CHAPTER 15

RESOLVING THE NIGERIA POLITICAL IMPASSE – SOME OPEN OPTIONS

The defeat of Igbo people or Biafra in the battlefield did not resolve the problems that brought about the conflict that led to the civil war. Unfortunately many more problems from other ethnic groups have been showing up and federal authorities know that these political and ethnic tensions can no more be ignored. It is no more the Igbo nation that needs its relationship with Nigeria redefined; the South-South regions of Nigeria, the Middle Belt region, the West and other minority groups are agitating for one type of 'relationship', 'accommodation' or another. Where does Nigeria go from here? What does the so-called Sovereign National Conference seek to achieve? In this chapter we examine certain options open to Nigeria, Biafra and the rest of the regions. Perhaps our investigations can shed light to possible ways of tackling Nigeria's political and economic problems.

OPTION 1 – EXPEL IGBOS FROM NIGERIA

> **"Nigerians must decide what they want from the Igbo. It is either they want the Igbos in Nigeria as full citizens or they want them as non-citizens. As the English say, Nigerian can't have their cake and eat it!"** (Azuka Onwuka)

Nigeria is to decide on what she wants from the Igbo! In one of the most interesting write-ups, addressing the present Nigerian-Igbo political dilemma, one Azuka Onwuka urges the Nigeria government to take a serious decision about what they want from the Igbo. Perhaps as an un-teachable, stubborn, arrogant servant; expelling Igbo people and their Biafra from 'Mother Nigeria' might be the best option. Many may agree with Onwuka. Comparing the situation of Singapore and Malaysia and circumstances that led to the birth or creation of Singapore, Onwuka thinks Nigerian authorities can learn from Malaysians and expel the Igbos from Nigeria. What a wise counsel!

Singapore and Malaysia

As the story goes, before August 9, 1965, the **Singaporeans** were seen as an irritation in **Malaysia.** Singapore was one of the 14 states in Malaysia. Singaporeans were viewed as arrogant, stubborn, and domineering. While the United Malays National Organization wanted *affirmative action* or *"quota system"* for the Malays, the People's Action Party of the Singaporeans insisted that the best thing for the country was a merit-based policy on all issues, so as to bring out the best in the nation and create a spirit of excellence. The situation in the 'mother Malaysia' could not be different from that of Nigeria. The so-called "Affirmative Action" has always favored the Northern region of Nigeria at the detriment of tens and thousands of South-Eastern youths, particularly the Igbos! Constant disagreements and tensions arising from this injustice in Malaysia had often resulted in racial riots. It got to a point; the Malays could take it no more. On August 9, 1965 they convened the parliament, with no Singaporean parliamentarian present. At that sitting, the legislators voted unanimously (126 - 0) to expel Singapore from Malaysia. When the Singaporeans heard that they had been expelled from the nation, they were at first devastated. But they took their fate in their hands and started building a new nation. And indeed, by applying merit and the pursuit of excellence, Singaporeans built a in a record time, a country that moved from the 'Third World' to 'First World', overtaking Malaysia in most areas of development.

Interestingly, despite this sad way of parting, **Malaysia and Singapore** have remained good neighbors. In spite of the successes Singapore has recorded, it has not made Malaysia not to record its own successes, too. There are many similarities between the story of Singapore and Malaysia and that of the Igbo-Biafra and Nigeria. The Igbos are not happy with the quota system policy used in the admissions into federal educational institutions, as well as in the allocation of jobs, which always favors the North. Most Nigerians want competitiveness in every sector, which leads to the best being selected, for the sake of excellence.

The Igbos are seen as arrogant, noisy, domineering, greedy, and ambitious. Some other Nigerians see them as irritants. Igbos get killed frequently, especially in the North, at the least misunderstanding. Sometimes the cause of the provocation may be someone from Denmark, Germany, France,

or Belgium. There are many Nigerians who will easily tell you: "We will never allow an Igbo person to rule Nigeria." There are many who believe that the problem of Nigeria is from the Igbo, and that once the Igbos were done away with, Nigeria's problems would be fixed! Given this scenario, there is, therefore need for action, a change. Igbos want a true federal system that will make Nigeria look like what it was before 1966, with each state or region taking charge of most of its affairs and moving at its own pace. Sadly, anytime restructuring or true federalism is mentioned, there are forces that resist it vehemently and insist that such will not happen. Ironically, despite this view by many Nigerians about the Igbo, anytime any person or group from Igbo land asks that the Igbo be allowed to leave Nigeria to form their own country, the resistance from most Nigerians is fierce. This reaction creates a perplexing contradictory scenario. If the Igbos are irritants and troublemakers, why not expel them from Nigeria, in the way Singaporeans were expelled from Malaysia? But if you see them as valuable and believe they must be part of the Nigerian state, why not treat them as equal partners in the union? What does Nigeria really want from the Igbo?

The call for restructuring of the country has been promoted as the ultimate solution for Nigeria's problem. However, there are strong forces that are hell-bent on ensuring that restructuring of the country never succeeded. They have been erroneously schooled that restructuring will impoverish them. The danger in this hard line stance against restructuring is that if restructuring fails, the alternative may not be palatable. Nigeria has moved in a self-destructive path for long. Nigeria has been wallowing in retrogression for long because some stakeholders are afraid that pulling it out and setting it on the path of progress will cost them their feeding bottle. The North has had a lot of prejudices against the Igbo. The extermination of the Igbo race was the goal of the North, right from the so-called counter-coup of July 1966, which led to the civil war. And there after nothing has changed. One Northern elder voiced out the boiling anger of the Northern cabal and did not hide their hatred for the Igbo: *"Let them go. Let Biafra go! Who is Igbo man? He is only a trader, engages in buying and selling and duping people. For what else are they known? They are not good for any other thing! Let them go! Let them go. They are no more relevant in Nigeria. Let Biafra go!!"*

Name-calling, hate speeches directed to the Igbos do not upset them anymore. Perhaps the Northern cabal could hold a private meeting like the Malays. A '200 - 0 vote' to expel the

Igbos from Nigeria would be welcome news! There will be jubilation everywhere in Igboland. Perhaps, the **best option** might be to expel the Igbos from the Nigerian federation 'for peace to reign!

OPTION 2: BIAFRA IS A STATE OF BEING - THE CATALONIAN, BAVARIAN, CALIFORNIAN PARADIGM

Until we have achieved that state of being, the desired geopolitical region remains at risk. So we must pursue both tasks together. And the State of Being is as follows: We have to do as the Catalonians do in Spain. When they realized that the **Catelianos (Madrid)** would never voluntarily or easily give them *Independencia*, the **Catalonians (Barcelona)** decided to turn inwards and develop their region, Technologically, Economically and Infrastructural - and now they are the economic powerhouse of **Spain.** The same thing was with Bayern in **Germany.** When Germany was declaring itself as a nation, Bayern **(Bavaria)** had the choice to stay out and be a country on its own (like Austria did), instead it opted to stay within a greater Germany and become its best part. Today Bavaria is the most technologically and economically powerful region in Germany. Bavaria has the whole of Germany now as its primary and biggest market. The same thing is with **California** in the **USA.** It's not only the biggest economy within the USA, it's also the 6th largest economy in the World! However, this is only because it is within the USA and can leverage on all the synergies that come with that, that it can be so powerful. If it were suddenly to try to break away overnight to stand alone, as a competitor against the rest of the US, things would not be so easy for both parties.

Nigeria fears the **Biafra** that becomes a '**Catalonia', a 'Bavaria', a 'California'**. That's the Biafra they fear. Nigeria looks for an excuse, an alibi to come and reduce Ala-Igbo to a wasteland again and turn back the hands of the clock once more to zero, like they did in the last civil war. This is why Nigeria is after the IPOB! Even if Igbos don't want to start any hostilities, they will use the slightest excuse or provocation to send in their troops. Britain will support them. Therefore Igbos have to be smart, and shift the battle to the field where they can win. That's why IPOB has continued to ask for Referendum, like Catalonia does in Spain, like Scotland does in Great Britain. But it Referendum is not a guarantee for the emergence of Biafra. Igbos have to conquer their chronic individualism, and pool their

wealth, intelligence and efforts together to turn Igboland into a First World region, right here and now.

Demand that they invest in infrastructures - roads and transportation, potable water, drainage systems, housing, health-care, education, tax breaks for small businesses, regional economic integration, constitute expert groups across every field from within and the Diaspora to develop and advice on the framework for regional development. Instead of going to Abuja, the Governors should come together, put money together from their budget and start building a second Niger Bridge, start dredging the River Niger at Onitsha, start developing the dry port at Abia, start now and make it mandatory that every South East governor prioritizes regional integration, taxes and tariffs for business must come down to encourage investors.

Computer Village in Lagos is full of Igbos. The governors and leadership should put their money together and build technology town in Aba, follow up on Geometrics power project in Aba with a view to completely electrifying Alaigbo. They must put their money together and elevate Enugu Airport to a level higher than Lagos or Abuja airport. Developing the Owerri Airport to a full international cargo airport should be a priority, and must take advantage of the central location of Owerri in the South East. Quality educational institutions are lacking in the East even though we constantly produce the highest number of applicants to universities. Let us build more by collaboration with our friends in the Diaspora. They're the best in many parts of the world. Let's harness this advantage. We need a world class Stock Exchange in Alaigbo. Igbos can achieve that without the Federal government. Igbos in the Diaspora should be encouraged to work with government to establish and run quality world class healthcare institutions in Alaigbo.

If we are doing things like this, Arewa will not need to issue quit notice - **NDIGBO will come back in droves to build up Alaigbo**. Is it beyond the Igbo to venture into modern and very lucrative **cattle rearing** and be the leaders in all of Africa? Are Igbos not known to come late into any venture and excel beyond those in it for centuries? The governors in Alaigbo should as a matter of urgency introduce **ranching** across Alaigbo for prospective and enterprising **Igbo cattle farmers,** after which they will enact, implement and execute **anti open-grazing laws** in their States, then call on all indigenes and States security groups to participate in monitoring its implementation. This will empower all Igbos, who will get rid of these Fulani Herdsmen in no time. This is priority. Every passing

day is too much. If Nigeria stays together, Alaigbo can become the most advanced region of Nigeria if we start now. If Nigeria breaks up, we have to be ready to survive on our own. And at this moment, we are not yet ready. This is where we need to put our eyes into, because the ball is already rolling. What we want is for people to come and start investing in Alaigbo, from all over the world. They will do this massively if they see the political will and infrastructures being laid down in Igboland. If that happens, everybody will protect Igboland. Biafra will grow from within.

OPTION 3: THE ROAD-MAP AND STEPS TO BIAFRA (BY GENERAL JOSEPH ACHUZIA)

While not ignoring the crucial need to restructure Nigeria, perhaps the best initial approach for Biafra and all the other regions would be to follow the approach outlined by one-time Biafra Army **General, Joseph Achuzia.** Has it not entered the minds of Igbos and the Biafra youths agitating for Biafra, that there are various roads open to self-determination struggle as well as stages to the realization of the same goal? Out of the so many, I will not be able to enumerate here, (for lack of space), the most popular, most meaningful is the option, presented long ago be a well-known dedicated and patriotic Igbo elder. Have you not read it? My dear fellow Biafrans, this option credited to the great General of former Biafra army is the one we have to examine and perhaps adopt. Let me reproduce it again for you to carefully study and work upon and pray for its success!

Most of the points raised in the widely circulated document in the social media attributed to a former Biafra War General Achuzia caught our attention and remains relevant to our discussion here. I see Achuzia's **'Road-Map'**, 'Steps' as inevitable towards the realization of true stable Biafra. It may not be wise to ignore this elder's counsel and ideas, in fact a likely correct "Road Map to Biafra" Having gone through the document thoroughly well I decided to re-name the title "Post War Igbo and Biafra". It will be noticed that throughout the document the author refers to Biafra in quotes, "Biafra". He was not specifically talking about the Biafra that once existed, the one usually referred to by Nigeria and the rest of the world as "Secessionist or Break-away Biafra," also known as "Ojukwu Biafra'" Achuzia was using the name "Biafra**" t**o represent, too, other regions, same-interest groups, or sections of Nigeria whose political, social, cultural or religious aspirations can be likened to those of "Ojukwu-Biafra". It is reasonable to assume that these other

regions or associations are working for "self determination", which might come to fruition sooner or later. All said and done, I understand that in this option and others I have considered, Nigeria needs 're-structuring'. Things will never be the same again. We divide the Achuzia submission, the document into sections for easy comprehension and analysis.

(a) The term "Biafra"

'Biafra does not mean secession'. According to him **'We' are proud Biafrans living in Nigeria**. The Biafran agitation is an expression coming from perceived general frustrations of 'some' Igbos as a result of deliberate marginalization and deprivations."

(b) Can Nigeria survive without the Igbo? Can the Igbo survive without Nigeria?

"However, the approach is wrong" says Achuzia. Why? Igbos have more to lose in Biafra than being part of Nigeria. The economic losses from the 30 months civil war have been recovered and our people do not seem to know that that dominant progress angers the other federating units who hate the Igbos. Unfortunately, Igbos have not been able to collectively organize themselves politically - both at the local levels of tradition, intellectual - towards a central command for national relevance. It is this failure that gave credence to the costly, life threatening, ill-timed, disconnected struggle for Biafra; generally anchored around under informed "seemingly" jobless youths."

(c) Other Geo-political regions want their "Biafra", The North, too!

"Biafra quest, remains in the spirits of all segments of the Nigerian "fabric" - from North to South, East to West etc. This is why there are so many groupings - from the 19 Northern Governors Group, to ***Arewa Consultative Forum,*** the ***South West Odua People's Congress*** with strong, influential, respectable political blocks. What is common with these groups is their respect for their traditional kingship systems that give them a central voice, command & control posts. So they are more organized. That explains why the ***quests for their "Biafras"*** is more organized, better planned and 'silently' being executed. For example the ***19 Northern Governors*** have successfully disconnected the dependence of their economies from the

national power grid by signing an memorandum of understanding with the General Electric to install a massive solar system project. So they are independent as long as electricity is concerned. ***That's their "Biafra".*** The Kaduna refinery is to receive crude from Niger. That's another ***"Biafran"*** independence. Their River Basins are producing and providing food. North East is to be rehabilitated from a statutory percentage of the Nigerian annual national budget. Their airports & roads are being upgraded to international standards. Their rail lines are working, connecting cities & new routes being constructed - Kaduna - Abuja route. In the whole Nigeria, it's only Kaduna that is connected to Abuja by both road and rail. ***That's the true quest for "Biafra"!***

(d) The West – The South-West

"Let's look around the West for their quest for their "Biafra". Lagos - A Mega city project projected on the local and migrant populations in Lagos State & environ; At the expense of the settle entrepreneur businessmen (including the Igbos) development, taxes and enterprises. Expansions of Murtala Mohammed International and Local Airports, concessions, The Free Trade Zone (copied after the moribund Tinapa), Another ongoing Airport and the seaport construction at the Lekki axis, New towns and sprawling housing estates (including Eko Atlantic City. (Project), the 10 (Ten) Lane expansion of the Lagos – Badagry Express into the international gateway to the Republic of Benin and by extension the West African sub-regional economies, the Fashola's Rail line linking Badagry through Alaba International market, Aspanda, Orile, Arts Theatre, CMS, VI, Lekki to the Free Trade Zone(FTZ), the 4th Mainland Bridge concessioned to a Japanese Consortium to link Ikorodu to Lekki/Aja axis, by extension the FTZ, the Expressway Road links to all South West cities. Today you can practically exit Lagos by choice, through Ikorodu, Ajah, and Lagos Ibadan Expressway. And if you are coming from Badagry, you can connect from Ijaniki - Eba axis to Lagos/Abeokuta linking you direct to Shagamu (without getting into Lagos). Same developments are going on in all South West major cities of Abeokuta, Ijebu Edo axis, Akure, Oshogbo, Ado Ekiti, Ife (and Ile Ife), Ibadan, linking Ilorin, Lokoja and Edo; energizing their economies. These are the true quests of their "Biafra".

(e) The South-East: Igbo leadership in disarray

"Now the question ***"Is there a solid economic base to support this South Eastern Biafran agitation"?*** Your answer is as good as mine. The Southern governors cannot come together (like the South Western, Northern Governors) on any common economic activity. The roads that link Anambra to Imo are motorable to the limits of Anambra boundary. Neither Ohakim nor Rochas saw the need to link the common communities of the 2 states on that axis. Same goes to Imo/Abia/Akwa Ibom (Umuahia) axis. They will say... **Federal Roads.** Are the South West / the North not also Federal roads? South Eastern governors cannot come together for a common front on regional or national issues. They are endlessly, mutually distrusting. Our Igwes and Ezes (Kings) have been decimated using President General (PG) structures (by same clueless Governors) for selfish politics to destroy our strong traditional institutions.

Now the Igbos are being ridiculed for lack of respect for themselves, their institutions and their heroes and hardly any consensus on regional/national political issues. So how can the "Biafran" project stand?. The 2nd Airport in Igbo land, at Owerri was built by commendable community efforts and thereafter handed over to the Federal government without any compensation - end of story! Our people who had occupied the select positions of Aviation Ministers - Kema Chikwe, Stella Odua, Osita Chidoka etc., must have tried their best but they could not see their own ***"Biafra"*** by improving the facilities beyond making Owerri Airport a Cargo Airport! By the way, it is only **Owerri Airport**, in the whole Nigeria that was built with the "slave" deprivations of Igbo contributions and without compensation for community land and resource contributions and levies."

(f) The way to Igbo 'Renaissance', 'Resurgence' and True 'Biafra' Dream.

“We need to act like a blessed people of God who came from after the civil war to great heights worldwide. We need to hold on to our control of the Nigerian commerce and move into industrial monopoly of the Nigerian economy ***like the Chinese, Indians, and Lebanese.*** We need to build developmental capacities for the Igboland. We need more Innosons. Anambra, Imo, Abia, Enugu, Ebonyi States previous and serving governors

should set up fora (forums), create and selflessly implement South East integrated developed plans- in the *areas of agriculture, roads network infrastructure, economy, education, power, natural resources, strategic positioning for political orientation*. Gov. Peter Obi initiated the Anambra Integrated Development Strategy (ANIDS). Why not also create as governors, the South Eastern Integrated Development Strategy (SEIDS) and membership will be made up of all the current & previous Governors and First Class Kings and Igwes. ***That should be the starting point for the real quest for "Biafra"***. Therefore we must start guiding our youths to stop presenting themselves through the current Biafran agitations to the trigger-happy Nigerian soldiers for ethnic cleansing of our valuable youths."

A TRIBUTE TO A HERO - GENERAL JOSEPH ACHUZIA

General Joseph Achuzia's (now late) well-researched 'paper' with the title: "The road-map and steps to Biafra" has the backing of over 80% of all patriotic Igbos. Anyone - agitating youthful Biafran, a skeptical 'Igbo elite' - finding faults with any part of the discourse may have missed his steps and should be ignored. The Igbo leadership started fumbling and derailing when they allowed APGA to collapse and Igbos finally lost political relevance in Nigeria. Nigerian political system or ideology was built on tribal Politics. Surely the future generations of Igbos will hold the Igbo political leadership responsible for the catastrophe. Joseph Achuzia, a great Igbo patriot had played his wonderful role both during and after the civil war and has left the world to join his ancestors. So will all answer their same call at any time? How will you be remembered?

OPTION 4: STERN WARNING FROM EMEKA OJUKWU (JR): "IGBOS BE CAREFUL!"

Emeka Ojukwu (Jr.), the Son of Ikemba Nnewi had severely rebuked, Igbo youths, warning the Igbos in general to reckon with the consequences of renewed agitation for a new state of Biafra. Should Igbo youths heed his call for caution or ignore him. It may be reasonable at this stage of our investigation to examine Emeka Ojukwu's call for caution as another option in

this Igbo dilemma. When an angry Igbo elder warns an opponent in a dispute or heated argument 'to be careful', it shows there is great danger ahead. It is a very serious, unfriendly way of expressing strong disapproval of an action or behavior. In local dialect the warning is rendered "kpachara anya gi" ('Be careful', Open your eyes! Stop the the nonsense! Stop fooling around! Are you crazy? Are you looking for trouble?) In a poetic rhyme Ojukwu (Jr.) enunciates his reasons for the severe warnings:

(1) "The whole Nigeria is aggrieved, Igbos are tactically getting set up again to lead the pack for expressing the grievances.....**Igbos be careful!**
(2) Only few people remembered that the first Nigeria coup led by Nzeogwu, which is fraudulently tagged "Igbo coup" comprised of young chaps from practically all the regions in Nigeria and was a response to the chaos in the Western Region of Nigeria as a result of the aftermath of 1965 elections, the active participants in that chaos later aligned with federal government to churn out deadly policies on you, Igbos.....! **Igbos be careful!**
(3) If Nigerians are really tired of this non-working structure we have run for almost half a century, they should collectively come together and renegotiate the union; nobody should make you the senior prefect of that agitation again. The last time you led and demanded for such restructuring, the whole nation fought against you to keep their "dear Nigeria" the way it is. I can bet they will do it again. I overheard some of your next door neighbors asking, "Why are they really protesting**?".....Igbos be careful!**
(4) Under a renegotiated Nigeria, you are the most advantaged, you will have the whole nation as your field to express your ingenuity, you have invested, blood, personal structures, money and spread into the project called Nigeria more than those who just "mouth-icily" parrot their love for Nigeria.....while you do the practical of One Nigeria, most others only talk about it **.....Igbos be careful.**
(5) From United Nations, NASA, Microsoft, CNN, Hollywood, Nollywood, Manchester City, Arsenal, Chelsea, House of Lords, House of Commons, White House to major hospitals in US and UK and anywhere solutions to problems are needed. You have proved that wherever humans are gathered and brain is the requirement, your head can never be bowed. Therefore, you have nothing actually to prove to anyone.....**Igbos be careful!**
(6) The whole nation is groaning under the current structure we run. When the groan has gotten to a boiling point, we all will

demand collectively for renegotiation of this abusive relationship we are having in the name of nationhood. Dare not lead this call! The last time you did, other people chose to mend fences and made a 'scapegoat' out of you**…….Igbos be careful.**
(7) The same way your businesses thrive in Saudi Arabia, Indonesia and Chad, under a restructured or fragmented Nigeria, your business still can thrive anywhere…..**Igbos be careful!**
(8) Your prestigious sons and daughters championed the course of six geo-political zones, championed the course of 13% derivation for the benefit of your neighbors and still champion the course of resource control and fiscal federalism, but I have seen you also struggle so much to explain to both neighbors and outsiders that you are not interested in their resources but rather interested in being allowed to explore your rich human capital and ingenuity without any orchestrated hindrances**……..Igbos be careful!**
(9) I have seen how some Igbo sons and daughters struggle to sound patriotic even if it means sounding silly and their kit and kin in neighboring states beg not to be identified with their Igbo roots because it will save them some "special treatment" reserved for Igbos….it never does anyways. Don't let another setback happen…..**Igbos be careful!**
(10) Our major need now is an emergence of a leader figure with the courage of Ojukwu, wisdom of M.I. Okpara and the sagacity of Chuba Okadigbo, yet endowed with tamed emotions to steer our pride and productivity into a common force and also lead us into demanding redress for perceived injustice**…..Igbos be careful!**
(11) I repeat, if Nigeria is tired, when Nigeria is tired of running an unprofitable structure, we shall be ready for the way forward; we shall be ready for renegotiation. But never again will your blood be used as a specimen to test how "united" Nigeria can be in fighting her "enemy"……**Igbos be careful!** ***"Onye nwere nti ya nuru". "Ukpala Okpoko buru, nti chiri ya!***

OPTION 5 – THE SOUTHERN NIGERIAN REGIONAL COALITION: THE NEGROES VERSUS THE NEGROIDS

Some frustrated Southerners seem to suggest that Igbos and the Yorubas have no option than to lead the other indigenous ethnic nationalities in Nigeria in the drive for unity, to face the Moslem aggression. They point out that Nigeria is a nation made up of two races: the Negroes and the Negroids. **The Negroes** are the indigenous African ethnic nationalities making up the 386 ethnic

groups while the Negroids are of Arab descent made up of Hausa, Fulani and Kanuri. Nigeria has an estimated total number of 389 ethnic groups. Only three ethnic groups are primarily responsible for the distress in the nation. It is in those three ethnic Groups that "Boko" is "Haram". **The Negroid (Arab)** race in Nigeria has forged unity on the basis of Islam as a common religion. The indigenous ethnic nationalities have no option but to find a common rallying point as the basis for unity. Fortunately, the indigenous ethnic nationalities have Christian majority in four out of the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria. These are: Niger Delta, South East, Middle Belt and South West. It should be clear that the objective of such unity is not to "**Christianize"** Nigeria and compel adherents of other religions to change their religion. Rather, the goal of Christian unity in Nigerian politics should be to entrench democracy and ensure that justice, equity and fairness prevail in the nation. Once democracy becomes the indisputable national ideology and the Constitution is affirmed as the only source of legislation, Nigerians are free to practice whatever religion suits them. Once the Igbos and the Yoruba agree to unite in subsequent elections and negotiations for power, it becomes easy for Middle Belt to join them and the Niger Delta will also come on board. By now, it should be clear to everyone that the Islamists of the North do not have any good intention for the indigenous ethnic nationalities in Nigeria.

Therefore, it is in the common interest of about 286 indigenous ethnic nationalities of the Negro race in Nigeria to unite, using the Godly doctrines of forgiveness and mutual respect as the basis for unity. Under the British, the Islamists of the North learnt the art of **DAR, "Divide and Rule".** When the British left, the North went all out and struck alliance with the Arabs from whom they adopted **DAD, "Divide and Destroy".** The Islamists of the North have adopted the brutal, deceitful, and destructive culture of the Arab race. The Arabs are a brutal and terribly destructive race. There are scarcely any of the indigenous ethnic nationalities that have not tasted of the cruelty, wickedness, treachery, intolerance and discrimination of the Islamists of northern Nigeria. Now we have arrived at the final 'destination', the final 'goal', DCI – Divide, Conquer and Islamize! The indigenous ethnic nationalities should not be oblivious of the mindset of the rampaging Islamists. They have adopted the mindset of the Arabs. To the Arabs, the indigenous African is a slave. This would explain the mindset behind the massacre of black Africans in Sudan, Libya, Egypt, as well as the

practice of slavery that is still prevalent in Mauritania and Libya. The Arabs use the same word in Arabic for "slave" and "black African". It is the Arabic word, "abeed". During an interview in Morocco in 1996, Osama Bin Laden said, "... Which is why whenever an Arab sees a black African, what he sees is a slave". In 1962, the Sudanese General Hassan Beshir Nasr said, "We don't want these black slaves ... what we want is their land." ***(Arabs Mortal hatred and enslavement of the Black Race – Naiwu Osahon)***

This is the mindset of the Islamists in northern Nigeria. This is the reason why Grazing Reserve is pursued with violence, genocide, intimidation and deception. The Negroid race (Fulani, Hausa and Kanuri) in Nigeria sees themselves as superior to the indigenous African ethnic nationalities. This is the reason for the "born to rule mentality". The only solution is for the 386 indigenous ethnic nationalities in Nigeria to forge unbreakable unity to resist the "fellow citizens" who have turned themselves into cruel and unjust colonialists. The Islamists of the North used Islamic religion as the unifying force and the basis to contest for power in Nigeria and through it brought destruction, division, economic recession, bloodshed and other unprintable evils upon Nigeria. Christians, primarily, of the 386 indigenous ethnic nationalities should use Christianity as the basis for unity to bring justice, equality, fairness, progress, peace, restoration, reconciliation, and economic development to the nation. As stated earlier, the objective is not to "Christianize" the nation, but to strengthen democracy. Under democracy, every citizen is guaranteed equal right.

After experiencing the murderous Boko Haram, the devastating and destructive Fulani Herdsmen, and the sectional, divisive and discriminatory administration of President Muhammadu Buhari, it would be an everlasting shame for Christians in Nigeria if they cannot find the basis for national unity in the Word of God to resist and overcome the evil that has been unleashed on the country. The good that should come out of the present distress is that Christians in Nigeria surmounted ethnic bias and prejudice to rally together under the universal banner of Christ to unite and defeat evil in Nigeria. What is going on in Nigeria under the present dispensation is evil, pure and unadulterated evil; it must be defeated with good. This is the reason why Southerners are advised to join the Christian Social Movement and encourage other Christians too, to join. The objective is to defend Democracy.

OPTION 6: CHIEF OLU FALAE (YORUBA) OPTION

"You know I was a leader in the South West and at the National convention; I was elected as the leader of the Yoruba delegation. So, I am central to the Yoruba position. The Yoruba position is my position and it is the same position I canvassed in my book, ***'The way forward for Nigeria'*** which I launched since 2005 in Lagos. What we mean by restructuring is going back to the Independence Constitution which our leaders negotiated with the British between 1957 and 1959. It was on that basis that the three regions agreed to go to Independence as one united country. So, it was a negotiated constitution. This is because, if the three regions were not able to agree, there would not have been one united independent Nigeria. But because the three regions at that time negotiated and agreed to package a constitution, that is why they agreed to go to Independence together. When the military came in 1966 and threw away the constitution, they threw away the negotiated agreement among the three regions, which was the foundation of a united Nigeria. So, the military did not only throw away the constitution but a political consensus negotiated and agreed by our leaders of the three regions in those days. When we say restructuring now, we are saying let us go back substantially to that constitution which gave considerable autonomy to the regions. For example, each region at that time collected its revenue and contributed the agreed proportion to the centre. But when the military came, they turned it round and took everything to the centre. That could not have been accepted by Ahmadu Bello, Nnamdi Azikiwe or Obafemi Awolowo.

This constitution we are using was made by late **Gen Sani Abacha and the military;** and Abacha came from only one part of Nigeria, so he wrote a constitution that favored his own part of Nigeria. That is why I am saying, let us restructure and go back to what all of us agreed before. That is the meaning of restructuring. **The regions used to be federating units**, but in today's Nigeria, they would now be called federal regions because states have been created in the regions. So in the West, you now have federation of Yoruba states which would belong to the Nigerian union at the centre. So, it is not like the region of old with all the powers. No. It is now going to be a coordinator of the states in the zone. That is what we mean by restructuring. And the regions would have a considerable autonomy as they used to have. For example, for the younger people, they may not know that every region then had its own constitution.

There were four constitutions at independence –the Federal constitution, Western constitution, Eastern constitution and Northern constitution. That was how independent they were and every region had an ambassador in London. The ambassadors for the regions were called Agent General so that you do not confuse them with that of Nigeria then called High Commissioner. So, Nigeria had four ambassadors in London. The ambassador for Nigeria then called a High Commissioner was M.T Mbu. The ambassador for Eastern Nigeria then was Mr Jonah Chinyere Achara, Western Nigeria was Mr Omolodun and for Northern Nigeria, it was Alhaji Abdulmalik. There were four of them. That was the kind of arrangement we agreed to, but the military threw it away and gave us this over-centralized unitary constitution. So, we said this is not acceptable anymore; we must go back to the negotiated constitution which gave considerable autonomy to the regions, so that they can compete in a healthy manner. For example, Chief Obafemi Awolowo wanted to introduce free education in the West and other regions said they could not afford it, but he went ahead to introduce it in the Western region. He said he wanted to pay a minimum of five shillings a day, while others were paying two and three shillings. He went ahead and passed the law, making five shillings the minimum wage in Western Nigeria.

There was no problem with that. In Western Nigeria, the constitution provided for a House of Assembly and the House of Chiefs. In Eastern Nigeria, there was no House of Chiefs because they did not think they needed one. There was no problem with that and that is the kind of Nigeria we negotiated in London, but that is different from what we have today. So, we are saying let us go back to that arrangement which all of us agreed at independence and not what Abacha imposed on us, which is very partial, unfair and one-sided. That is the meaning of restructuring; it is to restructure unfairness and give semi-autonomy to the federating units". *(Chief Olu False was a leading Yoruba leader and was Head of the Southwest Delegation to the Jonathan National Constitutional Conference.)*

OPTION 7: THE NORTHERN ELDERS' FORUM ON THE FUTURE OF NIGERIAN STATE

The "**Northern Elders Forum",** (culturally and politically likened to Ohaneze Ndigbo or the Yoruba Oodua People's Congress (OPC) most of the time, and since Nigerian independence in 1960 has been known to hold the Political Power that dictates what goes on in Nigerian politics seemed to have shown little or no interest in discussions about the so-called ***"Restructuring*** of the Nigerian state. Without much doubt the Forum seemed to have steered the government in power to clearer direction. The Northern Elders Forum used to advice or dictate for the president in power and had been known to approve or annul decisions of the presidency or different arms of government, the executive, judiciary and the legislative. But as for influence, power or authority the Igbo or the Yoruba counterpart welds little power over their different nationalities or tribes comparable to that of the Northern Forum, whose often majestic authority or influence derives its overriding politico-cultural roots from Islamic religion and fundamentalist faith. There is little doubt that the Northern Elders Forum, the "Cabal", has been responsible for most of the important and far-reaching political decisions in Nigeria's political history. Some of these major decisions include:

1) The 'annulment' of the Aburi Accord.
2) The prosecution of the Civil War "To keep Nigeria One".
3) The handling of the case of the sick President Musa Y'adua controversy.
4) The annulment of the 1993 Elections under Babangida.
5) The Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) debacle.
6) The rejection of all the conferences held in Nigeria in search of better solutions to Nigeria's political turmoil, also called National Sovereign Conference. The Northern Elders Forum was responsible for all the millions of naira wasted in those conferences.
7) The handling and silencing of Ralph Uwazurike and Nnamdi Kanu Biafra Movement. These are just a few examples of the Northern Elders Forum's powerful influence in any Federal government administration.

The Northern Elders' Forum has told all Nigerians clamoring for **restructuring** to keep quiet "**Nigerian Unity is not negotiable!"** There are no signs that the North is ready for any

true restructuring of the country. Many rather believe the Hausa-Fulanis have another clear agenda, namely the complete islamization of the nation! And having seen the *seven options*, which have exposed the 'good' and the 'bad', the 'gains' and 'loses', and possibly the consequences of accepting any of the options, it is at last the sacred duty of all well-meaning Nigerian elites and political leaders to make the right choice, while the sun is still shining!

CHAPTER 16

SECOND BIAFRA REVOLUTION: KEY ACTORS AND INSTITUTIONS

USA SEPTEMBER 11 (9/11) VIS-À-VIS BIAFRA MAY 30, 1967 (5/30) and September 14, 2017 (9/14) EVENTS

"A piece of American History" – "A piece of Nigerian-Biafran History"

September 11, 2001 (9/11)! As 'piece of American history', the people of United States of America, yearly remember what is popularly known today as the "**September 11 terrorist attacks".** These were a series of four coordinated terrorist attacks by the Islamic terrorist group al-Qaeda against the United States on the morning of Tuesday, September 11, 2001. In the attacks 2,996 people were said to have died, and over 6,000 others injured. The terrorist attacks were also said to have caused at least $10 billion in infrastructure and property damage. Additional people were also said to have died of 9/11-related cancer and respiratory diseases in the months and years following the attacks. I was in the United States that year on a visit in Los Angeles, California, and had booked a flight to visit a friend in Boston. Our flight was delayed for several hours as we learnt that a terrorist attack had taken place and the nation was in a state of confusion and was mourning the victims of the attacks. When eventually our flight took off to Boston and we got to our destination, my one week's visit was extended to extra two as a result of insecurity in the air. I still remember vividly the mood of the nation at the time.

May 30, 1967 (5/30)! As piece of Nigerian history, the Republic of Biafra was proclaimed on the above date. After suffering through years of suppression under Nigeria's military government, the breakaway state of Biafra proclaimed its independence from Nigeria. In 1960, Nigeria gained independence from Britain. Six years later, the Muslim Hausas in Northern Nigeria began massacring the Christian Igbos in the region, prompting tens of thousands of Igbos to flee to the East, where their people were the dominant ethnic group. It was a calculated **genocide** to annihilate the Igbo race by the entire

Northern region of the North. The Igbos doubted that Nigeria's oppressive military government would allow them to develop, or even survive; so on May 30, 1967, Lieutenant Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu and other non-Igbo representatives of the area established the **Republic of Biafra**, comprising the old Eastern region of Nigeria. After diplomatic efforts by Nigeria failed to reunite the country, war between Nigeria and Biafra broke out in July 1967. Ojukwu's forces made some initial advances, but Nigeria's superior military strength with support of super powers like Britain and the Soviet Union, with massive military and financial support from Arab nations gradually reduced Biafran territory. The state lost its oil fields–its main source of revenue– and without the funds to import food, an estimated one million of its civilians died as a result of severe malnutrition. About 2 million lives were lost as a result of war casualties. On January 11, 1970, Nigerian forces captured the provincial capital of Owerri, one of the last Biafran strongholds, and Ojukwu was forced to flee to the **Ivory Coast.** Four days later, Biafra surrendered to Nigeria.

While Gowon and Nigerian army generals derided **Ojukwu** and subjected the capitulated Biafran soldiers to bitter and contemptuous ridicule and criticisms, most people of Biafra were glad that their hero left in time for Ivory Coast where he was granted Asylum by the leadership of that west African nation. The Igbo aphorism states it clearly; "It is only a standing tree that would be threatened with destruction and it stands still in its position" *("Soso osisi ka aga agwa na aga egbutu ya, ma okwuru ebe okwu!)* The invading brutal Nigerian army was called **'vandals'** by Biafrans during the war as result of war crimes they committed in Biafra. They never knew or ever cared to observe anything called 'rule of law', 'treatment of prisoners of war' or 'international rules that guide all parties involved in wars and conflicts'. Surely Gowon and his field commanders would not have spared Ojukwu's life if he did not flee in time to Ivory Coast.

SEPTEMBER 14 - MEMORIAL DAY FOR VICTIMS OF OPERATION PYTHON DANCE II (9/14/2017)

Like the American and the 9/11 tragedy, the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) has declared September 14, as Sit-At-Home in all Biafraland in protest of the invasion of the home of the leader of the pro-Biafra group at Afara Ukwu, Umuahia, Abia State, Nigeria by the Nigerian military. September 14, like May 30 has

therefore become a holiday for Biafrans at home and in the Diaspora. In a statement by Media and Publicity Secretary of IPOB, Emma Powerful, the protest will "be a way to register our anger regarding the men and women killed at Afaraukwu in Umuahia, during **Operation Python Dance II** on **September 14 in 2017."** The Media Secretary said the protest will also be for "those killed in Ngwa, Aba, Igweocha (Port Harcourt) and buried in unmarked mass graves as a result of unprovoked military invasion of Biafraland by the Nigerian Army. "We shall also remember all those killed in the struggle for the restoration of Biafra independence since August 2015, when the army shot protesting youths in Onitsha on a peaceful march from Nkpor to Onitsha main town. Their sacrifice will neither be forgotten nor will it be in vain, because come what may, this generation of IPOB must and will restore Biafra. The Secretary maintained: "The sacrilegious and disgraceful humiliation of Igbo women, some of them grand-mothers, ranks as one of the most abominable act of desecration ever visited upon the land of Biafra in recorded history. It will mark the defining event that completed the shame and humiliation of the Igbo race".

It is a **'Memorial Day**" as such events are observed in most civilized countries. In the nature of **'Nationwide general strike'** observed as a 'Sit-At-Home' across Biafraland every September 14, is the only way Biafrans can honor their fallen brethren and legitimately remind the northern oppressors and their collaborators in our midst that enough is enough. Surely no one wants another *Operation Python Dance* or another mass murder of Biafra agitators and humiliation of Biafra mothers who peacefully demonstrate, asking for the release of their son and leader of IPOB, Nnamdi Kanu. The youth are not intimidated and supported by their mothers they state categorically that Biafra must emerge a free nation under God, whether the enemies like it or not. What happened at Afaraukwu, the home of Nnamdi Kanu, the desecration of the house of a traditional ruler, the slaughter of innocent men and women was seen on the social media by all who cared to know about the atrocities being committed by the Nigerian military against the people of Biafra. "Surely the wholesale massacre along the Ngwa segment of Enugu-Igweocha (Port Harcourt) Expressway, countless number of mass graves across Biafraland, are repulsive, inhumane, barbaric and worthy of total condemnation by all right thinking people," the statement by the IPOB media secretary emphasized.

A Revolution that has a goal

Only few selfish Igbo politicians who had benefitted from the subsequent civilian Nigerian government administrations presumed that the Nigerian political problems, including those that led to the military intervention in 1966 had been resolved. They have been living in the illusions of false security, enjoying their loots at home and abroad as it pleased them, while millions of Nigerians wallowed in poverty and millions of unemployed youths roamed about the streets and many others leave the country in droves in search of greener pastures elsewhere in any part of the harsh world except in Nigeria. The reasons for frustrations are there for everyone to see, corrupt and inefficient leadership taking the lead. As for 'No victor; No vanquished' slogan of the then Gowon regime, nothing could be far from the truth, as the marginalization of the Igbos, relegating them to unimportant and powerless positions with the acclaimed 'one Nigeria' remained unabated. There is no doubt that the Igbos had for the past 50 years, since the end of the civil war suffered alienation and have been treated as outsiders and second-class citizens in Nigeria. Who should blame the youths, whose future looked seriously bleak, for taking up arms to fight the leadership and institutions that had continued to abuse and impoverish them? Who should blame the likes of **Ralph Uwazurike** and **Nnamdi Kanu** for mobilizing other youths who cared to agitate for self-determination and separate existence from the decaying and collapsing entity called Nigeria?

Are agitators not called bad names, imprisoned or even assassinated? Did the likes of **Martin Luther King (Jr)** and **Nelson Mandela** not suffer in the hands of governments in power, the oppressors of the masses? But are the names and activities of these former 'rebels' not well documented in **world history books** today? In Nigeria, it took 50 years for other regions of Nigeria that joined the Hausa-Fulani to suppress the first Biafra Revolution (1967-1970) to realize that their own turns had arrived. The **Middle-Belt,** the **South-South**, the **Niger-Delta** and even the **SW** that had benefitted so much, at last had come to understand that the time had arrived for Nigerians to summon another 'ABURI' and resolve the political malaise that had troubled Nigeria since 1914 to 1966 and up to 2019! As for the civil war and its aftermath, it was clear to many Biafrans and

perhaps some Nigerians too, that the war had not ended really. There was only a truce, hence the renewed agitations for a final settlement of the crisis.

RALPH UWAZURIKE AND MASOOB

Ralph Uwazurike was the leader of the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB); the first known group since the end of the Nigeria-Biafra war, to begin a fresh movement for the actualization of the sovereignty of Eastern Nigeria, which Biafrans failed to achieve in the battle field. Uwazurike's studies and philosophy must have influenced his adoption of the principle of non-violence as propagated by Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr. But there was no doubt **Nnamdi Kanu's IPOB** became more popular and aggressive than MASSOB. Surely the deteriorating political and economic situation which faced all Nigerians, particularly the Igbos gave much support to IPOB movement than to the MASOOB. Uwazurike was detained several times and charged with treason in Nigerian courts. On the 28th of April 2010, he was visited in prison by Ojukwu. Following Ojukwu's death in 2011, Uwazurike was seen by many Biafrans as possible successor of Ojukwu as far as the realization of Biafra self-determination was concerned. Like many concerned old and young Biafrans, Uwazurike condemned the killings of Igbos in northern states of the country since the end of the civil war by the Boko Haram groups and Moslem Jihadists. He has continually called on Igbos to return home in order to avoid another massacre and genocide.

Ralph Uwazurike, born in Okwe, Okigwe, Imo State, experienced the horrors of the Biafran war as a kid, but as those who knew him better confirmed, the guy nursed hopes of resuscitating the defunct republic, but surely through peaceful means. He was particularly enthralled, in his school days, by books on Mahatma Gandhi which influenced his decision to study political science in India. Uwazurike studied Political Science at Punjab University, and then Law at Bombay University, India, after which he enrolled at the Nigerian Law School. He was called to the Nigerian Bar in 1991. Uwazurike founded MASSOB in 1999, in the aftermath of the Nigerian elections that produced President Olusegun Obasanjo. The group kicked off at Uwazurike's Temple of Peace residence in Lagos and recorded a high rise in membership in its first few weeks. Irked by MASSOB's growing popularity, the Nigerian government

began clampdowns on the group. Uwazurike was arrested on several occasions on charges of unlawful gathering and disturbance of public peace. He was eventually released. On one occasion, he was arrested in Lome, Togo, for storming the 36th Organization of African Unity (OAU) Summit which had in attendance several African Heads-of-State.

Detentions and Trials

Uwazurike's longest spell in detention was to come in 2005 when he was arrested in his Okwe hometown by men of the Nigerian Police. It was alleged that he had been flown to Abuja aboard a private jet and remanded in an **underground SSS facility.** He remained **in prison detention for two years** after a protracted bail hearing at the Federal High Court, Abuja. He was eventually granted three-month bail to enable him to bury his mother who had died during his incarceration. In 2011, Uwazurike and 280 MASSOB members were arrested in Enugu at an event in honor of Ojukwu. He was released on orders of Nigerian President, Goodluck Jonathan. Uwazurike was charged with treason in 2005 at the Federal High Court, Abuja, before Justice Binta Nyako. The then Attorney-General of the Federation, Bayo Ojo, SAN, appeared in person for the government while Mike Ahamba, SAN, represented the defendant before being replaced by Festus Keyamo. The case however did not proceed to the trial stage as the first two years were spent hearing Uwazurike's bail application. He was finally granted bail in November 2007. In April 2013, the Supreme Court held that the trial could commence after rejecting contrary submissions by Festus Keyamo.

Ralph Uwazurike – a tough Biafra Freedom Fighter

Uwazurike never believed in “One Nigeria”. As the Hausa-Fulanis believed and maintained that the unity of Nigeria was not negotiable, so also for the chief Biafran agitator, the division of Nigeria into separate nations was the only conceivable option for the amalgamated entity called Nigeria. He made it clear in his interviews during the periods he was still very active in the struggle: “I am not interested in whether the war was fought to keep Nigeria one. That is not my business. I am interested in actualizing the Biafran dream for my people. The issue is that until Nigeria is split into different geo-political zones, there will not be peace. What is happening in Nigeria will continue to

happen until my people and other major ethnic groups are granted independence". His reasons have been strongly stated by many other writers, drawing examples from some other nations. Listen to Uwazurike**: "Until what happened in Yugoslavia or Soviet Union happens in Nigeria, peace will continue to elude us**. This is because, from the outset, we were never one. The circumstances that led to the civil war are still in place. This is because of the incompatibility between the components of the so-called Nigerian state. It is a marriage of inconvenience. The components that make up Nigeria before it was amalgamated by Lord Lugard are just pretending to be united. I am a realist. I don't deceive myself. I am not a politician and so do not aspire to become president. I don't even belong to any political party. Those who vow or insist that we must remain one Nigeria are those who have been reaping pecuniary benefits from the contraption called Nigeria. They know that 'One Nigeria' is not feasible. For instance, when the North knows that it cannot stand alone on account of its lean resources, it continues to insist on the unity of Nigeria. "In whose interest?" Mr. Uwazurike had really nothing to hide about his love for Biafra and his people the IGBOS.

A Patriotic Igbo Fighter

"Honestly, I am a tribalist and proud to be one. I have no apologies. I am fighting for the welfare of Ndigbo and that is paramount. This is because no ethnic group in Nigeria has suffered what Ndigbo have been going through in this country. If what is happening to Ndigbo had happened to another ethnic group, I would have supported them. When the Late Chief M.K.O. Abiola was denied his mandate after winning a free and fair election in 1993, I supported the struggle to actualize his mandate. I was against the cabal that robbed him of his mandate. At that time, people insinuated that I was behaving as if I was a Yoruba man. I didn't care. I had to stand for principles and justice;" Uwazurike insisted. Uwazurike has gone far in defending Ndigbo more than any other Igbo patriot or politician, since the end of the civil war. He condemned in unequivocal terms the countless unprovoked hate and aggression towards the Igbos by the Islamic Northerners and insisted these could no more be tolerated in the doomed 'one Nigeria' state. It was time each region or each of the six geo-political zones went their separate ways. Igbos in the North had always borne the brunt of each Islamic religious protest against "abominations" or

"sacrilege" Muslim fanatics claimed had been committed by the so-called "infidels" worldwide! Ralph Uwazurike made it clear that it was not only Boko-Haram that had affected Ndigbo. He rightly pointed out that the killing of Ndigbo in the North started way back in 1945. He cited some ridiculous but living examples that must be recorded in history books. "Even when two traditional rulers quarrel in the North, the Igbo are killed. When Quran is allegedly desecrated, in places like far away **Denmark and Sweden or Norway,** the Igbos are killed in the North. When Mr**. Salman Rushdie** wrote "**The Satanic Verses",** the Igbo were killed and their shops, homes and places of worship burnt. It has been taken as a normal thing for the Igbo to be killed in the North at the slightest provocation." Only the wicked Igbo hater can deny the above 'allegations!'

Whatever led to Ralph Uwazurike's 'expulsion' from MASSOB on 30th November 2015 as published in national dailies, for example, The Nation newspaper of Tuesday Dec 2015 front and page 43 entitled "MASSOB sacks Uwazurike", most concerned Igbos did not discredit or "write-off" the man as a 'traitor'; nevertheless, many still regard Mr. Ralph Uwazurike as a personality that had played significant role in the history of Biafra. Whether **BIAFRA INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT (BIM), IPOB, or OHANEZE NDIGBO**, eventually and successfully leads Igbo to the Promised Land, the struggle started by Ralph Uwazurike towards the same goal can never be forgotten. Perhaps after **RALPH UWAZURIKE** and **NNAMDI KANU** more powerful Biafra freedom fighters and leaders might arise to continue the struggle until victory was achieved, independent nation of BIAFRA! This remains a solid expectation of many Biafrans.

Power Struggle and Rifts in African Communities!

The break in friendly relationship between the two great Biafran freedom fighters shocked many patriotic Igbos, including those who even never believed in the activities of MASSOB and IPOB. One finds power-struggle among political, traditional and religious leaders all over the world, ancient and modern as evil and destructive, but in Nigerian and specially among the Igbos struggle for leadership is a known factor that brings about divisions at all levels of administration in government, church and local traditional village set-ups. Sometimes power-seekers reach ridiculous dead-ends in efforts to satisfy their ego and urge to conquer and rule. On the national level, every local

government area in Nigeria, (about **774** at the time of this write-up) wants to be raised to state status, (initially **from 12 to 36,** and more in demand; "ad infinitum!'); every local community wants their own local governments; every little village or kindred in a town wants its own "autonomous community". The struggle is usually settled by carving out 'local kingdoms', where the flamboyant fighting 'kings', 'chiefs', 'princes' and 'Lords' could reign as supreme 'heads of states', 'emperors' and 'Pharaohs'. Power intoxicates, especially among Africans and once contestants grab power, they never retire. They become **'presidents-for life'.** There are too many of such figures in Africa, past and present. In the church community, every parish community wants to be made a diocese; every out-station wants the parish status. There are too many little communities vying for greater autonomy and higher power status. It is the same trend among the clergy in Christian churches. And there are many churches, denominations and pastors to reckon with.

Uwazurike and Nnamdi Kanu – Bitter Enemies!

Ralph Uwazurike, leader of the Movement for the Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) was not happy with Kanu and his movement, IPOB, and leveled all sorts of accusations and wrong-doings against Kanu. It should not shock any Nigerian or Biafran that the two "most patriotic" or should we say the "most outstanding" 'freedom fighters' and lovers of Biafra, the "most aggressive agitators" for Biafran sovereignty and defender of IGBO race eventually should become bitter enemies, who fought like wounded lions to castigate, outwit and destroy each other. Their utterances, accusations and counter-accusations, claims and counter-claims have no place in our History Book for younger generations of this nation. Rather we have tried here to put on records the honest contributions of both Ralph Uwazurike and Nnamdi Kanu towards Biafra self-determination. Dead or alive at the time these records were being put together, they deserve every Igbo respect and honor irrespective of our various views about their styles of approach. Surely it will be unfair to easily forget the movements they started and championed in favor of their people's freedom from injustice and oppression, from political enemies that had vowed to suppress or even exterminate the Igbo race and Biafrans,

State of the Nation

As far as Igbo politicians were concerned, governors and all lawmakers, none was worthy of trust. Young Biafran agitators, if they had the opportunity were ready to stone these politicians. Almost every Igbo held strong grievances against the Igbo and Nigerian politicians. The argument was like this" "If they had discharged their duties well, if they were honest and incorruptible, Igbos would not have found themselves in such precarious and miserable state". Igbo youths count more than 80% of millions of Nigerians who had fled their fatherland to unknown places all over the world in search of greener pastures. Most of these youths languish in prisons in various countries where they settled. Many have died and their people have no information. Lately it was reported by CNN and world press that migrants on their endless journeys to European countries, large number Nigerians had been auctioned in slave markets in Arab countrie**s**. Many youths at home saw Nnamdi Kanu as the only possible 'messiah' that was pushing for a solution for Igbo and Nigerian problems, whatever form the revolution would take!

IPOB and Buhari: "Nigerian unity not negotiable!"

Nothing serious was happening as regards the agitation for restructuring the Nigerian federation. And to worsen the bad situation, President Muhammadu Buhari, in his first address to Nigerians after his sick-leave in London, declared that **"Unity of Nigeria is not negotiable". Wow! What a bomb shell!** And later in one of his campaign addresses Buhari called on the Igbos to **"Forget all about Biafra!** Anathema! It was like a bomb shell and not only Igbo youths but many Biafrans, found within Southern Nigerian states, could comprehend Buhari's statement. It was like the federal government, under Buhari, had chosen the option of force and war to settle the Nigerian crisis again! Which Igbo youth would stomach such rubbish from 'the head of state'? Buhari's attitude as well as Muslim Northern Nigerian-Hausa-Fulani hostilities towards Ndigbo certainly added fuel to the burning stuff. That situation raised the popularity of Nnamdi Kanu and any Igbo leader or elite who joined the agitation for Biafra. At the same time anyone that gave any support to the president's declaration, Igbo or non-Igbo became a perpetual enemy of Igbo race. That was the time the present write wrote an open letter to Nnamdi Kanu in support of his activities which follows.

IPOB AND NNAMDI KANU LEADERSHIP

Is it possible that the Igbos, known for quick actions, known for the philosophy of 'forward ever, backwards never' could tolerate the Nigerian deteriorating political and economic situation in the name of **"United we stand; Divided we fall!"** How many times has Nigeria fallen behind many tiny nations of Africa and the world? However we have remained united! It is strange and unbelievable that the republican Igbo politician, who acknowledges the political ideology that the people hold popular sovereignty, could tolerate a Hausa-Fulani monarchical Muslim leadership! There are super political and economic structures that are meaningful and can guarantee our survival in a fast changing world. IPOB, together with its leader was growing in popularity. Thousands of followers, mainly Igbo youths always gathered at public squares, market places and stadiums to welcome and listen to **Nnamdi Kanu** address them. He freely toured various Southern states and addressed both young and the elderly. No doubt government and mostly Northern Hausa-Fulani youths were not amused. It was also being claimed that Nnamdi Kanu was violating the Court orders. Though I was deeply impressed by Kanu's popularity and leadership qualities, I decided to address the following "Open letter to the IPOB leader.

AN OPEN LETTER TO NNAMDI KANU – A TRIBUTE (By this writer, a few weeks before the "Python Dance' and disappearance of the IPOB leader)

Sir Nnamdi Kanu!

"The **Second Biafran Revolution,** whose fire you rekindled would have died a natural death, would have been in vain, a wasted energy, if you were re-arrested and dumped into prison, or died there by beheading and your head thrown into the Atlantic Ocean, and there was no one to take over, to continue from where you stopped, for the realization of the new state of Biafra, an enviable Black African nation. Most of us who would have liked to see the birth of the independent Biafra nation emerge so soon are getting frustrated that some Igbos, **not** Hausa-Fulanis are the ones setting the clock back! Are there followers to take over from you as you languish in prison again? Do you remember how many times **Nelson Mandela** was arrested and thrown into prison? Do you know how many years

he was incarcerated? Do you remember he contracted TB in prison, but remained calm until he gained freedom and was at last victorious in his campaign for the black majority rule in **South Africa.** Though not yet fully liberated and his successors not really doing a fantastic job, many Igbo youths have fled to that country in search of greener pastures. The changing nomenclature of colonialist imposed names - personal, cities and countries, is good sign and proof of African liberation from colonial yoke. "South Africa" is still a geographical designation, and "the whites" are still over 80% Masters.

"In the independent nation of Biafra, Biafrans will be 100% in charge of every branch of our national economy and leadership. Only one thing is at stake, the **leadership**. This is the heart of the new nation's **manifesto!** Any Igbo man or true Southerner, who sees my "thesis" as a "mad dream", "fake" or "deceit" is mocking himself, as well as Biafran men and women who lost their lives in the 1967-1970 Nigeria- Biafra war. Nigeria continues to remember with great pride and Nostalgia, those they claim had fought Great War **"To keep Nigeria one!"** In emphasizing their victory in "crushing Ojukwu and rebel Biafra", they make us lick our wounds. And not just that, when the present Nigerian leadership tells Biafrans that "Nigerian unity is not negotiable", like the colonialist Booers of South Africa, the Nigerian Muslim Cabal tell us they are completely in control. And some human beings who still retain Igbo citizenship ask for 'proof' that Igbos are "marginalized" in the present marriage with Nigeria which every right thinking individual says has been hurting and long overdue for dissolution!"

Don't be afraid and disappointed, Kanu!

"And so they pursued the Lord Jesus. His sworn enemies planned to arrest him at every occasion he appeared in public to teach, but they were either afraid of him or his followers. At a time they were so angry with him over his vehement condemnation of their wicked leaders and their political and religious institutions. Once, a time the authorities were so frustrated; they sent the army, with tanks, grenades and guns to arrest Jesus. But the soldiers returned empty handed; brought back no one in chains! "Why didn't you arrest him?" **"Sir, we have never seen anyone who spoke like him!" "He must be a prophet"** "And his followers trusted in him". His followers were ready to fight us if we touched him!"(Cf. John 7.45ff) And truly they could not arrest him, with thousands of Roman

soldiers deployed in every city, Jesus went to preach, in spite of many armored tanks and other military hardware, mounted all over the public places. It was only by treachery, bribe and in the dark they arrested, the man, the rebel, the freedom fighter, that terrorized them! Jesus, the Christ! It was one of his closest friends, who took bribe and helped his enemies to arrest him and they put him to death. But after his death, his disciples continued his movement today, begun some 2000 years ago! Just an analogy!"

"And he spoke like a Prophet"

Nnamdi Kanu spoke well each time he was interviewed by local and international journalists. He is intelligent rebel leader. He can argue convincingly and grants interviews to any caliber of inquirer. He can speak his native **Igbo language** better than any Igboman I have known. He speaks impeccable British English with little Igbo accent, no adulterated gutter dialect or pidgin. He already perfected his public speech with the long-time "**Nnamdi Kanu-Radio Biafra Talk-Show Broadcasts**. He is well versed in Igbo-Nigerian History, ancient and modern. **Nnamdi Kanu** is a great orator and few African diplomats and politicians can face him in open debate, as one finds during election primaries. He must have scored 'A1' in international law and cultures and perhaps 'A' in anthropology and World Religions. No wonder he knows much better about **Chukwu Abiamara** (corrupt version of God of Abraham), the ancient God, that both the Igbos and the Israelites of old, adopted, among so many other gods, as the Supreme Being, and worshipped him, till date. Don't you see that Nnamdi Kanu qualifies more than many Igbos to lead a movement such as IPOB! The only last assurance or 'vow' every patriotic Southerner would demand from him is incorruptible leadership by example! Nnamdi Kanu or any Southerner (he doesn't need to be Igbo) who pledges such 'loyalty' can rule Biafra forever! Any Igbo Southerner is free to challenge Nnamdi Kanu and take over leadership.

An important counsel for Nnamdi Kanu

"You must not be intimidated by the threats of your arrest. Many Igbo elites (outside those who belong to Ukpabi Asika camp) recognize you as possible Biafra leader. Some are even my superiors, more powerful, intelligent and experienced than I am.

They are waiting for you to prove your 'stability' in this movement before they come open to support you. They believe that Biafra is the only reasonable option for Igbos and all Southerners. Here are some 'side comments' you may not fail to address as you go on your mission pursuing, like **Martin Luther (Jr) "Non-Violent-Campaign"** for Biafra sovereignty. Ndigbo call it **"Ohi Uka'** (revealing discretely a "classified document").

Religion and Politics: "As you go along addressing your various followers and audiences, you have to be very cautious talking about religious issues. Religion today is a divisive topic. So far only very few Biafrans are worried about your religious affiliation; since Igbos believe in freedom of worship. Nobody cares if you practice Christianity or Judaism. I am a staunch Roman Catholic to the core, but may abandon you if you speak ill of my faith or Lord Jesus. Followers of other religious faith share my pronouncement, and follow suit in forsaking you if you mix religion and politics. What every Biafran wants is impeccable leadership, whose words and actions will bring shame to all corrupt leaders, who have misled the people in the past".

Nnamdi Kanu and Disciplined Followers

Igbo people are blessed with a lot of human and material resources, but at the hour of need they don't perform; they get confused; they are disunited; and their enemies make fun of them! Please Ndigbo let's recover our senses! It is not "Nnamdi Kanu Biafra". Biafra doesn't belong to one person, Nnamdi Kanu. *"Igbo enwe eze".* But Igbos have leaders, and often 'charismatic' ones. And as far as millions of ordinary Igbo people are concerned, as of today, Nnamdi Kanu is one of them. He is intelligent and if surrounded by more disciplined and even more intelligent and patriotic Igbos than he is, Igbos will emerge victorious in the present predicaments. If Igbos follow this guy with cynicism, and not with constructive and enlightened support, we all and generations to come will pay heavily for our collective mistakes and failures. If the Second Biafra Revolution fails, that will be the greatest calamity the Igbo race would have suffered in world history. Mark my words. In another follow-up write-up on the IPOB leader, tiled "Let My People Go!"I further exposed the figure and fundamental role of Nnamdi Kanu in the quest for Biafra self-determination. I saw Nnamdi Kanu as a special figure in Biafra history.

The 'Nelson Mandela' of Biafra, The 'Martin Luther King' (Jr.) of Ndigbo, 'The rebel leader, Ojukwu', of the independent Biafra nation!

Nnamdi Kanu, like Ralph Uwazurike, is not a figure that can easily be forgotten as records of Biafra Movement are being compiled for the present and younger generation of Igbos and Biafrans, and Nigerians. This tribute was the beginning of my investigation into the leadership of IPOB. Igbos should not fail to examine our stand with open mind, passion and compassion, commit it to memory as we share the document with friends and let our children know the contents, too. It has become an important part of Nigerian History.

Buhari and Ojukwu -The Biafra Dilemma!

"The Biafra problem" had kept Buhari sleepless throughout his sick leave in London. And there had been a vacuum; no one to continue that important "dialogue" with Buhari and his trusted ministers. There has been no peaceful resolution as far as the project of "Let my people go", is concerned. The dialogue which started in Aburi, Ghana was discontinued by Yakubu Gowon and his ministers. Ojukwu is dead; but Gowon alive (as at when this script was being concluded), watching the ugly consequences of his selfishness and failure to honor agreements. History has all the records, and there was a war and as well, **"There was a country".** Anyone who claims that Biafra is a new term, new concept, new phenomenon, a completely new ideology or project, in Nigeria, must be the worst hypocrite on earth, untrustworthy and evil person.

Buhari and Nnamdi Kanu - The unresolved Biafra story

The Biafra struggle did not end in January 1970. Never! Even with another war and defeat, Biafra movement will resurge and someone, perhaps another 'rebel', a 'fanatic', harassed, imprisoned like Nelson Mandela of South Africa, or even shot and assassinated like Martin Luther King (Jr), a model figure of the biblical "Moses" will continued the struggle until Biafra, Igbo nation is established, consummated. How long did it take the old Israelites to get a home land? Only in 1948! After years of torturous journeys, painfully difficult courses of negotiations,

Biafra will never continue in the false union, called 'Nigeria', and headed by Muslim Hausa-Fulani cabal. That is a bad dream, a nightmare. It is evil. This is why Nnamdi Kanu is continuing, renewing, leading the campaign.

There is practically nothing strange, abnormal, sensational about what Nnamdi Kanu was doing; nothing constituting a felony or anything dissimilar to what liberationist patriots do everywhere. Nnamdi Kanu, like Odimegwu Ojukwu has been called names. He was a **rebel, agitator, a war-monger, crazy idiot, and mad dreamer, stubborn and intransigent, uncompromising, arrogant and dangerous opportunist**". Most freedom-fighters are known and addressed by such names, by both enemies and friends. Their "reckless actions and utterances" often put so many innocent lives in danger and can lead to an open war! But if they succeed in the liberation struggles they become **heroes!** These are the known characteristics of "**Freedom Fighters!** And many timid compatriots are usually scared to death by their utterances and behavior! These are not bad names anyway. Ojukwu's dialogue with Buhari should now shift to Buhari and Nnamdi Kanu and Igbo leader like Nnia Nwodo, now the only "accredited leaders" of Ndigbo or Biafra, if Buhari or his successors and war-lords are serious for any type of negotiations. One ***Dr. Okwudili P. Ikedi***, a great writer has the following to say about Nnamdi Kanu. This is another wonderful 'tribute' that must be documented:

"Loathe or Love him, Nnamdi Kanu has fought better"

"For 35 years, Anthony Enahoro, Afenifere, Ben Nwabueze, OPC, Ohaneze, MEND, MASSOB, Awolowo, and other reputable Nigerians tried and begged for **restructuring,** the north rebuffed them. Nobody even took them serious. Nobody listened. Then a little known rabble-rouser ran a pirate radio station from his matchbox room in Peckham. In three years he made the hitherto unfashionable and impossible thing central to our national politics. El Rufai was in London yesterday talking restructuring. They fought in Ondo in a meeting on restructuring, there is a Yoruba declaration. Northern elders are shifting ground while pretending to grandstand. You don't have to agree with his style, I also don't. **But you must be one pretentious clown if you don't acknowledge that Nnamdi Kanu, loathe or love him, has achieved what all those people and organizations have been fighting for**

over 35 years without success. He did it in three years. The mass movement he inspired became a huge threat to the establishment. They had to take him out. Sadly, ethnic bias and hate from those who accuse him (rightly too) won't let folks see or acknowledge what this man has done. **The fire he lit up will definitely lead to something tangible happening this time.** People aren't ready to take no and platitudes for answers again. This much you can concede to **Kanu** without letting the hate you often accuse of him of get the better of you.

"Dead or alive, the little rabble-rouser from Afara-ukwu Umuahia has secured his place in history. In the final analysis, immortality isn't how long you live. It is how long your name is remembered, and for good or bad, Nnamdi Kanu will be remembered for ages as the man that took aim at the very heart of the Nigerian political establishment and they rolled in the tanks to quell him. That is something you must concede. When history is made, the protagonists rarely know the consequences of the chain of events they unleashed. But posterity will always remember. Kanu has been many things to many people- uncouth, brash, hateful, and obsessed, a charlatan, a clown, a messiah, a savior, a fraud, etc. We can't seem to agree. We must agree though that he has also been an agent of change. Should the current fever on restructuring succeed, Kanu should take credit for birthing it".

John Nnia Nwodo and Ohaneze Ndigbo

The problem of leadership in Nigeria is also the problem of the Igbo race. Surely every other region in Nigeria is left in the agonizing dilemma. Who will go for Ndigbo? Among the frontline Igbo leaders, past and the present, we have not been able to identify any leader imbued with patriotic leadership qualities after **Ojukwu** and **Mbakwe.** But I have strong reasons to believe that a reliable future Igbo leader can emerge from **John Ugwu Nwodo stock**, and this is why I am giving my support to the present leader of Ohaneze Ndigbo – **John Nnia Nwodo.** Many patriotic Igbos at home and in the Diaspora, recommend, too, the illustrious son of Igboland, from princely John Ugwu Nwodo family of Ukehe, Nsukka, Enugu state. Knowing this guy and following his intellectual and political development since he was about 15, the present author stands in good position to issue Nnia Nwodo with a good testimonial, which he must appreciate.

The Nwodo family, staunch Catholics spent the entire Biafra war period in Orlu (1968-1970), in my uncle's country home. When Nsukka and Enugu were overrun by the advancing Nigerian federal forces during the civil war, many Igbo families from the sector of the war took refuge in the safer Igbo heartland. My uncle, Mr. Lawrence Ogoh Ndiokwere, hearing that John Nwodo family, the then Minister of Local Government in the Eastern Nigeria Regional Government (1961-1966), decided to vacate his newly completed house to offer more comfortable accommodation to the entire Chief Nwodo family Who ever thought the young man NNIA, as they addressed him, would have become an important frontline leader of Igboland, Many years after the Nigeria-Biafra war! From his comportment, smartness and intelligence, I remembered I told my uncle, my brothers, and his elder sister, now late (Cecilia, we addressed 'Cey'), that the boy Nnia and the other fairer brother Okwesilieze, would one day become great politicians in the footsteps of their father Chief John Nwodo (Senior) as well as in the footsteps of Ojukwu! Dr. Okwesilieze Nwodo (Okwy), was one time Governor of Enugu state (1992 until November 1993, when General Sani Abacha came to power in military coup. . He was twice elected secretary general of People's Democratic Party (PDP).

John Nnia Nwodo, as renowned politician like his senior brother Okwy served in various governments, ministries and political posts, and now the president of Ohaneze Ndigbo, I was not surprised. The greatest is to come and not a dream. We encourage him and many Biafra youths are excited about his leadership qualities. One can refer to the guy as President of Ohaneze Ndigbo; but Igbo is another name for Biafra. There is nothing wrong in getting prepared for any eventuality, especially in the present political and economic situation facing Nigeria. John Nnia Nwodo, lawyer, economist and politician has in various for a, conventions, gatherings, at home and overseas addressed Igbos, youths and the elderly, telling his own stories, as Biafran soldier, student leader during his university studies in Ibadan much more about political experiences during the past 50 years of the post-war Nigeria. Under the administration of Shehu Shagari, Nwodo served as Minister of Civil Aviation. Under the government of Abdulsalami Abubakar, he served as Minister of information and culture. In 2017, Nwodo won an election with overwhelming majority of delegates that decided the 9th President-General of the Ohaneze Ndigbo, the socio-cultural organization that represents Igbo race or nation, and protects the rights and interests of the Igbo people world-wide.

His speeches marked him out as credible leader of Ohaneze Ndigbo and also have endeared him to many Igbo youths. Nwodo has boldly spoken out against the marginalization of Igbos in Nigeria and called for **restructuring** of the Nigerian federation, as the only possible option for the survival of Nigeria as a corporate entity. Restructuring entails the return to the 1963 regional divisions and complete decentralization of power and restoration of democratic rule. Once he led a delegation of Ohaneze Ndigbo, together with the other Southern leaders to the Senate under Saraki, where he rendered a powerful address to the upper chamber of law-makers outlining the causes of the ills of the collapsing Nigerian government. He called on the house to take serious actions and steps to rescue Nigeria from the state of anarchy and the deteriorating security situation in the country being inflamed by the terrorist activities of the roaming Islamist jihadists under the guise of armed Fulani herdsmen.

Chief John Nnia Nwodo and Nnamdi Kanu

Nwodo has in unequivocal terms made his position clear on the issue of Biafra self-determination struggle and the restructuring agenda. As President of Ohaneze Ndigbo he explained his disagreement with Nnamdi Kanu, leader of the IPOB. Nwodo was not happy with Kanu with regard to Kanu's methods and styles, and intransigence. Nwodo had this to say about Kanu: "I invited Nnamdi Kanu to my house and we met for three hours. I told him clearly that both in my personal capacity and as President General of **Ohaneze Ndigbo**, that though there are structural imbalances and lots of injustices in Nigeria, I will never ever support any action that will lead to the shedding of blood in Igboland. No nation in history has survived two civil wars.' Nwodo continued: "I saw the Biafran war with my two eyes. My father was the Minister for Local Government in the Eastern Regional Government of Dr. Michael Okpara but I fought on the front lines. I was a full Lieutenant in the Biafran Army. I fought in Ore. I fought in Orlu. I fought in Enugu. I taught at the Biafran School of Infantry. I worked for several months at the Biafran Airport at Uli and I saw firsthand, the unimaginable carnage suffered by our people. Available records show that 1.5 million Biafrans were killed in battle. About 1 million were killed by hunger and malnutrition while another 1 million remained unaccounted for. I saw our mothers, wives and daughters being violated." At the Uli Airstrip, I saw the C160

planes that brought supplies for us as they carried hundreds of Biafran babies that were sick and malnourished. Most of them were less than a year old. They were packed into the planes like sardines. More than half of them didn't survive the rigors of the flight as their tender heads hit the iron body of the planes during flight turbulence or air attacks. Among the ones that survived, more than half never came back home. Most of those Biafran kids who were flown to Gabon and other friendly African countries, and who survived the ordeals could not trace their families back home in Nigeria.

Nwodo unfolds grievances against Nnamdi Kanu

During an interview Nwodo unfolded his grievances against Nnamdi Kanu: "I told Kanu that war is not an option. I made that point clearly to him. I also told him to tone down his language. He should stop abusing the President of the country and stop calling Nigeria a zoo. A zoo is where wild animals are kept. If you say Nigeria is a zoo, it then means that all of us are wild animals. Even if you don't like the President as a person, you must respect the office he occupies. In Igboland, we respect our elders. We don't abuse them in public no matter the level of difference. I told him to stop abusing our Governors. In particular, I told him to stop abusing the Imo State Governor by calling him *Okoro-awusa* and questioning his paternity except you have the result of a DNA test which proved that his father didn't give birth to him. By questioning his paternity, you are indirectly abusing our wives and mothers. That is unacceptable. I told him to stop calling the President a pedophile. That is wrong and I won't condone that. My own mum had her first child at the age of 13. In the olden days, once a girl attains puberty in Igboland, forms breast and starts menstruating, she is ripe for marriage. So, you are indirectly abusing the culture of our people.

IPOB, Ohaneze Ndigbo & Restructured Nigeria

What is the solution to the Biafra problem? According to Nwodo: "IPOB wants an independent Biafra, while Ohaneze Ndigbo wants a restructured Nigeria with strong regions and a weak center where each region will control her resources, have their own constitution while royalties are paid to the center to manage foreign affairs, immigration, defense, currency matters, etc". Instead of talking tough and threatening fire and brimstone, let's

work together and push for a restructured Nigeria. Let's sit down and talk with Abuja. If we form a common and united front, the Federal Government will listen to us. Abusing the President will not give us Biafra. Abusing other tribes and calling them names will not give us Biafra. Telling Igbos to stop attending churches with Yoruba pastors will not give us Biafra. It will rather widen the gaps between us and these other people who themselves are victims of the injustices in Nigeria. It will annoy them and they will abandon us. We can't push this alone. We need the support of our neighbors. By abusing and threatening others, you put the lives of our people who live there in danger. I said all of these to him and he refused and kept going on and on. At a point, they started abusing me too, calling me names. I was never offended. They are my children. That is a burden of fatherhood and I am prepared to bear it. Our people have a saying "what an elder sees sitting down; a young person cannot see standing up".

Memories of Biafra after 50 years – Summary of core History (By Ohaneze leadership).

Fifty years or more after the Nigerian – Biafra war, also referred to as Nigeria Civil war, there was need for a sober reflection, which definitely would look for more answers for many lingering questions. The following address forms an important unrecorded core history of Nigeria-Biafra. It is central and certainly the foundational part of our present investigations. **John Nnia Nwodo**, the president of the Ohaneze Ndigbo provided the Igbos and all Nigerians the required headlines and materials for sober reflections. Nigeria-Biafra students of history, as well as our youths must read through the document and take notes. We reproduce all here.

(1) It is significant that we have chosen to harvest sober **memories of Biafra.**
(2) 50 years ago, Nigeria faced disintegration by the declaration of the Republic of Biafra. Biafra was born out of the political crisis which engulfed Nigeria at that time. **The crisis began with the struggle for leadership in the Western Region of Nigeria,** the declaration of state of emergency in the West, the coup of January 1966, the counter coup of July 1966, the pogroms, the declaration of Biafra and the commencement of a police action that turned into a three years civil war.
(3) I hope that our gathering today may contribute to the body of knowledge or body of lessons from the war. Lest we forget, there

is wisdom in the words of George Santayana that: **those who do not know their history are doomed to repeat it.**

(4) My most heartfelt reflection is that in the Nigeria-Biafra conflict, we can and should acknowledge the sacrifice - in blood, suffering and toil - by millions of citizens on both sides of that divide. They shared a common hope for their sacrifice: namely, that out of that war, we shall build a nation where no man is oppressed. **The only difference was that for one side, Nigeria was that nation. For the other it was Biafra.**

(5) For those of us that survived the war and others who came afterwards, we are both heirs to the sacrifices of fallen brethren. Let us commit ourselves today and always to their hopes for peace and justice. Anytime that we are violent, anytime that we are unjust in the exercise of our public trust, anytime we lower the ideals of this nation, we betray them; and we act as if they died in vain. As we honor their memory, today my worry is not only about the rising feeling of marginalization of Igbos or any other group but that our nation may emerge from this conflict a more united and prosperous country.

(6) At the end of the war, in spite of a policy of no victor no vanquished by the Government of General Yakubu Gowon, an unconscionable policy of impoverishment of Biafrans was unleashed by the federal government. Every bank deposit of Biafrans that had encountered a transaction whether by deposit or withdrawal was reduced to £20. Massive savings were completely wiped out. Capacity for investment and recovery from the war was shattered. Whilst this poverty pervaded, the Indigenization Decree was promulgated enabling other Nigerians, except Biafrans to acquire commanding heights in the indigenized companies which held at that time the critical and commanding heights of Nigeria's private economy.

(7) Before the war national unity was the norm. A Biafran was a member of Northern Nigeria House of Chiefs. Biafrans lived freely and invested in all parts of Nigeria. In Lagos Dr Azikiwe was elected leader of Government Business. Mbonu Ojike was elected Deputy Speaker. In Enugu Alhaji Umoru Altine, a Fulani man was elected Mayor of Enugu. Mr Willougby a Yoruba man was Accountant General.

(8) On the economic front, the economy was buoyant. Import substitution industries grew rapidly and were more profitable. In the North, groundnut production and export fuelled economic growth. Textile industries flourished, agriculture boomed. Ahmadu Bello University thrived with outstanding international reputation.

(9) In Lagos and the entire Western Region growth was phenomenal. Cocoa was a dependable foreign exchange earner. Cement, soft drinks, rubber, beer, soap and other import substitution industries grew phenomenally. Lagos, Ibadan and Ife housed universities of world standards. The first television station in black Africa was built. The first stadium in Nigeria was also built in the West.

(10) In the Eastern Region palm produce grew the Eastern economy. Coal was mined and exported. Beer, cement, cashew nuts, tyres, aluminum, steel and soft drink factories grew rapidly. University of Nigeria was built and run by Americans.

(11) Reflecting on 50 years after the Nigeria-Biafra conflict, it would seem to me that we have made very elaborate efforts: constitutional, political and administrative to ensure a united Nigeria. We must not shy away from giving our nation its due credit, after all, some other societies with challenges like ours did not fare as well as we did.

(12) However, we should not rest on our oars.

(13) Our political system is jaundiced, unfair, exploitative and unsustainable**. Since attainment of independence the civilians have not been able to agree on a political structure. Our present constitution and the previous 1979 constitution were impositions of the military** – an unrepresentative and dictatorial corps whose decrees were seriously influenced by the lop-sidedness of their composition.

(14) The economic and development data from Nigeria is not encouraging in many sectors. Our law and order system including the police, the court system and the penal system has been characterized by impunity, incompetence and indiscipline.

(15) On the global Terrorism Index Nigeria ranks 3rd after Iraq and Afghanistan and ahead of Pakistan and Syria. The World Economic Forum ranks Nigeria 127 out of 138 on the Global Competitiveness Index. The UNESCO ranks Nigeria with Chad, Pakistan and Ethiopia as the worst educational system in the world. Nigeria, according to the report, has the highest number of children out of school and one of the world's worst education systems due to a combination of corruption, conflict and lack of investment. In the Human Development Index of the United Nations Development Program, Nigeria ranks 152 out of 188 countries and is the lowest among OPEC countries. The data points to a bleak future as we march to post-oil world without a coherent plan to reduce conflict and build a new national consensus.

(16) On the positive side, there is a global consensus that Nigeria is highly potentiated. With a population of about 182 million people, by current estimates; and with our vast mineral and material resources; a well-organized Nigeria should be a land of plenty that supports its people and a leader in the comity of nations. Sadly, this is not the case.

(17) Almost every Nigerian agrees that Nigeria is not working but there is no clear consensus on why; or on what to do about it. Some say that it is merely a problem of leadership and once that is fixed all other things will fall in place. Others say that it is a problem of corruption. Once you tackle that, everything will be fine.

(18) Others have said that our problem is one of law and order; some say it is more fundamental and has to do with control of resources, structure of the Federation and thus requires more equitable sharing of revenue and the devolution of powers. Others say it can be fixed with power rotation and a more level playing field.

(19) It has been said that it could be a bit of all of the above; and that Nigeria cannot be fixed without a fundamental change of values and attitudes. Whatever the case, it will not profit us to pretend that we do not face existential challenges

(20) These challenges are worrisome; especially to our younger ones who must face the fact that the next 50 years could be even more challenging and there is a good chance that we could be left behind if we fail to take action today. For instance, it is estimated in some quarters, that by 2050 – that is in 33 years' time – Nigeria could be the 4th most populous country in the world. That means that Nigeria, which is just twice the size of Texas; would be more populous than all the United States of America. Meanwhile, as of today, we have a GDP that is barely 2% of that of the United States.

(21) At the same time, in the years ahead, we could face very severe ecological challenges that will impact negatively on our economy. The desert is encroaching southwards at a speed of up to 6 km per annum. Thus within 33 years we could lose about 200 km of land to the desert - across the north. This can only exacerbate competition for arable land in the north and elsewhere – with dire political consequences.

(22) In the South East, we could expect more ecologically-induced dislocation. For instance, the government of Anambra State estimates that about 40% of the State is threatened by erosion. In the South-South, by 2050 we could be dealing with

the reality of a post-oil economy and yet have massive environmental degradation that is yet unattended to.

(23) There is also the possibility that much of the mangrove ecosystem could be lost to deforestation. Lagos could have a population of up to 50 million people and face unbearable challenges of massive urbanization.

(24) We must become more responsive to the world around us, or we and our children will be left behind. These are some of the fears and anxieties of our youths. We have for too long allowed the bitterness of the war and its lingering feelings to dictate our political relationships. The coalition that fought the war is still in control of Nigeria engaging in rhetoric that fuelled the war in managing renascent Nigeria. The young men and women who were not part of the war are frustrated by this impasse.

(25) Those that are in the East fuel strong agitations for separation in the face of clear treatment as second class citizens. War is the primary instrument of military dictatorship while negotiation and agreement are the essential ingredients of civilian democracy and political diplomacy. Nations are not created and sustained by street warfare. The federal government of Nigeria must instruct its police and army to promulgate a ceasefire and disengage from further unproductive street warfare with IPOB and MASSOB. There are no problems which cannot be resolved by negotiation.

(26) We do not want any more wars. We have shed enough blood without producing corresponding political results. 50 years after Biafra the time is now overripe for a fresh approach. We must immediately commence discussions and fruitful negotiations about our political future. In the era of asymmetrical warfare, war is no more an easy option for states, therefore we must negotiate our way out of a sense of national despair to a new national consensus that unlocks our national possibilities.

(27) Nigeria, blessed as the richest and the most popular nation in Africa has enormous potentials. Every part of Nigeria can survive as an independent country. The North with its mineral and agricultural potentials can build a strong nation. The West with its cocoa, oil, indomitable intellectual know how and commerce can build another Britain. The South South with its oil, notwithstanding its declining economic potency can transform its area before oil ceases to be a major foreign exchange earner. The East with industry, outstanding innovation and little oil may still emerge as the African wonder. But none of these little enclaves will rival the capacity of a united and

reconciled Nigeria. We must all rise up and save this nation from a trajectory that will make a break up a more viable option.

(28) The challenges ahead are beyond Biafra. Just like the challenge in North East Nigeria exploded in our face and has engaged our nation for almost 9 years; we could face challenges anywhere and anytime. In my view, if we fail to build a nation that caters fairly for all its citizens; and prepares us for the world of tomorrow – there will be new challenges in the future.

(29) We must find creative ways to manage a complex multi-ethnic and multi-religious state. History teaches us that no society is static; the status quo cannot endure forever. We must find creative ways to promote political, economic and social justice within a nation and between the people that comprise it. If not, then we are invariably opening the doors to future threats of chaos, disorder and societal dislocation.

(30) The final challenge of our generation is to show that we learnt the right lesson from that sad conflict of 50 years ago. We must bequeath our children with a nation that works for all and one that looks ahead. We want a Federal Republic of Nigeria which is collectively owned by all Nigerians as opposed to a Federal Republic that will be perceived as a the private property of one group or groups of ethnic groups depending on who is in office. The categorical destination is a Nigerian Nigeria under the collective hegemony of the people of Nigeria. In order to achieve this we must have a flexible federation; strong enough to guarantee our collective defense and protect individual rights, agile enough to react to emerging tensions and threats, yet expansive enough to allow each state room to develop at its own pace. We must create a national order whereby each state bears the primary responsibility for its development.

(31) Today majority of Nigerians are yearning for a restructuring of the federation. The beneficiaries of our current system are resisting it. A famous British Prime Minister in the wake of nationalist struggles in colonial Africa said to the British 'there is a wind of change blowing throughout Africa. Those who resist it do so at their own peril'.

(32) Nigeria cannot prosper, as it should, unless we redress some aspects of our current condition. I believe we have enough men and women of vision and experience, in every part of the country, to help us plot a bright future. I commit Ohaneze Ndigbo to this path. It may be difficult but it is doable.

(33) True leadership evolves in historical circumstances like this. Our country is at cross roads. You can feel the

tension every day. It is palpable, it is potent, and it is real. Let us wake up to the change imperative at this moment and claim a glorious judgment by History.

(34) Fifty years after the bitter war between Nigeria and Biafra, most Nigerians agree that the nation is not working. In fact instead of unifying the multi-ethnic nation, the leaders – military and civilian - have succeeded in creating more divisions than the nation has experienced since independence. There is real cause for alarm!

The Youths in the Post-War Nigeria: Great crisis

Without doubt there seems to be a consensus among many concerned Igbo youths including elites at home in Nigeria and in the Diaspora that Igbos everywhere are getting more divided and confused ever since the end of the civil war. Igbo youths, Nigerian youths find themselves in serious dilemma, in the most worrisome, unpleasant, undesirable or persistent predicament, in difficult situations involving risky choices ever. Politically, Igbos have no strong identifiable alliance or leader. The youths, the future leaders of tomorrow have no mentors or real role models to point at and sing the old 'war songs' of commitment and, even shedding their blood for the right course of justice their mentor, their role model was towing and leading the way! *"Whether he is moving forwards or backwards....we are following him....."*

In other words, when they sing and dance, the youths demonstrate openly their admiration for a new trustworthy leader. They have found a 'messiah', a reliable leader. He is the mentor and role model. "We march with him. We obey his command. We trust him. He is the 'Commander-in-Chief'. He is not a deceiver, a con man, an impostor!" Where can these leaders who have proved their worth in Nigeria or in Igboland be found today? Are there emerging big names to mention? Political, traditional and religious leaders without dents who can take up leadership positions or offices at any level and cleanse the nation, the state, the local government areas and communities of all the mess we have found ourselves in for long now? Multi-billion questions and expectations in the present day Nigeria!

Unfortunately the youths we are talking about are truly troubled, confused and disoriented than most concerned elders can imagine, when one discusses with them singly or in groups, to find out their aspirations and dreams about their future and that of their fatherland. What conclusions do Nigerian youths

draw from stories and of corrupt leadership that appear in Nigerian dailies and which capture their attentions? The most troubling and undeniable problems have to do with embezzlement of public finds and lack of jobs for millions of Nigerian youths, who face a bleak future. Many resort to armed robberies, while a larger group of frustrated ones flee the land, in search of greener pastures in unknown lands and environments. Our leaders have not provided the required exemplary leadership and the country has no future. Lacks of jobs and Exemplary Leadership have of course their terrible consequences.

MAY 30: BIAFRA "MEMORIAL DAY"

You are free to give it any name; **"Democracy Day", Memorial Day", "Veteran Day",** one thing is certain, on May 30, 1967, Biafra declared independence from Nigeria. Talking about **"Veterans Day"** what quickly comes to mind, especial to Nigerians living in America, is an official United States public holiday, observed annually on November 11, that honors military veterans; that is, persons who served in the United Armed forces. United States had in the past spent trillions of dollars in world wars and others, the super the power nation had engaged in and up till today to show her military superiority. Veterans Day is not to be confused with **"Memorial Day",** too, which is a U.S. public holiday in **May. "Veterans Day"** celebrates the service of all U.S. military veterans, while **"Memorial Day"** honors those who died while in military service. It is also not to be confused with **"Armed Forces Day",** a minor U.S. remembrance that also occurs in May, which specifically honors those currently serving in the U.S. military.

With overwhelming support by the Constituent Assembly of the old Eastern Region, Odumegwu Ojukwu officially declared Biafra independence from Nigeria. On **May 30** therefore, every year Biafra, which was defeated in 1967-70 war remembers both those who fought and died in the 3-year genocidal war against Biafra. The war, which we have continued to discuss in our book here surely was led by Nigeria and supported by her allies and friends, including Britain, the Soviet Union and the ARAB nations. Biafrans at home and in the Diaspora do not 'celebrate' anything, but simply remember all the dead, both soldiers and civilians who died during the war. It should be remembered that more than 50 years after that war, it was only during the leadership of **IPOB Movement**, led by **Nnamdi Kanu**, that **MAY 30** was officially declared a

"Memorial Day", a quiet day, all Biafrans stayed at home to remember and pray for their dead brothers, sisters and children who died during the war usually referred as "Nigeria-Biafra-War. The Nigerian government does not recognize the 'observance' or 'Memorial Day', but had always ordered its police and military to remain on alert each year most Biafrans youths defy any counter-order from any quarters against the IPOB directives. Many elders have joined the May-30 Memorial Day. Traders close the markets, many government workers and school children don't show up in school or at work. Few people are seen on the streets and in business centers. The following is a 'nut-shell' summary of the war according to some western news agencies, included here just for 'historical' records.

Biafra History Week: May 30 each year must be remembered by all Biafrans. Whether the Nigerian military and government would tolerate any activities by Biafrans, marking the events of **May 30, 1967** or not, this particular day, and in fact a whole week must be devoted to sober reflections on the events which led to the declaration of Biafra independence, as well as all that transpired during the gruesome 3 years of war and suffering. It will be a good time to review our book **"Post-War Nigerian History for Schools and Colleges**." One Nigerian youth, by name Chukwu Ekeoma, during the **May 30**, Memorial Day shared the following reflection: "I am always happy whenever my calendar reads May 30! Why? It is because of the irresistible force known as Biafra. On this day, the Igbo Nation or perhaps, the majority of the people of the Old Eastern Nigeria remember their fallen Heroes/Heroines who paid the ultimate price of death to salvage their Mother Land, BIAFRA, from the Slavery of Nigeria. Although their precious desire was not and has not been actualized till date, yet there is no gainsaying that their blood was never spilt in vain, and our **precious hope** is anchored on the fact that **time** is wider than space. Time will certainly tell! But come to think of this, how did the Old Eastern Nigeria, especially the Igbo Race that was the direct victim of the bloody civil war, 1967-1970, eventually recover from the ravages of that war and overtook the North in economy, education, civilization, self-esteem, etc? Obviously, God has not and will never forsake Biafrans and their struggles for self-determination".

"Indeed, we are all Heroes" In Memory of Biafra"

In a most fascinating way, a Biafran writer and patriot, Charles Ogbu rehearses Biafra war history, thus calling the attention of History students and all Igbos to some salient moments of our past. He reminds fellow Biafrans, Igbos and Nigerians at large: "Today is **30th May – Biafra-Heroes-Day-Sit-at-Home Memorial Day.**" Defeated in a war we fought to survive, dehumanized, stripped of our jobs, our assets, and our right to human dignity and condemned to live in a state of perpetual poverty and penury, with no government presence other than Police and Army checkpoints, but like the Phoenix, we rose from the ashes and here we are, conquering the arena like Spartacus. Charles assures all that 'We are all heroes'. I concur! I am one, by undertaking the difficult task of putting together in this History Book most of the facts about Nigeria and Biafra. I believe that must not be left to rot away in 'trash bins'. History will sometime hold some of us responsible for recklessness, ineptitude , incompetence, just out of fear or sheer laziness and intellectual dishonesty, we fail to document these 'incidents' for generations to come. Charles was bold and patriotic by helping to 'recover' some parts of important parts of history.

History repeats itself – As far back as 1945!

"As far back as 1945 in the North central Nigerian city of Jos and 1953 in the city of Kano, long before independence, we were subjected to two major **pogroms** by our Arewa-Northern-neighbors. Thousands of us were slaughtered. Thousands more were displaced. Yet, we refused to remain dead. Not even the ethnic cleansing we suffered after the 1966 coup was able to keep us down. A coup was carried out by soldiers from Igbo, Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba, Tiv and Esan ethnic groups but it was tagged an Igbo coup even when the same coup was foiled by two brave Igbo sons, the Oxford product Ojukwu in Lagos and Aguyi Ironsi in Kano. Characteristically, the blood of tens of thousands of our soldiers and civilians was again used to appease the vampiric god of the Nigerian state. But like Klaus Mikaelson, we yet conquered mortality and survived the ethnic cleansing. Even when the combined firepower of world powers such as Britain and Russia aided by Nigeria and Egypt were bombing us from all corners, while outgunned, outnumbered, and blockaded from land, sea and air, we not only resisted for a whole 30 months, we equally did the unimaginable within those periods and under the

harshest of conditions. Here, our ingenuity as a people came to the fore as we were able to refine our oil from a variety of non-fossil fuel, manufacture surface to air missile which we also adopted and put into action. We converted passenger planes to fighter jets and weaponized them. We would go on to construct the Uli and Uga Airstrips and repair them each time they were bombed by the enemy forces. And with nothing other than the sheer patriotism of our men and women and the desire to defend our right to life, we were able to hold off the aforementioned 4 countries, and more enemies, even under constant bombardments from land, air and sea and full blockade from all angle for a whole 30 months.

'We broke those technological barriers and achieved those near impossible feats as far back as almost 5 decades ago under the harshest conditions known to man. Today, more than 50 years after, the Nigerian state is still romancing the idea of producing pencil by the year 2020! After the Biafran war, all manner of economic, financial and administrative policies were invented to keep us perpetually on the ground: First, our properties were seized and shared as spoils of war with the tag, "Abandoned properties". Then, introduced was the state-sponsored financial terrorism of seizing all our monies in the bank to ensure that those who survived the genocide during the war would die of penury. Regardless of how much millions and billions we had in the banks before the war, we were given just £20! So, when the rest of the country were getting interest-free loan to buy up national assets, the Nigerian state made sure we wouldn't have enough to even put food on our table and this is a people who are coming straight from a 3 year civil war with nothing but their battered and traumatized lives.

"So basically, the Nigerian state robbed us of our lives, our monies, our jobs and our properties, and left us with nothing. And what was our offence? We sought to save ourselves from total annihilation by declaring "Biafra" when it was beyond argument that the Gowon-led Lagos based central government was neither ready, nor willing to protect us from hate-induced killing which started as far back as 1945 in Jos, fifteen years before we even gained independence and 20years before the first coup which mischief makers have tried to use to justify the senseless killings. Today, decades after the war, the Nigerian state is still carrying out an open war against us with every instrumentalities of the state. Even when members of two terror groups from the Caliphate part of the country are being released

from detention and even protected with special army task force, our sons and daughters who are neither armed nor violent are being killed and maimed and bathed with acid right inside a church by Nigerian soldiers just for daring to remember their fallen heros who gave their lives during the Biafran war. The demonic path that led to the war is the same path the Nigerian state is still treading today. *(sic)*

"Despite not having had access to political powers for over 50 years, our region remains far better developed than that of those who have ruled the country all through those periods. And despite being dispossessed of our lives, our monies, our jobs and our properties, we are today the biggest owners of landed properties in the country, we are among the wealthiest with chains of businesses scattered all over the country and beyond. In sports, we hold the No1 position. Even in education, our children always come first. WAEC, NECO and JAMB results confirm this. Now, ask yourself, how did we overcome the agonies of the Biafran war, the state-sponsored killings, institutionalized marginalization and other devilish policies of the Nigerian state designed to keep us permanently down, to become the very nucleus as well as the mitochondrion of the Cell called Nigeria? The answer is in the question. As we mourn millions of our heroes today, **30th May**, we must not mourn like those without hope. We, who are alive, we owe it to ourselves not to dwell in self pity but to congratulate ourselves for making it this far in the face of impossible odds the Nigerian state placed against us. As my father, the late Emmanuel Nwodo Ogbu-wa-Chima would say, when a man is in accord with his Chi, even curses from his enemies turn to Blessings for him. Having survived before, we will survive again. This too, shall pass. Indeed, we are all heroes!" *(sic)*

Great Personalities and their Activities

In his own contribution during the ***'2018 Biafran History Week'*** another patriotic youth, **Emeka Obasi** reveals the roles of some important personalities during the war**.** Every young Igbo, Biafran should take note! **"The words of Okokon Ndem** come in handy here as some continue the fight against injustice. We all abhor a system that marginalizes individuals and groups. It is also true that while we cry for equity, there must be a touch of wisdom and diplomacy. With awareness created, bridges should be built and walls destroyed. **Okokon Ndem** was the most popular voice within and outside Biafra. He was

not the Head of Radio Biafra but Radio Biafra was on his head. There was the popular jingle: *"Onye ndi iro gbara gburugburu, na eche ndu ya nche mgbe nile."* Sasa Nwoke's translation is: "The price of Liberty is eternal vigilance." This is the message from Okokon Ndem all Biafrans. The broadcaster, dubbed "Lord Haw Haw", by the General Yakubu Gowon regime, used his voice to defeat Federal troops on air even if the battle was being lost on the ground. He also drew global attention to Biafra. Okokon Ndem was not Igbo. The journalist hailed from Ikoneto in Odukpani Local Government Area of Cross River State. He died in August 2003 and was buried on Igbo Day, September 29, 2003. One prominent guest at the funeral was General Emeka Ojukwu, Head of State of Biafra. Burial ground was Calabar. Also in attendance were prominent politicians from the South East, including Chief Chekwas Okorie and Onwuka Kalu. The lesson from this is that Biafra was never an Igbo movement. The last President of Biafra, **General Philip Effiong**, Akangkang of Ibiono, though born in Aba was an Akwa Ibom son. **Chief Frank Opigo,** the man who named Biafra is from Bayelsa State and Dawai the Third, Amanaowei of Angiama. He was Administrator of Yenegoa Province. The most popular voice on Radio Biafra was a Cross Riverian.

The war started at 5.30am, July 6, 1967 in Garkem, Cross River State; no thanks to Lt. Gado Nasko who fired the First Artillery shots. The last officer to leave Nigerian detention, Col. Beneth Ochei, was from Delta State. One of the first ever hijackers, Captain Ibikari Allwell-Brown had Rivers blood in his veins. The trio seized a Nigeria Airways flight bound for Lagos from Benin. Allwell Brown flew the aircraft to Enugu. Some top officers in Biafra were not from Igbo land. Starting point should be Ibiono, home town of Gen. Effiong. It is also the place of Chief Ntienyong Akpan, Secretary to the Biafran government. The environment will shock all. There were civilians like Chiefs Ekukinam Bassey, J.E. Udoh-Affiah,Dr. Thompson Akpabio, and S.J. Edoho. There were crack officers and soldiers from Akwa Ibom. Lt. Col Nsudoh, was described as "tough, courageous and iron willed" by General Alexander Madiebo, Biafra's Army Chief. Col. Akpan Utuk was all bravado and was said to have committed suicide when news of the surrender got to him.

There was one teenage Commando, Edet, who fought in Uzuakoli under Col. Emeka Ananaba. From Cross River, there were civvies like Dr. Sam Imoke, Governor Liyel's dad, from Itigidi, Abi. Chief Matthew Mbu, Professor Eyo Bassey

Ndem, Justice Ndoma Egba, Senator Victor's father and Frank Ugbut. In the military, they had **Lt. Col. Archibong**, who according to **Madiebo**, was "one of the bravest officers I have ever met." The young man on wheels of the dreaded Corporal Nwafor armored car, Daniel Lawrence, better known as 'Pampas of Argentina' was an Ikom boy, born to a British mother from Liverpool. And Clement Ebri of the Biafra Airforce. There was one armorer, Arikpo, from Mpaghni, Ugep who was ready to die for Biafra while his kinsman Okoi Arikpo defected to Nigeria to be appointed Commissioner for External Affairs. Mention must be made of Lt. Peseke Ita Ikpeme and Sylvanus Eta, one of the crew of the Panhard armoured car, Oguta Boy. Then the train moves to Port Harcourt to see the family of Emmanuel Agumah. Other sons of the soil, among them Ignatius Kogbara, S.N. Dikibo and Sylvanus Cookey.

The warriors included Col. Joshua John (J.J) Brown, Capt. Willy Murray Bruce, Senator Ben's brother and Victor Masi. From the Garden City, next stop is Asaba. Col. Joe Achuzia can never be forgotten. We all remember the Asaba massacre of 1967 and what followed in Isheagu and Igbodo. Delta is the land of Brigadiers Conrade Nwawo, Okonjo, Auntie Ngoo's papa, and Mike Okwechime. And Navy Chief Wilfred Anuku who was also an Army Commander just like Ben Nwajei. Bini man Sam Loco Efe too. Yenegoa should not be skipped, at least for the sake of Chief Frank Opigo and Major Okilo who led the 63 Brigade. He was as steeled as Captain Ebube who chose Nigeria while his brother-in-law, George Ozieh (NAE 232) flew Nigeria Army boss, Col. Joe Akahan to death. So was Capt. Chris Ogbolu, brother to Col. Gab Okonweze's wife, Carol.

"Onward to Ado Ekiti, the soil of Col. Adekunle Fajuyi and Ayo Fayose. No condemning the Yoruba. They gave Biafra Prof. Wole Soyinka and Tai Solarin. Col. Adebayo helped out after the war as much as Chief Adeniran Ogunsanya. Maj. Ganiyu Adeleke was on the same side with his course mates - Majors T.I. Atumaka, Okonkwo and Ogbonna. There was also **Captain David Brown**, the American Red Cross pilot who was downed across Opobo on June, 5, 1968 alongside his crew of two Swedes and a Norwegian. **Count Von Rosen** was a hero, with his 'minicons' (Biafran small jet-bombers). So were the Portuguese, Artur Alves, Manuel Reis and Gill Pinto de Sousa among many others. At the end many questions are being asked by many concerned Nigerians. **Where is Nigerian heading to?** With the amount chaos one finds in our political institutions will Nigeria survive another great revolution? This time, it is not

Biafra that will rise to ask further questions, as the number of agitators continues to rise from every region of Nigeria. The outcome of protests might be devastating, if the Hausa-Fulani continued with their islamization agenda and ethnic cleansing of their neighboring Christian states. But one thing is clear, the Second Biafra Revolution may not be easily suppressed. The Revolution, if not today, may receive its consummation sometime in the future; though one thing seems most certain, at the end, there be a New Biafra"

CHAPTER 17

THE NORTH-SOUTH DICHOTOMY: DIVIDED NIGERIA STANDS–UNITED NIGERIA CRUMBLES – A BIG CHUNK OF NIGERIAN HISTORY

"Northernization" vis-a-vis "Nigerianization"

"The north-south dichotomy: 'Divided Nigeria stands–united Nigeria crumbles – is a big chunk of Nigerian history! The Sardauna of Sokoto Ahmed Bello unveiled the political agenda of the North in the much publicized interview with a British colonial journalist in the 1960's. Unleashing his morbid hatred for the Igbos, as well as his skepticism about **"One Nigeria",** it was clear that the Northern Nigerian War Lord was interested only in the North, his Hausa-Fulani 'tribe'. Asked by the journalist to throw light on the Northerners' hatred and obsession with the Igbos; namely a persistent disturbing preoccupation with an often unreasonable feelings or ideas, Ahmadu Bello did not hide his feelings. *"Igbos are a type of people who desire to dominate everybody. If they go to a village, to a town, they want to monopolize everything in the place. You put them in a labor camp to work; they come out as headmen of the camp".* Sardauna disliked Igbos most among other Nigerian ethnic groups because, according to him, Igbos like to dominate. They like to become masters in every field. Even if you lock them up in a cell or concentration camp, they break loose into freedom! Ahmed Bello laid the blame for this 'catastrophe' on his people, who were uneducated and not alive to their duties and so by their lazy attitude and ignorance allowed 'Igbo foreigners' into the North to take the Hausa-Fulani jobs! He confessed: "In 1952 when I came back here, there were only ten (10) Northerners in the civil service."

North for Northerners! Period!

Ahmadu Bello 'program' or 'project' or 'political ideology' was complete **"Northernization**" of the civil service and to make sure that only his Northern kinsmen occupied all posts and were real managers. Asked by the British journalist if his agenda was permanent or temporary, the War Lord did not mince words. "As far as I am concerned, it is permanent and not temporary: "Northerners first. If we don't find any or enough, we employ expatriates like you on contract. If we have to employ other

Nigerians, it would still be on contract, until we get Northerners in all the posts." He made it clear to the journalist and his listeners, that it would be dangerous to ignore his agenda or its implementation! "It can lead to bloodshed!" The British journalist wondered whether ***'others'*** that Ahmadu Bello was referring to were not Nigerians!

Most concerned Nigerians are convinced that right from the beginning of time, "One Nigeria" has always been a well packaged lie. Ahmadu Bello saw the futility of the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Protectorates by the British under Lord Lugard as a complete deceit, in the modern Nigerian expression a '419-scam'. The Sardauna of Sokoto, Ahmadu Bello described it as **"the mistake of 1914"** and **Obafemi Awolowo** was not left out. He aptly captured it as **"a mere geographical entity"**. But for some reason, Nnamdi Azikiwe, the Pan Africanist, was the only one too engrossed with the "One Nigeria project" that he lost sight of the fact that our differences as a people far outweigh our similarities. So while both Awolowo and Ahmadu Bello were working to advance the ethnic interests of their respective ethnic groups over and above National interests, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Zik of Africa was working to advance and sustain One-Nigeria above every other consideration.

If Awolowo hadn't used tribalism to dislodge him from Lagos, Zik would probably not have come to Igboland to establish some of the wonderful projects he set up such as the University of Nigeria Nsukka. Ahmadu Bello University was already in Zaria, in the North and University of Ibadan in the West. Wow! The East, Igbos would have lost out, in the One-Nigeria dream! Possibly our learned Zik was too naive to understand Nigeria and her peculiarities. Good thing is, with the benefits of hindsight, we now know Zik obsession with the One Nigeria project was a fatal mistake for which Ndigbo are still paying today. Sadly, we still see numberless Igbo sons and daughters still playing the Zik politics of trying to save the stillborn baby called One-Nigeria at the expense of the Igbo Nation even when other Nigerians are busy saving their respective ancestries. It is therefore a fallacy to trace the Nigeria problems to the Igbo, or Biafra. No! The North is the problem and one who disagrees or fails to trace the roots of Nigeria's political, religious, social and cultural problems to the Northern Muslim leaders is deceiving himself ; a simple intellectual dishonesty. Why are our political leaders, our lawmakers unable to come out with an explanation, why accords are not being implemented? And they have time debating and implementing

"Cattle, Cow and Herdsmen Grazing Bills". Don't other nations of the world own and raise hundreds and thousands of cattle and cows? Who hears about them? Where in other civilized nations of the world – black and white, brown and red, do people mingle with cows in the streets and classrooms? Is this not a shame and damn bullshit! The Muslims North operates Sharia law. As well they want to Islamize the rest of Nigeria. Will "One-Nigeria" agenda work?

"Things Fall Apart – The Center could no more hold"

The Biafra "event" must always remain alive in the minds of all Nigerians, especially in every future discussion about corporate existence of the nation. Therefore any Nigerian leadership that makes statements like "Nigerian unity is not negotiable", or "Stop talking about Biafra"; must be looking for trouble, renewing old wounds; in fact calling for **"Second Biafra Revolution**". Most of the issues that trigger agitations desolation of nation or the restructuring of the Nigerian federation are mostly linked to the political, economic, religious and social realities of the nation. How wonderfully have the past governments performed since the end of the civil war? Unfortunately the performances of political leaders are nothing to write home about and will require a big volume of a separate history book and must include: the military coups and counter-coups, the military tinkering with the country's constitution, the re-emergence of political military leaders in 'civilian uniforms" and 'recycling' of old corrupt political leaders, as the presumed "qualified, competent, knowledgeable Nigerians keep mute and watch as Nigeria hopelessly continued drifting internationally towards a politically and economically failed state.

The horrifying situation of the Nigerian nation at this stage remains shameful, and unprecedented reckless phenomenon many critics refer to as "looting of the treasury", otherwise known as bribery and corruption at all the levels of government, from local to state and federal governments continues unabated. Nigeria, a black African nation often referred to as the "giant of Africa" suddenly became a poor beggar nation as its leaders squandered the nation's resources, and brought a nation blessed by God with everything good to its knees. Other small nations like **Ghana** and **South Africa** took over leadership of the Black continent! The massive exodus of youths from Nigeria to other nations of Africa, Asia, North and South Americas, Europe and Oceania has marked the highest

peak of the political and economic crises the nation suffered in history. The situation as well created room for various protests and agitations by youths of Southern oil producing states. And with the level of injustice, oppression and suppression, which Igbos and many writers interpret as "marginalization" is made manifest by the Northern Nigerian-Hausa-Fulani Cabal in power, the Biafra agitation receives a boost from Igbos at home and in the Diaspora, demanding an unconditional creation of a separate entity for the Igbo nation. This is not the first of its kind; but the second Igbo agitation for Biafra.

The Provocative Marginalization Issue

It is a reality and not a fabricated or concocted strategy by the Igbos to win sympathy. The English word **"marginalization"** truly, is at the center of the great crisis and agitation and should be well understood by every Nigerian, young and old. To 'marginalize' means to alienate, to relegate to an unimportant or powerless position within a society or group. It means to assign someone or a group of people to a place or position of insignificance. In Nigerian situation the Igbos have been accusing the Northern Cabal and their administration of calculated and premeditated political actions or policies to make the entire ethnic group feel they are Nigerian citizens only in name; in short **"Second Class Citizens".** As far as promotions and appointments to important positions in government are concerned, Igbos are deliberately excluded or are only assigned to unimportant offices. In fact, Igbos are not well represented in whatever offices that are assigned to the representatives of the people. In most cases, while the North receives a lion share of Appointments to political offices and ministerial positions, the South-East (Igbo region), is completely ignored. So appointments seem clearly to be dictated by nepotism or hatred or lately by President Muhammad Buhari's 97%/5% formula!

A Typical Example – Implementation Formula in Practice

27 newly appointed Court of Appeal Justices: Breakdown: North-23; South-4; From the South; South-South-2; South-West 2; South-East/0.

One disturbed youth observed: **"The same educationally disadvantaged north now has the best citizens to be so**

appointed. It seems what divides us is stronger than what unites us. Let's not pretend; Nigeria can't work!" Wow! Many Americans and Nigerians who thought the president was cracking a political joke when he announced what looked like the future 'sharing formula' for Nigeria's wealth and appointments during the president's visit to the United Stated of America after his 2015 'victory' in the polls. Questioned by an American journalist on the issue of 'accommodation' of the opposition parties in his government; the president after receiving a clearer understanding or re-interpretation of the journalist's question, expounded his theory or new formula of sharing power in his administration. Everything will be based on the percentage of votes, or support he, the president's ruling party (APC) received from electoral constituency.

Quote the president, verbatim! "You cannot expect a constituency that voted 97% for the party to be treated equally or in the same manner with the constituency that gave the president and his party only 5% votes or support!" "That will be unfair", President Buhari insisted! The World Press listened to the newly-elected Nigerian political leader with skepticism or disbelief. Believe or not, as from that moment of Buhari's declaration of new political and economic sharing formula for Nigeria, everything changed for the worse. There is no injustice worse than this in a multi-ethnic nation such as Nigeria. It is evil and a deadly political and economic weapon designed by the perpetrators to cause disunity and disaffection among the people and if not carefully handled and injustice corrected, there is no doubt it could as well lead to the disintegration of the country,

Affirmative Action (Quota System)

There is no argument that Marginalization of the Igbos or South-Easterners has been at the center of the agitation for the Independent nation of Biafra since the end of the civil war. It's not long, namely, since the leadership of Muhammad Buhari, has it become so clear to most South-Easterners who hitherto had accepted the Biafra defeat in the battlefield that Igbos had become second hand citizens in the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Igbos however had not cared so much about their poor treatment in the hands of Nigerian government. With the 20 pound chicken-feed from Yakubu Gowon/Awolowo government at the end of the war, Igbos were able to work hard and bounced back economically into the mainstream of Nigerian economy. Politically no serious Igbo man believed sometime in the future

an Igbo could become head of state or president of the federal republic of Nigeria. Igbo politicians who joined Hausa-Fulani or Yoruba parties with the hope they would one day grab Igbo presidency knew they were having bad dreams.

Marginalization became a reality when Buhari started demonstrating his hate for the Igbos in appointments to strategic positions in his government and isolating the Igbos in thought, word and deed. But have the Igbos been marginalized in the Nigerian political and economic policies? There is no argument about it. It has well manifested in the policy known as quota system. As we learnt from history, especially in the United States of America and European history the nature of **Affirmative action policy** varies from region to region. Some countries use a quota system, (which every Nigerian student knows), whereby a certain percentage of government jobs, political positions, and school vacancies must be reserved for members of certain groups and the groups known in Nigeria to be well favored with this policy is the North. In some other regions where quotas are not used, minority group members are given preference or special consideration in selection processes. In the United States, affirmative action in employment and education has been the subject of legal and political controversy, and in 2003, a pair of US Supreme Court decisions permitted educational institutions to consider race as a factor when admitting students, while prohibiting the use of quota.

Nigeria and Affirmative Action (Quota System)

Ben Murray-Bruce, the well-known Nigerian business magnet and politician and founder of Silver-bird Group and currently representing Bayelsa East Constituency in Bayelsa state, Nigeria threw great light on Nigeria quota system and its implications in 'One-Nigeria' experiment. Outspoken, **Ben Murray Bruce,** is known for open criticism of bad government policies and unfair treatment of minority groups in Nigeria, by the Hausa-Fulani dominated government. He strongly believed that Nigeria should be restructured on the basis of merit and competence (not quota system). Bruce cites a remarkable example where merit and not quota system had dictated a country's progress and development; "In 1985 Nigerian airways had 17 planes and United Arab Emirates had 3. In 2017 UAE had 256, Nigeria had none. Progress depends on leadership. The leader of UAE Sheik Khalifa bin Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan deployed the best brains he could find in his country irrespective of citizenship and

ethnicity to make his country's airways one of the best in the world. In Nigeria the opposite is the case. Nigerian airways died because we sacrificed merit on the altars of quota system and ethnicity. Where quota system dominates the system and that's why Nigeria continues to fall behind even the smallest African nations. Albert Einstein defines insanity, madness, as doing the same thing each time, you perform the same stupid act each time and expecting different results" (Ben-Murray-Bruce)

Many Nigerians of the South do not see why for example the Northerners in education sector should be treated as a 'minority', **'disadvantaged!**' Affirmative action is intended to promote the opportunities of defined minority groups within a society to give them equal access to that of the majority population. In Nigeria, who are minorities or majority groups? It is often instituted for government and educational settings to ensure that certain designated **"minority groups**" within a society are able to participate in all provided opportunities including promotional, educational, and training opportunities. What prevents the Northern students from participating in educational programs or opportunities? The stated justification for affirmative action by its proponents is that it helps to compensate for past discrimination, persecution or **exploitation** by the ruling class of a culture and to address existing discrimination. In Nigeria, who are being exploited in common entrance to government schools, colleges, university and special school admission, when different cut-off-marks are used for different states? Who are being cheated, South-Eastern students or the Northerners who are offered golden advantages for entrance into higher educational institutions through the so-called quota system? While cut-off-mark for students of Igbo race is 80/100%, that of Bauchi or Katsina or any other Northern state may be 40/100%! Wow!

Who is to blame for the low performance of Muslim students who spend 90% of school period memorizing Koranic verses and learning Islamic studies? There is no reason, why all Nigerian students should not be allowed to compete and the best selected for the required courses? Why should the ignorant and unqualified Nigerians occupy the most prestigious posts at home and in foreign services, when the most brilliant scholars languish in less important sectors of the economy in their regions or states? It is the job of educational authorities to create best environment for learning and achievement. "Competition" and not "tokism" should be the yard-stick for progress and advancement in all areas of education. There are so many other

areas where the federal government has continued to favor the Northerners at the detriment of the other regions, hence the agitations and call for political Restructuring of the country, at the center of this agenda is Devolution of powers. Devolution of power simply means transference or surrender of powers to local authorities (states or regions) by central government. The reference is to rights, powers, property or responsibility. The federal government could transfer some administration powers of the police, the army, economic resources, and some ministries to the states or regions. **Devolution** means **'decentralization'.** Where the federal government fails in its responsibility to accommodate all the ethnic groups comfortably in its administration, the South Eastern Nigeria or the Igbo Race would be ready to opt for entirely separate existence, also known as "self-determination". This is simply a process which a state or group of people determines its own statehood and forms its own allegiance and government. For Igbos in particular, it is a determination of the people of the territorial unit known as South Eastern Nigeria to form and control their own future territorial unit called Biafra. Self-determination was first declared in 1967 and led to the Nigerian-Biafra war, but it failed.

Nigeria - Search for lasting solutions to conflicts

What looked like serious efforts to save the unity of Nigerian nation and yet recognize the agreed regional set-ups become masters of their peoples' affairs had received great incentive by the majority of Nigerian elites. Unfortunately only the North did not care to consider the restructuring agenda. Many honest Nigerians have spoken out strongly in support of restructuring agenda. Lectures and colloquiums have been organized during which elites and youths never saw any other political option better than a return to pre-war regional grouping or something very close to that. Maintaining the 36 state structures or increasing the number of states received virtually no support from anybody.

It is absolutely a waste of time and even hypocritical on the part of 'well-informed' Nigerians including Men of God, professors, historians, and educated business people to believe that the over 250 ethnic groups that make up the country Nigeria will in the nearest future become a **"United States of Nigeria",** just like the **"United States of America**". There is no **"United States of China**", **"United States of Vietnam**", **"United States of Europe"** (even the concept of '**European**

Union' is being abandoned), no **"United States of Great Britain'** (the war to break-up the '**Great Britain', 'United Kingdom**' has been raging for ages). **Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales** want independence and autonomy. So far there has been no peaceful resolution to the political problems of the United Kingdom, but negotiations have continued in the nature of referendum, like in the case of Scotland agitating for self-autonomy, after several attempts to secede through wars or armed conflicts had failed in the region. The case of the history of the break-up of the old Soviet Union is an interesting example. Check up Old Yugoslavia under Tito, the Old Austrian Empire a lot of other examples; **"Unity in Diversity!"** Wonderful! Get ready to sustain it! So we all still agree: "Experience is the best teacher." The most recent example of **Catalonia in Spain** seeking for independent state tells the same story of agitations for "**restructuring"** in various countries and regions of the world. Biafra case with Nigeria is experiencing agonizing problems that must be quickly settled or it might lead to a second Nigeria-Biafra war!

Dilemma: "Divided we stand – United we fall".

From other perspectives, I am convinced that Nigeria is a state where "antithesis", where complete 'opposite', converse, contrary, reverse, inverse, in fact the 'other side of the coin' works. I had a lot of examples of these in my book ": Only in Nigeria"; hence the title of this chapter: **"Divided we stand and united we fall"**. We have a lot to learn from such 'self-contradictory scenarios" (oxymoron), which work better in Nigeria! An oxymoron is a rhetorical device that uses an ostensible (assumed) self-contradiction to illustrate a rhetorical point or to reveal a paradox (something opposed to common sense); a more general meaning of contradiction in terms. It applies well to Nigeria!

"Divided, Nigeria Stands"

Nigeria is a strange country, and must be the only one in the whole universe, where contradictions take front seat in mindsets of entire people. It is only in Nigeria, leaders and followers embrace the 'unusual'. We are all familiar with the aphorism "United we stand; Divided we fall". In Nigeria, believe me, the 'contrary, the opposite theory works and is most applicable to the Nigerian situation; namely "Divided, we stand; United we fall". If

you think I am crazy, Nigerians should courageously try the 'experiment' for at least 5 years. Let the leaders sign a treaty and if the 'trial', the 'experiment' fails to yield the desired fruit, we revert to our old state, position or system. Let anyone who can, contradict me. If Nigerian leaders agree to 'divide' now into the former, pre-war status or regions, you will see Nigeria will 'stand', Nigeria, which is collapsing, nearly entering a comatose state, may begin to 'tick' (to work or function in a normal way) again. You will see at least, how looting of the national treasury can be brought under control. You will see how elected officials (no more interlopers, hirelings, wolves in sheep's clothing) will embrace the task of leadership and nation building by example. Unworthy and fake candidates will no more show up for political posts, as their failure or disqualification begins right from their villages and local constituencies. The people know how to differentiate wheat from the cockle. Don't you see how wicked and corrupt law-makers are greeted by the mobs, the angry youths and villagers when they visit their villages in convoys, with stones, bottles and other missiles. After exploiting the people, looting the country's treasuries, leaving the unemployed youths languish in poverty, most of the law-makers have become strangers in their communities!

"What we sow, we reap"

Nigerians of all tribal or ethnic groups practice a strange type of ethics or moral code that disregards stealing and banditry carried outside their local communities as 'no crime', 'no sin', 'no offense', punishable by law, civil or divine. That's why Nigerian leaders, who cross high mountains, deserts, and great seas, rivers, and even oceans and steal huge trunks or bags of money, are often greeted with grand jubilation and celebrations, when they return, even if they had served prison sentences aboard for their crimes. Behold, things are changing! Those who do not benefit, from the loot, a great majority must these days react negatively! Nigerians, who cross deserts and rivers, steal and reap from oil wealth and oil wells in the swamps of Southern Nigeria, dump their loot in foreign banks, while the masses are without jobs and food, are not doing any evil. Their sins and crimes are not even rated 'mortal' or 'big'. Those individual Nigerian millionaires and billionaires, who loot the nation's treasury, are local heroes, simply collecting their communities' share of the 'national cake'. Even if these thieves lavish their loot in extravagant lifestyle at home or overseas, there is no cause for

alarm. It is the national cake, and anyone who gets the opportunity is free to grab any chunk he can carry away with!

But if Nigeria is divided into smaller units, meanwhile 4 (four), it will become more difficult for thieves who steal from the public fund to go unpunished. I assure you, thieves, who are caught, will be publicly disgraced in the traditional way, and stealing will be treated as sin and crime. Behold how the masses jubilate when the mansions, estates, including expensive cars and other properties of arrested kidnapping kingpins and other lords of armed robbery gangs are destroyed and crushed to ashes by bulldozers. Some Nigerian governors have adopted this method of shaming these kingpins and their agents, and as well checking the activities of hoodlums who terrorize innocent Nigerians and make life miserable for millions of country men and women. Not only adulterers, or people who commit sins of incest, hungry people who steal yams, corns and bananas and fruits, will always be publicly exposed, disgraced or even banished from the kindred! Public servants, governors, and lawmakers will learn to take their time to avoid the wrath of the people and as well, anger of the God of justice. The watchful eyes of the people will scare any thieves who dare to steal the public and community property, no matter how small. Nigerians in their smaller 'republics' will not allow people allow the Dangotes, and other very privileged Nigerian businessmen and women and numerous 'sacred cows' to have all the advantages in business and grow richer and fatter than the state. Anathema! Igbos in particular cherish free and open competition. There will be no 'quota' system or favored party in education and employment opportunities.

United, Nigeria Crumbles

Who does not like unity, in family, work places, and communities, worldwide? Which pastor or religious leader preaches disunity in his congregation? 'Unity' is the watchword. Unfortunately, but frankly, Nigeria being a strange land suffering from many chronic ailments, needs special type of medication. Nigeria has not enjoyed any type of stability, peace or progress since its foundation. It has stumbled times without number and has suffered from chronic leadership problems. And the leaders and the followers are aware of the ailment. And urgent solutions are being sought to resolve the impasse. In smaller units, selection of worthy leaders for public offices may be simpler to organize and possibility of election rigging may likely be

minimized. Nigeria as a unit is too complex to organize free, fair and credible elections or census. None had worked without terrible and unbelievable hitches and consequences!

Therefore at this juncture, any southern leader paying courtesy visit to Muslim northern leaders and pledging alliance and supporting measures being adopted by the Hausa-Fulani oligarchs to "keep Nigeria one', by fire, by force, must be seen as a traitor and saboteur! Such a leader is an enemy of the people, evil enemy of peace, stability and progress. American political leaders, for example, on the local, state and national levels - senators, lawmakers, counselors, debate seriously, fight tooth and nail to fix health-care programs that will benefit their constituencies, their sons and daughters, their children and grand-grand children in many years to come. In the debates, they try to find ways of creating jobs for the jobless and the masses. Most of the lawmakers are old, even in their 80s, but are fighting for the generations to come. In Nigeria, the lawmakers haven't the interest of the people at heart. They are debating cattle-grazing-bill as if to say the herds of cattle are the property, part of the oil and mineral wealth of Nigeria, being harvested for the common purse! Are the sales or revenue from the cattle business dumped into the federal treasury? What a shame in lawmaking! Nigerian lawmakers are not there to discuss the country's pressing political and economic crisis facing the nation!

The North is never ready to move forward:

In Nigeria the North operates a Muslim system or culture. The North is never ready to move forward. Nigeria would have gotten her independence from Britain **in 1957,** but freedom fighters we know from the South were disappointed, when the event was deferred to a later date. The Northern leaders said they were not yet ready**. Ahmadu Bello, the Sarduana of Sokoto,** the strong man of the Hausa-Fulani oligarchy claimed his region ran short of educated elites to help him administer the Northern region, and moreover he didn't like 'foreigners', mostly the Igbos and southerners occupying top posts in civil service, public and private sectors. He needed time to get most of these foreigners replaced before Nigeria could be granted self-rule. British masters and Southern political leaders agreed to Ahmadu Bello request and the date for independence was pushed 3 years farther away.

The North not ready to implement the "Aburi Accord"

After the intervention of the military in 1966, and the political crisis the coup generated, peace could have been restored and the civil war that followed could have been averted, if the North was ready to cooperate with the Southern leaders. Again the North, led by the Hausa-Fulani oligarchs rejected, and in fact denigrated the important achievements of Aburi Accord, all in world history books today. The North was not ready for the 'restructuring' of the old political format or political arrangement that would guarantee Nigeria's survival as a united country. No one wanted a break-up of Nigeria or what politicians were those days referring to as 'balkanization' of Nigeria, a geo-political term used to describe the fragmentation or division of a state or region into smaller regions or states, often hostile or uncooperative with one another. If fact "Balkanization of Africa", was the strongest threat or weapon Britain and Nigerian political leaders employed in the propaganda war against Biafra during the Nigeria-Biafra war, and which scared at least 7 African heads of state from recognizing Biafran sovereignty when the new nation needed it. Those African heads of state admitted there were truly in their different countries, injustices and inequalities, similar to those in Nigeria which could as well precipitate upheaval and agitation for self-determination. Only few took the risk!

The North not ready to implement the 2014 National Conference agreements

After the civil war, which ended in "no victor, no vanquished" slogan and after many years of mess by the military, amendment of the constitution, and eventual return to civil administration, Nigeria was still not feeling well. The political and even economic ailment was getting worse. At a sovereign national conference in 2014, which was heavily funded, and with maximum participation of Nigeria intelligentsia and regional representatives, some fresh political agenda that would have put to an end, at least some chronic Nigerian political problems were drawn. Again Nigerians waited for the implementation of the agreement, like those of the Aburi. Behold, since 2014, no news about the political structuring of Nigeria, which is in the minds of every patriotic Nigerian. Again the North is not yet ready! And no reasons have been offered for the delay. If all is well with Nigeria, why are Nigerians calling for national conference to discuss the political future of the nation? Why is it only the North that is

showing no interest in the agenda? Something is definitely wrong!

Which way forward Nigeria? North-South Dichotomy

Igbo and Biafran leaders, and one must add please, the rest of Southern Nigerian leaders must stay awake, ever-ready for the conference table, and must bring out the old 'discarded' documents of the **Aburi Accord**, as well as those of **the 1979 Constitution and the National Conference of 2014** and re-examine the issues at stake. Where are those delegates who represented Nigerians at the meetings? What are you doing? For charity sake and patriotism towards your state and nation, why not volunteer again and push those in power to summon another urgent conference and finish the job? This time Sovereign National conference must accomplish the task of seeing to the Nigeria's future. The North must at last, as they had wished go their separate way; (Re- 'Araba' – Secession after the July 1966 counter-Coup.). The Muslim North should be free to draw a constitution suitable for Muslim nations. Already **12 of the Northern states practice Sharia**, Northern Christians and non-Hausa-Fulani of the North should decide their future. The present administration up to 2019 had declared its intention to serve the north, work with selected ministers from the North. It had showed little interest in the South; except, interest only in its **oil.** The Nigerian army dominated by the Northern Muslims is part of the Boko Haram, the Herdsmen terrorists and only the government knows how to deal with the terrorist insurgency which they founded and continued to fund. They know when and how to do away with them.

Charity begins at home

Biafrans should not fold their arms and wait for the outcome of the national conference. Biafran- Igbo leaders must also summon their own 'regional' conference! They have the great job of coming together, under one leadership, under one organization, surely **Ohaneze Ndigbo or IPOB,** give it any name, and reconcile differences, if any, and begin the great job of developing and re-building Igboland, starting with the broken and dilapidated infrastructures. This is no time for political rallies and sharpening of machetes and buying and storing arms and ammunition. With whom are you fighting? There will be no more war. And it must be clearly stated here, that any people

(elders or youths, government leaders or individuals and groups), whose acts, utterances, by omission or commission, bring about acts of violence, will bear the consequences for ever. They will never be forgiven by this generation or the next.

Reconstruction and development of Igboland

Patriotic Igbos and Biafrans must engage our leaders, political, religious and traditional, asking them to state their stand and commitment to the development and re-building of Igboland. What are Aba youths doing? Why can't the youths begin a clean-up exercise of Aba Township and markets lying in ruins? Why can't the youths send a delegation to the governor and protest before the lawmakers in Abia state! Just only one example! Same can be recommended to other Igbo youths in other state capitals. We cannot wait until Biafra is internationally proclaimed and recognized by the world community before we begin to develop the Igboland. Igbos should not wait until the quit notices they have received from whichever quarters, expires before they begin to contribute their quota towards the development and industrialization of Igbo nation. It is futile protesting marginalization on the national level. No! We check marginalization facing us on the home front. Our very brothers, political leaders, from the local governments to the state levels were the first to marginalize their fellow Igbos. They are doing it by putting into practice all the evils of Nepotism, Tribalism, Sectionalism, Ethnicism, appointing their wives, sons and daughters, brothers and sisters, in-laws, sons-in-laws and daughters-in-laws, friends and closest relations to most government offices, posts and establishments, while qualified Igbo youths and graduates have no jobs and languish in poverty. Some Igbo governors and lawmakers have set up their relatives and close friends as successors in top government posts, come next elections! Why can't we remove the wood from our very eyes, so we can see clearly the speck in the neighbor's or enemy's eyes?

THE FULANI HAVE ENSLAVED NIGERIA
(BY CHIEF TOLA ADENIYI)

Veteran journalist, columnist and administrator, Chief Adetola Adeniyi says that **restructuring Nigeria is inevitable as it must be achieved either intellectually or by the use of force.** Chief Adeniyi said in this interview with Business

Hallmark's Teslim Shitta-Bey and Obinna Ezugwu how the Fulani have over the years used the **military and trickery** to bring Nigeria to where it is today, while also criticizing former president **Olusegun Obasanjo who he said is the most anti south leader Nigeria has ever produced.**

Excerpts: 'A PIECE OF NIGERIAN HISTORY'
('emphases', 'stress'; author's style)

Nigeria is at a critical point in its existence. The call for restructuring as a way out is growing. What are your thoughts?

The sins of the British – (Lord) Lugard was a fraud

My thoughts remain the same. I recall that in **1983**, I called a press conference in Ibadan, the theme of which was the national question. I said that **unless the Nigerian national question was addressed, the (Shehu) Shagari government should not go ahead to conduct the election for second term.** And that if it did, the government would not last for three months. I noted that the country was sitting on a keg of gun powder, and the political structure was skewed in favor of the North as it was then because there is no more North now. **I was arrested and detained, and of course they went ahead to have the election. But the government collapsed in three months by December 31.** For many years, even when I was regional editor of the Daily Times, I have always felt that **(Lord) Lugard** was a **devil;** that bastard born in India had mischievous agenda for India, Nigeria and Sudan, those three countries where he featured as a soldier, as a mercenary, an administrator and as a trader. It was the Royal Niger Company that really brought him to Nigeria. The British actually didn't want any of their colonies to be independent or to ever be able to govern themselves. What they wanted to do, which **France** did to a large extent, was to make their colonies caricatures of Britain or France, so you will neither be African nor English. With that devilish plan, Lugard and most Britons of his era believed that pink pigmentation of the skin was superior to dark pigmentation. That was why they gave government in the Sudan to the Arab North and suppressed the South of Sudan which forced them into war for several years. In **India,** they encouraged the caste system for a long time and preferred the **lighter skinned**

Pakistanis and Bangladesh to the darker skinned middle and Southern Indians.

The British plot to use the Fulani to enslave Nigeria

In applying the same thing here, they found out that the **Fulani,** who at that time, had not really intermarried as they have done now, so you had about **half a million** of them who were "fair" skinned. And they also found the Southerners to be more progressive, more aggressive and better exposed than the then colony of the Fulani. Before then, even before Lugard was born, the Fulani led by **Uthman Dan Fodio**, one of the lies sold to most of us in Nigeria was that Uthman Dan Fodio came from **Fouta Djallon**, that is not true. **He was born in Sokoto and buried in Sokoto, I visited his grave**. What I'm saying is that the so called North had been conquered when the Fulani killed the king of the Hausas and took over. But they are so clever politically; they didn't take away the language of the Hausa because it would be difficult for them as a minority to impose their Language on the larger community, so they allowed the Hausa to retain their language while they also retained their fulfude. So **Lugard allowed them to continue, he used what is now called indirect rule. But for the North at that time to survive economically, it needed the South which was already exporting timber, coal, cocoa** and so many other things, and had an existing port; the South was very wealthy, and given that kind of background, they wanted to make sure, especially when they established the West African Constabulary – the Frontier force – they ensured that the bulk of the recruits were from the North because he also foresaw as **Ahmadu Bello later did, the dictum of Chairman Mao that power flows from the barrel of the gun.**

They recognized at that point in time that they must get soldiers from the North, equip them such that if they failed politically, they will use their military wing to impose whatever they wanted on the rest of the country. **Lugard violated the natural boundaries of North and South**, the River Niger was there; the River Benue was there, so the boundary ought to have stopped before **Niger and Benue which was what it was before the amalgamation**. But by **amalgamation** and the unfortunate incident of **Afonja** betraying the **Alaafin** during the Awole reign, Alimi betrayed Afonja and had conquered **Ilorin.** In fact, they wanted to push the boundary to **Oshogbo**, but for the **Ijesha army** that drove

them back. At the time they were driven back in **1888** or thereabout, the British were already in Nigeria; Lugard was already here. So they prevented the South, the Yoruba from pushing the Fulani further back.

Large Hausa-Fulani 'territory'/'Region' and False Population/Census Figures

The British eventually ended up giving them such a large expanse of land, and false population figures; the political arrangement was so designed that whether it was parliamentary or presidential system, the so called North must have majority in government. Then they went ahead in **1952** to give them terrible false figures in census to ensure also that if they base everything on population, they will say the so called North had more population. They also went ahead to falsify figures about even religion, giving the impression that the North was Muslim, that it had larger Muslim population, but it's not true. I was a commissioner in National Population Commission in 1988 to 89, and I know that apart from Bida and Kano, there is hardly any town in the whole of the so-called North that can boast of large population. So, they had the **military,** they had **false population figures,** they had **false landmass**; everything was tailor-made to ensure that the so called North will continue to rule Nigeria.

Northern Hausa-Fulani Leadership – Not the South

Therefore, they didn't allow either **Zik or Awolowo** to rule, and unfortunately, Zik was more **pliable** (complaisant – yielding readily) – he was a great man, but he was not a deep thinker. So you had only Awolowo standing against all the devilish designs of the British. But some people may ask why we tolerated this for over 100 years. It wasn't for lack of effort, people tried, but as Zik said to all of us, you don't argue with a man carrying the gun. It has been very difficult to free ourselves through civil means, and this had prompted the riots in Benue, it prompted **Adaka Boro** and all the militants that have tried at one time or the other. And **(Emeka) Ojukwu tried, he really tried with his secessionist bid to free the Igbo and the rest of the country from this very manipulative and very power hungry Fulani.**

Over 250 nationalities yoked together by the British

Remember that earlier on I said my own word is **not restructuring**, you can only restructure a structure, but to me **there was never a structure**. There was no structure, you had over 250 nationalities and somebody just yoked them together, they didn't create any structure. So, what we should be doing is actually to go back to **pre 1914.** Leaders of this place called Nigeria must come together and discuss the terms of coming together as a country. That hasn't been done. We Nigerian people; if there is anybody that can be so-called because there are no Nigerian people, we the people living in this expanse of land were not involved in what they did with the expanse of land. There is no structure given to that land, it is a landmass with several nationalities, what we should do is to go to pre 1914 as Solomon Asemota, one of the greatest thinkers on these issues said. But if that cannot be done, we can at least go back to **1952/54;** that is, going back to the **regions** using **language, culture** and all that to negotiate how to live together. Also, to ensure that the landmass itself has to be redefined in a way that natural boundaries are agreed upon. You cannot be talking about Western region, and leave the Jembe and so on in Kogi or you have emirs in Yoruba land or emirs in Zango Kataf or in Kafanchan, which are Christian lands.

If there is a correct census in this country, I can say that Western Nigeria has more Muslims than any other part of this country. You have had Islam here in Lagos since the 11th Century, and in other places like Iwo, Oyo, Ijebu and so on. That's why they called it 'Esimali' because it came from Mali. We had Muslims before Uthman Dan Fodio was born, but they (Fulani) have done so much that not only have they conquered the most vociferous and most enlightened part of Nigeria politically and militarily, they have also enslaved us religiously by calling somebody **head of supreme council of Islamic affairs.** What is supreme council of Islamic affairs? Somebody that had never been voted for! He has only been a Sultan, then using a puppet like late Dr Lateef Adegbite, and now using another puppet called Ishaq Akintola who is now the secretary of the so called Islamic affairs; there is nothing like Islamic affairs. But because of it, the Sultan will dictate to South West when 'to fast' and when 'not to fast'; when to 'kill ram' and all what not. And they won't allow Muslims from the South to lead prayers in the North. They made it such that the Southern Muslims have submitted themselves to the **superiority of Fulani Muslims**.

And they have accepted to be **second class** even in their religion. That's why I'm also leading a forum to free the Yoruba Muslims and ask the Alaafin of Oyo or the Awujale of Ijebu land to act as the Supreme head of Muslims in the South West. So that when the Sultan is dictating to the Fulani people, the Awujale or the Alaafin of Oyo will dictate to us here. The Sultan should never be arrogated as supreme head of anybody outside his sphere of influence.

Why no Southern 'Union?' Betrayal and Conspiracy!

You have spoken extensively about how the entire South has been subjugated by the Fulani, but why is it that the South cannot come together to stop it?

There was a strong alliance between Awolowo and **Joseph Tarka**, meaning that it's not just between West and East, but also between **West and Middle Belt.** And when Awolowo was incarcerated in 1964, **Michael Opara** came to the West and they formed **UPGA which was a marriage of East and West.** Again, at a point, there was **betrayal;** or rather the Fulani played a hand. The Fulani like I said, are still the most sophisticated politicians in Nigeria, there is no doubt about that. Because the only industry they have is power, and they have always had British and American advisers, till tomorrow, and we didn't have that. Up till today, the South does not believe they need the British or the Americans to advise them on politics. But the Fulani have always submitted themselves to British influence and directives. It is not that they (the South) didn't try, but we have always had '**fifth columnists'** (*a group within a country who are sympathetic to or working for its enemies*) among the Yoruba and among the Igbo. Once they dangle some political office in their face, they fall for it. That has been the bane, but we have all passed that stage. Maybe some governors are too chicken hearted to talk, maybe some ministers cannot talk, but they are only negligible minority. We now have a hurricane in the South, nobody who knows history can stop it. I have argued in some of my articles that it was the military wing of the Fulani that brought us into this mess. It was them that followed the part and pattern decided for them by the British.

"How the Yoruba won and lost Biafra" and Obasanjo foolery and perfidy

"How the Yorubas fought and won the Biafra-Nigerian civil war is an interpretative book on the Nigerian civil war, built on facts of history the book espouses a new epistemological system of analytical reasoning as cognition. It is introspective objection to Nigerian history as we know it today" ***(Bayo Ogunmupe)*** **"**The man who seems to have awakened the proverbial sleeping dog is a scholar, critic and writer, Jimanze Ego-Alowes. In his book, titled ***How and Why the Yoruba Fought and Lost the Biafra-Nigeria Civil War***, he puts the blame for Biafra's loss on the doorsteps of the Yoruba leadership, especially the late *Obafemi Awolowo….."*His examination of the roles played by other key characters that included Chukwuemeka Ojukwu, Yakubu Gowon, Wole Soyinka, and Ben Nwabueze, are also likely to raise dust, but the theory he propounds finds Awolowo more culpable. The titles of most of the chapters of the 226-page book by Ego-Alowes, who had earlier authored works, such as *Minorities as Competitive Overlords*, *Corruption in Africa: A New Diagnosis and Economists as Assassins: A Nigerian Connection do not betray the writer's mood*. They include Biafra-Nigeria Civil War was as a Pan-Nigerian Tragedy **(*Olakunle Abimbola, a columnist with The Nation newspaper).***

When (Alani) Akinrinade, Black Scorpion (Benjamin Adekunle) and Alabi Isiama, who were the war heroes that I know, but for them and the Christians in the Military who were mostly Yoruba, there was no way the so called federal military could have defeated the Igbo. That is now painful, when you read *Jimanze Ego-Alowes'* book***, 'How the Yoruba won and lost the Biafra War'.*** We fought; allowed ourselves to be used by the Fulani to kill the Igbo, but the first thing they did for us was to create 12 states and weaken the federating units. They gave the Yoruba just one state, and gave the so called North about six at that time, and gave the East three because they wanted the minorities separate from the Igbo. Thus, the Yoruba became the first casualty.

Then the worst came when someone of very doubtful paternity called **Olusegun Obasanjo,** who for reasons best known to him has remained the greatest anti south southerner in this country. It wasn't Murtala Muhammed that took Federal government out of Lagos, it was Obasanjo. It was Obasanjo who

imposed presidential system on Nigerians, it was he who took over all the achievements of the South: the University of Nigeria, Nsukka; the Obafemi Awolowo University; the television stations; Liberty Stadium… it wasn't Murtala Muhammed that nationalized them. It was this Obasanjo! He is a rootless man that believes that he can only "satanically" hang on to that mirage called Nigeria since he cannot say he is Igbo, even though we have question marks about his connection with Obi Onyejekwe, there is a question mark about whether Ashabi his mother was from Yoruba land or from Nupe, there are question marks on whether the man his mother married later who was called Obasanjo and who according to a television broadcast in 2005 in Abeokuta was actually 'Sango Sonjo' but who changed his name to Obasanjo when he became a Christian. So you have all these questions hanging around his name and around his paternity. He has done the greatest harm to restructuring Nigeria; to making Nigeria a truly federal state than any other person in Nigerian history.

Of course, since they knew who he was, even after (MKO) Abiola was denied the presidency, the Fulani, using some proxies… because among those who brought Obasanjo back to power, it was only Aliyu Mohammed Gusau who is Fulani. Babangida is not Fulani, he is Gwari; Danjuma is Jukun, but the Fulani used them to choose somebody they know will always dance to their tune to make him president, they have tested him before. But before then, the military government of Abacha, which was itself a creation of the Fulani had gone ahead to divide Nigeria into 36 states and created 774 local governments that had neither rhythm nor rhyme. I know a particular place called Chalawa in a Local government in Kano; there are not up to twelve houses there. And the only house there that is plastered, not painted, is a 2-bedroom bungalow. You call that a local government headquarters, to compare with Alimosho Local Government, to compare with Ibadan, to compare with Obafemi Owode. You have local governments dotted all over the North that cannot boast of ten thousand or even five thousand people in population. And yet the sharing formula for Nigeria's resources is based largely on landmass, which is false; on population, which is false and on local governments, all of which are fraudulent. So for peace and stability to return to this landmass, we have to go confederate, anything short of it is just window dressing; anything short of that is still going to collapse. Nigeria must be based on a confederation.

The New Republics *(By Jimanze Ego-Alowes)*

Let us have **six republics**: the **Caliphate Republic**; the **Elkanemic Republic**, which is Borno; the **Igbo Republic**; the **Niger Delta Republic**; the **Yoruba Republic** and the **Middle Belt Republic**. And those six republics would then come together and have the nonfederal republic of Nigeria on agreed terms. *Every republic will have its own constitution, police and military but to be coordinated by the federal military for national defence against external enemy*. Why should the federal government have the ministry of education, why should it have ministry of agriculture or ministry of lands and housing? Federal government does not own land; you cannot be doing agriculture when you don't have any land. The land belongs to state and local governments. So, once we have that, let every region develop at its own pace. There is no point in talking about whether or the North wants that to happen. We cannot be talking about the North when there is no North. You can't be killing people in Benue and say they are Northerners; they are not. I spoke to some professors in Niger State, they told me that they are more bitter about this so called Nigeria than we Yoruba are; that they have been the perpetual slaves of the Fulani that they cannot even talk. They slaughter Benue people almost on daily basis. The Zango Kataf people in Southern Kaduna are being killed on daily basis, and you are calling them Northerners? You only have the caliphate that has overrun the rest of the so called North, but they never succeeded in overrunning Kanuri, the Borno people.

But of course, for selfish reasons, and for what their stomach will eat, there are some leaders of Borno, some leaders of Jukun, Benue, like Paul Unongo, Plateau who they decorate with an empty title of the chairman of Northern whatever. The person you can say is the leader of **Arewa** is (Ibrahim) Coomassie who is a Fulani from Katsina. They deceived Sunday Awoniyi and made him chairman. Chairman of who? They deceived Unongo and say he is the head of Arewa, how can Unongo be chairman of Arewa when they are killing his people every day? I'm saying therefore, there is no more North and the South must begin to recognize that fact. We have been so timid because we have been brainwashed to believe that there is a superior force somewhere. No, we don't have any Nigerian army now, what we have is a Fulani army that may still be exploiting some people in the military. The kind of military that went to massacre the Igbo does not exist anymore. I'm still asking

whether there are Igbo among the people from 82 Division who went to harass people in Abia. I doubt if there were any Igbo or any Yoruba there. They will selectively call on their Fulani and some stupid Hausa who have still not seen themselves as slaves to join them.

What about the political conferences like that of 2014? People have suggested that we take this document and implement what we can. At that point in time, it probably satisfied some concerns, but now we have grown beyond that. You cannot be talking about **2014 conference** that recommended that you should create one more state in the South East, and create more local governments. We have gone beyond that, state creation is not the business of the federal government, local government creation is not the business of any federal government. Let the republics create them. If you want to create one million states in Yoruba republic, it is your business. What is obvious from your point is that we cannot move forward without tinkering with the structure of Nigeria, but still you have a situation where the Hausa/Fulani…? There is no Hausa/Fulani, you cannot be Ibibio/Efik, you cannot be Annang/Ibibio, or Ijebu/Egba. These are the things they use to confuse us; the use of language for political effect. You have only the Fulani, about five million of them. You have this arrangement where the Fulani who like you said are in control of the military still opposed to restructuring. How do we go about getting the country you want?

Yes, they control the army, the intelligence service, the SSS, immigration the police and so on, but it is possible through two approaches; only two. First is brain, second is brawn.. The Fulani brought us to where we are today using brawn, and a bit of trickery and deceit. But it was largely through the military. The creation of states, killing Biafrans, killing Southerners in the North, local government creation, presidential system… all those were made possible by the military**.** In fact, like I said earlier, it was the military even though they did well in providing infrastructure that was used by the Fulani to destroy Nigeria politically. And I have argued that as unpalatable as it might sound, it is still the military that can take us out of this mess. It is either organized military or armed militia that will come from various parts of the country, this status quo cannot continue. The 36 states cannot pay salaries; the federal government cannot pay police salaries. They owe the military pensioners many months salary areas. So, it's either we wait for the oil to dry up or to be unprofitable, which will happen in the next few years, then everyone will go away. But what we are saying is, please come

now, let us restructure Nigeria. The caliphate has more to benefit than any other part of this country.

"The caliphate has more to benefit than any other part of this country". Why do you say that?

They have a lot of resources which laziness and over dependence on people's wealth which they have been spoon feeding on has stopped them from exploring. The caliphate, the North East and Middle Belt are so rich in agriculture that if you have Middle Belt republic and **Caliphate republic**, and **Elkanemi republic**, they can be exporting agricultural products: cattle, beef, tomatoes and so on to the rest of the world. They will make more money from exporting agriculture produce, but they abandoned all that because they are stealing the resources of the South. Lagos alone contributes more than 67 percent of VAT than the rest of the country put together. They say they don't drink alcohol… which is a lie, but if you don't drink alcohol and we consume it in the South, why are you using our VAT money to develop yourselves?

Nnamdi Kanu Leadership

So, to answer your question, we will get out of it using our brains which are what we are doing now, trying to persuade everybody. If that fails, it would be brawn. But either of the two must yield to us the country we want. And it is in the interest of everyone to allow brain to decide for us. If Nigeria breaks into militia as you have in Somalia, it will not be palatable for anybody. So, let us go the Czech-Slovakia model. Let's decide to stay apart peacefully and come together in a confederation than to wait for militia to emerge from every part of the country. The people in Southern Kaduna will not wait indefinitely; people in Benue will not wait indefinitely. They have been able to conquer Plateau, but some elements of Plateau are going to wake up and say no, you cannot put army of occupation in our land. **I told some people that you can say whatever you like about Nnamdi Kanu but I believe that there is no Nigerian today who commands the kind of followership he commands, so such a person cannot be dismissed.** The forces they have gathered, you can drive them underground, but when they unleash terror on this country it will not be funny. The military may be the only organized force, but they don't have monopoly of violence.

CHAPTER 18

BREAK-UP OF NATIONS - HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE AND OPTIONS

> **The only way to killing Nigeria is to kill Restructuring. And the surest way to keep Nigeria one is to Restructure it.** *(Uwakwe Nwachukwu)*

Impossible "United States of Nigeria"

There are not a few Nigerians, who strongly believe that the restructuring project or agenda which could have helped to keep Nigerians together in a loose federation with a weak center was at this point no more an option. A total break-up of Nigeria into three of four independent nations looks like a more reasonable option. There are no signs of serious action being taken by the federal government to safeguard the security of Nigerian citizens in their homeland. Most Nigerians see no other option than the break-up of the country. We have seen already and much more, how some other nations of the world resolved their political problems by choosing a break-up of incompatible unions. One Nigerian author, Okey Ezeh, had once been quoted as saying that **"The only way to killing Nigeria is to kill Restructuring. And the surest way to keep Nigeria one is to Restructure it".** But many Nigerians believe that view had even been overtaken by many serious events. The idea of restructuring had become an obsolete concept!

Throughout history, some religious leaders of various Christian denominations have preached and advocated unity, peace and oneness in world affairs more than other political, social, and cultural organizations on earth. The much quoted verse from the scriptures attributed to the Divine Master seems to confirm this much desired goal "That they may be one" (John 17.21). But unfortunately and ironically there is no other organization in the world today that has witnessed disunity and disorder, cacophony and discordance of voices, and confusion within the religious ambient more than the churches and religious organizations. No one, including church historians can tell us today the number of divisions, denominations and ministers of God ministering to hundreds of million members of their flocks all over the world. Is there any umbrella organization

that we can form today and give the name **"United Church of Christ",** united under one recognized spiritual leadership? Even within the mainline Catholic Church, there are the "Orthodox Catholics" which differ in many ways from the "Roman Catholics". No positive results have emerged from many years of the so-called "**Ecumenical Movement"** or **'Ecumenism'** geared toward the realization of a type of 'unity' and 'oneness' in the Christian faith.

All attempts by Christian leaders calling for 'dialogue' among all religious bodies and organizations, including **Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus, Shinto, Sikhs, and Animists** have yielded no encouraging results. Cordial relationships among various religious bodies all over the world have remained a mirage. Rather differences have continued to grow as bitter hatred hardens. How can peacemakers even bring the **Shiite** and the **Sunni Muslims** to a conference table? Mass killings, massacres of innocent populations, persecutions and executions have become common scenarios in the modern times, as they had been in ancient times, all, in the name of religion! Is 'political unity' possible in any blessed land today? Can political parties ever agree easily, without much commotion on any political agenda or program in any country? Who are the **conservatives** and who are the **progressives?** Why can't the so called **'Republicans'** see eye-to-eye with the '**Democrats?'** Why peoples of the world often find themselves under dictatorial regimes and almost perpetually fight for 'liberation is worrisome! Why do politicians struggle to form different political parties? In some countries, including Nigeria up to 30 political parties emerge before elections!

"To keep Nigeria one" - "An Impossible Task!"

"To keep Nigeria one, is a task that must be done": was the Nigeria-Gowon radio slogan during the Biafra war. While we are not advocating disunity or disintegration of the Nigerian state, what we are saying is that it is unlikely at this stage of the Nigerian history and political experience that a **United States of Nigeria** (USN), like the **United States of America** (USA) is possible. It may not be realizable in the next 10, 20, 50 years, or in the nearest future. It is a bad dream. The Scripture paints a very gloomy picture of such a wishful thinking, when Jesus was quoted as saying that it would be easier for a camel's head to pass through the needle's eye than a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven!' (Matthew 19.24).

United States of America (USA)

Nigerians are quick to refer to USA as the best example of a united country, enjoying peace, freedom, equality, democracy, security, prosperity in abundance. United States of America is a single large nation where all good things of life exist. USA is in short 'paradise on earth!' But search pages of world and American history or get a visa and you are! "Welcome to America!' Learn and understand the long history of wars, slavery and tribal conflicts that have continued to rage in the country till today. The 'ethnic' or 'tribal' groups in America are the **'Political Parties'** easily identifiable through the citizens' mindset, religious, political, social and cultural setups and convictions. Such human characteristics are not different from what one finds in Hausa-Fulani, Yorubas, Igbos, Efiks, Annangs, Edos and other major and minor ethnic groups in Nigeria and the rest of Africa and the so-called "Third World Communities". 'Cold' and 'Hot' wars rage on the streets day and night among various rival groups and gangs, among majority and minority groups, Blacks, Whites and Browns, Native land owners, earliest immigrants and latest arrivals also referred to as **'Illegal Aliens'**. These 'unwanted intruders', 'immigrants' or 'illegal aliens' must be deported to their countries of origin. Not only that these aliens, also called 'undocumented immigrants who count in millions must be deported to their countries of origin, thousands of miles of high walls, that will cost billions of dollar must be built at the USA borders to prevent further menace of unwanted visitors to the United States of America! Wow! The country is sharply divided on tribal lines as far as the ruling tribal groups' policy on this matter is concerned. Most contentious as well, is the suggestion that certain religious groups, namely certain Muslim countries should be barred from entering the United States! There is no peace and the country is in turmoil.

Why United States may survive as "A United Country"

United States of America is again perhaps the only nation on earth that has so far succeeded in keeping together diverse groups of peoples and races with amazing tribal, social, religious and cultural differences for years of political experiments. Outside the Native Indians, most other 'races', 'peoples', white, black, and brown are known to be 'immigrants'. For various reasons – political, religious, racial persecutions – many had to

leave their native lands many years ago, till modern times, to seek refuge in the United States of America. This may be the 'good side of the story'; but good enough to sustain the desired unity, and work hard for peace and development. Very few other nations of the world can boast of such Herculean achievement as the following examples clearly show.

Austrian Empire Revolutions of 1848

Students of world and European history must recall that the Austrian revolution had nationalistic character. The Austrian Empire ruled from Vienna included ethnic Germans, Hungarians, Slovenes, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Ruthenia, (Ukrainians), Rumanians, Croats, Venetians (Italians) and Serbs, all who attempted in the course of the revolution either to achieve autonomy, independence or even hegemony over other nationalities. The empire did not survive a break-up. Austria could not survive as "United States". Each 'race', 'nation', 'state', 'tribe' went its way!

Break-up of Yugoslavia

As students in Rome we learned a lot about Yugoslavia. We spent some time during summer vacation in a North Italian border city of Trieste. The stories of brutal conflicts and wars that followed the death of the communist dictator and 'president-for-life' **Joseph Broz Tito** are still fresh in the minds of many people. The local people talked about the upheavals that erupted after the death of **General Tito of Yugoslavia.** And as they had earlier predicted, the break-up of Yugoslavia occurred as a result of the series of political upheavals and conflicts in the early 1990's after the death of communist president Tito. Yugoslavia was set up as a federation of six Republics after World War II with borders drawn along historical lines: **Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia.** The unity of Yugoslavia crumbled after the death of Tito. The theory of 'unity in diversity did not work'. The brutal wars fought in these regions of the world are part of history today.

Partition or Break-up of India

The partition of India, we learned from history was the division of "British India" in 1947, and hence the creation of two modern

states of **India** and **Pakistan.** And since then the two South Asian countries have been involved in at least four wars. The **Kashmir** problem had not been settled. Pakistan adopted a constitution in 1956, becoming an Islamic republic. An ethnic war in 1971 resulted in the secession of **East Pakistan** as a new country of **Bangladesh**. In short, the partition involved the division of three provinces, Assam, Bengal, and the Punjab, based on district-wide Hindu or Muslim majorities. The term "partition of India" does not cover the secession of Bangladesh from Pakistan, nor the earlier separations of **Burma (now Myanmar) and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka)** from the administration of British India.

What the British did in India was the opposite in Nigeria – **Partition vis-a-vis Amalgamation**. Instead of 'partitioning' Nigeria as they did in India, the British, 'tied' three or four different nations or 'dominions' together and Nigerians are reaping the fruits of that treachery, betrayal, and deceit today**. The "British India" could not work. The "British Nigeria" cannot work.** The British should have stopped at the regions – Northern Nigeria (or "Islamic Republic of Nigeria"), Western Nigeria ("Oduduwa-land), Eastern Nigeria ("Biafra"). For economic interest the British committed a blunder, which has kept the nation in a terrible situation today.

The situation in China, Taiwan, Hong Kong

China (Peoples Republic of China, PRC) or Mainland China or simply China **and** the Republic of China – ROC, also known as Chinese Taipei or **Taiwan**, since civil war of 1949 have been in a state of war. Relation with Hong Kong part of mainland China which Britain handed over to China in 1997 after it ended its administration has never been cordial. The British has created all the problems all over the known world, dividing, binding together, partitioning, and amalgamating – all for British selfish, political and economic interest!

North/South Korea & North/South Vietnam

Korean War began when North Korea invaded the South during the height of communist hegemony. The United Nations with the USA as the principal force went to the aid of the South, while communist China and Russia took sides with the North. There is no peace in this region and there is an escalation of conflict with the advent of nuclear war threats coming from the North. We

still remember stories of Nigerians conscripted by the British administration in the 1950s to fight under the UN command in the **Korean War.** The **North and South Vietnamese wars** which ended in a disaster for the South and their American allies are still quite fresh in minds of most Americans, displaced South Vietnamese, historians and authors. The causes of the Vietnam War revolve around the simple belief held by America that communism was threatening to expand all over south-east Asia. Neither the Soviet Union nor the United States could risk an all-out war against each other; such was the nuclear military might of both. The two super powers resorted to pushing their satellite nations or states to fight on their behalf, while the Grand Masters fought along or from behind. Unfortunately for the Vietnamese, the North had the upper hand in the bitter war and was victorious. The two Vietnams – North and South were re-united; just like Biafra was defeated and was forced back into the Nigerian federation. Not all the South Vietnamese brought to the United States after the collapse of their nation are happy.

The Nigeria Dilemma and Search for Solution

It is absolute waste of time and equally hypocritical on the part of 'well-informed' Nigerians including Men of God, professors, historians, and educated business people to believe that the over 250 ethnic groups that make up the country Nigeria will in the nearest future become a **"United States of Nigeria"**, just like the **"United States of America"**. There is no **"United States of China"**, **"United States of Vietnam", "United States of Korea", "United States of Europe"** (even the concept of 'European Union' is being abandoned), no **"United States of Great Britain**' (the war to break-up the 'Great Britain', 'United Kingdom' has been raging for ages). **Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wells** want independence and autonomy. So far, there has been no peaceful resolution to the political problems of the United Kingdom, but negotiations have continued in the nature of referendum, like in the case of Scotland agitating for self-autonomy, after several attempts to secede through wars or armed conflicts had failed in the region. The case of the history of the break-up of the old Soviet Union is another interesting example in our present investigation. **The Sudan** Conflict has great similarities with North and Southern Nigeria crisis.

Dissolution of Soviet Union

The Soviet Union was dissolved on December 26, 1991. It was a result of the declaration, number 242-H of the "Soviet of the Republics of the Supreme Soviet of Soviet Union." The declaration acknowledged the independence of the former Soviet Republics (15 in number - in alphabetical order - **(Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, RUSSIA, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan),** and created the commonwealth of independent states, like what we know as British Commonwealth, (52 nations or former territories of the old British Empire, among which countries like Nigeria, Ghana, Australia and others are members). As we learn from this account, the Soviet President **Mikhail Gorbachev**, the right and final leader of the Soviet Union, resigned, declared his office extinct, and handed its powers, including control of the Soviet nuclear missile launching codes to Russian President **Boris Yeltsin.** That evening the Soviet flag was lowered from the Kremlin for the last time and replaced with the pre-revolutionary Russian flag. Previously, all the individual republics, including RUSSIA itself, had seceded from the union. The week before the union's formal dissolution, 12 republics signed the Alma-ATA protocol formally establishing the Commonwealth of Independent States, (CIS) and declaring that the **Soviet Union had ceased to exist**. Both the Revolutions of 1989 and the dissolution of the USSR signaled the end of the Cold War, (a state of political hostility between countries characterized by threats, propaganda, and other measures short of open warfare, in particular.)

"Balkanization" Propaganda and Biafra Movement

The BBC man in Lagos, a veteran foreign correspondent **Angus McDermid** became a legendary, namely 'famous' diplomat, admired by Gowon government on account of his reportage of the Nigeria-Biafra war in complete favor of the Nigerian military dictatorship. The Biafra government saw Angus McDermid as the British diplomat behind the failure of the Aburi Accord. On behalf of the Nigerian and British government, this British diplomat orchestrated the propaganda of the so-called 'Balkanization of Africa if Biafra was allowed to secede from Nigeria. **Balkanizatio**n is a geopolitical term used to describe the process of fragmentation or division of a region or state into

smaller regions that are often hostile or uncooperative with one another. The propaganda seemed to have worked in favor of Nigeria, as many African states, which were experiencing regional problems and separatist movements as in Nigeria entertained fears that their support for Biafra self-determination might trigger such movements in their own countries.

Only few African nations summoned the courage to accord Biafra diplomatic recognition, having truly seen the justification for Biafra movement; the most undisputable reason being the genocidal war against the Igbos. There is however no doubt that Balkanization was a result of foreign policies of European colonial powers creating geopolitical fragmentation, as has happened in the namesake **"Balkan Region" or Balkans**, in the olden times, for example under the **Ottoman Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Third Reich, the United Nations, and NATO.** Surely foreign policies can be precipitous to Balkanization, that is, it can begin hasty, rushed divisions of former big nations, as in the European 'Scramble for Africa! Separatist movements are found in many countries. **Canada** is a stable country, but harbors separatist movements, the strongest of which is **Quebec Sovereignty Movement,** which seeks to create a nation-state that would encompass the majority of **Canadian population**. Two referendums have been held to decide this matter, one in 1980 and the last one in 1995, being lost by the separatists side by a tiny margin. Less mainstream, smaller movements also exist in the western provinces, namely **Alberta,** to protest what it sees as domination by Quebec and Ontario of Canadian politics. **Saskatchewan** premier, one Roy Romanov has also considered separation from Canada, it was reported, if the 1995 Quebec independence referendum had succeeded, which would have led to the balkanization of Canada. What of **Europe!** Some larger countries within Europe, often being the result of the union of several historical regions or nations, have faced the perceived issue of Balkanization. The **Iberian Peninsula** and **Spain** especially has to come to terms with Balkanization, with several separatist movements existing today, including the **Basque Country** and the **Catalonian** independent movement. What of Britain! In January 2007, regarding the growing support for Scottish independence, there has been talk of a "Balkanization of Britain". The United Kingdom Independent movements within Britain exist in England, Wales, Cornwall, and Northern Ireland.

MAP OF THE RESTRUCTURED NIGERIA

Nigeria needs restructuring, not only as result of renewed Biafra agitation. Nigerians are aware of the reasons restructuring remains the only option for resolving the nation's problems, whose roots are traceable to the British Amalgamation tragedy. The ancients tell us that a stitch in time saves nine. It is imperative that Nigerian leaders and lawmakers should take urgent steps to address the obvious problems facing the nation, now that no big open conflict or civil war has broken out. Many National Conferences have been held in the past to address the issue of Nigerian political situation and unity, a lot of money had lavishly been spent with no good results. There is no doubt that it was the same old *laisser-faire* attitude of past Nigerian leaders to very important national problems, including the non implementation of **Aburi Accord** that led to the disastrous Nigerian civil war. Many serious problems are with us and our lawmakers spend precious time and scarce resources in debating useless issues, like 'Grazing Bills' They play loud music, blow big grammar in their assemblies while 'Rome continues to burn' . When will Nigerian leaders learn the lesson they say is the best teacher?

It was not only Chinua Achebe who first identified the Nigerian problem as that of ***leadership***. Leadership problem is a global problem, which has faced every nation and institution, ancient and modern.. There is no nation, big and small, developing, developed and under-developed, that has not tasted the bitter pills of bad leadership. And history has good records of the outcomes. We often single out our fatherland, Nigeria in this regard, for ours looks like chronic and incurable cancer, in fact, an irremediable bad situation. The roots of the bad situation are there for everyone to see. There is lack of true patriotism, as ethnic interests dominate. The much quoted statement attributed to John F. Kennedy: *"My fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country",* sounds funny or unrealistic to most Nigerians! What a pity! Is 'restructuring' a threat to the unity of Nigeria? Of course, not! Restructuring will help boost Nigerian economy. But as our friend has correctly asserted, *"The only way to kill Nigeria is to kill restructuring. The surest way to keep Nigeria united is to restructure it".*

The Restructuring Agenda – The Post-colonial Era

Many Nigerians have not been happy with the name **Nigeria** which we were told was imposed by Lady Lugard's concubine or other British woman. It could have been named **"British Niger!"** But one Nigerian youth maintains that Lord Lugard's concubine made up the name "Nigeria' from 'Niger-River!' Who should blame them? There was no other rightful name or designation for over 250 ethnic communities, and so the colonialists decided to lump them together for their selfish economic and political interest. Those were the types of divisions and nomenclature they invented at the Berlin Conference where the "Scramble for Africa" started, as European nations – Britain, France, Belgium, Spain, Portugal and Germany and others came together to share the 'booty'. So there emerged names like, **"Belgian Congo"**, in central Africa-1885-1908, which was acquired by the Kingdom of Belgium under Leopold II and which later included the area covering three different countries. **Southwest Africa,** the modern name **Namibia** was ruled by Germany and later South Africa (1915-1990) changed its name to native **Namibia. Northern and Southern Rhodesia** were protectorates in South central Africa, formed in 1911 by amalgamating the two earlier protectorates of British South African Company, took new names **Zambia** and **Zimbabwe** after independence, Had the United Kingdom divided the Northern and Southern Protectorates of Nigeria, instead of amalgamating the two like the Protectorates of Northern and Southern Rhodesia, the present calamities in Nigeria could have been averted! The former British colony, **Gold Coast,** took a new name **Ghana** after independence in 1957. The former French colony called Republic of **Upper Volta** was renamed **Burkina Faso** on 4 August 1984 by the then president Thomas Sankara. The Republic of **South Africa**, after years of enslavement by the British colonialists and Boers (descendants of the Dutch or Huguenot colonists who settled in South Africa, in the late 17th century, mainly in Cape colony, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal) retained the name **South Africa,** after democratic, non-racial elections were held. Then the black majority rule was established on April 27, 1994 .Though on May 31, 1910 South (White) Africa declared independence from Britain. Why Mandela and his black African majority population did not consider new native name to replace the colonial oppressors' **"South Africa",** baffles most Africans who worry about signs and images of slavery still lingering about South

Africa! Perhaps the colonialists are still masters and South Africa as most people think, is not yet a black African nation.

I have boldly decided to take the bull by the horns, by giving out names and at the same time challenging critics to join in further 'explorations', names of worthy candidates and so on. Although my main interest is in Igbo nation and the leadership question; other Nigerians, non-Igbos can explore their own environments and take new names. I will somehow begin with the "Names" of the new countries or "Republics" as the nation Nigeria begins the restructuring agenda.

"NIGERIA" AND THE "NEW REPUBLICS"

(1) "NORTHERN NIGERIA": "THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA" OR "AREWA REPUBLIC"

After a peaceful Sovereign National Conference to restructure the present political union or *"United States of Nigeria"* which is not working, each new republic is free to assume a new name or identity and if they choose, establish friendly relationships with neighboring countries. As I see it, after the other republics had gone, it is likely the North will like to retain the Nigerian identity and name **"The Islamic Republic of Nigeria".** Perhaps **'Arewa"** may be the best fitting name for the Hausa-Fulani North. As we know and the North has expressed that desire in word and deed, they want an *Islamic Republic*, which is a name given to states ruled by Islamic laws, **Sharia.** Others are Islamic Republics of *Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Mauritania* and a few others whose leaders and peoples are fascinated by the teachings of prophet Muhammad. **Sharia** is the Islamic canon law based on the teachings of the Koran and the traditions of the Prophet *(Hadith and Sunna),* prescribing both religious and secular duties and sometimes retributive penalties for lawbreaking; the tap-root of all problems pointing to the impossibility of any type of union between the former two British Protectorates or Northern and Southern Nigeria! As of 2012, the following **12 states have instituted Sharia in Nigeria:** (1) Zamfra state (January 27, 2000), (2) Kano state (June 21, 2000, (3) Sokoto state, (4) Katsina state, (5) Bauchi state (June 2001), (6) Borno state, (7) Jigawa state, (8) Kebbi state, (9) Yobe state (10) Kaduna state, (11) Niger state (May 4, 2000), (12) Gombe.

Twelve out of Nigeria's thirty six (36) states have **Sunni Islam** as the dominant religion. In 1999, twelve states of Nigeria chose to have Sharia courts as well as customary courts. Surely as

it is implemented in the Northern states, Sharia violates the constitution of Nigeria. Hopefully Nigerians remember the ***Amina Lawal*** story. There have been numerous riots over the implementation of sharia law, primarily involving non-Muslim minorities in the states which implemented the system. In one such riot over 100 people died in October 2001 in Kano state. In 2002, negative light was brought to sharia in Northern Nigeria when Amina Lawal, a single mother in Katsina state, was accused of adultery and sentenced to death by stoning, by state sharia court for conceiving a child out of wedlock. The father of the child was released without conviction 'for lack of evidence'. Lawal's conviction provoked outrage both in Southern Nigeria and most Western nations, with many national and international NGOs lobbying the federal government to overturn the conviction. In 2004, the conviction was overturned by the Sharia court of appeal, and Lawal returned to private life.

Blasphemy and apostasy: A Sharia court can treat what they call 'blasphemy' as deserving of several punishments up to, and including, execution in many predominantly Muslim states. Conversion from Islam to another religion is illegal and often a capital offense. It is for any Nigerian non-Muslim, who doesn't believe in the teachings of their Mohammed to tell the rest of non-Muslims in Nigeria, why the Islamists should not be told to go their way and found an Islamic Republic. To what extent can Christians and other non-Muslims tolerate caricature of human rights? It all follows that all single mothers and millions of them, should be stoned or publicly executed for peace to reign and for Islamists to have their way. It is ridiculous. The **Constitution of Nigeria** is the supreme law of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The current constitution was enacted on 29 May 1999 by the Nigerian Fourth Republic. Drafted by the military rulers and with dubious Islamic color and scent, most Nigerians have called for a new constitution; hence the need for a restructured Nigeria.

The Muslim Domination – A Nightmare

> "*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 our future*" ***(Sir Ahmadu Bello, Sarduana of Sokoto;***

October 12, 1960). "Sarduana" means "War Lord"

Ahmed Bello had never hidden his hatred for the Igbos. In complete absence of qualified Northerners for jobs in the North, and under the Sardauna, the War Lord would prefer white people or other Southerners instead of the best qualified Igbo. He was never impressed by the indomitable (incapable of being subdued) Igbo courage to survived in the midst of adversities. Ahmed Bello once asserted: "Even if you put him in prison, in the most adverse and desolate situation and environment, he (the Ibo), will find a way of escape" *(sic)*. We have listened to Sir Ahmed Bello and heard his utterances in interviews with the British and other foreign reporters at various times in the past. The above statements are only a tip of the iceberg, He was not kidding. Who could dismiss these as fabrications?

One of the reasons why the Hausa-Fulani tagged and continued to tag the 1966 Military intervention, as we have already observed, an "Igbo coup", was not only that their leaders were killed during the operation; but also that their Igbo counterparts (including Azikiwe and Michael Okpara- (Igbos) were spared.) No! It was simply outrageous to have ended the lives of their revered Muslim leaders, "the anointed of Allah'. The worst was that among the dead was the Islamic Jihadist, the *War Lord,* and he was murdered by the infidels. That was outrageous. There must be a revenge and a wanton destruction of the infidels, their wives and children! For Muslims, that was a criminal and unforgivable offense. Muslim fanatics and extremists would react violently against any type of 'offense' or abuse meted to the Islamic faith.

An 'infidel' uttering a word of disrespect against Prophet Muhammed or his representative would not go free. Remember the RUSHDIE tragedy! So, Nigerian Muslims will not rest until they have avenged the cruel murder of their political and religious leaders and anointed of Allah. When therefore, after 50 years, since the end of the civil war, some Muslim leaders, including Muhammad Buhari would recall and insist that "their worst enemies are Igbos who organized and killed Muslim leaders in the 1966 coup"; every Igbo must think and take serious note that the Nigeria-Biafra or the Hausa-Fulani-Igbo War has not ended. Igbos must understand that the Hausa-Fulani have been roaring in anger; not only that the 'anointed of Allah' was murdered by infidels; the murderers as well installed their own leader, ***a Christian*** as the head of state! What an abomination

of desolation! It was like adding insult to injury, namely, for **General Johnson Aguiyi Ironsi** to replace the slain Islamic Prime Minister, **Tafawa Balewa!** Not that they disgracefully eliminated Aguiyi Ironsi, the "Igbo president", the vandals made sure that all the other Igbo military men and women of whatever rank were murdered and some of their corpses dumped in the trains heading for the East, to bring the message home to Ojukwu and his 'henchmen,' for a more bitter lesson. What was at stake? For Moslems, it is a curse for a non-Muslim, to head the Nigerian state. The only solution for the dilemma is a declaration of an *"Islamic Federal Republic of Nigeria!"* This is what the Northerners have been fighting for. The smokes have been there for long, sure the OIC and the Sharia, the Islamic Penal Code saga. Are these fairy tales?

(2) "MIDDLE BELT REPUBLIC"

Most southerners have in the past erroneously lumped together all ethnic groups in Northern region as Hausa-Fulani and as well, Muslims! Surely there is a large Christian population in the North and most Middle Belters have many Igbo kit and kin. Thanks to God that a press release by **Middle Belt Youth Council** has thrown light to the present debate as they have made their position crystal clear in the following statements, part of the major declarations:

(a) It is no longer news that our country Nigeria is facing a daunting challenge of peace and unity but we want to assure the good citizens of Nigeria that we have been a peace-loving people and we'll continue to be. But, in an event one part of the country decides to go away as a separate entity, Middle Belt is also ready to make an independent statement.

(b) We want to make it clear to those who think that the Middle Belt is part of the North that they are wrong. God created everywhere and everyone, and He gave it to whom He chooses and Middle Belt is a creation of God and not man (Usman Dan Fodio). Therefore, we choose what to use our land for, and how to run it and where we want to be. Middle Belt has been a home for the *South-East, South-South and the South-West* without any form of discrimination against anyone.

(c) Southern Nigeria people should also know that 'Middle Belters' are not northerners and we can never be because

we're not affiliated in terms of culture, language, education, economy, and general lifestyle.

(d) Over the years, our federalism has been a fat lie that deprives political rights and freedom of some sections of the country, while others benefit immensely from it. Middle Belt has been at the receiving end of this inequitable arrangement in which our people in ***Southern Kaduna, Southern Bauchi, Southern Borno, Southern Kebbi, and Adamawa*** are under constant alienation and annihilation.

(e) Therefore, Middle Belt strongly stands for reconstruction of Nigeria not only restructuring. We'll join hands with Southern Nigerian people to actualize it. So the did is done. The **"Middle Belt Republic"** is getting ready for the 'D-Day'. It will be peaceful. No one is going to war. With whom are you going to fight? *(sic)*

There is no doubt that the Nigerians of the Middle Belt have started feeling the scotching, and choking heat of the Hausa-Fulani Jihadists. Peaceful accommodation is no more possible between the Christian Middle Belt and the Islamists. The conquest of the entire Christian South has started and the Middle Belters must look for help. They can only turn Southwards and nowhere else! Areas of Nigeria which are generally referred to as the **Middle Belt** are **Kwara, Kogi, Benue, Taraba, Plateau, Nasarawa, Adamawa, and the Federal Capital Territory (Abuja)**, as well as the **Southern parts of Kaduna, Kebi, Bauchi and Gombe.** Predominantly Christian, the Middle Belt region of Nigeria has been recently invaded by the Islamic army in the guise of herdsmen. The Islamists have never hidden their agenda of conquest, destruction and occupation. The most recent killing of **two priests** and parishioners, together with the massacre of hundreds of Christians from the Middle Belt regions have attracted the attention and condemnation of the international community, including the British government and lawmakers. **Catholic bishops' Conference of Nigeria (CBCN)** had issued several communiqués condemning the atrocities being committed by Islamic Jihadists against Christians of the Middle Belt. Was it not time for the Middle Belters to take a decision?

"When will this Barbarism end?"

That was the title of the Statement issued by the Catholic Bishops' Conference of Nigeria in the wake of the Murder of Two Priests and their Parishioners in Mbalom, Benue State. The Catholic bishops lamented: "We have received with deep shock, sorrow and utter horror, the gruesome, grisly and dastardly murder of two Catholic priests along with fifteen of their parishioners in the early hours of the morning of Tuesday 24 April 2018. These innocent souls met their untimely death in the hands of a wicked and inhuman gang of the rampaging and murderous terrorists, who have turned the vast lands of the Middle belt and other parts of Nigeria into a massive graveyard. Their unrestrained mayhem has become a metaphor for the untimely death that is now the fate of many of our fellow citizens today.

That our two priests, Fr Joseph Gor and Fr Felix Tyolaha, along with their parishioners were waylaid in the course of the celebration of the Holy Mass early in the morning, suggests very clearly that their murder was carefully planned. This wicked act cannot be said to be a revenge attack (as is often claimed), for whom have these priests attacked? Indeed we have just discovered that on January 3 this year, Fr Gor tweeted: "We are living in fear. The Fulanis are still around here in Mbalom (where they were killed). They refuse to go. They still go grazing around. No weapons to defend ourselves." Their desperate cries for security and help went unheeded by those who should have heard them. They could have fled, but, true to their vocation, they remained to continue to serve their people right unto death.

We are sad. We are angry. We feel totally exposed and most vulnerable. Faced with these dark clouds of fear and anxiety, our people are daily being told by some to defend themselves. But with what can they defend themselves? The Federal Government, whose primary responsibility it is to protect lives, for its part alleges that those who ask the people to defend themselves are inciting them to take the laws into their hands. But how can the Federal Government stand back while its security agencies deliberately turn a blind eye to the cries and wails of helpless and armless citizens who remain sitting ducks in their homes, farms, highway and now, even in their sacred places of worship? For over two years now, the Catholic Bishops' Conference, along with many other well-meaning Nigerians, has consistently asked the President to rethink the configuration of his security apparatus and strategy. Along with millions of

Nigerians, we have expressed our lack of confidence in the security agencies, which the President has deliberately placed in the hands of the adherents of only one religion. On February 8 this year, when we paid the President a courtesy call, we raised alarm over the security of the Nation and the spate of violence perpetrated with impunity by people who have neither respect for the value of human life nor regard for the laws of our country, urging him to take the most drastic steps to stem the tide of this evil in our land. Since then, the bloodletting and the destruction of homes as well as farmlands have increased in intensity and brutality. Now our Churches have been desecrated and our people murdered on their altars. As leaders, we have consistently asked our people to remain peaceful and law-abiding, even in the face of the worst form of provocation.

Today, we Christians feel violated and betrayed in a nation that we have all continued to sacrifice and pray for. We collectively feel abandoned and betrayed. We, the Catholic Bishops of Nigeria, are currently in Rome on official visit to the Holy Father and other agencies of administration of the Church, as it is customary. Naturally, this matter will come up. We are at a loss as to what excuse again we can continue to give about why things are the way they are in our nation, where a nation's landscape is littered with the bodies of its own citizens. We are sad and fear that the clock is ticking. The bomb must be defused quickly before it explodes. Since the President who appointed the Heads of the nation's Security Agencies has refused to call them to order, even in the face of the chaos and barbarity into which our country has been plunged, we are left with no choice but to conclude that they are acting a script that he approves of. If the President cannot keep our country safe, then he automatically loses the trust of the citizens. He should no longer continue to preside over the killing fields and mass graveyard that our country has become. Repeated calls from us and many other Nigerians on the President to take very drastic and urgent steps to reverse this ugly tragedy that threatens the foundation of our collective existence and unity as a nation, have fallen on deaf ears. It is clear to the nation that he has failed in his primary duty of protecting the lives of the Nigerian citizens. Whether this failure is due to inability to perform or lack of political will, it is time for him **to choose the part of honor and consider stepping aside to save the nation from total collapse**. We call on all Nigerians to hold their heads high and stand for their fundamental right to life and security. Government should encourage and empower citizens to secure themselves and their

environments. This is not the time to disarm people with legally procured weapons of self-defense. These are not normal times since those we pay to protect us have failed to do their duty. Nigeria can return to normal times if we put our heads together with sincerity. *(The document was signed by: Most Rev. Augustine Akubueze; President of Benin City, and President CBCN; Most Rev. Camillus Umoh, Bishop of Ikot Ekpene and Secretary, CBCN.)*

Archbishop Adewale Martins of Lagos on the "Islamic Agenda in Nigeria."

The reactions to the killings in Nigeria continued to attract the attention of many disturbed Nigerians, at home and in Diaspora. Many are not keeping quiet any more. The Archbishop talked about **"Their Agenda"**, and hinted that, they, the church leaders were going to the United Nations**. What is the Islamic Agenda in Nigeria?** Here is the Archbishop's address.

"Your Excellencies, the pain that we all feel at this time is not just because priests have been killed this time and during an act of worship in the Church but because it is clear that the terrorists are trying to push their boundaries and test how far they can go in order to fulfill their **agenda.** I am very delighted and indeed proud of the Press Release that we sent out. I am delighted at the way we have brought the matter to the attention of the Dicasteries concerned and even to the Holy Father himself. This should draw the attention of the whole world to the problem. However, before we go to the UN, we need to show in some way back home that we have had enough. I will strongly suggest that in addition to the Press Release that we approve a peaceful march which should be organized in each of our Dioceses on the day that the Priests and people who were killed will be buried. This peaceful protest should be held and duly organized in all the big towns in our Dioceses or as the Local situation may permit. We should submit a letter to all the **State Governors** and to the **Federal Government** also. This should send a signal to the whole nation that we have had more than enough and we shall not take the lack of attention to the matter by the Federal Government anymore. As the funeral, i understand, is scheduled for 22nd of this month, we should give a directive on this and communicate it quickly for necessary preparations. ***(+Alfred Adewale Martins, Archbishop of Lagos)***

Protests and call for the end of Islamic Agenda

The murder of the two Catholic priest and parishioners has no doubt provoked, sparked off massive demonstration from the clergy and the laity all over Nigeria. Many Catholic priests in the entire Middle Belt regions, South-East, South-West and Delta, dressed in black cassocks called on the impeachment of Buhari. They carried placards calling for immediate suspension of preparations of 2019 elections, convention of Sovereign national conference to decide the future of the Nigerian federation. Some of the placards read: "To hell with Fulani herdsmen!", "Buhari government is a fraud", "Wake up Christians and defend yourselves", "Enough is enough!" "Where is **Paul Unongo**? Where is **David Mark**? Where is **Abubakar Tsav?** Where is **Theophilus Danjuma?** Where is **Jerry Useni?** Where is **Joe Garba?** Where is Senator **Waku?** Where is **Dogonyaro?** Where is **Domkat Bali?** Where is **Lawrence Onoja?** Where are all those fanatics who believed in "One-Nigeria?" Where is one *Yakubu Umaru,* who boasted that, it was their group that gave the Igbos a bloody nose, and taught them a lesson they won't forget soon? Where are the advocates of one monolithic north, and one indivisible Nigeria? More questions from aggrieved Igbos!

Why call on the poor Igbos who have been bruised, battered, brutalized, disgraced, displaced, emasculated, "neutralized", schemed out, pauperized, humiliated, and discarded? What was on your mind when you were blocking trains and seizing pregnant women and ripping open their wombs and smashing the babies against hard objects, and lining up the men, women, and children on the railway and watching as they were shredded by the trains? What was on the mind of **David Mark** when he was sharing the houses of Igbos among Hausa-Fulani and Yorubas in the name of 'abandoned property'? What was on the mind of **General Gowon** when he was bombarding and razing to the ground, schools, churches, markets, hospitals, homes, and worst of all, refugee camps? How many of you have tendered any apologies to the Biafrans, even if hypocritically? Have you ever heard the saying that what goes around comes around? Have you heard about the words, retribution, recompense, boomerang, nemesis, or karma? Have you heard that the murderer, **Gowon,** has been praying, turned now to a **'pastor'?** Have you ever asked him what he has been praying for and to whom he has been praying? This is because the Bible that I read says that what one sows, one reaps!"

Herdsmen attacks and the new "Middle Belt Republic"

Danjuma confirms 'ethnic cleansing!

The killings in the Middle Belt regions of Nigeria are no doubt important smoke signals, indications of the intentions of the Hausa-Fulani Cabal. The former Chief of Army Staff, Theophilus Yakubu Danjuma, a retired lieutenant general of the Nigerian Army, as we have already noted had read the hand-writing on the wall. The wicked murder of two Catholic priests and parishioner by the so-called armed-Fulani herdsmen had added a fresh dimension to the Nigeria restructuring saga. The deleterious exigencies facing the nation occasioned by the insidious spread of the herdsmen violence across the country particularly in his home state of Taraba, no doubt triggered a rare outburst from the former Minister of Defense. Speaking at the maiden convocation ceremony of Taraba State University in Jalingo, the Taraba State Danjuma alleged that the Fulani herdsmen killings unleashed on Taraba citizens and parts of Nigeria with the tacit support and cover by the Nigerian military was nothing but grim attempt at ***ethnic cleansing*** of the indigenous Nigerian people by foreign bandits.

Danjuma then warned that "the ethnic cleansing must stop now otherwise Somalia will be a child's play". He also admonished the people of Taraba and all the indigenous people of Nigeria to rise and defend themselves against attacks by marauding herdsmen in some parts of the country, or continue to suffer casualties. "You must rise to protect yourselves from these people; if you depend on the armed forces to protect you, you will all die. "I ask all of you to be on the alert and defend your country, defend your state," he advised. An enraged Danjuma charged the people to resist any attempt by the Fulani herdsmen in whatever guise to grab ancestral land of the indigenous Nigerians even as he denounced the military authorities accusing them of complicity in the violent incidents by providing protection for the killers.

Danjuma's anger was coming on the heels of the incessant Fulani herdsmen attacks in parts of Nigeria, especially in **Benue, Plateau, Taraba states and other parts of the Middle Belt.** In the last three months, the Fulani armed terrorists had murdered close to 2,000 people and displaced many others. Not only Danjuma, many well-meaning Nigerians and non-Muslims have confirmed the fear of many agitating

Nigerian communities who have expressed concerns that the government of President Muhammad Buhari has deliberately refused to take decisive actions against his Fulani kinsmen. It also became even more dangerous for indigenous communities following the recent attempt by the Nigerian Police to allegedly mop up illegal arms within Nigerian indigenous communities, whereas it allegedly allowed the Fulani herdsmen to carry about all manner of dangerous weapons with which they carry out their dastardly acts. Who are providing the weapons of war? It was clear the **"Cattle Colonialists**" (no more the British) were bent on forcefully grabbing their promised **"Grazing Lands"** from the unwilling Nigerians, beginning with the Middle Belt region, which must pay heavily for it. Now Danjuma, appeared more direct and brutal in his accusations of the security support for killers and to a great extent labeling the President, Muhammad Buhari as backing the murderers.

Elder statesman and a chieftain of the Pan-Yoruba socio-cultural organization, **Afenifere, Ayo Adebanjo,** also accused Buhari of aiding and abetting the Fulani to kill Nigerians. Adebanjo said this while participating in a gathering of ethnic nationalities in recent times, organized by leaders drawn from the **Niger Delta, South West, South East and the Middle Belt.** Adebanjo said: "I accuse the president of aiding and abetting the herdsmen to kill us and I mean it. I don't want Adesina (President's Spokesman) to come and say it's not true. What the President should do to refute my accusations is to declare the herdsmen terrorist organization. "It should not take him anything to disarm them. They should not rear cattle with AK-47. They must be disarmed and arrested," he declared. It is clear that Nigerians were no longer feeling secured in their land. The country has, in close to three years, assumed a status of killing field where defenseless citizens are despoiled, raped and mowed by insurgents and marauders in **Benue, Taraba, Yobe, Gombe, Kaduna, Adamawa, Borno, Plateau, Nasarawa, Rivers, Enugu, Kogi, among other states.** Unfortunately, the Buhari-led APC-federal government remains aloof and has failed to take decisive steps that would apprehend the masterminds of the carnage. Instead, what innocent Nigerian citizens had been witnessing were complete government insensitivity, allegations of complicity and compromise of security around soft targets and dishing out of false information in many cases, including those of Benue, Yobe, Taraba and other states where Nigerians have come under heavy attacks from marauders.

TY Danjuma's worsening nightmare

Late October 25, 2018, news reports confirmed that the retired Lt. General TY Danjuma had asked the people of **Middle-Belt, South-West, South-South and South-East** "to forget all about 2019 Elections but to first fight back the Fulani murderous invaders and reclaim their lands which are now under Fulani occupation". General Danjuma stated unambiguously that President Buhari was the direct founder and sponsor of Myetti Allah and had concluded plans to provide safe haven for all West African Fulanis in the entire South and the Middle Belt. He made it clear that war had already been declared, going by the spate of relentless killings here and there, lamenting that the helpless victims were predominantly Christians. The retired General warned that Buhari has used Tinubu to divide South-West and that plans were underway to overrun Yoruba Kingdom and make them subordinate to Hausa-Fulani Oligarchy.

He equally lamented that from secret files obtained, the final conquest of Yorubaland would commence as soon as they were through with Middle-Belt regions. As soon as they took hostage of Yorubaland, their brothers from **Sudan, Guinea, Niger, Chad,Mali**, and other West African descent would combine to fight South-East and South-South. Danjuma regretted that while the rest of Middle Belt and the South were under invasion led by **Army Chief of Staff, Lt. Gen. Buratai**, "our politicians are playing to the gallery, giving Buhari all necessary supports". Danjuma opined that at present the Presidency had been taken over by ***Myetti Allah*** and had vowed to retain Buhari in power even if it meant shedding the blood of any opposition. It was clear to Danjuma and those who cared, that should the people fail to rise now and put an end to that, either one was a Moslem after 2019 or in Exile.

Of course, serious note must be taken that war had been going on in Taraba and parts of Jigawa States and hundreds were killed daily. In Kaduna some days ago about 220 persons were reportedly killed by foreign mercenaries imported by Buhari's Fulanis. The **Youth Coup program was suspended in Kaduna state** as a result of ongoing disturbances and curfews placed in the state. Prospective Youth Coup Members who were supposed to begin their services in those areas of the North had been warned never to leave their states till further notice! Many Nigerians, especially the Igbos and Biafrans had told Danjuma

that his cries and warnings were belated. Danjuma was part of Nigeria's present dilemma.

Our conclusion from the above incidents in the Middle Belt region of Nigeria is that a restructured Nigeria will see the emergence of Middle Belt Republic. It is for them to read the hand-writing on the wall. The old order has changed. Most of the old leaders of the Middle Belt, still politically active, dead or alive have become dead woods. They are no more relevant or productive and can contribute little or nothing to pacify the marauding jihadists whose ultimate goal in to "Dip the Koran into the South Sea." It is for the youths of the Middle Belt to decide their future relationships with the **Islamic Republic of Nigeria. Middle Belt Republic** is an option, anyway.

(3) THE WESTERN REGION: "ODUDUWA REPUBLIC"

Akintola's political gimmicks and romance with the Hausa-Fulani Cabals) surely contributed to the military intervention in 1966 and the subsequent chaos that followed the Independent Nigerian political experiment. Awolowo was the reckless rebel and unwanted opposition in the eyes of the British and Tafawa Balewa government. His behavior and utterances landed him in Kirikiri Prison after conviction of the crime of treasonable felony. Who will believe that after Awolowo's release from prison, by Ojukwu, he, Awolowo would decided to side Igbo enemies in Nigeria's war of aggression again Biafra? MKO Abiola, the flamboyant Yoruba Politician and wealthy businessman, who rejected Igbo support and friendship during his torturous campaign and dream to rule Nigeria as president did not hide his hate for the Igbos. Gradually other key Yoruba politicians like Obasanjo and Tinubu are stepping aside. Soon they become irrelevant in Nigerian politics, as they have so far left no worthy legacies and can never become mentors for the youths. Olusegun Obasanjo, two time president, wanted a third tenure like fellow African dictators, but failed! What a shame!

It is evil and as a result of prejudices and past history of ethnic hate and political and cultural rhetoric to dismiss some of the younger generation of **Yoruba** leaders, who can unite with the Igbos to 'fight' for southern solidarity against the Northern oligarchy. There are 'radical' and 'revolutionary' leaders, the Yoruba nation needs today – outspoken, fearless, uncompromising, confrontational and stubborn. There are many brilliant Yoruba politicians who can handle the problems of their

own republic. We repeat it; had Awolowo and Yorubas, like Gowon and the Middle Belters, not joined the Hausa-Fulani cabal in their genocidal war to decimate the Igbo race, the present ugly situation in Nigeria today would not have arisen. History holds these people responsible for the final outcome of the Nigerian experiment. Surely the West, the Yoruba nation, needs self-determination, a country of their own , **Oduduwa!**

(4) THE MID-WEST REPUBLIC OR "NIGER DELTA REPUBLIC" OR "RONDEL REPUBLIC"

If this region of Nigeria wants their own **"Biafra",** they are free to begin in time searching for credible leadership. They should remember that sometime in 1967/8, **"There was Republic of Benin.",** like "Republic of Biafra". Colonel Albert Okonkwo was the first and only head of state of the young republic, before everything was wrecked by sabotage. The Mid-Westerners need to be united. There are many illustrious sons of Edo and Delta region who can handle the problems of that new republic. And courageously a group that calls itself **RONDEL Solidarity Movement** or **Niger Delta Movement** has emerged making their intentions about separate political autonomy crystal clear in this declaration which I presume is directed to Biafra-Igbos: "That no inch of Rondel in the six states of **Akwa-Ibom, Bayelsa, Delta, Cross River, Edo, and Rivers States** shall ever be ceded to any other people or nation for any reason whatsoever and all those people drawing maps up and down are hereby warned to desist forthwith or risk our disproportionate vengeance including present and future social and economic sanctions." *(sic)* In a press release the RSM stated the following

1) We demand Independence for Rondel from Nigeria from 2018.
2) Rondel comprises all the six states in the present South-South of Nigeria.
3) Rondel is an acronym derived from the **Region of Niger Delta, later Republic of Niger Delta,** if the Arewa groups make good their threats.
4) Rondel is our name, *Rondish* will be our Language and *Rondland* shall be our capital city. Details of these, including the locations of Rondland, shall be in our October 1 book. The Republic of Delta-Rondel is set. Is not a sensible step in case of any eventuality?

We must add. No one is against the ***'RONDEL'*** or whatever name the leaders of the old ***Mid-Western Region*** choose for their new republic. However they must realize that in *RONDEL* are many IGBOS ***(Western and South-South Igbos***). Should there be a referendum? Perhaps, the best choice or arrangement, devoid of past prejudices, including the Northern Cabal and Gowon Government's plan to destroy Biafra by the creation of the six states of *Akwa-Ibom, Bayelsa, Delta, Cross River, Edo and Rivers,* would have been that the RONDEL joined the former BIAFRA nation, the Old Eastern Nigeria!

(5) THE OLD EASTERN REGION – THE REPUBLIC OF BIAFRA

> **"Igbos will never live in dignity outside Igboland until they have done this. Their children will continue to speak English and the native tongues of their hosts without the ability to speak and behave like Igbos. If Igbos do not "go home", they will be lost! They are already losing their majority status, anyway, and their language is rapidly vanishing. It is in the vital interest of the Igbo people and their children to "go home". (*Ochereoma Nnanna)***

Igbo nation in search of credible leadership

After Azikiwe, Mbonu Ojike and a few others in that pre-and-after independence bracket, and perhaps Ojukwu and Mbakwe, no other key figures worthy of emulation come to mind till today in the Igbo nation. Although Igbo people claim they don't recognize 'kings' and believe they can do without them and still move along, better organized than their counterparts in Nigeria, being led or ruled by kings, Emirs, Obas and other traditional and religious leaders, they, Igbos don't reject good leaders who serve their interests with commitment and passion, like the Israelites of Old who requested for kings, "....like other nations, who would lead them in wars....." Although Jahweh, their God warned them about the consequences of their demands, they did not give up. Whatever the outcome of their requests, they learned from experience. For Igbos, however their vision of an ideal selfless leadership cannot be disputed. Their expectations of

good leadership and qualities of such a figure cannot be described as mere dreams or illusions. The expectations are real and exciting.

In the foot-steps of Emeka Odumegwu Ojukwu

And at the time of great need there arose an Igbo leader by name **Emeka Odumegwu Ojukwu**, a son of one of the richest Nigerians those days, Sir Louis Odumegwu Ojukwu (First and founding President of the Nigerian Stock Exchange, President of the African Continental Bank, Chairman or on the Board of directors of some Nigeria's most profitable companies, perhaps comparable to 'today's **Dangote** and more? Ojukwu (Sr.) was a man of rare intelligence and power! What were Emeka Ojukwu's qualifications for leadership of very stubborn, proud, arrogant and stiff-necked, rabble, and ungovernable Igbo race, who, like the Jews or Israelites of the Old are known to complain at the least provocation The Israelites were ready to stone their leader **"Moses"** (for bringing them out of Egypt, freeing them from persecution in land of captivity and slavery, where they enjoyed Egyptian menu including delicious cucumber, mushrooms and salad, just in the name of liberation and autonomy! Why did Moses bring them into a horrible desert environment, under scotching heat and no water to quench their taste! Was it not better for them to die in Egypt as slaves than in terrible desert conditions! Why all the suffering in the name of liberation and entrance into a Promised Land! Ojukwu was worse treated by some Igbo intelligentsia (certainly in **Ukpabi Asika** group) as well as some other notable traitors (in the **Ifeajuna** group). Even some common Igbo rabble groups denied their Igbo identity in the face of threats from the Nigerian government!

What were Ojukwu's intentions, type of mad decision in leading NDIGBO into a disastrous war with Nigeria, with the promise of Biafra? Couldn't it have been better to remain in Nigerian federation as 'slaves' and vassals of the Hausa-Fulani Oligarchy and continue with their lives and businesses in the North and other parts of Nigeria, instead of dying in Ojukwu's Biafra, an 'enclave surrounded by vicious enemies, armed to the teeth'? There were many other stunning objections to secession. But Ojukwu won the hearts of most Igbos who vowed to fight and die with him on account of the survival of persecuted Igbos who had suffered untold hardship and persecution in Nigeria, right from 1914. Ojukwu's fate was not much different from that of

'Moses', the Israelite God's appointed leader, the liberator and law-giver!

There was no autobiography of **Emeka Odumegwu Ojukwu** we were aware of before 1966; but from our Igbo elders, including my father and uncles, I heard very important commendable and inspiring comments and remarks about Emeka Ojukwu, and why they, Igbos supported his movement! "This young man that left his father's wealth at the disposal of Igbo people for the prosecution of this war is a rare patriotic Igboman," my father continued singing and loudly! "He, the young Ojukwu, a military officer in the Nigerian army, unlike some rich Igbos was truly a selfless and rare leader....." At least this important attribute of a patriotic and selfless leadership won for Ojukwu a good ticket to lead the race, if he liked, 'for life. He was not ambitious for leadership position, but was pushed into it.

Ojukwu blamed, but did not walk away!

Ojukwu, alive or dead remains Igbo-Biafra hero. His singular 'regrettable mistake', we learnt that affected the Biafra war badly was the allegation that the Biafra leader in search of support from a world-power nation, precisely the Soviet Union, refused to cede the oil wells in Biafra territories to Russia in exchange for military support. When Russia requested such an agreement with Gowon and Nigeria, their leaders readily appended their signatures, just like Gowon did with the **Gwodogwodo mercenaries from Niger, Chad, and Mali**, as well as in the **Cameroon-Bakassi Peninsula agreements or pacts!** So Russians went out in full support of Nigeria for quick victory. Another terrible tragedy would have befallen Biafra at the heat of the war. But Ojukwu listened to elders' plea never to do any harm to the **Italian AGIP** oil men 'kidnapped' or 'captured' at one of the Biafra oil fields. Whatever negotiations **AGIP** and Ojukwu reached for their release, we didn't know much. Perhaps AGIP paid the oil royalties into Biafra oil account, and not into Nigeria's account. Elders and white missionaries warned that any harm done to the Italians would destroy Biafra relationship with Rome, the Vatican and the Pope. As the war was coming to an end and it became clear that in the battlefield Biafra had been vanquished and the looming bad news of the final onslaught by the Nigerian soldiers on what remained of Igbo race was getting stronger, didn't the Pope's intervention and warning to Gowon and his Nigerian side contribute to the peaceful end of the war? The "No Victor, No vanquished" agreement, wonderful

reconciliatory tone and consoling statement from the federal government, as we learnt was largely influenced by the Pope and Rome and Biafran missionary benefactors all over the world.

Ojukwu was again blamed by some relief aid organizations for not accepting the use of the so-called **'land-corridor-roads'**, for easier and quicker transportation or delivery of relief materials to the victims of starvation. For Ojukwu and most Biafrans there was no guarantee that Nigerian military would not use such opportunities to over-run Biafra in few hours. Nigerian government was not known for keeping to agreements. Nigerians never observed any rules of warfare and Geneva Conventions! But some white aid workers accused Ojukwu of using the miserable situation in Biafran situation, especially that of the Biafran starving children to attract world sympathy. That was false accusation. That was Gowon and British side of the story. But whatever the case may be Ojukwu, the Ikemba of Nnewi will ever remain a great leader of Igbo people. Like Moses of the Israelites and in Jewish tradition, Moses remained the greatest prophet the Jewish people ever had. He was the law-giver, leader and prophet.

Is "Igbo Presidency" in the Nigerian Federation a test for Biafra Republic?

What will Igbo presidency achieve for most embarrassed Igbos? How have Igbos benefitted from the past governments, on the federal, state and even local government administrations, led by **Igbos?** There is something basically wrong with Nigeria. And Igbos cannot be excluded from this dilemma. Most skeptics and critics point to the time in this country when all the six most important ministers in Jonathan's kitchen cabinet were all Igbos:

- Ayim Pius Ayim was SGF,
- Ngozi Okonjo Iwealla was in charge finance,
- Emeka Wogu was in Labor and productivity,
- Berth Nnaji was in Power and Energy,
- Dieziani Alison Madueke was the powerful minister for oil.
- The six of them outside the Federal Executive Council would meet and decide what and what should be discussed at the larger Federal Executive Council (FEC). Whatever they decided would eventually be the position of government. In six years, that was the situation.

- Okiro and Onovo had the police under their control. Ihejerika and later Minimah controlled the Army. These powerful Igbos could do and undo, fix and unfix Nigeria. Nigeria was in their pockets.
- But rather than care about the poor Igbo chaps scattered all over the country, they were busy diverting billions of naira into their accounts at home and abroad. The second Niger Bridge project was not executed. They shared the money. The Lagos-Calabar rail lines passing through 9 States, 3 of them in the South-East did not bother them. They refused to pay the Chinese the Counterpart fund. They shared the money. Enugu-Onitsha, Aba-PH and other roads of economic importance to their fellow Igbos, were not fixed and were abandoned. Who was to blame?
- The Igbos had their chance and their leaders bungled it. There was only 1 Yoruba minister worth mentioning at the time, Akinwunmi Adesina. He was in Agric. His budget was less than 1% while Emeka Wogu in Labor had over 10% for his ministry. Ayim had unlimited access to the treasury for the benefit of himself and family members. The poor Igbo guys meant nothing to him.
- But comes the most frightening and disturbing questions! "If an Igbo becomes President tomorrow, will there be any difference? Even if Biafra materialized, we have seen clips of what to expect!" Who will not get worried! Hope some people will not get heart attack reflecting on our failures, contradictory and selfish lifestyles, and worse the inability of Igbos to unite as a people, under one credible, selfless and dedicated leadership! Igbos struggle for leadership and big names but perform poorly. Even in foreign lands and states and regions of Nigeria where they are strangers and mere visitors they install themselves kings, Ezes, chiefs and monarchs and their flamboyant lifestyles irritate their neighbors and owners of the land.

But take important notes please!

Some Igbo and anti-Biafran political, religious, and even traditional leaders have often raised some of the above 'objections'. The 'protesters' belong to ***Ukpabi Asika anti-Biafran gang***. For only selfish and unconvincing reasons they

do not want to hear about ***New Biafra Movement***! They predict catastrophes. They look for hundred percent (100%) clean Igbo society before Biafra can take off! They prefer to remain vassals of the Hausa-Fulani oligarchy to freedom from slavery. They usually gain much from Nigerian corrupt government and believe there is no need to bring changes to Nigeria. Those who hold the above opinions forget the following:

1) Jonathan and his cabinet were not set up to establish Igbo or Biafran agenda
2) None of the above mentioned ministers obviously was a 'committed' Biafran. Like Ukpabi Asika they were convinced that Nigeria must remain one country, because they had nothing to lose. It was their opportunity to loot the government coffers. They were no saints, not good ministers or patriots.
3) There was no law that every Igbo politician must be a Biafran
4) Like their fellow counterparts, these named 'Igbos' in Jonathan's government were there to carry out the federal government agenda and not those of Biafra.
5) It was not only Biafran territory they did not care to develop; there was nothing wonderful about their administration. That was why in 2015 Jonathan's government was voted out.

"Igbos go home!" Disturbing and frightening warning!

It is only Igbos among all other ethnic groups who make up what is still called Nigeria that are always rejected, insulted and ordered to 'pack and go home!" by Hausa-Fulani, by Yoruba leaders and Obas, by South-South Youths and others. Igbos get annoyed. One great writer, ***Ochereoma Nnanna,*** in a write-up drove an important message home to the care-free Igbos. In two parts, the writer lectured the Igbos.

What 'Igbo go home' does NOT necessarily mean.

- "It does not mean: pack your belongings and leave the place. It does not mean that you should uproot from where you currently live and go back to Igboland or your hometown in Igboland. Why should you? You are a Nigerian, and the Constitution entitles you to settle and live peacefully and lawfully in any part of the country without harassment." "Go home" is a very useful piece of

advice for any sensible Igbo person willing to listen. Anyone who tells you "be careful", "mind yourself" or "be warned", is not insulting you. He is your friend, maybe in disguise…" *(sic)*

What Igbos are being made to understand!

1) It is only the Igbo in Nigeria who requires this time-out advice: "*go home"*. The Yoruba man in the North or any other part of the country does not need. He hardly "leaves" his roots, no matter how long he lives outside Yoruba-land (including abroad). The Arewa man does not need it. He hardly plants down any tap root outside his aboriginal enclave. He never builds any permanent structure. He lives among his own cultural types, maintains the purity of his religious culture and is in touch with "home" by radio and other channels, no matter how long he lives outside Arewa land.
2) It is only the Igbo man that takes the *"One Nigeria"* dictum on the surface level. He is like **Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe** who once said: ***"let us forget about our differences".*** But other Nigerians like **Sardauna Ahmadu Bello** would say: ***"let us remember our differences".*** It is this misguided float of mind that leads the Igbo man to settle and develop where he lives, forgetting that where he comes from also requires to be developed.
3) History once taught the Igboman a painful lesson when the coups of 1966 took place and the pogroms in the North led to the civil war. When the war ended, the Igbos went back and were allowed to reclaim their property in the North and West, but were denied that right in Port Harcourt, a city built on the land of the Igbo-speaking Ikwerre sub-national group. Why? Because **Port Harcourt had become the oil booty of the civil war's winners.**
4) The Igbo-Biafrans were not allowed to be landlords/stakeholders in this city after losing the war over its oil. However, the Igbos went back to the North and West and soon forgot all the lessons that Port Harcourt was meant to teach them: understand how to live with other Nigerians in this *"One Nigeria"*. They recovered from the scars of the war and started ravenously building mansions, markets and even

industries in major cities like Lagos, Abuja, Kano and elsewhere. Not only that, they totally neglected their own aboriginal homeland. Igboland feels very little of the famed commercial and technological acumen of the Igbo people. It is essentially an economic and infrastructural wasteland.

5) The Igbos became so "comfortable" outside their own homeland that some misguided elements among them even started setting up some fake traditional institutions and installing what they referred to as *"Eze Ndi Igbo"* in those places, to the utter irritation of the indigenes and those kinsmen who felt the shame of it all. These hustlers *("Eze Ndi Igbo")* who don't understand the implications of their tomfoolery go as far as conferring chieftaincy titles on relevance-seeking nonentities who, invariably, are people of questionable roots and means of livelihood. These fakers have come under increasing scrutiny by the owners of the land: their commoners, kings and political leaders.
6) If Ambode says no more *"Eze Ndi Igbo"* in Lagos; he is right! Anybody whose ancestors did not come from the geo-cultural boundaries of Lagos cannot be an indigene of Lagos. If you are not an indigene of Lagos, how can you be a "king" in Lagos? How can you dispense chieftaincy titles? It is a barefaced usurpation of the "inner privileges" exclusive to those whose ancestors first established their traditional authority in Lagos. In any case, what value does *"Eze Ndi Igbo"* add to Igbos in Lagos?
7) Igbos will never live in dignity outside Igboland until they have done this. **Their children will continue to speak English and the native tongues of their hosts without the ability to speak and behave like Igbos.** If Igbos do not "go home", they will be lost! They are already losing their majority status, anyway, and their language is rapidly vanishing. It is in the vital interest of the Igbo people and their children to "go home".

Igbo massive investment outside Igboland

Igbo massive investment outside Igboland**,** in total neglect of their homeland is a great concern to many adults. Igbos must have equally learnt from experience that too much neglect of

Igboland, their homeland in their search for better opportunities in other parts of Nigeria and elsewhere all over the world has cost Igbos in general great losses in material and human resources during and after the civil war. The case of 'Abandoned Properties' may have taught some Igbos some big lessons. As most Igbos begin again to wander around Nigeria and the world – East – West – North and South, in search of wealth they may not easily forget the adage **"Once beaten, twice shy!" (An unpleasant experience induces caution!)**

Biafra not Synonymous with Secession

Igbos don't need to be 'expelled' by Arewa youth council from Northern Nigeria or by other anti-Igbo groups from other parts of Nigeria before they begin to prepare to unite and plan for their future. There is no need for war or any form of armed conflicts in order to get united for a common cause. And so, we finally come to the Igbo-Biafra case. The Consultative Assembly of Eastern Nigeria had before May 30, 1967 recommended the name Biafra. There is no need for a new name. The whole world already knows **BIAFRA** and its history. All Biafrans are comfortable with the name. Biafra is not synonymous with secession. What is worrisome is the leadership! Who will go for us? Who will become the captain of the ship? A new generation of brilliant, ingenious and selfless leaders, in the footsteps of **Odumegwu Ojukwu, Samuel Onunaka Mbakwe, or Nnamdi Kanu,** and a few others may not be readily available in Igbo nation at present? Unfortunately, no other names readily come to mind! Please my dear reader if I have mistakenly left out any possible Igbo patriot, true Biafran who is worthy of this important office or post, ***"President of the Republic of Biafra",*** please don't fail to suggest. Just supply the missing gaps! Who will lead the Biafra nation when it comes to life again?

CHAPTER 19

"THERE WAS A COUNTRY" – "THERE WILL BE A COUNTRY – BIAFRA"

> **"Biafraland is big enough to accommodate all her returning sons and daughters. No one should lack a home. *"Onye aghala nwanneya*". (Do not abandon your brother). We don't need to force Biafra under the throats of our neighbors. We only need to maintain good friendly relationships with them. "Live, and let live". There are no walls in Biafraland, no state boundaries, no leadership struggle; only one heart and one soul!"** *(Dr Nwobi Okechukwu)*

"I promised not to post, share or write anything about Biafra or Nnamdi Kanu but this piece is too apt, correct and pointedly pointed that I decided to break this law. This captures, 100% what I have been saying and my belief of Biafra. The writer did a better job in expressing, in its entirety, my views and stand! Honestly, how I wish IPOB and OHANEZE can read this, adopt it and plan strategically on it, meet with the governors, groups, stakeholders and royal fathers! This is the way forward to shake and shock the world and Nigeria! The best war is to show your enemies and detractors, how successful you are without them! For success have many admirers and relations. If all Igbos and Biafran agitators can adopt this, Biafra will become a beautiful bride. If Nigeria stays, you will be courted, if Nigeria divides, you would have stabilized a working system and development. *(sic)*

The above quote from a reaction of an Igbo young man I couldn't identify, is culled from part of his comments or reactions on a series of this author's write-ups on 'Nigeria's restructuring agenda' on the social media. The 'comment' attracted my attention, and that of many other Nigerian youths of Igbo extraction, which made me copy it and paste at the beginning of this chapter. I am convinced that the young Igbo-Biafran must be one of these emerging young post-war intellectuals, who might likely help to bring about the right revolution that would set things right again in a restructured Nigeria. As I could deduce from his earlier comments, the guy had been very skeptical of Nnamdi Kanu's IPOB leadership. But it seemed this author's present vision made him change his mind about the agitation for Biafran state. Another youth, reacting to

the issues I discussed here, part of which also appeared in my "write ups on the social media, graciously, like his friend wrote: "Ohaneze Ndigbo must hear this. Soludo-led Committee must hear this. A personal copy should also be sent to Nnamdi Kanu to groom, teach and guide him further" Thank Dr. Nathaniel Ndiokwere. You're a great Igbo, a Biafran, and of cause a Nigerian. Please, may I make a recommendation: Please take a column in the different Nigerian magazines, different secular tabloids and even national dailies and "sell out" these invaluable priceless ideas to every Nigerian and Biafran, so as to tutor and motivate them! I must say that "I am touched". *(sic)*

Wow! Why were these Nigerian and Biafran youths and so many others so excited, moved, and touched by this write-up? Surely the present topic is of great importance to everyone, and most youths obviously aired their honest views on the reality of the Biafran movement. They strongly believe that the Biafra they will be very proud of will emerge. It will bear the characteristics of the ***'Ojukwu Biafra',*** and must bear all the features that were clearly specified in the document '**Ahiara Declaration'.** This Biafra will proudly offer the required leadership qualities and guidance for new Africa, free from ex-colonial influence and domination. Most well-informed African youths share these views. There must be an ***enthronement*** or ***establishment*** of true patriotism and less dependence on foreign aids. There must be true liberation from western economic and political hegemony.

"There was a Country" – "There will be a Country"

"There was a Country", Chinua Achebe's memoir about a moment in Nigerian history, when Nigeria split apart and there was BIAFRA, didn't imply a remote past event, that may only come to mind again in a fairy tale, or that there would be no more Biafra. ***"There was a country",*** in fact is a reminder, a lament for a 'temporary' lost love for Biafra and the tragedy on the part of Nigeria, which Achebe relates directly to the Biafran secession. Had the other regions of the Nigerian federation played their parts honorably, the Nigerian problem would have received a better and permanent solution. *"There was a country"* was a national and international lament for Nigeria, and Black Africa, when Biafra struggle was crushed by Britain, Russia and the Arab nations. It could be compared to the national lament that was heard when President John F. Kennedy was assassinated. Likewise, irrespective of his wickedness, brutality

and role in the Nigeria-Biafra war, there was national lament even in Igboland when Murtala Muhammad was assassinated. There will be a country, still named Biafra; a new nation will be born. Perhaps, it may not happen so soon; but for sure, Biafra will re-emerge.

There is need to emphasize that Ojukwu's insistence that there will be no more "Nigeria-Biafra War", didn't mean that Biafra, as a nation, region, or republic had ceased to exist , and will never rise again, even in any discussion. It did not mean that the mere erasing or deleting of the **"Bight of Biafra" (**a bay, creek, narrow or winding passage) from the Nigerian or world map or historical records, was the end of Biafra or that the name, term, feature, notion has ceased to exist even in our memories. It didn't mean even that the exclusion of history studies from the Nigerian schools' curriculum will cover up or close a very significant and most important chapter, covering over (50) fifty years of Nigeria's physical, historical, and political existence. No! Questions will be asked and new lessons will be learnt, otherwise Nigerians, old and young, must have wasted lots of their lives in self-delusion.

Northern Muslim leaders like Kwankwaso and Ango Abdullahi and other arch leaders of the Northern cabal create a poor and false impression in the minds of many Nigerians, whenever they referred to Biafra agitation for separate existence as if it was a New Movement. How could the events that brought about a separate existence of Biafra for at least a period of (3) three years, be easily forgotten? This is mere hypocrisy, cynicism, and a caricature of an important piece of Nigerian history. Chinua Achebe in *"There was a Country*" was only reminding those who cared about the future of Nigeria, never to forget the realities of Biafra Revolution.

Any true Igbo, Biafran, ignoring Ojukwu's cautious appeal or declaration that there will be no more "Nigeria-Biafra War", is deceiving himself. Ojukwu, right from Nigeria's 1966 coup and counter coup did not want any war, and that was why he went with his team to Aburi, Ghana. It was the non-implementation of those agreements that has kept everybody (over 95% of Nigerians – East, West, North and South), unhappy, uncomfortable, agitating, running helter-skelter, and hungry. Only less that 5%, the rich, owners of oil-blocks, the leaders, lawmakers and the cabals feel like the rest of Nigerians are 'rebels' who should shut up their mouths! What will any Igbo, ignoring Ojukwu's rejection of war do, when 'disturbances', 'riots', 'mass uprising' and 'confusion' break out often in the

cities of Aba, Onitsha, Kaduna, or Lagos? Who and who will be engaged in cross-fire? Who will suffer damages? Who are the oppressors and aggressors? Oh! Yes! Camera men and women and Nigerians armed with their ubiquitous cel-phones, who may not die in police crossfire, can only post photos and videos of "fallen civilian heroes, unarmed women and innocent children" on You Tube and Face book, and on other social media, for the world to see the ' brutality of Nigerian army and police!' Who cares? Does the civilized world not see such gory pictures of the dead and fleeing and starving refugees every day, from different sectors of the war in Syria, Iraq, Yemen and other warring nations? What have they done? Have the wars and conflicts come to an end? Igbos may simply tolerate those "patriots", who post audios and videos, worrisome and upsetting messages, on social media, asking people to prepare for war, to buy guns and ammunition and store food. You can ask those counselors and war-mongers to tell you where the battle fields are located and where you and your small kids will take shelter, while the youths fight the enemies!

Now to more serious issues! The point is that the past is over and Nigerians and Biafrans find themselves in new era of political face-off; come into opposition or competition. It is just like Nigerian and Biafran politicians are facing off against each other seriously in a televised debate! It is possible that in the debates Biafrans may not succeed in convincing the Nigerian team to give up the useless struggle for 'Reconstructed' or "United Nigeria", as they tried during the Aburi Meeting in Ghana many years ago in 1967. But the right option is still there, namely to call a spade a spade, and so 'restructure' Nigeria. Biafra might finally emerge as a full-fledged-country. It may not materialize in my generation; but may be, later. But there will be Biafra, after all; believe it, or dismiss it as farce, an empty or patently ridiculous speculation.

"Biafra Exit" – Not a Dream

The idea of expelling Igbos or Biafrans from the Nigeria federation can only be taken seriously if the rest, all the ethnic groups in the federation decide that's the best way of settling the political dilemma that has faced the nation since the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria. But if the expulsion threat becomes real Biafra must make serious preparations to get the new nation take off. It requires long period of preparations. It can never be an over-night project.

Adequate infrastructure must be set up. Have you not read it? *"For which of you, intending to build a tower, does not first sit down and estimate the cost, to see whether he has enough money to complete it? Otherwise, when he has laid a foundation and is not able to finish, all who see it will begin to ridicule him, saying, 'This fellow began to build and was not able to finish.' Or what king, going out to wage war against another king, will not sit down first and consider whether he is able with ten thousand to oppose the one who comes against him with twenty thousand? If he cannot, then, while the other is still far away, he sends a delegation and asks for the terms of peace."* **(Luke 14.28ff)** A student can be expelled from an institution of learning or any organization to which he belongs, for many reasons, which may include bad behavior and poor academic performance or simply because someone in authority doesn't like him. For whatever reasons, the student must bear the consequences of his expulsion.

The Hausa-Fulani **Cabal** (a group of persons, secretly united in a plot, as to dominate, rule or even overthrow the existing government) that has ruled Nigeria since the union was formed, was presumed to be the "**most senior partner',** the **'first son'** among the **4 original brothers** that came from different mothers and were forced to live and act together in an uncomfortable and excruciating union named Nigeria. These 4 **brothers – Eastern, Western, Mid-Western, and Northern Regions** - have since birth remained virtually 'strangers' to each other. They speak different languages and multitudes of dialects. As for religion, politics and culture, **only 3 have a lot in common**, including most significantly, physical features. Outside the different languages and dialects they speak, it is usually hard to distinguish one from the other. But the North, the presumed 'senior brother' (as a result of desert land mass they occupy), is the most backward in development, especially, in education. The North has dominated everything right from the beginning and had been at loggerheads with the other brothers. The most important feature of their culture is ***'Islamic'*** and their moral code is Sharia. This code of law is fundamentally strange and nauseating to the rest of the regions. The Northern brother totally belongs to the **Arabic world** of North Africa and the Middle East. Even though they are part of Nigeria according to the arrangement of the British colonialists, their leaders had for long, and against the will of the other 3 brothers, enrolled Nigeria as a member of the ***Organization of***

Islamic Cooperation (OIC), which has over 60 registered nations, all of which profess Islam.

A terrorist group called Boko Haram has been very active in Northern Nigeria since 2009; and the name of the group means ***"Western" or "non-Islamic" education is a sin.*** This loosely translated from the local Hausa language, means **"Western education is forbidden."** They claim they have ties with other international dangerous terrorist organizations, including ISIS, with headquarters in the so-called Islamic State of Iran***. ISIS stands for "Islamic State in Iraq and Syria",*** and is an extremist militant group that rules by Wahhabi/Salafi law. In Arabic, the group is also known as Daesh. An example of ISIS is the terrorist group that is known for kidnapping western journalists and aid workers as part of their tactics. *"Wahhabism*", therefore is an Islamic doctrine and religious movement, said to have been founded by Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Whahhab. It has been variously described as 'ultraconservative', 'austere', 'fundamentalist' or' puritan' , as an 'Islamic reform movement' to restore pure monotheistic worship by devotees, and as a 'deviant sectarian movement', a distortion of Islam by its opponents.

Unfortunately the other 3 Nigerian brothers have embraced a system or culture similar to the so-called "Western Education" and Civilization, even long before the arrival of the First colonialists in this part of the world. Don't you see why this union can never work or survive? There would be conflicts. The third brother, of the "United Regions of Nigeria" (URN), presumed to be the one causing all the troubles in Nigeria, is also said to be stubborn, proud, arrogant, and disrespectful and has continued to give *Walhalla* to the senior (Muslim North), preferred by the British, installed by the British, supported by the United States, Soviet Union and the Western world till tomorrow. Immediately Nigeria gained independence in 1960, USA did not waste time inviting **Abubakar Tafawa Balewa** to state visit. Just few months after **Muhammad Buhari** assumed power, as president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in 2016, USA organized a 'royal visit' for the Nigerian Muslim president. What don't you understand that is going on? That's the type of political leadership they prefer in the so-called third world!

The trouble makers are said to be the **Igbos,** though, strong believer in "**One Nigeria**", but actively, courageously and boldly condemning evil and injustice being perpetuated in the union by the cabal ruling class. You can put yourself in the shoes of the Northern Cabal. You, the first son of the 4 brothers, not

educated, not rich in anyway, a weakling, and not even your numerous kids, sons and daughters are doing well in business or anything, and a lot of them are street beggars, the so-called ***'Almajiris!'*** Then your little junior brother continues to challenge you to move forward and show your worth! Ignoring the fact that you are the first son! So, one can understand the frustrations of some uninformed Northern leaders, and why, through any of its Islamic organizations, call for end to the "Igbo Problem", and so by expelling the rebellious kid from the group!

Whatever the case maybe the expulsion of Igbos from Nigeria, an action taken in a haste and with bitterness may, in the first place become a great *blessing in disguise* for the entire Igbo nation. History continues to repeat itself. In most cases, persecuted people, hardened by collective suffering, easily unite to fight survival. They eventually succeed to build a new nation, much better than that of their persecutors and enemies. That was the exact picture during the first Biafra Revolution. If the great enthusiasm for a free Independent Biafra, nurtured by organized massacre and genocide, perpetrated by their Hausa-Fulani haters and their friends, was sustained, there was no doubt that a free independent Biafra would emerge at any time in this West African region. It could become the pride of Black Africa. Only few pessimists doubt this often-repeated assertion. From another perspective or spectrum, Biafra Exit from Nigeria federation may be a huge blessing for Nigeria as well. ***Blessing***: It will be a wakeup call to Nigeria. It will also promote healthy competition between Nigeria and Biafra. Let's prove our case.

Biafra Exit, a Blessing in Disguise

Biafra peaceful exit will be a fabulous blessing politically, economically, academically and socially to both Nigeria and Biafra. In fact it will enthrone a progressive new world order. This is one of the reasons why the West will not support Biafra.

"Blessing in disguise', means "Something that looks bad or unlucky at first, but results in something good happening later", is a popular phrase that helps us examine some most heartening possible consequences of Biafra Exit from the Nigerian federation. Among the 4 brothers, the one that has strongly believed and worked for a United Nigeria is the **Igbo**. There is no argument about it. But that it is this brother that would be expelled from the union! It sounds ridiculous. Some people compare this phenomenon to similar crisis in the old **Malaysia,** which gave birth to a new nation, **Singapore!** May

"Biafra" in such peaceful atmosphere become a separate nation (Singapore) and remain still in good terms with Nigeria! This will be a popular and very heartening wish. Something goes wrong, surely! It is so painful to imagine! The 'expelled Igbos' will have suffered an unbelievable damage and loss in property and prestige. But if allowed to escape the Nigerian enclave with their lives, there is no doubt that recovery would not take much longer. If the Igbos were left to go at the end of a peaceful agreement arrived at by all the other brothers at a conference table, behold the best thing that could have happened to the Igbo people!

Time to Build – Igbo Renaissance

While not implying that Igbos may not migrate to foreign nations or do business elsewhere, the *Biafra Exit* would be an opportunity for patriotic Igbo sons and daughters, residing outside Igboland, to return and contribute their quota in nation building. But we like to make it clear, namely that only Biafran-Igbos, who love Igboland, with whole heart and soul, ready to contribute in their special areas of human and material development to make Igboland great again. will be joyfully awaited in Igboland. Biafra-Igbos being expected in Biafraland are those who, like the original "***Igbo-Ojukwu Biafrans***", are ready to make sacrifices and use their Igbo ingenuity in the most positive way to make Igboland better, and look like the Western world. Igbo nation is not an uncivilized, backward and primitive race. It looks underdeveloped and poor, simply because it has lacked honest and patriotic leadership. If true dedicated leaders show up tomorrow; come and see the masses enthusiastically following and jubilating, singing songs of joy! During the Nigeria-Biafra War, I did not see one "white man", a white oil-man or woman (Shell BP, Agip, Total, Chevron etc) at the **Biafra oil refinery headquarters those days at Amandugba, (Isu LGA) near Orlu,** after the fall of Port Harcourt. Almost all the sophisticated huge oil equipments brought down from Port Harcourt were operated by Biafran oil engineers. The oil drillers were in the oil fields producing crude oil for the locally built refineries. There was no fuel scarcity. Biafra engineers were at work, 24/7 at Owerri Nkworji, Okwelle, and Dikenafai near Nkwerre at ***Research and Production (RAP) headquarters*** and other undisclosed enclaves producing weapons of war as well as food for the soldiers. Surely the present day Aba and Nnewi industrialists and manufacturers of

needed commodities, for home consumption and exports, would have contributed their quota if the environment was conducive for growth and development. Who would have thought of fleeing the land to go to China, Malaysia or South Africa, just to 'hustle' and escape hunger in the land?

Proud to be Igbo - Biafran

Igbos will gain, whether they are based at home or they are returning from other parts of Nigeria or Overseas, and returning with their wealth, (cash and knowledge), one can see how Biafra Investment Bank will grow. Skeptics will see how rich Biafra will become overnight! Biafra-land will have no accommodation for any type of evil: armed robbery, kidnapping, ritual business, witchcraft, and 419-Yahoo scams. Biafra must remain safe for all and sundry, and the investors' security must be assured. Chukwu Abiamara, the true Supreme God worshipped by Igbos does not accommodate evil. He is God of truth, love and justice. But he is a forgiving and merciful Father and receives back repentant the 'prodigal sons'. In mysterious ways, God can turn a bad fellow, a criminal into a useful person, even a Saint. Americans and some western nations are never stupid, when their security officials - civilian and those in uniform - give hardened criminals they capture, a red carpet reception and treatment, when such criminals and even terrorists are handed over to SSS, SARS, DSS, CIA and FBI. They rarely torture or kill the bad guys. They interview the criminals, especially those blessed with rare human intellect and talents, with which they accomplish evil, often beyond human comprehension. These evil 'whiz kids', well handled and treated by trained state officials, soon turn into great inventors, engineers, architects, economists, name any profession! Igbos are blessed people born with rare talents and determination to work and succeed. Out of frustration, some of their rare talents are used to accomplish stunning tasks which only serve their criminal endeavors.

Were the victorious Nigerian leaders not foolish by dismissing the great Biafra scientists and engineers, discarding or burying Biafra-made weapons of warfare, including Biafra missiles*, ogbunigwe* (Ojukwu bucket), and locally made armored tankers? Only few of us who saw these with our naked eyes can truly talk about them? Where are the museums, which some of these crude-looking objects are exhibited for the younger generations to see and confirm that these are not fairy tales. Americans were too wise and handled the German world war

scientists well. The 'criminals' became 'heroes' and 'friends of progress'. So, patriotic Biafra 'bad fellows', may also help develop Biafra; those who had been duping people all over the world, forging world currencies that look real (and only trained experts can tell the difference between real and fake), minting money and gold, printing and distributing international passports of various nations, issuing 'valid' visas to willing travelers, stealing credit cards and bank account details of unsuspecting bank customers, hiding hard drugs and other legal and illegal stuffs in remote parts or the body and vehicles (with no possibility of detection by most modern computer gadgets), dating white women from any part of the planet for years and making millions of dollars, without detection! Wise Biafra leadership will need these Igbo guys with such superhuman intellect to help in developing Igboland in a positive tremendous ways. Even 'kidnapper kingpins' could be closely and secretly interviewed. 'Words of wisdom' from his mouth can help our leaders learn the art security checks, responsible governance and management! The intelligent, skilled, and now repentant thief may become a hero, putting his rare skills into useful ventures! Biafra, filled with patriotic God-fearing citizens, full of energy and rare talents, will make the young nation the greatest in Africa and among the best respected in the world!

World Igbo Congress – New Patriotic Ohaneze Ndigbo

It was the most heartening news for all Igbos in the fatherland and in the Diaspora when we were made to understand that The Apex Igbo socio-cultural organization, Ohaneze Ndigbo, had taken initiative to neutralize the so-called quit notice issued by Arewa youths to Igbo residents in the North, by constituting and inaugurating Planning and Strategy Committee, to design both the economic and political development agenda for Ndigbo. One reaction or comment from one very responsible youth, ***J.T.Eze*** from Orlu summarizes the mood of all Biafrans everywhere: *"Igbos are waking up at the appointed time. Every crisis period, creates opportunities for excellence and enlistment of geniuses. God brought in these patriotic Igbos to the rescue of the Igbos at His appointed and most appropriate time. Igbos are learning their lesson at last, and it is not yet too late for God's time is the most favorable*". Thank you J. T. Eze for your honest observation and remarks! According to reports, the committee was also expected to come up with the best strategies that would enable the South-east zone become self-reliant in view of the alleged

marginalization of the zone. On the threat by the Arewa Youths and some Northern Elders, the committee cautioned the South-east youths from spiraling out of control, saying, "The jury is still out in Igbo land regarding the choice between self-determination and restructuring as a solution to our current impasse."

There must be good foundation, carefully laid for the take-off of Biafra, which even yet the unborn Igbo will be proud of. Like the **World Jewish Congress** (representing Jewish communities in over 100 countries across the 6 continents, fighting anti-Semitism, and taking care of diplomatic, social, political, economic and ideological interests of Jewish people – in Homeland and in the Diaspora); World Igbo Congress (locally Ohaneze Ndigbo), an apex body uniting all Igbos must work for the successful take-off and sustenance of Biafra nation and fight "**Anti-Igbo War**". Most Jews are fearlessly engaged in the battle against 'anti-Semitic threats'. Greatness is not won by reckless riots and mob actions, which often end in chaos, shedding of blood and destruction of properties. Citizens of Biafra nation are civilized, educated, disciplined, respectful, hardworking and peace-loving people.

Good Ambassadors of their Nation

Igbos of the Diaspora have lots of sensitive good questions to ask themselves. Am I a good representative of Igbo race, a good **ambassador of Biafra**? How many of my colleagues in China, Japan, UK, or in USA can I bring home to Biafra to invest in my fatherland? Have I good relationships with the political and economic leaders of the country where I reside and have been doing business for many years? How many of them will support and help Biafra grow when the need arises? Have I good connections? Didn't you know that it was just through small 'connections' with some key leaders and friends that Biafra won recognition from Tanzania, Zambia, Ivory Coast, Gabon and Haiti, those days? Are you well-connected in a good way with good friends in the lands of your sojourn? Are you ready to win friends for Biafra government – "World Power" support! Are you not aware of what is happening in Syria? In Nigeria, are you relating well with Igbo and Biafra neighbors. You don't need to hate anybody. Make friends with everyone, Yorubas, Hausa-Fulani, Delta, Middle Belters and 'Riverine people' (Ndi-Mba-Miri). They may need you too when the time arises.

Biafra – Not a "Dream Republic"

> **In most cases, persecuted people, hardened by collective suffering, easily unite to fight for survival. They eventually succeed to build a new nation, much better than that of their persecutors and enemies**. *(Iwuchukwu Obi Jones)*

Only you and your friends will let your adversaries mock at you and call your movement a crazy dream. If you are disciplined and intelligent, you shock Biafra enemies by your good behavior and mature reactions and utterances. Have you not heard the adage, *"by their fruits, you shall know them?*' How do you feel when your enemies tell you that *"Your Biafra will look like South Sudan?"* God forbid! That is a curse and woe betide the mouth that utters such words! By your behavior, you tell your enemies that theirs is wishful thinking. Wishful thinking is the formation of beliefs and making decisions according to what might be pleasing to imagine instead of by appealing to evidence, rationality, or reality. It is a product of resolving conflicts between belief and desire. By your utterances and behavior, do not turn their 'lies' to 'living truths!'

Biafraland is big enough to accommodate all her returning sons and daughters. No one should lack a home. *"Onye aghala nwanneya*".(Do not abandon your brother). We don't need to force Biafra under the throats of our neighbors. We only need to maintain good friendly relationships with them. "Live, and let live". There are no walls in Biafraland, no state boundaries, no leadership struggle. Only one heart and one soul! There will be nothing like "I am from Abia, Anambra, Imo, Ebonyi, Enugu, SS". No! "I am Igbo. I am Biafran!" There can be no type of discrimination against fellow brothers and sisters as well as visitors and foreigners; otherwise our dream will turn into a nightmare! Biafra is a reality; it is a matter of time, and there is no quibbling about it. There is no 'either or'. United Nigeria as we have repeatedly maintained is the worst option. And when Biafra stops being a 'dream', no one will tell our youngsters, jumping up and down now that 'it is time for action' (Orue na omume!) When the Biafra agenda is consummated, God willing, on a peace talk conference milieu, the young nation will need a formidable army, simply because *"Onye ndi Ilo gbara gburugburu na eche ndu ya nche mgbe nile"* (One surrounded by vicious enemies takes extra security measures to protect its citizens). That was Radio-Biafra slogan during the civil war.

(Like, Israel,) Biafra neighbors up North can never be taken for granted. No Igbo is Muslim (unless fake wayo Igbo man) and Islam is not a religion of peace. As an infidel you must know yourself, guard your mouth and steps. Stepping on a copy of the Koran can precipitate a crisis of a colossal magnitude, a Great War, even genocide. You are warned! Be careful!

Like Israelis, every Biafran youth is a soldier. After college a Biafran youth undergoes a military training, ready to defend the fatherland from any danger coming from the air, land and sea. The period of the so-called National Youth Service Corps (NYSC), hopelessly wasted by Igbo youths in Northern Nigerian villages, teaching or learning 'Islamic studies' and civic education, will be turned into something more useful. Yes! The ***Biafra Youth Service Corps (BYSC) or Biafra Youth Fatherland Service Corps (BYFSC)*** will be turned into a most useful institution. The period of service period will primarily be devoted to further military training and further education in modern science and technology and proper orientation in law and order, and as well a period of inculcating the proper virtues of patriotism, on which the development and survival of any nation lies.

Wars in Modern Times – The Biafra Military

In the modern times, wars are no more fought and won by numbers of battalions of soldiers and guns and ammunitions. Well trained, disciplined and intelligent army can serve the Biafra interest as a military force to reckon within Africa, at the least, and must compare with Israel of today. Biafra army will not be a ragtag illiterate military force. The Biafra police, like disciplined Biafra army cannot be the type found today all over Nigeria, who collect 20- naira (twenty naira) and inspect car trunks, claiming they are 'doing their duty'. Biafra army is not money-making force. It is people's army, volunteer force defending a precious jewel. Most of us tried desperately to join the Biafra army in 1967/68 several times but were rejected because there were too many volunteers. There weren't even enough local or Aba-made military uniforms and soldiers' shoes. There were no ambulance vehicles to carry the dead and the wounded from the war fronts. Only locally constructed raffia beds were available. But soldiers never complained and continued consoling themselves with "Songs of Liberation". "You have not seen nothing", Americans will warn you in their local dialect, you young enthusiastic Biafran soldier! The Biafra army

must be a disciplined army and, least in academic qualification for recruitment may be Poly or College of education degree. No 'Passing Six' or "WASSC-NECO certificate". A new curriculum will be designed to re-educate young Igbo youths who abandoned studies for quick wealth. Illiteracy has no place in Biafra

Biafrans - Masters of their Destiny

As you make your bed you lie on it. What you sow, you reap. True Biafra nation will produce or already has experts in various fields of need and modern technology. They remain masters in every branch of the economy, simply because the talents are there. Why should Biafra engineers stand by, and ***Chinese, Americans, Lebanese, Indians or Europeans*** come to construct our roads, railways and bridges? Why should our electrical engineers stand and watch when Asians are awarded contracts to revamp our power sector? Why can't we explore the solar energy and assure that our people, institutions, and small-and-large scale industries have abundance of electricity supply, without which there will absolutely be no development in the modern times. Why are Igbos flying their sick kith and kin to India, South Africa, America, UK for medical treatments, when Igbo medical doctors, male and female, are among the best Cardiologists, Gynecologists, Neurologists, and Physicians in Europe and America? Why should **Chinese, Israelis, Lebanese, Indians and Malaysians** come to Biafra to manage our agricultural farms, including palm produce, drill bore-holes for our poor communities? Why can't Biafra Airways take care of millions of our daily fliers to various parts of the world? Why should we not be ashamed of flying only foreign airlines – Ethiopian, Kenyan, South African, Arab Emirates, Lufthansa, Alitalia, Air France - as 'Biafran Airways' exists only in name? Why should Egyptians come to fly our jets when Biafra pilots are there and could even land aircrafts in the dark and poorly illuminated airfields during Biafra war? It will be a shame and a failed Biafra, only a dream, if Igbos fail to grapple with realities of meaningful, powerful black nation, in our own part of the world, come Biafra.

Bribery, Corruption and Insecurity

There will be no place for bribery and corruption in Biafra. Igbos who became rich and made it those days had no oils blocks or wells, did not deal on drugs to build their decent houses, train

their children in colleges and universities. They worked hard and did not cheat government or their people to amass fabulous wealth. There will be zero tolerance for corrupt practices in Biafra and if you don't agree with this writer, you did better count me out and for everything about Biafra. There will be no sanctuary city for armed robbers, kidnappers and evil people in Biafra. There will be no need for community security agents. Every Biafran is a committed security officer, 'vigilante!' That's what obtains in Israel today. Learn and understand, not fairy tales, not trace your origin to Israel or the Jew, but refuse to embrace what it takes to make a people great.

"Biafra Exit" – A Disaster for Nigeria

Nigerians who might 'inherit' Biafrans' 'abandoned' properties, in Kano, Kaduna, Jos, Zaria, Bauchi, Katsina, Sokoto, Abuja, name the cities, estimated in billions or trillions of naira may enjoy their 'loot' or 'fortune' but for only a short while! History, world-wide, continues to repeat itself. They forget that the ailment, the disease, the seemingly incurable cancer that has kept the country called Nigeria in total darkness for long, is not lack of natural resources, wealth or property; but leadership and management! Nigerians who would take over businesses abandoned by fleeing Biafrans may have heard similar stories about Uganda and Zimbabwe. Surely Ugandans and Zimbabweans were glad and celebrated the day their former enemies and exploiters, Asians and Indians mainly, were ordered to leave the African countries. I have forgotten the number of days, weeks or months they were given to complete the exit. Truly the Indians and Asians did leave with the few belongings they could carry on their long journey. Every other property remained behind.

Reno Omokri, in the most convincing and dramatic way brings the message home to "Jubilating enemies of Ndigbo", how their initial mood of victory might turn to monumental tragedy. "When Idi Amin expelled Asians from Uganda in 1972 he thought that the wealth of the Asians would be transferred to Ugandans. But it did not happen because the wealth of the Asians was in their work ethic and in their brains. Those Ugandans that took over the businesses of the Asians by force were not able to sustain those businesses and the businesses all collapsed almost to the last one. In fact, just 2 years after expelling the Asians, Uganda's currency failed and its economy collapsed and none has yet recovered to its pre 1972 expulsion

level. In 2000, when Robert Mugabe tried the same thing in Zimbabwe, most of the white farmers fled Zimbabwe." The story did not look different when it came to Zimbabwe's turn, we are told. "Exactly the same thing happened. The Zimbabweans who gave quit notices to the white farmers and forcefully took over their farms were not able to maintain them and by 2005 Zimbabwe, which once exported food, became an importer of basic food items. Within 4 (four) short years after expelling the white farmers, Zimbabwe's currency failed and its economy collapsed and has still not recovered." Omokri's warning must be taken seriously: *"As Jesus said in Matthew 11:15 'He that hath ears to hear, let him listen!*' Any group that thinks that by issuing a quit notice to the Igbos in Northern Nigeria would receive abundant blessing, must be crazy. They can appropriate Igbo property and business but must better understand that history repeats itself. What happened in Uganda and Zimbabwe will again happen to anyone who asks the Igbos to quit. In Kano, Kaduna, Sokoto and Katsina, almost 70% of their mechanics, doctors, dentists, spare part dealers, pharmacists, chemists and hydroelectric engineers are Southerners." Maybe they need further truth and light from South Africa.

Nigerians, it was said, also were being given "quit notice" to leave South Africa or even China. South Africa may have their reasons, but the fact remains that Nigerians are flooding South Africa because the Boers and some British masters are still the real managers there. Though SA is independent (politically), the whites are still the masters. The Black South Africans (likened to American Blacks or Northern Nigerians - descendants of Usman Dan Fodio) are benefiting from the economic administration of former slave masters (the Boers). The Zulus, the blacks, calling for the expulsion of fellow black non-indigenes are doing so out of frustration. They, like Alamajaris of Northern Nigeria are helpless and can't compete. Behold what South Africa would have looked like if the Boers had left like the Indians and Asians in Africa during Idi Amin and Robert Mugabe era! South Africa is still 'ticking' because of the presence of the Boers. The political leadership saga continues to be a torn in the flesh of all African nations. It is a 'curse'. Had Jacob Zuma, or Robert Mugabe, out of pressure, and as result of scandalous, corrupt leadership problems not resigned? There are many, worse than Zuma and Mugabe, all over Africa nations. Nigeria is on the top list and needs a political shake-up, in fact a revolution! Nigerian leaders are hard-skinned and slow to learn or read some hand-writings on the wall.

Mandela the Great and the New South Africa

One can imagine a country where over 90% of the South African population, mostly blacks remained in bondage for so many years until not long ago majority black rule was set in place. It was a short moment of joy with Mandela leadership and a real beginning for the black leadership to prove its worth! As for education and black managerial and industrial power, there is nothing to write home about. Poor leadership, as well as poverty, like in Nigeria and most African nations, is the order of the day. Thanks be to God that the black leadership under Mandela, was wise and sober; did not attack the whites with bows and arrows, who surrendered power to the black majority; did not slash their throats with machetes. Mandela did not even care to change the name South Africa to Zululand. He knew that without economic power South Africa would still remain in the pre-Apartheid state of slavery and poverty! Who would wonder how South Africa has become a refugee land, offering asylum to 'political refugees; for today many African nations, including Nigeria are found all over the cities of South Africa. Who could have imagined that today South Africa always qualifies to hold world soccer competitions and Olympic Games; and Nigeria does not even qualify on regional and continental levels!!

"South Africa – flowing with milk and honey"

South Africa, languished under white man's rule, called Apartheid, for decades. They were poor, oppressed, enslaved and homeless in their very land. Nigeria played a leading role in the liberation of black Africa from white man's domination. Nigeria offered jobs and shelter to South African political refugees those days. But behold the situation today. Compare and contrast. Nigerians, Igbos are lining up, day and night outside South African embassy in Abuja and Lagos, seeking for visa and Asylum in SA! Wow! Nigerians who succeed in landing in SA take up menial jobs, car-wash, street cleaners, refuse collectors, day and night guards, dish-washers and maid servants. They become street traders in streets of Johannesburg and sea ports of Cape Town and Durban, selling their wares to white tourists, motorists and pedestrians who care! They compete with fellow SA blacks, who get angry and upset that these hungry foreigners are flooding their cities, taking away the jobs they are used to doing

under the more prosperous whites and Boers, the real lords and masters of the land! How have the mighty fallen!

Will Nigeria learn some hard lessons?

So, will Nigeria learn her lessons, like Uganda and Zimbabwe, and South Africa too, when the Igbos quit Nigeria Federation? We are not afraid to say that on our own level or platform today, Nigeria is 'ticking' because Igbos are still around and perhaps too other southerners. Igbos, in spite of their known weaknesses can still be trusted with hard work and zeal for better tomorrow. They call it 'hustling'. They are too 'fast' for black Africans, who hate and call for their expulsion, accusing them of taking away their jobs from the 'sons of the soil". What are Igbos, by the way, doing in South Africa, Cambodia, Greece, South Vietnam, Libya or Morocco – in search of 'Greener Pastures', when millions of fertile acres of green pastures thrive in Fatherland and remain uncultivated. Experts trace the problem to poor management of Nigeria's natural resources and poor leadership. But who will do better, the younger generation of Igbo and Nigerian youths, or still the elders who don't seem to react? A tormenting question, looking for an unpredictable answer! Expelled, or left in the dark, Igbos will be missed a lot by Nigeria. Perhaps the expelled Igbos may stop a while and ask questions, why and what has brought this lingering situation to the present level of stalemate!

Northerners will also lose

The last thing I have seen in my life, in Igboland, is any Igbo bullying or maltreating a Hausa or Yoruba guy. God forbid! Or maltreat 'strangers' in Igboland. Igbos, instead of showing aggression to their visitors, pours their venom on their very brothers and sisters. Igbo rich landlords, living and doing their businesses in Abuja or Lagos, leave the security of their mansions and estates with swimming pools and illustrious European gardens, and precious jewels and rare treasures in the Igbo village and family, with all the keys to the most valued rooms, into the hands and care of Hausa guy (**Aboki).** Am I kidding you? Some people may think that only Igbos will lose completely if they are expelled from the North. Northerners returning to their home states at the order of Arewa Youths will lose their jobs, too, occupations, engagements from which they make their daily sustenance. Not less than 95% of Igbo rich families in Igboland employ the services of Hausa security

guards. These docile and most trustworthy young Hausa men live happily among Igbo people and work for their employers. There are many others who find employments in other sectors of the economy in Igbo land. In every big and small city in Igbo land Hausas dominate the money-exchange market and live happily in peace with their Igbo neighbors in Biafraland. Will unemployment situation among Nigerian youths not worsen, if these Hausa brothers lose their means of support as they head northwards home in answer to Arewa order to leave the East and return to the North?

Most avaricious Igbo youths who have fled the land, *abandoned wood work, carpentry work, dress-making, fashion and designing business, bricklaying work, welding and metal works, building and construction works, auto mechanic work, painting works,* in pursuit of fast money-yielding businesses overseas, have been replaced by Hausa and Yoruba docile craftsmen. Young men from **Togo, Republic of Benin, Ghana, Cameroon,** and other West African countries work in these areas in Igboland. I tried to find out from my nephew, why all the construction workers handling the work on his huge new mansion-house-project at home were all non-Igbos; he simply told me that the Yorubas and Togolese were more docile and 'charged less money.' I only wished some Igbo-Biafran youths were around during that dialogue! The best auto mechanics and tailors I know in Orlu Township, heartland of the Igbo, are Yorubas. And they are beloved by everybody and make a lot of money. I am 100% (one hundred percent) sure Igbos will give them maximum protection if there was cause for danger anywhere. Do Igbos plan and murder other Nigerians living in their villages? I am sure too, on hearing of any such plans, women and children will raise alarm and threaten to call police! But Igbos will ignore brothers and sisters threatening to kill each other in fight over property and land.

Some may call these jobs 'petty jobs' or 'menial assignments?' Are these not the same type of jobs that many Igbo and Nigerian youths engage in the U.K. and USA? What is the big difference between the Nigerian taxi-cab and UBA- driver in UK (with BSC honors degree in law or engineering) and his classmate driving Keke or Okada in Nigeria? What is the difference between the same type of individuals, same street traders, Igbos, Nigerians, (selling handkerchiefs, toiletries, toothpastes, soaps and low quality perfumes) in the streets of Rome, Naples and Rome in Italy or in China or South Africa, and those carrying on the same business on the streets of Lagos,

Abuja, Onitsha, Owerri or PH? Nigerian youths who engage in these 'jobs' in Italy also extend their services to the homes of the white owners of the land – "house to house trading". They get employments in house and office cleaning and some to gardening jobs in Europe and America. Are majority of lucky Nigerians (new arrivals) in major cities of Europe and America not 'security guards'? And often the unfriendly whites send out their dogs to chase away Nigerian youths "doing house-t-house trading business in Italy!" What has brought Nigeria to this deplorable situation, world-wide?

Hard realities of life and hope for Restoration

It is a tragedy that we have arrived at a very ugly situation, where we are almost losing sense of direction. And the confused political leadership is doing absolutely nothing to rescue the deteriorating situation. Is Nigeria not the only country in the 6 continents, where a sick president, refuses to retire, but must direct the affairs of his country from a sick bed or through shameless, untrustworthy and most corrupt cronies on earth? What is going on? And you honestly can swear on the Bible or Koran that all is well with Nigeria, and that Igbo or Biafra is the problem? Wow! There is need to begin a lamentation and ask for forgiveness and 'restoration!" *"LORD, you once favored your land; you restored the fortunes of Jacob. You forgave the iniquity of your people; you pardoned all their sins. You withdrew your entire wrath; you turned from your hot anger. Restore us again, O God of our salvation, and put away your indignation toward us. Will you be angry with us forever? Will you prolong your anger to all generations? Will you not revive us again so that your people may rejoice in you? Show us your steadfast love, o Lord, and grant us your salvation" (Psalm 85).*

CHAPTER 20

HOW AFRICAN AND NIGERIAN PROBLEMS BEGAN - SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA

> **"Since 1914, the British Government has been trying to make Nigeria into one country, but the Nigerian people themselves are historically different in their backgrounds, in their religious beliefs and customs and do not show themselves any signs of willingness to unite..... Nigerian unity is only a British intention for the country."**
> (Alhaji (Sir) Abubakar Tafawa-Balewa, 1948.)

Africa and the West - same Activities, different Nomenclatures

(1) When Westerners move to Africa = **Voyages of discovery.**
(2) When Africans move to the West = **Illegal immigrants, aliens**
(3) A group of Westerners in Africa = **Tourists**
(4)A group of Africans in the West = **Refugees, Asylum seekers**
(5) A group of Westerners in the forests = **Hunters**
(6) A group of Africans in the forests = **Poachers**
(7) White People working in foreign countries = **Expatriates**
(8)Black people working in Western countries = **Foreign workers**
(9) Western politicians giving out money to buy votes and favor = **Lobbying**
(10) Africans doing the same thing = **Bribing, corrupt, fraudulent**
(11) Western politicians caught in electoral malpractices and fraudulent political intrigues = **Interfering in western democracy.**
(12) Africans doing the same thing = **Election Rigging**

British Imperialism and belated Confession of Guilt

The much publicized social media video coverage of a group of British delegates at an international conference, publicly and on behalf of the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland 'confessing

the sins' of their fore-fathers, including the sins of the Roman Catholic missionaries against Africa, was not amusing by any measure. One after the other, the British delegates or representatives knelt down before the audience and their representatives, and some openly were watched, uncontrollably shedding tears, enumerated the sins of their ancestors against Africans in particular. In the declarations or confessions before the people and the living God, the 'penitents' asked for forgiveness. They announced their 'sins', one after the other in English and French. The British 'atrocities' included 'sins' of 'commission' and 'omission'; namely

1) The imperial domination of the world and competition among the European powers, spearheaded by the United Kingdom, to divide and conquer the nations of Africa. That was the beginning of the Scramble for Africa.
2) Robbing Africa their dignity and culture by the imposition of foreign ideologies and , 'superiority complex'.
3) The sins of the Roman Catholic Church against Africans and particularly against the Jews and the Congolese Africans included the failure of the church to raising a voice against the evils and atrocities perpetrated by the British and Europeans against the people they conquered and ruled.
4) Robbing Africa of her wealth and rich cultural heritage in the name of 'civilization'.

It was truly an open confession of guilt, which many sons and daughters of the former imperial powers had consistently and privately made or expressed in thought, word and deed at various occasions in the past. Most Nigerians, particularly, Southerners, including the Igbos, who reacted to the much publicized 'confessions of guilt' could not be pacified by the actions of the 'penitents'. Some Nigerian youths maintained that the 'confessions' of the heinous crimes of the British imperialists by their sons and daughters were 'hypocritical', and described the physical emotions as "shedding of the crocodile tears". There is no doubt that Britain of yester-years and today were and still are behind the Nigerian political tragedy. Some insist that "till the queen goes on her knees and apologizes, the present expression of sorrow or remorse for past British atrocities in Nigeria will remain futile and unacceptable".

Here were more reactions:

a) "The blood of the innocent people of Biafra was wasted in Nigeria through the support of the British government. Biafrans struggled to rescue African Nations from the hands of the British imperialists, but unfortunately the attempts were suppressed. *In Biafra Africa died,* Emefiena Ezeani hit the nail on the head. "Freedom for Biafra Nation is unstoppable force. Justice must be done to the demands of the innocent people of Biafra."

b) "The British people turned the hearts of our people against themselves. The British poisoned the hearts of our leaders thereby making us modern slaves, all in the name of supremacy. You people should apologize to the Igbos. You people sponsored the killings of over 3 million Biafrans. You people starved our mothers and fathers and little children to death. You people denied humanitarian aids to Biafrans during the Biafra war. We can't hold back our tears, and it is hard to forgive the British.

c) "The British took away every good thing we had, wealth, our civilization, identity and our religion, enslaved our fathers and killed many. Will God ever forgive the British and the Europeans for what they did to Africans?" *(sic)*

Colonialism, Conquest, and Domination

Great peoples and their leaders, kings and chiefs inhabited these vast areas of land of Africa, and the Europeans (aka. *"White people"*) by their own 'yard sticks' named Africa the **Dark Continent**. The peoples were said to be **primitive and uncivilized**. They were created by the same God, and peoples all over the world had their different tales about the same God as well as different names for the deity or deities. The black peoples of Africa dwelt in their various 'kingdoms' and 'communities' – large and small. These kingdoms and peoples could not have spoken only one language. We remember the biblical myth of the *Tower of Babel!* In West Africa, which the Europeans, represented by Britain colonized and imposed the name, Nigeria, dwelt, too, organized peoples who spoke hundreds of languages. These people had very little in common, especially culture and religion. The way of life was not the same, including food, music

and dressing. Marriage laws and customs in some cases were entirely different. The early inhabitants of these vast lands, which the British army general, Lord Lugard named Nigeria, and described as the primitive people of the Lower Niger River, surely included the **Igbos, Yorubas, Ijaws, Hausas, Fulanis, Nupes, Itshekirus, Ibibios, Edos, Binis, Efiks, Idomas, Kalabaris and many others** They did not dress like them, eat like them, didn't speak their European languages, or practice the white man's religion, These black west Africans were said to have been "discovered", only when the conquerors arrived! Where were they hidden and why? In European and world history we were forced to learn the biographies of the explorers who 'discovered' what they called "the New World" (including America) and their 'primitive tribes'. The explorers included *Mungo Park, David Livingstone, Captain James Cook, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Walter Raleigh, William Dampier, Robert Falcon Scott, Alexander Mackenzie, Sir Ranulph Fiennes, Henry Hudson, Mary Kingsley* and others.

Scramble for Africa

The **Scramble for Africa**, was an unceremonious struggle for the possession, occupation, division, and colonization of African territories by European powers during the period of the so-called 'New Imperialism' between 1881 and 1914. **Imperialism** is the policy, practice, or advocacy of extending the power and dominion of a stronger nation, especially by direct territorial acquisitions or by gaining indirect control over the political or economic life of other areas. As far as our discussion is concerned, and broadly speaking, imperialism is the extension or imposition of power, authority or influence to other areas, often by force. The European powers did not seek to 'civilize' or 'develop' Africa. "Uncivilized', for the conquerors simply meant 'inability to speak their language, dress like them, eat their types of food, imitate their habits, and at the same time, doing away with any other cultural traits, they nicknamed 'primitive', 'uncivilized' and 'savagery'. Africans were made to be ashamed of themselves if they didn't imitate the 'white man's life-style'. The white masters' primary objectives were the economic gains, exploitation of the vast mineral and material resources of mother Africa! They were **'smart'**, **not necessarily 'intelligent' or 'knowledgeable'**. They had not good or commendable or admirable character and intentions; hence the term, **'scramble'** – chaotic angry quarrels - among the ambitious and often the

most aggressive power-seekers. Like hungry and angry dogs they set out to **grab and hold tight** whatever they could. If they had good intentions, why did the land-grabbers refuse to leave the conquered African territories when the humiliated people thought 'enough was enough?' Why should the native African freedom-fighters suffer in the hands of the European masters before the owners of the land gained their **freedom or what was referred to as 'independence'**? Why must the 'agitators for freedom' be imprisoned, tortured, and many murdered before freedom was granted?

Why must civil wars be instigated and fought for years before the white colonialists vacated their occupied territories? Even after the so-called independence the masters who scrambled for their shares of African territories never truly left the conquered Africans alone to regain their freedom and take full charge of their destiny? The whites have continued to meddle in the affairs of the erstwhile 'colonies'. Political and economic situations in African have continued to worsen, especially in **Nigeria!** Many years after it was presumed that the British, the French, the Germans, Belgians and their American allies had left Africa in peace, the so-called African independent nations are still experiencing worse political and economic hardship than they had witnessed before independence. Poor Africans experience most oppressive rule from their own black leaders, who take orders from the erstwhile foreign masters!

From 'Scramble' to 'Partition'

The 'scramble' was the final product of the so-called 'Partition' of Africa and by the glorious winners of the struggle for power. In 1870, only 10 percent of Africa was under European control; by 1914 it had increased to almost 90 percent of the continent. After the collective hunting expedition, the participants could peacefully settle down and share their booty. Unfortunate political results of the partition of Africa by European powers are too many

History records some results.

1) Europeans gained prestige; especially France which had suffered several humiliations was able to retain her position as a great power because of colonial possessions.

2) By using the policy of 'divide and rule', colonial powers intensified ethnic differences leading to bitter rivalries which have lingered on to the present times.
3) Establishment of administrative forts and posts.
4) Africa was given to chartered companies to administer on behalf of the colonizing masters.
5) African rulers lost their authority to colonial powers.
6) The boundaries split African communities and put them under different European powers.
7) Modern African states boundaries were drawn during the partition.
8) Loss of independence and authority on the part of former African kings and chiefs.
9) The Europeans introduced their systems of administration such as the 'indirect rule' and 'assimilation' policy.

The interior of Africa – David Livingstone

The Portuguese established the first firm post in the 'Middle Ages European Settlements'. There were trade posts, permanent fortifications and ports of call along the coast of the African continent, from the beginning of the Age of Discovery during the 15th century. But Europeans showed comparatively little interest in (and less knowledge of) the interior for some two centuries thereafter. European exploration of the African interior began in earnest at the end of the 18th century. By 1835, Europeans had mapped most of northwestern Africa. In the middle decades of the 19th century famous European explorers included David Livingstone and H. M. Stanley, each of whom mapped vast areas of Southern Africa and Central Africa. Arduous expeditions in the 1850s and 1860s by Richard Burton, John Speke and James Grant located the great central lakes and the source of the River Nile.

By the end of the 19th century Europeans had charted the Nile from its source, traced the courses of the Niger, Congo and Zambezi Rivers and realized the vast resources of Africa. Even as late as the 1870s European states still controlled only ten percent of the African continent, with all their territories located near the coast. The most important holdings were Angola and Mozambique held by Portugal; the Cape Colony held by the United Kingdom; and Algeria, held by France. *By 1914, only Ethiopia and Liberia remained independent of European control.* Technological advances facilitated European expansion

overseas. Industrialization brought about rapid advancements in transportation and communication, especially in the forms of stream navigation, railways and telegraphs. Medical advances also played an important role, especially medicines for tropical diseases. The development of quinine, an effective treatment for malaria made vast expanses of the tropics more accessible for Europeans.

Berlin Conference (1884-85): Otto Von Bismarck

The occupation of Egypt and the acquisition of the Congo were the first major moves in what came to be a precipitous, namely the hasty scramble for African territory. In 1884, **Otto Von Bismarck** convened the 1884–85 ***"Berlin Conference"*** to discuss the African problem. The diplomats put on a humanitarian façade by condemning the slave trade, prohibiting the sale of alcoholic beverages and firearms in certain regions, and by expressing concern for missionary activities. More importantly, the diplomats in Berlin laid down the rules of competition by which the great powers were to be guided in seeking colonies. They also agreed that the area along the Congo River was to be administered by **Léopold II of Belgium** as a neutral area, known as the Congo Free State, in which trade and navigation were to be free. No nation was to stake claims in Africa without notifying other powers of its intentions. No territory could be formally claimed prior to being effectively occupied. However, the competitors ignored the rules when convenient and on several occasions war was only narrowly avoided. It was a scandalous exhibition of arrogance, selfishness and utter regard of the feelings of the indigenous peoples of Africa.

The **Berlin Conference** of 1884 was held to regulate the European colonization and trade in Africa; in fact the starting point of the scramble for Africa. Consequent to the political and economic rivalries among the European empires in the last quarter of the 19th century, the partitioning, or splitting up of Africa was how the Europeans avoided warring amongst themselves over Africa. The later years of the 19th century saw the transition from ***"informal imperialism" (hegemony)***, by military influence and economic dominance, to ***'direct rule',*** bringing about colonial imperialism! ***Hegemony*** means a social, cultural, ideological, or economic influence exerted by a dominant group. So one can say that in Nigeria, at least from the

amalgamation in 1914, the people have been under the British hegemony

Britain's administration of Egypt and South Africa

Britain's administration of Egypt and the Cape Colony contributed to a preoccupation over securing the source of the Nile River. Egypt was overrun by British forces in 1882 (although not formally declared a protectorate until 1914, and never an actual colony). Sudan, Nigeria, Kenya and Uganda were subjugated in the 1890s and early 20th century; and in the south, the Cape Colony (first acquired in 1795) provided a base for the subjugation of neighboring African states and the Dutch Afrikaner-(aka Boers)-settlers who had left the Cape to avoid the British then founded their own republics. Theophilus Shepstone annexed the South African Republic (or Transvaal) in 1877 for the British Empire, after it had been independent for twenty years.

In 1879, after the **Anglo-Zulu War,** Britain consolidated its control of most of the territories of South Africa. The **Boers** protested, and in December 1880 they revolted, leading to the First Boer War (1880–81). British Prime Minister William Gladstone signed a peace treaty on 23 March 1881, giving self-government to the Boers in the Transvaal. The Jameson Raid of 1895 was a failed attempt by the British South Africa Company and the Johannesburg Reform Committee to overthrow the Boer government in the Transvaal. The Second Boer War, fought between 1899 and 1902, was about control of the gold and diamond industries; the independent Boer republics of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic (or Transvaal) were this time defeated and absorbed into the British Empire.

The French and British imperialist adventures

The French thrust into the African interior was mainly from the coasts of West Africa (modern day Senegal) eastward, through the Sahel along the southern border of the Sahara, a huge desert covering most of present-day Senegal, Mali, Nigeria, and Chad. Their ultimate aim was to have an uninterrupted colonial empire from the Niger River to the Nile, thus controlling all trade to and from the Sahel region, by virtue of their existing control over the Caravan routes through the Sahara. The British, on the other hand, wanted to link their possessions in Southern Africa

(modern South Africa, Botswana , Zimbabwe , Lesotho, Swaziland and Zambia) with their territories in East Africa (modern Kenya), and these two areas with the Nile basin.

The **Sudan** (which in those days included most of present-day Uganda) was the key to the fulfillment of these ambitions, especially since Egypt was already under British control. In History and Geography lessons before the Nigerian independence, I remember vividly we had notes and lessons on ***"Anglo-Egyptian-Sudan".*** This "red line" through Africa was made most famous by **Cecil Rhodes**, Cecil John Rhodes, a British businessman, mining magnate and politician in southern Africa who served as Prime Minister of the Cape Colony from 1890 to 1896. Along with Lord Milner, the British colonial minister in South Africa, Rhodes advocated such a ***"Cape to Cairo" empire***, linking the Suez Canal to the mineral-rich Southern part of the continent by rail. Though hampered by German occupation of Tanganyika until the end of World War I, Rhodes successfully lobbied on behalf of such a sprawling African empire. If one draws a line from Cape Town to Cairo (Rhodes's dream), and one from Dakar to the Horn of Africa (now Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti and Somalia), (the French ambition), these two lines intersect somewhere in eastern Sudan near Fashoda, explaining its strategic importance. The Fashoda Incident or Crisis was the climax of imperial territorial disputes between Britain and France in Eastern Africa, occurring in 1898. A French expedition to Fashoda on the White Nile River sought to gain control of the Upper Nile River basin and thereby exclude Britain from the Sudan.

In short, Britain had sought to extend its East African empire contiguously from Cairo to the **Cape of Good Hope**, while France had sought to extend its own holdings from Dakar to the Sudan, which would enable its empire to span the entire continent from the Atlantic Ocean to the Red Sea. A French force under Jean-Baptiste Marchland arrived first at the strategically located fort at Fashoda, soon followed by a British force under Lord Kitchener, commander in chief of the British Army since 1892. The French withdrew after a standoff and continued to press claims to other posts in the region. In March 1899, the French and British agreed that the source of the Nile and Congo Rivers should mark the frontier between their spheres of influence.

Cecil Rhodes - Architect of Apartheid.

Zambia was Northern Rhodesia, Zimbabwe was Southern Rhodesia, and the two parts of what Cecil Rhodes colonized by force and named after himself as **Rhodesia.** The colonizer split African 'kingdom' into Northern and Southern Rhodesia, out of which Zambia and Zimbabwe emerged. One of Rhodes's primary motivators in politics and business was his professed belief that the Anglo-Saxon race was, to quote his will, ***"the first race in the world; under the reasoning that "the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race".*** He advocated vigorous settler colonialism and ultimately a reformation of the British Empire so that each component would be self-governing and represented in a single parliament in London. Ambitions such as these, juxtaposed with his policies regarding indigenous Africans in the Cape Colony—describing the country's black population as largely "in a state of barbarism" – Cecil Rhodes advocated their governance as a "subject race", and was at the centre of moves to marginalize them politically, have led recent critics to characterize him as a **white supremacist and "an architect of apartheid**". Historian Richard A. McFarlane has called Rhodes "an integral a participant in southern African and British imperial history as George Washington or Abraham Lincoln are in their respective eras in United States history."

The British in Nigeria – Lord Lugard

Nigerians, young and the elderly, all agree that "Lord Lugard" is the most hated name especially when Nigerians bemoan their present political, economic, social, cultural and religious deteriorating situation. It was the wicked and selfish 'mistakes' by Britain, referred to as "Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Protectorates of Nigeria that has left Nigeria in its present state of instability. It was a fatal error and the British, ancient and modern could not deny it. It was a tragedy and the man at the helm of affairs was Frederick John Dealtry Lugard, (22 January 1858 – 11 April 1945), known as ***Sir Frederick Lugard***. It was confirmed that Lugard's British girlfriend or concubine, a journalist, by name ***Flora Louise Shaw (Lady Lugard), who*** coined the name *Nigeria*. But who is this powerful Lord Lugard, known to have contributed a lot to Nigeria's woes?

He was a British soldier, we are told, a mercenary, an 'explorer' of Africa, and a colonial administrator. He was Governor of Hong Kong, a British colony in Southeastern China, (1907–1912), the last Governor of the Southern Nigeria Protectorate (1912–1914), the first High Commissioner (1900–1906) and last Governor (1912–1914) of the Northern Nigeria Protectorate and the first Governor-General of Nigeria (1914–1919). Lugard was said to have been born in Madras (now Chennai) in India, but was raised in Worcester, England. He was the son of the Reverend Frederick Grueber Lugard, a British Army chaplain at Madras, and his ***third wife*** was Mary Howard (1819–1865), the youngest daughter of Reverend John Garton Howard (1786–1862), a younger son of landed gentry from Thorne and Melbourne near York. Lugard was educated at Rossall School and the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. The name 'Dealtry' was in honor of Thomas Dealtry, a friend of his father.

Lord Lugard and Military Career

Lugard was commissioned into the 9th Foot (East Norfolk Regiment) in 1878, joining the second battalion in India and serving in the following campaigns: Second Afghan war (1879–1880), Sudan Campaigns (1884–1885), Second Burmese war (1886–1887). Lugard was appointed to the Distinguished Service Order in 1887. In 1894, Lugard was dispatched by the Royal Niger Company to Borgu, where he secured treaties with the kings and chiefs who acknowledged the sovereignty of the British company, while reducing the influence of other colonial powers. From 1896 to 1897, Lugard took charge of an expedition to Lake Ngami, in modern-day Botswana, on behalf of the British West Charterland Company. He was recalled from Ngami by the British government and sent to West Africa where he was commissioned to raise a native force to protect British interests in the hinterland of the Colony of Lagos and Nigeria against French aggression. In August 1897, Lugard organized the West African Frontier Force and commanded it until the end of December 1899, when the disputes with France were settled.

After relinquishing command of the West African Frontier Force, Lugard was appointed High Commissioner of the newly created Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. He was present at Lokoja and read the proclamation that established the protectorate on 1 January 1900. At that time, the portion of Northern Nigeria under effective control was small, and Lugard's

task in organizing this vast territory was made more difficult by the refusal of the sultan of Sokoto and many other Fulani princes to fulfill their treaty obligations. In 1903, British control over the whole protectorate was made possible by a successful campaign against the emir of Kano and the sultan of Sokoto. By the time Lugard resigned as commissioner in 1906, the entire Nigeria was being peacefully administered under the supervision of British residents. There were, though, uprisings that were brutally put down by Lugard's troops. A Mahdi rebellion in 1906 at the Satiru, a village near Sokoto, resulted in the total destruction of the town and huge number of casualties. Lugard was knighted in 1901 for his service in Nigeria.

Governor of Nigeria – The Amalgamation

About a year after he resigned as High Commissioner of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, Lugard was appointed Governor of Hong Kong, a position he held until March 1912. In 1912, Lugard returned to Nigeria as Governor of the two protectorates. **His mission was to amalgamate the two colonies into one.** Although controversial in Lagos, where it was opposed by a large section of the political class and the media, the amalgamation did not arouse passion in the rest of the country because the people were unaware of the implications! Lugard took scant notice of public opinion; neither did he feel there was need for consensus among the locals on such a serious political subject which had such key implications for the two colonies. From 1914 to 1919, Lugard served as Governor General of the now combined colony of Nigeria. Throughout his tenure, he sought strenuously to secure the amelioration of the condition of the native people, among other means by the exclusion, wherever possible, of alcoholic liquors, and by the suppression of slave raiding and slavery. Lugard, assisted by his wife, Flora Shaw, concocted a legend which warped understanding of him, Nigeria and colonialism for decades. He believed that "the typical African is a happy, thriftless, excitable person, lacking in self-control, discipline and foresight, naturally courageous, courteous and polite, full of personal vanity, with little of veracity; in brief, the virtues and defects of this race-type are those of attractive children."

Funding of the colony of Nigeria in the development of state's infrastructure such as harbors, railways and hospitals in Southern Nigeria came from revenue generated by taxes on imported alcohol. In Northern Nigeria, the revenue that allowed

state development projects was less because the taxes were absent and thus funding of projects was **covered from revenue generated in the south.** The Adubi War occurred during his governorship. In Northern Nigeria, Lugard permitted slavery within traditional elite families. He loathed the educated and sophisticated Africans of the coastal regions. Lugard ran the country whilst spending half each year in England, where he could promote himself and was distant from realities in Africa, where subordinates had to delay decisions on many matters until he returned. He based his rule on a military system - unlike William Mac-Gregor, a doctor turned governor, who mixed with all ranks of people and listened to what was wanted.

The 1914 Amalgamation – The Southern Protectorate, the Northern Protectorate, the Colony of Lagos

The 1914 Amalgamation that occurred shortly after the naming of Nigeria was one of the significant moments for British administration in Africa and a pivotal one for colonial Nigeria. Before this event, the Nigerian state had been a political entity with numerous diversities which made governance difficult. The Southern Protectorate, the Northern Protectorate and the Colony of Lagos all had their separate styles of government. This regional structure meant different laws were applicable in the Protectorates and in the Colony of Lagos. The Protectorates and the Colony of Lagos were quite self-autonomous and governing them with different laws proved quite a task. As a result, the Nigeria 1914 Amalgamation merged the different parts of the country in order to make governance easier for the colonial rulers. It should also be noted that years of deliberations went into the amalgamation of Nigeria and the decision should not be considered a spontaneous move by the British. Sir Frederick Lugard first thought about merging the different parts of the country ten years before he became the Governor-General of the country.

As the High Commissioner of the Northern Nigerian, Sir Frederick Lugard noticed the tribal acrimony that existed between the different parts of the country and how enactment and execution of national policies got delayed. Lugard was not the only one who believed Nigeria urgently needed to be integrated in order to avoid her absolute collapse. Notable British colonial officers such as **Sir William Macgregor (Governor of Lagos) and Sir Ralph Moore (High Commissioner of Southern Nigeria)** concurred with Lugard

and strongly advocated for amalgamation. However, the Queen of England and the British government never saw a reason to do so yet. In fact a map of Nigeria before the 1914 Amalgamation showed the Three Protectorates. **Worried Nigerian and Biafran youths today, should take note of the colonialist dilemma; namely, "Unification" (Amalgamation)} or "Division" of the nation they christened "Nigeria".** The agonizing mistake had been made, and there is little doubt that what the British 'mistakenly did to serve their political and economic interest should be "undone!" To "undo", simply means to cancel or reverse the effects or results of a previous action or measures. The honest solution goes by the name ***"Restructuring."***

Lugard and Lewis Harcourt

When Lugard became the Governor of the Southern Protectorate in 1912, he got the attention of Mr. Lewis Vernon **Harcourt**, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies. Harcourt agreed with Lugard that it was important that the different regions merge in order to help govern the country more effectively. Sometime in 1913, Harcourt assigned Lugard, Amalgamation's frontline advocate, to conduct an *elaborate field work* of the country and determine if the different regions should be united. Harcourt requested that Lugard must first be acquainted with the local conditions of the Northern and Southern Protectorate before a proposal for Amalgamation is submitted to the Queen. After nearly a year of thorough field work, Lugard submitted his detailed proposal for Amalgamation on May 9th, 1913.

"Elaborate Field Work" Vis-à-vis- Consensus or Consultation with the People

"Field work" is practical work conducted by a researcher in the natural environment, rather than in a laboratory or office. In political and economic milieu, the researcher's main goal is to gather enough information that would help in decision-making. Consultations are carried out among political elites, religious and traditional rulers, youths, and even 'market women' are often not left out. What are the researcher's objectives? Wouldn't there be need for a *census,* complete enumeration of a population, in the first place to know the percentage of the different ethnic groups or 'tribes' that make up the population. There would be need for a **referendum**, as well! In Nigeria, it would be mandatory

(obligatory), a requirement by law or rule to know the populations of each ethnic group, Igbo, Yoruba, Efik, Hausa, Fulani, Ibibio, etc in the defined regions. If a political union was the primary purpose of the research, shouldn't the (traditional and political) leaders' contribution be required? Before any final decisions are made, and the researcher's documents submitted to the competent authorities, there would be need for the representatives of the people to append their signatures to the final draft of the document. Unfortunately, the British researchers' 'elaborate field work' on the proposed Amalgamation charter did not include any of the above requirements, nor was any partner (Nigerian leader) consulted! The British colonial masters had already their set objectives or goal well-defined; namely, economic gains and political convenience. There was no elaborate Field Work, Census or Consultation with the People! **Who were signatories to the Amalgamation charter?** This is a good question, which many young Nigerians have continued to ask today.

Changes Amalgamation brought

Amalgamation of Nigeria in 1914 brought a lot of changes to both the British administration in Nigeria and to the Nigerian citizens. Some of the key changes were

(1.) The Colony and the Protectorates fell under one government. This "restructuring" was the most sought after change that Lugard and his amalgamation advocates had in mind when they pushed for the Amalgamation of the South and the North. More importantly, the need for one government was also to consolidate the contentious railway policy of the Northern and Southern Protectorates in order to further facilitate a swift transportation of goods.

(2.) New nomenclatures were provided to different parts of the country. The Northern and Southern Protectorates were changed to the Northern Provinces and Southern Provinces respectively.

(3.) Newly established Provinces (previously known as Protectorates) now fell under the leadership of Lieutenant-Generals (formerly under Governors) who reported directly to Governor Generals. A Governor General is the equivalent of a President in our present democracy. Mr A.G Boyle was the Lieutenant-General of Southern Provinces, while Mr. C.L Temple was Lieutenant-General of Northern Provinces.

(4.) The central headquarters of the unified government was in Lagos. The Governor-General shuttled between the unit stations

of the Northern and Southern Provinces from Lagos. This was also the period that Lagos became the capital of the country until the capital got moved to Abuja in 1991.

The Amalgamation Tragedy - Lagos, 1914

A key aspect that didn't change was that the crown Colony of Lagos was still under an administrator of its own. The British government official overseeing Lagos was called an Administrator and not a Lieutenant-General. Mr. F.S. James was the Administrator of Lagos after the 1914 amalgamation. Critics of amalgamation have always slammed this landmark event that took place in 1914. Many claimed it was a total failure and a source of mny of the problems the country presently faces. One of such critics, *Dapo Fafowora,* lamented Lugard's early departure, as (Lugard) left the country finally in 1918. "In effect, he had only four years to give effect to the amalgamation and introduce a central administration which was claimed to be the central objective of the amalgamation. He failed in this respect. He had limited time for the task" Fafowora based the partial failure of the Amalgamation on the limited time Lugard had to enforce the policy. In addition, Lugard was also accused of leading the country with most of his time spent in England, a place far removed from the more perplexing realities of Nigeria. It has been noted that his team will often delay making key decisions until he returned from his stay in England. Those who endorsed the amalgamation claim that the move allowed for the integration of services across the Northern and Southern Provinces and also helped bring the judicial and legal departments under the control of a lone Central Secretariat in Lagos.

Amalgamation vis-à-vis Partitioning and Restructuring

There is need to undertake **"new restructuring agenda"** and to kick out the meddling British. Some critics believed the 1914 Amalgamation was very much a needed policy during the British rule. It could not have come at a better time in Nigeria's colonial history. Nigeria at that time was in a dire need of a policy that could unify the different rival policies that were springing up in different parts of the country as a result of the decentralized system of government that was in place. Many believed that Lugard, with the 1914 Amalgamation, set forward the motion for Nigeria's gradual development to independence which was

eventually granted in 1960. But lack of insight, evaluation and deep perception on the part of the Amalgamation actors led Nigeria into its present problems. It is very likely that the present leaders should seriously look into the restructuring of Nigeria. The first restructuring agenda was undertaken when the Northern and Southern Protectorates, together with the Lagos colony were unified. It has so far not worked. There is urgent need to **'undo'** that project and get a better job done by the owners of the land. Lord Lugard and the British have no more part to play in proper restructuring of the entity called Nigeria. The days of 'scrambling', 'amalgamation', 'partitioning' for the interests of foreign powers and masters are over. The great harm has been done. Today '**restructuring'** is the only option for Nigerian state.

'Undoing' the 1914 Amalgamation

In the modern times, computer users are allowed to effect changes or make corrections in documents they have mistakenly typed some wrong words, phrases, clauses, sentences by simply highlighting the mistakes and pressing 'undo' or 'delete' on the keyboard. The required wrongly typed words and even an entire document can be 'undone', completely deleted, or erased. The question every worried Nigerian is concerned with today is whether the mistakes Lord Lugard and the British colonial masters made in 1914 by politically bringing together, 'tying' or 'linking', 'uniting' entirely different entities, ethnic groups, tribes, regions and giving the entity the name **'Nigeria'**, could be not be 'undone!' It was a fatal error and in fact a tragic one. Though the Northerners those days, clearly represented by their great leaders like **Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and Ahmed Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto** protested against the union. Unfortunately British for their well-know reasons continued with their 'amalgamation' policy.

Sadly enough, the union has failed to work and many Nigerians, East, West, North and South are not comfortable. The consequences of the forced union are too many to count. Even one of the youngest descendants of the colonial masters, the British prime minister, **Theresa May** was 'happy' or 'sad' to tell the world that "Nigeria is home to the world's poorest people!"

People had long been asking 'why?' But who pretends not to know that in 1914, Britain's Lord Lugard amalgamated diverse ethnic groups into one Nigeria, without any **plebiscite, or referendum.** No consultations among the leaders of the peoples were made. Some Nigerians who had been in slumber for many years today seem to be waking up and are asking questions. Supposing countries like **Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria** are forcefully 'amalgamated' into one country; shouldn't such a 'united' country be a most dysfunctional entity, with its citizens even poorer than Nigeria today? More than three million Nigerian lives have been wasted in attempts to 'unmake', 'undo' Lord Lugard's amalgamation. With Trillions of Dollars raked in by Nigerian governments from crude oil since nineteen sixties, there is hardly any noticeable development and provision of essential commodities like good roads, pipe borne water, electricity, good health-care facilities, good transportation system, industries and employment opportunities for millions of youths in Nigeria.

Surely there was need to **restructure**, 'undo' 'erase' the British mistakes in Nigeria. But unfortunately, and with the same British counsel and guidance the soldiers and the northern cabal, Nigeria went about the restructuring process in an entirely wrong way by imposing the **1999 constitution** upon the nation, in the same way Lord Lugard accomplished the British policy of 'amalgamation!' Is it not apt now for Nigerian politicians (not soldiers) to come together and agree, like those of the old **Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Indonesia, Sudan,** and others and dissolve the union, in order to have a more workable and manageable countries that emerge from present union! We have done the necessary 'home work' in one of the chapters of our book, namely the '**New Republics'**. The new 'countries' can comfortably and peacefully exist side by side each other; namely (1) **The Islamic Republic of Nigeria (Arewa Republic) (2) Middle Belt Republic (3) Oduduwa Republic and (4) The Republic of Biafra.** In spite of the campaigns of calumny, hate, distrust and division mounted by Igbophobists of Northern and Southern Nigeria, there is no doubt that the **Old Pre-War Eastern Region of Nigeria** can unite without rancor in the Republic of Biafra. Biafra is not an Igbo Republic. Biafra is made of ethnic groups bound together by unique vision of great Africa, endowed with great intellectual prowess, hard work and unlimited talents that always lead to success.

CHAPTER 21

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE IN PRE AND POST-WAR NIGERIA: PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES

There is no doubt that Christian Missionaries did great job in the transformation of the entire African communities, religiously, educationally, socially, culturally and even politically. We are familiar with the two most powerful groups, namely **Catholics and Protestants**. In the area of education no one will fail to give the missionaries the credit they deserved. They made mistakes, of course, or shall we say, were misunderstood in certain areas of their missionary activities. Without the Holy Ghost Missionaries, mostly Irish and French and the Marist Brothers of schools from Scotland, surely I will not be able to undertake a gigantic project of producing a **History textbook.** I wouldn't have attended a Primary School or a College (today's Secondary School) in Nigeria. In fact without the scholarship offered to me by the Marist Brothers of Schools, I wouldn't have successfully completed my college education at **Bishop Shanahan College (BSC) Orlu, Eastern Nigeria**. The Marist Brothers established the college in a bushy so-called 'evil forest' at a hilly area of a flowing river called *'Mgbede' stream*. The Irish Holy Ghost Missionaries established a famous Teacher Training College, Bishop Shanahan Training College (BSTC), facing BSC on a large area of the forest around 1949.

According to stories told by our 'pagan' grandfathers and the chief priests, the custodians of the ''evil' forests, had no problem releasing the forests to the missionaries whom they thought came to grab their land. It was claimed that twins and natives who died of mysterious illnesses were buried in the evil forests. Satanic forces were the marauders of the forests and few sane individuals approached the forests, even to harvest their fruits! Let the spirits fight the battle; wage the war against the intruders. They thought that the white would all die a few days after entering the evil forests for inspection or for clearing and raising structures. Nothing happened to the missionaries as they did their work of evangelization, educating the youths of the primitive peoples of the lower Nigeria! The students of both colleges continued drawing water from *Mgbede stream* until about 2015 when the authorities were able to sink modern boreholes for students!

Bad beginnings and misconceptions

As we learnt from "oral traditions" from our grandparents and few "historical accounts" emanating from Igbo traditional rulers, the first set of missionaries that arrived from Europe, mostly French and Irish were instructed to "evangelize" the primitive, uncivilized, pagan worshippers of idols, and devilish images of vicious spirits and gods. Some of our people were said to be 'head-hunters', slaver-dealers, even cannibals, and killers of twins, whom they threw into 'evil forests" after birth, often together with their mothers. Africans were 'bows and arrow carriers, and wore only few thick cloths, just to cover their private parts. These people must be liberated from evil and taught about the Only One Living God and His Son Jesus Christ, the Savior, who died on the cross for the sins of the whole world. By his death of the cross, Jesus was said to have conquered death. All the so-called 'pagans' and worshippers of idols and the false gods, must renounce their 'evil ways' and follow the ways of the white people; if they failed to 'repent', all would end up in hell-fire! Wow!

Some teaching about the 'mysteries of the Godhead, and the Trinity and the Sacraments were not 'clear' to the new Congregation of believers, especially the elderly. Some of them made fun of the white man's new religious teachings and beliefs. "If there were the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit; there must be three Gods!" This contradicts the teaching about "Monotheism" (One Supreme God), the doctrine or belief that there is but one God, which Christians and Muslims profess. There was another problem with the first converts: ***"If the Father had a son, what of his wife?" "If Jesus had conquered death, why do people still die?*** The teachings about punishment of evil people in hell fire and reward of the good ones in heaven after death did not make any meaning to the 'African pagans! There were other similar teachings of the Missionaries which made little or no meaning to the new 'converts' to the new faith. And like some of the followers of Jesus many stopped following them: "When many of his disciples heard it, they said, "This teaching is difficult; who can accept it?" But Jesus, being aware that his disciples were complaining about it, said to them, "Does this offend you? .....Because of this many of his disciples turned back and no longer went about with him. So Jesus asked the twelve, "Do you also wish to go away?"..... (John 6: 60-69). There were surely mistakes in the way the White Missionaries condemned

and abolished some native cultural festivities and some **"Omenala Ndigbo".** It is the duty of the indigenous clergy and laity to correct those mistakes and misunderstandings (**See my book *"African Church Today and Tomorrow (Vol 2) Inculturation in Practice, 1994)***

Education - Pathway to Christianity

Most of the Christian religious teachings did not make much sense to most Igbos of Southern Nigeria. But the schools which the Missionaries established and the Western education they brought along with them attracted the interest of the people, who sent their children to learn what they called the wisdom of the white man, together with all types of knowledge that made them powerful, to command, conquer and rule. Most of the primary school buildings the missionaries raised were used both for classrooms as well as for Sunday Church services. Many Igbo families and most Southerners did not waste time sending their sons to mission schools. Wealthy families and communities sponsored their sons and daughters for studies in educational institutions overseas, especially in USA and Great Britain, as Christian religion continued to take root in many parts of Africa. Many natives who developed interest in priestly vocation received the best education in the houses of education the Missionaries called seminaries. Some of the Students (aka 'Seminarians') who succeeded in the training became priests, bishops, archbishops and even cardinals and were able to replace the white Missionaries after they were deported by the victorious Nigerian government forces at the end of the 3-year-Nigeria-Biafra-war. The **Bigard Seminary Enugu,** , founded in 1924 by Irish Missionaries, no doubt was a great citadel of learning, and the most famous university in Nigeria till date that provided university education for West African aspirants to the priesthood. Those who didn't make it as priests became afterwards great lay persons, mostly in the fields of arts. According to statistics recently released from the institution, **Students Enrollment (1924-2016), six thousand eight hundred and thirteen (6813) students have passed through this senior seminary university! My number is 541 – admitted in the 1967/1968 Set.**

The acceptance of the Western and Missionary education gave the Igbos and the rest of the Southerners great advantage over the Northerners who embraced Muslim religion and fought against Christian missionaries whom they saw as great enemies

of Islam. No wonder Moslem fanatics have supported **Boko Haram**, a term they tell the world means "to hell with Western education!" It will be a waste of time enumerating the contributions of Western education to development and civilization all over the world, including Africa and Nigeria. How many institutions of learning from Primary to High Schools and Colleges in Nigeria shall we not trace to the hard work of the Christian missionaries? The missionaries offered scholarships to most intelligent students to further studies overseas. Those from poorer families were equally helped to achieve their dreams. The missionaries labored tirelessly in the field of education by founding and managing primary schools and teacher training colleges (PTC) – "Preliminary Training Colleges" for the education of young teachers to teach in the primary schools. They began the 'TTC', the actual "Teacher Training Colleges" that accepted students that graduated from the Colleges or High Schools. These were like graduate teachers. The early missionaries in Igboland combined the work of parish priest, supervisor of schools and of course teachers in the various colleges their congregations or religious orders administered or owned. They recruited 'imported' members of their various congregations from Europe to teach and run those schools. They built and opened parishes and churches all over Igboland and other Southern Catholic communities and worked closely with newly ordained native priests until the civil war broke out in 1968.

During and after the Civil War

Most missionary priests and bishops remained behind and we must admit it, they 'fought' bravely alongside the persecuted Biafrans to safeguard the faith and Christian churches they established. They organized relief organizations, especially the 'Caritas international' in the lifting of food relief aids for the suffering children of Biafra, and as well set up relief centers for distribution of materials. They organized the campaigns to let the whole world know what the Nigerian vandal forces were doing in Biafra, the massacring of the innocent civilians, the genocide, and the pogroms and so on. They helped in the lifting out of thousands of kwashiorkor children to Gabon and other West African countries where they were saved from immediate death, malnutrition and starvation. Unfortunately the Nigerian victorious government decided to punish, humiliate the missionaries who remained behind till the end of the war in

1970. Ignorant of the devilish intent of the Nigerian government authorities, they obeyed the order to congregate somewhere at the city of Port Harcourt, from where they were deported to Europe and USA. Because they were saddened by the unexpected treatment meted to them most of the missionaries vowed never to do anything with Nigeria or the Igbos again. Surely the majority of them who witnessed the civil war had since gone to receive their reward in heaven.

Great Missionary work on Education

In the then Eastern Nigeria, we are still very familiar with Missionary Colleges like BSC (Bishop Shanahan College Orlu, and its sister BSTC (Bishop Shanahan Training College Orlu; CIC (College of Immaculate Conception Enugu, CKC (Christ the King Onitsha), Stella Maris Port Harcourt , Sacred Heart College Aba, Holy Ghost College Owerri and its sister Owerri Girls, St Pius College Ogoni, Coronata College Ohafia, Trinity High School Oguta, St Savior High School Umuaka, St Augustine's College, Nkwerre and its sister St Catherine Secondary School (girls), Holy Rosary Secondary School Ihioma, Cor Maria Secondary School Urualla, to name but a few!

BSC ORLU is my Alma Mater. It shaped my intellectual, spiritual, social, physical and moral life. Those days it was like the Catholic Seminary School, or even much better. It was full boarding college, with some accommodation for 'Day Students'. I passed the entrance and interview examinations to St Peter Claver Seminary Okpala, Owerri, but bluntly refused to attend the seminary for my long chosen priestly formation! Why! I didn't find Physics, Chemistry and Biology in the prospectus they gave us! Anathema! My education would not serve me much, would not be complete without the Sciences. BSC (Marist College run by Scottish Brothers of Schools) was famous for everything, including soccer, athletics, discipline and morality! It was a "Comprehensive College" indeed. It offered courses in Arts, Sciences, Wood Work, Metal Work and Technical Drawing. There I learnt to throw Javelin, jump hurdles, play lawn tennis, and participated in Inter-house-sports and Inter-house-football-competitions. My house-St-Dominic's won many trophies. There was Cricket (Baseball) for those who had the talent. There were more than 5 lawn tennis courts, lots of Table Tennis for both senior and junior students. No student could be idle during games! There was complete discipline in BSC! I graduated from BSC in 1966 and 'majored' in Math-Math-

Physics, my beloved areas of studies till date! I joined the senior seminary in 1968.

BSC after the Biafra war

The Nigerian occupation-army messed up the physical features of BSC after they claimed victory in the 3-year Nigeria-Biafra war! Nigeria Islamic government took over Mission Schools to punish the Biafrans. During the period of "take-over-of-school', by the Nigerian government, BSC was converted to "Co-education College"! Boys and girls were made "Bishanco' students! Very sad! Some philanthropic BSC "Old Boys" have helped to renovate the desecrated BSC by the Islamists and their erstwhile agents. We call on more the "Old Boys" to help the more! After a lot of trials to restore the damaged BSC to the pre-war standard, by appointing "Old Boys" as principals failed woefully, a 'Messiah' arose in the name of **Rev.Fr. Justin Odurukwe**, (like the erstwhile **Rev. Brothers Justin or Brother Lewis**, heavily assisted financially by a great philanthropist, who went by the nickname **"Orange Drugs!"** Why shouldn't we honor and appreciate this philanthropist, who invested millions in education! What do we need more in Nigeria that can 'better' the fate, lives and future of our youths in a corrupt and disintegrating nation! Sound Catholic (Christian) education? We owe a lot of gratitude to the Principal, Father Justin Odurukwe, a committed, simple, humble, dedicated, caring young priest. Thanks too to Most Rev. Augustine T. Ukwuoma, the Catholic Bishop of Orlu for his support. Father Justin used to be there 24/7 for the good upbringing of our children, the future leaders of our country! To God be honor and glory!

"Send Your Kids to Mission Schools", is a popular appeal and slogan today, especially for Nigerians living overseas, USA, Europe, Asia or at home, so that Nigerian or Igbo kids born and raised in these foreign countries should not fail to appreciate their African cultural heritage. They should be able to speak Igbo, their language, as well as English. In Mission Schools **Catholic/Christian** education is a priority and our children need it as most of us benefitted more than expected from Mission Schools. Our Catholic/Christian Schools offer the right environment and curriculum - course of studies. Many subjects are taught in the colleges, including Christian religious knowledge, Latin, French, History, Computer Studies and all Science subjects. The present book has been produced to help

revive the best catholic education, as it was in the pre-Nigeria-Biafra War.

What we sow, we reap – Leaders of tomorrow

If adults fail to educate the youths but distance themselves from youth activities, refuse to address their protests, we reap what we help to sow, name them - evils of cultism and satanic organizations, devil worship, armed robbery, kidnapping, prostitution and societal chaos. And if the youths close their eyes and ears to reason, then the future remains bleak. If the presumed "leaders of tomorrow" fail to get the proper education and training in leadership, there are chances they may be worse than the present leaders we condemn! The frightening moments of youth misbehavior can be very upsetting! Youths go on rampage when adults falter and have nothing to offer. In Nigeria the news is always choking and usual tales of scandal, bribery and corruption, embezzlement of public funds and the youths are not amused. "Snakes swallow millions of naira!" Stolen public monies, in millions, are discovered stored in trunks and some buried underground. But whatever the case may be there is need for the youths to confront parents and leaders who cause scandal, but not in violent manner.

Insecurity, Violence, and Torture

Soldiers and police who claim to practice *"Python Dance*" go on rampage, and engage in violent acts of terror and torture, and practice the primitive military game on the youths, leaders of tomorrow! Grand Masters, adults, very rich and influential men in society, dispatch youths on bank robberies, kidnapping and drug trafficking missions, and behold terror, fear and trembling all over the country! Behold how investors in Nigeria have been rolling their mats and leaving Nigeria for other West African countries, like Ghana, where there is relative security. It is now over 30 years USA abandoned Lagos and relocated its *foreign Nursing Program examination* offices in Accra, Ghana. What are the reasons? Insecurity, examination malpractices, fraud and corrupt practices have eaten deep into the nation's marrows! The ailment is chronic and beyond the power of any medication

It is over 20 years now Nigeria **palm oil products** were banned for exportation to America, Europe and Asia because parents, men, women, local and national dealers, mostly on palm oil, to make quick money continued adulterating the

commodities. We have continued to lose money and investors. Ghana and Malaysia are the major exporters of palm oil to Europe and America. Who are responsible for our economic woes, youths or adults? Whatever the level of the scandal by our leaders and adults, youths must realize the catastrophic consequences of the possibilities of investors completely abandoning our land on account of insecurity and lack of trust. American, European and Asian investors are scarred particularly by news of armed robberies and kidnapping. The world community abandons us every day and we need to lament and ask God for pardon!

Which Way Forward: The African Church

The White Missionaries have done a great job in Africa and have almost retreated and handed over almost all Missionaries activities to the native clergy they helped to form. Vocation problems in the western countries that once evangelized Africa have become a big problem. In the United States and some other European countries lay ministers and married deacons are gradually doing most of the work formerly reserved for ordained ministers in the Roman Catholic Church. In many dioceses in the United States, for example conventions are held almost every year to discuss and find solutions to the priestly vocation crisis. In some dioceses some African priests, from Nigeria, mostly Igbos have become missionaries in needy dioceses open to accepting black Africans. But this has not been seen as a solution to the growing international missionary enterprise. Most African dioceses can't boast of sufficient priests to cater for their home diocesan and general church problems. Irrespective of growing vocation 'boom' in some African countries, it is certainly very important for the Africans to take care of their home problems first, consolidating the grounds gained by White Missionaries before thinking about 'exporting' their 'excess' manpower to European and American churches. This particular area of discussion let to the following Open Letter I addressed to the Nigerian Church leaders. I reproduce the Open letter here and that closes this chapter of the present topic "Missionary Enterprise in Africa", Though I had already discussed some of the these issues in three of my books, which had widely circulated mostly in Nigeria, namely ***The African Church Today and Tomorrow (Vols 1 & 2) (1994) and The Third Millennium Church (1998) .***

Diversification of "Mission Economy"

The present writer addressed the following "open letter" to our Bishops and Church elders and for historical documentation we reproduce it here.

"I have no intention whatsoever of raising false alarm because this story is not new in Nigeria. Right from the times of Ottoman Dan Fodio, the Islamic Agenda of Nigerian government, pre-and-post civil war, did not limit its goal to the conquest of the Northern region of the nation, and perhaps, too the SW. The ultimate goal was to 'dip the Koran into the (South-South) sea', in short to over-run the whole Nigeria state, and declare Nigeria "An Islamic Republic". That's what OIC was all about, Boko Haram insurgency, Cattle Herdsmen terrorism, and the 'installation' of Muslim Northern leaders to head almost all important key positions in government. Who is not aware this project is meeting its goal, its final fulfillment; with the ideological policy of now tinkering with our Religious Education Curriculum, a cautious plan to indoctrinate our unsuspecting school children in a narrow set of new and dangerous religious ideologies, thus confusing our Living God with their Allah, and the our Christian Lord with the messenger of their Allah. God forbid!

"I am suggesting that we do not fold our arms arguing about the CRK and Civic Education curriculum, which the Northern Muslim Cabal and their hired agents have compiled for Christian and Muslim school children. A corrupt and devious government of Nigeria, since independence, has nothing to offer its citizens, young and the elderly, as far as religious education, whether civic, or moral, is concerned. Qualified Catholics experts and priests, directed by our bishops and their representatives, need to draw up our different religious and civic curricula activities and agenda, adequate for our faith and Christian beliefs and begin to implement them soon in our own Catholic Schools and colleges. Catholic curriculum designers in History studies must also be set up by the CBCN to update the History of Nigeria, from 1960 till date. We should teach our children, Nigerian History as well as World History in our Catholic schools, institutions and Churches. We don't need to wait for Nigerian government to draw the program. They are not ready, and willing and do not even think this is an important. matter.

"In the 1950s and 1960s talented priests like **Monsignor Nwanegbo** with his tiny group, translated the

Roman Missal into Igbo vernacular, and gave it the title "**Na Afa Nna".** ("In the name of the Father"). They also produced English and Igbo translations of **"Ndu Dinwenu Anyi"** (The life of our Lord**), "Mary Nne Jesu",** (Mary, Mother of the Lord), **"The Story of my Religion", Katekism nke Umuaka, Katekism nke Abuo** (Adult Catechism), to name but a few, all for use in the Old Onitsha and Owerri ecclesiastical provinces. **(Katekism nke Mbu (a.k.a 'Penny Catechism'),** was compiled by Holy Ghost Missionaries, published, and printed in Dublin in 1952). Surely Yorubas or Efiks and other ethnic groups had theirs. Nigeria needs a simplified local format of the, too sophisticated. 'Encyclopedic' **Catechism of the Catholic Church,** in both English and vernacular, suitable for teaching our Catholic children and young adults of Nigeria. Today we have still **"Msgr Nwanegbos", Msgr Ahajis,** with us, ready to help us, Msgr. **Emmanuel Durujinehu,** Owerri Province and Fr. **Lawrence Madubuko**, Onitsha, and many others.

Diversification of the Local Church's Mission

"Diversify", in this context, means to change (something) so that it has more different kinds of people or things; to produce or sell more kinds of products: to increase the variety of goods or services produced or offered by (someone or something. In order to simplify our discussion and avoid any type of misunderstanding, I am simply calling on our Nigerian Church leaders, priests and bishops to reflect on some areas of our apostolate, mostly '"Schools" and Health-Care, so that while putting our suggestions into action, we will in fact be creating more job opportunities and increasing our services, as well as efficiency in our jobs as priests and pastors of souls. Nigeria is today in crisis, in bigger crisis than we have witnessed since independence, simply because the North, for whatever reasons, decided to abandon its traditional production of groundnuts and hides and skin (to name just two areas), the West abandoned cocoa production, the East, Palm oil, the Delta regions, rubber etc. Every region or state has now relied on the monthly federation share of new-found-wealth in Crude oil and gas. And so, have things fallen apart and everyone is protesting! The Churches in Nigeria (including non-Catholics) today seem to limit their areas of operation to 'preaching the gospel and administration of the sacraments' or what we refer to as "Parish Apostolate." Why should the area of job allocation be limited generally to parish work? Why should our sources of revenue

generation be limited to Sunday collections and levies? We need to plant, save, so that future generation and our kids can reap what the older generation sowed. Elsewhere they call it 'Investment!' They say what the white people are reaping today is what the past generations, governments, forefathers, churches and communities sowed many years ago! How is the Church in Nigeria investing for the future?

School Apostolate

"What is wrong, for example, if there or more of our diocesan priests engage, full time, as health or hospital administrators and chaplains, or as teachers or tutors, teaching any of the school and college subjects- sciences, arts, and Math in each of our 'Mission', 'Private' Schools and if possible, extend such services to state or government schools? Will such services not even help to resolve the problems being created by the Islamic masters and their agents, who are tinkering with our Christian Religious Knowledge (CRK) Curriculum? The presence of 'ordained' Priests (on or without cassocks) in our schools will surely be enough religious lessons for our younger ones. Didn't the elders say that 'a picture (image) is worth more than thousand words? May we remember that most of the young Irish Missionaries who came to evangelize us those days, paid more attention to education and schools, and classroom teaching till 1970, after the civil war, when the Nigerian government deported them. They did not come to us simply because they had priests in excess, in abundance, or had over-flowing number of priests or 'too many candidates' for the priesthood, too many vocations. The Irish priests and Reverend Marist Brothers of Schools and Holy Rosary Sisters, who founded our famous Missionary Schools and Colleges, were at the same time Managers, Principals, subject teachers in our primary schools and colleges. The first and last Irish 'parish priest' of Holy Trinity Catholic Church Orlu (Cathedral parish today), *Father Denis McManus*, was at that same time, the Principal of BSTC Orlu, one of the most prestigious and biggest teacher training colleges in Nigeria those days, as well as Manager of all Primary Schools in Orlu deanery and all over Nigeria

Teaching and 'Extra Curricula Activities'

"I am an ex-student of BSC Orlu, as I have already indicated and can recount the following about our teachers, in parenthesis:

(Brother Justin was the principal as well as senior Math's teacher, Bro Lewis was the Vice as well as Music/Drama master, Bro Ignatius was Literature master, Bro Cajetan was Physics teacher, Bro Clifford was Chemistry teacher, as well as Health or 'First Aid' Master, Brother Robert, Health Science teacher as well as Liturgy Master, Bro Michael was Metal Work teacher (today's engineering dept.) and as well the Engine/Generator master/mechanic. The Reverend Brothers' cars were repaired or serviced in their private college mechanic workshops. Brother Lucius was in-charge of students' food and refectory and also taught CRK, He was also the Sports/Football and Cricket Coach. Bro Bernard was in-charge of the Library and Biology laboratory and also 'showed films/movies' to students at weekends.

Health and Hospital Apostolate

The White Missionaries did not limit their areas of work to Schools and Parishes. They were engaged in Hospital, Nursing and other Health-care work. We can recall Our Lady of Lourdes Hospital Ihiala, Our Lady of Mount Carmel Hospital Emekuku, Amaigbo Joint Hospital, Borromeo Hospital Onitsha, St Joseph' Hospital Adazi, and a host of Maternity Homes and Health Center established and run by Holy Rosary Sisters from Ireland. There are many Schools and health-care institutions in other parts of Nigeria – West, North, South-South. While some of our priests can develop their talents towards parish work, (though it is obvious that every candidate who went through the seminary training can handle a parish), why don't we deploy large number of our qualified priests to the schools, from primary to the university? When that has been considered, we can deploy more to the Health Care Ministry. It is clear that this also is a very important apostolate and requires our full attention. As of today, it is obvious that more than half of Nigerian and Igbo priests on mission in USA, Europe and Australia are engaged in Hospital Apostolate, full time. Most of our Nigerian brother priests are doing great in this area and I will not hesitate to tell you, much better than the 'owners of the land'; and the bishops and fellow priests are grateful to these Nigerian Missionaries. We need such quality services at home in Nigeria and Africa! Our younger priests should train and qualify as Healthcare administrators and ministers to render such services, full time, too; not only in our private health-institutions and hospitals, but also in those owned by government and other private agencies.

Small Scale Industries

The Church in Nigeria can supplement the government efforts in job-creation and helping to prepare our youths for their future tasks as leaders of tomorrow. It is important that on both local and diocesan or provincial levels, the church should establish small scale industries that can help in both job creation and as well making some products available to our local communities, like **Pure water, soap, Bread, Garri, Palm oil products, Food processing industries,** to name a few. Look at the massive agricultural lands in Northern part of the country for Cattle ranching, Abakiliki and Arondizogu for rice; Bende, Afikpo, Ohafia, Ohaji, Egbema, Oguta, for Yams and cassava farming. What of the Niger Delta regions for fishing? I still remember in the early 1990s, one of our parish priests in Saint Joseph' parish Isunjaba, Catholic diocese of Orlu, single handedly started small bread industry. The demand was too much, and he could not even meet up with the junior seminary supplies, let alone meeting demands of growing number of other public business men and women! The industry later collapsed because of lack of modern infrastructure, including transportation problems! What of today?

Restructuring Agenda in the Mission Apostolate

In fact, during the white missionary days,, the Reverend Brothers and Fathers (Missionaries), worked like a team and each one 'covered his own area of talent or training. Each was an expert in his own field! Though, there were lay teachers too, in the college staff, the Reverend Brothers and Sisters were virtually in-charge of every 'sector of the economy'. Those days Mission schools were 'grant-aided' by Eastern Nigerian regional government and teachers were well paid. "The Marist Brothers collected their own salaries, and put them in their common purse", we were told. They used part of their pay in the development of their colleges. Their Mission-School supervisor of schools, also known as their Superior General, by name Brother Aloysius, lived in their headquarters or 'Mother-House' at Uturu, Okigwe and usually 'breezed in' occasionally to 'cross-check' things.

Right Jobs to the Right 'Professionals'

As I illustrated with the Scottish Missionary Marist Brothers of Schools, we learnt too, they gave right assignments to the right

trained and qualified members. How are our dioceses in Nigeria deploying the abundance of professionals with multiple (PhDs, Masters) we have in Philosophy, Theology and Social Sciences? If all or the majority, after years of studies and graduating overseas or in Nigerian universities, should return to the parishes, what does the Church gain? If that was to happen in America, for example, from where will this priest-graduate get the money to pay back his loan for his studies? This area, in Nigeria, needs urgent restructuring, needless to add. As The African Churches and our dioceses in Nigeria show gratitude to our European missionary master nations, by sending our priests to serve them today as '**Fidei Donum'**, let us not forget the 'home-front.' Let us not forget that we are still a "Mission Land". Our people desperately need our services in the poor, miserable black continent, still under 'Propaganda Fidei!' There is a lot of work at the home front, and 'professionals' are needed too. We have enough challenges from our Muslim brothers, who like angry lions and wolves are roaming about the land, looking for victims to devour! There is snake in green grass and we must remain watchful, and not lacking in qualified workers, in large numbers, and with the right tools.

Challenges Facing the Indigenous Christian Church

Saint Pope Paul II, in his address to the Nigerian bishops, priests and the laity in ABUJA 23rd March 1998 summarized the tasks facing the African Church as we minister to ourselves today. According to the Pope, "Nigeria has one of the largest Catholic populations in Africa and the number of believers continues to grow. This is a sign of the vitality and growing maturity of this local Church. Particularly promising in this same regard is the increase of vocations to the priesthood and the religious life. Since priests are your chief co-workers in carrying out the Church's apostolic mission, it is essential that your relations with them be marked by unity, fraternity and appreciation of their gifts. All who have been configured by Holy Orders to Christ the Good Shepherd must share his attitude of complete self-giving for the sake of the flock and the progress of the Gospel." The Pope emphasizes the need for proper formation, as he continued in his address: "Living the priestly life requires a deep spiritual formation, and especially commitment to unceasing personal conversion. Your lives and those of your priests should reflect the spirit of evangelical poverty and detachment from the things and attitudes of the world. The sign of celibacy as a complete gift of

self to the Lord and his Church must be carefully guarded, and any behavior which could give scandal must be carefully avoided and, where necessary, corrected *(Pope John Paul II, Abuja, Monday, 23 March 1998).*

We don't all need to wait "humbly" and "patiently", for the creation of more new dioceses, where we will be made bishops. No! We don't need "patiently" and "humbly" to wait for the creation of new parishes, where we can get our chunk of parish administration and remain lonely in a mansion, a family house of ten or more, excluding husband and wife. We don't need to become professors, or be addressed as 'Profs' or 'Doctors', before we realize that our qualifications must not limit our services to the highest institutions of learning in our land. We must accept teaching appointments, or as supervisors, managers, in our Kindergartens, Primary and Secondary Schools, and hospitals and health centers too. We should pray to be given, assigned, to less prestigious posts, and 'ordinary', humble posts, or positions. Otherwise, where lies our 'patience', 'humility', and mission/vocation of 'service?'

Charity begins at home

Most of the Nigerian and Igbo priests (diocesan and religious), helping our in Europe and America surprise their white counterparts, when they receive 'decaying' parishes, which they soon turn into blossoming parishes and church institutions, as former ex-parishioners return to church and sacraments. Many Nigerian priests-Missionaries and religious men and sisters have saved some dioceses in Europe and America from selling off their old empty church buildings, cathedrals and Mission schools to the Muslims, who were always ready to buy and quickly convert the old Catholic buildings to Mosques! Nigerian church leaders and bishops, who have not given it a very serious thought, may not yet be contented with the 'over-flowing' number of priests in their dioceses or regions. We have not covered our local communities yet. All the burgeoning Pentecostal Churches and the pseudo-religious congregational assemblies are not ruled out in this sense of mission apostolate, if they truly feel committed to a 'divine' mission**. "Duc in Altum!" "**When he had finished speaking, he said to Simon, **"Put out into the deep water** and let down your nets for a catch." Simon answered, "Master, we have worked all night long but have caught nothing. Yet if you say so, I will let down the nets." When they had done this, they

caught so many fish that their nets were beginning to break."(Luke 5:4ff).

It is true that White missionaries had fought the good fight, but the battle has not been won! They could have rightly recounted, like Paul "As for me, I am already being poured out as a libation, and the time of my departure has come. I have fought the good fight, I have finished the race, I have kept the faith. From now on there is reserved for me the crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, will give me on that day, and not only to me but also to all who have longed for his appearing." (2 Timothy 6.6ff) There are lots of challenges facing the indigenous Christian "Missionaries" in Africa, and we illustrate our contention with the Nigerian situation. There is little or no unity in the Nigerian Church, Catholic and other Christian denominations, including the burgeoning (fast growing and expanding) Pentecostal and "Pastor-Free-Churches". Among the Catholic Bishops of Nigeria, though there is an umbrella union called **Catholic Bishops' Conference of Nigeria (CBCN), and Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN),** there is not much to show for unity, especially in confronting the draconian and corrupt government that politicians have run since independence. Often one sees among the Christians associations, some type of 'dichotomy' or old division between the North and the South. The disunity, together with lack of love, was quite apparent during the Nigerian civil war. The non-Biafran Bishops and Church ministers did not play the expected roles the church they represent would have played during that period of injustice, persecution and massacres of the Biafrans. Today, at the time of this writing not much has changed. The Bishops and the Church leaders most often fail to confront the government in the face of atrocities those is power perpetrate against the suffering masses of Nigerians!

Mission and the Gospel

The new Church organizations, we refer to as "Independent Churches", together with their counter-parts, **"Pentecostal Churches"** have added entirely new disturbing features in their idea of 'Christian mission". New "Pastors" and "Prophets" rise everyday and found their own churches and run them as they like. Reports of scandals are endless and great numbers of citizens seem to enjoy the theatrical shows and activities of the so-called pastors. Many modern pastors are known to live lewd (sexually unchaste or licentious) lives. Many live in great

mansions comparable to government quarters and some own and fly jets, when their poor congregations of poor unemployed members cannot even afford two square meals a day! So many "Men of God" today pursue wealth and comfort and avoid the 'Cross'. Many engage in healing ministries to make money, as we illustrate in the following 'investigation'.

Again the type of education the church leaders, Catholics and other Christian churches and assemblies are pursuing is not benefitting the masses. It far beyond expectations from what the white missionaries did. The white missionaries started from the grassroots, namely Primary to Secondary or College, teacher education, technical education that made most Nigerians of the old great, civilized and educated. Today some Church leaders engage in university or high education sectors! They squander the money the poor contribute in education projects that benefit only but a few and the rich. The people complain. Here is the type of 'lamentation' from Nigeria's poor masses!

The Indigenous Nigerian Church and Education

We all behold "Post-White Missionary Education"; how the church leaders and founders of Universities are toying with education in Nigeria! They are not renovating the dilapidated Primary and Secondary Schools and colleges, handed over to the churches by government to manage; rather they are squandering huge amounts of the poor people's donations, as tithes and offerings in erecting Universities that benefit only but a few wealthy families and their children. Only they can afford the exorbitant school fees, judging from the poor economic situation in which over 90% of the donors find themselves and their families! See a catalogue of 'highhandedness' attitude of some Church educationists, planners and managers in Nigeria! Each new generation university, it is confirmed, charges not less than five hundred thousand naira (N500,000) as school fees per semester. These institutions include - **Bowen University, Covenant University, Benson Idahosa University, Babcock University, Redeemers University, Wesley University Ajayi Crowther University Madonna University, Loyola Jesuit University, Mountain Top University, Anchor University** and many others. Nobody talks about jobs waiting for students graduating from these 'prestigious' Church universities! The White missionaries did not found universities, but their colleges were better than the present mission universities in almost every field of endeavor, academics,

administration, discipline, sports and of course general knowledge.

"All these **Universities** were built from **tithes** and **offerings** of the common people who now can't afford to send their children to these schools today. Where are the morals and responsibilities of the Churches leaders with regard to charity in Nigeria? What is the difference between church and political leadership in Nigeria? These schools were all built with the sweats of their church members who kept sowing seeds like: -special offering seeds, -first fruit seed, -redemption seed,-thanksgiving seed, -harvest seed, -tithes, -pastor's seed, -church building seed, -evangelism seed, -father's day seed, -mother's day seed, -children' day seed, -Pastor's cake seed, -olive oil seed." These schools (universities) are now **elite** schools, only for the children of the wealthy in Nigeria. The gainers then use the profits to buy **private planes and jets** to fly and ride high luxury, exotic cars and live in expensive Mansions, while their members, (who are mostly the least of Jesus people) sleep hungry. The truth is a bitter pill to swallow. Ask those who saw the missionary education of 1930s, 1970s and 1980s, and they will tell you why we are crying over the present tragedy we are seeing in our generation of mission and leadership!

The good news!

There is no doubt that a lot of changes have taken place in the Nigerian Church since the end of the Biafran War. In terms of statistics and structures a fabulous picture of the Nigerian Church stands out majestically among the universal Church. In number Nigerian priests and religious are found all over the world, developed, developing and under developed. From Europe to the Americas, Asia to Africa Nigerian missionaries minister to a great number of the faithful whose native lands can count only a handful of priests and religious men and women. Priests of the diocese of Orlu are among these 'missionaries.' Such is a proud development for the Nigerian Church. Although Nigerians are discredited all over the world as result of their aggressive and inordinate ambition and search for quick wealth; in the area of Church development and mission Nigeria is a great nation to be proud of. Her missionaries penetrate difficult areas all over the secularized and primitive world to minister to those who still accept the Christian faith. Nigerian missionaries are successfully replacing the fast dwindling number of the erstwhile Irish, French and German

missionaries. Good news for the Nigerian Church 'abroad'. The contributions of Orlu diocesan priests can never be ignored.

Not good enough

However at the '**home front**' the Nigerian Church faces a lot of challenges and problems. In terms of massive structures, Churches, Cathedrals, Schools, Hospitals and Social centers, Nigeria has a Church to reckon with. But alas! All that glitters is not gold. Often the external manifestation of faith is no proof of deep faith and spiritual breakthrough that would point to the future of a Church that would survive the turbulent times ahead. There is need for unwavering assurance that in times of crisis the Nigerian Church would not crumble under similar pressures that helped to exterminate the Christian faith in North Africa and elsewhere. Although one of such pressures came from **Islam,** today the pressures are 'legion'. As we take note of the above observations and suggestions we still think it necessary to give a brief summary of the above points and still point out some other most salient challenges, and areas that need urgent action, today and tomorrow.

(1) **Catholic education and Pastoral Ministry:** We suggest that more serious attention be given to this area of our ministry. On the senior secondary school level there is need to establish at least **two boarding schools** in each pastoral region, one for boys and one for girls and qualified clergy and religious appointed to head such institutions. To realize the immediate objectives of Catholic education, there is need to establish education development fund. Revenue from Rotary masses at least twice a year can help sponsor the take-off such boarding schools. We can solicit aid from both our friends overseas and at home. There are many of them. Re-inspection of our already established schools, nursery to Secondary must be carried out. Poor management of the newly established Catholic schools by their managers has led to poor standard of performance by pupils and students. Surely we must return to the past and not feel satisfied with "Community Schools". The Catholic Church in the diocese of Orlu is too big to run sub-standard schools. **The diocesan education commission** should be effective and given powers to close all schools that don't meet the standard.

The Catholic Church in Orlu and elsewhere must reckon with education if our pastoral ministry will bear bounteous harvest.

(2) **Decongesting our minor seminaries and convents: T**here is no doubt that minor diocesan seminaries must be **decongested.** Close and honest examination of the situation has shown that more than 80% of the "Junior Seminarians" who flock our seminaries are not there for the priesthood. Each year most of the students that pass out after obtaining their WAEC certificates head for the universities or elsewhere. Even those who struggle for admission into the "Spiritual Year Program" or the Major Seminary abandon the vocation immediately they find places anywhere in "The Greener Pasture" somewhere outside Nigeria. The same can be said of "Juniorate for Girls. The building of more secondary (boarding) schools for boys and girls in the dioceses becomes imperative now.

(3) **Priests' studies and training:** Special and relevant needs of the church should be taken into consideration while considering priests for further studies. Some younger ones may have to undertake special studies, at home or abroad, in areas of **Sciences, Mathematics and Languages.** The church may have to consider involving more of the priests in some "secular" areas including **Journalism, Printing and Publishing, Business Administration and Management, Chaplaincy in the Army, Police, Prisons and hospital and health-care apostolate.** Teaching as a profession must be given the attention it deserves. There is need to qualify (obtain a certificate in education).

(4) **Making use of talented personnel:** It is very important to discover as early as possible talented personnel in our seminaries and institutions of learning. We need qualified young people and priests talented in various fields of learning, including computer technology, journalism, music, electrical works, plumbing, arts, painting etc. It is possible to discover such gifted people right from the junior seminary, during Internship programs. Some of our Deacons can be gainfully employed in other areas of specialization. Some may not be left to 'waste a year' or languish in the parish just to learn how to prepare for ordination. The theory of

"catch them when young" may have to guide our policies here.

(5) **Building up financial future of the Church:** The dioceses can no more depend on random levies and contributions for their maintenance. There is need to have more solid **investments** in mechanized agriculture, mechanized poultry farms, fishery etc.

THE DARK SIDES OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE IN AFRICA

Anyone denying the contributions of Christian missionaries in Africa and other parts of the world, including the so-called 'developed or most industrialized world', may not be fair in his judgment. Surely there were mistakes and failures, which have continued to widen in the modern times, the Christian missionary enterprise in Africa was the gateway to development and civilization, irrespective of numerous setbacks as well. However in this chapter we wish to examine the dark sides of the Christian mission which have left indelible bad scars on the church, right into the modern times.

Seeds of Divisions and Rancor – "Scramble for Leadership and Supremacy"

The Missionaries unfortunately, while preaching their gospel of salvation, ignored to preach the good news of liberation and that of unity; **"that they may be one",** "I ask not only on behalf of these, but also on behalf of those who will believe in me through their word, that they may all be one. As you, Father, are in me and I am in you, may they also be in us, so that the world may believe that you have sent me" (John 17.20ff). The missionaries set up **"Roman Catholic Mission", (RCM),** "**Church Missionary Society" (CMS), Lutheran, Presbyterian, Baptist, Seventh Day Adventist,** and others. In tiny villages of the old Eastern Nigeria, for example, especially **Igboland,** where they were well received, the Missionaries established their strongholds and built churches facing each other, one RCM, the other CMS. They fought with the Anglicans, tooth and nail, over territories and followership. The Irish, French and Canadian Holy Ghost Missionaries, Roman Catholics preached to their followers that it was a mortal sin that would lead one to hell fire if a catholic attended a CMS religious ceremony or read any non-catholic bible or religious literature! "Anathema Sit!" One could

be excommunicated from the Roman Catholic Church by the Pope!

In the primary schools which they established, Catholic pupils wore different types of uniforms which differentiated them from those of the CMS or the Anglicans. It was taboo for Catholics from the same villages to mix up with their kit and kin who were non-Catholics. The divisions that characterized the old White Mission Churches have worsened today, not only in Africa, but all over the world. Little did we know that their talk about **"Ecumenism"** was a mere deceit, a lip service? Ecumenism refers to efforts by Christians of different Church traditions to develop closer relationships and better understandings. The term is also often used to refer to efforts towards the visible and organic unity of different Christian denominations in some form. Since many decades of the formation of this movement called Ecumenism, no single achievement has been registered by the leaders of Christians Churches. Instead of closing the gaps of divisions, they have grossly widened them, not least in Africa and Nigeria. Who can count the number of Independent African Churches and Pentecostal congregations and their pastors!

Little did we know that the Missionaries imported a divided church from their countries of origin, when in **Igboland t**here was only one **Traditional Religion** and only one **God-Chukwu Abiamara** (corrupt form of God of Abraham). Every Igbo was born into, incardinated into the religion and dies there as a worshipper. There was only one form of worship or ritual, one 'priesthood'. There was no form of 'superiority complex' of a traditional religion over the other. The 'Ten' Commandments which the missionaries taught, were actually older than Christianity and had strong roots in the 'Laws of Hammurabi', the ancient King of Babylon! The Igbo traditional religionists had practiced similar laws since the ancient times. The same can be said about the other nations where the missionaries joined the colonialists in the 'scramble for Africa' and conquest of the 'new world'.

The Irish-British Politico-Religious Conflicts

As the same missionaries made us to understand during history lessons those days, the conflict was primarily political and nationalistic, fueled by historical events. We learned about the birth of the **Anglican Church and Henry VIII.** There were other "nations" or "colonies" that made up what we were told was called "Great Britain". These other 'colonies', **Scotland,**

Wales, Northern Ireland has been struggling like many other nations, which the Britain colonized, to free themselves from the yoke of slavery. The missionaries we knew in Nigeria were 'Irish', from Independent Republic of Ireland, with capital city named **Dublin.** The Marist Brothers of Schools that ran the colleges that we attended were Scottish; namely they came from Scotland (British colony!) Wow! No wonder both Missionaries, the Irish in-charge of BSTC (Bishop Shanahan Training College) and the Scottish Brothers of Schools in-charge of BSC (Bishop Shanahan College), both colleges facing each other in Orlu, in the present Imo state, Nigeria, never saw eye to eye!

However as we also learned the conflict had an ethnic or sectarian and **religious** dimension. A key issue was the constitutional status of **Northern Ireland.** Unionists or Loyalists, who were mostly **Protestants,** wanted Northern Ireland to remain within the **United Kingdom.** Irish nationalists or republicans, who were mostly **Catholics,** wanted Northern Ireland to leave the United Kingdom and join a united **Republic of Ireland.** Predominantly Catholic Mother Ireland, capital Dublin must have passionately participated in the conflict which raised a lot of bitterness in all areas of politics and religion. There is no doubt that the Irish Missionaries had taught their members and congregations in Diaspora and Mission lands to hate Britain and her allies and as well fight this colonialist giant, tooth and nail, anywhere they raised their ugly head and tentacles. The battle ground was clearly Southern Nigeria during the missionary era. Back home in the White man's land the conflict intensified during a campaign to end discrimination against the Catholic-nationalist minority by the Protestant-unionist government and police force. The authorities attempted to suppress this protest campaign and were accused of police brutality; it was also met with violence from loyalists, who alleged it was a republican front. Increasing inter-communal violence, and conflict between nationalist youths and police, eventually led to riots in August 1969 and the deployment of British troops. Initially welcomed by Catholic civilians, the army gradually came to be seen as hostile. The emergence of armed organizations led to the subsequent warfare over the next three decades.

Seeds of Racial Discrimination and Apartheid

While White Missionaries, especially Catholic religious Fathers and Brothers were preaching one Church, Body of Christ, love

and unity among the 'pagans and primitive peoples of the Lower Niger', their kit and kin, lay and priestly brothers in Europe, and North America were preaching and practicing **racism, segregation and apartheid.** It was a total catastrophe as black Africans who travelled to Europe and America mainly for studies narrated their ordeal at Catholic celebrations and masses. Whites would not sit together or the near black people on the same pew in a church, nor would a white catholic dare exchange the so-called 'kiss of peace' at mass with a black fellow in the same church. Black Africans who were raised Christians or Catholics in Africa and visiting Europe and America were treated like lepers and ex-slaves in the church of God and that shocked most Africans, who never experienced any type of brotherly love among 'whites' of the same faith. Unfortunately their stories were true and confirmed to be real till date! How African Christians could have become Catholics or worshipped with Whites in countries where segregation, like the famous American **"Jim Crow Laws"** was in force remained incomprehensible? Jim Crow" would be another expression for **Racism, Segregation and Apartheid.** Apartheid led to the formation of "Independent African Churches", where Black Africans and not the racist whites would be masters!

The Missionaries: Discrimination and unfair treatment of their African "Successors"

While appreciating the contributions of the early Missionaries in the development of Africa, Nigeria and Igboland, we will not fail to point out the consequences of their weaknesses and particularly the failures of their white-brother-successors. Little or no efforts have been made by their successors to correct some of the misconceptions and mistakes of the past. Though we have read about the "confessions" of the past sins and atrocities of the British colonial masters as well as those of the Roman Catholic representatives, many aggrieved Africans, Christians and non-Christians have not forgotten. The scars of the British, ancient and modern 'sins' are still pointers to the tragedies. Racism, superiority complex, stubbornness and uncompromising 'presentation' and 'representation' of Jesus of History and Faith as 'white' and European strong distaste or repugnance for 'Jesus of color', have all contributed to the African elites' repudiation of most Christian teachings and the bible. Black African Catholic clergy who exhibit the strange attitude of 'being more Roman than the pope', have not helped matters. Most of the leaders have

rejected the adaptation of Christianity to African culture (inculturation) and this has not helped the growth of the faith; rather this negative attitude to inculturation has led to the proliferation of 'Independent African Churches or Pentecostal Churches. In these churches, Africans are completely in-charge and conduct the Christian worship in the best way they think.

Vatican II and "Signs of the Times"

A simple definition of 'Aggiornamento', an Italian as well as Latin word is "a process of modernization of policies and institutions'. It is a well known 'Movement' started or recommended by the Second Vatican Council Fathers a long time ago to help the church move forward, remain healthy, survive the turbulence of dangerous waves, and not die or get weakened. It means **'readjustment'** and today in Nigeria the best term that describes it well is **'Restructuring' (**as in the political arena).The Vatican II Fathers talked about **"signs of the times**", as well. They were telling the leaders of the church to open their eyes wide open and observe what is going on in the modern world, changes, radical changes, political, social, cultural, spiritual and religious. Revolutions, possible technological innovations that can change ways we behave, and think; in short great changes of the modern times, are here with us!

During the 1994 famous African Synod, (an assembly of the clergy or bishops, and sometimes also the laity in a diocese or other division of a particular church) in Rome, the Pope and the Senior Vatican and Catholic Church officials addressed the African bishops who gathered for the Synod in Rome. Here one finds the summary or highlights of the recommendations of the Council Fathers in a nutshell. They were something like the following: "Please our African Brother Bishops; we Europeans, in the first place will like to apologize for certain mistakes and errors we made as missionaries when we came to evangelize Africa. Surely we made mistakes in areas of cultures, customs, celebrations, festivals, traditions and ways of lives of the Africans. We caused a lot of damages. We did not understand or appreciate the cultures or ways of life of your people. We condemned some of your feasts, ceremonies or festivals. We tagged some of your beautiful native ceremonies and traditions 'pagan', 'fetish' and 'abomination'. We are sorry for all that'. Pardon us please." A few examples are necessary here to support the 'damages' we are referring to.

The Missionaries and the African Cultural Values

Some local clean moral traditions were discarded by the missionaries and branded **"Pagan".** These include

(1) Refusal to adopt Igbo names in Baptism. One hears about ***'English Baptismal names".*** What was wromng with 'Ikechukwu' (my Igbo name). Chibuike, Ogochukwu. Chike etcx? Igbo names were 'fetish' and would not be accepted as 'baptismal name!

(2) The culture of **"Ido Ihe"** The local slogan was ***"Onye Nwere Ihe Ya"*** *("Your property belongs to you alone". No other person should tamper with someone else's belongings)* God oversees and protects each person's or family's property. Place a piece of **tree branch, a stone, a stick** or most preferably a **fresh palm branch**, **(Omu Nkwu, Igu Nkwu),** (the type Catholics use during 'Palm Sunday') on top of your property or belongings and leave them there as long as you want. No one will touch the property! This is the ***"Ido Ihe Custom".*** Parents and elders warned possible thieves: "God is keeping watch. Do not touch His property; otherwise you suffer the consequences of your foolish action.

(3) ***"Igba Ubia"*** **was an ancient African (Igbo) traditional way of dealing with kleptomania , including stealing – armed robbery, kidnapping etc. If one stole anything, one would be publicly disgraced in school. It helped to curb stealing.**

(4) "Women wrestling" "Uzuza": Our fourth example is ***'Uzuza' – "Women wrestling".*** The white missionaries abolished women wrestling in Igboland. Before their arrival *"Uzuza"* was a popular recreational competitive 'sport', like the Men's wrestling. Igbo women were never primitive but believed they could participate in local festivals like the men. Wrestling before the white missionaries arrived in Igboland was meant to precede the traditional ***'Iji Ji' (New Yam Festival***). Young men and women gathered at public squares, four times on a selected market day to test their prowess in wrestling, like in football and boxing. While men were allowed to wrestle, **women-wrestling** was completely abolished for Christian converts. Today women wrestling, as sports and entertainment adorable popular sportive events all over the world and Africans are only beginning to rise from their slumber!

African Synod and Inculturation – The way forward!

The Council Father as in their above statements to the African bishops, again did not fail to emphasize the new roles the African bishops are expected to play in the **post-missionary era**

"Now please pay proper attention. You African bishops have now full authority and powers to correct our old mistakes, to 'Christianize your native African cultures' where there is need. You do not even need to consult us for approval or vetting or moderations. Your decisions or changes or amendments are final, when all of you agree on your regional or provincial levels or set ups". "In areas like liturgical dressing or attire, and translations of texts into native African languages, you are superior to us far away in Rome. In liturgical dressing, you can adapt to dressing and material stuff that may be most suitable to your tropical climatic conditions and so on. Celebrate and preach to your people in your native languages and dialects." Most importantly, please in the appointment of bishops, you have the full powers to determine who is suitable for such high office in the Catholic Church. Not even our representatives in Africa can decide on this. You African bishops know much better than we do. You can only let us know, just for records purposes, if you wish, after taking your decisions please". There were many other issues discussed at the African Synod, but the implementation of recommendations has been the snag in Africa, particularly in Nigeria.

Any progress made so far in Nigeria? Things got worse

Not much, inculturation has taken place since the past 25 years. Instead of loosening the ropes of European slavery and adapting to our African cultures in church matters, it looked like the 'Pharaoh' decided to harden his heart and would not 'let the people go!' Very sad and lamentable! More African customs and cultural celebrations have been banned and 'transgressors' suspended from the sacraments. While papers of annulment of bad marriages, for example, can be processed by canon law judges in Europe and America, within one month or even less; in Africa and Nigeria such marriage documents may take more than 3 good years to process, before bad marriages are annulled or terminated!

After the White Missionaries, especially the Holy Ghost Congregation, for example, lost the **Igbo Church** as a result of

the deportation order by the Nigerian government after the civil war, they equally lost interest in the most viable and fertile territory of the African Church, which they helped to establish. Using the Holy Ghost Congregation as example, the **Igboland** with its priests, in **quality and quantity** must have been the 'Provincial Capital' of that Congregation as well as the other Religious Congregations – **Spiritans, Redemptorists, Clararatian Missionaries, Vincentians, Sons of Mary, Trinity Fathers, Schoenstat Fathers** and others. Most of the indigenous religious men and women congregations with their teeming populations in vocations have not received the proper attention and status they require, where they are working for the universal church, in Africa, Europe and North America. Some are not recognized even as 'Missionaries' as Africans recognized the whites who ministered to them those past years! Who is to blame?

But, behold **racism, segregation, jealousy, persecution and hypocrisy, injustice in their old and new forms.** These have not in any way diminished, but rather grown longer tails and more robust wings. Even with clear diminishing vocations in Europe and America, the white missionary masters are not interested in requesting the help of African bishops in this all important area of priestly and religious vocation. This is sad. White Missionaries, old and present are never holier, more honest, morally upright, more spiritual, more celibate, more law-abiding, more intelligent, and administratively more competent than their African, Nigerian and Igbo counterparts. There are no reasons why in the twenty first century Africans should still be seen as second-class citizens of the world, slaves, or mere 'visitors' in the places they are spreading the gospel message. It is sinful to say the least

Whatever the case may be, President Barrack Obama, the first black president of the United States of America serves the best example of results of **Racism and Hatred.** Racism is still well and alive in the modern world as it was in the past. In spite of all his successes the whites, the diehard white supremacists remained obstinate and hateful, despised him, simply because a Black man was elected President of the United States of America, not once, but twice! The enemies did not hide their feelings. They even denied Obama is an American citizen! What of Black African **Pope!** Anathema! That will be a mad dream, when a black African cannot become a Superior General of any major religious congregation in which Africans are in the majority and have the best qualified members or candidates! No

matter how unworthy, an Irish, French, American or Canadian is 'elected' or 'appointed?' What are they preaching? And where is the church heading to? What is the future of the Christian church?

'Third World' Missionaries in the West

There is a critical situation and dilemma. There is acute shortage of priests in some European countries as well as in North America. But priestly vocation is blossoming in some of the so-called third world countries, mostly Nigeria and some Asian countries, including India, Sri-Lanka and the Philippines. What prevents the Catholic bishops of the first world nations, critically in need of foreign missionaries, not employ missionaries from countries which have them in large supply? It is a sad situation, where history continues to repeat itself! Reports confirm that instead of deploying these third world priests and religious, some American dioceses and bishops order them to leave and return to Africa! Many more American bishops have expressed this wish in thought, word and action. Ask why! Some flimsy reasons are given. Some bishops are reported to have issued ultimatum to African and Nigerian priests serving in various American dioceses to leave. What are the reasons?

Racism and Discrimination still in practice

Another flimsy reason for expelling or rejecting or not-renewing contracts of service can without equivocation be traced to the old prejudices related to racism, discrimination, segregation and certainly, the notion that African foreign missionaries have been motivated by hunger for the white man's wealth. They are in America in search of greener pastures. But outside the old prejudices, are there reasons to believe that African missionaries in North America and Europe have failed in their assignments as priests of the Roman Catholic Church? If the answer is in the negative, the only plausible reason must have its foundation in racism. If this is true, then the Roman Church has not lived up to expectations, even in the twenty first century as regards its assignment from the Divine Master, 'to go and made disciples of all nations!' Here the gospel of love being preached almost every Sunday from the pulpit is void.

Faulty Foundation – Lack of Unity

It is pertinent to revisit the foundation of the Nigerian Church by looking at the "Impact of lack of Unity in Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) as threat to Christian Faith in Contemporary Nigeria". Much of the problems we are grappling with today are the results of foundational crisis in the formative period of the Nigerian Church. Looking at the history of Christianity in Nigeria, it would appear that the early missionaries, though Godly servants of Christ and well intentioned, brought "denominations" to Nigeria and not the Body of Christ. This was the unfortunate consequence of the Colonial era during which Christianity came into the country

Almost all the denominations that started Christianity in Nigeria were reporting to different foreign powers. For example, the Catholics were reporting to Rome, and the Vatican, the Anglicans reported to England, the Methodist reported to Wales, the Lutherans reported to Germany, the Baptist reported to USA and so on. Given such diversity in command structure, the attitude of competition grew amongst brethren. It was on this foundation that the Nigerian Church was birthed. After independence, the indigenous Church leaders not knowing any other pattern simply adopted what the Colonial masters handed over to them. Unfortunately both Christian leaders and believers in the mother nations seemed to be losing the faith in the religion they exported to Africa and countries they colonized. Christianity in the western nations is collapsing, while Islam and other world religions are waxing stronger in the modern times. While the number of the clergy has continued to fall drastically, almost all Moslems, young and the elderly are committed "**Evangelizers" "Promoters", "Pastors"** of the Islamic faith, in thought, word and deed. The teachings of the Quran remain **undiluted or unadulterated.** "Infidels are enemies and defectors to Christianity should be set on fire. The first to throw stones, or pour fuel on the condemned defector are the parents and siblings! All must embrace Islam or there will be no peace. What is the Christian church doing in the face of Islamic treat and other religious crises rocking the Christian Church all over the world today?

CHAPTER 22

CHRISTIANITY IN TURMOIL AS NEW WAVE OF PENTECOSTALISM SWEEPS ACROSS NIGERIA AND AFRICA

> **"Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people". (Karl Marx)**

Church Explosion in Africa!

"Religion is the opium of the people"; one of the most frequently paraphrased statements of German philosopher and economist Karl Marx; translated from the German original, *"Die Religion ... ist das Opium des Volkes"* and is often rendered as "religion... is the opiate of the *masses*." The full quote of the metaphor: **"Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people**". How has Africa been affected? How has Christianity fared since the white missionaries left?

There may be a bit of 'exaggerations' in the statistics, most of us have seen often circulating in the social media. But it will not prevent all concerned Christians in Nigeria from taking a close look at the following for reflection**: "China** is currently the world's leading economic power; in China there are few Churches. **Finland** has the most stable economy in the world today. There are less than **20 churches** in Finland. **Switzerland** has the second most stable economy in the world. Switzerland has fewer than **30 churches**. **Denmark** is the third most stable economy in the world; there are about **23 churches** in Denmark. These countries are considered to have the highest number of atheists, but they are blessed". Come to **Africa,** there are more than **15,000 churches** per region including **4,000 churches** in the cities. In **Yaoundé** alone there are about **2,100 churches**. In the only city of **Abidjan** there are more than **2,000 churches.** in the only city of **Kinshasa one finds about 2,000** churches. In the only city of **Lagos** in **Nigeria** there are more than 4,000 churches, which is four hundred times more numerous than the whole of Switzerland! In Africa, we have more churches than **schools** and

hospitals combined. More **pastors than doctors**. Everyone is born again! Everyone is covered with the blood of Jesus! Jesus even became the husband of all single women (according to them) in revival churches! Everyone is filled with the Holy Spirit! However, none of these claims reflect the moral elevation that is hoped for in a society. We are among the laziest, the most deceiving, the most corrupt, the most hypocritical, and the most hateful on the planet today, with all our Jesus and the Holy Spirit. Our people need to distinguish between religion and stupidity or between spirituality and tradition. Think about this".

I have not stopped wondering with **James M. Mwape** and many other Africans, including **Bishop Matthew Kukah**, how we have arrived at this critical situation of our Christian faith. Like **Banquo, in Shakespeare Macbeth** wondered aloud in his encounter with the witches and their prophecies: "Were such things here as we do speak about? Or have we eaten on the insane root that takes the reason prisoner? (1.3.86-88). This is the heart of the confusion created by the founders and ministers of the new Pentecostal Churches all over the world, including Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, South Africa and many other courtiers! Mwape was just rehearsing the disturbing tell tale, when he asked those who care, to reflect on the past and present: "Did you know that up to the early 1900's the Church had been the center of development around the world? The church received tithes and offerings and used the money prudently in building schools, colleges, universities, hospitals, orphanages, taking care of the poor, and windows, etc. Preachers lived within their means as servants of God, caring for the people. The end of the 1900 saw the rise of high flying charismatic preachers whose main message was prosperity. They accumulated millions of dollars that they invested in themselves, building mansions, some with backyard airports for their private jets; all from member donations. They became televangelists and we admired their flamboyant lifestyles and gave them more. We even left our "traditional" churches and joined these manipulative charismatic burgeoning prophets, giving them huge sums of money. Our traditional churches lost much needed revenue and stopped investing in the communities even as population increased. No new hospitals, school, colleges, universities are being built! Some are even shutting down as there is no money to keep them open since membership has dwindled. How did we go from looking at traditional churches such as **Catholics, Methodists, Lutherans, Baptists, Seventh Day Adventists, Salvation Army, Presbyterians, Anglicans,** etc. that have done so

much good for humanity to new churches and ministers that are protected by armed bodyguards as our Christian leaders? A lot of things are happening! *(sic)*

Close your eyes and imagine!

"Nigeria ranked the **most prayerful** country on earth and **most sinful**. Nigeria has more Catholic Knights than Italy. Nigeria has more Anglican Knights than England. Nigeria has more Alhajis than all Arab countries combined. This is not entirely bad. Ironically, this our religiosity does not reflect in the religious and moral fabric of the nation! Each year, we budget billions of Naira sending our people on **pilgrimages to Mecca, Rome and Jerusalem** to pray. We pray for development. We pray for long life and good health. We pray against sudden death. We pray against accident of any kind. We pray for employment. We pray for peace. Above all, we pray to make heaven!

In the year of the Lord two thousand and eighteen (2018), we will spend **250 Billion Naira to sponsor pilgrims,** to pray for the development of Nigeria among others. 250 billion Naira can build 250 model schools. 250 Billion can build 100 modern Health centers. 250 billion can immunize all children in Nigeria. 250 Billion can build 250 brand new roads. 250 Billion can build 1000 new housing estates. 250 billion can create 100,000 new jobs. We choose not to do any of these. Rather, we choose to spend that amount to go pray for development! We choose not to spend that amount to take care of our health, rather, we choose to spend it to go and pray for our health! We choose not to spend that amount to build schools and train our children to be wise, we choose to use it to go and pray for wisdom! We choose not to spend that amount to build good roads to avoid and reduce car accidents; we choose to spend it to pray against accidents. These are our choices. We will live with them. Close your eyes and imagine! How much resources have we spent over these years to pray instead of using them to develop our country?"

Aberrations in the post-missionary church in Nigeria

Like the political situation in Nigeria, Christianity is in a great turmoil. It is in a state of great confusion, and uncertainty, as both the mainline Christian churches established by the white missionaries have to battle with the fast growing numbers of Pentecostal churches and denominations drawing their

membership from the old Catholic and Protestant churches. And the 'creeds' they profess seem to identify their goals; hence the nomenclature **"Prosperity Gospel Churches"**. In fact over 90% of their followers claim they were 'former Catholics!' The leaders of the post-white-missionary church in Nigeria, without any doubt must grapple with a lot of challenges, which face the African church after the departure of the white missionaries. The indigenous African bishops – Catholics and Protestants - following the nomenclature the whites left behind, were expected to continue, carry on with the evangelization or mission of the universal church. But another third force had made its presence widely felt all over North America, Europe, Asia and Africa. In Africa, Nigeria seems to have taken the lead, as almost every available empty structure in the form of a 'house' is daily converted to 'churches'. The new churches or assemblies are collectively referred to as **"Pentecostals"** and their ministers, called **"Pastors".** Only God know the number of pastors and new churches that have sprung up in Nigerian in the past 5 years! Who can even estimate the number all over the world?

Many African Catholic theologians did not see or interpret the innovations being introduced in the African church by the pastors as **'Inculturation'**, but '**Aberrations**', a departure from what was normal, usual or expected. At least, in the Catholic tradition, the white missionaries did not pay great attention to **"Healing Ministry"** as important part of their '**Apostolic Mission'** as the phenomenon is seen or regarded by both pastors and their followers in Nigeria today. The white missionaries of course attended to the sick through the Sacrament of Anointing, formerly called 'Extreme Unction'. But they were not seen casting out devils or raising the dead. A large number of 'Men and Women of God's messengers, pastors, prophets, seers, healers and new churches have come to dominate discussions, like in politics, and the future of the church and religion in Nigeria. In the Post-Vatican II era, another term for **'Inculturation'** would be other words like *'Adaptation'* (adjustments, modifications in certain areas of church laws, liturgy and overall structural adjustments following the 'signs of the times' in the modern times). **Aberration** would be seen as a departure from what is normal, usual, or expected, typically, one that is unwelcome. Some of the aberrations would include (i) The form of a 'church' building (ii) The figure of the officiating 'priest' or 'pastor' (iii) The form or content of the pastor's 'sermon', 'preaching', 'homily' or 'address'.' (iv) The 'spiritual rituals' or 'sacrifices', as performed in the 'church' or

'temple' of God, suitable for 'remission of sins' and reestablishment of god relationships with the Almighty, the Holy God. This is the center of our discussion in this chapter.

Twelve kinds of "Pastors" and Followers

Someone made these interesting observations about the present day "Pastors". They are found all over the world, developed, developing and of course in the underdeveloped nations like Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya and Uganda. The topic really offers everyone food for thought, believer or non-believer. The 'headache', which "Pastors" cause the leaders of our mainline churches is unimaginable. According to the author, and he is not far from the truth, there are about 12 kinds of Pastors that are visible in the Church today. Though the list may not be exhaustive, these twelve only represent majority of Pastors-leading Churches today, and if you, dear reader, are a "Pastor", you can easily discover where you belong!

(1) **"Business Pastors":** (1 Timothy 6:3-5; Isaiah 56:10, 11; 2:14). They are businessmen and women who see the ministry as "avenue to make money." They function as the Chief Executive Officers of their Churches. The Church is run with business principles. Their major emphasis is "money", finance, prosperity and how to make money and become wealthy. They are in absolute control of everything. Their "Basic Motive" is Gain and profit. Their programs are targeted at how much money is realized. They are using God's name, the Church and the Bible to make money and enrich themselves. **"Demerits":** No heaven-mindedness, disciples and godliness. They breed Christians who are greedy to make gains, profit-oriented, thieves and crooks. They engage in lying, fantastic promises and spurious prophesies. They apportion Church positions to the highest bidders.

(2**) "Funky Pastors":** (2 Timothy 4:3, 4; Jeremiah 6:13): Worldly, carnal, ungodly Pastors who water down the gospel to please people. They dress anyhow and they allow anything in the Church. They are immoral and sex-maniacs who take advantage of people. Their messages are the Church liberty, ministry on the broadways, easy way to heaven and making listeners look 'fulfilled in life'. Their Basic Motives include keeping listeners happy. "Don't offend them by telling them the truth". They exert influence and power over people in order to get their money. Young people enjoy these kinds of Pastors. Among their

'Demerits': No mention of sin, evil, hell or righteousness. Their focus is miracle, blessing and breakthroughs. Secular talk shows are allowed. Immorality, extra-marital affairs and pre-marital sex are overlooked, all in the belief that God is a loving God. "Funky pastors" have brought much shame to the Pastoral ministry and their name.

(3) "**Vocational Pastors"** "Vocation" here has nothing to do with "God's Call". It is **"job, secular occupation for a living"** Ezekiel 34:2, 3): They are in the ministry, not as a result of God's call, but by the call of men. They see pasturing as a hobby. They love the honor and respect being given to Pastors. Tribal sentiments, ethnic bias, connection to authority, wealth, status, oratory and power are what they use to make themselves Pastors. Educational qualifications and greasing of palms also feature here. **Their Basic Motive:** To rule over others and to be seen, and respected by them. No vision, purpose and commission from the Lord. They therefore lord themselves over the people, using threats and position to oppress those who are genuinely called. "Demerits": They are not concerned with anyone or the Church once their position is secured. They lead Church backward through secular management systems. They don't train, develop or empower anyone. The Church is always malnourished and spiritually weak under such Pastors. Their ministrations are always devoid of God's power and their sermons always make people sick. "Vocational or honorary Pastors" have caused much havoc for the Church today.

(4**) "Yesterdays Pastors":** They are called by the Lord, but they are not in tune with God's message for today. They are holy, godly and righteous but they are trapped in yesterday's world" because they are ultra-conservative. Old tradition, dogma and doctrinal correctness are their forte. They spend only on their one gift; to lead the Church. They detest learning and change. **"Basic Motive:"** To survive and bring back old time religion. They are therefore prejudiced against growth, change and new strategies. They are good in hymnals, bell-ringing and order of service that has become routine and lifeless today. Their relational skills are weak and very low. **"Demerits:"** Lack of vision, purpose and direction in the Church. Their work is unproductive. They are confused because changes that have occurred have left them behind. They therefore experience crisis, breakaway, stagnation and back-door losses. They do everything in the Church because they don't trust anybody. They are skeptic of people and change. Pastors of yesterdays usually don't know

the new messages of God for today; because they are too busy looking at the past.

(5) **Political Pastors:** (Jeremiah 10:21; Jeremiah 23:11; Micah 3:11): They were once Servants of the Lord, but are now backslidden. They no longer have time to preach, pray, nourish people and prepare them for heaven. All their time is taken up with meetings upon meetings. They have become servants of the people. Bad friends, economic hardship and strange teachings have changed them. **Basic Motive:"** To make it, either by force or by fire. They therefore engage in Church politics. They become cunning, crafty, arm-twisting and they can speak from both sides of the mouth. Their strategic closeness to Church authority make them to determine the transfer, promotion, discipline and suspension of other Pastors that are many times better than they are. Character assassination is their modus–operandi. **"Demerits:"** Their Churches always suffer because they are not always around due to frequent meetings. They are spiritually dry, unable to get fresh insight from God and the Church suffers spiritually. They get involved in scandals which they use for their political maneuvering to cover up. Political Pastors need liberation to return to the Lord.

(6) **"Occult Pastors":** (Revelation 2:20, 24: Revelation 3:9): These are the people who have no business being in the ministry, but they are there all the same. Some are former occult practitioners who claim to be **born-again,** while others are **herbalists** and **magicians** who decide to hood-wink people by modernizing as "Pastors". They live double lives. They appear to eat at the Lord's Table but also deal with the devil in secret. They use means and **demonic powers** to perform spurious 'miracles'. **"Basic Motives:** Their motive is gain, power and control over people. They therefore use candles, coconut, incense, salt, kola nuts, sponge, soaps, special baths and native roots as "prayer support." They engage in fake vision, false prophecy and spurious miracles. They read the sixth and seventh books of Moses. They are usually polygamous and womanizers. **"Demerits":** Using other means to 'Jazz' up the work so that crowds can come; people under bondage and oppression; making people look like children of hell; immorality thrives; witchcraft and calamities in Churches; people dying and losing their destiny in such Churches. Oppressive air of bondage will be thick. No form of godly spirituality among the people. "Occult Pastors" will always be exposed by their traits.

(7**) "Shallow Pastors":** (Zephaniah 3:4). These are proud, garrulous, self-centered and self-willed Pastors. They are

'islands'; too busy to attend conferences or seminars or listen to anybody's address. They believe that everyone should learn from them but they cannot learn from others. Their anointing has grown to the extent that they don't need to read the Bible, have time for prayers and fast unto the Lord. **"Basic Motives:"** Their motive is to succeed in ministry financially, materially and socially. They therefore spend Church money to buy expensive wears, clothing, cars and properties, and even helicopters and jets. They have nothing really to give to people spiritually. They thrive on stories, noise, demonstrations, pushing people and mimicked styles and prophecies. Their sermons dwell on their worth, wealth and fame. **"Demerits:"** People are fed with half truths, lies, motivational talks. They are always on the move, have nothing really to share and give to the people. The people are therefore largely unsaved, canal, sinful, ungodly and irreligious. They therefore move away to where the grass is green and the water is still flowing. "Shallow Pastors" will always lose serious Christians to other Churches.

(8) **"Ministry Pastors":** These are ministry-focused Pastors. They are committed to and consumed by the work of the ministry. In their order of priorities, ministry is number one and everything else takes secondary position. These Pastors neglect their families, children and personal lives in the name of doing ministry. Their children are wayward, bitter, and not well brought up, angry and unconverted. Their wives are miserable, frustrated, neglected; feel cheated and lonely. **"Basic Motives":** To fulfill their ministry irrespective of anything or anybody. Their desire is to prove themselves and the readiness to neglect everything for the ministry. They move from crusade to revivals, from Prayer Mountains to special seminars. They are too spiritual to play, pray, enjoy and relax with their wives, children and family, because sinners are perishing. They are always in a hurry. **"Demerits:"** They experience divorce, have wayward children, unsettled homes and unfulfilled ministry. Their wives become demonized or engage in extra–marital affairs due to frequent absence and lack of care. Pastors that give ministry the number one priority above their God, home and personal development will always experience crisis, breakaway and being forsaken by the Lord. Lack of peace, progress and tranquility, both in the Church and personal lives will always be the outcome of the mistake of putting ministry before God and family. "Ministry Pastors" will always experience 'burn-out' and frustration in ministry.

(9**) "Sick Pastors":** (Revelation 3:14-19). They are physically okay but spiritually sick. Sick, because they don't know the Lord, they are sinful, ungodly, evil, immoral and wicked. Though they sometimes find themselves leading large congregations, yet, they preach the Jesus they have not met. They only use their spiritual activities to cover their spiritual nakedness**. "Basic Motives:"** They don't know why they are in the ministry. They want to be like the Jones and Joneses. They are copycats. They struggle with sin, evil and low self-image. They take out their anger, sin and frustration on the people. They are sick because they lack basic leadership skills. They are sick because they are not good examples and role models to follow. They are sick because they operate under curse and disobedience. **"Demerits:"** Destroyed lives of people under them; carnal, covetous, stinginess, unforgiving spirit, and readiness to curse and destroy people who dare question their ungodly activities. They usually kill Churches and cause stagnation by making the saints to sin and backslide. Sick Pastors will always produce sick Churches that will find growth very difficult and stagnation very easy.

(10) **"Wounded Pastors":** They have experienced back-stabbing, disappointment and calamities in ministry. Their work has dealt them a hard blow. Through some mistakes and ignorance, they have been wounded in ministry. They are therefore bitter, sad, hurting and hateful in the ministry. **"Basic Motives:"** Vengeance, retribution and survival. They have been wounded by sin, devil, people, partners, colleagues and members. Some have lost wives, husbands, children, names, properties and health in the course of doing ministry. Some have deep pain due to betrayal by mentors, leaders, associates and spouses. And the wound remain always fresh and new. **"Demerits:"** Bleeding hearts, hurtful feelings, lack of trust, discouragements, frustration and quitting the ministry. They don't help anybody in the ministry again and they are always skeptical of people's intentions. The unforgiving bitterness in their hearts hinders the flow of God's spirit in them. As long as you don't allow the Lord to heal you, your Church will always suffer the hangover of your wounded heart.

(11**) "Technology Pastors":** They are Pastors on the move, who are always on the fast lane of life, moving from city to city, nation to nation, making money at the expense of the souls under them. They spend weeks away from the Church. They junket from place to place in the name of doing ministry while the Church at home is dying and scattering. They preach by means of audio and video messages. **"Basic Motive:"** Money,

pleasure and properties. They use God to better their lot in life. Their living standard is above the income of their Church. They always travel for ministration and business deals. While traveling, they continue to monitor the Church through phone, emails, websites, and phone-in-conference. They use these technologies to conduct services on Sundays and at vigils. In some cases, they stay permanently abroad and control the Church from there. **"Demerits:"** Their associates are not trusted; they are given responsibilities without authority. The Church goes through turmoil, murmuring and lack of care, nurture and empowerment. Such Pastors lose their Churches, their people and they eventually capitulate to the God of mammon, pleasure and fame. They lose their God and their ministry.

(12) **"Growing Pastors":** They are few in number, but these are Pastors after God's heart. They are called and commissioned by the Lord. They pursue a God-given vision. They display high integrity, character, godliness and a heart for things of eternal value. They are not perfect, but growing every day. They are balanced, learning, open to change and full of the Holy Spirit. **"Basic Motive:"** They desire to make impact for God. They want to see lives, families, nations and cities transformed for the Lord. They have no personal empire to build; rather they want to extend the frontiers of God's kingdom throughout the whole world. They see ministry as opportunity to serve, help and empower others. They de-emphasize money, gain and pleasure. **"Strengths:"** They invest in people; sharpen their leadership skills; maintain good relational skills; work over their weaknesses, build godly character; empower, equip and enable others to rise up to their highest potentials. They are not threatened by the gift of others. They speak the truth with grace and seek to discipline everyone for the Lord. They ensure that the Church is built on the truth, undiluted and balanced Word of God. They pastor growing Churches where the people are genuine Christians that continually grow in the things of the Lord. They raise leaders and equip them to carry on the work of God. **"Results:"** Good, great and growing Churches that will go on to affect things positively for God.

Inference

From these descriptions of twelve kinds of pastors, one can see that "only one" can really lead the Church to a sustainable growth. This is the reason why majority of our Churches are sick,

stagnant, crisis–ridden and are dying because they are being pastured by the wrong kinds of pastors. Where do you find yourself if you are one? This is an appropriate **"Preamble"** to our present chapter. We can't write any meaningful history of the church in Nigeria today without good reflection on the activities of "Men and Women of God", ordained or self-appointed and their churches which spread over every nook and cranny of our cities and villages.

"Prayer Houses and Healing Ministry" in Nigeria: The Old and the New – a Meeting Point.

The proliferation of Prayer Houses and Healing Ministries in the new religious movements in Nigeria has continued unabated. Like wide fire there is no nook and cranny of communities and cities you don't find them. Thousands of warehouses, uncompleted buildings and shanties have been converted into houses of worship. The number of pastors, prophet-healers, evangelists, exorcists, prayer-warriors, miracles workers and seers has equally continued to grow every day. Formerly the dominating theme was "prayer" and "conversion", hence "Prayer House" (Ulo Ekpere) or "Uka Ncheghari". Today the emphasis has shifted to "Miracles" and "War against devilish forces". The theme "Ekpere" – 'Prayer' has continued to feature, but the concept has almost changed. This time, miracle-seeking and troubled Nigerians don't really devote time to prayer. They look for pastors, priests and spiritualists believed to possess special powers that can make God listen to the pleas of the downtrodden. The miracles take place through "prayer packages" "prayer parcels" assembled by the Man of God, hence ***"Ime Ekpere".***

From "Ikpe Ekpere" to "Ime Ekpere" – "Praying to Packaging of Prayers"

Simple Catholic catechism defines prayer as conversation with God, with the intention of praising Him, blessing Him, honoring Him, thanking Him for His favors and at the same time begging Him for more favors. As for our modern Christians, including large number of Catholics the above simple definition has become archaic. The miracle-seeking Nigerian Catholics have no more patience to knell down and pray to the omniscient ad omnipresent God, who to them seem less merciful to those who pray persistently until their petitions are granted. To these

members of the faithful the numerous Scripture passages emphasizing persistence in prayer and taught by no one else than Christ don't hold any more. Not only that our modern Catholics are no much ready to spend sleepless nights in prayer, they want some people else, especially Men of God who promise miracles to 'package' the prayers for them. They are ready to pay any amount of money provided their petitions are delivered and results seen in time.

People go to the **"Men of God"** who promise to do the wonders. Immediately these spiritualists finish assembling the materials and various spiritual and occult items, they deliver them to their anxious clients who hope to receive the answers to their petitions in matters of months, weeks, days or even hours. Provided clients complete their own spiritual and temporal assignments and with meticulous alacrity, they are more than 100% sure of positive answers to petitions. A little mistake on the part of the petitioner can cause an irreparable damage and misfortune, hence an explanation to unanswered petitions. Examples abound. A petitioner, for example must adhere to the minutest rule on dry fasting. He or she may not taste even a drop of water until the official time when the dry fasting must end. A serious petitioner may not even take bath or shower and observe simple rules of hygiene until the petition is answered. A petitioner may have to be reciting some incantations, psalms and other forms of 'prayer' till dawn. Some of the incantations and 'prayers' may include verses like: "Death to those who seek to end my life; Let them stumble and confess their sins, those who are responsible for my failure to get a good husband". Most of the abandoned Old Testaments psalms that have the death of an "enemy" as their themes or that pour out terrible curses on the seen-and-unseen enemies are becoming popular again in the neo-Christian assemblies. Other incantations include verses and rhymes like "Holy Ghost fire! Holy Ghost Fire! Back to sender! In Jesus name alleluia!

Renewed Interest in Prayer Houses, Adoration Centers and Healing Ministry

Most Nigerians believe that the 'evil forces' which menace lives of people, families, and entire communities can only be handled by powerful **"Spiritualists", "Pastors" and "Priests"** with hindsight. In Nigeria people must travel far and wide, cross mountains and great rivers to get their problems resolved by powerful spiritualists and Prophet-healers of international

repute. The presence of White and Brown people from Europe and America are sure proof that the wonders that take place there may be real. White people are thought to be less gullible than Black people. It is claimed that Whites, especially European Caucasians don't believe in "African" witchcraft and "medicine" whose features are described by the term "abracadabra". Do White people believe in (African) poison?) Nigerians, Catholics and Non-Catholics, Heathens and Moslems flock healing centers, Adoration centers and other places where they meet and consult with the man of God. What pushes them to visit these centers, under rain and sun? What makes them spend thousands of naira in their efforts to seek out someone they believe would place smiles on their faces and change the course of event in their troubled world? The following issues provide some clues.

Poison and "Bad Medicine"

This is a very important theme in our discussion, namely the strong belief in (African) 'poison'. This is specifically speaking 'African type of poison' sometimes described as 'bad medicine' - sorcery or witchcraft, 'nsi' 'ime nsi. Iko nsi or 'ogwu', are all associated with 'Bad medicine'. The Yoruba word for medicine, ôgùn, covers not only herbal and similar remedies, but also poison, spells, and charms, thus revealing how difficult it is to separate the good from the bad; it is also used for Western scientific medicines, and for occult and magic importations from overseas, especially from India and other Near East regions. The same applies to the Igbo situation. The word 'ogwu' is used for all types of medicine as well as for poison. To indulge in the act of 'poisoning' is called *'iko-nsi' or 'iko ogwu'*. Both the poison and the medicine-men who compound the substances are very much feared. Poisons are normally used for offensive purposes, and can be made from many materials – human parts, hair, nails, clothes, leaves, liquids, powder, etc. It can be deposited on anything belonging to the enemy, who is immediately affected by contact with the poisoned object. It can be 'thrown' on the enemy, put into his drink, or transmitted to him by mere shaking of hands. It is generally believed that illness or death or some other calamity is either sent or "thrown" by an enemy during the night or else transmitted by some poisonous substance, which having been duly treated is brought into contact with the victim.

In Nigeria almost every type of death is generally attributed to the work of an enemy. Death caused by heart attack, diabetes, liver or kidney problems can always be traced to the

handiwork of an enemy. The case of a man who suffered from tuberculosis, and whose wife was totally convinced that the illness had actually been 'thrown' by night by one of their enemies is one out of thousands of such stuff. In one community in Oru East Local government area, Imo state, one blind man who had suffered from eye problem - glaucoma, was hundred per cent sure that his brother's wife, who had been nursing grudges against him was responsible for this calamity. 'A Christian pastor", a Catholic priest, who runs an Adoration Center, and another traditional occult healer, confirmed the fact! The blind man's aggrieved family never left any stone unturned to discover the 'enemy' They had visited many 'Pastors' to unravel the mystery behind the blindness.

The Problem of Evil, Sickness, Suffering and Death

Even though most Nigerian Catholics seem to believe that death is 'a necessary end and will come when it will come' or that the death of a young fellow does not show God's wrath or punishment, (Book of Wisdom), they still bemoan their dead, "Death, how wicked you are!" It is an intolerable calamity to lose a loved one, no matter the cause of death. What is so frustrating to most Nigerians is not actually the death of their member. The thought of the person, an enemy believed to have caused the death is most agonizing. Even where the 'Western' diagnosis may be clear, it does not explain the 'why' or the 'who'. The "who" is particularly important for the African and must not be overlooked. Since the 'unknown' enemy is held responsible for almost every type of disease, misfortune, sickness, and death, the culprit must be unmasked by all means, in case he has decided to continue with his evil intentions. The 'Western' doctor here has nothing comparable to the prophet-healer's offer, and thus must give way to the one who claims supernatural authority for his activities.

Man Craving for Security

Man's life in society is not always secure. He lives in perpetual fear of evil spirits and mortal enemies. So also do most of our Christians find themselves in this situation? There is a general sense of insecurity and for this reason the African desires protection from God, from spirits, good and bad, from dead ancestors, and from his fellow man. Cult members place their trust on the devil, whom they worship. There is also need for

protective 'amulets'. The vagrant nature of our people's religious affiliation and commitment to faith would prove an African religious poet right when he laments:

Oh! Unhappy Christian,
Mass in the Morning,
Witch Doctor in the Evening,
Amulet in the Pocket,
Scapular around the Neck!

Some of the believers trust in God and entertain no fear whatsoever. Others use certain mixed religious means to support what they gain from Christianity. There are yet other groups of Christians who believe that security will come from a religious movement. And yet another group gets into other occult societies and some traditional secret societies. In these places they are looking for protection and for occult secrets. African society is one where man always craves for security! A little quarrel with a neighbor, money squabble with someone, a land dispute will often immediately generate suspicion and a sense of insecurity. One disputant fears he will be poisoned by the other. Both may run to the diviner for protective medicine, or even look for offensive ones. If anything is lost or stolen what is important is the knowledge of who stole it, and not so much the restoration of the property. The diviner's word is final, and he is regularly consulted by people from all walks of life at one time or the other, especially during important crises in life.

Psychological Ailments: Causes and Remedies

The claim that 'African sickness' is largely 'psychological', or 'spiritual', in origin may not be dismissed as untrue. One can generally assume that most of the maladies successfully treated in this way are of a psychosomatic nature. Psychical disturbances are usually ascribed to evil spirits, and devils are cast out through exorcism. Evil spirits are generally regarded as responsible even for bodily aches and pains in the stomach, possibly caused by bad food or drink. The types of sickness frequently treated by the priests and pastors include 'evil spirit possession', respiratory troubles, gynecological problems or inability to conceive, worms, bad dreams, insomnia, internal pains, loss of appetite, epilepsy, etc., etc. All this is of course self-diagnosis by symptoms' and illustrates the medical problem of Africa as much as the achievements of the modern pastor/priest healers.

Forms of Treatment

The success of the priest/pastor-healers of the Prayer Houses and Adoration enters lies largely in the fact that they share completely with their fellow Nigerians their dread of witchcraft, poison, charms, and the influence of evil spirits, and the belief in their terrible realities. No doubt, the psychological side of the prophetic treatment has a salutary influence on many of the patients who suffer from these types of illness. Sometimes compromise solutions are sought in serious cases. Christians who flock Adoration centers comprise a considerable number of young women who claim that they owe the conception of their children to the prayers packaged by priests and pastors. This has been supported by African doctors who recognize the crippling psychological effects of an African woman's anxiety over her sterility, or the slightest delay in conception. The chief medicament, the panacea, includes Holy water, supported by extensive prayer, good advice, and sometimes fasting. Oils, enemas, candles, ashes are often used or recommended. Visible physical treatment includes the imposition of hands or pastor's iron or wooden rod, and rubbing the patient with olive oil. Another method of healing is by strange symbolic actions. A lot of atrocities committed by pastor-healers during healing drama are reported in Nigerian newspapers regularly. Some female victims have been raped by pastors during deliverance sessions.

The Old and The New – A Meeting Point?

Have the founders and operators of healing ministries and adoration centers succeeded in replacing the old traditional diviners and fortune-teller? To describe our honorable ordained ministers of God in such terms does not destroy their position as a 'messengers of God'. It is by no means a derogatory term, since in fact that is the role they assume in their mission, healers of mind and body. Like the traditional diviner who smells out the witches that have cast spells on people, families and communities the man of God is able, thanks to the supernatural powers he claims he has received, to counteract evil he has discovered in communities. He has already demonstrated the impotence of the most feared charms, shrines, bushes and trees by uprooting, destroying and burning them. But he is careful not to fall into the old mistakes of the missionaries, who destroyed, but offered nothing in substitute! It is here that he surpasses

them by providing followers with new elements which reassure them of their security. While his new remedies do not represent an exact 'photocopy' of those of the traditional diviners, they adequately serve his ever-superstitious clients. Since diseases are seen as having a religious nature, they can be cured by prayers, mere laying of hands, or through purification rites, confessions, and exorcisms. Sometimes the pastor may be required to demonstrate the cure symbolically, or at least to convince his patient that there was something really going on, something more than the human imagination could reach.

Destruction of 'Fetish Trees' and Planting of Crucifixes

Most Nigerians, Christians and non Christians strongly believe that evil spirits dwell in bushes and in large local trees, hence the war of destruction of large village trees by the new spiritual evangelists. In the past twins and people who died from dangerous deceases were said to have been buried in evil forests. A lot of pagan sacrifices were believed to have been carried out on foot of large village trees at village squares. To cleanse an entire community who claim that their lives are being menaced by modern evil people, a powerful man of God must be invited to visit the community and restore wholeness. The polluted atmosphere must be cleansing and re-dedicated to God. All such trees must be cut down, whether any dissenting voices and heart or not! Large crucifixes are planted by our priests and pastors to scare evil and assure security of families and communities whose compounds and farms are claimed to me menaced by seen and unseen enemies. These crucifixes and other 'amulets' are said to offer protection to people whose lives and property are threatened by wicked enemies. Like modern hidden video cameras they can keep records of bad visitors and evil people. Therefore evil people should keep off if they would not like to be exposed! They are like trained dangerous backing dogs that keep watch of the home when owners are away. These very large crucifixes mounted at the entrance of large compounds or villages, as protective instruments against evil spirits too.

Among pagans, public magic is seen in the charms used to protect houses, compounds, fields, and villages. One sees bundles of feathers, bunches of leaves, packets wrapped in cotton thread, or great 'parcels' hanging from the ceilings of rooms to protect their occupants. Shops have packages or magic brooms nailed above the door to repel burglars or to attract trade. Fields are protected by anything from a wisp of straw to a complex

package containing teeth, blood, and other organic substances. To an outside observer, these are often the most obvious signs of heathenism. But it is these magic instruments and charms which our prophets, priest-healers and pastor claim to have come to destroy. Most of them they claim they have 'smelled out', attacked, and destroyed. Their mission, however, does not end there. They must provide 'substitutes' or 'alternatives'. Replace what they have destroyed, that they must do! But danger! Have the crosses become new fetishes for the followers of our prophets?

Fasting and Prayer

In the modern Catholic religious movements founded and run by men of God fasting and prayer have lost their biblical flavor. Both fasting and prayer used to be usual form of attracting God's forgiveness and mercy. When one engaged oneself in prayer and fasting, it used to be a serious sign of reparation. But Christ warned his followers never to pray or fast like hypocrites. In the Old Testament, trumpets and horns were blown to announce impending calamities and disasters that awaited sinful nations and peoples. Prayer and especially fasting was prescribed to avert the impending doom. "Blow the trumpet in Zion for vultures hover the house of Yahweh." Even kids and mothers feeding babies as well as kings and princes must join the event. It used to be a collective event and the disaster that would happen might not spare anybody. In both the New and Old Testaments fasting and prayer were meant to prepare those who took up the burden for serious spiritual engagement. Fasting and prayer would discipline the body and attract God's mercy. It leads to holiness and complete break with the sinful past. God's grace flows in abundance and takes possession of a converted sinner, a friend of God. Unfortunately in the modern Christian and neo-Catholic revivalist religious movements fasting and prayer are seen by both leaders and clients as the easiest way of getting the earthly rewards and not necessarily a way to holiness and spiritual healing.

Prescription Prayer 'Drugs'

In the modern healing centers, no real medication is recommended by the men of God. But alternative forms of treatment in the form of "Prayer Drugs" seem to have replaced western medicine. 'Prayer Drugs' surpass what the western

physician can offer. They can take care of physical, mental and spiritual problems, including those requiring counseling and settlement of family and communal squabbles. In the **"Eucharistic Family Prayer Group and Adoration Center** run by one Catholic Priest in Imo state, the following circumstances and situations in the lives of visitors and the needy followers receive the priests "prescription drugs" facilitated by fasting and prayer. Let us first examine some of the situations and needs that push thousands of Nigerian Catholics and non-Catholics to Catholic healing centers, Prayers Houses and Adoration Centers. Some of the expected miracles are believed could take place also during all-night Vigils and Crusades. The complainants and clients include the following:

(1) One who claims he had been bewitched or poisoned?
(2) One suffering from failures in business ventures
(3) One whose future and progress had been blocked by powerful rich members of families with powerful occult portions. The dangerous occult materials prepared by great medicine men are usually buried in the ground in forms of coffins. In the coffins can be found names of young men and enemies who must not "see light again"
(4) Ladies and women who claim that enemies had been responsible for their calamities and misfortunes, namely 'inability to find life-partners' or 'bear children'.
(5) Those suffering from some diseases and ailments whose origins 'can never be traced or known'. It must be a result of poison. Whether it is blindness caused by late treatment of **glaucoma** or **cancerous lacerated ulcers** of the body and skin **('Acha Ere')**, an enemy is responsible for the misfortune.
(6) Young men and women who had failed many times to secure visas to fly abroad trace their misfortune to the work of sworn enemies of their progress.
(7) Young men and women who fail to get job and admission into higher and lower institutions of learning must approach a Man of God to procure solution for their problem.
(8) All financial problems.

Some Forms of Therapeutic Prayer Drugs

Some usual prayers-drugs prescribed by men of God for clients are familiar and spectacular. At the end of the administration and application the client or petitioner is assured of success, the end of his suffering! He could go for thanksgiving and send gifts

to the Lord for the marvels done for him and the entire family that had borne the burden of misfortune for years! In one Catholic Prayer House run by another Catholic clergyman the following prayer-drugs are carefully enumerated in the flyers the priest distributes to clients:

(1) Rosary; 20 decades every day. (Petitioners are advised never to rush the rosary), otherwise the drugs would not produce the desired effects.
(2) Recitation of the following psalms are recommended: Psalms 1,3 5, 60, 88, 103, 121, 135, 42: 9-10, 35, 45, 64, 69, 112, 124, 27, 24, 126, 128, 132, 114, 55, 94, 109.
(3) Everyone must fast for 9 days (6.00 am to 6.00 p.m.. participants are advised to tale light meals in-between to avoid ulcer.
(4) White blessed candles should be burnt inside the compound for 9 days; (one candle everyday)
(5) Burn Gravel Incense inside the compound for 12 days.
(6) Sprinkle Holy water all over the compound and rooms once in a week for 7 weeks. You recite "Jesus I love you" 7 times. At the end of the sprinkling read Ezekiel 36:25-28.
(7) Each person must visit the Blessed Sacrament once in a week for 3 weeks
(8) Every Friday – Stations of the cross around the compound for those at home; others to do it in their rooms wherever they are. This will last for 7 weeks.
(9) Gift to the poor every week for 5 weeks. Give anything you like.
(10) Water + Salt + Psalm 29 or 121; bathe in salt water, once a day for 9 days.
(11) 'Memorare' (Cheta) 9 times; "We fly to thy protection" (Anyi agbaba) 9 times.
(12) Read: Eph 6: 12 – 14; Jer. 29:11-14. Is. 53: 4-6; Jer. 20: 11 – 15; Is. 54: 17- 20.
(13) "Holy Ghost Fire" 7 times wherever enemies are gathered. The list of the recommended prayers ends with the priest's prayerful wishes: "May God help you and answer your prayers – Amen!"

Hurrah! It is done!

Those who claim they had successfully finished their 'assignments' and 'medication' do not fail to return and 'see' the priest at the end of the exercise. Like a student who finishes

writing his assignment or examination, one is free to wait patiently for the results. Where prayers are said to have been answered, thanksgiving service is prescribed. If God takes time to consider the petition, clients are made to wait patiently. One hears clients who take a deep breath and announce the end of the exercise. "I have finished the spiritual assignment. It was a month ago I went to the man of God who prepared the 'package' **– 'Ime Ekpere".** "I have to wait for the results!" Perhaps the sworn enemy may die in an accident. Possibly a desired suitor will report. Expectations are high!

Liberation from Bondage

Among the many services which the modern priest-healers who run healing services and Adoration centers, "Reconciliation Services" feature in abundance. Warring families and parties flock these centers and request the Man of God to help restore peace to their families and communities. They believe that their problems have roots in the activities of evil persons in their families and communities. These evil people who 'plant' concoctions and devilish materials that cause various misfortunes must be made to confess their sins, hence the concept of "Igba Ndu", "Idu Isi" etc. The Eucharistic Adoration Family, one of the most famous centers in Imo state, specializes in **"Reconciliation Services".** Clients who visit this center usually beckon on the priest, the Man of God, to come to their families and communities personally to effect the 'cleansing' of their environments that have been polluted by poison (nsi) and other activities of evil persons who through their devilish and nefarious activities have kept may unfortunate people in bondage. There is need for liberation and freedom from the menace of evil persons. The above center distributes the following flyer to clients who want Village/Community Prayer/Reconciliation. The monetary and other demands include the following":

(1) Letter from the parish priest. (2) List containing names of villagers and families.
(3) Orientation course – N7,000). (4) 120 days Novena masses/Preparation - N90,000. (5) 3 days of dry fasting before the time with Psalms 51, Matthew 18:15-17, Ps. 32, 2 Chronicles 7:14, Joshua 6:20-21, Joshua 1: 1-9, Joshua 24:15. (6) 15 bottles of Olive Oil –N4,500. (7) 2 crates of Can-malt. (8) 1 carton of biscuits; (9) 9 days of Novena mass for peace and progress –

N2,000. (10) Get-together meal for the village. (11) Appreciation to the parish priest of the village N5,000. (12) Thanksgiving to your home parish or any place of your choice. (13) Provision of Sound System.

New Wine in Old Wine Skins!

Whether they operate as "Houses of Prayer", "Adoration Centers", "or Prayer Ministries" or the likes; whether they are run by Catholic priests (Catholic or Orthodox Churches) or Pentecostal pastors), serious objections have been raised by many concerned faithful who are not comfortable with the excesses recorded in these 'ministries'. We have seen that healing, 'wholeness', in various forms plays an important role in the recruitment of followers. Whatever may be the objections to the 'supernatural' aspects of our prophet's power to heal or mend a broken heart, it is evident that in this healing drama he has to a large extent succeeded in replacing the old pagan diviner. His achievements lie primarily in his personal charisma and ability to understand his followers' predicaments. Perhaps he has no intention of reintroducing paganism or any other form of traditional religion, which has been condemned by Christianity and which he personally has fought against. His achievements in the 'rehabilitation' of mentally deranged persons or his successes in sickness of psychosomatic nature have been tacitly recognized even by his strongest critics. The 'prayer-healing Churches' are surely responding to the problems and needs of most Africans.

As a recruitment technique, healing has of course its vital role, but most important is the prophet's conviction that the prophetic mission includes the liberation of man from bodily hindrances. There is no dichotomy between body and soul. Whether his success comes from the enlightenment of the 'Holy Spirit', or merely from his own ability in pastoral counseling, what is very important is that in the midst of his followers he stands now as a man who has openly declared war on sickness and evil.

"Facts and Figures"

(1) **Miracles**: There is not much of the "miraculous" in the activities of the new generation pastors and priests who claim to have the gift of the hindsight, namely special type of perception behind the natural events. Most of the 'wonder workers" and

spiritualists, who claim to read minds, interpret dreams and mysteries are fake prophets.

(2) **Natural wisdom vis-à-vis hindsight:** There are no facts to prove that they can perform nature miracles, like walking on the sea, raising the dead, making the blind see, the lame walk multiplying loaves of bread and fishes. Not T.B. Joshua, Pastor Chris, or any of the founders of Adoration centers and Prayer Houses. Their powers don't go beyond the gift of natural wisdom and psychology.

(3**) Studies** have shown that most of these 'prophets' suffer from some types of mental disorder In a simple language they suffer from a mild form of insanity or any other form of mental ailment. It has been proved that some pastors take sedative drugs or tranquilizers which help them perform their so-called 'miracles'. Some have been caught with marijuana and alcoholic drinks that help induce the state of madness. So these help them to address large crowds and perform strange actions, usually described as 'abracadabra'.

(4**) Miracles vis-à-vis the "psychosomatic" problems:** 'Psychosomatic' has to do with bodily symptoms caused by mental or emotional disturbances. Most of Nigerians who claim they had been cured of their ailments by the Man of God they visit suffer from fears, always linked with poison – nsi, aja and evil spirits. They believe that a simple verbal threat from an enemy produces some mysterious effects; so the 'heart attack', stroke, heart failure, blindness. The fellow, who died from the decease of the blood (leukemia) or cancer, was killed with poison deposited by an enemy.

(5) **The pastor, the priest or the healer's 'success'**: The "Man of God" claims success in his ministry because he agrees with his clients that every death, evil, illness and misfortune has deep spiritual or hidden cause – the blindness, paralysis – result of stroke or heart failure – can be traced to the evil machinations of an enemy. No medical explanations or causes of e.g 'Acha ere', partial stroke and others can be entertained by superstitious minded Nigerian. It has already some therapeutic effects on the client when the Man of God confirms that the ailment that brought the sufferer to his center was result of poison.

(6) **His "Successes":** The Man of God registers 'successes, in his ministry when he engages in "Reconciliation Service". He draws a great fanatical crowd when he identifies and associates the problems of his clients and warring families and communities with 'poison' and other forms of satanic attacks. If he succeeds in naming the culprits (result of informants' stories

and reports), he prescribes reconciliation service through swearing ceremonies – 'Igba ndu'. The people like it, and these calm down the fears and worries of those who claim they had been bewitched. Maybe the culprits would swear before the Blessed Sacrament or the Bible, commit themselves and die eventually.

(7) **Tithes and Large Donations**: The people strongly believe that the larger the amount of tithes or donations they make, the sooner their problems are resolved. The 'pastors' collect thousands and even millions of naira or dollars from their clients, as they emphasize the importance of 'fat envelopes'. For both the man of God and followers large donations attract God's mercy and readiness to answer prayers! The Pastor's church, no doubt, is a fraud.

How Do They Do It?

We have investigated some aspects of the so-called the "pastor's successes" in his modern healing ministry. Most of the crowds of believers, followers as well as sycophants think that their Man of God has special gifts of mind-reading, foretelling the future and hindsight. Nothing can be far from the truth! Some of the clever tactics they employ reveal the use of informants.

Use of Informants

Most of our modern miracle workers, Catholics and Non-Catholics are not doing their business alone. They have many well-trained informants and secret agents (like the CIA agents), who through the help of the sycophants reveal to the man of God the circumstances of life of clients. These include names of suspected enemies, possible number of victims involved and of course possible human and acceptable solutions to problems. If the above is not correct, how then can the Man of God by mere laying of hands reveal the names of clients he had not met before, reveal the names of those who deposited the said poison claimed to have wrecked the lives of fellow men exact places and times an incident took place.

If the Man of God has truly the gift of hindsight, government and our political leaders should employ them to help out fish out the criminals who carry out violent armed robberies, kill and maim thousands of victims. Our religious Men of God should reveal names of kidnappers and people who engage in nefarious activities in towns, villages and cities! Through such

revelations crimes would stop. People can always sleep with two eyes closed and soundly. There would be no need for people to lock their houses and cars. Banks would not need security men to guard their strong safes. Blessed are the people who Yahweh is their God!

Deceit & Criminality – The Dead Lizard Tricks!

The following story was reported in many Nigerian newspapers. It shocked many Nigerians. A well known 'pastor-healer' had arranged with paid members of his gang to play his 'miracle tricks'. He had assured his large congregation, old and young, men and women, who had assembled at his healing center, under a scorching sun that a great miracle would be seen by all that day. He had told them that the 'bewitched' patient would receive a miraculous healing! He would vomit a **lizard,** which the enemies used in concocting the poison that affected the sick man and which was responsible for the patient's near-paralysis! Everyone at the center must focus attention on the altar or prepared table of worship. The foolish pastor never knew that some camera men there had been instructed by suspecting citizens and pressmen to pay close attention to the pastor's usual style of deceit and frivolous criminal antics. At the high pitch of expectation as the healer started working on the sick man, who had been warned never to open his eyes, one of the pastor's closest associates dropped on the ground, very close to the 'wonder worker' a **dead lizard**, neatly wrapped in a black plastic paper. He grabbed the dead reptile and displaying it, loudly declared that the 'demon' had been vomited out by the sick man! He had been liberated! There was great jubilation among the ignorant crowd. Behold a miserable show of deceit by a 'man of God, a wonder worker!! The camera men caught the whole drama on video! It was released on the social media for all to watch and share!

Burgeoning pastor's " frivolous antics"

- The young pastor sits comfortably on a chair and is carried round by able bodied men during Pentecostal assemblies, as the 'man of God' pronounces curses on seen and unseen witches and enemies, and as well liberates the possessed and bewitched members.
- The pastor sucks ladies breasts as part of the spiritual healing process

- The pastor kisses young women publicly in their assemblies as part of imparting desired physical and material powers on the young women. Most of the young women are in search of life-partners!
- Members are commanded to eat raw grass in the fields as a means of getting spiritual strength to fight evil and enemies causing ill luck and sickness.
- Seekers of new spiritual powers prostrate on the floor while the young pastors impart spiritual and mental powers to the needy aspirants! Wow!

Many worried Catholics and non-Catholics have raised angry voices in condemnation of most of these activities of our modern founders of healing and adoration centers. These objections and complaints cannot be ignored. They include the following:

1. The excessive amounts of money charged by the men of God in the services they claim to render to clients points to the materialistic motives embedded in greed and avarice This is prevalent in the present Nigeria culture of bribery and corruption. Not even the Church is spared of this cankerworm. Not even free-will-donation is acceptable to these greedy men of God!
2. The emphasis placed on **"Wellness**" and **"physical liberation from evil"** (poisonous substances buried under the earth by 'wicked enemies'), believed to be the agents of misfortunes and lack of progress of bewitched individuals is uncalled for.
3. Who are these seen-and-unseen enemies, who are always after the 'death of young men' in communities? "Lack of progress in business" can come from laziness, illiteracy, lack of education and share luck!
4. Who are the planters of poison? Who concoct the poison? It has been proved beyond reasonable doubt that many fake pastors and healers personally or through their agents bury strange fetish substances in the earth and at the appointed time uproot the same substances they had buried! They plant and uproot them, making the gullible clients believe wonders had taken place. What a deceit!
5. In many communities where men of God had organized reconciliation services or 'Igba ndu', war, unrest, and chaotic situations have erupted. Accusations leveled against unsuspecting members of communities have even resulted in court actions. Who takes responsibility for disorder? Wow! The

man of God has gone to restore peace, order and tranquility, behold anarchy reigns!

6. The man of God often enjoys some comfortable popularity simply because his clients believe that he is on their side fighting the evil men and women claimed to be responsible for their woes. Their misfortunes are results of machinations of one rich man or woman in the village who through spells and other bad medicine had kept all the young men of the community in bondage. ("**Ekechiri umu okorobia ndia ekechi!")** These young and unprogressive men and women had been spiritually "wrapped" with coactions, which can only be unwrapped and destroyed by a powerful "Man of God". What a primitive propaganda fashioned to deceive the ignorant!

Still a long way to go!

Finally we have come to a stage where there is need for bishops and superiors to intervene and caution their priests and members who cause a lot of harm in communities and parishes as they go about their ministries of healing and liberation. Seminars should be organized by priests, religious and enlightened members of our Catholic communities, and these matters discussed, leading to establishment of guidelines by which priests and pastors of souls should operate in these sensitive areas. To ignore the clarion call for order or to leave the sleeping dog lie can never be an option. There is need to **separate the wheat from the cockle.**

No matter the number of emerging pastors and churches, there should be no room in any Christian church for witches and wizards any more. The burning of so-called witches at the stakes (like killing of twins), was an ancient primitive practice which the white missionaries condemned and fought against. How can the leaders of the twenty first century church in Africa tolerate the persecution of children said to be 'witches' in some parts of Africa, including Southern Nigerian states, especially in the old Calabar province? What are the Christian church leaders doing when white Christian missionaries from Europe and America come to Nigeria to rescue the condemned so-called 'bewitch-children?' Unbelievable yet, are stories about Catholic priests and women religious in some African dioceses, who accuse their fellow brothers and sisters of bewitching them! What progress and development has the post-white-missionary church brought to Africa?

CHAPTER 23

THE CHURCH AND THE FUTURE OF EDUCATION IN NIGERIA

TOP EDUCATION QUOTES

The church is the Barometer for gauging the health and the well-being of the nation, the foundation and facilitator of whatever positive development nations of the world have achieved - including democracy, civilization, education, human rights, women's right, technology, and rule of law. *(Bosun Emmanuel – Nigerian writer and activist)*

(1) "Learning would make him unfit for slavery." (Hugh Auld) ***"Slavery in America: Life and Times of Frederick Douglas"*** (American author and First Lieutenant, USA Army)

(2)"Education is the most powerful weapon you can use to change the world" (Patrick Smith - American author)

(3) The aim of education is the knowledge, not of facts, but of values (William S, Burroughs - American author writer)

(4) The roots of education are bitter, but the fruit is sweet (Aristotle - Greek Philosopher).

(5)Education is what remains after one has forgotten what one has learned in school. (Albert Einstein - German Physicist)

(6) Education is not preparation for life; education is life itself. (John Dewey - American Philosopher)

(7) Develop passion for learning. If you do, you will never cease to grow. (Anthony J. D'Angelo - American writer)

(8) It is better to know some of the questions, than all of the answers. (James Turber - American author)

(9) An investment in knowledge pays the best interest (Benjamin Franklin - American Politician)

(10) Education is the passport to the future, for tomorrow belongs to those who prepare for it today. (Malcolm X - American activist)

(11) Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world. (Nelson Mandela - South African leader and statesman)

(12) The function of education is to teach one to think intensively and to think critically. (Martin Luther King Jr. - American political leader & activist)

It is easy to quote great achievers in various areas of knowledge, but often difficult to put their thoughts and recommendations into practice. In Nigeria education has for the past few decades suffered a lot of setbacks. Quoting Nigeria's great author, Chinua Achebe, there is no argument about it, "Things have fallen apart!" There is need to expose the evils destroying education in Nigeria in order to fight them and fix the structures. No doubt, the importance of education in the development of any nation, including Africa, and Nigeria can never be ignored. As early as in the colonial and Christian missionary era, most Nigerian communities (except, perhaps the Moslems) embraced Western Education. Moslems who, claim today that **"Western Education is evil" – "Boko Haram"),** can never be taken seriously. Their contention is only in theory. Moslem leaders, including Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and Ahmed Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto received their education in Britain and United States of America. Most of their army generals received Western education overseas. Igbos and Yorubas valued education so much and there had been a lot of competition among the youths to graduate, at home or abroad and add a lot of academic titles to their names. Unfortunately there are several setbacks in the realization of the true goals of education in our part of the world today. What are the causes of these setbacks in educational standards in Nigeria and how can the bad situation be cleansed

"Education: Key to Success"

That was the slogan in churches, primary and village central schools during the missionary and British colonial era. In fact the two famous English language textbooks we regularly used had the titles **"Key to Success"** and **"My English Companion".** With these two books, which students had in their school bags or lockers, many made Grade 1, or 2 in West African School Certificate Exams. *'Key to success'* and *'My English companion'* contained almost every aspect of English grammar and syntax which students needed to write good English essays and as well speak good English. Syntax is the arrangement of words and phrases to create well-formed sentences in a language. One's score in English often determines

one's Grade in class and final examination. The books contained all that the English world calls 'grammar'.

When I wrote and published my own English language text books - **"Key to Success in English Language",** I gave them the title **"Gateway to Success in English Language**. It was in two volumes, namely Grammar and Oral English. Other school subjects that gave meaning to sound education during the missionary school era were **Arithmetic, Nature Studies, History, Geography and Religious Knowledge**. In Nigeria sound education was pursued by students and parents with great passion. For a good number that could afford primary education. It led to further studies in Colleges and Universities. But many used to drop out after 'Standard Six'. The East and West (Southern Nigeria) prospered in education while the North lagged behind. In Northern Nigeria the core content of the school curriculum was 'Islamic studies'. Koranic schools littered Northern Nigeria and students were taught the recitation of the Koran. Islamic school teachers who taught English grammar did so in Hausa language! This was confirmed by British university lecturers who spent time in their education research programs with education authorities in Northern Nigeria in the early 1980s. They went to assess the standard of "Education in Developing Countries". The summary of their studies or research was published in the University Magazine – Institute of Education – University of London.

Christians, Moslems and Education

Moslem education in Nigeria was retarded not because the Moslems were unprogressive or because their religion was opposed to formal education. It was because 'education' those days tended to mean Bible Knowledge, Christian Ethics, Christian moral instructions, Christian literature, some Arithmetic, language and crafts – all geared to producing Christians who could read the Bible, one author argued. When the Christian missions started converting animists and a few Moslems, the majority of Moslem parents barred their children attending the 'free Christian schools' for fear of conversion. Since then efforts have been made to build Moslem schools to compete with Christian mission schools in number and quality. But this does not seem to have solved the problems of the worried Moslem educationists. Many strategies were brought into the scene to achieve the desired objectives. One of these was instrumental to the government's take-over of mission and

voluntary agency schools at the end of the Nigerian civil war in 1970. Long before that action was taken, Moslem educationists had suggested a long term measure for equalizing or leveling up for the educational imbalance between Christian and Moslem schools. **Babs Fafunwa**, one time Education minister, had said in his book; "Without laboring the point, the most effective solution would be for all Nigerian schools to become secular and citizen-oriented for they (the Christian missionaries) failed in the last one hundred years to produce Nigerians and the sooner all these schools directed their attention to this issue the better.".

Nomadic Education

But they cannot successfully do so until all the children are completely free from religious bias. The Moslem program or strategy has not stopped at 'equalizing' or 'leveling up' of standards. 'Education for all Moslems' has become the slogan. By all means education must be extended to all Moslems wherever they live or work, whether they want it or not. It must be forced down their throats if they are unwilling to cooperate. This is what Nomadic Education is all about, a project master-minded by Moslem scholars. By this program, Moslems, wherever they are, fishing in the deep waters of Sokoto or Katsina or Kaduna river or wandering about the desert or green pastures with their cattle; these nomads must be pursued with blackboards, slates, books, pencils and chalk and other writing materials and teaching aids. They must learn reading, writing and the Koran. Billions of Naira have been poured into this project, whether the goal justifies the means or not. Federal government of Nigeria has initiated several educational projects, including the establishment of Federal Unity Colleges to uplift the Northern pupils and students at all levels of education.

Exam Results & The South-North Dichotomy

It is also clear to Nigerian eductionist that the establishment of the examination board called National Examination Council **(NECO)** was to help the North qualify in national examinations and qualify for tertiary institutions; NECO conducts the Senior Secondary Certificate Examination and the General Certificate in Education in June/July and December/January respectively. The goals of NECO were not being realized. And as it was rumored, on the 15 July 2013 some plans were made by the federal government to remove the National Examination Council from

the Nigerian Education system due to low and average passing percentage from candidates, especially across the Northern states. NECO was created by the former head of state Abdulsalami Abubakar in April 1999, with headquarters in Minna. It was the first federal organization to offer subsidized registration to academic candidates in Nigeria. But whatever the goals of NECO, it became clear within a few years of its operation that the organization could not compete well with the WAEC. Most non goverment higher institutions in Nigeria preferred WAEC certificates and repudiated NECO. Most Nigerian students also looked down on NECO exams, results and certificates. All the efforts of the government to bridge the gap between the North and the South in educational standards have failed woefully. Every year WAEC/NECO/JAMB results have shown the South-Eastern students take the first 10 positions out of 36 states plus FCT, followed by the Western and South-South states. The Northern states always come last, as expected.

Lack of Motivation

On the part of ruling class, there is little or no emphasis on the importance of education, today as it was in the past decades, before and after independence. Those on the top are either not qualified to occupy high posts in government or do not value the place of education in development and survival of any nation, In Nigeria there is no rule of law and hence no standards and strict guidelines are in position, for example, in the selection of the people's representatives in government or in other sectors of the economy, some lawmakers are known to **forge their** academic certificates in order to qualify for the job of lawmaking and government. In the upper and lower houses of Senate and Representatives, it is often difficult to distinguish between a graduate and primary school 'legislator'! And not only that the credentials of lawmakers, government ministers and even heads of state are often questioned, Nigeria, the nation of so many ethnic groups, in selection of 'best' candidates for important positions in government, has often to contend with the 'monster' referred to as **'nepotism', 'tribalism', 'quota system'**, as a result of the South-North dichotomy in Nigerian politics.

In the second place, the present generation of young Nigerian does not see education any more as an important requirement to move to any level of office or position in any sector of the economy. There is scarcely any assurance one would get a suitable job after graduation from college or university'.

Bribery and corruption plays a big role in the allocation of available jobs in both government and private sectors in Nigeria. The youths do not therefore see any value in wasting years in the university and after all they must take up menial jobs like taxi or can-drivers. They take to any other option that would open up opportunities for wealth and prosperity! But if the youths were to complete their education before fleeing the country in search of greener pastures elsewhere, the phenomenon referred to as **'Examination Malpractice'** in the educational system is another hydra-headed monster that Nigeria has at last come to contend with

At last many worried Nigerians, authors and educationists have come to liken the image of the evil of examination malpractice in Nigerian schools and colleges to that of **Gorgon Medusa**. In the ancient Greek mythology Medusa was a monster, a Gorgon generally described as a frightful winged human female with living venomous snakes in place of her hair. Those who looked or gazed upon her face would turn to stone. In other words the image of Gorgon Medusa portrays a frightful situation of unimaginable evil that can wipe out or destroy an entire system and completely leave a generation of people in total darkness. This can help one appreciate the magnitude of the evil of examination malpractice in Nigeria's educational system, as Nigerians have come to live with the evil today, in government and private educational institutions, from Nursery to the university!

Indelible Marks of Exam Malpractice

Students, at all levels of education, all over the world at one time or the other get involved in what has for long been known as 'examination malpractice'. In various ways students have cheated during exams. Some copied from fellow students, or from note books or textbooks. One other form of examination malpractice and very popular one is **'impersonation',** whereby a brighter student would sit for an exam, usually an entrance exam for an academically poorer friend. Some of these 'little' tricks have been going on in Nigeria and other parts of the world since God created the world and Adam and Eve. Education malpractice or cheating lowers the standard of education and destroys the values and goals of education as great educationists, authors, writers and famous leaders, dead and alive have enunciated. In high school days most of us were 'forced' to **memorize**, commit to memory, the above quotes, (at the beginning of this chapter)

and in fact recited them during History, Social Studies classes and during Morning Assemblies. Our teachers explained and taught us to appreciate the values of education. We were discouraged and in fact punished for cheating. Many were expelled from college for participating in any form of examination malpractice! It was truly hard those days for any expelled student to get admission into any other school after expulsion from college for cheating during examinations. One must present a valid **testimonial** or **document of good behavior** to be admitted into a new school. The testimonial was preserved in the school archives for record purposes, especially in the private or pre-war missionary schools in Nigeria.

Unfortunate developments in Nigeria's Educational System

Unfortunately in Nigeria today, the evil, referred to as **"Examination Malpractice"** has grown very long tails and developed very robust wings, so that many worried and disillusioned educators in Nigeria believe it has become a herculean task to fight and defeat the evil or even curb the rate of examination malpractice. It is just like fighting and defeating corrupt practices, including Yahoo-419 business! Reports confirm as Igbo adage puts it, "that water got very dirty from the source!" How does it work and who are involved?

1) The examination printers' department leak, 'expose' (hence **'Expo' - Exposition**) the papers, weeks and even months before the examination week. An 'agent' of theirs only needs to smuggle out a copy each of the required examination papers to other printing company and behold what happens next! With the internet and modern social media, it has become very easy to get answers to final schools examinations by paying a fee, and with a 'password' one gets connected to the world-wide-web!
2) Examination malpractice has been 'legalized' by school authorities – principals, supervisors, education secretaries, and teachers as heavy fees now labeled 'for logistics' or 'miscellaneous purposes', must be paid by students and parents before the actual examination and school fees are collected. **"Logistics"** fees cover the examination malpractice exercises.

3) For poorer students and pupils, most of them actually, **'imbeciles'**, the answers must be written out clearly on the blackboard for them to copy. They pay extra fees for that extra service
4) For the actual **'morons',** namely those who claim to qualify for end-of-school examination (SSCE, NECO, GCE etc), but know nothing, who can't even write or spell their names; some hired college or university students are provided with special rooms adjacent the main examination halls or private homes to write the entire exams for the students. The students too must pay extra for the services rendered. Many bright university students claim they make a lot of money every year from these exercises and expect to be contacted by school authorities. Some sit for JAMB exams for their friends. **JAMB,** Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board is a Nigerian Examination Board for Tertiary Level Institutions
5) The worst but not the least is the complete failure of the so-called modern methods of checking examination malpractice, namely the introduction of the electronic systems called **"Card-Reader", "Thumb-Printing Machines", "Identity Cards", "POS Machines**" or what? The system has been compromised (discredited, tampered with, exposed to suspicion, can't be trusted any more) in Nigeria! The operators, having been bribed, now ignore the results of the 'confidential information' contained in the machines. The same can be said about the voting cards or PVC (Permanent Voters Cards) in Nigerian elections! Wow!
6) Many critics believe that if by any miracle examination malpractice was 'wiped out' in primary and secondary schools in Nigeria; it will be hard to do the same in Nigerian universities and colleges of education. It will be easier for the head of a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than that to be accomplished! Here professors, lecturers and their collaborators demand services, mostly from lady students, in cash or in kind. They produce all sorts of pamphlets in the name of 'book' or lecture series for their subjects and sell to students who must buy them or fail their exams. This is one of the highest forms of fraud and examination malpractice in Nigeria's highest institutions of learning! Whither Nigeria?

Terrible Consequences of Examination Malpractice

The consequences of examination malpractice in our school system today can really be frightening. But not even parents, education administrators care to look for solutions to this evil. Unnfortunately parents encourage their wards and children to join other fraudsters in the exercise. On another side one has to contend with the **principals of schools, supervisors and invigilators** of examinations, who initiate the malpractices by demanding money from the students. It becomes a colossal tragedy as the Igbo adage puts it; 'the cat has eaten the fish it is required to guard!'

1) Students are no more ready to read or study.
2) By contributing and paying the EXPO fee, many stay away from school until the examination day.
3) Students whose parents are unable to provide 'logistics' fees entirely withdraw from schools and look for petty jobs to make up money for the exams.
4) As exams approach classrooms are empty and unprepared.
5) Complete attention is turned to 'lectures' on methods toward accomplishing the examination malpractices.
6) Almost all, including the bright students are made to believe that it is not necessary to work hard to pass examinations, no matter how important and difficult the exams might be!
7) Counterfeit 'products', in the name of 'graduates' roam the streets of the cities in search of jobs. Others engage in NYSC National Youth Service Corps) or IT (Industrial Training) programs, expecting unmerited and non-existent jobs after completion of their well-earned 'vacation' after wasted years in Nigeria's educational institutions. This is the correct scenario!

The Demise of Education in Nigeria

A wonderful Igbo writer and commentator, *Angelo Unegbu* has added his voice to the deteriorating situation of education in Nigeria, a serious issue that we have exposed here. We have raised big alarm and as well called on the Church never to neglect one of her primary duties, which the missionaries surely laid the solid foundations. Unegbu titled his write-up: **"The**

demise of education in Nigeria: on how the Church can help": On Examination Malpractice, Unegbu unveiled a pathetic scenario, which we have not failed to refer to as one of the most dangerous ailments that eventually, if not checked, might bring about the final collapse of Nigeria's educational system!

The usual shameful practices and who are involved

"The WAEC/NECO exams 2018 have come and gone. Just like in other years, the stories filtering in are not different: high-powered **examination malpractice**. Stories of how 'mercenaries' were hired, of how question papers were sold days before examinations, how teachers solved exam questions on the board, and of how text books and smart phones were brought into the exam halls, are everywhere. One also heard of how students paid between 500 and 1,500 Naira (depending on the paper) to invigilators before they could submit their papers, at each examination". Of course, most **students** love this. Most **parents** accept it. **School authorities** smile at it. **Church authorities** pretend they are not aware. External **supervisors** see it as opportunities to make up their meager salaries, which trickle in at the end of each month.

Why the jubilations over unmerited 'certificates?'

"At the moment, the results are out. One could see the joys of all parties involved. What has continued to amaze me is the joy with which these frightening excellent results are celebrated by all the parties involved. One wonders if they are suffering from paramnesia (a condition or phenomenon involving distorted memory or confusions of fact and fantasy). They seem to have forgotten, all of a sudden, how these results were made. They seem to have forgotten that these students are still empty of knowledge. One even hears stories of some parents, who hired mercenaries to sit for their kids at the exams, throwing parties for their children and lavishing expensive gifts on them. Could they really have forgotten that their children did not sit for the exam in question? Could they be really unaware of the harm done to their own children and the society at large? The principals of these schools even use these results to woo more candidates to their schools. Could they also be unaware of the short and long term effects of malpractice on both the children and the society?" Even in most of our Catholic schools the story is not different. The argument has always been: If we don't do it,

our schools will be deserted. Unfortunately, most school administrators seem to have bought into this alibi. Who is fooling who?

Consequences of examination malpractice

"Everyone seems to be unperturbed. Yet we are the ones who will die in the hands of quack doctors and nurses. We are the ones to be buried under collapsed buildings and bridges. We are the ones whose children and grandchildren would be destroyed by half-baked teachers and lecturers. We are the ones to suffer the brunt of political rascality, joblessness, insecurity, terrorism and so on. We are the ones who will be running from one healing church centre to another searching for miracles because we have destroyed the fundaments of the normal way of doing things. The death of education is the birth of mediocrity, incompetence, confusion, superstition, anarchy and retrogression.

The Church and education in Nigeria

"If everyone displays an *"I don't care"* attitude to the demise of education in Nigeria, there is one group that cannot afford to do that. That group represents the **mother of education in Nigeria**, namely; "the churches", specifically the **Catholic Church**. They are the ones who brought education to Nigeria. They are the ones who turned every church building into a school. In the Old Eastern Nigeria, for example, it was the Catholic Church that brought education to the level it was before and after Independence. They were the ones the colonial government partnered more within the promotion and advancement of education. They did not only train pupils and students but also teachers. They sent their best to become principals of schools. Half measures were not tolerated. Not every priest or religious was made a principal or headmaster of school. It was either quality education or nothing! That was the major legacy of the Church in Nigeria. That remains the footprint of the Church in Nigeria. Wipe it out and you would certainly have succeeded in wiping out a major achievement of the Church in Nigeria. Can the Church really watch her own child to die miserably? The Church can turn the tides of education in Nigeria by establishing her own education structures which would ensure order, discipline and control. On a national level, the **Catholic Church** in Nigeria could establish her own education Ministry that should control and supervise all Catholic institutions in

Nigeria be it nursery/primary school, secondary schools or universities. They should work in conjunction with the provincial and diocesan structures. It will be their duty to set standards for opening and running of schools".

High academic standards cannot be compromised

"Any school that falls short of basic standards should be disciplined or even closed down. There must be zero tolerance to examination malpractices in both internal and external examinations. Without a water-tight control, quality education would continue to be elusive. More so, the Church can also bring back Teachers' Training Institutes for initial and ongoing formation of teachers. This is to ensure quality and a common sense of purpose among teachers who are the intellectual and moral builders of the society. The fear that not doing what others are doing will make students and pupils desert our schools is not only laughable but questions our mission and authenticity. It is like encouraging the mushrooming of healing and adoration centers so as to keep our members away from patronizing the Pentecostal or the white garment churches. Of course it is not going to be easy at the beginning. But with time anybody parading any certificate not acquired in any of our approved schools will be cajoled. With this we would force the government to sit up. With this we will salvage our country, our heritage, and the labors of our heroes past. With this we will reinstate our position once more that it is either quality education or nothing. With this there is hope".

Combating Examination Malpractice

But whatever the case may be, examination malpractice is worldwide phenomenon and terrible evil that has entered the walls of educational institutions and has continued to register its adverse effects on the quality of education and its products. Since the number of 'groups', or 'communities' benefitting from examination malpractice at various levels can be proved to be overwhelming, then should one imagine how tough it would be to battle or eradicate the cankerworm! There is however a remarkable big difference in the way the developed nations of Europe and America confront or fight to eradicate the evil from its educational system and still maintain the quality of the products of the schools from which the state recruits its workforce, including the doctors, engineers, scientists, teachers,

and various professionals. There are many bridges to cross and many professional examination boards to face. There are hours of new computer testing and purely practical laboratory tests to accomplish to prove that one completed Primary, Junior-High-school, College etc. Punishments for cheating or examination malpractice on the part of school authorities, institutions and culprits can be frightening and can paralyze convicted ones for life as far as education or academic pursuit is concerned. The idea is to instill in the younger generation the virtue of "honesty is the best policy". For sanity and civility and Fair-Play to reign in society there must be justice.

Chinese Example

During my studies in the University of London, I enjoyed courses on Curriculum Studies, Psychology of Education and Comparative Education. The area that excited me most was **Comparative Education**. Organized trips for practical experiences in education systems of other countries took our group to the Soviet Union, Israel and Greece. We did not travel to China, but learnt a lot about China's education system. We were made to understand that examination malpractice was a big problem that faced China as a whole and it really was affecting the country's economic and scientific progress. To combat the evil, especially in the higher institutions of learning, the education authorities in certain cases and areas adopted a system of publicly exposing the examination question papers to the students about 3 days or even a week before the examination. The subjects involved, we were told were mostly the **sciences and mathematics**. The candidates could approach teachers or friends who could help them learn and solve any or all materials of interest in the set questions. Wow! How wise and smart these Chinese could be! On the day of the examination the question papers would be taken back from the students and fresh ones, the exact copies issued to them. The students were not allowed to enter the examination hall with any piece of paper or writing materials. All materials for the examinations were duly provided. Then write your exams! Not all ever scored 100% in those subjects, but believe it, they had been forced to learn and improve their knowledge.

A South African Professor unveils the consequences of Exam Malpractice

The following message went viral in the social news media and one could easily observe that those who took interest in the topic were mostly students from African countries and particularly Nigeria. No honest education minister or administrator in the third world, in the second world, not even in the first world can claim that even the highest institutions of learning in their various regions or countries do not participate in what in a simple language is known as **Examination Malpractice** or **Cheating** in which from time immemorial students apply various dishonest sharp tricks or practices to secure unmerited pass marks or certificates in examinations meant to test students' intellectual abilities and put them in their right grades. As it is in the nature of man to struggle and succeed, so in the process, certain rules to maintain standards and check irregularities and cheating are consciously broken. Those who are smarter, but may not necessarily be more intelligent can sometimes manipulate the rules to their gain or advantage over the less smart ones. Let us take a closer look at the ugly consequences of this evil! The news this time was from South Africa and was about **South Africa tertiary institutions.** One of the University lecturers wrote an expressive message to his students at the doctorate, masters and bachelors level and placed it at the college entrance in the university in South Africa. And this was the message:

"Collapsing any Nation does not require use of Atomic bombs or the use of Long range missiles. But it requires lowering the quality of Education and allowing cheating in the exams by the students. The patient dies in the hands of the doctor who passed his exams through cheating. And the buildings collapse in the hands of an engineer who passed his exams through cheating. And the money is lost in the hands of an accountant who passed his exams through cheating. And humanity dies in the hands of a religious scholar who passed his exams through cheating. And justice is lost in the hands of a judge who passed his exams through cheating. And ignorance is rampant in the minds of children who are under the care of a teacher who passed exams through cheating".

"The collapse of education is the collapse of the Nation"*

Who are the Cheaters?

a) The doctor - who could not treat a dying patient
b) The engineer - who constructed the collapsed structure
c) The banker or accountant - who messed up the economy of the nation,.
d) A pastor- who could not live up to his religious teachings
e) A corrupt judge - who could not deliver justice
f) A classroom teacher - more ignorant than his/her students.

The summary of the picture being painted is that 'no one can give that which he hasn't'; in other words what the ancients Romans related in Latin many centuries ago: *"Nemo dat quod non habet"*. Since the presumed knowledge or qualification is not there or must have been 'stolen' and cannot be retained, It is unreal and fake. It is a deceit. Simply put, the blind cannot lead the blind. Many disappointed Nigerian elders used to grieve over the poor performances of the present-day engineers, medical doctors, lawyers and educators, and end up with the nostalgic feelings of the lost past, "former good olden days and times!" Surely they have been lost and may be hard to recover!

The White-Missionary-School-Era

'Cheating' in examinations during the Missionary Schools days in Nigeria was a 'crime' really, which earned for the offending candidates an immediate expulsion from school or college. In the pre-war Seminary-Schools' in Nigeria, at least two most important reasons for expelling a student from the seminary, no matter how 'holy' and serious his priestly vocation might be, are 'examination malpractice' and 'addiction to raw stealing'. One can see that both 'crimes' are highly related, namely an issue of 'dishonesty'. It was not tolerated. If a prospective priestly candidate was academically poor, and failed tests and exams; that mightn't be a good reason to expel him from the school. After all, students are there to be taught, and many improve with extra efforts. Even in government-owned schools and colleges, examination malpractice in whatever form was never tolerated, and never encouraged by teachers and examiners. Examination malpractice was seen as **'fraud'**. It was a **'taboo'**. Something is termed a 'taboo', when it is banned on grounds of morality and

as constituting a risk. It was a big risk to participate in examination malpractice those days. “If you are caught, the consequences could be too harmful to imagine”! In two Nigerian Catholic seminaries in the early nineteen eighties all the students who took their WAEC exams and passed were dismissed and were not promoted to the next stage of priestly formation because it was learnt that they as a group participated in examination malpractice which gained ground in Nigeria at the period. The situation in the country got worsened till today. In Mission Training Colleges, prospective teachers, who were caught in any form of examination malpractice were not posted to schools after completion of studies, though they were issued with their certificates. Teachers, who forged certificates were dismissed by government ministers of education after investigations, and lost all gratuities or retirement benefits. It was a grave offense and scandal to employ a teacher who possessed no virtues of honesty and transparency. The punishment for fraud and malpractice in whatever form used to be heavy. It served as a deterrent for possible interlopers, fake persons, meddlers and busybodies.

"Special examination Centers”

"Special examination centers”, crude forms of examination malpractice or criminality are no doubt as evil as Drug trafficking and International Prostitution! Which way Nigeria? Should WAEC and NECO officials in Nigeria not be prosecuted for corrupt practices? Is it not time to send supervisors of exams to jail for perpetuating evil in Nigeria and of course for ruining our youths and destroying education in our fatherland, Nigeria. Using Nigeria as an example in identifying the complexity of the evil of examination malpractice, we discover that the key factor is money. Many Nigerians are 'victims' of examination malpractice. They have been involved in it; gained from it; supported others; caught doing it etc. Some may not have much to say about it, other than ' there can be no solution!' The institutions and personalities involved are simply out to make money and the market is large. Who are involved? The following are involved and play significant roles in examination practice in Nigeria.

Institutions (e.g. WAEC, NECO) that produce examination papers and materials create loopholes for paper leakages and make millions of naira from sales. Agents are always ready to deliver. Officials, from top to bottom are aware and collect their share. Internal examinations: Principals,

supervisors, invigilators, 'flying-examiners', teachers are aware. Universities: Vice chancellors, Professors, heads of departments, lecturers, and other teachers at all levels collude with examiners. Parents: Parents are ready to pay any agreed amount for EXPO as long as they are assured of their children's success. Parents are ready to bully any principal or teacher who fails to collaborate. They write petitions and call for the removal of such 'uncooperative' school teachers! In the universities women students have option of payment: One can pay in cash or kind!

Business and way of life

A principal of a secondary school earns seventy thousand naira a month and his wife equally a teacher in a private school receives twenty five thousand naira monthly. The man drives a nice Toyota Camry car, and the wife a smaller fairly used Corolla car. They live in a beautiful six-bedroom flat with their 6 children and 3 of them attend expensive privately-run boarding secondary school in town. How do they make it? The answer is not far-fetched. Both man and wife are great business tycoons on EXPO business. The sum they collect from students as miscellaneous exam fees is usually triple the government specified examination fees. Parents and students are willing to pay provided their wishes are accomplished. Behold! It works. The supervisor, the invigilators, the teachers and the 'flying examiners' receive their share. The lion share belongs to the principal of the school. For those who don't know; 'flying examiners' are examiners, said to be government delegates or representatives, invested with the powers to punish schools involved in examination malpractice in Nigeria. They could initiate probes into accusations of examination malpractices, and convicted schools 'by law' could be closed down! Unfortunately the cat named to watch and protect the fish has become the chief thief and the criminal. Usually the 'flying examiner' must be 'settled' on arrival otherwise he collects his own 'toll fee' directly from the students, right there in the hall or he or she threatens them with mass failure! Behold the "Flying-Examiner-the-chief-rogue!"

Crusade for sanity: Need to Stop the Evil and Revamp the Nigerian Educational System

There is need to fight the evil of examination malpractice in Nigeria. The crusade, if it should succeed must begin with educated parents, who understand the consequences of raising

ignoramuses with useless certificates. After graduation these youths are unable to get jobs, not because the jobs are nowhere to be found. No! There are some jobs. But the applicants are unable to express themselves during simple interviews, oral and written! As part of our contribution towards confronting the monster named Examination Malpractice in Nigeria, we are reproducing here some guidelines we believe can help in the improvement of quality of education, not only in Missions Schools, but also in all Nigerian institutions of learning.

THE CHURCH AND THE FUTURE OF EDUCATION IN NIGERIA

In the White Missionary days in Nigeria, before the civil war education was a serious business. The missionaries, while taking care of their shepherds in various areas of their religious apostolate paid serious attention to the education of Nigerians. There was no discrimation in creed which students adhered to. Education was open to all who satisfied the simple requirements in the entrance exams and the interviews. Most of the products of mission schools served Nigeria in both public and private sectors.

Though the take-over of schools by the federal government from the religious bodies that ran them before the war did a lot of damage to the institution and it would take a long time to repair the damages. What the victorious federal government used as instrument of punishment for the 'rebel Biafrans' must be regretted for long, However there is need to take a short look at the immediate Post-War situation on education in Igboland (East Central State).

The aftermath of Government-Take-Over-of- schools on Education in the Post-War East Central State of Nigeria – "Public Education Edict, 1970" – The Offia Nwali 'Sole Administration' – Legacy of Pain and Destruction of Education in Igboland

DR OFFIA NWALI was the **"Sole Administrator**" of education in East Central State and was charged with the implementation of the Federal Government agenda that grossly affected Igbo youths' educational pursuit till date. He had many titles – scholar, politician, senator, and community leader. But the most important was 'Sole Administrator' of Education' in East Central State! A former Ebonyi senator from Ameka, Ezaa

South local government Area, as reported by several Nigerian Newspapers, Offia Nwali died at 74 (1942-2016) and it took time before police found his body in a pond. A news media article captioned: ***"Police yet to unravel whether Offia Nwali was killed or drowned in a pond",*** also confirmed the news that "***Dr Offia Nwali lost his entire family in a Fokker 28-plane crash at the Enugu Airport in 1983 but later remarried."*** Surely the History of education in the Post-War Nigeria, particularly in the defeated Biafran enclave will leave a big gap if ***Offia Nwali's*** name and actions were not given the proper space and attention they deserve in a History Book such as ours – "***Post-War Nigerian History for Schools and Colleges".***

Offia Nwali was an associate of Ukpabi Asika, the governor of East central state, which was created by Gowon's regime to isolate the IGBOS from the rest of the secessionist Biafra, the Old Eastern Region. Ukpabi Asika was secretly appointed administrator even before Biafra was declared a separate nation from Nigeria. The name ***Offia Nwali*** was so nauseating to many Igbos, just like that of ***Ukpabi Asika***. But both had great powers vested on them by the federal government! Offia Nwali was said to have carried out the most revolutionary educational reforms in Nigeria, following, of course, the dictates of the Federal Government headed by Yakubu Gowon. Writing in *'The Journal of Negro Education' (XIV, June 1970)* on "Public Education Edict, 1970", Lawrence E. Amadi, Department of History, Youngstown State University, USA, had this to say about Offia Nwali's Education Reforms and Revolution in East Central State:

"At such a time when many people were beginning to wonder if any major reform in education in the primary and secondary school levels would occur, East Central State came forth with an innovative system which included pilot components never used in any educational system in Nigeria or, perhaps , in Africa. It was revolutionary in scope, timing, and in the decision-making process. For the first time, the state assumed the primary and total responsibility for the education of the youths".

The Post-War Education Policy of Nigerian Federal Government in the East Central State, popularly known as ***"State-Take-Over-Of-Schools"*** can be summarized under the following headings, and the executor of the policy was Offia Nwali! Revolutionary? Indeed it was! Offia Nwali turned the hands of

the clock back as far as education was concerned some hundred years ago in IGBOLAND! He was the hired agent of the Gowon regime to execute their version of ***"No Victor, No Vanquished*** post-war policy! Offia Nwali headed the government brand of ***"Python Dance"*** in the field of education in the East Central State. In the name of ***Government Take Over of Schools,*** here are the highlights:

(1) The Missionaries (Catholics only) were immediately rounded up at Port Harcourt and were deported (allegedly accused of aiding Biafra in the war). We heard that Offia Nwali was an atheist, anti-Christian.

(2) Immediate Take-over-of-schools – mostly Mission Schools run by the Irish Missionaries

(3) According to the "Edict", Schools belonged to the people and should no more be the "monopoly" of the Missionaries, who were said to have exploited the people and discriminated against non-Christians or non-Catholics!

(4) With the Missionaries out, and the State in, Educational Curriculum should then be "People-oriented" and no more *'foreign missionary religion-oriented"*. "Nigerian nation/People oriented Curriculum" meant proliferation of subjects, including ***economics, commerce, industry, hairdressing, sewing, cooking, agriculture, welding, carpentry, typing, shorthand, introductory technology, fine art*** and many more!

(5) History was banned or suppressed

(6) Boarding schools were abolished. Why should missionaries run boarding schools or separate schools for boys and girls? Offia Nwali turned boys' colleges to 'co-educational schools'. For the first time in the history of education in Nigeria, BSC, (My Alma Mater) became a co-educational college. And Old Boys (ex-alumni) protested all over Nigeria! Anathema! Today parents want full restoration of boarding school system in mission schools.

(7) Desecration of sacred places in Catholic schools was intensified by the "Sole Administrator of Education". In Catholic schools Offia Nwali ordered the removal of the Chapel-Church tabernacles and converted the school chapels to classrooms. Students revolted. Parents were angry and protested.

(8) **"Free Education"** was introduced! Unbelievable! Would government be able to fund free public education? Igbos and Nigerians crossed their fingers and wished the government of Offia Nwali and East Central State luck!
(9) New Public Education System: Primary, Secondary School Education Reform included the so-called 6-3-3-4 System (Primary Education-6 Years, Junior Secondary-3 Years, Senior Secondary-3 Years, Tertiary Institution-4 Years)
(10) Elimination of Voluntary and Private Agencies in Educational management.

Technical Education – A Monumental Fraud

There was a massive importation of useless and obsolete machinery from East European countries, mostly from **Hungary and Bulgaria**. According to Offia Nwali new education policy, ***'technical education***' must be given the priority attention it deserved. Secondary education must be 'technology oriented' and all Nigerian students, especially in the Junior Secondary (JSS 1 – JSS 3) were expected to acquire the technical skills that would in a short time turn Nigeria into one of the most advanced countries in the world. **"Introductory Technology'** came into vogue***! Introductory Technology*** was the ***watchword***, the ***'slogan'***, the ***'motto'*** that embodied a principle or guide to action. Millions of pounds were spent in the importation of ***obsolete machines and tools*** from Eastern Europe. It was one of the biggest scams in Nigerian history. Some of the machinery which were imported and finally arrived in large wooden crates and containers were never opened or operated. Most of them needed electric power to operate or function! They were abandoned at street corners and school compounds and soon thieves carted them away. That was the end of technical education in Nigerian school curriculum history!

Bitter Fruits and Blunders of Government-Take-Over of Schools in East Central State

(1) The goals were mere dreams
(2) Free Education even at the Primary level was a hoax
(3) Proliferation of "Community Schools" ran amok.
(4) Inefficient management and miserable products
(5) Disappearance and collapse of **quality** Education till date.

Educational Structuring

(A) Massive call for ***"Return or Hand-over of Schools***" to former Agencies, especially to the Catholic Church. The inefficient governments (local and state) had no choice.
(B) Some Communities handed theirs to the Churches.
(C) Return to Qualitative Voluntary Agency/Mission Schools slowing taking off.

Education Edict and Offia Nwali Deceit

(1) Missionaries did not discriminate against students on religious grounds, beliefs or affiliations. (Exceptions should be made of some Neo- Pentecostal/Evangelical Schools of 'modern Day Nigerian Pastor Churches).
(2) Christian Religious Knowledge was only one out of about 12 subjects offered in Pre-war Mission Schools in **WAEC. Cambridge and London GCE.**
(3) Some Pre-War Mission Schools embraced ***"Comprehensive Education" in the Curriculum.*** Some offered ***Technical Drawing, Metal Work, and Wood Work.*** There was emphasis on the ***Sciences and Maths – Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Health Science and Additional Mathematics.*** In Physics**, Mechanical engineering** was taught and many students who had better skills in mechanics benefitted much. This is the branch of engineering dealing with the design, construction, and use of machines. Most of the colleges managed by the Missionary Marist Brothers of Schools (e.g. BSC, CIC, CKC, and STELLA MARIS) were comprehensive colleges.
(4) Most Biafran war scientists and engineers were products of Mission Schools! But with the return of schools to their former owners, especially in the South-East and South-South, the people once again look on the Church to take the lead and restore education at all levels to their pre-war prestigious status. It is a difficult task to accomplish really, but fortunately in some Catholic dioceses in Nigeria a lot of work is being done to restore the standard of education and as well rebuild the collapsed infrastructures. Already the educational and operational guidelines for Catholic schools in Nigeria have been drawn and set up. Most schools have started putting them into practice and reports indicate that positive results greet the efforts.

New Catholic Education Policy and Operational Guidelines for Catholic Schools in Nigeria

The Orlu diocesan Catholic education policy takes into account the Catholic Church Policy on Education in Nigeria published by the Catholic Bishops Conference of Nigeria on the 11th February 2005. Clearly spelled out in this document are:

1) The philosophy, aims and objectives of Catholic education.
2) Catholic Schools: characteristics, curriculum, cultural identity, different levels of education, and staffing.
3) Tertiary institutions – colleges of education, polytechnics, Catholic university.
4) Mass literacy, adult and non-formal education.
5) Teachers for Catholic schools. (6) Management and supervision of Catholic schools.
6) Partnership in Catholic education – role of parents, state, the Church, parents and teachers' association.

Getting great support from the **Diocesan Commission for Catholic Church Policy on Education in Nigeria,** I decided to publish the studies I was commissioned to undertake by a group of directors of Catholic Private Schools on behalf of the Catholic diocese of Orlu, Nigeria. This was in preparation for the long expected hand-over of Mission Schools by the Nigerian Federal and State governments to the original owners after the civil war. This work completed in 2012 has been revisited and retouched in line with recent developments since government handed over the schools to the original owners. The publication of the document falls in line with our efforts here in the exposition of the evils of examination malpractice in the Nigerian education system. The policies laid out here, if adopted by the competent authorities would also help to curb examination malpractice and help to restore sanity to the entire Nigerian educational system; not only to that of the Catholics.

Therefore the Catholic Diocese of Orlu (in the name of all Catholic dioceses and Schools in Nigeria) endeavors in her own document to state **the guidelines for the running of all Catholic schools** under the following headings:

- Distinctions or categories of schools
- Duties and responsibilities of the various functionaries in the schools.

- Staff recruitment
- Staff development
- Religious education
- Guidelines for establishment of new schools
- Boarding school
- Learning programs
- Finance, etc,

1. **Distinctions of Catholic Schools**

Catholic schools in the diocese of Orlu are those schools – **Nursery, Primary and Secondary Schools** – which have been established by the bishop and duly approved by the diocesan education board and the state government to operate under the policies of government and those of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of Nigeria. These include schools owned or run by parishes, religious organizations, Catholic organizations, sodalities, or individuals. They all fall under the management of the diocesan education board.

2. **Duties and Responsibilities of School Functionaries**

(i) **Proprietors of Schools:**

The proprietor can be a corporate body, like a parish community, Catholic Church organization, religious congregation, and a town or village community or individuals that have founded or established the school. Already in existence before the publication of these guidelines, it is to be presumed that the said school has been handed over to the **diocesan bishop** who takes control of its management through the diocesan education board. In the case of new schools, it must be emphasized that under no circumstances should any body, corporate or individual, establish any Catholic school, primary or secondary, without prior knowledge and approval by the bishop and the education board. Where approval is granted for the establishment of such a school, it is the duty of the proprietor to see that adequate infrastructures are set up for easy take off. Infrastructures that can be described as 'adequate' should include good access roads to the school, boarding school facilities, fields for sports and games, lands for farming, water and electricity supplies and of course sufficient land for further development.

(ii) **Diocesan Education Board & Education Secretary**

The diocesan Education Board, also known as **School Management Board**, set up by the bishop should be responsible for the implementation of Catholic education policies in the diocese. As the needs arise, the board oversees the machinery of the entire school system – establishment of schools as well as drawing up guidelines for the running of all Catholic schools in the diocese. It oversees the appointments of suitable personnel for all schools and takes disciplinary measures against offending schools and personnel. The Board should be made up of an education secretary appointed by the bishop and about ten other members drawn from suitable and qualified school functionaries. **The education secretary is the chairman of the board and should run an education office at the diocesan secretariat.**

The board advises the bishop on school matters. The board is vested with the power of giving approval for the establishment of any new schools, supervision and closure of any school that does not meet required standards. It is the duty of school management board to see that all the guidelines established by the diocese for the running of Catholic schools are strictly adhered to. The board also serves as disciplinary body against serious transgressions on the part of managers, head teachers or other employees of the school system. The board appoints a committee to supervise schools which reports its findings to the board.

The Board should also take decisions or make recommendations on School Uniforms, Badges and other necessary 'paraphernalia', as well as fix holiday or break periods and duration. The salary structure for all grades of staff, tutorial and non-tutorial is established by the board of directors and should be uniform for all Catholic school systems in the diocese. Board of directors should equally look into the areas of Special education for disabled, Vocational education, Commercial education, Remedial courses and Preparations for tertiary education.

(iii) **The Manager**

The manager, like in the days of the White Missionaries should be the person appointed by the bishop to oversee the running of the school. In most cases the manager is the **parish priest** or his representative. It is the responsibility of the manager to see

that school meets all the standards set by the Ministry of education and the diocesan education board – financial, academic, moral and infrastructural requirements. The headmasters, headmistresses, and principals render accounts to the manager.

(iv) **The Principal, Head Master/Mistress:**

The day to day running of the schools falls on the shoulders of the principal, headmaster or headmistress and their deputies. It is their duty to see that the school is adequately provided for, in terms of infrastructure, teachers, teaching aids, and of course excellent learning environment befitting a Catholic institution.

(v) **Supervisors**

They are appointed by the school management board to oversee the performances of all Catholic schools in the diocese, in terms of infrastructure, good learning environment, teacher qualifications, curriculum and examinations. The supervisors should carry out their duties at regular basis and should visit targeted schools unannounced and should recommend disciplinary measures that should be taken against offending schools and personnel. Their assignment is quite crucial during internal and external examinations.

(vi) **Board of Governors**

This **board is to be set up by the manager of each school** in the diocese and should be approved by the Diocesan Education Board. The board has only an advisory role in exercising is functions. The board or committee should have about ten members, half of which should be the Executives of the Parents and Teacher Association. Other ex-officio members can be co-opted to help the board realize its goals. Ex-officio members should include a lawyer, finance officer, certified auditors law-enforcement officer, member of Catholic Teachers Association, and a media executive. As directed by the manager, the board is to advise the school authorities on issues concerning the day-to-day smooth-running of the school. Emergency meetings of the board should be called when any serious crisis situation arises. Decisions reached at such meetings may

determine the need to consult the diocesan school management board. Depending on circumstances, further discussions could be referred to the Parents Teacher Association. Problems of individual schools should be regularly discussed by the Board of governors of each school. These include expansion of school facilities, fund-raising projects, pupils' and students' enrollment or population problems, the role of the community leaders and communities in the welfare of Catholic schools in the area.

(vii) **Parents Teachers Association.**

The association's importance in our school system today cannot be overemphasized. Every school must have a functioning Parents and Teachers' Association, headed by the manager with the principal as the deputy. One of the teachers can be appointed secretary. The chairperson should be a parent and appointed by the manager in consultation with the principal. A suitable number of ten can be appointed from the parents' population. All teachers are expected to attend association's meetings which must be held at least once a term. Emergency meetings of the association can be summoned as need arises. Circulars must be dispatched in time for all parents, guardians or their representatives to be present at each meeting. Matters concerning the smooth-running of the school should always be top on the agenda. Parents and guardians should help in the education of their wards by participating actively in all discussions concerning discipline, development of the school, payment of school fees and other levies. They should help to combat evils associated with our school system, top on the list being Examination Malpractice, also known as EXPO.

(viii) **The Bursar**

A full-time bursar should be appointed by the manager to handle the collection of fees and allied levies and pay such monies into the school Bank account. The bursar must keep up-to-date records of all school accounts which can be called up for inspection by the school management board at any time. The bursar pays the salaries of teachers and non-tutorial staff and withdraws money with checks duly signed by the manager and one other designated person. Where necessary the manager can appoint auditors to audit the bursar's financial records.

(ix) **The Staff – Tutorial**

It is the duty of the manager and the principal to see that cordial relationship conducive for teaching and learning exists among all teachers in individual schools. To ensure this good relationship, staff meetings should be regularly summoned by the principal. Every member of the staff is expected to contribute in all discussions meant to improve standards and maximize achievements in all areas of learning. All issues on curriculum, school subjects, teaching and learning methods, notes of lessons, registers and diaries, examinations, societies, games and sports should be discussed in staff meetings. To help younger and new teachers, discussions about effective teaching methods should be regularly arranged and 'experts' in various fields asked to deliver lectures.

At staff meetings members should be allowed to bring up their grievances, if any, against school authorities, parents and guardians, fellow teachers, pupils and students. Through such open discussions fences can be mended before any serious damage is done to the school. Serious breaches of discipline on the part of any teacher and which may affect peace and order, raise eye-brows in reference to scandalous acts and behavior in the school must be discussed and prompt action taken against the offending member of staff. Some of the unethical behaviors or habits include, immoral acts, truancy, late-coming, dodging classes and poor teaching methods, nonchalant attitude to lesson preparations, assignments and marking them. Others include quarrelsomeness, indecent and poor dressing habits, laziness, idleness, petty jealousies and other dirty habits and unethical behaviors associated with teacher-pupil/student or teacher/teacher relationships.

(x) **Non-Tutorial Staff**

Each school should recruit non-tutorial staff according to need. Members include bursar, secretary or clerk, also called typist, messengers, matrons, security officials, cooks and other attendants. At least one efficient secretary must be employed who should be computer literate. The secretary is responsible for the maintenance of the school database, namely, records of examination results, students' and teachers' files and other important printed matter. Days are gone when school records are stored in tattered sheets and office files. Using the latest computer programs and software the school secretary should be

able to keep accurate records of students' results and transcripts that can be easily retrieved and processed for collection, years after students must have left their school. The importance of such school records can never be over-emphasized.

3. **Staff Recruitment**

it is the overall duty of the diocesan school management board to see that qualified and efficient catholic teachers are employed in all diocesan schools. Competence of teachers, efficiency, moral uprightness and commitment to Catholic education can never be compromised in any recruitment exercise. Financial constraints are no reasons for recruitment of unqualified teachers or 'excessive dependence' on the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC), or retired teachers in Catholic schools.

While the diocesan office helps in the recruitment and screening of teachers, it is equally the responsibility of the management of each school – Nursery, Primary, or Secondary – to see that qualified teachers are recruited in our Catholic schools. Adequate steps should be taken to see that full-time teachers are employed in English, Mathematics, and the Sciences. As much as possible the recruitment of part-time teachers should be avoided. Where, however it becomes impossible to engage the services of full-time teachers, arrangements should be made to see such part-time teachers complete their schemes of work or programs at their most convenient time, which must be suitable for students.

4. **Staff Development – Seminars and Workshops**

It is the duty of the diocesan education board to draw a scheme for staff development. Through **seminars and workshops** teachers in various areas of knowledge interact and develop new talents and skills and teaching techniques and strategies in handling their subjects. With new discoveries in science and psychology, teaching and learning become easier and teachers who embrace new methods and techniques are no doubt more productive. The importance of regular "Practical Laboratory Lessons and Tests" - Physics, Chemistry, Biology, and Agricultural Science can never be underestimated. Chemicals and required equipments must not be lacking at any time.

5. Religious Education

Since Catholic schools had played enviable role in religious and moral education in our country before the government take-over of schools, it is imperative to regain control of this duty now that the Church owns and runs her own schools. There is no doubt that most Nigerians have blamed the fall in moral standards among the youths on little or no religious and moral instructions in schools. Therefore managers of schools should recruit qualified religious education teachers to accomplish this all-important job.

Christian Religious Knowledge (C.R.K.) or Bible Instruction can never take the place of Religion in the school curriculum. It follows then that the diocesan school management board must provide new religious lesson textbooks and other teaching aids that can help teachers and students. From Nursery to Secondary school, religion should be compulsory for all and must be assigned its noble position in the school time table. To monitor performances both oral and written tests must be conducted for pupils and students according to age and development.

The presence of large number of non-catholic pupils and students in schools run by the Catholic Church in the diocese should not be a pretext to water-down the contents of the Catholic faith, traditions and beliefs. Only competent, committed and practicing Catholic teachers may be employed to teach religion in our schools.

6. Guidelines for Establishment of new Schools

Approval must be granted by the diocesan education board after all considerations before any proprietor commences plans for setting up structures for such a school. If the educational institution is an old one, in which case owners wish to hand it over to the Catholic diocese of Orlu, acceptance or rejection of such an offer rests entirely on the bishop. It is the prerogative of the bishop and the education board to decide on the future of the institution.

7. Boarding School

As far as possible, all secondary schools in the diocese must have appropriate boarding facilities. It is the policy of the diocese to establish separate boarding schools for boys and girls

respectively, where co-educational system must be maintained. Boarding facilities provided by Church and voluntary agency schools were the hallmark of Christian schools education in Nigeria before the civil war. The merits of such schools can never be underestimated. (A) Learning environment: Boarding schools offer the best learning environment for pupils and students who benefit from such institutions. Under the supervision of competent authorities the students' day-to-day activities are managed, time for rising, prayers, functions, studies, afternoon prep, games and varieties, night prep and lights out. (B) Closer to each other, student prefects are able to assist the weaker ones in class assignments and so on. Students are able to participate in games and sports (C) They learn to live, work, play, and pray together (D) Lateness and truancy are easily controlled by authorities. (E) Extracurricular activities are bound to thrive in boarding school environment.

8. **Learning Programs**

Catholic schools must aim highly at inculcating in the children those intellectual, moral and social behaviors for which Catholic education had been associated with for long everywhere. With regard to intellectual development and achievements Catholic schools have been known for the enviable performances of their students in class, school, national and international examinations and competitions. Efforts should be made by school authorities to rekindle the spirit of academic excellence in students who benefit from Catholic education.

(a) Academic Excellence and Development

If the Church at various levels, and ecclesiastical circumscriptions – **Metropolitan, Provincial, Diocesan,** is able to build higher institutions of learning – **Universities, Polytechnics, Colleges of Education** and others, from where will these higher institutions recruit qualified students who will undertake studies in the various faculties and departments - Medicine, Engineering, Law, Education and Sciences. From where will emerge Nigeria's future computer scientists, astronauts, explorers, chemical and nuclear physicists? There is need for new breakthroughs in modern ways of dealing with health-care problems, solar energy and electric power generation, architecture, farming and food technology. Nigeria and other African nations cannot relax and depend on Europe,

America and Asia for all our needs. There is need to raise a new generation of black scientists who will spend years in the laboratories, engaging in difficult **experiments** and **researches** aimed at successes in new discoveries that can help Nigerians, Africans and the rest of the world to arrive at solutions to our hitherto irresolvable problems. Granted the required exposure, learning environment and proper tools, there is no doubt that our students can rise high. It all begins in our good schools, right from nursery or kindergartens! This is why Catholic schools should take lead in academic excellence. If Catholic universities and other institutions of higher education will ever achieve their goals, the future graduates of these institutions must get prepared for the challenges ahead. The same must be said about the proprietors. What we sow is what we reap.

(b) The Library

The importance of the library to serve the intellectual needs of the students can never be underestimated. The school library should be well equipped with the best school textbooks, novels and other modern learning aids. A trained **full-time librarian** must be employed to look after the school library. Nigerian students need help to develop good reading habits. They should be encouraged to regularly borrow books from the library and endeavor to write down summaries of read books in their special library notebooks.

{C} Computer Science Studies

The importance of the Internet and the Social media, together with the cell-phone revolution has made it mandatory for serious students to embrace wholeheartedly the Computer Science Studies and the contributions and services of new technology. As far as possible, students should be introduced to the computer studies as early as their nursery school years. As far as their age and class can carry them along, they should learn to use the computer keyboard or the conventional typewriter. When possible, older students should be encouraged to visit the 'business centers', surf the net, and write e-mails. In this way they will be in touch with most topics on computer and the Internet. With the modern cell phone revolution many students today have smart phones and tablets of every brand and behold the social media and the internet services are at every one's

disposal! But it must be warned that the computer lab or lessons should not replace the library in the schools.

(d) Moral and Religious Development

Honesty, truthfulness, hard work, decency, cleanliness, respect for authority are some of the moral and social values associated with good citizenry all over the world. The students are taught to uphold honesty in their everyday life especially in examinations. They learn as early as from their nursery days to detest all forms of cheating in examinations, and in particular all forms of examination malpractice and other evils associated with the Nigerian school system today. In speech, dressing and general comportment Catholic students can always and easily be identified wherever they are.

(e) Physical Development – Games and Sports

As we build up the soul, so shall Catholic teachers help in the physical development of the children in Catholic schools? For maximum achievement in this area, games and sports facilities must be provided by each school. Well-grassed standard football fields, like in the past should be a welcome panorama for any visitor to a Catholic school. As far as possible other fields and courts should be provided to serve the interests of various students. These should include **lawn tennis, volley ball, netball, boxing, hand ball, basketball, badminton,** and others. Football matches and competitions should be regularly organized and authorities should make sure that all are conducted in peaceful and friendly environment devoid of rancor and fraudulent activities. It is hard to ignore the importance of sports and games in the modern times. The growing influence of Olympic Games, (summer and Winter Olympics), World and Regional or Continental Cup competitions, International and regional Soccer Clubs on Nigerian youths today can never be underrated. Many are fanatical fans of many European football clubs and would, if challenged and offered the necessary environments, would struggle to develop their talents and become millionaires, and earn titles and athletic medals and trophies. Unfortunately government is not investing in these areas, but non-government organization, Catholic Schools and individuals can help Nigerian youths, male and female to develop their talents and become celebrities like their counterparts all

over the world. Athletic competitions and inter-house sports should feature regularly in Catholic schools.

(f) **Extracurricular Activities**

These are extra intellectual, moral, physical activities taken outside the school time, program or environment directed to maximum development of students. They include, lessons (after-school, evening) or weekend lessons, games and sports, farming, labor and other civic responsibilities required of young students. The most important extracurricular activity here must be mentioned, namely excursion. Regular excursions should be arranged and undertaken by students to important places of interest – economic, social, political, religious, historical - far and near. Thereafter students should be directed to write extensively on the places and topics. Both for learning and recreation, school authorities should organize regular film or movies to help students experience in moving pictures important events and subject matters that would help their intellectual, moral growth. Useful movies, especially plays and dramas – African and non-African will help students, especially students reading such play in their literature lessons.

Programs and machineries that facilitate intellectual, moral, civic and physical achievements must be exposed and put into effect. These include establishment of societies and clubs that help in intellectual and moral growth, for example, **Debating Society and Science Club, Red Cross Society, Boy Scout Movement, Girl Guide, Man of Order and Discipline (MOD), Pious Societies etc.** To help students in the art of speech-making, reading and vocabulary development good topics for debates should be selected by competent authorities and debating competitions between classes and sister schools arranged and supervised. QUIZ competitions must be regularly organized for all classes and grades of students. Topics should include all areas of arts and sciences. It will be useful for each teacher to regularly draw up or set good number of questions covering each subject area. Thereby, students are exposed to various areas of knowledge, including useful hot topics in politics, modern science and technology.

9. **Sources of Funds for running Catholic schools**

(a) School Fees: Funds for running individual schools are generated through the collection of school fees which must be uniform for all schools – Pre-nursery to Secondary schools.

(b) Endowments: Each school is free to collect and keep all monies given to individual schools as gifts or donations from peoples and organizations for special needs of such schools. School authorities concerned must respect the will of the donor(s) while dispensing with the funds.

(c.) Levies: The school management board will not accommodate arbitrary levies imposed on pupils and students. Such arbitrary levies today include the so-called "Logistics fees" or "Miscellaneous fees", collected from students for Examination Malpractice! The diocesan board determines appropriate levies for whatever purposes and guidelines for collection and dispensing of such funds. The board stipulates the uniform amount to be collected and how often such levies can be collected.

(d) **P. T. A. Levies:** Each school is free to fix the amount to be collected every term according to individual needs. It is however necessary to consult parents and teachers before such levies are imposed. Mode of collection is also at the discretion of the manager and Board of Governors of each school.

(e) **Extra financial support funds for Catholic schools:** In consultation with the priests of the diocese and the bishop and the pastoral council, it is advisable to establish a diocesan education support fund by which the Catholic schools can be assisted in the infrastructural development of the schools. At least twice a year "**Rotatory Masses" and other special education collections** can be organized and priests instructed to educate the people on the importance of education and equally on raising the standard of education, academically, morally as well as infrastructural. Surely the people will be willing to contribute 'extra' funds. Such funds, well shared out among the Catholic schools and equally used for school needs will help to reduce the burden of high school fees in Catholic schools.

(f) Accountability - Incomes and Expenditures: It is at the discretion of each school to dispense with its funds according to

needs. It is however necessary to draw annual budgets, and as far possible to avoid over-spending. Surpluses, if any remain at the end of the term should be carried over to the next term.

Capital expenditures should be sent to the diocesan Board for approval, which equally will determine the usefulness of new projects that consume big amounts of funds. Apart from important school development projects, generated funds must be used in the first place to cover teachers' salaries which are determined by the school board. The staff-tutorial and non-tutorial should be promptly paid and under no circumstances should teachers' salaries or remunerations be delayed.

Conclusion

(a**) Educators: Tutorial and non-tutorial**

Every teacher in the Catholic school system has an indispensable role to play. It is expected of all teachers employed in a catholic school system that they (a) should be qualified as required by State Authorities. (b) Should be committed to regular on-going professional development; (c) Accept wholeheartedly the catholic educational policy and philosophy; (d) Develop and maintain adequate understanding of those aspects of Catholic teachings that touch their subject areas; and so by their teaching and personal examples, strive to inculcate in students and pupils an appreciation and acceptance of Christian teachings and values; (e) Avoid whether by word, action or known lifestyle, any influence upon students that may be contrary to the teachings and values of the church community in whose name they act.

(b) **Need for adequate salary for the teachers:** Catholic educators should receive adequate salary, guaranteed by a well defined contract, for the work they do in the school; salary that will permit them to live well and without excessive work or a need for additional employment that will interfere with duties as certified educator.

(c) Examination Malpractice – Which Way Forward

Examination Malpractice can never be tolerated in Catholic and state schools. Culprits, teachers and students must be sacked or expelled. From Nursery to the University level, today, Nigerian pupils, students and their teachers are immersed in the dirty

game, popularly referred to Examination Malpractice in Nigeria. It is no more news to hear that examiners force pupils and students to contribute money and pay if the students are to pass their exams. Toddlers in Nursery and Primary Schools are initiated into this dirty game and exercise in their younger years and as they grow up they and their parents do not see anything wrong with cheating in exams. Parents are ever ready to pay any amount of money, provided their children scale through their exams without much struggle. If Nigerians in Nigeria have accepted the practice, the matter becomes very sensitive when we consider other countries with which Nigeria associates in regional and international examinations, for example, our neighbors in English speaking countries of West Africa.

"Flying Examiners", Supervisors and Collaborators

The Flying Examiners, Supervisors, Invigilators, Area Inspectors of Education, Custodians of questions papers, Security officers and the rest of them are supposed to be trustworthy agents of the examinations bodies, which hire and pay them to conduct hitch-free and credible examinations in Nigeria – JAMB, WAEC and NECO. Unfortunately these men and women have indeed become the tell-tale dogs that eat the bones tied on their necks or cats that devour the meat they were meant to guard. These educated men and women who in the past used to be revered like gods in terms of honesty, and decency have in short time constituted themselves into a syndicate that promotes examination malpractices instead of curbing the evil They have thrown integrity, self-respect and decency into the woods, as they use every available means and opportunities to collect illegal fees and tolls from students to fatten their purses. No wonder most of them make thousands of naira out of the shoddy business each season public examinations are conducted in Nigeria. Pupils and students who refuse to pay are punished while those who succumb to the demands are rewarded.

Nefarious Activities - the "Settlement" Factor

Most Nigerians who carry out their official assignments usually expect extra remuneration even where the job is poorly done or not carried out at all. Very few are ever satisfied with their regular pay. In one way or the other one must 'make up' or 'grab' something more and fraudulently, surely. This is the bedrock of the corruption saga. Even if one gets into trouble or is caught

perpetrating evil, one may not need to worry about the consequences of one's actions – jail sentence, a fine, or dismissal from office. No! There is no need to worry. There is always a way out of the predicament. Find someone to help and "settle" the "official" holding you at ransom and you will be let off the hook!

In the public examination hall, if a student is caught cheating he settles the supervisor and gets free. If a Flying Examiner 'flies' in and catches an entire school officially conducting examination malpractice he may get angry for a while and write a report and recommend a punishment in his report. He may threaten that the school should be closed down. He fumes in anger. But wait! In a few moments, perhaps at the intervention of higher 'officials' in government and private sectors, he calms down and smiles away with a heavy purse. He has been settled! And that is how they do their work.

Students must settle all examiners before they are allowed to write their exams, even when they receive no help from anybody. "It is the tradition", they will let you know and your school may not be an exception. To stamp or endorse each student's script the examiner must be settled with at least N200 for each script. To collect each student's script an examiner must be settled with at least N300, depending on how important the paper is. English language, Mathematics, and Science subjects require heavier 'settlements'. Check the amount. Now we are told, too, that in 'ascending order of magnitude' all the other officials must equally be settled by the examiner. So that is how the booty is shared and each person grabs a chunk and smiles away.

Need for Sanity in Nigeria's Examination Sector

Many nations of the world – big and small – (except Nigeria) do not toy with good conduct of public examinations. It is a crime punishable by heavy jail sentences to abet examination malpractice in whatever form. It was recently reported in many news media including BBC and VOA that the Ministry of Education of a small African Island nation called **Madagascar** was thrown into turmoil because some examination papers for Junior Secondary Schools in that country were leaked to some students before the examinations. It was a serious matter and government decided on very severe punishments for all involved in that 'distasteful' and 'un-heard-of tragedy after a board of inquiry appointed to investigate the matter had submitted its report. Not in Nigeria! Leakage of

examination papers and all sorts of examination malpractice in Nigeria do not even make headlines in Nigerian Dailies any more.

Certificates and Miracle Centers

Parents and guardians are among perpetrators of examination malpractice in Nigeria. Such adults usually look for and send their children to secondary schools **"whose results are always good".** They don't care to send their children and wards **to "schools where learning is done and knowledge acquired.'** Some poor parents and students spend fortune in search of "Miracle Schools and Centers." At last either the results are cancelled or students come out in flying colors! No wonder most of Nigerian universities embark on more tests, exams and screening of students before final admission. In some cases where such 'preliminary tests', devoid of further abuses and malpractices are well conducted, many of the screened students are advised to pack and go. Surely they need to go back to school and begin again. If education authorities in Nigeria fail to take serious action against examination malpractice, soon certificates issued to students in Nigeria will become worthless. Already celebrations for "success in examinations" do not attract smiles on the faces of the graduating students. There is nothing like "congratulations for job well done!" Congratulations for what?

CHAPTER 24

ISLAM ON THE RAMPAGE –GLOBAL AND NATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

> **God willing we will not stop the agitation for the total implementation of the Sharia in the country** *(President Muhammadu Buhari).*

The threat to Christianity is real

Islamic history is full of news of conquest, conversion to Islamic faith or death! In Nigeria, where the threat has become as real as it was in Turkey many decades ago, it is 'land or death' to the infidels!' The **Myetti Allah,** a privileged terrorist Islamic organization, that claims to be cattle farmers' union, has not hidden its intention to rule Nigeria by force, kill, drive away **Middle Belt Christians** from their ancestral lands, occupy and rename the conquered cities. In Nigeria thousands of Christians have been murdered in cold blood by Islamic Jihadists, and the government in power had done practically nothing to arrest and to prosecute the murderers. But the reverse is the case. Christi ans who fought back in self defense, or threw stones to the invaders had been arrested, imprisoned or killed by the government agents and soldiers. Who can imagine such a situation and atrocities being committed against Christians by Moslem jihadists? And anyone born a Muslim and who converts to Christianity has a death sentence on his head. It is terror, war and massacre of unbelievers. 'Jihad", defines the terms as 'fight', 'battle', 'a crusade', 'holy war' (against the infidels,) as a 'religious duty'. The primary aim of jihad as warfare is not the conversion of non-Muslims to Islam by force, but rather the expansion and defense of the faith. In theory, jihad was to continue until "all mankind either embraced Islam or submitted to the authority of the Muslim state." There could be truces before this was achieved, but no permanent peace. One who died 'on the path of God' was a martyr, (*Shahid*), whose sins were remitted and who has secured "immediate entry to paradise."

Moslem invasion of **Africa, Europe,** and **North America** may not be only a threat to Christianity, but will likely lead to the collapse of the religion which has earned its credibility from the teachings of Jesus Christ of Nazareth since the past 2000 years. The original undiluted teachings of Jesus have no ranking with those of any other known world religious leaders or

prophets, including Islam, **Buddhism, Hinduism or Shinto**. Jesus' teachings on any subject relating to morals and right behavior must be the most radical and challenging in the ancient and modern world. Not even his first disciples and successors had lived up to expectation. Many like Judas and Peter were caught in the net right away and have become the most quoted individual sinners and betrayers in history. Writers, great authors, musicians, and comedians have made uncountable references to just these two representatives of Christianity and what the religion stands for according to the teachings of the one said to be its founder. And what of the other religions! One hears the judgment from some horses' mouths; "When the temple police went back to the chief priests and Pharisees, who asked them, 'Why did you not arrest him?". The police answered, **"Never has anyone spoken like this!"** (John: 7.46 ff). Not **Mohammed,** not any of the prophets had taught like Him! But unfortunately most of the teachers and followers of the Divine Master are betraying Him and watering down his teachings and those of the Christian church. And not only that; many are succumbing to the threats of Islam which is recognized world-wide by non adherents as the most dangerous religion with the most intolerant and aggressive barbaric teachings couched in **Sharia** – the Islamic moral code. And if it is to be counted among world religions, one thing is certain; Islam is not a religion of peace. And where there is war, how can peace thrive? What is most disturbing? The war is said to be 'holy!'

Islamic invasion of Europe and North America

It is no more Africa and the Middle East that are centers of Islamic commotion, wars, conquests, domination, religious and political turmoil; such tragedies today have come to dominate headline news in many countries of Europe and North America. The adherents have continued to grow in number and multiply in triple digits in the past few years. Immigrants or settlers in the western nations, Moslems don't fail to openly profess their faith and expect natives and their hosts to embrace Islamic ways of life. In institutions of education, public facilities they aggressively try to impose Islamic observances. **Pork** is taboo to Muslims and therefore must be excluded from school menu where even handful Moslem kids are members. They expect every other woman to dress like Moslem women. While the number of Christians in European countries and North America has continued to dwindle, that of the Moslem grows, waxes

stronger every day. The is no doubt that the European Muslim population has been growing with alarming rate particularly in the **United Kingdom, France, Italy, Germany, Spain, Belgium** Islamization of America is accelerating through conversions, and immigration. The islamization of American media, political, education and prison systems in particular is said to be gaining momentum. But what is driving the Islamization of America, one may ask? In 2016 the number of Moslems was said to be **six million.** Today the number of Moslems is growing six times faster than the national rate, thanks to high rates of birth, immigration and conversions. Islam's growth in American prisons is said to be particularly troubling. About 80% of Americans who convert to any religion while in prison become Muslim. They now comprise about 20% of U.S. prison population. The conversion rate is said to be high especially among African-American inmates.

The Aggressive "Fanatic-Minority"

Islamic prayers have now been introduced into **Toronto** and other public schools in **Ontario**, and, yes, in **Ottawa** too while the Lord's Prayer was removed due to being so offensive! But offensive to whom, one would ask? Not to the vast majority of Canadians but to the **few Islamic fanatics!** The Islamic way is only peaceful until the fanatics move in and take control of **Australia.** and indeed in many countries around the world, there are media reports that many of the most commonly consumed food items now have the Halal emblem (i.e. a sign or instruction that says this product is not to be eaten, consumed or used because Islam forbids it) on them.

Nigeria on the Road to Complete Islamization

There is no argument that the Hausa-Fulani cabal at the head of government in Nigeria has the ultimate agenda of making Nigeria an Islamic state. Alhaji Ahmadu Bello (June 12, 1910 – January 15, 1966), the first and only premier of the Northern Nigeria region, who held the title 'Sardauna of Sokoto' did not hide his feelings about the islamization agenda. He made it clear in several of his utterances. Other successors of Othman Dan Fodio, including Muhammad Buhari, never failed to make it abundantly clear to Nigerians at large, whether they wanted to accept the reality or not. The expression ***'dipping the Koran into the deep (southern) sea'***, (the Atlantic Ocean), has

remained the ultimate goal of Islam in Nigeria. This means the complete Islamization of Nigeria.

Islamization of Nigeria is real; Some Quotable quotes

The following 'Quotable quotes' still remind us that Islamic agenda in Nigeria is real!

1) I freed a thousand slaves. I could have freed a thousand more if only they knew they were slaves- *(Harriet Tubman –1822-1913; An American woman abolitionist, humanitarian and devout Christian who fought hard in guiding many American slaves, like her to freedom).*
2) How can anyone describe Nigeria as a free nation when Sheik Othman Dan Fodio, the hero of the core Muslim north, the father of the Fulani Caliphate and the first Mahdi of Nigeria once said: "Allah has bestowed on me and my people the historic duty to spread the holy faith of the Prophet throughout the Caliphate and convert these pagans. If they refuse to accept Allah and his Prophet we will wash the earth, the forests, the mountains, the rivers and the streams with their pagan blood. Ours is a holy and righteous calling. We are doing the work of Allah.
3) How can anyone describe Nigeria as a free nation when **Sir Ahmadu Bello**, the Sardauna of Sokoto, the Premier of the Northern Region and the second Mahdi of Nigeria once said: "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 conquered territory and never allow them to rule over us and never allow them to have control over their future.
4) How can anyone describe Nigeria as being free when General **Muhammadu Buhari**, the indisputable King of the north, the avenging sword of the Caliphate, the almighty President of the Federal Republic, the unquestionable leader of the African Mujahideen and the third and last Mahdi of Nigeria at one time or the other is accredited with the following top scary quotes:
5) I can die for the cause of Islam if necessary. We are prepared to fight another civil war. We cannot be

blackmailed into killing Sharia. *(**Muhammad Buhari - Freedom House, 2000)***

6) I will continue to show openly and inside me the total commitment to the Sharia movement that is sweeping all over Nigeria. God willing, we will not stop the agitation for the total implementation of the Sharia in the country. ***(Buhari News 24, August 27, 2001)***

7) If what happened in 2011 should again happen in 2015, by the grace of God, the dogs and the baboons will all be soaked in blood. ***(Buhari (Vanguard May 15, 2012)***

8) The last general election was anything but free and fair. The only political parties that could complain of election rigging are those parties that lacked the resources to rig. - **Buhari *(First Speech after Military Coup, 31 December, 1983)***

9) The declaration of state of emergency in three Northern states of Adamawa, Bornu and Yobe is a grave injustice against the North." - **Buhari** (Liberty Radio, June 2, 2013)

10) When the Niger Delta militants started their activities in the South-South, they were invited by the late President Umaru Yar'adua. An aircraft was sent to them and their leaders met with the late President in Aso Rock and discussed issues. They were given money and a training scheme was introduced for their members. But when the Boko Haram emerged in the north, members of the sect were killed. ***(Buhari Liberty Radio, Kaduna May 14 2012)***

11) Muslims should only vote those who will promote Islam. We are more than the Christians if you add our Muslim brothers in the West**.** ***(Buhari - Liberty Radio Kaduna, 2003)***

12) Why should Christians be concerned when Muslim cut off their limbs? After all, the limbs that are being cut off are Muslim ones and not Christian. So why should Christians bother about it*? (**Buhari Liberty Radio, Kaduna 2003)***

13) If there is a repeat of the Civil War again, I will kill more Igbos to save the country. ***(Buhari -BBC Hausa Service, 2015)***

Only people who did not understand Nigerian politics and Islamic Agenda in Nigeria failed to appreciate Buhari's 97% and

the "remaining 5%" theory, namely Nigerians or states that did vote or failed to vote for him in the 2015 elections. As far as Buhari was concerned the entire Nigerian federation was not yet an Islamic state, otherwise they would have recognized the impact of his victory at the polls, having made several attempts (in spite for his unworthiness even to contest for leadership of the nation), to win election to the highest political post in Nigeria. The urge to pursue that task and perhaps happily bring it to fruition like it was in Turkey those days was too much to ignore! Buhari and his brothers in the faith did not hide their feelings or desires for a moment as they started implementing the agenda immediately he took office! President Buhari went about carrying out his islamization agenda. With Islamic agenda, shown in appointments, the president was making some of his moves without caring about the feelings of Christians in Nigeria. So much has happened since he took office. Have we not noticed that whenever any Christian, occupying a high position in any government agency is removed only Muslims get to replace them? 200 military officers were retired and guess what? They were either southerners or Northern Christians. As far as the northern Muslim is concerned, if you are a southerner you are a Christian. And being a Christian means you are the worst creatures of Allah. Now you may ask why that is important.

Elimination of Christians from the Government

By 1914, the Ottomans of Turkey began a propaganda that presented the Armenian Christians as a security threat. So what did they do? In 1915 they retired all Christians from the Turkish army. Once the Christians were disarmed they started killing the Christians. This is how Turkey became an almost one hundred percent Muslim country. For those who do not know, Islam has wiped out Christianity from Turkey. All the military chiefs are Muslims. Customs, immigration etc are all headed by Muslims. Yet Nigerian Christians still cannot see what is happening. Did you know that the new Inspector General (IG) of police is also a Muslim? Do you know how many senior officers were retired just to pave the way for the new IG? Guess the first thing he did. He accused the former IG of stealing 24 police vehicles. Thank God that alarm was proven false but they never give up. They must find some frivolous charges against him. Just wait and see.

Jihadists and Boko Haram in the Cloaks of Herdsmen! "Trojan Horse" and the Cattle Colonies

Can this be the final stage towards a total jihadist conquest and complete islamization? We have heard and seen in the news how innocent Christians were killed by Muslims and our dear president and his supporters remained silent. Whole communities were being wiped out by Muslim Fulani herdsmen yet no word from our president. It is time we stopped complaining. We need to bow our heads (not in shame) but as a sign of sorrow and ask for forgiveness. We need to lament. That's how IGBOS of the old used to react in times of calamities and injustice perpetrated against them! We are all part of our problems. Our 'Prophets', 'Men of God', Political and Traditional leaders have abandoned us. The elected senators and law-makers have also abandoned their people. Even the 'clergy', 'pastors', 'Eminences', 'bishops' , 'elites' and so-called elders and intelligentsia' have deserted their people!

They are unable to condemn evil being perpetrated against Igbo people, Nigerians and generations of our youths. Please if you are sad and repentant pray (lament) like the people of the old. Stop complaining! You will never do any better if you become the Igbo President of Nigeria or Biafra tomorrow. Since our leaders have truly abandoned us in the hour of need, we, in all humility must ask our God to forgive and not abandon his people who trust in him. The jihadists arm their young men to the teeth and tell you they are herdsmen looking for greener pastures for their cattle! And you believe them! Now, let it be known all over Southern Nigeria, that the march to dip the Koran into the Atlantic Ocean has begun in earnest. Any obstacle will be ruthlessly crushed. They tested the people's will by threatening to soak dogs and baboons in blood; they got their way. They killed and burnt the entire families, nothing happened.

They appointed only people from their side into their kitchen cabinet; southerners were made to justify it. They closed the chapel (Christian worship centre) in Aso Rock Presidential Villa, our Christian Vice president Yemi Osinbajo, explained it away. But the Islamic mosque stands firm! They released murderous Boko Haram members without any kind of penal measures into society, we hissed and went about our normal businesses. They paraded mostly our southern people, accused of corruption in handcuffs like common criminals, we kept quiet. They picked up Nnamdi Kanu, the IPOB leader, whose words pierced their conscience, exposed their plans and cried to the

world; they handcuffed him, like a common criminal, while Boko Haram kingpins, who have murdered thousands, appeared in court unfettered, we only grumbled. They called Boko Haram killers and murderers misguided brothers, and continued to release them from prison. They went to Kaduna and released a lot of Muslims from prison, and we kept mum. They pushed further by appointing only their own people into the National Defense Council, something that has never happened before, not even immediately after the civil war, all we did was murmur. They took on unarmed IPOB, proscribed them, labeled them militants and terrorist, and politically-correct people, even from the south hailed them and clapped for them. For the Jihadists, Buhari and APC government, it was a sign that the time has come, the time to implement the time tested strategy that worked in Ilorin, Lebanon, Turkey and several other places.

They sent herdsmen to cause havoc in our homelands, we kept quiet, and begged them to stop killing us in our own ancestral homes. Since it is now very obvious, that the people have been cowed, intimidated and politically outsmarted, it is time to introduce the "Trojan Horse", the Cattle Colonies and people of Middle Belt are being butchered to establish cattle colonies across Nigeria. They will take the people's lands, develop them into cattle colonies with proceeds from oil-rich Niger Delta and this will be the final steps of their journey to complete colonization and islamization! They will move in with their families, one man to four women, each woman has at least five children, in twenty years time or less, they will outnumber the 'Aborigines', use their numbers to get strategic political positions and declare an Islamic state. Sounds like fiction? No! That's exactly how Lebanon moved from a very popular trading and beautiful tourist country that it was, to the ruins and debris laden country that it is today. The Christians in the South have a choice; they either hand over their land as cattle colonies to the Jihadists and eventually and later convert to Islam or insist on capital 'NO' now, to the cattle colony project and begin to prepare for the consequences.

Nigeria under the Islamic Tutelage

> What were the Nigerian soldiers doing at Aba, Umuahia, at Nnamdi Kanu village? Why were they shooting sporadically and many Biafrans in far away USA, Asia and Europe were hearing the sounds of gun fire and military invasion of villages? What were the Nigerian

military, foot soldiers, Air Force and marine doing in the village of Afaraukwu, Umuahia with tanks and armored cars; when they could not face Boko Haram routing them in the North East Nigeria? ***(The author and most Igbos wondered)***

Nigeria is under Islamic tutelage or hegemony. What portion do those of us that are southerners and Middle Belters have in this so-called "free country" and why have we been consistently denied the right to decide whether we wish to remain in it by having a referendum? Our experience is that Christians are in bondage and servitude to the sons and daughters of Futa Jalon and we are badly divided. The culture of 'divide and rule' still haunts the Southerners! In 1947 she was rightly described as a ***"mere geographical expression"*** by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, but since then she has degenerated even further. Today Nigeria is no longer a "mere geographical expression" but a full-fledged and dysfunctional vassal state and a colony of timid slaves that is owned and controlled by the 'all-powerful, all-seeing and all-knowing Fulani masters'. Yet in their pitiful delusion and blissful ignorance some still claim that we are a free modern nation-state where all are equal. Many Nigerians who have opened their eyes wonder what really is going on, when they posit the stunning questions. Signs and symbols of Islamic state are everywhere, and confused Southerners and Christians close their eyes to realities!

1) How can anyone describe Nigeria as free from Islamic tutelage, when Arabic becomes our second official language and Islamic Arabic Studies (IAS) are made compulsory?
2) How can anyone describe Nigeria as being free when every single security and intelligence agency in the nation is headed by a northern Muslim?
3) How can anyone describe Nigeria as being free when all the strategic commands in the Nigerian Army are in the hands of Muslims?
4) How can anyone describe Nigeria as being free when all the units under the Education Ministry are headed by northern Muslims
5) How can anyone describe Nigeria as being free when the words Christ, Church, Christianity or Christian are not mentioned once in the constitution and when the word Sharia is mentioned 73 times, Grand Khadi (magistrates

or judge of the sharia court) 54 times, Islam 29 times, and Muslims 10 times?

6) What is all the debate about herdsmen colony? Are Muslims not quietly bent on passing a law that will give large tracts of land to Fulani herdsmen in every state of the Federation so that they can infiltrate, settle down in, breed with and eventually overwhelm and take over all the communities in which they were given that land?
7) How can anyone describe Nigeria as being free when well-armed Fulani militants and herdsmen commit genocide against whole communities and yet not one of them has been arrested?
8) How can anyone describe Nigeria as being free when cows (yes cows!) drive Christian children and students out of their classrooms and as well drive worshippers out of their churches?
9) How can anyone describe Nigeria as being free when those in power today together with the entire Hausa-Fulani ruling class have consistently said 'no' to restructuring and claim that Nigerian unity is not negotiable?
10) How can anyone describe Nigeria as being free when the welfare of cows and the interest of herdsmen are more important than that of hard-working and productive Nigerians?
11) How can anyone describe Nigeria as being free when there is a strange Arabic insignia and unintelligible Arabic words apparently depicting Othman Dan Fodio's battle cry inscribed on the coat of arms of the Nigerian Army?

The Invasion of Igboland by Nigerian Army – A Ridiculous Mission and Part of the Conquest by the Islamists.

The leader of the IPOB, Nnamdi Kanu was grossly criticized, castigated and cajoled for using 'abusive' words and utterances against the nation and some of its leaders. Was Nnamdi Kanu crazy? Has he committed any felony? We come to some conclusions, without much argument when one considers the absurdities that one finds, "Only in Nigeria!" Just one example: **"Nigeria's unity is not negotiable!"** And this testament was said to have been 'written and signed' by two people, Buhari and Ojukwu, and this time the venue was not Aburi, in Ghana, but in

Katsina, northern Nigeria! The implication of this two-man agreement was that anyone that tampered with the sacred accord, the testament, must be ruthlessly dealt with! Wow! Unbelievable!

History teaches a lot

The Nigerian foot-soldiers, the air force, the marine, with tanks, armored cars, sophisticated weapons and the latest jet-fighters are unable to destroy the terrorist and dangerous rebel group called ***Boko Haram***. But they are always ready to deal with unarmed Biafran youths and women, who peacefully protest the atrocities being perpetrated by the Nigerian army against the people and their leader, fighting for their freedom. Wonders will never end!

There were many **Black South African political agitators t**hose days. Why did **Nelson Mandela** come to the spotlight? He remained in prison for 26 years! And **Nnamdi Kanu** had served only but a few years in prison! But it seemed that events are moving fast. Most Igbos and Biafrans abroad have so far been doing a great job in sensitizing the international community, holding rallies and peaceful protests. It was the same during the Biafran war (1967-1970). Igbo students in Europe and America fought most aggressively, even better than those at home. Many records still exist! Some Igbo-Biafran friends in the Western world have started talking! For Biafra, there will be no going back, though the youths have been seriously warned to stay out of trouble. There can be no more war! The untimely death of any Igbo in unnecessary conflicts will not contribute anything. Many elderly Igbo-Biafrans have also called for caution. They call for 'diplomacy'. Though many are skeptical; there is need to tell the youths loudly to stay out of trouble. Self-determination is not an elusive dream. Civility is not a sign of submission to unjust system of governance. Igbos warn stubborn and rebellious people strongly: ***"Ukpala okpoko buuru; nti chiri ya" (A word is enough for the wise!)*** In South Africa, military brutality did not resolve the problem of **apartheid.** So do many believe that neither brutal force, nor intimidation would succeed in suppressing the Biafra Revolution, the agitation for separate existence; no matter the length of time it takes Pharaoh to *'let the people go'*.

Sharia has been described as Islamic canon law based on the teachings of the Koran and the traditions of the Prophet (Hadith and Sunna), prescribing both religious and secular duties and sometimes retributive penalties for lawbreaking. It has generally been supplemented by legislation adapted to the conditions of the day, though the manner in which it should be applied in modern states is a subject of dispute between Islamic fundamentalists and modernists. The disputes are not only between 'Islamic fundamentalists 'and 'modernists'. Both generally share the same ideologies when it comes to the persecution of non-Muslims. The real trouble is the implementation of the Sharia in Christian dominated states and regions of the world, like in the Middle Belt region of Nigeria.

The imposition of Islamic culture in various states in Nigeria, a country that professes democratic governance by the Hausa-Fulani cabal that virtually runs all the arms of government of the federal republic of Nigeria, is the greatest dilemma that faces Nigerian citizens who believe in democratic principles. Why should some states operate sharia and others follow the constitution of the country? Surely this is a worrisome situation for those Nigerians who still believe in a 'United Nigeria'. Every year an organization that goes by the name "Open-Doors-Watch-List" compiles and updates certain upsetting sad news that emerge from over 50 Islamic countries that persecute non-Muslims in their midst. Millions of Christians suffer terrible atrocities in the hands of Muslims in these countries. Among the named 50 most Islamic nations, five are most violent. In these countries brutal persecution of Christians has reached an intolerable magnitude. These countries are: **Pakistan, Sudan, Somalia, Afghanistan and North Korea.**

Nigeria doesn't appear among the top 5, but there are proofs that the Islamic persecutions and atrocities in Nigeria are even more deadly than are found in some of the above named Islamic countries. Stories of the abduction of **CHIBOK** and **DAPCHI** School girls by the Islamic militant wing that goes by the name BOKO HARAM have spread widely in national and international news and well as in the other social media. Reactions from women liberation movements, individuals and humanitarian organizations all over the world have been massive. But that was only a tip of the iceberg. Many more Christians are abducted by Moslem militants and are forced to

embrace Islam or lose their lives. Up to the time of this concluding chapter, Boko Haram had kept one of the Dapchi girls **(Leah Sharibu)** who refused to deny her Christianity. **Leah Sharibu** would not renounce her faith despite friends begging her to pretend to accept Islam.

It will be recalled that on February 19, 2018, 5:30pm, one hundred and ten (110) schoolgirls, aged 11–19 years old were kidnapped by the Boko Haram terrorist group from the Government Girls' Science and Technical College **Dapchi** in **Yobe state** of Northern Nigeria. Dapchi lies approximately 170 miles (278 kilometers) northwest of **Chibok,** where over 276 schoolgirls were kidnapped by Boko Haram in 2014. What had government done to destroy Boko Haram and free Nigerian citizens from living in fear and agony? Could Nigerian government of Muhammadu Buhari not deploy its military – land, seas and air – as it did in **Python Dance** to destroy Nnamdi Kanu and IPOB?

Sharia laws in Democratic multi-religious state

Perhaps only a few Christians have experienced the so-called Sharia laws in practice. Surely some have seen gory images of torture, massacre, mutilated limbs or remains of beheaded human beings. Why do Muslims, including heads of Muslim governments vow to defend sharia and do everything in their power to get sharia entrenched in constitutions presumed to be 'Democratic?' There is no doubt that a short look at the following list of sharia laws will throw further light on this 'Islamic moral code' that has created an unbelievable havoc in the world today as in past. Special attention is drawn to numbers 1, 10, 13, 18, and 34. Why? The following outrageous outburst of hunger for war and conquest was attributed to a leader of one of the most dangerous Islamic militias in Nigeria, called ***Myetti Allah***. His utterances confirm the sad implications of the implementation of the Sharia Code in Nigeria:

"We have been given the authority from the holy land - Mecca - to preach Islam to every nook and cranny of Nigeria. We are the group to be reckoned with, if Nigeria should have peace. We have over 1 million militias that are ready to enforce this cause. We are raising an army that will dwarf the Nigerian police force. When we are done; we will be able to overthrow any government that does not do what we say. We are a force to be

reckoned with all over the world. Buhari is our person, we made him win the election and he is in support of us. He cannot take any vital decision without consulting us." (sic)

The Sharia Code

What do Muslims want Christians and other non-Muslims in Nigeria to do with their Sharia? Why should Sharia be imposed on non-Muslims? What is spectacular about sharia – religiously, morally, ethically, socially or culturally, that Muslims should impose its practice on all peoples of the world? Let's take a look at some of the Sharia laws, their propositions, and 'contributions to peace and civility' in the modern world. The following are the shameful Islamic moral laws or principles which Moslems would want every non-moslem to embrace. One would further want to know what makes Moslems proud to profess the faith and as well force others to follow suit!

(1) Jihad, defined as "to war against non-Muslims to establish the religion", is the duty of every Muslim and Head of state (Caliph). Muslim Caliphs who refuse jihad are in violation of Sharia and unfit to rule.
(2) A Caliph can hold office through seizure of power, meaning through force.
(3) A Caliph is exempt from being charged with serious crimes such as murder, adultery, robbery, theft, drinking and in some cases of rape.
(4) A percentage of Zakat (charity money) must go towards jihad.
(5) It is obligatory to obey the commands of the Caliph, even if he is unjust.
(6) A caliph must be a Muslim, a non-slave and a male.
(7) The Muslim public must remove the Caliph if he rejects Islam.
(8) A Muslim who leaves Islam must be killed immediately.
(9) A Muslim will be forgiven for murder of: (1) an apostate (2) an adulterer (3) a highway armed robber. Vigilante street justice and killing is acceptable.
(10) A Muslim will not get the death penalty if he kills a non-Muslim, but will get it for killing a Muslim.
(11) Sharia never abolished slavery, sexual slavery and highly regulates it. A master will not be punished for killing his slave.
(12) Sharia dictates death by stoning, beheading, amputation of limbs, flogging, even for crimes of sin such as adultery.

(13) Non-Muslims are not equal to Muslims under the law. They must comply with Islamic law if they are to remain safe. They are forbidden to marry Muslim women, publicly display wine or pork, recite their scriptures or openly celebrate their religious holidays or funerals. They are forbidden from building new churches or building them higher than mosques. They may not enter a mosque without permission. A non-Muslim is no longer protected if he leads a Muslim away from Islam.
(14) It is a crime for a non-Muslim to sell weapons to someone who will use them against Muslims. Non-Muslims cannot curse a Muslim, say anything derogatory about Allah, the Prophet, or Islam, or expose the weak points of Muslims. But Muslims can curse non-Muslims.
(15) A non-Muslim cannot inherit from a Muslim.
(16) Banks must be Sharia compliant and interest is not allowed.
(17) No testimony in court is acceptable from people of low-level jobs, such as street sweepers or bathhouse attendants. Women in low level jobs such as professional funeral mourners cannot keep custody of their children in case of divorce.
(18) A non-Muslim cannot rule — even over a non-Muslim minority.
(19) Homosexuality is punishable by death.
(20) There is no age limit for marriage of girls. The marriage contract can take place anytime after birth and can be consummated at age 8 or 9.
(21) Rebelliousness on the part of the wife nullifies the husband's obligation to support her, gives him permission to beat her and keep her from leaving the home.
(22) Divorce is only in the hands of the husband and is as easy as saying: "I divorce you" and becomes effective even if the husband did not intend it.
(23) There is no community property between husband and wife and the husband's property does not automatically go to the wife after his death.
(24) A woman inherits half what a man inherits.
(25) A man has the right to have up to 4 wives and none of them have a right to divorce him — even if he is polygamous.
(26) The dowry is given in exchange for the woman's sexual organs.
(27) A man is allowed to have sex with slave women and women captured in battle, and if the enslaved woman is married her marriage is annulled.
(28) The testimony of a woman in court is half the value of that of a man.

(29) A woman loses custody of the children if she remarries.
(30) To prove rape, a woman must have 4 male witnesses.
(31) A rapist may only be required to pay the bride-money (dowry) without marrying the raped victim.
(32) A Muslim woman must cover every inch of her body, which is considered "Awrah," a sexual organ. Not all Sharia schools allow the face of a woman exposed.
(33) A Muslim man is forgiven if he kills his wife at the time he caught her in the act of adultery. However, the opposite is not true for women, since the man "could be married to the woman he was caught with."
(34) It is obligatory for a Muslim to lie if the purpose is obligatory. That means that for the sake of abiding with Islam's commandments, such as jihad, a Muslim is obliged to lie and should not have any feelings of guilt or shame associated with this kind of lying."

Sharia – "Islam's Commandments" vis-à-vis God's "Ten Commandments" and the "Precepts of the Church"

Sharia, Islamic moral code, is compared to Catholic Church's **'Precepts'** by Christian lawyers or canonists. A precept generally is a command or principle intended especially as a general rule of action and issued by a legally constituted authority to its subordinates. In the Roman Catholic Church the 'precepts' are known as the **"Commandments of the Church"** or **"Precepts of the Church"**. These are certain laws considered binding on the faithful. As usually understood they are moral and ecclesiastical, broad in character, and limited to 5 in number. These specifically "Catholic Commandments" are additions to the "Ten Commandments", which are common to religions that have their roots in Mosaic Laws, and to people who worship God of Abraham, the Old Testament God, common to Christians and the Jews.

The "Precepts of the Catholic Church" are as follows:

(1) Attendance at mass on Sundays and on Holy Days of obligation – usually on Christmas Day, Ascension, Assumption, and All Saints (November 1).
(2) Confession of serious (mortal) sins at least once a year.
(3) Reception of Holy Communion at least once a year, (preferably) during the Easter Season. (4) Observation of the days of fast and abstinence – usually on Ash Wednesday and

Good Friday – as well as abstaining from meat on these two days every year.
(5) Providing for the needs of the Church. While the Catholic church limits the observance of its precepts to the faithful (other Christian denominations have no business with the these "Catholic Church Precept".

It seems that the Moslems intend their Sharia to be a universal norm of moral life for non-Moslems too; hence the efforts of their Caliphs and leaders to fight tooth and nail to see that all Nigerian states embrace Sharia! So far 12 states out of 36 in Nigeria have Sharia in force. In this case Sharia replaces God's **Ten Commandments**, also known as **"The Decalogue".** The Ten Commandments are:

(1) I am the Lord thy God; you shall not have any other strange God before me.
(2) You shall not use the name of God in vain.
(3) Keep Holy the Sabbath – {Sunday Obligation}.
(4) Honor thy father and thy mother.
(5) You shall not commit murder.
(6) You shall not commit adultery.
(7) You shall not steal.
(8) You shall not bear false witness.
(9) You shall not covet your neighbor's wife.
(10) You shall not covet your neighbor's goods.

These are universal religious and moral codes that bear no resemblance to the Sharia. Some Moslems expect their Christian neighbors to turn their faces away, while jihadists perpetrate atrocities against Christians and non-Moslems! Christians should not worry, when Moslems set on fire and roast their members who convert to Christianity, commit adultery, and steal goats and fowls. When the "troublers of Israel" (the Jihadists) presume that Christians should not confront Moslems as non-Moslems are made to suffer outrageous persecutions in the hands of Moslem mobs and jihadists; that's where the curtain should be drawn! Each group should move into its own camp – Christians and Moslems!

Sharia is unacceptable

Sharia is totally unacceptable to any civilized society, not only to unbelievers and atheists. Not a few Muslim leaders have openly started condemning some parts of the Sharia that have left many

Muslims uneducated and poor, and hence they find themselves in the state of perpetually slavery. One fiery Islamic preacher, Ahmed Sheikh Gumi has noted that President Muhammad Buhari came into office as an angry man and was trying to catch some 'thieves'. The Islamic 'pastor' said "it was better to give power to somebody whose head is calm and can sit down and prioritize development" (sc). Speaking with reporters on the state of the nation, Gumi addressed a crucial issue touching the lives of millions of Moslems in Northern Nigeria. He gave reasons the Northern region and Northerners have remained backward, and contended that though the northern region had been supplying the majority of leaders, it had been backward. One of the reasons was the nature of the northern Moslem man. "He has a psyche that is molded by the emirate system before the coming of the white man which is the absolute control. In some places, you cannot even put on a very clean cloth because they will say you are competing with the king". "The society has not changed. They feel that they are kings. An ordinary northern leader thinks of northerners as subjects. He does not want to improve their economic and social well-being. *(sic)*. The preacher frowned at the slavish respect being shown the emirs. "It is high time we stopped this genuflection before the emirs", he insisted. "They don't have any power over us. We are all human beings. They maintain the feeling of superiority complex and we are their subjects." They do not want to assist the region. This is the Northern psyche. Even though they have been ruling for a long time, the north has remained backward. The masses have been looking for a messiah that will free them from this bondage." "Buhari took power in angry mood and was trying to catch thieves and people were clapping for him. The time is gone. Fighting corruption is good but it should not become your slogan. It should not be your only political agenda". *(sic)*. Wow! "Can the devil speak the truth", Shakespeare Macbeth would ask!

Islamic culture and feasts

The imposition of Islamic culture on the Christians is a very worrisome issue. Here Muslims try to demonstrate the 'supremacy' of Islam over Christianity. In Nigeria, for example, the dominating structures of Islamic art and culture are evident of this reality in Nigeria's big cities. The ubiquitous Islamic artistic structures greet new comers to the city of Abuja, the Nigerian present capital city. This in particular has provoked protests from many non-Moslems of Nigeria, including the

Nigerian Catholic hierarchy and leaders of other Christian denominations. The building of mosques in public squares, airports, government grounds, office premises, and in the predominantly Christian communities is undeserving show of dominance and supremacy. Many non-Moslems are worried and it makes people think about the intentions of our leaders and Moslem brothers. The deep involvement of government in religious affairs in Nigeria is a cause for alarm and intolerable to all who cherish freedom of worship and neutrality of government in religious issues. From primary to tertiary levels of education in Nigeria, Arabic and Islamic studies receive wide coverage in school curriculum. Not much is done to promote the rich cultural heritage of other ethnic groups or religious bodies. Thus, by the factor of that language and Islamic religion which Usman Dan Fodio imposed on the Hausas, the accepted situation in Nigeria today is to regard the North, a region of over 89 ethnic groups, including **Kanuris, Fulanis, Hausas, Nupes,** and others as one ethnic group.

There are too many Islamic holidays, religious practices, pilgrimages (Hajj) and Islamic observances that create the impression that Nigeria is an Islamic state. . No one prevents Moslems from practicing their faith in whatever fashion they feel. Unfortunately in most recent times, young Moslem extremists in Islamic nations, including some parts of Europe and America do not fail to block non-Moslems from going about their normal duties when Moslems celebrate their feasts. They would want everyone to join in their hypocritical so-called Ramadan fasts, for example. The violence they provoke can be very worrisome to every passer-by! When Christians celebrate their own feats they don't expect Moslems to join them.

The Sharia – The Islamic Canon Law

There is no other Islamic imposition of its way of life, culture and creed on non-Moslems that has generated as much controversy everywhere as the Sharia issue. In Nigeria, the introduction of Sharia laws into the country's legal institution as well as the story of Nigeria's membership of the organization of Islamic conference has been fought against with tremendous ferocity by all and sundry – Christians and non-Christians, atheists and as well as agnostics. Moslem leaders press for the extension of sharia laws to Southern Nigeria. Modern society tolerates Islam and promotes dialogue and co-existence, and up till this point peace reigns. Christianity however does not tolerate Sharia laws

and imposition of Islamic law on Christians and on other religious minorities. This is seen as unwarranted encroachment on religious liberty and fundamental human rights. There comes the parting of ways. Sharia divides. But the basic question is, 'whether a newly assertive Islam can accommodate dissent, as well as approach other cultures with greater self-confidence. This will continue to worry much of the world. Sharia is defined as "The Way or Road in the religion of Muhammad, which God has established for the guidance of his people both for the worship of God and for the duties of life". The operational word here is the 'Way', and it denotes the part or road someone has to follow. On the context of Islam, it is the part that Allah has ordained to be followed by every Moslem in order to earn his pleasure and to avoid his wrath in this world, as well as in the world after. Sharia, many commentators and Islamic scholars insist, is wider than its technical or classical definition of law.

Sharia therefore is not only a set of codified laws governing the outward conduct of the Moslem. Beyond that, it is a life principle that gives him a world view, a moral value and a conscience. Sharia is the spirit that gives life to the religion of Islam, the life force that fashions all facets of the life of a Muslim. In all its ramifications therefore, sharia should be seen as the only law of Islam. It is changeless for all times, because it is revealed by Allah, who is himself, changeless. All peoples, cultures, prevailing circumstances and traditions, must adapt themselves to its dictates, since Islam does not recognize dichotomies such as culture, politics and religion. Then the inevitable question: "Can the Sharia, the-austere dictates of Islamic law function in a multi democracy?" Certainly no! But it can, in full-fledged Islamic regimes, where everything ought to be the way Allah ordered, where no deviations can be tolerated. Presented therefore, as a way of total life for Moslems, without doubt, its applications and operations will clearly infringe on the rights of non-Moslems and Christians. Moslem jurists and theologians assert that a society that fails to operate the dictates of sharia, no matter how concentrated the Moslem population in that society is, must be considered 'un-Islamic'. One understands then why!

Christian resistance to the dictates of Sharia

Moslem leaders generally do not regard Christian protests and resistance against sharia as justifiable. In most cases these reactions from non-Moslems are ignored as the march toward

'islamization' is pursued with relentless vigor. Devout Moslems are expected to observe the sharia, 'the path to follow', based on the Koran, the deeds and the sayings of Muhammad and the consensus of Islamic scholars and jurists, the sharia is not the compilation of criminal and civil codes of law, but a complex, all-embracing code of ethics, morality and religions duties. It is a sophisticated system of jurisprudence that summarizes 14,000 years of experience and constantly adapts, in subtle ways in new circumstances. Because of its importance to Moslems all over the world, including the Nigerian Moslems, the Federal Government of Nigeria had to intervene during the Constituent Assembly debate on the sharia in 1978. Moslems had demanded the incorporation of sharia into the Nigerian constitution. But then when the Constituent Assembly rejected an attempt to accede to this demand by the Moslems, violence erupted even on the floor of the Assembly. At the end, Moslem members of the Assembly staged a walkout and boycott of the Assembly proceedings, thereby leaving the Christians and traditional religionists and the rest of the non-Moslem members of the Constituent Assembly to finish the task before the body.

Truly the sharia controversy has proved intractable and still very much a thorn in the flesh of the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. "In the Western eyes", observes George Okechukwu Ikediani, an expert in Islamic studies, "sharia all too often is denigrated as a relic of the dark ages. Some of its provisions do seem awesomely harsh". Many examples abound: - habitual thieves are punished by having a hand cut-off; adulterers are either scourged or stoned to death; - falsely accusing a woman of adultery calls for 80 lashes; - 80 lashes for a Moslem caught drinking alcohol; - 80 lashes for those who bear false witness. There are so many other types of punishment under the harsh provisions of sharia law, though some of them have loop-holes arising from strict or liberal interpretations by Islamic courts. Definitely some of these penal codes have their counterparts in the western legal tradition, but beyond that, the threat of the sharia is usually more severe than the reality.

Christian moral codes vis-à-vis the Sharia

The Catholic Church's Code of Canon Law, for example, has legal provisions regulating the moral life of Christians and its institutions as well as Catholics' relationships and associations with others. But Christianity may not interfere in the 'internal

affairs' of Moslems with laws made to guide and regulate moral lives of the 'house of Islam'. It rejects its provisions and operations when Christians are subjected to provisions of the sharia. Most of the provisions of the sharia laws run counter to the provisions of the New Law of Christ and Christian precepts. As Danjuma Byand, points out in the sharia controversy in Nigeria, the real issue here is not whether or not Moslems should have sharia courts to determine their personal matters, but on whether such courts should be established and run with public funds. One thing we have to understand is that sharia courts are religious courts that apply purely religious laws to try personal matters. No non-Moslem has any objection to the Moslems expressing their faith by means of sharia. But the demand based on the existing situation in which our scarce resources are channeled to help propagate the practice of only one religious faith, is both unconstitutional and unjust.

Sharia and the Nigerian Constitution

Section 10 of the 1979 Constitution of Nigeria prohibits any government, either at the Federal or the State level, to adopt (or patronize) any religion as state religion to the neglect of other religions. As Danjuma explains further, the intention of this section of the Constitution is not to prevent government officials from practicing their religion, or to blind-fold them to the significance of the role of religion in nation building. The intention, which is based on the fact of Nigeria's religious plurality, is to ensure that government does not officially patronize one religious group to the detriment of other faiths. Certainly, the Catholic Church runs its ecclesiastical courts and tribunals for its members and its institutions. Government has no hands in the Church's affairs.

The Sunni and Shiite Moslems and their Sharia

Sunni Islam and Shiite Islam are the two major denominations of Islam. Their division is said to trace back to a schism following the death of the Islamic prophet Muhammad in the year 632 A.D. Sunnis are a majority in most Muslim communities in South-East Asia, China, Africa and most of the Arab world. It is said that 70% to 80% of Shiites live in only four countries; namely Iran, Pakistan, India and Iraq. **One of the fundamental differences between the Sunni Moslems and the Shiites** arises from the Shiites interpretation of the

sharia. The Shiites entertain messianic hope that someday a messiah-like-figure will appear to establish God's kingdom on earth and usher in a new dawn for the Islamic people. In Iran, where radical Islam calls for harsh code of behavior, it is to be noted that although some of the Islamic favor stirred up by the Ayatollah Khomeini had faded since his death in 1989, but the reformist regime set up after him is still warring against earthly corruption. Moslems deal drastically with government opponents, drug dealers, 'apostates', and so-called criminals. They put some to death and hundreds are regularly whipped, stoned or have their limbs cut off for various offenses.

According to Time's report (January 31, 1994), under pressure from human rights groups, Tehran reprieved a Christian pastor who was about to be executed for converting to Christianity some years earlier. The good news was that Mehdi Dibaji was finally freed and never faced death penalty. He had been imprisoned for nearly 10 years, charged with changing religion, insulting **Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini,** and also was accused of 'espionage'. The bad news was that Dibaji, whose Assemblies of God Church was based in Springfield, Missouri, was still under investigation. The probable charge according to human rights experts was still 'espionage', a catchall category (alibi, crude excuse), that has been used by Iranian authorities to get rid of the people the regime disliked. Moslems insist that sharia must be introduced into secular legal systems. They believe that it will curb evils associated with modernization which include the breakdown of family structure, the lowering of moral standards, the appeals of easy-going secular life-style. The old political orders that have prevailed in Moslem societies for decades – in many cases, since independence from colonial rule – are incurring severe public dissatisfaction. But moderate Moslems take fright at the spectacle of agitators for political legitimacy founded in the Koran and in religious traditions. It was noted that the main rival Mujahadin factions (guerilla fighters in Islamic countries, especially those who are fighting non-Muslims), that battled for power in Afghanistan agreed on little except on the establishment of sharia.

Sharia and Freedom of Religious Worship

Across Africa, the Middle East and Central Asia, Islam is exciting millions – and when that translates into political power, the result can be harsh codes of behavior that so far have been moderated little if at all. The application of sharia laws in secular

institutions where civil law operates will not augur well for non-Moslems. 'Freedom of religion', says Agostino Cassaroli, one time Vatican Secretary of State, while addressing the 45th session of the United Nations' Committee, meeting in Geneva, 30th January to 10th March 1989, 'is a true civil and social liberty which must be guaranteed by each and every political system. "Life and Freedom of Religion are basic human rights", asserts the Holy Father, Pope John Paul II in his address to the Plenary Assembly of the pontifical Commission for social communications, 24th February 1989. It is the inability or unwillingness of the Moslems to accept this fundamental human right that constitutes religious freedom in the domain of faith and beliefs. The implications are disastrous. ***Victor Chukwulozie***, a Nigerian expert in Islamic affairs rightly points out that "the establishment of the sharia court by the government with State powers and funded by the State means that Islam is indirectly accepted as the 'right religion' of the state of the federation".

There is therefore no doubt that the Constitutional provisions for the sharia court go against the secular nature of the State and the principles of democracy in a pluralistic society. For these and other reasons, Chukwulozie recommended that sharia should be expunged from the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Some of the following examples serve as danger sign-post if sharia laws were allowed to operate in a multi-party democracy. In Pakistan, it was reported that the nation's entire foreign and domestic trading and financial apparatus was threatened by a religious court decision. The Islamic judges, it was reported, ruled that a draft of laws that sanctioned the charging of interests on loans were invalid because they contradicted koranic teachings against usury. Usury is lending of money with an interest charge (perhaps exorbitant). The distressed government only hoped that the secular Supreme Court would overturn the finding of the Islamic court. But what is a secular court, man-made legal system before the 'divinely established court', whose dictates, systems and operations are revealed by Allah! The above incident punctured the argument often brought up by Moslem leaders in favor of sharia laws, namely that sharia is for Moslems alone and will not necessarily affect non-Moslems! Naturally, it is impossible for sharia not to affect non-Moslems, since Moslems do not live in isolation, or in a special vacuum. It is a common knowledge and experience that members of the same family, village and state, hold different religious convictions. Moslems and non-Moslems engage in

business enterprises, buy and sell together. They also inter-marry and may belong to the same social clubs and meetings. And so it is practically unrealistic to talk of sharia not affecting non-Moslems

Jihad and Caliphate Sharia

The following conclusions are indisputable:

(1) Jihad is warfare to spread Islam:
(2) Fight and kill the unbelievers wherever you find them, and seize them, beleaguer them and lie in wait for them in every stratagem of war…" (Q 9:5)
(3) "Fight those who believe neither in Allah nor the Last Day, not hold that forbidden by Allah and his messenger, nor acknowledge the Religion of Truth, from among the People of the Book, until they pay the jizya with willing submission and feel themselves subdued." (Q 9:29)
(4) So fight them until there is no more infidels and all submit to the religion of Allah alone. (Q 8:39)

The above are not hate speeches but passages from the Quran. From the above, it is clear that Boko Haram and Fulani herdsmen are conducting jihad against non-Islamists – Christians, traditional worshippers, and non-Muslims in Nigeria. It is pertinent to point out that the present day Sharia in Nigeria can be aptly described as "Caliphate Sharia". The Penal Code of Nigeria which came into effect on 1st October, 1960 was painstakingly drafted in the vision of Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto and Premier of the North after visits to other Islamic countries. The Penal Code gained worldwide acceptance and was applicable to all inhabitants of the Region and above all, was Islamic law compliant. The introduction of "Caliphate Sharia" was intended, the NCEF submits, to contradict **Chapter IV of the Nigerian Constitution on Human Right.** Ordinary Nigerians must work and prove to the country's political leadership that Democracy is the future for Nigeria.

Worrisome developments on the Sharia debate - Part of Nigerian history

There is urgent need to call the attention of Nigerian Christians and non-Moslems to the nagging issue of including any dictates of the **Sharia** in the Nigerian constitution. It is not a false alarm

that our friend and writer ***Osita Ike*** is raising. It is clarion call for action on the part of all Christians, especially all Christian leaders and associations. Osita writes:

"I was shocked to watch the live proceedings of the House of Representatives as covered by NTA2 and saw that the bill *calling for the criminal aspects of Islamic Sharia law to be implemented in our legal system in Nigeria at the Federal and states passed the second reading today 27th Oct 2018!* I was even more shocked because even though there were many **Christians in the House no one raised an objection!** The Speaker of the House, Hon Yakubu Dogara, who presided over the proceedings, said that what this meant was that it would now move to committee level where it will be discussed fully before the House would decide on it finally, but it is curious that **not even one voice of dissent was aired against it!** I waited till 9pm to hear what NTA Network news would report about it, but there was a blackout of reportage about it! Of course, other issues discussed and decided in the House today were reported but not the **Sharia!** The bill to amend the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to make provision for the full implementation of Sharia Criminal law at the Federal and states legal system has passed the second reading in the House of Representatives and no one is telling Nigerians what is happening! For all we know, when a bill passes the second reading unchallenged in parliament it is almost as good as passed!

Long before the 2nd Republic, Muslim leaders in Nigeria have always agitated for the full implementation of Sharia in Nigeria. Nobody has forgotten the hot debates that took place in the **Constituent Assembly of 1978 about the place of Sharia in the 1979 Constitution**. Christian members kicked against the full implementation of full Sharia because non-Muslims would fall victim of this law. In the end, a compromise was reached that the **Sharia Personal Law** be allowed, **not the criminal aspects.** It was the same thing that happened in 1988 Constituent Assembly that produced the 1989 Constitution, which never took off. In fact, in the 1988 Constituent Assembly, General Ibrahim Babangida, then Nigeria's self- styled military President, had to stop all debates relating to Sharia and other sensitive issues when he saw how inflammable the debates were becoming, and retained the status quo. **The 1999 Constitution drew much from both the 1979 and 1989 Constitutions and retained Sharia Personal law.** Now, Muslims, under

President Muhammadu Buhari have surreptitiously attempted to amend the Constitution to **insert the full implementation of Sharia** without carrying Nigerians along! Muslim leaders have always argued that Sharia law is meant for Muslims only. But Christians have always refused to buy the argument because in practice, non- Muslims have often been dragged before Sharia courts and have been adjudicated by a legal system repugnant to their faith. Several documented cases abound to prove this! Besides, Christians have always argued why the government that is supposed to be neutral to all religions should uphold the religious laws of one religion with public funds to the harm of the adherents of other faiths!

These are some of the issues that make some of us to take with a pinch of salt the claims that PMB means well for this country! Our job is to bring these issues to the fore to create awareness of what is happening. Whatever happens afterwards is beyond our power. It's up to you all! Broadcast this information Please take all steps available to you to let this be known in higher hierarchy of the church. We must not be docile.

CHAPTER 25

FULANI EMPIRE EXPANSIONISM IN NIGERIA – HERDSMEN AND GRAZING "COLONIES" SAGA

> The Fulani herdsmen will be armed and encouraged to slaughter us with impunity and their masters will protect them. They are coming to ensure that our people are enslaved forever. Those who do not believe me will soon see it happen before their very eyes. They are coming to elevate Hausa-Fulani supremacy, to reposition the security agencies by sacking all competent hands and replace them with their kinsmen to drive home their ethnic domination of the Biafrans and other tribes in Nigeria." ***(Nnamdi Kanu, February 6, 2014).***

Who are the Hausa-Fulani?

The Fula people, or Fulani, Fullah, or Fulany or Fulbe (various names of the same people in Portuguese, Hausa, French, Arabic and English) are said to be initially the largest ethnic group, about 25-30 million in North Africa. Fulani in English is borrowed from the Hausa term Fula, from Manding languages, is also used in English, and sometimes spelled Fulah or Fullah. Fula and Fulani are commonly used in English, particularly within Africa.

Geographic distribution: The Fula people are widely distributed, across the Sahel from the Atlantic coast to the Red Sea, particularly in West Africa. The countries where they are present include Mauritania, Ghana, Senegal, Guinea, the Gambia, Mali, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Benin, Burkina Faso, Guinea Bissau, Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Niger, Chad, Togo, South Sudan the Central African Republic, Liberia, and as far east as the Red Sea in Sudan and Egypt. With the exception of Guinea, Senegal, Mali, Burkina Faso and Niger where the Fula make up the largest ethnic group, Fulas are either a significant or a minority ethnic group in nearly all other countries they live in. Alongside, many also speak other languages of the countries they inhabit, making many Fulani bilingual or even trilingual in nature. Such languages include **Hausa, Wolof, and Arabic.** Wolof is a member of a people living in Senegal, Gambia and Mauritania. As a language, Wolof belongs to Senegambia branch of the Niger-Congo language family

Major concentrations of Fulani people exist in the Fouta Djallon highlands of central Guinea and south into the northernmost reaches of Sierra Leone; the Futa Tooro savannah grasslands of Senegal and southern Mauritania; the Macina inland Niger river delta system around Central Mali; and especially in the regions around Mopti and the Nioro Du Sahel in the Kayes region; the Borgu settlements of Benin, Togo and West-Central Nigeria; the northern parts of Burkina Faso in the Sahel region's provinces of Seno, Wadalan, and Soum; and the areas occupied by the Sokoto Caliphate, which includes what is now Southern Niger and Northern Nigeria (such as Tahoua, Katsina, Sokoto, Kebbi, Zinder, Bauchi, Diffa, Yobe, Gombe, and further east, into the Benue River valley systems of North Eastern Nigeria and Northern Cameroon).

Further east of this area, Fulani communities became predominantly **nomadic,** and exist at less organized social systems. These are the areas of the Chari-Baguirmi Region and its river systems, in Chad and the Central African Republic, the Ouaddaï highlands of Eastern Chad, the areas around Kordofan, Darfur and the Blue Nile, Sennar, Kassala-regions of Sudan, as well as the Red Sea coastal city of Port Sudan. The Fulani on their way to or back from the pilgrimage to Mecca, Saudi Arabia, settled in many parts of eastern Sudan, today representing a distinct community of over 2 million people referred to as the Fellata. While their early habitat in West Africa was apparently in an area in the vicinity of the borders of present-day Mali, Senegal and Mauritania, they are now, after centuries of gradual migrations and conquests, spread throughout a wide band of West and Central Africa. The Fulanis occupy a vast geographical expanse located roughly in a longitudinal East-West band immediately south of the Sahara, north of the coastal rain forest. There are an estimated 20-25 million Fulani people.

The "Semi-Nomadic" and "Town Fulani".

There are generally three different types of Fulani based on settlement patterns, viz: the Nomadic/Pastoral or Mbororo, the Semi-Nomadic and the Settled or "Town Fulani". The pastoral Fulani move around with their cattle throughout the year. Typically, they do not stay around, for long stretches {not more than 2–4 months at a time}. The semi-nomadic Fulani families are those who happen to settle down temporarily at particular times of the year, and even though they possess livestock, they do not wander away from a fixed or settled homestead not too far

away; they basically can be said to be "cut-in-the-middle" Settled Fulani live in villages, towns and cities permanently and have given up nomadic life completely, in favor of an urban one. These processes of settlement, concentration and military conquest led to the existence of organized and long-established communities of Fulani, varying in size from small villages to towns. Today, some major Fulani towns include: Labé, Pita, Mamou and Dalaba in Guinea, Kaedi, Matam and Podor in Senegal and Mauritania, Bandiagara, Mopti, Dori, Gorom-Gorom and Djibo in Mali and Burkina Faso, on the bend of the Niger, and Birnin Kebbi, Gombe, Yola, Jalingo, Mayo Belwa, Mubi, Maroua, Ngaoundere, Girei and Garoua in the countries of Cameroon and Nigeria. In most of these communities, the Fulani are usually perceived as a ruling class.

The origins of the Fulani people

The origins of the Fulani people are unclear and various theories have been postulated. As a nomadic herding people, they have moved through and among many other cultures. Their oral histories point toward a start in Egypt or farther east, while their language comes from the Sene-Gambian region. The ethno-genesis of the Fulani people may have begun as a result of interactions between an ancient West African population and North African populations such as Berbers or Egyptians. Their West African roots may be in and around the valley of Senegal River. They likely reflect a genetic intermix of people with **West African, North African, and Arabian origins,** and have been a part of many ruling dynasties particularly in the Sahel and West Africa. Speculations about their origins started in the era of European conquest and colonization, in 1902. The Fulani and Hausa people have taken some influences from each other's cultures. Upon the success recorded in the 1804 Fulani War of Usman Dan Fodio, many of Fulbe subsequently joined the ruling classes of the Northern Nigerian Emirate. **They dress and speak like their Hausa neighbors and live in the same form, hence "Hausa-Fulani".** Fulbe who didn't settle during this period and their descendants, however, still keep an obvious distinct identity from that of the Hausa and other surrounding groups of the region. This Hausa–Fulani interaction is uncommon outside the eastern sub-region of West Africa.

Grazers and Sedentary Fulani - Skirmishes

The Fulani are traditionally a nomadic, pastoralist trading people. They herd cattle, goats and sheep across the vast dry hinterlands of their domain, keeping somewhat separate from the local agricultural populations. **They are the largest nomadic ethnic group in the world**, and inhabit several territories over an area larger in size than the continental United States. In virtually every area of West Africa, where the nomadic Fulbe reside, there has been an increasing trend of conflicts between farmers (sedentary) and grazer (pastoral nomadic). There have been numerous such cases on the **Jos** Plateau, the Western High Plateau, and the Central/Middle Belt regions of Nigeria, Northern Burkina Faso, and Southern Chad. The rearing of cattle is a principal activity in four of Cameroon's ten administrative regions as well as three other provinces with herding on a lesser scale, throughout the North and Central regions of Nigeria, as well as the entire Sahel and Sudan region. For decades there have been intermittent skirmishes between grazers and the sedentary farmers everywhere such as the Jukun, Tiv, Chamba, Bamileke, and sometimes even the Hausa. Such conflicts usually begin when cattle have strayed into farmlands and destroyed crops.

Thousands of Fulani have been forced to migrate from their traditional homelands in the Sahel, to areas further south, because of increasing encroachment of Saharan desertification. Nigeria alone loses 2,168 square kilometers (837 sq mi) of cattle rangeland and cropland every year to desertification, posing serious threats to the livelihoods of about 20 million people. Recurrent droughts have meant that a lot of traditional herding families have been forced to give up their nomadic way of life, losing a sense of their identity in the process. Increasing urbanization has also meant that a lot of traditional Fulani grazing lands have been taken for developmental purposes, or forcefully converted into farmlands. These actions often result in violent attacks and reprisal counterattacks between Fulanis who feel their way of life and survival being threatened, and populations who often lost farm produce even if the lands they farm on were initially barren and uncultivated.

The Politics of Grazing Reserves

Fulani in Nigeria have often requested for the development of exclusive grazing reserves, to curb conflicts. **All the leading**

presidential aspirants of previous elections seeking Fulbe votes have made several of such failed promises in their campaigns. Discussions among government officials, traditional rulers, and Fulani leaders on the welfare of the pastoralists have always centered on requests and pledges for protecting grazing spaces and cattle passages. The growing pressure from the Fulani community leaders for the salvation of what is left of the customary grazing land has caused some state governments with large populations of herders (such as Gombe, Bauchi, Adamawa, Taraba, Plateau, and Kaduna) to include in their development plans the reactivation and preservation of grazing reserves. Quick to grasp the desperation of cattle-keepers for land, the administrators have instituted a Grazing Reserve Committee to find a lasting solution to the rapid depletion of grazing land resources in Nigeria.

The Fulani believe that the expansion of the grazing reserves will boost livestock population, lessen the difficulty of herding, reduce seasonal migration, and enhance the interaction among farmers, pastoralists, and rural dwellers. Despite these expectations, grazing reserves are not within the reach of about three-quarters of the nomadic Fulani in Nigeria, who number in the millions. About sixty percent of migrant pastoralists who use the existing grazing reserves keep to the same reserves every year. The number and the distribution of the grazing reserves in Nigeria range from insufficient to severely insufficient for Fulani livestock. In countries like Nigeria, Cameroon, and Burkina Faso where meat supplies are entirely dependent on the Fulani such conflicts lead to scarcity and hikes in animal protein prices. In recent times, the Nigerian senate and other lawmakers have been bitterly divided in attempts to pass bills on grazing lands and migration "corridors" for Fulani herdsmen. This was mainly due to Southern and Central Nigerian lawmakers opposing the proposal, and Northern Lawmakers being in support. Fulani are involved in Communal conflicts in Nigeria.

World Fulani Congress

The Fulanis are the most individualist of people. Traditionally they don't live in towns or even villages, but in family homesteads, which are temporary camps before the next move to greener pastures. Boys and young men in small groups of two or three spend several weeks or months in the bush tending to the needs of the family cattle. You may think that under those circumstances the Fulani have no feel or need for each other. But

you will be mistaken. Wherever they are, the Fulanis are bound not just by a common ancestry, and a loose language but an immense ethnic pride that isolated living has not destroyed. The Fulanis are spread in substantial number over 20 countries across Africa. The **World Fulani Congress** (WFC), like the **World Jewish Congress** (WJC), or **World Igbo Congress** (WIC), is a union, central body and organization of the dispersed race or ethnic group all over the world, charged with the principal task of protecting the political, economic, social, cultural, religious interests and identities of their people.

The "Gwodogwodo Mercenary" connection

The history of Islamic drive towards the conquest of Southern Nigeria did not begin with the well known Jihadist fighters of Ottoman Dan Fodio. Perhaps only few young Southerners, including Igbo youths are familiar with the **Gwodogwodo mercenaries.** They were the fearless, ruthless and dogged group of paid fighters or mercenaries who fought on the Nigerian side during the three-year Nigerian-Biafra war. Those of them who met with the gallant Biafra forces in the battled field, in the northern sectors of the war were confirmed to be non-Nigerians. They were mostly from **Niger, Chad, Libya, Mali and other North African Islamic nations.** Those who were really captured as war prisoners confirmed their identities during interviews with foreign and local journalists. They were huge in stature, dark black in complexion and rough in manners and spoke Hausa-Fulani and other languages and dialects of the North.

Who were actually the "Gwodogwodo?"

Surely the Nigerian military government believed that it would take Nigeria just a few days to crush what they called 'Biafra rebellion; hence the idea of "**Police Action!"** There was no need to get the Nigerian military involved, let alone **Britain, Russia, Egypt and Great Britain**. General Yakubu Gowon in 1967 thought he could invade Enugu, arrest Ojukwu and place him on trial. A mission he could not accomplish in 3 three years! As soon as Gowon realized that Ojukwu and Biafra army were not smiling or easy to conquer, Gowon had to summon his military council for advice. Initially the Yorubas were not so enthusiastic or motivated to join the Gowon's Northern Nigerian army in the genocidal war against Biafra. Perhaps Yorubas Generals,

including **Olusegun Obasanjo, Benjamin Adekunle** (the black scorpion) and some others would not have joined so soon if Biafran forces had not invaded the **Mid-West** and threatened some Yoruba cities, including the capital city of Lagos. Gowon's war cabinet was very sure of the **Middle Belt region**_that constituted more than half of Nigeria Military ground forces. The Middle Belters didn't need any dragging of their feet, as Gowon was their own man, brother and the head of state. They had everything to gain. At the end of the war the Middle-Belt Army division became the '**occupation army'** in most cities of Biafra, until the final withdrawal of the Nigerian army from the conquered Biafran cities. They were mostly Christians and investigations confirmed that wherever the soldiers from the Middle Belt were in the Biafran enclave, they took care never to cause damages to Churches and religious buildings. There was no massive 'vandalization' of churches in the captured Biafran cities, compared to most places Hausa-Fulani battalions and divisions over-ran; hence the designation given by Biafra information service – **"Nigerian Vandal Army"**

When Gowon and his supreme military council saw that it would not be easy to walk over Biafra and capture Ojukwu they decided on other military measures. The different attempts they made met with stiff resistance from Biafra army and that surprised Gowon and his army. Murtala Muhammad, that beast and a bigot in his zealous bids to take over Onitsha was successfully contained by the Ojukwu soldiers. This frustration led to a quick fix that would lead to the worst pact with the devil himself. In order to aid the federal army, Murtala Mohammed and others in their military cabinet convinced Gowon to bring the foreign militias called the Gwodogwodo people to fight Biafra. Those who lived or witnessed and or fought in the civil war are not strange to the atrocities of these people. They were heartless militias paid to kill and praised for their ruthlessness. Although the Gwodogwodo people were not professional trained regular soldiers, their duty was to do the military's dirty job, massacre civilians, rape and slaughter the already harassed people with hatchets, axes and other dangerous instruments.

They were also experts in torture. Anywhere the federal troop's conquered, they would bring the Gwodogwodo people to finish off the civilians. So in some instances the civilians were warned to flee the cities before the devils would arrive. These Gwodogwodo were not repatriated after the civil war. Most of them settled in northern Nigeria. The government lost control of them. It is the same Gwodogwodo militias that constitute today's

Fulani herdsmen terrorist group and Boko Haram, President Muhammad Buhari told the world press and President Donald Trump that were from Libya! Those in the east who witnessed the war will testify about the Gwodogwodo fighters, who occupy some parts of North Eastern Nigeria today, including Kaduna. So The Fulani herdsmen are the offshoot of the Gwodogwodo 'clan', Gowon brought to Nigeria to kill Biafrans. Today they have become the errant virus that eats what it was supposed to protect.

The Gwodogwodo in the Republic of Benin

There was strong evidence Gowon military government deployed the Gwodogwodo fighters to the Benin sector during the Nigerian civil war, when Biafran forces seriously threatened Lagos and western Nigerian cities. As the Biafran forces tactically decided to withdraw from the sector, also as a result of Banjo/Ifeajuna treachery, they captured many of those Gwodogwodo fighters during fierce battles in Benin. They were transported in heavily guarded military vehicles to Umuahia, the new Biafra government headquarters after the fall of Enugu. The Gwodogwodo mercenaries were displayed at Orlu market junction as their Biafran captors stopped over for drinks. They were really huge and tall and wore cruel faces. People were allowed to have close look at them, dressed only in under-wears, and some hand-cuffed. I was there. They were accompanied by some Red Cross workers, whom we were told were instructed to make sure that the captives got to their destination, Umuahia safely.

Gowon and Bakassi Peninsula connection

Ambition to conquer Biafra, led Gowon and Nigerian military junta into committing another regrettable tragedy. Months into the war, Gowon saw that Biafra could not be conquered unless Port Harcourt fell into federal hands, so he went into pact with the president of Cameron. In the pact, Gowon pledged to cede, yield **Bakassi Peninsula** to Cameroon, in exchange for easy access to Biafra Sea ports, particularly, Port Harcourt. It was a treaty. We are all aware of how many innocent people have died since the war ended because of this pact. Today the entire people of Bakassi are displaced and no one is talking about them. Was Gowon not ready to hand over the whole Nigerian oil fields to the Soviet Union in exchange for military aid to defeat Biafra! Surely

Yakubu Gowon committed a lot of atrocities and as well made unbelievable 'commitments' or treaties with nations and groups of people or communities, in order to win a war. Who wants to know whey Gowon had remained mute over many controversial issues in the post-war Nigeria. He has let the sleeping dog lie, and who would doubt his wisdom?

Now we can see why those who fought the civil war and looted Nigeria thereafter are criminally silent over this predicament. The Fulanis claim that Allah gave them our ancestral land to graze. It is clear who the Allah is? Gen. Yakubu Gowon is the Allah that gave our land to the Fulanis. The fact staring us in the face now is that the federal government cannot and will not protect us. Unless we resist this, as robbed people these vampires will suck us dry. They are brutes and experts in fiendish diplomacy, so dialoguing with them or making any pact with them is a waste of time. They understand one language, violence, brute force, like the vampires if you do not overwhelm them with brute force they will never stop coming. There is need for Nigerians to arise and resist this slavery Gowon signed them into. As for those who felt they defeated Biafra, how far? As for those clamoring for true federalism or restructuring, none will solve this problem, nor would an election resolve anything. The only solution is to kill Nigeria. Total disintegration will resolve the Nigerian dilemma as each nation will make its own laws and protect its territorial integrity. We have stated it times and without number and even drawn the maps and assigned names of the new republics!

The Grazing Route and 'Colony' Saga

An anonymous Nigerian writer has helped to throw further light on the stories of Islamic intrigues and agenda in Nigeria. He supplied the link to the *'Herdsmen grazing route and colony saga'*. In his story titled ***"The Cardinal Sins of General Gowon",*** the writer told the rest of the story, which our younger Nigerians, Igbos and Biafrans should know. "When Gowon and his military found out that Biafra was not a pushover, he entered into another pact with the Chadian and Niger government. This time he sought the help of the Arabs. To grant Nigeria's requests for military help the Chadian, Niger Fulanis and other allies stated their conditions. One of the well-known conditions was to grant to the Fulani nomads a grazing route from Niger to Eastern parts of Nigeria. Again Gowon without hesitation accepted this demand and signed off the arable land of Nigeria to the Fulanis

for grazing. No one will be surprised that the leaders of ***Myetti Allah*** have remained bold, fearless and consistent in their utterances and claims. They insist that there is an international document that granted them grazing route from Niger to Eastern Nigeria. Of all those banning the open grazing, no one has challenged this claim. Did such document exist? Who are the signatories? Was it ratified after the war in which Gowon and the supreme military council were in charge for 6 years after the war? And not only this dilemma worried our lawmakers; the Fulani legislators, together with their allies took great interest in the 'colony' debate, struggling to get the 'motion' passed into law; namely granting the Fulani herdsmen easy access to 'colonies' in a country populated by other major ethnic groups.

Grazing Colonies

We are devoting a lot of time and space to this discussion because of the controversies the debate has generated throughout non-Muslim communities in Nigeria, a project or proposal which if care was not taken might lead to another civil war and eventually bring about a total disintegration of Nigeria! Why should in the 21st century, the Fulanis of Nigeria and entire north and West Africa, backed by their Islamic leaders, have ignored the modern methods of raising their cattle, known all over the world as "Ranching?" Why should Nigerian farmers and hired herdsmen march long distances with their animals in search of feeds and greener pastures for their animals, thereby causing havoc in the country sides, destroying other peoples' crops and farmlands? Why should this primitive Fulani culture be allowed to attract the attention of the civilized world! There is need to investigate and find an equitable solution to this provocative issue of "Grazing Colonies" in Nigeria!

What is a 'Colony?'

Every student of history should be able give a simple definition of a colony, at least in relation to the word's political nuances. Nigeria, as well as many African countries was formerly a British colony, an area under full political control of Britain. Ivory Coast was formerly a French colony. Many European powers had their colonies in Africa, before these 'colonies' gained their freedom from the colonialists. In another sense a 'colony' can be described as 'group of people who leave their native land to form a new land, a 'settlement', subject to, or connected with the

parent nation. The area, land, or district settled is said to be 'colonized. It is in this last sense that we need to understand the Cattle Colony Saga in Nigeria. Both the herdsmen and their cattle occupy, settle, possibly 'permanently' in the newly acquired land, colony. They may build houses or homes in these places, set up administrative quarters, appoint their kings and rulers. In the process, the new-comers may drive away the original owners of the land, either peacefully (buying off the lands), or by force, (if the natives refuse or fight back the aggressors). In the last case, everybody can guess where the ugly the consequences of proposing a bill for "Cattle Colonies" in Nigeria would lead the nation and its citizens to!

What is a Ranch? What is Ranching?

A ranch is generally known as an area of land, including various structures, for the practice of raising or grazing livestock such as cattle or sheep for meat or wool or horses. Ranch can be large farm devoted to particular specialty. The word most often applies to livestock-raising operations in Europe, United States and Canada; though there are ranches in other areas of our planet. People who own or operate a ranch are called ranchers, cattlemen, or stock- growers. Ranching is also a method used to raise less common livestock all over the world. In Nigeria one can include goats and pigs. These animals do not need to travel with their owners or hired workers, or custodians all over the land in search of greener pastures and water. Ranches generally consist of large areas, but may be of nearly any size. In the western United States, many ranches are a combination of privately owned land supplemented by grazing leases of land under the control of the federal Bureau of Land Management. If the ranch includes arable or irrigated land the rancher may also engage in a limited amount of farming, raising crops for feeding the animals, such as hay and feed-grains.

A Typical Cattle Ranch

It was an amazing example of modern technology and 'symbol' of wealth and abundance of food for entire nation. So many hectares of desert land covering what we describe as 'villages' in Africa including Nigeria, but as big as ten soccer fields in size. It is a private property owned by a family, inherited from forefathers many generations ago. I saw more than 1000 cows! Some workers were feeding the animals with hays (fresh and

dried). Much of the hays eaten by the animals were being grown in large farmlands near-by and some were being conveyed in large trucks from other distant hay-growing lands, I was told. I was shown another area of the farmland where dairy cattle or cows were kept. Dairy cattle are cattle kept for milk production. The following products are made from milk, namely butter, cheese, ice cream, yogurt etc. I was brought to another section of this 'cattle colony' or 'ranch', where beef cattle are raised. Beef cattle are cattle developed primarily for the efficient production of meat. They are marked by capacity for rapid growth, and bear heavy well-fleshed body and stocky build.

The animals remained comfortable in their well-caged apartments. The pregnant ones remained in their apartments. The newly born ones (babies) were with their mothers in their apartments and feeding from their mothers' too bulky succulent breasts, from natural milk. Another large group, heavy with milk in their 'bursting' breasts was arranged in caged lines waiting for 'milking' sessions. Everything was done by new technology. At their different turns, about ten milking apparatuses and machines were sucking the fresh milk from the beasts' succulent dancing breasts. The milk vehicles were ready to collect their own rationed and shared milk from the storage systems. These special vehicles would convey the fresh milk to the specific locations of dairy-plant factories, near and far away from the site. It was a miracle to a primitive eye of a visitor! In the department that took care of meat, animals ready to be slaughtered waited in turns and super-market people who sold beef lined up for meat.

Greener Pastures and Water

Though located in a desert or semi-desert areas, I saw water running everywhere from hundreds of taps and no one noticed the area was formerly a "desert!" The entire community was green by all standards. Business was on 24/7 and there was job for young and the elderly, including retired men and women who still enjoyed farming and earning extra money to support their families. I never saw any "Fulani-Herdsmen" with sticks or AK 47-riffles roaming about or marching along the community roads and highways! It was unbelievable! What enormous wealth being created everyday by already wealthy nations while countries of Africa, including Nigeria continued to languish in poverty and wretchedness. Why should Nigeria not count among world richest nations; not just from crude oil, palm oil, cocoa and cattle, to mention a few, but from hundreds and thousands of its

cattle market? Since we were kids in Nigeria, Hausa-Fulani herdsmen had wandered from North to the East with their beasts in search of food and water unmolested. The young Fulani youths and kids that wandered about with their cattle made sure the animals never entered people's farmlands. Their beasts had nice time grazing in football fields and sometimes in farmlands, which owners or natives had left 'fallow' for a year ot two or even for more years to 'mature' for better productive farming and robust yield. "Fallow" is usually cultivated land that is allowed to lie idle during the growing season. In Igbo farming communities, farms that are cultivated yearly are known to produce poor harvest, while those left fallow for longer number of years produce rich harvest.

Herdsmen as Occupation Army: Historical Experience

Most historical records confirm the Islamic use of Herdsmen to conquer and establish their kingdoms. Kingdoms that accommodated Fulani herdsmen in the past were eventually overthrown by the Fulani warriors. In all situations, these herdsmen took up arms and fought for Fulani leaders to overthrow the kingdoms that accommodated them and their cattle. The first Fulani Jihad was at Futa Jallon (Fouta Djallon), a highland region in the center of Guinea, a country in West Africa. Fulani Herdsmen migrated here in large numbers from North Africa in the 1600's. First they migrated in smaller factions. Futa Jallon was a mountainous rich agricultural land. Shortly after the Pastoralist migrations, Fulani clerics migrated as well. They were called Ulamas. In 1726, the Fulani community elected one of their own by the name Ibrahim Musa as their leader and gave him the title of Al-Imam (Leader of the Muslim community). Shortly after his election, he proclaimed a Jihad against the local rulers of the region and enlisted the herdsmen as soldiers in his Jihad. His successor after his death and new Al-Iman, Ibrahim Sori completed the Jihad in 1776. The new Fulani aristocracy drove out many of the natives. Those they did not drive out, they enslaved. Slave trade thrived in the region after the Jihad. This was when the slave castle at Goree Island (Point of no return) was built. They captured mostly the people of the Mandika tribe (this was the tribe of Kunta Kinte). Who was Kunta Kinte, in the famous slave trade movie most of us have watched several times and many years ago? I still kept my CD-Roots-Movies! Kunta Kinte (c. 1750 – c. 1822 ;) was a character in the novel and movie 'ROOTS' - The Saga of an American Family by American author

Alex Haley. Haley claimed that Kunta Kinte was based on one of his ancestors: a Gambian man who was born in 1750, enslaved and taken to America and who died in 1822. Haley said that his account of Kunta's life in Roots was a mixture of fact and fiction.

Fulani Empire Expands

Another region not far from Futa Jallon was Futa Toro. It was rich in agriculture and the stretch of the Senegal River passed through it. By the banks of this river were fertile farmlands. This region was of great importance to the Fulani Herdsmen, who migrated to the region around the same time they migrated to Futa Jallon. They could have their cattle feed and drink by the banks of the river. Shortly after the herdsmen arrived, clerics migrated as well. They formed the majority of the Torobde clerics. A Fulani cleric called Suleiman Bal was nominated by the clerics as the spiritual leader. In the year 1776, Suleiman Bal launched a Jihad against the Denyanke dynasty and enlisted herdsmen into his army of the faithful. They were overthrown and replaced with a new aristocracy of Fulani leaders. He died while trying to expand the empire to the regions of Trarzas. His successor, Abd al- Qadir completed the conquest and expanded the empire southeast.

Dan Fodio Jihad - The Fulani in Nigeria

In Nigeria, the Fulani migrated as herdsmen and lived in communities. As at the time Dan Fodio arrived, they had Fulani leaders in almost all the Hausa City states with a large concentration in Katsina and Kano. These leaders included Moyijo at Kebbi, Mohammadu Namoda at Zamfara, Salihu and Mohamadu Dabo of Kano. Very much like the previous Jihads, Dan Fodio was recognized as the leading cleric and given the title of ‘Sarkin Musulmi’, (Leader of the Faithful). He formed a community after his confrontation with the authorities at Gobir and called on the faithfuls to join him. From the community he launched his Jihad. Majority of his soldiers were Herdsmen and another faction, natives that fell for his ‘charismatic’ leadership. Dan Fodio would eventually give flags of leadership to the Fulani leaders of the various Hausa cities. By far, the Dan Fodio’s Jihad was the most successful of all Fulani Jihads in West Africa. He would also replace the Hausa kings with Fulani aristocrats, and like the previous Fulbe leaders, the new empire was hostile to the natives. Their lands were taken from them and they were

relegated to second class citizens in their ancestral homeland. Many of them were forced into slavery under an oppressive feudal system and others sold to Arab slave traders. At Ilorin, the shortsighted rebel Afonja, the story went on, made it so easy for the Fulani to get rid of him. Unlike the other kingdoms where they migrated on their free will and chose their spiritual leader, Afonja personally wooed the Fulani to his kingdom and appointed Alimi as the cleric of the province. Both vital foundations for a Fulani takeover were given on a platter of gold by the warlord. Very much as in all cases, the Fulani got rid of him and ensured the throne of Ilorin was for their kinsman.

According to some accounts, they had not been able to invade beyond Ilorin. The native Yoruba warriors at Ibadan fought them back as well as Benin warriors. To conquer the south, it is important to have Fulani herdsmen and clerics stationed in the land. It is important to indoctrinate natives who profess same religion with them to trade their ancestry for a religious theocracy of a divine cleric. Among the Yoruba people, they would succeed as they did in the old Ilorin emirates when many natives of old Oyo Empire enlisted in the army of Alimi's descendants to invade villages under Oyo and capture their fellow kinsmen as slaves to be sold to the Portuguese.

History repeats itself: Occupy, Conquer and Rule

'Those who do not learn history are doomed to repeat it", by the writer and philosopher **George Santayana** is true of Nigeria. History proves beyond doubt that giving Colonies and Settlements to Fulani people under the guise of land for grazing is very dangerous. The Fulani are obsessed to conquer the South and take it from the ancestral owners like they did to the Hausas. The South owns the ports and oil. It owns the best companies and rainforests. That is what they secretly want and really not grazing land for cows. With scattered Fulani settlements in the south, they would bring their clerics and launch a new phase of Jihads from the south base. Cattle colony saga is a plan to conquer the South. Herdsmen are foot soldiers of Fulani Empire and the demand for lands in the South is a first step to taking over the ancestral lands of the Southern people. The Igbos are not left out!

The present day Yorubas are quick to recognize the Fulani old history of expansion and conquest. The Yorubas recall that they must be conscious of the usual character trait of the Fulani. They conquer people, occupy their lands and rule over

the land. This actually led to their conquest, domination and rule over the entire Hausa land in Nigeria till today. They are quick to recall how the Fulani tricked the Ilorin Yorubas into capturing their land over which they rule till today. They are conscious of their further incursion into the entire Yoruba land which led to the Oshogbo war of 1840 between the Fulanis and the Ibadan warlords who decisively routed them thus stopping their further incursion. The Yorubas are aware of the Fulani ceaseless plots and strategy to still capture Yorubaland in fulfillment of the will of their forebear Othman Dan Fodio whose design was that the conquest of the Yorubas would only stop at the ocean in Lagos where their blood-stained swords would be washed. They are conscious of the highest degree of harms the Fulani herdsmen have done to their farmers over the decades where their cattle destroyed their farm crops at will, where they raped their wives and children and killed anybody who dared their will with impunity. It was easy to recognize the resurgence of large scale perpetration of the evil herdsmen which had now gotten to an uncontrollable and unacceptable level that an open confrontation or war had now been provoked between the Fulani invaders and the Yorubas, together with the entire Southern Nigeria ethnic groups who do not want anything to do with Islam.

Christian reaction in the face of danger

In the name of freedom of worship and religious tolerance, Southerners have allowed the building of mosques in their territories, while in the North Christianity is not tolerated by the Muslim, who openly resist Christian worship and encourage the destruction of Christian centers of worship. Should Christians fold their arms and watch Muslim Jihadists take over their lands, colonize the people and enforce Sharia on Christian states and regions? There is no doubt that Muslims in Nigeria have begun the final push to achieve their goal, the complete Islamization of Nigeria! Are Christians not reading the hand-writing on the walls, or are Christian leaders keeping mute and ignoring the realities of the "Signs of the Times!" "In the face of very serious danger it is foolhardy to ignore serious warnings!"

To Conquer and Islamize Nigeria

During the civil war General Yakubu Gowon's radio slogan was: ***"To keep Nigeria one is task that must be done!*** During President Muhammadu Buhari's regime, the slogan changed to:

"To Conquer and Islamize Nigeria is a Task that must be Completed!" They succeeded in "Keeping Nigeria One!" Will history repeat itself? Will it happen again and the Cabal, with the aid of their foot-soldiers and mercenaries, that go by the name herdsmen, Gwodogwodo, and Boko Haram succeed again in 'Keeping Nigeria one?' This time the nation will become an Islamic Republic or Nigeria!

According to confirmed reports from Nigerian police, and army headquarters actions were being taken by the government to silence groups from the South challenging its Islamization programs. The Inspector General of Police, one Ibrahim Kpotum Idris, ordered that the vigilante groups set up by some state governors as a response to the menace of Fulani terrorist herdsmen should be disarmed. In a statement issued by the IG and released through the Police Force spokesman, Jimoh Moshood, all State Police commissioners had been ordered to arrest and prosecute those who refused to turn in their arms within 21 days. Surely no Christian, especially Middle-Belt and Southern non-Moslem was amused by the order. One notices the criminal double standard of the Cabal and their Islamists ground gangs. The Police never ordered that the AK-47 wielding Fulani Terrorist Herdsmen be disarmed!

Conquer and Islamize the Infidels

There is no doubt that the present scheme was devised to make it easier for this government-enabled terror group to kill all 'infidels' without encountering resistance. As many frightened Southerners observe: "And this atrocious order is coming at the same time they were releasing thousands of hardened Boko Haram terrorists from prison and paying them millions and billions in cash and reportedly enrolling them into the Nigerian army". This is a very scary scenario! "To stop you from even crying when they kill and maim you, they have used one of their senators to introduce an iniquitous bill in the Senate which will give them the legal backing to hide under "Hate Speech" to hang anyone who criticizes them for their murderous ways". Fulani herdsmen who demonstrate raw hate by killing and maiming thousands and displacing millions are going about holding press conferences and being defended, funded and protected by the President and his security Chiefs who are all Fulanis but non-Fulani peoples of Nigeria who cry out against this unholy matrimony between their government and the Fulani terrorists can now be intimidated and hanged by this same terrorist-

friendly government. One Igbo disturbed commentator and writer, (Charles Ogbu) expressed how tragically ironic and complex this plot is! “The brazenness with which these Barbarians are advancing their demonic ethno-religious supremacist agenda is ridiculous. This is a case of, "We own you. Even your life is ours to give or to take". He rightly gave it out to our so-called law-makers: “Shame on all Southern Senators who are too dumb to see that hate killing currently being perpetrated by the Fulani terrorist herdsmen with government-sponsored impunity should be of more concern than citizens expressing frustration at the roguery of their callous government”.

Quranic Verses that inspire Islamic terrorism

Slay the unbelievers wherever you find them (Quran 2:191 (2) Muslims must not take the infidels as friends (Quran 3:28) (3) Any religion other than Islam is not acceptable (Quran) 3:85 (4) Maim and crucify infidels if they criticized Islam (Quran 5:33) (5) Terrorize and behead those who believe in scriptures other than the Quran (Quran 8:12) (6) Muslims must muster all weapons to terrorize the infidels (Quran 8:60) (7) The unbelievers are stupid; urge Muslims to fight them (Quran 8:65) (8) When opportunity arises, kill the infidels wherever you catch them (Quran 9:5) (9) The Jews and the Christians are perverts, fight them. (Quran 9:30) (10) Make war on the infidels living in your neighborhood (Quran 9: 123) (11) Punish the unbelievers with garments of fire; hooked iron rods, boiling water, melt their skin and bellies (Quran 22:19) (12) Do not hanker for peace with the infidels; behead them when you catch them (Quran 47: 4)

As Fulanis prepared for ‘holy war’

Early morning of June 25, 2018 Nigerians were greeted with yet another tragic report that the Fulani terrorist herdsmen had massacred over 200 people mostly women and children in 11 communities in Plateau state in another round of jihadist ethnic cleansing throughout the non-Caliphate territories of Nigeria. The ISIS terrorists’ activities in Iraq and Syria must be seen as child’s play if the world was allowed to behold the unbelievable gory sights of dead bodies of Nigerians in the hands of Boko Haram terrorists in Plateau state this last time. The mourning of 2 Catholic priests and 19 parishioners murdered by the same terrorist group, renamed ‘herdsmen’ was still on when the terrorists struck again with utmost brutality. Surely what was

happening in Plateau, Adamawa and other non-Caliphate parts of Nigeria is not killing by some ragtag Cattle rearing group known as Fulani herdsmen. What is happening in Nigeria is a full blown Fulani jihad fully initiated, implemented and sustained by the man masquerading as our President and all his Service Chiefs who are virtually all Fulani Muslims. This genocide is simply about actualizing the dream of Uthman dan Fodio. What is going on? Nigerians are shaken to the marrows.

The following official statement from the Fulani Nationality Movement is one out of many such statements, issued and signed by their leaders. Like the 'Arewa Ultimatums' to the Igbos to leave the North, Islamic threats can never be dismissed as 'empty', unless some early interventions are carried out by the elders. The declaration of "Holy War" is a legitimate order from Allah, who rewards each fighter well, depending on the number of infidels slaughtered in each jihad. They have never hidden their agenda, whose goal is the total islamization of Nigeria. "Let anyone with ears listen" (Matthew 11:15). The statement has been reproduced 'verbatim' as publish by Nigerian Newspapers, including the emphasized words and statements.

The killings in Plateau: "We remain solid and unshaken by the wind" (June 25, 2018). - Statement by the Fulani Nationality Movement

Our attention has been drawn to the series of campaigns being waged against the Fulani Nationality following the killings in Plateau where some civilians who have been tormenting the Fulani Nation were justifiable hacked down. Why is it convenient for Nigerians to condemn the killings of Birom but fail to condemn the killings of Fulani people? We frown at the conscious attempts to demonize the Fulani Nation by the media and their collaborators. We wish to make the following categorical statements on the Plateau incidence:

1) The killings in Barkin Ladi were motivated by previous killings of Fulani men and women by Birom youths in collaboration with certain minority ethnic groups in Plateau. We hereby justify these retaliatory attacks and warn that we shall continue to defend ourselves and uphold the Fulani Heritage now and in the future. Let it be known that the Fulani Special Force coordinated the attacks. For the avoidance of doubt, our heritage is that **any attack on a single Fulani is an attack on all. Any of such attacks must be countered with triple measure.**

2) That apart from stealing hundreds of cows belonging to Fulani, these criminal elements also set ablaze several houses belonging to peaceful Fulani natives across the entire territories in Barkin Ladi and Plateau.
3) That we have said it several times that Plateau is an indigenous territory of the Fulani People. We are the first to settle in Plateau-Benue axis thousands of years ago. We shall take and posses every inch of this land. Any conscious attempt to rewrite history and distort, manipulate or destroy our past will be resisted with all the might at our disposal.
4) That there is a clear agenda to divide Nigeria and exterminate the Fulani People. We are long aware of this plot. We call on Fulani all over Africa to prepare for this inevitable war and set our people on an offensive path rather than being weaklings that choose a defensive strategy in warfare.
5) We have said it over and over, that **Nigeria is the only inheritance we have in Africa and anywhere in the world.** This land belongs to us, from Sokoto to the banks of the Atlantic Ocean. This was the destiny bestowed on Ottoman Dan Fodio which would have been fulfilled since 1816 if not for the obstruction of this great assignment by the British. It is no longer time to play the ostrich. Our men are waiting. We are eager to fight. **We are boiling with the zeal to actualize our dream;** enough of double dealing and ambivalence by Fulani Political Leaders who unfortunately think the Fulani can only take back what belongs to us through appeasement and elections destined to reflect cultural values antithetical to the preaching of Othman Dan Fodio.
6) We warn that nothing will be able to save those raising their voices against us and Allah. Nothing will be left behind, from the East, West and Middle Belt except those who accept the creation of Allah and the leadership place of Fulani in fulfilling this destiny. Since this irresponsible Western notion of democracy was imposed, the Fulani have been shortchanged and maligned. The Middle-Belt, the West and the East should be prepared.
7) Let the Birom and the ethnic minority invaders in the entire Middle Belt leave our territory or be prepared to accept our ways of life. It is time for them to savor their wounds. It is just the beginning and nothing can stop us.
8) Insha Allah, we shall take this battle across the sea, on the land, in the air, on the mountains, in every territory currently occupied by the Kafirs. This is our position. (**Signed: Badu Salisu Ahmadu National President; Umar Amir Shehu)**

Fulani Expansionism – Whither Nigeria?

The response from the Nigerian government and the military to clarion calls for action, to stop the killing and persecution of Christians in Nigerian by the Islamic Jihadists from Nigerians at home and in the Diaspora, including serious reactions from the United States, European countries, particularly Britain has been disappointing. There is absolutely no more doubt that the government of Muhammadu Buhari and the military could no longer claim ignorance of what the terrorists in the guise of herdsmen were doing and what their goal is. What would Nigerians make out of a statement credited to a government spokesperson; namely that it was a better option for people of the Middle Belt to surrender their farms to the herdsmen than to lose their lives in clashes with the terrorists!

The government, Hausa-Fulani lawmakers, and the Islamic leadership, are surely in a big dilemma. Having promised their Moslem brothers **"colonies"** for Fulani Empire expansionist agenda, it is unfortunate they are failing their people. Their hidden plans have been uncovered by non-Muslim communities of Nigeria, Middle-Belt, South-West, South-East and South-South. While the terrorists are bent on achieving their goals, under rain and sun and heavily armed to the teeth, with support from World Islamic Congress; and the rest of Nigerians are not intimidated, but ready to defend their lives and properties, what is the way forward for a 'United Nigeria?' Are the leaders going on with elections, come 2019 or are they summoning a Sovereign National Conference to decide the way forward for Nigeria? There is no doubt that the nation is at the crossroads.

CHAPTER 26

THE BATTERED IMAGE OF A NATION - THE NEED FOR CHANGE AND REPARATION

> **"The world will not be destroyed by those who do evil, but by those who watch them without doing anything"** *(Albert Einstein)*

"By their fruits you shall know them"

It is real! It is scary! It doesn't worth a 'cover-up!' Fruits of corruption or corrupt practices are many in Nigeria. The Bible warns; "Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing but inwardly are ravenous wolves. You will know them by their fruits. Are grapes gathered from thorns, or figs from thistles? In the same way, every good tree bears good fruit, but the bad tree bears bad fruit. A good tree cannot bear bad fruit, nor can a bad tree bear good fruit. Every tree that does not bear good fruit is cut down and thrown into the fire. **Thus you will know them by their frui**ts (Matthew 7:15ff). Reports of fraudulent practices by Nigerians appear in newspapers, television, radio, and other social media, local and foreign. Nigerians themselves usually report such activities to alert fellow citizens and foreigner arriving in Nigeria, by land, sea and air, to be on the alert! Such evil practices go by popular names like **"419", "Yahoo-Yahoo"** and are truly widespread. As the economic situation continued to worsen, young Nigerians, in big cities and villages are reported to have embraced various types of scam business to make money. Get hold of a laptop computer and browse the Internet! Advanced fee fraud is when fraudsters target victims to make advance or upfront payments for goods, services and or financial gains that do not materialize. Types of advance fee fraud include career opportunity scams and fake promises to easy money.

It is not bad if the origins and consequences of these practices are exposed and the attention of **students of History and other citizens, both native and foreign,** drawn to the scams. Many Nigerians and foreigners, including this writer have been victims of "419ers" as they are referred to in Nigeria. In fact many young Nigerians are involved and some see it as 'legitimate' business! Nigerian youths, school and college students should be exposed to the realities of the criminal

activities of these fellow citizens and their foreign counterparts. Should the new generation of Nigerian youths reading this History book condemn evil in its totality or should they join the crowd, "if these evil actors can't be beaten"? It is not only in Nigeria that such evils, usually referred to as "fraud", thrive. They are found all over the world, developed, developing or under-developed nations of the world. In fact Africans, including Nigerians have learned the 'businesses' from developed countries. Is the headquarters of bank fraud not located in **Geneva, Switzerland!** What should we call **Swiss, British and American banks** that receive huge amounts of stolen money from corrupt governments and individual thieves for safe-keeping in their banks? How does one refer to fake manufactured goods, including 'plastic rice' that flood Nigerian markets shipped from **China?** What names do we give to importers and exporters of these fake products sold in the name of genuine ones? The issue is as complicated as one can imagine. But whatever the case may be, we are interested in the Nigerian participation in this evil, which has truly given the country a bad name. Sometimes it is not easy to separate the wheat from the cockle. It may surprise some people even to hear that most of the criminal activities related to 419, said to have been committed by Nigerians, mostly overseas, are really carried out by **non-Nigerians,** who, when caught, claim to be Nigerian citizens!

The origins of 419-scam business

Stephen Ellis, with a remarkable insight, traces the origin of Nigeria's notorious 419-scam business in his article in the **Newsweek Magazine; May 9, 2016.** We reproduce it here.

Corruption and organized crime have a long history in the West African country. Nigerian scammers are generally regarded as pioneers in the sending of mass letters, messages and emails seeking to defraud any recipient, foolish and greedy enough to fall for their tricks, although all the signs are that the practice has now spread worldwide. Nigerians call scams like these "Four One Nine," so called by reference to **Article 419** of the country's criminal code, which concerns fraud. Yet Nigeria's 419 scammers have a far longer pedigree (origin and history of something) than most people realize. The first properly documented 419 letter dates from 1920 and was written by one **P. Crentsil (Ghanaian origin)** to a contact in the British colony of the Gold Coast, today's Ghana. Crentsil launched into a long description of the magical powers that were in his

possession and that could, on payment of a fee, be used to the benefit of his correspondent. Crentsil signed himself **"P. Crentsil, Professor of Wonders.**

According to the evidence at hand, "Professor" Crentsil had to be regarded as the first-known exponent of the modern 419 fraud. He seemed to have written a number of similar letters, each time offering to provide magical services on payment of a fee. In **December 1921,** he was charged by the police with three counts under various sections of the criminal code including section 419, the one to which Nigerians make reference when they speak of **"Four-One-Nine.**" But Crentsil was in luck: the magistrate presiding over his case discharged him with a caution on the first count and acquitted him on the two others for lack of corroborating evidence, as a result of which "he (Crentsil) was now boasting that he got off owing to his **'juju'** powers," reported the Chief of Police in Onitsha Province. The same officer stated that he had known Crentsil for some years, during which time the "Professor" "had slipped through the hands of the police so often that I shall soon, myself, begin to believe in his magic powers. *Sic*

There is no way of knowing how many similar cases may have occurred, but the colonial authorities became sufficiently concerned by the number of letters addressed to Nigerians from outside the country soliciting money for what the British regarded as fraudulent purposes that they started to intercept items of what was called "charlatanic correspondence." The Director of Posts and Telegraphs made clear that this term embraced adverts concerning "medicines of potency, and unfailing healing power, lucky charms, love philters, magic pens with which examinations can be passed, powders and potions to inspire personal magnetism, remove kinks from hair—or insert them—counteract sterility and ensure football prowess." The Posts and Telegraphs department recorded 9,570 such items in 1947, by which time the amount of money returned to senders was some £1,205. In the mid-1940s there was a spate of financial scams perpetrated by people known as **"Wayo tricksters,"** some of whom were operating a trick that involved posing as agents of a "New York Currency Note Firm," selling to a gullible victim boxes of blank paper with a promise that this could be turned into banknotes by application of a special chemical.

Behavior of a sort that British officials probably would have classified as charlatanic was sometimes recorded on the part of the relatively few Nigerians who travelled overseas at that time. One of these was one **Prince Modupe,** who spent years in

the United States under a variety of fantastical guises. In 1935 he was in Los Angeles presenting himself as a graduate of Jesus College, Oxford, although Oxford University had no record of him. In March 1947 he appeared on the bill at the San Francisco Opera House under the name **His Royal Highness Prince Modupe of Dubrica.** Seven months later he was still in San Francisco, now claiming to be the **"Crown Prince of Nigeria"** and representing himself as a successful businessman who had obtained a variety of commercial contracts. Modupe seems to have been in effect a **professional confidence trickster**, nor was he the only Nigerian operating in this field in the United States. Another was **Prince Peter Eket Inyang Udo,** a businessman who lived in America and Britain for some seventeen years. Eket Inyang Udo attracted the attention of the colonial authorities not only on account of his dubious commercial practices but also because of his political ideas and connections.

Another controversial case, in which fraud and nationalist politics seem to have been mixed, concerned an Igbo man who became a minor celebrity in America under the name **Prince Orizu.** He was so well known that an Australian official working in New York for the U.N. wondered in his memoirs: "What happened to the **Ibo adventurer** who called himself Prince Orizu?" Noting that "there are no hereditary chiefs let alone princes in Ibo-land," the Australian wrote that Orizu "seemed to have no difficulty in getting a write-up in the New Yorker or the New York Times every now and then." The person he was describing also went under the name **Dr Abyssinia Akweke Nwafor Orizu,** and it was under this name that he was convicted by a magistrate in Nigeria in **September 1953** on seven counts of fraud and theft of funds ostensibly intended to fund scholarships in the United States. Himself U.S.-educated, Orizu had collected over £32,000 in the three years prior to his conviction. What makes the case all the more interesting is that Orizu was a stalwart of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC), the leading political party founded in 1944, and was also a member of the Regional Government established under Nigeria's 1951 constitution. He went on to have a distinguished political career, becoming president of the Senate after Nigeria's Independence. Although it has been alleged that Orizu's conviction for fraud was a miscarriage of justice, it seems fair to observe that modern politics, which emerged in Nigeria only in the 1940s, offered opportunities for a type of self-

fashioning comparable in many respects to that practiced by fabulists and fraudsters like **Crentsil, Modupe and others.**

Some of Nigeria's **new breed of fraudsters (cheaters, scammers, and swindlers)** began at a young age. In **1949,** the U.S. consul-general in Lagos reported the existence of one **"Prince Bil Morrison,"** who turned out to be a **14-year old boy** who specialized in writing to correspondents in America to solicit funds. The police remarked that this case was just "one more in which generous, but possibly gullible, American citizens have allowed themselves to be taken in by African schoolboys." The consul-general wrote: "These young Nigerians are stated by the police to be **excellent psychologists,"** noting that their practice of writing to people in the United States and Canada for money was "widespread." Frauds by Nigerian students in the United States and Canada in the late **1940s** were said to include the offer for sale of diamonds, ivory and other exotic luxuries. This piece is an extract from the late Stephen Ellis's book - This Present Darkness: A History of Nigerian Organized Crime. The book is published by Hurst in London and by Oxford University Press in New York.

419-Scam Business in Nigeria today

There is an unseen big sign board welcoming every visitor arriving in Nigeria, by air, sea or land. It reads: **"Attention! Beware of 419ers!!** Are you arriving by air, make sure you hold your passport tight." Even the customs officials can steal your passport and sell it to thousands of willing buyers, who want to migrate to Europe and other foreign countries. Don't ask them how they would convert the stolen passport to their personal property or if they didn't need one, sell it to a ready buyer! By whatever means you have landed in Nigeria, take care of your cell-phone and credit cards. You will find yourself in hot soup if you lose any of those important possessions of yours! You have been warned!

The notorious scary Nigerian scams

While we acknowledge that there are cheaters and scammers all over the world, people who use unbelievable types of tricks to defraud others to enrich themselves, here, scam becomes a profession and very insignificant number of Nigerians sees it as an evil. The signs and figures are there. Fraudsters are known and are even respected and adored. At least a few individuals

who care to challenge the activities of scammers easily identify them. One 'feature' is there and clearly defines a fraudster; one who 'lives above his means!' Someone understands the expression by saying: "Living beyond your means is pretty easy to do these days, especially since we live in a time when buying on credit — and having a **Yolo mentality** — has become the norm". "Yolo mentality" simply means reckless life-style. You only live once, expressing the view that one should make the most of the present moment without worrying about the future, and often used as a rationale for impulsive or reckless behavior and spending. In Nigeria, Hausa-Falanis are said to have "Yolo mentality". They care little about tomorrow, **(Baaquomi),** while the Igbos are the opposite, **'Eri-Eche-Echi'** ('eating today and as well worrying about tomorrow') Igbos are crafty, miserly, and prudent in spending. Many responsible good parents are of the opinion that 'the Yolo mentality has ruined the young adult generations'. They care little about the future!

Here are generic signs and characteristics of Yolo mentality:

(1) Reckless spending when one may not even be in need.
(2) You carry a balance on your credit card.
(3) You are not saving at least 5 percent of your income.
(4) You have no emergency fund.
(5) You are leasing a car you cannot afford.
(6) You don't have money left at the end of the month.
(7) You have paid an overdraft fee.
(8) You have never set a budget.

The concept of *'Igbu Ozu":* [devilish acquisition & over-extravagant exhibition of affluence]

The above 'characteristics' are truly real, though are generic. I must add a few more but very important signs that identify the present day Nigerian scammers. They are different from the above global characteristics of people who live above and exceedingly spend what should be their normal income. By their fruits you shall know them! ***"Igbu Ozu"*** (getting quickly rich through fraudulent and devilish activities; literarily 'killing to make money') is a familiar Igbo expression and phenomenon in Nigeria. The following types of evil men and their practices are easily identified in society, and among the rich barons who command influence in Nigeria.

(a) The rich fellow, commanding an extraordinary wealth is an evil man.
(b) He may belong to an occult society.
(c) He is a criminal and commands or leads a gang of younger criminals whose sources of 'quick wealth' may include: (i) kidnapping and **killing** their victims in order to collect the much-wanted material needs, especially money; hence *'Igbo Ozu' (destruction of life)*, (ii) The big money may have been acquired through some inexplicable satanic rituals.
(d) ***"Ogburu Ozu"*** simply implies that the new-found-wealth emanated from criminal activities, and definitely it was a fabulous *'catch'*! A lot of victims must have lost heavily and badly cheated. They must lick their wounds for long.
(e) Some signs by which the extra-ordinary-wealthy criminals are known: (1) His flamboyant life-style knows no bounds. Though he is known to be a dishonest fellow and sources of his income are unknown, he is still respected in the community, because generally Igbos and Nigerians in general adore wealth. (2) The well-known *'rich fool', a "*criminal', is rightly depicted by the biblical saying: '*by their fruits, you shall know them'*
(f) Lastly, the biblical parable of the **'Rich Fool'** summarizes his fate; (Luke 12: 16-21)

The Parable of the Rich Fool is a **parable** of Jesus, which depicts the futility of the belief that wealth can secure prosperity or a good life. He said to them, "Take care! Be on your guard against all kinds of greed; for one's life does not consist in the abundance of possessions." Then he told them a parable: "The land of a rich man produced abundantly. And he thought to himself, 'What should I do, for I have no place to store my crops?' Then he said, 'I will do this: I will pull down my barns and build larger ones, and there I will store all my grain and my goods. And I will say to my soul, Soul, you have ample goods laid up for many years; relax, eat, drink, be merry.' But God said to him, 'You fool! This very night your life is being demanded of you. And the things you have prepared, whose will they be?' So it is with those who store up treasures for themselves but are not rich toward God."

Here they come!

(1) Few years or even months they return from overseas, they begin to construct massive mansions, and acquire vast areas of land and property, comparable in complexity to government lodges, factories, hotels, and estates.
(2) The construction of these mansions takes few months to complete because of availability of funds. I visited one such estate in a remote village in Imo state, Nigeria. Security was assured with massive high walls, with huge gates at two entrances to the "family house" of young unmarried man of 27, who was said to be living in Malaysia and doing "business" there. The four different huge houses in the enclosure looked like beautiful 'factories' that could employ over 500 workers. **But all,** beautifully furnished, had nobody living in them. That was extraordinary exhibition of wealth and flamboyant life-style.
(3) Some of the estates owned by 419ers have swimming pools which are never used by anybody and the compound is served by giant generators usually in use only when the owner comes back for a few days.
(4) 419ers, also known as **Yahoo-men,** are believed to belong to occult societies, and establish devilish pacts with the spirits of the underworld. Their deaths used to be sudden and "mysterious". There are too many examples in Nigeria.
(5) They surround themselves with fleet of cars and **'security guardsmen and service-chiefs.'**
(6) They spend lavishly as if they own and operate money-minting-factories. They spread what often looks like fake **dollars, pounds, Euros and naira** on dancing celebrants at wedding ceremonies, birthday parties and functions.

But some authors who have closely investigated Nigerian scammers have a lot to say about them. According to one source, Nigerian scams involve someone overseas offering you a share in a large sum of money or a payment on the condition you help them to transfer money out of their country. While these scams originate from Nigeria, they now come from all over the world.

How the scams work

The scammer will contact you out of the blues by e-mails, letters, and text messages or through social media. The scammer will tell you an elaborate story about large amounts of their money trapped in banks during events such as civil wars or coups, often

in countries currently in the news, or they may tell you about a large inheritance that is 'difficult to access' because of government restrictions or taxes in their country. The scammer will then offer you a large sum of money to help them transfer their personal fortune out of the country. Scammers may ask for your bank account details to 'help them transfer the money' and use this information to later steal your funds.

Another pattern is that they may ask you to pay fees, charges or taxes to help release or transfer the money out of the country through your bank. These fees may even start out as quite small amounts. If paid, the scammer may make up new fees that require payment before you can receive your reward. They will keep asking for more money as long as you are willing to part with it. You will never be sent the money that was promised. **Have you been scammed?** If you think you have provided your account details, passport, tax file number, license, Medicare or other personal identification details to a scammer, contact your bank, financial institution, or other relevant agencies immediately.

Black Money - "Wash-Wash" Dollar-Currency Bills! The Nigerian connection!

Most Americans and Europeans have been duped. Many Nigerians at home have been victims. The present writer was a victim some ten years ago! The scam is real and the operators are accomplished thieves. There is no extent of the road they wouldn't travel with you to succeed in their dubious business. Many have heard of the Nigerian scammers – con men who bombard security organizations with tales of woe and get-rich-quick-schemes. Many think that most victims have learned their lessons and have become wise by now, but the con-men still lure more than $100 million out of Australians, Americans, British and Nigerians every year. The latest scam is called black money, or locally known as **"Wash-Wash-Money"**.

One **Australian tourist Rob Connolly** was said to have recently fallen for such a hoax while on holiday in Thailand. The same story was told about an American **medical doctor** in 2017. When the Nigerian con men were eventually caught by the FBI in the United States, they narrated their stories and their operations to the world press and made public confession! Everyone was stunned, and surely the American FBI and CIA used their information well and would use their 'discoveries' to protect millions of people who are duped by these highly

'intelligent', 'sophisticated', but very dangerous human beings. Many people have fallen victims, lost their life savings, and their world fell apart. That was exactly the type of scam the **present writer** experienced with one "innocent-looking con-man from EDO state Nigeria, a gang member of "wash-wash- money"! He demanded money in small bits to purchase the "chemicals" that would do the "magic". With the chemicals the over 5,000 pieces of neatly cut black papers in $100 bill sizes would 'miraculously' turn to real $5,000 bills, when **'chemically washed**!' What a hoax! The man who went about with a fake name **"Donald"** should be one of the worst evil personalities one would have met in life. A 56 year old man from United States of America also suffered a two million dollar loss, after becoming a victim of an investment and 'money-wash' (aka black money) fraud. Bryan Boyanup, who didn't want his real name revealed, met the fraudsters online four years ago and was offered an investment opportunity to recover lost funds from the United Kingdom and set up various investments in Australia, Europe and USA.. He also paid for what the fraudsters said were a series of fees and taxes required to complete the deal which they claimed would result in a windfall of 50 million dollar

The criminals provided him with a credit card and set up a bogus account where he could withdraw small amounts of money from his two-million dollar investment. As part of the sting, Bryan met the fraudsters in Kuala Lumpur and Dubai where they demonstrated the method where expired bank notes that had been coated in a black substance could be turned into useable currency after being washed in chemicals. He understood a case containing a safe full of dyed money could be converted if he invested $US100,000 to buy the "special" chemicals needed. The 'wash wash' fraud usually involves notes that have been dyed black and the common chemicals used in the process could usually be purchased at a small price. The man, who was preparing to retire, said he lost his home as a result of the loss and postponed his retirement plans. He said he felt "gutted" when he realized he had been conned! "I can only blame myself for being so blind and the more I got into it, the blinder I got. I decided I needed to get out of it and wake up. I hope that by telling my story people will become aware and not get caught like I have," he said.

Another duped victim, Driscoll, warned: "Victims should be mindful that, by being involved in these investment deals, they may inadvertently be taking part in an operation that is illegal, exposing them to potential prosecution. It may also be

the case that they are being used by criminals as money mules and innocently assisting a money laundering operation, it's important not to be tempted to make impulsive decisions when invited to take part in these get rich quick schemes".

Yahoo or 419-Fraudsters in Nigeria

In Nigeria the "Advance-Fee-Scam is popularly known by the name **"Yahoo-Yahoo"** or simply 419**.** The operators or the con men are called "Yahoo Boys or 419-ers**.** The term usually carries a negative impression about persons involved in what many describe as 'dirty' business. "Yahoo Boys" are too many to count in Nigeria today. One does not need to travel abroad to get rich quickly any more. "Yahoo Mail" was the first to be widely used by Nigerians who possessed smart phones, tablets and laptops and so could easily access the Internet. "G-Mail" and other electronic mails followed later. The 'headquarters' of world scammers might be located in the United States of America, but it is seems Nigerians scammers are smarter than their counterparts all over the world. In the US, scammers concentrate on banks only frauds. Many banks in the US have active anti-fraud monitoring agencies at work 24/7. They quickly alert possible victims, take steps to block scammers' attempts to withdraw monies from accounts of bank customers. Scammers' fake phone numbers are easily identified.

No matter the level of **'tolerance and admiration'** of the type of miraculous wealth accumulated by today's scammers all over world and Nigeria, "Yahoo-Yahoo" or "419er" business doesn't receive acceptance or legitimacy among many adult Nigerians and parents. "Yahoo-Yahoo", in spite of its popularity and spread, has remained a derogative attribute used to describe evil or devilish business people. Village people describe Yahoo Boys as sorcerers, witches and evil individuals whose souls and lives are controlled by the devils and princes of darkness. People believe their lives are short. There are even warnings that donations from known Yahoo people should not be mixed up with 'genuine' contributions from ordinary donors or benefactors, in church and political congregations and fund-raising projects.

Whatever the case may be, Yahoo-Yahoo Boys have increased in number and they operate from remotest parts of the countryside and homes. Since electricity has become the perpetual handicap of business developers in Nigeria, Yahoo Boys have only two very important possessions for their

business, namely small power **generator and a laptop computer.** There is a popular 'slogan' in Nigeria today among jobless youths; "if you want money, get a laptop and a small generator'. Some of the boys 'work' 24/7 online, searching for victims that get caught in their nets. Victims are many, natives, foreigners, White, Black and Brown. An advance-fee scam, as we have seen, is a form of fraud and one of the most common types of "confidence trick". The scam typically involves promising the victim a significant share of a large sum of money, in return for a small up-front payment, which the fraudster requires in order to obtain the large sum. If a victim makes the payment, the fraudster either invents a series of further fees for the victim or simply disappears. An advance fee scheme occurs when the victim pays money to someone in anticipation of receiving something of greater value, such as a loan, contract, investment, or gift, and then receives little or nothing in return.

Yahoo Fraud – Variations and Origins

We have already checked on the origins of the scam, but there are many variations of this type of scam, including the 419 scam, that attracted our attention. There are **"Spanish Prisoner"** scam, the **"Black Money"** scam, **"Fifo's Fraud"** and the **"Detroit-Buffalo"** scam. These scams have been used with fax and traditional mails, and are now prevalent in online communications like emails. While Nigeria is most often the nation referred to in these scams, they originate from other nations as well, as we have seen already. In 2006, it was recorded, 61% of internet criminals were traced to locations in the United States, while 16% were traced to the United Kingdom, and 6% to locations in Nigeria. Other nations known to have a high incidence of advance-fee fraud include: the Ivory Coast, Togo, South Africa, Netherlands and Spain. The modern day transnational scam can also be traced back to Spain which dates back to the late 18th century as well as to Germany in 1922, and became popular in Nigeria during the 1980s.

But as far as we know, there were many other variants of the letters sent. One of these, usually sent via postal mails, were said to have been addressed to a woman's husband, and inquired about his health. It then asked what to do with profits from a $24.6 million investment, and ended with a telephone number. Other official-looking letters were sent from a writer who said he was a director of the state-owned Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation. He said he wanted to transfer $20 million to the

recipient's bank account – money that was budgeted, but never spent. In exchange for transferring the funds out of **Nigeria,** the recipient would keep 30% of the total. To get the process started, the scammer asked for a few sheets of the company's letterhead, bank account numbers, and other personal information.

But as far as we know other variants have involved real officials of Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN). All papers, personalities, including signatures appeared real 'outwardly', but 'inwardly', fake! The spread of e-mail and e-mail harvesting software significantly lowered the cost of sending scam letters by using the Internet. While Nigeria is most often the nation referred to in these scams, they may also originate from other nations as well. Nevertheless, Nigeria has earned a reputation for being at the center of e-mail scammers, and the number 419 refers to the article of the Nigerian Criminal Code (part of Chapter 38: "Obtaining property by false pretenses; Cheating") dealing with fraud. In Nigeria, scammers use computers in Internet cafés to send mass emails promising potential victims riches or romance, and to trawl for replies. They refer to their targets as 'Magas', slang developed from a Yoruba word meaning "fool". Some scammers have accomplices in the United States and abroad that move in to finish the deal once the initial contact has been made. The story of the young EDO Nigerian guy, who defrauded an Australian widow-sweet-heart, thousands of dollars, posing as the rich woman's American lover, in fact had the approval and cooperation of a real white American man!

Yahoo Scam vis-à-vis Corrupt Practices

According to Nigerian moral judgmental culture there is an ocean of difference between Yahoo or 419 scam business and corrupt practices. While almost every Nigeria is calling for the execution of politicians and other leaders who **steal** millions and billions of naira from Nigerian treasury or other sources, the Yahoo people are just seen as smart people. You have yourself to blame if you are stupid to fall into their traps. Yahoo-Boys can enjoy their wealth, the fruit of their "hard work" and smart practices. But the politicians have no reason to steal or collude in robbing the nation's enormous wealth, for example, by fixing huge salaries for themselves when the masses are suffering and millions of youths are unemployed. Such corrupt practices are related to the Nigerian law-makers fixing or hiking of huge salaries and other allowances to themselves, amounts, which

often exceed by ten-fold, those of their counterparts elsewhere, in Europe and the Unites States!

Although most Nigerians are aware of the present huge salaries and remuneration the so-called lawmakers enjoy, such news items which circulate in the social media continues to break the hearts of many unemployed youths, parents and unpaid workers in Nigeria, where the monthly minimum wage still remains eighteen thousand naira (N18,000), approximately $50 a month! Reactions from many Nigerian youths on the face of such discrepancy in allocation of such huge wealth to a selected set of people, compared to the economic situation of the country in which millions suffer in abject poverty are usually negatively overwhelming and violent! Such type of fraud is seen by the man as the worst in the history of the nation. Not a few youths call for massive uprising, a revolution to overthrow the thieves and their collaborators. Many agree to join in the revolution if the military was incapable of ceasing power and punish the thieves by throwing them into prison or street thrash containers, as it once the case of the Ukrainian official who was thrown into a garbage bin by an angry mob and pelted with thrash.

One Catholic priest, preaching a sermon in USA Church, called the attention of listeners to the following remarks: "In the aftermath of the 2015 mass shooting in San Bernardino, California, Daniel M. T. Fessler, the director of the UCLA Center for Behavior, Evolution and Culture, wrote to the Los Angeles Times: What, then, makes our society so violent**? Research indicates that a principal driver is income inequality.** In addition to being among the most violent of industrialized nations, ours is among the most unequal, with wealth being concentrated in the hands of a few".

Charity Organizational Fraud

In developed, developing and underdeveloped countries of the world "Yahoo" and "419" Scams have their equivalents or counter-parts. In European countries, United States and Canada sponsored television, radio and other social media advertisements by various charitable organizations, including churches and Social Clubs are many. Often presented or accompanied **with pictures of malnourished, hungry, dying, uneducated, abandoned and haggard-looking 'monsters' or children of the third world, particularly Africans,** many good people easily respond to the pathetic appeals of these charity and philanthropic organizations. Behold

some ugly results of investigations carried out by skeptics who have often doubted the honesty and goodwill of the solicitors for aid for the poor. How much of the collected sums of money, often huge donations from benefactors, actually reach the beneficiaries, the poor people of the third word?

No one will be surprised or shocked that most often less than 5% of the collected sums of money actually get to the poor. When seriously confronted by authorities from government or church bodies, receivers of these charities have ready answers. Most chunks of the donations go to **administrative tasks!** The poor, the beneficiaries receive "chicken feed!" (Insignificant sums of the money or aids). These are types of fraudulent activities they refer to as **"White Fraud or Scam",** something similar to **"White Lie!"**

"Charity Fraud" – The Nigerian Connection

Some well-known Nigerian con men return with White "benefactors of poor uneducated pupils and students" to Nigeria almost yearly. They return with these white friends and sponsors from the United States and Europe to inspect their works of charity in Nigeria. The benefactors contribute to the coffers of the associations at least $100 or 100 Euros monthly for the 'poor' children's school fees. Who will believe that less than 5% of the monthly contributions of the benefactors actually reach the beneficiaries? Is this not another highest form of fraud?

Some Ugly Regular Breaking News Headlines in Nigeria

1) Pastor arraigned for 'fraudulently' obtaining vehicles, money, and gifts from members!
2) Pastor involved in printing of 'fake' Nigerian currencies. Printing machines, printing accessories, and millions of already printed 'fake' currencies discovered by police in pastor's residence. Accomplices include family and Church members.
3) Pastor accused of involvement in fraudulent and illegal collection of hundreds and thousands of naira for unspecified number of 'non-existent' orphans and handicapped children.
4) Pastor accused by angry members of his churches of amassing wealth for his retirement.
5) Pastor building huge mansions and estates for his retirement.

6) Young Nigerian con-man arrested in New York for allegedly defrauding thousands of American 'donors' or 'benefactors' of unspecified huge amount of dollars. The con man who specialized in this type of business convinced members of the association he named "Rescue Mission for poor students in Nigeria" (not real named) to adopt two or three Nigerian students who had finished High School, and to offer them technical and computer education. Each benefactor paid into a specified account the sum of $100 monthly for each student. He arranged with one village private school in his town and submitted the sum of Six thousand naira (N6,000) per term, an equivalent of $16 per student. He took a picture of a town hall around his village and presented it to his benefactors as the proposed technical school, part of which was under construction.

What organized scam business! What organized fraudulent activities! And there are many fraudsters like these in Nigeria today! It is time they are reported to competent authorities, both at home and overseas. Donors should be alerted to call for the arrest and punishment of such fraudsters. Collaborators, clerics and lay persons should equally be exposed to stop such evil practices which give bad names to Nigerians, government and church. Not only **Nigeria History students** should be made to condemn and shun these evil activities; all Nigerian youths - in college or in business - should never join the fraudsters. Nigerian youths, the future leaders of clean country, we acclaim, should raise alarm. When things got so bad in the olden times, Igbo used to raise alarm like the old Israelites: (Joel 1& 2; Hosea 8.1ff)

Nigerian Scammers have let the nation down. They have scared new investors and driven away old ones, who have for long closed down their offices in Nigerian cities and relocated to other African countries or have completely folded up and returned to America and Europe. Scammers have ***'helped'*** to create a battered image of their country. Failure for government and the church to take stringent actions against convicted scammers would be a regrettable tragedy. It is necessary for Nigerian youths and college students to be aware of the extent of damages the activities Nigerian fraudsters leave on the image of the nation.

CHAPTER 27

NIGERIA AND GHANA THEN AND TODAY - MEMORIES OF "GHANA MUST GO" SAGA AS HISTORY TEACHES

Once upon a time the 'slogan' was **"Ghana must go"** and today there is a complete reversal of the tune; namely **"Nigeria must go".** Is the reversal of steps or tunes an accident of history or a calculated reprisal or retaliation by Ghana for damages or losses her citizens suffered in the hands of Nigerians some 35 years ago. The answer could be 'both'. There is no doubt that many citizens of both West African neighbors, young and the elderly have heard the story. The evidence is there, surely as the ancients confirm that "**A picture** is worth **a thousand words", which** really is an English language-idiom. It refers to the notion that a complex idea can be conveyed with just a single still **image** or that **an image** of a subject coveys its meaning or essence more effectively than a description does.

It is an important part of Nigerian history, which youths unborn before **1983** or were toddlers or yet in nursery school should know. Many authors have written about what they refer to as **"The True Story of 'Ghana must go".** Most Nigerians only know about **"Ghana Must Go Raffia Bag.** The 'Raffia Bag' is the unquestionable image and recites the entire story or history in a few minutes. They packed their belongings and left, as ordered by Nigerian Federal government! There is nothing bad about such 'true stories'. We will repeat the stories here. But we need to emphasize that very important parts of the 'true' story' are often left out or forgotten. Our young history students must grasp and digest the true **lessons** of the saga, and if they wish, they can ignore the chaff or the funny sides of it. There is need to separate the wheat from the cockle, the comedy from the history it teaches.

Nigeria and Ghana – Successes and Failures

Ghanaian Heads of state (1957 – 2018 – 60 years)

During the 61 years of independence **(1957 – 2018**) Ghana has had **7 military** and **4 democratic governments:**

(1) Kwame Nkrumah (First Republic)

(2) Lt Gen. Joseph Ankrah (Military)
(3) Kofi Busia (Second Republic)
(4) Col. Acheampong (Military)
(5) Lt. Gen Akuffo (Military)
(6) Flight Lt. Jerry Rawlings (Military, First appearance)
(7) Limann (Third Republic)
(8) Jerry Rawlings (Second appearance)
(9) John Kufuor (Forth Republic)
(10) John Mahama (Civilian government)
(11) Akufo Addo (2017 - ?)

Nigerian Heads of State (1960 – 2019 – 58 years)

During the 58 years of independence (1960 – 2019) Nigeria has had **9 military** and **5 democratic regimes:**

(1) Abubakar Tafawa Balewa/Nnamdi Azikiwe (First Republic)
(2) General Aguiyi Ironsi (Military)
(3) General Yakubu Gowon (Military)
(4) General Murtala Muhammad (Military)
(5) General Olusegun Obasanjo (OBJ) (Military)
(6) Shehu Shagari (Second Republic)
(7) General Muhammadu Buhari (Military)
(8) General Ibrahim Babangida (Military)
(9) General Sani Abacha (Military)
(10) General Abdulsalami (Military)
(11) Olusegun Obasanjo (OBJ) - 1999 – 2007 – 8 years (In Civilian uniform)
(12) Umaru Musa Yar'adua (Forth Republic) (Died)
(13)President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan (GEJ) 2007 – 2015
(14) In Civilian Garb, Muhammad Buhari; Second appearance in Civilian uniform (2015 –?)

Ghana political history – A short overview

On August 3, 1956, the new assembly passed a motion authorizing the government to request for independence within the British Commonwealth. The British government accepted this motion as clearly representing a reasonable majority, so on **6 March 1957,** the former British colony of the **Gold Coast** became the independent state of Ghana, and Kwame Nkrumah became Prime Minister, and in 1960, after a national referendum, Ghana was declared a republic. Nigeria gained

independence from Britain on **October 1, 1960**, about 3 and half years after Ghana.

Nkrumah's Vision for Africa & Military Intervention

Nkrumah was known to have discussed his political views in his numerous writings, especially in *Africa Must Unite* (1963) and in *Neo-colonialism* (1965). For Nkrumah, Western countries with colonial histories were identified as the exploiters. According to the socialists, "oppressed" people ought to identify with the socialist countries and organizations that best represented their interests. However, all the dominant world powers in the immediate post-1945 period, except the Soviet Union and the United States had colonial ties with Africa. Nkrumah asserted that even the United States, which had never colonized any part of Africa, was in an advantageous position to exploit independent Africa unless preventive efforts were taken. According to Nkrumah, his government, which represented the first black African nation to win independence, had an important role to play in the struggle against capitalist interests on the continent. As he put it, "the independence of Ghana would be meaningless unless it was tied to the total liberation of Africa." It was important, then, he said, for Ghanaians to "seek first the political kingdom." Economic benefits associated with independence were to be enjoyed later, proponents of Nkrumah's position argued. But Nkrumah needed strategies to pursue his goals.

On the domestic front, Nkrumah believed that rapid modernization of industries and communications was necessary and that it could be achieved if the workforce were completely **Africanized and educated**. On the continental level, Nkrumah sought to unite Africa so that it could defend its international economic interests and stand up against the political pressures from East and West that were a result of the Cold War. His dream for Africa was a continuation of the pan-Africanist dream as expressed at the Manchester conference. The initial strategy was to encourage revolutionary political movements in Africa. **Muammar Gaddafi of Libya** had similar dreams for Africa. Behold how the West treated and got rid of him. **Congolese Patrice Lumumba** had to die, primarily as a result of his alliance or association with the Soviet Union in the early sixties, during the era of the so-called 'Cold War'. Nkrumah was criticized for paying little attention to Ghana or for wasting national resources in supporting external programs. There was growing opposition. However Nkrumah

had been re-elected president of the country for less than a year when members of the National Liberation Council (NLC) overthrew his government in a military coup on **24 February 1966**. At the time, Nkrumah was in China. He took up asylum in Guinea, where he remained until he died in 1972.

Fall of the Nkrumah – Lt. Joseph Arthur Ankrah

24 February 1966 was the first coup d'état in Ghana. The National Liberation Council (NLC) which led the Ghanaian government from 24 February 1966 to 3 April 1969, emerged as the new 'messiah. The Ghana Police Service and Ghana Armed Forces carried out the coup jointly, with collaboration from the Ghana Civil Service. It was alleged that the plotters were well connected with the governments of **Britain (**under Prime Minister Harold Wilson) and the **United States** (then under Lyndon B. Johnson), who some believed approved the coup because Nkrumah challenged their political and economic ambitions in Africa. **In January 1967,** Ankrah mediated between the warring factions of the Nigerian civil war **(Aburi Accord - Nigeria-Biafra War).** He was forced to resign later as chairman of the NLC and Head of state over an alleged bribery scandal involving a Nigerian businessman.

Kofi Busia – First elected leader after Nkrumah

The problems of the **Kofi Abrefa Busia** administration, (Prime Minister (1969-1972), the country's first elected government after Nkrumah's fall, illustrated the problems Ghana would continue to face. The economic situation did not improve and Prime Minister Busia put Ghana into hot soup by the **expulsion of Nigerians from Ghana**. Two early measures initiated by the Busia government were the **expulsion of large numbers of non-citizens** from the country and a companion measure to limit foreign involvement in small businesses. The moves were aimed at relieving the unemployment crisis created by the country's precarious economic situation. The policies were **popular** because they forced out of the retail sector of the economy those **foreigners,** especially **Lebanese, Asians, and Nigerians**, who were perceived as unfairly monopolizing trade to the disadvantage of Ghanaians. Despite broad popular support garnered at its inception and strong foreign connections, the **Busia government fell victim to an army coup within twenty-seven months.**

Col. Acheampong and **Lt Gen Frederick Akuffo.**

Lt. Colonel **Ignatius Kutu Acheampong** led a bloodless coup that ended the **Second Republic.** Despite its short existence, the Second Republic was significant in that the development problems the nation faced came clearly into focus. But in July 1978, in a sudden move, some officers forced Acheampong to resign, replacing him with **Lt. General Frederick W. K. Akuffo**. The SMC apparently acted in response to continuing pressure to find a solution to the country's economic dilemma. Inflation was estimated to be as high as 300 percent that year. There were shortages of basic commodities, and cocoa production fell to half its 1964 peak. The council was also motivated by Acheampong's failure to dampen rising political pressure for changes. Akuffo, the new SMC chairman, promised publicly to hand over political power to a new government to be elected by 1 July 1979. Despite Akuffo's assurances, opposition to his government persisted. The call for the formation of political parties and general elections intensified. All appeared set for a new attempt at constitutional government in July, when a group of **young army officers under Rawlings** overthrew the government in June 1979.

Jerry Rawlings Revolution – Fighting Corruption

On 15 May 1979, less than five weeks before constitutional elections were to be held, a group of junior officers led by **Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings** attempted a coup. Initially unsuccessful, the coup leaders were jailed and held for court-martial. On 4 June, however, sympathetic military officers overthrew the Akuffo regime and released Rawlings and his cohorts from prison fourteen days before the scheduled election. Rawlings and the young officers formed the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC). The armed forces were purged of senior officers accused of corrupting the image of the military. Fortunately the planned elections took place, and Ghana had returned to constitutional rule by the end of **September 1979**.

Third Republic under Hilla Limann and Jerry Rawlings' Second "Revolution"

The administration of Hilla Limann, inaugurated on 24 September 1979, at the beginning of the **Third Republic**, was

thus expected to measure up to the new standard advocated by the AFRC. It was not easy. The government fell on 31 December 1981, in **another Rawlings-led coup. Rawlings** and his colleagues suspended the 1979 constitution, dismissed the president and his cabinet, dissolved the parliament, and proscribed existing political parties.

The second coming of Rawlings: 1982–87

The new government that took power on 31 December 1981 was the **eighth** (8th) in the fifteen years since the fall of Nkrumah. Calling itself the **Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC),** its membership included Rawlings as chairman. Rawlings presented a detailed statement explaining the factors that had necessitated termination of the Third Republic. The PNDC chairman assured the people that he had no intention of imposing himself on Ghanaians. Rather, he "wanted a chance for the people, farmers, workers, soldiers, the rich and the poor, to be part of the decision-making process." Unfortunately no miracles were performed by Rawlings. Ghana national economy was in shambles and the magnitude of the crisis was made worse **by the return of more than one million Ghanaians, who had been expelled from Nigeria in 1983**,

The Fourth Republic: Ghana's Recovery - Akufo Addo

Rawlings, John Kufuor, and John Mahama were the last political players that saw to Ghana's progress, which was noted internationally. The Constitution entered into force on 7 January 1993, to found the **Fourth Republic**.. **President Kufuor** initiated some social reforms, but soon gave up power in 2008. The ruling New Patriotic Party chose **Nana Akufo-Addo**. At the completion of this short political history of Ghana **Akufo Addo** was said to be doing well, making Ghana more attractive to Europeans and Americans than any other nation in Africa.

NIGERIA AND GHANA CONFLICTS

Nigeria and Ghana have been good allies and have maintained good relationships before and after independence, and till now. But this friendship was threatened in the 1980s during the regime of the Ghanaian Head of State, **Flight Lieutenant Jerry J. Rawlings** and the Nigerian President, Alhaji **Shehu**

Shagari. Both African leaders were said not to be in good terms. As the story was related this was because President Shagari, who was a good friend of Ghana's then president, **Hilla Limann** was not happy that Rawlings overthrew the government of Ghana. The bad situation deteriorated when it became clear that west African foreigners in Nigeria were seriously threatening the peace of the country and Nigerians were not ready to take that. The situation began getting heated up in 1980 when a Cameroonian expatriate named Muhammed Marwa alias Maitastine spearheaded a religious uprising (Maitastine Uprising of 1980) that led to the death of scores. Maitastine was an illegal immigrant like many of his followers who were from Burkina Faso, Niger and Cameroon. This uprising is considered the second most tragic event in Nigeria after the Biafran war.

It must also be noted that there had existed an old wound in the Nigeria-Ghana relationship back in **1969** when the Ghanaian government effected the **"Alien's Compliance Order"**. Nigerians and other African immigrants were banished on the claim that the economy of Ghana was in depression. But the last straw that broke the camel's back was the robbery at Ekwueme's house. Alexander Ekwueme, the then Nigerian Vice President, robbed by a group of armed bandits identified by the police as Ghanaians. This sent the whole of Nigeria crazy. Instant action was taken by the Nigerian government and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. On the 17th of January, 1983, the Nigerian Minister of Internal Affairs, Alhaji Alli Baba, announced the immediate expulsion of all illegal immigrants in Nigeria within two weeks. President Shehu Shagari also added in a statement, "If they don't leave, they should be arrested and tried, and sent back to their homes. Illegal immigrants under normal circumstances should not be given any notice whatsoever. If you break a law, then you have to pay for it." Panic gripped all aliens without papers in Nigeria for it was the least expected action of the Nigerian government. Over 1 million Ghanaians were thrown into confusion and indecision. It was rumored that the Federal government gave power to Nigerians to confront any alien after the ultimatum given to leave. This scared the immigrants and sent them fleeing with and without their luggage. Those who could pack their belongings used the biggest of bags available which happened to be the big bag which is now referred to today as **"Ghana must go!"** This mass deportation, it was said met with global criticisms, though all those condemnations did not make the Nigerian government reverse the order.

The point too was that many other Nigerians, who owned businesses, were not comfortable with the criminal activities of West African foreigners in Nigeria. Though the government of Shagari, like the previous regimes battled with corrupt practices, Nigerian economy was still not bad. While young Nigerians were not fleeing the country, on the other hand many foreigners were entering Nigeria in great numbers, in search of greener pastures! Even in the rural areas of Nigeria, where the foreigners lived, lots of armed robberies committed were traced to the 'visitors', mostly Ghanaians. They wanted to steal from Nigerians, more comfortable than most other African nations! But who could imagine how quickly and badly the situation drastically changed! Nigerians who fed many poor African nations, created job opportunities for them in Nigeria are now the ones scattered all over the world, poor and rich, big and tiny enclaves doing the same things they could not tolerate from their visitors! One can liken such situation to the criminal activities of Nigerians in Malaysia, Australia, China, South Africa, Dubai, and others, reported in the news media regularly. Many of these Nigerian criminals used to be caught and publicly beaten up or shot and executed. Native Black South Africans have called for the expulsion of Nigerians from their country. Surely many Nigerians of Shagari era had treated those foreigners in a similar way! Nigerians deported from Libya, Saudi Arabia and Asian countries tell only stories of 'hate' and ignore stories of criminal atrocities they perpetrate in host countries!

The Exodus – "Ghana must go"

Ghanaians trooped out *en masse* for they knew Nigeria was no longer safe for them. It was indeed a massive exodus that had its repercussion for generations of youths of both countries. Many questions must be asked sooner or later. They (Ghanaians) camped at the Seme boarder as they waited to enter Benin Republic where they hoped to find transports to Ghana. The land route through Togo was much preferable and convenient but the Ghanaian dictator, Jerry J Rawlings had closed the Ghana-Togo border due to an attempted coup in 1981. Togo also closed down its border with Benin in order to avoid refugee crises. After sometime, the Ghanaian military ruler, Jerry Rawlings opened the Ghana-Togo border and left Togo no choice than to do the same with Benin Republic and allow refugees to flow across like water. It was indeed great news for the Ghanaian refugees. On

getting home, they were welcomed by relatives and friends amidst tears. Jerry Rawlings also visited some of them at Tema harbor and assured them that his government would provide assistance in every possible way.

Nigeria, economically a stable nation

Though Nigeria had been badly ruled by both wicked and corrupt leaders, the military and civilian, the nation still was economically stable. Economically and politically Nigeria remained to some degree a "giant in the sun" and indisputable leader among African nations. Nigeria was still the mouth-piece of the oppressed African nations and led campaigns against the Apartheid regime in South Africa. Nigeria participated in peace-keeping missions or United Nations interventions in troubled African nations in the Congo, Liberia and Sierra Leone. Militarily Nigeria was a nation to reckon with in the black continent. Economically stable and rich in mineral oil resources; Nigeria supported and lent freely to poorer African nations.

In spite of the military misrule culminating in the notorious **Abacha looting spree** of the government coffers followed by some of his successors, Nigeria's succulent breasts' milk never dried up. Nigeria was still an economic haven for many poorer Africans. And that was why many poor citizens of some other African regions who fled their countries as a result of economic woes took refuge in Nigeria. Nigerian borders were left open for "refugees" from Cameroon**, Chad, Niger, Mali, Burkina Faso, and Guinea and of course Ghana!** Ghanaians were the greatest in number and mixed up freely with Southerners, who welcomed the strangers and 'illegal aliens' with open minds and hearts. At that period in time there were only a few group of Nigerians found overseas, in search of greener pastures, because greener pastures were found all over Nigeria in abundance. Most Nigerians were 'kings' in their country and needed these 'foreign slaves' for domestic services at home. It worked until the "guest workers" started playing dirty tricks and messing up the country sides, betraying the trust of their masters. They must leave the country. **"Ghana must go!"** Now every Nigerian and Ghanaian know what a Ghana must go bag is. We have all used it, so have our mothers and for some; grandmothers. It is quite popular worldwide and is used for laundry and to store beddings or even as holiday excess luggage in many countries in the world.

Not all Nigerians disliked Ghanaian visitors

Most of us who participated in the 'Ghana must go' exercise on the contrary did our best to shield many young Ghanaians from persecution and deportation when it became clear that the Shagari government was serious with the order to fish them out and get them out of Nigeria, if possible by force. These "immigrants", "illegal aliens" were very useful lads and served us well, at least in the Eastern part of Nigeria – as house-keepers, Security boys, like today's "ABOKI", harmless (Hausa-Fulani) lads roaming about the streets in search of petty or **mini-jobs – local-toilet-diggers, grave-diggers, shoe repairers, petty tailors, nail-cutters and so on.** The Ghanaians in our midst were friendly and trustworthy and after completing their jobs or assignments, they were ready to accept any remuneration or fee given to them, and were always very grateful. Unlike some devious, untrustworthy **IGBO** youths of their age and grade, they had the virtues of honesty and humility in abundance! Some of these nice Ghanaian youths were among the thousands who were ordered to leave Nigeria and return to their then misruled, forsaken hopeless country called Ghana. Put yourself in their shoes! It was like ordering millions of Nigerians residing in Europe, Asia, and America and in other continents of the world today to return to the economically and politically collapsing Nigeria! The order said, "Within two weeks!" That was ridiculous! Quite alarming!

"NIGERIA MUST GO!" - REVERSAL OF THE TIDE

> **Among the 82 arrested prostitutes in Ghana, 72 are Nigerians, 1 Togolese, and 9 Ghanaians. The foreigners will be deported to their various countries and the 9 Ghanaians will be handed over to the police for further investigation and action.** *('Breaking News: Enforcement unit of Ghana immigration service)*
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> *"Seventy two (**72) out of Eighty two (82) prostitutes are Nigerians! The giant of Africa must get a 'giant' share na! How else would the 'giant' be recognized? Big-for-nothing-nation!"** *(An Angry Nigerian youth reacts to the Breaking shameful new)*

> **"Nigerians in Ghana have but one clear option: *"Nigeria must go"*. In the 1980s it was *"Ghana must go"*! The tide has reversed. Nigerians must go back home to develop their nation as Ghanaians are developing theirs. 'ECOWAS' is not the savior. If Nigerians are angry, let them order the Ghanaians in Nigeria also to go! Period"** *(A Nigerian youth reacting to the news that Nigerians in Ghana demonstrated before the Ghana High Commission in Accra against the bad treatment of Nigerians doing business in Ghana)*

"Nigeria must go!" Not long ago a lot of tension in Ghana had been reported, as Ghanaians were said to be looting Nigeria businesses and asking Nigerians to leave Ghana. Mostly affected were said to be IGBOS of Nigeria! Some Nigerians in Ghana had been accused of various criminal activities. Once it was "**Ghana must go"**; today the tide has changed! **"Nigeria must go!** Worried Nigerians back home and elsewhere in the Diaspora had been wondering whether it was the type of 'Arewa' or 'Lagos-Yoruba' ultimatum to Igbos 'to go home?' Hopefully there would be no massacres. Tensions were rising so much since it was reported that the government of Ghana enacted a law banning foreigners from involving themselves in retail businesses, and the Igbo community in Ghana had been living in fear of their lives. The law was supposed to affect all foreigners but Family Writers Press found out that the Ghanaians were indeed targeting only Igbo businesses and in particular the spare parts dealers. At Suame-Magazine district of Kumasi, Ghana, the Ghanaians there had since taken the enforcement of the law in their hands, which they carried out with a massive dose of Xenophobia, reports added.

"For two weeks now they've forced us to stay indoors. We can't go to our businesses. You cannot even dare go close to your shops. If we try it, the youths of Suame-Magazine have promised to burn and loot our shops. They want us to give them all our goods on credit and leave empty handed.", Mr Nwafor Akajiofo told Family writers press in a telephone conversation. Surely success breeds **jealousy**, and that is at the root of this recent tension between Ghana businessmen and their Igbo counterparts in particular, and this was not the first time and may not be the last Igbos would suffer losses in human and material resources in the hands of Igbophobists. The Chairman of Igbo traders Union in Suame-Magazine, Mr Kizito Ikechukwu Obiora, informed

correspondents, that the so-called retail law was just a subtle way of expressing their jealousy over Igbo success. The law was not affecting the Hausa-Fulani community in Alaba, Kumasi. It was not affecting Yoruba businessmen in Abuabo (Kumasi). The only place that the law was enforced was in Suame-Magazine where there is a huge presence of Ndi igbo who are into motor spare parts. Mr Kizito continued: "The Ghanaians are not happy. We came here and showed them you can become a millionaire by dealing in motor spare parts. They now felt they had mastered the business and wanted us to leave, in order to eliminate all competition and dominate the market. That is the truth of the matter."

"Igbos must go!" – *"No one attacks them except us, Igbo businessmen".*

The Ghanaian Minister for Trade and Investment was in Abuja the previous week and reportedly told the Nigerian Foreign affairs Minister, Mr Geoffrey Onyema that the law didn't affect citizens from ECOWAS countries. But the fact remains that Nigerians are the only ones targeted by the Law, and Igbo businesses appear to be the specific target. Mazi Ikechukwu Obiora and Nwafor Akajiofo, expressed their displeasure at the way the Ghana security forces seemed to be acting in complicity with the youths of Suame. "Three days ago the youths went to the shop of one Joe Obi, who was related to the secretary to the State Government of Imo, while the man was in Nigeria, and left the shop to his workers. They beat up everyone there and looted the shop. *But just opposite the shop were businesses owned by a Lebanese and another owned by a Malian. Theirs were left untouched. We have businesses here owned by citizens from many African countries**; no one attacks them except us, Igbo businessmen.** It's not fair." he lamented.*

Mr Nwafo lamented further, "Few years ago when this kind of things happened, we made a call to officials at the Embassy, and they worked together with the Police here and within a short time we were offered some protection. But now the officials at the embassy, including the ambassador who is a Yoruba man, had been giving us the impression that they had no business intervening. . And we get their message loud and clear. For two weeks now we can't even move a few kilometers to our shops. We conduct midnight trips to our own shops to retrieve our wares that they had not looted. The youths and the elders here had been insisting that we should leave. They said even if we

reached agreement with their government, they would continue to harass and burn our shops till we left. We need help my brother, we certainly need help." Mr Nwafor Akajiofo and Mr Kizito Ikechukwu Obiora were speaking to Mazi Ikeyahkadibia Onyeji who compiled this report for Family writers Press.

Nigeria and Ghana have been great neighbors, friends and competitors in games and business. Most significantly Nigeria and Ghana share close similar history, particularly in **politics, military coups and struggles to recover from economic and political stagnation**. As with Nigeria, Ghana's fundamental problem could be traced to leadership. How many military coups and changes in political leadership had Ghana, compared to Nigeria military interventions? As far as a nation's tragedies and misfortunes are concerned, Ghana shares a lot in common with Nigeria. In order to alleviate Ghana's unemployment and economic problems, Ghana's President **Busia** expelled foreigners from Ghana, and Nigerians featured prominently in the **"quit Ghana notice'**. Was it a retaliatory measure, when President Shagari also ordered the expulsion of Ghanaians from Nigeria, an event which is commonly referred to as "Ghana must go?" To understand and appreciate the two countries' political and economic predicaments, we find it absolutely necessary to give a summary of the political history of Ghana in order to appreciate the "Ghana must go' saga. We must acknowledge the contributions of the following Ghanaian authors and writers, McLaughlin and Owusu Ansah, Apter David, Charles Kwesi and F.K. Buah.

It seems the sound of the old music is fast changing. As Ghana has almost taken the lead as the most stable and progressive country in West Africa, leaving the mighty Nigeria behind, there is bound to be a repeat of the first tragedy under President Busia, when the Ghana President expelled Nigerians from Ghana. It was alleged Nigerians as well as other West African neighbors in Ghana were responsible for the economic woes facing Ghana at the point in history. Today, the economic, political, religious situation in Nigeria has continued to falter and many Nigerians have fled the country in search of greener pastures in other cities of the world, including Ghana. Many Nigerians, however have invested much in Ghana and in fact are helping Ghana economy to grow, while Nigeria suffers from unbelievable economic woes, ranging from corruption to lack of employment. In fact many investors in Nigeria have folded up their businesses and relocated to Ghana, where security and good governance provide the right environment for industrial

growth and economic development. Most investors, world organizations have shifted their headquarters from Lagos, Abuja, Kano and Port Harcourt to Accra Ghana!

There is no doubt that many Nigerian youths found all over the world today, in search of wealth, in Malaysia, Singapore, China, South Africa, Dubai, Libya, Italy and in other nations of North and South America, Asia and Europe would heed to the stern warning of an Igbo Elder. The elder statesman, so disgusted with bad news of atrocities being committed by greedy Nigerian youths had warned these illegal wealth-seekers to stop dragging the name of Nigeria into the mud. Hopefully Ghana may not expel or deport true Nigerian investors in Ghana together with irresponsible Nigerians from their country. It will be a part of a nasty history of Nigeria under siege. What an ironic expression: **"Nigeria Must Go!**

Ghana leading Africa as Nigeria loses relevance

Indeed Ghana had a cause to celebrate 60 years after independence, with pomp and pageantry great years of industry, development political stability enviable leadership in African continent but however struggling too with 60 long years of ups and downs, of successes and failures and much more.

On Political Front

According to the Global Peace index report for 2016, Ghana ranked as the 6th most peaceful country in Africa and 44th on the global scene. With the global economic impact of violence estimated at US$13.6 trillion, remaining peaceful is truly imperative if Ghana is to develop more rapidly and achieve it's vision of becoming an economically stable and independent state in the long term. Ghana prides herself as a nation that frequently holds peaceful elections and successfully changes government without escalating violence and chaos. This is by far a very enviable achievement primarily because many other African neighbors struggle to emulate and maintain this feat. The advancement in this area also puts Ghana on a different pedestal as many African countries fall back on Ghana for assistance by providing troops to support them when they really need reinforcements. Many of Ghanaian leaders have also gone on to hold various Regional and international offices or positions in recent times. Typical examples are **Dr. Kofi Annan, (Former Secretary General of the UN), H.E John Agyekum**

Kufuor (Former Chairperson of the African Union) and **H.E John Dramani Mahama (Former Chairperson of ECOWAS).**

Ghana - Headquarters of Africa

Most of the political and economic European and American 'offices' hitherto located in Nigeria cities of Lagos and Abuja have been relocated to Accra Ghana. And everyone knows why and how Ghana has snatched the leadership of African continent from Nigeria! ***How the mighty have fallen! Listen!***

King David intoned this lamentation over Saul and his son Jonathan. He ordered that 'The Song of the Bow' be taught to the people of Judah; it is written in the Book of Jashar. He said: *"Your glory, O Israel, lies slain upon your high places!* ***How the mighty have fallen! Tell it not in Gath, proclaim it not in the streets of Ashkelon;*** *or the daughters of the Philistines will rejoice, the daughters of the uncircumcised will exult. You mountains of Gilboa, let there be no dew or rain upon you, nor bounteous fields! For there the shield of the mighty was defiled, the shield of Saul, anointed with oil no more". The song should equally be taught to Nigeria's younger generations!*

Health Sector in Ghana

"Health" - In every nation's quest for development, it is expedient for all to stay healthy as a nation. Ghana over the past few years has made giant strides in the health sector with the construction of many modern hospitals and clinics across the length and breadth of the country. These facilities are equipped with modern technology devices and tools such as state of the art theaters, X-ray machines, MRI and CT scan equipments. Another major achievement has been the provision of incentives and bonuses for health workers. Past government have also ensured that the deficiency in number of well trained doctors and nurses have been well compensated for by the rising number of trained local personnel. This goes a long way to reducing the mortality rate and also ensure a fitter nation where majority of it's workforce are healthy to run their day-to-day activities and bring progress. With several other policies and strategies in place, Ghana is heading towards a positive era with many more developments in this sector expected in the coming years. A healthy nation is a wealthy nation! On the contrary and very

appalling Nigerian rich politicians and businessmen and women, as well as their families fly to Europe, America and Arab countries for medical treatments, including malaria, diarrhea, typhoid fevers and different types of surgeries. Development of the health sector in Nigeria is not the government priority. The president is the one Nigerians see taking medical vacations regularly in London and his trips cost the nation millions of dollars. There are no good hospitals in Nigeria and most of the medications imported mainly from India and Pakistan are adulterated and Nigeria is well known as a dumping ground for fake drugs!

Education in Ghana

Education is the key to the development of every nation which makes it very important for countries to invest heavily in this sector. Many governments do not prioritize the education sector which often has a long term detrimental impact on the growth of their economies. Nigeria is known to care little about education and its importance. Fortunately, Ghana is one of the countries that makes education a top priority with special care and attention given to basic and secondary education. The World Economic Forum in its 2014 report ranked Ghana 46th out of 148 countries in terms of quality education. Also in 2010, Ghana's literacy rate was 71.5% with 90% of children enrolled in school. This remarkable achievement takes Ghana ahead of countries like Pakistan and Nigeria! With many policies in place and other strategies laid out, the future of education in Ghana is just so bright.

Economy

Taking into account the past few years, Ghana has seen a massive improvement in its annual GDP (Economic growth). With a 2011 GDP of 14% and a 2015 GDP of 4.1%, there is clear evidence that economically Ghana is headed in the right direction. Many measures are also being put into place to massively reduce both the public and external debts, and Ghana has every reason to smile as a nation. According to World Bank reports, the unemployment rate has also reduced from 9.1% in 1991 to an overwhelming 2.4% as at 2014. With the right policies and strategies in place, Ghana is heading towards a very good economic haven. The provision of jobs, reduction in taxes as well as major improvements in the export and import sector will go a

long way to developing this nation's economy and edge Ghana closer to a better state of economic stability.

Sports

Many ''small countries'' have made themselves more popular and relevant on the world map by succeeding in sports. Nations like **Brazil** (football) and **Kenya** (Track & Field) have taken the world by storm with breathtaking successes in their respective sporting disciplines. Ghana has also treaded this path for a long time. In football, the senior national team has been crowned champions of Africa 4 times and qualified for 3 successive FIFA world cups where they reached the round of 16 stage in 2006 and the quarter final stage in 2010. The junior teams have also done amazingly well with both the under-17 and under-20 teams winning their respective FIFA world cups. In boxing, many Ghanaian boxers have over the past two decades won several world titles with some even reaching legendary status. In the field of sports Nigeria has been overtaken by **Ghana, South Africa** and other African countries. On the national, state and local levels little or no efforts are being made by governments and non-public sectors to motivating many young talented Nigerian youths to develop and become stars. The corrupt-ridden national sports commission in Nigeria, made up of incompetent bunch of criminals has made Nigeria a laughing stock on both international and continental levels.

Today and after more than 60 years of existence, Ghana, **not Nigeria,** has taken over the leadership position of Africa. There is still a lot to be done as Ghana aims to grow and develop into a much better nation. With hard work, patriotism, diligence, and proper leadership, **Ghana** continues to grow, develop and attract the respect of most international bodies.

CHAPTER 28

THOSE WHO DO NOT LEARN FROM HISTORY ARE DOOMED TO REPEAT IT

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF

Is History repeating itself? The rhetorical question – 'Is history repeating itself'? is usually posed, out of frustration and is raised when dreaded events are about to recur. History is about to repeat itself in Nigeria. The attempts at the invasion of parts of Southern Nigeria by the descendants of Othman Dan Fodio, is a good example of this. The Northern part of the country had, prior to the amalgamation of 1914, been conquered by Fulani invaders. They consolidated and built an Empire in the North, but their march down the Deep South seemed to have been repelled by an opposing army but temporarily. Their leaders had never stopped reaffirming their resolve to conquer the whole South and to *'deep the Koran into the South sea'*. 'Deeping the Koran into the South-South Sea" or the Atlantic Ocean, in a simple language means a complete islamization of Nigeria. The Philosopher and writer, George Santayana originally threw the challenge to the entire humanity when he reiterated that **"Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it!"** In other words, people are expected to know or remember the past, especially the events that re-open old wounds and bad memories of the past. It is, therefore, a clarion call to avoid the mistakes that led to serious conflicts among communities and nations of the world. Most of the events or incidents are recorded in national and world history and still can be found in the national archives.

Any Lessons and Conclusions?

In this chapter of our *'Post-War Nigerian History',* we explore whether there are some conclusions and lessons than can be drawn from the mistakes, miscalculations, and errors of the past. Should the 'tragedies' and 'unfortunate events be allowed to occur again? Are there some lessons Nigerians have learned from past events that have affected their lives? Have the present Nigerian leaders learned lessons from the military coup of 1966 and the subsequent ones that ended the first, second and third Republics? Have they learned any lessons from the Civil war, also known and the Nigeria-Biafra war? Did Lord Lugard and the

British masters make mistakes in 'uniting' the so-called Northern and Southern Protectorates, also known as the "Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria?" If the answers are in the positive, what were the mistakes, and how can they be corrected in the present times? If the non-implementation of the "Aburi Accord" actually led to the civil war, who were to blame and how can the mistakes be corrected at the present times of political and economic turmoil in Nigeria? **Is Nigeria 'doomed' to repeat the 'mistakes' of the colonial masters and post independence political leaders?** If the Amalgamation was a great 'error' and the British have till date received the beatings, the blames, and the curses, what are the present Nigerian political leaders doing to repair the damages? If a large percentage of Nigerian citizens, suggest or insist on **Restructuring or Break-up of the country, why is a particular section of the country opposed to the suggestion?** If a large number of Nigerian political leaders and elite see the futility of a **'United Nigeria'**, why does a section of the state believe in its workability? If Nigeria has adopted a democratic system of government, like many other nations, why should **Sharia, the Islamic code of law**, find a place in the nation's constitution? Is Nigeria running two parallel systems of government? There are many other problems that come under discussion in the present chapter. We examine some relevant and worrisome issues.

(1) "United Nigeria" vis-à-vis "Federalism"

There are many Nigerians and non-Nigerians who have continued to lay blames on Nigerian leaders, including Gowon and the British masters for the sorry situation in which Nigeria has found itself since the end of the civil war. As tensions continued to mount and fears of another civil war, genocide and ethnic cleansing of particular tribes or groups of Nigerians gained momentum, concerned writers don't fail to re-visit the **Aburi Accord.** Who will be the next victims of genocide in Nigeria? It is not only the IGBOS that history will identify with the Jewish Holocaust. It was becoming clear to everyone that the Hausa-Fulani jihadists had not given up the agenda of 'dipping the Koran into the South Sea, deep into the Atlantic Ocean'. Ottoman Dan Fodio laid the foundations before long. Shortly afterwards, Ahmed Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto openly declared the 'Holy War'; and the young army officers that overthrew the government of Tafawa Balewa saw the threat. That

was why they dealt with Ahmed Bello and Hausa-Fulani jihadist leaders like him. Unfortunately Nigeria's problems have grown worse as the successors of these leaders continued with the agenda of wiping out any group of the country that stands on their way towards the establishment of Fulani Empire in Nigeria. **Murtala Muhammed** was another Islamic war lord who practically tried to accomplish it with the Igbos. Murtala Muhammed was not mincing words when he openly declared that he wanted every Igbo dead and truly tried to accomplish the agenda. He massacred everyone that looked like Igbo within his reach in the then Biafra nation, including the Mid-Western Region of Nigeria, and definitely at ASABA. History has all the records. Like the first coup plotters, another group that saw how dangerous Murtala Muhammed was, like Ahmed Bello, did not hesitate to strike down the wicked descendant of Ottoman Dan Fodio. Colonel Dimka headed the group.

But behold another very dangerous leader of the Islamic group, by name **Muhammed Buhari** who seized power once, but was stopped by fellow soldiers! He, at last, after several failures, he successfully clinched power and was determined to bring to fruition the Islamic agenda of the islamization of Nigeria. Buhari represented all that the Fulani nation stood for in Nigeria and their agenda, which could not be accomplished without bloodshed. Buhari vowed openly at assumption of power to revenge the deaths of his Hausa-Fulani brothers and war Lords who had died in the hands of the 'infidels!' Buhari saw the Igbos as his worst enemies and vowed to deal with them ruthlessly. He never ceased marginalizing the Igbos and excluding Igbo leaders from his cabinet. Buhari warned Igbo youths, to stop the agitating for Biafra self-determination. The youths should forget all about Biafra or face another destructive war'.

(2) Second Biafra Revolution and IPOB

Again, it was another turn of the Igbos! General Yakubu Gowon, Murtala Muhammed, and even Muhammed Buhari was not done with the Igbos! The present generation of Igbos, (not those of 1966-1970), was to take further beatings from the Nigerian government and its military, as Buhari ordered the arrest of the leader of **IPOB, Nnamdi Kanu**, and the massacre of innocent and unarmed Igbo youths. The magnitude of the military force or intervention in Igboland by the Nigerian army, with military tanks and sophisticated weapons of war, just to silence the

youths and arrest their leader stunned most Nigerians on both sides of the warfare. The scale of dehumanizing atrocities suffered by the Igbo youths in the hands of the special military squad sent by Buhari administration to subdue the young unarmed young men provoked national and international outrage; but no action was taken against Nigeria by the international bodies, except vocal condemnations. The secret video coverage of the **'Python Dance'** released by some sympathetic soldiers among the group of the wicked and devilish tormentors went viral in the social media. The exposure of Nigerian military atrocities against the Igbo youths in Afara-Umuahia (the home village of the IPOB leader) was embarrassing to both the military leaders and Nigerian communities everywhere. Up till the completion of the present chapter of our book, no official information has been released by the Nigerian military about the where-about of the IPOB leader, Nnamdi Kanu. Whether he was dead or alive, not even Kanu's family or his closest friends and Nigerian DSS could confirm.

(3) Middle Belt Region and the Fulani Empire

It was not only the **Igbos and Biafra** that should witness the Islamic venoms. This time it was the turn of the Christians of the **Middle Belt region**. Buhari had been known as the sponsor of all Hausa-Fulani terrorist groups, including, of course the Boko Haram and armed Islamic gangs referred to as **"herdsmen!"** Muhammed Buhari has not been known to be a true 'Nigerian'. His dream had been the establishment of a **"Fulani Nation" in Nigeria**. Perhaps his vision and that of his fellow Fulanis was a bigger **Fulani Empire with Nigeria as the headquarters**. But as we have argued throughout this book, restructured or broken-up, the North is free to go with their "Islamic Republic!" History has it that Mohammed Buhari during his first tenure as military head of state **voted for his Fulani brother from Niger instead of 'fellow Nigerian!**' Have you not heard the story?

(4) Aburi Accord Re- visited – (By Akin A. Ajose-Adeogun)

Have the present Nigerian leaders learned any lessons from the Aburi Accord? Whatever the case may be, someone like Femi Adesina has called the attention of Nigerians to the "Aburi tragedy and we will see that soon. For now, our attention

is directed to a great writer, **Akin A. Ajose-Adeogun,** who recalled the important role played by one of the greatest friends of the Biafra nation during that crucial period of Nigerian crisis. The man was no other than **President Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast**. Adeogun pointed out that this president was more astute than the leaders of the non-Igbo South and Central Nigeria in 1967, the critical juncture in post-colonial Nigerian history when the power of the Fulani ethnic nationality over the Nigerian state was entrenched. "We have suffered for fifty-one years now, the consequences of our leaders' naivety and blunders in not holding the Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) to its word on the Aburi Agreement that had transformed Nigeria into a confederation, which is the only workable structure for a country that is an ill-assorted ragbag of mutually hostile ethnic groups and conflicting ideologies".

Adeogun narrated: Aburi and the Fears of Majority Ethnic Domination!

"I understand the fears, at the time, of the federal bureaucrats from the minority ethnic nationalities - **M.A. Ejueyitchie, M.A. Tokunbo, Allison Ayida, Edwin Ogbu, Abdul Aziz Atta, etc**. - who had advised Gowon to unilaterally revise the Aburi Agreement (by introducing Sections 70 and 71, which reasserted the power of the FGN over the regions, thus abrogating the co-federal nature of Nigeria agreed at Aburi). But could their genuine fears of domination by the majority ethnic nationalities in the regions not have been simply addressed by arguing for the creation of more states - as, in fact, occurred later on 27 May 1967? What we appear to be witnessing now is the denouement (the outcome of complex sequence of events), which Houphouet-Boigny had feared: the southward encroachment of West Africa's Islamic Sahel belt, which he felt that the "able and intelligent Igbo had an important part to play in preventing." *See Michael Gould, The Biafran War: The Struggle for Modern Nigeria (London: I.B. Tauris and Co., 2013)* According to I. Nolte in his book, *Awolowo and the Making of Remo (Edinburgh University Press; 2009),* even Awolowo's most ardent supporters in his Remo Division were baffled by his decision to support the FGN, under "which they had suffered and sacrificed so much during the Balewa regime." Apparently, it took Awolowo a year to come around to supporting the Gowon government. The creation of the twelve-state structure on 27 May 1967 by Gowon was what won both Awolowo's and the

Eastern ethnic minorities' support. They wrongly assumed that this move had created a level playing field and weakened the Islamic North's political stranglehold on the country.

Houphouet-Boigny was an extremely astute leader who was highly regarded across the French-speaking world. At a time that Nigerian leaders saw their problems in a narrower sense of a misunderstanding among ethnic groups in the country, Houphouet-Boigny saw it as a struggle between two rival systems - Islam and Christianity - that has now, historically, lasted for some fourteen centuries. He had seen this as an emerging continental or global problem. And the Ivorian crisis and civil war was about maintaining the Ivorian identity in the face of Muslim migration from the Sahel. We see the same problem today in the Western world, Kenya, Myanmar (Burma), Russia's Caucasus region, Ethiopian-Eritrea, Indian-Kashmir, Chinese-Sinkiang, and Yugoslav-Kosovo, etc. It was on this basis that Ivory Coast supported Biafra and influenced France and Gabon into doing the same. The minority ethnic groups and the Yoruba who had both inadvertently helped the Islamic North to entrench a hegemony during the so-called war of Nigerian unity now seek our former decentralized pre-1966 federalism as a minimum demand, as they increasingly feel the lash of the Islamic North's political stranglehold.

The non-Igbo South and Central Nigeria committed an epic historical blunder.

In concluding his very useful historical narrative on '**Aburi Accord',** Akin A. Ajose-Adeogun, insists that the "Non-Igbo South and Central Nigeria committed an epic historical blunder. The Igbo, at a cost of thousands of dead in the pogroms of May and September to October 1966, purchased a con-federal system of government for Nigeria. This system of government was, and still is, the most workable one for Nigeria. Unfortunately the rest of the country did not realize it at the time. An incongruous and unholy alliance was cobbled up to fight for a non-existent unity, as events of the last fifty-one years have indubitably made clear. **That so-called war of Nigerian unity resulted in a military victory for the Islamic North, but a moral victory for the Igbos.** Ironically, with the benefit of hindsight today, it is the non-Igbo South and Central Nigeria that suffered the greatest defeat. In addition to sustaining a massive moral defeat, both regions also sustained a massive political defeat. Consequently, I do not know whether it is the non-Igbo South

and Central Nigeria that should commiserate with the Igbo for the massive loss of lives, or whether it is the Igbo that should commiserate with the non-Igbo South and Central Nigeria for the loss of their souls and possibly an even greater loss of lives in the future to correct a mistake that could probably have been avoided at small cost in 1967. I am inclined towards the latter position as we approach another critical juncture in our history.
Akin A. Ajose-Adeogun is a great writer and analyst all well-meaning Nigerians must admire. Truth is surely bitter, but must be told. It takes great courage and intellectual know-how to draw from domains of massive resources available to researchers of every caliber, political, social and religious. Was the abortion of Aburi Accord an incredible blunder? Of course 'yes!' Gowon's war slogan 'to keep Nigeria one is a task that must be done' was surely an elusive dream. No one so far has succeeded in convincing Nigerians that a "United Nigeria" could be the best option vis-à-vis "Federalism".

(5) Aburi Accord Re-Visited – (By Femi-Adesina)

> **"Aburi Accord" - Pure "Federalism" – Ultimate Solution to Nigeria's Political Problem - "This generation will surely not see another like Ojukwu".** *(Femi-Adesina)*

It was not only Akin A. Ajose-Adeogun who bemoaned the failure of Aburi Accord; **Femi Adesina**, the spokesperson to President Muhammad Buhari during his second appearance as Nigerian head of state, also placed the blame on the shoulders of Gowon, his closest advisers, and British mentors. Most Nigerians from various ethnic groups in Southern Nigeria have also never ceased crying over the spilled milk. "Had the Aburi Accord been implemented, perhaps Nigerians would have enjoyed relative peace and development!" "Nigeria would have retained her position as a nation to reckon with in the Black continent!" "Surely further uprising, agitation by various ethnic groups for autonomy, further bloodshed, massacre of innocent Nigerians, ethnic cleansing, and genocide could have been averted". "Without doubt, Nigeria would not have found herself in the present economic mess". No one can dispute the fact that Aburi Accord could have been a better alternative to the present state of the nation, as the total Islamic conquest of Nigeria was in progress. "On Aburi We Stand", was a Biafra Radio slogan that identified Odumegwu Emeka Ojukwu as a true leader of his

people. Ojukwu struggled to save the Igbo race, as well as the unity of Nigeria Femi Adesina (the current spokesperson to President Buhari, 2018), made the following recollection in 2012 after the demise of the defunct Biafra head of state, Emeka Odumegwu Ojukwu. It is very revealing, though not new, to most Nigerians, young and the elderly that Ojukwu and Aburi Accord have an important space in the Post-War Nigerian History. Adesina went on:

"In December 2009, I was at Aburi, while holidaying in Ghana. We Nigerians call it Aburi, but the Ghanaians pronounce it as Ebri. For those who have read widely about the civil war that we fought between 1967 and 1970, Aburi is a significant place. This was what I wrote about Aburi, after returning from that journey: "Aburi, beautiful, serene Aburi, set daintily atop a hill. It is home to a botanical garden that is 119 years old. But for us in Nigeria, Aburi goes beyond just nature and its preservation. It is the town where General Yakubu Gowon and Odumegwu Ojukwu met, to try and avert the Nigerian Civil War that lasted between 1967 and 1970. They came out with Aburi Accord, which later broke down. And a shooting war started. You could see the Presidential Lodge on a hill, where the Nigerian leaders had parleyed at the behest of Ghanaian leaders. It all ended in futility." As one of the key parties to the Aburi Accord, Dim Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, returns to mother earth today, it is also apposite to return to Aburi, and look at the letter and the spirit of the accord once again, an agreement that was violated by the Federal side, and which made a bloody internecine war inevitable. For most part of 1966, the northern part of Nigeria, particularly, had been turned to killing fields. Non-natives, especially Igbos, were killed in thousands. Many fled, many others were displaced. There was complete anarchy in the land. The average Igbo looked up to Lt. Col Odumegwu Ojukwu, military governor of the Eastern Region, to provide leadership and direction. He did not fail. He picked the gauntlet and championed the cause of his people. By January 1967, the drums of war were loud and clear, reverberating across the length and breadth of Nigeria. But there was a last ditch effort to prevent what was imminent. There was a peace meeting hosted at Aburi, in Ghana, by the then Ghanaian head of state, General Joseph A. Ankrah.

At the meeting were Gowon, Ojukwu, all the military governors of the regions, and some top civil servants, both from the Federal side and the Eastern region. The meeting held on January 4 and 5, 1967, and came out with what is popularly

known today as the Aburi Accord. The agenda of the meeting consisted of three crucial issues: (i) Reorganization of the Armed Forces (ii) Constitutional agreement (iii) Issues of displaced persons within Nigeria. The two-day meeting reached consensus that were acceptable to both sides. Among others, it was resolved that legislative and executive authority of the Federal Military Government was to remain in the Supreme Military Council (SMC), to which any decision affecting the whole country shall be referred for determination provided it is possible for a meeting to be held, and the matter requiring determination must be referred to military governors for their comment and concurrence. What does this mean in simple language? The SMC would run the affairs of the country, but not without consulting the regions as represented by the military governors. This was something akin to Federalism, even under a military government. Other terms of the agreement included that appointments to senior ranks in the police, diplomatic and consular services as well as appointment to super-scale-posts in the federal civil service and the equivalent posts in the statutory corporations must be approved by the SMC. What does this mean again in simple language*?* ***Equity, fairness, true Federalism.***

Other matters like the holding of an *Ad hoc constitutional conference*, fate of soldiers involved in the January 15, 1966 coup, rehabilitation of displaced persons, etc, were also amicably resolved, and the conferees returned happily to Nigeria; only for the Federal side to deliver a blow to the solar plexus! "The Aburi Accord", Gowon said, "was unworkable, and he reneged (went back on a promise or commitment) on all the agreements". Using the Eastern Nigerian Broadcasting Service, Ojukwu played the tape recording of the proceedings at Aburi repeatedly, to educate the populace on who was playing Judas. Later, he made a broadcast in which he said: "We in the East are anxious to see that our differences are resolved by peaceful means and that Nigeria is preserved as a unit, but it is doubtful, and the world must judge whether Lt. Col Gowon's attitudes and other exhibitions of his insincerity are something which can lead to a return of normalcy and confidence in the country". "I must warn all Easterners once again to remain vigilant. The East will never be intimidated, nor will she acquiesce to any form of dictation. It is not our intention to play the aggressor. Nonetheless, it is not our intention to be slaughtered in our beds. We are ready to defend our homeland." Adesina was not mincing words, when he informed his readers:

In a piece I did last December, shortly after Ojukwu passed away; I said he was virtually pushed into war by the infidelity of the Federal side to the Aburi Accord. I still stand by that position. Ojukwu was called 'warlord' for many decades, but he was by no means a warmonger. He only did what he needed to do for his people and for the country.

As his earthly remains are interred today, it is tragic that Nigeria is still submerged in the morass that Ojukwu already identified about 45 years ago. Today, bombs go off like firecrackers in the country. There is agitation for the review of the revenue allocation formula. There are strident (insistent, commanding attention) calls for the convocation of a Sovereign National Conference. Even some component parts are threatening to pull out of the federation if anything happened to their 'son' who is now in power. **Didn't Ojukwu warn of these landmines ahead? Were all these issues not already settled at Aburi**?

Foremost journalist and media administrator, Akogun Tola Adeniyi, in a recent media interview, explained the Aburi Accord this way: "**Let every region be semi-autonomous and develop at its own level."** Yes, that was the spirit and letter of Aburi, but which sadly became a road not taken. And is that not why we are still suffering today, living in a rickety and decrepit (wasted and weakened) country that can burst at the seams any moment? I tell you, Ojukwu was a prophet, and like most prophets, he had no honor in his own country. What a pity! But whether we like it or not, there's no way we won't return to Aburi, willy-nilly (by compulsion, without choice). I only hope it will be sooner than later, before Nigeria goes to grief. On Aburi I stand. Federal Government was perfidious (treacherous) and duplicitous (deceptive) on Aburi. It is still the same way today. That is why as Nigerians, we are most times disillusioned, dismayed, dispirited, dejected and depressed. When will change come to this land? Our hearts are getting weary. Last December, I wrote that Ojukwu should be buried like a hero. I'm glad at the rites of passage so far, culminating in the interment today. Yes, bury him like a true hero. An icon, an avatar (epitome, embodiment of great leadership), deserves no less. This generation will surely not see another like Ojukwu. He fought not only for his own people, but for a true federation founded on justice, fair play, equity and rectitude. Unfortunately, he did not see the Nigeria of his dreams. Shall we? ***(By Femi Adesina; Friday March 02, 2012)***

(6) Military Interventions – Any lessons?

Leaders of the February 24, 1966 military coup in Ghana, including army officers Colonel E.K. Kotoka, Major A.A. Afrifa, Lieutenant General J.A. Ankra, and Police Inspector General J.W.K. Harlley, justified their takeover of government by charging that **the CPP administration was abusive and corrupt.** They were equally disturbed by Nkrumah's aggressive involvement in African politics and by his belief that Ghanaian troops could be sent anywhere in Africa to fight so-called liberation wars, even though they never did so. Above all, they pointed to the absence of democratic practices in the nation—a situation they claimed had affected the morale of the armed forces. According to General Kotoka, the military coup of 1966 was a nationalist one because it liberated the nation from Nkrumah's dictatorship—a declaration that was said to have been supported by Alex Quaison Sackey, Nkrumah's former minister of foreign affairs.

Nigerian military boys that struck on January 15, 1966 had similar allegations against the politicians. Let us give a summary of political leaders' sins and find out whether anything has changed. Are there lessons to draw for our 'past mistakes?' Soon after that intervention, Major Kaduna Nzeogwu offered reasons to justify their action: **Corruption Practices*:*** The Army pulled the trigger against the elected and appointed officials of the First Republic on accounts of brazen corrupt practices of the officials. In his broadcast, Nzeogwu identified as enemies "the political profiteers, the swindlers, the men in high and low places that seek bribes and demand ten per cent, those who have corrupted our society and put the Nigerian political calendar back by their words and deeds." Indeed, there were several cases of financial misappropriations in the First Republic Nigeria; name them!

Nnamdi Azikiwe was investigated by Foster-Sutton Tribunal and found guilty of using his official power to finance his distressed African Continental Bank (ACB). In Western Region, Coker Commission in 1962 found **Obafemi Awolowo**, the first Premier of the Western Region guilty of financial mismanagement in Western Region Marketing Board. Other First Republic government officials looted public funds with impunity. **K.O.Mbadiwe,** the Minister of Aviation flaunted (to display ostentatiously) his wealth by building a palace in his hometown. When asked where he had gotten the money to build such a mansion, KO replied, "From sources known and

unknown." For the rest of his life KO Mbadiwe was known as a "Man of Timber and Caliber", a title, and accolade he won from his flamboyant life-style and use of big English grammar. **Festus Okotie-Eboh** in a reply to charges of corruption went biblical, saying that **"To those that have, more shall be given.** From those that do not have, shall be taken even the little they have." He was notorious for flamboyant and weird wardrobe as virtually all his clothes trailed several yards behind him wherever he moved. Of a similar wardrobe was the Sarduana of Sokoto, the Premier of the Northern Region, **Sir Ahmadu Bello whose wardrobe was one of the most elaborate in the world.** Furthermore, a report from the inquiry into the corruption practices in Nigeria Ports Authority and other corporations of the First Republic by Ironsi government revealed that a number of ministers, including **Okotie-Eboh, Ribadu, and R.Njoku** had formed companies and used their influence to secure contracts. **KO Mbadiwe** was reported to have gone to the extent of securing a contract for a non-registered company. The jubilant Nigerians following the news of coup pointed the fact that the coup was a welcome development. Surely corrupt practices did not really begin recently in Nigeria. The leaders of the first republic were culprits too, and it may take time to eradicate the evil!

(7) Western Region Crisis and Elections

As we have already seen the famous political unrest that bedeviled the Western Region was the fallout of personality issues and ideological differences of the duo of Obafemi Awolowo and Samuel Ladoke Akintola, in the leadership of Action Congress (AG). Awolowo favored socialism as epitomized in his free education programme; but S.L. Akintola now on saddle as the Premier of the Western Region increased school fees as well as other anti-socialist policies; and refused to make amends as directed by Awolowo. Possibly, through the influence of Chief Awolowo, the Western House of Assembly passed a vote of no confidence on Akintola and the Governor of the Region, Sir Adesoji Aderemi, removed him as the Premier and appointed Alhaji Dauda Adegbenro as a replacement. Crisis erupted in the region and lingered for so long that the region was dubbed the *"Wild Wild West."* The Federal Government declared a state of emergency (which was the first ever in Nigeria) in the region and appointed Moses Majekodunmi as the Sole Administrator. Awolowo protested the action of the Central government citing

crisis such as in Okirika, Eastern Region in which the Central government did not make such intervention. He accused the Central government of foul play in support of the Ladoke's faction. Instead of a fresh election for the Region as advised by Nnamdi Azikiwe, the Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, reinstated Akintola in December 1962 and capped his political stroke with the arrest and detention of Chief Awolowo for treason and coup plotting.

By the 1964 election, the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), a breakaway party from AG, led by Akintola had entered an alliance with NPC and formed Nigerian National Allance (NNA). The splinter party won the Western Region election **through massive rigging.** The announcement of the result was greeted with widespread arson and killing (Operation Wetie). Perhaps because the favored candidate won the election, there was no state of emergency declared on this second wave of the Western Region's crisis; instead the Federal government sent security forces to support the victory of Chief Ladoke Akintola and Chief Remi Fani Kayode's NNDP. This state of war persisted in the Region until 1966 when dissatisfied young majors pulled the trigger against the political malaise. Could the Fayose-APC/PDP saga of July 13, 2018 be a repetition of Akintola-NPC/NNDP political crisis that was fuelled by the 1964 western regional elections! Is history repeating itself? Have Nigerians learnt anything from history?

(8) Election Fiascos in Nigeria - Will History continue to repeat itself

> **"Your elections are like wars. Now we hear that you cannot be president in Nigeria unless you are Muslim or Christian. Some people tell me your country may break up. Please don't let it happen***". (Nelson Mandela)*

Most Nigerians, including kids below the age of 12 have had some experiences. Those who have not participated in casting of votes must have heard about various types of electoral malpractices, not only in their fatherland, Nigeria, but also in other parts of the world, including the western nations. Many, young and the elderly, have witnessed in Nigeria, massive rigging of elections by political candidates of various parties through fraudulent means – use of hired tugs to intimidate opponents and supporters, distribution of money and food materials to

willing collaborators, stuffing of ballot boxes with counterfeit voting papers or snatching of opponents' ballot boxes, and many other evil methods of rigging elections anywhere. During elections in Nigeria, some unemployed youths lose their heads. Some former corrupt politicians after some periods of vacation from political activities resurface. They want to run again, to continue from where they stopped before they were pushed aside in former national elections! They distribute some cash from the loot they had earlier stored in local and foreign banks. The hired and bribed youths jump up and down like intoxicated spoiled servants. They shamelessly sing praises of even rejected political fags, and distribute the T-Shirts and banners of their new-found political 'messiahs!'

Electoral officers of course know what it means to be members or top INEC officials, when it is time for national elections. Members and key officers of parties make thousands, if not millions of dollars during elections. Who will stand aloof and refuse to benefit from the election jamborees in Nigeria? Youths volunteer as thugs and as well to guards and venerate political aspirants who distribute 'electoral funds' to those who agree to vote for the most generous 'donors' or highest bidders. Market women are usually happy to vote for the candidates who donate both money and bags of rice and other food materials. Everyone is involved in the exercise. But questions are asked when troubles surface after "peaceful, fair, free and credible" elections, as well as when hundreds of people die during elections. Who claims that elections in Nigeria are free and fair? If the amount of resources dumped into election processes in Nigeria are worth it, why endless court litigations that last many years? Why all the laughable surprises, like the announcement of winners by the INEC even when voting had not ended or even started! Not even in the western world are elections 'credible!' In the land of those who claim to practice 'true' and 'transparent' democracy, elections are not free and fair. Not even the sophisticated systems of casting ballot papers anywhere have helped to resolve post election litigations and probes. Do you know why? Continue reading: "And his master commended the dishonest manager because he had acted shrewdly; for the children of this age are more shrewd in dealing with their own generation than are the children of light." **(Luke 16:8).** There is no type of evil the modern man does not practice, just to beat their opponents and win the race!

Simple Electoral System for Nigeria – "Open Ballot"

African do not need to adopt or embrace the western system of governance sheepishly. It is a tragedy! "Primitive", "crude", "old fashioned', "undeveloped!" Who is suggesting the "modern", "high class", "advanced" methods and forget that Nigeria and almost all African countries are in the first group of "under-developed nations?" If Nigerian political leaders had not refused to adopt a system of governance quite suitable for Africa and Africans and still cling to the so-called 'democratic' governance, which woefully has failed the black race, a traditional system of selection of political representatives of the people is the best option. It is foolhardy to adopt the unworkable so-called western electoral *"secret-ballot"* system which has equally been abused and has failed the western democracy. Why spend millions of hard currency on useless computer system of voting in a land where more than 70% of voters are illiterate and electric power is never available to run the systems?

From 'Secret' to 'Open-Ballot' Electoral System

African registered voters are free to queue behind the images or pictures of their chosen candidates at each voting station, and let the representatives of the political parties count the number of voters one by one and announce the results! Who says this system of immediate record of electoral results has failed any nation that has adopted it? Private or Personal Voter's Card (PVC) or any such document is unimportant. If you are a registered voter (not below the age) and your name and personal data can be verified in the big voters' register, kindly queue up! "**Open-Ballot"** system may be the best option for Nigeria and rest of the black world. This could be a 'final and best result' of lessons learned from "election fiascos" in Nigeria.

(9) "Land for peace" - Herdsmen Colonies

The outburst by Presidential Spokesman, Femi Adesina, during a morning television interview on AIT when questioned about the rationale for the government's insistence on seizing people's land for herdsmen 'colonies considering people's attachment to their ancestral lands, was not only provocative and disappointing to only non-Moslems of the Middle Belt but to most Nigerians. Adesina could not figure out what '**Ancestral attachment'** meant to the people; hence his embarrassing rhetorical question;

'Ancestral land!' For Adesina one could only have ancestral attachment when one was alive, hence he retorted in this saucy and irrepressible manner: "If you are talking about ancestral attachment, if you are dead, what does the attachment matter? What does it matter again? Ancestral attachment! You can only have attachment when you are alive. What will the land be used if those who own it are dead at the end of the day; not every state will have land for ranches. But where you have land and you can do something, please do **for peace**.

What will the land be used for if those who own it are dead at the end of the day?"

Adesina, well-regarded journalist, who happens to be the special Adviser to the President on Media and Publicity, a calm, reasonable and decent bloke, with that infamous *faux pas*, and criminal blunder, has disappointed his admirers at home and abroad. When one is a professional in the service of political masters, one must always bear in mind that professional integrity remains the most priceless asset. Lose it, and you lose everything. It is regrettable that he flunked it big time with that egregious, offensive self-wounding misjudgment. Will 'land for peace' work in Nigeria, simply to pacify the cattle Fulani plunderers, marauding gang of thieves, killers, jihadists and blood suckers? No!

If 'Land for Peace' will resolve problems in other parts of Nigeria; **Igboland** will be the last place such a proposal can be advanced as part of settlement in any dispute. (2) The idea of 'Land for Peace' has not worked in Palestine. It is unlikely to work in Nigeria. Forcing people to surrender their ancestral lands out of fear of a bloodthirsty enemy can only lead to a graveyard peace. History shows incontrovertibly that appeasing murderers never works. (3) Conquest of the rich and fertile lands of the Middle Belt is no doubt more important to the sponsors of this genocide than any other thing. The Middle Belt Region is the bridge that links north and south — the **bread basket of Nigeria**. Remove the Middle Belt and the North will just be another sprawling Saharan Mauritania.

"Land Use Act" and 1999 Constitution

Nigerians may not forget it. The Land Use Act, as incorporated into the 1999 Constitution, vests **'usufructuary'** land rights on the people who live on it, under ancestral title deeds that are

sacrosanct and immemorial. It is important to get the **'usufruct' right** correct. Generally, **usufruct** is a system in which a person or group of persons uses the real property (often land) of another. These "usufructuary" do not own the property, but do have interest in it, which is sacrosanct or contractually allowed by the owner. In **Igboland** it is a '**communal land'** and does not belong to government. In Nigerian government policy, the State Governors are empowered to hold these ancestral lands in trust for the people. They obviously wield enormous power — but it is not power to do anyhow they please. The Executive Order on ranches is therefore an anti-constitutional, jurisprudential nonsense to the extent that the Federal Government has no legal powers to expropriate **communal lands** for the private business of total strangers who call themselves **"herdsmen".**

What is Femi Adesina telling Nigerians?

First, what he was telling us, in plain English, is that the horrendous massacres in the Middle Belt are the fault of the victims themselves because of their pig-headed refusal to surrender their ancestral lands to alien marauding herdsmen. Embedded in that message is a cold indifference to the fate of the thousands of victims, the war dead and millions of internally displaced persons. Secondly, there is this false notion that simply handing over land for ranches will bring peace. Adesina overlooks the fact that even in Kogi and Plateau, where the Governors have promised free land to the militias, killings have continued unabated. The idea of **"Land for Peace"** has not worked in **Palestine;** it is unlikely to work in Nigeria. Many Nigerians sincerely believe we would somehow have to accommodate genuine Nigerian pastoralists throughout the wide expanses of our green and lush ancestral savannah homeland. For many years the **cow Fulani boys who guarded their cows with sticks (not AK-47 rifles!)** have never been prevented from using even football fields in Igboland to feed their cows. In the Middle Belt they are brethren with whom they have lived and intermarried over the centuries. But it is also evident that a just and sustainable peace cannot be enforced under duress. It would have to be part of a comprehensive strategy anchored on confidence building, genuine goodwill and social justice. Forcing people to surrender their ancestral lands out of fear of a bloodthirsty enemy can only lead to a graveyard peace. **History shows incontrovertibly that appeasing murderers never works.**

(10) Post- Independent Africa and the West

"They want your money, not your prosperity! Fight them to a finish! (*Biafra war slogan)*
"To keep Nigeria one, is a task that must be done! *(Nigeria's war slogan)*

It is a shame that African leaders have not learnt their lessons from experiences of political history and the continued romance with the west and the ex-colonial masters. They do not want you to be truly 'independent. They are never happy when you are doing well. They want you to depend on the hand-out they call 'aids'. They give with one hand and take everything back with the other hand. They instigate most of the political conflicts and economic controversies. They select the leaders they feel they can manipulate and do away with those they feel are useful to their people. The tragedy of Libya and Gaddafi proves the case beyond any doubt. When will Africa learn and distrust the west? "I will not go into exile to any foreign country. I was born here in Libya, and I will die here. This country was a dessert, and I turned it into a forest, where everything can grow. No one loves this land and its citizens more than I do.. If Europe and America tell you that they love you, be careful. They love the wealth of your land and not the people. They are helping you to fight against me but, it will be better and wiser for you to fight against them because they are fighting against your future and progress. My message to you the people of Libya is, they are helping you to kill me but you will pay the price because you will suffer. And my message to you America and Europe is, you will kill me, but be ready to fight a never ending terrorism. Before you realize your ignorance, terrorists will be hitting you at your doorstep."(Muammar Gaddafi)

Gaddafi once told the Nigerian and British governments to divide Nigeria into two, so that the Hausa/Fulani (Moslems), Yoruba (Christians) and Biafrans/Igbo, can live as neighboring countries. No one cared to listen to him. His 'prophecies' are all coming to fulfillment'. What sins did Gaddafi commit? It's good we look at these 16 real reasons why Col. Gaddafi was killed. They were not completely different from the same reasons for which Patrice Lumumba was assassinated, Kwame Nkrumah was overthrown and died in exile, Ojukwu's Biafra was strangulated and many more. When will Africans learn from history and look for true independence?

Muammar Gaddafi accomplished so much and they got rid of him claiming he was a 'dictator'. Look at Libya during Gaddafi Era!

1. There were no electricity bills in Libya.
2. There were no interests on loans. Banks in Libya were state-owned and loans given to all its citizens were at a 0% interest by law.
3. Home was considered a human right in Libya. Gaddafi vowed that his parents would not get a house until everyone in Libya had a home.
4. All newlyweds in Libya received $60,000 Dinars (US$50,000) from the government to buy their first apartment.
5. Education and medical treatments were free in Libya. Before Gaddafi, only 25% of Libyans were literates. Today, the figure stands at 83%.
6. Libyans taking up farming as a career received farm lands, a farming house, equipment, seeds and livestock to kick- start their farms – all for free.
7. If Libyans could not find the education or medical facilities they needed in Libya, the government funded them to go abroad for it.
8. In Gaddafi's Libya, if a Libyan bought a car, the government subsidized 50% of the price.
9. The price of petrol in Libya was $0. 14 per liter.
10. Libya had no external debt and its reserves amounted to $150 billion – now frozen globally.
11. If a Libyan was unable to get employment after graduation, the state would pay the average salary of the profession as if he or she was employed until employment was found.
12. A portion of Libyan oil sale was credited directly to the bank accounts of all Libyan citizens.
13. A mother who gave birth to a child under Gaddafi, received US $5,000 as child benefit upfront.
14. 40 loaves of bread in Libya cost $ 0.15
15. 25% of Libyans had a university degree
16. Gaddafi carried out the world's largest irrigation project, known as the Great Man- Made River Project, to make water readily available throughout the desert country.

What a wicked world!

Can this is be called "Dictatorship" and a product of bad and corrupt leadership? Surely the wicked Western colonial policies and attitude towards Africa will not change soon. Theirs is the real 'dictatorship' and 'oppression', 'president-for-lifestyle', in the cloak of 'diplomacy. Their wicked representatives are there in Africa, **Buhari in Nigeria**, **Paul Biya in Cameroon**, **Yoweri Museveri in Uganda**, to name only a few. They visit and spend vacations in Britain and America, enriching the master nations with billions of stolen wealth and their hosts don't ask questions. The West has left African nations, governments and economies in a comatose state, in the state of perpetual bondage. And there are no signs of liberation in any foreseeable future. The descendants of the ex-colonial masters have not repented or shown any signs of remorse for their past atrocities. It is no longer **Harold Wilson** or **Edward Heat**, or **Margret Thatcher** tormenting Africa, fomenting troubles all over Africa through their hand-picked African dictators, playing the same old shameful politics with African lives and nations! Today one finds their likes - grand sons and daughters – for example, a **Theresa May** tightening the British colonial grip on the long conquered, exploited, enslaved and collapsing African nations and peoples. And, behold, there are no signs the west will ever let Africa go and enjoy some peace, political or economic stability.

(11) Nigerian Youths on Suicide Mission – Slavery in a new garb

Black Americans are lamenting, blaming Africans ancestors for their misfortunes in the Diaspora – In the USA and Caribbean Islands in particular. These fellow black Africans were said to have been sold into slavery by their kit and kin many centuries ago. Having been freed from the yokes of the ex-slave masters, the African ex-slaves still bear the brunt of slavery and are everyday humiliated, persecuted, despised, discriminated against, and called names in the lands of their sojourn. In most places where they struggle to compete with those who claim to be the original 'owners of the land', 'Africans in black skin' still remain second-class citizens irrespective of their great achievements.

Many Africans in those unfortunate circumstances have today truly found themselves in uncomfortable and humiliating

situations, overwhelmingly would happily like to return to their ancestral lands in Africa, if they would find places to go, to re-locate. Sadly enough they fail to find any such places to re-locate so as to leave **'America for the whites only',** who dominate and claim to be the owners of the land. Those they claim are '**illegal immigrants' or 'aliens'** are everyday threatened with deportation to their 'foreign and strange impoverished lands'. Lately they started talking about '**building walls' to 'make America safe by keeping off the intruders'** and equally banning the miscreants who had infiltrated, from their land flowing with milk and honey, the land they built with the sweat of the slaves and the ancestors of the builders of America and most of the western nations! The descendants of the ex-slaves are not wanted in any of the western nations that colonized and exploited their forefathers! The rich western nations that committed most ignoble atrocities against the so-called **'third world' nations** would no longer grant visas to the sons and daughters of their former colonies.

And Pharaoh hardened his heart!

History recounts the atrocities of the western nations, and wonders why they have continued to harden their hearts! The **British** ancestors went on a killing and conquering rampage all across the world. The British Empire was built at the back of conquest and colonization. Millions were starved and killed in **India;** millions more were murdered across various **African nations.** Today they flourish and are having a better living and never repented of their crimes or paid compensation for lives and properties of the nations they stole or squandered. The **United States of America** was built on the strategy of the extermination of the 'Native American race' and the enslavement of another race, '**African Americans'**. The Americans committed unimaginable atrocities and crimes against humanity. But today USA is regarded as the greatest nation on earth. They have a reasonable living. **Australia** committed the worst world un-talked about **genocid**e. The aboriginal Australians have been technically wiped out. The **British-Australians** have taken over the land. They are living good, better quality of life and have shown no repentance for their atrocities. **Germany** committed the forgotten horrific genocide in **Namibia**, now South-West Africa. Same Germany caused the First and Second World Wars that claimed millions of lives, including the 6 million **Jews** and those killed in gas chambers. Today Germany is the European

and world economic giant and enjoys better living all round, for her citizens. They show no remorse for their atrocities. **Belgium** has forgotten that **king Leopold II** killed millions of Congolese and amputated thousands of innocent African youths for not picking enough cotton. Belgium is flourishing, developed and reasonably comfortable for her people. Belgium had paid no compensation to the exploited Africans.

The Irony of Life - "Thank God my Granddaddy Got On That Boat!" (Mohammed Ali)

Today Africans are embracing the master nations that sought to decimate their population, the nations that persecuted their ancestors, refused to grant them independence until millions of native Africans died in the struggle. Today, they are not the Americans, the British, the French, the Belgians, the Germans and these other rich ex-colonial masters who are looking for new slaves to buy. No! The Africans, living in Africa, in Nigeria, Ghana, Cameroon, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, name them, are the ones ready to sell themselves to western countries, ready to buy! Nearly every African youth is said to be willing to pay any price to leave African scotching political and economic environment and soil! The late famous world boxing champion and talkative **Muhammad Ali** may not easily be forgotten; not only as a result of his performances in the boxing ring. Ali will equally be remembered in larger world history for his famous quote after visiting the impoverished Congo Kinshasa once during his championship contest with George Foreman, in October 30, 1974, in Congo Kinshasa Zaire, present Democratic Republic of Congo. For Muhammad Ali slavery was a better choice than life in Mother Africa, when he declared **"Thank God my Granddaddy Got On That Boat!"**

Africa was a jungle. Today, it seems a great number of African youths including hundreds and thousands of Nigerians seem to agree with Muhammed Ali, that Africa is a jungle that must be abandoned. It is no surprise that many are fleeing to the west in search of greener pastures. Surely Africans are not learning from history for good. Rather **history is repeating itself**. African political leaders embezzle, steal, empty the treasuries of their nations and dump billions of stolen Pounds, Dollars and Euros into various foreign banks. The economies of the ex-slave masters and ex-colonialists continue to boom, while those of the African nations shrink and crumble. Back home in

Nigeria, families spend fortunes to get their sons and daughters overseas to serve the new slave masters in new garbs. History continues to repeat itself. Shameful stories of slave trade that took place 5 (five) to 6 (six) centuries ago are not over. The trade has continued unabated, in the twenty first century, and completely in a new garb. *George Santayana is therefore correct when he enunciated, namely* ***"Those who do not read history are doomed to repeat it. Those who fail to learn from the mistakes of their predecessors are destined to repeat them. Those who do not know history's mistakes are doomed to repeat them."***