

▲ F O U R

HOPE, REALIZATION, DISAPPOINTMENTS

What do Muslims expect from sharia? That is the first question for this chapter. Then I move on to issues of realization, accomplishments and disappointments. Were any of their hopes realized during the initial five years? It seems some were; some were not. It is very much a mixed bag. We will see that there is a high degree of disappointment that things have not changed that much. However, since these opinions are often tinged by ideology, political considerations and vested interests, it is extremely difficult to ferret truth from falsehood, fact from fiction. And though by now, six years later, one can detect certain trends and even genuine disappointments, it may be too early to come to definite conclusions. But I should not run ahead of myself.

▲ HOPES FOR SHARIA—AND DISAPPOINTMENTS —

The first thing Muslims, especially the ordinary “masses,” expected from sharia is transformation. That hope accounts for the great crowds at sharia launching ceremonies. Wrote one Adam

Ahmad, “Islam alone can confront the negative trend of things. Islam produces men by transforming them from clay-mud wretchedness and stagnation to the position of splendour, felicity and tranquility.”¹

The “splendour, felicity and tranquility” natural to an Islamic society was, unfortunately, an expectation not yet met. The reality on the ground from which the people hoped to be delivered was marked by oppression and corruption.

The *Companion* CD contains a folder under the title <Corruption>, where you will find a wealth of materials on the subject that will show you in no uncertain terms the depth of the problem—and of the sharia hopes of the people. I will give you one tiny morsel here of a story that is an example of what, according to Nigerians, is happening every day in every Nigerian government at every level. The story is one from Bauchi State, but could have been taken from any state. *Hotline*, a Muslim magazine, interviewed Musa Shekarau, the representative of Lere Constituency in the State House of Assembly. He was also the Chairman of the State’s House Committee on the Judiciary. I begin in the middle of the interview.

Shekarau: We discovered that great corruption took place. We requested that the Ministry for Local Government (LG) send us a progress report of how the chairmen were performing, but it refused to do that. We then forged ahead to come out with ad hoc committees, which investigated the matter and found some of them abnormal.

Hotline: What made them abnormal?

Shekarau: First of all, the Ministry for LG got a contract, in which each of the twenty-three LGs gave them N2.5 million for the purchase of two computer sets. The market price is between N1.2 to N1.5 million. We also discovered that each LG was giving a bribe of N410,000 to the

*Ministry. This is something abnormal. Another issue is communication gadgets to chairmen's cars, where the Ministry directed the LGs to give them N1.5 million each, while the market price is N300,000. The corruption level is too high. Take for instance Makarfi LG, where it said it constructed a stadium at the cost of N70 million, but you will not see any building. At Sabon Gari the chairman alleged to have constructed roads, but nothing is there. In Chikun LG the construction of Ruruku, Nasarawa and Juju were awarded and paid with large sums of money, but nothing is there. At Chikun also a toilet was constructed at the cost of N1.5 million. At Birnin Gwarai, roads were said to be constructed, the money was paid, but they are still as they were before. So, this is the purpose behind our decision to suspend the chairmen so as to have a proper way to investigate the whole matter.*²

This scene is not exceptional or rare. It serves as a normal example, year in year out, throughout the country. That accounts for much of the tiredness of the people—and for renewed hope in sharia.

Shortly after the CA of 1989, one Yunusa Mai Lemu from Katsina wrote a letter to the editor of *Alkalami* under the title "Sharia: The Solution to Dissension." The title is an indication of the hope Mai Lemu invested in sharia. He gives us an impressive list of all the evils that would disappear from society once sharia is implemented. In addition to the usual ones of adultery, gambling, bribery and oppression, he included dissension among Muslims, high cost of food and cars, armed robbery, failure to pay the *zakka* and outlawing public preaching. Most of these are the same hopes for which the people trooped to Gusau to celebrate Sani's sharia declaration a decade later. Mai Lemu continued, "There is nothing so urgent as for Muslims to arise and see to the establishment of sharia. But if we just sit and sleep we will go to

hell without faith.” He encouraged Muslims to rise up also against all “oppressors, the enemies of God, the hypocrites.”³

1. ZAMFARA GOVERNOR AND GOVERNMENT

Governor Sani of Zamfara being the pioneer of the new dispensation, it will be good to check out his hopes for the future. He put it thus: “The crux of the matter is we are determined to rid our society of the degeneration and ineptitude that is prevalent, such as gambling, prostitution, armed robbery and corruption, drug abuse, lies and deceit. Sharia is aimed at eliminating all these vices and putting the fear of Allah in our minds as well as conducting our affairs based on trust, honesty, justice and fairness to all.”⁴

In the interview with AM mentioned in several chapters, the Governor expressed himself very optimistically about the effects of sharia on taxpayers. Here’s the relevant part of the interview:

AM: You talked about the board to collect Zakat. How will this board operate? Are you going to take a census of the rich in Zamfara and how do you assess their income to determine the required Zakat?

Gov. Sani: I shall enjoin that crime is prevented. If you say you are a Muslim, you know that God is watching you. As much as possible, a Muslim doesn’t hide any information because he is taking himself out of Islam without saying so. Like paying tax, the revenue board will go and assess all the known businesses you have and the income you have and then impose tax on you. We expect our Muslim brothers in Zamfara State to openly declare their assets to the board directly.

Here in Kaduna, for example, Ahmed Aruwa and Chanchangi always declare their zakat yearly. It can be done in two ways; one, we have been to look at the Sudanese penal code and the Saudi Arabian laws. In a

situation where we expect somebody to have money and he doesn't pay, we will use the revenue board estimates to determine his worth. By that assessment, we will approach him and if he refuses to pay, he is out of Islam. So, nobody will openly refuse to pay Zakat because the society will take their decision.⁵

“Out of Islam?” “Society will take their decision”—and treat him like an apostate? Excommunicate? Kill privately with the government pretending it does not notice as Sani suggested in an earlier context? Your Excellency, am I hearing you correctly? Have you thought this through?

2. OTHER MUSLIMS

Saleh Maina had high hopes for the new direction. “The events in Zamfara are fundamental in that they may have set into motion a process likely to result in the emancipation of the Nigerian people, Muslims and non-Muslims, from the tyranny of neo-colonialism and their enslavement to the exploitative and oppressive conditions imposed on them under the prevailing social order.”⁶

Abdul-Rahman Hassan-Tom explained the reason for the huge throngs that attended the sharia launching in Zamfara. It was, he affirmed,

a support based on and driven by hope—the poor hoped that their economic emancipation would be given priority attention as enshrined in the sharia. The deprived, neglected and rejected ones among us thought that their cases would be revisited as desired under the sharia. Most of us thought that with the advent of sharia, governance would have a relative semblance to what was obtainable under true and sincere sharia regimes, such as that of Khalifa Omar, who was reported to be going round the town every night to help the sick and the needy.

Again, Hassan-Tom remembered, “We jubilated when we heard the drums of sharia in Zamfara, hoping and praying that the introducers will try to emulate the good leadership style of Islam characterized by social justice, economic emancipation and high sense of responsibility.” Because the expectations were so high, when opponents and critics arose, “some intellectuals among us took up their pens to defend our religion that was baselessly attacked.” “We expected to see sharia radiating on people’s faces, we expected it to show in the conduct of both the rulers and the ruled; we expected it to become an object of envy to its enemies—but, [if I am allowed a little foreshadowing—Boer] alas, our sharia governors decided to blow up all our lofty dreams about sharia, despite all the support and encouragement we gave them.”⁷

Ibrahim Sulaiman was very optimistic about the effects sharia was to have. “The sharia will be the only timely intervention to check the sordid atmosphere that portrays the country as going to the dogs,” he asserted.⁸ He pointed to the orderly pre-colonial sharia society in Nigeria with some nostalgia. “All areas which enjoyed the rule of Islam had a well-organised economic system. For instance, Sokoto Caliphate was an economically independent nation and self-sufficient in food resources. There was a clear guidance as to how to achieve comprehensive justice for all, and a social security scheme based on the philosophy of *Zakat* was in operation.” He expected a restored sharia to revert to such a restored society.⁹

Mu’az Dadi had similar expectations. The sharia “is the only future path of Nigeria” that will solve all its social ills. We have been “provided with [a] solution by the One who knows the present, past and future—Allah. Under the provisions of sharia, therefore, a better Nigeria of today and tomorrow. Let us accept this call of sharia and be free from these problems.” Mu’az Dadi’s article contains a host of suggestions about the steps to be taken to achieve its potential. Sharia equals a just social order.¹⁰ Khalid Abubakar asserted that, according to the Quran, sharia is the *sina qua non* of

peace. “Peace is achievable only through the divine natural laws of Allah, which establish the impeccable code of conduct of the affairs of man on earth, and not through following whims and caprices or other parochial interests.”¹¹

Ibrahim Tahir, holder of the prestigious title *Talban Bauchi*, identified the collapse of the sharia after Usman Danfodio’s regime as “the starting point for the backwardness of Muslims.” This collapse led to the destruction of “traditional institutions” throughout Hausa land. What he called “the systematic destruction of sharia” by colonialists “brought disunity, disloyalty and lack of respect among Muslims and between traditional rulers and their followers.” The more recent reinstatement of sharia in northern states “is a blessing not only to the northern Muslims but [to] all Muslims in the country.” “To declare sharia as your way of life and to operate it in your society as enshrined by the constitution is progress to the Muslims.” He encouraged Muslims to “uphold the ethics of sharia and to strive hard to implement it for themselves, their families and [throughout] the entire society.” The “revival of sharia is an opportunity for Muslims to regain their lost glory in the eyes of the world and to [live] closer to their Creator.”¹²

Muslims in general share high hopes that sharia will clean up the corruption that is awash in the country. Abdullahi Jalo, a lawyer in Gombe State, called on Governor Habu Hashidu “to introduce sharia legal system in the state immediately to curb the increasing social vices such as armed robbery, prostitution and alcoholism.” According to him, “sharia was the only solution to the current situation in Gombe State, where crimes have reached the highest level.” If only sharia were “followed to the letter,” Jalo stated, “it would ensure sanity in the society where illegal theatre houses, gambling, lottery, prostitution, beer parlours and robbery were visible.”¹³

In the same issue of the *NN*, one Ibrahim Adamu Shanono affirmed that the sharia is the only recourse left to “eradicate all

immoralities in the society that have defied solutions.” He further stated that the

*reintroduction of sharia was the only option now left for the Muslims, an opportunity for them to practice their religion as enshrined in the Holy Quran. He explained that the high rate of armed robbery was due to the absence of sharia, adding that vices like prostitution, armed robbery, drug trafficking, adultery and other social problems were the manifestations of our ineffective legal system.*¹⁴

Bello Alkali similarly held high expectations from sharia. Once it is firmly in place, social and economic reforms “are expected to set in,” he affirmed. The nation’s vices “are certain to be stamped out.” Though many opponents have complained about barbaric punishments like amputation of the hand, Alkali suggested this punishment has at least two advantages: (a) “The criminal will be too crippled to steal again, since one of his weapons of operation is now amputated”; (b) The criminal is now permanently marked. “These two issues will serve to discourage the criminal” from continuing in crime. “This will undoubtedly serve better than sending him to the prison, where he sometimes gets more hardened.”¹⁵

Baba Ejiga challenged us to imagine a world in which people obey perfectly! Imagine for yourself

a world where people would not walk haughtily and boastfully. Consider a world where people will not covet their neighbour’s property or kill other people. Consider a world where people learn to know each other and appreciate each other. Consider a world where people know and obey the will of God, where people exhibit honesty and goodness at all times and on all issues. Surely, everybody will like to live and enjoy their lives there.

Baba Ejiga was only too aware that, unfortunately, the oppo-

site obtains. Nevertheless, “we should not sit here to condemn sharia. We should applaud sharia and whoever encourages it.” “Such a person who has submitted to the will of God in full measure is bound to reap the abundant measure here on earth and in the hereafter.” Ejiga realized that such a paradise will not come automatically with the enthronement of sharia.

The adoption of sharia will not solve the problems of oppression and cheating in Zamfara by [its] mere adoption. There were Muslims before, when all sorts of uncharitable things took place. Where was God's sharia? Were they not aware of sharia? As a Muslim, sharia is you and you are sharia. Therefore, for sharia to succeed and come to stay, the people and its elected leaders must change their old ways. The governor must behave like the prophet of God and his worthy companions,

like the caliphs succeeding the Prophet.¹⁶

Danlami Takko had very high hopes for sharia. As he put it:

We believe that with sharia all good things will come. You need the sharia to effectively cleanse the civil service of its corrupt nature. Sharia will definitely deal with takers and givers of bribes in such a way that nobody will like to be caught. Even the hospitals will receive less attention, because few people will be admitted. Since most accidents are man-made, sharia will effectively check such through the withdrawal of alcoholic drinks from the market, which cause injuries and deaths on the roads, man-made illnesses such as gonorrhea, syphilis and even AIDS will disappear as sharia will make sure that prostitutes (both men and women) do not exist.

The good things that various governments have promised ever since independence have not materialized. “The sharia as a natural check against the excesses of the legislature, the executive and the judiciary and even against man himself, can effectively provide

these things in less than five years.” Takko promised that “our dream will not stop until we see a Bauchi State flowing with milk and honey, courtesy of sharia.”¹⁷ Takko, how is your dream coming along? I am asking you this question in 2006—six years later...

Southern Muslims entertained great hopes as well. Mohammed Williams, a Muslim scholar of royal stock in Lagos, was of the opinion that sharia should be applied throughout the country. In contrast to what obtains now, sharia will bring “justice, transparency in both private and public life, probity, fair play and accountability.” “We are tired,” he asserted, “of those who rule us and who say they are Muslims, but who do not do things as prescribed in the Qur'an. How can a person call himself a Muslim and steal life out of his country, steal so much that millions of his people now wallow in abject poverty?”¹⁸

Even the doyen of Yoruba Muslim apologists, lawyer Lateef Adegbite, had similar expectations. He alleged that critics of sharia “have not been honest enough to address the mischief which sharia seeks to redress, pointing out that the critics ignored the perilous state of the nation's morality, the grand failure of the Western European system to deal effectively with the social ills of our time.” He predicted that, if implemented properly, Zamfara will “become a haven of moral decency, fairness and justice.”¹⁹ At the NCSCP conference introduced in Chapter 2, Adegbite assured the nation that sharia “would not turn Zamfara into a conservative and reactionary society that would return the people to dark ages.” Instead, it will become “progressive, science and technology oriented in the age of computers and globalization, bearing in mind the contributions of Islam to civilisation, when much of Western Europe was yet to be exposed to modern science and medicine.”²⁰

All of these hopes have a sound basis in history, according to Safianu Rabiu, at both international and local level. He reminded his readers of the primitive state of medieval Great Britain. The people of the country that until recently “governed and controlled

much of the world,” at one time were “tossing their garbage from the windows and had frequent plagues from rodents and roaches,” while “their Queen has thirty-years’ makeup, layers atop layers.” “Please note that it is Islamic civilization that changed this! Yet we have these virulent insults against Islam.” “How dare anybody characterize Islam as primitive! It is evident from Andalusia (modern Spain), a territory within Islam’s northern reach, that Islamic civilization bailed out the rest of Europe from superstition and deep ignorance. Without doubt, modern anatomy, medicine, mathematics and marine sciences had directly metamorphosed from 11th-century Islamic civilization.”²¹

The same process took place in Nigeria. Islam introduced its adherents and others “to the dignity of clothing” and helped them develop a

broader view of space and neighbourhoods beyond their hitherto thirty to forty km radius, the ability to trade, communicate with other peoples and exchange ideas, understanding and respect for marital rights and other individual and public rights. It is well documented that adultery declined proportionately to the degree that Islam affected those communities. It is a sad paradox that a lot of degeneration and social ills, such as begging, have been muddled with the dignified ways of Islam.

Before Islam, men in Nigerian communities would spend the entire day doing nothing but drinking home-brewed alcohol, while the women did all the work. This is generally the impression gathered by early visitors and the observation is still valid for certain parts of the country. And while these men indulged in their habits, the Muslim was busy tilling the land, trading and exporting agricultural produce. Islam has enabled us to distinguish the meats of various beasts, what to eat and what is prohibited.

Rabiu challenged “any culture, Islamic or not, to study and examine how Islam has influenced their lives and how they could benefit further from sharia.” That being the history of the West and of Nigeria, there is every reason to hope that sharia will once again do its job of lifting Nigeria up from its current doldrums.

Having made these grandiose claims for Islam, Rabiu also preempted accusations that Muslims have contributed to these doldrums. We have already seen his brief lament about beggars. He also wrote about the “Babangida/Abacha phenomenon,”²² as a symbol of Nigeria’s current corruption. This, he claimed,

is a recent advent in the social landscape of northern Nigeria. Up till the late 1970s our communities have never assigned currency to material abundance and possessions. Going as far back as Muhammad Bello (1770s) and before, to the early days of modern Nigeria, our leaders had worked and died with nothing left behind except their good works and, sadly, in some cases, debt. The almajiri feature (begging Qur’anic school pupils) is nothing but a corruption of an Islamic injunction that requires the society to support students. It is only the spirit of Islam and correct Islamic education and ideology, enshrined in the sharia, that would restore our true values of selflessness and purpose, and those who do not share in these values or prefer other ideologies ought to be able at least to understand us.²³

▲ CLAIMS OF SUCCESSES AND FAILURES —————

One of the questions frequently asked since the sharia was restored in Zamfara and other sharia states is whether it has shown any results, whether the hopes of people are being realized.

1. ZAMFARA STATE DYNAMICS

A. GOVERNOR AND GOVERNMENT

Governor Sani understandably claimed positive changes at a very early stage. He said to Oladipo that “people are now alive to their responsibilities to Allah, their responsibilities to their neighbours, their families, their Muslim brothers and sisters and to non-Muslims, because in Islam, you must be just and fair to any human being, irrespective of that person’s religion and tribal inclination.”²⁴

Less than one month after the revised sharia was signed into law, a reporter from AM began an interview with Governor Sani with this very question.²⁵ Given the little time that had passed, the question seemed almost silly. “What are the gains so far recorded in this regard?” The Governor responded in an upbeat manner:

The first gain we have recorded is increased peace and security in our State. If you go to Zamfara now, the Police Commissioner will tell you that for a week, you find no case reported to the Police, because everybody knows the implication of taking laws into his hands and committing any offence or crime by Muslims is going to be treated in accordance with the Islamic penal code we signed into law on January 27, this year. Our Muslim brothers and sisters are now strictly adhering to the tenets of Islam and that is the main purpose of having Shari'a.

This is the same claim Sani made a few days earlier at a news briefing in Kaduna. “The rate of crime and other social vices has dropped.” The sharia “was proving to be an effective deterrent in view of the stringent punishments likely to be meted out against culprits,” he declared. He added that the police would soon be provided with copies of the sharia code “to educate them on how to deal with suspects and social miscreants.” He was also adding to the police fleet of cars to make them more effective.²⁶

Continuing with the *AM* interview,

Our Christian brothers too try to live within the limitations imposed by Shari'a. The only problem I think they are

encountering now is the lack of alcohol which we said is not allowed. I am sure good Christians don't patronize prostitutes and good Christians don't even drink alcohol. So, I don't see it to be a big problem to them. People are more alive now and aware of responsibility to God and their fellow human beings. For example, we have just established a board for the collection and distribution of Zakat.

Understandably, Sani also had some word of caution: “So, you will not see a lot of changes immediately. But after one year from when we started, people will know what really is sharia.”²⁷

Sani very early on claimed that “peace and harmony existed” between the religions “since the commencement of sharia, as the two religions abhor all forms of crimes and social vices that prevailed prior to the implementation of sharia.” Being “an advocate of peace,” the Governor was gratified with this situation. That, after all, was one of the purposes of the exercise.²⁸

Sani had by the beginning of 2000, even before the official starting date, started up some programmes of poverty alleviation. This was motivated by his realization that favourable economic conditions will reduce theft and other crimes arising from poverty. “This,” commented Alkali, “will make better logical sense than waiting to punish him after he steals.” For this reason, Sani immediately increased the minimum wage of his civil servants with effect from January 1, 2000. He established some agencies to help alleviate poverty and introduced new subsidies in the areas of fertilizer distribution and public transport to make life easier for the average citizen.²⁹

By early February 2000, only a few days after start-up, Zamfara established the “Endowment Board” that was charged with regulating the “collection and distribution of the *Zakkat* in accordance with sharia.” “*Zakkat* is an injunction requiring well-to-do Muslims to set aside a percentage of their wealth for distribution to the poor every year.” In his address at the establishment of the

Board, Governor Sani stated that it was incumbent on Islamic rulers to take *zakkat* from the defaulters, even by force, but added, “We must as true believers give the *zakkat* without waiting for the authority to take it from us. Members of the Muslim *ummah* were duty bound to facilitate adherence to the injunction.” He would soon steer the enabling act through the state assembly so that it becomes law. All this was corroborated in summary by Mamdua Aliyu, Sani’s Deputy Governor.³⁰

Director asked Sani bluntly about opposition to his sharia policy and accusations levelled at him. Is your proclamation “just a diversionary ploy to obfuscate your non-performance and inability to execute your cardinal programmes?” Sani responded by challenging the media and every one else “to come and assess what we have done. There is no state in the country that has achieved what we have done so far within the limited resources we have.” Then he produced another lengthy list of achievements in agriculture, education, water supply, hospitals and medical supplies. He concluded his summary with “Personally, I don’t need a kobo from government. I believe I am satisfied with what God gave me before coming to this office.”³¹

Only a few months into the new regime, Ahmed Mahmud, one of its chief architects, listed the following gains, excluding capital projects: (a) drop in crime statistics; (b) less busy courts and police stations; (c) closure of cinema houses and beer parlours; (d) control over “financial wastage and fraudulent practices”; (e) positive financial balance, enough to afford minimum wage of N5000; (f) wealth redistribution; (g) campaigning against “bad habits like telling lies, backbiting and deceit/cheating in the public and private sectors”; (h) “general orientation on the habits of observing congregational prayers”; (i) “well paid and motivated *alkalis*” [sharia judges]; (j) “general reorientation of the people towards the fear of Allah, the keeping of trust, the recognition of the difference between good/*halal* and bad/*haram* in everyday conduct.”³²

A year into sharia, at a conference in London, Auwalu Yadudu of Bayero University in Kano warned that it was still too early “to do an impact study to determine what benefits, if any, have accrued to Muslims since October 1999.” Yadudu’s caution did not deter Governor Sani from making some large claims at the same occasion. He again insisted, “There will be lots of benefits and marked improvements to people’s lives.” In fact, they have already begun, beginning with himself. He declared his assets and instructed all cabinet members down to all civil servants to do the same. This means increased transparency. If you live above your declared means, you can be taken to the sharia court. “Corruption is at its lowest ebb now.” “You find that nobody is misappropriating funds. In the controversial area of contracts, nobody is taking kickbacks. Neither are contractors encouraged to present bogus and over-inflated contract costs.” The result is that “our contracts are the cheapest in the country.” A project that costs N500 million in Zamfara will cost over a billion in another state.

Was Sani happy with the results so far? asked Nweke. You bet he was. Zamfara being a newly established state, he had to develop the capital to make it look like one. Proper roads have been constructed, hospitals upgraded. The rural areas, too, are getting bore holes and roads to connect farms to markets. Tractors have been “distributed amongst large-scale farmers,” while soft loans are now available to small-scale farmers.³³

These developments are quite typical of any of the newly-established states in Nigeria. No direct link to sharia is indicated here. Had more of this perhaps been accomplished than in other new states due to lower costs?

In education, the government was putting a renewed emphasis on the teaching of science in secondary schools. By converting some general schools to science schools, the state boasted seven science schools by mid-2001 and was actively recruiting teachers throughout the country. They were all promised “jumbo” salaries.³⁴ This emphasis on science teaching, it should be noted, as

well as teaching of Western type subjects, is typical of sharia proponents, including Islamists and Activists.³⁵

On August 17, 2002—again another year down the pike—*Vanguard* published an interview with Governor Sani, of which I have only his response to two questions. The first question: “How is the sharia doing in Zamfara?” I reproduce his entire answer:

We are doing very well. We just realised that there is one obstacle and that is the [common law] magistrate. The magistrates are entertaining cases involving Muslims. We just passed a law ousting the jurisdiction of magistrate courts from entertaining any case involving Muslims. The magistrates can only entertain cases involving Christians and that is if they prefer to go to a magistrate court, because there are so many cases where Christians go to sharia courts, because they want instant justice. For instance, if I’m owing you some money and you take me to sharia court and you confirm that this money is there, you will certainly get your money soon.

The Christians are happy with sharia court when it comes to settling debts. So, we said the magistrates can only entertain cases affecting Christians. Sharia is only meant for Muslims and that is why Muslims and Christians don’t have problems. The Christians have the right to go and practise their religion without interference from us and they should not interfere in our own thing. That way, we will live in peace and harmony. Where there is a case involving a Christian and a Muslim, the Christian decides where he wants the case to be handled, the sharia or the magistrate court.

So, not only Sani is happy, but so are all Muslims and Christians. One big happy party!

Then there is the second question, a kind of bombshell, though not the first time it is raised. “How come the sharia has not caught up with any prominent indigene, a top government official

or somebody of substance?” The answer is nothing short of shocking: “They are all upright”!! Governor, did you realize your answer would be echoed across the world? All upright! Yeah, right! No Nigerian will believe that one! Here’s the rest of his answer:

*The essence of sharia is not to catch people and punish them. It is like the Ten Commandments in the Holy Bible. They are not there to punish but to guide people. So, the sharia is meant to deter people from committing offence, not to punish them hurriedly and indiscriminately. That’s why every Friday, when we go to the mosque, we talk on a particular aspect of sharia, so that people will beware and hence don’t go out and commit the offence and get punished. You are taught to beware of committing the offence so as to avoid receiving the punishment.*³⁶

The beginning of the new sharia era was also meant to be the beginning of a process of Islamization of the state that gradually eats its way into the culture. You can see various steps in that direction, one by one. Please note developments in Zamfara and some other states under the heading “Creeping Sharia” in Chapter 2.

Five years into sharia, Governor Sani remained content with his accomplishments. He stated that “the sharia has achieved the purpose for which it was introduced in the state. We have since achieved great improvement in peace and security here. Everyone here, Muslims and non-Muslims, are happy with the situation. People worship freely, no matter the faith they profess, and we are living harmoniously. We have never witnessed any inter-religious crisis.” He then repeated that CAN “and other tribes” had been told of the plans, that they would not be affected, except in the areas of prostitution and alcoholism.³⁷

B. CITIZENS

So far, we have read about the opinions of the Governor and people close to him, but what of opinions of those more distant

from the administration? Of course, there was the full range of opinions based on various motivations, but here we first deal with positive reactions. Labaran Abdullahi wrote an article published two days after the official launching on January 27, 2000, entitled "Noise, Fury Signifying Nothing." It tells the story of the launching along with some background information. Because of the first-hand report of the launching, I am appending the article as Appendix 13. But to judge after only two days that it signifies nothing does not make much sense. Furthermore, the content of the article belies the title and actually is positive. Quite apart from the question whether you like the changes or not, the article claims that quite a number of things had been accomplished already or were in process.

The Governor had sworn in thirty-six sharia judges. He initiated new laws as part of the event. "The major visible change has been the decline of the crime rate," which previously was "rising by the day." Various gambling and drinking joints had been closed. Thirty-six taxis had been procured for women who were prevented from riding in taxis with men or on commercial motorcycles. Another major achievement was that Christians and others who were fearful of intimidation soon relaxed when amputations and lashings did not materialize. How can all this be described as "fury signifying nothing"?

The issue of crime reduction due to sharia came also to the attention of Kurawa, who culled the following from the pages of *NN* in support of this claim:

Available statistics from the state prisons service indicated that there was a sharp decline in the number of convicts in the last three months. It also shows there was about 45 per cent reduction of male convicts, while that of females dropped by about 97 per cent. Sources close to the state police command indicated that crime wave in the state has reduced, and that most of the criminals now in the state are visiting ones.

However, there are indications that, because of the sharp decline in crime activities, some of the policemen are yearning for transfer. Although the state commissioner of police has refused to speak on the issue, sources stated that there was apathy among some policemen wishing to be transferred out. Other reasons given by some of the policemen are that they are less busy and feel they could enjoy better services in more metropolitan cities. These and many others are some of the reasons why some of the policemen are willing to be transferred out of the state, but not on the basis of sharia.³⁸

Awualu Yadudu, whose warning we overheard above that it was too early to measure the gains so far, nevertheless “identified some important dividend yields.” These included:

the reclamation and reassertion of people’s power, with influence over their governance and over public affairs. These are manifested by the concerted efforts by Muslims to fight all manner of social evils through the instrumentality of a legal order that they have identified, cherished and internalised. Further benefit has been achieved in the form of the cultivation of the environment conducive for the revival of Islamic systems of social and economic justice and for their survival. This is based on the current efforts in all the sharia states to re-invigorate the institution of zakat and to modernize its collection and distribution with a view to creating wealth in a halal [legitimate, approved] way, for the well-being of the members of the ummah.³⁹

Only a year and a half into the new dispensation, S. G. Balogun from Abuja wrote a very positive evaluation in which Zamfara almost looks like a paradise. Sani is described as “a populist who understands the true dynamics of politics. And that is why the focal point of his administration is the aggressive empowerment of the people through the provision of basic amenities, loans and vehicles

needed to better the lives of the downtrodden.” Every sector of the economy is portrayed as touched by a golden wand. The strange thing is that there are still “skeptics and cynics lampooning” it all. “Candidly,” wrote Balogun, “the sharia has crystallised Zamfara into perhaps the most peaceful state in the federation today.” It “has fostered inter-religious harmony and understanding.”⁴⁰ For the rest of the accolades please see Appendix 20.

Three and a half years into sharia, one Iliyasu Maijega of Gusau was still defending the Governor. He wrote an article defending the achievements of the Zamfara Government in the area of corruption. The article aimed to correct the negative reports that had appeared in some newspapers. Maijega informed us that Governor Sani established the Zamfara State Anti-Corruption Committee soon after his sharia declaration. Corruption is “the archenemy of our republic; the chief foes of our commercial institutions, the principal adversary of government by the people, and of course, an even more dangerous enemy than open lawlessness or violence, because it works in hidden furtive passion.” Since then, the Commission “has been a place of solace for the oppressed and a sanctuary for the weak.” It has “succeeded in recovering huge sums of money usurped by the strong and those in public offices.” Even though the Governor is immune under the nation’s constitution, the Commission even confronted him as well as others at the highest level of society and government. The result has been “the dismissal, degrading and disgrace of numerous high-ranking public officers.” Maijega called upon the two newspapers who published false reports to “make amends.” Unfortunately, Maijega failed to specify the amount of the recovered funds or their source. Similarly, no names of the apprehended officials.⁴¹ And what does this say of Sani’s claim that his officials “are all upright”?

The last paragraph already indicated that not everything went as the Governor wished or claimed. Some measures, wrote Labaran Abdullahi, were “observed more in their breach” by citizens not only, but even by government officials. An official was caught in a

brothel. Women almost immediately discarded *hijab* dress, but did dress more elegantly. The new weights and measures were used by only a few traders.⁴²

On May 30, 2001, a small group of people from Dansadau, a village in Zamfara, wrote a letter to the editor of *GTFK* in which they complained that their village had not benefited from Sani's reign. None of the good things they heard about reached them—the promised roads, schools, health facilities—none of them.⁴³ Sani may think he is doing wonderful things in his state, but so far not every citizen has noticed the benefits of sharia. Of course, there was more than a tinge of unreasonable impatience with this early complaint. Less than a year and a half!

An early incident. It was reported that two trucks carrying alcohol had entered Zamfara. The government allegedly bought them out and then they were burnt by some youths. Bashir Gusai, Director of Press Affairs at Government House in Gusau, denied the rumour. He charged that the story amounted to "blackmail by some cynics of sharia." He added that the government "maintains its stand that whoever drives a truck with alcohol to the state does so at his own risk. On behalf of the government and people of the state, we want to state that we neither paid for the burnt trucks nor do we have intention to pay. It should also be noted that henceforth, any driver arrested trying to smuggle these illegal goods into the state would be arraigned before a sharia court." The government also "re-assures the Muslim *ummah* that sharia in the state is very much on course, and this campaign of calumny would not deter us in our collective resolve to ensure that inhabitants of the state are being governed by God-made laws."⁴⁴

The sharia created some very ambivalent security situations. The Nigerian Police Force (NPF) operating in the state is under Federal jurisdiction and had apparently at one time been instructed not to get involved in sharia cases. Though, as we will see, they did often get involved in various contexts and states, the situation caused a policing

vacuum. In order to fill that vacuum, some states, including Zamfara and Kano, established their own special sharia militia, sometimes called “*yan agaji*” or “*hisbah*”, groups of young men trained and authorized to monitor sharia compliance as well as “to keep the peace and assist the wounded during Islamic preachings.” Zamfara trained thousands of volunteer *'yan agaji* that trooped into the launching ceremony. What with youthful exuberance and sharia enthusiasm along with inadequate training, this system led to many abuses and violence. They evoked a lot of opposition due to their high-handed ways. In response to criticism, Governor Sani described them as similar to the Red Cross.⁴⁵ Between them, the police and the public, things were not always smooth.

During November 2004, angry Muslim youths attacked the Zamfara *'yan agaji* and destroyed three of their cars. The *'yan agaji* had arrested an army officer and accused him of carrying a lady in his car. The officer claimed she was his sister. He then fired into the air with his pistol. This attracted attention, and soon youths were beating up the *'yan agaji*, who then ran away. The ruckus was thought to be the result of tension created by *'yan agaji*, who were arresting and intimidating innocent people. Many of them were said to be ignorant of the sharia they were to defend. In their ignorance, they actually contravened the sharia, according to one Muslim bystander. Another bystander, Musa Gusau, alleged that their “mode of operation is witch-hunting and harassment.” The people have appealed to the Governor to screen the members better so as to avoid such intimidation.⁴⁶ Such an explosive atmosphere is evidence of a general climate of tension that is not in keeping with sharia expectations of peace and calm or the positive accomplishments of which we have heard so much earlier.

Early in 2006 another incident occurred that underscored the continued restlessness and tensions in the society. The *hisbah* sought to arrest Ibrahim Jiji, a spiritualist practising just outside Gusau. His activities were considered “un-Islamic” and thus had to

be stopped. The *hisbah* stormed his residence to arrest Ibrahim, but the latter had gotten wind of their plan and had gathered supporters to withstand the attack. At the end, seventeen members of the *hisbah* ended up in the hospital for treatment. The state chairman of the Hisbah Commission, Sanusi Kwatarkwashi, reportedly “stealthily left his office”!

The Deputy Governor, Alhaji Mamuda Aziyu Shinkafi, told journalists that the group had no power to hunt for criminals and arrest them.⁴⁷ The violence continues; the pax sharia remains elusive.

Relations between the public and the police left something to be desired as well. As far as I can make out the story, a tanker failed to stop at a police checkpoint in Gusau. The police shot and killed the driver. Immediately a large crowd gathered and a riot ensued between them and the police. The rioters blocked roads and burned tires, two houses and three vehicles. The reporter describes the incident as a “pandemonium” and “theatre of war” between the police and rioters. The police arrested 110 people.⁴⁸

Though the prevalence of drugs was one of the targets of sharia, the question is how effective it has been during the first five years. In May 2005, a total of 212 kilograms of drugs, suspected to be Indian hemp, was impounded while enroute to Gusau. In addition, forty-two suspects had fallen into the police net for drug-related crimes. The state commander of the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency in Zamfara, Ibrahim Abdul, said, “The menace of drug trafficking and abuse in the state is a reality.” He complained about a “spate of restiveness and violence by youths,” which was due “to the use and influence of hard drugs.”⁴⁹ So, that problem had not yet been licked either.

A week before I close this chapter for submission to the publisher, Tukur Mamu, CEO of *Desert Herald*, an unknown paper to me, published a story about N2.1 billion having been looted in Zamfara State in a mere six months. Governor Sani demanded a retraction and threatened to take the paper to court. Mamu stated

he would not be intimidated and stands by his story.⁵⁰

It will be interesting to see the outcome. If it is true, the story will probably fizzle out, for the accused are not likely to go to court!

Having described some of the successes and problems in Zamfara, I will now turn to a few other key states, the first one being Kano.

2. THE SITUATION IN KANO

Abdurrahman Shehu writes about “the divergent opinions” in Kano and about “the argument whether or not sharia has been implemented by the present administration in Kano State.” Accusations and counter-accusations are passed back and forth between Rabi'u Kwankwaso, the governor who initiated sharia, and the current Governor Shekarau, who ousted Kwankwaso in the 2003 elections, and their supporters. The arguments are mostly shaped by politics,⁵¹ a fact that casts more than a little doubt on the level of objectivity and veracity.

Kwankwaso, the forced initiating governor of sharia in Kano, received full kudos in a two-page spread from Abubakar Yusuf. He was praised for fulfilling sharia “completely”—*ka'in da na'in*. The article ends with the statement “No wonder that the people of Kano regularly pray, ‘More grease to your elbows, Kwankwaso’—*Tazarce, Kwankwaso*.⁵² But it was hardly a period of peace and tranquility; social tensions were rife.

During Kwankwaso's days an incident similar to that in Zamfara took place in Kano, involving the burning of a lorry load of alcohol. Amina Waziri wrote that the incident “revealed tensions in how sharia is being implemented.” A citizen's group calling itself the “Independent Sharia Implementation Committee (ISIC) had accused the Kano government “of not supporting sharia and sabotaging its implementation.” It alleged especially that the government was lax about alcohol. Hence, they “seized and destroyed a consignment of alcohol worth almost N1,350,000” or \$10,000. Over 600 crates were

burnt in front of a large crowd of members wearing green uniforms. Abubakar Abdulkarim, ISIC coordinator, explained they would not hand the truck to police, the normal procedure, for in the past the police had returned such consignments to the owners. The police countered that “to the best of their knowledge” all such cases had been brought to police headquarters and subsequently taken to court.

The lorry had come from a Kaduna brewery and was to be delivered to a hotel in *Sabon Gari*, the strangers’ quarters outside of the core city, where, it was generally understood, the alcohol ban would not apply, since it is populated mostly by Christians. Not surprising, the manager “fumed, ‘The government has never categorically stated that the sale of alcohol is prohibited in this area.’”⁵³

The Kano State Secretary, Ado Gwaram, said that the state’s “official sharia implementation group would not have handled the incident in this manner” and declared the actions of ISIC “unfortunate.” Amina Ibrahim explained, “The dilemma for Kano’s government is to continue to accommodate the interests of some 5 percent of Christians in the state, whilst pleasing orthodox Muslims who want to see sharia implemented without compromise.”⁵³ Sharia had brought its own tensions in a state already known to be tense even in normal times.

The northern Muslim community has for decades been marked by tension between religions but also between various sects within Islam. The sharia peace had not put an end to that. *Qadiriyya* and *Tijjaniyya* sects were up in arms against the Azalea movement—all of them Muslim groups. The former two threatened to “unleash violence” if the governor did not stop Azalea from establishing more schools and mosques in Kano. The Azalea were said to have engaged in such activities for centuries and, in spite of the new sharia peace, continued to disturb other Muslims and threaten violence.⁵⁴

Not only were there tensions, but also sharp disappointments, especially among the poor. In a letter to the editor dated July 3,

2001, Mohammed Mujahid, a Kano citizen, complained that a year into sharia, workers had not yet seen its benefits. “The dividends of just rule still awaited.” It must not be forgotten that “social justice and equitable distribution” are supposed to be “part of the sharia package.” Several measures taken by the administration of Kwankwaso are “very much antithetic to the spirit of justice and fairness as laid down in the Holy Qur'an.”⁵⁵

The election of 2003 saw Kwankwaso ousted and Shekarau instated.

Some time into his administration, Shekarau established the Directorate of Social Mobilization or, as it is called in Hausa, *A Daidaita Sabu*, “to trap societal misdeeds.” It has been called Shekarau’s “flagship.” One of its targets is “the menace of drug abuse.” Among other things, the Directorate organised “a one-day forum to sensitise the community against the hazards of drug abuse.” The Director, Bala Muhammad, vowed that they “would leave no stone unturned in transforming all aspects of social habits for the better” and to eradicate “any unwarranted attitude in our society.”⁵⁶

The year 2004 was one of legislative sharia activism and consolidation in Kano. A pre-existing alcohol section of the Penal Code dating back to 1960 was amended with the result that it became “an offence to consume alcohol in public places as well as in private houses.” The new penalty for the offence of acting as a “public nuisance” is one-year imprisonment or a N50,000 fine. If I understand it right, this being a new law under the Penal Code, that penalty applies only to Christians, while Muslims will be given eighty cane lashes under sharia. Subsuming this issue under the Penal Code means Christians cannot object to the imposition of sharia. The House of Assembly passed ten additional bills, all of which received the consent of the Governor.⁵⁷

At the moment you are reading about Shekarau's positive activity. Some of his actions were in response to turmoil, opposition and

intrigue that he had to counter. Those negative situations led Kano State to see the need for a body to advise the government on “religious matters” that have direct bearing on the life of the people. So they established a fifty-member Shura Council that was to serve the government with advice.⁵⁸

Shekarau had many admirers who wrote very positive reports about him. Salihu Isah described the anti-corruption programme of the state carried out under the Kano State Public Complaints and Anti-Corruption Directorate. It is headed by Aminu Inuwa Mohammed, “a tested hand” with a “no nonsense personality,” who is “vested with powers to summon government officials.” At a seminar on the subject, Shekarau pointed out that “Islam frowns at corruption” and expressed his determination “to provide good governance as well as promote accountability and transparency, which is the hallmark of the sharia system.”⁵⁹

The next month, Bashir Gantila, a political supporter of the present Kano regime, listed a number of accomplishments in Kano State: the workers’ pension scheme has been addressed; dismissed workers have been reinstated; “people have now been equalized in Kano State.” There is freedom of speech. These, Gantila said, are all part of sharia implementation in Kano State. In December, Nasir Muhammad published an orgy of praise for the Governor with emphasis on the almost total freedom given to all, including his opponents and enemies. Shekarau is proclaimed “the most tolerant governor of Nigeria and its most sincere democrat.” “Never in these two years has Shekarau denied citizens and other interest groups the right to express themselves in assembly.”⁶⁰

Garba Isa judged that Shekarau has done a great job in making various sectors of the population very happy and in straightening out some problems in the administration. The treasury is said to have a surplus that is protected through open accountability to the people. The Civil Service is at peace with its 12.5 percent pay increase and other perks. Teachers and medical workers are happy.⁶¹ On May Day

2005, the Chairman of the state branch of the Nigeria Labour Congress, Ali Munir Matawalle, exploded with praise for Shekarau: “Your Excellency, the entire workers, the pensioners and their families are requesting for a favour from you, sir, by calling on you to re-contest election come 2007.” Sule commented, “The loud roar of approval that greeted this statement convinced all and sundry it was a true reflection of Kano workers’ wish.”⁶²

In commemoration of Shekarau’s two years in office, Okogwu Ogbonna published an article of high praise for the governor under the telling title “A Sunrise at Dusk.” The article is a litany of praise for his attitude and accomplishments. He describes his governance as “a spiritually inclined quality type of governance.” Shekarau’s is a government “worthy of emulation.” His ascension to the throne is Kano’s “divine luck and destiny.” To the poor, he is a “crusader of peace and above all, he is a commander of equality and justice.” He is seen as “the voice of the voiceless” and “father of the fatherless.” His leadership is “purposeful, built on sincerity, honesty and hard work.” No wonder that Kano has now “become the most peaceful state in Nigeria, where every one, irrespective of his or her social and economic status, educational background, religion and political inclination, has been able to pursue and carry out his legitimate means of livelihood, without any molestation and hindrance.”⁶³

Wow! What praise! Has the Pax Sharia on earth finally arrived?

Musa Yakasai describes Shekarau’s positive sharia accomplishments much like Garba Isa above. Shekarau was trying to “show the world that sharia is beyond punishment” and that it represents complete social transformation with emphasis on justice. He established the three sharia entities listed by Isa and added that the government had trained 8,000 *hisbah* personnel, the Kano equivalent to Zamfara’s *yan agaji*. From the social point of view, Shekarau had rescued pensioners from their penury. He had spent an unusually large proportion of his budget on agriculture, since that is where the peasants mostly are located, with a special focus on 9600 farm-

ers. In education, he provided scholarships, repaired dilapidated schools and upgraded teacher qualifications. In general, Shekarau was said to have improved the lot of the people instead of creating white elephant structures said to characterise the Kwankwaso administration.⁶⁴

Half a year later, Umar Nuhu wrote a similar article of praise for the Governor and against one Jaafar, a detractor who supported former Governor Kwankwaso. Nuhu especially praised the effects of the *Hisbah* staff: “They are ready to bring succour to the people in dire straits.” Due to them the people of Kano “are the happiest people in Nigeria.”⁶⁵ Again, the smell of politics is in the air, which means the “discussion” must be taken with a grain of salt.

After all this praise and adulation—and there is more where it came from—it is time to point out that neither paradise nor utopia has yet arrived and that Shekarau may not be the angel these positive reports make him out to be. He faced major challenges, some arising from various situations to which he had to respond. His responses were not always appreciated. Some challenges were, according to his critics, of his own making. If you can believe these critics, then it turns out that Shekarau may not be that different from the general run of Nigerian governors.

Kano has had a streak of religious violence for decades. Sometimes between Muslims and Christians; sometimes between Muslim factions. A general restlessness characterizes its population that only takes a spark to ignite. The *Hisbah* is an institution that was to aid in establishing the new sharia regime and work towards sharia peace, but it often produced strife instead. It would raid various hotels and clubs to counter prostitution and sales of alcohol, but they sometimes met stiff resistance from the police. One time they attacked the police with knives, cutlasses, sticks, horse whips and other dangerous weapons. The police won and arrested twenty-one members of the group. The police explained that they would not allow acts of lawlessness on the part of the *Hisbah*. “Nigeria is a sec-

ular state. The state has the right to establish its own outfit, but it is not the duty of the police to do *Hisbah* work just as it is not the duty of *Hisbah* to do the work of the police.” The State Police Commissioner agreed that “*Hisbah*, like any private individual, can complement the efforts of the police.”⁶⁶

This is interesting language, since the *Hisbah* is state appointed and, thus, not private. The statement is reminiscent of the Federal Government’s ambivalence about recognizing sharia, an attitude that also affects the police.

Kwankwaso, now Federal Minister of Defense and, according to Hassan Indabawa, “chief antagonist of the Kano State Government,” held a press conference in which he described the *Hisbah* as a terrorist organisation. All money spent on them is wasted. Indabawa reminds his readers that the force was initiated by Kwankwaso’s government, but that it “never really found its feet, because of internal wrangling.” Indabawa countered by saying that such accusers “are makers of mischief and enemies of peace.”

Since those police-versus-*Hisbah* incidents and in spite of Kwankwaso’s sharp critique, Shekarau is said to have been working hard on upgrading the quality of the organization. He reorganized, retrained, refocused and finally re-established the group on July 3, 2005, this time including women. They allegedly now work much more effectively and in co-operation with the police, without usurping any police functions. But they remain the “watchdog of sharia.” They are intended to help develop “some more vibrancy so as to checkmate a growing decay in society.”⁶⁷

Early 2006 the *hisbah* force became the focus of contention between the FG and the Kano State Government. The southern “Christian” Abia State had organized its own security organization. It would appear that this enabled the FG to oppose state security agencies without it appearing an anti-Muslim or anti-sharia move. Information Minister Frank Nweke declared the FG would not tolerate states to organize their own security forces. His announce-

ment was aimed especially at Kano's *hisbah* force. The minister had ordered an "investigation into reports that the Kano State Government had sought help of foreign governments in the training of '100 jihadists' from the *Hisbah* Corps." He added that the FG "will not condone illegal actions by other tiers of government which can jeopardize the ability of ordinary Nigerians to live in peace in any part of the country without fear of oppression or religious intolerance." Having a "parallel security outfit with foreign connections" poses "a potential threat to national security." The state has done this "with brazen disregard for the overriding imperatives of national security." Prior to this FG statement, the police had already "announced a ban on *hisbah* and detained its leader, Yahaya Chedi, his deputy and other members.⁶⁸

The FG move did not go unchallenged. Governor Shekarau countered: "It is a blunder for anybody to interpret *hisbah* as an independent terrorist group. We will peruse all constitutional means to assert our right." The *hisbah*, according to Shekarau, was "established as a result of the agitation by the people of the state to be ruled in accordance with the principles of Islamic injunction." It "was part of the pillars in the operation of sharia." This constitutes an attempt of "some prominent sons of the state who are bent on sabotaging the operation of sharia law." They want even "to destroy the arrangement set up by God." By putting it thus, Shekarau was placing the *hisbah* beyond the pale of opposition. He advised the FG to settle the matter in court, where it would meet the Kano Government.⁶⁹

Auwalu Yadudu, said to be a "renowned" constitutional lawyer at the Faculty of Law of Bayero University and one-time legal advisor to former military Head of State, Sani Abacha, denied that the NPF and the FG or anyone else have the constitutional power "to ban any organisation established by a law duly passed by a state House of Assembly." If *hisbah* is doing something illegal, such as training jihadists, it can be prosecuted, but it cannot be banned outrightly. For good measure, Yadudu threw in the reminder that

constitutionally “every Nigerian citizen has the power to arrest anyone committing an offence.”⁷⁰ The end of this story will unfortunately not appear in this book, since the manuscript is about to be submitted to the publisher.

Tension between Muslim sects is not uncommon in Kano. The Pax Sharia could not restrain various Muslim groups from continuing their age-old feuds. These flashes would often spill over into the general population, including Christians. A proposed rally by an “Islamic sect” created new tension resulting in fear amongst the people. Non-indigenes took the precaution of seeking refuge in police stations. Three weeks earlier, another Muslim sect had organised a rally that “resulted in the killings of hundreds of non-indigenes.”⁷¹

During the American air strikes in Afghanistan “Muslim fundamentalists” started rioting and clashing with police in protest. The next day, Christians and Muslims went to it. At least eight corpses were seen lying on the streets of *Sabon Gari*. Some protesters revealed that the original violence was organized by the Muslim Revolutionaries, a group that had broken away from Zakzaky’s Islamic Movement.⁷² In March, there was more unrest in the form of public protests, though without violence, between the governor and some Muslim sects who accused him of all kinds of wrongs, including favouritism.⁷³

In 2004, violence in Plateau State that saw hundreds of Muslims killed spilled over into Kano. Reportedly, “innocent non-indigenes were slaughtered by the hundreds, ostensibly to revenge the alleged massacre of Muslims in far-away Plateau.” A “mindless massacre might have been engineered to settle scores by anarchists bent on using Kano as a launching pad for expressing their political discontent.”

Shekarau’s involvement was less than stellar. He “defied” the advice of the President “to stop the bloody demonstration.” He earned a presidential rebuke for this “tactical miscalculation.” The Emir of Kano, Ado Bayero, after meeting with northern traditional

rulers, “blamed Shekarau for ignoring security reports” that had warned of impending violence. Sultan Muhammadu Maccido of Sokoto, however, blamed the violence on “hooligans and misguided extremists” belonging to both religions.

It seems these eminent leaders were not far off the mark. A commissioner in Shekarau’s government, unnamed in the report, allegedly led a mob of protesters, that included hoodlums, to the Government House, “where the governor, more or less, incited revenge. Shekarau reportedly informed the mob that he had told the President over the phone that he (Shekarau) was part and parcel of the organizing committee of the protests.” His words: “I personally told Chief Obasanjo that reckless killings of Muslims—as in Plateau—would no longer be tolerated. The governor had hardly ended his address when the mob went on the rampage, killing and burning properties of identified non-Muslims.” According to allegations by CAN, a group named Islamic Revolutionary Committee had circulated a statement throughout the north, signed by one Ibrahim Barde, in which Muslims were urged to prepare for action against Christians. It said, “We are proud of Governor Shekarau and all the *Mullahs* and all able Muslims who stood for Islam at the trying moment in Kano.” “We want to warn that we must take revenge and deal decisively with the infidels here when they don’t expect it. We are not afraid, as the *jihad* blood is still fresh in our veins and we don’t care what it costs us to defend our great religion.”

There was an “all-round indictment of the governor as a mastermind of the demonstration” that included voices as disparate as Governor Sam Egwu of the southern state of Ebonyi and the Arewa Youth Consultative Forum. Many blamed Obasanjo for not imposing emergency rule on Kano as he had done in Plateau.⁷⁴ The year 2004 thus gives us clear indication that the sharia *salam* or peace was at best still an unrealized hope.

By now I have prepared the ground sufficiently away from the earlier section on praise and adulation for you to absorb the fol-

lowing negative critique of Shekarau, some of it nothing short of condemnatory. Early 2005, the verdict of one Alu Kiru, in a letter to the editor of the Hausa newspaper *GTFK*, aired the usual complaints of the masses. The original Hausa can be found in Appendix 21. He called upon Governor Shekarau not to forget the *jihad* he had started to establish the new sharia.

We, the poor people of Kano, have noticed that nothing has changed in either the state or local government offices. Sharia is applied only to the poor and their families. Government offices are full of thieves and oppressors, but no civil servant has yet been punished according to sharia. If you come to the office of the Kiru Local Government and you are not a member of the majority party, ANPP, you get treated worse than a dog. These people have sworn on the Qur'an that they will not practice political discrimination, but it is in fact done openly. And then there is the matter of inflated contracts. A contract for N100,000 ends up N300,000 in the file. In addition, those in power purchase big cars and houses with the taxpay- ers' money. Was this the intention of Shekarau's A Daidaita Sabu? We pray that all these anomalies will soon be corrected. May God bring us peace. Amen.⁷⁵

Finally—and with this we leave Shekarau and Kano—Jaafar S. Jaafar wrote a very strong article against the Governor. He and others had voted for Shekarau because of the confidence they had in him, but that all vaporized. “What is present today is neither sharia nor good governance,” according to Jaafar. Sharia has become more a billboard affair of public relations than a reality. As in other states, sharia is reserved for the common man. Kano State is no different from non-sharia states. “Corruption, sleaze, ostentation and political injustice” are as pervasive here as elsewhere. There is no probity, accountability, fairness.” It is all “just a sheer charade! Shekarau, the lord of the manor, is not just an autocrat, as the case for the rest of

the governors, but perfect and smart enough to justify his actions and inactions and tie it down with injunctions to give it a sharia flavour.” Then follows a lengthy paragraph about gross mis-spending. In short, it is a story similar to almost every state, sharia or not.⁷⁶ The year 2005 ended with an article detailing “rising crime” in Kano in considerable detail.⁷⁷

Really, where is all this leading? And whom or what are we to believe?

3. VIEWS IN BAUCHI STATE

Governor Mu’azau of Bauchi State was, as far as some people were concerned, dragging his feet with respect to sharia. However, while his people were still in the process of pleading and pressing him, he started to take steps people identified with proper sharia behaviour. He had started a “holy war” against corruption in the civil service. Civil servants reportedly were beginning to act more responsibly. He purchased grain and distributed it among the poor. He also decided “to distribute official cars to area court judges” with the expectations that this generosity would “contribute greatly towards the dispensation of justice.”⁷⁸

People seemed to expect quick miracles, especially in terms of justice, fair treatment and the end of corruption. Alas, the leopard does not change its spots that easily. Only a year and a half into the regime, Adamu Umaru, resident of Bauchi city, wrote a letter to the editor of *GTFK* in which he aired serious complaints and alleged that sharia had made no noticeable difference, not even with respect to the behaviour of the governor. The latter was accused of enriching himself with the people’s money—“*Ya cika aljihunsa da dukiyar talakawa.*”⁷⁹ He allegedly bribed the media to praise him by providing them with cars. Hospitals are a mess; morgues don’t work; child patients in hospitals die of measles. He never spent a full week in Bauchi, but always flew all over the place. If this is democracy, the Bauchi people prefer traditional ways of ruling.⁸⁰ A similar article

by M. Adamu Wase appeared a couple of months later. Mu'azau, according to the author, started off positively, but it did not take long for the usual tricks of governors to reappear. Political discrimination, inappropriate gifts, some sizable ones, developments of towns along major roads but neglect of isolated villages, and the like, allegedly became the order of the day once again.⁸¹

In the course of time, the sharia courts kept processing cases and delivering sentences. By June 2003, twelve people were languishing in prisons throughout the state, waiting for the governor to confirm or commute their amputation or death sentences.⁸² Mu'azau restated his government's commitment to the strengthening of sharia. It has, he insisted, "come to stay." People should not listen to charges by some groups that it had been "scrapped."⁸³

The operation of the sharia courts justice system was befuddled with problems. In the closing hours of 2004, one Saifullah Kasala wrote a letter to *GTFK* about the salaries of sharia judges. While the judges of the magistrate courts earn N100,000 a month, sharia judges receive only N13,000.⁸⁴ This is not even enough to buy soap for your family! Such treatment will encourage them to take bribes. I suspect that he is indirectly saying that in fact they are taking bribes. He advises a hefty increase in salaries to prevent the practice.⁸⁵

Five years into the sharia regime, Bauchi State is still struggling with corrupt judges. The government plans to "dismiss all corrupt sharia court judges as part of the ongoing efforts to restore the people's confidence in the Islamic code." Mukhtar Ahmad, chairman of the state's Sharia Commission, explained that the Commission "has been inundated with complaints of mass withdrawals of civil litigation due to allegations of corrupt practices by some sharia judges." He advised people to "avoid giving bribes to such judges. Government will not relent until it flushes out all sharia judges who are not supposed to be there."⁸⁶

Corruption is retarding the implementation of sharia in the state. Some ten days later, Suleiman Yusuf, a sharia court judge,

urged Governor Ahmadu Mu'azau "to ratify over thirty sentences of amputation passed by various courts in the state." The delay was demoralizing the judges and damaging their reputations, Yusuf argued. Most of the convicts had been awaiting amputation while "wallowing in prison custody for more than two years." One of them, Hussein Maidoya, a forty-five-year old yam seller, had chopped off his wife's leg. He was sentenced back in 2002 to amputation "without the application of anaesthesia." The Governor, in turn, is complaining that "some of the sharia court judgments were hurriedly passed without following due process, while some of the judges were incompetent." He threatened to dismiss the "corrupt and incompetent sharia judges to restore public confidence in the Islamic code. At the time of writing, at least seven sharia court judges are being investigated for alleged corruption," while one had been suspended.⁸⁷ It would appear that Bauchi has started the struggle but has not yet booked any major victory. The familiar demon of corruption among judges still stalks around. The free cars of five years ago did not have their intended effect.

Who are we to believe? Muhammad Chinade published a response to Adamu Umaru in which he accused the latter of not being objective in his evaluation. Chinade identified himself as a non-politician who has no vested interest in the situation and who does not even know the governor. He accused Umaru of being led by political considerations and injustice. He should open his eyes and see all the positive achievements under Mu'azau. And then, dear reader, if you know Nigeria, you can almost predict how he ends his page-long article. Yes, you guessed it: "*A karshe ina rokon mai girma Gwamna...*"⁸⁸ That is to say, "Finally, I have the following requests for His Excellency, Governor..." Did we hear something about no vested interests?

Daily Triumph features a disturbing story about Bauchi farmers rejecting the use of imported tractors for which the state government has paid N290 million. How could that be when there is such a great need for these machines? An experienced observer will

immediately smell the rat. The tractors were found unsuitable for local conditions. One farmer, Shehu Danladi, described the project as “financial recklessness on the part of government, to go all the way to China to import tractors that are mechanically unfit.” And this while Steyr Nigeria has been assembling tractors locally right under their noses in Bauchi town for decades!⁸⁹ The smell of corruption and kickbacks is in the air.

4. JIGAWA STATE: SHARIA CHALLENGE TO GOVERNOR

Jigawa State is not usually in the limelight. Hence, I do not have much information about developments there. However, I include the state because the governor was taken to a sharia court. Would he consent to be judged by sharia or would he insist on the immunity common law gives the governors?

Sharia had a rough start in the state. About a year after the decision to go sharia, the Jigawa State’s House of Assembly accused the state administration of delaying the implementation of sharia. Danzomo, Majority Leader of the House, insisted that the members have long approved the full implementation and had made provisions for the funds. Why has the Governor not started to implement? The Deputy Governor, Ibrahim Kwatalo, explained that the delay was not from the administration. The materials for implementation had already been sent to the House. The administration is “waiting for them to finish the debate on it, approve it and send it back to us before we can implement it,” he explained.⁹⁰ So, where was it in the meantime?

Wherever it was, sharia did get off the ground, but the hoped-for peace did not immediately settle in. Two and a half years later ugly violence between Muslims and Christians cropped up.

In Kazaure, early November 2003, a Christian girl was allegedly taunted by Muslims. She was accused of responding with blasphemy against Islam. As I read the story, these were either children or young people. But now Muslim adults entered the picture by angrily con-

fronting the school for not responding adequately to the blasphemy. When police prevented them from invading the school, the angry crowd rampaged through the town. They torched thirteen churches, looted fifty-four shops belonging to Christians and attacked many houses.⁹¹ Though in Chapter 2 we noted that the Jigawa people were tired of the old way of life and grasped at sharia in hope for renewal, it does not seem that the tolerance and calmness that sharia was to bring has materialized. The old urges to violence are still there, right beneath the veneer. In fact, during 2003, according to Minchakpu, violence at Nigeria's educational institutions increased.⁹²

In April 2004, an interesting sharia court case involving the Governor began. A number of powerful politicians filed a case at the sharia court in Jigawa that demanded Governor Turaki "account for the way and manner he expended over N30 billion meant for local councils in the state." In another article, Obineche indicated that there were many more funds involved. In Chapter 6 you will learn that a common complaint was that only the poor were taken to sharia courts, while no powerful official was ever tried by it, let alone found guilty. Well, here we have the elite experimenting with sharia on each other. In the words of Chidi Obineche, "It was an experimental case as legal fireworks were pitted against religious morality." To his credit, Judge Auwalu Taura "remained unperturbed and taciturn throughout."

Of course, the major issue was diverted to the secondary question as to which court has jurisdiction over such cases. Hey, what are lawyers for? Though the sharia way was supposed to simplify and shorten procedures, cut through the rot, it seemed like the case was going the way of the "ordinary" magistrate court. The complainants had brought in "hundreds of their supporters, praying the court to act in their favour. Amidst chants of '*Allahu Akbar*' by the supporters, Falalu Gantsa insisted that Turaki must be forced to render account of his stewardship." Another issue that surfaced was whether Samuel Monokpo, a Christian, "can hold brief for the governor, who

is a Muslim.” As to further details, please see Appendix 22.⁹³

A few weeks later, Taura once again made a ruling about the case. He announced that no one, not even governors, have immunity under sharia, even if the constitution does grant them immunity. Sharia knows no immunity. It covers everyone and disregards status. Though the general attitude of the sharia governors was that sharia derives its authority from God and hence is not subject to the constitution, Adamu Abubakar, counsel to Turaki, sought to establish that the sharia derives its power from the constitution. The judge did not buy that argument. So far, so good. But then the judge made a turn around and struck out the suit “for improper filing.” He ruled that the complainant should have broken down the amount of N30 billion so as to show the figures for each local government. Case closed, at least, for now. Was this a cleverly disguised “yes” and “no” to sharia implementation or was this genuine? It could be argued that two important points were scored. (1) Sharia denies governors the privileged status they have under the constitution. (2) Even sharia requires proper protocol and carefully spelled-out charges. The judge gave the complainants thirty days to “re-file their case.” Their spokesman, Mohammed Falulu, promised they would be back to claim victory for the people. During those thirty days, according to Sule Lamido, former Minister of Foreign Affairs and main complainant, Turaki, was “working around the clock” to change some laws relevant to the case. He predicted that the governor would fall into his own legal trap he was constructing, since under sharia he cannot escape.⁹⁴

Turaki had more enemies. The problem is that, politics being what it is, you never know how to take descriptions of incumbent politicians by their opponents. Governor Turaki was facing a formidable opponent in Lamido. What was Lamido’s motive? He accused the governor of keeping the people in darkness and buying them off with the occasional distribution of N50 (\$0.37!). “The people jump up saying this is the best governor ever.” Lamido also

objected to the “abuse and ridicule” of the *zakat* (almsgiving) on the part of the Jigawa government. Like some other sharia states, Jigawa established a *Zakat* Committee to regulate the collection and distribution of these alms, but he charged that, with a few exceptions, the members of the Committee are all unsuited to the task. “Every month, they take one million naira (\$7407), pocket most of it and spend about 10 percent to buy grains. Indiscriminately they dish out a few measures to widows and beggars and tell us that the social security scheme is working in Jigawa!”⁹⁵

We find the Ulama in Jigawa State worried over continuing social vices. Ismaila Muhammad begins his story with, “As Jigawa State government claimed to be fully implementing sharia legal code, the state Council of Ulama has expressed concern over the growing social vices across the state.” Shortly after having received seven vehicles and other equipment from the state government, Abubakar Jibrin, speaking on behalf of the Council, “lamented that social vices such as alcohol consumption and prostitution are still being perpetrated in all the nooks and crannies of the state.” Apparently biting the hand that feeds the Ulama, Jibrin complained that “nothing has been done to address the situation.” Prostitutes who fled with the introduction and signing of the sharia have returned. The problem, according to Jibrin, is with the government, who refuses “to enlighten people through preaching as ordained by God.” He advised the government “to take measures to prohibit or minimize such social vices.” He also suggested “that those who could not get male partners to marry them should be assisted to do so.” Jibrin also had a beef about the *hisbah*. The government had neither given them proper authority nor donated the pledged buses.⁹⁶

In spite of all these challenges against him, we find Turaki celebrating his six years in office by holding a “Democracy Day” to show “the whole world what has been achieved.” Part of the celebration was the recruitment of over twenty-five Muslim clerics “to pray for peace in the state,” four of whom came from other West African

countries. They “have been holding preaching and prayer sessions across the state since the weekend and are expected to round up their activities at the state capital, Dutse, on May 29.” Abba Kukuma, Information Commissioner, said the programme “was meant to create awareness among the populace and enable them to appreciate their role and that of the government in developing the state.”⁹⁷ Well, it’s in line with a sharia regime, though opponents and cynics may have other explanations.

At the end of 2005, there is yet an additional celebration of Turaki’s stewardship. He was given the Zik Prize in Leadership Award. This is a prestigious award previously won by giants like Nelson Mandela and said to be “one of the most respected prizes on the African continent.” The article in which the event is reported is full of praise and accolades for the Governor. He is described as “a politician of great stature” who has “unprecedented achievements” to his credit. Even President Obasanjo once “doffed his hat for Turaki.” The award, it is written, “is a clear testimony to the fact that no amount of propaganda by his foes could ever dent his image.” The man has become an “icon.”⁹⁸ Congratulations, Your Excellency!

But the question keeps cropping up: Where is the peace and harmony sharia is supposed to bring to the people? Where is the harmony and brotherhood between the leaders, all of whom are Muslims? Well, at least this story ends on a positive note.⁹⁹

▲ GENERAL DEVELOPMENTS

Moving on from individual states to the general picture, in May 2001, Limam Ciroma, an official of the highly respected Arewa Consultative Forum, accused northern governors of “reckless spending and mismanagement.” According to Rufa’i Ibrahim, many northern governors “have no clear understanding of the problems and their real causes.” They do not understand “how really deep the rot is or what has caused it.” “Their vision is murky,

they are not well-focussed, their sense of priority is bad, and they are financially imprudent and profligate.” Bala Usman¹⁰⁰ wrote somewhere that some of the governors had squandered billions of federal money, given to improve education, “to purchase jeeps and other expensive luxury items.” He excluded the governors of Bauchi, Nasarawa, Yobe and Kaduna from the indictment.¹⁰¹

The issue of corruption of sharia and its courts is always with us, it seems. The “main objective of sharia is the attainment of justice,” according to Mahmud and almost everyone else. Yet it seems to be so elusive. Writes Mahmud, “This objective cannot be attained if the administration of justice is in the hands of an oppressor.” He goes back one step further. “Despite the numerous provisions for appointment of judges, it is unfortunate that those responsible for the appointment do not usually comply with them,” though the Prophet warned strongly against appointing people who are not qualified. When he was asked “how trust can be mishandled,” he answered: “By giving people posts which they do not deserve.”

So, corruption, yes, plenty of it. It is all too real. However, if one uses this as an excuse for hating or condemning sharia “even secretly for the poor performances” of some judges, “one is being very unfair to sharia.” The problem is not with sharia; it is with those who have been entrusted with the authority to dismiss illiterate and unjust judges. They are the same as those who have the “responsibility to train and discipline them.” If they did their work properly, justice would be dispensed and would lead to “peace and harmony.”¹⁰²

One could hardly expect the virus of corruption to be nipped in the bud immediately upon the sharia declaration. Unfortunately, as you read the newspapers through the five years covered in this book, there seems to be little or no reduction of the virus. Every newspaper still features at least one corruption article; most of them, several. In June 2005, Ibrahim Dasuki, former Sultan of Sokoto, complained about “executive extravagance.” He said over

BBC, “Our governors, who have been entrusted with the mandate of the people have not been helping matters. Instead, they spend quality time and funds of the public in junketing across the globe for God knows what.” When they travel abroad, they go with retinues of twenty to thirty attendants. “This is unfair in the face of the untold hardship the people they represent are facing.” “The masses have been neglected for long in this country at the pleasure of some selected few that have been in the corridors of power.” This is where you find the root causes of violence and unrest.¹⁰³ Wisdom Patrick and three other colleagues started their joint article with the cry, “Fraud may be a regular fare on the Nigerian terrain, yet it has just gone bananas in the north, ravaging two states and Abuja and depriving taxpayers of N602 million (\$U.S. 4,459,259) in money terms alone.” They also announced that the “Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) has equally become more determined to excise the cancer that has tarnished the image of the country. It has rounded up forty-one of the alleged perpetrators.” And then follows a list of incidents that has even left Nigerian legislators, a group that is considered among the worst and thus experienced in such matters, stunned.¹⁰⁴

Recently a group of Gamji-U.S.A. writers reported on a discussion on sharia, education and corruption. Sharia needs educated people, but why are northern schools in shambles? Their conclusion: corruption. Money allocated for education “never reaches its destination.” It is “almost always squandered by the elected administrators or it is paid to scheming contractors” who disappear with the money. It appears that the reason we have LGAs is that “elected officials think it is a source of free money.” “Our leaders spend millions of dollars travelling the world, only to return home with suitcases full of consumables and deeds to new houses acquired abroad, but not one visionary idea. It is therefore clear that what is wrong with our schools is not in our schools, but in our leaders. There is everything wrong with our leaders.”

The group then turned on the leaders themselves and warned them:

In sharia, we know that the biggest crime for a leader is any deliberate effort on his part to swindle and/or deprive the public of its rightful share. Cin hakkin mutane¹⁰⁵ is a crime that is never forgiven until every individual you deprived forgives you.

As our leaders, you may cut our limbs, cane us 100 lashes, or stone us to death—surely we should pay for our crimes according to sharia—but that will not change the fact that some of you are the biggest criminals in our midst. So, when are you going to pay for your crimes? What is your punishment? You may even bribe some of us into silence, or go and perform the pilgrimage a thousand times to ask for forgiveness, but your crimes will not be forgiven by Allah, until you pay us restitution. You buy your new cars and build your big houses at the cost of educating our children.¹⁰⁶

It is always difficult to evaluate the truth of corruption accusations. Who does the accusing? What is the motive? It is a natural weapon for opposition politicians and their parties. For example, the Yobe State Government, run by the ANPP, is accused by the state's PDP, the party in federal power but in opposition in Yobe, of gross corruption. The government is called on "to probe the alleged interest rate scam of millions of Naira that involves some government and bank officials." The funds involved would have sufficed to "enhance the living conditions of the people," according to the accusation. "This monumental sleaze is being swept under the carpet by the government even in the face of incontrovertible evidence." Governor Bukar Ibrahim allegedly "promised to deal with the matter."¹⁰⁷ Nigeria being what it is, the accusations are probably true, but an important question is to what extent the opposition has politicized the problem rather than helped find a solution.

▲ CLOSING REMARKS

Auwalu Yadudu, at the 2004 Jos Conference, declared that not enough time had elapsed since “the first gale of sharia” in 1999 to determine “any discernible trend or pattern.” He expects that “the outcome, while the situation remains fluid and unique, will, in the long and short term, be determined by the interplay of the forces released by the agitators, the positive or negative reactions from the Western world, and what happens especially in the appellate superior courts when issues are litigated.”¹⁰⁸

It is clear that the story is a mix of hope and disappointment, of some achievements and at least tentative failure. It is too early to simply declare failure. Five years is a short time for such changes to work themselves out. The problem is that one is hard put to see even the beginning of major changes. That the governors and their supporters are optimistic stands to reason. Politicians being what they are, one should probably not take their positive boastings too seriously. But then, what of those who proclaim failure? Are they any different? I do believe that the complaints of the former Sultan and of the ordinary writers of letters to the editor carry weight. As do the reports of the tensions and struggles that continue unabated during these sharia years.

A brief report in early January 2006 tells us that Governor Ali Sheriff of Borno State swore in Justice Kashim Zanna as Borno’s Chief Judge after he was confirmed by the House of Assembly. This is an appointment in the secular inherited justice system. There was no reference to the sharia system, not even a hint, as if it does not exist.¹⁰⁹ The report lead me to wonder whether the alleged prediction of President Obasanjo is after all becoming true: Sharia will fizzle out.

▲ NOTES —————

¹ A. Ahmad, 27 Jan/89.

² *Hotline*, 10 June/2001, p. 23. \$U.S. 1 equals around Naira (N) 135.

³ Y. Mai Lemu, 20 Jan/89. Original Hausa: “*Babu abinda ya wajaba akan Musulmi sai mu tashi tsaye, mu ga an kawo shariar Musulunci. Amma idan muka zauna ko muka kwanta, to, zamu rika tafiya lahira, babu imani.*” “...*daga hannun azzalumai, makiyan Allah, kuma munafukai.*”

⁴ A. Sani, 2001, p. 21. Appendix 18.

⁵ A. Odo, 16 Feb/2000. Appendix 19.

⁶ S. Maina, 4 Nov/99.

⁷ A. Hassan-Tom, Apr/2003.

⁸ I. Sulaiman, 1986, p. 72.

⁹ I. Sulaiman, May/1986. J. Boer, vol. 4, Appendix 6.

¹⁰ M. Dadi, 15 Mar/2000. Appendix 17

¹¹ K. Abubakar, 2004, p. 10.

¹² Y. Ibrahim, 9 June/2004.

¹³ A. Misau, 3 Jan/2000.

¹⁴ *NN*, 3 Jan/2000, p. 19.

¹⁵ A. Alkali, 4 Jan/2000, p. 5.

¹⁶ B. Ejiga, 13 Nov/99.

¹⁷ D. Takko, 16 Feb/2000. Appendix 16.

¹⁸ I. Sule, 22 May/2004.

¹⁹ R. Akamo, 1 Feb/2000.

²⁰ *NN*, “...Christians Told...,” 22 Nov/99, p. 2.

²¹ It is interesting that in the early 20th century Western Christian missionary literature similarly credited religion with having lifted both the West and its colonies out of their respective primitive stages, but it was the *Christian* religion. And it was the cultural power of Christianity that would also lift up Africa, while it was Islam that had cast it in darkness. And so we go! J. Boer, 1979, pp. 129-134; 1984, pp. 40-45.

²² Abacha and Babangida were—up till the time of writing, at least—Nigeria’s last two military dictators who are often accused of gross

corruption and large-scale theft of money. However, they also have their defenders. See, e.g., M. Gbanite, Feb/2005.

23 S. Rabiu, "On Obasanjo..."

24 D. Oladipo, 6 Mar/2000, p. 14.

25 A. Odo, *AM*, 16 Feb/2000. Appendix 19.

26 S. Obassa, 13 Feb/2000.

27 A. Odo, *AM*, 16 Feb/2000. Appendix 19.

28 S. Obassa, 13 Feb/2000.

29 A. Alkali, 4 Jan/2000. Appendix 10.

30 *NN*, 6 Feb/2000; "...Christians Told...", 22 Nov/99, pp. 1-2.

31 O. Director, 15 Nov/99, p. 20.

32 A. Mahmud, 6 Jul/2000, pp. 7-8. Appendix 14.

33 R. Nweke, 1 May/2001, p. 8.

34 *NN*, 5 July/2001.

35 See for example *GTFK*, "Ya Bukaci A Koyar..." 11 July/2001, p. 7.

36 *Vanguard*, 17 Aug/2002.

37 G. Ifijeh, 14 May/2005.

38 I. Ado-Kurawa, 2000, p. 337. Kurawa culled the story from *NN*, 2 Apr/2000.

39 R. Nweke, 1 May/2001, p. 10.

40 S. Balogun, 3 Jul/2001. Appendix 20.

41 I. Maijega, 24 Sep/2004.

42 L. Abdullahi, 29 Jan/2000. Appendix 13.

43 Sarkin Samarin Dansadau, 30 May/2001.

44 B. Gusau, 9 July/2001.

45 O. Director, 15 Nov/99, p. 15.

46 I. Salisu, 16 Nov/2004.

47 S. Mardun, 4 Jan/2006. I. Ibrahim, 4 Jan/2006.

48 F. Yakasai, 20 May/2005.

49 F. Yakasai, 2 June/2005.

⁵⁰ S. Babadoko, 13 Feb/2006.

⁵¹ A. Shehu, 2 May/2005. Appendix 23. S. Darma, 2 Sep/2005.

⁵² A. Yusuf, 11 July/2001.

⁵³ A. Ibrahim, 13 Aug/2001.

⁵⁴ *TD*, “Religious Upheaval...,” 3 Sept/2002. A. Muhammad, “An Open Letter...”

⁵⁵ M. Mujahid, 3 Jul/2001.

⁵⁶ A. Abdullahi, 22 May/2005.

⁵⁷ *Daily Trust*, 9 June/2004.

⁵⁸ M. Abdullahi, 23 June/2005.

⁵⁹ S. Isah, Nov/2005.

⁶⁰ N. Muhammad, Dec/2005. I suggest you check out the whole article on *Companion CD*.

⁶¹ G. Isa, 24 May/2005.

⁶² S. Sule, 24 May/2005. *Daily Triumph*, 2 June/2005.

⁶³ O. Obonna, 17 June/2005.

⁶⁴ M. Yakasai, June/2005.

⁶⁵ U. Nuhu, Dec/2005.

⁶⁶ A. Abuh, 16 Nov/2004.

⁶⁷ H. Indabawa, 8 Sep/2005.

⁶⁸ J. Lohor, 10 Feb/2006. BBC, 10 Feb/2006.

⁶⁹ A. Abdullahi, 10 Feb/2006. BBC, 10 Feb/2006.

⁷⁰ M. Kazaure, 13 Feb/2006. Y. Musa, 14 Feb/2006. S. Y. Sule, Feb/2006.

⁷¹ R. Eghaghe, 5 June/2004.

⁷² A. Reza, Jan/2004.

⁷³ Y. Musa, 2 Mar/2004. A. Abuh, 3 Mar/2004.

⁷⁴ *The Punch*, 26 May/2004. M. Kwaru, 26 May/2004. A. Machugba, 31 May/2004.

⁷⁵ A. Kiru, 31 Dec/2004. Appendix 21.

⁷⁶ J. Jaafar, Dec/2005.

- 77 A. Abubakar, 23 Dec/2005.
- 78 D. Takko, 16 Feb/2000. Appendix 16.
- 79 Translation: “He filled his pockets with the wealth of the poor.”
- 80 A. Umaru, 30 May/2001.
- 81 M. A. Wase, 11 July/2001.
- 82 *Guardian*, 5 June/2003.
- 83 S. Awofadeji, 6 June/2003. For an extensive list of sharia cases in various states, see M. Aluko, 22 Mar/2002.
- 84 Respectively about \$U.S.740 and \$U.S.96.
- 85 S. Kasala, 31 Dec/2004.
- 86 *DT*, 2 May/2005.
- 87 *DT*, 13 May/2005.
- 88 M. Chinade, 12 July/2001.
- 89 *Daily Triumph*, 20 June/2005.
- 90 M. Kwaru, 18 July/2001.
- 91 Religious Liberty Prayer List, 26 Nov/2003. Compass Direct, “Muslim Mob...,” 15 Dec/2003.
- 92 O. Minchakpu, 1 Dec/2003.
- 93 A. Abuh, 8 Apr/2004. C. Obineche, 14 Apr/2004, Appendix 22; 4 May/2004.
- 94 B. Nasir, 28 Apr/2004. H. Karofi, 29 Apr/2004. J. Alechenu, 29 Apr/2004. C. Obineche, 4 May/2004. S. Nwosu, 22 May/2004. See R. Abati, Appendix in Volume 7, for a Christian report on the case.
- 95 S. Nwosu, 22 May/2004.
- 96 I. Muhammad, 8 June/2005.
- 97 *DT*, 26 May/2005.
- 98 A. Dangida, 7 Dec/2005.
- 99 For similar information about other states, turn to J. Boer, Appendix 64.
- 100 For identity of B. Usman, see J. Boer, vol. 2, pp. 114-117.
- 101 R. Ibrahim, 28 May/2001.
- 102 A. Mahmud, 1988, p. 61.

¹⁰³ H. Abdul, 7 June/2005.

¹⁰⁴ W. Patrick, 7 June/2005. Appendix 25. *Daily Triumph*, 8 June/2005.

¹⁰⁵ English: “Depriving the people of their entitlements.”

¹⁰⁶ Anonymous (ed.), “What is Wrong...?”

¹⁰⁷ *DT*, 1 July/2005.

¹⁰⁸ A. Yadudu, “Commentary,” pp. 140-141, 143.

¹⁰⁹ A. Bego, 4 Jan/2006.