

Index

Note on Arabic names: The prefix *al-* has been retained but ignored when the entry is alphabetized, so that al-Qaeda is listed under Q. 'Bin' is treated as a primary element and appears under B.

- Abacha, Sani
Abiola imprisoned by, 88
approaches to fighting corruption, 71–72
Dasuki deposed by, 33
geographical zones proposal, 19
hangings of dissidents, 45, 99
Nigerians in U.S. during regime of, 114–115
Shiite brothers, 35
- Abdulkareem, Abubakar Rabo, 61 n12
- Abidde, Sabella Ogbobode, 10 n6
- Abiola, M.K.O., 88, 97 n28
- Abti University, 67–68, 115
- ABU (Ahmadu Bello University), 34, 35, 40–41, 115
- Abubakar, Atiku, 23, 56, 83, 84, 88, 90–95
- Action Congress (AC) set up by, 56
- American University established by, 68, 115
balanced ticket of, 88
break with PDP, 56
on Chinese trade, 114
elections of 2007, 83, 84, 90, 92
as Muslim, 20
Muslim World League delegation to, 23
at sultan of Sokoto's inauguration, 94
within U.S. for "health reasons", 95
- Abubakar, Sa'ad (sultan of Sokoto), 26, 33–34, 94, 95, 112 n26, 118, 119
- Abuja
Christian Ecumenical Center, 22–23
national capital shifted to, 10, 22, 48
national mosque, 22
as symbol of religious tolerance, 23
U.S. embassy, 108, 109
- Abuja accords, 25, 43–44. *See also* Darfur crisis
- Academic Associates/PeaceWorks, 63
- Accord party, 56 n5
- accountability, 125. *See also* corruption
- Action Congress (AC), 15, 56, 83, 84, 90
- AD (Alliance for Democracy), 15, 83
- Adam, Ja'afara, 37, 91
- Adamu, Abdullahi, 83
- Adegbite, Abdul-Lateef, 33, 93
- Adnan, Sayed Habib, 18 n1
- ACE. *See* Arewa Consultative Forum
- Afenifere, 82
- Afghanistan, 18, 36, 122
- Atikpo, 23
- Africa. *See also* African Union (AU); *specific nations by name*
bilateral relations with China, 69
identity issues, 40
Nigeria's pivotal role within, 23–25
- African-American communities, 117
- African Mission in Burundi (AMIB), 43
- African Mission in Sudan (AMIS), 38, 43
- African Statesmen Initiative, 100–101
- African Terrorism Bulletin* (ISS), 104
- African Union (AU)
African Mission in Burundi (AMIB), 43
creation of, 38, 43
Darfur crisis, 25, 38, 43–44, 107
members of, 14, 23, 38, 40, 43
on reform of UN Security Council, 44
- AFRICOM, 106, 107
- agriculture, 13, 24, 69–71, 114. *See also* farmers
- Ahl al-Bayt, 28
- Ahmadu Bello University (ABU), 34, 35, 40–41, 115
- Akeni, Kingsley, 98–99
- Akhigbe, Mike Okhai, 83
- Akinola, Peter, 117–118
- Akwa Ibom, 98–100
- Alamiyeseigha, Diepreye, 73 n34
- Albright, Madeleine, 49, 85, 110
- alcohol, 60
- Algeria, 18, 37, 43, 103
- All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP)
2003 elections, 54–55, 88, 90
2006 nomination convention, 83–84
Conference of Nigerian Political Parties (CNPP), 15
Kano as center for, 15
on sharia law, 60
- All People's Party (APP), 88
- Alliance for Democracy (AD), 15, 83
- alternative futures, 75–82
political turnover prospects, 81–82
Shell Oil "Vision 2010" scenarios, 76–78
worst-case scenarios, 78–81
- American Energy Department, 108
- American University, Washington, D.C., 115
- American University, Yola, 67–68, 115
- Aminu, Jibrin, 26, 79
- AMIS (African Mission in Sudan), 38, 43
- amputation for theft, 59
- Anambra State, 20, 124

- Anglican Church, 117–118
 animal husbandry, 13
 ANPP. *See* All Nigeria People's Party
 antiestablishment networks, 27, 35–38
 APP (All People's Party), 88
 AQIM/GSPC (Islamic Maghreb and Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat), 38 n30
 AQIN (al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb), 106
 Arabic (language), 12, 40
 Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF), 81
 Arewa House, 34
 Arinze, Cardinal Francis, 25
 army. *See* military role and regimes
 Arosiyá, 28
 Ashura festival, 122
 Asma'ú, Nana, 74
 Atiku Abubakar organization, 92 n22
 Attah, Victor, 83
 Azerbaijan, 18
- Babangida, Ibrahim Badamasi
 approaches to fighting corruption, 71
 corruption charges vs., 72, 73
 coup attempt vs., 22
 Israel recognized by, 45
 OIC membership during administration, 22, 45
 2006 nomination convention, 83
 Batarawa, Alhaji Attahiru, 23, 56, 64 n18, 84
 Baker, Pauline, 86–87
 Balogun, Alhaji Adebayo Mustafa. *See* Inspector General (IG) of Police
 Bande, Tijani, 64 n18
 Bangladesh, 17, 18, 71
 banking system, 66–67
 BAOBAB (Muslim women's organization), 32
 Baraya, Usman, 26
 Bayelsa State, 72, 98–100
 Bayero, Ado, 25–26, 41
 Bayero University Kano (BUK), 40–41, 60 n10, 64, 68 n23, 115–116
 beer parlors, 60
 Belgore, Salihu Modibbo Alfa, 61 n14
 Bello, Ahmadu
 Arewa House, 34
 Emir Sanusi deposed by, 29
 Jama'ata Nasril Islam (JNI), 32–33
 1996 coup, 22
 northernization policy, 19 n3, 22
 Bello-Barkindo, Abdulzaque, 78
 Bello, Muhammed, 27, 74
 Ben Umar, Halima, 86–87
 Benin Republic, 38, 98
 Berlin Conference, 38
 Biafra, 97, 98, 125. *See also* civil war
 "Big We" approach, 76, 77
 bin Laden, Osama, 46, 103 n1. *See also* al-Qaeda
 Borno, 7, 37, 121, 122
 Bororo, 39, 40
 Brazil, 14, 121
 bribes. *See* corruption
 Brunei, 18
 Buhari, Muhammad
 approaches to fighting corruption, 71, 73
 assistance to Niger Republic from, 24–25
 challenges and attacks vs., 47
 elections of 2003, 54–55, 88, 90
 elections of 2007, 83–84, 86–87, 91–92
 "Mr. Clean" image, 73
 on Onaiyekan election, 118 n40
 as petroleum minister, 114
 on term limits, 80–81
 on worst-case scenario, 79–80
 Building Global Partnerships Act, 106 n10
 BUK (Bayero University), 40–41, 60 n10, 64, 68 n23, 115–116
 bunkering, 68, 98–99
 Burundi, 43
 business. *See* economy
- cabinet, 19
 Cameroon, 38, 98
 Campbell, John, 107, 108, 109, 110
 CAN (Christian Association in Nigeria), 34, 45, 117–118
 cassava, 13
 cattle herding, 13
 CCA (Corporate Council on Africa), 113
 cell phones, 115
 census data. *See* demographics
 Center for Strategic and International Studies, 109, 112
 Central Bank, 66–67
 centralization, 97, 98–100
 Centre for Peace Studies, 64 n18
 CFR (Council on Foreign Relations), 64 n17
 Chad, 24, 36–37, 104 n4, 121
- Challawa, Kano City, 37
 Chedi, Yahaya Faruk, 61 n12
 ChevronTexaco, 13
 chiefs, 94–95. *See also* royal fathers
 China
 accession to World Trade Organization (WTO), 113
 "Big We" approach, 77
 economic development policies, 124
 trade and investments, 13, 14, 69–70, 113–114
 CHOGM (Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings), 45
 Christian Ecumenical Center, Abuja, 22–23

- Christians and Christianity. *See also*
 religion; *specific sects by name*
 born-again population, 10 n6
 CAN (Christian Association in Nigeria),
 34, 45, 117–118
 on census data, 20
 health-and-welfare concerns, 7, 68
 interfaith dialogue of leaders, 25
 “people of the book” model, 21, 23, 96
 Plateau State conflict, 39–40
 population and demographics, 3, 7, 10,
 17–18
 on sharia law, 46–47
 in South Africa, 19
 U.S.–Nigerian link, 117–118
- cities. *See* urbanization
- civil war
 lessons learned by, 125
 military regimes following, 15
 parity of state representation
 following, 19
 partition sentiment following, 97, 98
- civilian rule, overview of, 14, 15, 16. *See also*
 constitution; federal character model;
 presidency
- cocoa, 13
- Cohen, Herman, 110
- colonial rule, 15, 21–22, 38–39, 40
- commercial ties. *See* trade
- Common Market for Eastern and Southern
 Africa (COMESA), 43
- Commonwealth Heads of Government
 Meetings (CHOGM), 45
- communications, 115
- Conference of Nigerian Political Parties
 (CNPP), 15
- confidence scams, 49
- conflict resolution, 61–65, 124
- ConocoPhillips, 13
- constitution, 14, 15, 19, 51, 81, 87. *See also*
 federal character model; legal system;
 term limits
- constructive industry, 13
- contraceptives, 6
- Corporate Council on Africa (CCA), 113
- corruption. *See also* Internet scams
 approaches to fighting, 58 n6, 71–74
 as challenge to nation building, 125
 “dash”, 71
 elections of 1999, 88, 90
 elections of 2007, 85, 86, 88f, 96
 facilitation fees, 48, 112
 Independent Corrupt Practices
 Commission (ICPC), 72–73
 by Inspector General (IG) of Police, 61, 72
 Kano State, 60
 land use policy, 66
 at the national level, 61
 Nigeria’s international corruption
 ranking, 71
 public disillusionment as response
 to, 126
 punishments for, 60, 74, 96, 124
 U.S. Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, 48, 69,
 71, 112
- Council of Chiefs, 64 n17
- Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), 112
- coup
 of 1990, 22
 of 1966, 15, 22
- criminal groups, 49. *See also* terrorism
- cross-regional parties, 19
- “crown land” tradition, 66
- currency, 39, 98
- Daily Independent*, 107
- Dan Fodio, Abdullahi, 27, 74
- Dan Fodio, Usman, 27, 74, 95 n25
- Dan Maishiyya, Umar, 35
- Dartur crisis. *See also* Sudan
 Abuja accords, 25, 43–44
 Nigeria’s special envoy to, 97 n28
 overview of crisis, 40
 peacekeeping troops within, 23, 25, 38,
 43–44, 107
- Dasuki, Ibrahim, 33, 40
- debt and debt relief, 3, 12 n11, 13–14, 69
- Delta region. *See* Niger Delta region
- Democracy and Governance Assessment of
 Nigeria* (USAID), 120 n41
- democratic federalism. *See* federal
 character model
- Democratic People’s Party (DPP), 56, 84
- Democratic Republic of Congo, 23, 77
- demographics, 3, 5–6, 10–12, 17–18, 20
- Denmark, 62
- Diaspora. *See* Nigerian diaspora
- Dickson, Prince Charles, 16 n15
- dictatorships. *See* military role
 and regimes
- disease vectors, 6–7
- Dokubo, Alhaji Asari, 99
- DPP (Democratic People’s Party), 56, 84
- drug trafficking, 49, 123
- Duke, David, 83
- Dutse, Malam Abdullahi Muhammad, 59
- East African Community (EAC), 43
- ecology, 39
- Economic and Financial Crimes
 Commission (EFCC), 72–73
- Economic Community of West African
 States (ECOWAS), 14, 23, 38, 84
- Economist*, 106, 108

- economy. *See also* labor force; oil production and industry
 banking system, 66–67
 cash-and-carry mentality, 66
 debt and debt relief, 3, 12 n11, 13–14, 69
 equality of development, 124–125
 facilitating economic development, 65–71
 human resources, 49, 67
 income distribution, 13–14
 “mono-crop” economy, 49, 66
 “northernization”, 65
 overview of, 124–125
 remittance payments, 67
 trade and foreign investments, 14, 39, 42, 69–71, 112–113, 122
- ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States), 14, 23, 38, 84
- education. *See also specific universities by name*; student and youth-oriented organizations
 access to Western education, 19
 British model, 67–68
 clashes in schools over religious symbolism, 62, 63
 conflict resolution training, 64
 English as medium of instruction, 42
 interfaith peace committees, 63
 Islamiyya schools, 67
 job training, 67–68
 legal training, 40–41
 location of schools, 11 n8
 North-Central State government control of schools, 33
 schools built with profits from oil, 11–12, 29, 42, 68
 student visas to U.S., 109, 116
 U.S.-Nigerian link, 115–116
- EFCC (Economic and Financial Crimes Commission), 72–73
- Egwu, Sam, 83
- Egypt, 17, 18, 19, 45, 121
- Ejor, Franklin, 99
- elections (1999), 88, 90
 elections (2003), 54–55, 124
 elections (2006), 58 n6
 elections (2007)
 Abubakar’s departure from Nigeria following, 95 n27
 assessment of, 82–85
 as benchmark of harmonious interfaith relations, 96
 corruption, 72, 85, 86–87, 88f, 96
 debilitating effects in geocultural zones, 96
 election tribunals following, 92–93
 Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), 84
- international observers of, 84–85, 86–87, 88f, 91–92, 111–112
 killings and criminal activity associated with, 62
 major candidates, 90–91
 Nigerian Supreme Court ruling, 124
 Paden on, 85–86
 power and religious balance of, 87, 91
 reactions to, 92–94, 95
 results, 92
 Ribadu’s investigation, 72
- Elizabeth II, Queen of England, 45
- emirs, 94–95. *See also* royal fathers
- energy. *See* oil production and industry
- England. *See* Great Britain
- English (language), 7, 19, 39, 41, 42, 108, 121.
See also language
- Eni S.p.A., 13
- Enugu, 23
- Ethiopia, 17, 18
- ethnicity, 5, 7, 19, 89f, 121. *See also specific ethnic groups by name*
- Europe and the European Union (EU)
 on 2007 elections, 84
 investment in Nigeria, 69
 Muslim population of, 116
 as observers, 62
- evangelical churches, 34, 68, 117–118. *See also* Christians and Christianity
- export partners. *See* trade and foreign investments
- extremism. *See* terrorism
- ExxonMobil, 13
- facilitation fees. *See* corruption
- Fafunwa, Babatunde, 34–35 n26
- Falae, Olu, 88
- farmers, 39–40. *See also* agriculture
- The Federal Capital Territory (FCT), 10
- federal character model
 alternating ambassadors to the U.S.
 between Christians and Muslim representatives, 26
 banning of religious and ethnic parties, 19
 constitutional limits to power, 100
 cross-regional parties, 19
 economic development and, 65
 historical overview of, 123
 land use, 66
 nation building, 97
 north-south balance, 20, 56, 66, 90, 100
 “people of the book” model, 21–23
 progressive conservatism tradition, 19
 religious identity and, 20–21
 at the state level, 21, 61
- Federation of Muslim Women’s Associations of Nigeria (FOMWAN), 31, 32

- Feingold, Russell, 105
 Fellata, 39. *See also* Fulani
 fertilizer needs, 71 n28
 Fez, Morocco, 29, 41
 First Republic
 federal character model, 65
 inclusiveness within, 19
 Westminster parliamentary system, 15
 fishing, 13
 flight capital, 67, 70
 flight (*hijra*), 43, 95 n27
 Followers of the Prophet (Al Sunna Wal
 Jamma), 36
 FOMWAN (Federation of Muslim Women's
 Associations of Nigeria), 31
 foreign direct investment in Nigeria, 69–71.
 See also economy
 Fourth Republic. *See also* federal character
 model
 approaches to fighting corruption, 71–72
 military role, 15–16
 power sharing and power shifting, 87–92
 religious identity during, 10
 Sani platform, 58–59
 student organizations during, 31
 violence conflicts during, 62
 France
 Great Britain and, 39
 Paris Club, 12 n11
 “the scramble for Africa”, 38–39
 trade with Nigeria, 14
 fraud. *See* corruption; Internet scams
 Frazer, Iendayi, 92 n21
 Fulani
 demographics and location, 7, 38, 39
 establishment of Sokoto caliphate, 39
 Nation of Islam roots in, 117
 Fund for Peace, 86–87
 Futi, Umar, 28, 41

 G-8 nations, 45, 111
 Gambari, Ibrahim, 27
 GDP (gross domestic product), 13
 geographical zones
 cross-regional coalitions and parties, 19,
 21, 55–56
 described, 7
 effects of 2007 elections, 96
 north-south balance of power, 20, 56, 90,
 100, 121
 secession movements, 96
 Georgia (U.S. state), 117
 Germany, 12 n11, 14, 38, 48
 global role of Nigeria, 25–27, 43, 122, 123
 globalization of criminal groups, 49
 GNH (Global Network for Islamic Justice), 31
 goat herding, 13
 government accountability, 125. *See also*
 corruption
 government privatization programs, 13
 Gowon, Yakubu, 22
 grain crops, 13
 Great Britain
 colonial rule, 15, 21, 22, 38–39, 40
 educational model, 67–68
 France and, 39
 hostages within Niger Delta, 107
 “indirect rule” legacy, 58
 investment and trade with Nigeria, 14, 69
 land use tradition, 66
 London bombings, 45, 125
 Muslims within, 42
 as nexus among all English-speaking
 pivotal states, 121
 Nigeria as puppet state of, 36
 “people of the book” model, 22
 Guinea, 18
 Gulf of Guinea, 12, 47, 107, 108
 Gullah islands, 117
 Gummi, Abubakar, 29, 30, 33, 40, 42, 43
 Gusau, Aliyu, 83

 Haiti, 71
 Hausa
 demographics, 7
 as lingua franca, 7, 39, 41, 42–43, 109
 North African ties, 121
 translation of Koran into, 42
 Hausa-Fulani group, 38, 39. *See also* Fulani
 health-and-welfare concerns, 67, 68, 119
 “health or wealth” churches, 7
 Henry Luce Foundation, 112
 hijra (flight), 43, 95 n27
 Hisbah, 59, 60–61. *See also* sharia law
 HIV/AIDS, 6–7
 homosexuality debate, 117–118
 hotels, 60
 Hu, Jintao, 70, 113 n28
 human capital, 49, 67
 human rights, 62, 81
 Human Rights Watch, 62
 human trafficking, 123
 hunger crisis, 71 n28

 Ibadan, 11, 117
 Ibibio, 7
 ICG (International Crisis Group),
 104–105
 ICPC (Independent Corrupt Practices
 Commission), 72–73
 identity theft, 72 n31
 Idoko, Adam, 52
 Inspector General of Police, 61, 72

- IGAD (Intergovernmental Authority on Development), 43
- Igbo, 7, 38, 98
- IGOs (international governmental organizations), 119. *See also* non-governmental organizations (NGOs)
- Ijaw, 7, 48
- Ijebu East local government area, 69
- Ikhwan, 122
- The Imam and the Pastor* (Inter Faith Mediation Center), 63
- immigration to Nigeria, 46
- income distribution. *See* economy; poverty
- Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC), 72–73
- Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC)
- 2003 elections, 54–55
- 2007 elections, 15, 84, 85, 91, 92
- India, 14, 17, 18, 45
- indigenous-belief followers, 7
- indirect rule, 58
- Indonesia, 17, 18, 121
- Inspector General (IG) of Police, 61, 72
- inspirational churches, 34. *See also* Christians and Christianity
- Institute for Security Studies (ISS), 104
- Inter-Faith Mediation Center, 63
- interfaith relations. *See* religion
- Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), 43
- International Crisis Group (ICG), 104–105
- international governmental organizations (IGOs), 119. *See also* non-governmental organizations (NGOs)
- International Republican Institute (IRI), 84
- international security, 46–48. *See also* terrorism
- Internet scams, 72 n31
- Iran
- Muslim population, 17
- relationship with Nigeria, 121, 122
- Revolution, 35, 122
- role within global Muslim community, 18
- stoning as penalty in capital crimes, 62
- terrorist elements within, 38 n30
- Iraq, 18, 28, 41
- Islam. *See also* Muslims; pilgrimages; religion; *specific sects by name*
- banking system, 67
- Koran, 23, 30, 42, 43
- law of. *See* sharia law
- Nation of Islam, 117
- national mosque in Abuka, 22
- pure Islamic state vision, 122
- schools, 12, 67. *See also* education
- Sokoto caliphate, 7, 11, 27, 28, 39. *See also* Abubakar, Sa'ad
- the sunna, 42
- laktir* discontinued following September 11 terror attacks, 18 n1
- within West Africa, 18
- Islamic Development Bank, 67
- Islamic Maghreb and Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (AQIM/GSPC), 38 n30
- Islamiyya schools, 67
- Israel, 45
- ISS (Institute for Security Studies), 104
- Italy, 14
- Itsokiri, 48
- Iwu, Maurice, 58 n6, 92
- Izala movement, 27, 28, 29–30, 42, 43, 47
- al-Jailani, Abdul Qadir, 41
- Ja'iz Bank, 66–67
- Jama'atu Nasril Islam (JNI), 32–33
- Jama'atul Izalatul Bid'ah Wa'ikhamatul Sunnah (Society against Innovation and in Favor of Sunna), 29. *See also* Izala movement
- Jamal, Amaney, 116
- Japan, 14, 48
- Jeter, Howard, 108, 110
- JIBWIS, 29. *See also* Izala movement
- Jigawa, 24, 60
- JNI (Jama'atu Nasril Islam), 32–33
- Jonathan, Goodluck, 56, 83, 90–91, 96, 100, 108
- Jos, 29
- "Just Do It" approach, 76, 77, 78
- Kabara, Nasiru, 28, 41
- Kabo, Ibrahim Umar, 59
- Kaduna
- backlash vs. sharia law, 59, 60, 62
- competition with Kano, 29–30
- demographics, 11
- Izala movement based in, 29, 30
- Miss World riots, 46, 62
- religious political powers, 21
- textile industry, 113
- Zaria, 21, 30, 122
- El Kanemi, Mustafa Umar, 33
- Kano
- competition with Kaduna, 29–30
- corruption within, 60
- demographics, 5, 11
- emir of, 25–26
- Fulani vs. Hausa sections, 28
- hishbah* (volunteer neighborhood enforcers), 60–61

- Ikhwan, 122
 Islamic schools within, 12
 light industry, 113
 Maitatsine followers, 121–122
 as military base and airport during World War II, 41
 as Muslim state, 20
 National Political Reform Conference (NPRC), 53
 as Niass's base, 41
 opposition political parties, 15
 Pfizer drug testing, 113, 119
 Reformed Tijaniyya, 28–29
 revenge killings following Plateau State mass killings, 62, 63
 sharia bodies, 59–60
 Suti brotherhoods within, 28
 Taliban network, 36–37, 91, 106, 122
 transnational trade, 122
 Tudan Wada clashes, 62
- Kanuri, 7
 Kaolack, Senegal, 29
 Katsina State elections, 85–87
 Kazakhstan, 18
 Kebbi State, 93
 “keeping Nigeria one”, 97, 123
 Kellogg, Brown and Root (KBR), 112
 Kenya, 43, 103, 105 n7
 Khartoum, 40–41
 Kingibe, Baba Gana, 97 n28
 Kinshasa, 76, 77, 78
 Kogi State, 92–93
 Kontagora, Mamman, 83
 Koran, 23, 30, 42, 43. *See also* Islam
 Kukah, Matthew Hassan, 123 n2
 Kuntiyya, 28
- labor force. *See also* economy
 job training, 67–68
 overseas, 49, 67
 unemployment, 68
- Lagos
 as major center of opposition political parties, 15
 national capital shifted from, 22
 population, 10
 U.S. embassy, 108, 109
- Lamorde, Ibrahim, 72 n32
- land use, 66
- language
 for commerce, 39, 41
 commonalities of language with other Muslim nations, 121
 English, 7, 19, 39, 41, 42, 108, 121
 of FSOs, 108
 multilanguage capacities of university graduates, 43
 national languages, 7, 39, 41, 42–43, 109
 religious schools, 12
 Yoruba, 117
- Leahy, Patrick, 105–106
- legal system. *See also* Nigerian Supreme Court
 British “indirect rule” legacy, 58
 rule of law, 58–62, 123–124
 sharia law. *See* sharia law
- legislative branch, 14
- Lewis, Peter, 111 n22
- Liberia, 23, 38, 105–106
- Libya, 38 n30, 43, 44
- literacy, 12. *See also* education
- livestock, 13
- local government
 overview of local politics, 15
 representation at the state level, 21
 responses to terrorism, 122
 royal fathers, 63–64
 separation of political power from local cultures, 64
- locust infestation, 24
- London bombings, 45, 125. *See also* terrorism
- Lukman, Rilwan, 44–45, 114
- Lyman, Princeton, 108, 110–111
- Maccido, Muhammadu, 34, 64 n18
- Madrid bombings, 125
- Maiduguri, 46
- Maitatsine, 121–122
- Makari, Ahmed, 83
- Malaysia, 18, 45
- Mali, 18, 42, 104 n4
- Maliki school, 58
- Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN), 113
- Marafa, Lawal M., 69–70
- Marwa, Mohammed Buba, 83, 115
- MASSOB (Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra), 98
- Mauritania, 104 n4
- matelid*, 18 n1
- Mecca and Medina, 39, 41, 117, 122. *See also* pilgrimages
- MEND (Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta), 98–99
- The Middle Belt, 7
- middle class, 124–125
- migration patterns, 39
- military role and regimes
 abuse of human rights by, 16
 aid and sales from China, 70 n26
 bunkering by, 99
 centralization approach, 97
 civil war, 15
 commitment to national unity, 125

- corruption, 16
- cross-regional coalitions, 21
- federal character model, 62–63
- following Second Republic constitution, 15
- during Fourth Republic, 15–16
- historical overview of, 15–16
- inclusiveness within, 19
- response to partition movements, 99
- retirement of senior officers following 1999 return to civil rule, 16
- separation of political power from local cultures during, 64
- during Third Republic, 15
- militias, 62
- millet, 13
- ministries, 19
- Miss World riots, 46, 62
- Mixed Blessings* (Center for Strategic and International Studies), 112
- “mono-crop” economy, 49, 66
- Morocco, 18, 29, 41, 103
- mosques, 29
- Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), 98
- Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), 98–99
- Muhammad, Prophet, 62, 82
- Musa, Shehu, 90
- Muslim Americans* (Pew report), 116
- Muslim law. *See* sharia law
- Muslim League for Accountability (MULAC), 30, 31
- Muslim Sisters Organization (MSO), 32
- Muslim Students Society (MSS), 30–31
- Muslim World League, 23
- Muslim youth groups. *See* student and youth-oriented organizations
- Muslims. *See also* Islam; religion; *specific sects by name*
 - American Muslim population, 116
 - demographics, 7
 - demographics and location, 3, 7, 10, 17–18, 39, 116
 - education and, 12
 - within Great Britain, 42
 - health-and-welfare concerns, 68
 - identity issues and organizations, 27–38
 - interfaith dialogue of leaders, 25–26
 - “people of the book” model and, 22
 - regional role of, 17–19, 25
 - on religious identity questions for census purposes, 20
 - stereotypes of, 46–47
 - travel to U.S. by, 109–110
- Myanmar, 27
- NACCIMA (Nigerian Association of Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Agriculture), 113
- naira (currency), 39
- NAMI AS (National Association of Muslim Law Students), 30, 31
- NANNS (National Association of Northern Nigerian Students), 65 n19
- nation building, 51–74
 - centralization, 97, 98–100
 - conflict resolution, 62–65
 - consolidating rule of law, 58–62
 - corruption as challenge to, 71–74, 125
 - democratic federalism, 97
 - establishing political system, 51–58
 - facilitating economic development, 65–71 by force, 97
 - “keeping Nigeria one”, 97, 123
 - overview of challenges to, 123–125
 - partition, 97, 98–100
 - porous and arbitrary national boundaries, 122
- Nation of Islam, 117
- National Assembly, 53–54
- National Association of Muslim Law Students (NAMI AS), 30, 31
- National Association of Northern Nigerian Students (NANNS), 65 n19
- National Council of Muslim Youth Organizations of Nigeria (NACOMYO), 30, 31
- National Democratic Solidarity Party (NDSIP), 56 n5
- National Foreign Affairs Training Center, 109
- National Labour Congress (NLC), 14 n13
- National Majority Democratic Party (NMDP), 56 n5
- National Peace Council, 63
- National Political Reform Conference (NPRC), 20, 31, 51–53
- National Population Commission (NPC), 5
- National Unity Party (NUP), 56 n5
- National Universities Commission (NUC), 116
- NBA (Nigerian Bar Association), 93
- NDSIP (National Democratic Solidarity Party), 56 n5
- Negroponte, John, 81
- NEPP (Nigeria Elements Progressive Party), 56 n5
- NGOs (non-governmental organizations), 63, 86–87, 118–119
- Niass, Ibrahim, 28, 29, 41
- NICCOMSAT-1, 114 n30
- Niger Delta region, 13, 82 n12, 91, 98–100, 103, 107–108
- Niger Republic
 - famine and refugees, 24–25
 - Hausa-Fulani shared with Nigeria, 38

- Pan Sahel Initiative (PSI), 104 n4
 role within global Muslim community, 18
 Taliban community, 36
 Tuareg, 42
 Nigeria Elements Progressive Party (NEPP),
 56 n5
 Nigeria Inter-Religious Council (NIREC), 26
 Nigerian Association of Chambers of
 Commerce, Industry, Mines and
 Agriculture (NACCIMA), 113
 Nigerian Bar Association (NBA), 93
 Nigerian diaspora, 67, 114–115, 125, 126
 Nigerian Labor Congress, 92
 Nigerian National Commission for
 Refugees, 82
 The Nigerian National Petroleum
 Corporation (NNPC), 13, 68. *See also* oil
 production and industry
 Nigerian State Security Service (SSS), 46
 Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic
 Affairs (NSCIA), 33–34, 93
 Nigerian Supreme Court
 on 2003 elections, 54–55
 2005 decision in favor of the PDP, 90, 124
 2007 elections ruling, 90, 124
 religious composition of, 61
 sharia criminal cases, 61
 9/11 terrorist attacks. *See* September 11
 terrorist attacks
 NIREC (Nigeria Inter-Religious Council), 26
 NMDP (National Majority Democratic
 Party), 56 n5
 Namani, Chimaroke, 83
 NNPC (The Nigerian National Petroleum
 Corporation), 13, 68. *See also* oil
 production and industry
 non-governmental organizations (NGOs),
 63, 86–87, 118–119
 north-south balance of power. *See*
 geographical zones
 Northern States Traditional Rulers, 34
 northernization policy, 19 n3, 22, 65
 Norwegian Agency for Development
 Cooperation, 104
 NPC (National Population Commission), 5
 NPRC (National Political Reform
 Conference), 20, 31, 51–53
 NSCIA (Nigerian Supreme Council for
 Islamic Affairs), 33–34, 93
 Nsukka, 11
 NUP (National Unity Party), 56 n5
 Nyang, Sulayman S., 103 n1

 OAU (Organization of African Unity), 38,
 39, 40, 45
 Obaji, Chinwe, 65 n19
 Obasanjo, Olusegun
 approaches to fighting corruption, 72
 attempt to keep Abubakar off the 2007
 ballot, 90
 AU chairmanship, 38
 balanced ticket of, 88
 China and, 69–70, 113 n28
 as Christian, 20
 conflict resolution conference, 64 n18
 criticism of, 78
 on elections of 2003, 10 n6
 funeral of wife, 23
 G-8 meeting, 45, 111 n23
 on hunger crisis, 71 n28
 impeachment efforts vs., 55
 at inauguration of Abubakar, 94–95
 international reputation, 44
 on international security issues, 46
 Lukman as minister in administration
 of, 45
 National Peace Council, 63
 National Political Reform Conference
 (NPRC), 51–53
 as petroleum minister, 114
 on population figures, 6
 privatization measures, 66, 115
 on reform of UN Security Council, 44
 sale of oil refineries prior to 2007
 election, 14
 on September 11 terror attacks, 103 n1
 successor chosen by, 83
 term limits, 3, 44, 45, 53–54, 81–82
 transition after 2007 elections, 100–101
 on U.S. National Intelligence Council
 (NIC) report, 78–79
 Yar'Adua as puppet of, 111 n24
 Yar'Adua's candidacy favored by, 83, 90
 Obi, Ben, 90
 Obiozor, George, 6 n3, 26, 110 n19
 Odili, Peter, 83
 OECD (Organization for Economic Co-
 operation and Development), 48
 Ogoni, 48, 99
 OIC (Organization of the Islamic
 Conference), 3, 22, 25, 45–46
 oil production and industry
 agricultural decline as result of, 114
 boycott, 75
 bunkering, 68, 98–99
 centralization of, 114
 consumption and prices of, 3, 12–13, 68–69
 deepwater exploration in the Gulf of
 Guinea, 12
 EPEC monitoring of, 72 n31
 income distribution and, 13, 49, 53, 65, 66,
 98–99
 land use policy, 66
 liquefied natural gas, 114
 local unrest and, 48

- military, political and business joint ventures following, 22
- mosques and schools built with profits from, 11, 12, 29, 42, 68
- Niger Delta production, 13
- Nigeria as "mono-crop" economy, 49, 66
- Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), 13, 68
- OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries), 14, 18, 44–45, 48–49
- Petro-China International, 70 n26
- Petroleum Products Pricing and Regulatory Agency (PPRA), 68
- privatization of, 14 n13, 66, 115
- refineries, 14
- reimportation of refined oil, 68
- scenario planning, 75–76
- security for oil companies, 47–48
- state and local government funding from, 15
- transparency of oil industry, 68
- urbanization as result of, 10–11
- U.S. concern about terrorism and, 106
- U.S.-Nigerian naval cooperation, 47–48
- U.S. oil companies, 114
- World Bank support for, 69
- Okadigbo, Chuba, 90
- Okiri, O.R.T., 52
- Okonjo-Iweala, Ngozi, 70
- Oloyede, Ishaq, 52
- Omburman, 40, 41
- Onaiyekan, John, 118
- Onitsha, 11
- OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries), 14, 18, 44–45, 48–49. *See also* oil production and industry
- Oputa Commission, 73
- Oral Roberts University, 117
- Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 48
- Organization of African Unity (OAU), 38, 39, 40, 45
- Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. *See* OPEC
- Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), 3, 22, 25, 45–46
- Orire, Abdulkadir, 52
- overseas accumulated capital, 67, 70
- Pakistan
- Muslim population, 17
 - north-south balance of power, 121
 - Pakistani preachers denied immigration to Nigeria, 46
 - relationship with Nigeria, 121
 - role within global Muslim community, 18
 - stoning as penalty in capital crimes, 62
 - terrorist elements, 38 n30
- palm oil, 13
- Pan Sahel Initiative (PSI), 104–105
- Paris Club, 3, 12 n11, 13–14, 69
- partition, 97, 98–100
- PDP. *See* People's Democratic Party (PDP)
- peacekeeping by Nigeria, 23
- peacekeeping in Nigeria, 107
- peanuts, 13
- Pentecostal churches, 34, 68, 74 n35, 117–118. *See also* Christians and Christianity
- "people of the book" model, 21–23, 96
- People's Democratic Party (PDP)
- 2003 elections, 15, 88, 90
 - 2006 nomination convention, 83
 - 2007 elections, 15, 86–87, 90–92
 - Abubakar's break with, 56
 - national and international recognition of, 92, 93, 94–95
 - National Political Reform Conference (NPRC), 53
 - Vision 2020 goals, 97 n29
- Petro-China International, 70 n26
- Petroleum Products Pricing and Regulatory Agency (PPRA), 68
- Paul, 39. *See also* Fulani
- Pew report, 116
- Pfizer drug testing, 113, 119
- pilgrimages
- by disappointed candidates, 95 n27
 - funded by oil wealth, 30
 - Gummi as liaison for, 42
 - historic route of, 39
 - by Malcolm X, 117
 - "pilgrimage officers", 40
 - Saudi links as result of, 30, 49, 121
 - from Senegal, 41
- pivotal states in the Muslim world, 17–19
- Plateau State, 21, 39–40, 62, 63, 100
- PMSA (Professional Muslim Sisters Association), 32
- police
- corruption, 61
 - federal management of, 51, 62–63
 - inclusiveness within, 19
 - role of, 16
- polio vaccine campaign, 119
- Political Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa* (U.S. Institute of Peace), 109
- political parties
- banning of religious and ethnic parties, 19
 - cross-regional coalitions and parties, 19, 21, 55–56
 - emergence of new parties, 56
 - opposition-party coalition alliances, 56
 - single-party domination, 93, 101

- political sharia, 60, 62, 123–124. *See also* sharia law
- population figures, 3, 5, 6, 10, 12, 17, 18, 20
- Port Harcourt, 11, 92, 105
- poverty, 13, 60, 123
- PPRA (Petroleum Products Pricing and Regulatory Agency), 68
- “praying people” movement (Aladura), 34
- presidency. *See also specific presidents by name*:
 attempt to change term limits, 44, 45, 53–54, 72, 81–82
 constitutional law on term limits, 14, 81
 democratic federalism and term limits, 100
 international opinion of term limits, 45, 80–81, 110–111
 north-south balance with vice-president selection, 20, 56, 90, 100
 regional rotation, 100
- privatization, 14 n13, 66, 115
- Professional Muslim Sisters Association (PMSA), 32
- progressive conservatism tradition, 19, 21
- Progressive People Alliance (PPA), 56 n5
- Prophet Muhammad cartoon riots, 62, 82
- prostitution, 60
- Protestantism, 34, 117–118. *See also* Christians and Christianity
- PSI (Pan Sahel Initiative), 104–105
- Qadiriyya, 28, 41–42
- al-Qaeda, 37, 46, 48, 103, 122. *See also* terrorism
- al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), 106
- Qatar, 45
- rain forest zones, 13, 39
- Retormed Tijaniyya, 28–29, 30, 41, 42
- refugees of ethnoreligious violence, 82
- regional identities, 19
- regional role of Nigeria, 23–25
- regional umbrella groups, 34
- religion. *See also* Christians and Christianity; Islam
 2007 elections as benchmark of harmonious interfaith relations, 96
 Abuja as symbol of tolerance and parity, 23
 balance in politics, 20, 26, 87
 census questions about, 5
 clashes in schools over religious symbolism, 62, 63
 conflict resolution, 63
 demographics and location, 7, 19, 20
 education and, 12
 federal character model and, 20–21
 health-and-welfare concerns, 68
 indigenous-belief followers, 7
 interfaith dialogues, 25–26
 legitimating role of emirs and chiefs, 94–95
 religious parties banned within Nigeria, 19
 secret religious cults, 120 n41
 U.S.-Nigerian link, 116–118
 U.S. response to religious affairs and issues, 112
 USAID report on, 120 n41
 “Religious Conflict in Nigeria” symposium, 112
- Remembrance Day, 23
- remittance payments, 67. *See also* Nigerian diaspora
- Republic of Guinea, 18
- Republican Party of Nigeria (RPN), 56 n5
- Rhodesia, 22
- Ribadu, Nuhu, 72–73
- rice, 13
- Rivers State, 93, 98–100
- “Road to Kinshasa”, 76, 77, 78
- Roberts, Richard, 117
- Roman Catholic Church, 25, 81, 117. *See also* Christians and Christianity
- root crops, 13
- Rotterdam, 99
- Royal Dutch Shell, 47 n36
- royal fathers, 63–64, 93–95
- RPN (Republican Party of Nigeria), 56 n5
- rubber, 13
- Rufai, Hammed, 114 n30
- rule of law. *See* legal system
- Russia, 45
- Sabbah family, 33
- SADC (South African Development Community), 43
- Sahel, 24, 121
- Salamiyya, 28
- Salgawa, 29
- Saliffiyya, 30
- Sambo, Bashir, 52
- Sammaniyya, 28
- Sanders, Robin, 108 n15
- Sani, Ahmed, 58–59, 60, 67, 83–84
- Sanusi, Muhammad, 29, 41
- Sara-Wiwa, Ken, 45, 99
- satellite technology, 114
- Saudi Arabia
mawlid banned by, 18 n1
 Muslim population, 18
 Nigerian Muslim ties to, 41, 121
 pilgrims to, 30, 49, 121. *See also* pilgrimages
 role within global Muslim community, 18
 stoning as penalty in capital crimes, 62
- savanna region, 13, 39

- scenario planning
 overview of, 75–76
 political turnover prospects, 81–82
 Shell Oil “Vision 2010” scenarios, 76–78
 worst-case scenarios, 78–81
- schools. *See* education
- Schwartz, Peter, 76
- SCSN (Supreme Council for Sharia in Nigeria), 34
- secession movements, 96
- Second Republic constitution, 15
- Senegal, 18, 24, 29, 41
- separatist movements. *See* partition
- September 11 terrorist attacks. *See also* terrorism
 backlash to American Muslims, 116
 international security and diplomacy following, 46–48, 125
 Nigerian reaction to, 103 n1
takfir discontinued following, 18 n1
- the Sharia Commission, 59
- sharia law, 59–62. *See also* Izala movement
 amputation for theft, 59
 application to corruption charges, 74
 application to Muslims only, 59
 hisbah, 59, 60–61
 international condemnation of, 59
 Kano model, 59–60
 legal assistance to women for sharia court cases, 32
 moral education component, 60
 Muslim organizations in support of, 34
 normalization of sharia systems, 59
 political sharia, 60, 62, 123–124
 poor people as apparent targets of, 60, 123
 prior to independence, 58
 reintroduction of, 3, 96
 sharia riots, 62
 stoning punishment, 59, 62
 as symbol of division, 23, 46–47, 59, 61–62
 U.S. church groups on, 118
 women as apparent targets of, 32, 59, 60, 123
 Zamfara State origins, 31, 58–60
- Shazilyya, 28
- sheep herding, 13
- the Shehu. *See* Dan Fodio, Usman
- Sheikh Sabbah College, 33
- Shekarau, Ibrahim, 59, 60, 61 n13, 67, 119
- Shell Oil Corporation, 13, 47 n36, 75–78
- Shiites, 27, 35, 122
- Shinkafi, Umaru Aliyu, 52, 88
- Shinqityya, 28
- Shura Advisory Council, 59
- Shuwa Arabs, 40
- Sierra Leone, 23, 38, 106
- Smith, Daniel Jordan, 74 n35
- smuggling, 123
- Society against Innovation and in Favor of Sunna, 29. *See also* Izala movement
- Society for the Victory of Islam (Jama’atu Nasril Islam), 32–33
- Sokoto
 conference on challenges of peaceful coexistence, 23
 Ikhwan, 122
 JNI influence within, 33
 locust infestation, 24
 Sokoto Caliphate, 7, 11, 27, 28, 39. *See also* Abubakar, Sa’ad
- Somalia, 18, 38
- sorghum, 13
- South Africa, 18, 19, 43
- South African Development Community (SADC), 43
- Southwest Muslim ummah conference, 34
- Spain, 14
- SSS (Nigerian State Security Service), 46
- states
 federal character model applied to, 21
 funding from oil economy, 15
 lack of state and local police capabilities, 62–63
 land use policy, 66
 overview of state politics, 15
 relationship of state laws to federal laws, 61
- stoning, 59, 62
- student and youth-oriented organizations
 2007 elections and, 85, 86
 antiestablishment networks, 35–38
 Iranian outreach to, 122
 overview of, 20, 30–32, 121
 Shiite brothers, 35
 Taliban and, 35–36
- subsoil minerals, 66
- Sudan, 17, 18, 38 n30, 40, 62, 121. *See also* Daurtur crisis
- Sufism, 18, 27–30, 39, 41–42, 68, 121
- sultan of Sokoto. *See* Abubakar, Sa’ad
- the Sunna, 42. *See also* Koran
- Al Sunna Wal Jamma (followers of the Prophet), 36
- Sunnis, 18, 28, 117
- Supreme Council for Sharia in Nigeria (SCSN), 34
- Supreme Court. *See* Nigerian Supreme Court
- Swahili, 39
- Swiss banks, 71–72
- Tahir, Ibrahim, 52
- Taliban network, 27, 35–37, 46, 91, 103, 106, 122
- Tanzania, 18, 103, 121
- Taylor, Charles, 105–106
- telephones, 115
- temporary marriages, 35

- term limits
 attempt to change, 44, 45, 53–54, 72, 81–82
 constitutional law, 14, 81
 democratic federalism and, 100
 international opinion of, 45, 80–81, 110–111
- terrorism. *See also* September 11 terrorist attacks
 antiterrorism legislation vs., 105, 106 n10
 concessionary aid to Nigeria, 49
 EFCC actions vs., 72 n31
 globalization and, 123
 local government responses to, 122
 Nigeria as “terrorist camp” report (U.S. State Department), 37 n30
 Nigerian perception of, 46–48
 Nigerian reaction to U.S. war on terrorism, 103 n1
 oil production and, 106
 prevention vs. reaction to, 105
 proactive relations as result of, 125
 al-Qaeda, 37, 46, 48, 103, 122
 recruitment and operations within Nigeria, 38 n30
 stereotypes of, 46–47
 Taliban network, 27, 35–37, 46, 91, 103, 106, 122
 U.S. National Intelligence Council (NIC), 47
 U.S.-Nigerian relations and, 103
- textiles, 13, 113
- theft, 59, 60
- “There Is No Alternative” (TINA), 76, 77
- Third Republic, 15
- ThisDay* (newspaper), 47
- Tijaniyya, 28–29, 41, 42
- Tijaniyya Suti brotherhood, 41
- timber, 13
- TINA (“There Is No Alternative”), 76, 77
- Tiv, 7
- Total S.A., 13
- trade and foreign investments, 14, 39, 42, 69–71, 112–113, 122. *See also* economy
- Trans-Saharan Counterterrorism Initiative (TSCI), 104–105, 106
- Transparency International, 71
- Transportation Security Administration (U.S.), 109–110
- travel to U.S., 109–110, 116
- TSCI (Trans-Saharan Counterterrorism Initiative), 104–105, 106
- Tuareg, 42
- Tudan Wada, 62
- Turaki, Ibrahim Saminu, 83
- Turkey, 17, 18, 121
- Udenwa, Achike, 83
- UDF (Usman Dan Fodio University), 64, 115–116
- Ukiwe, Ebitu, 83
- umbrella organizations, 27, 32–34, 121. *See also specific organizations by name*
- Ume-Ezeoke, Edwin, 91
- unemployment, 68
- United Kingdom. *See* Great Britain
- United Nations
 Darfur crisis, 38, 43, 44, 107
 on extremist Islamic groups, 36
 Nigeria’s candidacy for permanent membership on Security Council, 25
 OIC observer status, 45
 proposed reform of Security Council, 44
 special envoy to Myanmar, 27
 Yar’Adua’s appearance before, 97 n30
- United States. *See also* Paris Club
 African-American communities, 117
 American Muslim population, 116
 constitution, 51
 cultural and religious relations with, 112, 116–118
 diplomatic and political relations with, 108–112
 economic, business, and educational relations with, 14, 48–49, 69, 112–116
 on elections of 2007, 92 n21
 embassy facilities in Nigeria, 108, 109
 future of U.S.-Nigerian relations, 119–120
 Gullah islands, 117
 hostages within Niger Delta, 107
 Human Rights Report, 81
 military and security relations with, 47–48, 103–108
 Nation of Islam, 117
 Nigeria as puppet state of, 36
 Nigerian ambassadors to, 26
 Nigerian debt owed to, 12 n11, 14
 oil industry and, 13, 47 n35, 114
 overview of U.S.-Nigerian relations, 125–126
- Pan Sahel Initiative (PSI), 104–105
 on presidential term limits, 81
 travel to, 109–110, 114–115, 116
 U.S.-based NGOs, 118–119
 U.S. dollar, 98
 war on terrorism, 103 n1, 105
 Yar’Adua’s visit to, 97 n30
- United States Institute of Peace, 109
- universities. *See* education: student and youth-oriented organizations
- urbanization, 10–11, 13
- U.S. African Growth and Opportunity Act, 114
- U.S. Department of Defense, 104–105, 106
- U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 109–110

- U.S. Department of State, 37 n30, 109. *See also* USAID
- U.S. Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, 48, 69, 71, 112
- U.S. National Democratic Institute (NDI), 84–85, 86
- U.S. National Intelligence Council (NIC), 47, 78–79
- USAID (United States Agency for International Development), 6, 13, 49, 120
- Usman Dan Fodio University (UDFU), 64, 115–116
- Usman, Mallam Mohammed, 65 n19
- Usman, Tijani, 29
- Usmaniyva, 28
- Uwais, Muhammad Lawal, 61 n14, 93
- Uzbekistan, 18
- vaccinations, 119
- Van der Heijden, Kees, 76
- vice-presidency, 20, 56, 90, 100
- visas to the United States, 109, 116
- Vision 2010 conference, 76–78, 101–123
- Vision 2020 goals, 97 n29
- Wahhabis, 18 n1, 30, 47, 60
- Wakili, Haruna, 60 n10
- Wali, Nafi Sulaiman, 59
- war on terrorism. *See* terrorism
- Ward, William, 106
- Warri city, 82 n12
- Waziri, Isa, 59
- welfare. *See* health-and-welfare concerns
- West African Training Course (WATC), 47 n35
- women
 - education, 12
 - sharia law applied to, 32, 59, 60, 123
 - women's organizations, 27, 32, 121
- Women in Media in Nigeria, 86–87
- Women in Nigeria (WIN), 32
- Women's Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative (WRAPA), 32
- World Bank, 5, 6, 14, 69, 70
- World Trade Organization (WTO), 14, 45, 113
- World War II, 21–22, 41, 75
- X, Malcolm, 117
- yams, 13
- Yar'Adua, Umaru. *See also* elections (2007)
 - background, 90
 - call for Marshall-type plan in the Delta, 100, 108
 - candidacy favored by Obasanjo, 83, 90
 - financial propriety of, 73, 90
 - as first Muslim civilian president since 1983, 44
 - G-8 meeting, 45
 - as independent of Obasanjo, 96, 111 n24
 - inquiry into electoral system by, 93
 - Katsina State elections, 86–87
 - Lamorde appointed to EFCC by, 72 n32
 - legitimacy of, 111 n24
 - national and international recognition of, 92, 93–94, 95
 - north-south balance with vice-president selection, 56, 90, 100
 - recognized by sultan of Sokoto, 95
 - as "rule-of-law president", 62
 - seven-point program, 97 n29
 - as university graduate, 96
 - visit to U.S., 97 n30
- Yemen, 62
- Yobe
 - assistance to Niger Republic, 24
 - Muslim population, 7
 - Taliban network, 35–36, 46, 122
- Yola, 67–68
- Yoruba, 7, 34, 38, 117
- youths. *See* student and youth-oriented organizations
- Zahradeen, Muhammad Sani, 59
- Zakat Commission, 59
- Zakzaky, Ibrahim, 35
- Zambia, 22
- Zamfara State, 31, 58–60
- Zaria, 21, 30, 122. *See also* Kaduna *zabunus* (brotherhood guesthouses), 29
- Zemin, Jiang, 69
- Zimbabwe, 22
- Zumunta Association USA, 115

About the Author

John N. Paden is Clarence Robinson Professor of International Studies, and professor of Public and International Affairs at George Mason University. He received his B.A. in philosophy from Occidental College, his B.A./M.A. in philosophy, politics, and economics from Oxford University (as a Rhodes Scholar), and his Ph.D. in politics from Harvard University. He has served as Norman Dwight Harris Professor of International Studies and Director of African Studies at Northwestern University, Professor of Public Administration at Ahmadu Bello University (Zaria, Nigeria), and Dean, Faculty of Social and Management Sciences at Bayero University (Kano, Nigeria).

His numerous publications include *Religion and Political Culture in Kano* (winner of the Herskovits Prize); *The African Experience* (four volumes); *Black Africa: A Comparative Handbook*; *Social Change and Nation Building in Africa*; *Values, Identities and National Integration: Empirical Research in Africa*; and *Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto: Values and Leadership in Nigeria*. His most recent book is *Muslim Civic Cultures and Conflict Resolution: The Challenge of Democratic Federalism in Nigeria* (Brookings Institution Press, 2005).

He served as an international observer during the Nigerian presidential elections in 1999 (Kaduna), 2003 (Kano), and 2007 (Katsina). He was part of a team that helped plan the new Nigerian federal capital at Abuja in the late 1970s. From 1981 to 1996, he served on the executive committee of a U.S.-China scholars exchange program to help set up African studies in China. He has served on review panels at the United States Institute of Peace and participated in Nigeria working groups at the Council on Foreign Relations and the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Between 2002 and 2006, he was a member of the Brookings Institution task force on U.S. policy toward the Islamic world.

About the Institute

The United States Institute of Peace is an independent, nonpartisan, national institution established and funded by Congress. Its goals are to help prevent and resolve violent conflicts, promote post-conflict stability and development, and increase peacebuilding capacity, tools, and intellectual capital worldwide. The Institute does this by empowering others with knowledge, skills, and resources, as well as by directly engaging in peacebuilding efforts around the globe.

Chairman of the Board: J. Robinson West

Vice Chairman: María Otero

President: Richard H. Solomon

Executive Vice President: Patricia Powers Thomson

Vice President: Charles E. Nelson

Board of Directors

J. Robinson West (Chair), Chairman, PFC Energy, Washington, D.C.

María Otero (Vice Chairman), President, ACCION International, Boston, Mass.

Holly J. Burkhalter, Vice President, Government Affairs, International Justice Mission, Washington, D.C.

Anne H. Cahn, Former Scholar in Residence, American University, Washington, D.C.

Chester A. Crocker, James R. Schlesinger Professor of Strategic Studies, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

Laurie S. Fulton, Partner, Williams and Connolly, Washington, D.C.

Charles Horner, Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute, Washington, D.C.

Kathleen Martinez, Executive Director, World Institute on Disability

George E. Moose, Adjunct Professor of Practice, The George Washington University, Washington, D.C.

Jeremy A. Rabkin, Professor of Law, George Mason University, Fairfax, Va.

Ron Silver, Actor, Producer, Director, Primparous Productions, Inc.

Judy Van Rest, Executive Vice President, International Republican Institute, Washington, D.C.

Members ex officio

Condoleezza Rice, Secretary of State

Robert M. Gates, Secretary of Defense

Richard H. Solomon, President, United States Institute of Peace (nonvoting)

Frances C. Wilson, Lieutenant General, U.S. Marine Corps;
President, National Defense University

1

Faith and Politics in Nigeria

Text: Palatino and Optima

Display Text: Cochin and ITS Symbol Std

Cover Design: Hasten Design Studio and Katharine Moore

Interior Design and Page Makeup: Katharine Moore

Developmental Editor: Kurt Volkan

Proofreading: Amy Thompson

Indexing: Mary Coe

Copyediting: Janet Walker

Pivotal States in the Muslim World

As part of its Muslim World Initiative, the United States Institute of Peace's Center for Conflict Analysis and Prevention is undertaking a major analytical effort in which leading scholars and area specialists measure the influence of certain pivotal states on the broader Muslim world and assess how their political and social evolution will affect U.S. interests across the Muslim world.

This collective initiative builds on the argument put forth by Robert Chase, Emily Hill, and Paul Kennedy in 1996 that the United States should prioritize the application of its limited resources and attention toward so-called pivotal states. As they argue, such states merit particular attention because they affect—both positively and negatively—not only the stability of their respective regions but also of the larger international system. Here, focusing specifically on pivotal Muslim states and U.S. interests in the Muslim world, this project aims to identify which states in the Muslim world are most influential and critical to U.S. foreign policy. The Muslim world, for purposes of this project, includes not only states with Muslim majorities (such as Pakistan, Indonesia, Iran, and Saudi Arabia) but also states with important Muslim minorities (such as India, France, Germany, and Russia).

This volume and Graham Fuller's *The New Turkish Republic: Turkey as a Pivotal State in the Muslim World* are products of this initiative.