

Fulani Herdsmen Attacks and Cattle Colonies: Covert Islamization of Nigeria or Terrorism? A Historical Investigation

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Abstract— This research work is geared towards x-raying Fulani pastoralists' killings in Nigeria and its antecedents. The study revealed the controversies over the conflict between the Fulani herdsmen and farmers coupled with the federal government cattle colony policy in Nigeria. This was partly the cause of ethnic and religious tension in the country. In the course of this research work, I observed that the challenges of the Fulani herdsmen attacks posed a threat to the existence of Nigeria as one indivisible entity. The objective of this research work was to present a way forward against similar regular or frequent occurrence in future. I recommended that there should be synergies by the federal government, state governments, local councils, security agents, religious institutions especially the Church and by all and sundry towards ameliorating the menace of the herdsmen's killings. Methods of approach are historical and phenomenological methods cum the review of related extant material.

Index Terms— Herdsmen, Islamization, colony, identity, policy.

I. INTRODUCTION

In the period of 1790s, a Fulani divine, UsmandanFodio (1754-1817), who lived in the northern Hausa state of Gobir (northeast of Sokoto) had misunderstanding with its rulers. He accused the Hausa kings of being little more than pagans, and therefore encouraged the Hausa people to revolt. By the help of the Hausa commoners together with the herdsmen alike, the jihad, or holy war, swept through Hausaland and, repulsed only by the eastern empire of Kanem-Bornu. This jihad engulfed Adamawa, Nupe, and Yoruba land to the South. After the invasion by the Fulani of the northern provinces of the Oyo, the emirate of Ilorin to the northeast became the base from which Islam was to spread among the Yoruba. Usman, who was more a scholar than a statesman, ceded the practical direction of the eastern part of the empire to his son Muhammad Bello, who settled in Sokoto, and the Western (with its capital at Gwandu) to his brother Abdullah. The empire reached its zenith under Muhammad Bello, who, like Usman, administered it according to the principles of Muslim law. The decay of this system was to aid the establishment in the late 19th century of British rule over what was later to be known as Northern Nigeria (Bergmann et al, 1993).

Therefore, the aim of this research work is to unravel the situation surrounding the conflict between the Fulani

herdsmen and the farmers in particular. To achieve this I shall look at some important causal factors that are involved in the issue.

II. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Currently, literature on terrorism is inconclusive on what constitutes terrorism and what constitutes other forms of violence which do not amount to acts of terrorism. Imenda (2017) citing Maogeto (2003) avers that the term "terrorism" is of French origin and was first coined in connection with the Jacobin "Reign of Terror", a period of the bloody French Revolution in which the French state asserted its authority by knitting a fabric of fear over the populace through the summary executions of thousands (p.3). What makes this definition important is that it acknowledges that terrorism originated from the state, and not from a rebel movement.

Enuka (2010) citing Barnes opines that a universally accepted definition of terrorism has been difficult owing to reasons of politics rather than semantics. The aphorism "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter" underscores how the use of terrorism can be highly subjective, depending upon one's sympathies (Hoffman, 2000). Terrorism could be defined as the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear for bringing about political change. The acts are often by non-governmental groups or individuals not officially serving governmental agencies. To justify their use of violence, terrorists argue that they have been excluded from or frustrated by, the accepted process of bringing about political change. Added to the individual groups' terrorism there is also state terrorism. State terrorism refers to state sponsored terrorist operations targeted at the furtherance of a state's foreign policy. Terrorism poses a great threat to the international security in terms of destruction of lives and property. The terrorist attack on the World Trade Center and Pentagon resulted in the death of over three thousand persons. In economic terms, Fromkin (2004) states that the direct cost of the September 11 attack has been estimated at 272 million US dollars, and with indirect cost estimated at 500 billion dollars. Many states of the world have incurred lots of losses in their over-all economic growth and development arising from the ugly incidence of terrorism. Terrorism has impacted negatively on national economies through increase in military and security spending. Despite the ambiguity that characterizes the definition of terrorism and its concomitant killings and damages by herders especially the way it has

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become prevalent today in Nigeria and other African countries hurts to no small measure in individuals' and states' protection and therefore, portends dangerous consequences to the global security.

IDENTITY:

To Nmah (2011), the definitions and uses of the term "identity" are legion, especially among religious scholars and social psychologists. To an extent, the term identity refers to who somebody is or what something is. It could be regarded as self-realization or self-awareness as awareness could be defined as consciousness of one's existence and characteristic, usually in relationship to other people or objects. Consequently, self-identity has to do with self-esteem and recognition by others. Identity has both biographical and spatial dimensions in that it deals with either what a person or thing are essentially, his or its place in a universe of interactions and relationships.

ISLAMIZATION:

Islamization has been used to describe the process of society's conversion to the religion of Islam (Wikipedia, 2012). In contemporary usage, it may refer to the perceived imposition of an Islamist social and political discourse on a society with a tradition of a more varied interpretation of Islam. Watch (2012) defines Islamization as the erasure of the customs, norms, and laws of any country or region in order to reflect Islamic sentiment. This can be done through political, economic, cultural, attacks and social pressure such as in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Nigeria, Somalia, Sudan, and Yemen. In these places, the ultimate goal of Islamization has been partly or fully achieved by violent, and finally through political pressure for peace, sharia becomes the rule and legislation of the state.

Policies

Policies are rules/legislations laid down by a particular institution/government to regulate, guide, promote, and protect the well-being of the members. Typhoon (2003) defines policy as "prudence or sagacity in the conduct of affairs; a course or plan of action, especially of administrative action or any system of management based on self-interest as opposed to equity; finesse in general; artifice" (p.751).

III. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the study include:

- To carefully examine the menace of herdsmen in Nigeria.
- To investigate the causal factors involved in the conflict between herdsmen, farmers and some communities in Nigeria.
- To create the consciousness of the effects of the herdsmen's open grazing and killings.
- To investigate the role of the government in respect of open grazing.
- To research on the religious undertone of the conflict.

IV. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The significance of this research work basically stems from the fact that it addresses the issues that threatened the existence of Nigeria as a united country. The research work offers a valid and insightful resource related extant material those future scholars especially church historians and anthropologists can consult to gain useful information as regards herdsmen and farmers' conflict in Nigeria.

V. LITERATURE REVIEW AND HYPOTHESES

A. Sketchy ethnography of Fulani people

According to Olafionye (2018), there are three different groups of Fulani based on settlement patterns. These are the nomadic or pastoral or *Bororo*, the semi-nomadic, and the settled or town Fulani in ordinary parlance called *Ngida*. The pastoral Fulani move around with their cattle throughout the year. Typically, *Bororodo* not stay around for long stretches not more than two-four months at a time. The semi-nomadic Fulani who happen to settle down temporarily at particular times of the year, or move around beyond their immediate surroundings and even though they possess livestock, they do not wonder away from their fixed or settled homestead. The settled or town Fulani are easily identified with their communities and are easily traceable, since they have permanent residence. Among the three categories of the Fulani, two of these groups namely the settled or town Fulani otherwise known as Fulani *Ngida* and the *Bororo* are more popular in Nigeria.

The *Bororo*, besides having no traceable addresses, are also known for their wild nature. They live like wild animals, because of their closeness to forest habit life. In addition to these, they are believed to migrate perpetually with their cattle, travelling from as far as Mali and Niger Republic to Nigeria and other West African countries in search of greener pasture for their herds. They preferred preserving the lives of their cattle than preserving human lives.

Although the same blood is said to flow in both the Fulani *Ngida* and the *Bororo*, the latter have more vandal, barbaric and wayward elements in the mould of the street urchins in the southern part of the country, most of whom resort to criminalities to survive. The *Bororo* many of whom are said to be wild in nature owing to their upbringing is often devoid of all forms of western or Arabic education and religious orientation, largely reside in the bush from where the criminal elements among them launch their operations. To Olafloye (2018) "This set of Fulani neither believe in the existence of God nor worship God. This perhaps informs the reason for their unforgiving disposition whenever they are offended. No matter how long the offence may last, they will always come back for revenge until there is nobody to attack again" (p.4).

B. Fulani herdsmen's attacks and government policy of cattle colonies

According to Eze (2018), despite the outrage that greeted the proposed cattle colony policy, the Federal Government of Nigeria has said it would not rescind its plan of developing cattle colonies in parts of the country in order to avoid herders and farmers' confrontations. It was gathered that about 16 states; all from the north had provided not less than 5,000 hectares of land each. Sokoto, Taraba and Benue states as well as all the 17 states in the south have declined interest in developing cattle colonies. According to Minister of Agriculture, the Federal Government's proposal to set up cattle colonies and encouragement of ranches is irreversible and it remained the best option to the killings and toxic hatred the current altercation had generated (Eze, 2018). But the question is, "How long will this policy last?"

Issues involved include right to land for grazing and settlements (or ranches), which have been the major causes of various killings, and conflicts that gave rise to dislocation of people from their ancestral land. One of the factors of Nigerian spirituality is land (earth), which is the fount of human morality, and nationhood, and its violation attracts legal sanction (Nmah, 2011). Alienation of people from their ancestral land and similar offences against earth (land, *ala* in Igbo language) is seen as an act of aggression and must be purged by rite to it. The notion that land and other issues surrounding land are at the centre of almost every conflict situation in Africa especially Nigeria cannot be taken for granted. Many theories have explicated the interwoven relationship between land, open grazing and conflicts in Nigeria from economic, political economy, agro-economy and spirituality cum ideological perspective. Africans see land as an object that has spiritual and other implications. According to Bohannan (1953), it is an aspect of man's socio-political status. Communities in Africa perceive land as a common property that serves as a link between the living, the dead and the unborn members. It is a common holding and a piece that binds generations past, present and future together.

The living members of Nigerian societies hold that ancestral land handed down to them by the dead in trust for the future members is to be preserved. The above statements suggest the notion for sacredness of land in Nigeria and Africa perse. That is why a Nigerian man struggles to own a piece of land in order to actualize his political relevance and existence in Nigeria. Children are taught the names of plants, the significance of herbs to human life and their relationship with the earth.

While land is the fundamental right of every male, it has a communal dimension whereby all members of the community are expected to share its resources, especially in rural areas, under some form of traditional authority. Traditional authority from an African cosmology is very central and important because, despite the fact that it is a unifying force, the eldest community leader is seen as a steward with divine authority over land. The invasion and killings of innocent Nigerians in their community land by Fulani herdsmen like the colonial masters did was nothing other than unprovoked aggression, insensitive, greedy and cruel method for dispossessing good Nigerian people of their

religion, land and culture. Land is being acquired with total disregard of traditional beliefs and cultures thereby underpinning the spirituality of the communities. The traditional homes were stripped of their dignity, many lost their identities, languages, cultures and spiritualities. In this sense, land is acquired with total disregard of traditional beliefs and cultures thereby underpinning the spirituality of the communities. The traditional homes were stripped of their dignity, many lost their identities, languages, cultures and spiritualities. In this sense, land is acquired, not necessarily for grazing or for so-called cattle-colonies, but as religious, political, cultural and economic tools for dominance. To deprive people of their land, which is the basic source of their tools is the crudest form of disempowering them. Alienating the people from their land is therefore really and truly a political as well as spiritual and cultural alienation.

In x-raying what happened in Sudan as regards its government policies, one will agree that it is a replica of the Nigeria's administration. According to Aruma (2013), due to the obnoxious policies of the Sudanese government, Muslim administrators in the South were sent back to the North. Arab traders were banned from the south and at the same time labour migrations from the south to the North were stopped. Christian missionaries were invited to set up schools throughout the South, teaching in English rather than in Arabic. The missionaries encouraged also the use of local languages such as *Dinka, Ban, Nuer, Latuko, Shilluk, Azande* among others. Islam was discouraged by the British in the south where Christian missionaries were permitted to work. Condominium governors of the south Sudan attended Colonial Conference in East Africa, and not in Khartoum, and the British hoped to add South Sudan to their East African colonies.

The British policy on South Sudan initially sounded laudable, well-received by the Southerners, but they had not lived to implement this policy to the letter. If they had lived to implement this policy, certainly there would have been no trouble between North and South. Secondly, if they had accepted the request from the nationalist leader Ali Abdal-Latif to integrate Northern Sudan with Egypt, because of their common shared values, trouble would have been minimized.

Thirdly, if they had allowed the North to gain its independence without the South the problems would have been solved (the problem of two separate independent states).

At the same time emerging nationalist movements in East African protectorates were not at all enthusiastic to add the worries of another vast, underdeveloped region to their own problems. This brought about a dramatic turn in British policy towards South Sudan. In 1946, the British administration reversed its policy and decided to integrate North and South Sudan under one government. Many Southerners felt betrayed by the British, because they were largely excluded from the government just as the south is experiencing in Nigeria. The language of the government was Arabic, but the bureaucrats and the politicians from South

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Sudan, for the most part had been trained in English. Of the eight hundred new government positions vacated by the British in 1953, only four (4) were given to Southerners. So the British policy, according to Bashir (2011), contributed to the outbreak of the North-South conflict. Ja'far Muhammad Numeri compounded the conflict by introducing Shari'a as a means for governing the country, and so from 1983 onwards Sudan had been consumed by armed rebellions and by devastation of civil war. There was also social dislocation caused by the war as Nigeria has the Internally Displaced Persons (the IDPs). The Islamization and Arabization policies of the Khartoum government to Islamize the south created avenues for the church denominations in the country to unite and to speak with one voice. The occupation of Sudan by the Arab-Muslims affected the lives of the people of the Sudan in three ways namely their culture, their religion, and their language. There was also increasing persecution of Christians and restrictions on religious freedom. There was also total disregard for sanctity of human life, and cruel punishments. The causes of the conflict include:

1. Political marginalization of the South through calculated under representation, discrimination, and other restrictions that did not permit South Sudanese to occupy certain important constitutional posts.
2. Deliberate retardation and neglect of socio-economic development of South Sudan.
3. The definition of Sudanese identity in Arab and Islamic terms.

The ambiguities of Government policy towards herdsmen killings: a terrorist tit for tat? - A historical investigation

There was no open grazing prohibition law in Benue between 2013 and April, 2017, but Fulani herdsmen attacked the state more than 50 times. There is no such law in Enugu, Adamawa, Kaduna, Rivers, Plateau, Ondo, Edo among others, but herdsmen have been attacking people in those states. According to Ishola-Williams, "When Buhari was the chairman of the defunct petroleum Trust Fund, he released millions of naira to the leadership of *Miyetti Allah* to go and build ranches for their cattle, but sadly that money went down the drain as we never got to see any ranch built by the *Miyetti Allah* group for cattle rearers up till today. If it were to be in a country where there is accountability and probity, should not somebody have asked Buhari and *Miyetti Allah* group what happened to the millions of naira Buhari released to them to build ranches? I challenge Buhari and the leadership of *Miyetti Allah* to deny my claim or allegation against them. *Miyetti Allah* group should give an account of what happened to the millions of naira Buhari gave them to build ranches (Thomas, 2018, p.48).

To Nmah and Amanambu (2017), some of the observable remote causes of the UsmandanFodio's (a Fulani) Jihad were: a compromised religion and the desire for its purification and reviving of Islam in Hausa and; horrible and unfriendly

environment; the quest for freedom; the crave for wealth; tribalism and mutual suspicion among others. Abubakar(2003) averred that it is evident that divisions on ethnic lines especially between the *Fulbe* people who were mostly nomadic herdsmen and the ruling agrarian Hausa people persisted. The groups did not only have different dominant occupations, but their societies were also differently structured. Their population was increasing difficult for the Fulbeand to more their herds. This increased tensions over limited land and the migratory ability of the Fulbe group threatened their neighbours. This is similar to the deadly Fulani herdsmen attacks today, which have turned worse than jihad itself against virtually every state and tribe in Nigeria Religious triumphalism, that is, the desire to make Islam suppress every other religion can be seen as another motivating reason for undertaking that jihad. Abiola (1984) collaborates this saying that there was the irrevocable bid to dip the Quran into the Atlantic Ocean in Lagos. Nigeria is not in short supply of religious triumphalism whose general activities have been inimical to the growth and development of the country. Inferiority complex of being illiterate and suffering second-class citizens might have motivated them to incessant killings.

Kaura(2004) notes that there were increased oppression and exploitation of the *talakawa*(commoners) by the *Masusarauta*(rulers). The oppression and exploitation were perpetuated through the collection of numerous taxes and levies, occasional confiscation of peasant property, forced labour, compulsory military service and enslavement. The jihad ended officially between 1809 and 1810, which led to the establishment of the Sokoto caliphate under the Caliph, UsmandanFodio. The caliphate comprised two capitals: Sokoto and Gwandu respectively. These capitals were founded over the former Hausa states of Gobir, Zamfara and parts of Kebbi as well as other twenty emirates. The war led to the institutionalization of Fulani emirate where Usmandan Fodio replaced all the kingdoms with Fulani emirs. The war displaced and depopulated some other tribes especially the Middle Belt. Islam became reinforced and sharia introduced into the caliphate. The war incidentally has metamorphosed or inspired many other deadly movements such as the *Maitatsine*, *Boko Haram*, and Fulani herdsmen killings against innocent Nigerians.

The attacks have also proved that leadership must be held to account for such an ugly situation going on in Nigeria. Unfortunately, the jihad has inspired the rising of several religio-ethnic militant movements and notable among them are the *Maitatsinesect*, *Izala*, Shites, Sharia war lords, *Boko Haram* and Fulani herdsmen militias. They mobilized their likes to use force in dispossessing famers of their farm lands, and coupled with the destruction of their crops and dislocation of people from their communities. Nwanaju (2008) describes both the northern hegemony and Kaduna Matias as the political heirs of Ahmadu Bello. This mentality has also created distrust among south and north and by extension, Christians and Muslims in Nigeria.

Aremu (2011) argues that the jihad contributed to laying the foundation of the infamous north-south dichotomy. This dichotomy is impeding the national cohesion, unity and stability of the Nigerian polity. Aremu (2011) posits that Ilorin, a one-time province of the Old Oyo Empire became part of the Sokoto caliphate through the jihad and this has been creating tension in Ilorin with respect to political classification.

The criminals among the Fulani subset are alleged to be responsible for high profile kidnappings along major highways in the country including the Abuja-kaduna highway, Ughelle in Delta state and Abuja-Lokoja among others. They have also been linked to cattle rustling and killings of fellow Fulani. No fewer than seven of such criminal herders were sentenced to life imprisonment in April, 2017 for their involvement in the abduction of a former Secretary to the Government of the Federation (SGF), Chief Olufalae who was kidnapped from his farm in Ilado village, Akure North Local Government area of Ondo state in September, 2015.

In a related development, 28 of such suspected Fulani criminals terrorising the Abuja-Jere-Kaduna highways were also arrested last December. These criminals are believed to have constituted themselves into avengers for their tribesmen who lodge cases of injustice with them. When vengeance-seeking members of a community lodge complaints against anybody or any community the group could go as far as other neighbouring West African countries to recruit or hire militias, launch attack against the offending community, after which they disappear. This might have been largely responsible for the recent upsurge in the activities of killer herdsmen in Enugu state, Taraba state, Kaduna state, Ekiti state, Plateau state and Benue state with the recently passed Anti-open Grazing Law and the setting up of Livestock guards by the state government, thereby fueling the attacks. The criminal minded Fulani who responded by launching the coordinated attacks on the affected communities in the Benue state leaving no fewer than 73 people dead. According to Olafionye (2018), "In Benue State, there was no anti-grazing law when so many people were killed in Agatu and when they made this law they still killed so many people in Logo and Guma local government areas" (p.5).

Terrorism then fluctuates according to religion, geography and culture and so cannot be rigidly defined (Oche, 2014). Imenda (2017) classified three reasons that are fundamental underlying root causes of so-called terrorist movements in Africa. The first goes back to Europe's partitioning of Africa which was undertaken in such a haphazard manner that free-standing indigenous nations were spliced and merged into untenable new nation states, most of which have failed to coalesce into coherent national and united identities going deeper than the pre-colonial identities. The second is that colonialism has left Africa deeply divided on religious grounds, making it rather difficult, particularly for Christians and Muslims to see each other as having much in common to develop a uniting and common national identity, beyond these religious affiliations. In particular, the common thread

that runs through the agenda of all Islamic jihadist groups is the quest to establish some form of a caliphate or other. This appears to have been occasioned by the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, and subsequently then Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The end of the cold war that followed the collapse of the USSR ushered in the United States as the undisputed world power-thereby threatening the survival of Islam. The third underlying root cause of discord in stability has been Africa's curse of poor political leadership, corruption, unemployment, nepotism, tribalism, religious fanaticism; or rather a leadership that can rise above the difficulties of leading several or many previously independent indigenous nations, which were collapsed into one nation state by the imperialists, to have one common and united future identity, as well as navigate the usually, much deeper divisions caused by different religious affiliations and find common ground for everyone to move forward as one powerful political entity with roots deeper than religious affiliations; a leadership which can lead its nation into economic and social wellness and prosperity which can withstand external manipulations as well as being able to protect the citizenry from adverse effects caused by extreme poverty, unemployment, corruption, killings by herdsmen, kidnapping, and environmental conditions (such as drought, land slide, floods and other natural disasters). Consequently, one can metaphorically depict the root causes of terrorism in Nigeria as poor political leadership, nepotism, tribalism, religious affiliation, and badly formed nation.

So, if terrorism is not for religious purposes, most "terrorist groups" (or freedom fighters in Africa) seek to affirm specific indigenous national identities, with a view to correcting the current borders of the African nation states. Nigerian communities affirm their identities first by their indigenous national identities (tribes), which bear permanent markers of who they are-and cannot be erased even by religious affiliations. Secondly by they been identity themselves by their religious affiliations. The combination of these two identities has become sufficient reason for people, not only of African descent but the world over, to distinguish, exalt and lionize themselves in ways that make others feel demeaned.

Herdsmen's attacks on innocent citizens of Nigeria is a reminiscent of Arabs invasion of Egypt. Since 631, Cyrus had applied a repressive policy toward the Coptic Church. Therefore, they did not resist the Arabs invasion, for they hoped the Arabs would drive the Greeks out of the country. Thinking that the Arab occupation would be temporary, as the Persian occupation had been, they supposed they would be independent after the Arabs withdrew again. Consequently, the Arab army under Amr ibn al Ac invaded Egypt in 640 without encountering strong resistance. They took Alexandria and rapidly conquered Egypt to the first cataract. The Egyptians were, however, badly deceived, for the Arab occupation became permanent (Oliver and Page, 1962). The Arabs applied effective conquering policies. The people were obliged to pay tribute to the conquerors. It was basically a military occupation in which the Arab tribes asserted themselves, breaking through the frontiers that their

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neighbours were either unable or unwilling to defend. According to Yionen (2008), "Religion (Islam) became to be used increasingly as a method of control with orthodox Sunni, Islam was instituted as the state religion" (p.45).

A way forward

There are two types of cows: those that feed on dry leaves and those that feed on wet leaves (or green leaves). What the government needs to do is to buy all the cows around from all these herdsmen and share it out and reintroduce the cows that eat dry leaves that can be ranched. The cows we have today cannot be ranched because they eat wet leaves and not dry leaves, so they need to graze around. And as long as they graze around, there will always be problems between herders and communities where the cows are grazed.

The state governors need to assert themselves as chief security officers in their respective states to be able to put full state machinery in place and safeguard the lives and property of the people in their respective states. There should be an opportunity for all the state governors to visit the Supreme Court now to seek the constitutional interpretation of what it means to be the chief security officers of their states. When does the constitution anticipate them to be the chief security officers of their states? How does the constitution expect them to act as chief security officer of their states? This is because the governors have no police; they are not the owners of the security apparatus in their states. The security architectures in their states are Federal security architectures. What is needed now is for the national Assembly to embrace restructuring and true fiscal federalism by embarking on constitutional amendment with immediate effect.

The Federal government should declare the Fulani herders as terrorists, because if their activities are treated with carrot it will lead to disunity of this nation-state. Again any herdsman with arm must be arrested, prosecuted and sentenced as an armed robber/terrorist. There is the need for the Federal government to send the operation python dance and crocodile smile to quell the menace of these herdsmen in hot spot areas especially in the north.

VI. RECOMMENDATIONS:

The research work has unveiled the bases for the herdsmen and farmers' conflict that resulted to herdsmen killings. The present challenges seem to be tearing the unity of the country. Hence this research work recommends the following.

The government should constitute a federal commission of enquiry, which will cover all areas where herdsmen had killed people, and the root cause of the killings by the herdsmen.

We need to restructure this country Nigeria and let the people take care of themselves. Let us go back to what we were as at October 1st, 1960.

Nigeria should consider phasing the species of cows currently being reared in Nigeria, which cannot be ranched. As long as these species of cows continue to roam the country, farmers and non-farmers will continue to have conflict with herdsmen.

Nigeria leaders should make Nigeria attractive to all religions and ethnic groups. The marriage cannot thrive if it is one sided.

The federal, states and local councils should find better means of handling the Fulani herdsmen's killings instead of creating unnecessary ranches and so-called cattle colonies so as to avert future dispossession of people's land (a means of livelihood), and killings by the herdsmen, and also to avoid unforeseen man made calamities.

VII. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research work employed the use of primary and secondary sources to obtain data. The primary sources involved oral interviews, while secondary sources include archives, artifacts, and so on. The work is also based on historical and phenomenological approaches.

VIII. CONCLUSION

In the course of this research work, I have endeavored to highlight on the despotic activities of the herdsmen in Nigeria, their pathways, their religious inclination, and their religious expansionism methodology, which have engendered adverse political, economic and security effects in the Nigerian communities. The crux of these herdsmen's activities are the real threats to national unity and a factor for anomie in the country. The thrust of this research work is that herdsmen are part of the current deplorable political, economic and security conditions in Nigeria. Therefore state police and the restructuring of Nigeria will be the panacea to the current leadership, economic and security challenges in the country.

In conclusion, the masses should strive to refrain from seeing issues and actions of these Fulani herdsmen from the lens of suspicion, because not all the herdsmen have the thirst for bloodletting or rather for swordjihad. The idea of employing violence to settle differences should be discouraged and disabused from the mindset of the people because an eye for an eye (*tit for tat*) will make the whole Nigerians go blind. If a true change such as is proposed by the present government in Nigeria would be realized, the federal and state governments, security agents, and the like should wake up from their slumber.

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