

INTRODUCTION

▲ PROGRESS SO FAR

The earlier three volumes in this series deal with a long line of religious riots that have disrupted Nigeria over the past few decades. I now move on from these riots and their explanations to a detailed analysis of the underlying issues.

However, the discussions in this and succeeding monographs do assume familiarity with those earlier volumes. Apart from the next paragraph that summarizes these three volumes, those materials will not be repeated, though there will be some overlap of issues. Some issues that were used to provide background information to the riots re-appear but now with a focus on secularism. So, some overlap; new focus.

Monograph One gives an introduction to this entire series along with an account of more than two decades of rioting—fifteen riots in all. Monograph Two presents the Muslim explanations for these riots, while Monograph Three gives the Christian equivalent. You may be surprised at how both accuse each other of dom-

ination and how both accuse Nigerian governments of partiality towards the other.

▲ MIRROR OF EMBARRASSMENT —————

When Nigerians see themselves in the mirror of these books, they will undoubtedly become ashamed of the floodgates of blood and destruction they have unleashed against each other. This is by no means the only study of the Nigerian situation, but I am not aware of another that goes into the gory details of the riots as I do. It is my prayer that the global airing of this exceedingly filthy laundry will serve as a catalyst for the country, Christians and Muslims alike, to urgently work towards a viable solution that will enable them to live together in peace and harmony. These are the seemingly elusive but expressed goals of both religions that *must* be realized for the sake of the people and of both religions if they are to survive in one nation.

▲ FOCUS ON SECULARISM —————

The focus of this book is on the Muslim view of secularism. Unless indicated otherwise, when Muslims or Islam are discussed here, it is the *Nigerian* versions that claim our attention. Monograph Five will present Christian views of secularism, namely, that of Nigerian Christians and a Kuyperian Neo-Calvinist version.¹ Monograph Six will treat the Muslim views on *sharia*, Muslim law, while Monograph Seven will treat the Christian perspective on that subject.

It will become abundantly clear that these two closely related issues, secularism and sharia, form the main battle front between the two religions in Nigeria.² It is here that they are currently diametrically and vehemently opposed to each other in Nigeria. It is at these fronts that problem and solution cross over, with the Muslim solu-

tion being the Christian problem and vice versa. While Muslims say “no” to secularism and “yes” to sharia, Nigerian Christians give an ambiguous “yes” to secularism and “no” to sharia. Throughout, I will use my Kuyperian vision to help correct and moderate in order to arrive at parameters for a solution that both can live with. But be prepared: No solution without some serious makeover for both.

▲ SECULARISM UNDER ATTACK

Western Christian and secular readers of these pages have been raised in an atmosphere where the doctrines of secularism have gradually evolved into the local orthodoxy, political correctness and “common sense.” If you are among them, you may well be shocked when you find out how casually your “common sense” is suddenly not only questioned but rejected outright as nonsense, oppressive and, yes, evil. All of a sudden your “common sense” is no longer common. It is equated with oppressive regimes like the former Soviet bloc, from which you used to take a holier-than-thou distance. Well, allow this to sink in and give it some serious thought. May it lead you to the realization that your secular “common sense” is recognized only regionally, not globally. Writes Adam Nicolson, “In the long historical perspective, of course, it is the radically secularized societies of the West that are the anomaly...”³ Awareness of this situation will help you prepare for the new multicultural atmosphere that is developing in which there is no generally accepted common sense—singular—, but only “common senses,” with each cultural or religious community having its own. The period of domination by secular “common sense” is drawing to a close in its own homeland—yours. You may as well brace yourself for the withdrawal symptoms. Reading this book could be your practice run. As the American Richard Neuhaus put it, “On a global scale, the dominant phenomenon of our time is not the growth of secularism, but its collapse.”⁴

▲ GLOBAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SUBJECT —————

This monograph deals with Nigerian Islam, not with African Islam in general and even less with the entire Muslim world. However, the issues it deals with go far beyond Nigeria or even the continent. When it comes to the “liberal secular agenda,” writes Lamin Sanneh, “Africa offers the promise, and attendant hazards, of formulating and resolving this most crucial of debates for religious modernization.”⁵ During 2003–2004, the Muslim head scarf was a focus for that struggle in various countries—in some Muslim countries, but also in France, Germany, Denmark and, to a lesser extent, Canada.⁶ The drive for Muslim education in the Netherlands is leading to a new appreciation abroad of the Dutch pluralistic system.⁷ Douglas Todd of the *Vancouver Sun* holds up that system as a possible alternative to the very raw, intolerant Canadian secular system that suppresses religious expression outside church and is now threatening even to enter the church. Todd describes the “battle between secularists and conservative religious people” in Canada as “most vociferous.”⁸ Nigerian Muslim Hassan Kontagora, politician and publisher of the Muslim magazine *Hotline*, predicted years ago that in his country the battle around secularism would be “stormy.”⁹ In the context of the developing Western struggle of secularism versus Islam, developments in Nigeria with its two huge, fairly equal blocks of Muslims and Christians, opponents and advocates of secularism respectively—50 to 60 million of each—could provide some guidance in the development of a mutually agreeable perspective.

▲ SECULAR CONTEMPT FOR FUNDAMENTALISM —

The term “Fundamentalism” and its synonyms are used in these pages. Some Western writers put all Fundamentalists of all religions together with “religious conservatives” in one camp and brush them with the same tar. Once they have done so, they feel free to bash

them as they see fit. I have mentioned this phenomenon in Monograph Two and referred especially to Paul Marshall's comments. A very recent article by Rod Dreher shows the tradition is still very much alive even in "tolerant" America.¹⁰ As unacknowledged liberal opinion has it, Fundamentalists are one group that deserve no respect and that one is not required to hear out.

As I see it, though they may have certain characteristics in common, Muslim and Christian Fundamentalists are also quite different from each other. I, for one, on some fronts feel more kinship with the argumentation of Nigerian Muslim Fundamentalists than with that of their Christian counterparts. I intend to take them seriously and give them my ear in this book. Thus I pass on to you a sympathetic coverage of serious Fundamentalist perspectives.

▲ **COGENCY AND PARALLELS** _____

Congratulations for having picked up this book. If, like me, you are not a Muslim, you may be in for a surprise—a pleasant one, I trust. With all the negative coverage Muslims receive in Western media, you may not be prepared for the cogency of their arguments, particularly in their rejection of secularism and their clamour for sharia. And if, again like me, you happen to be a Neo-Calvinist, you may well come away delighted at some unexpected philosophical similarities between the two religions. These include the common emphasis on the pervasive role of law, the wholistic nature of religion, the status of man as vicegerent, the importance of the physical world and others. I have briefly discussed eight of them in the introduction to Monograph One.

▲ **FUNDAMENTALISM AND MAINSTREAM** _____

President Bush II has for political reasons emphasized the difference between mainstream Islam and Fundamentalism. In

Nigeria the two are difficult to distinguish clearly. Both reject secularism and both insist on sharia, the main difference being the degree of militancy with which they are prepared to pursue their goals and the risks they are willing to take. Mainstreamers mostly reject overt violence, but they are not averse to using all government powers and resources to the advantage of Islam. Ahmadu Bello, the famous Sardauna or Sultan of Sokoto, revered by all moderates, was a prime example of such use of government facilities, as I have described in Volume 3.¹¹ In the apartheid context, such use of government was often classified as another form of violence. If moderates themselves do not openly shed blood, the results of their actions not infrequently lead to it.

▲ PRE-9/11 RUMBLINGS

Nigerian Muslims are part of the Muslim *ummah*, or community, that has long been subjected to the humiliations inflicted on them by Western colonialism. They have all felt the sting of the West's superiority complex and its accompanying secularism. When one superiority complex—Western—collides with another—Islam—you have the makings of a volcanic reaction, the rumblings of which have been heard for decades, long before the infamous 9/11 explosion. In determining the culprits of 9/11, Western nations, especially the USA, have to ask themselves why they failed to detect these rumblings—let alone understand them and respond to them before that violent outburst. At the very time of writing, this question is a hot political issue in the USA. It should not have required a CIA to uncover them. They were there in the Muslim media for all to hear or read. They were passed on by Western writers like Yossef Bodansky. Even ordinary Nigerian Muslims, in their letters to editors in either English or Hausa, decades ago warned the proud West, especially the USA, that it would come to rue its secular pride and oppressiveness.

Muhammed Tawfiq Ladan hit the nail on the head in an article that constitutes Appendix 12. In 1989, this ordinary Nigerian Muslim already saw the signs of the times and felt compelled to warn the West. Muslims, he wrote, had been voicing their discontent for many decades, but no one listened, for

secular regimes [are] more readily attracted by voices which promise opportunities of self-aggrandizement and personal wealth. Secular regimes have always displayed an astonishing ignorance of the people over whom they exercise control; and they almost invariably are incapable of reading the signs on the wall. Whether such signs are written in such casual incidents as student riots or the more spectacular one as general uprising, it comes to them as a surprise.

And so it is that the deafening sound of secularism has prevented regime after regime from hearing the...voice of a people who have a genuine cause to be aggrieved..

Ladan's article is a *must* read, for it represents the crescendo of Muslim voices over the past few decades that has been ignored.¹²

The West was too proud to take such warnings seriously, while its secular spirit blinded it to the signs. It is neither the failure of intelligence services nor that of their political masters that is the major culprit. The major one is proud, blind secularism. It is the affliction of the *entire* West. Our governments are mere extensions of their people and share their afflictions of pride and blindness. It is the failure of an entire civilization that suffers from a dead-end world view.

This monograph is not about 9/11. However, this discussion about Nigerian Muslim views on secularism is representative of large segments of the Muslim world today. You will do well to keep the 9/11 issue close at hand during your reading sessions. The implications are all there.

▲ RELIGION AND MANIPULATION

Secularism is not the only issue in Nigeria. Politics, particularly manipulative politics, also plays an important role. This has already been given adequate space in previous volumes. The manipulation factor must be fully recognized as a major contributor to Nigeria's problems. However, advocates for sharia would not be successful were it not for the deeply-felt underlying anti-secular *religious* sentiments of Nigeria's Muslims. In Monograph One I have explained my view—one that Neo-Calvinists share with Islam—namely, that issues of religion, faith, belief and world view, before those of economics, form the foundation of cultures.¹³ It is on these therefore that this book concentrates.

▲ HISTORY OF THE DEBATE

The passionate Nigerian debate on secularism and related topics moved to the front burner on February 3, 1986, “when President Babangida confirmed Nigeria's membership of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC),” according to Balogun.¹⁴ The OIC issue definitely turned the debate up a few notches and re-invigorated the competition between Islam and Christianity.

I suggest, however, that the original and real harbinger of the discussion was the Constituent Assembly of 1977, when the issues of secularism and sharia almost brought the country to a standstill.¹⁵ M. Yahya agrees that this was indeed the starting point. He asserted, “‘Secularism’ and ‘secular state’ became prominent expressions in the socio-political vocabulary in Nigeria in the wake of the debate of the 1979 draft Constitution.”¹⁶ The issues had become important enough before the OIC controversy for Muslim scholars to hold a national workshop on “Teaching of Islamic Law in Nigeria” at the University of Sokoto in June, 1983.¹⁷ The topic of secularism features prominently in the papers delivered there.

Thus, this angry and emotional Muslim discussion on secularism started basically during the Constituent Assembly of the 1970s.¹⁸ It was subsequently spurred on by the force of the global Muslim revival as well as by the riotous atmosphere that developed during the 80s and spilled over into the new century.¹⁹ It received new impetus when Governor Ahmad Sani of Zamfara State ushered in the sharia era with his announcement during the closing days of the century that sharia was going to become the basis of his state's constitution. Through all this turmoil of over two decades, the passionate Fundamentalist and mainstream Muslim rejection of secularism remained constant.

▲ FEATURES OF THE DEBATE

1. CHRISTIAN ENVIRONMENT

I alert you to some features of the secularism debate. One is the omnipresence of Christianity. Though to me “secularism” and “Christianity” are antonyms, to the Muslims and, indeed, to many Nigerian Christians, they are almost synonyms. Muslims hardly discuss the one subject without the other. That is no wonder, for secularism came out of Christendom; colonialists and missionaries carried it to Nigeria and Nigerian Christians push it as their solution to Nigeria's religious problems. So, do not be surprised at the easy switching back and forth from secularism to Christianity in the discussion.

2. CONFUSION OF RELIGION WITH ITS INSTITUTIONS

A feature that constantly bedevils the discussion from all sides is a perceived identification of specific religions with their institutions, such as mosque and JMI or church and CAN. Too often participants in the discussions use these terms loosely, interchangeably even, a practice that results in great confusion. The phrases “church

and state” and “religion and state” are thought to mean the same. However, Christianity is much more than church; Islam, much more than mosque. Religions are much wider than their institutions; Christian history, wider than church history. This point will become clearer as this series progresses.

3. MISUNDERSTANDING OF CHRISTIANITY

Thirdly, the discussion is often marred by a Muslim misunderstanding, or even ignorance, of Christianity. Too often the two religions are contrasted by pitting a central tenet of Islam to a Christian concept found only at marginal extremes. Ado-Kurawa’s writings on the subjects of secularism and sharia, for example, are enlightening, but they are occasionally marred by a rather meager understanding of Christianity. His statements “The prime objective of Christianity is the salvation of the human soul” and “Paul...rejected the Mosaic Law,”²⁰ for example, amount to setting up a straw man that then serves as a major point of reference. What Christianity is he talking about? He is contrasting a central concept in Islam with a hollowed-out marginal Christian opinion in the first statement and stating a plain falsehood in the second. The first is a typical ploy that mars the entire Muslim-Christian discussion. As to the second, I wonder if Ado-Kurawa has even read Paul?—a question I frequently ask about other Muslim writers as well. No doubt Muslims ask similar questions of Christian authors.

The same is true of Ado-Kurawa’s reading of Western Christian and church histories, especially their relationship to the development of science. He and many of his co-religionists would do themselves a favour by reading responsible accounts.²¹ Their treatment of these subjects is often too ideological, lightweight and one-sided to have the ring of authority. One gets the definite impression that many merely look for quotations to support their already-established negative opinions, not to say prejudices. Certainly they show little awareness of the variations and nuances that exist in

Christianity as they do in Islam. In short, they are too defensive and partial, too eager to score a point at the expense of genuine critique that has a ring of truth.

Being constantly misunderstood can be most annoying, as Muslims know very well. Abubakar Mohammed wrote, "One of the most annoying things is that all the non-Muslims and Christians who write on the sharia issue are stark illiterate on what sharia is all about and display their ignorance on the issue."²² Muslim and Christian writers should both take this warning to heart.

4. THE "YOU TOO" DEFLECTION

My critique of these Muslim writers is hardly unique. Ado-Kurawa is well acquainted with it and, in fact, summarizes it himself. "Christian scholars," he writes, "criticize Muslims for their study of Christian history.... Muslims who engage in such studies are condemned as apologetic to Islam. They are criticized for being selective in their sources and that in most cases they choose extreme opinions of Western scholarship." He then finds that such critics are themselves selective in the picture they present of Islam.²³ Ado-Kurawa is right on this score. Alas, neutral objectivity is a secular myth. A degree of true objectivity can be reached only within an honest acknowledgement of a writer's worldview parameters. But though he is right in his comments about these critics, it does not follow that those critics are therefore wrong about these Muslim writers, including his! Of course, he does not deny the truth of the critique; he merely accuses the critics of practicing similar selectivity.

The above is an example of the "you too" type of argument that is used to deflect critique without taking it seriously. Olisa Adigwe, a Nigerian in Lowell, Massachusetts, USA, denounced Muslims for calling non-Muslims "infidels."²⁴ One Lawal Murabis responds with great irritation. "Has Adigwe forgotten when the European missionaries termed non-Christians pagans or animists? And indeed even today all Christians believe that non-Christians

are pagans or something not godly.” He then goes into the gory details about Christian persecution of others through much of their history. The latter cannot be denied and this response is quite natural, but it does not answer Adigwe’s critique. Unfortunately, this type of response is typical. It is like saying, “Yeah, we do that—but so do you!”

5. PASSIONATE ANGER AND CONTEMPT

The above tendency is further complicated by the passionate anger and contempt with which Christianity is treated in these Muslim documents. There is no attempt at understanding Christians sympathetically. Christians are berated. Questionable, sometimes wildly off the mark, conclusions are drawn of Christianity, so that this religion is put in the worst light possible. Lawal Murabis, in an angry response to Olisa Adegwe, spends considerable effort to berate the West for many of its negatives—immorality, public nudity, pornography, sexual aberrations—all in order to show the superiority of Islam.²⁵ It is like contrasting pearls with slime. This is no way to understand another party. With Nigerian Christians tending to do the same with respect to Islam, we face formidable obstacles to a solution.

“Passionate” is another valid characterization of this anti-secular campaign. Muslims tend to write passionately against secularism. That, according to a NIPSS report, is to be expected. “As national societies undergo rapid change through modernization and secularization, deep-seated religious sentiments have increasingly tended to re-assert themselves.”²⁶ Expected or not, this passion is difficult to relay for a non-Muslim. Hence I try to relay it by way of extensive quotations and generous appendices. So, be sure to turn to the appendices and get the real stuff! I quote from these appendices and summarize some of their contents to whet your appetite, but you have to read the documents themselves to get the full flavour. I seriously debated publishing only Muslim documents, but the

researcher in me could not resist the impulse to systematize the data. For better or for worse, you end up with both.

Because the Nigerian atmosphere is so highly charged with angry emotions and bitter suspicions, I do not expect every Muslim reader to accept or recognize my intentions of representing Islam accurately. An article I once published on the Web site *Ganji* drew the thunderous ire of a few respondents who thought to detect every possible imperialist ambition between the lines. However, when I privately answered one of these respondents, he dismissed his angry remarks by reminding me of what I had long ago discovered, namely, that Nigerians can react with great furor and emotions that should sometimes not be taken too personally. In fact, he claimed to be “on my side.” In the meantime, of course, his angry published accusations stand. As Bashir Yahaya of Gombe affirmed, “Nigerians normally overreact when anything having a semblance of religion is discussed.”²⁷ Well, I *did* live there for thirty years! If all disagreements with this writing end up on that positive note, I will be happy indeed.

6. SCAPEGOATS

Related to this anger is the paranoia I have discussed in earlier writings, also in earlier monographs in this series. Abdulsalam Ajetunmobi accepts the critique of James Adeen, a Christian writer, about false Muslim conspiracy theories that cast all blame for Muslim misfortunes on “America’s quest for Iraqi oil and the sacking of the tyrannical Taliban.” They both reject the tendency to seek scapegoats, to always identify alleged “dark forces” that “lie behind every predicament.” Such an attitude “can only succeed in fuelling outlandish paranoia in the Muslim community.”

I hope that in these chapters I do better than that. At least, it is my *intention* to represent Islam accurately so that Muslims will recognize themselves. I want to show Islam at its best, but sometimes the flaws just described make that goal difficult to achieve. Even if I do not point them out, knowledgeable readers will read-

ily recognize the flaws. You cannot deny the truth of this criticism by merely criticizing the critics.

7. EMPATHY AND RESPECT

I remember the advice from a friend of mine, the former Pastor Ezekiel Nyajo, now Alhaji Ahmadu Muhammadu, of Wukari, Taraba State. During the course of his Christian ministry in Ibi, the insight grew on him that to understand another religion, you need to investigate its noble best, its strength, its admirable aspects. You don't need to follow Nyajo all the way to appreciate the advice. I have tried to follow the advice, not his own journey!

The discussion so far clearly marks me a Christian. However, in this book, as in Monograph Two, I try hard to let Muslims speak for themselves. I want you to hear *their* complaints and cries. I want you to *feel* their frustrations with them. During a recent discussion with a southern Nigerian about this project, he shrugged his shoulders indifferently and dismissed his northern compatriots as “all crazy.” This book will show that Muslims adduce some cogent arguments worthy of serious consideration. I once again invite my fellow Christians to read these pages with an open mind. Christians will get their turn in Monograph Five, as they did in Monograph Three where Muslims were asked to practise empathy for the Christian position. Unless we learn to listen to each other and take each other seriously, the rivers of blood will continue to flow until all parties are exhausted—at which time secularism is likely to take the spoils.

▲ COMPANION CD-ROM

Though this is a monograph, it does not stand alone. Each monograph is the equivalent to Part I, II, *et cetera*, of a tome that would be too cumbersome were it all to appear in a single volume. It may delight you to know that these monographs are also avail-

able as a *Companion CD-ROM* in which *all* the volumes, along with substantial additional materials, become available on one CD long before they are in print. If you want to have all the materials plus the additions in one format, the *Companion CD* is the way to go. But do be aware that the CD version is not the same as the printed edition. It is the pre-publication edition. While Monographs Three and Four are still at the incubation stage at the publisher, they are already available on the CD. Check it out on my Web site.

The additional materials on the CD are increasing in scope as the project develops. The CD version of Monograph Four contains many appendices not found in the printed version. In addition, there are a lot of materials on riots that took place after Monograph Two was completed and brings you right up to date at that front. There are articles on the aborted Miss World pageant that clearly show the unlikely connections of that event to the religious scene in the country. So, an-all-you-can-eat type of menu at the fraction of the price of the hard copy. Go to it! Enjoy—but, more important, pray....

▲ HOUSEKEEPING ITEMS

All the things said in the introductions to previous volumes regarding format, the style of endnotes and of quotations, all apply here as well. In Monograph One, I have clearly stated that, though this project is based on responsible, academic-level research, I have decided not to turn it into an academic project. My primary target is the people of Nigeria, not merely academics, though occasionally my academic inclination gets the best of me—or the worst! I continue to take the liberties of my own developing style in preference to the cramped methods of academia. I add personal touches as well as humorous ones.

I have gradually developed my own endnote format as well. You will always find the complete information about any endnote

reference in the bibliography. Some endnotes contain additional information or opinions that I wanted to insert without interrupting the flow of thought in the main text. You are therefore encouraged to check them out.

From the beginning, these books have a certain characteristic in common. Most chapters and most sections within the chapters can be regarded as detailed snapshots of given situations or ideas, rather than a movie where everything is constantly moving towards a certain climax. A good example would be a field of sunflowers, where there are thousands of sunflowers that are all alike. Many sections in this book are such static snapshots in which a single idea or cluster of ideas is repeated several times in order to give you a clear picture. Often, there is no progression within the sections.

One new feature not found in previous monographs is that at the end of some chapter sections I insert a number of quotations on the subject at hand, without comments. Everything has been discussed, but there remain some statements I want you to appreciate—or critique.

I remind you once again of the level of English in some of the quotations and the befitting attitude towards them. It behooves Western readers of this book, many of whom know only one language, to take a humble attitude in this respect. Flowery verbosity is characteristic of Nigerian style; economy of expression is definitely not a *forte*. Finally, some of the documents have come to me in damaged condition. This leads occasionally to incomplete endnotes or bibliographical data. In those cases I judged that including them would be more beneficial than leaving them out.

A word with respect to the dates of my sources, especially the appendices. This monograph basically covers the time period from the 1977 Constituent Assembly to 2004. During the 80s especially, many papers were produced by Nigerian Muslims with primary concentration on secularism, though sharia was not ignored. There were the Muslim publication *The Pen* and its Hausa-language coun-

terpart, *Alkalami*, both with strong emphasis on Islam as a social force along with equally strong anti-colonial, anti-Christian and anti-secular perspectives. Unfortunately, their distribution was haphazard; often they were simply not available. Eventually they were discontinued. But they contain a wealth of materials for this project. As the years progressed, the emphasis tended to shift to a sharia focus, with secularism as a subtopic. For these reasons, I have more materials on secularism from the earlier years than from the later. Many of these have never before been published for a wider audience. You are a privileged reader! The final edition of the promised *Companion CD-ROM* will contain even more of such materials and will elevate your status to that of *most* privileged reader.

▲ HUMILITY AND CAREFULNESS

In closing, I remind you of the complexity of religions. The proverbial elephant and the blind men is a good image to retain throughout. Religions are full of dialectical truths. Almost everything is to be discussed in the framework of “on the one hand” and “on the other.” Religions have their Fundamentalists and their liberals, but they all express something of the genius of the religion. As in all other sectors, there are saints as well as rogues. Here an attitude of humility, reserve, carefulness and tentativeness will go far in preventing conclusions in which adherents do not recognize themselves or their religion.

▲ NOTES

¹ See Introduction to Monograph One for information about Kuyperianism.

² It is necessary to add “in Nigeria” here, for that is not the case everywhere. In India, for example, there is the prestigious Muslim Centre for the Study of Society and Secularism in Mumbai that advocates a form of secularism. www.csss-islam.com. The case of Turkey is well known.

³ VS, 13 Dec/2003.

⁴ Interesting for this discussion is a series of articles on secularism and religion in Canada by Douglas Todd in the *Vancouver Sun*, various issues in July-Aug/2003. See the bibliography.

⁵ L. Sanneh, 1997, pp. 181-182.

⁶ European media, including BBC and newspapers in various countries and languages, feature numerous articles on the subject during the last half of 2003. The head scarf or “*hijab*” has provoked serious political discussion and even caused new legislation to be passed. In short, Muslims have exported the “Muslim vs secular” debate to the very citadel of secularism, France. It may be useful for Europeans to listen to the Nigerian Muslim attitude towards secularism. It may give them some clues as to what motivates Muslims in the West. He who has ears....

⁷ G. Valk, 15 Dec/2003. *NRC*, 15 Dec/2003.

⁸ D. Todd, 7 Feb/2003; 2 Aug/2003; 9 Aug/2003.

⁹ G. Udeagwu, 28 Apr/88.

¹⁰ R. Dreher, “Are the Democrats Anti-Religion? How the Media’s Reporting on the Religious Right Keeps It from Seeing the Story of the Secular Left.” *Touchstone: A Journal of Mere Christianity*, Apr/2003.

¹¹ J. Boer, Vol. 3, 2004, pp. 44-45, 102. See also J. Paden, 1986, pp. 566-569.

¹² M. T. Ladan, 27 Jan/89. Appendix 12.

¹³ Kuyperians are not the only ones to hold this view. Toyin Falola, a Nigerian scholar at the University of Texas, writes, “There can be no doubt that there is a religious foundation to modern Nigeria. In fact, all civilizations, Mercea Eliade argues, are governed by some metaphysical-moral vision” (p. 6).

¹⁴ K. Balogun, 1986, p. 58. The Muslim and Christian perspectives in this debate have been treated in Monographs 2 and 3.

¹⁵ For a summary of the debate in 1977-1978, see my dissertation (1979, pp. 478-482) and its popular summary (1984, pp. 142-145).

¹⁶ M. Yahya, 1995, p. 58.

¹⁷ S. Rashid, 1986.

¹⁸ Boer, 1979, pp. 478ff; 1984, pp. 142ff.

¹⁹ Boer, 2003, Ch. 2.

²⁰ *Shari'ah in Nigeria*, p. 3. 2000, pp. 134-135.

²¹ *Shari'ah in Nigeria*, pp. 12-13. 2000, pp. 142-143. As to the issue of science, I would recommend to him my own *Science Without Faith Is Dead* along with its bibliography to correct some of his misgivings.

²² A. S. Mohammed, *NN*, 14 Jan/2000, p. 5.

²³ I. Ado-Kurawa, *Sharia and the Press*, p. 18.

²⁴ O. Adigwe, "Muslims Rage and 9/11," p. 1.

²⁵ L. Murabis, "Muslims Rage..." p. 1.

²⁶ NIPSS, p. 6.

²⁷ B. Yahaya, *NN*, 3 Dec/99.

