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# ISLAMIZATION TAKING FULL CIRCLE

Since the inception of the current Buhari administration, there have been aggressive and rapid efforts to turn Nigeria into an Islamic state.

Unlike in the past, when Muslim Head of States had surreptitiously, in a very subtle manner attempted to smuggle Nigeria into Islamic organizations; this current government is now doing it with brazen audacity and impunity to the extent of flouting the constitution they swore to defend.

These are the glaring cases of attempts at Islamization of Nigeria

\* Muslims from the North have been placed in all

strategic and sensitive national offices, including heads of about 80 percent of the security agencies.

#### Northernization of Nigeria security

In case you don't know, 13 of the nation's 17 security agencies are currently being headed by Northerners under Buhari's administration.

For the avoidance of doubt, see the proof below:

- ✓ Minister of Interior Lt.-Gen. rtd Abdulrahman Dambazau (Kaduna state)
- ✓ Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) chairman−Ibrahim Magu (Borno state)
- ✓ Chief of Army Staff Lt.-Gen.Tukur Yusuf Buratai (Borno state)
- ✓ Acting Inspector-General of Police Ibrahim (Niger state)
- ✓ Minister of Defence Brig.Gen. Mansur Dan Ali rtd (Zamfara State)
- ✓ Commandant-General of the Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC) – Abdullahi Muhammadu-(Katsina state)
- ✓ Director-General of the Department of State Security Services (DSS) Lawal Musa Daura (Katsina state)
- ✓ Comptroller-General of the Nigeria Customs Service (NCS) – Col. Hameed Ibrahim Ali rtd (Bauchi state)
- ✓ Controller-General of the Nigeria Prison Service (NPS)-Alhaji Ja'afaru Ahmed (Kebbi state)

- ✓ Comptroller-General of the Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS) – Muhammed Babangida (Jigawa state)
- ✓ Comptroller-General of the Federal Fire Service– Joseph Anebi (Kogi state)
- ✓ Director-General of the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) – Alhaji Sani Didi (Kaduna state) AND
- ✓ Chief of Air Staff Air Marshal Sadique Abubakar (Bauchi state)

\* President Buhari unilaterally, without recourse to the National Assembly made Nigeria to join the 34 member Islamic Nations coalition against terrorism led by Saudi Arabia

\* On the 18 of March 2016, the federal government for the first time hosted International Islamic Conference in Abuja.

\* On the 18 of April 2016, the federal government sent a high level delegation led by Adamu Adamu, the minister for education to represent Nigeria at the 13th summit of Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC) in Istanbul.

\* Legislation to prohibit public preaching of the gospel and licensing for Christian preachers is underway in all northern states. This bill was introduced to the Kaduna state House of Assembly by Governor Nasir El Rufai and all the Governors of the 19 Northern state has adopted the policy

\* There is a bill currently sent to the National Assembly that seeks to enshrine Sharia law in our constitution.

\* A bill to allocate our land to Islamic Fulani cattle rearers has passed second reading in the National Assembly.

\* Sultan of Sokoto now has the powers to order the federal government to declare and extend public holidays for Islamic purposes.

\* JAIZ which is an Islamic bank, which Lamido Sanusi

the former central bank Governor told us that it will be limited to the North only, has now spread across the Country.

\* Islamic Development Bank has been brought into the country to save our economy.

Nigeria membership of the International Islamic Liquidity Management Corporation with the current CBN Governor Godwin Emefiele as its Chairman during the 17<sup>th</sup> Governing Board meeting in Jakarta, Indonesia.

\* Dollar had been subsidized for Muslim pilgrims while many Nigerian business men and students abroad cannot access dollar at that same rate but at exorbitant black market rate.

For the 2016 Muslim pilgrimage, according to the CBN circular TED/FEM/FPC/GEN/01/005, August 4<sup>th</sup>, 2016; FG will provide FOREX to 65,197 pilgrims at a subsidized exchange rate of N197 to \$1. At the prevailing exchange rate when this was done of

N380 to\$1, this decision represents a subsidy of **N 11.92 billion.** 

#### \* Christians are being killed and churches burnt by Muslims while the government sit and watch.

A Deeper Life member, Mrs Bridget Agbaheme from Imo State was butchered in cold blood by Muslim fanatics who falsely claimed that she blasphemed their religion on Thursday 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2016. It took almost a week for Mr Buhari to respond, and his response was so insensitive by claiming that people should respect other people's religion.

To add salt to the injury, the four accused persons in this gruesome murder were released from detention and acquitted without trial at the instruction of the Attorney General of Kano state.

Not long after this, precisely on July 15, 2016, over 200 Muslim youths descended on a Roman Catholic Church in Baki Ikun along Kaduna Road in Suleja near Abuja. They assaulted Parishioners, inflicting various

degrees of bodily injuries on many. They also destroyed the church properties including vehicles while people were worshipping. They claimed that it was wrong for Christians to worship on Friday, which they claimed was their holy day.

This event happened a week after the gruesome murder of a 42 year old mother of 7 by the name Mrs Eunice Olawale of the Redeemed Christian Church who was lynched by Muslim youths in Kubwa, Abuja at the instruction of a Muslim Cleric. These and other gruesome murders are becoming widespread and rampant without any serious attempt by the Buhari administration to stop them.





#### FOR THE NORTH (North West, North East, North Central)

- 1. Aide de Camp to president: Lt. Col Abubakar Lawal 2. Senior Special Assistant, Media and Publicity: Garba Shehu
- 3. State Chief of Protocol/Special Assistant
- (Presidential Matters): Lawal Abdullahi Kazaure 4. Accountant General of the Federation:
- Ahmed Idris
- 5. National Security Adviser: Babagana Monguno
- 6. Chief of Army Staff: Tukur Buratai
- 7. Chief of Air Staff: Sadique Abubakar
- 8. Chief of Defense Intelligence: Monday Riku Morgan 9. Director General, State Security Services, SSS:
- Lawal Daura 10 Executive Vice Chairman/ Chief Executive Officer, Nigerian Communications Commission:
- Umaru Dambatta 11. Director General, Budget Office of the Federation:
- Alivu Gusau 12. Group Managing Director, Nigeria National
- Petroleum Corporation, NNPC: Maikanta Baru 13. Secretary to Government of the Federation:
- Babachir David Lawal
- 14. Chief of Staff to the President: Abba Kyari
- 15. Senior Special Assistant on National Assembly Matters (House of Representatives): Suleiman Kawu
- 16. Comptroller-General, Nigerian Customs Service: Hameed Ibrahim Ali
- 17. Director, Department Of Petroleum Resources, DPR: Modecai Baba Ladan
- 18. Commissioner for Insurance and Chief Executive of the National Insurance Commission:
- Mohammed Kari

#### 19. Managing Director, Asset Management

- Company of Nigeria, AMCON: Ahmed Lawan Kuru
- 20. Comptroller General of Prisons: Ahmed Ja'afaru 21. Comptroller General of Immigration: Muhammed Babandede Jigawa
- 22. INEC Chairman: Mahmood Yakubu
- 23. EFCC Chairman: Ibrahim Magu, a Kanuri
- 24. NPA Managing Director: Hadiza Bala Usman
- 25. Inspector General of Police: Ibrahim Kpotun Idris

#### FOR THE SOUTH (South South, South East, South West)

- 26. Special Adviser, Media and Publicity to the president: Femi Adesina
- 27. Chief of Defense Staff: Abayomi Olonishakin
- 28. Chief of Naval Staff: Ibok-Ete Ekwe Ibas
- 29. Special Adviser, Niger Delta Amnesty Office:
- Paul Boroh 30. Executive Chairman, Federal Inland Revenue
- Service, FIRS: Babatunde Fowler 31. Senior Special Assistant on National Assembly
- Matters (Senate)- Ita Enang 32. NIMASA Director General: Dr. Dakuku Peterside
- 33. NDDC Director General: Ibim Semenitari

#### Appointments by Buhari for Ambassadorial appointments.

1. South South States: 6 Nominees with Bayelsa missing but Edo, APC state 2 2. South East: 6 with Ebonyi missing but Imo APC state2, Anambra 2 3. South West: 7 nominees



12 states in the Northern part of Nigeria have been practising one form or the other of Sharia law since 2012. These states are Zamfara, Kano, Sokoto, Katsina, Bauchi, Borno, Jigawa, Kebbi, Kaduna, Niger and Gombe.

However, the Nigeria 1999 constitution restricted the role of Sharia to only **civil matters** involving **consenting Muslims**.

In a very suspicious and clandestine manner, the whole country woke up one day to learn that a bill enforcing and expanding the role of Sharia had been introduced in the House of Representatives.

The bill is titled, "a Bill for an Act to alter Sections 262 and 277 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 to increase the jurisdiction of the Sharia Court of Appeal of the Federal Capital Territory and the Sharia Court of Appeal of a State by including Criminal Matters of Hudud and Qisas and for other related Matters."

The proposed law which was discussed briefly on the floor of the House of Representatives on Thursday May 19, 2016 has passed the second reading before being referred to the Ad-hoc Committee on Constitution Amendment. This bill was sponsored by Mr. Abdullahi Balarabe Salame (APC, Sokoto).

#### Implications of the bill

1. Sharia will be extended to all the states of the Federation.

2. Sharia jurisdiction or coverage will now cover not only civil matters, but criminal matters as well.

If passed into law, it deals a fatal blow on our faith as Christians and Nigeria's secularism. It completely removes all the restrictions on the Sharia and expands its application and coverage on all the states.

To properly understand it, you need to know what the 1999 constitution says on SHARIA in sections 262 and 277 which are similar.

## SHARIA JURISDICTION IN 1999 CONSTITUTION SECTION 262/277

277. (1) The sharia Court of Appeal of a State shall, in addition to such other jurisdiction as may be conferred upon it by the law of the State, exercise such appellate and supervisory jurisdiction in civil proceedings involving questions of Islamic personal Law which the court is competent to decide in accordance with the provisions of subsection (2) of this section. (2) For the purposes of subsection (1) of this section, the sharia Court of Appeal shall be competent to decide -

(a) any question of Islamic personal Law regarding a marriage concluded in accordance with that Law, including a question relating to the validity or dissolution of such a marriage or a question that depends on such a marriage and relating to family relationship or the guardianship of an infant;

(b) where all the parties to the proceedings are Muslims, any question of Islamic personal Law regarding a marriage, including the validity or dissolution of that marriage, or regarding family relationship, a founding or the guarding of an infant;

(c) Any question of Islamic personal Law regarding a 'wakf', gift, will or succession where the endower, donor, testator or deceased person is a Muslim;

(d) any question of Islamic personal Law regarding an infant, prodigal or person of unsound mind who is a Muslim or the maintenance or the guardianship of a Muslim who is physically or mentally infirm; or

(e) Where all the parties to the proceedings, being

Muslims, have requested the court that hears the case in the first instance to determine that case in accordance with Islamic personal law, any other question.

It is obvious from the bill posted below the mischievous and evil plan of the Sponsor to delete sections 262 and 277 that protect Non Muslims from Sharia law. It also deliberately inserted criminal matters of Sharia as part of our constitution.

This is not only an affront to our Faith as Christians but a deliberate attempt to undermine the secularity of our nation. This is unacceptable and we condemn it vehemently.

This bill has now moved to the constitution review committee of the national assembly as it requires constitutional amendment before it is passed into law. For it to be successfully passed into law, it must be approved by two thirds of all state houses of assembly as well as the national assembly.

We use this medium to call on our legislators at the state and national levels to comprehensively defeat this bill and make sure it does not see the light of the day.

#### [HB. 16.04.530] C 1755 A BILL FOR AN ACT TO ALTER THE PROVISIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA, 1999; AND FOR RELATED MATTERS Sponsored by Hon. Abdullahi Balarahe Salame ENACTED by the National Assembly of the Federal Republic of Nigeria: 1. The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 (in this Bill referred to as the "Principal Act") is altered as set out in this Bill. Alleration of the Constitution of the Rederal. 2. Section 262 (1) of the Principal Act is altered by inserting Republic of Numia 1990 immediately after the word, "civil" in line 3, the words: "and criminal". Aituration of Section 267 (1) 3. Section 262 (2) of the Principal Act is deleted. 4. Section 277 (I) of the Principal Act is altered by inserting Delution of Section 262 (2) immediately after the word, "civil" in line 3, the words, "and criminal". Alleration of 5. Section 277 (2) of the Principal Act is deleted. Section 277 (1) 6. This Bill may be cited as the Constitution of the Federal Deletion of Section 277 (2) Republic of Nigeria (Alteration) Bill, 2016. Citation EXPLANATORY MEMORANDUM This Bill seeks to alter the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 to increase the jurisdiction of the Sharia Court of Appeal of the Federal Capital Territory and the Sharia Court of Appeal of a State by including

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criminal matters of hudud and gisas.



### **PREAMBLE**

**FULANI HERDSMEN:** Another major security challenge that is grappling for definite attention by the government is the incessant clashes between the nomadic Fulani Herdsmen and the host communities/Farmers.

There have been massive, widespread, unprovoked attacks on host communities by these marauding Fulani Herdsmen.

They destroy Farms, rape women, burn houses, and sack host communities creating a lot of havoc and internally displaced persons (IDPs).

We are not comfortable with how government is handling this security challenge in the nation. Government's response to the murderous activities of the Fulani herdsmen so far is worrisome. We recollect that as soon as Mr. President was sworn in, he directed the security agencies to go after cattle rustlers and within a short time, thousands of cattle were recovered and the weight of the law was brought against these criminals. In the case of marauding Fulani herdsmen killing the farmers, no tacit statement condemning and concrete step to stop and punish them is in place. Rather, what we see are plans that bother on provision of grazing area all over the country in favour of the herdsmen, while the farmer victims have no redress.

A criminal is a criminal whether a cattle rustler or a herdsman murderer. THE MARAUDING FULANI HERDSMEN ARE NOW RATED 4<sup>TH</sup> WORST TERRORIST GROUP BY THE GLOBALTERRORISM INDEX.

We shall be highlighting these criminal activities, the socio economic and security implications below.

#### **CASE REPORTS SINCE JANUARY 2016**

There have been several cases of attacks by the Fulani herdsmen since January 2016. These include

### 1. AGATU MASSACRE:

Ten communities were razed while no fewer than 500 lives were lost in the Agatu massacre in Benue State.

# 2. PROTEST IN DELTA OVER ALLEGED KILLINGS BY FULANI HERDSMEN

Twenty-five local government areas in Delta State grounded activities on the Benin-Asaba Expressway. They reported that the herdsmen allegedly killed over 23 persons. Interestingly, the police recovered 20 AK-47 rifles, 70 dane guns, 30 double-barrel guns and over 1,000 live ammunition, mostly from Fulani herdsmen during this period.

## 3. FULANI HERDSMEN ATTACK OYO FARMERS

Farmers in Lagun, Iyana Offa, Offa, Atagba, Lapata and their surrounding communities in Lagelu Local Council Area of Ibadan, Oyo State, alleged that a group of Fulani armed men attacked their communities at night, injured a guard and carted away valuables.

#### 4. FULANI HERDSMEN KILL 15 IN TARABA

Fulani herdsmen attacked two villages in Gashaka Local Government Area of the state and killed 15 people.

#### 5. FULANI HERDSMEN KILL FIVE IN BENUE COMMUNITY

Five persons were killed on Thursday night by Fulani herdsmen at Okokolo village in Agatu Local Government Area of Benue State.

#### **CLASHES IN GHANA**

The acting Nigerian High Commissioner to Ghana, Adekunbi Sonaike Ayodeji, disclosed the killing of seven Fulani Nigerian herdsmen in Ghana.

Addressing a news conference in Accra, Commissioner Ayodeji said the Fulani herdsmen were killed when they clashed with some farmers in some parts of the country. She said the Commission will take responsibility in part for the activities of the herdsmen because some of them are citizens of Nigeria. Commissioner Ayodeji blamed the whipping of sentiments by the Ghanaian media which she said is responsible for the recent hostility activities against Fulani herdsmen.

### ACCOUNT OF THE ATTACK BY FULANI HERDSMEN ON NIMBO UZO-UWANI L.G.A. ENUGU STATE ON MONDAY 25<sup>TH</sup> APRIL 2016

Prior to the most recent attack, the members of the community have had a running battle with Fulani Herdsmen who send their cattle into their farms to destroy their crops. Sometimes they (Fulani herdsmen) harvest the crops like cassava and feed their animals. They later resorted to raping women in the farms such that women stopped going to the farms alone. Even the men always went to the farms in groups. The aim of the herdsmen was to sack them from their communal land. Sometime in February 2016 the herdsmen killed three men from the community. All these matters were reported to the Police. On one occasion, the members of the community apprehended two Fulani men and handed them over to the Police.

On the recent incidence, the villagers got information of the impending attack and reported to the State Governor and the Police. Policemen were drafted from Adani the Local Government Headquarters to patrol the area. On the fateful day, the policemen withdrew around 4 a.m. without replacement and within 30 minutes of their withdrawal, the herdsmen struck. In order not to raise alarm, knowing that the community had vigilante group, they initially attacked their victims with machetes as they came out of their rooms. A young man who slept outside his room because of the hot weather saw them and they pursued him. He escaped from them and raised alarm that Fulani people were attacking the village. That was the saving grace the community had. The herdsmen were led by an Alhaji with chaplet in his hands who appeared to be their spiritual head. When they realized they had been discovered, they started shooting people. Twelve men were killed in the attack but more corpses are still being discovered in the bush and some who sustained injuries are still dying in the hospitals. It was the sight of two corpses discovered during the Governor's visit that made him to shed tears.

When the Inspector General of Police visited, a member of the community recalled an incident where he saw one of the policemen patrolling the area discussing with some Fulani people in the bush. The IGP then ordered the arrest of all the policemen involved in the patrol.

#### 2. SOCIO-ECONOMIC / SECURITY IMPLICATION OF THE CLASHES

The ongoing conflict between farmers and herdsmen across the North central alone is costing Nigeria at least \$14 billion in potential revenue annually (2.8 trillion (45% of 2016 budget) according to the UK DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (DFID). It has created so much hatred, phobia and threats by various groups across the divide which if not carefully managed can snowball into a more serious ethnic, religious and civil conflicts/war.

**SECURITY**: These clashes have cost the lives of over 1600 Nigerians, women have been raped, properties destroyed. Nigeria is now ranked second to Afghanistan as the worst country to live in terms of terrorism. Nigeria currently harbours 3 of the 5 deadliest terror groups in the world according to the global terrorism index (Boko Haram - 7000, ISIL -6000, Fulani herdsmen - 2000).

#### RECOMMENDATIONS (SOCIO-ECONOMIC)

- a) We say a capital NO to grazing reserve / route/ nomadism for several reasons below
- b) It conflicts with constitution, land use act which vest power of land ownership to governors / LG to be held in trust for the people.
- c) Federal Government cannot grab community land for private use while denying the community their means of livelihood.
- d) Nigeria has over 400 ethnic groups, why should one group's economic interest be more important than the others.
- e) What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander If we must have grazing reserves/routes in all states of the federation, then justice demands that we should have similar provisions for Dogs, Pigs, reserves, fish ponds for Niger Deltans whose waters are polluted, cocoa, plantain, rubber plantation should equally be created in all the states of the federation!!

- f) Private Ranching / padlocking are the modern way: It is sustainable, scientific, conflict free and produces better, healthy cattle with good beef/milk production. Government could support such private enterprises that form clusters with soft loans, schools, hospitals and other social amenities.
- g) Alternative source of feeds for cattle turning our wastes into feeds (cassava peels, harvested cereal plants, husk / chaff from rice, beans and corn), vegetables etc.
- h) Using integrated modern technology (Fodder Solutions) - where grasses are grown and harvested within 6 days. The system uses water and nutrients to produce highly nutritious forage from maize, millet, sorghum, barley and oat seed.

i) Sambisia forest occupies 60, 000km<sup>2</sup> (6 million hectares) of which only 500 – 600km square is a forest reserve should be converted into a national ranch when the insurgents have been eliminated. These will among others, solve the security problem as it will no longer form a haven for terrorists. It will provide job / employment opportunities for the community and adjoining

states of Yobe, Borno, Bauchi, Gombe, Kano and Jigawa. It will also encourage investors to establish Agro allied industries for diary, beef and tannery processing.

Social amenities / roads / rail network will be constructed there, thus opening the place for rapid development.

#### **RECOMMENDATIONS (SECURITY):**

- 1) Disarm all cattle herdsmen
- 2) Criminals to be arrested and prosecuted as a deterrent to others.
- 3) Conflict resolution; inter communal dialogue especially at boundary areas.
- 4) Real life Satellite imaging of conflict prone areas/border/use of drones to forestall attack.
- 5) Decentralization of Nigeria Police with State policing / security outfit under the control of the Governor/CP.
- 6) Cases of genuine ethnic cleansing should be referred to ICC by the affected communities.
- 7) Strengthening the security agencies recruitment, technology and efficient funding/ communication tool.

### **CONCLUSION:**

#### THE LOOMING ANARCHY IN THE LAND

The activities of the cattle herdsmen as mentioned above have neither attracted sympathy nor intervention from the security agents or governments. IGP was quoted as saying that most of these herdsmen are not Nigerians but is this a valid excuse of inactivity especially when these people wield sophisticated weapons like AK 47, grenades etc.

It appears Nigerians have come to realize that their governments are unwilling to protect and defend them and are already strategizing to defend themselves which is their constitutional right. In the South West, the OPC have issued a 14 day ultimatum to the herdsmen to vacate their land. The South East is reconstituting the "Bakasi Boys" for their defence. The Niger Deltans are unhappy with their governors for their inactivity and are spoiling for action.

This government's failure to defend and protect all Nigerians is creating a fertile ground for Anarchy. This government must accept the responsibility for this outcome. Fortunately, there is still time to prevent the anarchy if this government immediately disarm the herdsmen and restricts them to ranches. This will restore confidence of Nigerians in their security agencies and render irrelevant the grooming of ethnic militias.

## SOUTHERN KADUNA: ETHNIC CLEANSING OR STRUGGLE FOR PASTURE LAND?

The recent attacks and sacking of many communities in southern Kaduna, Kaduna State by the Fulani herdsmen raises these pertinent questions; Are the attacks motivated by quest for pasture land or are they motivated by quest for ethnic cleansing/genocide?

If the answer to the first question is positive, one would like to see a situation where the herdsmen graze on their lands and then pass on to other greener pastures.

Rather, what is playing out is the conquest of the indigenous people with acts of genocide and total occupation of the land with political, economic and religious structures that seek to replace what is on ground before the arrival of the invader.

The argument of quest for fodder flies more in the face when recent statements by the Kaduna State governor, Malam, Nasir El-Rufai face objective scrutiny. He is quoted as saying that anybody that kills a Fulani man has collected a loan which one day he must pay. He is also quoted to have said that he paid the Fulanis, who he claimed were foreigners to stop the killings.

Further El Rufai is said to have called Fulanis who left Kaduna for one reason or another to come back now that a Fulani man is the governor of the state. From the governor's utterances it is obvious that the struggle for southern Kaduna is not about grass for feeding of animals, rather a struggle for ethnic displacement of one group by another.

No wonder the wanton killing and destruction of property. One hopes the Fulanis don't intend to repeat what the Janjaweeds did to the indigenous Christians of south Sudan, a deliberate act of ethnic cleansing backed by a government in power. The Fulani mentality that their people are in power both at the federal and in Kaduna state, therefore they must concretize their expansionist tendency is warped.

They seem not to reason that their kins will not remain in power forever. What happens at the end of their tenure? Fulani impunity is sending only one message to the nation which is; never again elect the Fulani man into political position. If the present government will understand this message they should do everything to put their rampaging brothers under control. It is for their own good, knowing that power is transient. It will be good to put what is happening in southern Kaduna in correct perspective. The activities of the Fulanis in southern Kaduna is a continuation of a suspended program of Othman Dan Fodio's Islamic jihad of 19<sup>th</sup> century which overthrew indigenous Hausa states, destroyed their culture and religion and established the present caliphate. Put differently, this is an act to extend the frontiers of the caliphate where it feels it has not taken absolute control.

Flashback into Nigeria history reveals that typical indigenous Hausa people with their indigenous middle belt counterparts are not, pastoralist, but crop farmers. Pastoralism is an 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries phenomenon introduced by the Fulani pastoral Islamists who had dual motive of finding pasture for their animals and establishing a politico-religious system to replace the existing one in the place.

For instance, after the conquest of the seven old Hausa states by the Fulani invaders in 1804 led by the Fulani patriarch, Othman Dan Fodio, the true Hausa identity was lost to a cultural mix called Hausa-Fulani. The original Hausa culture and institution that supported and produced women leaders such as Queen Amina of Zaria was lost to the mix that does not encourage women leadership. Also, nomadism is not an Hausa culture. Rather it was fostered through conquest. In other words, there is no surviving Hausa cultural practice in existence today, but a total assimilated Arabic-Fulfulde politico-religious lifestyle.

Put differently, the first people group in Nigeria to lose their identity as a result of conquest is the Hausas. History has it that the non Hausa communities in northern Nigeria resisted the invading Fulani jihadists that conquered the core Hausa states and were able to maintain their political, economic and religious identity until Britain aided the Fulanis through indirect rule and subjugated these ethnic minoritities to the power of the sultanate. This is the genesis of the struggle to take absolute control of the land and people of the minorities of the north.

It is unfortunate that this core motive of finishing the unfinished motion of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is being aided by the propaganda of climate change, desertification and scarcity of fodder and decrease in flora. As far back as the early 20<sup>th</sup> century when the first set of the grazing reserves were created and gazette by the northern Nigerian government under the Fulani-Hausa oligarchy, global warming and its attendant effects had not reached the level as it is today, yet lands were acquired in the middle belt far away from the concentration of the Fulanis in a foresighted manner with the intention to pursue the subjugation motive.

Juxtaposing this background with the current onslaught against the indigenous minorities of the middle belt generally and southern Kaduna in particular by the Fulani pastoralists, one sees a correlationship between pursuits of age old expansionism with quest for fodder. Let no one be deceived, quest for fodder is a secondary reason. The main motive is political, cultural and religious domination as well as acquisition of a homeland by force.

In Nigeria geopolitical history, every people group has an indigenous homeland that is not in dispute except the Fulanis. The Hausas, Kanuris, Nupes and other groups in the north can point to a geographical terrain as a homeland. The Yorubas of western Nigeria and the Igbos of South eastern Nigeria all have places that can be referred to as homeland. Even the Aros in igbo land that share similar character of settlership with the Fulanis have a homeland which every Aro man no matter where he is under the globe regard as a homeland. Where can a Fulani man in Kano, Borno, Adamawa, Afikpo, Ogoni and Ibadan put to as ancestral homeland in Nigeria?

Historically, the Futajalon Mountains of Senegal is

believed to be the ancestral homeland of the Fulanis. But as nomads are always on the move and settling wherever they can see grass for their animals they are always accommodated by their host communities. This is acknowledged and accommodated by the constitution for which there is a de-emphasis on ethnicism in the constitution. Yet this accommodation does not negate the right of indigenous people of any place to ownership of their land, including resources thereto.

What the Fulanis are doing in Nigeria is overstretching the letters and spirit of the constitution for their selfish end. From observable facts, what is playing out in the whole of the middle belt of Nigeria and particularly in Kaduna south is a deliberate act of aggression to further the age old expansionist tendency to carve out an inheritance for the pastoralist, turning them into indigenes rather than settlers.

This is a clear case of the proverbial elephant after

being beaten by the rain requested from the master to bring in its head for shelter which ended up pushing the master out of the hut and occupying same with its massive body. The Fulani herdsmen are using the opportunity of a Fulani governor in Kaduna and President in Aso villa to push land owners all over the federation from their properties using the instrumentality of government. How far can they go in a power transient environment?

Statistics shows that these acts of aggression increased since 2015 when a Fulani man became President and the ethnic groups feels it is an opportunity to get what they don't have.

If not, how will one explain government lack lustre attitude to the danger posed by these aggressions. How come there are little or no arrests of the murderous aggressors, rather a placating of criminals as Kaduna State governor said he paid some people to stop killing in southern Kaduna. One is left with one conclusion that Kaduna state government and by extension Federal government are accomplices and have burden to prove otherwise.

# NCGF & NEW NATIONAL CURRICULUM

#### NIGERIA CHRISTIAN GRADUATE FELLOWSHIP POSITION ON THE NEW 9-YEAR BASIC EDUCATION CURRICULUM

Following the decision of the Federal government to introduce the Universal 9-year Basic Education Programme, the Nigerian Educational research and development council(NERDC) restructured and realigned all extant primary and junior secondary schools(JSS) Curricula into a 9 year Basic education curriculum which commenced in 2008. This curriculum was recently revised by the Federal Ministry of Education through the NERDC. Part of the revised curriculum is the omnibus subject called **Religion and National values**.

Religion and National Values is said to be the merging of formally independent subjects such as Christian Religious Studies, Islamic Studies, Civic Education, Social studies and Security Education into one compulsory subject.

Given the fact that it is the duty of Government to provide functional education to her citizenry which is in line with the United Nations Declaration on human and people's rights, the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and even the Child Right Act of 2003; curriculum review is a welcome development. A review should eliminate subject matter overlaps, redundancies and enrich curriculum quality through the infusion of emerging issues. However, this duty, as exercised in this respect is faulty. A holistic view of the rights – both as enshrined in the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the Child Rights Act point to the fact that the parents or legal guardian should be taken into consideration in any matter that affects the interest of the child.

Unfortunately, the current educational curriculum did not take all these into consideration. In fact, parents as stakeholders were not consulted before the formulation and implementation. For instance, the Right of the child not to be exposed to a contrary religion outside those of his parents / Guardian is not taken into consideration by this curriculum. This has been made possible because the NERDC-approved textbooks for this subject contain materials on both Christian religious studies and Islamic studies. This is of immense importance as the majority of children that attend the basic schools are minors(less than 18 years of age).

According to section 38(2) of the 1999 constitution as amended, no person attending any place of education shall be required to receive religious instruction or take part in any religious observance that is contrary to his religion or religion of his / her parents or guardian. Also, subsection (1) of the same section 38 makes it explicit that freedom of worship is sacrosanct. Further to this, Child Right Act 2003 section 7(1) says every child has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion.

Subsection 2 saliently captured the role of the parents in enforcement of the right in subsection 1 as follows: "parents and where applicable legal guardians shall provide guidance and direction in the exercise of those rights having regard to the evolving capacities and best interest of the child". Then the issue of consent of parents or guardian necessary before the formulation and implementation of the curriculum is graphically stated in subsection (3) as follows: The duty of parents and where applicable legal guardians to provide guidance and direction in the enjoyment of the right in subsection (1) of this section by their child or ward SHALL BE RESPECTED BY ALL PERSONS, BODIES, INSTITUTIONS AND AUTHORITIES.

The import of this curriculum is that compulsorily, the pupils / students would be exposed to contrary religions whether Islamic or Christian. For example, in one of the textbooks, it is stated "Do not listen to your parents if they prevent you from accepting Islam". While such a statement may be acceptable to a Moslem parent, such statements and more offends the beliefs of Christians. It therefore negates the idea of inculcating basic values as intended by the revised curriculum.

#### In the light of the above, it is our position that

1.Christian Religious Studies and Islamic Religious Studies should be allowed to stand separately and be studied as independent subjects with separate textbooks just like the Nigerian languages (Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba} in line with the previous curriculum.

2. Relevant authorities responsible for mid-wifying this new curriculum should as a matter of urgency reverse the curriculum and revert to status quo ante.

3. Attempts to make this omnibus subject compulsory, for the Basic Education Certificate Examinations should be discontinued.

4. There should be a public hearing on this to galvanize the opinion of parents on a matter as sensitive as this.

5. Federal Government should device means of confronting directly those who propagate violence and religious intolerance rather than making a compulsory subject of the religions as Nigeria has no National religion.

6. Lists of recommended books/ publishers should be an appendix to the curriculum

7. Diligent oversight functions on publishers and service providers

8. Re-introduction of key subjects (History, Geography, Economics, and Accounting)

Furthermore, the disadvantage of this omnibus integration outweighs whatever could be the advantage. When five subjects are merged into one, it is obvious that detailed work cannot be achieved both in writing of the textbook and the teaching. The child would be made to struggle to learn and comprehend five-in-one subject, which is not going to be easy. The result would be penny wise, pound foolish as excellence would be sacrificed at the altar of social integration.

# The Islamic Bank المميرف الإسلامي



WHAT IS ISLAMIC BANKING? Islamic banking is interest free banking, in which there is no fixed rate of return. It is a banking system which is run in accordance with the Islamic laws and the Sharia' board; that guides the institutions. Islamic banking is guided by Islamic law principles and by Islamic economics. In particular, Islamic law prohibits usury, the collection and payment of interest, also commonly called Riba in Islamic discourse". Islamic banking also finds its roots in Islamic finance and all type of transactions are interest free and of risk sharing.

### ISLAMIC BANKING IN NIGERIA In 2012 when Nigeria had Alhaji Lamido Sanusi as CBN Governor, the first Islamic Bank; Jaiz bank was

introduced into Nigeria. Nigeria being a secular state, the operations of the bank where limited to the north and it operated as a regional bank until May 2016 when it got the license to open branches all over the nation. Again this is a means of introducing Sharia into the fabric of our National life.

**Issues with Islamic Banking** 

- a) Islamic bank is governed by sharia law which in our constitution today should only apply to consenting Muslims.
- b) Evidence abound to support the fact that the clamor of noninterest banking is only a window dressing as interest is charged indirectly

c) The use of Arabic terminology instead of the globally accepted English financial language convention presents serious translation and interpretation risks.

d) Sharia banks also donate funds to "charity". Sharia organizations eligible to receive this "charity" include mosques, Islamic centers, political groups, university endowment funds or not-for-profit goodwill organizations as chosen by the Sheiks on the banks board.

e) Furthermore Sharia banks have also been implicated in providing funding for terrorism. Interestingly, Abdulfarouk Mutallab the 23 year old man who attempted bombing of a US plane with 228 passengers on

# NIGERIA ECONOMIC RECESSION AND POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

The term "Recession" is no longer an economic jargon known only to the experts. The average Nigerian that was buying a bag of rice for  $\aleph$  8,000.00 now buying it for  $\aleph$  22,000.00 knows that something is really wrong. The civil servant with a minimum wage of  $\aleph$  18,000.00 who for the past 7 months has not been paid can, lecture about recession. The family that trains their children in foreign schools can speak

about the galloping foreign exchange rate in Nigeria.

According to Moody's report titled "The current economic recession affecting Nigeria; Moody's projects stagnation in GDP in 2016, stating that the country will get out of recession in 2017 with a subdued growth at 2.5% in 2017. "We expect Nigeria will contain pressures on its public finances in the short term; however, there is greater doubt about the severity of the impact of these challenges particularly on government liquidity and domestic growth over the medium term. " -Aunelien Mali, a V.P senior credit officer of Moody's. Moody's is one of the top three credit rating agencies in the worid.

From every available indication, Nigerian has entered into recession. Authoritatively, the central bank, the Finance Minister and the National Bureau of statistics (NBS) have spoken about recession.

Therefore, Recession according to, National Bureau of economic Research (NBER). is defined as" a significant decline in economic activities spread across the economy, more than a few months visible in real gross domestic product (GDP) real income, employment, industrial production and whole sale-retail sale". The gross domestic product (GDP) is of course the monetary value of all the finished goods and services engineered or produced within a country, in a specific period of time.

From records, this recession is happening for the first time in the last 29 years. NBS figures showed GDP for second quarter of 2016 that the economy contracted from -0.36% to - 2.06%. We will not gloss over statistics in our search for the current economic challenge. This is a look at our GDP growth rate in six years.

Yearly GDP Growth rate	
2011	5.31%
2012	4.21%
2012	5.49%
2014	6.22%
2015	2.7%
2016	Q2-2.06%

A further analysis showed that the economy started the serious slide from the third quarter (Q3) of 2015. (These are veritable facts from NBS).

This analysis enclosed a certain period for discussion. We must try to see what happened in Nigeria within this period of time. There was a new government from an opposition party with its own vision and philosophy different from the former regime.

They came to power with the mantra of change in three areas, namely the economy, corruption and security. We must also note that Nigeria though the largest economy in Africa is almost a mono-economy i.e. oil. We have not been able to develop other sectors like agriculture and solid minerals. Globally, the prices of oil fell drastically. It was so terrible that the budgetary benchmark was even higher than the reigning oil price. Therefore, the budgetary process became a casualty.

The new government waited from 29<sup>th</sup> May till 30<sup>th</sup> September (4 months) before appointing ministers. This period, there was little or nothing serious

happening in government.

An organization is credited or discredited by the calibre and competence of its human resources. With a declining economy, one was expecting the new leadership to have looked at technocrats who would help to significantly dissect the economy and proffer solution rather than after much waiting, they opted for party settlement and dividing of the spoils of war. This singular action brought about so many policy summersaults.

1 **The treasury single account** (**T.S.A**): This policy of withdrawing all the government funds in various commercial banks to central bank is good; as it will help to block leakages, but the manner in which it was done affected the economy. This action drastically reduced liquidity in banks. Their ability to grant loans and render short term monetary service were reduced, leading to banks laying off many of their staff. The multiplier effect of that action is resonating.

Certain goods were removed from the import schedule. As good as this policy is, the best focus of governance is the protection of the interest of its citizenry. Many importers were instantly taken away from the economy and the chain reaction is unimaginable. We must also note that other economic activities and value chain associated with these imports are gone. Government did well by removing the subsidy in oil or fuel pricing and the reforms that took place in the Nigeria national petroleum corporation. But fell short when certain developmental projects in the Niger delta region were arbitrarily cancelled, like the Maritime University.

The return of militancy in the Niger-Delta was the last straw that broke the camel's back. Oil and gas sector was adversely affected in the bombings of national oil installations thereby reducing the oil production of the country. Inasmuch as one does not condone militancy, the body language of the president contributed largely to these activities in the Niger-Delta. His policy of 95% against 5% favour for the communities which voted for him or did not vote which he carried religiously helped in escalating the crisis. His decision to stop the amnesty program for the Niger Delta militants, infuriated the key stake holders and the ex militants creating a fertile environment for dissent and revolt. Though political, this action of his had economic implications. All manner of agitation started to emerge thereby helping in crippling the economy.

Investor's confidence was eroded. At a time, the president and CBN governor could not agree as to the devaluation of the naira and when it was eventually done, a lot of damage had already, taken place.

Several inconsistent policies also further eroded investor's confidence and fuelled a lot of negative speculations on our economy and currency.

For instance, after a trip to China to woo Chinese investors, we were told by the CBN governor that it was already consummating a deal to be the remnibi (Yuan) trading hub in west Africa, reducing pressure on the demand for dollar for international trade.

Speaking about the deal in Washington, Godwin Emefiele, the CBN governor, said it was expected to erode the demand for dollar for Chinese transactions.

"China has appointed South Africa as its trading hub for Remnibi transactions in the south African region, has appointed Kenya as its trading hub for east and central Africa," he said.

"And Nigeria, the mandate that we signed is for us to be appointed as the trading hub in the West African sub region. In all, we expect that it is going to be mutually beneficial."

Immediately after this pronouncement, the value of Naira shored up in both the official and black market exchanges. However, few days after this, the same government officials including a serving minister denied any possibility of currency swap with Chinese Yuan. Another inconsistent policy of the Buhari administration is the artificial creation of several sources of dollar, the official rate which is good for business men was limited to petroleum importers and a few favoured cronies of the government. Majority of businessmen and those who need dollars for genuine transactions are denied this opportunity and have to source theirs at a very astronomically high rate from the black market.

#### What is the true value of Naira?

Budget	N305/\$
Interbank:	N315/\$
BDC	N389/\$
Parallel Market	N450/\$
Black Market	N485/\$

How can one question have five answers? Only in Buhari's government!

The government nepotism knew no bound to the extent that the scarce foreign reserve was gifted Muslim pilgrims travelling to Saudi Arabia.

**Dollar had been subsidized for Muslim pilgrims** while many Nigerian business men and students abroad cannot access dollar at that same rate but at exorbitant black market rate.

For the 2016 Muslim pilgrimage, according t o t h e C B N c i r c u l a r TED/FEM/FPC/GEN/01/005, August 4<sup>th</sup>, 2016; FG will provide FOREX to 65,197 pilgrims at a subsidized exchange rate of N197 to \$1. At the prevailing exchange rate when this was done of N380 to\$1. This decision represents a subsidy of **N 11.92 billion.**  A key evidence of recession is a skyrocketing inflation. Prices of goods and services have gone up. The consequent effect is that the rate of unemployment is increasing on a daily basis. In the last one year more than 4.8million Nigerians have been laid off. Cost of production is rising and factories are closing down. Little or nothing is being done as far as investment is concerned.

The government should borrow a leaf from President Obama. When he was elected in 2008 November and came into office on 20<sup>th</sup> of Jan 2009; there was terrible decline in American economy. America was deeply engaged in two serious wars, which negatively affected their economy. Unemployment was high. Factories were closing especially the automobile industry. Once he was inaugurated, he hit the ground running. He assembled the best American professionals irrespective of party lines .One of the people he sought help from was Prof. Summers, a very good friend of Prof Charles Soludo. Prof Summers was the economic adviser to former president Bill Clinton. He did not consider the fact that Mrs. Clinton ran a bitter primary with him. He even made Hilary Clinton the US secretary of State. Are there not the Pat Utomi's of this world?

#### **RECOMMENDATIONS:**

The tension in the Niger Delta should be resolved through dialogue and not through exhibition of military supremacy and arrogance.

Issue of power, generation, transmission and distribution should be looked into, beginning with the unbundling of the bogus ministry headed by current Minister of power, works and housing. Investor's confidence should be built by positive policy releases from government. The government will do well by instilling into investors the assurance of power stability and security in the country.

As matter of fact, which farmer will want to invest in large scale farming when the issue of the Fulani herdsmen has not been addressed by government? Agriculture and Agro allied industries with the veritable value chain should serve as a serious alternative to oil business.

Agriculture should not just be limited to the mere production of farm produce or commodities but processing, manufacturing of finished products that add value to the primary farm produce.

The insecurity where local investors are pushed out due to religious threats should

be addressed because anybody whose business is threatened will eventually let it fold and stay alive.

There are small businesses which are contributing to gross domestic products which are suffering today. Creation of conductive atmosphere will help to develop such businesses. The current power generation will not promote any business. The cost of power is so high. We must as a matter of urgency revive our refineries and even build more modern ones.

Government should reduce cost of governance by about 40%. Running a Presidential fleet of 10 aircraft is not only wasteful but inconsistent with a government that rode to power on the mantra of change.

Remuneration perks and frivolous

allowances given to political appointees and public officers especially in the National Assembly should be severely pruned. The concept of budgeting that encourages 70% Re-current expenditure as against 30% capital is devoid of sincere economic management in a recession. We must build confidence in our ability to manage our resources well other than running to foreign capitals for loans.

Finally, government should evaluate the quality of human resources put in strategic positions, where some are found wanting, they should be removed. Nigeria does not lack quality men and women. What is important is the output. The successful reengineering of economy will be the credit of the government and also a political asset.