

KARL POPPER'S CONCEPT OF TOLERANCE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR 2023 APC'S MUSLIM-MUSLIM PRESIDENTIAL TICKET

Ekwueme Francis Okechukwu¹

Department of Philosophy

University of Nigeria, Nsukka

okechukwu.ekwueme@unn.edu.ng

&

Areji Anthony C.²

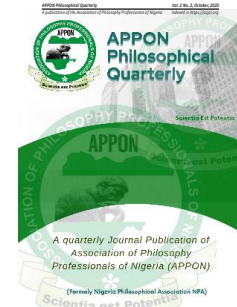
Department of Philosophy

University of Nigeria, Nsukka

anthonyareji@unn.edu.ng



Copyright: © 2023 by the authors. Submitted for possible open access publication under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>)



Abstract

The work examines APC'S Muslim-Muslim Presidential ticket in the light of Popper's assertion that we should tolerate one another. Karl Popper is an advocate of tolerance; he calls for the abandonment of intolerance. Popper argues that liberal societies should be rational and at the same time engages in open debate, free and fair voting and a system of laws that allow other peoples beliefs without any fear of persecution. Against this background, Popper warned that unlimited tolerance also lead to the disappearance of tolerance. In Nigeria, the need to tolerate one another has suffered serious setbacks as a result of tribal differences and religious fanaticism. The ruling All Progressive Party in Nigeria fielded all Muslim-based faith candidates despite resistance and condemnation by many Nigerians. Contrary to the expectations that only southern Nigerians may resist such political calculation, a large number of Northerners (mainly Christians) opposed the emergence of the Muslim-Muslim ticket because of its implications for tolerance in Nigeria. The purpose of the study is to find out whether APC'S Muslim-Muslim ticket agrees with Popper's concept of tolerance. The issue is how to solve the problem of political and religious intolerance in Nigeria. We argue that the state of ethnic division and security threats with religious colouration in Nigeria only warrant the emergence of the mixed-faith presidential ticket because of tensions raised by the current leadership who is also of the Muslim faith.

Keywords: Tolerance, Muslim-Muslim Faith, Social Engineering, Ethnicity, Religion, Conflict

Introduction

Tolerance is the state of not rejecting an action, a thing or an individual from the neutrality of the mind. It is also our ability to acknowledge the possibility of erring against one another and the need to accept other people's shortcomings. In recent times, the need for tolerance became glaring due to economic and political situations around the world. The concept of tolerance became more pronounced in Europe when people thought that they can suppress negative reactions by controlling their expressions, feelings and judgments by opposing them with favourable attitudes knowing that it benefits all. But in Nigeria, one major crisis that bedevils the Nation is the problem of ethnicity and religious differences which occur mainly between Christians and Moslems. Those who defend tolerance do so because they believe that everybody needs to be tolerated one way or the other. Being tolerant include having respect for other people's values, being modest in judging other people's attitude and having sense of autonomy. The implication is that to be tolerant, one must accept other people's differences without sentiments. In Nigeria, tolerance remains elusive due to frequent crisis recorded in Nigeria. In his book, "*Basic Concepts, Issues, and Strategies of Peace and conflict Resolution, Nigerian-African Conflict Case studies*", Aja Stated thus:

The Ife-Modakeke crisis dates back to the pre-colonial period in Nigeria. The Ifes

were the native settlers in the famous Oyo Empire. Modakekes were originally refuges who were allowed to settle by the Ooni of Ife, but the invasion of Oyo Empire by Fulani Jihadists made these refuges to flee into several routes in Yoruba land. The Ooni of Ife again accommodated these refuges and both communities lived in peace and harmony though the Ooni saw the refuges as useful fighting forces should times of war arise. Later, the Ooni created a separate settlement for the refuges in Modakeke. But no sooner had the Modakekes settled than they denied their "visitor status" and the host Ife became disappointed with them. The modakekes supported Ibadan during its war with Ife considering the possibility of being free after the war which they achieved though the defeat of Ife by Ibadan. The conflict lasted from 1839 to 2007 when President Olusegun Obasanjo intervened.¹

One of the emerging problems of tolerance remains the acceptability of other people in wake of frequent misunderstanding and conflicts

1. Aja Akpuru Aja, *Basic Concepts, Issues and Strategies of Peace and Conflict Resolution, Nigerian-African Conflict Case Studies* (Enugu: Keny and Brothers, 2007), 72-74.

emanating between the host communities and non-indigenes. Karl Popper in his book, “*Open Society and its Enemies*”, argued that Marx, Plato and Hegel are all flawed thinkers because of their ideas in the emergence of totalitarianism and conflicts around the world. Their theories were based on 'Historicism', Popper continues, “an idea which claims that historical events are pre- determined by some laws in nature which is not the case”²

Killings and maiming of men, women and children in the country bear witness to the fact that intolerance have eaten deep into the bones of Nigerians through tribal conflicts. Since the independence of Nigeria, conflicts and crisis have hindered genuine national integration thereby raising questions on the unity of Nigeria in its cultural diversity³. Religious intolerance is one of the bugging problems in Nigeria and has become an enabling ground for mischief makers who took advantage of the easy approach to its use and manipulation. Hence, religious affiliation and ethnic divisions has become viable tools for agitations in sharing national resources. Writing on the effects of intolerance in the country, Nwaomah opines:

Religious intolerance has

negative consequences for strong and good Nation building. In spite of killing innocent citizens, the psychological effects and the destruction of property is colossal. Religious conflicts breeds terrorism and break down of law and order which weakens the performance of government in power. It discourages foreign investors and as well affects local productivity.⁴

The entrance of the APC government in 2015 launched Nigerians into a frenzy of euphoria because of the reputation of President Buhari as a “no-nonsense” military leader that gave many Nigerians the impression that all existing challenges from the previous administration would be addressed.⁵ But contrary to this expectation, the incidences of banditry in the North-West and North-Central led to more cases of kidnappings and abductions of citizens, including schoolchildren, and the capacity of the Nigerian security agencies to prevent and arrest criminal activities of rebellious groups in all parts of the country are legitimate concerns of all Nigerians.⁶

2. “Karl Poppers,” *The Open Society and its Enemies*, accessed May 24, 2012, <https://tigerpapers.net/2012/05/24/the-paradox-of-tolerance/>

3. Samson Nwaomah, “Religious Crisis in Nigeria, Manifestation, Effect and the Way Forward,” *Journal of Sociology, Psychology and Anthropology*, 3, no. 2 (2011): 94.

4. Awoniyi. S, “A Discourse on Religious Conflicts and Tolerance in Multi- Faith Nigeria,” *European Scientific Journal*, 9, no. 20 (2013): 136-138.

5. Salihu Lukman, *APC and Campaign for New Nigeria*,” *Triokreations*, December 18, 2021, 6.

6. Lukman, *APC and Campaign for New Nigeria*, 9.

There is also the challenge of preventing or managing conflicts arising from the activities of herdsmen, which have provoked all manner of conflicts between Fulani herdsmen and other citizens, especially farmers, across every part of the country.⁷

Coupled with the question of political opportunities in the country, the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), Northern zone made a publication on leadership in Nigeria that Muslims dominated the leadership of not only Northern parts of the country but the nation as a whole.⁸ CAN queried that since independence, most Nigerian leaders were Muslims, and that the key positions in government are held by Muslims; that despite a large number of Christians in the Police force in Northern Nigeria, most of the Police Commissioners and Divisional Police Officers (D.P.O.s) were Muslims.⁹ Having this in mind, the 2015 election is very significant to us because it exposed the unflinching role of ethnicity and religion in the voting pattern of different segments of our society.¹⁰

Despite the above situation in the country, the ruling party (APC) decided to select

Muslim faith aspirants both for the presidential and vice presidential positions. The implication is that the Muslim-Muslim candidate of the All Progressive Congress (APC) political party will surely be put to test in 2023 and with the religious colouration already painted on frequent killings, kidnapping, and the control of most political positions by the northern politicians (mainly Fulanis), political analysts are casting doubt on the possibility of the ruling party in winning the 2023 Nigerian elections bearing in mind the level of failures recorded by the party already.

The work is set out to proffer solution to the problem of political and religious intolerance in Nigeria. To achieve this aim, we shall discuss: (i) the concept of tolerance and peace in Popper (ii) ethnicity, religion and voting pattern in Nigeria (iii) APC's Muslim-Muslim Ticket and Its Implications for 2023 Nigerian election (iv) Implications for Nigeria's Diverse Identity (v) Implications for Islamization. It is hoped that our discussions will provide an enabling ground for solving the problem of intolerance among ethnic and religious groups in Nigeria.

7. Lukman, *APC and Campaign for New Nigeria*, 9.

8. Thomas Ebhomienlen and Emmanuel Ukpebor, "Religion and Politics in Nigeria: A Comparative Study of the Nigeria Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs and the Christian Association of Nigeria," *International Journal of Science and Research (IJSR)* 2, no 9 (2013): 169.

9. Ebhomienlen and Emmanuel Ukpebor, "Religion and Politics in Nigeria: A Comparative Study of the Nigeria Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs and the Christian Association of Nigeria," 169.

10. Anthony Egobueze and Callistus U. Ojirika, Ethnicity, "Religion and Voter's Behaviour: The Experience of the 2015 Presidential Election in Nigeria," *Global Journal of Human Social Science*, XV11, no 1V (2017): 25.

The Concept of Tolerance and Peace in Karl Popper

Tolerance is the willingness to accept behaviour or attitudes that are different from ours. In his depiction of intolerance and its effects, Popper States:

Those who are intolerant cannot bear the burden of freedom, uncertainty and insecurity. Some thinkers in western world have aided this situation in one way or the other. Using Socrates for example, Popper depicted Socrates as a philosopher who called for open society and criticism as sources of knowledge and wisdom. Plato portrayed a closed system where only philosophers should rule others. Marx also propounded a determined evolution where in the production process between classes prevails. All these theories contributed to the emergence of intolerance around the world.¹¹

For Karl Popper, Liberal societies should be rational and at the same time engage in open debate, free and fair voting and a system of laws that allow other peoples

beliefs without any fear of persecution. In support of this, Popper further states:

Liberals should resort to violence only as last resort especially when all options fails. We use violence rarely and only for defensive purposes. A tolerant society should be tolerant without exception. It should not tolerate intolerance. Intolerance should only be allowed when we are already facing “fists and pistols,” or presumably worse. Liberals should always prefer reason and argument to violence.¹²

One may wonder if freedom without control is not exposed to abuse by clever ones. Even though an important aspect of a tolerant society is the capacity to allow contrasting view points, it still has serious negative implications against orderliness in the society.¹³ For others, freedom give those who are intolerant a known line in the sand which they can use their ideology in establishing intolerance.¹⁴

The Paradox of Freedom

Karl Popper was well aware of the implications of extending freedom to those who themselves are not tolerant. In

-
11. Richard Ormerod, “The History and Ideas of Critical Rationalism: The Philosophy of Karl Popper,” *Journal of Sociology, Psychology and Anthropology*, (2009): 10.
 12. Jason Kuznicki, “On The Paradox of Tolerance,” *Libertarianism*, August 17, 2017, N.P.
 13. Mohammed Farija, “Deconstructing Poppers paradox of Tolerance,” accessed March 3, 2023, <https://politicalanimalmagazine.com/deconstructing-karl-poppers-paradox-of-intolerance/>
 14. Bill Huebner, “Do you Agree or Disagree in Karl Poppers Paradox of Tolerance? *Amazon*, August 19, 2017, N.P. <https://www.quora.com/Do-you-agree-or-disagree-with-Karl-Poppers-paradox-of-tolerance> accessed 1/1/2023

his affirmation of the need to manage tolerance, he stated thus:

Unlimited tolerance results to the destruction of tolerance. For if we extend unlimited tolerance even to those who do not tolerate others, yet do not make plans to defend a tolerant society against the threats of the intolerant, even the intolerant will be eliminated. In this formulation, I do not mean that we should always suppress the views of the intolerant but as long as we can hold them with rational arguments and public opinion. The use of suppression would always be an unwise approach. But we should claim the right even to suppress them especially when they are not ready to join us in rational arguments hence, we resort to use of fist.¹⁵

In the last decade, politicians in U.K focused on some people who were perceived to be threats to British way of life especially the younger ones and other ethnic minorities in England. Youth's intolerant behaviours were said to be growing to the extent that it threatens the

social welfare of Britons. But after investigation, not only do young people commit less crime in England but some of their behaviours were not really threatening. Nevertheless, the so called moral intolerance or panic among the youths made majority of British adults to think that they needed to be protected from the attitudes of the youths.¹⁶

A leading Islamic academic, Mona Siddiqui contributed to the problem of tolerance by asserting that British liberalism had gone too far in allowing intolerant people to do want they want and to say what they want meaning that British culture is allowing extremism to flourish which needed to be checked.¹⁷

This is at par with Popper's view that when tolerated without limit, the intolerant may overcome even the tolerant. Hence, for Popper, not even the use of fist may be enough to stop the intolerant but even gun.

Piece Meal Social Engineering: For Popper, historical philosophers dealt a serious blow on societal development through their writings. Popper blamed Plato, for depicting ideal society which strengthened the power of the state and hindered gradual changes. He also saw Hegel's writing as an intellectual fraud having claimed that the absolute spirit influences the changes seen in the society.

15. Karl Popper, *The Open Society and its Enemies* (London: George Routledge and Sons L.T.D, 1947), 226.

16. Jon Bannister, "Conceptualizing Tolerance: Paradoxes of Tolerance and Intolerance in Contemporary Britain," *Italian Journal of Sociology and Education*, 2, no. 2 (2009): 126.

17. Bannister, "Conceptualizing Tolerance: Paradoxes of Tolerance and Intolerance in Contemporary Britain, 133.

He also saw Marx as using his theory of class struggle to cause violence around the world. Social development should be a kind of piecemeal approach through gradual intervention, institutional check or guide in the freedom of peoples actions through experience. Popper further states:

This is a little explanation of attitude which I call historicism for it is an old idea and a loosely connected set of ideas wrongly depending on spiritual atmosphere that is rarely questioned. There is then no doubt that depicting some people as chosen grew out of the tribal way of living which stresses on the importance of a tribe apart from the individual. This is called Historicist theories.¹⁸

Popper's book contributes to how we understand totalitarianism and the significant fight recorded against it. It also tries to question how we apply our critical and rational approaches to scientific problems of our open society and democratic principles called piecemeal social Engineering¹⁹.

Ethnicity, Religion and Voting Pattern in Nigeria

The pre-independence Nigerian politics assumed an ethnic colouration when Prominent political parties of the pre-independence era and the First Republic emerged from the ethnic and socio-cultural organizations in the country hence; the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC), later renamed the National Council of Nigerian Citizens, was led by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe an Igbo indigene; the Northern People's Congress (NPC) was led by Sir Ahmadu Bello, an offshoot of a Hausa socio-cultural group called Jamiyar Mutanen Arewa (association of the people of the north) while the Action Group led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo developed from a Yoruba socio-cultural organization called the Egbe Omo Oduduwa.²⁰ The ethnic distribution of these political parties in Nigeria aggravated the politics of ethnicity and this led to the association of major political parties with the major ethnic groups and the three regions, i.e. Western, Eastern, and the Northern regions.²¹ The tensions and conflict generated by ethnic politics and the acrimony between political parties led to a breakdown of law and order consequently

18. Karl Popper, *The Open Society and its Enemies* (London: Routledge Classics, 2011), 8.

19. Karl Popper, *Open Society and its Enemies* 1-2.

20. **Atanda A. Isiaq**, Oluwashina M. Adebisi and Adebola R. Bakare, "Ethnicity and Election Outcomes in Nigeria: Interrogating the 2015 Presidential Election," *Journal of African Elections* 7, no. 1 (2018): 120.

21. **Isiaq**, Oluwashina M. Adebisi and Adebola R. Bakare, "Ethnicity and Election Outcomes in Nigeria: Interrogating the 2015 Presidential Election, 121.

it led to the premature termination of the country's first attempt at democracy.²² In an attempt to account for Nigeria's diverse identity and its voting pattern, *Isiaq, Adebisi, and Bakare opine:*

A critical observation of the first republic election result in Nigeria reveals that the NPN presidential candidate of the Northern region received most of his votes from the geo-political zones of the North West, North East, and North Central. The UPN presidential candidate of the western region, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, came second receiving a substantial portion of his votes from the South Western states of Ogun, Ondo, Oyo, Lagos and the Mid-Western state of Bendel. The NPP presidential candidate, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe (an Igbo indigene) came third with his party receiving a large portion of its votes from the South-East states and South-South states.²³

However, despite the clause in the Constitution guiding against the registration of sectarian parties, political parties still had strong ties and appeals to their ethnic affiliations. This election attracted criticism from all quarters because the Supreme Court delivered a controversial decision on the winner of the

election, Alhaji Shehu Shagari.²⁴ At this stage, it became clear that ethnic bloc voting has far-reaching effects on the development of a homegrown democracy in a country that has diverse ethnic groups like Nigeria. Scholars have for years predicted the possibility that elections in deeply divided societies would produce only ethnic consensus and that such elections create hindrances that erode inter-ethnic tolerance hence; rather than give rise to harmonious co-existence and political stability, ethnic bloc voting can drive large-scale ethnic confrontation in ethnically diverse societies.²⁵ Elections under these circumstances become mere expressions of ethnic bias or prejudice within which voters employ the act of voting to express (and hence register) their identities as part of an ethnic group.²⁶

APC' s Muslim-Muslim Ticket and Its Implications for 2023 Nigerian Election.

Despite the colossal problems of political candidacy in a diverse state like Nigeria, and to the chagrin of the ruling Party, the All Progressives Congress (APC) made a move that perplexed many, when its Presidential flag bearer, Senator Bola Ahmed Tinubu, after initial prevarication

22. *Isiaq*, Oluwashina M. Adebisi and Adebola R. Bakare, "Ethnicity and Election Outcomes in Nigeria: Interrogating the 2015 Presidential Election, 121.

23. *Isiaq*, Oluwashina M. Adebisi and Adebola R. Bakare, "Ethnicity and Election Outcomes in Nigeria: Interrogating the 2015 Presidential Election, 123.

24. *Isiaq*, Oluwashina M. Adebisi and Adebola R. Bakare, "Ethnicity and Election Outcomes in Nigeria: Interrogating the 2015 Presidential Election," 123.

25. *Isiaq*, Oluwashina M. Adebisi and Adebola R. Bakare, "Ethnicity and Election Outcomes in Nigeria: Interrogating the 2015 Presidential Election, 121.

26. *Isiaq*, Oluwashina M. Adebisi and Adebola R. Bakare, "Ethnicity and Election Outcomes in Nigeria: Interrogating the 2015 Presidential Election, 131.

selected Senator Kashim Shettima, former Governor of Borno State and a fellow Muslim, as his running mate.²⁷ While some bemoan the insensitivity of the APC in featuring a Muslim-Muslim Presidential ticket, others consider it political suicide, as they believe it will dampen the chances of the Party at the polls. Some APC stalwarts have registered their disapproval of this development, by resigning from the Party in protest.²⁸

The accusation and counter-accusation that Muslims and Christians brought against one another is strong evidence of religious influence on Nigerian elections hence; the PDP in the past had accused the APC of being a Muslim party because of her association with the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt for Islamizing Nigeria while the APC accused the PDP of being a Christian party to Christianize Nigeria.²⁹

In Nigeria, Religion affects the choice of leadership and the voting pattern because

the usual arrangement was that if a Christian is a president, a Muslim will automatically become the vice-president.³⁰ Examples are former president, Obasanjo, as a Christian president, and Atiku, as a Muslim vice-president; Jonathan as a Christian president and Sambo as a Muslim vice-president; and Buhari as a Muslim president with Osibanjo as a Christian vice-president.³¹

It has been established that the APC Muslim youths prefer a Christian political leader from the Northern part of the country to enhance the party's fortunes ahead of the polls, instead of the former governor of Borno state.³² Abdullahi Saleh, the leader of the group, while briefing newsmen in Abuja, explained that they were in total rejection of the Muslim-Muslim ticket in the 2023 presidential election by the party, saying that all Nigerians should be carried along in all spheres of life because of our diverse views and beliefs.³³

-
27. *Isiaq*, Oluwashina M. Adebisi and Adebola R. Bakare, "Ethnicity and Election Outcomes in Nigeria: Interrogating the 2015 Presidential Election, 131
 28. Daniel H. Bwala, "APC and the Insensitivity of a Muslim-Muslim Ticket," *This Day Newspaper*, July 19, 2022, (N.P).
 29. **David T. Adamo, "Religion and Elections in Nigeria: A Historical Perspective,"** *Church History Society of Southern Africa and Unisa Press 44, no. 3 (2018): 16.*
 29. **Adamo, "Religion and Elections in Nigeria: A Historical Perspective,"** *Church History Society of Southern Africa and Unisa Press, 16*
 30. **Adamo, "Religion and Elections in Nigeria: A Historical Perspective,"** *Church History Society of Southern Africa and Unisa Press, 16*
 31. Amos Tauna, "2023: APC Muslim Youths Reject Tinubu-Shettima Presidential Ticket," *Daily Post*, July 20, 2022, N.P.
 32. Tauna, "2023: APC Muslim Youths Reject Tinubu-Shettima Presidential Ticket, N.P.
 33. Idowu Abdullahi, "Muslim-Muslim ticket can't Work: CAN Warns APC, PDP," *PUNCH*, June 10, 2022, (N.P).

The Christian Association of Nigeria has rejected the proposed Muslim-Muslim presidential tickets by claiming that Christian-Christian or Muslim-Muslim presidential ticket in 2023 is a threat to the fragile peace and unity of Nigeria.³⁴ The apex Christian body gave the warning in a statement on Friday by its National Secretary, Barrister Joseph Bade Daramola, titled, 'Christian Association of Nigeria Rejects Proposed Muslim / Muslim Presidential Ticket in 2023.'³⁵ In an attempt to show the negative effect of APCs Muslim-Muslim tickets, he opined that With the country's trajectory and its challenges, it was important for the nation's political parties not to further polarize the country by opting for Christian-Christian or Muslim-Muslim presidential tickets.³⁶

The imposition of Muslim-Muslim faith candidates on Nigerians by the ruling All Progressive Congress (APC) does not encourage national integration. It does not agree with Popper's concept of tolerance and as a result has the following implications.

APC' s Muslim-Muslim Ticket and its Implications for Nigeria's diverse Identity

Nigeria is now so divided that in the last seven years, the gap has increased and it is expected that the next leadership, should emphasize more unity and how to bring the people together.³⁷ Based on the above statement, the same faith ticket of the APC is not in the interest of the unity of our country and those pushing the candidates to do this, do not even mean well for Nigeria.³⁸

The question begging for answer therefore is, has the APC in any shape or form contravened the Constitutional principle of federal character by opting for Muslim-Muslim Presidential candidacies in defiance of federal character and the established political tradition practiced since the birth of the Fourth Republic in 1999?³⁹ Section 15 of Chapter II contains the Political Objectives of the country and subsection 2 thereof states that "...national integration shall be actively encouraged, whilst discrimination on the grounds of place of origin, sex, religion, status, ethnic or linguistic association or

34. Abdullahi, "Muslim-Muslim ticket can't work: CAN Warns APC, PDP," (N.P).

35. Abdullahi, "Muslim-Muslim ticket can't work: CAN Warns APC, PDP," (N.P).

36. Godwin Isenyo, "Muslim-Muslim Ticket Failure Plot – ECWA Scribe," *PUNCH*, August 16, 2022, (N.P).

37. Isenyo, "Muslim-Muslim Ticket Failure Plot – ECWA Scribe," *PUNCH*, August 16, 2022, (N.P).

38. Inibehe Effiong, "Legality of APC's Muslim-Muslim Presidential Candidacies," *Premium Times*, July 21, 2022, (N.P).

39. Effiong, "Legality of APC's Muslim-Muslim Presidential Candidacies," (N.P).

ties shall be prohibited.” Subsection 4 of Section 15 similarly states that “The State shall foster a feeling of belonging and of involvement among the various peoples of the Federation, to the end that loyalty to the nation shall override sectional loyalties.”⁴⁰ Based on the above statement, the ruling party's Presidential choice of same faith ticket does not support the unity of the country because it is divisive and intolerant.

APC' s Muslim-Muslim Ticket and its Implications for Islamization

Commenting on the widely criticized Muslim-Muslim tickets of the ruling APC party, a political commentator, Reno Omokri expressed his fears about the choice of the ruling party. He made revelations about how Turkey was Islamized with Ephesus and other Christian cities changed to Islamic names. In an attempt to highlight some of these problems, he further opines:

Istanbul has a rich history that can probably bring you to tears. This city used to be known as Constantinople, and was the center of orthodox Christianity, until 29th May 1453, when it was conquered by the Muslim Ottoman Empire. Note I said Muslim Ottoman Empire, not Islamic Ottoman Empire. Never in the history of this nation have we

ever had the head of the executive (the President), the head of the Legislature (the Senate President), and the head of the judiciary (the Chief Justice of Nigeria), all Muslims.⁴

According to Omokri, the imbalance is unprecedented for example, when one examines the heads of the Ministry of Defense, Army, Navy, Police, NSA, DMI, EFCC, DSS, DIA, NPS, NCS, NIS, NIA are all Northern Muslims and in the midst of this, the All Progressives Congress wants to increase the volume with a Muslim-Muslim ticket?⁴² Given the aforementioned irregularities in APC's ruling party politics, the challenges for the party are higher now, and based on the massive condemnation in the country, the party is not likely to win the 2023 elections. Based on the above claims, it is believed that the All Progressive Party (A. P. C) and their same faith ticket are not tolerant enough hence; runs contrary to Poppers open society where everyone benefits from the common wealth of the state.

Conclusion

Nigeria is made up of three major ethnic groups that are tribally and religiously divided. The nature of its tribal system made peace and development impossible as a result of intolerance. Coupled with

40. **Reno Omokri**, “Muslim-Muslim Ticket: Lessons From The Islamization of Constantinople,” *ThisDay*, September 13, 2022, (N.P)

41. **Omokri**, “Muslim-Muslim Ticket: Lessons from the Islamization of Constantinople,” *ThisDay*, September 13, 2022, (N.P)

sectional appointments, poor economic performance, insecurity, and fear of Islamization of the country, the implication of APC's Muslim-Muslim Presidential ticket is that it disagrees with Popper's concept of tolerance and a reverse to Popper's concept of open and free society would restore peace and tolerance to the nation.

Recommendations

The Nigerian government needs to enact some laws that will deal with the act of ethnic and religious intolerance in Nigeria, so that citizens should be compelled by the law to have tolerance in a way that will deter ethnic and religious crisis in Nigeria in order to foster development. Greater awareness on education needs to be established by the government, in order instill religious tolerance and unity of Nigerians.

Bibliography

Aja Akpuru Aja, *Basic Concepts, Issues and Strategies of Peace and Conflict Resolution, Nigerian-African Conflict Case Studies*. Enugu: Keny and Brothers, 2007.

Amos Tauna, "2023: APC Muslim Youths Reject Tinubu-Shettima Presidential Ticket," *Daily Post*, July 20, 2022..

Anthony Egobueze and Callistus U. Ojirika, Ethnicity, "Religion and Voter's Behaviour: The Experience of the 2015 Presidential Election in Nigeria," *Global Journal of Human Social Science*, 17, no. 4 (January 2017) : 25 - 36 . <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/323225831>

Atanda A. Isiaq, Oluwashina M. Adebisi and Adebola R. Bakare, "Ethnicity and Election Outcomes in Nigeria: Interrogating the 2015 Presidential Election," *Journal of African Elections*, 7, no. 1 (June 2018): 117-139 , DOI:[10.20940/JAE/2018/v17i1a6](https://doi.org/10.20940/JAE/2018/v17i1a6)

Awoniyi, S. "A Discourse on Religious Conflicts and Tolerance in Multi-Faith Nigeria," *European Scientific Journal*, 9, no.20 (July 2013) : 136 - 138 . <https://ejournal.org/index.php/esj/article/view/1566/1572>

Bill Huebner, "Do you Agree or Disagree in Karl Poppers Paradox of Tolerance? *Amazon*, 5 no. 2 (August 2017) N . P <https://www.quora.com/Do-you-agree-or-disagree-with-Karl-Poppers-paradox-of-tolerance> accessed 1/1/2023

Bwala, Daniel. "APC and the Insensitivity of a Muslim-Muslim Ticket," *ThisDay Newspaper*, July 19, 2022.

Daniel H. Bwala, "APC and the Insensitivity of a Muslim-Muslim Ticket.

David T. Adamo, "Religion and Elections in Nigeria: A Historical Perspective," *Church History Society of Southern Africa and Unisa Press 44, no. 3 (2018): 1-19.*

Ebhomienlen, O. Thomas and Ukpebor Emmanuel. "Religion and Politics in Nigeria: A Comparative Study of the Nigeria Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs and the Christian Association of Nigeria,"

- International Journal of Science and Research (IJSR)* 2, no. 9, (September 2013): 166-170.
- Godwin, Isenyo.** “Muslim-Muslim Ticket Failure Plot – ECWA Scribe,” *PUNCH*, August 16, 2022.
- Idowu, Abdullahi. “Muslim-Muslim ticket can't Work: CAN Warns APC, PDP,” *PUNCH*, June 2022.
- Inibehe Effiong,** “Legality of APC's Muslim-Muslim Presidential Candidacies,” *Premium Times*, [July 21, 2022](https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/local-news/2022/07/21/inibehe-effiong-legality-of-apcs-muslim-muslim-presidential-candidacies/)
- Jason Kuznicki, “On The Paradox of Tolerance,” *Libertarianis*, August 17, 2017.
- Jon Bannister, “Conceptualizing Tolerance: Paradoxes of Tolerance and Intolerance in Contemporary Britain,” *Italian Journal of Sociology and Education* 2, no. (2009): 126-129.
- Bannister, “Conceptualizing Tolerance: Paradoxes of Tolerance and Intolerance in Contemporary Britain,” *Italian Journal of Sociology and Education*.
- Karl Popper, “The Open Society and its Enemies, 4, no. 2 (2012): N.P <https://tigerpapers.net/2012/05/24/the-paradox-of-tolerance/>
- Karl Popper, *The Open Society and its Enemies*. London: George Routledge and sons L.T.D, 1947.
- Karl Popper, *The Open Society and its Enemies*. London: Routledge Classics, 2011.
- Lukman,** *APC and Campaign for New Nigeria*. Triokreations: Abuja, 2021.
- Mohammed Farija, “Deconstructing Poppers paradox of Tolerance,” *Political Animal Magazine*, <https://politicalanimalmagazine.com/deconstructing-karl-poppers-paradox-of-intolerance/>
- Reno Omokri,** “Muslim-Muslim Ticket: Lessons from The Islamization of Constantinople,” *ThisDay*, September 13, 2022.
- Richard Ormerod, “The History and Ideas of Critical Rationalism: The Philosophy of Karl Popper,” *Journal of Sociology, Psychology and Anthropology*, 60, no. 4, (2009): 50-51.
- Samson M. Nwaomah, “Religious Crisis in Nigeria, Manifestation, Effect and the Way Forward,” *Journal of Sociology, Psychology and Anthropology*, 3, no.2, (2011): 10-40.