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REPORT

OF THE TWO-DAY NORTHERN NIGERIA SECURITY CONFERENCE

HELD ON 1ST AND 2ND JULY 2019

AT THE SIR AHMADU BELLO MEMORIAL FOUNDATION'S CONFERENCE HALL, KADUNA



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

EDITORIAL:

**In Search of Community-Based
Strategies to the Insecurity
Challenges in Northern Nigeria**

Page
02

WELCOME ADDRESS

**At The Two-day Northern
Security Conference
by Usman Bugaje,
Convener ARDP**

Page
03

**Report of the Two-Day Northern
Nigeria Security Conference,
Held on 1st and 2nd July 2019
at the Sir Ahmadu Bello
Memorial Foundation's
Conference Hall, Kaduna**

Page
07

**Report on the Inauguration of
Northern Security Monitoring
Committee on Thursday 6th of
February 2020 at Conference
Hall of the Sir Ahmadu Bello
Memorial Foundation, Kaduna**

Page
73

EDITORIAL

In Search of Community-Based Strategies to the Insecurity Challenges in Northern Nigeria

Security is a state of tranquility; it is thus an opposite to a state of organised disequilibrium. Security therefore presupposes absence of low or high level conflict, violence of any kind – including conventional/unconventional kind – or prosecution of hot or cold war. In an organised society, security represents not only the presence of law but that that law and order reigning supreme. Therefore, security is taken to mean the state of being and feeling safe, stable, and free from fear or anxiety whether as individuals or communities, social groups or nations. On the contrary, insecurity depicts the opposite condition albeit in varying degree of severity.

It is true that no nation can claim absolute security since even in peaceful times people can be fixated in the psyche of fear of violations of their persons and properties by either criminals or agents of State apparatuses in the form of some extortionate acts or other humiliating actions in the hands of rogue leaders or States. However, the insecurity we are concerned with in Northern Nigeria – and indeed in the country as a whole – transcends the skirmishes of class oppression or pockets of criminalities and that of challenges of social adjustments by groups and individuals in the course of social practices.

Over the last few years, particularly from the 2009, the magnitude of insecurity challenges in the North has been worsening in new ways and fashions. What is taken to be the primary basic responsibility of the State, that is, to provide and superintend over security of life and property of the citizens now stands tall; being a defining moment in the history of post-colonial Nigeria. The very challenges of insecurity has exposed both the contradictions of the social and political structure of the Nigerian social formation and concomitant failure of the leadership responsible for the management of human social development.

Since the beginning of Boko Haram insurgency around the year 2009, the North has continued to experience intermittent waves of vicious, brutal and senseless killings and destruction of property arising from the activities of Boko Haram insurgents,

widespread kidnappings for ransom, rural banditry and cattle rustling, farmer-herder conflicts over grazing resources resulting into attacks and reprisal attacks, communal clashes often taking myopic character but driven by wholesome fragile state of affairs presided over by ineptitude political leaders. The attendant mode of political practices tended to provoke ethno-religious conflicts in plural communities particularly in times of local contest over political representations and/or access to local resources. Related to this is the menace of youth drug addiction and substance abuse manifesting into political thuggery, cultism and gang warfare.

In view of the lack of appropriate and adequate responses by the security agencies and the political leadership to effectively address the insecurity challenges that are becoming more complicated and intractable, the Arewa Research and Development Project (ARDP) in collaboration with the Sir Ahmadu Bello Memorial Foundation (SABMF), the Savannah Centre for Diplomacy, Democracy and Development (SCDDD) and the Joint Action Committee of Northern Youth Associations (JACNYA) organised a two-day Northern Security Conference to examine the nature and dynamics of the insecurity in Northern Nigeria with the intent to identifying ways of organizing and coordinating community-based strategies that could support and compliment the efforts of security agencies and governments' initiatives in implementing sustainable security program of action in our communities. This has become more pressing as the responses from the communities so far could lead to situation that will further complicate matters and may lead to breakdown of law and order.

This special edition of the ARDP Newsletter therefore is devoted to the Report of the Two-Day Northern Nigeria Security Conference, held on 1st and 2nd July 2019 at the Sir Ahmadu Bello Memorial Foundation's conference hall in Kaduna.

Kabiru S. Chafe
(Editor-in-Chief)

WELCOME ADDRESS

AT THE TWO-DAY NORTHERN SECURITY CONFERENCE

By
Usman Bugaje, Convener ARDP

PROTOCOLS

1. It is my pleasure and privilege to welcome all of you who have made the time to attend this Northern Security Conference holding in this historic city of Kaduna, on behalf of the Sir Ahmadu Bello Memorial Foundation and the Savanna Centre for Diplomacy, Democracy and Development. For many of us security is today the topmost important challenge facing the country. The Northern States would appear to be the worst hit, its economy has been destroyed, its society disorganized and its future in jeopardy. The quantum of the daily loss of lives and property, the magnitude of fear and confusion that this elicits and the psychological trauma in the North is simply unprecedented. In the last few months in particular, the deterioration of the security situation has been frightening. Even more frightening is the rate at which communities are resorting to self-help, acquiring weapons indiscriminately and deploying them in ways that can easily lead to anarchy. It has thus become necessary for all Northern men and women of good conscience to come together to see how this important region can be salvaged.
2. Following wide consultations, the ARDP, the SABMF and the SCDDD, decided to hold this two-day conference on Northern Security. This conference aims at taking a good stock of what is working and what is not working, evaluating the gaps and



seeing how these gaps can be addressed and how the efforts of government can be complemented, precisely to stem the tide of the recent deterioration. We have assembled some of the best-known experts in the different security spectrum

along with researchers and analysts, civil society and community leaders to work together to provide for us the requisite strategies and programs necessary to come to grips with these security challenges. In doing this we set up **seven syndicates** based on specific security challenges like, **Boko Haram insurgency; rural banditry; kidnapping and armed robbery; ethno-religious clashes; harder-farmer clashes; urban youth violence/drugs and a syndicate to organize peoples' regional diplomacy with neighbouring sovereign States.** Some of you would recall that about five years ago, the ARDP organized a conference on security precisely June 10-11, 2014. The proceedings of this conference were published in September of the same year in the volume 2, issue number 1 of the ARDP Newsletter, captioned 'North under Fire'. Reading this proceedings today suggest that we have not gone very far in the last five years, which suggests that either we have not learnt any lessons or our political and security leadership haven't the capacity to deal with this challenge, or there is something some of us are not admitting.

3. To be sure the Boko Haram insurgency has gone on for one whole decade now, the little respite gained at inception of the current government has long been lost and we are gradually lapsing into where we came from, as many communities remain displaced and a few kilometres out of the big State capitals are no longer safe. During the last three to four years pockets of rural banditry, armed robbery and kidnapping have suddenly taken over most of the North Western States in ways that has paralyzed business and social relations. The North Central States have similarly been taken over by spates of violent clashes of harder/farmer with ethnic and religious undertones. In short, this mayhem has engulfed the whole North, making it one of the worst killing

fields in the world and with no end in sight. It has become necessary to ask the questions, what exactly has happened to the Nigerian authorities? Has there been a loss of political will? Are they abdicating their primary constitutional responsibility? If the daily assurances are not coming to anything, could someone somewhere be benefiting from this mayhem? How else could one explain the continuation, nay, deterioration of the security situation amidst huge funding and heavy losses of men and equipment?

4. Only last March I was invited to Baghdad along with several international guests and were shown how the Iraqi Government defeated ISIS in less than five years. Granted that ISIS and Boko Haram may represent different types of military challenges, it still baffles many citizens that this rag-tag, make-shift, untrained forces should overwhelm a well-trained national army of the most populous country in Africa. Locals are also baffled by the way local actionable intelligence is ignored by those who should act on it, creating mistrust and reducing the flow of critical intelligence. Many more are baffled by ignoring extant GPS technology which is able to locate positions of insurgents and kidnappers who use the GSM communications. Daily reports of interception of small arms in the newspapers fade away with out any prosecution of records of the caches of arms intercepted. The recent UN figures suggest that of the 500millions illegal arms in the West Africa region, 350m, thus about 70% are estimated to be in Nigeria. Similar interception of dangerous psychotropic drugs fade into oblivion, no one hears about the fate of the drugs or those found with it. One only needs to look at the state of NDLEA and NAFDAC to see how unprepared we are to face the crisis. We have every reason to ask if the Nigerian State is really serious about ending these crises?

5. Whatever is the answer to this question, we as elite from the North, many of whom had benefitted from good education and have enjoyed a reasonable amount of relative quality of life and are still alive, have a responsibility to rise to the occasion and make the necessary sacrifice to salvage our country, especially the North where we were born and bred, and bring an end to this blood bath that can only make the country more vulnerable than it already is. The consequences of ignoring this mayhem, simply because we may feel a relatively safe at the moment, is obvious, for very soon we will all be consumed. It is particularly important that we realise the sense of urgency that this response requires. The longer we allow this to continue the more difficult it will be to resolve; people are already falling into despair and as more people get displaced and lose their livelihood more people will get to that point where they have nothing more to lose. And a James Baldwin, the African American writer, the author of "The Fire Next Time", said, 'the most dangerous person in any society is he who has nothing more to lose.' The longer we allow this to continue, the more dangerous people are produced and more dangerous our society become, until we become suffocated and consumed, God forbid.
6. This conference has become necessary, precisely because the elite, the non-government actors must come to rescue this fight against insecurity so that our country, the North in particular can have a future. We don't want this conference to be the run of the mill conference where people come and make beautiful speeches, get the headlines the following and retire to the privacy of our houses and keep lamenting over the worsening of the situation. No this conference is intended to trigger a series of efforts to will ceaselessly continue until we clear this mess. This is why this conference is being structured differently. We started with a technical session of experts to do evaluation and provide fresh strategies to stem the tide of insecurity. And after critiquing the reports of the syndicate today, it is our hope to create a standing committee of experts to work with governments at all three levels and the communities to see to the implementation of these strategies and recommendations. The Standing committee will design its modus operandi, set up a tracking mechanism and have a regular reporting system that will keep stakeholders abreast with progress being made in all fronts.
7. I am glad to report that yesterday these syndicates met for the whole day to do just this. During the briefing before the syndicates we learnt that there were sufficient indications and warning signs against these challenges early enough to avoid this pain and misery. That despite these warnings we still found ourselves in this hole, says a lot about our style of governance and we must not gloss over it. If government will continue to ignore experts' advice and early warning signs, then we will continue to be in trouble. I must say, I am very worried that we have lost so much courage as a people that it has become almost impossible to speak the truth, even when many will acknowledge it as the truth in private. In a way this will only promote hypocrisy and sycophancy, which can only further erode the quality of governance, throwing us deeper into more insecurity. For once we fail to find those who can speak truth to power, power will run amok, disrupting and crushing everything on its way.
8. Yesterday we also heard repeatedly that poverty is both a trigger and a driver of the security crisis in the country. We also learnt that given the rate of our population growth [by 2050 our population will be over 400m, which will be the third after India and China] we are bound to become

even poorer until we can match our economic growth with population growth to create prosperity. What is being said in plain terms is that if we want peace, we have to avoid poverty, which then means we have to pay attention to good governance, which then means we have to pay attention to our political processes and political culture. Perhaps I should not be economic with my words; it means that we have to give content to our politics and recalibrate our leadership recruitment mechanism, such that only those with the knowledge, the passion and the integrity to deliver development should compete for leadership. In others words we have move away from money- politics and Godfatherism if we truly want to develop and be respected by our countrymen and the world at large. In simpler terms we have to change our politics, change our ways, and change our direction.

9. Some of the ways to begin this is that first this conference must be solution driven and those with responsibility to protect us must stop providing excuses and start providing solutions. We must also stop making light our horrors by saying that our losses, pains and misery are being exaggerated, simply because some of those who make these pronouncements live in the comfort and protection of the State and have the chance to stay away from these trouble spots; any loss of any one more life is already one loss too many. We must also constantly appreciate the magnitude of the problems. There is so much to be done. May God give us the courage to speak about it, wisdom to know how to do it and the patience to persevere to the end. Amin.
10. Your Excellencies, Your Highnesses, distinguished and honourable members of the National Assembly, distinguished ladies and gentlemen let me welcome you once again and hope that this conference will spark in our conscience a new moral

obligation to rise to the challenges and surmount them to create the great nation our country is supposed to be. And

I thank you for listening.

REPORT OF THE TWO-DAY NORTHERN NIGERIA SECURITY CONFERENCE, HELD ON 1ST AND 2ND JULY 2019 AT THE SIR AHMADU BELLO MEMORIAL FOUNDATION'S CONFERENCE HALL, KADUNA

Background

The multifaceted and interrelated security challenges in the North, which have been ravaging the region for many years are becoming more daring and alarmingly pervasive, more resistant, vicious, brutal and senseless in destructions. The Boko Haram insurgency armed with territorial ambition, gained prominence around 2009 and became a major campaign issue during the 2015 General Elections. While the military commendably decimated the striking power of the Boko Haram and regained occupied territories in the Northeast shortly after the enthronement of APC led Government in 2015, the insurgents' capacity for terror is yet to be decisively broken. At momentous instances, the insurgents have often dealt deadly blows on military formations in Borno, Yobe, and Adamawa, thus eroding earlier military gains and public trust in the ability of government for protection. Added to the insurgency in the Northeast is the equally worrisome escalation and wide-spreading violent ethno-religious conflicts, kidnaping for ransom, rural banditry, cattle rustling and violent clashes between farmers and herdsmen engulfing the 19 Northern States in different magnitudes. Indeed, the rest of the country is not any safer as the military is overstretched. They are currently deployed in 34 of the 36 States of the federation.

2. Rural banditry and kidnaping have actually assumed a proportion far more heinous than the dreaded Boko Haram. The continuous wanton killings, the burning of villages, the daily robbery and kidnaping on our highways, the increasing fear that is gripping the cities have all combined to paralyse social and economic lives of the citizens. The little capital in the already impoverished rural community has been mopped up and given to the bandits as ransom, leaving the

traumatized populace impoverished and confused, which is leading to transfer of aggression against the Police. Huge and increasing numbers of internally displaced persons (IDPs) are trooping into relatively safer towns and cities, putting pressure on the limited urban infrastructures and consequently triggering a new wave of urban criminality. Those who remain in the villages cannot go to their farms and are in perpetual fear for their lives, unable to even sleep much less conduct any legitimate commercial activity in the now totally broken communities.

Proposal

3. So far, the apparent lack of well-coordinated responses by all relevant stakeholders to effectively address the security challenges that



*Muhammadu Buhari
President, Commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces
of the Federal Republic of Nigeria*



Meeting of the Syndicate Group on Boko Haram Insurgency at the Conference

are becoming more complicated and intractable with serious divisive consequences across the nation, the people are deeply worried and feeling abandoned. It is in this context and the shared belief or conviction that peace, stability and the path of progress can be restored to the society that the Arewa Research and Development Project (ARDP), in collaboration with the Sir Ahmadu Bello Memorial Foundation, the Savannah Centre for Diplomacy, Democracy and Development (SCDDD) and the Joint Action Committee of Northern Youth Associations (JACNYA), organised a two-day Northern Security Conference with a view to identifying the remote and immediate causes of the resurging Boko Haram insurgency and the escalation of other security challenges and to proffer pragmatic and holistic restorative strategies, including neighborhood diplomacy that are community driven, with the Federal, State and Local Governments' collaborative support and unbiased inputs from the organized private sectors

and duly registered Civil Society Organizations (CSOs).

Expectations

4. The two-day conference was envisioned to be solution driven and to focus on what our communities can and should do to protect themselves and salvage what can be salvaged. We therefore envisaged the syndicates-based Conference – composing of experienced people in security, logistics and intelligence to do quick needs assessment and come up with what is immediately required to stem the tide. We also hope whatever academic research and reports have been made available would pave the way forward by galvanizing civil society committees on intelligence, logistics and legal issues, which will coordinate the implementation of the resolutions of the conference. It is becoming imperative that we brainstorm and come up with ways of organizing and coordinating community response in ways that will support the efforts of the

security agencies, especially the Nigeria Police. So far, the responses by communities in particular is taking dimensions which could lead to situations that will further complicate matters and perhaps lead to a total breakdown of law and order.

THE CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS DAY ONE

Opening Remarks by the Convener, Dr. Usman Bugaje

5. In his opening remarks, the Convener of the ARDP, Dr. Bugaje, lamented the increasing spate of insecurity across the northern region and the regrettable failure of successive Northern Governors, particularly from this democratic dispensation (1999 till date), to define these challenges as issues of common concern deserving a Northern holistic approach in collaboration with the Federal Government in resolving the crises. He observed that the apparent pretentious lack of understanding of the security crises by nearly all the political leaders and the Northern elite as well as their failure and or lack of courage to define the security challenges as grave, have made proper diagnoses and collective regional response disturbingly difficult. This appalling failure of governance across board has left the affected communities with the disappointing and painful choice of resorting to uncoordinated, in effective and limited approaches for self-protection against the ugly realities of the challenges as defined from their limited prisms.

6. Dr. Bugaje concluded his remarks by restating that the objective of the conference is to pointedly dissect the worsening security situation in the north with a view to committing all stakeholders to finding lasting solutions to the crises that have left the region with the lowest human development indices in the country. He urged the Northern elite and the political leaders, including himself, to accept responsibility and to be recommitted to the honest task of securing the region and the practice of good governance for peace and sustainable development.

7. The activities of the two-day conference were divided into two main parts: That Day One

would be facilitated by Professor Jibrin Ibrahim, member of the Editorial Board of the Premium Times and a Research Fellow at the Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD). The Session would take Situation Reports from the three geopolitical regions of the North, and later break into Syndicate Sessions, where members with technical expertise on the different forms of security threats would examine the causes, spread, government and people's responses and why such strategies were failing and, thereafter, proffer recommendations as well as plans of action and follow-up activities to ensure total commitment of all stakeholders to finding lasting solutions to the crises. Other participants would also participate in concurrent interactive session designed to discuss general security matters, with a view to getting insights from different perspectives as well as to gather important empirical data and dimensions of insecurity challenges in the North.

8. Day Two would receive and critically examine the reports of the seven syndicate groups as well as take comments and recommendations from representatives of invited State and Non-State actors and the Plenary on the subject matter. At the end of the proceedings, a communiqué reflecting the views and resolutions of the participants would be issued.

9. The facilitator of the Session, Professor Jibrin Ibrahim, in his short remarks observed that:

a) The widespread insecurity with its dire consequences on the lives of the people was a clear manifestation of the failure of governance in the Northern States;

b) The longer the insurgency lasts, the higher the chances of perpetuating itself with stronger destructive capacity;

c) The dimensions of rural banditry can be traced to pre-1903, which was used to justify the discordant indirect rule introduced in the region by the British colonial invaders under Lord Lugard;

d) Government has failed to develop

capacity to contain the challenges of insurgency and farmer/herder clashes;

e) Governments have failed to implement the grazing laws of 1965 which mapped out areas for grazing and eventual development into ranches for livestock;

f) The challenges of insecurity in the region included the following fault lines:

i. Subjective interpretation of the challenges along ethno-religious prisms;

ii. The Nigerian military, structured mainly for conventional warfare, is clearly overstretched;

iii. Exponential growing population with inadequate plans for their protection and well being;

iv. Youth bulge, youth crises and early marriage with about 3.2 million unemployed boys roaming the streets of major cities in the region;

v. High levels of inequality, family crises, moral decadence and drug addiction;

vi. Dramatic changes in religious doctrinal affiliation;

vii. Deliberate manipulation or usage of divisive terminologies such as Cattle Colonies, Ruga Settlement, or the politicization of the well thought out National Livestock Transformation Plan of the Federal Government by mischief makers within the government circle; and

g) The sum of these has made life nasty, short and brutish for the people.

10. To effectively address challenges of governance and insecurity in the Northern States, the Facilitator proffered the following solutions:

a) The northern elite and those trusted with the burden of governance must be honest to define the security challenges as grave requiring collaborative and coordinated drastic and holistic

measures to resolve the crises (of governance in the region);

b) The elite and the governments should increase the tempo and broaden the conversation on quick restoration of peace and stability to enable millions of displaced persons (IDPs and Refugees) to return to their communities and to engage in gainful activities;

c) The Nigerian military and other security agencies should build capacity and reposition themselves to adopt the new National Security Strategies for asymmetric warfare, particularly against the Boko Haram insurgents;

d) Northern Governments should collaborate with the Federal Government to reconstruct their individual and regional capacities, using traditional and religious institutions as well as organized private sector, civil societies and neighborhood diplomacy, to restore peace in the region through democratic governance;

e) Governments should effectively infuse the Almajiri system into their respective educational curriculum;

f) To avoid over stretching the Nigerian military, the military leaders should be honest and professional enough to resist the political temptation of adding Police duties nationwide to their own (currently they are in 34 of the 36 States doing police/civil duties);

g) The Federal and State Governments should be pragmatic in addressing the IMN issues to ensure that the members do not resort to taking the laws in their hands or going underground; and

h) The Federal Government should collaborate with willing State Governments in the region to consider including some forest reserves for the implementation of the well-articulated National Livestock Transformation Plan to stem the tide of incessant violent clashes between herders and farmers across the country.

Situation Reports from the three Geopolitical

Zones Northeast:

11. The Situation Report from the Northeast was presented by Professor Usman A. Tar, Director, Centre for Defence Studies and Documentation, Nigerian Defence Academy (NDA), Kaduna. According to him, the Boko Haram crisis, initially defined as a Northeast problem, had become a national and even transnational problem with global recognition because of its incomparable violent nature and worsening humanitarian crises. He observed that:

a) The resurgent Boko Haram insurgency in the North-East, in its tenth year of terror killing and destruction, rated as the most violent terrorist group in the world today, was still the greatest security threat in the region, accounting for 92.9% of the problems in there;

b) The triggers to the emergence of Boko Haram insurgency and its resurgence included:

i. Poor governance or absence of government in many rural communities;

ii. Protracted or unresolved communal conflicts;

iii. Climate change/Natural disaster; and

iv. Weak military and Police capacity to fight Boko Haram;

c) The fallouts of Boko Haram insurgency and Climate change included:

i. Weak economy due to decimated population and destruction of properties and infrastructures;

ii. Displacement of people and animal life, said to be the worst humanitarian crisis with over 2.3 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) as at 2018) and thousands of refugees into neighbouring Niger, Chad and Cameroon;

iii. Desertification and shrinking of Lake Chad which has receded by 95% today;

iv. Limited land and water sources for

livestock and crop farming, resulting in acute food shortage and declining household income;

d) The matters arising from the Boko Haram insurgency should include:

i. Management of IDPs: The need for proper documentation; increased supply and equitable distribution of relief materials and other humanitarian services; curbing the resultant influx and regulation of the activities of the over 100 Non-Governmental Humanitarian Organizations (NGOs) so far in the region as well as engaging the IDPs in gainful activities and adequate protection for them in their camps;

ii. Renewal of Security and Political Strategies: The compelling need to review both military and political strategies to include defined political goals; interagency cooperation and collaboration; capacity building; incorporation of community security outfits, addressing the almajiri school system and deradicalization strategies to win both the war and the battle against Boko Haram;

iii. Post Conflict Management: the adoption of pragmatic political and scientific strategies to cater for the needs and the eventual resettlement of both the IDPs and the expected thousands of refugees from Chad, Niger and Cameroon and the proper demobilization and reintegration of the civilian component of the Civilian Joint Task Force into their communities; and

iv. Externalities: The need for improved and sustained neighborhood diplomacy with a view to checking the transshipment of small arms and light weapons, the trans-border activities and ultimate defeat of the insurgents as well as addressing the refugee problems with over 120,000 in Niger alone (2019 UNHCR Report) and the effects of climate change in the Lake Chad Basin.

North-Central:

12. The Situation Report from the North-Central Zone, mostly affected by ethno-religious and communal conflicts, violent farmer/herder



Prof. Usman Tar Presenting Situation Report from the North East Zone at the Conference

clashes, substance abuse and banditry, was presented by Dr. Chris Kwaja of the Centre for Peace and Security Studies, Modibbo Adama University of Technology, Yola. In his brief analysis, he observed that:

- a) The State and the people need to consciously establish the link between the security threats and honestly define them in the truest sense as national challenges requiring collective and holistic approaches towards resolving them;
- b) Society should honestly differentiate between criminality and the raging socio-politically motivated conflicts as most of the killings attributed to religious or communal misunderstandings were actually pure acts criminality;
- c) The huge trust deficit between the security agents and the people should be minimized by

cultivating more organized and deeper trust building relationships between the security agents and the people;

- d) Young men and women should not make themselves ready tools to be used by merchants of violence to perpetuate ethno-religious and communal misunderstandings as well as electoral fraud; and
- e) The State should deemphasize the militarization of the public space and adopt the option of community-driven security measures in resolving the crises rocking the zone such as the Adamawa State peace model in which the State is collaborating with traditional rulers in the maintenance of communal peace in their respective domains.

Northwest:

13. Dr. Abubakar Siddique Mohammed of the Centre for Democratic Development Research

and Training gave an overview of the situation in the North-West Zone, which is mostly affected by farmer-herder conflicts, cattle rustling, rural banditry, and kidnappings. Dr. Siddique attributed the upsurge in the security threat in the Zone to the following factors, among others:

- a) Many ungoverned spaces in the region or the absence of governments in the rural communities, thus impelling the resort to self-help or informalization of security;
- b) Lack of political will and capacity of the States to detect early warning signs;
- c) Misplaced priority by governments on protection of the State apparatuses rather than the people;
- d) Undue government silence and or mismanagement of information on security matters;
- e) Ill-defined National Security Architecture and National Security Strategies;
- f) Lack of manpower, competence and equipment for the security agencies, particularly the Police, to detect and confront security breaches in the communities; and,
- g) Collapse of moral and ethical norms, which have largely been characterized by collapse of family values and drug abuse especially among the women and the youth.

SYNDICATES' SESSION

14. The conference broke into seven specialists syndicate groups, in which individuals with the requisite knowledge, competence and cognate experiences on security matters and social programmes are grouped on seven areas of security concerns to brainstorm, discuss and come up with report on given terms of reference. The list of the seven groups and their chosen membership is attached as Appendix I.

CONCURRENT INTERACTIVE SESSION

15. While the syndicates convened in their

respective venues, the other participants reconvened into an Interactive Session facilitated by Dr. Usman Bugaje who informed the participants that the interaction was intended to stimulate wider discussions on the subject matter with a view to extracting more useful information that would enrich the observations of the syndicates on Policy Recommendations and Action Plans. Speakers were enjoined to be brief, frank and base their contributions on facts devoid of emotional outbursts. Many participants spoke passionately on the matter and the following salient observations/recommendations were captured [not in any order of importance/priority]:

a) **National Security Outfits:** Due to incompetence, dearth of capacity and lack of commitment to the war on insurgency, terror and criminality, Government should urgently review the national security architecture and strategies to meet global standard to enable them map out some practical roles for retired civil security and military personnel in the joint efforts to effectively address the regional/local factors perpetuating the resurgence of insurgency and the fast spreading violent clashes between farmers and herders as well as other security threats in the North. The infusion of the Local Vigilante Groups into the Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF) should be properly managed to control their excesses and abuse of power;

b) **Electoral Violence:** Processes of selecting and or electing people into leadership positions should be based on merit guided by the basic principles of democracy- inclusivity, transparency, equity, justice and fair representation;

c) **Ethno-Religious Conflicts:** Religious leaders, preachers, scholars and Governments' Pilgrims Welfare Board/Commissions should be guided strictly by the constitutional provisions of secularity and religious tolerance;

d) **Mr. President's Unnecessary Foreign Trips:** Mr. President should curb his foreign trips to make ears and time to attend to the recurrent internal security challenges;

- e) **Emergence of New Criminal Gangs:** The failure of the State to effectively fight gangsterism in the region has encouraged the emergence of new and more vicious, brutal and highly mobile criminal gangs, such as the “Babu Beli” (No Bail) in Zamfara State in the North-West and Bauchi State in the North-East and “Yan Shilla” in Yola, Adamawa State;
- f) **Weak or Lack of Commensurate Punishment for Offenders:** The criminal laws should be reviewed periodically to make it impossible for all criminals arrested or convicted to buy their ways out of punishment;
- g) **Almajiri Education System:** Because most of the millions of children under this school system lack parental care, left to fend for themselves under the exploitive tutelage of one “Mallam” and graduate into the streets with little education to be gainfully employed, they are easy tools in the hands of criminally minded people within and outside the country. Therefore, the system should be carefully examined and gradually integrated into the main-stream educational system of the States;
- h) **Bad Governance:** Poor leadership and bad governance were seen as the bane of insecurity and underdevelopment in the region. They called on State Governments in the region to imbibe democracy and provide employment opportunities, fight corruption and injustice for improved security nationwide. Governments should ensure the timely implementation of investigative reports of Committees/Panels of Enquiry to guard against future recurrences of such incidents and to absolve government agencies of complicity or vicarious liability;
- i) **Declining Family Values:** Restoration of family value system and improved family affinity and well-being of children by parents, schools and the National Orientation Agency would increase moral probity and reduce the number of children, who would otherwise be available for recruitment and manipulation by criminal minds;
- j) **Influx of NGOs in the Northeast:** So far, over 100 NGOs are registered in the Northeast with varied ulterior motives. Government should reduce their number and regulate their manpower recruitment and activities in the region to guard against any subterraneous activities that would perpetuate insecurity and complex humanitarian crises in the region;
- k) **Youth Bulge, Restiveness, Criminality and Substance Abuse:** The rampant consumption of drugs emboldens the criminal tendencies in the restive unemployed youth. This addiction kill and render the victims unproductive with negative consequences on food security and the economy, hence the need to curtail easy access to such substances, compel parental responsibilities, birth control and educate the girl child, engage the youth in gainful activities and the establish Zonal Preventive and Drug Rehabilitation Centres and Cyber crime detecting Centers in the North;
- l) **Lack of Transparency and Accountability in Governance:** This was blamed for the rising unemployment, underdevelopment and insecurity in the land, since the devil always finds jobs for the idle hands in the land. The people should rise and hold Governments accountable;
- m) **Media Coverage of the Crises of Governance:** As the Fourth Estate of the Realm, the Media, particularly, the Northern Media, should give wide, honest, objective and patriotic coverage of the incidences of violent conflicts, Governments' responses and balanced critical and analytical investigative journalism, not the oft shallow divisive and provocative reporting that people hear, see and read today;
- n) **Northern Governors Forum:** Participants welcomed the spirit behind the Forum but appealed for more regular meetings of the group on specific challenges of governance in the region and not the jamboree meetings apparently skewed in favor of their group interests. The Forum's Security Committee should, as a matter of priority, meet regularly, preferably at the hot spots of the crises to express the depth of their concerns and to enable them to have a real sense of the people's concerns and the urgency of State actions;

o) Failure to Condemn the Insurgency and Religious Extremism by Prominent Northern leaders: Prominent Northern leaders should join in the open condemnation of Boko Haram and religious extremism. This would discourage young people from submitting themselves for recruitment and radicalization;

p) Politicization of the Crises: The governments, the media and political leaders should prevent the politicization of the crises as this often pit people of different faiths, ethnicity and political leanings against each other; and

q) Famers/Herders Clashes: To stop the recurrent violent clashes between farmers and herdsmen and to ensure food security, willing States in the North should actively collaborate with the Federal Government to pursue the well-researched Livestock Transformation Plan to its logical conclusion and to seriously check the alleged complicity of some so-called 'Big Men' in supplying arms to some of the herdsmen who keep their (Big Men's) livestock.

Closing Remarks

16. In closing the Interactive Session and the activities of the day, the Facilitator made the following additional remarks:

a) That the deep concerns frankly expressed, almost in unison, by the contributors significantly reflected that of ARDP and would, indeed, spur the organization and its partners to double their advocacy for Governments' utmost attention and quick appropriate actions to restore peace and stability to the North and the nation at large;

b) On the issues of drug addiction, he informed the conference that the efforts of ARDP to establish a fully equipped community owned modern rehabilitation center is underway even as it receives no encouragement from the State. The shared concerns expressed by contributors on this subject would only encourage the ARDP to push further on its proposals;

c) On integrating the Almajiri System into the formal Western-style education system, he informed the participants that ARDP planned to hold a national seminar and a series of follow-up actions on the matter, in collaboration with willing State Governments to discuss the feasibility of establishing Comprehensive Model Almajiri Schools;

d) On recommendation for Cattle Ranching as the most pragmatic and lasting solution to the incessant farmers/herders' conflicts in the country, he cited the enviable success of the program, in African countries like Kenya, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe and Botswana - to name a few - and suggested that Nigeria should also implement such projects;

e) On bad governance, he advocated for the immediate reform of the political systems, particularly the leadership recruitment mechanism that throws up bad leaders to power and further advised Nigerian youth to begin to change the mercantile political culture that ensures only the rich gets elected to political offices, many of whom are devoid of political content or direction; and

f) Finally, participants are urged to turn up in equally encouraging numbers (as today's) for the next day's conclusion program, he assured the audience that all the comments and recommendations made on the floor would be added to enrich the quality and strength of the recommendations of the syndicates as the way forward.

DAY TWO

Opening Remarks

17. In his opening remarks, the Convener informed the meeting that the session would listen to the presentation of reports from each of the seven syndicates and thereafter, participants would be given opportunity to comment on the reports. Preceding the presentation of the technical committees' report, he invited representatives of various groups/organizations to make brief remarks/goodwill messages.

Goodwill Message from the Representative of Jama'atu Nasril Islam (JNI), Sheikh Khalid Abubakar Aliyu

18. He remarked that without security there was no meaningful existence. He therefore urged people to work together to fight this scourge of insecurity. He challenged the stakeholders to put sentiments aside and come together and look at the positive ways to move the north forward. He appealed to religious leaders to use their sermons to call for integration, unity, tolerance and peaceful coexistence. He opined that resorting to blame game would neither take the region nor the nation anywhere. He stressed that the important thing was to look at the new dimension of the insecurity and fashion practical solutions. He urged the authorities to quickly address the apparent divisive attempt to push Fulani's out of the South- East. Finally, he urged the conference organizers to walk the talk by ensuring that the outcomes of the deliberations reach its intended destination for positive actions to restore peace in the country.

Goodwill Message from Northwest, Justice Sadiq Mahuta – Galadima Katsina

19. Justice Sadiq noted that the security situation in the northwest was a very serious issue that required concerted efforts by all stakeholders to resolve because everybody is affected directly or indirectly. We are either unmindful of the danger we are facing, or we are paralyzed fear. He singled out corruption as the bane of our progress as the amount of money voted for security does not deliver the required impact.

Goodwill Message from Northeast, Dr. Shattima Ali, MD/CEO SABMF

20. He started by noting that the Boko Haram is operating in the North –East but its effects are hugely felt in the whole country. He expressed deep worries about the conflicting stories of Government defeating the insurgents and the media reports of deadly attacks on people and military formations every now and then. He lamented the growing ethnic, religious and communal clashes in Taraba and Adamawa States. For the way forward, he advised the Authorities to take a holistic approach to solve the problem,

which he emphasized, was the essence of this Conference. He, therefore, commended the organizers and hoped that the conference would bring about practical and lasting solutions to the security challenges in the North and Nigeria in general.

Goodwill Message from North Central Zone, Prof. Yima Sen

21. He commended ARDP of which he is a member and its partners for the relentless effort towards solving the security problems in the North. He said while the North-Central Zone may be groaning in its pains, the other Zones in the region were not left out. He regretted that although providence made the North Central Zone the food basket of the country, the security challenges, particularly the recurrent farmers/herders violent clashes were denying the nation the joy of bountiful food and peaceful coexistence. He therefore urged the Authorities to urgently:

- a) Check and block the sources of the AK47 and other weapons being used by some herders and other criminal gangs in the community to kill people;
- b) Stop politicizing the Livestock farming and adopt the scientific methods used in other countries;
- c) Unite and fight the scourge together; and
- d) Invest in Agriculture as the way out to guarantee security and achieve economic and social prosperity.

Goodwill Message by His Royal Highness, Dr. Zubairu Jibrin Mai Gwari, the Emir of Birnin Gwari

22. The monarch expressed delight with the theme of the conference and described it as very important and timely. He observed that his domain, Birnin Gwari, had been in a war situation for over 20years of his 27years of rule and that the situation was similar in most other societies. He urged participants to stop apportioning blames and expend collective and collaborative energy and resources on searching for lasting solutions

because everybody was responsible in one way or the other for this ugly state of insecurity and underdevelopment. He advised against politicization of the matter and urged Government to reconsider what he described as 'grossly insufficient', the N10billion allocated for the Northeast rehabilitation and development program. Finally, he prayed and hoped that solutions proffered at this conference would be forwarded to its highest destination for implementation.

Goodwill Message by Representative of the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC)

23. The representative of NLC, Comrade Issa Aremu, identified with the works embarked upon by ARDP and its partners, especially the current initiative on finding solutions to the security challenges in the North. He therefore advised that:

- a) While issues were discussed and statistics churned out, the conference should pay more attention to class analysis, which reveals more clearly the dynamics and character of insecurity and its implications as most victims of insecurity, were workers. He cited the NUT report that showed that about 500 teachers had been killed in the violence in the north-east;
- b) Defining the crises in the north through ethno-religious prisms had the implication of downplaying the problems;
- c) Solutions to the crises should be rooted in economics;
- d) Most of the Police deployed to guard rich people and politically exposed persons should be withdrawn and added to the few that are protecting the larger population;



Meeting of the Syndicate Group on Rural Banditry and Communal Clashes at the Conference

e) Government's economic Agenda should not only be for the Northeast but the of the country at large;

f) The State Governments to buy-into the CBN initiative to provide funding for cotton farming even though he alleged that people couldn't access the funds; and

g) Government should organize a pan Nigerian conference on national security.

h) Written Goodwill Message Sent in by Sen. George Akume, Former Governor of Benue State

24. In his written submission to the conference Sen. Akume thanked the organizers of the conference and then provided his own perspective on the security challenges facing Nigeria. He identified poverty, high levels of unemployment, public corruptions, extensive porous borders, amongst others, as key

responsible factors conditioning the insecurity situation in the country. He then proceeded to look at possible solutions and opportunities in social investment programs, National Livestock Modernization strategies, development of the agribusiness sector, instituting small arms disarmament program, and institutionalizing appropriate security role for the traditional institutions in the country's security architecture. In conclusion, he stressed the link between peace and social development and called for all hands to be deck in resolving the challenges of insecurity in the country.

SYNDICATES' REPORTS

RURAL BANDITRY AND COMMUNAL CLASHES

Terms of Reference

- a) Nature and character of rural banditry and communal clashes;



Common ugly scenes during communal clashes

- b) Flash points, triggers and conflict dynamics;
- c) The value chain, victims and beneficiaries;
- d) Evaluation of Government actions;
- e) What communities can do to protect themselves;
- f) How this community response can be coordinated and regulated; and
- g) Recommended approach to solving the problems.

Background

25. Nigeria was a strong contributor in agriculture and livestock production, with a vibrant industrial platform producing raw materials and finished goods for national, regional, continental and international markets. The Northern industries, particularly the textile industries, created millions of jobs and globally acknowledged entrepreneurs. The region was peaceful and progressive. Today, the story is bad. Poverty is high, unemployment is high and food security is low because the agricultural and livestock sectors are now platforms for pervasive insecurity and destruction characterized by rural banditry and recurrent communal clashes.

26. The nature and character of rural banditry and communal clashes is best defined and understood in their definitions. While Rural Banditry refers to activities of criminals using arms and weapons to terrorize and even kill people on roads, highways, farms, rivers, rural paths, markets, shops and even communities through criminal activities like theft, harm, destruction, murder, dispossession and causing breakdown of law and order, 'Communal Clashes' refer to disrespect for law and order characterized by disaffection between two or more communities based on ideological or political as well as religious and or tribal differences which often lead to violent and counter violent attacks and killing of people and destruction of properties. Both the rural banditry and the communal clashes are often

masterminded by community leaders/political or religious leaders and carried out by the opposing youth. Banditry today is not limited to the village thief but include kidnappers, murderers, village destroyers and cattle rustlers in rural areas.

27. Recognizing that the group is expected to come up with an informed report on the challenges of rural banditry and communal clashes and the most effective strategies for addressing them in the 19 States of the North, the Chairman in his wisdom, opened the floor for a general brainstorming session in which all members were encouraged to individually make brief remarks on the subject matter based on their practical experiences from their zones of origin or where they had served.

28. In addition or supportive of what the syndicate observed during its deliberations, detailed research and field work conducted and documented, especially in the North Western geopolitical zone, indicated that the triggers to rural banditry and communal clashes, with their flash points in Zamfara, Kano, Katsina and Sokoto States in the North-West Zone, could be traced to, among others:

- a) Abject poverty, illiteracy and massive youth unemployment;
- b) Massive rural to urban migration;
- c) Cattle rustling;
- d) Discriminatory and poor administration of land laws;
- e) Selective murder and killings of Fulani, largely by the Hausa and reprisal attacks by the Fulani;
- f) Diversion of Security votes, mostly to serve the private interests of those in authority;
- g) Infiltration of the land by foreign criminals through porous borders;
- h) Divisive preaching by clerics and opinion



Meeting of the Syndicate Group on Regional Perspectives on Security at the Conference

leaders in the communities;

- i) Corrupt law enforcement agents;
- j) Total neglect of pastoralists by government.
- k) Bad governance and poor educational policies which leaves many children out of school and unemployed;
- l) Availability of cheap small arms and light weapons to criminals;
- m) Stereotyping and profiling of certain ethnic or religious groups as criminals;
- n) Unemployment and Drug abuse; and
- o) Settler/indigene dichotomy.

29. This could be done in the following ways:

- a) Encourage and ensure respect for law and order and discourage the indiscriminate subversion of the provisions of the law;
- b) Security officers must follow the laws;
- c) Assign specified responsibilities to all traditional rulers because they are treated like public officers;
- d) Government should identify and adequately punish all beneficiaries of the supply chain on food, machinery, fuel, ammunition, drugs, social media gurus, informants of rural banditry and communal clashes. The close watch and proper sanctions should include politicians, security and traditional leaders who are not only beneficiaries but perpetrators of these heinous crimes against the people;

How to Break up the Violence-Value Chain

e) Government to address the issues of corrupt officials who are constantly benefiting from palliatives by inflating the cost of goods and services required for humanitarian support;

f) Identify and sanction bankers or banks who fail to disclose, in accordance with the banking regulations, large amounts of monies in the accounts of bandits and other criminals in the society;

g) Government should provide effective protection to victims who include traders, local businessmen/women in the rural areas, unsuspecting travelers, women, local banks, pastoralists whose animals are rustled, police, army, traditional leaders all of whom believe in due process, religious leaders who preach goodness, villages judges, parents especially mothers, children of irresponsible parents;

h) Hotels should, henceforth, stop accommodating guests without proper documentation;

i) Protection of Courts, hospitals, Police Stations that have been the traditional targets or victims of the bandits;

j) Communities should establish early warning and early response systems to check the activities of suspicious strangers; and

k) Religious leaders should embark on sustained public awareness on security challenges and advocacy for responsible citizenship during their sermons.

Appropriate/Suitable/Commensurate Strategy and Measures

30. These strategies should include:



*Mohammed Babagana Monguno
National Security Adviser*

- a) Strengthening community peace committees to generate early warning and strategic early response to forge peace;
- b) Fulani children to be educated in both moral and formal educational systems; and
- c) Resuscitation of nomadic education system and strategically integrate the pupils into the larger society.

Role differentiation – State Actors/Civil Society/Community

31. This could or should be done in the following ways:

- a) Traditional rulers should be encouraged and be supported with necessary tools, including enhanced remunerations, to be more effective in providing relevant intelligence and forging community resilience and involvement in all peace processes;
- b) Security agents should build mutual trust and confidence to work closely with community leaders;
- c) Government and other people should identify and criminalize any wrong doers and stop profiling and stereotyping any particular ethnic group as criminals since all ethnic groups have criminals among them; and
- d) Governments should encourage regular and emergency town hall meetings to stimulate communities to forge cooperation and harmonious interactions.

Milestones and Time lines for Exit from Insecurity

32. To be effective:

- a) A special matrix should be prepared to reveal specific challenges of States so that specific solutions will be forged;
- b) Regular expanded regional consultations should be undertaken to share progress and achievements;

- c) There should be a deliberate cooperation between States to launch a common effort to combat criminality and insecurity with committed contribution of resources and a 5-year agreed action plan with time lines to cover Immediate (3 months review), Short Term (1 year review), Medium Term (2 years review) and Long Term (above 4 years review);

- d) A deliberate and sustained media plan (of all forms including social media) should be launched to rebrand and market the region as a progressive, productive, peace loving and efficient region;

- e) There should be special political summits to engender regional harmony and evolution of effective leadership to help reduce political divisions and tensions with a view to ensuring peaceful elections, well-coordinated leadership succession and well-coordinated youth empowerment/employment strategies; and

- f) The quality and effectiveness of the region's traditional institution and leadership should specifically be developed to encourage rural transformation and sustained peace and unity.

Specific Recommendations for All Stakeholders

33. The specific recommendations for all stakeholders, especially communities include the following:

- a) The Governors should commit to act on these serious regional problems by demonstrating responsibility and commitment;
- b) A quick response team to articulate a regional strategy to properly address the problems to a logical conclusion in the next 10 years;
- c) A devised strategy to get the Federal and the State Governments to cooperate and solve the problem at the regional and national levels;
- d) A detailed document on the concepts, programmes, costs and time lines for solving the security challenges in the North;

e) Using the traditional leaderships as a channel to ensure that the strategy is adopted for effective implementation; and

f) A special advocacy or action committee arising from the outcomes of this meeting, should be formed to present the outcomes of the conference to relevant stakeholders at all levels including the Governors, Honourable Ministers,

leaders of the National Assembly and the State Houses of Assembly etc.

Other Observations

34. To ensure that the efforts are truly regional, contributions and reflections should cover all the 19 States. The following are a brief review of flashpoints on the subject matter to focus on for reduction or total eradication of banditry/communal clashes:

S/N	STATE	FLASH POINT
1	Bauchi	Bauchi – Jos Road
		Bauchi – Gombe axis
2	Taraba	Takum - Wukari
		Wukari - Katsina Ala
		Takum – Bali
		Kona area and Lau area
3	Kaduna	Gashaka - Mambila
		Kaduna – Abuja
		Birnin Gwari Area
		Jos – Kaduna
		Gidan Waya area
		Kafanchan area
		Kasuwan magani area
		Buruku area
4	Kano	Falgore forest and environment
5	Katsina	Batsari area
		Safana area
		Sabuwa area
		Kankara area
		Faskari area
6	Plateau	Funtua – Birnin Gwari
		Du area
		Barikin ladi area
		Langtang - Taraba border

7	Kebbi	Kaoje area
8	Kogi	Abuja – Lokoja Lokoja – Okene
9	Kwara	Share and Tsariagi LGAs Offa-Erinle;
10	Nasarawa	Obi LGA; Keffi Akwanga Akwanga – Jos forest
11	Niger	Kagara area Lapai area Rijau area
12	Sokoto	Goronyo-Isa Road
13	Zamfara	Gusau – Sokoto Road Mayanchi – Gumi road Gusau – Dansadau axis Kaura Namoda– Shinkafi Road Kaura Namoda – Katsina Road
14	Borno	Overwhelmed by Boko Haram
15	Yobe	Overwhelmed by Boko Haram
16	Adamawa	Demsa, Numan, Lamurde – Gombe Numan – Ganye Girei, Song, Hong – Mubi Yola, Fufore – Gurin Girei - Demsa axis
17	Benue	Vandekiya - Wukari Buruku area Agatu Logo Guma
18	Jigawa	Neighbouring Yobe
19	Gombe	Billiri – Lafiya Lamurde Gombe – Shani axis

KIDNAPPING AND ARMED ROBBERY

35. The Chairman encouraged members of the syndicate group to engage in fruitful deliberations that will lead to far reaching suggestions to address the menace of kidnaping and armed robbery in our society.

Terms of Reference

- a) Nature and character of the phenomena
- b) The value chain and the beneficiaries
- c) Evaluation of Government responses
- d) What communities can do to protect their spaces
- e) How this can be sustained and coordinated,
- f) Recommended responses to government.

Nature and character of the phenomena

36. The group identified three types of kidnaping and armed robbery. These were Rural Kidnaping/Armed Robbery, Highway Kidnaping/Armed Robbery and Urban Kidnaping/Armed Robbery. The group also identified reasons such as economic e.g. Illegal mining activities in Zamfara State has aggravated the problem, Competition for scarce resources, membership of different political parties/camps, abject poverty, unemployment, and vengeance as influencers for kidnaping and armed robbery. Recently there had been dastard and daring cases of armed robberies and kidnapings in broad daylight, unlike in the past when most of the operations of kidnappers and armed robbers are characteristically carried out at gun-points at nights.

Character of the phenomena

37. Kidnaping and Armed Robbery usually assume a high dimension which is characterized by the use of military uniform and the attacks are usually carried out in the dark hours of the day, with occasional daring attacks in broad daylight.

Factors that triggers kidnaping and armed robbery.

38. There are many factors responsible for the spread of kidnaping and armed robbery in our society today; these include:

- a) **Porous Borders:** Nigerian borders are not

properly policed which encourages the influx of illegal and criminally minded migrants into the country. The huge presence of criminally minded foreigners aggravates the competition for scarce resources with the fast increasing national population;

- b) **Lack of Appropriate Data for Planning:** The Federal, State and Local Governments do not have accurate data or actual population of Nigerian citizens and foreigners for proper planning of national development programs and security strategies;

- c) **Loss of Moral Value System:** The value system in our society today has woefully eroded. This has led to moral decadence characterized by the lack of respect and empathy for human life;

- d) **Lack of Communal Responsibility:** Communities no longer take interest in the well-being of each other;

- e) **Unemployment:** The level of unemployment today is one of the factors triggering the level of increase in kidnaping and armed robbery in the region. The Youth who are not engaged in any productive activity take to crime and criminality in the form of kidnaping and armed robbery;

- f) **Poor Educational Policies:** Poor education contribute to the low societal values which has led to various crimes including kidnaping and armed robbery;

- g) **Social Injustice:** The high level of injustice, impunity and inequality in the society has led to agitations from different strata of the society and struggle for survival thereby resulting in increase and widespread of crime and criminality in the land;

- h) **Arms Running:** Availability of arms and ammunition and light weapons in wrong hands either because they have the resources to acquire them and the will to give the arms to criminals in exchange for sundry benefits have contributed to the widespread increase in crime and criminality

in the society;

i) **Large Ungoverned Spaces:** Because government is unable to effectively govern and police large swaths of land in different parts of the region, criminals and terrorist groups use such spaces as operational bases- hideouts and training grounds for nefarious acts of kidnaping, cattle rustling, armed robbery and terrorism;

j) **Poor Policing:** Due to inadequate funding and lack of manpower, the Nigerian State is grossly under-policed which is giving rise to

l) The large number of men and officers of the Nigeria Police being attached routinely to non-entitled Very Important Personalities (VIPs) or Politically Exposed Persons should be withdrawn and formally deployed to protect the most vulnerable in society.

The Violence Value-Chain and the Beneficiaries

39. Research has shown that there are individuals and institutions within and outside the country who are benefitting from these evils of kidnaping and armed robbery that plague our



President Buhari, Vice President Osinbajo flanked by the Service Chiefs of the Nigerian Armed Forces

self-help measures such as the formation of Community Vigilante Groups with poor management and regulatory policies;

k) Government should give serious consideration to calls for the establishment of State Police as part of the solution to the shortage of manpower and limited knowledge of the environment by the Nigerian Police; and

society today. The internal beneficiaries include some members of the political class, some traditional rulers, criminally minded economic immigrants, corrupt clergymen, petty traders, Customs and Immigration officials, drug dealers, arms dealers, and Sharuta –hunters. The external machineries include influential foreign interests such as mining companies and NGOs.

Evaluation of Government's Efforts and

Impact

40. There are appreciable efforts by State and Federal Governments to curb the increasing spate of kidnaping and armed robbery in our society both at strategic, tactical and operational levels. However, the current National Security Strategies and Communications network are not working as desired, hence the recurrence and the spread of the dreaded crimes in the society. Therefore, Governments need to be more pro-active rather than reactive to situations of kidnaping and other violent crimes. Also, there is need for improved inter-agency cooperation and collaboration by relevant law enforcement agencies in order to achieve results. There is the need for the government to be more empathetic to the plight of the people whenever Nigerians are killed. The President/Governors should personally visit any community so attacked to sympathise with them and make reassuring statements that kindle confidence building and trust in the Government of the day.

41. The government responses are always very slow even when they have intelligence that would have helped to prevent the situation from happening. At the operational level, there is lack of capacity by the security agencies to respond promptly so as to deal with the situation immediately it occurs.

How to Break up the Violence-Value Chain

42. In order to break up the violence- value chain, government should consider the following measures:

- a) Proper enlightenment and advocacy programmes like conferences and public enlightenment campaign by the National Orientation Agency and other relevant stakeholders to sensitize the youth and members of the public on the effects of kidnaping and armed robbery and blind support to the beneficiaries of the crimes;
- b) Governments should make concerted efforts to identify, arrest, prosecute and punish any individual or group of persons operating locally or internationally as direct or indirect beneficiaries

of these crimes; and

- c) Government should check and break the alleged league between terrorists and kidnappers. The more resourceful terrorist groups are said to be providing training and weapons to the armed robbers and kidnappers

Appropriate/Suitable/Commensurate Strategy and Measures to Curtail it

43. It is generally deduced that the apparent over-reliance on kinetic force by the national security agents over the years would not solve the security challenges in the country without the combination of both kinetic and soft approaches. In order to curtail the menace of kidnaping and armed robbery, there is the need for appropriate holistic measures by all relevant stakeholders to nip it in the bud. These include:

- a) Rapid collaborative response to community leaders' distress calls by the Security Agencies;
- b) Establishment and maintenance of central data bank of crimes committed in the States or communities for proper study of the causes and how best to check the crimes;
- c) Provision of adequate modern equipment to the security agencies, especially the military and the police to combat and armed robbery;
- d) The promotion and consolidation of intra/inter-government collaboration so that they can share knowledge and experiences on the best and cost effective options;
- e) Soft Power: Complementing the kinetic power with alternative methods or soft power like the use of modern technology (Closed- Circuit Camera (CCTV), partnerships with local communities and the deployment of drones that will monitor activities of people in our cities;
- f) Government to intensify efforts to ensure the success of the CBN cashless policies;
- g) Stop paying ransom or else kidnaping

would continue to be a lucrative job for the criminals;

h) Enforce capital punishment for those found guilty of armed robbery and kidnaping;

I) Effective communications with community leaders; and

j) Ensuring strict compliance with NCC regulations on the registration of SIM cards by Service Providers and proper usage by subscribers.

What communities can do to protect their spaces

44. Role differentiation- State actors/Civil society/ Communities State Actors. The Role differentiation for State and Non-State Actors

a) State should engage in intelligence gathering via collaboration with communities;

b) Provision of adequate modern equipment to law enforcement officers in order to combat the menace;

c) Reorient with a view to changing the mind set or the psyche of the security agents to be in tune with the dynamics of democratic governance and permissive strategies for securing the nation and the people;

d) Government should identify and clear any criminal hide outs in the region;

e) Surveillance, recruitment/ equipment for our security personnel;

f) Civil society: The civil society through its activities should hold government accountable to the citizen;

g) They should engage in public enlightenment campaign, advocacies and sensitization of communities on the ills of complacency and moral decadence;

h) Communities: Public engagement like

conferences and seminars Public enlightenment;

i) Promotion of harmonious and trustworthy inter-relationship between community leaders and their subjects;

j) Provision of intelligence/ information to law enforcement agencies by the communities;

k) The community should have its local data bank;

l) There should be value re-orientation. There is the need to revive our traditional value system;

m) Formation of Informal Security Outfits (Yanbanga): This is to complement the capacity of the Nigerian State in policing the ungoverned spaces; and

n) Restructuring the outmoded Nigerian Security Architecture and Review of the current National Security Strategies.

Specific Recommendations for All Stakeholders

45. The specific recommendation for all stakeholders, especially communities include:

a) The use of Modern Technology: Government need to deploy appropriate technology like the use of drones, night goggle, walkie-talkies in gathering information that would assist relevant agencies of government in detecting and curbing kidnaping, armed robbery and other criminal activities;

b) Improved incentives for law enforcement agencies and community leaders;

c) Training and retraining of security personnel by the government;

d) Intra/inter government per review; i.e., states should learn what their counterparts such as Lagos State are doing to curb kidnaping, armed robbery and insecurity generally;

- e) Quick and effective response to security threats by relevant or combined security agencies;
- f) Creation of employment opportunities for our teaming youth;
- g) Revive the National Identification Policy that will take biometric data of every Nigerian and foreigners living in our land and those who come for visit;
- h) **Community Policing:** Through community policing, security personnel will know members of the community to be deployed to where they will be able to easily identify criminals living in such communities;
- i) The aerial surveillance of all flash-points suspected to be criminal hideouts by relevant Government authorities;
- j) Tripartite Partnerships between Police, traditional rulers and their communities;
- k) Revamping the educational system to keep the vulnerable youth gainfully engaged;
- l) The adoption of both kinetic and soft powers by the security agencies in fighting kidnaping and the menace of armed robbery;
- m) **Public enlightenment:** Governments and Civil Society Organisations should do more to enlighten the public regularly;
- n) Capacity-building, training and retraining of the security personnel;
- o) The formulation of a National Policy and database on Kidnaping and Armed Robbery;
- p) The building of a strong and effective intelligence mechanism that will effectively investigate these crimes;



Meeting of the Syndicate Group on Ethno-Religious Conflicts at the Conference

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| <p>q) Effective arrest and prosecution of offenders;</p> <p>r) Show of concern and relief for victims; and</p> <p>s) Academic research and continued learning about evolving criminal tendencies in the society.</p> | <p>c) Evaluation of Government's Counterinsurgency Strategies and Impacts;</p> <p>d) How to Break up the Violence Value-Chain;</p> <p>e) Role Differentiation;</p> <p>f) Milestone and time line for Exit from the Insurgency and</p> <p>g) Specific Recommendations</p> |
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Short-Term or Immediate Solution

46. These measures should include the following:

- a) Government should acquire modern equipment to enhance the operation and capacity of security agencies;
- b) Government should recruit more law enforcement personnel;
- c) Identify and map criminal hideouts;
- d) A comprehensive offensive strategy that will involve the Nigerian military, the Police and community members in places where intelligence has revealed criminal hideouts;
- e) Aerial surveillance of all suspected criminal hideouts and known kidnaping rings;
- f) Equip all highway security personnel; and
- g) Government should declare a state of emergency or make there solution of the security challenges a national priority, ensuring that all our airwaves are patriotically discussing practical and durable solutions to national security challenges and the protection of lives and properties.

BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY

The Terms of Reference

- a) Nature and character of the Conflict;
- b) Magnitude of the Challenge and Implications;

Background

47. The genesis of the Boko Haram insurgency could be traced to the introduction of the Shari'a legal system by the Zamfara State Government and subsequently emulated and implemented by most Muslim dominated States in Northern Nigeria without any challenges, except in Borno State. When the late Mala Kachalla's government signed Shari'a Bill into Law in Borno, there were two government agencies that were established: The Shari'a Implementation Committee and 'The Council of Ulama.' Muhammad Yusuf, the leader of an Islamic group called Shabab was coopted as a member of the Shari'a Implementation Committee. He became dissatisfied with the Committee's work and opted out to start his own campaign for a full implementation of Shari'a Law.

48. When former Governor Ali Modu Sharif was campaigning for election as Governor, he used Yusuf as his campaign coordinator in the State. As an ambitious person, Mr. Yusuf went to various teachers and mosques built but soon parted ways with the leaders or scholars in those places. Later on, his in-law, Alhaji Baba Fugu gave him a piece of land where his mosque, known as Markaz Ibn Taymiyya, was established. Based on the belief that he was sincere, he quickly gathered large followership. When Ali Sharif emerged as the Governor, he chose the Secretary of his group, Buji Foi, as Commissioner for Religious Affairs due to the fact that Yusuf himself did not acquire enough Western Education. Yusuf continued his preaching within and outside the



Leadership of the Boko Haram during one of their public outings

State and gathered followers all over Northern Nigeria.

49. By July 2009, the misunderstanding between then Governor Sharif and late Yusuf led to some serious violent clashes between the Policemen of 'Operation Push' and the Yusuf-led radical Islamic group which refused to comply with the State law compelling all motorcycle riders to use safety or crash-helmet. The group went on rampage. Yusuf and some of his members were arrested while many escaped. The second layer of the misunderstanding was reportedly between the military and the Police over the appropriate disciplinary or legal action against Yusuf and his group. In between the misunderstanding, Yusuf was reportedly killed mysteriously. This is said to be the inexplicable act between the Police and the military that set the Region ablaze.

50. From then onwards, peace has not returned to Borno State and the Northeast in

general. The flame, which engulfed the Northeast and other parts of the North in different magnitude, is still burning. At the wake of 2011 elections, when General Buhari as a candidate for Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) was touring Borno, the residents of Maiduguri witnessed the first bomb blast. Since then, there has been recurrent attacks on military and paramilitary personnel serving and retired as well as indiscriminate attacks on civilians and places of worship. The military that had come to drive Boko Haram members, acted like an occupation army. And from that time, the Boko Haram issue started wearing several faces- insurgency, terrorism and religious extremism. Religion is not not the only matter now because, Christians, moderate Muslims, armed robbers, politicians become involved, while Boko Haram is being used as the scapegoat.

The Magnitude of Current Challenge and Implications

51. The crisis, which started like a child's play

in a local community in Borno State, has developed into one of international dimension with some suspicious foreign involvement, notably, the French economic and strategic interests in the Sahel Region, including the Lake Chad Basin. Sources revealed that the suspected involvement and plans of the foreign powers has gained some credence with the invasion of the crisis-ridden Northeast by over 100 foreign funded Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) so far, with many of them paying incredibly high rents for upward of 10 to 15 years in advance to achieve the said ulterior motives of their masters, particularly, France, which is observably bent on blocking Nigeria's economic progress in the manner she had blocked those of her former colonies in the Sahel region [inher favour].

52. Due to the intensity and the resurgence of the violent activities of the insurgents and terrorists, over 200,000 people have been killed and over 2.3 million people are reportedly displaced in their own land since the crisis began in 2009. The 'internally displaced persons' are deprived of their legitimate means of livelihood; they cannot farm, trade or engage in any income-yielding businesses. Corruption in the IDP camps has deepened and hunger, diseases as well as other social ills are on the increase.

Evaluation of Government's Counterinsurgency Strategy and its Impact

53. Since assuming office in 2015 by the President Muhammadu Buhari-led Administration, all the 17 Local Government Areas in the Northeast previously occupied by Boko Haram under the former President Goodluck Jonathan's regime (2010-2015), were recovered by the military which claimed to have technically defeated or decimated the powers of the insurgents. However, due to poor holding capacity and strategies, the military successes recorded was short-lived. Boko Haram has reoccupied and is effectively holding some areas in the region. The true situation today is that no one can move freely beyond 10 kilometers, in any direction, out of Maiduguri, Borno State capital, the epicenter of the crisis. The Damboa-Biu road

is divided by the 2 warring camps of Boko Haram under Shekau and Mohammed Nur.

54. The Nigerian army is always on the defensive and apparently muddling up counter-insurgency strategies with those for countering terrorism. A number of times and in various strategic locations, the Nigerian military is often taken unawares in very humiliating attacks or ambush by the insurgents using superior weapons. This means continued crises with increased multidimensional humanitarian challenges and subversive activities by some foreign funded NGOs waiting on the wings.

55. However, even though the crisis is not over yet, there is more relative peace in the region compared to the period before 2016. With the resurgent attacks in different parts of the region on the people and military installations, with heavy casualties, the people are crying to the Government to restore peace in the land soonest. This calls for immediate review of the security set up and the simultaneous adoption of appropriate counter terrorism and counter-insurgency strategies.

How to Break up the Violence-Value Chain

56. Under the grim situation painted above, there are many beneficiaries. They include some section of the International Community, some government officials and top brasses within the national security agencies, some of the Community leaders and, in fact, even some members of the Civilian Joint Task Force. To break up the violence-value chain:

- a) The Federal and State Governments must take pragmatic measures to identify, arrest and prosecute the beneficiaries who perpetrate and perpetuate the violence;
- b) The scholars must emphasize in their writings, sermons and lectures, the need for peaceful coexistence;
- c) The government must maintain physical presence in all local government areas in the commendable manner being embarked upon by

the incumbent Governor of Borno State who has asked the soldiers to allow the citizens who have returned to secured areas to engage in their income earning ventures. He also promised to give capital to the fish farmers, which we advise, should be extended to other sectors of the economy;

d) While collaborating with the police and other security agents in holding the urban and recaptured areas, the military should also deploy its men to the troubled rural areas;

e) The indigenes who have high stake in a peaceful State should volunteer and be mobilized to join the military or the CJTF in the fight against insurgency; and

f) The local and external sources of funding for Boko Haram have to be blocked and all NGOs that are found to be assisting the insurgents directly or indirectly be expelled from Nigeria while the activities of the fair-minded ones in the crisis zones be effectively regulated.

Role differentiation- State Actors/Civil Society/Community

57. The situation of insecurity which has cross-cutting and cross-border effects, needs a holistic approach towards lasting solutions. In addition to the neighborhood diplomatic approach through the commendable establishment of the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) a conglomerate of the army, Air Force, Navy, Police, Immigration and Customs, formed by Nigeria, Benin, Niger, Chad and Cameroon, we recommend, among others:

a) The establishment of a joint interagency as well as mutually beneficial international collaboration and central command of the MNJTF. Due to lack of synergy, mostly on the Nigerian side, the forces contributed by the 5 States are operating unsatisfactorily under uncoordinated commands;

b) The efforts of the MNJTF need to be comprehensive; the enemy must neither be pursued into nor allowed to establish a base or



*Lt Gen TY Buratai
 Chief of Army Staff*

route in any of the contributing States;

c) Governments should procure adequate modern equipment and additional manpower for all the agencies, including the MNJTF, involved in the prosecution of the war;

d) Governments need to restore people's trust and confidence in all the state security operatives for effective military and civil synergy;

e) While pursuing the military option vigorously, Government should keep open doors for negotiation with the insurgents and the terrorists to secure voluntary surrender, return of arms and reintegration into the society;

f) Create secure and economically viable trade zones between border communities to get the people to be part of the solution;

g) The civil societies and the communities must help government in sharing information. In the earlier times, informants may be imprisoned or maltreated. Informants need to be listened to and be guaranteed of adequate protection always;

h) The Civil Societies and communities must stop hiding or assisting the Boko Haram members for whatever pecuniary benefits. Infact, they should continue the assistance and search;

I) The media must be neutral, not to become government mouthpiece. Oftentimes, the actual events are not covered objectively because of the brown envelope syndrome;

j) The military must discharge its duties in accordance with the rules of engagement. The Civil Society, the media and the community must ensure that human rights violation are checked and honestly reported, especially, violence against women, children and the aged who are the most vulnerable and worst victims [of violence] in society; and

k) Government should immediately set up a task force to investigate and diplomatically address the broad international conspiracy theory said to be part of the forces against the quick and comprehensive resolution of the crisis.

Milestones and Time lines for Exit from Insecurity

58. This is a very difficult question because of the various local and international interests involved. As long as:

a) The insurgents continue to have unlimited sources of funding and weapons;

b) The Governments do not identify, arrest and prosecute the chain of perpetrators/beneficiaries of the war,

c) The international conspirators continue to have their ways in the crisis-ridden areas of the Northeast, as evidenced in the unimaginable high and long years of tenement rent some NGOs are paying to hang on; and

d) The crisis is not clearly defined and collectively addressed as a national challenge; it would be very difficult to predict how soon the crisis would end.

Recommendations for All Stakeholders

59. Notwithstanding the reservation expressed in paragraph 58 above, with a clear definition of the crisis and strong political will, zeal and determination to re-strategize, mobilize and commit the required resources to the prosecution of the war, we predict that it would not take more than two years to restore peace and normalcy in the land. To this end, we recommend as follows:

a) Since the use of kinetic force has not yielded the desired result, it is necessary to combine this strategy with the use of soft power which includes peaceful negotiation with the aggrieved groups;

b) Government should strengthen its partnerships with the International Community to effectively block Boko Haram's foreign sources of funds, arms supplies and indoctrination/radicalization;

c) Government needs to initiate mutually beneficial strategies to derive maximum benefits from the existing cordial and collaborative working relationship with Nigeria's contiguous neighbors to win the war comprehensively;

d) The Governments should take care of all actors involved in fighting the insurgents-improved and regular payment of salaries and allowances, personal and family welfare including healthcare and other benefits they are entitled to;

e) All Government officials and private persons involved in subterranean and subversive activities with the criminals to perpetuate the conflict must be 'brought to book';

f) The Authorities should set up independent radio or television stations in order to air the other side of the story. We already have one or two, but they are not enough;

g) The military and other security agencies should consider the absorption of competent and qualified gallant CJTF boys and girls into their

olds and engaging the others in gainful post-conflict activities;

h) Governments should establish presence in hitherto ungoverned areas by establishing army divisions, police stations and building infrastructures as well as providing social amenities there;

i) The military should relocate its facilities out of urban vicinities. The Maimalari, Giwa and 333 Barracks have now become part of the Maiduguri city due to urbanization, making highly vulnerable to terrorist attacks;

j) Government needs to mobilize and dedicate specific resources to training and capacity building in monitoring and evaluation of policies and implementation strategies;

k) The security agencies should coordinate intelligence gathering and sharing in a manner that respects interdependence and operational synergy always;

l) The strategies for resettlement which include rehabilitation, reconstruction and reintegration should be pursued immediately as even the UNCHR and all displacement-related bodies recommend that IDPs stay in camps should not exceed three months; and

m) Government should give serious consideration to the foreign conspiracy theory.

FARMER-HERDER CONFLICT

Terms of Reference

- a) Nature and Character of the Conflict;
- b) Roots, Triggers and Drivers of the Conflict
- c) Magnitude of Current Challenge;
- d) Evaluation of Government's current Efforts and Impact;
- e) The Violence-value Chains;
- f) Role Differentiation –State and Non-State

Actors;

g) Appropriate Strategies for Resolving the Problem;

h) Milestones and Time lines for Exit;

I) Recommendations

Background

60. The discussion commenced with self-introduction by members. The discussion brought together experts on farmer-herder relations in Nigeria to deliberate on the issues related to the nature and characteristics of farmer-herder conflict in Northern Nigeria. The Chairman opened the discussion by calling the attention of members to the subject of discussion under the terms of reference. Following the Chairman's remarks, members shared their understanding of the farmer-herder conflict from their professional perspectives. During the discussion, the syndicate evaluated government responses and proposed alternative solutions to the problem. Community support and sustainability of the proposed alternative solutions were discussed with recommendations.

61. Farming and herding communities had co-existed peacefully in Nigeria's rural areas, particularly in the Northern parts of the country for centuries, sharing land, water, pasture and other environmental resources under different forms of tenure arrangements, which vary, from one geographic space to another. The symbiotic relationship guaranteed access to, and use of land often in mutually beneficial ways, promoting beneficial crops-livestock exchanges.

62. Many of the rural communities in Northern Nigeria are small scale, peasant farmers with marginal yields. The major crops are subsistence food crops, with few cash crops intended to meet key family needs. Even though commercialization of agriculture has been recorded in Northern Nigeria in the recent years, the impact relates more to medium and large-scale farmers.

63. Pastoralism, the extensive use of



A Herder carrying an assault heavy weapon

rangelands for livestock production, is an important economic activity in Nigeria. The pastoral producers account for over 90% of the ruminant livestock holdings, thus becoming the major suppliers of beef, domestic milk and associated livestock products. They engage in periodic (seasonal) movements in search of pasture, water and security for themselves and their livestock. The movements are often defined by ecological differences and are structured along defined migratory corridors. There are three main groups, the sedentary, the semi-sedentary and the nomadic groups of pastoralists.

64. The Nigerian Government's Grazing Reserve Act of 1964 was a response to the problem of alienation of grazing lands increasingly being faced by the pastoral population at the time. In a broader framework, the law was also taken as one of the policy measures to address some of the constraints confronting livestock development in Nigeria. Thus, grazing reserves were established, not only

to protect grazing lands from crop farming and provide easier access to them by pastoralists, but also to encourage the sedenterization of nomadic/transhumant pastoralists through legally secure titles to grazing water and, in general, as one means of promoting livestock development. In another development, Northern Region administration understood the challenges affecting pastoralism. It therefore, came up with programmes that would ease pastoralism and promote sedenterization of pastoral families.

However, with the military intervention in governance of the country and the shift from agriculture to oil economy, the implementation of those programmes was stalled or neglected. This stagnated the livestock subsector and led to southward migration of pastoralists in search of fodder and watering points. This resulted in serious competition among the diverse resource users, which later turned into conflicts over access and control of the scarce resources.

Roots/triggers/drivers of the security challenge

66. There are several factors leading to the recurrent violent conflict, especially between the farmers and pastoralists in Northern Nigeria. These factors include the followings:

- a) Competition over access and use of natural resources particularly land, vegetation and water resources;
- b) Blockage of cattle routes and access to watering points and grazing fields due to massive and increasing land alienation;
- c) Incidences of crop damage and encroachment on farmlands by herdsmen;
- d) Skewed agricultural development policies that tended to favour crop production and neglecting livestock sector;
- e) High level of illiteracy, which is making it easier for elites and selfish politicians to use religion and ethnicity to divide people;
- f) Lack of awareness due to illiteracy and poor sensitization among the people. A large part of the population engaging in the livestock and crop farming do not know enough about government policies and programmes that will benefit them;
- g) Poor land process and mechanisms of land acquisition that limit access to land resources for some farming and pastoral communities. In particular, the pastoralists' rights to land ownership and even access had been constrained in many parts of Northern Nigeria;
- h) Occasional harassment and exploitation of some groups at community level, which resulted in loss of trust in the traditional institutions and security agencies. This led to the breakdown in the intercommunity relationship, which in turn, often results in violent confrontation among diverse community groups;
- i) Weak leadership of pastoralists' associations, such as the Miyetti Allah Kautal

Hore and the Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders' Association of Nigeria (MACBAN), which tend to contribute to the challenges of exploitation and poor organization of pastoral communities;

- j) Weakened traditional arbitration mechanisms, which permits different forms of exploitation of rural farmers and pastoralists communities;
- k) Increased proliferation of arms amongst youths that allowed an unprecedented rise in criminal activities in the rural areas;
- l) Insufficient understanding of the situation due to fake news and misleading reports among many media organizations, particularly the print, online and social media outlets. Also, some television stations often promote skewed and inaccurate information, as well as promoting hate speeches; and
- m) Poverty: There is low productivity per unit area of land due to very low-level skills for intensification of crops and livestock production. This has increased the level of poverty in the rural areas, increasing the levels of youth's unemployment.

Magnitude of Current Challenge and Implications on Society and Economy

66. For decades, farmer-herder clashes have been one of the major security challenges affecting many rural communities in Northern Nigeria. All the States in the region have experienced violent conflicts between farmers and herders, which often result in displacement, loss of lives and loss of properties. The states with high occurrence and reoccurrence in Northern Nigeria include Sokoto, Katsina, Benue, Nasarawa, Kogi, Plateau, Kaduna, Zamfara, Adamawa, and Taraba.

67. What is described as farmer – herder conflicts are a variety of rural violence, which takes various forms. These include:

- a) Dispute between farmers and pastoralists over access to land-based resources-water, grass

and pastoralists' routes;

b) Disputes between farmers and pastoralists over real or perceived infringements such as crop damages, blockage of stock routes, etc;

c) Violent conflicts associated with activities of criminal gangs in the rural areas especially where farmers and pastoralists are found;

d) Ethno-religious violence, which could be triggered by various reasons, ending up in, attacks and counterattacks between farming and pastoral communities. Most of the pastoralists are Moslems while the farmers are mostly people of Christian and traditional faiths, hence the ease with which politicians play the religious card in their propaganda of hate.

Evaluation of Current Efforts in Strategy and Impact

68. Realizing the challenges of expanding populations and the need to improve the productivity of livestock in the country, since the 1960s, the governments in Nigeria had initiated a number of interventions to manage the relationship between farmers and pastoralists. These include:

a) **Mandatory Migratory and Grazing Routes:** The establishment of migratory and grazing routes for the pastoralists across the country;

b) **Grazing Reserves:** The 1965 Grazing Reserve Law passed by the Northern Regional Government. The purpose was to establish and gazette grazing reserves in all parts of Northern Nigeria, where land areas were carved out and to be developed for the permanent settlement of pastoralists. Within these areas, improved livestock production techniques were to be promoted and to ultimately modernize the livestock industry; and

c) **The National Livestock Transformation Plan:** Presently, the policy direction of the Federal Government is a renewed commitment to promoting the establishment of Grazing Reserves and the promotion of gradual transformation to the establishment of Modern Ranches by

Livestock farmers as is being done in other climes.

69. However, the 1965 Grazing Reserve Law was poorly implemented by the successive military and civilian regimes. As a consequence, conflicts between farmers and pastoralists escalated and became increasingly more violent, spreading to many parts of the country, especially from the 1980s. From the early 1980s to mid-1990s, the response of government to farmer-herder clashes was to set farmer-herder conflict resolution Committees which were often subjectively composed, poorly funded, and therefore, ineffective, if implemented at all. Pragmatic policies were not put in place to address the root causes. As the conflicts continued in 2000 and beyond, the responses of government became weaker and most of the interventions were more on paper than in action. In the most recent years, some State Governments pursued narrower approaches as a response, creating avenues for more alienation and escalation of divisive rhetoric, hate speech and more violent confrontations.

70. The new National Livestock Transformation Plan, said to be voluntary, is very difficult to implement because it requires "ownership of land" by pastoralists for which many parts of the country are not prepared to accept because of the belief, due to lack of information, that the plan was meant to favour the pastoralists, who are predominantly Fulani Muslims, more than the ethnic groups. This makes addressing the bad relationship between cattle rearing and crop farming populations more complex. The approach of most of the media organizations has made the situation much more difficult to find an acceptable and workable solution.

71. Above all, the new Plan, which is a welcome development, would suffer worse setbacks than the previous equally good programs if it is not properly publicized nationwide and its implementation processes are not supported by strong political, resolute and unwavering commitment of the Federal, State and Local Governments. The lack of political will to



Meeting of the Syndicate Group on Farmer Herder Conflicts at the Conference

implement the recommendations of the various panels of enquiry and the numerous good policies and programmes developed at various times has been the main reason for the recurrent widespread violent conflicts between the farmers and pastoralists and its negative consequences on the people.

The Violence Value-Chain

72. There are many farmer-herder conflict entrepreneurs that benefit from the conflict. They include:

- I) Unpatriotic Politicians
- ii) Narrow-based Religious groups;
- iii) Corrupt traditional leaders, particularly at village and ward levels;
- iv) Corrupt security agents who molest and intimidate people to get money;

- v) Large section of the Media who thrive on hate speech, profiling and getting patronage;
- vi) Informal vigilante groups of different kinds who gain relevance and engage in illegal confiscation of wealth;
- vii) Various ethno-religious groups and socio-cultural organizations that found relevance in promoting narrow and misguided ethnic and religious view points.

Role differentiation – State Actors/Civil Society/Community

73. The role differentiation for all stakeholders include the following key observations:

- a) Weak state institutions and insufficient political will to address the root causes of the problems;

b) Many civil society organizations and communal associations are headed by narrow based elite groups, exploiting ethnic and religious differences to promote their political views and interests;

c) Community leaderships are often ill equipped and poorly supported to appropriately respond to the current challenges in Northern Nigeria. Many of the leaders at community levels are made ineffective because of inadequate support from governments, as well as the negative activities of criminals and armed groups especially in rural communities affected by violence; and

d) A large number of the youth population is poorly educated and lacks opportunities for decent living. Some are influenced by drugs and criminal gangs. They therefore, find it expedient to disrespect community leadership, engage in crime and exploit ethnic and religious differences to perpetuate criminal activities.

Appropriate/Suitable/Commensurate Strategy and Measures to Curtail the Conflict

74. To break-up the violence value-chain, there is need for:

a) Awareness and sensitization campaign to enlighten rural communities, specifically the youth, on the dangers associated with violent conflicts. This will help in changing their psyche and will also help in de-radicalising those used by selfish politicians to instigate violence;

b) Increased responsibility, constitutional roles and support for community and traditional leadership, who should live and work with the people, to become more effective in the governance of people and rural resources;

c) The establishment of democratic community governance;

d) Increased oversight of the activities of local vigilante groups and security agents, particularly those deployed to rural areas, to either

intervene in conflicts or to handle complaints. Security agents as well as the local vigilante groups need to be more civil and respect community leaders and traditional institutions;

e) Proper training of the local vigilante groups as most of them lack the capacity to understand the dynamics of inter-community relations, crimes and dealing with suspects;

f) Promoting integrated systems and development models that address the needs of all groups and enhances sharing and cooperative management of key rural resources;

g) Strengthening the capacity of key public institutions charged with responsibilities of supporting rural livelihoods (crops and livestock extension, health services, infrastructure and facilities, skills development, joint cooperatives development, judicial processes, etc.); and

h) Huge investment in rural development and enhancing livelihoods.

Milestones and Time lines for Exit from Security Challenges

75. The exit strategies should include:

a) Strengthening community leadership;

b) Building strong partnerships – across ethnic, religious and socio-economic divides;

c) Strengthening the leadership capacity of community, LGA and State institutions;

d) Re-evaluating the strategies for attaining increased productivity of crops and livestock production; and

e) Inclusive strategies for addressing criminal activities – effective participation of community leadership, trusted and inclusive CSOs, well trained, honest and efficient security personnel and strong oversight responsibilities of civil authorities.

Specific Recommendations for All

Stakeholders

76. Various stakeholders have different roles to address farmer-herder conflict in Northern Nigeria. Some of the recommended roles for each actor are given below:

a) Government should come up with policies of engaging conflicting parties to bridge the communication gaps that often instigate conflicts;

b) Strengthening early warning and early response mechanisms within the security agencies and traditional institutions at community levels;

c) The Federal Government should review, in collaboration with the State Governments who own the grazing reserves and record all available gazetted grazing reserves and make sure that they are used properly for the new National Livestock Transformation Plan for the livestock sector;

d) States and LGAs need to develop mechanisms to coordinate the movement of cattle from wet season to dry season grazing areas and guarantee access rights of livestock to watering points along the major fadama areas until the ranching policy is properly implemented;

e) There is the need to develop a comprehensive strategy to deal with people that instigate and mobilize people for violence for pecuniary gains;

f) Enactment of or review and strengthening of existing laws and regulations to prevent or mitigate the impacts of hate speech, stereotyping and other forms of characterizations that are detrimental to harmonious inter-community relations and communal coexistence;

g) The activities of security personnel deployed to rural areas and zones of conflicts need to be strictly supervised to prevent the high level of high-handedness, molestation and exploitation of illiterate individuals and rural communities;

h) There is the need to accord special attention to the development of the livestock industry in Nigeria and strengthen interventions in Livestock development through the creation of

the Ministry of animal resources at the Federal and States level as is done in many West African countries;

i) Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) need to educate the public on various aspects of rural populations and their economy, particularly on pastoralism and its contribution to the Nigerian economy;

j) CSOs and relevant stakeholders need to be organising dialogues at community, LGA and state levels among the various ethno-religious and socio-cultural groups to promote unity and understanding;

k) There is the need for stronger tracking of government policies and implementation to address the observed flaws in policy implementation. CSOs and other community-based groups can play this important role;

l) The National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) should ensure that the Media complies with all the regulatory provisions to reduce hate speech, bigotry and divisive communications being peddled by religious and ethnic protagonists; and

m) Above all, the Governments must demonstrate unwavering commitment and strong political will to ensure the success of the above recommendations. This is the most significant tool for the success of this noble by the Governments and the implementing agencies.

URBAN YOUTH VIOLENCE AND DRUG ABUSE

Terms of Reference

a) Magnitude of the Current Challenge and Implication on Society and Economy;

b) Evaluation of the Current Effort in Strategy and Impact

c) Concern and Observation

d) Recommendations



Background

77. The manifestation of Urban Youth Violence in Northern Nigerian has become a phenomenon of major concern in our society. The manifestation of this phenomenon includes political thuggery, cultism and gang warfare. No segment of Northern Nigerian society is spared of the negative effects of these social vices. In most instances, elements from among the youths are most associated with violence that is fast making the entire region almost completely inhospitable.

Youths mostly under the influence of hard drugs and peer pressure are lured into violent activities that often overstretch the capacity of the country's security agencies. For our continued survival, economic growth and development, the underlying causes of urban youth violence, which include despondency, idleness, illiteracy etc. must be addressed.

Magnitude of the Current Challenge and Implication on Society and Economy

78. It is a matter of serious concern that unemployment and underemployment are at all-time high. Equally worrisome is the ubiquity of unskilled, poorly educated and motivated youth that are unemployable. Even though there is little or no published data on the prevalence and consequence of the constant clashes among gangs, cultists, political thugs, nevertheless, we can all bear witness to how it is no longer possible to have a casual stroll once it is after 8:00pm. We often warn our children, siblings, and friends to avoid one street or the other. The blunt fact is: nobody is safe and nowhere is safe in northern Nigeria. Unfortunately, the implication of youth violence and the general lack of skilled manpower is that it has a devastating effect on our economy as no serious investor will be interested to invest in a violence-prone society, and the existing ones will continue to relocate to where their investments is safe and secure.

Evaluation of the Current Effort in Strategy and Impact

79. There is no doubt that the capacity of the country's security outfits to tackle the current security challenges resulting from Urban Youth Violence is grossly inadequate. Despite claims of progress, successes and propaganda in some government circles, the unanimous views of discussants are that government and particularly the security and law enforcement services have not done enough to stem the tide of Urban Youth Violence in the region and have so far proved incapable in this regard.

Concern and Observation

80. One of the debilitating elements of bad governance is the lack of will and sincerity by the political leadership to follow and implement policies and recommendations on addressing some controversial issues. Another issue of public concern is the lack of continuity and or inconsistencies in a number of government policies. Therefore, there is the need for comprehensive Monitoring and Evaluation Frameworks that would delineate all the necessary inputs and processes, including policy consistency and continuity in tackling Urban Youth Violence and Drug Abuse, among other related societal vices.

Recommendations

81. The syndicate is of the opinion that the following measures would help resolve the Urban Youth Violence and Drug Abuse:

a) The Arewa Research and Development Project (ARDP) and her collaborating partners should commission and undertake thorough studies for more empirical understanding and recommend lasting solutions to the ongoing

political violence, drug abuse, gang warfare, cultism etc;

b) Our governors and legislators should wake up to the reality that Northern Nigeria is being targeted and flooded with illicit drugs and small arms and light weapons. Therefore, state and non-state actors are being called upon, as a matter of priority and urgency, to enact laws that should severely punish value-chain beneficiaries of illegal arms trade, Urban Youth Violence and Drug Abuse and to treat, rehabilitate and reunite the victims with their families. It is regrettable that despite the existential threats to our communities, none of our state legislatures deem it necessary to undertake debates aimed to address urban youth violence, drug abuse, gang warfare and other related violent crimes;

c) While State and Local Governments as well as the Private Sector are advised to invest massively in the education of the youth, teachers should not lax in their moral responsibilities to



stop the production of cannon fodder for merchants of criminality;

d) ARDP and partners as well as similar organizations should continue to stand up for and make case to ensure that authorities perform their constitutional responsibilities of protecting society, especially the vulnerable youth and ensuring that they are gainfully engaged or employed;

e) Civil society groups should be actively engaged in mounting pressure on the Federal, State and Local Governments to enact laws and regulations that should punish value-chain beneficiaries of Urban Youth Violence and Drug Abuse. People found to be complicit in organizing violence or selling drugs and arms should be severely punished. There should be no sacred cows!

f) There must be synergy and collaboration between government organs at all levels, community and religious leaders as well as civil society organizations in driving or advocating for reforms and processes that would address urban youth violence and drug abuse. Religious leaders, sociologist, psychiatrists and motivational leaders/counselors guided by scientific knowledge, should be genuinely involved in the treatment, re-orientation and rehabilitation of drug addicts and victims of violence entrepreneurs;

g) Local communities should be encouraged to adopt non-stigmatizing methods of social sanctions on identified drug suppliers and perpetrators of violence after being punished appropriately by the law;

h) The Governments and Civil Society Organizations should conduct research into the



Meeting of the Syndicate Group on Urban Youth Violence and Drug Abuse at the Conference

demand side-why the youth and women are involved in this form of criminality with debilitating consequences on their lives and the society in general;

i) The Pharmaceutical Council of Nigeria should regulate and ensure that only licensed pharmacists are allowed to sell drugs;

j) As part of their Corporate Social Responsibilities, corporate organizations should collaborate with Governments and individuals to engage the youth in mentorship and awareness programs as well as sporting activities to take them (youth) away from drugs;

k) Discussants would like to see an encouragement and reward for whistle blowers on beneficiaries of illegal arms trade, Urban Youth Violence and Drug Abuse;

l) It is obvious that the loss of community cohesion, family values and moral compass has resulted in negative behavior for which our communities are suffering. Therefore, families and communities should play active roles in the reformation of family social structure and value system to halt and reverse this negative trend;

m) The Regional Governments should enforce the girl-child education policy as key strategy toward addressing the issues of 'accumulated social stress' or depressive negligent family behaviors against women arising from lack of education, early marriages and related diseases, especially VVF;

n) While the Government needs to examine the political dimensions of the drug supply chain, the intelligence arms of Government should carefully tap the intelligence of the criminals into positive use; and

o) Discussants are of the opinion that the formulation and implementation of government policies should take cognizance of the influence and effects of globalization on societies generally.

ETHNO-RELIGIOUS SYNDICATE GROUP REPORT

Terms of Reference

- a) Nature and character; conflict dynamics, the triggers and the flash points
- b) The value chain and the beneficiaries
- c) Evaluation of Government responses
- d) What communities can do to pre-empt conflict
- e) Recommended strategies to resolve the conflict

Nature and Character of the Conflict

82. The syndicate observed during its introductory deliberations that the Ethno-Religious Conflict, often triggered by globalization and alleged foreign interference, is characterised by:

- a) Violence and intolerance;
- b) Loss of life and property
- c) Displacement of people from their homes;
- d) Disruption of economic activities, social life, peace and order
- e) Polarization of the polity as could be seen in Kaduna and Jos metropolis;
- f) Wanton destruction of infrastructure and social amenities; and
- g) Loss of value system/Loss of core values and 'mal-socialization'.

The dynamics and Triggers of the Conflict

83. It was observed that the dynamics and triggers of the conflict could include the following:

- a) Economic and Political crises assuming Ethnic and or Religious dimensions;

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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> b) Elections and their politicking c) Intermarriages under strong cultural objections d) Inciting sermons and hate speeches e) Influence of the media (traditional and social) f) Rumor mongering g) Prevalence of drugs and Criminality (gangsterism); and | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Indigene/Settler dichotomy b) Land issue c) Colonial legacy d) Distortion of history (or lack of it) e) Poor governance f) Poverty; and g) Inequality. <p>The flash points</p> <p>85. The syndicate observed that the flash</p> |
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- | | |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> h) Proliferation of small arms. <p>Drivers of Conflict</p> <p>84. The syndicate considered the imperatives of including and discussing the key drivers of the conflict, which it identified as follows:</p> | <p>points of the conflict included the following areas:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Southern Kaduna (Cikun & Kajuru) in Kaduna State; b) Northern and Southern Plateau in Plateau State; |
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- | | |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> c) Nassarawa (Tivs, Egun/Kambari) d) Taraba (Tivs/Jukuns, Fulani, Bachama) e) Bauchi (Tafawa Balewa, Sayawa/Hausa) f) Benue (Agatu/Idoma) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> panels/Commissions of Inquiry; c) Supply of emergency relief materials; d) Establishment of peace commissions/agencies; e) Policy to downplay indigene/settler dichotomy; |
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The Value Chain and Beneficiaries

86. The group argued and concluded that the Value Chain included the following instigators for one benefit of the other:

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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Government policies or policy makers, b) Security agencies, c) Elites, d) Religious leaders, e) Political leaders, f) Traditional leaders, and g) The Youth. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> f) Activities of the National Orientation Agency; g) Establishing National Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution; h) Nigerian Interreligious Committee (NIREC); i) Creation of chiefdoms; j) Bill to regulate religious preaching. |
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87. On the other hand, the following groups were identified as major beneficiaries of the conflict:

- a) Corrupt public Servants
- b) Civil societies,
- c) Development partners, and
- d) NGOs/ INGOs and the instigators identified above.

Evaluation of Government Responses

88. The group observed that the following measures aimed at resolving the conflict had been taken by successive governments:

- a) Military/Police deployment to crises areas to quell the disturbances;
- b) Establishing Investigative

89. Critiquing Government Responses:
 a) Sometimes highhandedness of security agencies and most times arrival of security agencies very late to crises areas, lack of professionalism, poorly equipped, insufficient logistics, lack of knowledge of culture and terrain of conflict areas, exploitation of the victims/situation;

- b) Investigative Panels' recommendation hardly result in release of white paper,
- c) Identified culprits were never punished,
- d) Relief Materials: often insufficient, late arrival, diversion by government officials, no monitoring and evaluation;
- e) NOA: not active, not proactive;

f) Policy: No serious use of history to educate Nigerian people on their diversity and its advantage, lack of political will to address the indigene/settler dispute.

90. What Communities Can do to Pre-empt



the Crisis include:

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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Self-sensitization b) Strengthening of traditional institutions c) Community dialogue system d) Joint Community civilian policing e) Traditional Dispute Resolution f) Building relationship with the police on early warning signs g) Inclusiveness /Integration in the community system h) Promote self-reliance i) Religious and Ethnic harmony committees be established in communities | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> j) Peer reviewing and monitoring of sermons k) Early detection l) Interface with the security agencies m) Promoting integration n) Self-regulation |
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Recommendations

91. The general recommendations for all stakeholders include:

- a) Emphasis on equality, inclusion, rule of law and rights of citizenship
- b) Free, fair and credible elections
- c) Strengthen the local government system

- d) Transparency and accountability in leadership at all levels
- e) Judicious application and use of resources
- f) Bill of rights to be promulgated to address indigene, settler and marginalization fears;
- g) Mitigation of climate change from all perspectives and associated environmental change;
- h) Overhaul of security architecture to put the citizen at the center
- i) Civic education and reorientation of ethical, and social values
- j) Enhancing the quality, relevance and access of education
- k) Promoting the emergence of purposeful, competent, credible and accountable leadership
- l) Creating Job opportunities and massive poverty alleviation
- m) Promoting and rewarding ethical practices and severely punishment of corrupt practices in public service
- n) Improving leadership qualities at all levels through improved recruitment system
- o) Implementing reports of panels/commissions of enquiry; and
- p) Honesty and hard work.

REGIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON INSECURITY IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

Terms of Reference

- a) Identification of the problem.
- b) Current state of our relations with neighbours at people's level.
- c) Initiating people's diplomacy across

borders.

- d) Recommendation for sustainability.
- e) Recommended foreign policy approach.
- f) Any other observations on the subject.

Identification or Nature of the Problem

92. The location of Northern Nigeria between two volatile and unstable regions in West Africa, namely the Sahel and the Lake Chad Basin, makes it susceptible to external influences particularly adverse developments in the form of inflow of extremist ideologies, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, unchecked or unregulated movements of people including terrorists, illegal migration across borders, and various other negative tendencies that have compounded the problems of the region.

93. The myriad of problems confronting the North include general underdevelopment as a result of rural banditry, herder/farmer's clashes, cattle rustling, terrorism, communal clashes, religious disturbances, the abuse of the Almajiri system, kidnaping, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, drug addiction and substance abuse, amongst others.

94. The phenomena of ungoverned spaces, population explosion and dwindling economic fortunes, climate change, corruption, poverty and the absence of opportunities for growth, weak governments and dysfunctional state institutions, lack of credible leadership at some level of governance, illiteracy, malleability of the population to manipulation by politicians, boundary clashes, etc have further compounded long-standing and persistent challenges that have been confronting the North.

Current State of our Relations with Neighbours at People's Level

95. Nigeria's relations with her neighbours are predicated upon bilateral as well as multilateral arrangements whose implementation ultimately rests with the Federal Government. Although Nigeria's relations with her neighbours are

generally cordial, noticeable gaps exist in her dealings with her neighbours, particularly at the level of implementation of agreements and joint co-operation mechanisms. The need for people-to-people contact in enhancing strong bilateral ties and ensuring Nigeria's security has not been effectively leveraged in our foreign policy.

Evaluation of Government Actions

96. The Syndicate Group noted the existence of various policies and initiatives of government both domestically and in the realm of foreign policy, that aim to address the identified challenges confronting Nigeria in general, and the North in particular. Since the escalation of the Boko-Haram crises in 2008, successive Nigerian leaders have embarked on a number of State and Official Visits to the neighbouring States as well as meetings on the sidelines of regional meetings seeking collaboration in the fight against insurgency, terrorism and climate change. Diplomatic shuttles have been made for the release of kidnaped persons, particularly the Chibok and Dapchi girls by Boko Haram insurgents. Government effectively negotiated and set up the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) with Nigeria contributing the highest number of troops and funding.

97. The fact that these policies and initiatives have noticeably failed to resolve the challenges calls for a re-assessment of Nigeria's foreign policy posture, particularly its regional security policies and strategies. The Syndicate welcomed the recent ECOWAS Summit meeting in Abuja chaired by His Excellency President Muhammadu Buhari, GCFR, that addressed the prevalence of insecurity in the Sahelian region. The Syndicate calls for the effective follow-up of outcomes and decisions adopted at such high-level meetings, towards ensuring the effective maintenance of peace and security not only in Northern Nigeria but in the larger Sahelian region and the Lake Chad Basin.

Initiating “People's Diplomacy” Across Borders

98. The idea of “People's Diplomacy” as a strategy for effective engagement with Nigeria's



*IGP Mohammed Abubakar Adamu
The Inspector General of Police*

neighbours should be ingrained in our foreign policy doctrine. People-to-people contacts in all beneficial areas of endeavour should be pursued as a deliberate policy of the Federal Government. Cross-border contacts in the form of enhanced social, cultural, economic, educational and other forms of associations, as well as regular visitations at various levels of society including by traditional and religious leaders, are very beneficial diplomatic tools. The following measures are recommended, with emphasis that the Federal Government should ultimately drive this process of engagement and take responsibility for the effective conduct of relations between Nigeria and her neighbours:

- a) Nature and culture have brought cross-border communities together and have enabled them to share commonalities and affinities through shared historical antecedents and cultural, religious and linguistic cohesion. Sub-national units particularly States and Local Governments that share common boundaries with Nigeria's neighbouring States should encourage more cross-border inter-community relationships that are not inimical to Nigeria's safety and security

interests;

b) The Federal Government should renew previous initiatives of training personnel from other countries in Nigeria's institutions such as Military and Police Academies, Universities, the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS), the Nigerian Foreign Service Academy and other institutions. This is to foster a sense of community with officials of the neighbouring countries, who might eventually find themselves in key positions in government. Foreign alumni of such institutions should serve as the best ambassadors of Nigeria in their various countries;

c) Nigerians in high places in government, politics and business should cultivate their counterparts in other countries who would serve as focal points in facilitating relations between their countries and Nigeria. The various chambers of commerce, industry, agriculture and trade should be made to become active in reaching out to neighbouring countries and facilitate relations with these countries. Functional economic, social, political and security cooperation between Nigeria and her near and distant neighbours in the region should be encouraged as a matter of deliberate State policy; and

d) The offices of traditional rulers, especially those with cross-border subjects, should be extensively used towards enhancing cross-border community ties between Nigeria and her neighbours. Religious leaders and other public influencers should be encouraged to do likewise. Media outlets and organizations should take a positive interest in affairs taking place in neighbouring countries and report them in such a way that they would enhance better relations with Nigeria.

Recommendation for Sustaining and Strengthening This Relationship

99. For sustainable and strong bilateral and multilateral relations with her neighbours:

a) Nigeria should develop strategies for people-to-people contact as part of the overall national and regional security strategies,

particularly towards effective combatting of all perceived security threats to the country by making the population stakeholders in the effort;

b) The lack of empathy towards the challenges facing one section of the country by others from different sections, was identified as a grave defect in our national cohesion and collective determination to tackle insecurity nationwide. The Syndicate, therefore, underscored the importance of concerted action towards ensuring that security was made a priority in all aspects of governance in Nigeria, and enforcement is made a constant and regular feature of supervision;

c) It is important likewise that there is collective ownership of the security problems in Nigeria and the development of consciousness that what affects one section of the country has ramifications in all other parts;

d) The Syndicate was also of the view that security cannot be achieved in a vacuum therefore, issues that have direct impact on security or have conduced towards generating insecurity such as poverty, mismanagement, bad governance, corruption, widespread illiteracy, etc should be addressed in concert with awareness raising on the role of individuals and the public, in ensuring community safety and tackling vulnerability in society;

e) The Syndicate highlighted the important roles the various Federal Government Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) could play in the implementation of agreements reached between Nigeria and her neighbours. In this connection, mechanisms such as the Nigeria-Niger Joint Commission, the Nigeria-Cameroon Bilateral Commission, and similar arrangements with Chad, Benin, Equatorial Guinea and other West African countries, should be taken seriously by the Federal Government in its bilateral and multilateral diplomatic approaches;

f) Nigeria should adopt strategies to benefit from the experiences of these countries in the enforcement of law and order, the administration

of justice, intelligence gathering and processing, community policing, and various other measures towards maintaining security;

g) Sharing intelligence with neighbouring countries should also be institutionalized so as to obtain credible information on threats to Nigeria's security; and

h) Nigeria should enhance the capabilities of her agencies that are engaged in border patrols towards making them more efficient and effective, especially in the interdiction of criminal infiltration of the country and smuggling of drugs, weapons and other destabilizing materials. The use of technological equipment, such as unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) in patrols and surveillance should be intensified.

Recommended Foreign Policy (Diplomatic Approach)

100. The Syndicate noted with grave concern the multiplicity of security threats and challenges that are surfacing in Nigeria and more especially in the North. It also questioned why such incidents like kidnaping for ransom, cattle rustling, herders-farmers clashes etc, are not so pronounced or at least have not been so widespread in the neighbouring countries like Chad, Cameroon and Niger Republics. As part of the answers to the above question and in addition to the recommendations in paragraph 96 above, Nigeria should:

a) Offer credible and transparent leadership in the region, predicated on identified national interest parameters and clearly demonstrated resolve to deal with all existential threats; Nigeria should reassess the regional security architecture particularly in the Sahel, the Lake Chad Basin and the Gulf of Guinea, among other things, to address the issue of proliferation of illegal arms and weapons;

b) Show empathy towards all the neighbouring countries and take them seriously and treat them as significant partners rather than as “junior actors” in the regional politics;

c) Organize regular meetings at all levels of leadership and government as a part of her Foreign Policy posture towards other regional players;

d) Champion the development of mutually beneficial linkages and communications as well as between regional countries by constructing highways and railways to facilitate physical contacts and promote trade and commercial ties as well as people-to-people contacts across boundaries;

e) Feature the development of border economic zones and corridors to take advantage of inter-state trade opportunities. Free trade zones and inland container terminals should be extended to as many border areas as practicable, thereby interdicting smuggling and infiltration of Nigeria with illegal goods and materials. In this connection, the expertise and resources of the Border Communities Development Agency (BCDA) should be leveraged towards the attainment of these objectives;

f) Provide the necessary leadership and engage robustly with other regional actors towards cultivating better relationships and influencing their behaviours to ensure their friendly disposition to Nigeria, bearing in mind that her foreign policy drive is predicated upon internal political dynamics. In this regard, Nigeria should leverage on her size, wealth, power and population to engage more constructively with her immediate neighbours with a view to promoting her security and other national interests;

g) Revisit and carefully apply the principles of “Concentric Circles” in diplomacy to her (Nigeria's) approaches to other regional States particularly those countries that share borders with her. Nigeria should immediately revisit the Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC) and the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) and strengthen its military and security provisions through collaboration with member states on the principles of sovereign equality, towards addressing cross-border threats, and other sundry acts of criminality and banditry;

h) Activate existing security mechanisms

within ECOWAS and apply the provisions of the various treaties and protocols pertinent to the effective policing of our borders and territories. These measures should be given credence and effective capacity through regular and timely meetings of high-level officials, including Heads of State and Government, so as to maintain their efficacy and ensure that they serve their purposes;

i) Increase and enhance intelligence gathering actions in the entire Sahel and Lake Chad Basin areas, particularly in terms of gathering information on actual and potential threats such as posed by terrorists, foreign military presence, criminal organizations and other tendencies that are ill-disposed towards the existence of Nigeria as a united, independent and sovereign State;

j) Review and improve on her bilateral engagements with her neighbours and exercising sufficient leverage in those countries to enable her respond tactically and most appropriately to the covert and overt threats being posed to the sovereignty and security of her people by the increased presence of different foreign military bases in some neighbouring States; and

k) Given specific mission briefs that incorporate guidelines towards enhancing people-to-people contact with the facilitation of cultural ties at the core of the initiative. The Nigerian business community should also be encouraged to facilitate inter-personal relations between Nigeria and her neighbours. Friendship Associations between Nigeria and her neighbours should also be encouraged.

Other Diplomatic Perspectives

101. In addition to the above observation and recommendations, participants made the following comments /observations and or recommendations that:

a) The young men and women should be encouraged to form groups and organizations that would constantly put pressure on political and government officials to act in the best interest of their communities. Through these organizations,

the youth would discourage their peers from taking part in criminal activities and that University lecturers should introduce discussion forums or platforms that would raise civic awareness among the youth;

b) Government should always handle issues with sincerity of purpose and strong political will. Without that, the implementation of recommendations would be impossible and that in all crimes there were accomplices or informants who should be exposed no matter how highly placed;

c) The place of history as a learning curve in Nigeria's educational curriculum must not be tempered with again. It commended the return of history to the educational curriculum of schools because it would enable the youth to know that Sir Ahmadu Bello, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and Aminu Kano, among other Northern leaders, were cherished based on their accomplishments while they were young;

d) The Federal Government should overhaul the immigration and empower them for better management of the porous borders as well as keeping proper record of all foreigners in Nigeria for effective monitoring;

e) The recruitment processes in the security services should be reviewed to block loopholes for corruption and recruitment of unqualified candidates into the services and government should consider creating avenues where graduates from universities, polytechnics and colleges of education can be fully engaged;

f) Government should support most of the collapsing local industries to create employment opportunities for the young people;

g) Government should put in place strategic plan of action to re-integrate IDPs and repentant insurgents and other criminals into the mainstream society and ensure proper distribution of relief materials to them at the IDPs' camps;

h) All cases of rape and child molestation at

IDPs camps should be brought to the front burner and culprits properly brought to book; and

i) All diplomatic efforts should be made to persuade all Northern leaders to attend conferences like this to help them make informed decisions on serious matters of governance.

Remarks by the Deputy Governor of Adamawa State

102. The Deputy Governor, His Excellency. Mr. Crowther Seth, who stayed patiently and attentively listened to the debates, described the theme as timely. He expressed appreciation and looked forward to active collaboration with the organizers. He informed that Adamawa State was one of the States suffering the atrocities of Boko Haram insurgency in the Northeast and that the southern part of the State was experiencing ethno-religious crisis, armed robbery and banditry. He therefore, pledged Adamawa State's readiness to partner, cooperate and collaborate with the organizers of the conference to attain the stated objectives of restoring peace and promoting peaceful coexistence among the people in the North.

Vote of Thanks

103. Dr. Shettima Ali of the SABMF gave the votes of thanks on behalf of all the organizing partners. He wished all participants journey mercies and reiterated the organizers' commitment to ensuring that the report of the Conference was delivered to its highest destinations and that adequate follow-up plans would be worked out at the revalidation meetings to ensure that the relevant Authorities take appropriate actions as contained in the well-considered recommendations.

APPENDIX I

LIST OF SYNDICATE GROUPS AND THEIR MEMBERSHIP

1. Rural Banditry and Communal Clashes:

Dr Abubakar Siddique Mohammed

Sen. Kabir Marafa
Dr Abba Sayyadi Ruma
Mal. Bilya Bala
Mal. Wada Maida
Justice Sadiq Mahuta (Galadiman Katsina)
Alh. Lamis Dikko
Gen. A.M. Jibril (Rtd.)
DIG Mamman Ibrahim Chafe (Rtd.)
Haj Asia Ahmed El-Rufa'i
Engr Y.S Adamu
Dr Umar Bindir
Mal. Aminu Aliyu Gusau
Hon. Saudautu Sani
Haj. Halimatu Saadiya Abdu
Haj. Hindatu A. Karufi

2. Kidnapping & Armed Robbery:

Gen. A. T. Umaru (Rtd.)
Alh. M. D. Abubakar (Former I.G)
Alh. Abdullah Barda
Maj.Gen Ibrahim Sani
Alh Saidu Iro Dabai
CP. M. Indabawa (Rtd)
Mal. Aliyu Jalal
Mal. Ahmed Musa Hussain
Mal. Zakari Mijinyawa
DIG Mohammed Musa Katsina (Rtd)
Engr. Hassan Hussaini
Barr. Saida Saad
Mal. Ahmad Kanoma
Mal. Yusuf Talata Mafara
Haj. Fatima Hassana Sada

3. Boko Haram Insurgency:

Mr Gadzama Afakariya
Alh. Abu Lili
Gen. Jon Temlong (Rtd.)
Gen. MI Idris (Rtd.)
Gen. M.A. Aboki (Rtd.)
Col Danasabe Abdullahi (Rtd.)
Capt. E.S Adoba
Alh. Kyari Gambo
Alh. Wazam Ya Adamu
Mal. Goni Kola
Prof. Muhammad Kyari (Rapporteur)
Prof. Usman Tar
Dr. Fatima Akilu
Dr. Hakeem Baba Ahmed

Maj. Gen. Ahmadu Mohammed (Rtd.)
 Maj. A.A Mohammed (Rtd)

4. Farmer Herder Conflicts:

Prof. Jibril Ibrahim
 Dr Saleh Momale (Rapporteur)
 Prof. Yima Sen
 Mrs Pricilla Ankut
 Dr Dogara Bashir
 Mal. Salihu Lukman
 Alh Shehu Musa M/Fashi
 Amb. Umar Iliya Damagun
 AVM Umar Ndatsu Mohammed (Rtd.)
 Dr Manzo Maigari
 Barr. Ibrahim Maigari
 Haj. Aisha Sule Katagum
 Mal. Abu Mohammed
 Haj. Aisha Nasir
 Com. Nura Ma'aji
 Mal. Kabir Adamu
 Dr Amina G. Halilu
 Mal. A/Aziz Ahmad

5. Ethno-Religious Conflicts:

Mr Sam Nda Isaiah
 Mr Daniel Richard
 Haj. Gambo Hawaja
 Mrs Gloria Ballason
 Dr Khalid Abubakar
 Rev. Yakubu Pam
 Gen. Abdulkadir Gumi
 Hanan Bashir
 Alh. Yusuf Ibrahim
 Dr Chris Kwaja
 Arch. Sanusi Maikudi
 Mr. John S. Akor
 Dr Lyman Onoja
 Haj. Maryam Ahmed
 Prof. Suraj Abdulkarim (Rapporteur)
 Chief S. D Lot
 Mr Barnabas Omali
 Mrs. Hannatu Ugah
 Dr Saidu Ahmed Dukawa

6. Urban Youth Violence & Drug Abuse:

Amb Ahmed Magaji
 Mal. Bello Sani
 Dr Adamu Tilde (Rapporteur)
 Mal. Usman Isyaku

Mal. Aliyu Bambale
 Mal. Aliyu Mijinyawa
 Mal. Abubakar Widi-Jalo
 Mal. Mahmud Abdulkarim
 Mal. Aliyu Aminu
 Mal. Auwalu Aminu
 Com. Idris Unguwar Gini
 Haj. Khadijat Balarabe
 Haj. Maryam Abubakar
 Mr. Raphel Torkula
 Ms Olanike Olugboji
 Mal. Aminu Sokoto
 Haj. Hanatu Akilu
 Haj. Khadija Ibrahim Arab
 Com. Isa Aremu
 Hon. Muhammed Ali
 Dr Usman D. Sambo
 Mal. Saadin Sa'ad

7. Regional Perspectives (Peoples Diplomacy):

Amb Abdullahi Omaki
 Amb. Fati Balla
 Amb Hassan Tukur
 Amb Bature Lawal
 Amb Sani Bala
 Amb Sam Dabeng
 Amb M.K Ibrahim
 Amb Felix Pwol
 Amb Ibrahim Mai Sule
 Amb Usman Sarki (Rapporteur)
 Alh. Bala Ahmed K/Soro
 Haj. Fatima Ahmed
 Mal. Gambo Hamza
 Prof. Abdullahi Shehu
 Hon. Murtala Aliyu
 Amb Abdu Zango
 Amb. A. A. Musa
 Mal. Umar Yakubu

APPENDIX II

LIST OF REGISTERED PARTICIPANTS AT THE CONFERENCE

S/NO	NAME	ORGANISATION
1.	Suzie Charles	Nuba
2.	Umar Musa	
3.	Buhari Lateefat Omoshalewa	Juwhar Charity Foundation
4.	Nathaniel Jibrin	Daily Image
5.	Bello Bugage	Girl Child Gurerna
6.	Musa Abdul Sule	Girl Child Concerns
7.	Danladi Maibulala	Singers
8.	Shehu Yakubu	SA
9.	Ado Saidu	Network for Justice
10.	Yusuf Abdullahi	Capital Sch. Kaduna
11.	Halima Kabir	Capital Sch. Kaduna
12.	Usman Yasang Magdalene	ARDP
13.	Imran Aliyu Sabon Birni	KASU
14.	Abubakar Zakari	Girl Child Concerns
15.	Nazifi Saleh Hassan	Singer
16.	Aisha Adamu Ambi	Private
17.	Basiru Moh	KASU
18.	Sa'adatu Maishanu	Network for Justice
19.	Maryam Suleiman	DSS K/North
20.	Abdul Auwal	K/North
21.	Lola Sarika Idachosa	Media
22.	Lugan Babatunde NNDC Ltd	Rep. Chairman NNDC Dr. Tanimu Yakubu
23.	Abubakar Idris	Bin Plateau
24.	Midat Joseph	Media
25.	Insp Ayuba Dandi	Nig. Price
26.	Sakina Garba	k/North ARDP
27.	Air Commodore Y Anas Rtd	Centre for Cons
28.	Suleiman Akeedu	Freesous Radio
29.	Hadijah Ibrahim Arab	Umbabe Women DI

30.	Abdullahi Maikawla	NDA
31.	Sule Mohammed	Nat He PRP
32.	Manasseh Turaki	Kasuru L.G
33.	Burartu Kamda	Kambai L.G
34.	Misi Aremu	SSANU
35.	Abdul Wasiu	Mekko
36.	Nafisat Sunusi	
37.	Dr. Aisha Nasiru Isa	Ata Epidemiology
38.	Salisu Zainab Muh'd	Network
39.	Laila H. Muhammad	Awaye Foundation
40.	Alh. Yahaya B. Jisambo	Gamji Youth Asso
41.	Major AS Atto (Rtd)	HNB Security
42.	Emily Ibadir	Sarurudi
43.	Umar Sani Jada	NANS
44.	Abubakar Akande	NJ
45.	Babangida Abdu	Kadpoly
46.	Idris	RGS
47.	Usman Mulikat Girt	NUBA
48.	Christopher Peter	Free Lance
49.	Nuruddeen Usman Wada	Taraba State University
50.	John S. Akor	190 Peace Mediators Foundation
51.	Abdulganiu Lawal	
52.	Adetunj Ma'aruf	M-Star Digital Concern
53.	Ola Olu	M-Star Digital Concern
54.	Mary Efada	
55.	Shafiu M.U Narmaizoko	M-Star Digital Concern
56.	Alh. Abdulganiu	Blue Print
57.	Muktar Maigano	KDSG
58.	Jibril H. Abubakar	
59.	Peni Oyeble	Peoples Daries
60.	S. Garba	Network
61.	Musa Zubairu Usman	ASC, Lugard Hall Kaduna

62.	Rabiu Abdullahi	KSTU TEDIN
63.	Usman Usman Umar	ARDP
64.	Olamilkan Ayonide	ARDP
65.	Lauenstone B. Kazwala	ARDP
66.	Abubakar Suleiman	ADL
67.	Alh. Adamu Wanzau	CTTF INT
68.	Dr. Aliyu MS Tayiba	Course of Ilimma Z
69.	Ramalan Kabir Abdu	
70.	Hauna Baba	I.P.C.R (Mambar)
71.	Ibrahim A Maikano	NDL
72.	Muhammad Isah Imam	JACOM
73.	Yahaya Mohammed	AC4D
74.	Law	
75.	AI Keya	DSS
76.	Maj Gen Ame Jibril (Rtd)	T && MOD
77.	Bashir Bala	NEPPI
78.	Olanike Olugboji	WISE
79.	Idris Biegaye	Kadpoly
80.	Lawal Idris	ARDP
81.	Bashir Usman	DSS
82.	Aminu Aliyu Gusau	JTI
83.	Dr. Jamiu Bello	ARDP
84.	Insp Alice Alex	Police
85.	Fatima A. Godowoli	APDP
86.	Samuel Ibrahim	Police
87.	Amina Muhammed	Kaduna
88.	Hon. Saudatu Sani	JMA Kaduna
89.	Musa Muazu	DSS
90.	Julie Usman	SABFM
91.	Josiah Buba	N.P.F
92.	Temiru Fatima	SABFM
93.	Dr. Usman Sambo	SCDDD
94.	Aminu Idris	DSS

95.	Abdulkarim Sulaiman	CILS ABU Zaria
96.	Ahmed Musa Hussaini	Stratfare
97.	Dr. Umar Tanko Yakasai	NYEN
98.	Hon. Aminu Bello Sokoto	
99.	Taheer Haruna Abubakar	F.C.C.K
100.	Dekera Nicholas	New Nigeria
101.	Usman Sarki	NIPSS
102.	Farouq Umar Adam	ADL
103.	Halimatu Sadiya Abdu	SABIL
104.	Samuel Debeng	Savannah Center
105.	L. Yusuf	DSS
106.	Ibrahim Usman	Bujare Youths
107.	Abubakar Farida Kunla	Liberty TV/Radio
108.	Victoria Gotus	N.P.I
109.	Abdulkadir Hassan	Conecma
110.	Comr. Usman A. Umar	FCCK
111.	Comr. Ibrahim Umar Hassan	FCCK
112.	Khadija Haraja Gambo	KAPECOM
113.	Ewache Edache Gabriel	ARDP (ICT)
114.	Muh'd Bello Sani	Likeminds Project
115.	Ibrahim Klaliu Muh'd	Abmax Media & Com
116.	Teenat Alraheem	Network for Justice
117.	Musa Muhammad	Muryar Arewa
118.	Hindatu A. Kurfi	Sabiu
119.	Muhammad Munji Sanusi	Pare
120.	Olu Ola	Pare
121.	Ibrahim Mudi	Pare
122.	Olu Ajayi	Vanguard
123.	Major Abubakar A.M	APRD
124.	Nevan Awan	
125.	Anthony Samuel	Salami Radio
126.	Yunusa Ibrtu	Mayab Venture
127.	Nura Usman	KPYA

128.	Umar Haruna	ORCD
129.	Abashe Babale	PF
130.	John Ewah	NRJ
131.	Hon. Sani Lita	Int. Faith
132.	Usman Adamu	Afaka Youth Assembly
133.	Aminu Saleh	ARDP
134.	Abdulazeez Ahmad	ARDP
135.	Maryam Isa	ARDP
136.	Ayuba E. Ahgu	ARPD
137.	Yusha'u Sani Yankuzo	Centre for Human Rights and Social Advancement
138.	CP Moh'd A Indabawa (Rtd)	Centre for Human Rights and Social Advancement
139.	Justice Saddiq K.A Mahuta	
140.	Gdachimau Kantgiya	
141.	Kyari Gambo	
142.	Ahmad Umar Kanowa	Council Uluma Zamf
143.	Dr. Khalid A. Aliyu	JNI Itqes
144.	Musa Ruqayyah	YSTUV
145.	Rile Abbusi	Ewaldode Gey
146.	Y.S Adamu	ARDP
147.	Aminu Garba Moh'd	NDL
148.	Amina Ladan Bakr	SABCF
149.	Umar Larat Aliyu	AAFAC
150.	Hudu M. Yusuf	AAFAC
151.	Umar B. Bindir	Self Employed
152.	Maikano A Musa	UDA
153.	Mai Muhammad Bashir	AAFAAQ
154.	Saida Saad	ARDP
155.	Mustapha Khalid	New Africa
156.	Umar Mustapha	SFPD
157.	Umar M. Bagwana	Council of Yarima
158.	Dr. Abba Wam	Areabila Tel
159.	Yunusa Ibrahim	Kaduna Polytechnic

160.	Abdulaziz Hassan Yahaya	
161.	Mujahid M. Umar	Kaduna Polytechnic
162.	Dr. Abdulmultalil Ahmad	Trumph Institute
163.	Abubakar Hamza	Gender and Peace Initiative
164.	Kumaga Rapheal Terkula	Benue Youth Network
165.	Fatima Bukar Kashim	Borno
166.	Dr. Amina A. Khunsa	Borno
167.	Pray Siraj Abdulkarim	AB
168.	Ramalan Aliyu	
169.	Aminu Babban Ya'u	NDL
170.	Abdullahi Ahmad	NDL
171.	Amb. Bature Lawal	NDL
172.	Amb. Abdullahi Omaki	SCDDD
173.	Kabir Adamu	Office of the Senate President
174.	Aisha S. Katagun	Heroes T/T Peace Unit
175.	Mahmud Usman Justice	Bugaje Youth Sol Mov
176.	Abdullahi Umar	KTDC
177.	Moh'd Ibrahim	Premium Tines
178.	Nasiru S. Marmara	NYC
179.	Abdulrasheed Sani	Lecturer
180.	Sadiya M Haruna	NYA
181.	Emmanuel Anthony	
182.	Rabi Yazeed	
183.	Ibrahim M Bello	AAFAAQ
184.	Abubakar Mshelia	DSS
185.	Usman Isah	FCCK
186.	Capt Ahmadu	Broadhnc
187.	Maryam Ahmed	Marewa
188.	Sanusi A.S Maikudi	KADWAC
189.	Sanusi Tukur Faki	Matasan Hausa Dev. Initiative
190.	Dr. Saidu Ahmad Dukawa	Blik
191.	Dr. A Ahmed	MFA

192.	Saad Dec Saad	
193.	Abdulmalik Zakari	Northern Youths Anti Corruption
194.	Dr. Abubakar Saidu	INIF Gombe
195.	Capt ES Adobalnto	Self
196.	Yihi Liman	ARPD
197.	Mikanu Abubakar	NDL
198.	Abubakar Rijau	Press
199.	Dr. Sadiq Abubakar	Gombe AROP
200.	Dr. Aminu I. Sagagi	AAFAAQ
201.	Abba Zayyan	FRCN
202.	Dr Auwal S. Anwar	Kaduna Polytechnic
203.	Umar Muktar Adamu	Umar Musa Yar'adua
204.	Annahel John	Student
205.	Zinga Simon	Civil Society
206.	Ademol Lawal	Saramah Centre
207.	Adamu Sarah	Public Servant
208.	Barnabas Omali	SABME
209.	Bosan Yakusak	Galaxy TV
210.	Engr. Aminu Isah A	Miyetti Allah Kautal
211.	Murtala M. Aliyu	ARDP
212.	Cdr. B. Altı	Private
213.	Haruna	F.R.C.N
214.	Orismael Anchua	Kaduna Poly
215.	Aliyu Makama	DITV
216.	Amb. Shehu Ibrahim	NYAGGI
217.	Shuaibu Gimi	Basicon Media
218.	Ibrahim Ahmad Makari	Abuja Nat. Mosque
219.	Nontelum Juleit	Leadership (Trainees)
220.	Ibrahim Abdulmajid	Teacher
221.	Adamu Danlami	Liberator
222.	Juliet Oyoyo	Daddy Independent
223.	John Adaji	NLC

224.	Amb. A.A Musa,mni	SCDDD
225.	Hassan M. Ibrahim	People Trust (PT)
226.	Hannatu I Ugah	JMA
227.	Fatima H. Sada	Private
228.	Dig(Rtd) Mamman Tsafe,mni	Private
229.	Idris Ibrahim	Sustainable Peace Empowerment Initiative
230.	Zainab Ibrahim	FCCK
231.	Bashir M. Bugate	Crystal Associates
232.	Moh'd Garba	Sur Merchants
233.	Shehu Gono	Daily Trust
234.	Ango Bally	Invicta FM
235.	Asmau Zakari	Network for Justice
236.	Abubakar S. Moh'd	Ceddeat
237.	Abdullahi Gambo	The Pastoral Resolve
238.	Amb. Usman Sarki	NIPSS
239.	Abubakar Suleiman	ADL
240.	Sadiya M. Haruna	NYA
241.	Maryam Isa	ARDP
242.	Livingstone B. Kazwala	ARDP
243.	Barr. Mahmud Usman Justice	Bugate Youth Solidary Mov
244.	Aminu Idris	DST
245.	Samuel Ibrahim	Police
246.	Tijani Emmanuel	ADN
247.	L. Yusuf	DSS
248.	Ramalan Aliyu Abdu	
249.	Amb. Bature Lawal	
250.	Annabel John	
251.	Dr. Aliyu M.S Jangebe	Council of Ulama
252.	Muhammad Isah Imam	Joint Action Com
253.	Umar Yakubu	CCFA
254.	Olanidekan Ayomide	
255.	Nasiru S. Marmara	NYE
256.	Fatima Bukar Kashim	ARDP

257.	Umar Mahmud Umar	Iqkaa Foundation
258.	Ibrahim Usman	B.Y.S.M.
259.	Mujahid M. Umar	Kadpoly
260.	Deborah O. Oguns	Kadpoly
261.	Ola Olu	
262.	Ibrahim M. Bello	AAFAAQ
263.	Ahmad Umar Kanoma	Council Ulama
264.	Suleiman Abubakar	ARDP
265.	Justice Saddik Mahuta (Rtd)	Galadimar Katsina
266.	Aminu Bello Sokoto	
267.	Taheer Haruna Abubakar	FCCK
268.	Yunusa Ibrahim	Kaduna Polytechnic
269.	M.A Sadeeq	SABMF, Kaduna
270.	Maryam Ahmad	JMA
271.	Muhammad Munji Sanusi	PARE
272.	Ahmad Ahmad Tinau	KASU
273.	Nkechi Onyekue	Kaduna St
274.	Abubakar Akande	N4J
275.	Zangina Andrew	Galaxy TV
276.	Binta Kassim	Kassim Foundation
277.	Hanatu Akilu	
278.	Hauwa Shehu Ibrahim	Kaduna Polytechnic
279.	Bashir Kurfi	ABU Zaria
280.	Moh'd Ali Uba	Kano
281.	Prof. A.Y Shehu	Former DG Giaba
282.	Abdullahi Zungum	5A to DG Giaba
283.	Bala Usman Dado	Noun
284.	Hamza M. Hamna	Anti-Corruption
285.	Mansura Isah Gwauza	Fed. Polytechnic Solk
286.	Amb. Ahmed Magaji	Gusau Institute
287.	Majben A7 Umaru (Rtd)	Dedxily thick-tank Team
288.	Bilkisu Abubakar	ARDP
289.	Comr. Goni Kolo	Movement Bor Jugtil

290.	Maudn Saidu Abdullahi	Sangoyo Sched
291.	Muhammadu Sani Jada	Fed. College of Edu, Yola
292.	Murtala Abubakar	ARDP
293.	Aisha Lawal Ahmed	SABMF
294.	Saidu Salisu	Kabido Newspaper
295.	Lawal Ladeef	Ahmadu Bello University
296.	Maryam Ahmadu Suka	Daily Trust
297.	David Turaki	DITV/Alheri Radio
298.	David Omwoja	The Graphic Npaper
299.	Hashim Maiyashi	ASDP
300.	Maryam Abubakar	ARDP
301.	Juliet John	YPSA
302.	Ahmadu I Kania	Fed. Ministry of Information
303.	Safiya Musa	YPSA
304.	Gegele Kehinde	MOD
305.	Gbenga Abiola	Leadership
306.	Halliru A. Maraya	GPF
307.	Isaiah Bim	Mesia
308.	Gambo Dori	Media
309.	Dogara Bashir	KSWSRC
310.	Hassana Mohammed Y	NAN
311.	Blessing Chat Joseph	FCCK
312.	Abdulmalik Suleiman	Kad Polytechnic
313.	Umar Yakubu	CCFA
314.	Aliyu Ismail	CCK
315.	Amb. Zango Abdu	VSIP
316.	Fatima Abubakar	Network for Justice Nigeria
317.	Hauwa Shehu Ibrahim	Kaduna Polytechnic
318.	AVM BG Saidu (Rtd)	
319.	Abdullahi Dauda	Kaduna
320.	Zakari Ahmad	KSME
321.	Muhammad Kabi	A.B.U Zaria
322.	Kabir M. Malau	CTTL, Kaduna

323.	Tuned Garba	Blueprint
324.	Moh'd B. Abdullahi	Karcui
325.	Hon. Altine Shehu Ilajij	Northern Communication and Media Services
326.	Sani Abdulmumini	
327.	Deborah Oguns	Private
328.	Godwin Isenyo	Punch
329.	Musa Dovou	NPE
330.	Comrade Issa	NLC
331.	Hadiza Balarabe	Youth for peace and security Africa
332.	Amb. Felix Pwol	Savanah Centre
333.	Mustapha Suye	Tmumpa
334.	Moh'd Nura Lugga	New Wane Ltd
335.	Hon. Mike Msuaan	Tiv Youth Council
336.	Abdulazeez A. Kabir	Liberty Group
337.	Hauto Aliyu	ARDT
338.	Ahmad Muhammad I. Aliyu	Supreme Council Pharmacy
339.	Aliyu Semi Jega	Sir Yahaya M. Hospital
340.	Bilkisu Ali Buba	World Food
341.	Gambo Hamza	ARDP
342.	Mustapha Auwal Yuguda	ARDP
343.	Muhmmad Kyari	ARFO
344.	Idris Inuwa	AYF
345.	Jibrin Ibrahim	CDD
346.	Usman Bugage	ARDP
347.	I.N Sada	ABU Zaria
348.	Usman Bugage	ARDP
349.	Nasiru Ibrahim	Liberty Tiv
350.	Umar Yahaya	ZEMDA
351.	Prof Munzali Jibril	Private
352.	Abdullahi Barda	Benchunk Nig.
353.	Alh. Abu Mohammad	Hgoes/Hcroine Unity
354.	Ibrahim United Yahaya	SABME

355.	S.B Momale	KSPC Kaduna
356.	Danladi Aliyu	ABU, Zaria
357.	Adamu Tilde	FUD Jigawa
358.	Kabiru Amir	ARDI
359.	Maimuna Sani	FCCK
360.	Francis Ayuba	AIT Kaduna
361.	Ojoro O. Ozayize	Kaduna Poly
362.	Balarabe Junaidu	Al-Amanah Daily
363.	John Shiklan	Thisday
364.	Gabriel Idibia	Nig Pilot
365.	Saxone Akhaine	The Guardian
366.	Amos Mathew	New Nigerian Online
367.	Alh. Balarabe Idris Jaji	JCF
368.	Zainab Tanimu	Press
369.	Koriyo Buba Umar	MOE Bauchi
370.	Nuruddeen Usman Wada	Taraba State University
371.	Mudansir Sirajo Chi	Gombe State
372.	Umar Mahmud Umar	Iqraa Foundation Zamfara
373.	Engr. Ahmad Yusuf	AAFAQ (Fed. Poly Bauchi)
374.	Yusuf Abdullahi T/W	AAFAQ
375.	Usman Kabir	ARDP
376.	Imran Abdulrahman	AAFAQ (CEPID Jos)
377.	M.T Maiyashi	ARDP
378.	M.A Sadeeq	SABMF Kaduna
379.	Ekirigwe Moses A	SABMF Kaduna
380.	Sibi A. Sidi	AFUR
381.	Ibrahim Ala Moh'h	PTD Kadpoly
382.	Hamza Moh'd	PTD Kadpoly
383.	Chris Kwaja	CPSS Maitech
384.	Comr. Goni Kolo	Movement for Justice
385.	Maudn Saidu Abdullahi	Tsangaya School
386.	Olanike Olugboji	Wise
387.	Saleh B. Momale	KSPC, Kaduna

388.	Amb. Samuel Dabeng	Savannah Center
389.	Muhammad Kyari	AHFAQ
390.	Mudadsiru Siraj Ag	GommAHFAQs State Un. Umon
391.	Aliyu Sani Jega	SYM B/Kebbi
392.	Ayuba E. Ahgu	ARDP
393.	Kabir Adamu	Rep Senate President
394.	Hudu M. Yusuf	ARDP
395.	Sanusi Abdulmumini	Student
396.	Comr. Usman A. Umar	Student
397.	Capt. Sadoba (Rtd)	Self
398.	Nasiru Alkara	DI
399.	Raiu Saminu	B/G Amrat Conimal
400.	Umar M. Bagargwa	Council of U/ana Soba
401.	Auwal Mustapha Luguda	ARDP
402.	Balarabe Junaidu	Al-Amanah Daily
403.	Usman A. Tav.	NDA
404.	Y.S Adamu	ARDP
405.	DG Rtd Mamman I. Tsafe mni	Private
406.	Abdullahi A. Jega	Private
407.	Ojoro O. Ozavize	Kaduna Polytechnic
408.	Yunusa Bature	Private
409.	Yakubu Shehu OON	Private
410.	Mustapha Khalid	Africa TV
411.	Grace Sanda	SIB
412.	Fatima Hamza	Network for Justice
413.	Andrew Mshelia	Nagarta Radio
414.	Ahmad Muhammad I. Aliyu	Supreme Court for Sharia
415.	Usman Usman Vanar	ARDP
416.	Musa Ruqayyah	YSUU
417.	Abubakar Hamza	Gender and Peace Initiative
418.	Korijo Buba Umar	M.O.E Bauchi
419.	Hammza M. Haruna	Joint Action (Mitte of
420.	I.N Sada	ABU Zaria

421.	Yahaya Mohammed	AC4D Gombe
422.	Umar Larat Aliyu	AAFAC
423.	Zinga Simon	Civil Society
424.	Kumaga Raphael Terkla	Benue Youth Network
425.	Ramalan Kabir Abdu	
426.	Blessing Kabir Abdu	FCCK
427.	Muh'd Bello Sani	Likeminds Project
428.	Alh. Abu Mohammed	Heroes/ Hercyne Peace
429.	Umar Sani Jada	Arewa Youth Assembl y
430.	Alh. Balarabe Idris Jaji	JFC
431.	Rabiu A. Baram	TSME Kisty
432.	Aliyu M	Private Main
433.	Imran Aliyu Sabon Birni	KASU
434.	Anthony Samuel	Salama Radio
435.	Muhammad Tasiu	KASU
436.	Maimuna Sani	FCCK
437.	Fatima H. Sada	Private
438.	Dr Akilu Sani Indabawa	Private
439.	Zakari Ahmad	KSML
440.	Capt Afanda F	Broad link
441.	Umar Bindir	Free lance
442.	Jacob Zango	KSMC/TV
443.	Prof. A.M. Jega	Private
444.	Hajara Haidar	Ginger
445.	Engr. Ahmad Yusu f	AAFAQ (Fed. Phs Bauchi)
446.	Abdulmalik Zakari	Northern Youths Anti - Corruption
447.	Abdullahi Zungum	Sato DG Giaba
448.	Prof. A.Y. Shehu	Grmen DG Gimbia
449.	N.N.T Maiyashi	ARDP
450.	Halliru A. Maraya	GPF, Nigeria
451.	Imran Abdulrahman	AAFAQ (Cepid, Jos)
452.	Abdulaziz Hassan Yahaya	Student of Kanopoly
453.	Fatima A. Godowoli	ARDP

454.	Murtala Abubakar	ARDP
455.	Usman Bugje	ARDP
456.	Sheba Mohammed	Student Federal Gov.
457.	Danladi Aliyu	ABU, Zaria
458.	Mshelia	DSS
459.	Abdulkarim Sulaiman	CILS, ABU Zaria
460.	Saidu I. Dabai	NCS, AGG, Rtd
461.	Dr. Amina G. Halilu	ARDP
462.	Y.H Liman	ARDP
463.	Saida Saad (Barr.)	ARDP
464.	Hon Saddiq Tarawku	Direct Link Kd
465.	Hassana Mohammed	NAN
466.	Manga I Aliyu	MOD
467.	Abdussamad Umar	K.Y.P.C
468.	Abubakar S. Mohammed	Caddert
469.	Dr. Saidu Ahmad Dukawa	BUK
470.	Cdr. B. Atti (Rtd)	Private
471.	Sa'adatu Maishunku	Network for Justice
472.	Amb. A.A. Musa, mmi	FCDDD
473.	Gegele Kehinde	MOD
474.	Brig gen (Rtd) Abdulqdir Gumi	
475.	Dr. Sadiq Umar Abubakar Gombe	ARDP
476.	Sulaiman Umar	
477.	Abba Zayyan	IRCN
478.	Dr. Dogara Bahir	KSWSRC
479.	Ibrahim Dan Masani	Nagarta Radio
480.	Shehu M Malayefi	Musa Dankano Farm
481.	Dr. Shettima Ali	Sir Ahmadu Bello Memorial Foundation
482.	Idris Bugage	ARDP
483.	Ibrahim Khalil Muh'd	Atzmaz Media & Com
484.	John S. Akor	190 Peace Mediators Foundation

485.	Aisha Lawal Ahmed	SABMF
486.	Briggen MIU Adeka	PLD Personal Road
487.	Hassan M. Ibrahim	Regles Trust Abuja
488.	Sidi A Sidi	Apasa
489.	Evetin Ephraim	N.P.F
490.	Esther Iscias	N.P.F
491.	Col. Ademola Lawal (Rtd)	Savanah Centre
492.	Amb. Felix Pwot	Savannah Centre
493.	Abdulazeez Ahmad	NRDP
494.	Abdulrashid Sani	NPF
495.	Mansur Isah Guruza	Polytechnic B/K
496.	Dr. Abubakar Saidu	INIF, Gombe
497.	Nura Wada	T.S.U Jalingo
498.	Bala Usman Lado	Noun
499.	Saidu Salisu	Kabido Newspaper
500.	Gambo Hamza	ARDP
501.	Dr. Usman D. Sambo	SCDDD
502.	Usman Kabir	ARDP
503.	Zainab Ibrahim	FCCK
504.	Prof Munzali Jibril	Private
505.	Abdulmalik Suleiman	ADH
506.	Prof Siraj Abdulkarim	DRU
507.	Alhassan Yusuf	FCCK
508.	Umar Mustapha	SFPD
509.	Kyari Gambo	
510.	Muhammad Suleiman	NBALS
511.	Dr. Umar Tanko Yahasa	NLCN
512.	Halimatu Sadiya Abdu	SABIL
513.	Aminu Garba Mohammed	ADL
514.	Aminu I. Sagagi	AAFAAQ
515.	Abdullahi Barda	Benihmark
516.	Aminu Babban Yau	NDL
517.	Ahmed Hussain	Serffie
518.	Crowther Seth	Adamawa State

519.	Barnabas Omali	SABMF
520.	Hindatu A. Karofi	Sabil
521.	Aminu Aliu Gusau	JTI
522.	Hon. Altine Shehu Kajij	Northern Colum and Media Saving
523.	Muhammad Salama Idris	
524.	Dr. Aisha N. Isa	Ays Epidemiology
525.	Dr. Khalid A. Aliyu	JNI Itats
526.	Ibrahim A Maikano	ADL
527.	Dtoru A.	ACF
528.	Idirs Inuwa	AYF
529.	Dr. Abdulmudasir Ahmad	Gwam
530.	Mc. Big Boy Jibril S. Zakirai	KASU
531.	Abdullahi Ahmed	JTF
532.	Jibrin Ibrahim	CDD
533.	Bashir Bale	Town Wall
534.	Amb. Abdullahi Omake	SCDDD
535.	Usman Yasang Magdalene	ARDP
536.	Dr. Amina A Khursa	Unismaid
537.	Bilkisu Ali Baba	World Food
538.	Aminu Saleh	ARDP
539.	Yahaya Baba	Rayam Security Limited
540.	Mal. Muhammed Bashir	AAFAAQ
541.	Yusuf Abdullahi Mafara	AAFAAQ
542.	Hen Mohammed Ali	CHRDEI
543.	Comr. Ibrahim Umar Hassan	FCCK
544.	Alh. Adamu Y. Wanzam	CJIF
545.	Hon Sardali Sai	JMA
546.	Mikailu Abubakar	ADL
547.	Safiya Musa	ADL
548.	Dr. Jamiu Bello	ARDP

REPORT ON THE INAUGURATION OF NORTHERN SECURITY MONITORING COMMITTEE ON THURSDAY 6TH OF FEBRUARY 2020 AT CONFERENCE HALL OF THE SIR AHMADU BELLO MEMORIAL FOUNDATION, KADUNA

The programme started at about 11 am with the introduction of the Chairman of the occasion, Hon. Yakubu Dogara; the Guest of Honour, Sultan of Sokoto, Muhammad Sa'ad Abubakar III; the Representative of Katsina State Governor, Alh. Mustapha Inuwa, Secretary to the Government of Katsina State, the ARDP convener, Dr. Usman Bugaje, MD of SABMF and representative of the SCDD. Also, in attendance are serving and former members of the National Assembly, retired Permanent Secretaries, retired Army and Air Force generals, Ambassadors, members of the academia, CSO leaders, youths representatives and members of the press.

The programme opened with prayers by Dr. Khalid Aliyu of Jama'atul Nasril Islam. While committing the programme into the hand of God, he prayed for continued peace, security and understanding within all components part making up northern-Nigeria and Nigeria as a whole.

The opening address was given by Dr. Usman Bugaje. He thanked all present for responding to one of the most important issue in our country today – security of lives and property. He reminded members that the inauguration programme taking place follows series of earlier meetings. He recalled the first northern security conference in July 2019 with all the technical/experts syndicates meetings as precursor to today's programme. He also reminded members of the validation meeting that took place in August 2019; wherein the report of the various technical/expert syndicate sessions were disseminated and validated. Dr Bugaje informed the meeting that the validated reports are ready and would be distributed in due course. He further informed the meeting that the inauguration of the Implementation and Monitoring Committee is one of the recommendations of the validated report. Furthermore, Dr Bugaje alluded that the ARDP has been in constant consultation with the northern governors and officials at the federal

level on the security report and on the need for the monitoring committee. The committee, according to him, will ensure the implementation of all the actionable recommendations of the report, and liaise with all federal, state and local government agencies, security organizations, Civil Society Organizations, Traditional and Religious leaders and all other important stakeholders to ensure that there is synergy in tackling the security challenges bedeviling northern Nigeria. He noted that the Committee include all chairs of the syndicate/expert committees and other professionals and specialized entities whose names may not be made public for auspicious reasons, but whose experiences are required for robust monitoring. He reaffirmed his confidence that members of the committee would work tirelessly and come up with useful solutions that will ameliorate security challenges in the next one or two years.

Ambassador Sani Bala of the SCDD gave a summary run-down of the series of meetings and activities leading to the final reports on northern security. According to him, the process began with a two-day conference on Community Response to Northern Nigeria's security challenges on 1st and 2nd July 2019 and the conference was attended by over five hundred delegates representing several interests. On the first day of the conference, he said, the convener of ARDP set the tone of discussion after he highlighted the goals of the conference and it was followed with remarks by the facilitator of the conference, Prof. Jibrin Ibrahim and experts presentations on the security dynamics in the three regions: Prof. Usman Tar on North-east; Dr. Abubakar Siddique Mohammed on North-west and Dr. Chris Kwaja on North-central. He then recalled that the conference then commissioned seven technical/experts syndicate groups (Rural banditry, Kidnapping & rubbery, Boko Haram Insurgency, Farmer–header conflicts, Ethnic- religious conflicts, Urban youth violence and Regional perspective) to critically

assess the various security challenges and report to plenary. While the syndicates were holding their discussions, the plenary proceeds with Dr Bugaje chairing and listening to the various factual experiences of the other delegates. On the second day of that conference, goodwill messages were delivered by representatives of various groups such as NLC/TUC, CAN, JNI, etc. The conference also received the reports of the seven syndicate groups. It began with the report of the group on rural banditry which, identified fifteen triggers of banditry and communal clashes and gave eleven recommendations which include three ways to solve the problems and six actionable steps to be taken. The report on kidnapping and armed robbery identified three types of kidnapping, twelve triggers and three ways to break the value chain, ten ways to curtail the problem, fourteen roles for communities to perform and made nineteen general recommendations. The third report on Boko Haram insurgency identify the introduction of *Sharia* in Borno state as the root of the problem, acknowledged the successes of the current administration in containing the insurgency, noted the numerous surprise attacks on military assets and made thirteen recommendations. The fourth report on farmers/herders' conflicts acknowledged the encroachments into the Nigerian grazing reserve, identified thirteen triggers of the farmer-herder clashes in states like Benue, Taraba, plateau etc., emphasized the role of key stakeholders and made thirteen recommendations. The fifth report on urban youth violence and drug abuse noted that the security agents are not doing enough to contain the menace and made fifteen recommendations on how to deal with the problem. The report on ethno-religious conflicts identified eight triggers of conflicts and claimed that the major beneficiaries of ethno religious conflicts are corrupt political leaders and made sixteen recommendations. The seventh report on regional perspectives noted the inflow of extremists' ideologies through the Sahel region and advocated for cordial relationships between Nigeria and her neighbors, emphasized the need to enhance people to people relationship through people diplomacy, identified four broad measures to drive the process and then made eight

recommendations. Ambassador Sani Bala further reported that a follow-up two-day validation meeting was held 18th – 19th August, 2019 and the compiled report of the Security Conference was presented, discussed and validated clause by clause. He concluded the run-down of events by noting that this inauguration meeting is the climax of all the activities and thanked the audience for listening.

Short Discussion on New Security Developments since the Validation Meeting in August 2019

The Chairman of occasion observed that there is only 30 minutes for discussion and was going to allocate 3 minutes for each contributor.

Alhaji Murtala Aliyu observed that since the last meeting a number of things, such as the emergence of regional security outfits, the ban on Okada in Lagos state which is likely to affect northerners residing in the state and others have taken place and the meeting need to note them. He suggested that the Chairman of the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs is around he should take it up at the executive level.

Engineer Yusuf Sule Adamu drew the attention of the meeting to the editorial of the Daily Trust newspaper of the previous day as it captures most of the new emerging issues in northern Nigeria.

Shehu Musa Malumfashi claimed that the implementation of the social investments has not been done very well. The agencies are not equal to the task.

A retired general who refused to mention his name raised two issues - first, there should be long term plan for the north east as he does not envisage the insurgency ending soon; second, he drew attention to the children and wives of Boko Haram militants. He cautioned that even Muhammad Yusuf himself was an offspring of the “*Maitatsine*” revolt. He said that his father died in the crisis. He noted that Boko Haram has a deliberate policy of fathering children. Therefore, government should come up with a policy of rehabilitation and education for them.

5. **Dr. Hadiza Isa Maiwada** spoke on the general attitude of northerners. She said most of the time we react only after the actions of our enemies. Hence there is a need for northern Nigeria to plan. She wondered why we have a government but are not enjoying it. In her view, it was because we don't have a plan. Therefore, there is the need to be proactive and not reactive.

6. **Idi Muhktar** spoke on the herders/farmers clashes. He said that the crisis is evolutionary in nature and that we need to provide evolutionary remedy. This could be through the creation of a national livestock management agency to re-orientate the pastoralist on new emerging trends in managing their cattle. As a result, he called for the unbundling of the ministry of agriculture and the establishment of ministry of livestock development

7. **Dr. Shettima Ali** spoke on the issue of security breaches. He wondered why despite the border closure people still come into the country on motorcycles. He advised that we need to improve our border security. He also wondered why kidnappers communicate and demand huge ransoms through mobile system of communication and they cannot be traced.

8. **Gloria Ballason** alerted the meeting to the disturbing trend of people traveling by rail after the roads became unsecured and that now with threat of kidnapping on rail transport, there are insinuations on resorting to air transport! She attributed this to the problems of ungoverned spaces that we have in high supply. She demanded to know who is putting pressure on government. Secondly, she spoke on the urbanization of cities at the detriment of humanity. She feared that unemployment could lead to insecurity. Hence the need to resettle the internally displaced people urgently.

9. **Musa Idris** reminded the meeting that the Nigerian communication commission rejected unregistered SIM cards. He therefore queried the use of SIM cards for negotiation of ransoms without traces.

10. **Colonel Demola Lawal** said that the rising number of regional militias is a threat to the state. He highlighted the need to strengthen community policing as an early warning system mechanism. He demanded to know the response of the Northern Leaders on this regional outfits.

The Chairman, Hon. Yakubu Dogara, intervened by noting so far, the northern leadership have not responded and knowing the modus operandi of the northern leaders when their intervention did come it will be measured, incisive and matured and will come in due time.

11. **Hassan Adamu** spoke on the need to rehabilitate the orphans with a suggestion on the use of religious places of worship, such as mosques and churches as avenues for tracing them.

12. **Danladi Aliyu** noted that what has changed since the last meeting is the change in operational strategy by both Ansaru and Boko Haram. According to him, with the border closure, the insurgent groups are now recruiting and mobilizing local bandits, kidnappers and local criminal gangs and building synergy and launching attacks. He pointed out that these local criminals' groups are mostly oblivious of the aims of the insurgent group.

13. **Dr. Khalid** expressed dismayed at the extent of cluelessness of the ruling government. He noted that in other climes, the legislature would have acted as a watch dog and bring the government to its feet.

14. **Saleh Bala** noted the challenge of implementation which he described as the bane of all planning in Nigeria. He argued that the substance of any strategy becomes meaningful when implemented. He decried that absence of political leaders at the meeting and contend that it is a sign that strategies that will evolve from the meeting are likely not going to be implemented.

15. **One Commodore** claimed that *almajiri* children are being recruited as information gatherers for kidnapping rings. He urged that the

problem of *almajiranci* should be addressed because the son of nobody is the killer of everybody.

16. **Hadiza Balarabe** spoke on the challenges of urban youth violence and the use of drugs amongst youths. She also drew attention to the issues of local drug production and the influx of strangers into local neighborhood.

In closing the comments session, the Chairman, Hon. Yakubu Dogara noted that on top of everything the violence speaks more about us as citizens, individuals and family members than the government. He asked, what kind of leaders are we? We cannot afford to fold our arms because unity gives us strength. We need to pray!!!

Presentation of the Monitoring Committee

The presentation of the members of the monitoring group and its terms of reference was done by the convener of ARDP, Dr. Usman Bugaje. He listed names of members of the committee and explained that there are others not mentioned for strategic reasons, but they would participate in the activities of the committee. He further noted that once constituted the committee will elect it chair.

The terms of reference of the Committee are:

1. Regular evaluation of current efforts by government agencies
2. Install an effective tracking system
3. Engage appropriate agencies for maximum efficacy
4. Find a way of supporting existing efforts at community policing
5. Hold quarterly meeting and reports
6. Hold annual meeting with stakeholders
7. Undertake any other assignment

Goodwill message from the Sultan

Before giving his good will message, the Sultan of Sokoto, Muhammad Sa'ad Abubakar III cautioned that the views expressed by Dr. Khalid of the JNI during the matters arising session, were his personal views and not that of the JNI. He further

thanked Dr. Hadiza for her passion and commitment to the north. He referred her to the recent report by the U.S. war college on Nigeria. He urged governor Aminu Bello Masari of Katsina state to reach out to his counterpart in Lagos state on the recent reports of harassment of northerners in the state. He said on their part they will do quiet diplomacy. He alluded to the robustness of the agricultural report that was submitted to the government of President Goodluck Jonathan by the former minister of agriculture, Dr. Adesina. If implemented, he argued most of the issues raised by Idi Mukhtar would have been resolved. He thanked the convener of ARDP and said that the sultanate has been working with the ARDP since 2011 and have made great contributions to it. He further cautioned that it is likely that Boko Haram orphans would be worse than Boko Haram. He therefore urged that members of society should adopt and train some of the orphans. He informed the meeting that the sultanate has already adopted about 200 children from Yobe and Borno states but with no media attention. This is because we are the only ones that can solve our problems. He queried that nothing has been done to the report submitted to the northern governors' forum! And that the social media is full of lies and fake news! Concerning the conducts of northern youths, the sultan advised that the leaders and elites need to caution the youths in the north because there is a big problem, and we need to reach out to everybody. He further thanked Ambassador Sani Bala for giving the summary of the security conference. He then urged the governors to look into the report while promising that the committee can always reach out to him at any time. However, he noted that the composition of the monitoring committee was gender bias as there were only two women in it. So, he urged that more women should be included.

Governor Aminu Bello Masari's speech delivered by his SSG Alhaji Mustapha Inuwa

The SSG conveyed the apology of the governor for his inability to attend in person due to another important event earlier scheduled. He said the governor convey his gratitude to the ARDP and its partners for championing such an important event

and promised to do everything possible to ensure the recommendations are implemented by him and his colleagues. He clarifies that henceforth anything controversial in his speech represents his own personal opinion and not that of the governor or government of Katsina state. He identifies certain major challenges compounding the security situation in the north-west region – lack of political will, lack of inter-agency synergy, inadequate arms and ammunitions and increased population growth. On the lack of political will, accused the north-west governors of nothing enough to implement regional template agreed upon. He urged state governors to come together in a way similar to the “*sharen daji*” initiative by Governor Masari and start taking actions rather than discussing continuously. He argued that in north-west region, we do not need any sophisticated gadget to combat crime but synergy between the security agencies responsible. He however, conceded that the security agents are inadequately armed. He demonstrated this by stating how the police sometimes relies on arms confiscated from bandits to fight crime. He informed that the bandits used their proceeds of crime to acquire more arms. This is because in the forest, the size of your arms determines your influence and power. He cited the case of one bandit who had one AK47 and within three years had acquired around one hundred and seventy assorted rifles. He urged his eminence, the sultan of Sokoto to speak to the authorities concerned to provide arms and encourage the security agencies to build cooperative synergy. He argued that no amount of talk will take us out of this mess if we keep talking without acting. He then drew attention to the high rate of childbearing in the northern part of the country which, makes even those with parents look more like orphans. He gave example of three people that he knows who have a cumulative of one hundred and twenty children between them and only one of them was a civil servant with stable monthly income. He concluded by promising that the governor is ready to support whatever is necessary to bring peace and security to the region.

Closing remarks by the Chairman

The chairman said hearing the lamentation from

the executive branch, he was even more confused. Nonetheless, he said to succeed we must prepare to think out of the box because what happens if government refused to act? Therefore, the question to ask is, what can we do in spite of the government? He pointed out that all problems have solutions, we just need to search deeper. He urged everyone, citizens and governments at all levels, to prepare to make the necessary sacrifice. He enjoins anyone with the needed skills, knowledge, and talents not to hide or keep quite because of fear.

Vote of thanks by the Managing Director, SABMF Engr. Abubakar Gambo Umar

He began by noticing the rising rate of negative competition among northern states because the summary of the things we have heard and the emotions that they spurn in us are unpleasant. But that with the discussions so far, there is hope for the north. He thanked his eminence, Sultan Muhammad Sa'ad Abubakar III; the governor of Katsina state, Aminu Bello Masari; the former speaker of the House of Representatives, Hon Yakubu Dogara and others. He said that if we do nothing as leaders and elders then the impatient youths will take over. He thanked everyone for coming while promising that the foundation (SABMF) will always partner with all groups to help the north become what it used to be.

The closing prayer was offered by Ambassador Sam da Beng. He thanked God for his guidance and prayed Him to grant all journey mercies.



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