

Caliphate Colonialism--The taproot of the trouble with Nigeria [email: foreign edition]

By Chinweizu

Sundoor999@gmail.com

February 2013

Copyright © by Chinweizu

Who are the sponsors of Boko Haram?—Core evidence:

The core evidence consist of two statements by Maj. Mustapha Jokolo, (rtd), the first in 2005, when he was the Emir of Gwandu; and the second in 2012, after he had been deposed from that high Caliphate office. Here is his 2005 statement:

In response to what they perceived as the Obasanjo “menace”, the Caliphate emirs met on March 28, 2005 in Kaduna under the auspices of the Nigerian Supreme Council of Islamic Affairs (NSCIA), of which the Sultan of Sokoto is the traditional Chairman. At that meeting Major Mustapha Jokolo (rtd), the then Emir of Gwandu, traditionally the second-in-command to the Sultan, complained bitterly that northern Muslims had been marginalized by President Obasanjo: complaining that today they have no banks, and construction companies; that their soldiers were compulsorily retired from the army shortly after Obasanjo came to power; and that their children are being denied recruitment in the army. “We must decide what to do now. . . Let our people withdraw from the confab. . . Muslims are not afraid and they will come out to say the truth.”

--(See “Emir’s Jihad Threat”, *Insider Weekly*, May 2, 2005, p.17.)

Jokolo added that

F-----

Q5) 2005

“We (Muslims) have been pushed to the wall and it is time to fight.... Obasanjo is trampling on our rights and Muslims must rise and defend their rights. The more we continue to wait, the more we will continue to be marginalized.”

--(“Emir’s Jihad Threat” *Insider Weekly*, May 2, 2005, p.19)

L-----

For this “fight” [Jihad?] they had to find another military instrument. Hence, presumably, their adoption of Boko Haram, and the subsequent enhancement of its terrorist capacity; and the reported sudden affluence of its leader who began to move about in SUVs. Was it sheer coincidence that Boko Haram became well-funded and more powerful in mid-2005, a few months after the Emir of Gwandu called for a

fight to end what the Caliphate perceived as its marginalization by the OBJ Government? Not bloody likely.

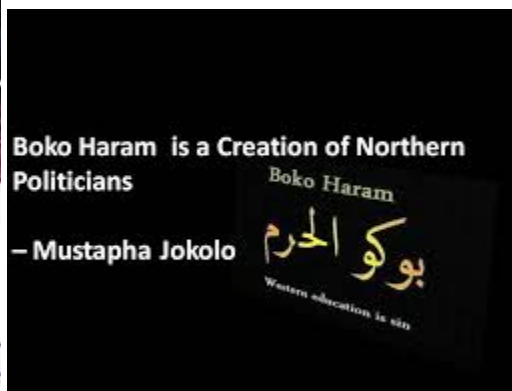
That was in 2005. Then in 2012 we get this statement from Jokolo:

Northern politicians created Boko Haram – Mustapha Jokolo, former Emir of Gwandu

<http://elombah.com/index.php/articles-mainmenu/10385-northern-politicians-created-boko-harammustapha-jokolo-former-emir-of-gwandu> Published on Friday, 30 March 2012 11:46



Mustapha Jokolo



This reported statement by the deposed Emir of Gwandu declaring that Northern politicians created Boko Haram, is like the testimony of the former deputy leader of a criminal gang turned prosecution witness. We must recall that when he was the Emir of Gwandu, he was the Number two man in the Caliphate hierarchy, second only to the Sultan of Sokoto. Besides, he was the very man who, at a meeting of emirs in March 2005, called for a fight with the Obasanjo government. And it was a few months later, in mid-2005, that Boko Haram began to show evidence of better financing and increasing capacity. Jokolo must know well whereof he spoke in 2012.

We have seen that for the Caliphate, gaining and retaining power by fraud and mass slaughter is more congenial than doing so through free and fair elections. Given that background, the sample news headlines, displayed in this essay, that link Boko Haram operatives to Caliphate figures (ACF leaders, Caliphate politicians, as well as Emirs) are prima facie evidence that Boko Haram has Caliphate sponsors. Jokolo's authoritative and insider's statement in 2012 pretty much establishes the point.

Highlights from Caliphate Colonialism essay:

The Caliphate must go!

Kick the Caliphate out of Nigeria, and Boko Haram will die.

The Caliphate must go!

Kick out the Caliphate, so we can uproot its feudalist principle of public-office-as-fief-for-private-plunder that has fostered Nigeria's lootocratic "corruption".

The Caliphate must go!

Kick out the Caliphate so that Nigerians can move forward to true federalism and general prosperity.

However well any nationality thinks it has done under Caliphate colonialism, it stands to do much better after we jointly free ourselves from these arrogant caliphate parasites, that is to say, after the Caliphate's lion's share of the national cake is taken from them and redistributed.

The Caliphate must go!

The long-suffering victims of Caliphate Colonialism must now go on the counter-offensive and drive the Caliphate out of Nigeria. We must then seal the border between the Caliphate Shariyaland and the new Secular-democratic Nigeria. If need be we should erect an Iron Curtain or build a Great Wall to keep these jihadist barbarians out of our new Nigeria.

Why?

Please read on!

Format

Please note: A quoted passage, however long, is indicated by a deep indent, a Q number, and bracketed off thus: e.g.

*I-----
Q55) abcdefgh. . .
L-----*

Introduction

Nigeria is a torn country, a country torn between two irreconcilable versions of what it should become. These two rival versions have been in conflict since the 1940s. They are the Feudal-theocracy version and the Secular-democracy version.

The Feudal-theocracy version was best articulated by Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto, in 1960 when he told his Caliphate constituency:

F-----
Q1)

“The new nation called Nigeria should be an estate of our great-grandfather, Uthman Dan Fodio. We must ruthlessly prevent a change of power. We use the minorities of the North as willing tools and the South as a conquered territory and never allow them to rule over us, and never allow them to have control over their future.”

--Sir Ahmadu Bello, Leader of the NPC and Premier of Northern Nigeria,
(*Parrot Newspaper*, 12th Oct. 1960; republished on November 13, 2002, by the *Tribune Newspaper*, Ibadan.)

L-----



Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto

The Secular-Democracy version was best articulated in 1978-79 by Chief Obafemi Awolowo when, at various points on the campaign trail, he told Nigerians:

F-----
Q2)

“In order that Nigeria may achieve rapid economic progress, and establish an egalitarian, just, democratic and peaceful society . . . we of the Unity Party of Nigeria are resolutely determined to pursue [the following]:

Equal opportunity for every Nigerian; equality under the law; extermination of ethnic hegemony; dethronement of mediocrity wherever it exists; guaranteeing for every Nigerian no matter his place of birth or state of origin, equal access to the good things of life. [etc.] . . .

Our dual aim is to achieve equality of status for Nigerians and the black people with all other racial groups, and respectable economic strength for Nigeria in the international community. . . .We . . .can succeed . . . provided we allow ourselves to be guided by this great principle: “The glory of a Ruler is the welfare of every one of his people.”

--Obafemi Awolowo, UPN Candidate, 1979 Presidential Election (*Path to Nigerian Greatness*, Enugu: Fourth Dimension, 1981: 33, 32-33, 95, 97, 43)

L-----



Chief Obafemi Awolowo

These two ideological versions of Nigeria have been locked in struggle, and until one ideology defeats the other, or until Nigeria divides into two separate entities, one for those aspiring to each of these incompatible versions, Nigeria will remain unstable, backward; a theatre of recurring bloodbaths; a disgrace to itself and the Black World; and a breeding ground for international terrorism. Let us look into why.

Map #1: Nigeria’s great divide: the Sharia states (a.k.a. Shariyaland) and the rest of us.



Part One: Caliphate Colonialism and Boko Haram—A brief history

Part Two: Caliphate agenda and ideology in their own words, 1942-2012

Part Three: Boko Haram as Caliphate Terrorist agency--the evidence

Part Four: Boko Haram--Nigeria's Caliphate vs. Non-Caliphate civil war: the Caliphate Challenge to Nigeria's Democracy

Part Five: What is to be done? The Caliphate must go!

Expel the Caliphate from Nigeria before December 31, 2014, and forestall the bloodbath promised for 2015 by Buhari.

Appendix: The 1995 Constitution of Ethiopia (the Preamble)

=====

Part One: Caliphate Colonialism and Boko Haram--a brief history

Nigeria's history will remain unintelligible, and much about it will seem senseless, until we glimpse the hidden dynamics that has dominated and shaped it since 1950, namely the Caliphate's colonialist agenda and the confused and uncoordinated resistance to it.

The political violence [pogroms, coups, civil war, assassinations, judicial murders, terrorism, etc.] that has marked Nigeria from the 1950s has been in furtherance of, or in resistance to, Caliphate Colonialism. These have ranged from

1. *the* (Caliphate-organized) **1953 Kano pogrom**,¹ which was the Caliphate's reprisal for the booing of its political leaders by Lagos crowds over the Anthony Enahoro "Self-Government-in-1956" motion ; through
2. *the* **1960 and 1964** (anti-Caliphate) *Tiv uprisings* ² ;
3. *the* (Caliphate- inspired) **1962 Western Nigeria Crisis** ³ ;
4. *the* (Caliphate-rigged) **1964-65 elections**⁴ which provoked the UPGA (anti-Caliphate) *Operation wetie* of late 1965 that triggered *the* UPGA (anti-Caliphate) **Jan 15, 1966 coup** ⁵; down to the Boko Haram terrorism of today.

Some other violent episodes that become understandable through the lens of Caliphate Colonialism are

5. *the* (Caliphate-organized) May, July and September **1966 pogroms**;
6. *the* (Caliphate's) **July 1966 Counter-coup** ⁶;
7. *the* **1967-1970 civil war** ⁷ which accomplished the Caliphate's military conquest of all of Nigeria;

¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kano_riot_of_1953 (Accessed Jan, 2013)

² <http://www.minorityrights.org/5765/nigeria/tiv.html> (Accessed Jan, 2013)

³ <http://www.dawodu.com/balewa2.htm> (Accessed Jan, 2013)

⁴ http://www.mongabay.com/history/nigeria/nigeria-the_1964-65_elections.html (Accessed Jan, 2013)

⁵ <http://segundawodu.com/nzeogwu.htm> (Accessed Jan, 2013)

⁶ <http://www.nairaland.com/482611/northern-counter-coup-1966-full-story> (Accessed Jan, 2013)

8. *the* (Caliphate's anti-Gowon) **1975 Murtala Mohammed Coup**.⁸ By the way, Murtala's legendary anti-corruption "Purge," for which he was seen as a National hero, was probably a cover for accomplishing the Caliphate's policy of Northernization of the Federal Public Service: some say that he quietly replaced the purged officials--who were mostly Southerners--with Northerners mostly. *Those with access to the records should help to verify that*;
9. *the* (anti-Caliphate) **1976 Dimka coup**⁹;
10. *the* (Caliphate's) **1983 Buhari coup**¹⁰ which, it came to be realized, was staged to preempt the Caliphate's approaching loss of power in 1987 through the scheduled NPN rotation of the presidential candidacy to a Southerner [See **Q33** below];
11. *the* (anti-Caliphate) **1990 Orkar coup**,¹¹ For the few hours before the coup was crushed, Orkar excised the Caliphate from Nigeria;
12. *the* (Caliphate-orchestrated) **June 12** election annulment which led to
13. the imprisonment and *death of MKO Abiola*, the winner of the annulled election¹²; and to
14. *the political assassinations under Abacha, 1993-1998*¹³;
15. the perennial religious and *ethnic violence in Kaduna and Plateau states* caused by Hausa and Fulani hegemonists who attempt to take over lands, and to dominate non-Hausa and non-Fulani peoples, that were not conquered by the Caliphate jihadists in pre-British times (i.e. caused by covert pressures to expand the Caliphate domain);
16. the (Caliphate-attempted) judicial murder of *Gen. Zamani Lekwot and his Zango Kataf associates in 1993*¹⁴;
17. *the* (Caliphate's) **1995 judicial murder of Ken Saro-Wiwa**¹⁵;
18. *the* (pro-Caliphate) **1999 sacking of Odi**¹⁶;
19. *the 2001 sacking of Zaki Biam*¹⁷;

⁷ http://www.photius.com/countries/nigeria/government/nigeria_government_the_1966_coups_civi-10021.html (Accessed Jan, 2013)

⁸ <http://nigeriavillagesquare.com/articles/max-siollun/the-roller-coaster-life-of-murtala-mohammed.html> (Accessed Jan, 2013)

⁹ <http://www.dawodu.com/dimka.htm> (Accessed Jan, 2013)

¹⁰ http://www.nigerdeltacongress.com/barticles/buhari_and_idiagbon_a_missed_opp.htm (Accessed Jan, 2013)

¹¹ <http://www.dawodu.com/omoigui8.htm> (Accessed Jan, 2013)

¹² <http://www.nigerianmuse.com/20080529221854zg/nigeria-watch/abiola-was-beaten-to-death-says-al-mustapha/> (Accessed Jan, 2013)

¹³ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hamza_al-Mustapha (Accessed Jan, 2013)

¹⁴ <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1993/03/01/military-injustice-major-general-zamani-lekwot-and-others-face-government-sanctio> (Accessed Jan, 2013) & http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Atyap_people (Accessed Jan, 2013)

¹⁵ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/jun/08/nigeria-usa> (Accessed Jan, 2013)

¹⁶ <http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/comment/34801> (Accessed Jan, 2013) & http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Odi_massacre (Accessed Jan, 2013)

20. the (Caliphate-serving) repression of *the Niger Delta militancy* ; down to

21. *the* (Caliphate-sponsored) *Boko Haram terrorism campaign*.

These and other troubles are rooted deep in the way, and the purpose for which, Nigeria was put together by the British, so we should start by looking into that.

The founding of Nigeria

The British officially created Northern Nigeria in 1900, and Southern Nigeria in 1906. The separate colonial administrations of these two entities were amalgamated in 1914 on the explicitly stated principle that Northern Nigeria, “the husband”, would financially live off the dowry/revenue/resources of Southern Nigeria, “the wife”. Then, during the process of decolonization, between 1955 and 1960, the British made the Caliphate the successor to their colonial power by rigging the Caliphate’s political party, the Northern People’s Congress (NPC), into office. **The Caliphate, i.e. the *sarkuna* or feudal ruling class of the North** [the Caliphate-equivalent of the British aristocracy], has ever since made that amalgamation principle an article of faith and has enforced its “husband” rights as Allah-given, permanent and unamendable. They have even publicly declared their readiness to commit genocide to enforce their presumed right to plunder and squander the resources of the South, by proposing to kill off 20 million (i.e. 1/7th or 14% of their) fellow Nigerians who live in the oil-producing Niger Delta. Their insistence on ruling Nigeria in perpetuity, and on exploiting the South, together with the resistance to that insistence, is the dynamic behind the recurring instability and mayhem in Nigeria’s history. That is the context to the two coups and the pogroms of 1966, the 1967-70 Civil War and to both the Niger Delta militancy and the Boko Haram terrorism of today.

Here are three statements by Caliphate spokesmen that respectively shed light on [A] *their* “One Nigeria” Project,[B] *their* ideology of ethnic castes, and [C] *their* genocidal mindset.

A] In 1960, Sir Ahmadu Bello, the *Sardauna* of Sokoto, leader of the Caliphate politicians, described the Caliphate’s Nigeria Project thus: [See **Q1** above]

B] In 1992, Maitama Sule, a senior Caliphate politician, shed more light on the *Sardauna*’s Nigeria Project when he detailed the Caliphate view of the caste system they deem proper for the relationship between the peoples of Nigeria:

Γ-----

Q3) 1992

¹⁷ http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/from_our_own_correspondent/1634356.stm (Accessed Jan, 2013)

“In this country, all of us need one another. Hausa need Igbos, Igbos need Yoruba and the Yorubas need the Northerners. Everyone has a gift from God. Northerners are endowed by God with leadership qualities. The Yoruba man knows how to earn a living and has diplomatic qualities. The Igbo is gifted in commerce, trade and technological innovation. God so created us individually for a purpose and with different gifts. Others are created as kings, students and doctors. We all need each other. If there are no followers, a king will not exist, if there are no students a teacher will not be required, etc.”²⁶

-- 1992, Alhaji Maitama Sule in an address which was written and spoken in Arabic during the launching of *The Power of Knowledge* authored by Alhaji Isa Kaíta, at Durbar Hotel, Kaduna on December 22, 1992.

{²⁶ Ayoada, J. A. A. *Nigeria and the Squandering of Hope*, Ibadan: University of Ibadan Press, 1997, p. 14}

L-----

In other words, in the Caliphate’s feudal version of Nigeria the peoples have been divided into castes, or hereditary occupational classes: Hausa rulers, Yoruba diplomatic messengers and Igbo traders and technicians.

C] In 2009, the Caliphate’s genocidal mentality was publicly displayed in the following statement to the House of Representatives by a Caliphate legislator:

F-----

Q4) 2009

“What is happening in the Niger Delta is pure criminality of the highest order, arising from total disregard for constituted authority. In Iraq, thousands of people lost their lives because of an insurrection against the government during the reign of former Iraqi leader, Saddam Hussein. ***We can do away with 20 million militants for the rest 120 million Nigerians to live.***” (emphasis added)

--2009 An incitement to genocide by Bala Ibn N’Allah of Kebbi State, a Caliphate member of the Nigerian House of Representatives. (*The Guardian*, Thursday, May 28, 2009). [See also **Q26** below]

L-----

Had the 1950s leaders of Nigeria’s West, East and Middle Belt (Obafemi Awolowo, Nnamdi Azikiwe, and Joseph Tarka)--whose parties later formed the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA) in 1964--glimpsed or understood the Caliphate’s Nigeria Project, they would have seen reason to make a united escape from Caliphate colonialism, instead of committing themselves to independence in an un-

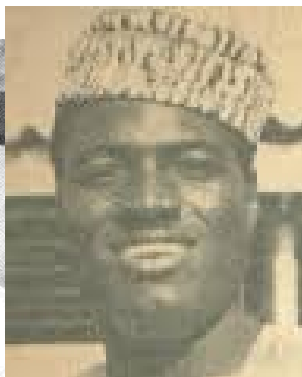
examined “One Nigeria”, and allowing their peoples to be used serially against one another for the benefit of the Caliphate.



Awo;



Zik;



Tarka

Having described his project to his people, the Sardauna, the leader of the Caliphate politicians, started his campaign to aggrandize Caliphate power in other parts of Nigeria. He began his moves in Western Nigeria by sparking the Western Crisis in 1962. The political resistance to this effort led *to the trial and imprisonment of the Yoruba leader, Chief Obafemi Awolowo* (a.k.a. Awo)¹⁸; and the flight abroad of his political lieutenant, *Anthony Enahoro, as a “fugitive offender”*. The resistance then took the form of the AG-NCNC-UMBC alliance, named the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA), that unsuccessfully contested the rigged December 1964 Federal elections against the Caliphate-led Nigerian National Alliance (NNA), and then the October 1965 Western regional elections where the UPGA’s Action Group (AG) vied with the Caliphate-backed Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) of Samuel L. Akintola, the then Western regional premier. When that election was rigged by the Caliphate’s “Federal might”, and Akintola was declared the winner and sworn in for another term as Premier, it sparked the violent civil unrest called *Operation wetie*, which triggered the January 15, 1966 coup that swept the Caliphate politicians from power at the federal level and in their Northern Region bastion.

The Caliphate struck back with the pogroms of May 1966, which led to the overthrow of the Ironsi military regime in the Caliphate counter-coup of July 1966. The Caliphate counter offensive continued with the pogroms that sought to drive from the North those fellow Nigerians that Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa had, in 1948, called “invaders” of the North. [See **Q15** below] The crisis of the pogroms led to Biafra’s secession in 1967; and that, in turn, triggered the Civil War to forcibly drag Biafrans back into the Caliphate colony that Nigeria had become. The Caliphate’s military conquest of Nigeria was completed in January 1970 with the defeat of Biafra.

¹⁸ <http://www.dawodu.com/awolowo6.htm>

Thereafter a period of unalloyed Caliphate colonialism began. The Caliphate ruled through civilian and military governments that were led sometimes by its own members and sometimes by trusted non-Caliphate agents.

By 1999, the Caliphate had evolved a peculiar federal system that they entrenched through the 1999 constitution, a system that allows them to dominate and exploit other Nigerians behind a façade of democracy. But while they were evolving that constitution (1966-1999), they resorted to all manner of makeshift measures to hang on to power, sometimes ruling through their members, and at other times through “willing tools” from the Northern minorities or loyal agents from the “conquered” South. [See the sequence of governments in the table below]

Nigeria: Sequence of Governments, 1957-2013, with the Caliphate /non-Caliphate character of each

September 1957 to 16 January 1966	Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa , Prime Minister	Civilian Caliphate-dominated coalition regime led by a Muslim Bageri non-Caliphate man; installed by the British, toppled by Nzeogwu's anti-Caliphate, UPGA coup.
16 January 1966 to 29 July 1966	Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi , Head of the Federal Military Government	Non-Caliphate military regime led by a Christian Igbo non-Caliphate man; toppled by Murtala Muhammed's Caliphate/ NNA counter-coup.
1 August 1966 to 29 July 1975	Yakubu Gowon , Head of the Federal Military Government	Caliphate military regime installed by Murtala Muhammed, but led by a Christian non-Caliphate “willing tool” from Northern minorities.
29 July 1975 to 13 February 1976	Murtala Mohammed , Head of the Federal Military Government	Caliphate military regime led by a Muslim, Hausa-Fulani Caliphate scion.
13 February 1976 to 1 October 1979	Olusegun Obasanjo , (a.k.a. OBJ), Head of the Federal Military Government	Caliphate military regime with a loyal Christian Yoruba agent from the “conquered” South as front man, installed to complete Murtala Muhammed's tenure and program.
1 October 1979 to 31 December 1983	Shehu Shagari , President	Caliphate civilian regime led by a Fulani Caliphate scion; installed by OBJ through a rigged election and judicial shenanigans about 2/3 of 19 states.

31 December 1983 to 27 August 1985	Muhammadu Buhari , Chairman of the Supreme Military Council	Caliphate military regime led by Fulani Caliphate scions, Buhari and Idiagbon; installed to pre-empt election of any Southerner as president in 1987.
27 August 1985 to 26 August 1993	Ibrahim Babangida , (a.k.a. IBB) President of the Armed Forces Ruling Council	Caliphate military regime led by a Muslim Gwari non-Caliphate man from Northern Minorities
26 August 1993 to 17 November 1993	Ernest Shonekan , Interim Head of State	Civilian-military Interim regime led by a Yoruba Christian; a contraption by Babangida to continue his administration until his “rightful” Caliphate military successor was ready to emerge.
17 November 1993 to 8 June 1998	Sani Abacha , Chairman of the Provisional Ruling Council	Caliphate military regime led by a Muslim Kanuri agent of the Caliphate.
8 June 1998 to 29 May 1999	Abdulsalami Abubakar , Chairman of the Provisional Ruling Council	Caliphate military regime led by a Muslim Gwari from Northern Minorities.
29 May 1999 to 29 May 2007	Olusegun Obasanjo , President	Civilian non-Caliphate regime, led by a Christian Yoruba agent of the Caliphate. The Caliphate soon came to regard him as a “menace”.
29 May 2007 to 5 May 2010	Umaru Musa Yar'Adua , President	Civilian Caliphate regime led by a Fulani Caliphate scion
9 February 2010 to Present	Goodluck Jonathan , Acting President till 6 May 2011, and President since then.	Civilian non-Caliphate regime led by a Christian Ijaw non-Caliphate man: Caliphate chieftains vowed to make Nigeria ungovernable for him.

Having conquered all of Nigeria by means of the Civil War, and by using the Nigerian armed forces that were mostly filled with non-Caliphate soldiers led by non-Caliphate generals, the Caliphate schemed to

remove the non-Caliphate Gen. Yakubu Gowon as Head of State and replace him with one of their own (i.e. a member of the Caliphate *sarkuna* or ruling class). Accordingly, a Caliphate coup on July 29, 1975 deposed Gowon and replaced him with Murtala Mohammed. When Gowon's fellow Middle Belt soldiers tried to snatch back power through the anti-Caliphate Dimka coup on Feb. 13, 1976, they were defeated and slaughtered. But the assassinated Murtala Mohammed was replaced by a Yoruba Caliphate agent, Gen. Obasanjo (a.k.a. OBJ) who ruled as figurehead or front man. In 1979, OBJ's government duly rigged the elections for a Caliphate politician, Shehu Shagari of the NPN and handed power to him through the bizarre and disputed Supreme Court ruling on *2/3rds of 19 States: Awolowo V Shagari*.¹⁹

When election time came again in 1983 and a non-Caliphate man, Chief MKO Abiola, sought the nomination of the ruling NPN, he was rebuffed. Shagari contested and was re-"elected". Then, to prolong Caliphate rule without running the risk of free and fair elections, the Buhari coup, on December 31, 1983, deposed Shagari, the Caliphate civilian President, and replaced him as Head of State with a Caliphate military man, Gen. Muhammadu Buhari. Thus their dreaded loss of power through elections and the risk of rotation was postponed. The Caliphate then became determined to tolerate an election only if it could have them rigged for its politicians, as had happened in 1959, 1979 and 1983. That determination sowed the seeds of the annulment of the June 12, 1993 election.

Though two Caliphate generals, Buhari and Idiagbon, were in power from December 31, 1983, a struggle among the Caliphate military agents caused Ibrahim Babangida (a.k.a. IBB) to oust Buhari in 1985. (As far as can be ascertained, IBB is not of *sarkuna* stock.) But then, to the dismay of the Caliphate, IBB embarked on a transition program which sought to install the very democracy that the Caliphate thoroughly fears and detests. Though it disliked the IBB transition program, the Caliphate initially could do nothing to stop it, and so bided its time and organized the forces it would eventually use to scuttle IBB's transition program when the opportunity arose.

While the Caliphate was waiting for its opportunity, the Orkar coup of 1990, which announced the excision of the Caliphate territory from Nigeria, gave the Caliphate a great scare. The IBB regime, in self-defense, crushed the Orkar coup.

¹⁹ <http://nigeriavillagesquare.com/seyi-olu-awofeso/23rds-of-19-states-awolowo-v-shagari.html>



Gideon Orkar and his comrades

But three years later the IBB transition program was itself terminated by the Caliphate, by using the Association for Better Nigeria (ABN), a Southern group, as well as Caliphate-loyal generals largely from the Middle Belt. The irony here is that IBB's transition program and the Orkar Coup would each have terminated Caliphate power, the one through the ballot and the other through the bullet; but they fought each other, only for the victor to be overwhelmed by the Caliphate overlord through its orchestrated annulment of June 12. The Jellaba-Arab colonialists in Khartoum have a name for this maneuver: "using a slave to kill a slave." The Caliphate used this maneuver twice in the early 1990s: IBB to kill the Orkar coup, and then the ABN and Middle Belt Generals to kill the IBB transition program.

In the protracted struggle between the Caliphate and its subject peoples, the Caliphate has been quite clear about its objectives and has fought without confusion. Unfortunately the anti-Caliphate forces have never thoroughly understood the enemy they are up against. As a result, they have fought like a blind man battling in the ring with a Muhammad Ali or a Mike Tyson. So they were overwhelmed, often by the Caliphate's use of some other non-Caliphate forces. As happened in June 12.

The anti-Caliphate forces have also been deeply divided by their own rivalries and quarrels. But for the feud between Awo and Zik in the 1950s, the Caliphate would not have inherited power from the British. Sir James Robertson would have found it impossible to install Balewa as the Prime Minister of Nigeria. And the sad saga of Nigeria under Caliphate colonialism might have been avoided. Now that the anti-Caliphate forces have been attempting to come together to demand a Sovereign National Conference (SNC) and a truly federal constitution to replace the fraudulent 1999 constitution, they need to understand the hidden dynamics that has dominated Nigerian history since the 1950s, and then unite to get rid of it once and for all. Fighting among themselves will only help the Caliphate to climb back and hang onto power.

Their chronic unclarity about their Caliphate enemy, and their persistent lack of unity would also be true in the struggles since the June 12 crisis. June 12 officially ended in 1999, when a harassed Caliphate made a negotiated handover of power, through a pre-determined election, to OBJ, its Yoruba agent of proven loyalty. It considered the handover "temporary". But it soon came to regret the handover.

To safeguard his presidency, *OBJ retired all “political” military officers who could endanger the nascent democracy. Most of those affected were Hausa-Fulani scions of the Caliphate. OBJ thereby robbed the Caliphate of its military capacity to undermine his government.* This earned him their enmity.

As it saw its hold on the Nigerian military being systematically destroyed by a vengeful OBJ, it had to find some alternative weapons for returning to power. OBJ was on a personal vendetta because his Caliphate masters had humiliated him by imprisoning him for allegedly being party to a coup against their man Gen. Sani Abacha, and for torturing him in prison. A Caliphate that had survived the challenges of rotation, the Orkar coup and June 12, suddenly found itself deprived of its control of the military instrument it had used to hold on to power for three decades. It was not amused. It responded to its eroding hegemony by playing the Sharia card. So, soon after it saw the way OBJ was going, it launched the sharia movement and installed the sharia as the constitution in the 12 states of its Arewa bastion in Nigeria’s Far North. This was a challenge to the Constitution and tantamount to opting out of the secular Federal Republic of Nigeria. But OBJ, for reasons best known to himself, declined to enforce the constitution against them.

Why did OBJ do nothing when the Arewa states violated the secular constitution by adopting Sharia? Wasn’t that a form of secession, by repudiating the Constitution that is supposed to hold Nigeria together? Wasn’t that treason? And wasn’t it his duty as President to uphold and enforce the constitution? How was that action constitutionally different from Biafra’s exit from Nigeria? And wasn’t it his duty to preserve “One Nigeria” in the Sharia case—like he had helped do in the Biafra case? Had OBJ taken action in 2000 against the Sharia “secession”, would Boko Haram have emerged in 2002? Would it have grown into the monster it has become today?

In response to what they perceived as the Obasanjo “menace”, the Caliphate emirs met on March 28, 2005 in Kaduna under the auspices of the Nigerian Supreme Council of Islamic Affairs (NSCIA), of which the Sultan of Sokoto is the traditional Chairman. At that meeting Major Mustapha Jokolo (rtd), the then Emir of Gwandu, traditionally the second-in-command to the Sultan, complained bitterly that northern Muslims had been marginalized by President Obasanjo: complaining that today they have no banks, and construction companies; that their soldiers were compulsorily retired from the army shortly after Obasanjo came to power; and that their children are being denied recruitment in the army. “We must decide what to do now. . . Let our people withdraw from the confab. . . Muslims are not afraid and they will come out to say the truth.”

--(“Emir’s Jihad Threat”, *Insider Weekly*, May 2, 2005, p.17.)

Jokolo added that

F-----

Q5) 2005

“We (Muslims) have been pushed to the wall and it is time to fight.... Obasanjo is trampling on our rights and Muslims must rise and defend their rights. The more we continue to wait, the more we will continue to be marginalized.”

-- Mustapha Jokolo, quoted in (“Emir’s Jihad Threat” *Insider Weekly*, May 2, 2005, p.19)

L-----

For this “fight” [Jihad?] they had to find another military instrument. Hence, presumably, their adoption of Boko Haram and the subsequent enhancement of its terrorist capacity, and the reported sudden affluence of its leader who began to move about in SUVs. Was it sheer coincidence that Boko Haram became well-funded and more powerful in mid-2005 [See **Q30** below] a few months after the Emir of Gwandu called for a fight to end what the Caliphate perceived as its marginalization by the OBJ Government? Not bloody likely. More on this later in Part Three.

While all that was going on, Enahoro, through his Movement for National Reformation (MNR), began, in 1992, to advocate for a Sovereign National Conference (SNC) to fundamentally restructure the Nigerian Federation and end the disadvantages of the subjugated non-Caliphate ethnic nationalities. By 2004, the MNR had morphed into PRONACO which began campaigning for a constitution to replace the fraudulent 1999 constitution and thereby deprive the Caliphate of its pseudo-democratic instrument of permanent domination and exploitation. The Caliphate did not welcome any of that.



Pa Enahoro

When furthermore OBJ schemed to have his non-Caliphate protégé become President, the Caliphate leaders saw red. OBJ, in the spirit of the “temporary” handover, had obligingly selected a Caliphate politician to succeed himself in 2007 and return power to his Caliphate patrons, but he deliberately handpicked Umaru Yar’ Adua who was seriously ill, in the hope, perhaps, that he would die in office and be succeeded by his non-Caliphate Vice President, Goodluck Jonathan. Luckily for OBJ’s

scheming, this all came to pass when President Yar' Adua died in office in 2010. When President Jonathan then failed to relinquish the presidency to them and entered the contest for a full term of his own, as was his constitutional right, Caliphate politicians publicly vowed to make the country ungovernable for him. [See **Q27**, below] And when he won the 2011 election, they kept their promise and unleashed their Boko Haram terrorists on the country.

How did Boko Haram arise and become available for this assignment? According to evidence in the book *Power, Politics and Death* by Olusegun Adeniyi, who was the Special Adviser on Communications (i.e. media spokesperson) to the late President Yar' Adua, Boko Haram was a tiny and obscure sect from its founding in 2002 until 2005 when it was apparently adopted by some powerful sponsors. Its leader began to live affluently and the magnitude and sophistication of its terrorist capacity began to build up. So great had this terror capacity grown that in 2012, Boko Haram gave a “quit the North” notice to those the Caliphate leaders had called “invaders” back in 1948 [See **Q15** below], and enforced the order by bombing churches and funerals, and by other acts of mass murder. But, unfortunately for its Caliphate sponsors, Boko Haram, as its power grew, developed an agenda of its own which threatened the Caliphate’s very survival. [More on that later when we discuss Boko Haram’s minimal and maximal agenda.]

Terror, mass murder and genocide in Caliphate ideology

It needs to be emphasized that terror, mass murder and genocide have been political instruments of the Caliphate right from the early 1950s.

In 1953 they instigated a pogrom in Kano in reprisal for the booing of their political leaders by Lagos crowds who protested their rejection of Enahoro’s “Self-Government-in-1956” motion.

Then in a bid to regain power after losing it in Jan 1966, they unleashed pogroms in order to expel from their territory those they had earlier, in 1948, labeled “invaders”.

The Caliphate’s dedication to mass murder as an instrument of power politics was articulated publicly in 2009 when one of its legislators, Bala N’Allah, told the House of Representatives: “We can do away with 20 million militants for the rest 120 million Nigerians to live” [For the full statement See **Q4** above.] Nobody should therefore be surprised that they unleashed Boko Haram on Nigerians after OBJ deprived them of control of the Nigerian Army, their previous favorite instrument of political violence.

Against this background, the current controversy about the genocide during the Civil War should be put in proper perspective. Responsibility for that genocide must rest, not with the field commanders, but with their Caliphate masters. Gowon provided a non-Caliphate and gentlemanly façade behind which field commanders could deniably commit genocide with impunity as directed by Caliphate policy. As

with the French and their Foreign Legion, the Caliphate colonialists, like all colonialists, use troops and commanders from anywhere to do their bloody work.

=====

Part Two: Caliphate agenda and ideology in their own words, 1942-2012

The quotes below are taken from the works of two Nigerian scholars, Prof Omo Omoruyi and Dr Tony Nwaezeigwe. The excerpts detail the Caliphate ideology and show how Nigeria has been dominated by the Caliphate Colonialist agenda since the 1950s. For the post-1990s period, the excerpts from these two works are supplemented by media reports.

Preamble:

The Caliphate ideology and agenda are byproducts of the British design of Nigeria. Let us, therefore, begin by examining the British design, as explained by Prof. Omoruyi.

The British design (1884-1960)

Excerpts from Omo Omoruyi, *The Tale of June 12*, London: Press Alliance Network Limited, 1999. All the “(Italics mine)” are by Omo Omoruyi.

[This Omoruyi book is probably the best participant-observer report on June 12 that we are ever likely to get. Nigerians are fortunate that Prof. Omoruyi survived an Abacha assassination attempt in 1994, and still had the courage to write it. The book should be compulsory reading for every Nigerian.]

I-----

Q6)

ORIGIN OF NIGERIA

There is no question that there were relatively independent units, call them states/empires, in the territory that currently makes up Nigeria before the advent of the white man and the colonial order. Anthropologists and the Ibadan History Series provide us with the history and form of political organisation of different groups in Nigeria. Following the Berlin Conference of 1884, [Frederick] Lugard, then a Captain, paid his first visit to Nigeria to organise on behalf of the Royal Niger Company, troops of subjugation to be used in extracting treaties from the Chiefs of the North. The various groups in Nigeria had no inkling that Britain was trying to amalgamate them.

BRIEF REVIEW OF THE PROCESS

Britain's implementation of the Berlin Treaty was done through independent administrators, namely:

1. The Oil Rivers Protectorate, renamed Niger Coast Protectorate in 1895. The Niger Coast Protectorate was ruled by Consul with headquarters in Calabar and responsible to the Foreign Office, not the Colonial Office, because the relationship with these states was by virtue of treaties of protection and by cession.
2. The Colony of Lagos ceded to the British Crown in 1861 was ruled by Governors responsible to the Colonial Office based in Sierra Leone (1866-1874) and Gold Coast (1874-1886).

In 1886, Lagos had its own Governor. Cession of Lagos was through a highly fraudulent treaty. There was a treaty of Cession, nevertheless.

3. The Niger territories of the Royal Niger Company rule, 1886 to 1899 by the agents of the private company, was responsible to the Board of Directors in London. This corresponds to the present day Northern Nigeria. Sir Frederick D Lugard had, earlier as a Captain, worked for this company in negotiating a series of treaties with traditional rulers in 1897. He was, as a Brigadier-General, appointed the first High Commissioner of the former Niger Territories of the Royal Niger Company to be called Northern Nigeria with effect from January 1, 1900.

This was the day the term Nigeria was first used in official communication. It would appear that the term was meant to refer to the North of Nigeria and later the other two governments were renamed Southern Nigeria and Lagos. They were merged to form Southern Nigeria in 1906. From 1906, Northern Nigeria and Southern Nigeria were technically two autonomous entities responsible separately to the colonial office.

This was the situation when the design of Nigeria was conceived between 1900 and 1912. It should be noted that Lugard brought the various parts of the North together and produced an administrative entity called first, Niger Territories and later Northern Nigeria. (pp. 295-296)

L-----

[The 1913 Harcourt-Lugard plan of permanent Northern rule. (pp. 296-301)]

F-----
Q7) 1913

Lord Harcourt [British Secretary of State for the Colonies] laid down the kind of relationship that should exist between North and the South as a marriage with the North as the "husband" and the South as the "wife." According to Lord Harcourt:

We have released Northern Nigeria from the leading strings of the Treasury. *The promising and well conducted youth* is now on an allowance on his own and is about to effect an alliance with a *Southern lady of means*. *I have issued the special license and Sir Frederick Lugard will perform the ceremony.* May the union be fruitful and the couple constant.²⁰ (Italics mine) (p. 300)

...

It should be further noted that Lugard was privy to the thinking in London about amalgamation. This was why he campaigned to be given the assignment of incorporating the various units in South constituting Southern Nigeria into Northern Nigeria. (p. 296) . . .

According to [Margery] Perham, Lugard's task was to unify administrations not peoples. Lugard was bent on keeping the North as one entity. (p. 299) . . .

Lugard was called the maker of Northern Nigeria who later returned to Nigeria to complete his work which to him meant incorporating more territories into the North.²¹ (p. 301)

L-----

[The Robertson stage (1955-1960) of the Harcourt-Lugard-Robertson plan of permanent Northern rule. (pp.294-306)]

F-----
Q8) 1955-1960

SUCCESSION CLAIMS 1959/1960: BRITAIN HANDED OVER TO NORTHERN LEADERS

The next phase in Nigerian history was the decolonisation period and it involved the resolution of the succession claims, erroneously though, of the three major nationalities, Hausa-Fulani (North), Yoruba (West) and Igbo (East) during this period. It centred around who would succeed the colonial government between 1955 and 1960. . . . Sir James Robertson was the shrewd implementor of Northern rule earlier fashioned by Lords Harcourt and Lugard. Sir James was especially recruited by the British Government in 1955 because of his experience in the Sudan with an identical situation to Nigeria. . . . (p. 302)

The 1914 design [of Nigeria as a marriage between the North and South with the North as the "husband" and the South, "the Wife"] became an issue in 1950, 1953 and 1966 . . . [In the 1950s, it] was used to extract 50 percent of the seats in the proposed Central House of Representatives by the Northern delegation led by the Emirs of Katsina and Zaria, failing which they threatened that "they would ask for separation from the rest of Nigeria on the arrangements existing before 1914."⁶ The Northern leaders led by Sir Ahmadu Bello threatened to withdraw the North from Nigeria unless the self-government motion moved by Chief Anthony Enahoro in March 1953 was killed by the British government and lamented that "the mistake of 1914 has come to light."⁷ . . . (p. 294)

L-----

F-----
Q9) 1957

Sir James named Sir Abubakar, the Prime Minister, in 1957 even though the NPC at that time only controlled one region (North) and had only one third of the Ministers in the Federal Council of Ministers and the NCNC controlled two regions (East and West) and two thirds of the Ministers in the Federal Council of Ministers. Sir James named Sir Abubakar over the NCNC Ministers because

*We became very close and I appreciated the confidence he placed in me. There was little we could not discuss (including) the problems with the Sardauna of Sokoto (and) his difficulties with noisy Southerners who seemed to take all their squabbles and troubles to him.*³⁶ (Italics mine)

Sir James went on:

We discussed *defence* and *foreign affairs* and I showed him all the British Government papers that came to me about neighbouring countries and the trends in foreign affairs *although they were not supposed to be shown to the Nigerian.*³⁷ (Italics mine)

But Sir James violated this because

I never had the slightest fear that he would abuse my confidence and *(because) I had the greatest admiration for him as a man of the highest integrity and a most religious and sincere Muslim.*" (Italics mine) (p. 305)

L-----

F-----
Q10) 1959

Sir James confessed that he called Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa to form the government in 1959 "by persuading some of the Southern members to support him and Sir Abubakar assured him he would get a Southern group to work with him." Sir James did this before the results were released in full. He confessed that he did this to appease the Sardauna of Sokoto, the Leader of NPC, to stop him from taking the North out of Nigeria.²⁴ (p. 302)

L-----

=====

The manipulation of the 1959 election results: [An account by Chinweizu]

The 1959 election was manipulated to deliver power to the Calphate. The electoral mechanisms which accomplished that feat was a combination of the 1952 arbitrary allocation of 50 per cent of the seats in the Federal parliament to the North as demanded by the Emirs; the census of 1953 which assigned to the North 55.4% of the total population ²⁰ in what seemed to be an effort to retroactively justify the 1952 allocation of parliamentary seats [this caused the census to be regarded as rigged]; and the Governor General's inviting of Balewa to form a government even before the election results were complete. As a result, power over the whole of Nigeria was placed in the hands of the Caliphate rulers of the North. The 1959 election results were as follows ²¹:

Party	Votes	%	Seats
<u>National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroonst</u>	2,594,577:	34.0:	81
<u>Action Group‡</u>	1,992,364:	26.1:	73
<u>Northern People's Congress*</u>	1,922,179:	25.2:	134
<u>Northern Elements Progressive Union†</u>	509,050:	6.7:	8
<u>Mabolaje Grand Alliance*</u>	610,677:	8.0:	6
<u>Igala Union*</u>			4
<u>Independents‡</u>			2

²⁰ <http://www.gamji.com/haruna/haruna161.htm>

²¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nigerian_parliamentary_election,_1959

Independents*	2
<u>Igbira Tribal Union*</u>	1
<u>Niger Delta Congress*</u>	1
Total	7,628,847: 100: 314

Source: Nohlen et al.

* Northern People's Congress-led coalition (148 seats)

† National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons-led coalition (89 seats)

‡ Action Group-led coalition (75 seats)

By converting the least votes into the most seats, this Robertson election-rigging mechanism ensured that the NPC became the dominant partner in the federal government. Had proportional representation been applied, the NCNC-NEPU Alliance which garnered 3,103,627 votes (40.7%) would have had the most seats and produced the Prime Minister. Alternatively, even with the rigged distribution of seats, had Zik and Awo brought their NCNC and AG alliances into coalition, the NCNC-AG coalition would have had 164 seats to the NPC's 148. And the Governor-General, Sir James Robertson, would have been obliged to ask the NCNC-AG coalition to form the government.

Either way, the NCNC leader Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe (a.k.a. Zik), would have become Nigeria's Prime Minister at independence, and Nigeria's history might have been quite different. But that was essentially prevented by the British managers of the transition to independence, when Sir James Robertson invited Tafawa Balewa to form the government even before the rigged results were fully in. Consequently, when the results were finally out, the option of an NCNC-AG Coalition had been basically ruled out, and these parties were faced with the option of going into junior partnership with the already designated Prime Minister.

An NCNC-AG coalition government, led by Zik as Prime Minister and Awo as Deputy Prime Minister would have been an ideologically Pan-Africanist government.

[It should be recalled that Awo, along with Nkrumah, Kenyatta etc. had taken part in the 5th Pan-African Congress in 1945; and Zik, though absent himself, was represented by the delegation sent by his party, the NCNC.] But the feud between Zik and Awo helped to block this coalition by preventing them from jointly challenging the choice of Prime Minister already made by the Governor General. So, instead of Nigeria at independence being led by a Pan-Africanist government, it came to be led by a government dominated by the Pan-Islamist NPC of Sir Ahmadu Bello and Tafawa Balewa.

=====

[Back to excerpts from Omo Omoruyi, *The Tale of June 12*, London: Press Alliance Network Limited, 1999.]

F-----
Q11) 1959

What Sir James Robertson did in 1959 was in furtherance of the colonial policy dating back to 1913 [when Lord Harcourt proposed the “marriage” of the “Northern youth,” to “the Southern lady of means”].

Sir James Robertson also stated in his memoir that he prepared Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa in the late 1950’s for the position of leadership of Nigeria by sharing with him sensitive security issues about British interests in Nigeria and how he, Sir James “unofficially and unconstitutionally” assigned defence, police and foreign affairs matters before independence to Sir Abubakar. . . .(p. 303)

By the rule of succession, the Northern People’s Congress (NPC), with no elected member from the South in the House of Representatives, succeeded to the British colonial power in Nigeria in 1960 and became the successor of the British Crown in Nigeria. Sir James was bent on implementing the succession plan in favour of the North. How did he do it?

SIR JAMES’ REPORT CARD DESTROYED SOUTHERN LEADERS AND FAVOURED NORTHERN LEADERS

The Northern leaders were “good boys” and could be trusted; the Southern leaders were “bad boys,” and could not be trusted. Sir James did everything to prepare Sir Ahmadu Bello, who had no faith in the 1914

amalgamation, to accept the Federal Government and the Nigerian union. . . .
(p. 304)

Finally, Sir James did not have faith in what would happen at the end of the day. He quoted the note he kept in December 1956 as follows:

The general outlook of the people (North) is so different from those in Southern Nigeria as to give them practically nothing in common. There is less difference between an Englishman and Italian, both of whom have a common civilisation based on Greek and Roman foundations and on Christianity, than between a Muslim villager in Sokoto, Kano or Katsina, and an Ibo, Ijaw or a Kalabari. How can any feeling of common purpose of nationality be built up between people whose culture, religion and mode of living is so completely different? (Italics mine.)

He was very worried as to what would happen when the British shall have gone. He was not sure of what would keep the diverse peoples together within the artificial boundaries drawn on the map in the 1880s and 1890s. (p.306)

L-----

=====

Caliphate ideology and Agenda--Section A

[Quotes from Tony Nwaezeigwe, "Ethnicity and the Politics of Igbo, Yoruba Relations: Case of a Celebration of Defeat?", Department of Political Science University of Lagos: Special Lecture Series 2, October 1998, pp. 5-8.]

L-----

Q12) 1942

*"Holding this country together is not possible except by means of the religion of the Prophet. If they want political unity let them follow our religion."*¹⁵

-- 1942, the conference of Northern Chiefs in response to a letter from the UK-based West African Students' Union (WASU) to the Northern Emirs asking them to support the constitutional evolution of Nigeria into a full independent nation. {¹⁵ Quoted from Obafemi Awolowo, *Path to Nigerian Freedom*, London: Faber and Faber, 1947, p. 51.}

L-----

F-----

Q13) 1944

“Those Southerners who desire a United Nigeria should first embrace Islam as their religion.”¹⁶

--1944, the Sultan of Sokoto responding to a delegation from WASU that paid him a visit to plead for his support for the memorandum on constitutional reform. {¹⁶ James Coleman, *Nigeria : Background to Nationalism*, Los Angeles and London: University of California, Berkeley, 1971, p. 361.}

L-----

F-----

Q14) 1948

“Since 1914 the British Government has been trying to make Nigeria into one country, but the Nigeria people themselves are historically different in their background, in their religious beliefs and customs and do not show themselves any sign of willingness to unite.... Nigerian unity is only a British intention for the country.”¹⁷

--1948, Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, parliamentary leader of the Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC), during a session of the Nigerian Legislative council. {¹⁷ Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*, p. 320}

L-----

F-----

Q15) 1948

“Many (Nigerians) deceive themselves by thinking that Nigeria is one, . . . particularly some of the press people. . . This is wrong. I am sorry to say that this presence of Unity is artificial and it ends outside this Chamber. . . The Southern tribes who are now pouring into the North in ever increasing numbers, and are more or less domiciled here do not mix with the Northern people... and we in the North look upon them as invaders.”¹⁸

--1948, Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, parliamentary leader of the Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC), during the budget session of the Nigerian Legislative council.

{¹⁸ Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*, p. 361}

L-----

As pointed out earlier, in 1960, the Sarduna of Sokoto stated his Nigeria Project thus: [See **Q1**, above]

[Back to quotes from Tony Nwaezeigwe, “Ethnicity and the Politics of Igbo, Yoruba Relations: Case of a Celebration of Defeat?”]

F-----

Q16)

Today, it is no longer a matter of debate that the Hausa-Fulani ruling oligarchy of this country has the sole objective of remaining the hereditary rulers of Nigeria. A far-reaching revelation in this regard is summed up in the words of one of the most respected members of the group: [See **Q3** above]

--- Nwaezeigwe, p. 8

L-----

[Comment by Chinweizu]

The quote from Maitama Sule, (See **Q3** above) also articulated the Caliphate caste system for Nigeria.

Please compare Maitama Sule’s allegedly divine division of roles, caste system, with the notorious white supremacist doctrine of the European imperialists. As Ernest Renan, the western humanist and idealist philosopher from France, would express it:

F-----

Q17)

“The regeneration of the inferior or degenerate races by the superior races is part of the providential order of things for humanity. . . . Nature has made a race of workers, the Chinese race, who have wonderful manual dexterity and almost no sense of honor; govern them with justice, levying from them, in return for the blessing of such a government, an ample allowance for the conquering race, and they will be satisfied; a race of tillers of the soil, the Negro; treat him with kindness and humanity, and all will be as it should; a race of masters and soldiers, the European race. Reduce this noble race to working in the *ergastulum* like Negroes and Chinese, and they rebel. . . . But the life at which our workers rebel would make a Chinese or a fellah happy, as they are not military creatures in the least. *Let each one do what he is made for, and all will be well.*”²

{² From *La Réforme intellectuelle et morale*, quoted in Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972), p. 16. [See Chinweizu, *The West and the Rest of Us*, p.401]}

L-----

Caliphate ideology and Agenda--Section B

Continuation of excerpts from Omo Omoruyi, *The Tale of June 12*, (London: Press Alliance Network, 1999)

F-----

Q18) 1981

It should be noted that when the NPP led by Dr Azikiwe gave the NPN (led by Alhaji Shehu Shagari) six months notice as provided for in the accord protocol for the re-negotiation of the accord, the NPN unilaterally terminated the accord on the excuse that “if your wife gave you notice of six months . . . the husband should sack her immediately.” This was how the NPN/NPP accord was terminated in 1981 [--an accord] which the military inspired to provide a smooth transition for the Northern led political party in 1979. (p. 339, n. 49)

L-----

The Caliphate’s efforts to stop the transition program and the 1993 elections

F-----

Q19) 1992

. . . right from the day General Babangida assumed office there was no doubt as to whose programme we were implementing. The transition programme was a personal programme of General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida. It was neither a military nor a Northern programme. This fact was never known by many people. . . When it was clear that the President was serious with the transition programme, and it seemed to them that he was actually thinking of handing over power, they [the North] initiated the removal of Chief Olu Falae from the office of the Secretary to Federal Military Government and appointed a Fulani, Alhaji Aliyu Mohammed, with a mission to turn the transition programme into a Northern driven project. . . . From late 1992 when he was convinced that the North would find it difficult to take over from the military President in a free and fair

election, Alhaji Aliyu did not hide his plan to get the President to abandon the programme of democratic transition. . . [And there were] many anti-democratic plans which they [Alhaji Aliyu and the North] hatched to stop the Presidential election after March 1993.

--(pp. xviii, xv, xvi)

L-----

I-----

Q20) 1993

[June 12 and the Caliphate agenda]

What General Babangida did in preparation for the June 12 election was vehemently opposed by the former Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki, on behalf of the Northern leadership because the North was not able to determine its outcome in favour of the North. Alhaji Ibrahim tried to prevail on the President to cancel the Presidential election as early as May 19, 1993 because the plan was seen as capable of reversing the British design. . . . (pp.302-303)

In fact, the civilian political group in the North wanted General Babangida to discontinue the programme partly because they did not like any of the two candidates and partly because the Hausa-Fulani did not have a candidate. This meant that the whole programme could go to blazes simply because it seemed as though it would end without someone they could control as the country's President. Leading this group was the then Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki, who from March 1993 argued that neither Abiola nor Tofa could represent the interest of the North. Alhaji Dasuki made this known to President Babangida immediately after the National Convention of the two political parties. He continued this pressure in May 1993. He canvassed various views on what the President should do if he were to abandon the transition programme. He specifically raised this issue with me when I visited him on May 19, 1993. . . . But I kept reminding him that it was too late in the day to think of a new agenda to which he kept insisting that "my people" will not buy any of the two candidates. I kept promising him that the June 12, 1993 Presidential election would be free and fair and that the purpose of my visit to Sokoto was to preside over the training workshop for domestic monitors from Kebbi and Sokoto states. To this he said, "Professor, you work so hard for this country and for your friend, the President, but this may turn out to be a waste of your time". . . . The Sultan felt so agitated that he . . . recalled what Alhaji Umaru Dikko, former Minister of

Transport and the Co-ordinator of the Presidential election of Alhaji Shehu Shagari had said during the Second Republic. Dr. Dikko pointedly argued against the thought of Chief Abiola becoming the Presidential candidate of the National Party of Nigeria on the grounds that the NPN Presidential candidacy was not for sale to the highest bidder. I have gone this far to buttress the difficulties that later came from this source. General Babangida overestimated his ability with respect to what the former Sultan could do at an appropriate time. (pp. 76-77)

L-----

I-----

Q21) 1993

[Babangida & Omoruyi discussion on 21 June 1993]

But he [Babangida] brought me right back to the immediate problem facing him. He agreed with my account, but said that he did not take his “boys” into confidence and that he had rejected the security briefs in the face of the report which I gave to him. He said that what he told them was that he would be able to stop Chief Abiola at the appropriate time. I then asked: “Do you think you have reached that stage now?”

He said: “Yes and No”.

“It cannot be ‘Yes’ and ‘No’”, I uttered and continued: “With the greatest respect and with the greatest sense of responsibility and with the greatest sense of loyalty to the President and love for the country, it is late in the day”.

He was shocked by my statement. Without giving a chance for response, I went personal; and said, “This is not the appropriate time; we have passed that stage, Ibrahim. I can see your problem but the country will not take it.” While he stared at me I went on: “You cannot tell the country this.” His countenance changed and he said, “The country will just have to take it,” he said. “I cannot kill myself for the sake of what the country wants. I am sorry,” he lamented. It was astonishing to hear a General state that he could not lay down his life for his country. But I understood what he meant.

It was clear that General Babangida was in a fix as of June 21, 1993 and was in a desperate search of how to escape the wrath of his “boys.” He had lost the battle over the crucial weekend between June 18 and 21st at Minna.

MILITARY FACTOR

I then proceeded to deal with the questions of who were these “they” and for what reasons would they want to kill the President and the President-Elect if the June 12 election were allowed to go forward. He named them in military and in ethnic categories:

Sani (meaning General Sani Abacha)⁹ is opposed to a return to civilian rule. Sani cannot stand the idea of Chief Abiola, a Yoruba, becoming his Commander-in-Chief at all; Sani seems to have the ears of the Northern leaders that no Southerner especially from the Southwest should become the President of this country. Sani seems to rally the Northern Elders to confront me on the matter. He is winning; the Sultan and the Northern leaders are of this frame of mind. Where do I go from here? They do not trust me. Without Sani, I will not be alive today; without the North, I would not have become an officer in the Nigerian Army and now the President of Nigeria.

I then asked what he would want done in the circumstance and he said

I don’t want to appear ungrateful to Sani; he may not be bright upstairs but he knows how to overthrow governments and overpower coup plotters. He saw to my coming to office in 1985 and to my protection in the many coups I faced in the past, especially the Orkar coup of 1990 where he saved me and my family including my infant daughter.”

He went on,

Sani, you know, risked his life to get me into office in 1983 and 1985; if he says that he does not want Chief Abiola, I will not force Chief Abiola on him. I just have to end the whole matter and go back to the place of my birth. That is the way I feel now.

He also named Lt. General Dogonyaro¹⁰ and Brigadier General David Mark¹¹ who were too close to him and who would want the issue resolved within the shortest possible time. In fact, he quoted David Mark as saying:

I’d shoot Chief Abiola the day NEC pronounces him the elected President.

I asked the President what he would want me to do in the face of the threat to his life and the life of the incoming President. He again volunteered another issue

from out of the blue which I shall discuss later. The President was in fact at that stage thinking of the military successor when he said:

I wish I can just call the “boys” and hand over to David Mark and pack my luggage and go to Minna.

I thought this was strange; but that was how his mind was working as of that date and time (1:00 PM on June 21, 1993).

...

I decided to probe further. I asked: “Is this all the ‘they?’ Are there still more?” To which he said, “Yes.”

GEO-ETHNIC FACTOR

The next set of people unhappy about June 12 was represented by the then Sultan of Sokoto who warned him not to undo the many years of Sardauna’s achievement for the North. The Sultan told him that the election of Chief MKO Abiola, whom he liked as a person and as a fellow Muslim, would enable the Yoruba to reverse the gains which the North had recorded since 1960.¹³ {¹³. This was a reference to the succession crisis of 1955-1960 and how it was resolved in favour of the North. For how the North took over from Britain in 1960, see the account of the man who presided over this phase. Sir James Robertson, *Transition in Africa*, (London, Hurst and Company, 1974.)) (164-167)

L-----

I-----
Q22) June 1994

[Aminu Saleh and Omoruyi discussion]

Can the ballot box change this [North as “husband” and South as “wife”] relationship? In fact, the former Secretary to the Government of the Federation [under Abacha], Alhaji Aminu Saleh, invited me to his office in June 1994 when I was still the Director-General of the Centre for Democratic Studies, to persuade me to rethink my position, that one person, one vote should not be the irreducible minimum for the installation of a democratic government in Nigeria.⁵⁰ . . . (p. 307)

[He] specifically told me to adjust my views about the minimum requirement for democracy which was and still is “one person one vote”. Alhaji Saleh told me in his own words his definition of democracy: “Professor, my vote is not the same

weight as the vote of the Emir of Bauchi and the vote of the Emir of Bauchi is not the same weight as the vote of the Sultan of Sokoto” He then said “that is why we are not going to accept the mandate which Chief Abiola is claiming”. . . . (p. 34)

{ ⁵⁰. [Aminu Saleh’s] was the third time I was faced with the lack of faith on the part of the Northern Leaders in the ballot box. The first was my meeting with the former Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki in May 1993, the second was with General Babangida on June 21, 1993. On this third occasion, Alhaji Aminu Saleh told me his vote was less than the vote of the Emir of Bauchi, and the vote of the Emir of Bauchi was less than the vote of the Sultan of Sokoto, and by extension, the vote of the “wife” would be less than the vote of the “husband.” Therefore, the June 12 Presidential election should not have proceeded the way it did and the results based on the sum total of the votes scored by the two candidates should not be upheld. After all, the example of 1959 Federal election was there for all to see. How Britain resolved it in favour of the North was [it] not there as the model [?] Babangida committed a heinous crime for presiding over an election which was so free and fair. (p. 340, n. 50)}

L-----

F-----
Q23)

What emerged from the fiasco in 1993 is that a voluntary handing over from the military to an elected “autonomous” Southerner⁷⁶ would never occur despite the talk of rotation. . . . (p. 327)

{⁷⁶ “Autonomous” Southerner, is distinct from Southerners created by the Northern leadership. Chief Abiola was seen as an “autonomous” Southerner who would not be amenable to the North despite the fact that he was the Vice President of the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs. He was not created by the North. The Northern leaders believed they would not be able to manipulate him; they knew that he was too rich to be bought and they also knew that he came from a large ethnic group that was well-endowed, the Yoruba (p. 343 n. 76)}

L-----

=====

Caliphate ideology and Agenda—Section C:

The British contribution to the Caliphate Ideology and agenda--A permanent Caliphate ruling class

F-----

Q24) 1913, 1982, 1992,1993

In 1913, Lord Harcourt [British Secretary of State for the Colonies] laid down the kind of relationship that should exist between North and the South as a marriage with the North as the “husband” and the South as the “wife.” (p. 300), [see **Q7** above.]

FATALISTIC RELIGIOUS INTERPRETATION OF HARCOURT’S PLAN

Harcourt’s injunction of a permanent Northern ruling class seemed to have been bought by successive Northern leaders. . . . the Northern leaders have since introduced the fatalistic religious element to explain the permanent Northern ruling class in Nigeria. Three instances are worth introducing.

First was the reply Alhaji Shehu Shagari (the elected President of Nigeria 1979-1983) gave to Chief MKO Abiola in 1982 when the chief wanted to seek the Presidential nomination of the NPN in accordance with the original understanding within the leadership of the party that the Northern zone would retain the office of the President for one term of four years (1979-1983). The original plan, according to Chief Abiola, was that the position should be made to rotate to the three zones in the South in 1983. But the Northern leaders’ interpretation was that zoning did not imply rotation. According to Alhaji Shagari,

Well, Chief, you know it is all in the natural order of things. A country is just like a farm where everyone has his functions.

Allah has willed it that someone must hold the cow by the horns while another does the milking.” ¹⁶ (Italics mine)

President Shagari’s men asked Chief Abiola to name his price in terms of oil lifting and other perquisites. What this meant was that Chief Abiola could be “a cheerful rogue” of the kind of Chief Okotie-Eboh who was destined by Allah “to hold the cow by the horns” and the likes of Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and Alhaji Shehu Shagari who were destined by Allah “to do the milking and sharing.” Southerners have been holding

“the cow by the horns” and the Northerners have been doing the “milking and sharing” since 1960. . . .

The second incident was the [1992] statement attributed to my former Chairman at the CDS, and friend, and spokesman of the Northern Elders Council, Alhaji Yusuf Maitama Sule, that Allah knew what he was doing when he gave different talents to different groups in Nigeria. The Igbo are destined to be businessmen and the Yoruba, excellent administrators, civil servants and teachers; and the Hausa-Fulani, political leaders. Alhaji Yusuf then pleaded with his fellow Nigerians to allow the will of Allah to stand, for after all, if Allah wanted all Nigerians to be of the same stock, language and talent, Allah would have done it. Election cannot change Allah's plan for the people of Nigeria.⁵⁷ {⁵⁷. Well reported in all Nigerian newspapers} [See Q3 above]

The third incident was the plea of the former Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki and many Islamic leaders in the North to Chief MKO Abiola, to allow the will of Allah to hold; that if Allah wanted him to be the President of Nigeria, no mortal would stop him. This, in effect, meant that it was Allah that denied him the verdict of the electorate.⁵⁸ {⁵⁸. This was reported in the media in 1993; what the Southern Muslims do not know is that the Northern Muslims do not believe that Southern Muslims are good Muslims; they are regarded as second class Muslims. I wonder what they feel about the new Igbo Muslims.} (pp. 300, 310-311, 340)

L-----

Caliphate succession to the British, political as well as economic: the violent consequences]

F-----
Q25)

Sir James' appointment was by design. He spent his productive years as a British Foreign/Colonial Officer promoting Arab/Muslim control of the Sudan and worked hard to do the same thing in Nigeria. He fell in love with the North as soon as he arrived Nigeria and he “was struck by the similarity between Northern Provinces adjoining the Sahara and the Central Sudan” and observed that “the people around Kano were similar to the Sudanese” and he made sure

that the colonial Governors in the North were those who had Arabic/Islamic experience.

It should be emphasised that this succession also included succession to the ownership rights over land, minerals and mineral oil and the British interests in Nigeria including Shell-BP. The Civil War of the 1960's, the annulment of the 1993 election, the state terrorism in the oil producing areas culminating in the brutal execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa are partly, if not wholly, as a result of OIL MONEY.

The coalition government in 1959-64 between the NPC and the NCNC and the accord in 1979-81 between the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) and the Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP) were in furtherance of the "husband" and "wife" relationship with the Northerner, the husband, and the Southerners, the wife, in the language of Lord Harcourt.

Today, the "Southern Lady of Means" is richer and the bridegroom "the well conducted youth" from the North is poorer and poorer over the years, a situation not even anticipated in 1914. Hence the "husband" in the typical Nigerian fashion would ensure that the relationship is maintained at all cost, even if it means killing the bride in order to take over her wealth. This is the situation the oil producing part of the South finds itself in today. According to Alhaji Gambo Jimeta, the North (husband) will go to war over oil." (pp. 306-307)

L-----

Genocide for oil

F-----

Q26) 2009

Genocidal incitement by Bala N'Allah, a Caliphate legislator

A member of the Nigerian House of Representatives, Bala Ibn N'Allah of Kebbi State. In an unprovoked statement, [has] called for the extermination of 20 million Niger Deltans in order to allow the rest of Nigeria to live in peace. His harrowing words were the following:

"What is happening in the Niger Delta is pure criminality of the highest order, arising from total disregard for constituted authority. In Iraq, thousands of people lost their lives because of an insurrection against the government during the reign of former Iraqi leader, Saddam Hussein. *We can do away with 20*

million militants for the rest 120 million Nigerians to live” (see *The Guardian*, Thursday, May 28, 2009).

Of course, this Arewa militant would not hesitate to use the Nigerian military to curb other Nigerian nationalities if Arewa were to succeed in its intentions in the Niger Delta. Indeed, it appears to be the case that a leading segment of thought in Arewa Consultative Forum regards politics as a game of conquest in which it is legitimate to employ Nigeria’s military resources in pursuit of its ambition of ruling the rest of the country.

We must press the point that statements such as Bala Ibn N’Allah’s incitement to genocide were always precursors to appalling incidents of genocide in Yugoslavia in Central Europe, Rwanda in Central Africa,

Daily Independent (Lagos)

Nigeria: [allafrica.com: Nigeria: Like Odi, This is a War On the ...](http://allafrica.com/stories/200906181092.html)

18 June 2009

allafrica.com/stories/200906181092.html

http://search.yahoo.com/search?p=allafrica.com%2Fstories%2F200906181092.html&fr=greentree_ff1&ei=utf-8&ilc=12&type=937811 (Accessed Oct 2012)

or

<http://www.nairaland.com/275269/house-reps-20-million-niger>
(Accessed Oct 2012)

L-----

Bloodbath in 2015? the Prospect

F-----

Q 27) March 2012

This time around [Lawal Kaita] is insisting that a Northerner must emerge by 2015 or there would be no Nigeria. Kaita said “We hear rumours all over that Jonathan is planning to contest in 2015. Well, the north is going to be prepared if the country remains one. That is, if the country remains one, we are going to fight for it. If not, everybody can go his way,” he said in an interview in Katsina. Lawal Kaita said the recent stand of the party on consensus was a total negation of the motive behind forming the party.

It may be recalled that Alhaji Lawal Kaita had said in October 2010 that “The North is determined, if that happens, to make the country ungovernable for President Jonathan or any other Southerner who finds his way to the seat of power on the platform of the PDP against the principle of the party’s zoning policy”.

A Northerner Must Emerge in 2015 Or Nigeria Will Divide- Lawal Kaita

March 31, 2012

<http://africanheraldexpress.com/blog7/2012/03/31/a-northerner-must-emerge-in-2015-or-nigeria-will-divide-lawal-kaita/> (Accessed Oct 2012)

L-----

F-----

Q28) May 2012

Buhari warned that should what happened in 2011 elections repeat itself in 2015 [i.e. if he was not declared the winner] “the dog and the baboon would all be soaked in blood”.

<http://www.thenationonlineng.net/2011/index.php/politics/46967-ripples-over-buhari%E2%80%99s-2015-ambition.html> ; (Accessed Oct 2012)

L-----

The demand that “a Northerner must emerge” in 2015 is a demand that the 2015 election be rigged in advance for the Caliphate candidate, regardless of how Nigerians actually vote. That is a negation of democracy. It is a demand to get the presidency by intimidation and threats of violence. And it is in keeping with the Caliphate’s annulment of the results of the June 12, 1993 election, and with their opposition to any election whose result they cannot guarantee in advance. It is a continuation of their belief in gaining power by violence rather than by free and fair elections.

Now, Buhari and Lawal Keita would not be issuing these bloodthirsty threats today if the Caliphate still had its old instruments of state violence. They would have long before now seized power by unleashing coups, army massacres, pogroms and civil war on Nigerians like they did in 1966.

And here we come to the end of this display of statements of the Caliphate ideology by its leaders, during the period 1942-2012: an anti-democracy ideology with a strong commitment to their

conquest and Islamization of Nigeria, a feudal caste structure of society, genocide to enforce exploitation, implacable opposition to free and fair elections, a penchant for extra judicial killings of political opponents, and pogroms and other brands of political violence.

=====

Part Three: Boko Haram as Caliphate agents--the evidence thus far

How did Boko Haram originate? And what are its links to the Caliphate?

A: Early history of Boko Haram: its origins and cooptation by powerful sponsors

Excerpt from Olusegun Adeniyi, *Power, Politics and Death*, Lagos: Prestige, 2011, pp. 106-112.

Olusegun Adeniyi was the media spokesperson for President Yar' Adua, and his account is based on what the Yar' Adua's Presidency (Aso Rock) knew of the origins of Boko Haram. It can therefore be regarded as the official story of the rise of Boko Haram:

I-----
Q29)

The history of the sect can easily be traced to 2002 with Muhammad Yusuf, a native of Jakusko in Yobe State, as its spiritual leader and founder. His rise from relative obscurity to prominence in the Salafi Islamic religious circle (Wahabites) derived from the fact that he was a close disciple of the late Sheikh Jaafar Adam. So prominent was Yusuf within the sect that at a time he was regarded as heir to the pulpit at Muhammadu Ndimi Mosque in Maiduguri, where Jaafar Adam used to conduct annual tafsir in the month of Ramadan.

With time, however, Yusuf began to introduce some unorthodox beliefs—including aversion to western education and a call for jihad to oust the secular status quo—within the Salafi circle. He also began what was considered a rigorous proselytizing campaign to capture impressionable minds, especially among the youth who frequented the mosque.

Eventually, he had to part ways with his spiritual leader, Jaafar Adam and was sent packing from the Ndimi mosque by the mosque committee. He moved to Daggash mosque, where he continued the same teaching. His daring and scathing verbal attacks on the government portrayed Yusuf as a fiery and intrepid cleric and this obviously endeared him to the common people, who began to see him as a champion of the downtrodden.

Members of the political elite in Maiduguri were, however, taking note, and Yusuf was considered no more than a nuisance. It was therefore no surprise that the Daggash mosque committee also expelled him within a short time. That was when his father-in-law, Baba Fugu, gave Yusuf a piece of land at the Railway quarters, where he built a mosque and an adjoining house he dubbed 'markas', from where he continued his preaching, drawing followers from the city and beyond. His initial followership was largely from among secondary school students and primary school pupils who abandoned their studies on the ground that western education ('boko') was a sin ('haram'), hence the name Boko Haram. As he got more followers, his power and influence also grew.

Ultimately, Yusuf and the late Adam became archenemies, spewing verbal attacks on each other's views and interpretations of Islamic tenets. Adam was vociferous in exposing what he described as the folly of Yusuf's views on western education and the 'jihad' whose advocate he [Yusuf] had become. He also warned against the indoctrination of impressionable minds.

These opposing views quite naturally degenerated into violence. Twice Yusuf's disciples reportedly made failed attempts on Adam's life in Maiduguri. Yusuf would later be paid in his own coin when some of his lieutenants also became more radical, claiming he had become too soft in his approach and thus splitting from his camp to form a splinter group they named Taliban.

In September 2004, the group launched an armed uprising from a village called Kanamma in Yobe State on the border with Niger Republic; they had renamed the village Afghanistan. They attacked police stations, and troops had to be sent in to restore order after several people had been killed. The soldiers engaged the group in a two-day battle in which many sect members were killed, some were captured and others went underground.

This attack caused the group to keep a low profile for a year, but by then the activities of Yusuf had attracted the attention of security agencies, which on several occasions arrested and charged him to court. But his lawyers always managed to secure freedom for him. A few months later, the splinter group re-emerged and launched attacks on some police stations in Bama and Gwoza in Borno State, where they killed policemen, including an assistant police

commissioner, carted away guns and ammunition before running into the Mandara mountains on the border with Cameroon.

The army was sent in, accompanied by helicopters. They engaged the sect members in a mountainous battle, and in the process, scores of the attackers were killed while the rest crossed the border into Cameroon. The Nigerian government alerted the Cameroonian authorities, whose gendarmes succeeded in arresting five of the militants and handed them over to Nigeria.

Following that encounter, Yusuf felt he had lost committed members of his group, who were gradually becoming hostile towards him for what they perceived as his weakness and moderate views. In mid 2005, he made overtures for reconciliation to the splinter group, and there was some reintegration.

After this, Yusuf rose from a poor preacher to a wealthy cleric living in opulence and driving SUVs around the city, where he was hailed as a hero for his criticism of the government and his call for sharia law. His preachings—recorded on CDs—which he daily doled out, were hot cake in the city and beyond, selling in thousands.

In April 2007, on the eve of the general elections in the country, some unidentified men stormed Jaafar Adam's mosque in Dorayi, a suburb of Kano city, at dawn and fatally shot him and three other worshipers while he was leading the morning prayers. The attack was later followed with an invasion of a mobile police detachment in Panshekara neighbourhood, during which 13 policemen were killed. Soldiers were drafted to the area, and the gunmen eventually crossed the Challawa River, behind the abandoned water works they camped in, and fled.

A few days earlier, the gunmen had launched a pre-dawn attack at the Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC) office and killed two officers on night duty. The incident was thought to be a robbery attack until the night of July 26, 2009, when Yusuf's men struck again, invading and attacking several police posts and public buildings in parts of Bauchi, Borno, Kano and Yobe states. At this point, the president decided that the Boko Haram menace had to be confronted frontally.

Coming on the eve of his departure for a twice-postponed state visit to Brazil, there were suggestions that the president should shelve the trip on account of the lives of policemen that were lost. But he argued that it would be improper to do so given that the trip had been postponed twice, and besides, he noted, the security agencies were in control of the situation. Before we departed for the airport, he met with the NSA and security chiefs as well as the service chiefs to whom he gave this directive: deploy troops to the area and fish out all the leaders and members of the extremist sects involved in the attacks. The president further directed that security be beefed up in all neighbouring states and security personnel placed on full alert to ensure that the attacks did not spread elsewhere. He also used informal channels to reach out to emirs and prominent Islamic leaders in the north to rally support against Boko Haram. I had told State House correspondents to proceed to the airport ahead of our convoy as I had secured the commitment of the president to field questions before our departure. At the session, the president expressed his heartfelt sympathies with the families of the gallant police men who lost their lives while defending their posts from the senseless attacks, as well as other innocent victims who may have been caught in the unjustifiable mayhem. He also reaffirmed his determination to deal decisively with all those whose misguided beliefs and actions promoted violence, and contempt for the rights of others and undermined national peace, stability, and security. Indeed, the soldiers deployed to tackle the Boko Haram sect fulfilled the president's mandate when they captured its leader, Yusuf, alive with what was no more than a minor injury on his arm. In the euphoria of the moment, the army commander of the operation, Col. Ben Ahanoto, allowed his men to take snapshots of Yusuf with their mobile phone cameras, before they handed him over to the police.

The story turned awry, however, when a few hours later journalists were shown the bullet-ridden body of Yusuf, who was said to have died in a shoot-out with the police. Meanwhile, Ahanoto had spoken to reporters on record that he had personally captured Yusuf and handed him over to the chief of police in Maiduguri. He said Yusuf had a wound on his arm, which had already

been treated. The police, however, insisted that Yusuf had been fatally wounded.

There were reports that the attack on the police station by Boko Haram members was a response to an earlier attack on the sect members in the course of a funeral procession. They were said to have been accosted by the joint police/army task force called Operation Flush for not wearing helmets while riding motorcycles. In the altercations that followed, tempers had flared, with policemen allegedly killing about 17 of the sect members. This was said to have been the genesis of the crisis, but there were also allegations that the subsequent order for the killing of Yusuf and Alhaji Buji Foi (a former commissioner for religious affairs in Borno State) after they had been captured alive was given by certain political leaders in Borno State. There may not have been any credibility to the allegations, but Boko Haram members believed it and were out for revenge.

The suspicion of extra-judicial killings, however, spurred a reaction from the police commissioner of Borno State, Christopher Dega, who said Yusuf "was in a hideout, and the forces went there, and there was an exchange of fire. In the course of that confrontation, he sustained his own injury. He was picked up, and he later couldn't make it."

This was different from the first police version, in which Yusuf was said to have been fatally wounded while trying to escape from custody. This version had indeed been corroborated by Usman Ciroma, the spokesman to the Borno State governor, who told the Associated Press: "I saw his body at police headquarters. I believe he was shot while he was trying to escape."

Yusuf's financier, Buji Foi, who had been arrested and driven to the police headquarters in Maiduguri also died under curious circumstances. Unfortunately, there are video recordings of Foi's execution still circulating on cell phones. I was shown one by a police officer! The same fate befell his father-in-law, Alhaji Baba Fugu, who also reported at the police station but never came out alive.

Human Rights Watch said that the reports of Yusuf's killing were extremely worrying. "The Nigerian authorities must act immediately to

investigate and hold to account all those responsible for this unlawful killing and any others associated with the recent violence in northern Nigeria," said Corinne Dufka, the group's senior West Africa researcher. In a statement issued in Geneva, High Commissioner for Human Rights, Navi Pillay also expressed her concerns. She called on the Nigerian government to investigate Yusuf's killing and bring offenders to justice.

When the BBC published the photograph that showed that Yusuf was alive when captured by the army, I knew we could no longer keep quiet and that the point had to be made that extra-judicial execution had no place under the rule of law. As, I however, waited to see the president, who was in a meeting with the VP, I made the mistake of openly voicing my concern about what I considered extra-judicial execution. This did not go down well with the governor of Gombe, Alhaji Danjuma Goje, who was also waiting to see the president. "Segun, I sometimes wonder on whose side you really are. This is someone who killed several policemen and innocent people, and all that concerns you is what some human rights noisemakers would say," he charged.

We had a hot exchange on the matter and since he saw the president ahead of me, I was not surprised when my principal bluntly refused to discuss the matter. It was a difficult period, because while I worried about the image of the government, I could also understand the anger of the police, whose men were brutally killed.

[End of excerpt on Boko Haram's origins and cooptation by powerful sponsors]

L-----

But who were these shadowy sponsors who adopted Boko Haram?

According to evidence [see **Q29**, directly above] in the book *Power, Politics and Death* by Olusegun Adeniyi, President Yar' Adua's media spokesperson, Boko Haram was a tiny and obscure sect until mid-2005 when it was apparently adopted by some powerful sponsors. Its leader began to live affluently and the magnitude and sophistication of its terror capacity became greatly enhanced.

By 2011, when its current terror campaign was unleashed, it had had some six years to acquire links, allegedly to Al Qaeda, and had become a multi-million dollar organization with sophisticated weapons and bombing techniques.

In 2012, Boko Haram gave a “quit the North” order to those the Caliphate leaders had called “invaders” back in 1948 [See **Q 15**, above], and enforced the order by bombing churches and funerals and by other acts of mass murder. These bombings were not “senseless”, as some claim, but had the purpose of ethnic cleansing away those their sponsors long ago described as “invaders” of the Caliphate territory.

As the following news headlines show, some of those questioned or arrested by the security agencies and those, especially, who gave conditions for bringing in Boko Haram to dialogue with the Government (thereby indicating that they were in touch with the group) have been Caliphate big shots (including emirs, senators and ACF chieftains). e.g.:

SSS arrest Ndume over Boko Haram links

<http://dailytimes.com.ng/article/sss-arrest-ndume-over-boko-haram-links>

November 22, 2011 , (Accessed Oct, 2012)

Boko Haram: The Emir Of Suleja Questioned For Alleged Boko Haram Involvement -- Politics - Nairaland

<http://www.nairaland.com/839655/boko-haram-emir-suleja-questioned> ; (Accessed Oct, 2012)

Police arrest Emir of Abaji, two sons over escaped Boko Haram suspect

<http://www.pilotafrika.com/2012/01/20/police-arrest-emir-of-abaji-two-sons-over-escaped-boko-haram-suspect/>

By Pilot Africa on January 20, 2012 , (Accessed Oct 2012)

"Boko Haram Is A Multi-billion Naira Outfit", Security Source

Posted: January 29, 2012 - 02:37

<http://saharareporters.com/news-page/boko-haram-multi-billion-naira-outfit-security-source>

(Accessed Oct 2012)

Nigeria: ACF Wants Security for Boko Haram Leaders Before Dialogue

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201202020595.html>

2 February 2012 (Accessed Oct 2012)

Terrorism Trial: Senator Ndume Says VP Namadi Sambo Was Aware Of His Activities With Boko Haram-VANGUARD

Posted: March 25, 2012 - 12:20

<http://saharareporters.com/news-page/terrorism-trial-senator-ndume-says-vp-namadi-sambo-was-aware-his-activities-boko-haram-van> (Accessed Oct 2012)

President: Boko Haram has infiltrated govt, military

<http://www.thenationonline.net/2011/index.php/news/32611-president-boko-haram-has-infiltrated-govt-military.html> 09/01/2012; (Accessed Oct 2012)

When President Jonathan confessed that his government is infiltrated by Boko Haram, he was, in his own way, admitting that strategic places in the Nigerian state apparatus are occupied by persons loyal to the Caliphate/ACF sponsors of Boko Haram. And that even he, the President and Commander-in-Chief, is more or less a one-man hostage to them and the system they entrenched over the years. That was President Jonathan's way of signaling that he was aware that the Caliphate was the sponsor of Boko Haram.

VP Sambo Had Close Ties To Alleged Boko Haram Sponsor

<http://saharareporters.com/news-page/vp-sambo-had-close-ties-alleged-boko-haram-sponsor>

January 17, 2012 (Accessed Oct 2012)

Northern politicians created Boko Haram – Mustapha Jokolo, former Emir of Gwandu

<http://elombah.com/index.php/articles-mainmenu/10385-northern-politicians-created-boko-haram-mustapha-jokolo-former-emir-of-gwandu>

Published on Friday, 30 March 2012 11:46 ; (Accessed Oct. 2012)

This reported statement by the deposed Emir of Gwandu declaring that Northern politicians created Boko Haram, is like the testimony of the former deputy leader of a criminal gang turned prosecution witness.

We must recall that when he was the Emir of Gwandu, he was the Number two man in the Caliphate hierarchy, second only to the Sultan of Sokoto. Besides, he was the very man who, at a meeting of emirs in March 2005, called for a fight with the Obasanjo government. [See **Q5** above] And it was a few months later, in mid-2005, that Boko Haram began to show evidence of better financing and increasing capacity. Jokolo must know well whereof he spoke in 2012.

We have seen that for the Caliphate, gaining and retaining power by fraud and mass slaughter is more congenial than doing so through free and fair elections. Given that background, the sample news headlines, displayed above, that link Boko Haram operatives to Caliphate figures (ACF leaders, Caliphate politicians, as well as Emirs) are prima facie evidence that Boko Haram has Caliphate sponsors. Jokolo's authoritative and insider's statement in 2012 pretty much establishes the point.

=====

Part Four

Boko Haram terrorism: The feudal-theocracy vs. secular-democracy civil war

Since Boko Haram began, Nigeria has effectively been in an unacknowledged and one-sided civil war between Shariya advocates and Democracy adherents; this may alternatively, and more instructively, be described as a one-sided civil war between the organized Caliphate /ACF/Sahriyaland/Boko Haram on the one side vs. on the other side, the unorganized Non-Caliphate/Secularist/Democratic Nigerians; i.e. between a feudal-theocracy faction and a secular-democracy faction within Nigerian society. The sooner this is recognized by the confused and unorganized Non-Caliphate/Democracy side, the better for them. For until they understand that what is going on is a civil war they cannot put up a proper fight, and fight to win. Until they understand their Caliphate enemy, they cannot figure out how to fight them.

Non-Caliphate Nigerians need to figure out the dynamics of Nigerian history and decide whether they want to be enslaved forever by the Caliphate. And if they find that prospect unacceptable, they must go into war mode and defeat, once and for all, the Caliphate colonialists who have been fooling, dividing and subduing them since 1960 in accordance with Sir Ahmadu Bello's injunction that Nigeria should become an estate of Dan Fodio's descendants. [See **Q1** at start of this essay]

And that has been the agenda, down to this day, of the Caliphate and its political leaders (Ahmadu Bello, Tafawa Balewa, Shehu Shagari, Umaru Yar'Adua, Maitama Sule, Lawal Kaita, etc. since 1960) and of its military agents (Yakubu Gowon, Theophilus Danjuma, Murtala Mohammed, Shehu Musa Yar'Adua, Muhammadu Buhari, Ibrahim Babangida [IBB], Sani Abacha, Abdulsalami Abubakar,

Aliyu Gusau, Abdulrahman Bello Danbazzau, Col. Sambo Dasuki, etc. since 1966). And that is the agenda of Boko Haram, the terrorist outfit that the Caliphate and its Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF) sponsored when they lost control of the Nigerian government and armed forces in 1999). And that is the agenda for which Buhari insists on being crowned as president in 2015, whether or not Nigerians actually vote for him, or else. . . he and the Caliphate terrorists will unleash a bloodbath on the country.

The first skirmish in this unacknowledged civil war took place way back on February 21, 2000, the day the Shariya Jihadists began resorting to mob violence in Kaduna, in their follow-up to the adoption of Shariya by the Arewa (Far North) states which had thereby repudiated the secular democracy constitution of Nigeria. By adopting shariya as their constitution, they committed *de jure* secession from Nigeria. As nothing was done about it, they became emboldened. Using Boko Haram, they have unleashed a war on Nigeria with two alternative objectives: to impose their shariya on all of Nigeria if they win; or to consummate their secession, if they lose.

But though the Caliphate and its jihadist agents have known all along that they were unleashing war on Nigeria, the leaders of Non-Caliphate Nigerians, their intended victims, have had no clue about the nature of what has been happening since 1960. Which suits the Caliphate jihadists just fine. For they have been free to pummel their blind and confused opponent to the brink of defeat where he is tottering today.

Non-Caliphate Nigerians in general, and President Jonathan in particular, have not recognized that what is going on now is a civil war. Which is why President Jonathan has been approaching Boko Haram as an internal security matter rather than as a political problem requiring radical political surgery: excising Shariyaland from Nigeria, Orkar style; which is why President Jonathan has been replaying Ironsi, and trying to appease the unappeasable enemy; and which is why non-Caliphate Nigerians are not clamoring for general mobilization against the Caliphate and its Boko Haram agents; which is why the Churches, despite the Government's clear inability to protect them, are passive about the bombing and massacres of their people, and are turning the other cheek and pleading for "peace", instead of reviving the ancient tradition and spirit of the Church militant, like when Bishop Adhémar of Monteil, organized and led European volunteers to fight the jihadists of his day in the First Crusade.

Since it is clear that the Federal government cannot guarantee their security, Nigeria's Christians can't continue to look to President Jonathan to protect them; they need to take responsibility for their own security, on the understanding that David was a warrior against Goliath; but a Jonathan is not a David. Besides, only a fool defends himself in a war by relying only on good luck. The Christian clergy in Nigeria have an obligation to lead a Crusade against the Caliphate Jihadists, as European history has shown that a military Crusade is the only correct answer to a Jihad.

What does Boko Haram want?

There are two versions of Boko Haram's objective: a maximal as well as a minimal agenda.

(a) The maximal agenda is to Islamize and impose shari'a on all of Nigeria. In December 2011, Boko Haram issued a bulletin in which it restated its mission as follows:

I-----

Q30)

"We want to re-emphasize that our main objective is the restoration of the Sharia Legal System in line with the teachings of the Holy Qur'an. We want the Nigerian Constitution to be abrogated and Democracy suspended and a full-fledged Islamic State established. We want to emphasize that trouble started in this part of the world when the white men came, colonised our land, chased away the Emirs and righteous leaders and then replaced the system with Western Legislative, Judicial and Executive procedures. They also changed our pattern of learning and upbringing to the detriment of moral teachings; that was exactly what prompted the establishment of our organization."

--(*Daily Sun*, December 19, 2011)

L-----

(b) The minimal agenda is to consummate Shariyaland's secession and enforce shari'a totally in the 12 states that make up Shariyaland, and overthrow the *sarkuna* (The Sultan and Emirs and feudal ruling class of the Caliphate) and replace them with new rulers who will enforce Shari'a more strictly than the Sultan and his emirs, who the Boko Haram consider insufficiently Islamized and Arabized. That is why Boko Haram has begun attacking Emirs, as in Potiskum, and sent threats to and made attacks on Sokoto, the capital of the Caliphate:

Emir's bodyguard, mosque aide hurt in suicide attack in Potiskum

<http://www.vanguardngr.com/2012/08/emirs-bodyguard-mosque-aid-hurt-in-suicide-attack-in-potiskum/> On August 3, 2012 · In *News* (Accessed October 2012)

Boko Haram's Dangerous Expansion into Northwest Nigeria

<http://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/boko-harams-dangerous-expansion-into-northwest-nigeria>
(Accessed October 2012)

This minimal agenda was, in part, articulated by Abu Zaid as follows:

F-----
Q31)

'It is mandatory for Islam to have a sovereign land where Sharia is being practiced in the strict sense so that the dialogue will be between the Islamic country and the country of the unbelievers'

–Abu Zaid, Boko Haram spokesman, while rejecting dialogue with government (Sunday Life, 26June2011, p. 25.)

L-----

This means that Shariyaland, the Caliphate territory, should become a sovereign country and its dialogue, if any, will then be with a Secular Democratic Nigeria from which it has formally seceded.

The rest of the minimal agenda, the part against the Sultan and emirs, is contained within Abu Qaqa's statement of their maximal agenda that we shall now examine.

To see the maximal agenda of Boko Haram –what they will do if they are not stopped from carrying their war beyond Shariyaland territory, and if they win--consider this report from October 2011:

F-----
Q32)

Boko Haram to FG "Total Shari'a in Nigeria or no Peace"

...Says Qur'an is Above Nigerian Constitution

Written by Alaba Johnson (Reporter for NaijaPundit) on 03 October 2011.

<http://www.naijapundit.com/news/boko-haram-to-fg-total-shari-a-in-nigeria-or-no-peace> (Accessed October 2012)



General Buhari

The militant Islamic group, Boko Haram, which has been responsible for much of the insecurity in Nigeria due to its spate of bombings and attacks on security

forces has sent an email to major news outlets signed by its spokesman, Abu Qaqa, to say that there will be no peace in Nigeria until there is a total implementation of Shari'a law in Nigeria.

Their email which was written in Hausa language had the following message to Nigerians and the authorities "the country would not have peace until there is 100 per cent implementation of Sharia law in the country as enshrined in the holy Quran as well as immediate release of all our members who were detained and in the custody of security agencies for no just cause”.

The group which has been celebrating the fact that the FG held a low level Independence Day celebration apparently because of them also declared that they had no iota of respect for the Sultan of Sokoto and other traditional rulers from the North.

In his email, Qaqa disqualified the Sultan thus "our position is that the Sultan is just a traditional ruler who revolted against the teachings of his ancestors and put the Nigerian Constitution ahead of the teachings of the Holy Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet.”

This is not surprising especially as NaijaPundit had earlier published a leaked wikileaks cable in which the Buhari team had told American Embassy officials that they had no confidence in the Northern Traditional rulers in general while naming the Sultan of Sokoto and the emir of Kano specifically as people who had tried to corrupt the judiciary.

This agenda of Islamising Nigeria while alarming to some is nothing new to students of history who would recall that this has always been the agenda of the Northern establishment right from pre colonial times.

For instance the First Premier of the North, the revered Sir Ahmadu Bello did say only eleven days after Nigeria's independence that "The new nation called Nigeria should be an estate of our great grandfather Othman Dan Fodio. We must ruthlessly prevent a change of power. We use the minorities in the north as willing tools and the south as a conquered territory and never allow them to rule over us and never allow them to have control over their future." – Parrot Newspaper October 12, 1960.

Nigerians may also recall that the late Sheik Abubakar Gumi had advocated that



Nigeria should be ruled exclusively by Muslims.

Nigerians may also recall the statement credited to former Military Head of State Buhari to the effect that Muslims should only vote for a Muslim candidate. Of course Buhari later clarified his statement that what he meant was that Muslims should only vote for those who will promote their religion. How that differs from his original statement is still a mystery. But of course Nigerians do remember that religion was used by Buhari's party, the CPC to campaign and mobilize during the last elections.

How the FG hopes to contain Boko Haram remains to be seen especially going by their latest email but most Nigerians are scratching their heads and asking themselves whether there is any correlation between the comments made by a prominent member of the Northern establishment, Lawal Kaita, to the effect that "we (who are this 'we'?) will make Nigeria ungovernable for Jonathan" if he wins.

Now that Jonathan has won and attempts are being made to make Nigeria ungovernable, many Nigerians are telling Jonathan that yes he may not need to be a "lion" but Nigeria needs a leader that is also not a sheep!

L-----

All Nigerians should be thankful to Abu Qaqa for publicly articulating the maximal version of the political agenda of Boko Haram. It should now be clear that Boko Haram is the current, and terrorist, agent of those whose mission since the 1940s [as we have seen above in the statements quoted in Part Two] has been to Islamize Nigeria and "advance shari'a". Most Nigerians have not been aware of that mission, and have not been able to organize an appropriate response to it. Henceforth, nobody in Nigeria has the excuse of ignorance. We must each face the issue and answer the question: ***Do you want Nigeria to become an Islamic country ruled by the Shari'a, as in Iran, the Afghanistan of the Taliban, etc? And if you don't, what are you going to do about it?***

Make no mistake about it: Boko Haram's terror campaign is a Caliphate political weapon. The solution to Boko Haram is political and straightforward: concede their minimal agenda and excise

Shariyaland, Orkar style. Spin them off and let them carry on their Jihad in their separate country. If they bomb their emirs and Sultan, that will be their affair, and Nigeria won't be involved, and won't have to deploy its personnel and resources to sort that out. It is none of our business to save the Caliphate colonialists from the terrorist army they raised to use against us.

Nigeria is an example of what S. P. Huntington, a leading American political scientist, called a 'torn country'. Nigeria is torn ideologically between the Caliphate-Jihadist Shariyaland and the Non-Caliphate /Secular-Democratic Nigeria; between the Caliphate version of One Nigeria as the feudal theocratic colony of the heirs of Dan Fodio, as articulated by Sir Ahmadu Bello in 1960; and the version of a secular democratic Nigeria that was perhaps best articulated by Chief Obafemi Awolowo in 1978-79. [See the quotes **Q1** and **Q2** at the start of this essay]

Those are the contrasting ideologies and projects between which Nigeria has been torn. Boko Haram's minimal agenda, as contained in Abu Zaid's statement [See **Q31** above], is fundamentally a demand for partition of Nigeria between Shariyaland and a Democratic Republic of Nigeria; between a territory committed to Ahmadu Bello's feudal-theocracy version of Nigeria and a territory aspiring to Awolowo's Secular-Democracy version of Nigeria. Fortunately, as the two territories are distinct [see **Map #1** at the beginning of this essay], Nigeria can be easily partitioned between them, with minor boundary adjustments in the borderline states. ***I wholeheartedly support that partition and invite Nigerians to stop postponing the necessary and inevitable.***

Corruption and the Caliphate

I should add that the solution to the vexed issue of corruption in Nigeria is related to the solution to Boko Haram. The average Nigerian who is opposed to corruption is hardly aware of the historical roots in Caliphate colonialism/hegemony of Nigerian-style "corruption". ***Nigerian-style corruption is actually lootocracy --the brazen looting of the public treasury by an official. What secularist Nigerians regard as looting of the public treasury is no such thing in the feudal ideology of the Caliphate. Under feudalism, the wholesale appropriation of state property by an official is not considered theft, but simply his entitlement as the holder of a fief/feudal office!*** That's what one is granted a fief for in exchange for loyalty and services to be rendered to his monarch who appointed him to feudal office.

Under Caliphate feudal ideology, a public office is a fief for the life-support of the official and his retinue of relatives and retainers, provided he renders the prescribed allegiance and services to his overlord. If one were sent to administer the Customs or NEPA, one would be entitled to embezzle its funds to the best of one's ability and greed. Hence the Caliphate-derived Nigerian practice where, once salaries are paid, and even before they are, a department's budget allocation is treated as being for the responsible official to put in his pocket. Which is why the Caliphate-serving 1999 constitution

institutionalizes and protects this entitlement with an immunity clause that encourages a Governor to seize and export his state's budgetary allocation, hence the flagrant and rampant money-laundering by Nigeria's state governors. After half a century of unpunished practice, lootocracy has become entrenched as the norm in Nigeria and is imitated by all and sundry; which is why officials, down to the policeman at the checkpoint and the messenger sent to get a file, brazenly extort money from the members of the public that they are officially paid to serve. Nigerian officials have become addicted to lootocracy even though a significant and vocal segment of the population is opposed to it and decries it as "corruption". But calling lootocracy by the name "corruption" is a gross misnomer and the error should be rectified: it is like calling a bank robbery that empties the bank vault by the name 'pilfering' or calling by the name pick-pocket a bank robber who has made away with millions. So long as the Caliphate remains part of Nigeria, this Caliphate-introduced practice and Caliphate-condoned attitude will be preserved. Hence eradicating lootocracy in Nigeria, like eradicating Boko Haram, is conditional on kicking their Caliphate sponsors/protectors out of Nigeria.

=====

Part Five: What is to be done? The Caliphate must go! Kick the Caliphate out of Nigeria before Dec 31, 2014, so we can have peace and move forward to true federalism and general prosperity.

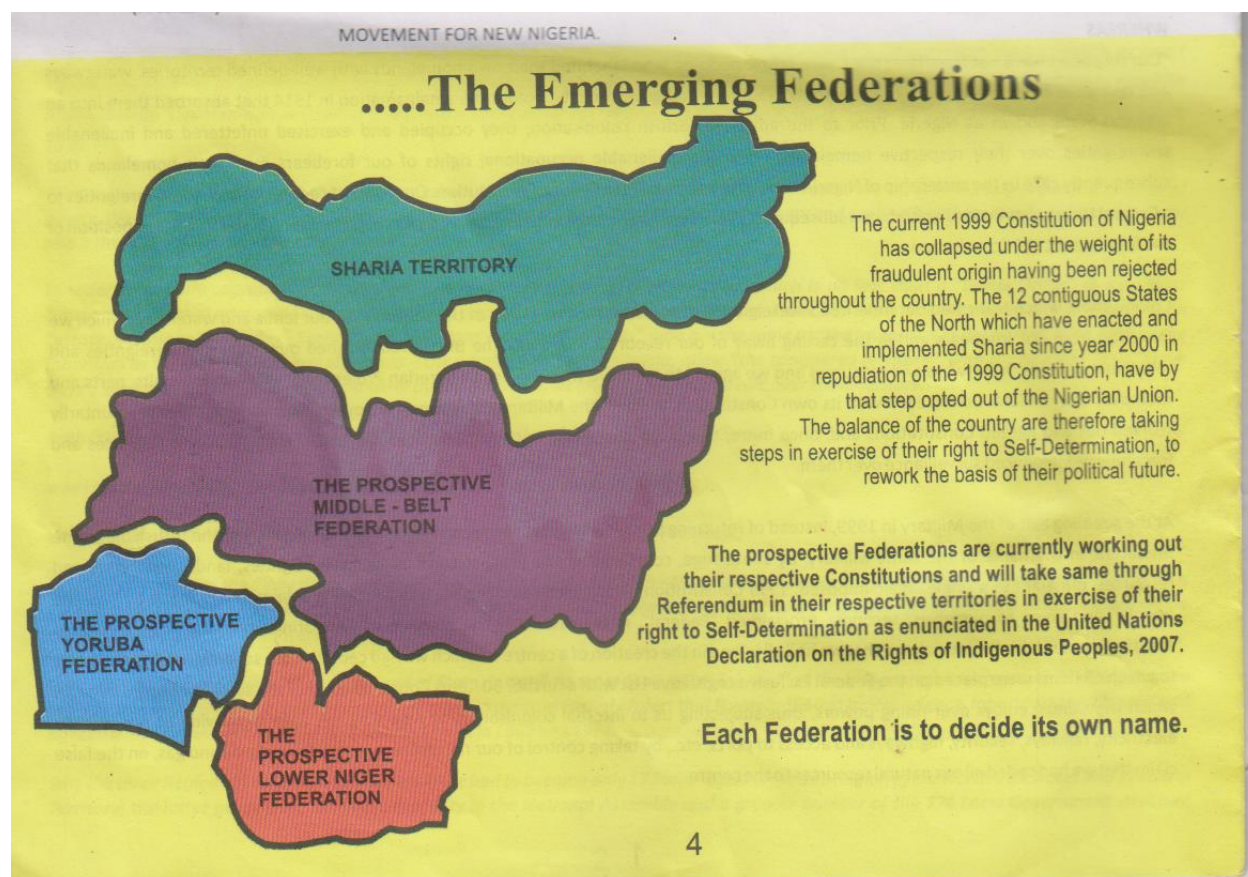
The opposition to Caliphate colonialism today

After the Caliphate conquered all of Nigeria in 1970 by winning the Civil War, each nationality in Nigeria saw its interest as climbing, at the expense of the others, to a second class position under the Caliphate masters. This was dubbed "the second fiddle mentality" way back in the 1970s.

But since the early 1990s, when Anthony Enahoro began the campaign for a sovereign National Conference, many have awakened to the reality that the common interest of the non-Caliphate peoples of Nigeria is to jointly liberate themselves from Caliphate Colonialism.

Hence the emergence of self-determination groups like the Oodua People's Assembly, the Lower Niger Congress (LNC), and the Middle Belt Congress, and their cooperating under the banner of the **Movement for a New Nigeria (MNN).**

Map #2: The MNN broken map of Nigeria-the emerging federations



Caliphate Colonialism is what all the non-Caliphate nationalities in Nigeria have suffered since 1960; and it is what they need to liberate themselves from, by any means feasible. They have tried for the last two decades to do so by demanding a Sovereign National Conference of the ethnic nationalities (SNC-EN) to peacefully renegotiate the terms of the British-imposed Nigeria union. As that option has been adamantly resisted by the Caliphate colonialists and blocked by those who manage the Nigerian state apparatus for the Caliphate colonialist overlords, the only other option is to dismember Nigeria and dump its debris on the grave of Lord Lugard, and do so by any means necessary.

The Caliphate's use-and-dump record

We should recall the Caliphate's record of using and dumping non-Caliphate leaders and parties: they used Zik and the NCNC to climb into power in 1959, and then kicked him upstairs into a ceremonial post of Governor-General and then of President. They used Gowon and Awo to win the Civil War and conquer all of Nigeria, and then dumped Gowon and deposed him in 1975, and rigged and judicially maneuvered Awo out of victory in the 1979 election. Also in 1979 they used the NPP to climb back firmly into power and then dumped them in 1981. In 1979, they used MKO Abiola from the Southwest and Alex Ekwueme from the Southeast to help get their NPN elected. Having consolidated their hold on

power, they told Abiola in 1982 that the NPN presidential candidacy was not open to him; then they pre-empted rotation of the Presidency by the Buhari coup, effectively blocking Ekwueme from seeking the presidency in 1987.

In a recent Interview in the *Guardian*, light was shed on the hidden agenda of the Buhari coup:

F-----
Q33)

Interviewer: You just spoke about [military] interruptions, as one of those factors inimical to development. Let us look at one of those interruptions, specifically, the one that disrupted your [Shagari/Ekwueme] government on December 31, 1983. The story was that the army actually intervened in government for the more sinister reason of preventing you, an Igbo man, from becoming president after President Shagari's tenure was over – which, indeed, you sounded poised to become. How true is this story?

Ekwueme: I wouldn't know, because I wasn't in the inner caucus that was planning the coup-d'état, to know what informed that decision to strike, in December 1983. But I can really tell you that one of our colleagues, the Minister of Transport, Alhaji Umaru Dikko, when he arrived London, said, during the press conference he gave, that all the talk the military was giving about corruption and all that, was a smokescreen, that the main reason for the coup-d'état, was to prevent me from becoming president in 1987. That they reached the decision, during the first week of December when, at the Ibadan convention of the NPN, [National Party of Nigeria] the president, Shehu Shagari, emphasised that the decision of the party that the presidency would move to the South in 1987, was irreversible, in the interest of Nigerian unity. They felt that they wouldn't want that to happen and that it was better to interrupt the process quite early rather than wait till nearer 1987, when it would be obvious what the reasons were. But I say, these were speculations. I don't know where my friend, Umaru Dikko, got his information. It may be he had

contact with the inner circle of the coup planners. I don't know, but that was what he said.

--"Ekwueme: For Justice, Fairness, Equity, Igbo Should Have Presidency After Jonathan", (*The Guardian*, Sunday, December 9, 2012.)

L-----

With these examples of how non-Caliphate leaders and parties have been used and dumped all these years, those of today would be ill-advised to enter into any alliance with the Caliphate or its political parties. In particular, ***Bola Tinubu and the ACN should not make the mistake of assisting Buhari and his CPC to come to power. However well any nationality thinks it has done under Caliphate colonialism, it stands to do much better after we jointly free ourselves from these arrogant caliphate parasites, that is to say, after the Caliphate's lion's share of the national cake is taken from them and redistributed.*** All of today's non-Caliphate leaders and parties should be able to compose their differences and push jointly ahead to accomplish a reconfiguration of Nigeria and put an end, once and for all time, to Caliphate colonialism.

Accordingly, this is no time for the non-Caliphate ethnic groups to be quarreling about who did what to whom during the Civil War, or at any time in the past. They have to become firm common cause allies in a political struggle for their joint liberation. Whatever distrust and suspicion they have learned to feel about one another, they should heed Lenin's advice on alliances: In *What is To Be Done?* Lenin states: "Only people who are not sure of themselves can fear to enter into temporary alliances even with unreliable people; ***not a single political party could exist without such alliances.***" (emphasis mine) The non-Caliphate groups would do well, therefore, to suspend acrimonious discussion of their old quarrels and animosities.

Far be it from me to deny them whatever orgasms they get from indulging in their orgy of ethnic animosities. But after they cooperate and jointly liberate themselves from Caliphate colonialism, they can return to that orgy, if they must, and let the inflamed animosities influence their terms of association in a post-Caliphate Nigeria. We should recall that the USA and the USSR suspended their hostilities and joined forces to defeat Hitler. After victory in 1945, they resumed their pre-WWII hostilities in the form of the Cold War. We should learn from that example--now that the Caliphate is being attacked by its own Boko Haram terror agents: an Emir has been bombed in his own mosque in Potiskum; Boko Haram has attacked Sokoto, the capital of the Caliphate; and it has made an assassination attempt on the Emir of Kano . ***"Nigeria: Gunmen Attack Emir of Kano," By Lawan Danjuma Adamu, 20 January 2013, DAILY TRUST, <http://allafrica.com/stories/201301200032.html>*** (Accessed January 2013)

Clearly Boko Haram is doing to the Caliphate and its emirs exactly what Dan Fodio and his Jihadists did to overthrow the Hausa kings two centuries ago to create the Caliphate. And the Caliphate knows it and dreads it, hence it got a Caliphate prince, Col. Sambo Dasuki, (Rtd) appointed NSA, so as to use the Nigerian state to fight its Boko Haram agents who have become its mortal enemies, and to hopefully rein them in and liquidate Boko Haram's anti-Caliphate minimal agenda, though, I suspect, not its maximal agenda. We need to remember that WWII so weakened the European colonizers that they lost the will and ability to suppress the rising tide of anti-colonialist forces in their empires. Now that the Caliphate is reeling from the blows from its own Boko Haram agents, this is the best time for non-Caliphate Nigerians to go over to the counteroffensive and finish off the Caliphate colonialists. This opportunity must not be lost. Seize the time and liberate yourselves is what I say. ***All non-Caliphate Nigerians UNITE! You have nothing to lose but your feudalism and shari'a chains!***

In May 1967, Awo told the people of Western Nigeria:

F-----

Q34

If the Eastern Region is allowed by acts of omission or commission to secede from or opt out of Nigeria, then the Western Region and Lagos must also stay out of the Federation. . . If any region in Nigeria considers itself strong enough to compel us to enter into association with it on its own terms, I would only wish such a region luck. But such luck, I must warn, will, in the long run be no better than that which has attended the doings of all colonial powers down the ages. . . . This much I must say in addition, on this point. We have neither military might nor the overwhelming advantage of numbers here in Western Nigeria and Lagos. But we have justice of a noble and imperishable cause on our side, namely: the right of a people to unfettered self-determination.

<http://africanheraldexpress.com/blog7/2012/10/19/genocide-awolowos-speech-to-western-leaders-of-thought-on-may-1-1967/>

L-----

Unfortunately, the configuration of military forces inside Nigeria and of political forces globally in the 1960s prevented Awolowo from achieving self-determination for his people at that time.

The military weakness of Western Nigeria and the strong pro-Caliphate disposition of Britain prevented Western Nigerians from actualizing their right of self-determination in 1967.

But the configuration of military and political forces has profoundly changed since that time. Today, in 2013, the Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria, and the Global Jihad of which it is an arm, have taken their toll on the pro-Caliphate disposition of Britain and the Western powers. Furthermore, the Caliphate is politically weakened and is already reeling from violent blows inflicted on it by its own Boko Haram agents.

So, a unique opportunity presents itself today for the anti-Caliphate forces to collectively liberate ourselves from Caliphate colonialism. What was desired but impossible in 1967 is possible now in 2013. This is a rare window of opportunity; it would be criminal folly to squander it and suicidal to let it close unused.

It is said that “Those in power never give way, and admit defeat only to plot and scheme to regain their lost power and privilege.” [C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins*, New York: Vintage Books, 1989, pp. 127-128] The Caliphate colonialists are no exception to this behavior. If you doubt that, and if you imagine that the Caliphate has lost its appetite for conquest and permanent domination over all of the other Nigerian peoples; and that it can be converted to democracy, then consider this August 2012 boast by a scion of the Caliphate, Usman Faruk, who was the military governor of North-West State during the Yakubu Gowon regime: “North replies Asari: We subdued Yorubas & conquered the Ijaws; We will do it again”, <http://africanheraldexpress.com/blog7/2012/08/14/north-replies-asari-we-subdued-yorubas-we-will-do-it-again/#comment-311818> (Accessed October 2012)

I therefore submit: The first step towards terminating this Caliphate arrogance and will-to-domination is to get rid of our self-enslaving addiction to Lugard’s Nigeria. Please be reminded that there is nothing sacred about this “One Nigeria” that Lugard cobbled together. Lugard is not God! And what was made by Lugard, a human being like us, we can unmake for our own benefit. So, let’s kick out the Caliphate, and exercise our right of self-determination. And the time is NOW!

But how should we proceed with this liberation?

A Three-point liberation agenda

Here is a simple three-point agenda for the self-liberation of non-Caliphate Nigerians:

- a) Excise Shariyaland from Nigeria, by any means necessary.
- b) Finish the job by 31 December, 2014, before the bloodbath Buhari has threatened for 2015.
Forewarned is forearmed. Only a tree will see a woodcutter approaching with an axe and do nothing to stop him or to escape from him.
- c) Freely and democratically reconfigure what is left of Nigeria after that.

Who should implement this agenda?

Are you an indigene of a non-Shariya state? Or a non-Muslim indigene of a Shariya state?

Can you voluntarily continue to cohabit Nigeria with these Caliphate colonialists

- 1) Who do not believe in free and fair elections?
- 2) Who see you as their slave?
- 3) Who insist you must convert to their religion?
- 4) Who insist that nobody from your part of the country can ever become president except as their stooge? And who will gladly kill you (like they did MKO Abiola), or bomb your people (like they are doing to President Jonathan's Christian southerners) if you, an 'autonomous southerner', do manage and become president?
- 5) Who are determined to exterminate you and your entire ethnic group if you refuse to submit to be enslaved and exploited by them? By the way, even Apartheid South Africa didn't propose to exterminate 1/7th or 14% of its population in order for the white settlers to continue exploiting the resources of South Africa. ***This makes the Caliphate worse colonialists than even the whites of Apartheid South Africa!***

If your humanity, your self-respect, permits you to submit to the humiliation of the Caliphate caste system, then you should work for the retention of the Caliphate's Shariyaland within Nigeria, and make yourself and your descendants eternal slaves of the Caliphate.

But if being enslaved is unacceptable to your humanity and self-respect, then your human duty is to work tirelessly for your liberation from Caliphate colonialism by implementing the three-point agenda. ***So, if you are an indigene of a non-Shariya state, or a non-Muslim indigene of a Shariya state, and if your self-respect does not allow you to submit to enslavement by the Caliphate, then you are the one to implement the three-point liberation agenda.***

Of course, those habitual slaves of the Caliphate, the Uncle Toms who do not want to part from their masters, are welcome to vote with their feet and move to Caliphate territory when their masters are kicked out. Life-long "willing tools" of the Caliphate like Yakubu Gowon, Theophilus Danjuma, Jeremiah

Useni, Paul Unongo, Iyorchia Ayu and their ilk should take note and resettle themselves in Shariyaland so as to enjoy the Calphate misrule to which they seem addicted. That is if the Caliphate will harbor them after the demise of the Caliphate's project of ruling all of Nigeria

How might you implement it, and do it peacefully?

The first thing is to recognize that the 12 states in Shariyaland have already seceded constitutionally, and therefore *de jure*, from Nigeria. They did so in 2000 AD when they adopted Shari'a as their constitution. It is typical of the lack of clarity that has hampered the anti-Caliphate resistance since the 1950s, that they have not noticed that the Caliphate has already constitutionally seceded from Nigeria since 2000. What Nzeogwu might have done in January 1966 had he succeeded in taking power in Lagos; and what Orkar proclaimed in 1990 before his coup was crushed, was inadvertently done for them by the Caliphate itself, namely the constitutional separation (Araba) of the Caliphate from Nigeria. ***All that is left is for the rest of Nigeria to acknowledge, endorse and make official their secession. And then seal the new border. There's nothing to fight about.*** . Non-Caliphate Nigeria simply needs to acknowledge the 2000 AD *de jure* secession of Caliphate Shariyaland (Please eat your shariya and don't come down here looking for oil money or access to the sea coast!) and formally accept the demise of Lugard's Nigeria. Things will get violent only if the Caliphate resists this peaceful separation/divorce by extending its Boko Haram terror attacks into non-Caliphate territory. But just in case, in desperation, it chooses that bloody option, President Jonathan should mobilize for war so as to deter a Caliphate armed resistance to this official expulsion.

Secondly, please recall and follow Fela's suggestion from the civil war days when he said:

F-----

Q35)

"secession is what could have brought Africa together at that time. ***From secession we could come together again. But by not seceding, we're put together by force . . .*** That's what's happening in Nigeria today. The Ibos don't understand why they're Nigeria. The Yorubas don't know what's happening. And the *Hausas, they want to dominate everybody.*"

--Fela (Quoted in Iyorchia D. Ayu, *Essays in Popular Struggle*, Oguta: Zim Pan-African Publishers, 1986, p. 41.)

L-----



Fela

Thirdly, after clearing the Caliphate and its Shariyaland from the constitutional and physical space of Nigeria, those Non-Caliphate ethnic nationalities which desire a secular-democratic life together should come together and work out the terms of their new association and formally and officially constitute it. The 1995 Federal Constitution of Ethiopia is available as a model of ethnic federalism. [See **Q35** below]

From these observations, the three-point agenda presented above translates into the following **implementation program:**

- 1] The rump of Nigeria (the 24 non-Shari'a states plus Abuja) should meet and affirm their acceptance of the 2000 AD *de jure* secession of the 12 Shari'a states;
- 2] They should then formally declare the demise of the present entity called Nigeria;
- 3] This should be accomplished before December 31, 2014.
- 4] Soon thereafter, those non-Caliphate Ethnic Nationalities which so desire should meet and freely work out their new terms of association, using the PRONACO draft constitution as a possible starting point.

Who will bell the cat?

Who will kick off this peaceful program of constitutional liberation from this long and bloody nightmare of Caliphate colonialism?

The opportunity (the right of first refusal) naturally should go to President Jonathan as the sitting President. He occupies the position from which the first step can be most easily and peacefully taken. If he wishes to exercise his right to run for a second term in 2015, and to do so without igniting the promised Buhari bloodbath, then he should see to it that the Caliphate is kicked out of Nigeria before December 31, 2014.



President Goodluck Jonathan

But if he declines the offer, if he fails to begin the implementation, if by December 31, 2013 he does not recognize and legalize Shariyaland's *de jure* secession of 2000 AD, then the privilege/opportunity to start the process should pass to any group of state governors, like those of Oodualand, who desire autonomy for their zone or ethnic nationality. They should revive Awo's self-determination option by convening the SNC-EN to formally dissolve this disastrous Nigerian union. In my estimation, Oodualand is today the best-organized and most advanced of the three emerging federations of the MNN. Hence they should naturally take the lead if President Jonathan does not. They deserve the honor of leading the others.

But whoever bells the cat, whoever kicks off the process of liberation, it is in the self-interest of all the non-Caliphate politicians and citizens to give them **militant support** so that the dissolution of Lugard's Nigeria is accomplished before December 31, 2014. [ie. in the 12 months between December 2013 and Dec 2014].

But kicking the Caliphate out of Nigeria requires a conscious political struggle, a well organized and well-led struggle. And the secular-democracy forces need first to realize that fact, and secondly to organize themselves appropriately and have their political commanders come up with a strategy and campaign plan and execute it with diligence, as with any war or liberation struggle. It is not enough to issue occasional press releases demanding the SNC. There must be a strategy for obliging Abuja to concede it --like it took a planned and well executed campaign for the ANC to get the government of Apartheid South Africa to negotiate its own demise.

However, kicking out the Caliphate is different from the South African case in some key aspects: it does not require that the Caliphate should embrace secular democracy. It has to be kicked out entirely so that space is created to organize secular democracy in what remains of Nigeria. ***The main point is that the Caliphate must go! The Caliphate must be kicked out of Nigeria before December 31, 2014!*** In fact, if they declare that they have finally given up Shari'a and now accept secular democracy, don't you believe them. Don't be fooled. Can a leopard change his spots? Can a cat stop mousing? (That was a 19th century Caliphate slave raider's retort when he was asked to stop raiding the Middle Belt communities for

slaves). The Caliphate must go! Don't compromise, don't reform, don't forgive or forget their record of pogroms, mass murder and genocide. Don't forget their entrenchment of lootocracy in Nigeria. ***The Caliphate must go!*** Don't delay, Nigeria can go forward only after it has excised the Caliphate. There is no other way. ***The Caliphate must go!***

The long-suffering victims of Caliphate Colonialism must now go on the counter-offensive and drive the Caliphate out of Nigeria. We must then seal the border between the Caliphate Shariyaland and the new Secular-democratic Nigeria. If need be we should erect an Iron Curtain or build a Great Wall to keep these jihadist barbarians out of our new Nigeria.

The demand for the SNC is neither a strategy nor a campaign plan. The task now is to get the secular-democracy forces to see that point, and to get them to realize how and why they have been unable, in half a century, to fight properly and defeat the Caliphate.

And also to get them to take the initiative in reshaping Nigeria. Since 1960, the Caliphate forces have held the initiative in Nigerian politics. The non-Caliphate forces cannot hope to win until they gain and keep the initiative. In a political struggle, as in war, gaining and keeping the initiative is crucial. So, they must change their game from one of reacting to Caliphate moves, to that of making the moves that will send the Caliphate reeling out of Nigeria. The Secular-democracy forces have to move from their habitual disorganized defensive resistance, and embark on a determined, well-organized counter-offensive. For that, ***they must give up their self-destructive addiction to the idea of Lugard's one Nigeria.***

Below is the preamble of the 1995 Constitution of Ethiopia that could be a model for the constitution of a Nigeria that has rid itself of the Caliphate colonialists.

=====

Appendix

Γ-----

Q36) The 1995 Constitution of Ethiopia

Its preamble states:

"We, the Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia:

Strongly committed, in full and free exercise of our right to self-determination, to building a political community founded on the rule of law and capable of ensuring a lasting peace, guaranteeing a democratic order, and advancing our economic and social development;

Firmly convinced that the fulfillment of this objective requires full respect of individual and people's fundamental freedoms and rights, to

live together on the basis of equality and without any sexual, religious or cultural discrimination;

Further convinced that by continuing to live with our rich and proud cultural legacies in territories we have long inhabited, have, through continuous interaction on various levels and forms of life, built up common interest and have also contributed to the emergence of a common outlook;

Fully cognizant that our common destiny can best be served by rectifying historically unjust relationships and by further promoting our shared interests;

Convinced that to live as one economic community is necessary in order to create sustainable and mutually supportive conditions for ensuring respect for our rights and freedoms and for the collective promotion of our interests;

Determined to consolidate, as a lasting legacy, the peace and the prospect of a democratic order which our struggles and sacrifices have brought about;

Have therefore adopted, on 8 December 1994 this constitution through representatives we have duly elected for this purpose as an instrument that binds us in a mutual commitment to fulfill the objectives and the principles set forth above."

L-----

It further provides for a federal government of nine ethnic-based regions and guarantees that all Ethiopian languages will enjoy equal state recognition, although Amharic is specified as the working language of the federal government.

=====

About the Author

Chinweizu is a historian and Neo-Garveyite Pan-Africanist. His books include *The West and the Rest of Us*, (1975); and *Decolonising the African Mind* (1987).

Feel free notice

Please feel free to fwd this document to any Pan-African persons, or to publish and reproduce it, unedited and in its entirety, to the Pan-African community, provided you credit the author, do not change, cut or add any word to it, or otherwise mutilate the piece; i.e. publish as is or don't at all.

If posted at a website, please email a copy of the web page to sundoor999@gmail.com

For print media use, please obtain prior written permission, and then send two (2) copies of the publication wherein used, to Chinweizu, P. O. Box 988, Festac Town, Lagos, Nigeria.

For an e-copy in MSWord, please send to <sundoor999@gmail.com>

For further information please contact Chinweizu <sundoor999@gmail.com>

All rights reserved.

© Chinweizu 2013
