

**INTELLIGENCE AND HERDSMEN THREATS TO NIGERIA
NATIONAL SECURITY: A STUDY OF BENUE STATE**

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ABSTRACT: In the past few years especially between 2015 and 2018, the orgy of violence and indiscriminate slaughter of human beings by Fulani herdsmen in Benue State has underscored the imperative of intelligence as a central element in nipping the acts of violent extremism in the bud, hence leveraging national security in Nigeria. The indices of intelligence include gathering, interpreting analyzing, sharing, storing, utilization and feedback. This study examined factors responsible for the herdsmen and farmers clashes. Besides, it identified the challenges of intelligence as a central element in checking herdsmen threats and suggested measures needed to combat herdsmen and farmers clashes. The study adopted secondary method of data collection as its main sources of data. The secondary method of data collection included textbooks, magazines, newspapers, articles, journals, colloquium, etc. However, the study adopted library research and documentary evidence as its method of data analysis. The study adopted Frustration Aggression theory as its theoretical framework. The study shows that the reason for the seeming failure to control the herdsmen threats can be attributed to inadequate or failure of intelligence gathering and sharing mechanism among the security agencies both within and outside the country. The study recommends improved intelligence gathering and sharing mechanism among the security agencies both within the country, and between Nigeria and her neighbours.

Keywords: Intelligence, Herdsmen, National Security, Fulani and Farmers

Introduction

The crises between the farmers and the herdsmen over access to land have been in existence since the colonial period, but they were better managed because there was an organized system that gave the Fulani men opportunity to feel the impact of government which took care of their animals through the general vaccination against pests (Yandev, 2018). Besides, Fulani herdsmen were known to migrate with their cattle from one part of the country to another with their sticks, caps and bags, grazing on the grazing routes and people's farmlands peacefully. The sticks were used to guide their cattle as they migrated from one place to another, while the cap was used to protect the herdsmen from unfriendly weather conditions and the bag was used as their bottled drinking water.

In recent years, Fulani herdsmen threats on the farms/communities have underscored the imperative of intelligence as central to effectively control herdsmen threats thereby leveraging national security in Nigeria. As a business venture, cattle rearing, just like every other business, is owned and managed by business and powerful or prominent personalities/politicians. Thus, given the nature of cattle herding, it requires the provision of ranches by their owners to forestall straying on people's farmlands which may culminate in the destruction of crops, and subsequently conflict between the farmers and herdsmen.

In developed societies such as the United States of America, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, and even Gabon cattle herding has since moved away from randomized grazing to the ranching system where the herds of cattle are kept within well defined perimeter fencing to prevent the cattle from straying into the crop farms, and which also makes it difficult for cow rustlers. Also, it would not require a very wide expanse of land like the grazing routes that may end up not being properly defined or charted. Further, ranching system has other benefits including high yield milk, meat, less stress from moving around and reduces the risk of contracting diseases.

However, in African societies such as Niger, Nigeria, Ghana, Burkina Faso, Mali, etc, ranches are not provided by the cattle owners culminating in the conflict between the farmers and herdsmen because of the destruction of economic crops by these cattle as they graze. In Nigeria, particularly the owners of these cattle managed by herdsmen have refused to provide ranches for their cattle, and even when the post independence government designated over 415 grazing reserves across the 19 northern states (formerly northern region), most of the designated reserves were appropriated by corrupt means by political and private interest, thereby creating dearth of land for pasture and grazing, that they were created to address (Olusegun, 2016). This study investigated the possibility of using intelligence to check and control Fulani herdsmen threats to the farmers/host communities using Benue State as the main focus from which generalizations would be drawn.

Statement of the Problem

In the past, Fulani herdsmen were known to migrate with their cattle from one part of the country to another, grazing on farmlands of people peacefully. However, in recent years, violence perpetrated by these Fulani herdsmen who are heavily armed with sophisticated weapons against their host communities have left several people dead, destroyed properties worth millions of naira and displaced thousands of people from their homes. Although, it is difficult to get an accurate statistics of people who have been killed in the ongoing conflicts between the herders and farmers, investigation has shown that thousands of people have been killed. According to Hembraor (2018), between the period 2015 and 2018, over 900 lives have been lost to the crises between the herders and farmers. In Agatu Local Government Area of Benue State, over 500 people were killed in a single attack by suspected Fulani herdsmen, but neither of the attackers was arrested nor prosecuted. This may be attributed to the fact that the Federal government monopolizes security in Nigeria. When a delegation of people from Benue State including Senators, Elders and the State Governor, Samuel Ortom, went to Abuja to meet President Buhari to discuss the issue and proffer solution, President Buhari told them to

accommodate their fellow Nigerians. This statement gave the impression that President Buhari was not empathetic to the plight of Nigerian citizens and other nationals living in Benue State.

On the other hand, properties worth billions of Naira have been destroyed as a result of the violence that is still ongoing. According to the Governor of Benue State, Samuel Ortom, Benue State has lost over N400B to Herders conflicts (Ortom, 2018). However, the security and law enforcement agencies have neither established early warning nor response mechanisms. Besides, the Federal Government has not prosecuted and convicted perpetrators of violence or offered permanent redress to victims of the violence. This dissatisfaction with the Federal government's approach towards the herders and farmers clashes has resulted in destruction of property.

The violent attacks by the herdsmen on the farmers/ host communities have also resulted in the displacement of thousands of people in Benue State. According to Mr David Adzenda, the Senior Special Assistant to the Benue State Governor on Benue State Emergency Management Agency(SEMA),in 2019, the agency registered 483,000 internally displaced persons(IDPs). In 2020, the agency recorded additional 75, 000 IDPs, bringing the total number of IDPs to 558,000 in Benue State (Adzenda, 2020). However, the Federal government has not lived up to expectation towards the welfare and wellbeing of the people displaced as a temporary measure, while making frantic efforts to nip the menace of violence in the bud, so that the displaced people can return to their homes. On the contrary, there are reports of food shortage, water scarcity, sicknesses and diseases, lack of drugs, etc, and eventually death of displaced people in the internally displaced persons(IDPs) camps because of non provision of necessities and adequate care by the government. The deplorable condition of the IDPs camps and government's inability to take good care of people in these camps have left them at the mercy of donor agencies, individuals, groups and civil society organizations(CSOs).

It was in view of the violence perpetrated by the herders which has claimed many lives and destroyed properties that made Socio Economic Rights and Accountability Project (SERAP) to urge the federal government to declare the herders terrorists. The Socio-Economic Rights and Accountability Project (SERAP), in its March 2018 report has urged the United Nations (UN) Security Council to declare the incessant killings by herders in some parts of Nigeria as an act of terrorism. In a statement by its Deputy Director, Timothy Adewale, SERAP asked the council to treat the atrocities by herders as terrorists acts, in line with the UN Security Council Resolution 2349 (2017), which addresses Boko Haram's presence in the Lake Chad Basin and calls on all states to combat all forms and manifestations of terrorism. SERAP added," Declaring conflicts by herders as terrorists acts would spur the authorities to seriously address the threats posed by herders and combat the crimes against humanity being committed against Nigerians" (Adewale, 2018). Similarly, Governor Ortom of Benue State has called on President Buhari to declare the Killer herders terrorists. This was as a result of recent attack at Tse-Chembe Community, near Anyiin in Logo Local Government Area, where herders murdered seven persons and left many others injured, According to Governor Ortom "Benue State has a law, which prohibits open grazing of livestock. Hence, only terrorist group would deliberately choose to violate the legislation, as these herders have done, since the law was enacted in 2017" (Ortom, 2020). Governor Ortom said declaring armed herders operating in Benue State as terrorists, would end

the wave of impunity and guarantee the rule of law. Regrettably, the federal government has refused to declare the killer herders terrorists, despite the fact that the United Nations has declared the herders the fourth deadliest terrorist organization in the world. The Federal government's refusal has raised much suspicion and concern among the citizens in the country.

The conflicts between the herders and farmers have resulted in insecurity of lives and property, political instability, bad economy, proliferation of arms and ammunition, bad image, poverty, scaring away investors (Foreign and Local), food insecurity, hunger and death. These violent clashes cut across all the communities in different parts of the country including the North Central, South West, South East and South-South zones. From the plains of Plateau, Nasarawa and Southern parts of Kaduna state, these armed desperados have increased in numbers, pouring Southward into Oyo, Ekiti, Ondo, Osun, Ogun, Benue, Taraba, Kogi, Enugu, Abia, Anambra, Delta, Edo and parts of Rivers states. Apart from brazenly herding their livestock into people's farmlands and threatening them with their deadly weapons at the slightest sign of protest, some often even go beyond that and engage in criminal ventures such as kidnapping, armed robbery, murder and rape (The Vanguard Editorial, 2016).

Among the states attacked by herdsmen, the most affected by the bloody encounter is Benue state. There are twenty three Local Government Areas in Benue State. Besides, there are Eight Internally Displaced Camps (IDCs) in Benue State. These are Abagana, Anyiin, Daudu 1, Daudu 2, Daudu 3, Gbajimba, Naka and Ugba. These IDPs Camps are located in the Local Government Areas as follows: Abagana in Makurdi Local Government Area, Anyiin and Ugba in Logo local Government Area, Daudu 1, Daudu2, Daudu 3 and Gbajimba in Guma Local Government Area, and Naka in Gwer East Local Government Area. There is also a refugee camp called Ikyogen Refugee Settlement. This Ikyogen refugee camp is mainly for refugees from Cameroon. The refugee camp is located in Kwande Local Government Area. The study is timely as it will inform policy action if the stakeholders accept and implement the recommendations.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study are:

- (1) To determine the factors responsible for the herdsmen/farmers clashes.
- (2) To find out why intelligence has failed to check the herdsmen threats
- (3) To suggest measures needed effectively to combat herdsmen threats

Research Questions

The following research questions have been formulated to guide this study.

These are;

1. What are the factors responsible for the herdsmen/farmers clashes in Benue State?
2. Why has intelligence failed to check the herdsmen threats?
3. What are the measures needed effectively to combat herdsmen threats?

Method of Data Collection and Analysis

The study adopted secondary method of data collection as its main sources of data. These are textbooks, magazines, newspapers, articles, journals, colloquium, etc. However, the study adopted library research and documentary evidence as its method of data analysis.

Theoretical Framework

Frustration-Aggression

The Frustration-Aggression theory was propounded by Dollard, Miller, Doob, Mowrer and Sears in 1939. It was further developed by Miller, Mowrer and Sear in 1941 and Berkowitz in 1969. According to the theory, aggression is the result of blocking or frustrating a person's efforts to attain a goal (Friedman and Schustack, 1999). The theory developed by Dollard and Colleagues, says that frustration causes aggression, but when the source of the frustration cannot be challenged, the aggression gets displaced onto an innocent target. Frustration in this context was specified as the thwarting of a goal response, and a goal response, in turn, was taken to mean the reinforcing of final operation in an ongoing behaviour sequence.

It was however soon recognized that the initial claims-(a) that aggression is always based on frustration and (b) that frustration always leads to aggression-were far too general. These claims made frustration both a necessary and sufficient condition for aggression. Miller(1941), one of Dollard's co-authors, was quick to retract the latter part of the proposal as it came to be vigorously argued that frustration do not cause hostile or aggressive outbursts by necessity. Potential outbursts may be effectively inhibited or may result in alternative actions, such as the pursuit of other more readily available reinforcers.

Following from this identified weakness, Miller therefore rephrased the second part of the hypothesis to read: "Frustration produces instigations to a number of different types of response, one of which is instigation to some form of aggression". According to this reformulation, frustration actuates motivational forces that are diffuse rather than specific to aggression. It is therefore assigned the properties of a general drive. The revised F-A hypothesis thus maintains the following: (a) Frustration instigates behaviour that may or may not be hostile or aggressive. (b) Not all hostile or aggressive behaviour that occurs is caused by frustration. In other words, frustration is not a sufficient, but necessary, condition for hostility and aggression (Zillman, 1979).

In spite of these weaknesses however, F-A retains some of its explanatory utility as analysts have continued to apply it in the analysis of complex conflict situations, such as Niger Delta militancy, Boko Haram insurgency, the vociferous secessionist agitations in Southeast

Nigeria, as well as the herdsmen and farmers crisis in the north central geo-political zone of Nigeria.

The justification of this theory for this study is that it has features that try to critically analyze the variable where the inability of government at all levels in Nigeria to provide ranches for the ranching and herding of cattle, and the refusal by the cattle owners to provide ranches for the herding of their cattle business causes frustration to the herdsmen who drive these cattle from one place to another in search of grazing land. In other words, it can be reasoned that it is this government inability and refusal by the cattle owners to provide ranches for the herding of their cattle, in addition to the farmers/host communities refusal to access land for the grazing of their cattle that make the herdsmen become frustrated and aggressive, and hence resort to attacking the people including farmers, men, women and children, and injuring, destroying their properties, kidnapping, raping and murdering them.

Review of Literature

Intelligence refers to information that meets the stated, understood needs of policy makers and has been collected, improved and narrowed to meet those needs. According to Borosage and Marks (1976), “intelligence is information gathered either secretly or openly, about the military, strategic, political and economic conditions of other countries and, about the background and intentions of those countries”. It is information on foreign policy and national defence that is complete, accurate and timely. In a similar vein, intelligence is the product resulting from the collection, evaluation, analysis, integration and interpretation of all available information which concerns one or more aspects of foreign nations or of areas of operations and which is immediately or potentially significant to planning (Departments of Army, Navy and Air Force,1995).

However, the short coming of this conceptualization of intelligence by these authors is that, information should be inclusive and not exclusive. In other words, information is not only about or for the leaders, policy makers and various aspects of conditions of other countries, but also about individuals and groups whose activities may pose serious threats to national security of the country. For example, it may be observed that from the several attacks by herdsmen in different states, there seems to be inadequate information about them, hence they make surprise attacks on their victims. In the same vein, there is not much information about the source of arms and ammunition used by the herdsmen on their victims.

According to Gill (2014), intelligence is mainly secret activities, targeting, collection, analysis, dissemination and action intended to enhance security and/or maintain power relative to competitors by forewarning of threats and opportunities. A central element of this definition as regards surveillance more generally is the link between information/knowledge and action/power (or, ‘intelligence’ and ‘policy’) (Scott and Jackson, 2004), where the objective of the process is security and it will be subject to resistance.

However, the flaw in Gill’s definition is that the Fulani herdsmen who are attacking their victims do not seem to compete with the government, probably wanting to take over the reins of

power by violent means. Perhaps, there are some causes of the violence unleashed on their victims which include carrying out the orders of the owners of the cattle, provocation and hostile attitude of the host communities occasioned by loss of cattle to thieves and hoodlums, competition for scarce land resources, diseases and the herdsmen claim of self-defence.

In conclusion, intelligence may be regarded as the ability of security agencies to gather and share secret information among themselves about imminent violent attacks by hoodlums/criminals on their victims, and take action to forestall or foil the attacks. In doing so, national security will not be seriously threatened by these hoodlums and criminals who always take advantage of intelligence failure to thinker the security architecture of the country.

Fulani Herdsmen

Adebayo (1991) said Fulani herdsmen are nomadic because they move from one place to another with their cattle in search of greener pastures. In Iro (1995), the pure Fulani pastoralist engages in random movement of cattle, while the semi nomadic makes their transhumance migration and return to camps or homes. However, I have observed that in driving their cattle from one place to another in order to feed their cattle they had their sticks, cups and bags grazing on the grazing routes and people's farmlands peacefully. This was about a century ago or more when population was small and there was no competition for land for the grazing of the cattle. Besides, there was better management of the cattle because the system was organized in such a way that government provided care for the animals through generation vaccination against pests and diseases. Again, during this period, there was probably nothing such as cattle rustling, in other words, cattle were not stolen by anybody either for sale to make money or for consumption. In summary, there was peace between the herdsmen and the farmers/host communities, anchored on understanding, non-competition for land, small population and trust for one another.



Fig 1: Showing a young herder carrying AK47 Machine Gun



Fig 2: Also a young herder carrying AK47 machine gun

However, in recent years, I have observed that real herdsmen are the cattle owners who contract the herders or cattle rearers to take care of their cattle as a business venture. In other words, the herders or cattle rearers are the employees of the cattle owners who have the resources to buy herds of cattle. Thus, a cattle rearing is a business venture which requires the private owners/business men to organize their business in such a way that it would not cause inconvenience to people or problem to the society. In the modern world, cattle rearing require ranching system where the animals are kept together and taken care of by the cattle rearers or herders employed by the cattle owners. This is because there is population explosion and urbanization, and therefore, the demand for land has increased for farming activities such as fishery, crop production by the farmers and even construction. In this regard, it requires the cattle owners to either use their own land or buy from people or those who own land to keep their cattle until the time the cattle are matured to be sold for either consumption or used for milk production, all of which bring money to the cattle owner as profit for doing that business. Besides, it is beneficial when cattle are kept together in a confinement where they are taken care of in terms of food, health care with the resultant effect on the cattle growing fat and healthy as well as security. Thus, cattle will produce high yield milk production devoid of any disease or sickness, and because it is fat and healthy, its price will be higher than when they are moved from one place to another. Further, there is competition for land resources (water and land) which makes land scare, and hence guarded jealously by the owners. Again cattle rustling will be greatly minimized, if not completely eliminated.



Fig 3: These are cows eating up crops in the farm in Benue State`



Fig 4: Also cows eating up crops in farm in Benue State

In conclusion, it is imperative for the cattle owners to provide ranch for their cattle for better management in terms of food, health care, security and peace in the society. On the contrary, non provision or refusal to provide ranch by the cattle owners for their cattle which are left to open grazing on people's farmlands results in conflict between farmers and herders, and constitute serious threat to national security.

NATIONAL SECURITY

Nwolise (2012) observed that national security is the deliberate and conscious efforts to guarantee internal peace, security and togetherness, as well as the ability to forestall invasion and subjection of people to a state of despondency by foreign elements. For McNamara (1968), development is sinequanon for security. In other words, without security, there is no development. Thus, it is not all about acquiring military hard ware by nations to ensure, protect and guarantee security, but more importantly, development will secure a nation by forestalling

actions that can make a nation insecure. In Booth (1991), security is perceived in the context, of military strength without regard to political accommodation. In other words, politics should not be invoked as a strategy rather military tactics and strength to guarantee the security of a nation. Annan (2000) insists that security has gone beyond state centered individuals and communities. In other words, once individuals and communities are taken care of, the tendency to engage in activities (actions) that can threaten national security will no longer be there or possible. Hubert (1999), opines that human security is people centered and not state or government centered.

In view of my observation of national security by these scholars above, I perceive national security as the ability of a leader to secure its territory from external threats, protect lives and property of the individuals and communities from being threatened by domestic insurgents/hoodlums, as well as avoid infliction of poverty, hunger, starvation and possibly death through obnoxious policies and programmes of government, maintain economic relations with the international community for the economic welfare and wellbeing of her citizens as well as the guarantee of food security in the country.

Factors Influencing Herdsmen's Threat to National Security

1. Poor Intelligence Mechanism

Intelligence is key in foiling attempts by hoodlums and criminals at unleashing mayhem on their victims. According to Nte (2013), independent intelligence reports have shown lack of cooperation between military intelligence authorities and the state security service on one hand, and between the intelligence agencies and law enforcement agencies on the other hand. This apparent anomaly is responsible for the massive intelligence failures in Nigeria and the triumph of domestic terrorists attacks by herdsmen in the north central geo-political zone of the country.

2 Arms Proliferation

President Buhari publicly blamed former Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi who was killed seven years ago for the ongoing killings across central Nigeria. The killings have long been linked to herdsmen, and some herders of the Fulani ethnic stock have claimed responsibility for some attacks. Prior, to Muammar Gaddafi's death, Gaddafi reportedly armed his supporters to ward off the rebellion against him. Mr Gaddafi who provided his supporters with arms had filtered into Nigeria where they are now being used to fuel killing across the north central. According to Buhari "the problem of herders/farmers conflict is even older than us. It has always been there, but now made worse by the influx of armed gunmen from the sahel region"(Ogundipe, 2018). Further, according to Buhari, "these gunmen are trained and armed by Muammar Gaddafi of Libya. When he was killed, the gun men escaped with their arms. We encountered some of them fighting with Boko Haram. Herdsmen we used to know carried only sticks and may be a cutlass to clear the way, but these ones now carry sophisticated weapons. The problem is not religion, but sociological and economic. But we are working on solutions"(Ogundipe, 2018).

3. Lack of Political will to tackle insecurity.

The present Federal government has not been able to approach the herdsmen/farmers crisis with the seriousness it deserves. The lethargic attitude of the Federal government under the leadership of President Buhari has been criticized against the backdrop of the oath of the office he took on assumption of office in 2015 to protect lives and property of the citizens of the country.

According to the Tiv Professional Group (2017), President Buhari who is also a life patron of MACBAN, should break his unholy silence on the murderous activities of Fulani herdsmen. He must be bold and should also be seen to be faithful to the letters of the Oath of Allegiance and Oath of Office he took, as contained in the Seventh schedule of the constitution. Further, he must not be seen as willfully neglecting to uphold the provisions of the chapter 2, section 14(2b) of the Constitution, which states thus: 'The security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government'. He should treat Fulani militia herdsmen as terrorists and contain their murderous and criminal activities designed to secure usufructuary rights to other lands in order to appropriate the political opportunities that such rights may convey. Mr President, Fulani leaders and sponsors of Fulani terrorism must pause to consider the multiple ways herdsmen terrorism is threatening the unity and security of the country (TPG,2017p.3).

4. Porous Borders

Nigerian borders with her neighbours are porous, thus, making it possible for hoodlums/criminals to infiltrate into the country without proper records and documentation. Some of these hoodlums/criminals may be involved in negative activities that threaten national security such as the herdsmen attacks on the farmers in the pretence of herding their cattle. According to the former Minister of Agriculture, Audu Ogbeh, "those of them who carry AK 47 come from far away countries and our borders are open. So we are trying to get every country in West Africa to contain their own cattle and we will deal with our own here. We do not want the conflict. So, we have to deal with it"(Ogbeh, 2017). Similarly, the Minister of interior, Rauf Aregbesola, opines that many of Nigeria's borders are artificial and thus difficult to manage. According to Aregbesola (2020), "Let me be clear and remind us of the fact that our boundaries are artificial. I know of a particular village in Ogun where the boundary between Nigeria and Benin Republic cuts the palace of the traditional ruler of that town into two"

Although, the borders are manned by different security agencies such as the Army, Navy, Airforce, Police, Nigeria Security and Civil Defense Corps(NSCDC), Immigration, Customs to mention but a few, it seems there are lapses on the part of these agencies to deliver on their mandate or task, resulting in these hoodlums/criminals tinkering with the country's security architecture. However, given the vast land mass of

Nigeria, the borders are not effectively manned by the security personnel. This may be attributed to the inadequate security personnel who may not be present at all the border posts. However, if they are present, they are poorly equipped, poorly paid and poorly trained.

On the other hand, it has been alleged that corruption on the part of these security agencies are the cause of illegal migrants who infiltrate into the country through our porous borders. In other words, the security agencies collect money from those people coming into Nigeria. Mallam Ali, a Cameroonian, who claimed to have been going in and out of Nigeria for the past twelve(12) years without a single document to show security officials said that “some of us are very familiar to your security men here”. Ali stated that “certain amounts of money have been fixed for people like us who do not have traveling documents. As far as we are able to pay them (security officers) the fixed amounts, our going out of Nigeria is hundred (100) percent guaranteed. He went further to say that the reverse is the case in Cameroon, thus, “it is more easy for foreigners to enter your country from this area than my country Cameroon”(Ali, 2020).

Challenges of Herdsmen in Nigeria

The herdsmen who are known to move their cattle from one place to another are beset with some challenges. These include;

1. Weather condition

The increasing desertification occasioned by drought and resulting in lack of green grass to feed their herds has forced herdsmen to migrate from the northern plains of the country downwards to the banks of the several rivers in the middle belt region and southern region, where the farmlands are not only rich in crops, but also grasses are most suitable for grazing their starving herds. According to Mohammed (2016),

“Generally, desertification affects eleven (11) northern states of Nigeria referred to as the frontline states, these include: Adamawa, Borno, Yobe, Jigawa, Kano, Katsina, Zamfara, Sokoto, Kebbi, Bauchi and Gombe. These states are agricultural producing areas and are affected by desert encroachment that is fast moving southwards” (Mohammed, 2016: p.2)

Desertification is attributed to loss of the lands biological productivity in arid, semi arid and dry sub humid areas. The impact is significant in developing countries especially Africa which is the most affected because its economy is predominantly agrarian, rainfed and fundamentally depends on the vagaries of weather

Desertification in the northern region which forces herdsmen to migrate towards the middle belt and southern region has culminated in the conflict between the herdsmen and farmers because it has negatively affected the farmers crops and herders grazing sources, thereby making green lands more scarce and valuable to both. Buhaug, Gleditsch and Thelsen (2008), identified three potentially environmentally induced events; in resource scarcity, a rise in sea level and

natural disasters such as drought, floods and desertification as capable of influencing security implications. In Benue State, there are many farmers who depend on farming as a means of livelihood, and therefore when the herdsmen move their cattle for grazing on the farmlands and destroy their crops with impunity, prompting the farmers to react, the herdsmen will begin to kill them because they are heavily armed, while the farmers are not armed.

2. Absence of ranches as grazing land

The refusal by the real herdsmen who own the cattle to provide ranches has resulted in herdsmen moving their cattle from one place to another in search of food, and in the process their cattle stray into peoples' farmlands and destroy their crops. In civilized societies, such as America, Canada, Mexico etc; ranches are provided thereby preventing cattle from straying into peoples' farmlands. The inability to provide ranches by the cattle owners in Nigeria has led to constant conflict between the herdsmen and farmers, resulting in the loss of lives and property. In Benue State, Fulani herdsmen, kill farmers because they are heavily armed and graze their cattle on the farmlands of the farmers, who react because their crops are destroyed by the cattle herded by the herdsmen with utter disregard to law and human sympathy.

3. Loss of Cattle to thieves and hoodlums

Herders have alleged that Farmers plant crops on grazing routes, steal and kill their cattle. On the other hand, farmers have accused the herders of allowing their cattle to feed on their crops, and destroy their farmlands. In Nigeria, people who steal cattle are called rustlers, and the act is called rustling. Siollun (2016), reported

"Boko Haram and Cattle Rustlers are acting as agent provocateurs in the conflict. Boko Haram get their meat from stolen cattle provided them by bandit cattle rustlers. The rustlers attack herders, kill them and steal their cattle. Herding communities often assume that resentful farmers are responsible and take misdirected revenge against them"(Siollun, 2016: p.8).

4. Cattle Disease

According to Mortghare (2012), most common diseases of cattle are as follows:

a. Anthrax disease of cattle

Anthrax is a highly infectious and fatal disease of Cattle , caused by a relatively large spore-forming rectangular shaped bacterium called Bacillus Anthracis. Anthrax, which occurs on all the Continents causes acute mortality in ruminants. The bacteria produce extremely potent toxins which are responsible for the illness, causing a high mortality rate. The bacteria produce spores on contact with oxygen. Signs of the illness usually appear 3 to 7 days after the spores are swallowed or inhaled. Once signs are noticed in animals, they usually die within two days. Hoofed animals, such as deer, cattle, goats, and sheep, are the main animals affected by this disease. They usually get the disease by swallowing anthrax spores while grazing on pasture

contaminated with anthrax spores. Inhaling the spores, which are odorless, colorless, and tasteless, may also cause infection in animals and people. Some symptoms of the disease are; difficulty in breathing, collapse and convulsions before death, which usually occur over a period of 24 hours, and sudden death (often within 2 or 3 hours of being apparently normal) is by far the most common sign, etc.

b. Black Quarter (Black-Leg)

It is an acute infectious and highly fatal, bacterial disease of cattle. Buffaloes, sheep and goats are also affected. Young cattle between 6 and 24 months of age, in good body condition are mostly affected. It is soil-borne infection which generally occurs during rainy season. Some symptoms of the disease include fever (106-108^{of}), loss of appetite, depression and dullness; suspended rumination and difficult breathing (dyspnoea), recumbency (prostration) followed by death within 12-48hrs, etc.

c. Foot and Mouth Disease

The foot and mouth disease is a highly communicable disease affecting cloven-footed animals. It is characterized by fever, formation of vesicles and blisters in the mouth, udder, teats and on the skin between the toes and above the hoofs. Animals recovered from the disease present a characteristically rough coat and deformation of the hoof. In India, the disease is widespread and assumes a position of importance in livestock industry. The disease spreads by direct contact or indirectly through infected water, manure, hay and pastures. It is also conveyed by cattle attendants. It is known to spread through recovered animals, field rats, porcupines and birds. The symptoms of this disease include fever with 104-105⁰F, lameness observed, vesicles appear in mouth and in the inter digital space.

d. Rinder Pest

Rinder pest is the most destructive of the virus diseases of cloven-footed animals such as cattle, buffaloes, sheep, goats, pigs and wild ruminants. Its control was a major issue till recently all over the world. Organized efforts over half a century have brought about a total eradication of the disease in the Western Hemisphere. However, the disease still persists in the Asian countries. The virus is found especially in the saliva, discharge from eyes and nostrils, and in the urine and faeces. It is present in the circulating blood during the febrile stage and is later concentrated in different organs, especially in the spleen, lymph nodes and liver. The virus is usually spread by contaminated feed and water. The symptoms include rise in temperature up to 104-107⁰ F, lacrimation and redness of eye, foul odour from mouth, etc.

e. Mastitis

Mastitis or inflammation of the mammary gland is the most common and the most expensive disease of diary cattle throughout most of the World. Although, stress and physical injuries may cause inflammation of the gland, infection by invading bacteria or other micro-organisms (fungi,

yeasts and possibly viruses) is the primary cause of mastitis. Infections begin when micro-organisms penetrate the teat canal and multiply in the mammary gland.

f. Footrot

Footrot is a common cause of lameness in cattle and occurs most frequently when cattle on pasture are forced to walk through mud to obtain water and feed. However, it may occur among cattle in paddocks as well, under apparently excellent conditions. Footrot is caused when a cut or scratch in the skin allows infection to penetrate between the claws or around the top of the hoof.

g. Ringworm

Ringworm is the most common infectious skin disease affecting beef cattle. It is caused by a fungus, and is transmissible to man. Apparently, the disease appears as crusty grey patches usually in the region of the head and neck, and particularly around the eyes. One major symptoms of the disease is the appearance of lesions.

h. Milk Fever

Milk fever, also known as parturient hypocalcaemia and parturient paresis, is a disease which has assumed considerable importance with the development of heavy milking cows. The disease is caused by decrease in the levels of ionized calcium in the tissue fluids. In all adult cows, there is a fall in serum-calcium level with the onset of lactation at calving. The disease usually occurs in 5 to 10 year old cows, and is chiefly caused by a sudden decrease in blood-calcium level, generally within 48 hours after calving. The clinical symptoms develop usually in one to three days after calving. They are characterized by loss of appetite, constipation and restlessness, but there is no rise in temperature.

Challenges to Intelligence in Nigeria

The importance of using intelligence to nip herdsmen threats to Nigeria national security in the bud is beset with some challenges.

These include:

- a. Lack of articulate process of generating and sharing intelligence.
- b. Existence of restrictive laws that hamper access to information.
- c. The laborious hierarchical structures of intelligence sharing.
- d. Deficits in criminal intelligence sharing.
- e. Lack of modern technologies to support intelligence in sharing.
- f. Individual/Agencies egotism.
- g. Lack of patriotism by some intelligence and security personnel in Nigeria (Nte, 2011).

It is against this back drop that there is a strong call for radical intelligence reforms that will reposition the intelligence community in Nigeria to cope with challenges of intelligence

gathering and management in a rapidly globalizing world with internal threats, especially herdsmen attacks.

Findings and Discussions

National security includes the welfare and wellbeing of the citizens of a country, the existence of press freedom in informing the populace of government programs and activities, the pervasiveness of the rule of law, and the guarantee of security of lives and property of citizens by the government, etc. However, when the national security of a country is attacked or threatened both within and outside the country by criminals/hoodlums, it requires the use of intelligence as central element to nip the violent attacks in the bud, and hence leverage national security in Nigeria.

Effective intelligence gathering, interpreting, analyzing, sharing, storing and feedback among the security agencies in the country especially in Benue state will be useful in forestalling or foiling the violent attacks by herdsmen when they want to unleash or launch terror on the farmers/host community. Besides, effective intelligence gathering and sharing among others between Nigeria and her neighbours such as Niger, Chad, Benin Republic and Cameroon will go a long way to stop infiltrators, criminals or hoodlums from coming into Nigeria through her borders, and subsequently engage in criminal activities including killing farmers in the process of grazing their cattle. The violent attacks on the people in Benue State on the eve of New year 2018, which led to the death of seventy three (73) people, was a demonstration of lack of collaboration on intelligence among the security agencies in the country in general and Benue State in particular. As reported by Nte (2011), independent intelligence reports have shown lack of cooperation between military intelligence authorities and the state security service on one hand and between the intelligence agencies on the other. Also there are proven cases of lack of patriotism, ethnic, religious and political sentiments on security agencies.

Similarly, intelligence failure jolted America to the inadequacies of their intelligence machinery, and created the environment whereby the reforms of the 1950's could take place. American policy makers became aware of the need to create a system that could collect intelligence in a manner that would make the information available where it was needed and when it was wanted in an intelligent and understandable form (Truman, 1956). In the same vein, the terrorists attacks at US (2001,2017 and 2018) UK (1970 and 2017), France (1970 and 2016), Belgium(1979 and 2016) and Kenya (1975, 1980, 1998, 2002,2012,2013 and 2015) respectively, may be attributed to the failure of intelligence in these countries and about the perpetrators of the crime.

In conclusion, when national security is threatened or attacked by hoodlums or criminals such as the conflict between herders and farmers over grazing routes and farmlands, it requires the use of effective intelligence gathering and sharing among the security agencies, to forestall or foil the threats and thereby nip the menace of the killer herdsmen in the bud and hence leverage national security in Nigeria.

Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

Summary

The crisis between the herdsmen and farmers has made it very imperative for improved intelligence gathering, sharing, utilization and feedback among the security agencies in the country and between Nigeria and her neighbours to foil the threats and hence leverage national security in Nigeria. The crisis has been attributed to poor intelligence mechanism, arms proliferation, lack of political will to tackle insecurity, weather conditions, etc.

Conclusion

The study on the use of intelligence to foil and check herdsmen threats to Nigeria national security is expository. First, intelligence is inadequate or even lacking among the security agencies in Nigeria, and between Nigeria and her neighbours to address the issue of herdsmen threats to the Nigeria national security. Secondly, the federal government's inability to deal with the herdsmen are attributed to religious sentiments, ethnic and cultural bias, etc.

Recommendations

1. The political leadership of the country should muster enough political will to deal decisively with the herdsmen threats without ethnic, cultural or religious sentiments by declaring them terrorists and treating them as insurgents or enemies of Nigeria. However, unlike the Independent People of Biafra(IPOB) that was proscribed in 2018 by President Buhari even though it was not violent in her activities, the refusal by President Buhari to declare herdsmen terrorists shows some biasness in handling the crisis between the herder and farmer in Benue State.
2. There is need for improved intelligence gathering and sharing among the security agencies both within and outside the country to forestall or even foil threats by the killer Fulani herdsmen.
3. Benue State government should ensure that open grazing prohibition and ranches establishment law 2017, is faithfully implemented to the letter. In other words, the law should not be discriminatory that is whether the culprit is Fulani or Tiv, hence offenders of the law should be punished accordingly.
4. There is need for proper education, orientation and enlightenment on what ranching is all about not just enacting a law against open grazing. There should be a roundtable discussion by all the stakeholders such as the Federal and State governments, herdsmen, farmers, CSOs, MACBAN, AFAN, farming communities in Benue State and traditional rulers of both the Tiv and Fulani to see how they can make things work even in the face of the new law against open grazing by the herdsmen.
5. The Federal government should give mandate to the real herdsmen who own the cattle to provide ranches for their herd of cattle which is run as a private business that gives them money, instead of open grazing which is a source of conflict between the herder and farmer.

6. ECOWAS Protocol should be revisited regarding movement of animals across the member countries' borders to forestall conflicts as a result of caring for the cattle in lands owned by individual farmers which are destroyed during grazing. .
7. Our borders are porous; therefore government should mount surveillance by installing security devices that can track down illegal migrants and criminal elements into the country. For example,, the use of close circuit television(CCTV) should be encouraged and mounted at strategic points to monitor the movement of these hoodlums and criminal elements. This security device will also help to check proliferation of arms and ammunition that are used by the hoodlums to tinker the security architecture of the country.
8. Drone which is a manned and unmanned technology should also be installed and used to monitor the movement of criminal elements who pose serious threat to national security of the country.
9. It is high time reliable statistics were generated that would provide necessary data for planners and researchers interested in livestock farming in Nigeria. Such data should be able to tell us who owns what breed of cattle and where?.
10. There is need for enlightenment campaign for the two groups on the imperative to understand and accommodate each other with a view to ensuring and maintaining peaceful co-existence thereby guaranteeing national security and national unity.

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