

# CONSTITUTIONALISED RIGHT TO BEARING OF ARMS IN NIGERIA: A PANACEA TO BOKO HARAM AND FULANI HERDSMEN TERRORISM IN NIGERIA



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## **ABSTRACT**

Boko Haram and Fulani Herdsmen have launched a sustained 'self-serving' jihad and genocidal war in Nigeria. World terror watch index placed them among the world's deadliest terror groups. Their missions are: Territorial expansion and conversion of a secular state to an Islamic Caliphate; through conquest and other multifarious methods of conversion. Non Fulani tribal groups and Non-Muslims are their principal targets. These terror groups have exhibited irrepressible potency of projecting their terror to all nooks and crannies of Nigeria. Knowing the exact number of lives and worth of property destroyed is practically impossible. The State has inexplicably demonstrated gross incompetence in their attempts at liquidating them. Worse still, lackadaisical disposition of the state as often demonstrated, have created sundry conspiracy theories. Worst of all, the state has admitted defeat, as the Commander-in-Chief unconventionally resorted to call for prayers instead of a determined resolved to crush and flatten the insurgents.

Ironically, the existing firearms prohibition Acts in the country, only succeeded in making law abiding Nigerians extremely vulnerable to criminals and sponsored terrorists like Boko Haram and Herdsmen armed- bandits. This has ultimately enhanced the monopoly of violence to the whims and caprices of sponsors and perpetrators of Criminality, Banditry and Terrorism, while the law abiding citizens remain helpless. Whereas, there are Legislative Acts that prohibit the bearing of Automatic Firearms by Nigerian Civil Citizens, save for Dane guns and cartridge rifles under very daunting conditions, the 1999 Constitution (as amended) is silent on the right of citizens whether or not to bear Arms. Demonopolising sole ownership of arms by the state will automatically convert the majority of 180million Nigerian citizens to a mighty civil force that shall willy nilly coerce the irresponsible life terminators to wave the white handkerchief of surrender. According to a popular saying of the French people: "God is with the General of the largest Army". This amendment will enhance State and Personal Security, without undermining national unity (although Nigeria unity is still a subject of debate).

Rather, it is the Nigerian Government's monopoly of Arms Bearing and sponsors of Criminality, Banditry and Terrorism that more than any other thing else, that threaten the unity of Nigeria and the Citizens. Similarly, if unity of a multi-cultural, multi-racial and multi-religious country, like the United State of America is not threatened by constitutional liberty of Her Citizens to bear Arms, it is a testimony to fact that Nigerian Unity will not be threatened by the Constitutional Right of Nigerians to bear Firearms.

Nigeria as a country with similar diversities of people, taking after the United States of America's model of democracy and rule by constitution, it is important to note that the second amendment of the United States Constitution states that: A well-regulated Militia, being necessary to the Security of a Free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed. The right was adopted since December 15<sup>th</sup>, 1791. Also, the Supreme Court ruled in the 2008 Heller decision that the right belong to individuals in their homes for self-defense. Therefore, amendment of the existing Nigeria Constitution (the 1999 as amended) to include the bearing of Firearms as an INALIENABLE RIGHT of Nigerian Citizens is the surest and fastest strategy of obliterating the existing mass killers of Law Abiding Nigerians, and making the country safe.

**KEY WORDS: Boko Haram, Terrorism, Jihad, Herdsmen, and Arms.**

According to the Scottish Writer and Politician Andrew Fletcher, "Arms are the only true badge of liberty. The possession of arms is the distinction of a free man from a slave" The use of arms by the Fulani Tribal group converted the entire Hausa Kingdoms to Sokoto Caliphate and the same use of arms converted the entire Northern and Southern Nigeria into British Colony and later Independent Nigeria. Again, it was the use of Firearms that changed Nigerian system of government from democratic regional federation to states unitary government with absolute power at the centre (note that absolute power corrupts absolutely). The monopoly of arms bearing has remained with Nigerian States officially and subtly in the Sokoto Caliphate (under the guise of Jihad).

An 'Islamic jihad' and war of conquest has been raging in Nigeria by the "holy fighters" of Boko Haram and Fulani Herdsmen, both groups on expansionist land acquisition agenda. Boko Haram is purely on a forceful evangelization of its brand of Islam premised on 7th Century Wahhabism and territorial expansion, while the Fulani Herdsmen are on a cruel land grabbing expedition against the indigenous people of Nigeria(1). Both groups complement each other by intent and purpose.

North East of Nigeria is the official birthplace and operational headquarters of Boko Haram. They commenced their terror voyage with the name Islamic States West Africa Province (ISWAP), but later acquired a terror baptizing name called Boko Haram (which means Western Education is Forbidden). Because of the secrecy associated with the group it is practically impossible to state the strength of their combatants and arsenals at their disposal (2). Figures flying in the public domain are unverifiable because throughout their years of operations they never provided an opportunity for independent observers or journalist to take a tour of their facilities and holy combatants in the manner other similar groups do.

Fulani Herdsmen do not have a specific enclave known as their original base. They are a lethal mobile terror group majorly operating in central Nigeria otherwise known as middle belt, a few states in the North East, North West and in selected areas South of River Niger. This group commits sundry criminal and heinous acts like; killing, rapes, destruction of farmlands, occupation of ancestral lands, and arson. They operate with the utmost standard of impunity (3).

The Fulani Herdsmen and Boko Haram have irrefutably demonstrated the capacity and potency of projecting terror to all the nooks and crannies of Nigeria. For example, the Islamic jihadists of Boko Haram have staged successful operations like year 2010 Independence day bombing at Abuja and the year 2011 Christmas multiple bombings and lethal assaults in different states' cities and locations, and the bombing of United Nations' House in Abuja(4). On the other hand the Fulani herdsmen have sacked many farming communities, raped women and children, abducted scores of others, annihilated high profile citizens, and annihilated people in enumerable communities in Northern and Southern Nigeria.

As species of Boko Haram and Fulani herdsmen terrorism; armed banditry, theft, highway robberies, and kidnappings became frequent occurrences in communities, homes and the highways of the country. They have successfully kidnapped former Ministers, foreign nationals, members of houses of assembly, traditional rulers and ordinary citizens. There are instances where they staged their operations in the middle of big cities like Jos and Kaduna. Furthermore, their select group(s) is robbing towns and villages in north western states of Zamfara, Kebbi, Sokoto, Katsina and parts of Birnin Gwari in Kaduna State. Their activities have completely shutdown a major route linking the North and the south through Birnin Gwari of Kaduna State (5).

These activities are supporting their hellish mission in two ways: one, diverting attention of the Nigeria's already weak, insufficient and ineffectual security agencies from their strongholds and targets; two, providing the groups with finances to support their campaigns. Aside their other sources of financial support (internal and external), these activities are their major source of cash. Proceeds from these well-orchestrated criminalities enhance their capability to; procure arsenals, pay holy combatants, temporal settlement of family members of their trained suicide bombers, and hypnotization of gullible hearts in the process of recruitment. Kidnapping has become a multi-billion naira scheme that is outperforming legally organized and recognized businesses in Nigeria, as at today.

Various agencies of government and international organizations have come up with different figures in terms of worth of properties and number of lives lost. No figure has been indisputably accepted. Nevertheless, one can say that; hundreds of thousands of lives have been dastardly annihilated and billions of naira worth of properties, were completely destroyed, looted and vandalized (6).

International terror watch bodies have consistently rated Boko Haram and Fulani Herdsmen as terrorists organizations, and the Fulani Herdsmen is rated as the fourth deadliest terror group in the world, as at 2017 rating, while at the time Nigeria is rated as third most terrorized country in the world. Similarly, Global Terrorism Index of 2018 adjudged that Nigeria is the world's third most terrorized country in the world and have consistently retained that ranking position for the past three years(7). That placed Nigeria behind Iraq and Syria; countries in a full blown wars and ahead of Pakistan and Afghanistan, countries suffering from Taliban and Al-Qaida terrorism for over two decades.

Attempts and successes by armed forces of Nigeria and other security agencies to defeat Boko Haram and Herdsmen Terror groups have been catastrophic and abysmal respectively. There is no spec of doubt left to believing that the Commander-in-Chief and

his generals are lacking in terms of a winning strategy and tactics. Before you read news of killing of a few Boko Haram fighters you must have read countless pieces of news of killings of Nigerian Armed Forces personnel or running over of Nigerian Military or Police Installations, and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) camps; by Boko Haram and outright sacking of communities and villages by Herdsmen Terrorists.

The situation is glaringly embarrassing to the commander-in-chief, his top military brass, and other managers of the country's security architecture and formations. Misinformation and Propaganda became the order of the day. To corroborate these points; the world was told that the country's armed forces have "technically defeated Boko Haram". When events proved them wrong, they shifted the post of their misinformation by saying; "they have been heavily degraded and decimated" (8). Unfortunately for them, whenever they make such bogus claims of their progress in the battlefield, the terrorists inflict deadlier assaults on the troops and disseminate records of the proceedings in the field. It has become so easy for the terrorists to the level that; they are able to carry out recordings of their live engagements with Nigerian armed forces like some Hollywood and Nollywood, American and Nigerian film shooting scenes respectively.

## **GERMANE ISSUES**

Protection of lives and property is atop the pyramid of the functions of any government. The Nigerian government is no exception. This quintessential schedule was the backbone of social contract that originated during the Hobbesian State of Nature. This tradition has walked through the annals of history from the medieval stages up to the contemporary state system (9).

Section 14:2b of the Nigerian Constitution 1999 (as amended) states that: "Security and Welfare of the people SHALL be the primary purpose of government". To demonstrate the seriousness of this function of government, pundits often judge that any government that consciously or unconsciously exhibits inability to come to speed with this function has no business governing the people. This is in order to keep faith with citizens' guaranteed right to life, as enshrined in section 33:1 of the same constitution; it says "*every person has the right to life, and no one shall be deprived intentionally of his life, save in execution of the sentence of a court in respect of a criminal offence of which he has been found guilty in Nigeria*".

Section 14:2b of the Nigerian constitution referred to and as lifted was embedded with the word "SHALL". In legal parlances where the word shall is invoked while enumerating a duty on the part of a party, it means MUST and a willy nilly. This holds with all legally engaged contractual agreements, as represented by the governance constitution. Deploying deductive reasoning, providing security by Nigerian state to its citizens and their property is therefore compulsory and a must-not-betray schedule.

All leaders that took oath of office under the Nigeria's 1999 constitution pledged to protect, uphold and defend the constitution. In addition to taking the traditional oath, they reeled speeches reassuring citizenry of their determination to protect their lives and property. For example on 29th May 2015 President Muhammadu Buhari said "Having just a few minutes ago sworn on the Holy Book, I intend to keep my oath and serve as President to all

Nigerians” (12). Even leaders of lower layers of authority who do not have full powers over security agencies do embark on the rituals of pledging to perform this queen role of government because they know that security outfits posted in their states work hand-in-hand with them and provide security services to them and their citizenry. Therefore, security is everybody’s business, hence the need for all layers of government and good citizens of Nigeria to support the need for constitutionalized right to bearing of arms in Nigeria by the citizens, complementary to the inadequate capacity of government.

### QUINTESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

Like Ronald Reagan once said: *“In this present crisis, government is not the solution to our problem, government is the problem”*.

We, on this article are saying: in this present crisis, Fulani Muslim Elites are not the solution, Fulani Muslim Elites are the problem!

- (i) Is it a matter of complicity, complacency, collusion or incompetence in administration of security of the Nigerian state by those in the government or the absence of patriotism amongst the citizenry?
- (ii) What is the Nigerian government narrative all about; Farmers and Herders clash, instead of Fulani Herdsmen’s Genocide against indigenous Nigerian?

Answers to the above questions are as follows:-

Complicity; Family, Ethnicity and religion come first in this order, for a Fulani man, as exemplified by the motives and execution of the Uthman Danfodio Jihad that established the Sokoto Caliphate which thrives since 1804 till today. By their nature historically, the interests of Danfodio’s family come first, then their family race, before any other peoples’ interests. Reference Nigeria in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century by Dr. Ibrahim A. Modu historical account.

Complacency; ‘Mutual Interrelationship’ between the Sokoto Caliphate and the former British Colonial Masters, bestowed on the Fulanis (The Caliphate) a reasonable measure of vestiges of the colonial masters’ power, influence and authority vested in The Sultan of the Sokoto Caliphate. Reference the National Question: Ethnic Minorities and Conflicts in Northern Nigeria by Dr. Simon Yohanna.

By virtue of this status quo, indigenous Nigerians remain vulnerable to furtherances of the Sokoto Caliphate Jihad by both formal and informal means. They would rather sustain the status quo than accept any act or commission that would alter the existing status. According to some Muslim authorities/scholars like Dr. Ibrahim A. Modu, Dr. Zamir Akhtar Khan and Prof. Toyin Falola, from their papers on concepts of Jihad and Muslim Monarchs; *Islam is not just a religion, but a way of life in which there is no distinction between religion, politics, economics and law. Jihad is an obligation binding on Muslims.*

The Nigerian 1999 Constitution (as amended) operates on dual ideologies of secularity and shariah (Islam). As a fact, the Muslim obligation at any given time is primarily to the shariah, then, conservatively to secularities, up to the limit of their comfort and convenience. The Jama’atu Nasril Islam (JNI), known as a group for the victory of Islam and Muslims serves as an umbrella organization for a variety of Muslim groups and interests. The Sultan is the Head of JNI. Boko-Haram and the Fulani Herdsmen reasonably fall within their Muslim

groups and interests. The current command structure of the Nigerian Armed Forces, Police and other Paramilitary organizations, Agencies and parastatals leadership are skewed; from the Commander In Chief to Service Chiefs and Heads of Paramilitary, they are lopsidedly in favour of Islam and Muslims, particularly those Muslims from the areas within Sokoto Caliphate. This fact is demonstrated by table 1 as follows;

**COMPOSITION OF ARMED FORCES, SECURITY AND INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES  
PRESIDENTIAL TEAM AND APPOINTEE TEAM LEADERS**

SN	OFFICE	NAME	MUSLIM			OTHERS
			North East	North West	North Central	
1	President and Commander in Chief	Mohammadu Buhari	-	✓	-	-
2	National Security Adviser	Babagana Monguno	✓	-	-	-
3	Aide De Camp to President	Mohammed Abubakar Lawal	-	✓	-	-
4	Chief of Defence Staff	Abayomi Olorunshakin	-	-	-	✓
5	Chief of Naval Staff	Ibok-Ete Ekwe Ibas	-	-	-	✓
6	Chief of Air Staff	Sadique Abubakar	✓	-	-	-
7	Chief of Defence Intelligence	Mohammed Saliu Usman	?	?	?	?
8	DG Directorate of State Security	Yusuf Magaji Bichi	-	✓	-	-
9	CG, Nigerian Customs Service	Hammeed Ali	-	✓	-	-
10	CG, Nigerian Immigration Service	Babandede Muhammed	-	✓	-	-
11	Ag. Chairman EFCC	Ibrahim Magu	✓	-	-	-
12	Chairman/CEO NDLEA	Mohammed Mustapha Abdullah	✓	-	-	-
13	Ag. Inspector General of Police	Mohammed Adamu	-	-	✓	-
14	Director Security, FAAN	Usman Abubakar Sadique	✓	-	-	-
15	Chief of Army Staff	Tukur Yusuf Buratai	✓	-	-	-
16	Minister of Defence	Monsur Dan Ali	-	✓	-	-
17	Minister of interior	Abdulrahaman Bello Danbazau	-	✓	-	-
18	CG, Nig Sec and Civil Defence Corps	Abdullahi Gana Muhammadu	-	-	✓	-
19	CG, Nigerian Prisons Service	Ja'afaru Ahmed	-	✓	-	-
20	DG, National Intelligence Agency	Rufai Abubakar	?	?	?	?
21	Chairman Board FRSC	Bukhari Bello	-	✓	-	-
22	Director/CEO Nig. Fin Intelligence Unit	Modibbo Hamman-Tukur	✓	-	-	-
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>7</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>

**REMARKS:** The 1999 constitution (as amended) is guided by Islam and other secular ideologies, to cater for Muslims and Others, without compromising the secular status of Nigeria, which is guaranteed by Section 10 of the constitution to the effect that, there shall be no adoption of state religion by the Nigeria State or States. The existing security team made of 20 Muslims and 2 Others show that, the security team is lopsidedly constituted in favour of Muslims. There is no way the fight against Boko Haram and Fulani Herdsmen Terrorist who are fundamentally Muslims, will not enjoy some measure of sympathy and collaboration from the security operatives. This supports the allegation of collusion between the Armed Forces and the Armed 'Bandits' made by Gen. Theophilus Danjuma: former Chief of Army Staff and Defence Minister Federal Government of Nigeria.

NB: The geo political zones for Mohammed Saliu Usman and Rufai Abubakar, Chief of Defence Intelligence and DG, National Intelligence agency respectively, were not available upon online searches.

This lopsidedness on account of religious faith violates Section 217 (3) of the constitution which states inter alia that; *“the composition of the officer corps and other ranks of the Armed Forces of the federation SHALL reflect the federal character of Nigeria”*. By this arrangement, noble intentions and actions give way to primordial sentiments, in the borders of ethnicity and religion (Fulani and Islam respectively), instead of professionalism. Territorial expansion, occupation and dominance through Jihad being the primary objective of the Fulani Sokoto Caliphate, Boko-Haram and Herdsmen Terrorists, it is unarguably natural that the security operatives (under the command of Muslim Officers) would collude with the insurgents (Boko-Haram and Fulani Herdsmen Terrorists); hence the inability of the Nigerian state to successfully liquidate the Terrorists. To corroborate this assertion, Muslims have obligation under the Quran 9:29 to *“Fight those who do not believe in Allah or in the Last Day and who do not consider unlawful what Allah and his messenger have made unlawful and who do not adopt the religion of truth from those who were given the scripture – (fight) until they give the Jizya willingly while they are humbled”*. Furthermore, the Hadith Sahih Bhukari 52: 269 states that WAR IS DECEIT. It is therefore impossible for the present Muslims controlled security arrangement to operate faithfully in the interest of all Nigerians regardless of ethnicity and religion.

Incompetence: Without a foundation there is no building. Nigeria is not a country designed to be united, rather, it is set up for systematic acquisition by the Sokoto Caliphate, enhanced by the retention of vestiges of colonial masters' powers resident with the Sultan of Sokoto Caliphate. Territories hitherto not under the Caliphate but were merged with the Caliphate during the indirect rule, were not liberated before the Nigerian Independence was granted and they remain in that bondage till today. According to Late Sheik Mahmoud Gumi (A Fulani Muslim Cleric); the concept of Nigerian unity is total Islamization (i.e. complete conquer and dominance by the Sokoto Caliphate). A united Nigeria is therefore impossible and the state's fight against Terrorists cannot be successful without national sincerity and interest.

For example:- Local Governments being the third tier of Government, closest to the people, that would have been in a position to provide or enhance certain Security Options to the people, have been deliberately incapacitated, through a compulsorily enforced operation of joint accounts with their respective state governors, at the whims and the caprices of their governors.

Nigerian Governors are reputed as being Chief Security Officers of their respective states as enshrined in the Constitution 1999 as amended, yet the Governors don't command even the smallest unit or person of any of the Security Forces or Agencies.

Lack of Patriotism: Nigeria is governed by a constitution (1999 as amended), designed to operate under two competing ideologies vis; Sharia and Secular ideologies. The bases of national unity therefore, is already defeated and truncated ab initio. On the other hand, quota system as a policy of governance have destroyed the basis of competitiveness and merit; and created apathy amongst the citizenry. To buttress this, there is nothing anywhere to show that the founding Fathers of Nigeria: Chief Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Chief SAN Obafemi Awolowo and Sardauna Sir Ahmadu Bello; ever agreed unequivocally to a united Nigeria. Further to this, available document in public domain show that on 12<sup>th</sup> October, 1960 (Twelve Days after granting of independence to Nigeria) Vintage Sir Ahmadu Bello (the then premier of Northern Nigeria, a prince and Sardauna of the Sokoto Caliphate, one of the leaders of the Muslims Umma in his own right) was quoted by a defunct Parrot Newspaper as saying:

*“The New Nation called Nigeria should be the estate of our great grandfather Uthman Dan Fodio. We must ruthlessly prevent a change of power. We use the minorities in the North as willing tools and the South as a conquered territory and never allow them to rule over us and never allow them to have control over their future”.*

Considering the above, there is therefore no basis for patriotism amongst the various tribal people that make up Nigeria. The Danfodio family's supremacy ideology often espoused by Fulani Muslim Elites; as exemplified by utterances and actions of their leaders like Late Sir Ahmadu Bello (quoted above), and others like Sheik Mahmoud Gumi, and present leaders like President Muhammadu Buhari, Governor Nasir El-Fufai, Prof. Ango Abdullahi, Gen. Dan Alli etc who at various instances made divisive and supremacists statements that agree with the quoted Sardauna's statement under reference, and the apparent support Terrorist groups like Boko-Haram and Fulani Herdsmen enjoy from these present Fulani Leaders in government further make patriotism impossible.

There is no debating the realism that the government of Nigeria has failed in discharging its traditional duty of safeguarding lives and property. And there are curious developments, actions and inactions of government that have generated multiple conspiracy theories that webbed the government. The roots of these theories have sank deep in the political soil of Nigeria and beyond (13), as stated above in answering the quintessential questions.

After the killing of hundreds of people in Benue state there was a national outcry and calls for President Buhari to declare the perpetrators (Fulani herdsmen) a terrorist group. The federal government of Nigeria; rather declined and instead declared the group as mere criminals.

(14).There are instances where leaders of the herdsmen (Miyetti Allah) claimed responsibilities for committed acts of terror by their members in live television programmes. The government never arrested and prosecuted them. Furthermore, at the height of killings in Benue State, President Buhari ordered the Inspector General of Police to relocate to Benue State. The IGP disobeyed the order and he was not charged either.

The government would rather deploy several thousand police personnel to cover elections as exemplified in Ekiti and Osun States' elections, where there were no wars, but chose to deploy only two thousand police personnel to the entire North East of six states which were under siege and ravages of war. With this disposition, how can the government exonerate itself from allegations of complacency in their handling of Boko Haram and Fulani herdsmen affairs or matters? (14).

The president withdrew one billion dollar without appropriation in the name of fighting insurgents in the north east (15). But soldiers that spoke on condition of anonymity gave gory stories of inferior arsenals and poor welfare packages as their predicaments in the war front. The Chief of Army Staff unintentionally confirmed their stories by alleging that Boko Haram fighters are using drones and foreign mercenaries in their campaigns against Nigerian armed forces. If Boko Haram who are not richer than five local government in Nigeria can procure drones and engage mercenaries, Nigerian government have more than enough financial and legal muscles to outmatch them. Why is the government not doing even more of all that?

Mr. El-rufai governor of Kaduna State: on 3rd and 21st of December 2016 claimed that he traced and compensated fulanis that annihilated people in Southern Kaduna; in Chad, Cameroon, Mali, Senegal and Niger Republics (16) .Two years down the lane he has not told the nation how much he paid the killers. He has not unveiled the methods of payments. One thing is indisputable, there was no sub-head in the appropriation bill of 2016 or any year before then in Kaduna State, that justified the funding of that transaction. Ironically, while he exported needed money to 'compensate' killers, there is no single IDP camp set up by the state government to carter for victims of the terror. There was also no compensation for their farmlands destroyed and homes burnt down by the fulani herdsmen.

The bewildered nation condemned and tagged the action as an act of felony. Groups stretched further by lodging official complains to the national assembly and the president. Both the president and the national assembly were not forthcoming on the complaints.

The above catalogues of events and more, bear testimonies to the fact that, there are conscious letdowns through covert fraternity of the present government with these groups. The security team represented on table 1 show that the entire national security architecture is overwhelmingly, principally and functionally under the command, management and control of Muslims from North East and North West geopolitical zones and the theatre of war.

## **THE GRAND DEBATE**

Naturally, discussions on this matter partitioned pundits into two broad clusters; the traditional/alternative security proponents (Reformers), and the Realists. The Reformers favour institutional reforms and Reorientation of mindset of citizens of Nigeria. The Realists are postulators of the Nigerian version of American Second Amendment that legalized bearing of arms by every adult citizen of Nigeria and improvement in physical security management.

Let's take a casual tour into some of their basic assumptions of these two approaches:

#### Traditional/alternative Reformers

They believe that Nigeria needs a police reform that will bestow them with physical and mental strength. And training and equipments that will equip them with the knowhow of 21st century crime fighting and policing (17).

There is a need for total change of the political culture to enable the country produce leaders of honour that will tackle snags in the country.

Poverty reduction is another policy proposal of this group. They premised their assumption on the notions of "a hungry man is an angry man", and "an idle man is a devils workshop". They said poverty is a crime booster. Once people are constructively engaged, Boko Haram and other criminal groups would not get people to recruit (18).

Reorienting Nigerians on the importance of cultural diversity and moderate faith based principles. Inability to embrace diversity in a complex and mixed Nigeria was judged to account for skirmishes and fracas in the country. That holds with citizens with extreme religious and self-conscious ethnic views that are willing to evangelize their faith or ethnic supremacy through a jihad or crusade (19).

Disabuse the mindset and psyche of personnel of the armed forces, police and paramilitary organization against harbouring ethnic and religious biases in the discharge of their duties. Modernization of the armed forces of the country and purchase latest soft and hardwires. Like the police, they need further proper training to enable them measure up with the realities of the 21st century combat strategies and tactics.

Referendum and restructuring were also presented as panaceas to the problem. Proposers of these opined that the country's skewed political structures that gave the central government enormous powers that they are not discharging faithfully is a major cause of insecurity . That the surest and fastest way is through a referendum that will completely redesign the political and physical structures of the country (20)

The British colonialists' amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria in 1914; recreated and empowered the Sokoto Caliphate as a semi apartheid system that subjugated people who were not conquered by any internal expansionist, to the rule of Uthman Danfodio's Fulani ethno-religious political settings. And the British refused to set them free before lowering the Union Jack on 1st October 1960 (21). This has triggered continuous bases for ethnic, religious and communal disharmony, conflicts and hostilities in the country, with the rulers of Sokoto Caliphate believing and acting the notion that Nigeria is a country destined for their ownership. These accounts for the present lopsidedly designed geopolitical structure engineered by Nigerian previous successive military governments prior to the enthronement of the present democratic governance. This fact is represented by the table number 2 and attached herewith as Page 11:-

Table 2

NUMBER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, REPRESENTATIVES AND SENATORS PER STATE AND GEOPOLITICAL ZONE (6NOS) AND FEDERAL CAPITAL TERRITORY

NORTH EAST (1)				NORTH WEST (2)				NORTH CENTRAL (3)				SOUTH EAST (4)				SOUTH WEST (5)				SOUTH-SOUTH (6)				FCT LGA (0)							
STATE	LGA	REP	SEN	STATE	LGA	REP	SEN	STATE	LGA	REP	SEN	STATE	LGA	REP	SEN	STATE	LGA	REP	SEN	STATE	LGA	REP	SEN	STATE	LGA	REP	SEN	STATE	LGA	REP	SEN
Borno	27	10	3	Kano	44	24	3	Benue	22	11	3	Anambra	21	11	3	Osun	30	9	3	Cross River	18	8	3	Abuja	1	1	1				
Bauchi	20	12	3	Jigawa	27	11	3	Nasarawa	13	5	3	Imo	27	10	3	Ekiti	16	6	3	Bayelsa	9	5	3	Abuja Municipal	1	-	-				
Adamawa	22	8	3	Katsina	34	15	3	Niger	24	10	3	Ebonyi	13	6	3	Lagos	20	24	3	Rivers	23	13	3	Gwagwalada	1	-	-				
Yobe	17	6	3	Kaduna	23	15	3	Kogi	20	9	3	Abia	17	8	3	Ogun	19	9	3	Akwa Ibom	31	10	3	Kuje	1	1	-				
Gombe	11	6	3	Zamfara	14	7	3	Kwara	16	6	3	Enugu	17	8	3	Oyo	34	14	3	Edo	19	9	3	Bwari	1	-	-				
Taraba	16	6	3	Kebbi	22	8	3	Plateau	17	8	3					Ondo	18	9	3	Delta	25	10	3	Kwali	1	-	-				
				Sokoto	22	11	3																								
Total	113	48	18		186	92	21		112	49	18		95	43	15		137	71	18		125	55	18		6	2	1				
<b>NORTHERN STATES TOTAL</b>												<b>SOUTHERN STATES TOTAL</b>												<b>FCT TOTAL</b>							
<b>LGA</b>				<b>REPRESENTATIVES</b>				<b>SENATORS</b>				<b>LGA</b>				<b>REPRESENTATIVES</b>				<b>SENATORS</b>				<b>LGA</b>		<b>REP</b>		<b>SEN</b>			
411				189				57				357				169				51				6		2		1			

REMARKS: from this structure, the North as a block command over-riding votes. North West as seat of the caliphate particularly lead the block. Fulani ethnic group and Shariah ideals are the primary considerations of the people of North West and North East. North Central, South East and South-South are generally Christians and Other Faith believers. There is no clear division between the Muslims of South-West and believers of all Other Faiths in their zone. Federal Capital Territory is simply Cosmopolitan. This is the authors view.

This group believes that staging a sovereign national question to thrash out this fraudulent contraption is a sine qua non to defeating many of the security challenges in the country, and enhances unity and patriotism in the country.

### **THE REALIST CLUSTER**

From the concepts of Jihad and War as espoused in Sahih Bukhari Vol. 4; 52:42 and 52:269 respectively, these Hadiths bestow on Muslims the obligation to obey the command of Jihad and admonishment of wisdom in deceitfulness respectively. We verily believe that the noble intentions and contexts of these Hadiths are being exploited and abused by the Elitist Descendants of Uthman Danfodio for their selfish benefits (Territorial Expansion, Power and Economic gains).

Boko Haram and Fulani Herdsmen terrorism in Nigeria have deprived several people the right to life which is number one on the list of Rights enunciated in chapter four (33) of the 1999 Constitution (as amended) and cited earlier.

The situation in Nigeria is depriving other liberties like the right to own property in section (43) and right to religion. The terror groups' stealing and destruction of property of victims bar Nigerians from enjoying these rights.

Free flow of persons albeit inflow of terrorists from neighboring countries. Because of the existence of ECOWAS treaty; immigration personnel hardly carry out a thorough check on people flooding into Nigeria from member states.

There is the need for complete withdrawal by Nigeria from ECOWAS Convention On Small Arms and Light Weapons, their ammunition and other related materials treaty of 14<sup>th</sup> June 2006.

The realists are also advocating for complete abrogation of the Firearms Act 146 Laws of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1990. This law is the greatest barrier to safety of Nigerian's and the biggest threat to all liberties enumerated in chapter 4 of Nigerian's 1999 constitution referred hereinbefore. Sections of this Act like, sales, transfer, acquisition, import, export, manufacturing and repairs are worse than any draconian decrees one can think of in the entire history of mankind.

### **JUXTAPOSING AND WEIGHING THE ASSUMPTIONS:**

Economy, judicial, police and social reforms are no feasible solutions; as the self-acclaimed Jihadists are inspired and driven by faith they believe to be divine. Some people in the society and government share this same faith, hence the noticeable lackadaisical attitudes in government disposition and complacency in the war on terror, this is besides institutional inadequacies.

This problem is more rooted in social factors than any other consideration, which solution is not foreseeable in the near future. This fact is corroborated by President Muhammadu Buhari himself when he declared that the terror problem has defied every solution and that Nigerians should only pray to God. The same President in a video clip during his campaign

rally at Zamfara in 2019, charged the people to eat, be full and be ready for trouble making. This means that as far as terror in Nigeria is concerned, it is a matter of everybody to himself and God for all. Arms Bearing by all willing citizens of Nigeria is therefore the only option available to effectively checkmate the menace of terror against the Nigerian people. The task of realizing this option is going to be onerous, as the existing Firearms Act of 1959 and subsequent Acts thereafter, are so prohibitively skewed that approving authorities are guided by personal discretion instead of Law in its absolute sense. The Act only gives government and those in their good books the monopoly of Arms Bearing. All that ethnicity and religion induced terrorists like Boko Haram, Fulani Herdsmen, Kidnappers, Arsonists and Armed Robbers need to own arms; is to have people that share in their Belief, Sentiment or Motive, either as religious or ethnic bigots, or as criminally minded persons in government/authority. This has irredeemably made Law abiding Nigerians to remain victims and at the mercy of Terrorists and Armed Robbers/Bandits.

Arson and physical pull down of structures has been amongst the major features of the terror groups, wherever they choose to strike. Without the existing difficult and whimsical conditionalities in the Firearms Act, the citizens would be in position to arm themselves and defend their lives and properties much effectively than the security institutions of the Nigerian State charged with the responsibilities.

Judicial approach may not be realistic in view of existing reality demonstrated by table number 3 as follows:-

**TABLE 3**

**COMPOSITION OF LEADERSHIP TEAMS OF JUDICIARY AND LEGISLATURE**

SN	OFFICE	NAME	MUSLIM	OTHERS
1	Ag. Chief Justice of the Federation	Tanko Mohammed	✓	-
2	Minister of Justice	Abubakar Malami	✓	-
3	President Court of Appeal	Zainab Adamu Bulkachuwa	✓	-
4	Chief Judge, Federal High Court	Adamu Abdu-Kafarati	✓	-
5	Chief Judge, High Court FCT	I. U Bello	✓	-
6	Chairman, National Judicial Commission	Ibrahim Tanko Mohammed	✓	-
7	Secretary, National Judicial Commission	Ahmed Gambo Saleh	✓	-
8	Chief Registrar, Supreme Court	Hadiza Uwani Mustapha	✓	-
9	Chief Registrar, Court of Appeal	Aliyu Ibrahim	✓	-
10	Director General, Legal Aid Council	Aliyu Bagudu Abubakar	✓	-
11	Senate President, Federal Republic of Nigeria	Olubukola Abubakar Saraki	✓	-
12	Speaker of House of Representative Nigeria	Yakubu Dogara	-	✓
13	Clerk of the National	Mohammed Sani-Omolori	✓	-
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>12</b>	<b>1</b>

**REMARKS:** Leadership of the judiciary, as appointees of the President has an absolute 100% dominance by Muslims, while the National Legislature of the Senate and Representative are led by one Muslim and one Other respectively. Although Section 10 of the Nigerian Constitution (as amended) states inter alia that “*government of the federation or of a state shall not adopt any religion as state religion*”, the constitution operates on dual ideology for Muslims under Shariah and Others under secularity. Where there is existing lopsidedness in appointments in favour of Muslims against Others, there is no way neutrality, fairness and equity can be achieved in dealing with matters that involve Muslims and others, in which they have a stake like it is the case with Boko Haram and Fulani Herdsmen quest for territorial expansion being expressed by terror.

The table number 3 clearly show overwhelming lopsidedness in terms of religion in the appointment/allocation of Judicial offices/officers respectively. So long as the leadership remains overwhelmingly of the Muslim faith, and Boko Haram/ Fulani Herdsmen represent struggles for extension of the caliphate territories, it is not feasible that these laws will be reviewed without engagements with relevant authorities from within Nigeria and the international community.

#### **NOTATION:**

The allegation of lopsidedness made against the Presidency in terms of 100 Appointees and their geopolitical zones and the Presidency's rebuttal in terms of Full list (156 not 159 nos as claimed) of appointees and their geopolitical zones do not address the existing reality of the lopsidedness in terms of their command and authority, over State-Security and Economy administrations. Analyzing lopsidedness based on combined appointments of Principal Ministers, State Ministers and other Sundry Presidential appointments: only conceals the Principal Ministers/Officers and their offices that actually drive the security and economy of the nation state, but gives the simple impression that the appointments were 'fairly' spread out or not, whereas, the real power of state control, management and administration of security and economy are heavily lopsided in favour of North West and North East geopolitical zones, by consigning the Principal Ministries and Principal Security Command Offices to the North West and North East as shown on Table 5. State Ministers and all other appointees (whether civilians, armed forces, security, etc) are all subordinate to the Principal Ministers. The Principal Ministers are the main Drivers of the nation's security and economy. They decide what happens and who gets what. Therefore, the work on this paper have been based on Effects of Actions and Influences of the President and his appointee Principal Ministers, Service Chiefs and Heads of Security/Intelligence Agencies and Heads of: Judiciary/Legislature/Judicial and Legislative Administrations. It is therefore not enough to only fairly spread out appointments. Power and authority must be fairly spread out, to conform with the principles of fairness, National Unity, Equity and Justice, which are the principles federal character as enshrined in the constitution is intended to achieve.

#### **CONCLUSION**

The narrative credited to the Minister of Information Lai Mohammed and Minister of Agriculture Audu Ogbe; that describe the wanton killings in Nigeria as farmers/herders clash, is not correct, because in a situation where people are killed in their homes mostly at nights, in repeated manner, cannot be correctly described as conflict but outright murder and genocide.

Conversion of Minors into the Islamic faith by whatever means is unjustifiable as it could not be said to have been borne by free will. The following examples suffice:-

- Ibrahim Saleh aka Danbana 9 years old at Makarfi Road Tudun Wada Kaduna 1970.
- Sylvia Isaac Kassa aka Mama-lee 16 years old at Katsit Kafanchan Kaduna State 2009.
- Leah Sharibu 14 years old at Dapchi Yobe State On February 19, 2018.
- Etc

Displacement of indigenous Nigerians from their native homelands and takeover of their lands or preventing them from going back to their homes or farms have been the characteristic features of ethno-religious crisis in Nigeria. The following examples amongst several others suffice:-

- Kaduna: Rigasa, Sabon Gari, Angwan Sanusi, Anjo (Jama'a LGA), Iri,kutura, Kujeni, Kankomi, Gindin Gada (all in Chikum LGA), etc
- Plateau: NTV village along Barkin Ladi Bokkos Road, Kufang, Hiyay, Mase, Sharu, Kadok, Dogo, Angyo, etc

The creation of grazing reserve, only to convert same to a permanent settlement and village home for the Fulanis is institutionalized land robbery by government against the indigenous land owners. For example Laduga is a Fulani village today in Kachia Local Government in Southern Kaduna, within the grazing reserve: 30,000 hectare was initially carved out as the grazing reserve and was later increased to over 100,000 hectares surreptitiously.

As a universal fact, all emerging societies undergo struggles for power and its control. Absolute power corrupts, and it corrupts absolutely. Examples abound with leaders like; Samuel Doe of Liberia, Saddam Hussein of Iraq, Sani Abacha of Nigeria and a host of others. This is the case in every corruption infested country such as Nigeria. This informed the need for the establishment of Anti-Corruption Agencies such as ICPC, EFCC, NFIU and a host of others, to mitigate the scourge of corruption in Nigeria. From the history of Hausa kingdoms of Nigeria to the present state of Nigeria as a nation, Peasants, Masses and other down trodden people that form dregs of the society who constitute the overwhelming majority of the society, continuously bear the brunt and dehumanizing burdens of corruption.

The masses are ever willing and ready to support or go with whoever could be identified as agent of change that could lead them to eliminate or mitigate the scourge or burden of corruption.

The Uthman Danfodio Sokoto Jihad of 1804 used Anti-Corruption rhetorics to get the buy-in of the masses, to support the uprising that rooted out the Hausa Kings and their Kingdoms, and established the Sokoto Caliphate and Emirates. New owners of power and control were thence established. They dictate the pace of production and administration of economy of the people.

Corruption continue to be the bane of the masses, up to the creation of the Nigeria state, as a British colony, its independent nation and present day democratic nation. Rhetorics on corruption by power seekers continue to be a rallying point:-

- Chukwuma Nzeogwu's Coup of 1966 was premised on anti-corruption.
- Murtala Mohammed Coup of 1975 was also premised on anti-corruption.
- Muhammadu Buhari's Coup of 1983 was as well premised on anti-corruption
- Again Muhammadu Buhari second successful attempt at securing power was heavily premised on anti-corruption.

Ironically, power keep changing hands while corruption continue to thrive in Nigeria. Elites and Monarchs continue to grow in power and affluence while the masses steadily slide into abject poverty and misery. It therefore means that, ultimate of the struggles have always been acquisition of power.

In a society deficient in unity and patriotism like Nigeria, and perhaps some others in similar circumstances, whoever controls power also controls the economy and determines those who survive or perish and those who prosper or retrogress into penury. There is always attempts at cornering resources and opportunities, using religion and ethnicity, to the exclusive advantages of some privileged groups. This notion is amply illustrated by table number 4 as follows:-

#### PRESIDENCY AND LEADERSHIP OF THE GOVERNMENT PRINCIPAL MINISTRIES

SN	OFFICE	NAME	MUSLIM	OTHERS
1	President Federal Republic of Nigeria	Muhammadu Buhari	✓	-
2	Ministry of Finance	Zainab Shamsuna Ahmed	✓	-
3	Ministry of Information	Lai Mohammed	✓	-
4	Ministry of Works, Power and Housing	Babatunde Fashola	✓	-
5	Ministry of Aviation	Sarika Hadi	✓	-
6	Ministry of Communication	Abdulrasheed Adebayo Shittu	✓	-
7	Ministry of Education	Adamu Adamu	✓	-
8	Ministry of Water Resources	Suleiman Adamu Kazaure	✓	-
9	Ministry of Environment	Suleiman Hassan	✓	-
10	Ministry of Women Affairs	Aisha Alhassan	✓	-
11	Ministry of Federal Capital Territory	Mohammed Musa Bello	✓	-
12	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Geoffrey Onyeama	-	✓
13	Ministry of Defence	Monsur Dan Ali	✓	-
14	Ministry of Interior	Abdulrahman Bello Danbazau	✓	-
15	Ministry of Petroleum	Muhammadu Buhari	✓	-
16	Ministry of Justice	Abubakar Malami	✓	-
17	Ministry of Industry Trade and Investment	Okechukwu Enelama	-	✓
18	Ministry of Labour and Employment	Chris Ngige	-	✓
19	Ministry of Science and Technology	Ogbonnaya Onu	-	✓
20	Ministry of Solid Minerals	?	?	?
21	Ministry of Budget & National Planning	Udoma Udo Udoma	-	✓
22	Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development	Audu Ogbe	-	✓
23	Ministry of Transportation	Rotimi Amaechi	-	✓
24	Ministry of Health	Isaac Adewole	-	✓
25	Ministry of Niger Delta	Usani Uguru Usani	-	✓
26	Ministry of Youths and Sports	Solomon Dalung	-	✓

**REMARKS:** There is no clear statement from Google search, on who is the current Minister of Solid Minerals. The existing records show a government team of 15 Muslim Principal Ministers including the President against 10 Principal Ministers from Other faiths. The lopsidedness is heavily in favour of the Muslims. Section 4 (i) of the constitution states that “*The Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be a state based on the principles of democracy and social justice*”. Furthermore, Section (14) 3 states that “the composition of the government of the federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity, and also to command national loyalty thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from a few state or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in that government or in any of its agencies. Muslims are sectional group.

This table show a reflection of the absence of unity and patriotism, as administrators of the main revenue sectors of the economy are drawn from either the same geopolitical zone, ethnicity and/or common faith. Tables number 5 and 6 below further demonstrate this fact, both in terms of quantum number and revenue generation/spending value of the sectors.

**TABLE 5****PRESIDENT PRINCIPAL MINISTERS (MUSLIMS) AND THEIR GEOPOLITICAL ZONES**

SN	NAME	MINISTRY	NORTH WEST	NORTH EAST	NORTH CENTRAL	SOUTH WEST
1	Muhammadu Buhari	President	✓	-	-	-
2	Zainab Shamsuna Ahmed	Finance	✓	-	-	-
3	Lai Mohammed	Information	-	-	✓	-
4	Babatunde Fashola	Work Power and Housing	-	-	-	✓
5	Sirika Hadi	Aviation	✓	-	-	-
6	Abulrasheed Adebayo Shittu	Communication	-	-	-	✓
7	Adanu Adamu	Education	-	✓	-	-
8	Suleiman Adamu Kazaure	Water Resources	✓	-	-	-
9	Suleiman Hassan	Environment	-	✓	-	-
10	Aisha Alhassan	Women Affairs	-	✓	-	-
11	Mohammed Musa Bello	Fed. Capital Territory	-	✓	-	-
12	Monsur Dan Ali	Defence	✓	-	-	-
13	Abdulrahman Bello Danbazau	Interior	✓	-	-	-
14	Muhammadu Buhari	Petroleum	✓	-	-	-
15	Abubakar Malami	Attorney General and Justice	✓	-	-	-
	<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>

**REMARKS:** Northwest geopolitical zone is the home capital of the Sokoto Caliphate and rule of the Fulani monarchy. The presidency and seven huge revenue generating/spending ministries are lopsidedly consigned to the Northwest zone; the seat capital of Fulani Monarchy in Northern Nigeria. This underscores the undue economic advantages consigned to people of the Caliphate.

Evidence of the misfortunes of those on the 'wrong or disadvantaged' parts of Nigeria is seen in the revenue generation/spending value of the economic sector they control and the quantum number of the sectors. Table number 6 below illustrates this fact as follows:-

**TABLE 6****PRINCIPAL MINISTERS (NON MUSLIMS) AND THEIR GEOPOLITICAL ZONES**

SN	NAME	MINISTRY	NORTH CENTRAL	SOUTH EAST	SOUTH WEST	SOUTH SOUTH
1	Geoffrey Onyeama	Foreign Affairs	-	✓	-	-
2	Okechukwu Enelamah	Industry, Trade & Investment	-	✓	-	-
3	Chris Ngige	Labour & Employment	-	✓	-	-
4	Ogbonna Onu	Science & Tech	-	✓	-	-
5	Udoma Udo Udoma	Budget & National Planning	-	-	-	✓
6	Audu Ogbe	Agric & Rural Development	✓	-	-	-
7	Rotimi Amaechi	Transportation	-	-	-	✓
8	Isaac Adewole	Health	-	-	✓	-
9	Usani Uguru Usani	Niger Delta	-	-	-	✓
10	Solomon Dalung	Youths & Sports	✓	-	-	-
	<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>

**REMARKS:** Except for the ministries of Transportation, Agric and Rural Development, and Health that are of considerable revenue generation/spending value, all other ministries consigned to the non-

Muslim ministers are of marginal revenue value. This underscores economic marginalization of non-Muslim Nigerians of these geopolitical zones generally. The North Central geopolitical zone who are predominantly Christians have consistently been under attacks by Fulani Herdsmen. It signifies both political and economic victimization of non-Muslim people of the North Central zone particularly, the South East, South South, and South West (in sharp contrast to 2 Muslim Ministers of the same South West that control 4 lucrative ministries) in general.

The need to sustain the existing status quo and the beneficiaries to continue to thrive in it, is the driving motive behind the Territorial Extension Agenda being pursued and perpetrated through the contrived 'self-serving Jihad' of Boko Haram and Fulani Herdsmen, by acts of terrorism and other complementary schemes by men and women of power and authority. Notwithstanding the context and intention of the verses, we believe that those verses of the Qur'an and Hadith earlier cited must have been exploited for selfish reasons by the sponsors and beneficiaries of the fallouts from these acts of terror, to wit: territorial expansion and bargain for power.

As complementary to this land acquisition agenda, the government of President Muhammadu Buhari, never demonstrated enough willingness to liquidate the terrorists, rather the government have been lackadaisical on tackling Boko Haram and out rightly refused to accept that Fulani Herdsmen are terrorist, even though the international Terror Index has the Fulani Herdsmen as the 3<sup>rd</sup> deadliest terror group in the world by their latest rating of year 2017. The same government through the law court disbanded and declared Indigenous People of Biafra aka IPOB, a terrorist organization, though they were never known to bear arms or carry out killings of any human being, like the Fulani Herdsmen do. This confirms the import of the postulations on table number 3.

Again the same government is trying by all means to acquire more lands from indigenous Nigerians all over the country for the apparently particular benefits of the Fulani Herdsmen through attempts at establishment of free grazing reserves, free grazing routes, cattle colony and presently, a National Livestock Transformation Plans.

Among the first executive bills sent to the 8<sup>th</sup> National Assembly by President Muhammadu Buhari's government, was a bill for total implementation of Shariah law across Nigeria.

The Sultan of Sokoto His Eminence Abubakar Sa'ad III only made a passing remark about Boko Haram to mean that Islam does not approve the killing of 'innocent lives', the phrase 'innocent life' remains a subject of debate in the context of Jihad. The Sultan is Head of Caliphate, and several Muslim groups and organizations. He is also chairman of National Council of Traditional Rulers and member National Council of State, by virtue of an Act known as National Council of Traditional Rulers Bill, 2008. Every Nigerian: Muslims and Non-Muslims are now lawfully under the Sultan. He represents Muslim, and all Other Faiths at the National Council of States, yet he does not believe in Secularity but Shariah.

Following the persistent killings in Benue State of year 2018, the Defence Minister Monsur Dan Ali is on records to have said that Benue State belongs to the Fulanis by conquest. President Muhammadu Buhari is on records to have encouraged Zamfara people to engage in violence: by saying that the people should eat, be full and get ready for trouble making. The 2019 election exercise witnessed violence and ballot box snatching and vandalization apparently encouraged by security forces of the government, as the

perpetrators were neither arrested nor prosecuted, and were not shot either, contrary to the shoot at sight order of the President. Chairman of the All Progress Congress party Adams Oshiomole is on records to have said: all that is needed for a corrupt person to go free is to join the APC party and his sins would be forgiven. These statements and action of the security forces are more or less supportive of terrorism.

The Nigeria Executive Arm of Government may not need the legislature to declare Nigeria as an Islamic State. The judiciary and the 1999 constitution (as amended) are well positioned to support it.

Upon Nigeria assuming a full blown Islamic state, the Sultan stands out as the De-Facto Supreme Leader of Nigeria. This automatically consigns permanent residency of absolute power under the Sultan. The Sultan is generally known to be averse to secular status on Nigeria but Shariah. This means that under the Sultan the Nigeria secular sections of the constitution must go under and give way to complete Shariah across Nigeria. By virtue of the opposite and competing dual ideologies of secularity and Shariah, enshrined in the Nigerian 1999 Constitution (as amended), and the Prohibitive Firearms Bearing Acts, indigenous Nigerians are caged and vulnerable to displacements from their homes of origin, by Fulani conquest and ethnic cleansing.

The Fulanis world over, is a closely knitted racial group (they marry their cousins) which fraternity runs across international boundaries. As they freely migrate into Nigeria under ECOWAS free movement treaty and their population increases, the quest for more lands in their favour, from indigenous Nigerians would be resisted, leading to violent, clashes, hostilities more terror and war. A war torn Nigeria would mean a serious refugee crisis to the international community, and instability in the West Africa region.

Nigeria as a signatory to the ECOWAS free movement treaty, Fulani from members states ought not have problems entering and settling down in Nigeria, except that the Nigeria Fulani Elites have created the insinuations that the Fulanis would not be accommodated unless spaces are created for them by government or the Fulanis take it forcefully. Government insistence in creating spaces for the Fulanis and related statements from the government officials like: the Defence Minister Monsur Dan Ali, Governor Nasir Elrufai, Agric Minister Audu Ogbe, Vice President Yemi Osinbajo and Presidential Media Assistant Femi Adeshina etc, give credence to the veracity of this assertion. In summary they said; give your land to the Fulanis or they kill you.

Other terror groups organizations would find Nigeria a conducive ground for breeding of International and global terrorism.

It is impossible to effect fundamental changes in or under the present constitution, due to the structural lopsidedness in the polity that makes securing two-third majority vote impossible, against the interests of North West, North East, South West geopolitical zones in this order, due to ethnic and religions cum fraternal considerations as illustrated on table 2.

As a general statement, a stitch in time saves nine other stiches: hence the need for the Nigerian people and international community to engage Nigerian government and other relevant organizations and authorities, with the aim to enhance the security of Nigerians

through constitutional rights to defend themselves by every lawful means including the bearing of arms, complementary to other efforts of government at securing lives and peace.

The summation of all issues herein show that;

- The lopsided political structure in favour of North West and North East particularly
- The transformation of status of the Sultan to supreme Muslim and Traditional leader of Nigeria
- Creation of Boko Haram and Fulani Herdsmen Terrorists
- Imposition of Shariah in the 1999 military drafted constitution.

Is purposefully intended to keep the control of power and economy within the Sokoto Caliphate and under the Sultan, thereby confirming their ownership of the country, Nigeria as the estate of their great grandfather Uthman Dan Fodio, as suggested by the statement of Sir Ahmadu Bello Sardauna, of 12<sup>th</sup> October, 1960 cited on page 8.

There are attempts to stop teaching of Nigerian history in secondary schools.

History of the Hausa Kingdoms and Other indigenous Nigerians need to be remembered, taught and understood by the present and future generations.

There are Nigerian Fulanis today, not because they are indigenous people of Nigeria. Without knowledge of this History, present and future generation of Nigerians can never know their **RIGHTS**.

Attempt at scuttling chances of indigenous Nigerians knowing and demanding for their rights must have, more than any other thing else, informed the background of the Hate Speech executive bill, presented to the 8<sup>th</sup> National Assembly, for enactment as criminal law. To prescribe punishments ranging from harsh prison sentences, to upto ₦10 Million and even death sentence.

This Act may simply be required to obliterate every vestiges of HERITAGE that belonged to indigenous Nigerians. Hate Speech Law could be applied to convict who ever tries to know, or tell about who killed his father or stole the crown of his father.

The backgrounds to the above assertions are provided by the historical accounts authored by Dr. Ibrahim A. Modu and Dr. Simon Yohanna, earlier mentioned. Boko Haram and Fulani Herdsmen terrorism are products of these backgrounds and the inherent supremacists' ideology they inspire, disguised as Jihad. This perspective was provided in a published write up by comrade Samuel Tabara, available online vide 247.com.

Liberal access to funds; \$1billion Dollar and more expended with no commensurate result.

Sustenance of the Almajiri system despite efforts by former president Jonathan and some initiatives by Bishop Matthew Kukah, to transform the Almajiris through western education. These efforts were frustrated by the caliphate elites. This confirms their determination to continue to use them as political hoodlums, thugs and/or agents of terror in different guises.

The existing Firearms Act is only favourable to those prosecuting this Selfish Jihad, Criminality, Banditry, Armed Robbery, Arson and their Sponsors; while the law abiding Nigerians remain vulnerable, and victims at their mercy.

Self-defense is a universal right.

From principle of the Law of Roman Dominion: “vim vi repellere licet (ie it is permitted to repel force by force)”.

For Nigerians to live, be safe and enjoy their rights of citizenship, the existing Firearms Act must be abrogated and replaced with a friendly and realistic Firearms Bearing Regulations. It should be noted therefore that, any Law which application is discretionary would not promote equality; before the Law, the Society, the Citizens and the Country. Boko Haram have pledged loyalty to ISIS, by virtue of which it is an affiliate of ISIS. Fulani Herdsmen terrorists are Boko Haram in disguise.

There is the urgent need for holistic restructuring of Nigeria, to reflect social equality, political and economic balance. The existing situation where the political and economic fortunes of the country is designed to permanently remain in favour of the North West particularly, and North East in partnership, South West affiliatedly; while North Central remain expendable specie in the power game, South East and South-South are limited to servitude until the final conquest.

## **RECOMMENDATIONS**

1. The United Nations, African Union, Economic Community of West Africa and other relevant International Organizations should take special interest in the current happenings in Nigeria, as there is more than meets the eye in the ongoing terrorism in the country, whereas an ethnic hegemony war by Fulani Muslim Elites against indigenous Nigerians is going on in the guise of terror and Jihad. There is need to convene an International Conference on the Nigeria situation.
2. Nigerians, International community and relevant United Nations’ Groups and Organizations to intellectually engage Nigerian authorities to, in the interim: review the existing Firearms Acts in addition to other measures, to enable law abiding Nigerians acquire Firearms with less stringent conditions, for self defence in their homes, pending constitutional amendments that take longer time.
3. Nigerians to collaborate with International communities of Human Right groups and the United Nations to encourage Nigerian authorities to convene a sovereign National Conference to completely restructure Nigeria politically and physically, and incorporate the Rights for Arms bearing in addition to other issues of concern.
4. Any other mitigating action/efforts by all and sundry within and outside Nigeria to help stop the raging genocide and ethnic cleansing in Nigeria.
5. The British government as former colonial masters to Nigeria, should admit that they made a mistake by not freeing the Northern minorities from hold of the Sokoto Caliphate before the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates to make what is today called Nigeria.
6. Research to be conducted to establish the veracity of the factors applied in carving out the present geopolitical zones in the manner they are at present.
7. Research to be conducted to confirm whether or not, the geopolitical zones as carved, conform with actual cardinal bearings of the map of Nigeria.
8. Nigerian Traditional Rulers to make a public declaration that Fulanis can be given land spaces on their individual merit, so long as they are willing to respect the Norms of their prospective host communities.

9. Nigerian Government be advised to cease forthwith getting involved in Fulani cattle business matters in Nigeria.
10. There is need to engage the Fulani Muslim Elites intellectually to dissuade them from their continuous negative and exploitative application of mass psychology on the gullibility of their uninformed/misinformed poor people.
11. Fulani Elites and Monarchs to be encouraged to abolish the Almajiri system in their domains.
12. Nigerians must reject every attempt at enacting Hate Speech Law any day in Nigeria.

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