89

is US\$17.8 billion, and

- (iv) Special Secret Deposit Account No. ... Is operated by Alhaji (Dr.) Rilwanu Lukman of Nigeria, status of the account as at 30/6/89 is US\$24.9 billion.

Also, we confirm that the sum of US\$21.0 billion was transferred through us by three Swiss banks as federal Government of Nigeria's special donation to the Islamic Development Fund of the OIC for the total Islamisation of Nigeria in particular and Africa in general.

Finally, we make bold to state that from the foregoing, you'll see at a glance that Nigeria's "major billionaires" are powerful Muslims.

It is hoped we have been of service to you.

May the Almighty Allah bless you abundantly.

Yours faithfully,

For: Arab African International Bank

Ahmad S. Kareem

General Manager (International Operations)

▲ APPENDIX 6

THE CHRISTIAN AND THE OIC¹¹

Produced by:

The United Christian Association of Oyo State

(An Affiliate of CAN)

c/o P.O. Box 4011

or SW9/6234, Ring Road,

P.M.B. 5671, Ibadan. Tel. 022-341147

Do You Know

- (i) That OIC's first main Objective is "to promote Islamic solidarity among member states" (Article II Section A (I))?
- (ii) That Article VI section 5 states "That headquarters or Secretariat-General shall be in Jeddah pending the liberation of "Bait UI Magdis" (Jerusalem)? It is therefore set to fight Israel by any means. Nigeria is therefore being made an enemy of Israel by its membership of OIC. Is this why we are yet to renew diplomatic relations with her?
- (iii) That the OIC by Article of its charter on membership presumes that all member-States are Moslem States (Islamic States)?
- (iv) That the Islamic summit conference, i.e., conference of Kings and Heads of States apart from its periodic meetings are "...also held whenever the interest of Moslem nations warrants it to consider issues of vital concern to the Moslem and to coordinate the policy of the organisation accordingly" (Article IV)? It is therefore basically religious and discriminatory. Nigeria as a secular state cannot be party to such discriminatory policies.
- (v) That by virtue of Article IV future Nigerian Heads of State and Ministers for External Affairs can only be Moslems if we main-

tain our membership of the OIC, thereby mortgaging our future and subjugating the teeming Christian masses perpetually?

- (vi) That Article VII (I) states that “All expenses on the administration and activities of the secretariat shall be borne by member states according to their national incomes”?
- (vii) That activities of the OIC through its Islamic solidarity funds include helping in establishing Islamic Universities as has been done in Niger, Uganda and Malaysia, building of mosques, organising seminars on various aspects of Islam giving support to publications of Islam both in Moslem and other countries?
- (viii) That the above, i.e. (vii), implies that Nigeria’s resources belonging to all and sundry will be used to propagate the course of Islam?
- (ix) That the decision to join the OIC was not done by the AFRC or the Executive Council, but possibly by a faceless Moslem mafia?
- (x) [Here outdated census statistics are presented, the projected status in 1986 being Christians 51% and Muslims 45% of the population.]
- (xi) That a conference of World Islamic Organisation took place in Mecca in 1974, and that the following measures were outlined to be pursued vigorously as the operation-win-world-for-Islam?
 - (a) Moslem Organisations should set up centres to resist Christian Missionary activities.
 - (b) Islamic Radio and Television stations should be established.
 - (c) All Christian activities no matter the secular expression should be stopped.
 - (d) Christian Hospitals, orphanages, schools and Universities should be taken over.

- (e) Moslem organisations should set up intelligence centres about Christian activities.
- (f) All Christian literature should be banned in Moslem countries.
- (xii) That the above measures, that is (xi) are being systematically carried out in Nigeria to the letter, using the vehicle of Government machinery in most instances viz.
 - (a) In some states, deletion of the names given to Christian schools by their previous founders and sometimes the substitution of Muslim names for Christian names.
 - (b) Taking over of Christian schools and hospitals.
 - (c) Arabic inscriptions and emblems on Nigeria's currency notes and some items of the Nigerian Armed Forces.
 - (d) Refusal to grant Certificate of Occupancy for church buildings in some parts of the northern states.
 - (e) Unprovoked attacks launched by Moslems against Christian groups with burning and destruction of churches in the North.
 - (f) Large sums of Arab money unlawfully entered into this country to propagate Islam and to make Moslem proselytes.
 - (g) Setting up Islamic Affairs Department in the Office of the President during the Shagari regime.
 - (h) In almost all regimes, Moslem ministers have always been put in positions that are crucial to economic distribution of the country, while the Christian ones are put only where brainwork is needed.
 - (i) Relegation or retirement of Christians in places of authority in the public service during Shagari and Buhari regimes with the substitution or supersession by lesser experienced and lesser qualified. Muslims even in economically vital areas of the administrations.

- (j) Various edicts in States banning public preaching and the registration of churches and organisations.
- (k) Importation of very large quantities of the Koran into the country and the contrasting difficulty in importing the Bible and Christian religious materials by Christians.
- (l) Substitution in some hotels of the Koran for Bibles in each of the rooms.
- (m) The plan for the introduction of Sharia legal system in the southern states of Nigeria.
- (n) Appointment of the Grand Khadi (a custodian of Islamic Law) for Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory belonging to all and sundry and not Moslems only.
- (o) Grand Khadis, Khadis and Alkhalis who are custodians of Islamic law are given the status of government representatives and officials and maintained at government expense while there are no ecclesiastical courts for Christians.
- (p) Training of Moslem revolutionaries in Libya and other Arab countries either directly or indirectly as University & College students.
- (q) Granting of tacit ambassadorial status to the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (P.L.O.) while such legitimate right to Israel has been unjustifiably denied.
- (r) THE SMUGGLING OF NIGERIA INTO THE OIC THROUGH A RELIGIOUS PALACE COUP D'ETAT? The Christians shall be undaunted in the defence of their legitimate rights as citizens of their beloved country. No decrees or intimidations from government and/or Moslems shall deter us until Nigeria withdraws from the OIC. After all the blood of the matter, "JESUS, STILL LEAD ON TILL OUR REST BE WON."

▲ APPENDIX 7A

LETTER FROM CAN, GONGOLA STATE BRANCH
TO MILITARY GOVERNOR OF GONGOLA STATE,
ISA MOHAMMED¹²

18 October, 1988

The Military Governor Sir:

Construction of Mosque at Government House

We had hoped to have had an opportunity to welcome you to the state. But all our effort failed as we were told that you are too busy until after you have taken the rounds. Then came the Trade Fair. Despite the fact that we have not been able to pay a courtesy call on you to welcome you, we are constrained to write to you on certain developments in the state which we feel are of unpleasant taste.

Military Governor Sir, shortly after you arrived in the state you ordered the Secretary to the Government to write to the Christian Corpers Fellowship to erase a writing they have on their privately owned bus—“Gongola For Jesus.” The bus does not belong to the Government. They use it to propagate their religion. Your letter was copied to the President of Christian Association of Nigeria, Gongola State Branch.

When the President of the Christian Association of Nigeria received the letter he was puzzled. The bus has been there since 1983. Governors have come and gone; no attention was paid to the writing. Why was the Governor interested in what people write on their bus immediately at his arrival? The Governor did not even take into account that there were predecessors before him. Why has the writing on the bus become a priority for the Governor? A writing that existed since 1983?

While we were still puzzled, unable to make head and tail of the issue, there was another development. The Governor ordered the construction of a mosque at Government House. The message

then became clear. The order to erase the writing on the private bus and copied to the President of Christian Association of Nigeria was to give Christians a signal that your Government is out to attack Christianity and to promote Islam. We know that in this country there are religious fanatics and extremists, but we have not known any Government in this country that ever assumed that posture. The impression you...created is saddening.

We do not believe a government should claim a Government House, which is meant for all, for a particular religion. Any Government that will convert a Government House to a seat of worship of a particular religion is certainly following the path of religious fanaticism and extremism. Why should a government of all people put on the gown of a particular religion?

We want to remind the Governor that we have had four Muslim Governors in Gongola: Jega (twice), Mamoud, Barde and Bamanga, and three Christian Governors: Juta, Madaki and Jang and none have displayed religious fanaticism and extremism.

We strongly object to the building of a mosque or church in the Government House especially when the rumour is that it is going to cost N340,000.00k. We hope it is untrue.

Thus we are praying the Governor to "Cancel the contract given to Alhaji Suleiman Lawan P.O. Box 7 Mubi." Government House is not for a particular religion.

We want peace and tranquility in Gongola. A religious controversy will not auger well for this country, how much more for Gongola. Why should a Government promote a religious domination?

We want also to state clearly that erasing of a writing on a *Private Bus* and building a mosque at the Government House is *not* the priority of Gongola. The Government is the Government of the citizens of Gongola, by the citizens of Gongola and for the citizens of Gongola. The Governor was not sent to Gongola to reform religion or to inflame religious passion. We want equal treatment of religion because we are a secular state, no religion has advantage

over another. If the priority of your Government is to promote religion, then promote all religions.

We therefore urge the Governor to emulate his predecessors and keep off religious issues and foster unity among the people of Gongola. We need unity and not religious strife.

We therefore pray that you will continue and even improve on what your predecessors have done – promote unity, peace *and* religious harmony.

It is the issue that is creating headache at the Constituent Assembly. One therefore wonders if the whole aim is to create Gongola into an Islamic state.

Certainly to build a Christian Church at Government House is to convert the Government into a theocratic government, and thus a theocratic state.

We hope the Governor will turn his attention to weightier issues than concern himself with erasing a writing on a *Private Bus*, a very, very trivial and frivolous issue, and the building of a mosque at Government House. Honestly it is ironical that it is somebody with a name “Isa Mohammed” that will bring religious confusion. We are sick and tired of Government treating Islam as the religion of Government and treating Christianity as an alien religion to be wiped out.

Thank you.

Signed by Wilson Sabiya (Rev), President
and Kenneth Eze (Rev), Secretary.

▲ APPENDIX 7B

TO MILITARY GOVERNOR OF GONGOLA STATE,
ISA MOHAMMED¹³

February 9, 1989

Building a Church at Government House

Sometime last year (1988) we wrote to you against building a mosque at Government House, Yola.

However, we have discovered that the mosque is complete at the cost of N75,080.60. We have hoped that, since building of worship places is the priority of your government, you would have by now started building a church at the Government House.

Since there is nothing forthcoming, we of the CAN, Gongola State Branch, demand as of right [now] an equitable amount of money for us to undertake the building of the church ourselves. The equitable amount is N165,173.10. We demand this as per our...Constitution....

The data from school enrolments and taxpayers and other reliable data show that Christians in Gongola State constitute 72% of the population. Hence the demand for the money above as the equitable share...for building a church at Government House.

It is highly unfortunate that we see your Government is deliberately out to promote Islam and to disparage Christianity. This is evident from your orders:

1. To erase a Christian slogan on a privately-owned bus. That was a message and signal that Christians have no right to display their religion.
2. The building of a mosque at government house, thus declaring Islam the religion of the state-controlling Government House.
3. The donation of N45,000 to an Islamiya Primary School is meant clearly to spite Christians.

4. The sponsored write-ups in the *NN* against CAN and ex-Governor David Jang.
5. The now perfected plan to build a mosque in each of the Local Government Secretariats. That at Mubi has reached the roofing stage.
6. The silence of the Government in the face of a diabolical accusation of Government and CAN; of “the outrageous and unbelievable collaboration between government and CAN to kill and maim Muslims at Tingno and Waduku.”

The silence of your Government on this tells a lot about your view of your mission here. The only irony is that the Cabinet that collaborated with CAN, except the Governor, is still there. Your silence on the accusation is a tacit acceptance on your part that the Government under Governor Jang collaborated with CAN to kill and maim Muslims of Tingno and Waduku. Since the Government tacitly accepts the accusation, we have no alternative but to take an appropriate action to clear the name of CAN. CAN has never produced nor will ever produce a *maitatsine*. Violence has no place in Christianity.

Signed by Wilson Sabiya (Rev), President
and Kenneth Eze (Rev), Secretary.

▲ APPENDIX 8

APPEAL TO COLONEL NWSU

*Joseph Obemeata*¹⁴

The Education Committee of the Christian Association of Nigeria Youth Wing, Oyo State Branch, has sent an appeal to the Oyo State Military Administrator, Colonel Ike Nwosu. If Muslim officials who would seem to have constituted themselves into a formidable ring around the Oyo State Military Administrator have not suppressed the letter, it should have been received by now by the Oyo State Military Administrator. It can only be hoped that the Oyo State Military Administrator, Col. Ike Nwosu, would take the appeal of Oyo State Christian youths seriously. It is in the interest of peace and stability that no unjust and unfair action is taken against some government officials merely because some Muslim leaders demand it on religious grounds.

Christian youths sent a letter of appeal to the Oyo State Military Administrator because of the demand by some Muslim leaders in Oyo State that the Oyo State Government should re-deploy or remove the Director-General of the Oyo State Teaching Service Commission (TESCOM) and one other Director-General against whom a petition has been written by some Muslims. The two Directors-General have been vaguely accused of being Christians who are sympathetic to the cause of Christianity.

It should be recalled that during a transfer exercise recently, TESCOM transferred two teachers from St. Patrick's Grammar School, Ibadan. One of the teachers who is a Muslim and had been in St. Patrick's Grammar school, Ibadan, for over thirteen years, petitioned that his transfer was punitive. He had had frequent troubles in the school and had been accused of inefficiency and of undertaking divination in the school during school hours for clients from outside the school.

The teacher mobilised influential Muslims inside and outside Oyo State Government to fight his cause. According to investigations, those who intervened on behalf of the teacher were informed that a Director General who is a Muslim had requested TESCOM to transfer a female teacher of Islamic Religious Studies who had problems in her schools to St. Patrick's Grammar School, Ibadan, which is near her home.

TESCOM obliged and the Director of Personnel who is a Muslim moved the teacher to St. Patrick's Grammar School, Ibadan. Since the school did not need two teachers of Islamic Religious Studies, the Islamic Religious Knowledge teacher who was in the school had to be moved to a school where there was vacancy. It is significant to note that all those who effected the transfer of the teacher in question are Muslims. Reports indicated that those who intervened agreed that the transfer was routine and not punitive.

Even if it were true that the two Directors-General favoured Christianity and that the teacher in question had been deliberately transferred from a Christian school where he had been a source of frequent trouble, Muslim leaders have no moral justification to complain.

At the national level, Muslims in positions of authority are known to use the facilities and resources of government to promote the cause of Islam. The officials who asked TESCOM to rescind its transfer order used their official positions to fight the cause of Islam. Only recently, a top official of the Oyo State Ministry of Education who is a Muslim, directed the principal of a Christian school to ensure that a particular Muslim was elected into the school's PTA executive committee and that he should be put in charge of the finances of the PTA of the school.

If the two Directors-General who are being opposed by some Muslim leaders are to be redeployed or removed, then, in the interest of justice and fair play, all the Oyo State officials who have used

their official positions to promote the cause of Islam should similarly be redeployed or removed.

The impression has been created that some teachers had been planted in St. Patrick's Grammar School, Ibadan, to cause trouble in the school. Those who put them there do not want them to be moved from the school even when they have been in the school for too long and are not doing their work well.

If the Oyo State Military Administrator removes or redeployes the two Directors-General, the already deplorably low level of discipline among teachers will decline much further. Teachers, especially those of them who are Muslims, will no longer have respect for the authority of TESCOM when they realise that they can always attribute any measure by TESCOM to "religious intolerance."

It will be worse still when they realise that they can always mobilise their religious leaders to pressurize government to take action against certain officials. Furthermore, principals who are not Muslims will no longer be able to control those of their teachers who are Muslims. Whatever they do will be attributed to religion.

Col. Nwosu should realise that he would [do] an irreparable damage to the Oyo State school system if the Director-General of TESCOM, Mrs. J. Olatunji, is redeployed at this time. She has been long in education in Oyo State and she understands the Oyo State school system more than any one else that the Military Administrator may have in mind for the post.

Mrs. Olatunji has been impartial in handling the affairs of schools and teachers. Christians have had cause to accuse her of favouring Muslims, but they did not demand that she should be redeployed or removed. That some Muslim leaders are up in arms against her is clear evidence of her impartiality.

Even though some Christians may hold the view that Mrs. Olatunji has sympathy for Islam because she is married to a Muslim, she is more refined, more tactful and fairer than anyone else that could be brought to take her place. She is the only one who, for

now, can sustain orderliness in the Oyo State school system.

If anyone else is put in charge of TESCOM at this time, there will be a disruption of the school system of Oyo State. Col. Ike Nwosu should know that because of the rare qualities of Mrs. Olatunji, the members of the Nigeria Union of Teachers in Oyo State refer to her as a mother even when they disagree with her.

Furthermore, the Oyo State Military Administrator should realise that if he takes any action against the two Directors-General that some Muslim leaders have complained about, he would be confirming the widely held view that he has been dancing to the tune of some Muslim leaders who, conscious of their real or imaginary influence over the Oyo State Military Administrator, have become unduly pompous and their demands have increased in quantity and intensity.

▲ APPENDIX 9

A RELEASE FROM THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

*Ahmadu Bello University*¹⁵**1. Preamble**

In view of the gravity of the events which took place in and around Zaria on the 10th and 11th of March, 1987, involving the burning of virtually all the churches in the Zaria area, and in view of the fact that the public is not being given a correct picture of these events, we, the Christian Community at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, wish to place on record this brief account of what happened as well as what we feel about it. A more comprehensive report will be released at a later date.

2. Origin of the Crisis

The events which finally culminated in the burning down of the Christian chapels at the College of Advanced Studies, Zaria, and those on the Kongo and Samaru campuses of the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, as well as virtually all the other churches in Shika, Samaru, Wusasa Tudun-Wada and Sabon-Gari, Zaria, actually have their origins in concerted attacks, over the last few months, on the fundamental basis of the Christian faith by Muslims both within and without the university campus.

Among such attacks were written and widely-publicised documents which stated that:

- i. "Jesus is not the Son of God"
- ii. "The Holy Bible is not the Word of God."

These were later followed up by the widespread distribution of videotapes by Ahmed Deedat of Durban, South Africa, which dwell on the above themes. These videotapes were widely publicised at the last Kaduna International Trade Fair and have been

broadcast repeatedly on Nigerian Television Authority, Sokoto and Kano. When these psychological and spiritual attacks by the Muslims on the Christians failed to provoke any counter-attack from the Christians, the next step taken by the Muslims was to resort to physical attacks on Christians and Christian churches.

3. Immediately Preceding Events

- i.) The university community had information as early as 6:00 P.M. on 10th March that Muslims were planning to burn the Chapel at 5:00 A.M. on Wednesday, 11th March 1987. Additional reports were received that there were also plans to burn down other churches in Zaria.
- ii.) The president of the Fellowship of Christian Students (FCS) briefed the security office on the main campus on the situation about 9:00 P.M. on 10th March 1987.
- iii.) On receiving these reports, Christian students gathered in the Chapel to pray all night (Tuesday 10th to Wednesday 11th March).
- iv.) Immediate moves were made on the part of Christian leaders to convene an emergency meeting of the Religious Affairs Committee of the university with a view to working out ways of stopping the Muslims from carrying out their plans which they feared would jeopardise peace and orderliness of both the university campus and the entire nation.
- v.) These moves were not received with the urgency and sense of concern they deserved on the part of the Muslim members of the committee. While the Christians were pressing for an immediate meeting aimed at a peaceful dismantling of the state of alarm, the Muslim members would prefer to meet at 8:00 A.M., after the Chapel and churches would have been burnt.

- vi.) The Christian leaders were rather taken back to note that even though Muslim leaders had prior information on these plans, they had made no effort to convene a meeting of the Religious Affairs Committee of which they are the Muslim representatives, or at least inform their Christian counterparts. This becomes more disturbing when one calls to mind that the rationale for setting up the committee was to prevent religious disorder on the campuses.
- vii.) News also reached the Christian leaders late on Tuesday night that the Christian chapels at the College of Advanced Studies Kongo, Advanced Teachers College and Women Teachers College campuses had been burnt down and Christians seriously injured.
- viii.) About 2:00 A.M. the Christian leaders persuaded their students to leave the Chapel building and premises so as to avert any confrontation and possible loss of lives, in the event of the Muslims arriving to burn the Chapel as they had planned. Even though greatly upset and in a state of anger which could have evoked retaliation when pushed to the wall, as in this case, these Christian students exercised Christian civility and left the Chapel.
- ix.) When at 6:30 A.M. over two hundred (200) Muslims armed with swords, clubs and other instruments of arson arrived at the Chapel to carry out their plans, the Christian leaders promptly went to the Vice-Chancellor's house to request... [that he] take immediate steps to contain the situation. The Vice-Chancellor said that he was aware that the Chapel was being burnt by the Muslims, but appeared either unable or unwilling to effect any action that would contain the situation.

4. Steps Taken by the Christian Community

4.1 Before the Burning of the Churches

After getting wind of the plan by the Muslims against the Christian community on the evening of Tuesday, 10th of March, 1987, the Christian community met in their various churches to:

- i.) Pray for the peace of Nigeria
- ii.) [Illegible]
- iii.) Pray for the peace of Kaduna State, Zaria, and the campuses of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
- iv.) Appeal to fellow Christians not to take the law into their own hands because JESUS CHRIST preaches peace, love, and compassion to both Christians and non-Christians.
- v.) Urge members to stay away from places of worship if these places were eventually attacked.

4.2. After the Burning of the Churches.

When the churches were finally being burnt down by the Muslims, the Christian community:

- i.) Attempted to evacuate pastors and chaplains of the churches and chapels together with their families to safety but discovered that some of them had already been physically attacked and seriously injured while their houses had been burnt with all their personal belongings.
- ii.) While the burning of churches by the Muslims was going on the Christian community leaders made many desperate attempts to get the Divisional Police Office in Samaru and in Sabon-Gari, Zaria, to take appropriate measures to arrest the situation. However, the church leaders were told by the

- police officers on duty that they had no order from above to intervene.
- iii.) The leaders of the Christian community appealed to their members to keep calm and not to retaliate but to show the love of JESUS CHRIST towards the Muslims.
 - iv.) At about 1:00 P.M. the Christian community on the Samaru campus sent a delegation to the Vice-Chancellor to request for security coverage.
 - v.) When, after a period of about four hours, there were no signs of either police or soldiers on campus, the community went en masse peacefully to the Vice-Chancellor's lodge. The Vice-Chancellor gave assurances that the Military Governor of Kaduna State had visited the campus and had promised to send police and military patrols.
 - vi.) On Thursday, the 12th of March, 1987, the entire Christian community on campus met to appraise the security situation on campus. The gathering was informed that only nine (9) policemen, some of whom were unarmed, had been sent to patrol the far-flung campuses of the university located at Shika, Samaru, Kongo, Gyellesu and the Teaching Hospital.
 - vii.) The final step taken by the Christian community was to meet on Thursday 12th March, 1987, to issue a release on the religious crisis on campus.

5. Extent of Physical Damage

[The first line is illegible.]... a number of fellowship centres, a Christian Children's Centre and Christian Nursery Schools. In addition, private houses and personal belongings of some Christian members of the community were burnt down. So also were restaurants, poultry houses, automobile workshops, boutiques, vehicles

and commercial houses known to belong to Christians. Along with these, there was massive destruction of hotels and cinema houses. To cap it all, many Christians were accosted and physically attacked for refusing to denounce their faith. One of the worst cases of this brutality was meted out on the Reverend Dr. Benjamin Orumah, the Chaplain of the Chapel of Salvation, Kongo Campus. He received several bodily wounds, his head was broken and he was left for dead. In all these, the Christians remained calm.

6. The Role of the Authorities

6.1 The University Administration

Despite the fact that the university authorities knew well ahead of time of the plans by the Muslims to burn down the Chapel and other places of worship in Zaria, they took no effective precautionary measures. Further, when it was known that the actual destruction had commenced in the College of Advanced Studies (CAS), the Kongo Campus, the Advanced Teachers College (ATC) and the Women's Teachers College (WTC), no serious attempts were made to limit the damage and prevent its spread to other campuses of the university. In addition, at no time was the Fire Brigade called in. When the arson finally started on the main campus in Samaru, the university authorities made no effort to control it.

6.2 The Religious Affairs Committee

It is pertinent to note that although there is a Religious Affairs Committee in the university, properly constituted by the university authorities, all efforts by the Christian members of that committee to convene a meeting before the crisis began failed. The major factor responsible for this failure was the lukewarm attitude of the two Muslim members of the committee.

6.3 The Law Enforcement Agents

Intelligence reports of the impending crisis were relayed to the police authorities by several members of the Christian community well before the crisis started but they did nothing. Even after the crisis had blown open and the law enforcement agents were informed by individuals and the university authorities, the police and all the other security agents made no move to stop the arson.

6.4 The Emir of Zaria

From the information available to us, supported by the Vice-Chancellor's [the line is illegible] impending crisis and was being briefed of developments as they occurred. The impression was that the Emir was in control and yet the arson was not contained until it engulfed the entire town and its environs.

7. Official Statements

7.1 The Vice-Chancellor

The first official release by the Vice-Chancellor was signed at 12:50 P.M. on 11th March, 1987, more than eighteen (18) hours after the Chapel of Salvation was burnt at the Kongo Campus. In the said release a deliberate attempt was made to exonerate the Muslim community on the campus and lay the blame on "an influx of intruders from the Samaru village" and a nebulous group of "people" who, for no reason whatsoever, just "went and set the Chapel ablaze."

7.2 The Government

Even though the broadcast of the Governor of Kaduna State in the afternoon and evening of the 11th of March was apparently well directed, it came too late to be effective and therefore gave the impression that it was intended mainly to prevent reprisals, especially as the security promised the Christians did not materialise.

The statement of the Chief of General Staff as relayed by the FRCN Network News at 5:00 P.M. on the 11th of March seemed overly concerned with preventing the Press from carrying out its bounden duty of reporting the truth. The statement also deliberately played down the widespread nature of the crisis and the extent of the damage incurred. These observations are most disconcerting.

8. The Media

8.1 Newspapers

The reports ensuing immediately after the crisis made no mention of churches, and the number of affected buildings was grossly understated: a clear attempt to downplay the scope and conceal the religious nature of the crisis.

8.2 Radio

Despite the massive loss of property involved in the actions, the radio carried no reports of the incidences until the official broadcast of the Governor at 3:00 P.M. on the 11th of March.

8.3 N.T.A.

The television reports in the evening of the 11th were a deliberate attempt to suppress information about the crisis while the news report of the 12th March was a gross misrepresentation of the facts. The filming was directed away from the scenes of the damage and focussed most unprofessionally on the Governor and his entourage, suggesting that the spectators were the actual news items. [another illegible line]

**In view of the foregoing, the Christian community
at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and environs
hereby resolve that:**

1. In order to guarantee the continued existence of Nigeria as a united nation, every citizen of the country must be guaranteed freedom of religion and religious expression.
2. Since the Christians have never been known to start any religious riots, the Government should check the excesses of the Muslim rioters.
3. If the University authorities and the state and federal governments are serious about protecting the lives and property of the individual citizens of this country, they must immediately provide effective security measures on the A.B.U. campuses and in their environs.
4. The Probe Panel set up to investigate the crisis is not adequate and, therefore, a Judicial Commission of Inquiry should be set up immediately to identify the culprits and bring them promptly to book.
5. The federal government, if it is serious about getting to the roots of the religious disturbances in the country, should publish immediately the reports of all the Commissions of Inquiry on previous religious crises and the views of Government thereon.
6. The News Media have not been allowed to adequately report the events. Therefore, the Government should allow the press to carry out responsible and accurate reporting of the crisis.
7. The Government should make deliberate efforts to restore the confidence of the Christians of Nigeria, especially those in the northern states, on its ability and willingness to pro-

tect, in accordance with its constitutional duties, all citizens of this country.

8. For the continued existence of the peoples of this country as a united nation, the federal government must hold the Muslim community of Nigeria, whose members carefully planned and executed this beastly act, wholly responsible for the disaster, and must compel them to pay whatever it costs to adequately compensate individuals and institutions for all the losses sustained.
9. Since it is apparent that Christian staff and students are no longer wanted at the campuses of the Ahmadu Bello University, the Government should provide a guarded return of the Christians to their states of origin.
10. Christians everywhere should continue to live according to the tenets of their faith by **LOVING THEIR GOD AND LOVING THEIR NEIGHBOURS** including the Muslims.

▲ APPENDIX 10

MY PERSONAL RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE TRIBUNAL:
SUBMISSION TO THE KADUNA STATE TRIBUNAL
ON RELIGIOUS AND COMMUNAL RIOTS, 1992.
11 AUGUST 1992.¹⁶

Reverend Dr. Yusufu Turaki

A. On Religion

1. Where someone's religion is known not to be respected or is looked down upon, and is also not accorded any important social status by a substantial number of another religious or ethnic groups;
2. Where a particular religion is usually being used in a derogatory sense, profanation of its sacred places and religious rites by a substantial number of another religious or ethnic group;
3. Where someone's religion is seen as a minority religion by a dominant group and in consequence, discrimination and denial of religious rights and freedom are practised against such;
4. Where a state machinery uses its own political power to ensure the dominance of one religion over against another or where a powerful and dominant group captures or uses the state machinery to advance the cause of its religion at the expense of others;
5. Where religions and religious personalities are attacked or abused publicly by one religious group, the followers are usually aroused in their religious sentiments and can be potentially explosive and violent;
6. Where religious groups use crude and anti-social methods of propagation that are provocative and confrontational.

B. On Ethnicity

1. Where an ethnic group is ascribed an inferior status and socio-political role as a second class citizen;
2. Where the culture and tradition of one ethnic group are looked down upon, demeaned and held in contempt by others;
3. Where an ethnic group is discriminated against by virtue of its religion, culture, background or section in society;
4. Where there is uneven social, political and economic development of ethnic groups and areas of the same geographical entity;
5. Where there is a dominant-subordination relationship between ethnic groups which leads to social deprivation.

C. On Political Arrangements

How was the colonial social order established in northern Nigeria? The colonial order was characterised by the following which also have long-term consequences in post-colonial Nigeria.

1. The Colonial Administration of northern Nigeria practised internal colonialism by placing some ethnic groups under the rule of others. This fact had created an historical deep-seated hatred and feelings between ethnic groups.
2. In some areas and in some cases, despite the fact that Great Britain granted political independence to those she conquered and ruled since 1900 to 1960, there are still many ethnic groups and tribal groupings that are yet to be politically and culturally independent... today. They are still subject to some Emirs and do not have their own chiefs or chiefdoms. This fact can generate deep-seated resentments and hatred between ethnic groups.

3. The continued imposition of some Emirs or Chiefs upon some ethnic groups in the northern states and especially in Kaduna State without regard to their culture, religion, tradition and political wish is a serious matter of social justice in a modern democracy. These ethnic groups have been pleading over the decades to political powers that be to have their own Chiefs and Chiefdoms just as other tribes have, but have been denied their cultural and political rights. The perpetuation of this internal colonialism in modern Nigeria is one of the fundamental sources of religious and communal conflict, violence and injustice against the disadvantaged peoples.
4. Unless some ethnic groups in Kaduna State, such as: the Bajju, Kataf, Kagoma, Nimzam, Ikulu, Chaikwai, Kurama, etc., have their own chiefs and chiefdoms as it is by the same rights with which other tribes and ethnic groups were given, there cannot be social justice as their cultural, political and religious rights have been deliberately and consistently denied them.
5. I have also observed with great dismay the preponderance of cultural, religious and political discrimination in some parts of the northern states, and especially in Kaduna State. This can be observed in the analysis of the pattern of political appointments, the religious and cultural domination of the State's media houses as is reflected by the views and opinions of the dominant ethnic and religious group.

▲ APPENDIX 11

RESOLVING THE RELIGIOUS TENSION:
NO SHORT CUTS¹⁷*Anonymous*

Official explanations and responses to recent protests by the Christian Community suggest that the government thinks Christian leaders are either unrepentant trouble-makers or political quacks who are ignorant of the simple rudiments of national governance. President Ibrahim Babangida seemed to say as much when he queried the rationale behind the spontaneous uproar that greeted his lopsided cabinet reshuffle in which he single-handedly removed Christians and replaced them with Muslims. Merit, he claimed, informed his actions in the current arrangement whereby all the Service Chiefs, the Inspector General of Police, the Chairman Joint Chief of Staff, Defence Minister, Secretary to the federal government and other key ministers are all Muslims.

Government apologists have also been trying to narrow down the protests to personalities, alleging that it was purely on account of Generals Domkat Bali and Joshua Dogonyaro who were removed from strategic positions.

In all, both the President and his vocal clique of professional advocates have been saying that those raising dust and asking questions are a group of contemporary misfits who cannot move with the changing times in view of their religious bigotry.

Several issues, however, immediately come to mind.

First and foremost, critical minds are asking whether the President's cabinet shuffle could have been the other way round. That is, in spite of his claims to religious neutrality, is it conceivable that Babangida could have appointed an all-Christian Service Chiefs in the year 1989? The answer is in the winds.

The President's men look back into recent history and bring up blind statistics, viz, that all the service chiefs were Christians during Yakubu Gowon's reign (1966–75) and that Muslims did not complain then. What they also do not point out, however, is the fact that that arrangement was more a product of historical coincidence than the political manoeuvrings of an individual: most of the senior military officers then were Christians. In any case, was there this serious atmosphere of sectarian suspicion and unease as it is today? Has any Christian head of state in this country ever given room for suspicions as this administration had done? Did Gowon steal Nigeria into the World Council of Churches as Babangida smuggled her into OIC? Wasn't it a Christian head of state that broke Nigeria's diplomatic relations with Israel, even though a large section of Christians did not and do not approve of it?

Again critics point out that the concerted efforts to reduce the matter to personality issues between Bali and Babangida is a deliberate attempt to whitewash cracked walls. For it is hard to believe that millions of Christians, usually peaceful, even complacent, could be tricked into street protests on account of an individual who though a noble and notable soldier, was not really publicly known to have pursued Christian political interests. Thus Bali's case is relevant only because it tends to validate suspicions that Babangida's so-called yardstick of merit actually means religious chauvinism.

Keen watchers believe that what Babangida has done is to bluff the Christian constituency in his power schemings. He certainly thinks that in the balance of political power, Christians can be spited without any serious consequences.

Painful as this might sound, such a disposition does not really come as a surprise to people who have been following the trend of affairs in Nigeria. It is evident that hitherto Muslims have held the balance of violence. All the Maitatsine bloodbaths, the incessant pockets of street violence, open air provocative utterances and the massive burning and desecration of Christian worship places were

all associated with Muslims. Furthermore, open and concealed persecution in form of denial of Certificate of Occupancy to build churches, refusal of some state governments to grant Christians permission to operate voluntary agency schools whilst at the same time funding Islamic educational institutions with government money, open manipulation of facts and situations by authorities in favour of Muslims (e.g. ABU Students Elections of 1988) and bastardising of public institutions to serve narrow religious interests (e.g. *New Nigerian, Triumph*) were all associated with Islam. Up till today Kano Radio and TV and the federal government-owned NTA Kano do not air even one second of Christian programmes. The Christian community in Bayero University cannot put up a chapel.

The catalogue of violent deeds and misdeeds by Muslim fanatics in and outside of government is endless. Having acquired a reputation for violence therefore, government has been deferring to the Muslim populace and doing all it can to pamper, please, pacify, placate, assuage or appease them.

On the other hand, Christians who have always held the balance of peace have perhaps been adjudged incapable of any coherent political action that could seriously threaten the stability of any government. This explains the series of actions and inactions by various governments across the country that cut at the heart of Christian interests. The January street protests by Christians therefore is a culmination of a century of wrongs.

From this perspective, many people even argue that the religious problem principally is not a problem between Christians and Muslims. Rather, it is a problem with government and government officials who are abusing their offices to deal out religious favours or trying to build political constituencies using religion as a bedrock.

With specific reference to this administration, some people even contend that the religious tension is being fuelled deliberately. Such people claim that the President is using religion consciously to create instability in order to perpetuate himself in power. How else,

they say, can you interpret a situation in which a particular government consistently engages in actions that create distrust and discord among its citizens? Such views contend that even secondary school kids would have anticipated that the recent administrative changes would leave room for wide suspicions. That the President went ahead with them shows that he is trying to play Christians against Muslims in order to cling to power in the divide and rule tactic.

Even more ominous is the suggestion that Babangida's manoeuvrings might have for him personal imports beyond 1992. Some people claim that the President is using the Islamic constituency, which he feels for now is the strongest and safest, not only to survive through the transitional period, but also as a springboard towards political ambitions beyond 1992. Such theory states that the Muslims are a willing ally for now, because he seems to be dancing along their own paths of ultimate Islamisation of Nigeria.

Although this view might sound far-fetched, some people insist on it especially because Babangida is amassing more power to himself as the transitional period glides to an end instead of gradually disengaging from power himself. Whatever the case, many Christians insist that it amounts to political hypocrisy for Babangida to have expressed surprise that people still talk in terms of religion in this age. "What administration has done the most in terms of igniting the religious flame?" people ask. "Is it not this government?"

Although the religious problem has been a long-standing issue especially in the northern parts, it became a national problem only with the immoral stealing of Nigeria into the OIC in 1986. In this respect, Babangida must be held directly accountable for the mounting tension since then. Now instead of taking practical steps to redress the situation, the government seems to be degenerating from one foul action into another. For example, it is Babangida's government that amended, through the back door, the 1979 Constitution to give the Muslim Sharia law wider jurisdiction than desirable in a multi-religious society. This action contributed greatly

to the cantankerous Sharia debate at the Constituent Assembly that nearly set the nation ablaze. Only last year, Babangida's government also came out with a decree establishing a pilgrims commission to cater exclusively for Muslims. So now if government's actions are perceived through the religious lens, that is not without justifiable foundations. Babangida's government is squarely responsible for its own woes.

So what is the solution? "No short cuts," informed analysts maintain. Wishing away the problem, sermonising, enacting decrees, expressing good intentions in public, intimidating citizens and such other cosmetics won't help. The solution lies purely in government not only playing it fair in its actions and policies, but being seen to be so. As long as government is biased, as long as a few Islamic hawks pull the strings, as long as some sacred cows can do anything and get away with it, then it's a matter of time: the religion time bomb will one day explode—and all those nurturing it now will not escape the devastation. May God forbid.

▲ APPENDIX 12

CHRISTIAN RETALIATION INCREASING IN NIGERIA'S RELIGIOUS VIOLENCE¹⁸*Obed Minchakpu*

(*Compass*) Seventeen Christians from various denominations in Aba, a city in Nigeria's southern Abia State, were arrested in late January over reprisal attacks on Muslims. Sources said Christians were reacting to "incessant" attacks on Christians in northern Nigeria by Muslim extremists. Abia state police authorities reported that the central mosque and several Muslim businesses were damaged in the January 18–19 attacks.

20 Muslims Injured

One of the Muslim victims, Alhaji Idi Ningi, told *Compass* that 20 Muslims were injured and are currently receiving treatment in three hospitals in the city. "Hundreds of our people have escaped to the police barracks," Ningi said. "They are taking refuge at the central police station. Many of them are also women and children." However, the...police commissioner told *Compass* that he had visited the area and the situation was not very serious and has been brought under control.

Muslims and Christians Concerned

But both Muslims and Christians are concerned about the increasing religious violence taking place throughout Nigeria. Senator Adolphus Wabara...called on the Nigerian government to find a lasting solution to the religious conflicts in the country. Alhaji Tanko Bello, a Muslim community leader in Aba city, said they have never supported the attacks on Christians in northern Nigeria. He blamed his fellow Muslims there for creating the conflict.

Clashes on January 11 between Muslims and Christians in Central Nigeria's Plateau state left two Muslims and one Christian dead. Joel Nimfa, a Christian leader in the Kanam community, was killed in his farmhouse when Muslim bandits attacked the farm and other Christian settlements. According to a police report, two Muslim leaders were beheaded when they led a group of bandits to attack a Christian village.

Conflicts between Muslims and Christians flared up in Plateau state in September 2001, beginning in Jos, the state capital. The crisis escalated and continued throughout 2002. Both sides are showing an increasing frustration with the religious conflict.

Christians File Lawsuit against Government

Christian leaders in the northern state of Kaduna have filed a lawsuit against the Nigerian government, the Kaduna state government, and a Nigerian newspaper, *ThisDay*, over last November's religious riots.

The crisis was ignited by an article in *ThisDay* that led to the death of an estimated 1,000 people and the destruction of about 125 churches in the city of Kaduna.¹⁹

Dr. Joseph Bagobiri, Catholic Bishop of Kafanchan and Chairman of the Kaduna state chapter of CAN, announced the court action..., saying, "CAN has taken stock of all the churches and property of Christians destroyed during the riots with a view to demanding compensation from the government and *ThisDay*."

Demanding Compensation

He added, "While we pursue this case, we would leave the fate of the casualties to God, since vengeance is for Him. We are also aware that no amount of wealth can pay for a single human life, and that is why we are demanding compensation for destroyed churches and not for lives."

The Kaduna state governor called on the federal government to take measures to stem the rising wave of religious fundamentalism. “The nation is sitting on a religious time bomb that can explode any moment with devastating consequences,” said Governor Alhaji Ahmed Makarfi. “We go to the pulpits or the rostrum either in the churches or in the mosques, and in the name of our Creator make speeches, which can bring about violence in this country. We forget that we shall all give account to the almighty Allah for all our actions,” Makarfi said.

In northern Nigeria’s Adamawa state, a dispute between a Muslim cattle rancher and a Christian farmer led to the death of at least nine people. Muslim–Christian clashes allegedly broke out when a Muslim rancher allowed his cattle to destroy the crops of the Christian farmer. An unknown number of Christians gathered and retaliated. Local sources said there has long been hatred between the two religious communities.

▲ APPENDIX 13

FANATICS, BANDITS AND THE FAILURE OF THE STATE²⁰

Reverend Fr. George Ehusani

Secretary-General of the Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria

In the midst of widespread protestation from many level-headed Nigerians, and at the consternation of the international community, a fundamentalist ill-wind has continued to blow through the northern states of Nigeria like a devastating cyclone, consuming lives and property and aggravating the general state of distress in the land. The latest mayhem in November 2002 once again devastated Kaduna, and shockingly extended to Abuja, the nation's capital, which we thought was the last bastion of neutrality in matters of religion and ethnicity. Abuja, our symbol of unity, has lost its innocence. Abuja, the melting pot of Nigeria, has been violated by bandits and fanatics!

The perpetrators of this crime in Kaduna and Abuja last month claimed that they were venting their anger over the botched Miss World Competition in Nigeria, and the unholy comment of a journalist in *ThisDay* Newspaper against the person of the holy prophet Muhammed. And in spite of passionate pleas for forgiveness by the Newspaper management, the fanatics went to town to avenge the alleged offence on all non-Muslim Nigerians and their properties! It sounds incredible, but why else were Churches razed and Christians killed in Kaduna? Why else will cars and shops belonging to non-Muslims be destroyed in Abuja? Is it the Christian Association of Nigeria that sponsored the Miss World Competition? Or does *ThisDay* belong to the Catholic Archbishop of Kaduna?

Since February 2000, Sharia-related violent riots during which hundreds of lives are lost, and churches, shops, cars and houses belonging to Christians and southerners are burnt, have become a regular feature in Kaduna, Kano, Jos, Zaria and Bauchi, where a

large population of Christians live alongside Muslims. But what we have been witnessing in Nigeria in the last few years is actually the failure of state and the collapse of governance. There is nothing on the ground to demonstrate that ours is not a land run over by political bandits, ethnic warlords and religious fanatics. The average citizen now seems to have lost confidence in the capacity of those in power to protect lives and property.

Where one part of the country can decide to enforce criminal elements of the Islamic legal code that are clearly at variance with the nation's constitution, cutting off the limbs of petty offenders, condemning poor adulterers to death by stoning, and harassing those who do not share their faith every so often, the impression created is that no one is in charge of our affairs, and there is no law and order in place. With a selfless, visionary and prudent leadership, the thousands of deaths we have recorded, and the millions of Naira worth of property that have been destroyed in the last few years, could have been avoided.

I hold the current leadership of the Nigerian State responsible for the massive destruction of lives and property in Kaduna, Jos, Kano, Zaria, Bauchi and elsewhere, over the Sharia controversy, and at the hands of Islamic fundamentalists, because the president and his team have remained indolent and insensitive in the face of a very explosive situation. I hold President Obasanjo and his team accountable for the blood and tears in Kaduna and other parts of the North, where non-Muslims have lost their right to live in peace, for it is the primary duty of government to protect innocent and law abiding citizens from the nefarious activities of hooligans, bandits and fanatics. I hold those in power responsible for the pain and anguish that is the lot of the innocent citizens of northern Nigeria who for the umpteenth time have been rendered refugees in their own country, because I expect them to own up to their ineptitude and resign from their high office, if their being in office makes no difference for the internal security of the nation.

True, after three and a half years in government, the present crop of leaders have done little to improve the lot of Nigerians. The economy remains comatose in a country that is otherwise abundantly blessed by the creator. Unemployment, especially youth unemployment, has soared, as a result of which the mass of our young people are losing hope and losing patience. Our schools, hospitals, and other social infrastructure are in an embarrassing state of decay. The population itself is more divided today than it ever was, since the end of 1967–1970 civil war. And now religious violence has been added to our multiple woes. Yet in the midst of all these calamities, our leaders are carrying on business as usual.

Our public office holders are feeding fat on our scarce resources, selling the poor for a pair of sandals and playing games with the fate and fortune of our children. There are allegations and counter allegations of bribery, running into hundreds of millions of Naira, and involving high-ranking members of the legislature and the executive. Young Nigerians have become angry, restive and violence prone. They are capitalising on anything they can find to vent their anger. Yesterday it was ethnicity. Today it is religion. Tomorrow it may be political affiliation. And there are politicians who fan these flames of violence for their own selfish political advantage. But where does all this leave Nigeria?

In the midst of the madness of today, peace-seeking Nigerians and civil society groups must begin to take the elected representatives of the people to task with regard to their commitment or otherwise to creating the enabling environment for peace and social well-being. The saner elements in our society must begin to take the president, the governors, the local government chairmen and the lawmakers at all levels to task on their capacity or otherwise to formulate and defend such legal instruments and pursue such policies that will make for peace, security and prosperity.

It is not enough for us to desire peace for our land. We must be peacemakers as well. We must be committed to designing

strategies to forestall, manage and resolve conflict situations. We must work hard and make sacrifices towards the attainment of the peace of our dream. The men and women of goodwill in Nigeria must constantly be on the watch to ensure that in our evolving democracy, such agents of destabilisation as the gang of Islamic fanatics in the North and their collaborators elsewhere do not hijack our commonwealth for selfish political gains, and transform our land to a theatre of war, a war with no discernible reason and one without frontiers.

In the midst of the madness of today, those who still have their heads in place must reflect together and rise up in defence of the secular nature of our national constitution, or else Nigeria may soon become another Algeria. A stitch in time saves nine, they say. This latest event in the tragic drama of the Nigerian state is one more reason why it is necessary to hold a round table or a national conference to discuss the terms of our social contract as a nation.... We must salvage our country for once from the hands of bandits, hooligans and fanatics. The time to act is now!

▲ NOTES

¹I remind you of my earlier warning that English is not the first language for most of the authors of these documents. Nigerian English sometimes differs from that of the Queen, whether in vocabulary, spelling, style, punctuation or grammar. Whole paragraphs are sometimes marked with my unmerciful computer's green! Some of the most glaring differences have been adjusted.

² See Chapter 3.

³ See Chapter 4.

⁴ See Chapter 4. This appendix constitutes most of Chapter V in TEKAN's *Towards the Right Path for Nigeria*, pp. 56–64. It is out of print and not likely to be reprinted.

⁵ Then follows a list of 18 of the highest positions in the federal government all held by Muslims.

⁶ See Chapter 4. A press statement by some lecturers of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Friday, 13th March, 1987. This document was appended to the 1987 CAN News Release.

⁷ For information about this debate, see J. Boer, 1979, pp. 478ff and 1984, pp. 142ff.

⁸ This document is signed by twenty-two lecturers, both Christians and Muslims.

⁹ See Chapter 5.

¹⁰ See Chapter 5.

¹¹ See Chapter 5.

¹² See Chapter 5.

¹³ See Chapter 5.

¹⁴ See Chapter 5.

¹⁵ See Chapter 6. The release was originally published as an independent document, but it also constitutes "Appendix E" in the 1987 Release of CAN, Kaduna State branch, from where it is copied here.

¹⁶ See Chapter 6 in the section Zangon-Kataf.

¹⁷ See Chapters 4 and 6.

¹⁸ See Chapter 6.

¹⁹ J. Boer, 3 Mar/2003. Footnote is Boer's; it is not original.

²⁰ See Chapter 6.

