



YORUBA SELF-DETERMINATION MOVEMENT

PUBLIC LETTER TO HIS EXCELLENCY PRESIDENT BOLA AHMED TINUBU, PRESIDENT OF NIGERIA.

May 25, 2025

Your Excellency, President of Nigeria, and most eminent son of our Yoruba Nation today,

We your people and kinsmen, representing millions of your Yoruba people in Yorubaland in Nigeria and in the Yoruba Diaspora across the world, have the honour to address this letter to you. We hope and pray that it meets you in good health and high spirits. We write it to bring to your attention, and to seek your intervention over, some concerns of your Yoruba people.

First, Your Excellency, we your people are seriously concerned about certain directions in the operation of the authority of the Nigerian Police, the Directorate of State Security (DSS), and other federal security agencies, among us Yoruba people of the Southwest of Nigeria and of Kwara and Kogi States. These federal agencies tend to view all Yoruba youths as insurgents or terrorists. They therefore often abuse the human rights of Yoruba youths – by arresting them without just cause, detaining them in police cells, and then forcing them to pay money for their release. It is obvious that the Nigerian Police and other security agencies believe that it is their duty to treat Yoruba youths in these unlawful ways in order to intimidate the youths and thereby compel the youths to abandon their quest for the Self-determination of their Yoruba Nation. The examples of these outrages against Yoruba youths are too many to be listed in this short fraternal letter, but we assure you, Your Excellency, that these human right abuses occur frequently and in all parts of Yorubaland. In fact, there have been instances in which DSS operatives, when they could not find a young man, arrested and detained his wife and child.

Your Excellency, in your exalted position as President of Nigeria and a major factor in today's international order, you know very well that Self-determination is a right, an inalienable right, of all indigenous nations of the world. You know that these inalienable rights are enshrined in the laws of the International Community and spelt out in many important international

Conventions and Declarations: United Nations Charter, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples 2007, African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights. You know that Nigeria is a signatory to all of these International Laws, and that, therefore, all these International Laws are parts of the laws of Nigeria. The final meaning of all this is that peaceful acts by any Nigerian to assert and retrieve the self-determination of any Nigerian people do not contravene the laws of Nigeria.

We proudly and confidently assert, Your Excellency, that all actions of the well-known main stream of the Yoruba Self-determination Struggle have, at all times, been consciously and conscientiously peaceful. We respectfully remind you that when, in 2021, we Yoruba people held mammoth Self-determination rallies that drew out millions of participants, each of the rallies was peaceful and law-abiding, there was no injury to any person and no damage to any property, and the Police did not need to caution or arrest anybody. Similarly large and peaceful mass rallies were held by Yoruba Diaspora at the same time, in such important foreign cities as Washington DC, London, Paris, and at the United Nations Headquarters in New York. Indeed, as you might not know, Your Excellency, at the beginning of our Yoruba Self-determination Struggle in 2019-20, we went so far as to write and publish a 34-page booklet to spell out our peaceful and law-abiding approach to our struggle. The booklet was titled YORUBA NATION CHOOSES THE NOBLE PATH TO ITS NOBLE GOAL; it was very widely circulated, and a copy of it was delivered to your predecessor, President Muhammadu Buhari.

We Yoruba must say the following hard things now. It is preposterous, it says much about the abominable diseases of Nigeria, and it highlights parts of the picture of Nigeria that have driven us to seek exit from Nigeria, that a peaceful and law-abiding people like us Yoruba are experiencing official persecution, intimidation and brutalization in Nigeria, even while we are being brutalized by another people of Nigeria, and whereas that other people have been threatening all other peoples of Nigeria, confidently declaring war against the President, the Federal Government and all other governments of the federation, blatantly threatening to conquer, subjugate or even exterminate other Nigerian peoples, mindlessly killing, maiming, destroying, kidnapping people for ransom, and generally engaging in ethnic cleansing and genocidal practices, across Nigeria (including Yorubaland), and sponsoring homegrown and international terrorist groups to assist the ethnic cleansing and genocide - all for the purpose of seizing land for their own nation and imposing their jihadist brand of Islam on all of Nigeria – and all without any coherent response policy or action from the rulers of Nigeria. It is preposterous, it says much about the abominable diseases of Nigeria, that a young Yoruba man who dared to stand up to protect some of his people that were being killed and brutalized by the ethnic-cleansing nation, is being treated by Nigeria as an outlaw, had his home invaded at night by a large DSS-led army, has been denied access to his bank accounts for four years by

the rulers of Nigeria, and was incarcerated for many months at the order of Nigeria's government. Also, it boggles the mind that the border of the Yoruba Southwest with Benin Republic has been shut for three years, – whereas all other Nigerian borders (including the Northern borders through which terrorists are streaming into Nigeria) remain open, and even though it is well known that the shutting of the Southwest border with Benin Republic has been contributing significantly to food insecurity among the Yoruba people in south-western Nigeria.

Your Excellency, by the grace of God, you are one of the living fathers of our Yoruba nation today and, therefore, we your people in the struggle for your Yoruba people deserve to have your attention. Indeed, we deserve to have your understanding, empathy and help. Your predecessor, President Buhari, worked closely with, and greatly helped, his Fulani people, even in the destructive Fulani agenda over Nigeria. Our esteemed father and brother, it can never sound well, and it can damage your name among your Yoruba people and among all reasonable humans, that, while Nigeria is destroying your Yoruba people from countless angles, you choose to ignore your people's terrible suffering and distress, that you choose instead to continue to immerse yourself and your talents in the muddy politics of Nigeria, that you choose to continue to swallow the fiendish disrespect and barbarism of Nigerian politics, while ignoring your own people's horrendous sufferings and tears.

Moreover, our father and brother, it is utterly important to stop thinking that Nigeria can ever mend its numerous and mighty cracks. The cracks are fundamental; they are from the deepest roots; they are not amenable to amelioration. To make a bright mark on history, one needs to have the strength and courage to accept the manifest truth of situations. Because of Nigeria's very nature, Nigeria embarked on decline and degeneration right from the time of independence in 1960, and she has continued on that path since. Under the barbarous and hideously incompetent and corrupt presidency of President Buhari, the decline and decomposition finally reached completion. These are the reasons why success has generally eluded all efforts at restoring strength to the Nigerian economy. The Bible says, "When the foundations have all been destroyed, what can the righteous do?" When the foundations lack cohesion and stability, how can anybody build a stable and sustainable structure on them?

As president of all Nigerians, you ought to listen to what increasing numbers of important Nigerian men and women (including Northern men and women) are saying more and passionately these days. They are saying that it is more sensible for the peoples of Nigeria to find a way to separate peacefully now rather than insisting on holding on to a Nigeria that is already crumbling, rather than delaying until Nigeria implodes in a generalized and messy war that could take millions of lives. The signs are already unmistakable, war is already on in Nigeria. Nigeria is already frighteningly similar to the Yugoslavia of 1990. By 1989, Yugoslavia was already close to breaking up, and some of the nations of Yugoslavia had been agitating for

self-determination and sovereign statehood for some years; but the strongest political leaders insisted on holding Yugoslavia together. Yugoslavia ultimately imploded violently into a war that took hundreds of thousands of lives, a war so ferociously bloody that it has destroyed forever the names of the powerful politicians who had insisted on holding Yugoslavia together in spite of the obvious realities. Horrified by the needless horror of Yugoslavia's implosion, the International Community set up an International Criminal Commission to try, for serious crimes against humanity, the leaders who had stubbornly led Yugoslavia into the implosion, and the foremost of those leaders spent the rest of his life in detention in prison where he ultimately died of heart attack, widely cursed across the world. Your Excellency, we your people humbly pray that the Almighty God will shield you from ever coming to this kind of end.

We your people urge you, now that Nigeria has come to the point of disintegration, you should remember respectfully the views expressed about Nigeria by the first Nigerian rulers of Nigeria. Here are the views of two of them. Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, first Prime Minister from 1952 to 1966, said, "Since 1914, the British government has been trying to make Nigeria into one country, but the people themselves are historically different in their backgrounds, in their beliefs and customs and do not show themselves any sign of willingness to unite. Nigerian unity is only a British intention for the country". Gen. Yakubu Gowon, after ruling Nigeria for his first few weeks in late 1966, said, "Putting all considerations to test - political, economic, as well as social - the basis for Nigeria's unity is not there". Remember also that you yourself, after looking hard at Nigeria in the 1990s, said, "I don't believe in one Nigeria". Note that Nigeria is much worse today than she was in those days, and that leading Nigerians are now thoughtfully pleading for a peaceful dissolution of Nigeria. Thinking that any person can now fix Nigeria is almost insanity.

With the leading federal level politicians (in the executive and legislature, and even in the judiciary and the military) now split into mutually hostile factions, with a major one among the factions continually striving to undermine you as president, covertly sponsoring terrorism and banditry, rancorously threatening to ensure your electoral failure in 2027, and further threatening "if the 2027 election is rigged there will be no going to court" (a clear declaration that war is being prepared), we your kinsmen must now plead with you: Please don't let your political career end in a destructive conflagration. Please consider the millions who could lose their lives in the convoluted and messy war that would break out in Nigeria, a war that would spew unimaginable humanitarian disaster over most of West Africa. No presidency of any country is worth buying at such inhumanly high costs. And nobody can be the cause of it without earning fierce and eternal condemnations around the world. Please take serious note of the unavoidable fact that this war has already started all over Nigeria (including your Yoruba homeland), that it is growing bigger by the day, and that it shows all signs of escalating until a final holocaust. Please pay serious respect to the prominent men and women of your class who

are urging you as President of Nigeria to lead Nigeria quickly to a peacefully negotiated dissolution. There is not much time left until the final calamity.

Finally, Your Excellency, we hope that you are aware of the international principle of 'Responsibility to Protect', commonly called 'R2P', adopted by the United Nations in 2005. R2P is "a global commitment by United Nations member states to prevent genocide, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity. It asserts that when a state is unwilling or unable to protect its own people from any of these atrocities, the international community has a responsibility to step in". The key word is "responsibility". We urge you to look with the perspective of R2P at some very important statements that three Nigerian security chiefs have made in the past two months. On April 01, the Director General of Nigeria's Directorate of State Security (DSS) announced to Nigerians, "Don't expect us, Army, Police, others, to protect you. Each person should protect himself, and each community should mobilize to protect itself". On April 10, Nigeria's Chief of Defence Staff said, "We cannot fight bandits; it is political. There are some issues that can only be resolved politically". And on May 23, in an interview with a national newspaper, Nigeria's Chief of Air Staff said, "We can't bomb terror out of Nigeria". These statements amount to an admission by Nigeria that she is unable and unwilling to protect Nigerians against the terrorism and banditry that are daily sweeping over Nigeria and wrecking more and more lives. This is a most disastrous admission, Your Excellency, an admission that can be quoted devastatingly against Nigeria if Nigeria's state of insecurity should continue. We your people fear that this could become a weapon pointed personally at you as president of Nigeria – and the accusation would be that after your government had publicly admitted that it could not and would not protect the citizens of Nigeria, you as president ignored the awful security situation in the country and continued to pursue politics as usual.

Moreover, Your Excellency, after the admissions by the key officers of the Nigerian government that the Nigerian government cannot and will not protect Nigerians against bandits and terrorists, after these key officers had told Nigerians to take on the responsibility of protecting themselves and their communities, the DSS and the Police are intensifying their harassment of Yoruba youths whom they recognize as likely protectors of Yoruba communities. This is weird, Your Excellency. It is incomprehensible. And it is you, Mr. President, that ultimately stand to bear the responsibility for it before your Yoruba people, before the people of Nigeria, before the rest of Africa, before the whole world.

Mr. President, you need to intervene speedily in this – particularly before the harassment of Yoruba youths gets out of hand. Yes, it can get out of hand. Yoruba youths, though now generally peaceful out of deference to their elders and their culture, can explode in reaction if they continue to be pushed. We must not forget how Yoruba youths of earlier generations exploded in response to unbearable government provocations. In late 1965 to January 1966, Yoruba youths exploded cataclysmically in reaction to government's relentless devastations of the Yoruba Western Region. The government could not suppress the revolt, and the revolt continued stubbornly until the government was wiped out by a

bloody military coup in January 1966. In 1983 in Ondo State, in reaction against government's blatant, arrogant and dehumanizing distortions of an important state matter, Yoruba youths of the capital city of Akure exploded and, in one horrible morning, wiped out many of the offending government officials and political leaders. The truth behind these scenarios is that Yoruba youths are products of an ancient Yoruba political culture which spiritually enjoins and emphasizes that rulers must live above greed and corruption, must use government's powers and public resources for only the wellbeing of the people, and must dutifully respect the people. Mr. President, you need to act urgently about this matter of liberating our youths from official harassment.

And still on this same important matter, Mr. President: whenever Yoruba youths shall pour into the streets peacefully to hold a mass rally henceforth to express their Yoruba people's agonies and demands, please see to it that the Police, Military, DSS, and other government agencies shall dutifully respect the youths' legitimate right to rally or protest peacefully in the streets.

AND MOST IMPORTANT TO US, MR. PRESIDENT: PLEASE GRANT US, YOUR YORUBA PEOPLE, THAT WHICH WE HAVE ASKED FOR IN OUR SEPARATE LETTERS TO YOUR PREDECESSOR, PRESIDENT BUHARI, AND TO YOU. WHAT WE HAVE ASKED IS THAT YOU AS THE PRESIDENT OF NIGERIA SHOULD FACILITATE NEGOTIATION BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NIGERIAN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND OF OUR YORUBA PEOPLE, FOR THE PURPOSE OF NEGOTIATING OUR YORUBA NATION'S PACEFUL SEPARATION FROM NIGERIA, TO ENABLE US TO GO AND NURSE THE PAINS AND WIPE AWAY THE TEARS OF OUR BATTERED PEOPLE, AND TO GO AND BUILD A SOVEREIGN STATE OF OUR OWN, WHERE WE CAN REBUILD OUR LIVES ACCORDING TO OUR DESIRES, OUR CULTURE AND OUR CAPABILITIES, A COUNTRY WHERE WE SHALL DILIGENTLY PROVIDE ABUNDANT OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE. THAT IS IT YOUR EXCELLENCY. FORCIBLY KEEPING US IN NIGERIA IS ONLY PROLONGING OUR PEOPLE'S ABOMINABLE DEPRIVATIONS, INSECURITY AND PAINS. PLEASE ACT ON THIS WITHOUT DELAY.

Your Excellency, as you would by now have perceived, the motivation for this letter of your Yoruba people to you is LOVE – love for you as a talented Yoruba son whom God has graciously elevated in the world, love for all our Yoruba people, love for the integrity and dignity of our Yoruba culture, love and goodwill for all other peoples of Nigeria, love for our Yoruba nation's strong attachment to freedom, orderly governance, high-quality development, progress, prosperity and peace.

Eminent father of our embattled and harassed Yoruba nation, please accept the love that we bring in this letter, and our very best wishes for your good health, your security, and your success.

Your Egbon as ever, privileged to deliver this message from your people,



Professor (Senator) Adebajji Akintoye

NATIONAL LEADER YORUBA SELF-DETERMINATION MOVEMENT