
Insecurity and Development in an Emergent Economy: A Philosophical Analysis of the New Face of Terrorism in Nigeria

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Abstract

In 2016 and 2017 Global Terrorism Indexes, Nigeria ranked 3rd out of 130 in the countries with highest impact of terrorism. Fulani Herdsmen have been named the fourth deadliest terror group whose target is mainly the civilians with the intent to exterminate them and take over their land. In each of their attacks, an average of 11 lives are lost and since the last quarter of 2017, Fulani Herdsmen and Boko Haram have carried out attacks approximately two times every week in different parts of the country. In this study, the descriptive research method was adopted while data were generated from the secondary sources. Three questions were constructed to guide the study and bases on content analysis, it was discovered that the new face of terrorism in Nigeria, the Fulani Herdsmen is a centrifugal force that portends no good to national unity and development. Their target is massive and territorial in nature. They enjoy support from elites, government and collaborative assistance from the military. Other factors militating against Nigeria's unity and development include: economic recession, political bickering, religious extremism, marginalization, regional supremacy and more. Terrorism may not likely stop in the near future because the Government and the security system in Nigeria are not alive to their primary responsibilities. It was recommended that all the service chiefs should be replaced. All other stakeholders in the Nigerian security architecture should be reshuffled and subjected to a re-orientation. (Word count 236).

Key words: *Fulani Herdsmen; Terrorism; national unity; development; security*

Introduction

In the present societal realities, there is hardly any meaningful discuss about Nigeria that does not relate to the political situation and the security challenges the country is facing. Some may be saying in favour of the State while some against the State under the coverage of the constitutional provision of Freedom of Expression. But in the present circumstance, it is not enough to talk simply because you want to exercise your fundamental right of freedom of expression but to critique the system for improvement and condemn evil where necessary and in the most appropriate manner because in a situation such as we are facing in Nigeria, keeping silent is annihilative.

Nigeria is facing self-inflicted hardship and serious security challenges which has hampered national unity and the development of the economy. The most pressing part of this situation is that there is no unity in political philosophy amongst the federating states. There is no consonance in the voices from the current six geopolitical zones. The country have covertly been divided along regional lines with different ideologies and interest. The regional voices we hear are conditionally saying one or two of these phrasal expressions: One-Nigeria, restructuring, dissolution, Biafra restoration.

All these are serious contentious issues, deserving serious attention, but more serious is the new face of terrorism; the unending destruction of property, maiming and killing of countless

innocent citizens almost on daily bases. It is more worrisome because even up till now, no serious commitment capable of bringing to an end, these incessant killings has been shown by the federal government. This is believable to a great extent, because up till now, some still hold the view that the ongoing killings in Nigeria is not enough to cause any concern. But undoubtedly, it has successfully brought the Sword of Damocles nearer to the very root of Nigeria's statehood and unity.

In the recent time, killing of people in some parts of the country has now taken a new face. Actually, the barbaric nature of the killings, severe torture, nefarious destruction of properties, and constant rapping of innocent women and under-aged children did not change; but the face and name of the perpetrators did. Formally, in Nigeria, Boko Haram was the most pronounced terrorist group, the deadliest terror organisation in the world between 2011 - 2015 according to the Global Terrorism Index of the Institute of Economics and Peace (IEP).

In other words, while still battling in the North-East with Boko Haram, the Fulani Herdsmen emerged - the new face of terrorism in Nigeria. Herdsmen are people who were hitherto friends and friendly but suddenly they became a terror group, propelling the zenith of insecurity in the country; killing people almost every day yet the government and the International community have not seen reasons to declare them terrorist group and deal with them accordingly. No doubt, people must be asking by now, why the federal government and the international community have not designated Fulani Herdsmen a terrorist and proscribe them. To me, why they have not declared them terrorist organisation is a matter of identity, religion, and common interest between them, the government and the Northern elites.

Statement of the problem

The best thing to do for the dead is common knowledge in the contemporary Nigeria; bury them so that they can rest in peace. But what is best for the living is not common knowledge, why? For as long as a people continues to bury the dead without digging deep to the root cause of their death, deaths of indescribable cause will never cease to occur. And a country with such situation will hardly make a headway in curbing security challenges.

Fulani Herdsmen, the new face of terrorism in Nigeria has been attacking people with impunity, killing in hundreds and destroying people's properties without determent from the security agents. Their reckless killings got to the point that, in the early hours of Tuesday, April 24 according to Charles (2018), armed herdsmen attacked St. Ignatius Quasi Parish Ukpo Mbalom in Ayar-Mbalom community of Gwer LGA of Benue State, killing two Catholic priests, Fr. Joseph Gor and Felix Tyolaha and 17 other members of the laity including two school head teachers and one secondary school principal. During the few hours this attack lasted, over 100 houses were set ablaze and the entire community were chased out of their ancestral homes with indiscriminate shooting.

This singular attack has falsified our previously held assumption that their attacks were as a result of stiff resistance by farmers to their forceful intrusion into their farmlands for cattle grazing. Now, we know that their mission is massive and their target is large. Just before this was the attack in Guma LGA of Benue State by herdsmen in which 10 persons lost the lives. According to The citizen online (2018), the attackers were suspected to be military personnel who claimed to be searching for those responsible for the death of a soldier. This attack now substantiate the claim that it is not just herdsmen that are attacking people.

On Saturday, June 23, 2018 over 120 people lost their lives in an attack by armed Fulani Herdsmen between 1pm to 8pm. According to Pam Chollom, a pastor in charge of the Church of Christ in Nations (COCIN) Regional Church Council (RCC) in Barkin Ladi Local Government Area of Plateau State, Fulani people attacked their members who attended the

burial of the father to one of their clergy, Baba Jakawa, at Gidin Akwanti, Gashis District... The armed Fulani ambushed the sympathisers on their way back from the burial, attacked and killed 34 persons from Nekan village with 15 houses burnt down, 39 others from Kufang with 18 houses burnt down, and 47 people were from Ruku village. As at the time of the report, many were still missing (Ajijah 2018).

Objectives of the Study

The objective of this study is to determine the cause of sustained deterioration of the security situation and development in the country. Specifically, the study aims at identifying:

1. Why terrorism is taking a new face in addition to the Boko Haram that has been terrorising people in the North-East.
2. The actual perpetrators of the this horrific killings of innocent citizens and their accomplices
3. The objectives they are actually trying to achieve

Research Questions

The under-listed questions were constructed to guide the study

1. Who are the actual perpetrators of this of this new face of terrorism in Nigeria and their accomplices?
2. Why has the security state of the country deteriorated so badly? And what has it resulted to in terms of development?
3. To what ends is this new face of terrorism in Nigeria?

Methodology

The descriptive research method was adopted for this study. It is a type of research that generates data for the purpose of describing what exists with respect to variables, conditions, processes, situation, practices, opinions etc... It generates data to assist in decision making (Agba 2014:25). The secondary sources were widely explored to source for data and three question as stated above were formulated to guide the study. Content analysis was implemented using the philosophical approach. Philosophy according to Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary (7th edition), is a set of beliefs or an attitude to life that guides somebody's behaviour. It is a theory or attitude that acts as a guiding principle for behaviour. Content analysis on the other hand according to Bell 1968 as cited in Alan (2011) is a research method for studying documents and communication artefacts, which might be text of various formats, pictures, audio or video. Social scientists use content analysis to examine patterns in communication in reliable and systematic manner. The qualitative method of analysis, which is analysing the content within text. The kind of text analysed are:

1. Audio – visual text: This refers to such texts as TV programs, movies, radio broadcasts videos etc.
2. Hypertext: This refers to such texts found on the internet.

Conceptualization

Conceptualization is to specify exactly what we mean and don't mean by the terms we use in our research... Concepts could be a word or complex set of events or ideas referred to by the word... To fully understand the description of a given concept, each concept in that definition must also be understood. In addition to organising observation into meaningful wholes, concepts also needed to be organised into separate phenomena (Sequeira 2014).

Terrorism in Nigeria

Actually, before the emergence of this 21st century, what was common knowledge was violent attack and it was occurring in different parts of the world including Nigeria. Arua and Okeagu (2006), recalled that the second republic was characterised with intra-party and interparty violence. This was most pronounced during the 1983 general elections. The violence graduated from verbal attack on personalities through the use of hired assassins against political opponent to the formation and equipping of armed groups of thugs into fronts, movement and bridges. These armed groups were used initially to frighten away voters from the areas seen as strongholds of opponents and to change real ballot box with fake ones (p 85). Terrorism is a recent terminology or concept in the political phraseology. It is a planned, broad and intense violent attack targeted at individuals within a vicinity, group, government or public institution(s) which, when carried out results to a large scale destruction of human lives and properties - animate and or inanimate.

According to Ukwuije and Nwachukwu (2013),

The definition of the concept of terrorism is as controversial as its outcome. Irrespective of the intellectually based diversified definitions giving to it, its continuous occurrence has made scholars, analysts, administrators and politicians to give it varying definitions tailored to suit the interpretation of the form of horror they faced or perceived in their country.

However, Terrorism Act 2011, in part 1 section 2 described that "act of terrorism" means an act which is deliberately done with malice and aforethought.

The New Face of Terrorism in Nigeria

Before now, the level of insecurity and the type of terroristic acts we were experiencing in the country was not so infuriating and cruel. It was in the form of pipeline vandalism, kidnapping for a ransom, militancy, armed robbery and then much later, a more serious terrorist group, the Boko Haram appeared on stage. While the country was managing to tackle their insurgency though with kid gloves, Fulani Herdsmen who were hitherto friends and friendly suddenly became wild, bold and uncontrollable in violent attacks, stirring the country vigorously violently. Their first recorded attack on the Benue people was in 2013 and from January to November of the same year, more than 190 people were killed. They have continued to kill since then as if it is a mandate.

National Unity

National unity is that individual perception and unconditional believe in the nation-ness and his classless citizenship of the country which appears to have exited the consciousness of many Nigerians because it has been punctured severally by politics, bad governance, hardship, intolerance, agitation, religious extremism, hate-speech, militarism, and terrorism so, that feelings of brotherhood flee from the citizens. Right now, it may not be completely wrong to say that the government is no longer feeling the pains of its citizens. This could be sustained by her actions and or inaction towards Fulani Herdsmen, the new face of terrorism.

Perhaps, one could say that there was relative unity existing among the people of Nigeria immediately after independence. If this is true, it is also true that it did not last long because in less than six years, the country went into a civil war that lasted for three years. That was why Odumegwu-Ojukwu (1989:106) said:

The severest strain suffered by Nigerians unity so far has been the civil war. All honest chronicles agree that the civil war involved peoples and not just personalities or leaders. In particular, it was a traumatic experience for the Igbos and the people of old Eastern Region and a psychological convulsion

reached down to the social fabric of these peoples. The complete restoration of Nigerian unity - a unity that is solid, harmonious, organic and, therefore, indissoluble - requires not just territorial integrity but also the fullest possible emotional rehabilitation and social harmony among the people...

Because the path to Nigeria's unity was neglected by men with vested interest, ethnic/religious agenda, selfish and inordinate ambition for power and wealth; those whose position in government is more important to them than the lives and properties of the citizens that voted them in; the prefix attached to their names is appealing, only to the praise-singers, lickish politicians and aliens.

Religious philosophy of terrorism

Ezeani (2000), put forward that "human societies at various stages of their development have been characterised by diverse forms of conflicts." Conflict in its many forms is therefore an omnipresent fact of human existence. Ukwuije (2015), posited that

There exist a correlation between a nation's level of development and the level of peace and security they enjoy. This is to say; in as much as a country continues to develop, violence, conflict and terroristic acts cannot be totally over ruled.

The link between politics, religion, and terrorism is strong, thick, and tight. But in the case of Nigeria, the link between religion and terrorism is stronger and tighter. Studies show that the most dangerous terrorist groups in the world are mostly instigated by religious doctrines and philosophies. This doctrines and philosophies are centred on the believers, to annihilate evil through aggressive means as a way of proving their faith and as a mandate from the Supreme Being. Believers are indoctrinated to kill in order to preserve and spread their religion. Under this influence therefore, the seed of terrorism is covertly planted in the minds of believers.

In Nigeria, three types of religion exists predominantly: Christianity, Islam and African Traditional Religion. The North is mainly dominated by Islamic religion. Coincidentally, this is where terrorist attacks are mostly occurring and or emanating from. In as much as we know that Christianity and Islam are not comparable in terms of peaceful conduct and religious practices, we also know that in Islam, there are two divergent system of religious believes; the Sunni and Shi'a Muslims. They represent the two predominant traditions in Islam just like we have the Pentecostals and the orthodox churches which represent the predominant traditions in Christianity. By demographic analysis, the Sunni Muslims represents about 80% of all Muslims, and Shi'a Muslims represents just about 10%. Their point of divergence is made manifest in their religious practices, system of belief and morals. They all recognized a different source of historical religious authority. In West Africa, Nigeria has the largest Muslim population, about 48% of the total population in 2010, projected to grow by 50% in the next 20 years, from about 76 million in 2010 to about 117 million in 2030 (Pew Research Centre 2011). Nigerian Muslim population are predominantly Sunni.

According to Juergensmeyer (2001), most religious systems of belief convince their believers to exterminate evils through militant means for the test of their faith or part of God's plan. They believe that it is demand of God that's why their actions are legitimized and for the protection of their religion in present and future. Under this sense the aspiration for vengeance works as driving force for terrorism in the form of suicide bombing, war against other faiths and imperialism. They consider these acts as test of their sincerity with the religion and accomplishment of assigned duty by God and the way to achieve the will of God and a way towards heaven. In the early 19th century, an Islamic scholar named Usman Dan Fodio and his

followers launched a Jihad (Holy War), against the Hausa Kindoms of Northern Nigeria. He was victorious, and established the Fulani Empire with its capital in Sokoto. This inversion by Usman Dan Fodio, a Fulani man and his men can be accepted as the beginning of Islam and Jihad in northern Nigeria.

Muslims can be very ferocious in a very slight provocation. Their extremist religious ideology is chiefly the reason for adopting terrorism as a last alternative for the protection of their faith and the spread of Islam. In some cases too, Muslims adopt terrorism as a way of expressing their ill-feelings, unjust government policies, and political marginalisation.

Because Islamic religion started with violence in Nigeria, therefore they see terrorism as a legitimate religious instrument, more properly used when it is on people of the opposite faith. Leaning on these tenets therefore, their terroristic attacks are always irrational in terms of goal, time, place and target. Forgiveness is preached in all the three main religious backgrounds in Nigeria, though in different ways but in actual practice, Islam does not forgive offence. Every offence has its punishment and they prefer to punish by inflicting grievous pain or bodily harm for every offence.

Review of literature

The president of Nigeria told the world in an interview with BBC that we have technically won the war against Islamist Boko Haram Militants and that their activities has been reduced to fighting with Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs). This is simply not the truth, deceit instead! The activities of Boko Haram has never been defeated technically, physically, or even ideologically. Their activities has led to the untimely death of over 17, 000 innocent citizens, they have destroyed a good number of educational institutions of different level and at different location, displaced about 1.5 million people in Nigerian. According to a report from the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, as published on 31 August 2017, the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) currently stand at 1.7 million in Bornu, Adamawa and Yobe States in addition to over 200, 000 Nigerian refugees in neighbouring countries (reliefweb 2017).

While the government was making minimal effort to quell Boko Haram insurgency in the North, they defiled the miniature efforts of the civilians and compromised military roadblocks, leading to several more attacks and the controversial kidnap of the Dapchi Girls on Monday, February 19, 2018. Three question sustained the assumption that if Boko Haram is not enjoying some form of support from the Military, Federal Government and Northern elite, they would not be in existence till date.

1. Why were the troops withdrawn from checkpoints and strategic position in the community few days before the abduction even with a detailed information as contained in a letter from the Defence Intelligence Agency to the Defence Headquarters, dated February 6, 2018?
2. Hours before the abduction, calls were put through to alert the army of a possible attack by Boko Haram. Who called who and why did the federal government refuse to investigate this calls?
3. The day these girls were released, Boko Haram drove them back to Dapchi unchallenged. So when did they become so friendly to the point of chatting with the leaders of the community and villagers?

Now terrorism in Nigeria has taken, in addition to Boko Haram, a new face. This time, it is the Fulani Herdsmen that is terrorising everybody in Nigeria. Virtually every part of the country is

sleeping with one eye open because nobody knows who is next on the list. So far, Fulani Herdsmen have attacked Enugu, Ekiti, Plateau, Taraba, Adamawa, Imo, Cross River, Abia, Rivers, Delta and Zamfara. As for Benue State alone, Herdsmen have attacked them without stopping from 2013 to 2018 as shown below:

List of Fulani Herdsmen attacks in Benue State 2013 – 2017

Year	LGA / No of times attacked	No of Persons killed	No of Displaced Persons	Those Responsible	
2013	Agatu	5	131+	6000+	Herdsmen
	Guma	3	52	NA	Herdsmen
2014	Agatu	4	60+	30	Herdsmen
	Gwer West	1	35	80	Herdsmen
	Gwer East	1	15	NA	Herdsmen
	Kwande, Kastina/Ala and	1	30	NA	Men in military uniform
	Logo	3	40	15	Herdsmen and men in military uniform
	Ogbadibo	1	Many people	NA	Herdsmen
	2015	Agatu	2	107	NA
Logo		2	109	NA	Herdsmen
Guma		1	28+	NA	Herdsmen
2016	Kwande	2	6	8+	Herdsmen
	Buruku	1	12	25	Herdsmen
	Buruku	1	10	300	Herdsmen
	Agatu	5 including Senator David Mark's convoy	513+	7000	Herdsmen
	Logo	1	8	NA	
	Tartkaa	1	6+	NA	Herdsmen
2017	Ohimini	1	15+	NA	Herdsmen
	Gwer East	1	10	NA	Herdsmen
	Muruku	1	Many people	NA	Herdsmen
	Logo	3	68	NA	Herdsmen

Source: Adapted from Nairaland. Retrieved on 09/01/18

In as much as this evidence cannot claim to be definite and conclusive due to available data, Fulani Herdsmen has been named the fourth deadliest terror group in the world whose target is mainly the civilian citizens with the intention to exterminate or chase away the natives and take over their farmland. In each of their attacks, an average of 11 lives are lost. And since the last quarter of 2017, Fulani Herdsmen have carried out attacks approximately twice a week.

Content analysis

It sounded like joke, or better still hate-speech when the leader of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) prophesied it. People called him names and he was cruelly persecuted for his comments but right now what is happening? He said:

...a group deadlier than Boko Haram will emerge, they will seize our farmland, rape our women, kill our people and their master will protect, defend and even arm them because their sole agenda is to enslave us forever. Those who cannot see it now will soon see it. The hatred in their soul for my people is legendary. They do not see us as humans. They kill, they slaughter, they burn and they destroy. Mindless-bloodletting is in their DNA. My people are in trouble... Mazi Nnamdi Kanu, December 2, 2014.

Now, there are salient questions in this forecast of which their answers will form part of the answers to the research questions. They are:

1. Did this group deadlier than Boko Haram actually emerge?

The Terrorism Act 2011, in part 1 section 2 (C) specifically spelt out acts that are termed terroristic:

i. An attack upon a person's life which may cause serious bodily harm or death;

ii. Kidnap of a person

iii. Destruction of a government or public facility, a transport system, an infrastructure facility, including an information system, a fixed platform located on the continental shelf, a public or private property, likely to endanger human life or result in major economic loss

v. The manufacture, possession, acquisition, transport, supply or use of weapons, explosives or of nuclear, biological or chemical weapons, as well as research into, and development of biological and chemical weapons without lawful authority;

vii. The release of dangerous substances or causing of fire, explosions or floods, the effect of which is to endanger human life. Yet, these Fulani Herdsmen are vigorously carrying these acts.

Based on the provisions of the law and nature of the activities of the Fulani Herdsmen, the answer to this question is yes! They actually emerged. They are the Fulani Herdsmen, the perpetrators of this new face of terrorism in Nigeria. Why the federal government, up till now has not branded them terrorist group and proscribe them, to me is still a matter of identity, religion and common interest between them, the federal government and the Northern leaders.

2. Have they been seizing our farmland? Raping and killing our people? Because the security situation deteriorated so badly as a result of the President's unperturbed attitude to the grisly actions of terrorists. He has always pretended as if he does not know what is happening, like one who was ordered to see nothing and say nothing. That is what is giving the Fulani Herdsmen the impetus to kill our people, rape our women and seize our farmlands. To the extent that the Chairman, Miyetti Allah Kautal Hore, Alhaji Abdullalhi Bodeja said "If you don't know, land all over Nigeria belongs to the Fulani." (Nwachukwu 2018). Now, according to Olokor (2017), the Governor of Benue State, Samuel Ioraer Ortom said in May 2017 that for two years, Fulani Herdsmen took over 12 out of 23 Local Government Areas of the State.

Killing on the other hand, is almost an everyday thing, because the government has not taken any decisive action against the perpetrators. There is hardly any day that Herdsmen did not kill anybody at least one or two. Ndujihe & Udochukwu (2018) reported that just ten weeks into the new year - 2018, a total of 1,351 persons lost their lives owing to violence. In January alone,

it was 676, February was 526 and in March, 146 people lost their lives. All these deaths were as a result of herdsmen and farmers clashes, sectarian crises, communal clashes, Boko Haram insurgency, cult clashes, kidnapping, and ritual killings. Death resulting from Herdsmen attacks has continued to occur with increasing impunity. On Saturday, 23rd June, 2018 no fewer than 150 persons died in the hands of Fulani Herdsmen. Nobody was arrested even after the Chairman, Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders' Association of Nigeria (MACBAN), North Central Zone, Alhaji Danladi Ciroma admitted that the killing was in retaliation for the loss of 300 cows in the past few weeks. This show how highly valued is their cow even above human beings. Based on presented evidence, the answer to the above question is simple. Yes, they have.

3. Who are this their masters that will protect, defend and even arm them? And why? This question is so complicated. As such, it may not be as easy as it seems to answer. Nonetheless, some of the deliberate comments and or reaction of some Northern elites which if analysed based on their socio-political standing, one will be able to conjure-up ideas that can serve as answers to the question above.

In the month of May 2018, Mallam Nasir Ahmed El-Rufai, a top northern politician and present Governor of Kaduna State said in a BBC Hausa Service programme that:

"...*Kashe-kashen da ake a Najeriya ba su taka kara sun karya ba...*"(The ongoing killings in Nigeria aren't enough to cause any concern).

The same El-Rufai said "...We will write this for all to read. Anyone, soldier or not that kills the Fulani takes a loan repayable one day no matter how long it takes".

On the other hand, before the present democratic government came to be, Rtd Gen. Muhamadu Buhari said in the year 2000 in a Freedom House Radio interview that "... I can die for the cause of Islam if necessary. We are prepared to fight another civil war. We cannot be blackmailed into killing the Sharia idea. Sharia must be spread all over Nigeria."

These comments, I suppose were deliberate, because up till now no attempt has been made to debunk them, maybe, in pretence that we analysed them differently from what their intentions are. Instead they have held so tenaciously, their 'anti-corruption' and 'change' mantra which the Bible even warned us in Proverbs chapter 24 v 21 & 22 thus:

My son, fear the Lord and the king; do not associate with those given to **change**; For their calamity will rise suddenly, and who knows the ruin those two can bring? (NKJV)

It is this change mantra that brought the under listed men into the Nigeria security architecture.

- ◆ Mansur Mohammed Dan Ali = Minister of Defence Oct. 2015
- ◆ Gen. Turkur Yusuf Buratai = Chief of Army Staff July 2015
- ◆ Air Mashal Sadiq Abubaka = Chief of Air Staff July 2015
- ◆ Vice Admiral Ibok-Ete Ekwe Ibas = Chief of Naval Staff July 2015
- ◆ Rtd Lt Gen. Abdulrahman Dambassule = Minister of Interior Nov. 2015
- ◆ Lawal Musa Daura =Director Gen. DSS July , 2015
- ◆ Ibrahim Mustafa Magu =Derector Gen EFCC Nov. 2015
- ◆ Ibrahim Idris Kpotum =Inspector Generalof Police June 2016
- ◆ Ahmed Rufai Abubakar =Director Gen.National Inetelligence Agency 2018
- ◆ Air Vice Marshal M.S. Usman = Chief of Defence Intelligence Agency July 2016
- ◆ Abubakar Malami =Attorney General (AGF) Nov 2015
- ◆ Rtd Maj-Gen Babagana Monguno =National Security Adviser July 2015

At first, we believed that we have got people who will be keen and resilient with what the security situation is demanding even though it did not reflect the Federal Character policy. People who will be heartily engaged in the achievement of the four main objectives of any security system which are:

- 1) Protection of life
- 2) Protection of property and premises
- 3) Prevention of loss and waste
- 4) Prevention and deterring of crime.

But we did not know that the country will get worse. To the extent that the Commander-in-Chief does not know when his orders were deliberately disobeyed. This suggests that the appointment of this men into the security architecture is for easy actualisation of the Islamic agenda all over Nigeria through the only possible means which is violence.

The Acting Director of Army Public Relations, Col Sani Usman announced the arrest of two Nigerian Army Explosive Device Personnel at Yola park, Adamawa with different kinds of ammunition and military hardware. According to him, the two Privates were arrested on Sunday, February 7, 2016 with some unauthorized military items on their way to an unknown destinations. The items include:

- Smoke grenade,
- Over 2000 live rounds of special ammunition,
- 50 live rounds NATO ammunition,
- 5 magazines of AK47 rifles,
- 2 Browning machine gun live rounds of ammunition
- 1 jack-knife,
- 9 jungle hats,
- 12 pairs of camouflage (Nine desert and three woodland green camouflage),
- 1 green beret,
- 2 general duty belts,
- 12 Army T-shirts,
- 2 raincoats, and
- 5 pairs of desert boot

(For details, check link: <https://www.pmnewsnigeria.com/2016/02/10/nigerian-army-arrest-two-soldiers-working-with-boko-haram/>)

This particular act which by my personal intuition, did not just happen, it must have been a regular occurrence even before the last administration that was why they were carrying those items without caution. So, it simply implies that there are some members of the Nigerian military who are part of the new face of terrorism in Nigeria. Rtd Gen. T.Y Danjuma stated this openly while delivering a convocation lecture at the Taraba State University, Jalingo, that the Armed Forces are not neutral, they collude with the armed bandits that are killing people, killing Nigerians. They facilitate their movements, they cover them and if we are depending on the Armed Forces to stop the killings, we will all die one by one (Nwafor 2018). (Further on this, visit: <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/03/video-ty-danjuma-warns-nigerians-seriously-defend/>)

This therefore means that in totality, the system is corrupt, and the government is biased. Any government that claims to be fighting corruption but its citizens are being killed as if they are animals is worse than the devil itself. Killing has become an indispensable characteristic feature which has actually destroyed the very delicate unifying structure of Nigeria, yet there has not been any sign of quality and hearty recompense from any quarter to the victims. It worsened

the matter by totally destroying both the canal and spiritual aspects of public morality. These statements that has been brought to fore justify the claim that Northern elites and stakeholders are the actuators. Perhaps through training, political protection, funding, propaganda or supplies of military hardware.

Findings

The perpetrators of the new face of terrorism in Nigeria are the Fulani Herdsmen. They are mainly itinerant people from the Northern extraction who go from place to place in search of food, water or pasture for their livestock. Together with the Hausas, their population is over 30 million. It is important to note that their continuous spread and population increase across the States of the federation is as a result of their disbelief in the trendy child spacing and birth control systems.

They are in collaboration with some military personnel, northern political and traditional elites. They enjoy some form of political cover-up hence the continuous killing with impunity. Their main agenda is the take over the land of their victims, rename them, occupy and continue to spread Sharia law. Fulani Herdsmen attacks are more religiously attuned than politics but they use political authority as their shield.

As the new face of terrorism in Nigeria has continued to wreak havoc and terminate lives in the country without any serious hindrance by the police or the military. The dishonest silence of the presidency to this killer-monster and the non-intervention of the super powers will spell doom to the unity of this country if urgent and matching actions are not taken as quickly as possible. The bill sponsored by Zainab Kure titled 'Land Grazing Bill' which seeks to secure grazing route for Fulani Herdsmen across the federation and establish a National Grazing Reserve Establishment Development Commission has scaled through first reading. It will soon be a law in Nigeria.

Conclusion

The security status of Nigeria deteriorated so badly because the Presidency and the security agencies were not alive to their security responsibilities hence the impunity with which the new face of terrorism in Nigeria has been killing and destroying people's properties. In as much as we have Boko Haram to contend with, Fulani Herdsmen is a nation-killer in disguise. People who value cows more than human beings; ready to kill as many as possible just for one cow rustled or killed. Now, Nigeria is described as the most dangerous place for Christians to live. It is described as such because of the Fulani Herdsmen who have been killing as if it is a hobby. Yet, not even one has been arrested, prosecuted or condemned for their actions. Well, my conclusion is that legal actions against them may be difficult because they are on a mission to conquer and Islamize the country as a specific agenda of the North. The Herdsmen are not alone in this course, they have support from the military, politicians and the government.

Contrary to the findings of some research exercises in this research, it was discovered that terrorism in Nigerian is more obsessed by religious expansionism ideology than political interest but is using political instrument like dictatorial power, aggressive intimidation of other religions, political control of commerce and industry and use of political power on the Armed Forces in favour of the religious expansionism ideology.

Recommendation

Based on the findings of this research, the under listed recommendations are made thus:

1. The check system among the three tiers of government should be made to realise their responsibilities as to understand the present realities as relates to security issues in Nigeria. Frailties of the executive should be checked by the legislature; not

only because it is a statutory function, but because it will help to check the excesses of the executive in order to enhance democratic principles.

2. The current service Chief should be relieved of their duties and more competent and dedicated ones be used to replace them. This will enhance security situation in the country.
3. The Federal Government cattle colony and ranching policy should not be abolished but amended in such a way that government fund will not be used to buy land for individual cattle grazing and should not be made compulsory for every State to donate land.
4. Government and government agencies should not punish any individual, community or State that refuses to donate land for private cattle grazing.

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