

Appendix 32:

*NOTE: There is a second document below at xxxx—
“BZ Jihad.”*

**Muslim Security Concerns
(Mostly AZ)**

Jan H. Boer, 2008

Security is one of a government’s prime responsibilities. This appendix is an expanded version of the “Security” section in Chapter 3. The section in the chapter emphasizes proposals for necessary action to restore security and sanity. This appendix, while including some of those proposals, is meant to describe the actual situation of insecurity and thus provides a reason for the proposals in the chapter. Unlike most Boer appendices, this one is concerned more with AZ than BZ conditions.

If you have read all the volumes, you will know how big an issue security is for both religions, with both complaining regularly that either there is no security at all or it is applied only on behalf of the “other side.” Sometimes security forces are caught aiding and abetting the forces of insecurity against the people. At other times they are just plain useless by showing up after the event or for being fearful, under-equipped or under-trained. And then, of course, there is the problem of big-time corruption. This has created a national sense of insecurity and betrayal. I have experienced it many times personally. Under such conditions peace and stability are impossible.¹ As Ibrahim Bashir put it seven years into AZ, citizens “always sleep with their two eyes open, as a result of the fear of the unknown.”²

¹For details see entries “Police,” “Security” and *Hisbah/ ‘yan agaji*” in the indices of other volumes, especially vols. 2, 4, 6. For your convenience I provide you here with the pagination for some examples and complaints, mostly on the part of Muslims. Vol. 1—pp. 80, 83, 136-138; Vol. 2—pp. 26-30, 52-53, 93-94, 100-108, 148-149; vol. 4—pp. 44-46, 97, 120-122, 189-190; vol. 6—pp. 151-152. For more recent examples, see Appendix xxxx (J. Boer The AZ security Situation)

²I. Bashir, May/2007.

In the context of the Maitatsine riots during the early 80s, an anonymous *Radiance* writer warned the FG that it stands to gain nothing “by mystifying and undermining the significance of these riots to the Muslim *ummah*. He described its police force as “frightened sheep on the advance of a motley crew of kids armed with sticks and cutlasses.” The FG “should realise that the stability of the nation depends on the extent of its ability to establish real, absolute justice.”³ In other words, “Government, wake up to your responsibilities.” That was the people’s sought-for solution of that day and by and large remains so till this day.

Abdulrahman Ahmad pretty well summarised the general Muslim feeling during the AZ period as far as the Nigerian Police Force (NPF) goes. He joined the chorus of those who berated the government for “its inability to identify and prosecute those behind these crises.” And then he placed heavy emphasis on the law-and-order angle by demanding an upgrade of law enforcement agencies. They should be increased in number and strength, better funded and better motivated. “If our leaders are serious about stopping crises in the country, why can’t they strengthen our law enforcement agencies? We have been grossly under-policed. The few we have are poorly trained, poorly attired and motivated. Increase their numbers, their pay, and pay them when due.”⁴

Not only do the security forces often fail to provide the protection people expect from them, they not infrequently actively contribute to the chaos and insecurity. Ibrahim Bashir wrote, “The Police are used to achieve so many things, including election rigging, without looking at the consequences or implications of their action, while those who ride on them to attain power always forget about them afterwards.”⁵ This was true not only for the NPF and the army, but also for the ‘*yan agaji* or the *hisba*, the youthful morality police appointed by sharia governments, the very ones promising to turn the ship around! After the ‘*yan agaji* had created a mob-like atmosphere in Gusau, one “concerned citizen,” Buhari Isah, blamed their misbehaviour on ignorance: “They blindly conduct their job the way they like as against the true Islamic sharia ordered by God. In fact, even in the Holy Qur’an, there is nowhere you can find where God encourages intimidation of human beings.” Fellow citizen Ige Musa Gusau chimed in, “*Hisba*’s mode of operation is witch-hunting and harassment. Therefore, we are appealing to the

³*Radiance*, no. 4/83, p. 40.

⁴Y. Akinsuyi, 17 Oct/2004.

⁵I. Bashir, May/2007.

Governor, whose idea of *Hisbah* in the state was to screen out the true members who know what sharia means, to rescue innocent people from being intimidated.”⁶

Ibrahim Bashir explained at length the terrible corruption and oppression to which the lowly members of the NPF were subjected—beyond the imagination. They cannot live without engaging in corruption themselves. After his litany of woes, he concluded,

*Unless we address our priorities and consider the welfare of our fellow countrymen, especially those who stake their lives to protect you and me, as equally important as ours, we will continue to grapple with insecurity in our fatherland, as the society continues to produce bad eggs even among the security operatives whose welfare packages cannot meet their needs. A word is enough for the wise.*⁷

Dan Halilu recognized the need for “some restructuring” of society. His first target was the need to establish a “state and local security force.” He disapproved of the current arrangement under which “the security of our lives and property is in the hands of people who do not give a hoot if the entire state is wiped out. There is no justification for putting the security of states in hands hundreds of miles away, who cannot easily assess the level of our insecurity.”⁸

The issue of insecurity was wider and deeper than security forces. As if he foresaw the rise in general violence among Muslims, in his Zamfara launching speech, Abdul Alao warned Governor Sani, the Ulama and Muslims in general, “We must be very careful in our pursuit of this noble goal. This is important so that our enemies may not put us in a tight corner. We should not allow a few fanatics to derail our goal by taking the law into their hands. For some people to start burning beer parlours and hotels is not good for our cause.”⁹ If you have read Volumes 6 and 7 you will agree that this much-needed warning would require more forceful control than some sharia regimes were either willing or able to assert.

As already told in Volume 2, Sheikh Yakubu Hassan, Chairman of the Katsina State branch of the *Izala* Islamic group, blamed religious violence on the failure of governments to punish the culprits. Speaking of the Kaduna riot of early 2000, he explained that its perpetrators “embarked on the main because those who participated in the previous crises virtually went scot-free. Unless the government flushed out and punished the culprits of the latest violence in Kaduna, there will

⁶I. Salisu, 16 Nov/2004.

⁷I. Bashir, May/2007. See also *TELL*, 6 June/2005, for a more extensive litany.

⁸I. Dan Halilu, “The Rantings...,” Apr/2003.

⁹A. Alao, 5 Nov/99.

be no end to religious crises, as the arsonists will continue to be encouraged by government's inaction."¹⁰

The complaint has been aired repeatedly by high and low over the years. In connection with the Plateau tragedy of 2004, even former President Ibrahim Babangida warned, "The earlier these faceless persons who perpetrated these crimes are identified and brought to book, the better it would be for the peaceful co-existence of the multi-cultural people of Plateau." In fact, he encouraged the Plateau Government to "leave no stone unturned in apprehending the perpetrators of this crime which, unless checked now, such dastardly acts of wanton destruction of lives and properties of innocent people by a select group..."—the sentence is left unfinished.¹¹ This is an amazing complaint, coming from a former ruler against whom the same complaint was aired *frequently*.

Abubakar Umar, former military governor of Kaduna, commented on "the current religious crisis rocking Kano" during the 2007 elections. Recently, he stated, "religious extremism and intolerance have taken a frightening leap forward. We are moving closer to an all-out religious war. As we speak, hundreds of thousands of people have been rendered refugees in Kano, with many unable to escape with their lives." It has become clear, he said, "that those intent on using religion as a pretext to visiting their frustrations on society won't stop until society take adequate measures to stop them." He insisted that "those found culpable in the religious crisis should pay the supreme price." "Government must declare that religious aggression, especially aggression which leads to death, carries mandatory capital punishment. The situation requires that all religious attacks on others be thoroughly investigated and the offenders promptly prosecuted." Reporter Akhaine continued her story: Umar

advised the government that "the law forbidding the preaching and dissemination of hate messages must be enforced strictly" and that "there is need for state governments in the North to establish religious peace enforcement agencies with equal powers of investigation, arrest and prosecution of persons hiding behind religions to foment trouble. If government considered it necessary to establish para-military agencies to check trafficking in drugs or corruption in financial and economic matters, crimes that,

¹⁰NN, 2 Mar/2000. J. Boer, vol. 2, 2004, pp. 88 , 103.

¹¹DT, 8 May/2004.

in comparison with religious misuse, are less incendiary, there is no justification for not setting up religious police. It is an enforcement agency long overdue.”¹²

That, of course, was the reason for the *hizbah*.

Directly related to government failure to apprehend the culprits is their failure to publish the reports that various commissions, at both state and FG levels, had been assigned to write on various riots. Every riot results in one or more commissions assigned to find out the “immediate and remote causes,” but their reports, often referred to as “white papers,” are seldom published. As Ibrahim El-Zakzaki put it,

Government should be held responsible for the [sharia] tragedy in Kaduna, as people who instigated similar incidents in the past were never punished. In Kafanchan in 1987, a lot of people were killed. A commission of enquiry was instituted, but nothing else was done. There were two other cases in Zangon Kataf in 1992, and another commission was instituted. It apportioned blame to those who were responsible, but they were rewarded chieftaincy titles. Other commissions did good jobs and submitted their reports, but government failed to act.¹³

The EDP workshop held in Kano also addressed the issue. It recognized that failure to publish these white papers prevented the identification, the arrest and punishment of agitators of violence. The participants would “do everything possible to make government release the white papers on the various crises in the state and that the culprits should be punished to serve as a deterrent.”¹⁴

Salisu Bala strongly agreed that the lack of publication of reports such as white papers has been very damaging. He wrote of “the deliberate act by government of sweeping all the findings and recommendations of the various committees of inquiries, including white paper reports, under the carpet.” “Committees of enquiries were set up, white paper reports were presented to the government, with the exception of that of Zangon Kataf, which government decided not to release.” Justice Karibi Whyte headed a tribunal about the Kafanchan riot and a white paper was produced, “but despite all these efforts and waste of human energy and material resources, nothing was done, the culprits went unpunished; in fact, nobody was convicted.” Bala

¹²S. Akhaine, 20 Apr/2007. For further details about these Kano riots, see M. Kwaru and H. Karofi, 20 Apr/2007; *VS*, “Nigerian Islamic Group...,” 18 Apr/2007.

¹³*NN*, 2 Mar/2000, p. 15. K. Kolade, 4 Mar/2000. *J. Boer*, vol. 2, 2004, p. 103; vol. 3, vol. 3, 2004, pp. 154-157; vol. 7, 2007, pp. 237-238 (? xxx ch. 8)

¹⁴S. Obassa, 28 June/2001.

quoted from Yusufu B. Usman: “Even the few tribunals and commissions of inquiry established to investigate these conflicts, produce reports which sometimes lead to white papers, [but] which hardly go beyond the desks of top government officials and some editors of media houses.” Bala concluded that “this has encouraged the same people, this time in Kaduna metropolis, to commit worse [crimes] than what had happened in the previous conflicts put together.”¹⁵

After the 2007 elections, the issue of security continues to be uppermost in the minds of governors and emirs even. A rather amazing meeting took place in Kano between the State Command of the NPF and the Kano Stakeholders Forum. Here Governor Shekarau and other members of the Kano powerbrokers seemed helpless in the face of insecurity. Accusations were traded back and forth between the Governor and friends on the one hand and the police on the other. Though the big complaint was about armed robbers, the connection between politics, crime and corruption became clear during the process. And the complaint was similar to complaints about religious riots: No one gets apprehended. Hence, operators go about their nefarious business without fear in broad daylight. Insecurity everywhere and for several but related reasons.¹⁶

In fact, Kano authorities at the time of this writing appear totally desperate about the crisis of violence and crime in their state. Please read Yusha’u Ibrahim’s article that can only be described as “incredible.” Both Governor and Emir are pleading for help from the police, from the President and from the people themselves. They are appealing for prayer. It was even “reported that the police in the state invited a Bauchi State private hunter, Alhaji Ali Kwara, when they realized the situation is worsening on daily basis. But police in a swift reaction disputed the report, saying they have never invited any private detective to assist them.” Nevertheless, there he was operating in the state. Kwara himself reported that he was indeed involved.¹⁷ For the whole picture, read Appendix 21 xxxx and 18 (J Boer AZ Security Situation) What happened, I am forced to ask, to the promised “*Pax Sharia?*” +++++

Sokoto continues to be wracked by intra-Muslim violence and a consequent sense of insecurity. It almost seems that if Northern Muslims cannot find Christians to molest, they will turn on each other. Ahmad Khalid told the story of how a violent gang destroyed his parental

¹⁵S. Bala, 2000, pp. 20, 30-32. Quotation from Y. Usman, *The Misrepresentation of Nigeria*. Kaduna: Vanguard, 2000, p. 4. For the latest on the “missing” Okigba report of the Abacha era see *TD*, 4 Feb/2007, Appendix 20. For more details, see ch. 4, (Christian Solutions xxxx)

¹⁶D. Mgboh, 4 Aug/2007.

¹⁷Y. Ibrahim, 3 Nov/2007.

home along with his scholarly father's unique library containing many invaluable Muslim classics, including even the Qur'an. And then the decades-old unchanged refrain: It is "so sad to note is that the government did nothing to unravel the perpetrators of these inhuman acts. Rather, the criminals continued with the burning of several other houses and killing of innocent souls unabated."¹⁸ Around that same time, "a prominent Sunni Muslim preacher Sheikh Umaru Hamza Dan Maishi'a was shot inside the Shehu Danfodiyo Mosque in Sokoto and later died in hospital. The Sheikh was a well-known critic of the city's Shi'ite community." In the fracas a young man, Abdullahi Buhari, was also killed. In this case, the police did immediately arrest suspected culprits, a whole 90 of them! I have not heard of the outcome. But Governor Aliyu Magatakarda Wamakko "warned perpetrators of religious crises to pack their bags and leave the state, because 'freedom has limits, and if they think they can forment trouble, we are prepared to deal with them squarely.'"¹⁹

In reaction to all the Sokoto violence, the Joint Council of Ulamas spoke up. I reproduce Hamza Idris' report on their protest:

The killing of Islamic clerics is undermining the peace and security of society, the Joint Council of Ulamas in Yobe State said yesterday. The

The desperate call for increased security is loud and clear. The impatience with the inability of the authorities to nip the violence in the bud and to apprehend the culprits is unmistakable. It is the cry of the land.

DOCUMENT 2

Xxxx

Jihad BZ

Jan H. Boer, 2008

¹⁸A. Khalid, 31 July/2007.

¹⁹A. Mohammed and A. Abdulfatai, 23 July/2007. It is not clear to me whether the two Sokoto reports talk of one incident or two separate ones.

²⁰H. Idris, 23 July/2007.

Jihad is often advocated as a solution to the sharia issue. But that needs further explanation, since there are various definitions of the term, some even contradictory. Usman Abbas wrote that etymologically speaking, the term means “effort, fight, battle and struggle for any purpose. Islamically, it means a religious action embarked towards uplifting and raising the word of Allah and suppressing the acts of corruption.”²¹ It is also used to denote any type of genuine social development. Nurudeen Lemu wrote that in Arabic the term means “to struggle, to exert effort or to strive.” In Islam, it refers “to the unceasing effort an individual makes towards self-improvement and self-purification. It also refers to the duty of Muslims, both at individual and collective level, to struggle against all forms of evil, corruption, injustice, tyranny and oppression, whether this injustice is committed against Muslims or non-Muslims.” Lemu then warned that “Muslims are not to commit aggression or to initiate violence. ‘For God does not love the aggressors’ [Qur’an 2:190]. If, however, they are attacked, they have the right to resist and, if necessary, to fight to overthrow tyranny and oppression, so that people can live in freedom and with their basic human rights.”²²

Hussaini Abdu offered us an explanation of *jihad*. Islam, he asserted, is not a pacifist religion—as if the world did not know that! It

does permit the use of force. But the theory of jihad, which means “struggle in the path of God,” forbids violence except: (1) when Muslims are not allowed to practice their faith or when freedom of religion is threatened; (2) when people are oppressed and subjugated; (3) when people’s land is forcibly taken from them.

In these situations, Islam allows a range of responses. One can forgive the oppressor or one can respond with force. There are Qur’anic sources encouraging both positions. The Qur’an states, “And slay them wherever you find them, and drive them out of the place from where they drove you out, for persecution is worse than killing” (Qur’an 2:191). But the Qur’an also states, “Tell those who disbelieve that if they cease persecution of believers, that which is past will be forgiven them” (Qur’an 8:38). There is no hierarchy of verses in the Qur’an.

Those who privilege the first verse over the second will wage war to fight injustice. And most militant Muslims invoke this verse in defense of their actions. But then there are Muslims who privilege the second verse and seek a diplomatic end to persecution and

²¹U. Abbas, 7 Apr/89, p. 12.

²²N. Lemu, 2 Nov/95, p. 32.

urge forgiveness. These two verses are exemplary of the tension between realism and idealism in Islam.

And then Abdu comes with a surprising, if not astounding, remark: “In the final analysis, Islam is what Muslims make of it.”²³

Muhib Opeloye was concerned to show “that the Qur’anic teachings on inter-religious relations create a conducive atmosphere for peaceful co-existence.” He took note of the three options commonly said to be open to non-Muslims living under Muslim control: convert, agree to *dhimmi* status or die. The most rigid view of *jihad* he described as “a permanent obligation upon the believers to be carried out by a continuous process of warfare,” until the House of War (*dar al-harb*) becomes the House of Peace (*dar al-Islam*). In this view, Muslims are expected “to slay all the polytheists wherever they may be found until they believe.” The Shi’ites allegedly adhere to this view. However, their insistence on such *jihad* is circumscribed by some serious restrictions that prevent the killing of non-combatants. Opeloye then listed a number of Qur’anic verses that seem to support this rigid view, but explained that “it is not difficult to deduce from the Qur’an quotations that fighting the idolaters is not an obligation unless the initiative comes from them.” The obligation arises “only on condition that their intent is to ward off their aggression and hostility.” That was the case with the early Muslim community. In all these Qur’anic verses either Muslims were in danger of being attacked or non-Muslims violated treaties. Opeloye then proceeded to describe some early agreements made with Christians and Jews that, though turning them into secondary citizens, were tolerable and humane. “The unfortunate conclusion of this history is that, “despite the efforts of Muhammad to promote cooperation and harmony” between Muslims and others, the attitude of the latter was marked by “aggression, treachery, break of trust and violation of treaties, culminating in perpetual warfare.”²⁴ We really have a case of dynamic versus static interpretation discussed earlier in this chapter. The solution to the religious problem must be found in the dynamic interpretation of the Qur’an. These introductory paragraphs express the main ideas associated with *jihad* throughout both periods.

Dauda S. Dauda explained, “The concept of *jihad* is very broad”:

It encompasses all things in the struggle to obey God’s commandments. The Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), upon returning from a battle, was reported to have

²³H. Abdu, 7 Mar/2003.

²⁴M. Opeloye, 1992, pp. 82-89.

made the remark to his companions that they were returning from the “lesser jihad” of fighting to the “greater jihad”—that of struggling against the evil temptations of the soul. In another tradition, he was reported to have said that “the best of jihad is a perfect Hajj” (pilgrimage to Makka). Jihad is therefore striving in the way of Allah by pen, tongue, hand, media and, if inevitable, with arms. It does not include striving for individual or national power, dominance, glory, wealth, prestige or pride. It is wrong to instigate or start war; some wars, however, are inevitable and justifiable.

From where the popular military meaning? According to Dauda, “This brutally false distortion of the true, broader meaning of *jihad* is orchestrated by a minority of extremists—Muslims who, as a result of being misguided or mostly in serving some selfish or political interests or claim to be ‘*mujahideen*’ (people involved in *jihad*).”²⁵

Adamu Adamu, in a litany of praise for the Iranian Revolution, described its achievements in medicine, education, agriculture, and others. He referred to the entire programme as a “*jihad*.” There was the “*Jihad* for Reconstruction” after the Iran-Iraqi war; the agricultural *jihad*; the “education *jihad*.”²⁶ An anonymous author described *jihad* as an action “undertaken by upright, honest and totally selfless leaders to re-establish the Islamic tenets and traditions in their pure forms, restore Muslim honour and integrity, pull down the edifice of unbelief and eliminate the corruption, injustice and other abominable practices associated with it.”²⁷

The editor of *Alkalami* called for such a *jihad* in the face of the oppression Muslims suffered at the hands of the West and their Nigerian Christian lackeys. He urged, “*A Musulunce tuni jihadi ya wajaba a kanmu. Domin kullum sai cin mutunci da karfa-karfa da keta haddi, da barna da wulakanci muke ta gani. Gashi kuwa Allah ya ce a Qur’ani, ‘Kuma ku yi yaki (don Allah) wadannan da suka yake ku.’*”²⁸ The editor went on to explain, “*Babu cin mutuncin da keta haddin da ya wuce gusar da shariar Allah. Yin haka shi ne tsantsar zalunci. Wajibi ne*

²⁵D. Dauda, Apr/2003, pp. 1-3.

²⁶A. Adamu, 1983, pp. 28-30.

²⁷*Radiance*, no. 4, 1983, p. 36.

²⁸ Translation of Hausa: “Muslims should have started a *jihad* long ago. They [Westeners] are forever showing disdain for us, bringing false charges against us and offending our ways, [not to speak of] the damage we see them inflict on us and the contempt [with which they treat us]. Take note of what Allah says in the Qur’an, ‘Make war on those who war against you.’”

Musulmi ko'ina suke su tashi su kwaci kansu."²⁹ This is the raw militant kind of *jihad* popularly associated with Islamism, fundamentalism and terrorism.

Bashir Othman Tofa, Chairman of the Bureau for Islamic Propagation that published both *The Pen* and *Alkalami*, called upon Muslims to start the *jihad* in 1991. "Let us found our own Islamic *Jihad* of Nigeria to counteract the evil machinations of CAN. Let us act right now!" There were two reasons for this urgent call. One was the upcoming 1993 election campaign in which Tofa would run for President. In Nigeria, it is an established custom to make religious appeals in that context. The *stated* reason was the need to support the Islamic revival in the face of an aggressive Western Christo-secularism. Using his *The Pen* as his soapbox, he wrote:

Christianity is an idle culture, which leaves its so-called managers with ample idle time, since most of believers are usually busy collecting from Ceasar what is due to them.

Second, since it is a culture very much synonymous with Western civilization, the Islamic revival and its very swift spread into the heart of Christendom, makes most imperative for the West to rise in support of their dying cultural influence. So, they employ the likes of Mr. Okogie and Jolly³⁰--clearly frustrated fanatics—to do the job of disturbing Muslim peace with reckless regard even for the tranquility in their own country.

It is time to begin the offensive. It is time to claim our unnegotiable rights and freedoms.

Those "rights and freedoms" in the minds of many Muslims already at the time included a fuller sharia. However, Tofa did not dare go that far. After all, he would also need some of the Christian vote. The time was not yet. It had to wait for the end of the decade. In the meantime, "Let us begin by proclaiming Friday as our sabbath. Let us invent our Crescent Society as a medical and humanitarian symbol and do away with the Christian Red Cross symbol. Let us establish more Islamic newspapers, magazines and broadcasting channels. Let us build more mosques and schools." But above all, counteract CAN and begin "right now!!!!"³¹

Muhammad Asad warned, "By representing the idea of *jihad*, in clear contradiction to all Qur'anic injunctions, as an instrument of aggressive expansion of Muslim rule over non-Muslim

²⁹*Alkalami*, 1 Dec/88, p. 1. Translation of Hausa: "The worst kind of all contempt and misrepresentation is that which touches on the sharia. That is the worst and most serious form of oppression of all. Wherever Muslims find themselves, it is their duty to effectively defend themselves. No matter how much opposition they face, they must overcome."

³⁰Okogie was Catholic bishop of Lagos at the time and National President of CAN. "Jolly" refers to Tanko Yusuf, long-time Christian politician. Check the indices of previous volumes for details about these gentlemen. For "Jolly," see especially vol. 3, pp. 14-15.

³¹R. Adejumo and S. Onitiri, 11 June/93. Quoted from B. Tofa, *The Pen*, 20 Aug/91, pp. 2-3.

territories, they sow fear in the hearts of non-Muslims and fill many righteous Muslims with disgust at the thought of the injustice which such a tendency so obviously implies.”³²

Yusufu Mohammed Magaji, a high civil servant in Taraba State, without defining *jihad*, identified it with militancy and war; he wanted to discard it.

*The times are gone for the historic acts of militancy and gallantry during the Christian Crusade and Islamic jihad. We now live in the period of enlightenment and technology. To resort to the use of force, especially modern weaponry under the guise of religion, will only lead to the annihilation of the human race. It is, therefore, far more in tune with our moral doctrines to spread the Word of God in peace and to encourage the use of science and modern technology for the benefit of all.*³³

“The time is gone”—a sentiment similar to what Hussaini Audu applied to the sharia hudud punishments. The time is gone. We live in a world in which we relate differently to each other.³⁴ Well, were it only so!

Some refuse to choose between these definitions and incorporate them all into one. Aminuddeen Abubakar published a lengthy discussion on the subject. He began with the Prophet himself, whom he described as waging a total *jihad*: “*Ya yi jihadi domin daukaka kalmar Allah. Ya yi jihadi da zuciyarsa, ya yi da bakinsa, ya yi kuma ta hanyar kira da bayani. Sannan ya yi jihadi da takobi. Saboda haka, rayuwarsa dukkaninta jihadi ne.*”³⁵

He then proceeded to outline the conditions under which a *jihad* is called for, all of them being caused by “*kafirai*.”³⁶ The conditions include persecution of Muslims, humiliating Muslims, offending the pride of Muslims, showing hostility to Muslims, making wily plans of evil against Muslims. Examples of these conditions are the dynamics between Jews and Palestinians and between the Communists and Afghanistan—the year of publication, understand well, is 1988—as well as those created by Christian missionaries in many countries. Nigeria, of course, is one of these missionary targets. When *kafirai* engage in just one of these activities, it

³²M. Asad, 15 July/88, p. 5.

³³Y. Magaji, 2 Nov/93, p. 85.

³⁴H. Abdu, 7 Mar/2003.

³⁵English translation: “He waged *jihad* to glorify the Word of God, which is the true and real *jihad*. He conducted it with his heart, his mouth and even by way of evangelizing. In addition, he waged it with the sword. In short, his entire life was in the *jihad* mode.”

³⁶The literal meaning of “*Arna*” is “Pagan,” an even more contemptuous term, but that should not include the “People of the Book.” In the Nigerian climate of anger, militant Muslims, of which our writer surely is one, fuse the meanings of “*kafirai*” and “*arna*” to allow them to refer to Christians and Jews with the most contemptible terms available. It is a common feature in the pages of both *Alkalami* and its twin, *The Pen*.

becomes incumbent on every Muslim to wage *jihad*. At that time, Muslims must be ready to totally give of themselves, their wealth, their everything. In fact, Muslims should anticipate such conditions to arise and be ready for the *jihad*. Preparation should include military weapons of every kind, including any new weapons that are invented. “*Ko da nan gaba kuma za a kirkiro sababbin makaman, to, wajibi ne, Musulmi su mallaki irinsu domin su yi maganin farmakin da Arna za su yi musu.*”³⁷

Ibrahim Abdullahi of Unguwar Kanawa, Kaduna, did not use the term “*jihad*” in his 1989 letter to the editor, but he did want all Muslims to become “*Mujaheed*.” He was very annoyed upon hearing a youthful Muslim preach in a mosque that Muslims should not join the army or police. His were days of much turmoil between the two religions. If Muslims follow the advice of this young preacher, Abdullahi argued, Christians will get the best of us. How, he asked, will Muslims gain the victory, if they do not join the army and learn how to handle modern weaponry, even those evil ones? The traditional tools like knives and swords do not suffice anymore. That is the direction Muslims must take if they want to end the oppression they are suffering.³⁸

Jihad can also be called against Nigerian governments, even if they are dominated by Muslims. In his letter to the editor, Jibrin Muhammad Doguwa threatened that the FG knows very well that Muslims will not accept contempt and oppression [*wulakanci*]: “*A shirye muke da mu yaki duk wanda yake kokarin cin mutuncin Musulunci ko da za a kashe mu. Domin Manzo (SAW) ya ce duk wanda aka kashe wajen daukaka kalmar Allah, to, Allah ya yiwa wannan mutum alkawarin Aljanna.*”³⁹ Doguwa then called upon the Sultan of Sokoto, the leader of all

³⁷A. Abubakar, 9-23 Dec/88, p. 10. Appendix 7xxxx. English translation: “If in the future new weapons are developed, it is incumbent on Muslims to have them as well in order to end the evil that Pagans are planning for them.”

Here we have an early Nigerian Muslim rationale for the current struggle over the nuclear weaponry of Iran. And it is not unique among Nigerians. An Iranian clergyman, Mohsen Moradi, a few years ago stated that “Iran must continue its nuclear activities. We have nuclear weapons already, but don’t want to start a war.” “There are commands in the Holy Qur’an that we must keep up to date with technology and weaponry” (BBC, “In Pictures: Iranian Views on Tehran’s Nuclear Plans, Oct/2004). The point here is not whether Iran actually has nuclear weapons so much as the defence of it on basis of the Qur’an. To the contrary, President Ahmadinejad of Iran, on September 26, 2007, during a meeting in New York with North American religious leaders, is reported by Bruce Clemenger, President of the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, to have said that “Nuclear weapons...are incompatible with Islam.”! (B. Clemenger, Nov-Dec/2007).

³⁸I. Abdullahi, 17 Feb/89, p. 3.

³⁹English translation: “We are prepared to make war against everyone who tries to oppress Muslims, even if we die in the process. The Prophet has said that whoever dies because he holds high the word of Allah, Allah has promised him Paradise.”

Nigerian Muslims, to achieve freedom for Muslims by way of establishing sharia. “*Domin mu Musulmi mun lashi takobin la’antar duk wata sharia in ba ta Allah. Yahudanci da Nasaranci mun la’ance su. Saboda haka ba za mu yarda da shariarsu ba.*”⁴⁰

Jihad can also be called against non-governmental Muslims and even against Muslim clergy. One Abdullahi Umar from Aikawa Quarters in Kano, called for *jihad* against corrupt imams who were preoccupied with gathering wealth and power, who always preached against common vices but would never critique anyone in power. Against such, Umar called on the youth: “*Matasa Musulmi A Fito Jihadi!*”⁴¹ Two friends, Dan Uwanku and Nuraddeen Adams of Kumbotse, Kano, were unhappy with Umar’s proposal. They asked whether he was not belittling the evil nature of all these common sins. Furthermore, did he expect the leaders to quit preaching and just have all Muslims start a *jihad* without knowing its nature? Instead, Muslims should clean their hearts and learn what Islam teaches about *jihad*. Only then should they proceed. For good measure, they advised Umar to know what he is doing before writing a public letter.⁴²

Around the same time, Abubakar Tureta, a popular preacher based in Kaduna, advised Muslims “to convert their mosques into courts, should they be denied the chance to full sharia.”⁴³ In education, Abdullahi Abdulmajeed of Kano called on Muslim students “to dishonour and absolutely reject” the newly-developed moral philosophy curriculum for its “un-Islamic” nature. He also urged the Council of Ulama to demand that the FG “withdraw the course immediately in order to avert any unpleasant consequences.”⁴⁴ The threat was hardly subtle. Mallam Yakubu Yahaya, a self-declared disciple of El-Zakzaky and one of the leaders of the Islamic Movement, is (in)famous for his radical attitudes, rejections and solutions to the Nigerian situation.⁴⁵ They landed him in prison twice for four-year terms. Insisting on the total Islamization of Nigeria almost a decade before the Zamfara Declaration, he did not recognize any current governmental authority in the Nigeria of his BZ days. “The solution is to flush out this corrupt system and establish an Islamic state. There is no compromise. The solution is not in

⁴⁰J. Doguwa, 14 Apr/89, p. 3. English translation: “We have shown that we will curse any law which is not Allah’s. Whether it be Jewish or English, we curse it, for we will not accept their law.”

⁴¹A. Umar, 3 Mar/89, p. 3. English translation: “Muslim young people, come out and join the *jihad*.”

⁴²D. Uwanku and N. Adams, 14 Apr/89, p. 3.

⁴³I. I. Bello, 16-30 Dec/89, p. 16.

⁴⁴A. Abdulmajeed, 21 Apr/89, p. 3.

⁴⁵For an introduction to Yahaya see J. Boer, 2004, vol. 2, pp. 146-152; 2005, vol. 4, pp. 45-46. Also M. D. Sulaiman, 11 May/92.

talking on the table [Boer: read “dialogue.”] but to flush out the system. Prophet Muhammad flushed out all idol worshippers and their leaders and all their evils. So our aim and target is to do so here, *insha Allah*.”⁴⁶

Mohammed Dahiru Sulaiman summarized the Islamic Movement’s stance thus:

Although there is no detailed articulation of the type of society that the Movement wants to establish in Nigeria, it is very clear that, as far as they are concerned, the secular character of the Nigerian State makes it lose its political legitimacy and the right to control the lives of Muslims. According to Malam Yahaya, “We do not recognise the laws of this country, because they do not conform with the laws of Allah as stated in the Holy Qur’an. This is why we want to operate outside it. We want to follow the teachings of the Holy Qur’an and our Prophet in toto.”

*The implication is that while the long-time objective of the Islamic Movement is to bring about an Islamic revolution in Nigeria, in the meantime they will continue to deny its laws. That is why, e.g., they are not prepared to seek permission to assemble, conduct preachings or public processions, etc.*⁴⁷

Some writers advocated a kind of fusion of *jihad* and *da’wah* without saying so and, perhaps, without realizing it. They also represented an advanced extremism along with a kind of radicalism that looked at the root of things. But the envelope of extremism can always be pushed a little further. The Kafanchan riots of 1987 triggered a number of documents that, I suspected some years ago, were fake, but now regard as quite possibly genuine outbursts of extreme anger and hate on the part of militant semi-educated Islamists. There were a number of extremist organizations stalking the country that were out for serious blood-letting *jihad* against anyone

⁴⁶B. Ojudu, 22 Apr/91, p. 37. Translation of Arabic/Hausa: “God willing.” J. Boer, 2004, vol. 2, pp. 146-153; 2005, vol. 4, pp. 45-46.

⁴⁷M. D. Sulaiman, 11 May/92, p. 13. J. Boer, 2004, vol. 2, pp. 143-145; 2005, vol. 4, pp. 40, 44-46, 58.

not following their way, including famous Muslim leaders. They produced some documents that expressed *daw'ah* concerns but also gave extreme expression to aggressive *jihad*.

One of these organizations was the Muslim Brothers. Hateful and angry at Christians for their role in suppressing sharia, the Brothers openly and brazenly expressed their intentions to simply stamp out Christianity. There is a short write-up allegedly from them in response to the Kafanchan riots back in 1987 that left nothing to the imagination. They called on all Muslims to participate in the establishment of the sharia and “the destruction of *kufir* from the face of the earth.”

It is this Kufir system which gave these slaves (Christians) the right to kill Muslims. It put them on the same level and even raised Christians higher than the Muslims. It brought the way of life of Christians and Jews and imposed it on us. Therefore, it is this system which is our target of destruction, until the law of Allah is established. This oppressive government is using its secret service, the police and armed forces to suppress the religion of Allah and Muslims in this land. Likewise, the mass media are being used to divert the attention of the Muslims by propagating non-issues.

Juicy stuff. Pay special attention to the identity of the “real enemy”-- the “un-Islamic system of government.” That government may be in the hands of Muslims, but they are Muslims distorted by colonialism and thus really part of the *kufir* system.

It is necessary at this juncture that we realize this [the Kafanchan riots] is done in order to divert our attention from our real enemies, that is, this un-Islamic system of government, which is leading us into a system contrary to the system of Allah. Oh Dear Muslims, it is time we realize that the sharia of Allah has been uprooted in this land a long time ago and that the Muslims are forced to follow a system of life other than that of Allah. Muslim workers and students, male and female, are prevented from appearing in their Islamic outfits. Haraji and other oppressive taxes are imposed on the people. The limits of Allah and His Rasul Muhammad have been transgressed.

Oh Dear Muslims, it is compulsory that we rise and see to the establishment of the religion of Allah. It is also necessary that we rise and destroy oppressors and the Kufir system. It's a must that we see our way of life is based on the religion of

Allah in this country and that this is our only salvation in this world and hereafter.

For this, Ulamas should rise up and take the lead for the annihilation of Kufr and the subsequent establishment of the religion of Allah.

The Brothers appended a programme of action that would begin the process of taking over the country.⁴⁸

Oh, Dear Muslims, it is compulsory that we rise and see to the establishment of the religion of Allah. It is also necessary that we rise and destroy oppressors and the Kufr system. It's a must that we see our way of life is based on the religion of Allah in this country and that this is our only salvation in this world and hereafter.

For this, Ulamas should rise up and take the lead for the annihilation of Kufr and the subsequent establishment of the religion of Allah. We are calling on Muslim workers to boycott working until further developments. Muslims should make the Friday of 13th Rajab, 1407 A. H., to be a day for sadness and mourning, for what happened to our brothers at Kafanchan. Oh, we are tired of this Kufr system of government, of Jewish laws and decrees, and the acts of worship of Christianity [imposed] on us.

The Brotherhood then gave a short list of things to do, some of them specifically geared to that time but amenable to adjustment to the contemporary scene.

- 1. All the Christians that murdered the Muslims must be brought out to public and be shot.*
- 2. From now on Thursdays and Fridays must be made work-free days.*
- 3. All laws and decrees that are oppressive to the Muslims must be eradicated.*
- 4. There will be no limit on the number of pilgrims.*
- 5. All Muslims should rise up and give their lives so that the Government of Allah be established and reign supreme on the face of the earth.*

The document ended with the call, "Fight them until there remains no tumult on the face of the earth and religion (way of life) becomes for Allah alone" (Qur'an).⁴⁹

As far as Christians were concerned, now the real cat was out of the bag. This was the attitude they associated with Islam, vintage Islam. This is the Islam they know and the sharia

⁴⁸Muslim Brothers, 1987. Reproduced in J. La-Nibetle, 2000, pp. 28-31. Also in J. Boer, vol. 6, 2007, Appendix 31.

⁴⁹J. La-Nibetle, 2000, pp 28-31.

they so bitterly oppose. This is where Muslims who cannot understand Christian resistance should look. Here is an important part of the explanation. Especially so, because few *Muslim* voices are heard in Nigeria that publicly renounce that kind of approach.

A shadowy organization with the name “Islamic Liberation Movement” (ILM) boasted the slogan, “Aims: To die in the path of Allah, Our Target” and the motto “And fight them until persecution is no more. But if they desist, let there be no hostility, except against wrongdoers.” The organization wrote a threatening letter to then President Babangida, a fellow Muslim, for misinterpreting the riots to enable him to “drink the blood of the Muslims, because you are blood-thirsty, liar and trickish.” “You are hereby warned of the danger ahead if Muslims are jailed or killed. You will see with your own eyes that this nation will go up in flames, which will unseat you from the leadership.” “We also heard in your speech that the government will compensate the Christians by rebuilding their burnt churches. You are hereby warned to desist from that, because the properties of Nigeria belong to the citizens comprising Muslims and non-believers. Muslim money should not be used for building houses or worshipping others besides Allah. Mr. IBB you are warned of the danger ahead if you dare kill any Muslim. We are looking forward for the reaction.”⁵⁰

The same ILM wrote threats to various people, including Sheikh Abubakar Gumi, the founder of the Izala Action Group. Here is their undated and unsigned letter:

Dear Sir,

Please find the enclosed copy of IBB’s letter and note that we are fully prepared to wage war against you if you dare sit and see Muslims being jailed or killed by the blood-thirsty man called IBB.

We are watching you closely and your life is in danger, unless you act accordingly and seriously to see that the arrested Muslims are released, because they are defending their religion.

We know many of you who worked seriously during the political days for his party and release of thugs. Now you must stand and release the arrested Muslims from this popular killer and deceiver.

*We are looking forward towards your action.*⁵¹

⁵⁰ILM, letter to President Babangida. See brief discussion in J. Boer, 2004, vol. 3, p. 52.

⁵¹ILM, letter to Gumi. See brief discussion in J. Boer, 2004, vol. 3, p. 52.

A second letter to President Babangida was based on a meeting ILM held on December 14, 1989. The letter outlined plans for 1990-1992. With the help of others of high rank, Muslims should infiltrate the armed forces in order to Islamize the country. Also, with the help of Arabs and other Muslim countries, they were “to do away with the *kaferis*.” All the important government positions must be taken over by Muslims. Muslim men should marry Christian women and Islamize them. Scholarships for study abroad were to be awarded only to Muslims.⁵²

These documents are unusual only in their super-extreme expressions. This is the absolutist world of black and white, of the reduction of difficult issues to their simplest and thus falsified forms. The solution to Nigeria’s religious problem is simply to do away with the enemy, who is defined as anyone with other ideas and loyalties, whether Christian or Muslim. In this atmosphere, threats and smell of blood are common. The enemies addressed by these ILM letters are Muslims, even dedicated Muslims who have served the Muslim cause in significant ways. The name of the game is subjugation only on their terms and in their way. Woe to anyone who stands in the way. Here there is no thought of compromise, dialogue or co-operation.

⁵² ILM, second undated letter to President Babangida.