

The Parallelism Between Injustice And The 1804 Usman Dan Fodio's Jihad: A Lesson For The Nigerian Leaders

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Abstract: The jihad associated with Usman dan Fodio was an event that took place in the ancient Hausa land. It spread beyond the Hausa land and has become topical and inspirational to many people. The jihad has received myriads of studies, opinions and interests from Islamic adherents and non Islamic adherents. Many factors have been attributed to be the remote and immediate causes of the war. One factor which many scholars, adherents and analysts have roundly accepted is that injustice played a pivotal role in the cause and success of the jihad. This paper focuses on the concept of injustice as one of the remote and immediate causes of the 1804 Usman dan Fodio's jihad. It outlines some features of injustice, roles of injustice to the existence or otherwise of any society and valuable lessons Nigerian rulers can sieve from the 1804 Usman dan Fodio's jihad so as to avoid the repeated quests and launching of jihads in Nigeria. The study submits that if Nigerian rulers want to avert the incessant destruction of lives and property spurred by the metamorphosed jihadists.

I. INTRODUCTION

Cruising past the human history, it can be observed that the ideas of both actual and perceived injustice are as old as mankind. The issues of injustice have not gone without reactions depending on the obtainable perspectives. The reactions depend on the strength and will of the supposedly or obviously oppressed as well as the oppressor. These reactions have largely shaped and determined the pattern and the thinking of many societies. Today, developed nations of the world like the United States of America harps on the equality of all men ostensibly because some movements and resistance against Black discrimination arose in the country especially the one led by Rev Dr Martin Luther King Jnr. Arguably, the concept equal right could not have arisen if some men did not rise to react against both the perceived and actual unjust treatments meted out against them. In view of this, it can be argued that injustice is one of the phenomena human life abhors. It was against this backdrop that in 1804, a young Islamic scholar, Usman dan Fodio successfully over ran the entire ancient Hausa land and overthrew alleged dreadful authorities with his Islamic jihad. Many factors have been adduced as the causes and successes of that jihad. However,

one of the factors that accounted for success of the war was the peoples' willingness to fight against both perceived and actual injustices perpetrated against them by the rulership of Gobir in the ancient Hausa land. Obviously, many rulers have not learnt any lesson from the war and it could be in this line of thought that, Achebe (1983) asserts that the trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership. He argues that there is nothing basically wrong with the Nigerian character, Nigerian land, Nigerian climate, Nigerian water, Nigerian air or anything else concerning Nigerian except leadership (p.1). Nigeria has never lacked rulers but she has been monumentally bereft of leaders. In this view Iweh (1987) stresses that leadership is to a society what an eye is to the human (p.20). Nigeria is hugely and abundantly blessed with both human and material resources but her citizens because of bad leadership have continued to suffer and squalor in the midst of abundance thus fertilizing the ground for the incessant rise of other jihads. This study is enthused by the premise that no nation can grow or develop without enduring justice.

II. CLARIFICATION OF TERMS

PARALLELISM, INJUSTICE, 1804 USMAN DAN FODIO'S JIHAD, LESSON AND NIGERIAN LEADERS

Parallelism can be described as an agreement in the direction, tendency or character of things, persons and movements. *Injustice* stands for violation of the rights of others, unjust or unfair action or treatment against other people. *Lesson* means a piece of instruction learned by study or experience. *Nigeria* can be briefly defined as the conglomerates of nations that were amalgamated into one country in 1914 but on 1st October, 1960, it gained political independence from Britain. *Leaders*: the plural form the word, *leader* has been given many definitions by many scholars. For instance, Rowe (2007) views leadership as a process through which an individual influences a group of other individuals to achieve a common goal. Leader can be summed up as a person, who plans, leads, directs, manages or influences a person or groups in an organization or country to achieve common goal. It is used in this study to mean those who either by design or accident found themselves in the helms of Nigerian affairs. *Jihad*: etymologically, Ayatullah (1984) defines jihad as an Arabic word meaning different things but basically imply to strive, to struggle and the use of force in the defence of Islam and its propagation as applied in the Quran (p.39). Ali (1986) posits that jihad is a tool of fighting for survival hence among the Arabs, raiding was a means of freeing oneself from want (p.63). Nzomiwu (1989) classifies jihad into various categories, types and kinds but they agree with this basic or popular four kinds of jihad and they are "Jihad by the heart; Jihad by the tongue; Jihad by the hand and Jihad by the sword. The Usman dan Fodio's 1804 jihad according to Kukah (1993) is a war launched with the aim of establishing an Islamic state based on sharia (p.115). Whatever the view or understanding could be on the concept of jihad, one thing specific about it is that it often a reaction against oppression, suppression and unjust treatments.

Contextually, injustice can generally be described as both the promoters and the outcomes of a world in which individuals and groups receive unfair treatments, partial shares and unequal distribution of the benefits and goods within a society. In these conditions, people are discriminated against, their welfare and well-being constrained or prejudiced on the basis of gender, sexuality, religion, political affiliations, age, race, belief, disability, location, social class, socioeconomic circumstances and membership. *The Parallelism between Injustice and the 1804 Usman dan Fodio's Jihad: A lesson for Nigerian leaders* implies the historical explanations of the direction, connection, correlation and bond between oppression, inhuman treatments and impunity and social uprisings especially the 1804 Usman dan Fodio's jihad. It seeks to objectively analyze how injustice indirectly and directly fertilized the ground for the launching of the 1804 Usman dan Fodio's jihad. It analyses the social implications of the war and highlights how it should serve as a warning for Nigerian leaders. The lessons can help avoid or manage where possible, the incessant repetitions of the war will be managed or avoided. Nigerian leaders in this context do not mean only political rulers rather both religious and every other kind of

rulers. Adopting the theory that injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere as propounded Martin Luther king Jr, this study argues that actual and perceived injustice has been directly and indirectly responsible for almost all the instabilities Nigeria.

III. APPRAISING THE CONCEPTS AND FEATURES OF INJUSTICE

The idea of injustice according to Heinze (2013) challenges traditional Western justice theory. He argues that from the ancient philosophers and thinkers such as Plato and Aristotle down to the modern thinkers such as Emmanuel Kant, G.W Frederick Hegel, Karl Marx and John Rawls have subordinated the concept of injustice to the idea of justice because they mistook its concepts with the etymological idea of justice. Hence these theorists assume that injustice is a sheer logical opposite of justice. He drew also from the ancient and early modern texts, philosophical and other literary works with special attention to Shakespeare, to posit that injustice is not basically the repudiation, failure or absence of justice rather the constant products of regimes and norms of justice. He sums his thesis up by alluding that justice is not always the cure for injustice rather it is often its cause (pp.16-23). In as much he did not disclose his reasons for accusing justice as the cause of injustice, the study is of the view that injustice is often fertilized by the selfish and inordinate ambitions and desires of people.

Meanwhile, the concepts of injustice are dependent upon what a society regards as values, norms and culture. For instance, Amanambu (2008) states that Bishop Augustine of Hippo believes that Yahweh had to endorse the horrifying brutalization of the Egyptians and Canaanites' children so as to liberate the Jews. These violent methods according to the accounts from Judges 9:10, Ezra 9:1 and 1 Kings 9:6 were all actions taken to ensure justice. It is reasoned that if their children grew up, they would end up suffering in the hell hence slaughtering them in infancy ensured that their souls would make heaven (p.45). To push it a bit further, until recently women are barred from driving cars in Saudi Arabia and the people seemed to have tolerated it but in the United States of America such a measure will be fiercely resisted. It could be in this view that some thoughts like Heinze have opined that justice is not always the cure for injustice but often its cause. Rosen (2000) stresses that the emphasis Islam places on justice is not on equality but on equivalence and that is why men and women, children and adults, various ethnic groups are to be treated in ways which can be true to their nature rather than identity (p.11).

Furthermore, another feature of injustice is that, it has a reward. Heinze (2013) posits that Plato believed that any perpetrator of injustice always ends up more miserable than the victim. Socrates also maintains that individuals who commit injustice must ultimately end up more miserable than their victims (p.18). In agreement with these opinions the writer argues tracing human history that Hitler, former Iraq ruler, Saddam Hussaini, former Libyan strongman, Mamman Gadaffi and Idi Amin of Uganda have faced bad end, some of them suffered greatly. Admittedly, their sufferings might not

to be compared with the degree of brutalities they inflicted on others, they were rewarded with some degree of harsh treatments. In Nigeria, almost all the politicians are notorious for corruptly enriching themselves with the state resources while majority of the people wallow in offensive poverty which can be termed one of the worst injustices. But even with their so called wealth, no politician can freely walk on the Nigerian street without heavily armed security men. Their families usually live outside the country and those who stay behind, often live in constant conscious of their safety. They cannot attend ceremonies even religious ones without strong security outfits. They have the money but they lack the freedom.

Injustice is a compound term that stands for many issues negatively affecting the peaceful existence of human life. It is view of this study that any cry or reaction against reckless power, abuse, deceit, conquest, exclusion, hierarchy, brutality, domination, subordination and corruption represent injustice

IV. THE NATURE AND CONCEPTS OF INJUSTICE IN NIGERIA

In the Nigerian context, injustice can be grouped into state, official, political, intellectual, economic, racial, religious and person to person kind of injustice. Some of them shall be briefly discussed.

STATE/POLITICAL STRUCTURED INJUSTICE: It can be difficult to discuss the nature of state or politically inclined injustice without running the risk of passing judgments on the aims of the initiators of some state policies. For instance, the serially abused Federal character in Nigerian was initially initiated to protect the minorities. In view of this, Kukah (2003) stresses that the Federal Character and the concept of Quota System as a state policy was adopted in the recruitment of persons into the officers' corps, the armed forces, the police, admissions into educational institutions to ensure equality, equity, justice and sense of belonging to all especially the minorities (pp.35-64). However, the questionable and controversial adoption of population as the yardstick for revenue sharing and allocation of infrastructure in Nigeria can be described as injustice. There are other disjointed policies such as educationally less developed state which have made some first class students lose admissions into higher institutions to even third class students. The state of origin, connection, sex and religion of an individual should not be the basis upon which he/she should be treated rather the person should be treated as a Nigerian. Racial injustice happens when a group of people are cheated, humiliated and denied of their dues because of their race and ethnic backgrounds.

One of the better ways of describing State/political structured injustice can be by exploring the conditions of workers especially monthly salary earners; appointments into various critical offices and allocation of infrastructural development. For example, many workers are paid at the end of the month and where they are managed to be paid at all, they are poorly paid. A situation where someone had worked for the government all his/her life and retired into abject poverty, no gratuity and pension is an unpardonable injustice.

Most times, people in this category are those who have no access to state resources or those who for whatever reason refused to engage in corrupt practices. At a point, these retirees were described as logs of wood. Those who want to be overnight millionaires only join the ruling party in the state or at the federal. In the area of subjective appointments into strategic offices, anybody who pretends to be the friend of the president, governors, ministers and commissioners can be made a millionaire instantly through fictitious contracts any section that felt not well represented can havoc or those who want to civil can take to litigation against the government. For instance, Ibeh (2015) states that an Abuja-based lawyer, Dim-Udebuani Marcel, sued President Muhammadu Buhari over lopsided appointments he made especially in early part of his administration. Buhari has been roundly accused of favouring Islam and core northerners over others especially those of Igbo extraction (pp.6-7). Many Igbo groups believe that the president perceived them as enemies because of his participation in the Nigerian-Biafra civil war and their failure to vote for him in 2015 general elections. All these are costing the country dearly.

Moreover, in 2017 when Nigerian president, Muhammad Buhari temporarily relocated to London for more than one hundred days due to ill health, close to twenty of the Nigerian governors toured the world via London to see the president. In as much as there is nothing wrong with showing sympathy to the sick but these are governors who owe workers up to twenty months or ordinary salaries yet they spent millions of dollars on tourism. The money meant to provide social amenities such as portable water, motorable roads, shelter, food, hospitals, schools among others to the masses end up in the pockets and private accounts of some privileged people making the country's collective wealth become the wealth of a few people.

ECONOMIC INCLINED INJUSTICE: Technically, it is difficult to analyze this point without strong references to the previous ones. The major source of Nigerian revenue is the crude oil but the locations and layers of these golden eggs have been left into squalor while states such as Lagos, Kano, Kaduna and Abuja are being developed with the resources from these areas. These developed areas have attracted both local and international investments which have added to their developments. This can be adduced as one of the reasons for the formation of militant groups such as the Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND) and Niger Delta Avengers in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria who are disrupting economic activities in Nigeria because of both economic and environmental injustice meted out to them.

PERSON TO PERSON INCLINED INJUSTICE: The rates of impunity together with inhuman treatments meted out to the poor and defenceless in Nigeria can only be better imagined than experienced. For example, Nigerian roads especially in the southeastern Nigeria are largely death traps and impassable. But every kilometer of roads in these dilapidated areas has the presence of heavily armed police, army, Civil Defence Corps, and Federal Road Safety Corps (FRSC) checkpoints whose major business is exhort money from the traumatized persons. Those who controlled the state apparatuses, the affluent and the highly connected of the Nigerian society notwithstanding their sources and wealth can

do anything and use their resources to stifle justice against the poor. These have promoted the culture of impunity and corruption, repressive rulership and the consolidation of unpopular power:

RACIAL/ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS INJUSTICE: Racial or Ethnic injustice can be described as unfair treatments which a person receives because of his/her state and language of origin. Amanambu (2013a) argues that ethnicity has historically been an aspect of virtually everything in Nigeria. Kukah (1993) notes that it was one of the reasons for the rise to the colonial investigatory committee usually referred to as the *Willink* Commission, which became the precursor for the creation of sub-systems or states between 1963 and 1996. Whenever leaders or people have perceived other people outside their ethnic nationalities wrongly, there abound to be injustice meted out to them. Most times these leaders portray their wrong perceptions through the treatments, appointments in office, allocation of developmental resources and general attitudes to the people. The ordinary Nigerians also treated each other with offensive disdain. For example, if an Igbo man wants to make mockery of Hausa man, he would simply call him “onye awusa” derogatorily to mean “a man who knows nothing”. If Hausa man wants to demean an Igbo man he would call him “inya mmiri” ostensibly to remind him of the term used by his people to beg for water and how they were humiliated during the Nigerian Biafra war.

Racial/ Ethnic and Structural injustice has given rise to the formation of the jihadists movements such as the Izala movement, Muslim Students Societies (MSS), the National Council on Muslim Youth Organizations (NACOMYO), Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (NSCIA), the foremost Jam’tu Nasril Islam (JNI), Supreme Council of Islamic Affairs (SCIA), the Fityanu’l Islam (the Youngmen of Islam), Derika, Kaulu (Kablu), the Muslim Brothers, Tijjaniya, Quaddiriya, Shiite, Muslim Brotherhood, Maitatsine and until recently the deadly Boko Haram are formed with the aim of checkmating or fighting against the actual and perceived injustice against them and their religion.

Similar to the above organizations, there are other ethno-religious organizations formed predominantly in the southern part of Nigeria and they include Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), Oodua People’s Congress (OPC), Oodua Republic Front (ORF), Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND), Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) and Movement Against Fulani Occupation in Benue (MAFO). All these movements have continued to shake existence of the Nigerian state. The resultant effects of these have been a country that is drifting on the edge of precipice. These are some of the manifest of injustice observed in Nigeria and their modus operandi.

V. BRIEF HISTORY OF USMAN DAN FODIO

It can be adduced that there were mixtures of migrated Fulanis and the inhabitants Hausas that produced a high degree of cultural mix among them. Hunwick (1966) argues that the Hausa people were largely pagans while the Fulani people were predominantly Muslims (p.293). Adeleye (1971)

observes that through the obvious ensuing admixture between the Islamic culture and the indigenous Hausa pagan culture, a gradual polarization of society along the lines of two conflicting religio-political ideologies occurred (p.558). It was in the peak of these conflicting ideologies that Usman dan Fodio was born. Crowder and Abdullahi (1979), Milsome (1979) and Fage (1988) aver that Usman dan Fodio was born in 1754 in Marata, Gobir, to the Toronkawa tribe of Fulani origin. Sulaiman (1986) notes that shortly after his birth, his parents and the rest of his family relocated to Degel, where he grew up. By the Timbuktu’s ancient tradition, parents were regarded as the first teachers of any child. Thus, Usman dan Fodio received most of his education from his parents and other relatives. Sulaiman traces Usman dan Fodio’s descent to one Mura Jakolo who had migrated to Gobir from Futa-Toro at around the 15th century. The Usman dan Fodio’s ancestors were also believed to have settled originally in Konni before they eventually migrated to Degel (pp.109-ff). The Toronkawa tribe according to Hunwick (1966), is a “missionary tribe” which had an ancient tradition of Islamic learning and piety (p.293). Olupona (1991) asserts that the Toronkawa claimed descent from Prophet Mohammad and they were the first occupants of Gobir land (p.39).

Furthermore, it is not surprising therefore that Usman dan Fodio grew to be an erudite scholar who had undertaken a deep study of Islamic law, theology and mysticism. Milsome (1979) stresses that even though he received his first tutelage under his father, his uncles, he was later educated at Agades, north of Marata, at the feet of Jebril (p.19). Cook (2011) argues that Usman dan Fodio’s life can be divided into two sections which are: the teaching and the active phases of life. In the first phase, Usman dan Fodio was closely linked with the Hausa rulers especially in a preaching and hortatory capacity where he called for the suppression of innovation (pp.5-6).

VI. A SUCCINCT EXPLORATION ON THE 1804 USMAN DAN FODIO’S JIHAD

It may not be exaggeration to state that everything about the 1804 jihad in the ancient Hausaland revolves around the life and teachings of Usman dan Fodio. Taken into coignance that oppression, suppression, inhuman taxations and the absence of adequate land for grazing led to the jihad, Adeleye (1971a) states that Usman dan Fodio had employed the use of poems and pamphlets written in Arabic, Fulfude and Hausa languages. He was able to spread his teachings to the most parts of Northern Nigeria and as a reward for his zeal, he won a great number of admirers and followers across the entire Hausa land. The outcome was to play a decisive role in the success of the Jihad some years later. The leadership ability soon earned him wider credibility and recognition (p.560). However, apart from the fact that there were reported cases of inhumane treatments meted against the poor masses in Gobir land then, Khalid (2012) stresses that King Nafata made series of attempts at enforcing these dehumanizing policies against Usman dan Fodio and his followers. But the king died in 1802 and his son, Yumfa ascended to the throne. His accession coincided with when Usman dan Fodio wrote “Al-Masa’il al-

Mu-himma” the themes of Hijra and Jihad. Like his father, Yumfa made failed attempts at Usman dan Fodio’s life. By 1803, the situation had so degenerated that when Yumfa attacked Gimbana in Kebbie, Muslim property was robbed and Muslims were taken captive with many dead and villages destroyed. When the captives passed Degel, they were freed by other Muslims without Usman dan Fodio’s permission. Expectedly, Yumfa ordered Usman dan Fodio to leave his *jamaa* (people or followers) and go into exile. He refused to leave his *Jamaa* and instead left Gobir for Gudu (pp.18-21).

Yumfa sensing the losses and dangers the mass exodus of the slaves portended to his socio-economic and political life rescinded his earlier order. This reminded us that similar to some myopic rulers, Yumfa fought against disease instead of the symptoms. He was not humble and tactful enough to ascertain that the decision had been made and the entire process was organized by his brother Abdullah, Aliyu Jedo, Abdusalam and Muhammad Bello his son. It was at this time that the famous pamphlet, *Wathiqat ahl al-Sudanwa-ila man Sha’Allah min al-Ikhwan fi al- buldan* was written as the manifesto of jihad. The write up was widely circulated as a declaration of the Jihad. The writings made it clear that the status of a state is in the ruler and if Muslims have to fight the unbelievers so be it. Thus, Usman dan Fodio and his party of *Jamaa* moved from Degel to Gudu turning it into the historical 1804 Hijrah.

After the hijra, Sulaiman (1986) notes that the armies of Usman dan Fodio met at Gurdam-a lake known as Tabkin Kwatto, on Thursday, 21st June, 1804 (*12 Rabi al-Awwal* 1219) and drew up their swords against the king of Gobir, and his armies. It was a war undertaken with the intension to free themselves from the oppressors and ensure their fellow brothers. The war made the late nineteenth century Hausa land witnessed a remarkable event that has come to be a point of reference for many generations after. However, Onwubiko (1985) argues that at the initial stages of the jihad, Usman dan Fodio was prompted by religious motives to revive the true Islamic practices and to establish an ideal Islamic society in Hausa land. But later, the jihad which began as a religious movement turned out a political and economic agenda (p.29).

VII. THE FEATURES AND STATE OF NIGERIAN LEADERSHIP

Nigeria is hugely and abundantly blessed with both human and material resources but her citizens because of bad leadership have continued to suffer and squalor in the midst of abundance thus fertilizing the ground for the incessant rise of militants and jihadists. Lukmanjun (2013) observes that divide and rule is the dominant strategy in Nigerian contemporary leaders. Their strategy thrives on zoning and rotation of political offices with aspiring candidates for leadership at all levels of government. These rulers cheaply brandish their religious and ethnic credentials over any other social objective qualifications. Pointing out some of the indications of the states of Nigerian leadership, Aworinde (2015) avers that Nigerian system has a failed failed because of bad leadership (p.12). It has been largely accepted that leadership is one of the biggest challenges of Nigeria. This study agrees with

Aworinde’s position because many public office holders mistake leadership for position alone while majority of the followers also cannot fathom the ideal perspective of what leadership is and who is a leader. Nigeria leaders are unable to set in place transparent and accountable institutions capable of securing economic progress, governing effectively, and protecting their citizens. This lack of capacity is amplified by recourse to authoritarianism and repression, dramatic economic decline precipitated by indiscriminate corruption and the adoption of exclusive policies to assure self-succession tendencies. In the absence of patriotic and charismatic leadership, corrupt elites model the state to serve their narrow interests, instead of the interests of the citizens. As a consequence, the state itself is unable to fulfill its purpose or perform those functions of protection, delivery of basic social services and provisions of institutions to respond to legitimate demands and needs.

VIII. INJUSTICE: A PRECURSOR TO THE 1804 USMAN DAN FODIO’S JIHAD

According to Milestone (1979), the socio-economic injustices prevalent in Hausa land prior to the 1804 Usman dan Fodio’s Jihad was the brain behind its launching. In addition to other inhuman treatments, there were other illegal and excessive taxations imposed on the poor masses by the rulers of the Habe states gave rise to the Jihad (p.8). Afe (2003) notes that there were some other punitive taxes such as the cattle tax (*Jingali*), market taxes, rents for the use of grazing lands imposed on the Fulanis and the collection of increased tributes from farmers. The extortions especially the cattle taxes were vehemently resisted by the Fulani pastoralists. Owing to this situation, the Fulani headers mounted stiff opposition which incidentally received the blessing of traumatized peasants who were already frustrated by heavy taxes and injustice meted out to them in the land. The desire to fight against the claws of Hausa royalties brought Sharia to the lime light (p.26). Kaura (2004) observes that in the first place, there were high degrees of oppression and exploitation of the *talakawa* (commoners) by the *Masu sarauta* (rulers). These oppressions and exploitations were perpetuated through the collection of numerous taxes and levies, occasional confiscation of peasants’ property, forced labour, compulsory military service and enslavement. The *Ulamas* (court judges) made matters worse as they were so pervasive in their judgments that it was impossible for the commoners to obtain justice or redress in the court. Kaura maintains that Usman dan Fodio had earlier contacted the king of Gobir, Bawa Jan Gwarzo concerning the evil activities and the social decadence prevalent in the area but the king paid no attention and it made Usman dan Fodio Fodio become more popular. As his popularity and activities increased, king Nafata, the successor of Bawa Jan Gwarzo felt threatened and got so worried that he sanctioned the Islamic community led by Usman dan Fodio and eventually asked them to leave Gobir. The king’s sanction and other harsh treatment led Usman dan Fodio to leave Degel where Fodio’s Islamic community was situated (pp.10-15). It is the nature of human being to resist unfair treatments.

IX. JUXTAPOSING THE PARALLELISM BETWEEN INJUSTICE AND 1804 USMAN DAN FODIO'S JIHAD: THE NIGERIAN SITUATION

Arguably, the ancient Gobir land where the jihad of Usman dan Fodio was launched may not be different from the current architecture of Nigerian state. For example, in the Gobir land, punitive taxation was structured against the poor masses. Today virtually everything has been put in place to the detriment of the poor masses in Nigeria. From the Value Added Tax (VAT) system where even those who are trekking on the Nigerian street are taxed, market and other permit or taxes where even wheel barrow pushers are punitively taxed. There was a kind of class created in the ancient Gobir land where the wealthy could only purchase justice in the courts while the poor were humiliated. Similarly, Nigeria is no different as even the judges themselves have repeatedly accepted that justice is currently being bought in Nigeria because of the defective nature of Nigerian justice system. Oluwole (2012) affirms that there is massive corruption in the judiciary and the corruption has impugned its integrity. Hence, the former Chief Justice of Nigeria (CJN), Justice Maryam Aloma Mukhtar, laments that corruption is rampant among judiciary employees including secretaries, court registrars, process clerks and bailiffs nationwide (p.7). In the current Nigerian situation, the poor masses are subjected to ostensible treatments. For example, the premium motor spirit known as fuel was three years ago hiked to almost one hundred percent yet workers' stipends and other welfare have not been hiked. Before the hike, these workers were buying a bag of rice at seven thousand (7,000) naira approximately 18 US dollars with the minimum wage of eighteen thousand naira about forty US dollars in a full one month but today the same bag of rice is sold for about twenty thousand (20,000) naira close to fifty dollars yet the workers are still receiving the same eighteen thousand naira approximate of forty dollars paid to them when the bag of rice is sold for seven thousand naira (7,000). This study is yet to churn out the right word for this kind of injustice.

The country is lacking in many infrastructural developments hence she can now boast of epileptic power supply, galloping unemployment and under employment especially our teeming graduates and youths who roam the streets jobless. She has and is still facing serious structural problems and these problems include the perversion of our Federal system, quota system and federal character principles. It is a clime where different laws are meant for different people. One's state of origin and religious leaning determines his/her position and other derivatives. Arguably, a society where merits are not readily rewarded is counterproductive. The Nigerian state seems to be in a siege because kidnappers are having free days since it is more rewarding than arm robbery and the Fulani herdsmen with their mindless and needless killing spree. Most of the security agencies harass, intimate and even kill those they are paid to secure. Most times they are champions at looking for defenceless Nigerian minors and little offenders who are hounded and kept perpetually under the awaiting trial in various prisons.

X. DANGERS OF INJUSTICE IN NIGERIA

Injustices pose incalculable dangers to both personal and group existence of human being. However, few of them shall be succinctly analyzed.

Injustice kills spirit of patriotism: Just as it was pointed out earlier, structural, ethnic, racial, religious and economic injustice contributed to the formation, rise and sustenance of many militant movements in Nigeria. All these movements have stifled the attainments of a united and progressive Nigerian state. Ethnicity and religion make more sense, attract love and defence from almost all the citizens than Nigeria itself. Apart from those who share the oil money, Nigeria does not make sense to majority other citizens who find protection and welfare from the cleavages of ethnicity and religion. Injustice kills patriotic spirit and any multi ethnic and religious society that lacks patriotism is sure speed into oblivion. Amanambu (2017) argues that the ill treatments meted out to the Fulani tribe in the ancient Gobir land gave them the opportunity to regroup and attacked the king of Gobir (p.14)

Injustice fertilizes the ground for crime, instabilities and degrades human dignity: The scarcity of justice in Nigeria has essentially increased the threats and dangers of crime and violence in Nigeria. Apart from the fact that quality education is very expensive for the poor, admission into federal universities is very tough for them and the hardship they passed through in the school is thoroughly exhausting-yet graduates are churned out of school in hundreds of thousand annually without jobs. Injustice has caused millions to be living in poor and horrible economic conditions. It led to the closure of small scale businesses primarily because of high cost spent on generating electricity thus fertilizing the ground for poverty. Insecurity and poverty in the Nigerian society came as a result of injustice. All these factors have conspired to heighten the spate of crime and violence. The masses are angered and the broad consequence is that, they have to survive through any means available to them. Then violence and crime are potential options in this situation. According to Okafor and Suzan (2014), an elder statesman and First Republic Minister of Mines and Power, Alhaji Yusuf Maitama Sule, blamed the current security challenges facing the country on injustice. He traced insecurity in the country to the pattern of injustice Nigerian rulers inherited from the colonial masters (p.4). Concurring, Ighele (2016) adduced that insecurity does not rear its head overnight rather it is as a result of injustice. Similarly, Ebegbulem and Enogholase (2018) state that the Otaru of Auchu argued that the bane of Nigerian society is injustice. The monarch posited that justice is not applied in anything in Nigeria hence the problems ravaging the country (p.4). In other words, the current upheavals the country has to contend with are the products of injustice. Therefore, Nigeria is in dire need of leaders who will take the bull by its horn through selfless, strong and purposeful mindset, those who are ready to grow above parochial, mundane, sectional and cohortal interests take the country out of the current mess it finds itself. Above all, both the religious and political leaders should do more through their overt and covert attitudes to help re-orientate our pervading generation to the right path. Injustice in Nigeria has essentially increased the threats to the existence of Nigerian as a sovereign state.

The Biafran agitations and other counter agitations have arisen to heat the polity.

XI. THE LESSONS OF USMAN DAN FODIO'S JIHAD FOR NIGERIAN RULERS

In recent time, it seems that there is no Islamic principle that has invoked debates more often than jihad especially in Nigeria where many opinions have associated militants such as Maitasine, Boko Haram and Fulani herdsmen killings with jihad. It is often understood as the very heart of contemporary radical Islamist ideology and three lessons Nigerian leaders can derive from 1804 Usman dan Fodio's jihad.

One of the lessons Nigerian leaders should garner from the remote causes of the Usman dan Fodio's jihad is that people love and will wholeheartedly follow leaders who genuinely and practically prioritized their welfare. Amanambu (2013) paints a picture of nations such as Pakistan and Afghanistan where the Islamic fundamentalists and radical are having a field day and argues that their descent into zealotry had less to do with spiritual, rather it had more to do with material neglect. The strip is often told that Afghanistan fell into the hands of the Taliban after the United State pulled out of the country when the Soviet conflict ended. The place lacked the beneficence of natural endowment and the people became desperately poor. In such an atmosphere, they became susceptible to the extremists' thought and because of the seduction of all austere life they became angry and it accounts for why Osama Bin-laden succeeded in Afghanistan instead of his home town, Saudi Arabia where people are relatively cared for. Bin-Laden exploited the psyche of the poor and resurrected them in the army of his God. Men like Bin-laden fed them, clothed them and sheltered them and they obliged his mission.

Leaders should be wary of witting or unwitting discriminations against any group of people especially in multi-religious and cultural settings like Nigeria. This is because discrimination usually gives them the opportunity to solidly organize themselves against the state. Nigerian leadership should realize that offices of leadership are for those who are emotionally, intellectually and socially strong, valiant, daring and courageous. Nigerian leaders should learn to manage dissent voices and views. These dissent voices often serve as triggers which some opportunists can exploit to wreak havoc. Leaders should learn to provide conducive atmosphere for justice, fairness, transparency, peace and equity because all these virtues will lessen the avoidable pressure and instability in the country. Nigeria leaders should be aware that parochial and mischievous disposition in leadership produces despots and tyrants which will be roundly resisted by the people. Nigerian leaders above all should be aware that leaders are responsible for anything that happen in the society. Leadership is not only a title but also a responsibility, functionality and response. If the dangers associated with injustice in Nigeria can be addressed, it then mean that Nigeria is in dire need of leaders who see leadership as fundamentally a product and function of influence not leaders who only occupy offices for titles and other parochial interests. There is need for a leadership that is made up of

strong character and selfless devotion to the country in general, an effective leader who must be visionary, passionate, creative, flexible, inspiring, innovative, courageous, imaginative, experimental and change initiator to avoid repeats of jihadism in Nigeria.

Therefore, Nigeria needs leaders who understand that leadership deals with followership. It is not a monopolistic activities because there can be no leader without followers. What defines a leader is the followers and that is why the success or otherwise of a leader can be tested by the state of the people. Nigeria craves for leaders who believe that leadership defines and determines results. If all these lessons are learnt and imbibed, the incessant the threats of molder day jihad can be checkmated.

XII. CONCLUSION

Prior to the arrival of Christianity and Islamic religion and founding of the current Nigerian state, the ethnic communities believe strongly in the concept of justice. They had ways and measures of ensuring justice and checkmating or addressing injustice. With the founding of Nigerian state, virtually all the Constitutions, Decrees and laws enacted in the country have been aimed at stemming the tides of injustice. The extent to which all these aims have been realized remained to be seen. Unarguably, we are in an era which according to Socrates, "injustice is on a large enough scale, stronger, freer and more masterly than justice". The dangerous rising rate of crime, violence and general instabilities in Nigeria has been largely tinged with injustice that often manifest in the socio-political and economic inequalities. Injustice no doubt thrives because of poor leadership. Historically, Nigeria is not bereft of strong men but she is yet to produce a capable and responsive institutions that can mold strong and purpose driven leaders. If the rule of law and economic reforms are carefully followed and implemented to the fullest, they can address the grievance of the masses, provide quality education and ensure access to quality health care and employment opportunities for the teeming populace. If accountability and genuine transparency become a culture, if competence and merit should override ethnic and religious identities in political appointments into key and strategic offices, then crime, violence and insecurity will be on the alarming and deadly increase.

Peace and security are necessary prerequisites for social harmony, political and economic development. The peace of any country is largely dependent upon social justice and the availability of economic opportunities. Probably, few people can deny the fact that the security challenges confronting Nigeria today are direct consequences of decades of neglect and lip service being paid to social and economic development. Interestingly, the Christian and Islamic sacred books believed to be largely followed faiths in Nigeria have minimal tolerance for injustice. The 1999 Nigerian constitution even in its much highlighted shortcomings in its fourth chapter takes a fierce position against injustice. This is probably because the constitution envisaged that injustice has a way of bringing down any society. The Nigerian leaders must learn from all the shortfalls, weaknesses and mistakes of the kings of pre jihadist Hausa land and adopt superior

ideologies devoid of injustice which will ensure mutual respects, relationships, justice, equity and fairness to all and sundry.

The main thrust of the foregoing deals with an unforgettable event that took place across the then Hausa land in the year 1804. Usman dan Fodio with his Islamic followers overran almost all the northern parts and some parts of the southwestern day Nigeria. The jihad sought to enthrone justice, fairness, equity, stability and social peace. The jihad arose because the failure of leadership on the side of the kings of Gobir made Usman dan Fodio's jihadist activities the desired option. Similar to the 1804 Usman dan Fodio's jihad, there are worse factors which served as the remote causes of the jihad that are blazingly enthroned in the socio-political, economical and religious life Nigeria and leaders seem to be bereft of history. Most times these remote but extant causes of jihad are considered insignificant, hidden and irrelevant until they explode. As long as inept and clueless leadership majors in the country, jihadists more deadly than 1804 Usman dan Fodio's jihad will always arise.

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