

## Fulani Herdsmen Insurgency and the Ruga Program: A Politics Of Conquest.

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### ABSTRACT

It is so unfortunate that when other African countries are being concerned with the advancement in their different areas of human endeavor, we have been so preoccupied with the issue of grazing reserves for the Miyetti Allah in the name of the controversial Ruga program. This is not unconnected with the thousands of lives that have been lost to the Fulani herdsmen insurgency in many parts of the country and the federal government effort at finding a long lasting solution to mitigate the farmers/Fulani herdsmen attack across the country. Unfortunately , the proposed Ruga program has even resorted to escalate the crises as it has been regarded as a means to fulanized the whole country. A politics of conquest by the Fulani, using the federal might to achieve the long time mission of the Jihad-the holy war of 1804 led by Utman Dan Fodio. Therefore, this study adopted a qualitative approach by gathering data from the newspapers, e-journals, and downloads from websites as secondary data. The study examined the dynamics of the Fulani herdsmen insurgency and the objectivity of the Ruga program as a condition to mitigate the crises. The study revealed that the Fulani herdsmen insurgency was truly a politics of conquest and an expansionist mission of the Jihad of the Fulanis. It also revealed that the Ruga program was mainly an instrument for acquisition of territory, of defeating or overthrowing a political order, and of subjugating a population. The study then concluded that the Ruga program would only bring chaos to the country while it was recommended that the federal status of Nigeria must be respected as to honor the state Land Use Act of the state Governors, restructuring of the country as to depict a true federation and to adopt the original NLTP plan which was basically peoples' response , and was acceptable to all as a solution to the farmers/herders crises.

**Keywords : Fulani herdsmen, Ruga program, Conquest, NLTP ,Insurgency**

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

Over decades, Nigeria federal system has been plagued with numerous crises capable of disintegrating the federation. These crises range from the federal election crises, population census figure crises, to that of the civil war of 1967-1970. In the recent time, Nigeria has been facing new dimension of socio-political unrest in form of the Niger Delta militancy and that of the Boko Haram insurgency. The latest form of social unrest in the country is the Fulani herdsmen insurgency which has spread to the Eastern states while the Western part of the country is not spared, thereby living no state as an exemption from the menace. The Niger Delta Militancy is undoubtedly the offshoot of the civil war of the 1967-1970 which was basically a secession move by the Eastern part of the country. The Boko Haram insurgency which initially set out to be anti western ideological movement eventually turned out to be a war that doesn't spare the muslims.

It was in the middle of the federal government's effort to find a long lasting solution to these phases of social unrest that the Fulani herdsmen insurgency sprang up.

### 1.1 Statement of Problem

Giving the spate of killings, kidnapping and rape by these herdsmen the federal government deemed it fit to adopt a "RUGA PROGRAM" which shall allow the herdsmen to settle in any local area of all the states of the country. This is not unconnected with the federal government's belief that the herdsmen were mainly on rampage to find a place of grazing for their cows. The Ruga program as a panacea to nip in the bud the Fulani herdsmen insurgency has now been a subject of controversy in the country. While some see it as the right approach towards ensuring peace, others have considered it as a politics of conquest by the Fulani. Hence, this study is imperative as a way of reviewing the Ruga program vis a vis the perceived conquest connotation.

### 1.2 Research Objectives

The general objective of this study is to assess the objectivity of the "RUGA" program of the federal government as a long lasting solution to the insurgency of the Fulani herdsmen. Meanwhile, the specific objectives of this study are hereby listed as follows:

- i. To identify the reasons for the Fulani herdsmen insurgency.
- ii. To examine the dynamics of the insurgency by the Fulani herdsmen.
- iii. To examine the objectivity of the RUGA policy of the federal government.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 Insurgency

The United States Department of Defense (DOD) defines it as this: "An organized movement aimed at the overthrow of a constituted government through the use of subversion and armed conflict (*US Department of Defense: 2007*). This definition does not consider the morality of the conflict, or the different viewpoints of the government and the insurgents. It is focused more on the operational aspects of the types of actions taken by the insurgents and the counter-insurgents. The definition focuses on the type of violence employed (unlawful) towards specified ends (political, religious or ideological). This characterization fails to address the argument from moral relativity that "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter." In essence, this objection to a suitable definition submits that while violence may be "unlawful" in accordance with a victim's statutes, the cause served by those committing the acts may represent a positive good in the eyes of neutral observers. (*Michael F. Morris:2005*).

According to the French expert on Indochina and Vietnam, (Fall, Bernard B:1994) who wrote "Street Without Joy" said that "revolutionary warfare" (guerrilla warfare plus political action) might be a more accurate term to describe small wars such as insurgencies. Insurgency has been used for years in professional military literature, such as under the British, the situation in Malaya has often been referred to as the "Malayan insurgency or "the Troubles" in Northern Ireland.

Insurgencies have existed in many countries and regions, including the Philippines, Indonesia, Afghanistan, Chechnya Kashmir, Northeast India, Yemen, Djibouti, Colombia, Sri Lanka, and Democratic Republic of the Congo, the American colonies of Great Britain, and the Confederate States of America. Each had different specifics but shared the property of an attempt to disrupt the central government by means considered illegal by that government. (Grau, Lester W. 2004). Suffices to say that insurgents today need not be part of a highly organized movement as some of them are networked with only loose objectives and mission-type orders to enhance their survival. Most are divided and factionalized by area, composition, or goals.

It must be emphasized that many of these insurgents do not seek to overthrow a constituted government but often take advantage of a weak government to accomplish their missions, such as the Fulani herdsmen insurgency. Walter believes that institutions can contribute to four goals in every society;

- i. Institutions are responsible for checking the government,
- ii. creating multiple peaceful routes to help the government solve problems,
- iii. making the government committed to political terms that entails preserving peace,
- iv. Lastly, creating an atmosphere where rebels do not need to form militias.
- v. (Barbara F. Walter)

More so, an insurgency can be fought via counter-insurgency warfare, and may also be opposed by measures to protect the population ( for instance the mindset of the other parts of the country to ward off the herdsmen attack in their communities), and by political and economic actions of various kinds and propaganda aimed at undermining the insurgents' claims against the incumbent regime. Therefore, insurgency is a concept of ambiguity.

When insurgency is used to describe a movement's unlawfulness by virtue of not being authorized by or in accordance with the law of the land, its use is neutral. However, when it is used by a state or another authority under threat, "insurgency" often also carries an implication that the rebels' cause is illegitimate, whereas those rising up will see the authority of the state as being illegitimate. Sometimes there may be one or more simultaneous insurgencies (multi polar) occurring in a country. The Iraq insurgency is one example of a recognized government versus multiple groups of insurgents. Other historic insurgencies, such as the Russian Civil War, have been multi polar rather than a straightforward model made up of two sides. During the Angolan Civil War there were two main sides: MPLA and UNITA. At the same time, there was another separatist movement for the independence of the Cabinda region headed up by FLEC. Multi polarity extends the definition of insurgency to situations where there is no recognized authority, as in the Somali Civil War, especially the period from 1998 to 2006, where it broke into quasi-autonomous smaller states, fighting among one another in changing alliances.

## 2.2 Conquest

According to Yves Winter, it is a type of foundational violence, indeed, perhaps the paradigmatic type. It is regarded as foundational as it tends to introduce a political rupture in the society. It also can be described as an attempt to inaugurate new rights and obligations. Mean while it can also been seen as a way to obliterate the new rights and obligation. In addition, it frequently obliterates the political, legal and social customs and conventions. Conquest is more of acquiring territory, of defeating or overthrowing a political order, and of subjugating a population. That was exactly what the 'Jihad' the holy war of 1804 (by Uthman Dan Fodio) depicted, and still remains in the front burner of the Fulani herdsmen for their clamor for a cattle colony across the whole country. We are all aware of how the Fulani used subtle ways to conquer the Hausa land under the guise of introducing Islam. The Hausa bought the idea and some of their communities killed their own kings to have the Fulani Emirs. Hence, they became domineering in all Hausa territories despite that they did not build a single town or city in the land. Hence, if there was no hidden agenda there would not be any reason why the federal government would make cattle business a national affair. "the true meaning of Ruga" (Vanguard news, July 2, 2019) .

## 2.3 Theoretical Framework

A conquest theory is when a person or a group of people take control of an area and make everyone in that area follow their rules beliefs. The theory of conquest was used to describe the conquest of the Americans with the destruction of the Indies, the massacres of the Velazquez in Cuba ,of Hernan Cortex in Mexico, of the Francisco Pizarro in Peru. It was emphasized that the conqueror engaged not only in wholesome slaughter of the predominantly peaceful indigenous population but also took pleasure in the most gruesome mutilations and torture.

He described how the conquerors would kill and maim the civilian population or burn them alive; how they would kidnap and abduct entire groups into slavery and bondage; how they would drench the land in a sea of blood and misery. The right of conquest is the right of a conqueror to territory taken by force of arms. It was traditionally a principle of international law that has gradually given way in modern times until its proscription after World War II when the crime of war of aggression was first codified in the Nuremberg Principles. In 1974 the United Nations General Assembly recommended a definition of the crime of aggression to the Security Council in the non-binding United Nations General Assembly Resolution 3314. (*Korman, Sharon:1996*).

The proponents of this theory "The right of conquest" state that this right acknowledges the status quo, and that denial of the right is meaningless unless one is able and willing to use military force to deny it. Further, the right was traditionally accepted because the conquering force, being by definition stronger than any lawfully entitled governance which it may have replaced, was therefore more likely to secure peace and stability for the people, and so the "Right of Conquest" legitimizes the conqueror towards that end.

The completion of colonial conquest of much of the world (see the Scramble for Africa), the devastation of World War I and World War II, and the alignment of both the United States and the Soviet Union with the principle of self-determination led to the abandonment of the right of conquest in formal international law. The 1928 Kellogg-Briand Pact, the post-1945 Nuremberg Trials, the UN Charter, and the UN role in decolonization saw the progressive dismantling of this principle. Simultaneously, the UN Charter's guarantee of the "territorial integrity" of member states effectively froze out claims against prior conquests from this process.

After the attempted conquests of Napoleon and up to the attempted conquests of Hitler, the disposition of territory acquired under the principle of conquest had to, according to international law, be conducted according to the existing laws of war. This meant that there had to be military occupation followed by a peace settlement, and there was no reasonable chance of the defeated sovereign regaining the land. While a formal peace treaty "makes good any defects in title", it was not required. Recognition by the losing party was not a requirement: "the right of acquisition vested by conquest did not depend on the consent of the dispossessed state". However, the alternative was annexation (part or in whole) which if protested as unlawful, a peace treaty was the only means to legitimize conquest in a time of war. Essentially, conquest itself was a legal act of extinguishing the legal rights of other states without their consent. Under this new framework, it is notable that conquest and subsequent occupation outside of war was illegal. In post-World War II times, when the international community frowned on wars of aggression, not all wars involving territorial acquisitions ended in a peace treaty.

For example, the fighting in the Korean War ended in an armistice, without any peace treaty covering it. (*Korman, Sharon:1996*). By and large, conquest is more of the settlement of the foreigners in a local homeland but, the success and legality of such lie in the choice of the indigenes/citizens of local homeland to either resist or accept the defeat. "This is because no one can make you inferior without your consent".

### 3. METHODOLOGY

This study adopted a qualitative approach by sourcing for secondary data from the newspapers, online journals, text books among others.

#### 3.1 Empirical Overview

We cannot shy away from the fact that tunes of discord had been sounded from different regions of the country going by the statements made by the leaders of these regions as Sadauna once said “This new nation, Nigeria, must be seen as the “extension” of Uthman Dan Fodio’s estate and the Middle Belters should be persuaded to be a willing tool to see that the Southerners do not control their destiny” Late Sir Ahmadu Bello, Oct 12, 1960. In a similar vein, a high level of ethnic chauvinism was also displayed by the Late Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe in his words “the God of Africa has created the Ibo nation to lead the children of Africa from the bondage of ages”. Meanwhile, the leader of the Yoruba tribe in his own reaction to the statement credited to Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe posited that “It seems clear to me that Azikiwe’s policy was to corrode the self-respect of the Yoruba people as a group; to build up Ibo as a master race”. Salawu and Mohammed (2005:8).

Nonetheless, the words of Sadauna of Sokoto was enough to justify the “conquest mission” of the Fulani herdsmen. Ever since the suspension of the Ruga program by the federal government, the people in the South have been seriously attacked by this Fulani herdsmen as a way of showing their dissatisfaction. There have tremendous increase in the numbers of casualties recorded. A daughter (Mrs Funke Olakunrin ) of Afenifere national leader ( Pa Reuben Fasoranti) was allegedly killed on July 12,2019 by the Fulani herdsmen attack on Benin/Ore express way. (Vanguard, July 13, 2019). This is just one among the numerous attacks of these herdsmen across the country.

#### 3.2 The Controversial Ruga Program

The Ruga settlement across the 36 states of the federation was aimed at bringing lasting solutions to the farmers/herders clashes and also to create jobs (vanguards 5<sup>th</sup> of July, 2019). It was a ‘purported’ project under the National Livestock Transformation Plan (NLTP 2019-2028). This is a programme meant to be implemented in seven pilot’s states of Adamawa, Benue, Kaduna, Plateau, Nasarawa, Taraba and Zamfara. This was a decision taken by National Economic Council in January 2019 for the sates in the frontline of the farmer-herder crises, while six other states (such as Katsina, Kano,Kogi, Kwara, Ondo and Edo States) also indicated their resolutions to implement the plan. The six pillars of NLTP-2019-2028 are hereby stated thus;

- Economic investment
- Conflict resolution
- Justice and Peace
- Humanitarian Relief
- Early recovery, and
- Human Capital Development. (Vanguard, 2019).

More so, (NLTP 2019-2028) was expected to address issues of gender, youth, research and information, and strategic communication. Above all, the federal government will not impose on any state government as far has land is concerned. The plan which was approved by the National Economic Council (NEC) in Jan.17<sup>th</sup> 2019 was chaired by the Vice President Prof Yemi Osinbajo who had been in consultations since 2017 to find a solution that will be acceptable to all. This was a plan that was recommended by Technical Committee of the NEC which was chaired by Governor Dave Umahi of Ebonyi State. Having approved the NLTP since January 2019 by the states governors and the representations of the farmers and herdsmen, it was to be driven by states but must be hundred per cent (100%) optional.

Since, the Vice President launched the program in May 2019 the story has taken another dimension thereby led to the controversial RUGA program of the federal government which the Ministry of Agriculture and the 'Myetti Allah' claimed was part of (NLTP 2019-2028). In contrary, the NLTP was people's response to the farmers/herdsmen crises as against the federal government imposed policy of 'RUGA' that was capable of distorting the peace of the country. (Vanguards, 2019).

By implication, the controversy over the inclusion of RUGA program as part of the NLTP-2019-2028 led to the open condemnation by the Vice President for not being part of the NLTP master plan for the Fulani settlements. The RUGA plan was considered antithetical to the Land Use Act which confers the state land right to the state governors but not the federal government. The only exemption is where the land use are for specific federal government projects in the exclusive list like railways, federal universities etc. (sundiatapost.com,2019)

Therefore, the Ruga settlement was a proposed land settlement plan for the cattle herders in all the states of the federation introduced by the fifth columnists in the Buhari's administration- Femi Falana (dailypost.ng, 2019). It was meant to replace the NLTP recommended by the Vice President, Prof Yemi Osinbajo, where the state governments would have to offer lands for the projects. No matter how it is presented Ruga connotes no other thing than a measure in ethnic domination and conquest as it seeks to create territories for Fulani people all over the country. it is not about cattle in any way as the Fulanis hardly eat cow meat as they know it is not healthy for human consumption. Femi Falana (dailypost.ng, 2019).

### 3.3 Discrepancies Between the Ruga Program and the NLTP Policies

Given the controversy over the imposition of the Ruga program as against the NLTP 2019-2028, the following discrepancies have been discerned;

- The first pillar of NLTP is conflict resolution and compensation to the indigenes for the losses they have suffered from the conflict
- To establish sustainable business livestock practices for all Nigerians, not just for the Fulanis.

However, what was discerned from the Ruga program are stated thus:

- Jettison of the great plan of the NLTP for a provocative land grab.
- A shadowy billion naira construction contracts.
- A diversion from a rationale conversation for peaceful coexistence to shadowy interests within ASO ROCK that might lead to loss of lives.

By and large, as the herdsmen are being chased out of some communities, the people in the North are already talking about retaliation. There have been series of reactions from all the nooks and crannies of the country which eventually snowballed in the suspension of the Ruga program by the federal government. Prof Wole Soyinka in his speech at the launch of United Nations' Solutions 17 SDP program berated the federal government for the idea was capable of exploding the country. He opined that it was not the way people and countries deal with issue of cattle and that we don't make our policies from good models. He concluded that the Ruga was not considered imaginatively, and with humanity as priority. He said "a country where cattle takes priority over human life is definitely at an elementary stage".(thenationonlineng.net,July2,2019).

In addition, the Pan Yoruba socio-political organization, Afenifere, described the Ruga project as “an expansionist policy” that, if allowed, may spell doom. It is regarded as an expansionist policy in furtherance of Fulanization project which seeks to use the might of the federal government to take over ancestral lands across the country and hand it over to the herdsmen. The National Publicity Secretary of the Afenifere concluded that ‘the non-Fulani communities would experience what the Hausas experienced when Fulani walked in to their space and took over all their institutions’. Therefore, the South West would not concede an inch of their land to Ruga, as to do so would be a betrayal of the Yoruba warriors who pushed the Fulani back in Oshogbo in the days of Jihad.

Meanwhile, Governor Kayode Fayemi of Ekiti State also vowed not to cede any of part the state to outsiders.(vanguardngr.com,July 5, 2019). The former President Olusegun Obasanjo at the Ninth Toyin Falola annual international conference at Babcock University, condemned the \$11 billion that the President Buhari wanted to spend on Fulani Ruga at the expense of building refineries, electricity, creation of jobs, reduction of poverty, and security of lives.( nationaldaily.com, July 3, 2019). The former Minister of Transport, Chief Ebenezer Babatope also condemned the Ruga program as unconstitutional, as we run a federation in this country but not a unitary system. He concluded that “ceding lands to herdsmen in all states of the federation is a dangerous move”. He also wondered “if by tomorrow it would be possible that farmers in Yoruba land would be transported to the Northern states to find land for them to practice agriculture” (independent.ng, 2019).

There is no other way to view Ruga program than an attempt by the President Buhari to give undue advantage to the Fulani herdsmen. It is at worse a way of giving official protection to the tribesmen. Cattle rearing are unarguably private business which is supposed to be financed by interested investors but not government. It then bothers mind “why federal government was eager to facilitate lands for the herdsmen when cattle rearing is not even one of the national questions”. The herdsmen should be responsible for their cattle through ranching as against the current practice where they invade farmlands and communities to get feeds at the expense of the farmers. This now leads to the question on “why the federal government is not showing the same passion and enthusiasm for the farmers who were the victims of this insurgency” (thenationonlineng.net,2019). The menace of the Fulani herdsmen so far would not in any way make their accommodation in the community “Ruga settlements” a wise choice.

#### 4. IMPLICATIONS OF RUGA POLICY ON THE SOUTHERN REGIONS

It suffices to examine the potential implications of Ruga program for the Fulanis on the other parts of the country. There were twelve states of the North that have purportedly signed up for the program but were eventually cancelled. Thus, it becomes a matter of concern why the North that would benefit greatly from such policy would rescind their decisions.

The answer to that is nothing but the fact that Ruga program was meant to take over the Southern Regions on so many grounds:

- i. It would have increased the population of Fulani in the South
- ii. The new population will give more electoral victories to the Fulanis.
- iii. The Rugal policy will encourage Rugal communities which shall eventually pave way for Emirates over the South.
- iv. The Rugal settlements will allow the Fulani militia to have undue advantage over their poor victims.
- v. The political positions in the South will end up going to the “indigenous Southern Ruga made citizens of the Fulanis .
- vi. In the next 200 years the indigenous people of the South would end up as minority in their homeland. (thenationonlineng.net,2019).

By and large, the Ruga policy might have been suspended but the south should be wary of its surreptitious establishment by approaching individuals and communities with obscene amounts to win their heart. More so, the suspension has been regarded as more of a gambit and a ploy to let down our guards. It is advisable that we deploy all available means to wade off their imminent attack-(Baron Roy). The fact remains that we don't have to allow disorder to take place in order to avoid war, because war would not be not be thereby avoided but only deferred to own detriment.

#### 4.1 The Fulani War Of 1804–1808

Also known as the **Fulani Jihad** or **Jihad of Usman dan Fodio**, was a military contest in present-day Nigeria and Cameroon. The war began when Usman dan Fodio, a prominent Islamic scholar and teacher, was exiled from Gobir by the King Yunfa, one of his former students. (Hamza Muhammad Maishanu and Isa Muhammad Maishanu:1999). Usman dan Fodio assembled a Fulani army to lead in jihad against the Hausa kingdoms of the north of Nigeria. The forces of Usman dan Fodio slowly took over more and more of the Hausa kingdoms, captured Gobir in 1808 and executed Yunfa. The war resulted in the creation of the Sokoto Caliphate, headed by Usman dan Fodio, which became one of the largest states in Africa in the 19th century. His success inspired similar jihads in Western Africa.

#### 4.2 Background to The War

The Kanem-Bornu Empire had been in decline in the area from the mid-18th century. The result was the rise of a number of independent Hausa kingdoms throughout the region. Two prominent Hausa kingdoms were Gobir and Zamfara. However, warfare between the Hausa states and with other states were constant for the latter 18th century, resulting in a harsh system of conscription and taxation. The Fulani, a largely pastoral people, were often the victims of Hausa taxation, land control, and other discriminatory practices.

#### 4.3 Lead Up To The War

Usman dan Fodio, born in 1754, joined a growing number of traveling Islamic scholars through the Hausa kingdoms in the 1770s and became quite popular in the 1790s. Originally, dan Fodio's preaching received the support of the leadership of Gobir; however, as his influence increased and as he began to advocate for self-defense arming by his followers, his favor with the leadership decreased. Sarkin Gobir Nafata, the king of Gobir, placed a series of restrictions on dan Fodio's preaching. In 1801, Sarkin Gobir Yunfa, a former pupil of dan Fodio, replaced Nafata as king of Gobir. However, Yunfa increased the restrictions on dan Fodio and exiled him from Gobir to the village of Degel. A crisis developed later in 1803 when Yunfa attacked and captured many of the followers of a group associated with dan Fodio. Yunfa then marched the prisoners through Degel, enraging many of dan Fodio's followers, who attacked the army and freed the prisoners. Yunfa gave dan Fodio the option of exile before destroying Degel, which led to the large-scale *hijra* of dan Fodio's community to Gudu. So many people went with dan Fodio throughout the state that on February 21, 1804, Yunfa declared war on dan Fodio and threatened punishment to anyone joining him. Followers of dan Fodio declared him to be the Amir al-Mu'minin, commander of the faithful, and denounced their allegiance to Gobir.

#### 4.4 Battles

Several minor skirmishes preceded the forces meeting at the Battle of Tsuntua. Although Yunfa was victorious and dan Fodio lost a number of men, the battle did not diminish his force. He retaliated by capturing the village of Matankari, which resulted in the battle of Tafkin Kwattoa, a major action between Yunfa and dan Fodio's forces. Although outnumbered, Dan Fodio's troops were able to prevent Yunfa from advancing on Gunu and thus convince larger numbers of people to join his forces. In 1805, the forces of dan Fodio, the *jihadists*, captured the Hausa kingdom of Kebbi. By 1807, the jihadists had taken over the states of Katsina and Daura, and the important kingdom of Kano. In 1808, the jihadists captured Gobir, killing Yunfa in the battle.

With the capture of Gobir, the jihadists saw that they were part of a wider regional struggle and they continued with battles against a number of Hausa kingdoms, and the Sokoto Caliphate expanded over the next two years. The last major expansion of the jihadists was the toppling of the Sayfawa dynasty in 1846. Muhammed Bello, the son of Usman dan Fodio, transformed the semi-permanent camp of Sokoto into a city in 1809, during the Fulani war. Dan Fodio ruled from Sokoto as the religious leader of the Fulani jihad states from that point until 1815, when he retired from administrative duties. The Caliphate appointed various Emirs to govern the various states of the empire. These men were often veterans of the Fulani wars.

#### 4.5 The Legacy Of The War

The success of the jihad inspired a number of later West African jihadists, including Massina Empire founder Seku Amadu, Toucouleur Empire founder Umar Tall, Wassoulou Empire founder Samori Ture, and Adamawa Emirate founder Modibo Adama.

The Sokoto Caliphate has continued to the present. Since the British conquest of the Caliphate in 1903, and later Nigerian independence under a constitutional government in 1960, the Caliphate's political authority has diminished. But the position still has considerable spiritual authority ( [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fulani\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fulani_War))

#### 4.6 The Ranking Of The 36 States Of The Country With The Federal Capital In The Order Of Land Surface Area From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

Rank	State	km <sup>2</sup>
-	<u>Federal Capital Territory</u>	7,315
1	<u>Niger State</u>	76,363
2	<u>Borno State</u>	70,898
3	<u>Taraba State</u>	54,473
4	<u>Kaduna State</u>	46,053
5	<u>Bauchi State</u>	45,837
6	<u>Yobe State</u>	45,502
7	<u>Zamfara State</u>	39,762
8	<u>Adamawa State</u>	36,917
9	<u>Kwara State</u>	36,825
10	<u>Kebbi State</u>	36,800
11	<u>Benue State</u>	34,059
12	<u>Plateau State</u>	30,913
13	<u>Kogi State</u>	29,833
14	<u>Oyo State</u>	28,454
15	<u>Nasarawa State</u>	27,117
16	<u>Sokoto State</u>	25,973
17	<u>Katsina State</u>	24,192

Rank	State	km <sup>2</sup>
18	<u>Jigawa State</u>	23,154
19	<u>Cross River State</u>	20,156
20	<u>Kano State</u>	20,131
21	<u>Gombe State</u>	18,768
22	<u>Edo State</u>	17,802
23	<u>Delta State</u>	17,698
24	<u>Ogun State</u>	16,762
25	<u>Ondo State</u>	15,500
26	<u>Rivers State</u>	11,077
27	<u>Bayelsa State</u>	10,773
28	<u>Osun State</u>	9,251
29	<u>Enugu State</u>	7,161
30	<u>Akwa Ibom State</u>	7,081
31	<u>Ekiti State</u>	6,353
32	<u>Abia State</u>	6,320
33	<u>Ebonyi State</u>	5,670
34	<u>Imo State</u>	5,530
35	<u>Anambra State</u>	4,844
36	<u>Lagos State</u>	3,345

The implication of this is that Anambra ,Enugu, Aibia, Imo and Ebonyi States put together equals to 76,32 km<sup>2</sup> , while Kogi alone is 298,33km<sup>2</sup>. Niger State is 76,363 km<sup>2</sup>, meaning that Niger State alone is more than the entire South-West excluding Lagos State. Suffices to say that the North have more than enough land to take care of NLTP/RUGA program. The President Burahi administration's concern should be on how to make the North more habitable for the Fulani herdsmen through the program.

## 5. CONCLUSION

The spate of killing and kidnapping is overwhelming and unarguably reflecting Nigeria as a failed State as the security of lives and properties can no longer be guaranteed with the Fulani herdsmen insurgency. The insurgency has continued to reflect an attempt to invade the homeland of the people of the Southern part of the country in the disguise for seeking for grazing areas for their cattle. The federal government introduction of the Ruga program eventually worsened the whole scenario as it was met with a missed reaction, being for the propagation of the conquest mission of the Fulanis in all part of the country and the prioritization of the cattle at the expense of humanity. The exploration of the Theory of conquest and the review of the Jihad War of the Fulani of 1804 unequivocally revealed that the Fulani herdsmen insurgency is mainly an attempt to conquer the Southern part of the country.

By and large, the people of these regions are not expected to treat such conquest mission with mere a wave of hand. Moreover, the imposition of the Ruga program is nothing short of the total disregard for the federal status of Nigerian State. Therefore, if the federal government does not take the right measures to avert such heinous mission of the Fulanis the whole country will soon be set on fire.

## 6. RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are hereby suggested as a way of ensuring a long lasting solution for the Fulani herdsmen insurgency.

- The Federal Government should adopt a policy that will make the Northern part of the country viable enough for grazing, given their substantial land area surface that is larger than the West and East combined.
- The Federal Government should be wary of policy that will compromise the Land Use Act of the state governments as way of respecting the federal status of the country.
- The Federal Government should remember that no part of the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria guarantees the supremacy or domination of any part of the country over and above other parts and hence must eschew any policy capable of fostering the conquest mission at any part of the country.
- The Federal Government should be more committed to restructuring of the country as to depict a true federation in which no part shall ever dream of dominating other parts of the federation.
- The Federal Government should adopt the original NLTP plan which was basically peoples' response, and was acceptable to all as a solution to the farmers/herders insurgency.

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