

Zamfara State's Solid Minerals and Resources in Connection to the Nigerian Insecurity and Insurgency

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Abstract

The national question of equal treatment for all sections of Nigeria is failing since the return to the fourth republic. In Katsina State, the Federal government has allowed State Police that bears Ak47 while in Ondo State the State Police is largely unrecognized and disallowed from bearing Ak47 the now popular weapon of Nigerian deadly insecurity. In Zamfara State, indigenes are allowed to mine gold, bauxite and other precious stones and the State government is routinely involved in solid minerals regulation and trade. But in Delta and Rivers States it is only the Federal government that is empowered constitutionally to deal on oil and gas. The States and citizens are restricted, except on licence, from the Federal government. The creation of States (as prelude to the averting civil war) to restore confidence in the territorial integrity of Nigeria is beginning to fail. They are not treated equally in the circumstances of economic rights and human security. This paper which adopts the doctrinal method critically examines the appearance of insurgency in Zamfara State and argues that Sharia and conflict minerals are undergirding the state of insecurity in the space. It warns that if urgent steps are not taken to streamline legal regulation of the mineral and policing sector, it may become the harbinger of the descent into the precipice of the final disintegration of the country.

Keywords: Solid Minerals, Conflict Minerals, Insurgency, Sharia, Insecurity and Banditry.

Introduction

The place of minerals in conflicts cannot be overemphasized. It appears the Niger Delta resource conflicts have been brought to stability in that the multinationals have had their field day to their hearts content and the oil blocks including marginal fields which have fallen from their grips, the masters' table, have been fairly shared amongst the northerners and their southern collaborators. The new minerals conflicts now appear to be in the solid. If it is stated that since the finding of oil and gas in commercial quantity the attention of the Nigerian state and economy had been focused on oil war and control and that attention was shifted away from agriculture it would not be a statement that is likely to exact much debate. If it is further stated that the nascent insurgency since the coming into power by the Buhari administration is the war for solid minerals it will require a thesis. The thesis is that the current insurgency all over Nigeria and the desire to displace demographics is to gain actual control of the land for purposes of exploitation of solid minerals. It has become over with oil, it is now with gold, bauxite, bitumen, glass, etc.

Kogbara (2021, p. 16) appears to capture this solid mineral thesis when she reported that Nigerians must come to the realization that the crisis in Zamfara State with banditry and

kidnappings has its root in illegal mining of gold and that insecurity and economic growth can never co-exist. But the second thesis that investors are never attracted to unsafe regions and that they equally monitor national government's reaction and approach in dealing with insurgency before they invest is outdated. The modern era theory is that they even induce the crises, plunder in the crises and govern the crises. Since 2009 when Boko Haram established its stranglehold in the Northeast, Islamic State of West Africa Province (ISWP) has planted its roots and all these have metamorphosed into various groups in the form of foot soldiers of bandits, kidnappers and armed hoodlums. These groups combine to generate funds for sustenance of the big players in their purchase of arms and food. Nigeria must therefore watch what these groups are doing in other countries like Burkina Faso, Mali, Libya, Somalia and Central Africa Republic where regimes have crumbled under their onslaught.

Statement of the problem

The national question has come into bolder relief arising from unequal treatment of the various components of the Country whether in terms of states or regions or nationalities or peoples. There are different strokes for different sections of the polity. What is good for a part is not for another. Sometimes when a part is settled for crimes associated with the national question, another is thereby encouraged to raise a similar or related violence to seek relevance in order to attract state attention and a similar commission, agency or ministry of settlement. While impunity is cowed in a section like the south, it is goaded by the state in the north. Therefore, the unequal treatment of the various sections and peoples of the country is itself a national question.

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

The Weberian state

The Weberian state according to Amuta (2022) is the one where there is 'a legitimate monopoly of force over a definite territory.' Its legal system must equally be certain, written and uniform, as there can be no separate laws over the citizens of a state operating in a certain level of exclusivity. But Nigeria has begun to provide a universal exception to the principle of uniformity of national laws over mineral resources. In Zamfara State for instance, solid minerals (gold) can be mined by the citizens without any prior authorization by Federal government and the State government appears to have the eminent domain over solid minerals. On the other hand, in Rivers or Delta State, a citizen cannot mine oil minerals without the approval of the Federal government and the State has no eminent domain over oil and gas. Non-state actors in militant Islamic groups are beginning to grow in power and influence among local communities in States like Kaduna, Zamfara and Bornu. In these states, many local governments areas and communities have come under the intense onslaught of terrorists, bandits, insurgents, kidnappers and Islamists operating under myriad guises in total disregard of the legitimate authority of the Federal government and the States in matters concerning, census, minerals, taxes, education,

religion, markets, revenues, family and even politics. The activities of these non-state actors appear to indicate that the Nigerian state does not dominate its territorial space to exact its legitimate monopoly of force over the nation to enable its citizens exercise the full meaning of life in a democracy. The threats from these state actors are so brazen that reference could be made to the Secretary General of Miyetti Allah, Alhaji Saleh Alhassan (as cited in Tell Miyetti Allah) threatening that the non-state actor shall arraign Governor Ortom of Benue State before the International Court of Criminal Justice for the imprisonment of over 400 herders in the State. Such radical postures have weakened the underbelly of most State Governors in the south into lack of political will.

Conflict minerals theory

The conditions that bring the national question into focus are wide ranging. The introduction of the Islamic Sharia legal system in northern Nigeria beginning from Zamfara State in 1990 where this study intends to focus, has not only aggravated religious conflicts across the north and all over the nation but conflict minerals (Akpomuvire, 2019, p. 20). Conflict minerals are mineral resources which are capable of generating stupendous wealth for a regime whether rouge or legitimate. In the third world, conflict minerals have caused national and intra-national wars in the Congo, Liberia, Central Africa Republic, Sudan and Nigeria. In the conflicts for their control, nations have been in perpetual turmoil and tribal and ethnic cleavages have been the worst hit. In the processes of the conflicts, terrorism and insurgency perhaps banditry and kidnap for ransom have been the chiefs in the weaponry of war at the disposal of both the legitimate state and non-state actors.

Onuoha (2008, p. 58) in his study of terrorism has argued that enough studies have not been done by intellectuals on the concept of terrorism, the motives behind it and the theoretical explanation for terroristic behavior. Yet Onuoha Fred (2013, p. 2013) has claimed that there are over 212 definitions of terrorism 90 of which are used by government and other institutions; the reasons for the avalanche being that the subject is intended to be a matter of perception and emotion. However, Onuoha Jonah; Onuoha Fred; and Okereke (2021, p. 16) are ad idem that terrorism is warfare on the cheap and non-combatant. It is politically motivated, seeks publicity and intimidates to control a polity and overthrow a government in place.

Terrorism theory

Importantly and economically, which concerns this study, terrorism seeks to have access to scarce resources, get government to change policies or get overthrown and pretend to act for the downtrodden. To follow the African Union's conceptualization of terrorism, it is a violent form of transnational crime that exploits the existence of informal and illegal trade and financial networks. It manipulates the public while having illegal exploitation of the resources of the state at its core value. An Islamist terrorist, for instance, would want the Federal government to have the oil in the Niger Delta on the exclusive legislative list

because that is in the land of the infidels but he would not want the infidels to have anything to do with the benefit of the gold dust in Zamfara. And the best way to becloud the motive could be to foster insecurity in Zamfara region and make the terrain ungovernable and distort legislative governance processes on the issue of solid minerals while terrorist goes about behind the scene to mine the gold for his Islamization agenda world-wide.

This is essentially because the terrorist is not a respecter of national territory or integrity! He is not constrained by the patriotic fervour for Nigeria. His constituency is far flung. He can find the patriotism in Dubai, Afghanistan, Morocco or Syria! It doesn't have to be in Nigeria only, it can be in Niger. His coast is at large and not committed to a national boundary. He has no one country. It has been stated categorically that Al Qaeda is to terror what Mafia is to crime. Its goal is to remark the world and impose radical Islamic beliefs on the population. Such were the beliefs of world revolutionaries in Menshevik (Trotskyish) Russia. The belief in permanent revolution world-wide!

In concretizing the foregoing, it was revealed that while Tukur Mamu was working for Desert Herald Newspaper and negotiating state ransom money for kidnapped victims in Abuja-Kaduna train hijack etc and paying less to the kidnappers and pocketing the difference, he was working for a net-work that could be found in Egypt, Libya and other West African countries and was also heading for Dubai after a lesser hajji. At a local level, while Aleru, the Zamfara terrorist chief was being turbaned by Emir Aliyu Marafa of Yandato, he was already declared wanted in Katsina State and while being confronted by the media, Premium Times, he reportedly stated, 'I don't kidnap, I only kill people.'

Literature review

The challenge of solid minerals exploration in Nigeria has brought the current administration into traction with regards to mineral resources regulation regimes. It is the conviction of this research that the quick steps which the Buhari administration recently took to codify the Petroleum Industry Bill with three percent to host communities instead of 10 percent agitated by them was informed by the imminent crises that are associated with the solid minerals sector. It is believed that if the oil mineral sector is not firmed up in legal regulation it may compound the emerging solid minerals industry.

In other words, it was the initiative of the handlers of the Buhari state to put some level of certainty in the mineral oil sector before the solid minerals sector becomes informed or encumbered by the former. It had been argued that Buhari would no longer tolerate reactionary instead of proactive situations. Intelligent and operational elements should identify the leaders of bandits, kidnappers and call and take them out in order to restore confidence in those areas where solid minerals are found in abundant measures. It was further perceived that certain elements were working in cahoots with all kinds of people in and out of the country to continue exploiting the minefields in Zamfara State in an atmosphere of illegality, uncertainty and under-handedness as is typical in the mineral oil sector. A ban placed on the minefields has to be enforced even though all kinds of people

are linking up with non-state actors to frustrate the efforts of government in implementing the ban and no-fly zone (Agbakwuru & Ibrahim, 2021, p. 5).

State's view and warning

The Buhari administration through General Monguno therefore warns: 'Those in all kinds of under-handed, unscrupulous, mischievous and deceitful practices and working with those that are in government critical agencies should beware certain weak areas have been identified. They will be strengthened so that these characters which are engaging in acts of brigandage causing danger to innocent people would be fished out. These are people who are in close proximity with those who have instruments to make the space easy for criminals to operate. These are people who think they have some kind of authority engaging in all kinds of hocus-pocus, jiggery-pokery or skullduggery. They will be brought down to their knees.'

It did not take long before traditional rulers who had given traditional titles to notorious and confessed bandit leaders were called out to be brought to book in deposition. Emir of Yandoto, Aliyu Marafa, turbaned Adamu Aleru as Sarkin Fulani! Aleru was declared wanted by Police for killing over 100 villagers in Katsina State. Emir of Zurmi, Abubakar Atiku was dismissed. He died in Dubai. He was deposed by the Buhari state together with Emir of Dansadau, Husaini Umar, on 27th April, 2021 for linkages with banditry in Zamfara State (as cited in Emir linked to banditry, 2022). Tukur Mamu, Publisher of the Desert Herald Newspaper and media consultant to Sheikh Gumi, another Chief bandit negotiator, was reportedly and allegedly working alongside terror groups in Egyptian Sinai Peninsula, Libya and West Africa prompting the Egyptian security authorities to nab him while on a lesser hajj and turn him over to Nigeria. He was claimed to be a negotiator who received more ransom from the Buhari state than he was prepared to pay over to the terrorists (as cited in Daily Trust, 2022).

The fangs of kidnap

Two Chinese nationals, Messrs Zhao Jian, 33, and Wen, 55, were kidnapped at Okepa- Itikan village gold mining site in Ifewara, Osun State on 5th April, 2021 at 4 pm by a gang of criminals. Two private guards attached to the site were shot and taken to a General Hospital for treatment (Dayo et al. 2021, p. 5). Weeks after, Boko Haram invaded Kwapre in Hong Local Government Area of Adamawa State and made away with 52 captives, the sect wrote back to the community demanding the sum of N28 million or lose the captives. The terrorists who were said to be emboldened by the proximity of Sambisa forest (a safe haven) had been taking taxes from the communities when on patrol. The captives were women and children whose husbands and parents were left wondering whether they were alive or dead and whether State's constitutional claim to legitimacy and safety of life and property were still sustainable (Yusuf, 2021, p. 21). The incident of the abduction of 100 miners and killing of ten of them on 2nd March, 2021 in Zamfara State was overshadowed

by the abduction of 279 students of GGSS Jangebe in Zamfara State by another gang of bandits on the same day. The bandits had been attacking those involved in artisanal mining and carting away their money and property. In Zamfara State alone, 5,000 security men are fighting or confronting over 30,000 bandits (Umoru et.al, 2021, p. 1).

On 25th March, 2017 a member of the Delta State House of Assembly, Chief (Hon.) Evance Ivwurie (as cited in Eluemunor, 2021, p. 16) representing Ethiope East Local Government Area, had claimed that suspected sponsors of Fulani herdsmen were allegedly making arm supplies to them with helicopter at the 'barren region' of Ovre-Abraka and Ovre-Eku in his constituency. The Member was threatened by the Delta State Commissioner of Police, Mr. Zanna Ibrahim, to be taken into custody unless he would be able to show, identify and prove the helicopter to the Police. But by August, 2019 an alleged confessional statement was claimed by 'Niger Delta Voice' a staple of the Vanguard Newspapers, to have been elicited from a herdsman aged 20 years to the effect that helicopters drop weapons for his boss inside Dinya forest in Kankara Local Government Area in Kastina State and specifically that 'helicopters drop arms for us in the forest: I have killed at least five people.'

Residents of Monguno in Borno State had not also been left out in the helicopter narrative. They had alleged that they saw helicopters drop arms for Boko Haram in the bush. The frequency of the claim of helicopters dropping of arms across the country, led the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Gen. Buhari (Rtd.) to impose a no-fly-zone and cessation of mining in Zamfara State. In fact, the Federal government made the declaration following intelligence reports that arms were being transported to bandits with private jets and that the jets were also being used to cart away gold from the State to Dubai. The actors behind the mining activities were directly indicted for fuelling the security crisis in the State (Olawale et al, 2021, p. 5).

Former Military Head of State General Abdulsalami Abubakar's helicopter was also fingered in one of the reports and missions. In fact, it was alleged that the aircraft was arrested and later released with the ex-Head of State denying knowledge of the craft being so used or hired. Stakeholders in the security space had equally requested the President to extend the no-fly-zone imposed in 2017 to Bauchi, Gombe, Adamawa, Kano, Katsina, Yobe, Benue, Taraba and Borno States (Olawale et al, 2021, p. 5). In other words, many analysts see the measure including shooting at sight against carriers of AK47 assault rifles in the forests as a positive sign that government is finally going all-out against armed hoodlums wreaking havoc on innocent citizens from their hideouts (Vanguard Comment, 2021, p. 18).

Reaction to no-fly and shoot-at-sight

More sensitive Nigerians express surprise on the orders of 'no-fly-zone' and 'shoot-at-sight' because they were coming almost six years into the Buhari administration when strange and fringe elements had already been roaming the countryside using their assault rifles to attack indigenous peoples and communities and taking over their lands almost unchallenged. Buhari (as cited in Agbakwuru, 2021, p. 8) expressed the surprise as follows

'What surprises is what is happening now in the northwest where the same people with the same culture are killing each other, taking their livestock and burning properties. One thing that got to the press which I read myself was that anyone with an AK47 will be shot. This is because AK47 is supposed to be registered and it is only given to security officials.' But the basis of the hoodlums were Buhari's proverbial Frankenstein monster which he created before assumption of power and soon after assuming power that is now turning back on his government.

The President's argument is not far reaching because the order to shoot-at-sight is fraught with other connected issues as follows: First, AK47 is not the only arms the hoodlums use. It should have applied to all arms. Secondly, law enforcement must be maintained through constitutional procedures not military rules of engagement. Thirdly, the security sat idly when the nation was infiltrated by the hoodlums many of whom were foreigners with their indigenous cohorts. Fourthly, many of them were assembled and armed by power hungry politicians with the connivance of law enforcement agents.

The 'no-fly-zone' and 'shoot-at-sight' orders are in bad taste and not in good standing constitutionally. Nigeria is still a democracy and a nation of laws and not men. Nobody, or group, however highly placed should take the laws into their hands, even though some highly placed Federal government Ministers seem to have surrendered to the nefarious activities of miscreants and mischief makers bent on destabilizing the nation. Self-help is an invitation to anarchy and must be nipped in the bud; the reason is because the orders are capable of progressively militarizing the Nigerian society and plague it with a gun and violent culture (Omonobi et al, 2021, p. 41). Internal insecurity is already driving arms proliferation and with rising insecurity, individuals, communities, companies and governments are spending scarce resources for protection and safety (Nanlong, 2021, p. 14).

The state of lawlessness which the orders are capable of engendering has played out in Edo State. There was tension in Dagbala in Akoko-Edo Local Government Area of Edo State following invasion of the sleepy town by over 1,000 illegal miners excavating for gold and other solid minerals with suspicious licenses. Several Federal government vehicles transported people to the community on a daily basis from different parts of Nigeria for mining purposes until the resolution to stop mining in the interim was invoked and imposed. Macana (Aliu, 2021, p. 26) a mining company states, 'Our company got license to mine and in the process we have now discovered gold, we have now sent a fresh application to get license for gold mining, but while awaiting response from the authorities, illegal miners have deliberately drifted into our area of operation apparently because of gold.' Macana went to Abuja to lodge an application for exploration and got exploration license No. 18789 and 18790. In 2016 Macana started exploration without significant finds unless limestone in license No. 18790. Macana was referred to the Mining Cadastral Office and got license No. 25134 for limestone. But by 2019 Macana got traces of gold deposit in the area having spent a lot of money but Macana's joy was short-lived as by 2020 high influx of persons of

questionable origin into the area began. It became an all comers' affair and Macana and its security outlay became overwhelmed.

Zamfara Gold Storm

HassanWuyo (2021, p. 9) has seen it all in Zamfara State in the northwest, how the gold storm began. The genesis of the conflict in Zamfara started with the killing of the Fulani leader, Alhaji Ishe of Chilin village in Kuyambana District of Dansadau Emirate in Maru Local Government Area on 11th April, 2013. He was the Fulani leader in the neighbouring States of Sokoto and Kebbi. Since his killing, Fulani in the three States of Zamfara, Kebbi and Sokoto became aggrieved and aggressive against Hausa communities from where the Yansakai who did the killing came from. With hostilities between the Fulani and Yansakai each decided to form formidable groups and structures. The Fulani as bandits and Hausa as Yansakai with increasing waves of attacks and counters. Scores of innocent people were killed and valuable properties including houses were burnt down.

To worsen the situation, Fulani bandits began to build camps, to recruit informants into banditry, train and arm them with dangerous weapons. Over 24 routes networks across 14 local government areas were established by the bandits with 232 leaders and large following of over 4,825 bandits across Zamfara State. Loss of lives, kidnapping, rustling of livestock in their thousands, heightened. People became traumatized. Farmers could no longer go to their farms. General food insecurity loomed. The economy of the State became devastated.

The influx of bandits from neighbouring countries increasingly surged with proliferation of both light and heavy weapons. At the last count, there were almost 100 different bandit camps with no fewer than 300 bandits in each of the camps. For the Nigerian State, there was shortage of manpower and weapons to contain the surge. There was poor intelligence gathering and next-work. Zamfara State became overwhelmed and anarchy descended on the populace and landscape. More than 100,000 people were displaced from their ancestral homes while 2, 619 were killed by bandits between 2011 and 2019 in Zamfara State alone. 1,190 were kidnapped within the same period. N970,000,000 were paid as ransom. 14,378 animals were rustled as at 2021.

Nigeria is a democracy. But suddenly it seemed to be running amok with insurgent herdsmen. The Federal government issued a shoot at sight of anyone carrying AK47 and ordered a no fly zone over Zamfara State. While some welcomed the orders, other reacted to the effect that the orders came too late in the day. Yemi Fatorumbi (as cited in Dayo et al, 2021, p. 12) had stated, 'If he (Buhari) had taken the decision two years earlier (that is in 2019) the level of insecurity would not have deteriorated so much because he had allowed the bandits to settle down in the forests to understand the topography of the States in the south and their forests. Others had queried the authenticity of the orders as to whether they were issued from the sincere table of the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. It has been argued that the shoot at sight order was not issued personally by the President in an

interview held with local media. It was reportedly said to have been issued by Shehu Garba (a media assistant to the President) in his interview with the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and that 'It could be that the directive was given as a public relations stunt for the government before the international community.' Yet for Eluemunor (2021, p. 16) it was General Babagana Monguno who delivered the far-reaching message and it was unfortunate President Buhari did not do so in person and thereby squandered an immense opportunity of placing the presidency's thumb-impression on the anti-insurgency fight. Even for Sina Oduntan (Dayo et al, 2021, p. 12) the security agents that have been ordered to shoot any erring individual carrying AK47 are not available in the villages and forests where the criminal Fulani herdsmen operate, so the order is in futility and of no use. The order if carried out can also be misused by security operatives. The order is contrary to the law of the land as it is equal to jungle justice. Offenders ought to be arrested and prosecuted which is the law and not extra-judicial killing. But for Ayo Arise (as cited in Dayo et al, 2021, p. 12) the bottom-line ought to be to look at where the AK47 rifles are coming from. 'We must be able to trace and track such weapons that are in the hands of wrong people... They will no longer be able to carry it in daylight and be showing people that they have AK47 and that they may shoot...'

Yet, 'We can't fold our arms when these criminals show more than 200 AK47 rifles and ammunition. It is an indication of war and anybody that is telling you that there is no war in Nigeria is deceiving himself or herself. If the Federal government can announce no fly zone in Zamfara that is a statement of war...' Gani Adams (as cited in Olawale, 2021, p. 7) volunteered. While Adams suggests that both the herders and the farmers should be allowed to carry arms as they are in the same line of profession being agriculture, Sola Ebiseni (as cited in Dayo et al, p. 12) believes that until the President and the Federal government and their handlers enthrone the tenets of federalism which forbids single command policing and structures, these outlaws will remain indignant and intractable.

Conclusion

The struggle for the control of the lives of the ordinary citizens of Zamfara State is behind the conflicts and insecurity in the region. It is a struggle between the Federal government represented in the state by the State and Local governments on the one hand and Militant Islamist leaders on the other. In between these two contending forces are the people and their traditional rulers who are at the mercies of the supervening power at a given time. And three time periods are involved; the period of law and order during which the Federal government and its state forces are in control; the time of crisis in which the Islamist militants are in temporal control; and the time of relative peace when the militants still masquerade about in banditry trying to impose their authority in areas that are relatively remote and ungoverned spaces where they establish their armed camps and fortresses. In order to be in control and survive economically and politically, militants resort to banditry taking to arms and terrorizing the surrounding villages for tax, fines, goods, foodstuffs and

stock-piles, rustling of cattle, stealing and armed robbery. They equally take to kidnapping for ransom in numerous circumstances in which they have targeted opponents or unyielding traditional rulers and natives showing reluctance to giving in to pseudo-sharia traditions. The worst hit may be Christians in such spaces who are marked for extermination and expropriation of their ancestral lands. These Christian victims had been in the spaces for centuries until recently when ethno-religious conflicts became the order of the day across northern Nigeria.

The most potent conflict has assumed the colour of conflict mineral war: between which of the two groups to control the gold dust and bauxite. While the Federal and State governments are in the legal frame to control mining, the Islamic militants are poised to institute a reign of terror in the country-side to make the economic resources of the mining business an all comers affairs and in the process gain control of the mines and take taxes from miners and create a legal environment that is fluid and sabotage the exclusive claim of the Federal government to solid mineral resources. Because huge economic benefit lies on the door step of the groups that control the mines and political influence, the Federal government has resorted to air strikes and bombardments of the militant camps of Turji Bello, the most acknowledged Islamic Militant leader in the Fakai axis in Zamfara State in 2022.

The air strikes have put the Traditional rulers and their subjects in jeopardy and at the mercy of the unrepentant militants who had been previously bombarded in December, 2021 prompting the natives of Fakai community to pay condolences to the militants to avoid reprisals from the kingpin. The current divide and rule over State Police and solid minerals resources in Katsina and Zamfara States vis-à-vis what obtains in Ondo, Rivers and Delta States would be unsustainable. It will engender crisis of insecurity and state inability to have effective control over the citizens of Nigeria. 'One country two systems' is unsustainable.

Recommendation

- The Federal government should reaffirm the law regulating the minerals sector to avert conflicting legal regimes in the sector.
- The way forward may have to lie in deconstructing the legal regimes on mineral resources and policing in Nigeria by devolution.
- It should not be one regime for Katsina State police and Zamfara State solid minerals in the north and another regime for oil and gas in Delta, Rivers and Ondo States in Niger Delta in the south.
- Traditional rulers should be circumspect in the award of chieftaincy titles to subjects with questionable character so as not to reinforce insecurity and those promoting insurgency.

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