

▲ FOUR

THE UNHOLY TRIAD: CHRISTIANITY, COLONI- ALISM AND SECULARISM

In this chapter, my aim is to indicate the close relationship that exists between Christianity, colonialism and secularism according to Muslim opinion. In the Muslim mind, these three are so closely interwoven that you can hardly talk of the one without the other two lurking just around the corner. You will have noticed references to Christianity and colonialism in the previous chapters. I simply could not escape bringing them in ahead of the scheme for this book. The very first sentence in Ado-Kurawa's discussion on "Secularism and Islam" includes a reference to the Christian dualism of "the separation of Caesar from Christ."¹ I will first trace the development of secularism, its source and the forces that created it. This, it will become clear, was strictly due to developments within Western Christendom. From there I move on to an examination of the "unholy triad."

▲ THE ORIGIN OF SECULARISM AND ITS CAUSES ———

The concern of this section is the when and why of secularism as Muslims see it. Apart from "secularist Muslims" or "modernists,"

Muslim writers roughly agree with each other about its origin and causes, so that the slightly different spins they may have on the details do not need to detain us. They present us with various write-ups, some fairly lengthy, about how secularism developed in the West, its reasons and its effects on both Islam and on Christianity. A major thrust is that it belongs in neither religion and that it transforms them both beyond recognition to the point of serious distortion. It leads to heretical theology and to chaos through the valley of immorality.

As to the origin of the term “secularism,” one of the anonymous authors in *Nasiba* traces it back to one Robert Cooper, who allegedly first introduced it at a scientific meeting in 1851 in London. The rise of secularism itself was, according to the author, originally due to the clergy that had become thoroughly oppressive and had forgotten the basic precepts of the faith. Of course, there was also the church’s opposition to science, an episode personified by Galileo.

Ado-Kurawa writes extensively about this origin and history. The impetus for secularism was provided by the church’s “struggle for state power for centuries.” He asserts that “the control of the church retarded the development of Christendom,” an acute and, I want to add, accurate insight that is not recognized by many Christian leaders even today. In addition, “numerous controversies caused division in the church until ‘discipline was relaxed and church prestige fell.’” The Reformation “did further damage.” In the course of the above developments, the church ran “into conflict with political authority,” as well as with philosophy and science. Its interference in other sectors was “illegitimate” by its own standards and incompetent because of “its inadequacy in non-spiritual matters.” Various movements arose that redefined society for the purpose of “filling in the secular ideological vacuum.” Eventually, “secularism was propagated as the only solution to the oppression of the official church” when the latter denied freedom of conscience to those who disagreed with its doctrines.

An additional major factor was Enlightenment philosophy with its propagation of “the supremacy of reason over revealed truth.” “Confidence in the natural powers of human beings” increased at the expense of religious truth. The result was the marginalisation of religion. European culture shifted from its God-centred focus to man-centred. The process culminated in the French Revolution with its dethronement of both religion and church and with the triumph of secularism along with its concept of human autonomy.²

El-Miskin suggests that secularism arose partly in reaction to the ascetic strain in Christianity that encouraged a degree of “disdain of this world.” He detects three main sources. The first is the New Testament statement of Jesus about rendering unto Caesar and certain other passages such as Romans 13:1-3. The second is that of Renaissance humanism that saw “man as the central measure of values.” During this stage, the separation of religion from “politics, economics and general cultural matters” came to be “regarded as [a] sophisticated manifestation of modernity.” The third cause is the 19th-century “general attack on religion and supernaturalism.” This freedom of thought El-Miskin identifies as central to secularism. It is based on the failure to understand “the extreme limits of human knowledge.”

Husaini Hassan traces the birth of secularism to the 15th century in the West. It was a device to get rid of the exploitative feudal rule of the church over all aspects of life. The church monopolized the people’s resources and practised forced labour on its lands. This was all supported by selective preaching from the Bible. The dualistic compartmentalization of life into sacred and secular served as a justification mechanism for their practices. That same century witnessed the beginning of “the decadent European expansion to other parts of the world.” This, in turn, coincided with “the decline and fall of the Muslim world.”³

Ibrahim Avagi intimately links the emergence of secularism to democracy in the West. The origin of democracy, he explains, is

Greek. It was adopted by the West in an effort to restrain the oppression practiced by both state and church. From there it developed into a rebellion against God, “who has the wisdom and knowledge to decide for people what is best for them. They rejected the supremacy of the Creator in favour of the principles of democracy, which allows the decisions of people to supercede the decision of anybody else, including the Creator.” The Reformation carried it forward. It was now for the people themselves to reject all authority, even in religion. “If the religious Scripture stipulates the punishment for murder to be death by hanging, the people have the democratic right to decide to repeal that law and replace it with something more conducive to their wishes.” They even created their own versions of the Bible. “Thus England became a secular state where the laws of man supercede even the injunctions of the Creator. Thus, democracy is a deviation and a perversion of the system ordained by the Creator through all the Prophets He sent to mankind.”⁴

Awwal Yadudu traces the origin of secularism to the power struggle between the Pope and the state. The dualistic reduction of religion under secularism “was accepted by papal authority, when it lost dominion over the temporal affairs of the society. It has since remained a perfect arrangement by which the church has dichotomized human life so as to retain control over one part and surrender the other to the temporal authority which had triumphed over it. It was a concession made to save face and it was easily legitimated by recourse to Biblical authority.”⁵

Az-Zubair asserts that during the Middle Ages, Islam and Christianity were “very close” in that early Christianity was “consistently opposed to secularism.” He traces the earliest forms of secularism back to Greek philosophy⁶ that had seeped into Christianity. It subsequently was strengthened during the European Enlightenment and further developments of rationalism, empiricism, science and technology. Christianity had no love for secularism, but, realizing that they were facing a losing battle, the-

ologians devised ways to incorporate secularism into their system and now claim that it had Biblical roots! This spelled the “overthrow of religion” in the West and the triumph of science—and every other fashion that then got its short space under the sun. To justify these developments they ended up dismissing the Bible as unreliable, even “parochial and oppressive.” An additional factor is that when the church realized it was also losing power to the state, the secular dichotomy became the fence used to protect its remaining turf, the so-called “sacred,” while it ceded the secular to the state. The former enemy had become their shield. Not being a Christian, Az-Zubair does not want to tell the church how to solve these problems of its own making, but he welcomes “those who want to fight this scourge of secularism.”

A major thrust of Az-Zubair is that secularism is a foreign body in Christianity; it does not belong there. It has transformed that religion almost beyond recognition and has led to all kinds of deformation, including heretical theology, female clergy and homosexuality. He also suggests that Nigerian Christians have a choice: Since secularism is not inherent to Christianity, they can be Christian without following the West’s secular route.

Bidmos concludes that secularism was “developed to replace religion and to provide man with alternative principles that govern his daily routines.” He continues, “A secular country runs its affairs absolutely without any religious considerations. All religious practices in a secular society are conducted privately.”⁷

According to Musa Sulaiman, secularism was a reaction to various factors in the Christian West. There were the “intense control of society by the Church and its despising of human affairs in favour of the life hereafter.” This went along with a “negative attitude towards scientific experimentation.”⁸

The details of the various explanations may vary here and there, but it is clear that Muslims have sensed the basic reasons for the development of secularism in the West and its destructive

power over Christianity. They also indicate keen awareness of the dualism inherent in this perspective and are repulsed by it. In these historical snippets they clearly identify secularism as the product of an oppressive church and of the interplay of Western Christianity with governments and philosophies. Christians, however, regard secularism sometimes as liberating and at other times as protecting the turf, while others agree with Muslims in seeing it as a force that undermines religion. Above all, in spite of secularism's basic hostility to religion in general and to Christianity in particular, Muslims associate the two closely with each other. Where they detect secularism, they recognize Christianity lurking around the corner and vice versa. They always come in one package.

▲ SELECTED QUOTATION

Historically, the secular state emerged in modern times in response to religious infighting that plagued Europe for over a century, and put social life on a self-destructing path. The Hundred Year War posed a serious threat to the then emerging modern Europe, underscoring the need to keep the state and church at a comfortable distance. While the secular state was designed to prevent organized religion from controlling public institutions, it did not necessarily aim at undermining religiosity per se, or alienating religious communities. Rather, it was perceived as a multi-religious society's best defense against the imposition of the religious values and world view of one community on another—Hussaini Abdu.⁹

▲ A FOREIGN FEATURE

Muslims generally so closely associate the Christianity of the West and its Nigerian offspring with secular dualism that they are basically regarded as synonymous. Secularism is an essential ingredient of this type of Christianity. That is the way it has developed over time.

Ado-Kurawa thus interprets Christianity from a very dualistic perspective that he identifies with secularism. Christianity, he asserts, has “refused to incorporate those material aspects of life for which man has shown more interest. The prime objective of Christianity is the salvation of the human soul,” a very pietistic interpretation. Hence, “it acknowledges the separation of the state from religion [as] this was first facilitated by Paul and others.” “Christianity recognizes the separation of the secular from spiritual life. Thus it has opted to concern itself with spirit and left the determinants of the spirit to other organs of the social organization.” That this arrangement, according to Ado-Kurawa, became unworkable will be shown later.¹⁰

Similarly, Ibraheem Sulaiman connects secularism and Christianity very closely. He writes, “Historically and in practice, secularism is a development peculiar to Christian civilisation; it is a child—albeit a bastard—of Christianity.”¹¹

The last phrase is important. While Muslims identify the two, they also realize that it is an uneasy fit. They are not natural bed partners. Various Muslim scholars recognize not only that secularism is hostile to Islam, but also that it undermines Christianity, especially Protestantism. Tofa refers to the poor spiritual state of much of the Western church with its heretical God-is-dead movement that sees His “demise” as a sign of an emancipated and mature world, one without God and without religion. Among its theologians he has witnessed “a general resignation to the fact that Christianity will die or is already dead.” They desire to move with the changing times in tune with the dictates of secularism, which, they claim, originates in the Bible itself. The result is an unending series of theological novelties.¹²

One Aliyu Mashi from Kaduna wrote a letter to the editor that expresses great annoyance with Christians and Westerners. Annoyance may have kept him from expressing himself properly and, perhaps, prevented the editor from correcting him. However,

it is clear that he understands the spirituality of the West better than some natives. He states, “We Muslims do not see the West and America acting as infidels. The duos are not infidels but gods, or, at least, their euro and dollars are. The two are gods, with secularism as their religion. Muslims have rejected secularism in its entire ramifications, because it is anti-Islam, anti-Christianity [and] therefore anti-God.”¹³

The damage secularism has inflicted on the Western church is a popular theme. “The West has become less religious [and] less spiritual; not only more secular, but dangerously more materialistic.” Ado-Kurawa applies the following terms to the resultant Western culture: “materialism of excessive greed,” excessive in everything: consumerism, sexuality, self-indulgence, and hedonism.¹⁴ That’s what happens with a secular people. They sink into a dark swamp. As one editor describes the British: “Having nothing to worship or serve, except the world and its goods.”¹⁵ That, from the Muslim point of view, is the lowest rung a people can reach.

One Mustapha of Kaduna is a writer with a smattering of Greek philosophy. He lays a strong connection between Western Christianity and Greek philosophy. He wrote that Plato, Aristotle and others introduced a naturalistic explanation of the world. On basis of “purely rational terms,” they reduced the “origin and reality” of the world “to mere natural causes and forces.” The Roman world had already bought into the results of this Greek philosophy when Christianity developed. It was an easy step for this religion to adjust to this “pure rationalism and concomitant naturalism, stripping nature of its spiritual meaning that the intellect alone could recognise and seek to fathom.” It thus accepted this “demeaning [of] the kingdom of nature and neglecting serious contemplation of it in favour of the Kingdom of Allah having no connection whatsoever with the world of nature.”

Mustapha is not always overly clear, but let us try to follow him. The result of the above development was “that Christian the-

ology began to suppress the role of intelligence and hence also the knowledge of spiritual truth” that eventually led to the elevation of “purely rational theology.” In his own words, “Christian philosophers envisaged the rise of science and the overthrow of religion. With the rise of reason and empiricism and scientific and technological advances, some Western philosophers, poets and novelists hailed this contemporary event as preparing for an emancipated world with no God and no religion at all.” This process produced secularization. “These theologians and theorists aligned themselves with the forces of neo-modernist thought. They went so far as to assert that secularization has its roots in Biblical faith and is the fruit of the gospel. Therefore, rather than oppose the secularising process, Christianity must realistically welcome it as a process congenial to its true nature and purpose.”¹⁶

It is not only Nigerian Muslims who recognize this antithesis. Western philosophers themselves affirm it, Ado-Kurawa assures us. They *separate* reason from faith and thus insist on the *autonomy* of reason divorced from revelation and faith.¹⁷ Reason is *supreme over or above* revelation. The bottom line is that “secular humanists do not accept the legitimate existence of revealed knowledge.” Ado-Kurawa quotes E. Gellner, who stated that to those who have deeply imbibed the spirit of secularism “the notion of a revelation is morally unacceptable.” It has sought “finally to destroy Christianity,” a fact acknowledged by Western intellectuals.¹⁸

▲ COLONIALISM, CHRISTIANITY, OPPRESSION —

Non-Muslim readers may have noticed that an angry and haughty spirit pervades much of the Muslim discussions on secularism, as well as an attitude of disdain. That spirit can be explained, I believe, by the fact that the West and Islam have certain characteristics in common. They are both haughty and imperialistic. When these two similar forces met, the response of

Muslims, being the underdog, was anger, frustration and more haughtiness. How could such a barbaric people overcome and rule the Muslim *umma*? That was an unthinkable, insulting and theologically impossible situation. Furthermore, how did these Western *kafirs* dare look down on Islam with such a superiority complex? On Islam, the people of the Prophet and of the miracle of the Qur'an? On Islam, the people who taught Europe the classics and the early sciences? Nigerian Muslims recall proudly the early Muslim *blitzkrieg*, "the vast expansion of the first Islamic centuries" by which Islam swept across large expanses of the globe. They also remember fondly the scientific traditions whose spring fed the Christian West and gave it the glory and advancement—scientific and technological—it enjoys today. They could not and cannot accept such disdain for the manly faith of Islam, that both peacefully and militarily "swept across the Middle East, Asia, Africa, and part of Western Europe."¹⁹

One of the anonymous writers in *Nasiha* magazine presents his version of how the West overcame and undermined Islam. Western Christians—and do remember that in Muslim eyes, West and Christian are inseparable—and Muslims began to make war on each other after the Tartars and Mongols had done their thing. Christians soon realized that only Muslims would stand in the way of their imperial ambitions. So they decided to create a distance between Muslims and the core of their religion so as to emasculate Islam at its heart and thus weaken its adherents.²⁰

They first took over leadership in world trade and then turned to undermining Muslim education. They destroyed Muslim educational establishments in order to promote their evil pagan customs. I have already dealt with this in some detail in Monograph Two and so will only summarize a few salient points here. Education became totally secular like the rest of life.²¹ The result was that young people began to develop contempt for Islam and turned away from it. Gradually Muslim stu-

dents gained the impression that Islam is regressive, useful only for the ignorant.

Islamic Religious Knowledge (IRK) was taught, but even this within secular parameters. Instead of Islam being taught as a complete way of life, it was reduced to a “religious” subject that had no connection with any other course. It became increasingly irrelevant and given only limited time. From the most important, it slid into the status of least important and least popular. The teachers were often poorly trained, so they were despised and their subject discredited. Yes, Islam was still taught, but it had been reduced to a travesty with few traces left of the glory of Islam. It was now emphasized that religion, including Islam, is merely a private, personal affair between a person and her God. A serious case of secular reduction of a wholistic religion.

Nigerian Muslims are also aware of and concerned about the secularization of education in the international context. In a lecture, Muhammadu Maccido, Sultan of Sokoto, expressed his appreciation for a “proliferation of Islamic centers and organizations all over the world” and the resulting spread of Muslim scholarship. A major need for this is created by “the increasing secularization of the modern (western) school system” that “has pushed Muslims to seek alternative ways of acquiring scholarship and educating their children.”²²

In politics colonialists also created havoc. They promoted the notion that government is merely a human institution. People have the authority to choose whatever representatives they want. These, in turn, will pass any law they choose, disregarding any divine law. God, they taught, has nothing to do with politics. In addition, by imposing national borders and a sense of nationalism, they undermined the brotherhood concept in Islam that disregards borders. It was plain to all Muslims that this was pure, unadulterated paganism.

The result of all this is the separation of Muslims from the laws of God. Islam has been reduced to a mere spiritual religion with its

five pillars and even their proper observance has fallen by the wayside. The rest of life is now conducted according to human laws. Today Arabs are more proud of being Arab than about being Muslims. They are divided and even war with each other.²³

At this point, the same anonymous *Nasiba* writer starts with the Nigeria part of the story, beginning with Shehu Dan Fodio. From Monograph Two you may remember that this man started a revival in the early 19th century in Sokoto, after Islam there had deteriorated into a regime of oppression and corruption. Our writer for some reason “forgot” to indicate that this happened quite independent of Western input, decades before the latter appeared on the horizon. Dan Fodio restored a wholistic Muslim regime in which all of life was once again subjected to Islam. Unfortunately, after his death, things soon returned to their former state. Once again, Islam became separated from life. Materialism, slavery and women were all the succeeding leaders knew.²⁴ The people were suffering from oppression and increasing ignorance. Islam had once again fallen on hard times, but it would be a long shot to blame it on colonialists this time. So, steep decline of Islam at least twice without Western causation—before Dan Fodio and before colonialism.

It was under these circumstances that the white men appeared. They began to undermine Islam, despised it and did away with the sharia. They frightened Ahmadu Bello, the famous Sardauna of Sokoto, into thinking that, unless Nigeria adopt secular law, the country will not develop. This circumstance led to the establishment of the Penal Code, the law under which Northern Nigeria was to operate. Only family and private affairs were left to sharia. Slowly the reduced sharia system atrophied as the judges knew less and less. Islam had lost all its glory even to Muslims.

Politics deteriorated into a secular affair. Political parties broke up the unity of the Muslim community. They insulted each other left and right.²⁵ This new elite was nothing but a pack of

thieves who, in cahoots with their imperialist “sponsors,” stole the populace blind.

According to this write-up, the story of Nigeria is parallel to that of the global Muslim *umma*. All Muslims have suffered from the imposition of secular colonialism. And Christianity was, according to this perspective, a full partner in the enterprise of destroying Islam. Like others, this writer lumps all three into one unholy triad: Christianity and missions, colonialism, secularism. “The sharia was adjusted in order to fit into the legal system of Christians (Europeans)—the colonialists.”²⁶

Not only does Islam identify Christianity with secularism, but as we have just seen, it also identifies colonialism with Christian missions. The latter is simply the handmaiden of the former. They are one in spirit, the spirit of secularism. These three form an unholy triad that is consciously hostile to Islam and spells oppression in every aspect of life. Secularism is the weapon used by the West, through colonialism and missions, to undermine and destroy Islam. It is not simply one of its weapons; it is *the* weapon, the major tool used against Islam. Here, then, we have an additional factor for Islam’s angry resistance to secularism.

Taking the long look, Abdullahi Mustapha explains how Islam everywhere faced its “most serious challenge ever” from the West:

The long process of Western intervention and presence accompanied by gradual educational and economic control, gave way to active political and military subservience of the Muslim nations to the West. As a result of this, the Muslims found themselves subjugated and ruled by the Western Christian invaders. Their [Western] educational, cultural and economic as well as military power were advanced to justify the superiority of the Western Christian civilization, and hence their right to exercise political authority over the umma. The status quo remains till today after the carefully orches-

trated “independence.” For after “independence”...those who assumed political leadership, were those adequately fed and trained in Western educational and political culture; people who became mere robots and who are culturally dislocated from their own rich culture, history and religious belief.²⁷

Addressing the contemporary world situation, Ibrahim Umar begins his article on “Islamic Liberal Democracy” as follows: “Western nations are using their economic, political and military strength to force liberal democracy upon all countries of the world. This political system has an ideological foundation of secularism, i.e., separation of religion from other vital aspects of life like politics and economy.” In “most of the Muslim countries of today” we have a situation where the majority may be Muslim, but they know nothing about Qur’anic politics. This ignorance is “the result of decades of Euro-Christian colonisation and subsequent destruction and substitution of Islamic educational system and ideology.” Such ignorant Muslims “are likely to vote for ignorant fools who will flout and scorn the laws of God in preference to secularism.” The West is “cunningly and deceitfully” forcing liberal democracy on the Third World as a means of keeping it “under their control and hinder them from any meaningful political, economic, cultural and spiritual independence.” Umar cites three examples, namely Egypt, Algeria and Nigeria. In the first two, the West by pressure, blackmail and other means supports secular governments in their repression of popular Fundamentalist political parties. In Nigeria the West is “advocating for the system, because they know that the majority of Muslims are yet to wake up from decades of colonial and ideological slumber.” The point of his article for our purposes is his emphasis on Western secular force and manipulation against popular Islamic Activist movements.

Yusuf Hadeijia of the College of Engineering and Technology, Jigawa State, makes a similar point:

As the Muslim community sunk into the depth of colonial and neo-colonial domination, it lost its identity and ability to educate its citizens. The colonialists attacked all aspects of affairs directly or otherwise, the purpose of which was to induce doubt into the Muslim confidence in himself and his faith and at the same time the objective of which was to undermine and subvert his Islamic personality. This is what planted the seed of secularisation in the Muslim mind.²⁸

One of the amazing things about Islam is that it can proudly and openly boast of Islam's imperial adventures while, *in the same breath*, it condemns Western expansionism, imperialism and pride.²⁹ These two issues can stand side by side without anyone apparently sensing the contradiction or objecting to it. S. Dukawa begins his paper with a proud recollection how,

since the beginning of its history, Islam has been in perpetual conflict with other "civilisations," because of its broad claims of being a universal civilisation. For over one thousand, four hundred years, Islam is locked in war with Hinduism in the Indian sub-continent, with Chinese in western China and south-east Asia, with the Slavic world in Russia and the Balkans, with Latin Christendom in Western Europe and North Africa, with animistic tribalism in Sub-Saharan Africa and with secularism at its home base.

He proudly declares "Islam has won and lost many battles in these encounters, but it has never lost the war. It is the only civilisation and religion that has not been brought to its knees by modern civilisation."

In the same lecture, Dukawa states that "westerners are firm believers in imperialism. They believe that as a chosen race, they are superior to all other races and should therefore exercise control over world resources."³⁰ What, the situation forces me to ask, is the dif-

ference between Muslim pride and imperialism and that of the West? It is a question I have never heard Muslims ask, let alone address.

According to Ibraheem Sulaiman, the present problems of Nigeria are due to the colonial system that Nigeria has taken over from the West. “Nigeria is secular only,” he affirms, “by virtue of its encounter with colonialism. It remains so only by virtue of its being in a state of neo-colonialism. Get rid of neo-colonialism and you will be rid of secularism.” For the rest, I refer you to Appendix 5. There you will read his bitter comments about the type of secular culture the British have imposed on the country. It is secular and corrupt, a natural fruit of colonialism. It was all done with European energy. “There is none of our energy or genius.”³¹ In another paper, attached as Appendix 6, Sulaiman writes a similar lament: “Nigeria has remained only a facsimile—a most disgraceful copy of a European model: facsimiles, as we know them, do not work.” Having subjected its “public affairs, economy and other vital sectors of life under the blind and irrational belief of secularism,” it has “persistently refused” to recognize the existence of the Muslim wholistic alternative in the land. In fact, Nigeria “has displayed open contempt for them.” She “maintains greater inclination and respect for Euro-Christian values and institutions...to the exclusion of Islamic values and institutions, as the only national institution and value system.” He continues by asserting that

Nigeria is innately Euro-Christian in all essential details and she is yet to be an independent country, one that is free to accord her legitimate institutions the recognition they deserve and throw away all the systems and institutions imposed on her. The fact remains that in terms of disengaging Nigeria from her colonial past, freeing Islam from the clutches of colonialism and ordering the lives of the people in accordance with their authentic values and convictions, Nigeria is yet to be free. The struggle for independence is not over yet, if at all it has begun.

Sulaiman cites the tendency of the government to regard Islam as merely a religion among the religions of this country and to treat it as if it has no role besides catering for the spiritual needs of the people. He regards this as “most cynical and thoughtless behaviour.” Islam is not given the chance to play its full role in the nation, “because it has been subjected to a series of persecution and suppression from the beginning of this century when the Europeans invaded this land to this day.” He continues,

There are those who would like to wish away Islam as if it is a passing and transient phenomenon, and believe that European social, economic and legal systems are affairs to stay. It is true that such people are largely at the helm of affairs today, having been brought into prominence by neo-colonial forces, which tend in general to raise up what is despicable and to bring down every noble thing. The fact of the matter is that Islam is here to stay and, above all, Islam will continue to exert the most decisive influence on the destiny of Nigeria and all the countries of Bilad al-Sudan.

Then there is this tendency to look at Islam as a narrow spiritual religion like Christianity. Sulaiman regards this as an “unfair and irrational equation” used “to narrow down the scope of Islam and impose secular trends on an unwilling Muslim community.” Islam resists such attempts to reduce its scope. It is wholistic, not dualistic like the Christianity he knows.

As to colonialism, Sulaiman assures us that

Islam is uncompromisingly opposed to colonialism and all forms of subservience to other powers. Muslim communities everywhere are determined to cut off the roots of imperialism and to rid themselves of its influences, be it ideological, political or moral. Christianity on the other hand was implanted in this country by colonial powers and entrenched as the official religion by all

kinds of maneuvers and treachery. It is the colonial backing of Christianity at the expense of Islam and the systematic undermining of Islam that constitute the very root of the social and political problems of Nigeria. One major consequence of this development is that the Christians have come to assume that their fortunes are inexorably tied up to the fortunes of neo-colonialism. Thus they have consistently defended almost everything European: the imposed law, the capitalist system, the alien educational system. They have also come to see their role as that of absolute and violent opposition to all that is Islamic: their vehement opposition to the sacred sharia is a glaring example. It is therefore clear that Islam pursues goals and objectives which are diametrically at variance to those of Christianity. Islam wants to abolish colonialism; Christianity clings to it for survival.³²

Muhammad Danbatta puts it this way, “For a long time the Nigerian state and its people have been forced to accept that Nigeria is a secular state.” It is “unfair” to “continue to force secularism on Nigeria.”³³ Kabiru Muhammad decries that the right to freedom of religion “unfortunately is denied Muslims in furtherance of the colonial project of forcibly planting Christianity on Nigerian soil, as part of the ‘so-called civilising mission’ of Europe’s colonial and post-colonial bandits.”³⁴

M. Tawfiq Ladan similarly exposes secularism as the weapon that emasculated Nigerian Islam and turned its adherents into docile subjects. Ladan’s article states the Muslim case so effectively that the entire article is attached as Appendix 3.³⁵ He makes very clear the process by which the colonial policy of secularism took the wind out of Islam, allowed its leaders to retreat into seclusion and separated religion from politics. It left a withered Islam in its wake and dutiful subjects to colonial authority.

Sulaiman has similar complaints about the economic system of Nigeria. The pre-colonial Muslim states had viable economic sys-

tems that have been ignored. "In Nigeria, the secularised elite assume the absence of such systems among the communities which the Europeans have suppressed and on whom they imposed their economic system." He writes,

Our noisy elite, pandering to the dictates of Western and Zionist interests, have denied the rest of mankind the ability to run their economic life outside the framework of Capitalism and Socialism, the two dominant economic systems of the West. There has never been any attempt by Nigeria to explore the Islamic economic system. This is not only an arrogant and discourteous approach to national issues, a characteristic of all secular nations, but one which has contributed to our perennial national failures. The fact of the matter is that the genius to conceive and operate an economy is not limited to the European race alone but is shared by all mankind. Yes, there is Capitalism and there is Socialism; but there is also the Islamic economic system. This fact must not be brushed aside. If Nigeria does not know the nature of the Islamic economic system, then it has an obligation to learn it with a view to applying it. Ignorance of a system which still influences the lives of the majority of this nation's people is an unspeakable national disgrace. Must anyone be surprised that Nigeria has sunk into economic disaster?³⁶

During the past two decades, the Muslim community has published innumerable articles on economic subjects. A specific economic institution frequently targeted is the banking system that is then contrasted to its Western capitalistic counterpart. A core difference between the two is the issue of interest. Islam condemns the taking of interest and considers it usury, a concept that finds an echo in the Old Testament but that Christians have left behind them. The Nigerian banking system is designed along Western lines, something Muslims consider another instance of secular oppression.

Awwal Yadudu does little to hide his annoyance with Nigeria's economic system:

They see nothing wrong with the exploitative and usurious banking system which obtains in the country. Indeed, they endorse it. Pretending to be true secularists, they attack a more humane alternative banking system only because it has the word "Islamic" in its name. Certainly Nigerians cannot be more conscientious secularists than the Belgians, the Swiss and Americans who have benefited from the operation of similar banks on their soils!³⁷

Having imposed a secular regime on the country, it is not surprising that the British worked hard at a secular constitution prior to handing over. One of the anonymous *Nasiha* authors reports that Lord Cromer, a colonial authority, once declared that all the British colonies would gain their freedom, except those that choose a Muslim government. This is why they ensured that the Sultan of Sokoto was marginalized politically. They also made sure that the poisonous seed they planted would take root.³⁸ It was not only *siyasa* that they undermined, but the same with education. They left the country with nothing but democracy! And what do Muslims have to do with that? It only seemed that Muslims were satisfied and accepted the new regime, but beneath the veneer....³⁹ The rest of the story has already been recorded with the words of others, with some of it reserved for Monograph Six on sharia.

The colonial battle did not cease with independence. Muslims think to detect a continued and conscious educational battle waged against them by Christians in cahoots with Marxists. The story is told by one Abdullahi Muhammad Abdulmajeed of Kano of an attempt to prepare a curriculum for secondary schools and universities on the subject of moral philosophy. It was a "well orchestrated clandestine scheme aimed at de-Islamizing and demoralising Muslims under the false cover of moral philosophy which has been imposed surrepti-

tiously on our schools and universities.” The idea was to eliminate religion not only from the course but from “the surface of the earth!” Christians were mandated to prepare the outline of the course; not a single Muslim was included in the outline preparation. Though Muslim participants strongly objected to this approach, the programme went ahead. Muhammad bitterly comments,

Their cruel deception and anti-Islamic scheme became crystal clear when they mentioned that the course be given more periods than the religious studies. Furthermore, the agents of these sworn enemies of Islam, who are strategically positioned in our institutions of learning, have been appointed as co-ordinators of the course which every student is compelled to take.

This development shows how deeply the government is involved not only in promoting “moral bankruptcy” in the society, but also in “de-Islamizing Muslims through deliberate, calculated and devilish designs like this.” For the Muslim there is no morality without Islam. Christian teachers will “have a field day in de-Islamizing and Christianizing the minds of their Muslim students.” The course is said to be based on Christian, Pagan and Marxist moral concepts, while Islam is completely left out of the picture. The writer calls on Muslim students to boycott the courses and on the government to withdraw them “immediately in order to avert any unpleasant consequences.”⁴⁰ This story and those recorded in Monograph Two confirm Ado-Kurawa’s allegation that the formal education sector in modern Nigeria is “secular and deliberately designed to undermine Islam.”⁴¹

The complaints about the secular separation of education, religion and morality from each other just will not stop. Musa Sulaiman asserts that secular morality divorced from religion is based on “purely natural considerations.” An objective of secular education is “deconsecration of values by rendering morality relative and questionable.” All the traditional moral values and prac-

tices come under attack and are undermined. Such a development in a religious context that prefers great emphasis on law, not to say legalism, is felt to be particularly devastating. It is an ongoing process without end. “Marriage, modesty and family values are replaced by promiscuity, nudity and blatant forms of birth control and sexual exploitation.” Crime, robbery, and fraud are experienced daily. The secular divorce of morality from religion, together with the separation of politics and religion, have destroyed social harmony and replaced it with chaos.⁴²

To the Muslim, secularism and corruption naturally go hand in hand, for secularism represents an autonomous morality separated from religion. By definition it must slide into chaos. Ibraheem Sulaiman describes secular Nigeria as inexorably corrupt. He is not blind. He recognizes the inroads of secularism also in his own Muslim community and the oppression it is causing. The military, the ulama, the emirs, the business class—they all come in for scathing accusations of unfaithfulness to Islam and for having succumbed to secularism with its accompanying immoral greed and lust for power.⁴³

In a paper he submitted to the federal government’s Political Bureau, Sulaiman declared,

Colonialism has sought to destroy all the values of Islam without providing an honourable and viable alternative. It has sought to deface the moral character of Islamic Societies, cities and environment, and replaced them with the moral debauchery of the West. Notice the breweries in the heart of Muslim cities. Notice, too, the brothels, gambling dens and centres of vice all over the place. It is a picture of neo-colonialism boldly challenging Islam to war.

Sulaiman is not finished, but you can read the rest in his paper in Appendix 6.⁴⁴ In his 1986 paper, he firmly announces that “Any regime or group or religious persuasion which seeks to assault the

integrity of Islam or subvert the Muslim *Umma* will be deemed to have declared a war on us.”⁴⁵

Justice Abdulkadir Orire, after describing the alleged ideal moral and social situation that obtained prior to colonialism, painted even the early period of colonialism as one of moral decline. He declared, “When the British came with their legal system, the situation underwent a great change from good to worst and the environment became polluted so much so that Mr. Palmer, a colonial administrator, mourned, ‘It is lamentably impossible to deny that in Hausa-land, the incidents of crimes, notably theft, murder, robbery and burglary, had grown worse instead of better since the British occupation.’”⁴⁶

Khalid Abubakar proclaimed that

*modern man has secularized the world in an attempt to run away from God and His laws, His justice and peace. He therefore began an ambiguous search for justice and peace through atheism, heresy and freethinking, socialism and capitalism, and the contemporary society through science and technology which, according to this school of thought, gave birth to the “new world order,” where God has no say. The results of this rebellion is the present disorder in the world community today, where none is free from one form of disorder or the other, political, social, religious or economic.*⁴⁷

In the same vein, Gumi equated secularism with a spirit of stubbornness. Religion, presumably both Christianity and Islam, produces people who will listen and obey. Secular people may be enlightened, but, having done away with religion, their enlightenment is “useless” and “will not work, especially with those who are big men. They will not listen.”⁴⁸

Jamilu Lawan moans,

We are really tired of this paganistic life whose result has been chaos in all aspects. Socially, economically, ethically and family-

*wise, the Muslim has suffered because Western life or what others call secularism through the application of the common law, characterised by anti-religiousness, alcoholism, drugs, rudeness, nakedness and free sexuality. If a community has the above illness, the outcome is obviously all sorts of crimes and evils.*⁴⁹

Muhammad Gashua has concluded that it is time for the doctrine of secularism to “cease to suppress the fundamental rights of the teeming majority” of “over 60 million” Nigerians. The doctrine has been used to oppress Muslims. It has “consistently advanced the cause of Euro-Christian” on “numerous national issues.” Secularism is the “child of Christianity, just like Christianity has become an agent of neo-colonialism.” In fact, the good values of Islam that could have saved Nigeria from its present crisis, were bartered away “in the name of secularism.” “Muslims have foregone too much in [the] name of secularism.” Gashua finds that Ibraheem Sulaiman has best described it: It “has become a sinister but convenient mechanism to blackmail Muslims, and impede the progress of Islam and reduce it to the level of earthly concepts and ideologies.”⁵⁰

No matter which way you turn, Muslims find they are oppressed. Everything is twisted in the direction of Euro-Christianity. Members of that religion all too eagerly serve as the hound dogs or gate men of the West, offering up Nigeria and its people to Western interests. The most sensitive area of oppression is in law or sharia, but that is a subject reserved for Monograph Six.

Muslims have indeed become tired of secularism, *a la* Jamilu Lawan above, and are increasingly demanding their right to be free from its heavy yoke. “The imposition of secularism on a Muslim population is a violation of their fundamental right to live according to the guidance of their Holy Book.”⁵¹ Az-Zubair echoes, Christians have no right “to dictate to the Muslims what to believe or practise, especially in matters such as the sharia.”⁵²

Ado-Kurawa firmly disagrees with the Christian and secularist affirmation that secularism creates room for minority religions. Even in secular Europe “states retained some of their Christian traditions, which do not conflict with reason. Such states favour Christianity in terms of recognition and national symbols. Even certain Christian denominations are favoured over others in terms of recognition and prestige.” He refers to Christian religious holidays which show that “secularity is not neutral to non-Christian believers,” who are often allowed no time off for their functions, not even for the Friday prayers. The British and Norwegian monarchs must be Anglican and Lutheran respectively.

Some refer to the above situation as the “Christian notion of secularity.” It is definitely not neutral and does not lead to freedom of religion. In various Western countries Muslims are often denied the practice of their religion or teaching it. Some have even been killed. Thus Ado-Kurawa feels Muslims have good reason for “their apprehension of the Christian notion of secularity. European countries and their offshoots are neutral to Christian sects but not to Islam.” On top of all that, there are the various forms of “secularism” in different countries, some of them even Muslim countries such as Turkey and Tunisia, all of which favour some form of religion at the expense of Islam. “So,” asks Ado-Kurawa, “where is secularity neutral?”⁵³

With all those negative associations and experiences with secularism, it is no wonder that Muslims consider secularism the very opposite to freedom. Said Hassan Kontagora, “There should only be freedom of religion and not the idea of a secular state in Nigeria.” Neither should anyone be surprised that he “vowed to see that the [secularism] clause was removed” from the constitution.⁵⁴

Before moving on to the next topic, I need to point out that as much as Muslims resent British colonialism, they have neither acknowledged nor rejected the advantages colonialism bestowed on them. Already in Monograph Three we have seen that colonialism

placed many Traditionalist ethnic groups under the control of Muslim emirs and chiefs who often were of Hausa-Fulani stock.⁵⁵

As these people turned Christian and awoke to the reality of this “internal colonialism,” they began to resist such regimes. This was often a major background reason to violent explosions in Middle Belt states. It is one of the colonial injustices that Muslims refuse to acknowledge, let alone surrender. They make light of the accusations and often employ force when the subjected people make moves to regain their independence. Everything else about colonialism is denounced as evil, but not this feature. They seem not to worry about the origin of this arrangement and consider that as Muslims they have the right to this inherited power.

▲ MISCELLANEOUS QUOTATIONS _____

The secular democratic government is a government that legalises prostitution, alcoholism, homosexuality, pornography, injustice and immorality. There is no place for all these illegalities in Islam or Christianity—Ibrahim Aliyu.⁵⁶

...if for all the past decades Muslims were tolerant of secularism being forced upon them, why can't these secular fundamentalists also be tolerant of Muslim choice done through a democratic means? We now know who has zero tolerance—Ibrahim M. Umar.⁵⁷

Muslims are aware of the desire of the Western secular states to vanquish the Islamic ideology. Most of the ways are by deceit, treachery, dictatorship and many punitive means which include political [and] economic [measures] against Muslim states and peoples. It is worth mentioning that Nigeria has undergone some measures that are a passing threat to Islam. These measures include equalising the roles of man and woman, knowing very well that Islam has specific roles for the man and woman, giving the woman non-secular and immoral social status. [They further include] the destruction of the school system. There are gross misconcep-

tions of the role of a Muslim man and woman in an Islamic society and the sharia is progressive, democratic and peaceful, until it comes against Western secular domination and suppression and everything about the society becomes unhinged—Bello Sakkwato.⁵⁸

Secularism is the underlying theory and imperialism is its most important practice. Indeed, imperialism is the great mechanism through which secularism is internationalized. The close correlation between secularism and imperialism could be seen in such brutal actions as the genocide of millions of people in Asia and Africa, which, in our view, does not constitute a deviation from the course of Western civilization. On the basis of the materialistic, utilitarian, and rational view that the world is purely matter that can be utilized, oppressed and transported, it was decided that millions of people should be transferred from Europe to the USA and from Africa in order to increase their usefulness and augment their productivity—Original author not indicated. Quoted by D. A. Mohammed.⁵⁹

There is a growing consciousness on the part of Muslims the world over, that they have been marked for atrocities by neo-colonialists, masquerading as champions of democracy and human rights—Ustaz Musa.⁶⁰

▲ WESTERN SENSE OF SUPERIORITY —————

Muslims repeatedly observe that secularism has led to a strong sense of cultural superiority in the West. According to Tofa, secularization “by its very meaning is an open-ended and continuous process” that will “culminate into secularism.” The West’s “experience and consciousness are the example for the world to follow.” The degree to which an “underdeveloped” nation has managed to “lift itself up” to the Western model determines the degree of respect they earn from the West. Tofa scorns the theory of some “Christian”⁶¹ scholars who explain secularization as “a process of human development from his infantile stage to that of complete

maturity.” Given this theory, it is only natural that the West regards its civilization as “man’s cultural vanguard” for the rest of the world to follow. The rejection of this secular perspective by Muslims is the prime reason for the “Western-Christian’s constant attack on Islam and Muslims.”⁶²

Az-Zubair is equally aware of Western pride in their culture. The Westerner sees his as the vanguard of all cultures and “the most evolved of the species,” with the rest all “lagging behind.” Fortunately there is hope for non-Western cultures, for one day they will catch up with the West. It is almost as if these Muslim writers have been reading my daily Vancouver newspaper, some of whose columnists regularly prescribe secularism as the medicine for the Muslims’ disease.

Sani Mustapha bluntly rejects the notion of Western superiority. A world “devoid of religion and guidance from her Creator is obviously a world of confusion and misguidance. We should all remember that the West was never a center and cradle of civilization, as there was never a prophet sent to the West to preach and call them to the supremacy and guidance of Allah.” It is a civilization of confusion, because it was built on the culture of Vandals, barbarians and Vikings, whose cultures “could not be compared to the civilisation brought and taught by the prophets in the Euphrates-Tigris axis and also in the Mediterranean region. The former civilisation had no glimpse of the light of Allah.”⁶³

Sanusi Lamido Sanusi, a banker and a prodigious writer of academic papers of international standing, sees right through the pretensions of the West. Early colonial rejection of sharia as “repugnant” is being repeated by contemporary Western and other non-Muslim critics of sharia. The current politically correct terminology includes words and phrases like “inhumane,” “uncivilized,” “barbaric,” and “inconsistent with modern civilization.” Such opinions, suggests Sanusi, are “no more than to express a personal opinion, a disapproval of or abhorrence for that thing. It is not a

statement of fact and is therefore not in any way objective or binding on others.” Such claims only indicate different sets of values. “The principal philosophic error of the international community is the presumption that its conception of what is ‘humane,’ ‘moral’ or ‘civilized’ is an objective, universal one....” Muslims have every reason to regard “imprisonment, detention, hanging, the electric chair and all forms of punishment” as “‘inhuman,’ ‘barbaric’ and ‘uncivilized,’ depending on whose standards are employed.”⁶⁴

That the West has a superiority complex is recognized by most, including Westerners. That Islam has a superiority complex is obvious to anyone living amongst them or reading their literature. Ado-Kurawa admits it freely. He foresees the possibility of the rise of a northern Nigerian state “that could be antagonistic to the West, since Muslims never feel inferior to Westerners but superior.”⁶⁵ This collision of two superiority complexes has led to a gradual buildup of a most volatile situation that finally reached its natural explosion on 9/11.

Though many of these writers generalize too much and do not recognize nuances sufficiently, I am often as appalled as they are at the antics of Western theologians who take secularism as their frame of reference. As to the blatant pride inherent in Western culture, no argument. I was brought up with it and know it from the inside. It would be difficult to find its equal—unless it be Islam!

▲ QUOTATION

*The Jews and the Westerners are firm believers in racism and imperialism. They believe that as a chosen race, they are superior to all other races and should therefore exercise control over world resources—S. A. Dukawa.*⁶⁶

▲ NOTES

¹ *Sharia in Nigeria*, p. 3.

² *Sharia in Nigeria*, pp. 5-8, 15. *Sharia and the Press*, pp. 136-139, 149. It is interesting to observe both the current Muslim *hijab* challenge to this French secularism and the hysterical reaction of the French government to this challenge. Is the secular fortress built on sand after all?

³ H. Hassan, 15 Feb/91.

⁴ I. Avagi, 15 Dec/95. Appendix 4.

⁵ A. Yadudu, 7 Apr/89.

⁶ Though I do not stress this emphasis, the alleged remote Greek connection to secularism is a fairly common theme among Muslims. When Matthew Kukah asked Shehu Umar Abdullahi, a teacher at Bayero University, Kano, how he understood secularism, “without the slightest hesitation, he said: ‘It is the introduction of Graeco-Roman civilisation’” (M. Kukah, 1993, p. 229). Similar connections have long been recognized within the Kuyperian tradition, especially by philosopher Herman Dooyeweerd.

⁷ Bidmos, 1995, p. 23.

⁸ M. Sulaiman, “Implications...,” p. 81. Muslim writers make much of Christian resistance to science, but they forget half of the story. The other half is that many early pioneers of modern science were Protestants who consciously rejected the pre-Reformation resistance to scientific experiments that was based on Greek philosophy rather than Biblical thought. In fact, they drew consciously and especially upon the Biblical concept of the cultural mandate, a close parallel to the Muslim concept of *khalifa* (J. Boer, 1991, pp. 80-90).

⁹ H. Abdu, 7 Mar/2003. Appendix 23 on *Companion CD*.

¹⁰ *Sharia in Nigeria*, pp. 3-5.

¹¹ I. Sulaiman, 3/86, pp. 2-3.

¹² B. Tofa, 10 Mar/89.

¹³ A. Mashu, 30 Nov/99, p. 4.

¹⁴ *Sharia in Nigeria*, p. 10. *Sharia and the Press*, p. 10.

¹⁵ “Wanda ba su da abin bauta sai duniya da kawace-kawacenta.” *Alkalami*, “*Sharhin Alkalami*,” 16 Nov/88.

¹⁶ S. Mustapha, 7 Jan/2000, p. 5.

¹⁷ These are only *theoretical* claims with which secularism stands or falls. In reality, secularism is as much faith-based as any overt religion, a topic I will discuss in due time in this series. Of course, as secularism itself insists, any theory not based on factual observation must be discarded! He whom the shoe fits...Or does this come too close to the Achilles' heel of secularism?

¹⁸ Ado-Kurawa, *Sharia in Nigeria*, pp. 5-8.

¹⁹ A. Mustapha, p. viii.

²⁰ *Nasiha*, pp. 14-15. Original Hausa: “*Ganin haka fa sai su Turawa suka tashi haikan wajen ganin cewa lallai sai sun raba ka’idojin Musulunci da rayuwar Musulmi a duk inda suke, saboda su sami damar mallakar sauran kasashe da kwashe musu arzikinsu da danne musu ‘yancinsu ta yadda ba za su taba ci gaba ba.*”

²¹ *Nasiha*, p. 17. Original Hausa: “*Shi kuma wannan tsarin ilimi kowa ya san cewa ba ruwansa da al’amarin addini, kamar dai sauran harkokin rayuwa.*”

²² M. Maccido, 9 Jun/2003.

²³ *Nasiha*, pp. 14-15.

²⁴ *Nasiha*, pp. 15-16. “*Ban da son jin dadin daular duniya da tara mata a cikin gida da kama bayi, ba abin da suka sani.*”

²⁵ *Nasiha*, p. 16. “*Wannan ya zagi wannan, wancan ya soki wancan.*”

²⁶ *Nasiha*, p. 16. Original Hausa: “*...aka bar wa shariar Musulunci din ma, an tsara shi ne yadda dole sai ya dace da tsarin shariar Kiristocin (Turawa)—‘yan mulkin mallaka.*”

²⁷ A. Mustapha, p. viii-ix. For a Nigerian summary of Western imperialism and secularism versus Muslim nations see S. Dukawa, “American-Arab Governments.”

²⁸ Y. Hadejia, 8 Dec/99.

²⁹ Till today, Islam pretends to be wounded by the very crusades that were a Western defense against an aggressive Islam that was conquering “much of what was then the Christian world.” It “conquered Spain, invaded Southern France, and took the banners of Islam twice to the gates of Vienna” (S. Weatherbe, 13 Oct/2003. See also H. Pirenne, pp. 147-185).

³⁰ S. Dukawa, 2002, pp. 1, 5. Dukawa acknowledges his source to be E. Gelner via Dahiru Yahaya, "The Sharia and the Future of Nigeria," a lecture Yahaya delivered in 2000. This statement contains much food for critical thought. What is the significance of the quotation marks around "civilisation," if not a haughty mockery of that status? What of the lost wars in Western Europe that halted Muslim advance and, in fact, spelled retreat? If that war were not lost, is Dukawa possibly thinking of the current Muslim infiltration of the West through immigrants and refugees as the continuation of that war? If this sounds preposterous to some naïve Westerners, they have not studied the writings of the strategists of contemporary Muslim *da'wah*.

³¹ I. Sulaiman, Mar/86, p. 3. Appendix 5.

³² I. Sulaiman. "State and Religion," pp. 1-6. Appendix 6.

³³ M. Danbatta, 12 Nov/99, p. 5.

³⁴ K. Muhammad, *NN*, 17 Nov/99, p. 5.

³⁵ M. Ladan, 21Apr/89. Appendix 3.

³⁶ I. Sulaiman. "State and Religion," pp. 11-13. Appendix 6.

³⁷ A. Yadudu, 7 Apr/89.

³⁸ *Nasiba*, p. 28. Original Hausa: "...suka tabbata cewa dafin da suka shuka a kasar za a ci gaba da shuka."

³⁹ *Nasiba*, p. 28. "Sai dai zaman doya da manja."

⁴⁰ A. Abdulmajeed, 21 Apr/89.

⁴¹ I. Ado-Kurawa, *Sharia in Nigeria*, p. 33.

⁴² M. Sulaiman, "Implications," pp. 81-83. A. Kollere, Appendix 27 on *Companion CD*.

⁴³ I. Sulaiman, "Islam, Secularism." Appendix 5.

⁴⁴ I. Sulaiman, "State and Religion," pp. 16-17. Appendix 6.

⁴⁵ I. Sulaiman, "Islam, Secularism...", p. 11. Appendix 5.

⁴⁶ A. Orire, 2000, p. 3. While the politically correct allegation is that secularism was brought into play for the very purpose of destroying Islam, including its demoralization, Orire makes it clear that Palmer lamented this development. This calls into question the allegation itself!

⁴⁷ K. Abubakar, 1995, p. 30.

⁴⁸ Interview. *Quality*, Oct/87, p. 38.

⁴⁹ J. Lawan, 9 Jan/99.

⁵⁰ M. Gashua, 2 Dec/88. Appendix 14 on *Companion CD*.

⁵¹ I. Umar, 19 Dec/99.

⁵² Appendix 1.

⁵³ I. Ado-Kurawa, *Sharia in Nigeria*, pp. 16-20, 46-48.

⁵⁴ G. Udeagwu, 28 Apr/88. There is a latent disagreement among Muslims whether secularism was ever part of any Nigerian constitution. Kantogora assumes it was and wants to remove it. Justice Bello denies that any Nigerian constitution ever provided for secularism.

⁵⁵ J. Boer, 2004, Vol. 3, pp.86-93; 1979, pp. 142, 211; 1984, Ch. 4, 1988, pp. 10-11.

⁵⁶ *NN*, 13 Dec/99.

⁵⁷ *NN*, 19 Dec/99. The reference is to the “secular fanatics,” Muslims like Governor Makarfi of Kaduna State, not to Christians.

⁵⁸ *NN*, 5 Jan/2000.

⁵⁹ Quoted from unknown author by D. A. Mohammed, “Muslim Intellectuals,” p. 15.

⁶⁰ N. Dambatta, 8 May/2004.

⁶¹ Quotation marks here are Tofa’s.

⁶² 10 Mar/89.

⁶³ S. Mustapha, *NN*, 10 Jan/2000.

⁶⁴ S. Sanusi, 1 Oct/2002, p. 2.

⁶⁵ Ado-Kurawa, 2003.

⁶⁶ 13 Jul/2002, p. 5.

