

A Critique of Two Major Programmes of the Buhari Presidency in Nigeria

O. Chima Okereke, PhD

Introduction

At his swearing-in on May 29th, 2015, President Buhari openly stated: “ I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody” [1]. Also, during the Commonwealth Conference on Corruption in London on May 11, 2016, addressing the heads of states and others, he said: “Corruption is a hydra-headed monster and a canker worm that undermines the fabric of all societies. It does not differentiate between developed and developing countries. It constitutes a serious threat to good governance, rule of law, peace and security, Our starting point as an Administration was to amply demonstrate zero tolerance for corrupt practices as this vice is largely responsible for the social and economic problems our country faces today. The endemic and systemic nature of corruption in our country demanded our strong resolve to fight it. We are demonstrating our commitment to this effort by bringing integrity to governance and showing leadership by example”. [2]

At the same conference he also stated: “On assumption of office on 29th May 2015, we identified as our main focus three key priority programmes. They are, combating insecurity, tackling corruption and job creation through re-structuring the declining national economy”.

Just two of the three points will be focused on in this research, these are:

- The federal government anti-corruption programme.
- Combating insecurity, especially with respect to the Fulani cattle herdsman

The essence of such a project management status report is to provide an objective analysis of how the observed performance compares with the declared objectives. In addition, one would suggest that a key objective of a critique on a subject of national interest should be to produce actionable set of information that, if implemented, could lead to the achievement of the desired goals of progress envisaged in the programme.

The product of this project should be a report that should facilitate the short and long-term developmental interests of the country. The way forward could be to conduct a balanced desktop research using published materials in the public domain that contain the various shades of views on the performance of the federal government on their programmes. Even this option is fraught with problems and not easy in practice because of the quality and nature of the published materials. To expatiate, some of the materials are down-right hero-worship of the President and his administration but some others are thinly veiled and often undisguised insults. It is therefore difficult and calls for a delicate balancing act to produce a professional report that is a reflection of the true situation in the country. Yet, the true situation may not make interesting reading to everyone. On the other hand, it does not help us as a nation if we fail to face up to our shortcomings and the failings of our present and past leadership. Sweeping dirt under the carpets

does not eliminate it but stores it up with its damaging effects. Therefore, we need to discuss our failings and hopefully try to suggest the best way forward. Highlighting the flaws in our national government is one side of the coin, suggesting constructive, corrective actions is the other side which is necessary for our national socio-economic and political development.

As discussed in the foregoing paragraphs, the contents of this report are as follows:

1. Some reports on the performance of the federal government anti-corruption programme.
2. Brief reports on government activities on insecurity, especially with respect to the Fulani cattle herdsmen.
3. Analysis and Recommendations
4. Conclusion

1. Some brief reports on the performance of the federal government anti-corruption programme

President Buhari has used the The Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) to arrest and put on trial some Nigerians accused of corruption. They include:

- Colonel Sambo Dasuki, the former national security adviser to President Goodluck Jonathan over the usage of money meant for the purchase of arms for the Nigerian army.
- Alex Badeh, the former chief of defence staff, over the contracts that he allegedly awarded as the Nigerian chief of defence staff.
- Raymond Dokpesi, the chairman of Africa Independent Television (AIT), accused of money laundering and breach of public procurement law.
- Olisah Metuh, the former publicity secretary of the People Democratic Party (PDP), accused of illegal use of public fund. Patrick Akpobolokemi, the former director general of the Nigerian Maritime and Safety Agency (NIMASA), was accused of illegal use of public fund.
- Mrs. Dieziani Alison-Madueke, former minister of petroleum, accused of money laundering.
- Mr. Remi Fani-Kayode, former minister of aviation and director of publicity of the Jonathan campaign organisation, was accused of misuse of public fund.

The list of names is longer, and they are mostly politicians and officers associated with the administration of President Goodluck Jonathan. This is confirmed by Prof. Itse Sagay, the Chairman of the Presidential Advisory Committee against Corruption, who reportedly described corruption as a canker worm that has paralysed the economic life of Nigeria. He accused members of the previous administration of looting the national treasury [3].

It is claimed that some members of the Nigerian Bar Association (NBA) have said Buhari's anti-corruption fight is one sided, he should extend it to all segments of the nation for it to gain acceptance by all Nigerians. For example, the chairman of the Ogidi branch of the NBA in Anambra state, Samuel Chukwukelu, reportedly said he is in full support of the war but it should be all encompassing. "There is corruption everywhere. The entire system is corrupt and that is why I am fully in support of fighting corruption but our concern is that it should be fought holistically. It should not be lopsided. I know and still stand to defend it that the corruption President Muhammadu Buhari is fighting is lopsided," he said. He said that President Buhari's

fight against corruption should start from previous administrations before the former president Goodluck Jonathan[3].

It has also been alleged that Buhari's anti-corruption fight is only against politicians who served in the Jonathan administration. Many Nigerians call for the prosecution of Rotimi Amaechi, the minister for transport, Babatunde Fashola, the minister of works, power and housing, and others who are serving in Buhari's government, but Buhari has been accused of ignoring the pleas [3].

Some persons shielded from prosecution: Also, there are allegations that Tukur Buratai, the Chief of Army Staff, and Abdulrahman Dambazzau, the minister for the interior, are being shielded by President Buhari from prosecution. Lt. General Buratai is alleged to own two properties in Dubai. The Buhari government cleared him of any corruption following an investigation by the Ministry of Defence. This is said to be improper because EFCC, which is the recognised national agency for corruption investigations, should do the investigation and not a ministry to which the general belongs, so the complaint goes [5].

Major General Abdulrahman Dambazzau, now Minister of Interior, is accused of owning properties in the US and in Abuja Nigeria. The complaint is that he has been shielded from being investigated by the EFCC [6][7].

Alleged usage of public fund for PDP 2015 General Election campaign: It is said that the President has been probing the sources and use of funds for the PDP campaign in the 2015 General elections. However, calls for similar investigations into the (All Progressives Congress) APC's campaign funds have not been heeded. Many Nigerians have alleged that Amaechi employed Rivers state funds to campaign for Buhari but Buhari has failed to probe the source of the APC funds while continuing to arrest Nigerians who served in Jonathan's government by the EFCC, ignoring those who brought money to strengthen his campaign to win his presidency[3]. It has been noted that the President in his campaign had a chartered aircraft that shuttled him and his delegation from one campaign location to the other. His campaign council was managed by politicians that included Rivers State Governor Rotimi Amaechi as director general; former Vice President Atiku Abubakar as vice chairman North, and former Lagos State Governor Asiwaju Bola Tinubu, who was vice chairman South. In addition, Professor Osibanjo, as the Vice Presidential candidate had his people who were referred to as the "VP's men" in the campaign. He moved around with his aides in his plane[4]. It is suggested that investigations should be conducted on how the APC funded these campaigns with two chartered air crafts among other major expenditures.

The Mania Case: Abdullahi Abdurashheed Maina was the former chairman of the Presidential Task Force on Pensions Reforms. He was appointed by the administration of President Jonathan in 2010 to clean up the corruption-ridden pension office. However three years later, he was accused of embezzling much money. He reportedly fled the country when a senate committee summoned him and arranged for his arrest. He was dismissed and then declared wanted. He was sought for by the Nigerian police, the Interpol, etc., for years. Surprisingly in the current federal government, he returned to his job, was promoted and was paid a huge backlog of arrears. When the press publicised his case, he alleged that he was being witch-hunted and threatened "to open a can of worms and implicate what he called a cabal in the President Buhari's government.

He claimed to be vilified by the cabal for putting a halt to indiscriminate fraudulent withdrawal

of huge sums from both the Nigerian Pensions Board and the Nigeria Police Pensions Board”. [8] He said: "I have sued all the security agencies that we are talking about and I have won. I have full court judgements. They place my name on INTERPOL, I went to court and removed it. They did this, I did this I removed it. Now I did not return to office but when this government came in, the president gave his note to his ministers to go and sit down with Maina, I've given you the approval. They sat down with me after the security agencies cleared me of any wrong doing." [9]

President orders investigation of reinstatement: However, following the public outcry that trailed Maina's reinstatement, President ordered his dismissal and directed the Head of Service (HoS) of the Federation, Mrs. Winifred Oyo-Ita to investigate the circumstances that surrounded the return of Maina to the civil service. In a leaked letter, she wrote that she warned the President against the re-instatement [10].

Suspension of the Secretary to the Government of the Federation (SGF), Mr Babachir Lawal

President Buhari ordered an investigation into the allegations of violations of law and due process made against the Secretary to the Government of the Federation (SGF), Mr David Babachir Lawal, in the award of contracts under the Presidential Initiative on the North East (PINE). The President directed his suspension from office pending the outcome of the investigations [11].

Suspension of Ayo Oke, the Director-General of the National Intelligence Agency (NIA)

The President also directed the suspension of the Director General of the NIA, Ambassador Ayo Oke, pending the outcome of the investigation into the discovery of large amounts of foreign and local currencies by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) in a residential apartment at Osborne Towers, Ikoyi, Lagos, over which the National Intelligence Agency (NIA) has made a claim. The investigation is to enquire into the circumstances in which the NIA came into possession of the funds, how and by whose or which authority the funds were made available to the NIA, and to establish whether or not there has been a breach of the law or security procedure in obtaining custody and use of the funds [11].

Nigeria is corrupt, you cannot do anything without bribery – Prof. Pat Utomi

Professor Pat Utomi, a well-known Nigerian economist and founder of the Centre for Values in Leadership, CVL, has condemned the collapse of culture in Nigeria “where you don’t do anything without bribery.” He stated this while delivering a lecture to students of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, UNN, College of Medicine, Ituku-Ozalla, Enugu, with the theme: “Excellence in character and learning as a tool for restoration of the dignity of man [17].

Corruption, the normal way to do things – Waziri Adio

The Executive Secretary of Nigeria Extractive Transparency Initiative (NEITI), Waziri Adio, said corruption has been normalised, and "Nigerians tend to view its issues as bloodless crime, which they do and get away with." He stated, this is crime against humanity; a crime of calculation of costs and benefits, adding, in this case, there should be sanction, while system and

society should be cleansed of corrupt practices[18].

Examination malpractices abound – Professor Umaru Pate

Prof. Umaru Pate of the Bayero University, Kano, said they have examination malpractice cases, and these are right from parents teaching their children to cut corners from play class to tertiary institutions [18].

Way forward: Some suggestions are being made by Nigerians for solving the problem of corruption. Two of them are discussed in the next paragraphs.

EFCC needs independence to win anti-corruption war – Mallam Ribadu

The former chairman of the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC), Mallam Nuhu Ribadu, has called on federal government to make the EFCC independent and free from all forms of external influence and control in order to win the war against corruption. He made the call on Monday, March 19th, at a special town hall meeting organized by the Shehu Yar' Adua Foundation in conjunction with the MacArthur Foundation in Abuja. He said that for Nigeria to move forward in the ongoing fight against corruption, the anti-corruption institutions such as the EFCC and ICPC must be encouraged and supported with adequate funding and independence to function without undue external interference [19].

Why anti-graft war can't succeed – Senator Ekweremadu

The Deputy President of the Senate, Senator Ike Ekweremadu, has stated that only a holistic and institutionalised approach to the anti-corruption crusade by the current administration can guarantee success for Nigeria. He reportedly made this statement in Abuja at an anti-corruption event organised by the Yar'Adua Foundation on Monday, March 19th, according to a statement by his Special Adviser on Media, Mr. UcheAnichukwu. He said, "A sincere and meaningful anti-graft war must be holistic. Nigeria cannot wage war against one type of corruption in isolation of the others and expect to succeed. We cannot also succeed in this all-important war if we place a set of citizens above the law and if we accord red carpet reception back into office to some persons indicted or disciplined for corruption, while others are arrested before investigation, then tried in the media, and taken to court even on a stretcher." [20]

2. Brief reports and statements on the activities of the government to combat insecurity, especially with respect to the Fulani cattle herdsman.

The Fulani Herdsmen killing of Nigerians: On July 14, 2016, Fulani herdsmen killed five persons who included a school principal and four others in Benue State. Deputy Governor of the state, Mr., Benson Abounu, complained that despite the constant attacks, the federal government has not taken definite steps to take charge of the situation[12].

President Buhari and violent herdsmen: Dr. Ugorji Egbujo, a Nigerian resident in Abuja, wrote the following quoted statements in his article published in the Vanguard, a Nigerian newspaper, on January 13, 2018, "The President says it's not tribalism. His impotence against the herdsmen is baffling. He ought to understand that under his watch, the persistence of bloodletting by herdsmen, would be given reasonable negative ethnic interpretations. The cycle

of doom seems unstoppable. Cattle invade farms and cows are touched. Herdsmen are riled. They arrange midnight reprisals. They massacre and eliminate whole villages. Their idea of deterrence is a human head for a dead cow. The government watches, then pays condolence visits with platitudes and relief materials and sues for calm. Then they would hold reconciliatory meetings. Representatives of the murderers would attend with frowns of indignation. Sometimes they are placated with cows, bought by government, in the interest of national unity. Then the surviving farmers return to charred houses. Bits and pieces of charred human flesh, entrails of pregnant women and babies, and broken hopes are raked into bags. And buried. Sometimes in mass graves.” [13]

“The citizens have been witnesses to Buhari’s silence as herdsmen destroy the livelihoods of farmers with their cows, rape, maim and kill in different parts of the country, especially the south-south, south-east, south-west, southern Kaduna and the middle belt. Consequently, the citizens are left with the impression that herdsmen perpetrate their carnage with support at the highest level of government”[13].

Governor Nasir El- Rufai: “What was suspected to be the official protection of killer herdsmen was sufficiently evidenced by the response of Kaduna State Governor Nasir El-Rufai to them. So, how El-Rufai responded would have been the same way the president would have reacted if he were in the same circumstances. When herdsmen unleashed havoc on southern Kaduna, they were neither arrested nor punished by El-Rufai. Rather, he admitted knowing the culprits and that he chose to pay them money as a means of placating them and stopping them from further attacks on their victims. In his communication, he reportedly told them that he is a Fulani also. However, this has not stopped herdsmen from attacking and killing the people of Southern Kaduna. Nigerians were shocked at the action of El-Rufai. But President Buhari, neither condemned the position of El-Rufai nor ordered his security operatives to arrest and prosecute the murderous herdsmen”[14] [14b]

President Buhari on IPOB and Niger Delta Youths: “The President has not demonstrated a sense of urgency that the herdsmen crisis demands. The same Buhari who was quick at deploying soldiers and armoured personnel carriers to mow down mere flag-wielding members of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) has failed to take a decisive action against killer herdsmen. It was the same President Buhari who deployed troops to liquidate Niger Delta youths for obstructing the production of crude oil through their agitations.”[14]

Professor Soyinka on the Fulani Herdsmen, El Rufai, and President Buhari : Nobel Laureate, Prof. Wole Soyinka has condemned the manner President Buhari and Kaduna State Governor, Mallam Nasir el Rufai handled the mass killings in Southern Kaduna. Indigenes of Southern Kaduna claimed that more than 800 innocent and defenceless people, mostly women, children and the elderly were brutally murdered and whole villages burnt down by suspected Fulani herdsmen without the state and federal governments doing anything concrete to stop them, until much havoc had been done. He spoke at the launch of the book, *Religion and the Making of Nigeria*, in Abuja, Thursday, January 11, 2018. His words: "Religion in the history of this continent has been a disastrous venture, a disaster in many zones and continues to be even so today. In this very nation in Southern Kaduna, over 800 souls were brutally extinguished suddenly while the issue of grazing lands versus farming is unquestionably part of the conflict, it is equally undeniable that religious differences have played crucial role in the conflict. And yet some weeks before the latest outrage, the governor of that state was quoted to have claimed that

peace was nigh since he had sent funds to the earlier wave of killers and they had agreed to end their killing spree. What astonished me was not the admission by the governor but the astonishment of others at such governmental response to atrocity. There was nothing new about it. Has appeasement to religious forces not become a Nigerian face of justice and equity?"[15]

Renowned playwright and Nobel laureate, Professor Wole Soyinka, still on Fulani Herdsmen: Professor Soyinka has called on President Muhammadu Buhari to “deal with bloodthirsty terrorists unleashing mayhem in the country”. He made this statement in his keynote address at the maiden edition of Ripples Nigeria Dialogue, entitled, "Rebuilding trust in a divided Nigeria," on Thursday, March 15, in Lagos. He said: "I get impatient when I hear things like Buhari has failed to go and sympathise with the people of Benue, with the people of Nasarawa, with the people of Dapchi or wherever". He continues: "Who needs sympathy? Is it sympathy that will reorder their broken lives? Is sympathy the issue? We are speaking here of one commodity that is fundamentally human deserving- justice". "There should be an internal measure to avoid a repeat. We are speaking here of a President that will respond with massive action and not showing up at the arena of human desecration to shed any unjust tears, but give orders that the bloodthirsty terrorists are brought to book." [16]

Benue State Buries 73 Killed By Fulani Herdsmen: “73 bodies of victims of Fulani herdsmen attack in Benue state are being laid to rest in a mass burial service today, January 11, 2018. The victims who died during the recent attack by Fulani herdsmen on villagers and farmers at Guma and Logo local government area of Benue state are being buried on a site at the Industrial Layout along Naka Road in Makurdi. Thousands of Benue residents including the state governor, Samuel Ortom, trooped out to the funeral”[21].

Fulani Herdsmen and the Endless Killings: “Despite the loud hue and cry across the land over the mindless killings orchestrated by the ravaging Fulani herdsmen, the killings and blood lettings have continued unabated. Not even the presence of the President in a state could enforce the sheathing of the swords. And lives continue to be wasted by these herdsmen. From Benue, through Taraba, to Nasarawa, up to Adamawa, Plateau and down to Delta, Ebonyi, Kogi etc., these herdsmen are still shoving people into their early graves with a bestial spirit and brute savagery. The case of Kogi is particularly ironical. Here is a state where the governor, Yahaya Bello has hurriedly kowtowed to the oligarchy by offering to provide cattle colonies for the herdsmen. But he is having now to bury over 30 persons murdered by the same people he has been struggling to appease. And the nation’s rivers, as Shakespeare would put it in Macbeth, have all turned crimson red by the blood of innocent Nigerians.”[22].

“Sunday Vanguard in its last edition reported that 1,351 people have been killed in various forms of violence in Nigeria in the last ten weeks, in a country not officially at war. While Boko Haram insurgents are still kicking many into graves, Fulani herdsmen are shooting and slaughtering people in their homes and farms, all unprovoked. And they all seem to be enjoying annoying and inexplicable immunity”. [22]

Can the present federal government be trusted with our national security – Archbishop Okogie: Archbishop Emeritus of Lagos, Anthony Cardinal Okogie, has expressed fears of Nigerians entrusting their security in the government of President Muhammadu Buhari. He wrote that the President "ordered the Inspector-General to relocate to Benue State in January. He admitted in March that he did not know the order was flouted. Does the Inspector General of

Police brief the President? Will the President fire him? Is it wise for Nigerians to count on this government for their security? In an affront to his person and office, his order was flouted, there were killings in Plateau State during his visit, and more killings in Taraba, Benue and Kogi states. Boko Haram, said by the President's spokesmen to be degraded and technically defeated, abducted 110 schoolgirls in Yobe State. Are the service chiefs still taking orders? Is the President still in control of security? Instead of declaring the murderous herdsmen a terrorist organisation, the President offers pious exhortation to their victims to love their neighbours. His party and the ruling party of yesterday score cheap political points, comparing notes on levels of incompetence and gravity of negligence in security matters displayed by their respective governments"[23]

Army biased over herdsmen killing – General Danjuma[24]

Herdsmen attacks: Defend yourselves or you'll all die -T Y Danjuma[25]

Speaking in Jalingo, Taraba State during the maiden convocation of the state university, Retired Lt. General T.Y. Danjuma advised Nigerians to depend less on the Nigerian Armed Forces who are now reportedly biased in their operations. Danjuma was the Nigerian Chief of Army Staff and also a former Minister of Defence. He accused the Armed Forces of now "colluding with the armed bandits to attack innocent Nigerians" He continued:"if you depend on them to stop the killings, you will all die one by one". He advised the people to rise up and "protect themselves" from killings by "ethnic cleansers." He warned that unless there is a rethink in the way the military carries out its duties, "Somalia will be a child's play. Defend your country, defend your state and defend yourselves."He stressed that since the people have nowhere else to go, they must "collectively resist any attempt that would frustrate the growth of the country."

Another reporter [25] stated that the General advised: "You must rise to protect yourselves from these people; if you depend on the armed forces to protect you, you will all die. I ask all of you to be on the alert and defend your country, defend your state," he admonished. He continued: "This ethnic cleansing must stop in Taraba, and it must stop in Nigeria. These killers have been protected by the military; they cover them and you must be watchful to guide and protect yourselves because you have no other place to go". General Danjuma, like many other Nigerians, was informed of the recent violent attacks by the herdsmen which in the first 10 weeks of 2018 alone, resulted in over 1351 deaths[25]. It was also reported that suspected herdsmen at Dong village in Jos North Local Government Area of Plateau State displayed a show of force on Saturday, March 24th, shooting sporadically into the air.

The SATURDAY PUNCH reports that "between January 25 and March 12, 2018, the Irigwe area in Plateau state lost over 70 persons to the armed Fulani herdsmen terrorising Bassa and part of Jos North LGAs. It was also reported that between September, 2017 and February 2018, some villages in Bassa LGA came under heavy and gruesome attacks by Fulani herdsmen in a genocidal manner. The spokesperson for Miango Youths Development Association, (MYDA) an affiliate of IDA, Lawrence Zongo, blamed the attacks on the Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN), Plateau State chapter. He said, "No fewer than 26 villages were attacked, 99 people killed, 44 people injured, 863 houses razed down with food bans, 347 farmland produce worth millions of Naira destroyed, 15 motor bikes and a bus burnt"."

“Over 24 irrigation water pumps have been burnt and destroyed, more than 23, 000 Internally Displaced Persons in Plateau state killings: Soldiers in Hilux vans lead herdsmen and cows to graze on our farmlands -District head ...victims, survivors recount experiences recorded.”[26]

“Zongo said the attacks began in Ncha village on September 7, 2017 with the gruesome killing of more than 20 people, mostly women and children in their sleep, adding that houses were also razed down completely. According to him, since that fateful day, peace has eluded the Irigwe nation.”

“The MYDA emphasised that ever since the Ncha incident, the Fulani herdsmen have continued to launch nightly unexpected attacks in other communities “in line with their threat that Ncha was just the beginning.”

Report by the Fulanis: “But the chairman of MACBAN in Plateau State, Mohammadu Nuru Abdullahi, the Fulani herdsmen group, alleged that apart from rustling of their cows, there had been severe attacks on his kinsmen which had claimed many lives. He said MACBAN was “overwhelmingly shocked” that the Irigwe militias in an effort to accomplish their mission of terrorising Fulani herdsmen in Bassa LGA, had on Monday March 5, 2018, attacked Fulani cattle herders and mercilessly killed three persons without provocation”[25].

“It is also disturbing that the Irigwe community would always trespass into other neighbouring LGAs and launch their attacks and kill our people for no cause.” He had said on the same day when three of his kinsmen were killed, the same militias attacked and killed a total of 38 cows; 20 of the cows belonged to Wada Alh Audu, while 18 belonged to Umaru Ibrahim”.

Abdullahi said, “The Irigwe militias usually cross into Riyom, Jos South and part of Southern Kuduna to strike. In this particular incident, they operated from Rukwechungu village of Miango district in Bassa LGA into Gero village of Gyel district in Jos South LGA”.

“They also beat up and wounded Haruna Zakariya, who is now receiving treatment in a clinic at Rafin Bauna. It is on record that this militia group has been unleashing terror on our innocent cattle herders in the areas.” [25]

Continued Report from the Plateau non-Fulani natives: “At present, the palace of the Ada Gwom (District Head) of Dong District in Jos North LG, Kaze Inyam, has been turned to an unofficial camp for Internally Displaced Persons where victims come to get food, clothing and temporary shelter. Many of the women said Fulani herdsmen have left bitter pills in their mouths as they now live on charity. For example, Priscilla John who lost his grandfather during one of the attacks by the herdsmen, belongs to this category. She gave a brief account of what happened and how her grandfather was killed in Donkassa at about 6:30 am last week Wednesday, March 14, 2018”. “We woke up that morning and started hearing serious gunshots, and we started running. Before we knew it, all our houses had been razed down. Presently, we do not have where to stay but live on charity. People have been assisting us with food, our neighbours in Dong used to give us food in the morning, afternoon and evening”, she stated. But her disappointment is that the killing was happening in present-day Nigeria. “We have become homeless. The education of our children has been truncated. The government should assist and come to our rescue”, she stated.

“The MYDA emphasised that ever since the Ncha incident, the Fulani herdsmen have continued to launch nightly unexpected attacks in other communities “in line with their threat that Ncha was just the beginning.”[25]

“For Ladi Azi, a petty trader, who claimed to have “lost everything”, including her five children and great grandchildren, life has become meaningless for her and her husband. Our houses were razed, food items burnt to ashes and five of my children and grandchildren slaughtered,” she stated. But she was lucky as she was not at home when the marauders struck. Azi said, “Before the attack, I had gone to buy foodstuff for my children and by 8 pm, one of them was killed by the Fulani outside the house. The other four were killed right inside the house.” She said she had decided to leave everything to God because it is only God that will fight for her and avenge the death of her five children and grandchildren. “It is God that gave me the children and if the Fulani felt they had taken my children away from me, let the will of God prevail. No money, no clothing and no food. Our farms have been taken over by cows which graze on our crops. My husband and I don’t have any other person that will take care of us now and our children are gone”, she stated.

“For 70-year-old Asabe Ado, her brother’s skull was cut into two with cutlass by the assailants who also burnt down 12 houses in one fell swoop. According to her, the villagers mistook the booming guns as those of armed robbers. They were the dreaded herdsmen.” Ado said, “My elder brother was killed by the Fulani people on Wednesday, March 14th, in Dong. We woke up that day and heard gunshots. We were trying to know what the problem was about because in ordinary days like that when we hear of those guns, we conclude that they are thieves and armed robbers. After the continuous gunshots, we saw a large number of Fulani herdsmen advancing towards our direction. They started shooting, killing many people, including my elder brother. They burnt 12 houses and displaced many others. My brother’s skull was cut into two with a sharp cutlass and he died immediately. Since then, things have not remained the same again.”

District Head accuses the Nigerian Army of Collusion with the Fulanis and Complicity in the Killings

“The Ada Gwom (District Head) of Dong District in Jos North LGA, Kaze Inyam, was in tears as he narrated to the Plateau State Coordinator of Northern Nigeria Women Initiative, a Non-Government Organisation, Dr. (Mrs) Jorphia Gupar, how his subjects were killed. He said soldiers had led cows to the communities sacked by Fulani herdsmen. The Fulani men came to attack houses where their women were sheltered at the time Rafiki, a nearby community was being attacked”.

“Since the 2001 crisis, we have never witnessed any problem here in Dong. At that time, Fulani left their things and ran away but we called them to stay back, nobody touched their property. At that time, people irrespective of religion and tribe ran to take shelter in this house (my palace).

“On October 1, 2017 was when we first witnessed problem, I received a call that Fulani were killing our people, I was surprised, when we got there, we saw the level of destruction, it happened again on October 24, 2017.

“We only have cutlasses for our farm work but when they attacked with guns, what can cutlass do against guns? We are still wondering why soldiers left the community at the time of

the recent attack. Was it to give the Fulani enough time to kill and burn the houses?

“My people have sighted soldiers bringing cows to occupy the areas where our people’s houses were burnt and the people displaced. Soldiers who are in Hilux vans lead them. If this can happen, what is the hope for the common man?”

“We have discovered that on several occasions when the Fulani people attack us, the military personnel are not always on their duty posts. But we are so surprised that after successful attack and the killing of our people, we will see the same soldiers escorting the Fulani and their cattle to feed fat on our farms.

“We have been living together, treated them like our brothers and sisters. But recently, after giving shelter to the Fulani women and their children, their relations and husbands will come and take them and their children”.

“In a few days’ time, they will come and launch attack on us, kill our people and burn our houses. It is so sad that the same military personnel who should give us protection will abandon us. We no longer have confidence in the military but God is with us.”

According to the reporter, “several calls, SMS and WhatsApp messages to the spokesperson of the Special Military Taskforce codenamed Operation Safe Haven (OPSH), Major Umar Adams for response were not replied. For about two months, he has refused to take calls from our correspondent, after he and the OPSH Commander, Major-Gen. Anthony Atolagbe, had complained about reports from THE PUNCH titles. Adams had also shut out our correspondent from all events organised by the OPSH”.

3. Analysis

An analysis of the first section of this study is on corruption and the second section is on the insecurity in the country.

Analysis and summary of the reports on corruption: In an earlier paper, it was shown that corruption has been a major problem in Nigeria since 1976, which is as far back as the administration of General Olusegun Obasanjo. Please refer to: ”Developing and implementing a national strategic change management framework towards the eradication of corruption in Nigeria” by O. Chima Okereke, PhD, PM World Journal, Vol. V, Issue VI– June 2016, www.pmworldjournal.net.

The highlights of the reports on the performance of the federal government on the anti-corruption include the following:

- Federal government has been arresting and prosecuting mostly opposition politicians and some top public servants. However, some politicians in the APC, who are serving as ministers in the government, have not been investigated. The programme is in effect mainly being used as a political weapon against its opponents, especially the PDP, the main opposition party, because it fails to be holistic in investigating all suspect politicians. There has also been a failure so far to investigate publicly the sources and use of funds by the APC for the 2015 General Elections.

- The current federal government programme is not having the intended effect of eliminating bribery and corruption in the nation because there is hardly any task involving the public sector which one can conduct without its being affected by bribery and corruption as Professor Pat Utomi, and also Professor Umaru Pate of the Bayero University, Kano, reportedly stated.
- Corruption has affected every class of the Nigerian society; from the common person in the street to the top government functionary.
- The EFCC, the official anti-corruption agency, should be independent of the government control.
- Anti-corruption programme should be holistic and comprehensive and not selective and partial.

Analysis of the security situation in the country

- The failure of the federal government to stop the killings of Nigerians by the Fulani herdsmen is repeated and emphasised in the reports. The killing has been recurrent in a number of states, especially the Benue State, yet, the herdsmen still get away with their atrocities.
- The failure of the government to stop the continuing killings by the Fulani herdsmen has been the subject of complaints by various leaders including religious, professional, academics, even retired military leaders.
- Many of the writers observe that the government is weak in handling their atrocities. And the herdsmen seem to commit their murders with impunity in the knowledge and confidence that nothing will happen to them.
- Comparison has been made with the speed and military might that the government unleashed at flag-waving members of IPOB and literally extinguished them such that their leader has disappeared from the Nigerian scene since then.
- Equally devastating was the federal government military campaign to quell the dissidents of Niger Delta who were attacking the oil and gas installations. As a result, they have halted their activities.
- Sunday Vanguard in its last edition reported that 1,351 people have been killed in various forms of violence in Nigeria in the first 10 weeks of 2018 alone and the country is not at war.
- The people of Plateau, in particular, the District head of Dong District in Jos North Local Government Area, have accused the Nigerian Army of collusion with the Fulani herdsmen and complicity in their killings and ravaging the farms of their killed people with their cows.

- This was equally emphasised by retired General Danjuma who accused the Army of siding with the Fulanis and also described the atrocities as ethnic cleansing.
- The General, a former Nigerian Army Chief of Staff and Defence Minister, advised the people of Taraba and Nigerians in general to defend themselves as the Army cannot be trusted to do so.
- As the District Head of Dong District lamented: ***“We only have cutlasses for our farm work but when they attacked with guns, what can cutlass do against guns?”*** Yes. Indeed what can cutlasses and machetes do against herdsmen armed with sophisticated AK47 rifles? The rifles could be semi-automatic or fully automatic with 30 rounds each for the standard model.

Conclusive Summary of the Analysis

3.1. Corruption

- President Buhari had stated at his swearing-in that: “I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody”. This statement does not stand up to the facts of his performance in office since 2015.
- The programme is not holistic but reportedly one-sided and is being used against politicians of the opposition and public officers in the past administration.
- All suspect politicians and persons should be investigated. His failure to investigate his ministers and some members of his party APC in spite of the complaints of Nigerians brings to question the integrity of his anti-corruption programme. The handling of the Mania case is another case in point.
- It is also the case that despite some high profile and publicised arrests of politicians accused of corruption, the canker worm of corruption is well and truly alive in Nigeria, from the common person in the street to the top public servant in the country.

3.2. Combating insecurity in the country

- The killing of Nigerians by Fulani herdsmen has continued unabated since 2016. It has been reported that there were such killings even before the presidency of Buhari. However, it has not been so widespread and repeated with impunity and recurring frequency as has been the case by the Fulani herdsmen in the past three years of this government.
- The government has failed to deal with the issue with the same uncompromising military might which was used against the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) members and the Niger Delta militants.
- This brings the inevitable conclusion that the government has not been even handed in dealing with the Fulani herdsmen on one hand and the members of the IPOB and Niger Delta militants on the other hand.

- The very worrisome aspect is the report of collusion between the Nigerian Army and the Fulani herdsmen as reported by General Danjuma, the people of Dong District in Jos North Local Government Area, as described by their District Head.
- The experienced General advised the people to defend themselves and not to trust the Nigerian Army. How feasible is it that a man with a cutlass can defend himself successfully against a Fulani herdsman with an automatic AK-47 rifle? For Nigerians to defend themselves against the armed Fulani herdsmen, it means that they should equally be armed with sophisticated weapons. However, it is unlawful for ordinary Nigerians to import weapons. Then how do the Fulani herdsmen in their thousands obtain the weapons that they have been using to kill with impunity in many states of Nigeria?

3.3 Recommendations

On Corruption

One of the expressed objectives of the current federal government is to eliminate corruption which President Buhari described as the “hydra-headed monster and a canker worm” that is destroying the nation. The situation in the country as described in the references quoted in this paper is that corruption is very much alive and well in the nation. It is far from being eliminated in spite of the high-profile arrests and prosecutions which have been described as one-sided.

Besides, the programme is not holistic and comprehensive. Corruption is not just limited to the upper echelon of the society. No, it affects the rank and file. Therefore an effective programme is required that will seek to address and try to eliminate corruption wherever it is found in the nation.

- This paper suggests the establishment of a comprehensive and holistic programme on “War Against Corruption”. It should provide a strategic National Corruption Eradication Roadmap with defined objectives and be developed with timelines and milestones.
- It should involve all citizens. For example, it should conduct anti-corruption campaign with publicity and positive relevant education through all media, in the churches, mosques, community gatherings, town halls, market places, newspapers, TVs, and radios.
- The Roadmap should be reviewed at agreed yearly or half-yearly intervals to monitor progress and amended as necessary. It should be an organic plan to ensure its sustainability.
- It should be apolitical and not dependent or belonging to any political party. As suggested by Mallam Nuhu Ribadu, the former EFCC boss, it should be independent and not directed by any arm of the three-tier government, that is the executive or presidency, the national assembly consisting of the senators and members of the House of Representative and the Judiciary.
- There should be established by a national legislation a committee with responsibilities

for eliminating corruption in every sector of the nation. Members of the committee should be appointed by the President and the National Assembly but the committee should not be answerable to the President nor the National Assembly. However, to ensure checks-and -balances in the operation of the committee, the leaders and members could be impeached by the National Assembly. Conditions for such actions should be properly defined in the terms of reference of the committee.

On National Security

At his inauguration and at the Commonwealth Conference in London, President Buhari promised to combat insecurity and defend Nigerians; this promise has not be matched by the performance of his government as shown by the following:

1. The Boko Haram terrorists are still causing much havoc and deaths in spite of the claim of the government that they have been so destroyed that they do not constitute an effective fighting force.
2. There is a worse terrorist group in the form of Fulani Herdsmen. They are worse evil than the Boko Haram because they strike in different parts of the country, killing people, destroying properties and burning houses with impunity. They are worse than the Boko Haram terrorists because while the Boko Haram terrorists may normally be arrested when identified, the same is not true for the Fulani herdsmen who in some cases reportedly work in collusion with the Nigerian Army.
3. The government has been accused of being guilty of glaring failure to stop the Fulani herdsmen who are terrorising and killing many Nigerians. It has become so bad that General Danjuma, a retired General and former Chief of Army Staff has advised people not to trust the Nigerian Army to defend them but to arm and defend themselves.

In view of the foregoing information, the following recommendations are suggested to help achieve security in the nation:

1. The call to personal or collective defence of themselves by Nigerians underlines the failure of the government in its constitutional responsibility of protecting every Nigerian. An arrangement that can guarantee the safety of Nigerians is called for since the government has failed to stop the Fulani herdsmen in their endless killings reportedly in collusion with the Nigerian Army. This could mean each state having its own security forces to protect its people.
2. The killings have to be stopped and the Nigerian Army seen to be arresting and disarming the Fulani herdsmen in order to guarantee that the danger which they constitute has been eliminated. This needs to be done immediately if the federal government will regain any credibility and trust by Nigerians.
3. Currently, now in second quarter of 2018 and going forward, all the political parties are seriously planning and preparing for the 2019 General Elections. It is suggested here that such efforts should be halted until safety and security are returned because election is for the living and not for the dead and corpses.

4. There have been suggestions for the restructuring the country such that each resulting component will take care of its security and the welfare of its people. This should not lead to the disintegration of the country; we should always have the country Nigeria and the security of every Nigerian should not only be guaranteed but practically upheld.

4. Conclusion

For corruption that has been so institutionalised over the years to be eradicated, there has to be a thoroughly and comprehensively planned and implemented programme with clearly defined vision and objectives. A holistic and strategic programme that takes along all the people is a sine-qua-non (absolutely indispensable) requirement for our success.

The current federal government has been unable to live up to the promise of the President that he does not belong to anyone because he has so far shown soft spots, deference and failure in investigating his colleagues in the APC.

His government has also displayed worse weaknesses and abandonment of its responsibilities in stopping the killings of the Fulani herdsmen who have been killing Nigerians including security personnel with impunity. This clear failure of the government in its fundamental responsibility to protect Nigerians has never happened to our country. It is here suggested that the government should take immediate effective actions, which it is very well capable of doing, to protect Nigerians which is its sworn constitutional responsibility.

Experiences from this and the past government should challenge Nigerians to be determined and decisive in working for the security and welfare of all their nationals, irrespective of their religious affiliations and tribal origins. Loyalty to political parties should be secondary to loyalty to our nation. We are not bound to be governed by APC or PDP. We need politicians who care for all Nigerians and treat everyone the same way without fear or favour. It is only by such decidedly patriotic political philosophy, translated into pragmatic actions, that insecurity, corruption, tribalism, and religious intolerance can be minimised and eliminated in our nation. It is the absence of such strong nationalistic and patriotic visions, goals and actions that engender divisions that have been trying to destroy the Nigerian nation. We need to rescue our nation by taking the necessary strategic and pragmatic actions for the good of every Nigerian.

References

1. Full text of President Buhari's inaugural speech Published on May 29, 2015 By Phillip Eta , Daily Post
- 2 Full text of Buhari's Address at the Anti-Corruption Summit in London, By The Recorder Online News, May 11, 2016
3. Corruption war: Has Buhari made an impact in Nigeria? Author: Austin Oyibode
<https://www.naija.ng/908342-corruption-war-president-buhari-made-impact-nigeria.html#908342>
4. Details Of Buhari's 2015 Campaign Author: Oluwatobi Bolashodun.

<https://www.naija.ng/372732-details-of-buharis-2015-campaign.html#372732>

5. How Buratai killed Buhari's anti-corruption war Author: Kess Ewubare

<https://www.naija.ng/878860-dubai-houses-buratai-killed-buharis-anti-corruption-war.html#878860>

6. Buhari's Minister Of Interior Dambazau Owns \$3Million Dollars In Real Estate In The US, Billions In Abuja by SAHARAREPORTERS, NEW YORK Jul 22, 2016

7. "Holes punched in Nigeria's President Buhari's anti-corruption war"

Penelope O. TheNerve, Jul. 18 2016, 5:47 pm Aug. 23 2016, 9:10 pm

<http://thenerveafrica.com/7796/holes-punched-in-nigerias-president-buharis-anti-corruption-war/>

8. "Nigeria and the Maina case" By Editorial Board, The Guardian Editorial, 07 November 2017 ,

9. VIDEO: Buhari ordered AGF Malami to meet with me, ensure my reinstatement - Maina

📺 Crime Guard By: [Nwafor Polycarp](#) 📅 Wednesday, November 29, 2017

10. Olusola Fabiyi, Abuja, Nigeria News -- "Buhari aware of Maina's reinstatement, I warned him" -HoS in leaked memo.html

11. President Buhari Orders Suspension Of SGF Babachir Lawal And The DG Of NIA, Oke , by Femi Adesina Apr 19, 2017, WhatsApp, Sahara Reporters

12. Attah Ede, Fulani militia kill school principal, four others in Benue, Thursday, July 14, 2016, PUNCH, Makurdi

13. "President Buhari and violent herdsmen – Dr. Ugoji Egbujo On January 13, 2018 Frank &

Fair, News, Vanguard, <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/01/president-buhari-violent-herdsmen-dr-ugoji-egbujo/>

14. The Guardian Opinion : Buhari and the Herdsmen, By Paul Onomuakpokpo , 11 January 2018

14b. "El-Rufai, Tell the terrorists that I am Fulani too, and give them this money". December 4,

2016, Dr. Peregrino Brimah; @EveryNigerian

<http://pointblanknews.com/pbn/articles-opinions/el-rufai-tell-terrorists-fulani-give-money/>

15. Soyinka condemns Buhari, El Rufai's handling of Southern Kaduna killings, By Emma Ujah, Abuja Bureau Chief, Vanguard, January 12, 2017

16. "Soyinka to Buhari: Stop shedding unjust tears, deal with bloodthirsty terrorists "

📺 News By: Emmanuel Okogba, 📅 Friday, March 16, 2018 , Vanguard

17. "Nigeria is corrupt, you cannot do anything without bribery" – Prof. Pat Utomi

March 16, 2018 by AllNaijaEntertainment ;

<https://allnaijaentertainment.com.ng/2018/03/nigeria-corrupt-cannot-anything-without-bribery-prof-pat-utomi/>

18. “Why anti-corruption fight will not be won in Nigeria – Ribadu”, Tuesday, March 20, 2018, The Guardian; Ref: <http://odili.net/news/source/2018/mar/20/9.html>

19. “EFCC needs independence to win anti-corruption war, Ribadu tells FG”, Tuesday, March 20, 2018 , By Emmanuel Elebeke, Vanguard

20. “Why anti-graft war can’t succeed –Ekweremadu” by Leke Baiyewu, Abuja, The Punch, Tuesday, March 20, 2018

21. Benue State Buries 73 Killed By Fulani Herdsmen, by SaharaReporters, New York, Jan 11, 2018

22: Fulani Herdsmen and the Endless Killings, Mar 17, 2018 in Politics | , SATURDAY POLSCOPE, Nigeria Today

23: “Okogie expresses fears of Nigerians entrusting their security in Buhari’s govt.” by: Urowayino Warami, Tuesday, March 20, 2018, Vanguard <http://odili.net/news/source/2018/mar/20/351.html>

24. “Army biased over herdsmen killings, alleges Danjuma”, The Guardian, Sunday, March 25, 2018; Ref: <http://odili.net/news/source/2018/mar/25/20.html>

25. “Herdsmen attacks: Defend yourselves or you'll all die -T Y Danjuma”, by Nwafor Polycarp Vanguard, Sunday, March 25, 2018, <http://odili.net/news/source/2018/mar/25/359.html>

26, “Plateau killings: Soldiers in Hilux vans lead herdsmen and cows to graze on our farmlands -District head ...victims, survivors recount experiences” by FRIDAY OLOKOR, Punch, Sunday, March 25, 2018, <http://odili.net/news/source/2018/mar/25/848.html>

About the Author



O. Chima Okereke, PhD, PMP

Herefordshire, UK



Dr. O. Chima Okereke, Ph.D., MBA, PMP is the Managing Director and CEO of Total Technology Consultants, Ltd., a project management consulting company working in West Africa and the UK. He is a visiting professor, an industrial educator, a multidisciplinary project management professional, with over 25 years' experience in oil and gas, steel and power generation industries. For example, On December 26th 2013, he completed an assignment as a visiting professor in project management; teaching a class of students on Master's degree in project management in the Far Eastern Federal University, Vladivostok, Russia. In August and September 2013, he conducted an innovative, and personally developed training programme for seventy six well engineers of Shell Nigeria to enhance the efficiency of their operations using project and operations management processes.

Before embarking on a career in consulting, he worked for thirteen years in industry rising to the position of a chief engineer with specialisation in industrial controls and instrumentation, electronics, electrical engineering and automation. During those 13 years, he worked on every aspect of projects of new industrial plants including design, construction and installation, commissioning, and engineering operation and maintenance in process industries. Chima sponsored and founded the potential chapter of the Project Management Institute (PMI®) in Port Harcourt, Nigeria, acting as president from 2004 to 2010.

Dr. Okereke has a Bachelor of Science Degree in Electrical Engineering from the University of Lagos, and a PhD and Masters in Business Administration (MBA) degree from the University of Bradford in the UK. He also has a PMP® certification from the Project Management Institute (PMI®) which he passed at first attempt. He has been a registered engineer with COREN in Nigeria since 1983. For many years, Total Technology has been a partner for Oracle Primavera Global Business Unit, a representative in Nigeria of Oracle University for training in Primavera project management courses, and a Gold Level member of Oracle Partner Network (OPN). He is a registered consultant with several UN agencies. More information can be found at <http://www.totaltechnologyconsultants.org/>.

Chima is the publisher of Project Management Business Digest, a blog aimed at helping organizations use project management for business success. Dr. Okereke is also an international editorial advisor for the *PM World Journal* and PM World Library. He can be contacted at chima.okereke@totaltechnologyconsultants.com or info@totaltechnologyconsultants.org.

To view other works by Dr. Okereke, visit his author showcase in the PM World Library at <https://pmworldlibrary.net/authors/dr-o-chima-okereke/>