



**LABAR: JOURNAL OF MILITARY HISTORY  
& PEACE STUDIES (LJMHPS)**



ISSN No: 2705-439X  
Vol 2. No. 1, 2021



**A Publication of the Department of Military History,  
Nigerian Army University, Biu, Borno State, Nigeria**

Labar: Journal of Military History & Peace Studies, (LJMHPs) Vol. 2. No. 1, 2021

# LABAR: JOURNAL OF MILITARY HISTORY & PEACE STUDIES, (LJMHPs)

Vol. 2. No. 1, 2021

A Publication of the Department of Military History, Nigerian Army  
University Biu, Borno State, Nigeria

2<sup>nd</sup> Edition in Collaboration with the former Chief of Army Staff

(COAS), LT GEN. Tukur Y BURATAI (Rtd.)  
(2015-2021)

**EDITORIAL BOARD:**

**Editor:** Obeya N. Bernard, PhD

**Editor-in-Chief:** Shaibu Ibrahim, PhD

**Founding Editor:** Professor Joel P. Dada

**Assistant Editors:** Lemuel E. Odeh, PhD

**Secretary:** Henry G. Mang, PhD

**Managing Editor:** Maryam M. Jungudo, PhD

Maj A A Mohammed, PhD

**Editorial Advisory Board:**

Lt. General Tukur Y Buratai, former Chief of Army Staff (COAS), Nigerian Army and Life Member Historical Society of Nigeria (HSN)

Professor Okpeh O. Okpeh, FHSN, Department of History and International Studies, Federal University, Lafia

Professor Saliba James, Department of History University of Maiduguri

Professor Armstrong M. Adejo, Benue State University, Makurdi

Professor Olayemi Akinwunmi, FSHN, Federal University Lokoja, Kogi State

Professor CBN Ogbogbo, University of Ibadan, Ibadan

Professor EC Emordi, Department of History and Diplomatic Studies, Ambrose Alli University, Abraka

Professor Samuel Aghalino, Department of History and Diplomatic Studies, University Ilorin, Kwara State

Professor Trehemba Wuam, Kaduna State University, Kaduna

Professor Asma'u Garba Saeed, Bayero University Kano

Dr. Zara Okani, Department of History and International Studies, Federal University, Lafia

Labar: Journal of Military History & Peace Studies, (LJMHPS) Vol. 2. No. 1, 2021

(C) Copy Right Department of Military History, Nigerian Army University  
Biu, Borno State, Nigeria, 2020

**This Journal is available on-line at:**

<https://naub.edu.ng/naub>

**E: mail:** [biumilitaryhistory@gmail.com](mailto:biumilitaryhistory@gmail.com)

**All Rights Reserved:**

No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in retrieval system or transmitted in any means, electronic, electrostatic, magnetic tape, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

ISSN: 27-054-39-X

**Subscription Rate:**

1. Nigeria: N1500
2. Outside Nigeria: 4 US \$ (dollars)

## Editorial Note

In compliance with the University and the Departmental tradition, we bring before you bundles of well researched articles from seasoned and upcoming researchers contained in this journal. We strongly believe that the pull of these researches will savour your intellectual meal especially as it concern the military and the rich history of their deeds in the anal of Nigerian history. We sincerely appreciate your interest in our journal *Labar: Journal of Military History & Peace Studies*. (LJMHPs).

**Associate Professor Shaibu Ibrahim**

(Editor -in-Chief)

**Disclaimer:** The view expressed in the articles in this journal do not necessarily represent the views of anyone affiliated with LJMHPs or of the Department of History Nigerian Army University Biu, Borno State.

**Note on Article Contributors**

- not  
he
1. **Ibrahim**, Shaibu, PhD, is a scholar and a military officer who is an Associate Professor of Military History, he lectures in both NDA and NAUB but now on military posting as the current Director-General of the NYSC, he can be reached on +2348033215636 or [sibrahim@gmail.com](mailto:sibrahim@gmail.com) and **Bem**, J Audu, PhD, is a lecturer in the Department of History and War Studies, Nigerian Defence Academy, Kaduna, He can be reached on +2348069263543.
  2. **Chukwuma C.C. Osakwe**, Professor of Military History and **Stephen C. Uwakina**, PhD Candidate, all of Department of History and War Studies, Nigerian Defence Academy (NDA), Kaduna
  3. **Bernard**, Obeya Nelson, PhD, is a lecturer in the Department of Military History and the editor of *LJMHPs*, Nigerian Army University Biu. He specialized in military, war and diplomatic histories. He is well published and can be reached on +2347039680822 or [bernardobeya@gmail.com](mailto:bernardobeya@gmail.com) and **Musa**, Helen, is a lecturer in the Department of History Kaduna State University, Kaduna. She is an up-coming scholar on gender and social history. She can be reached on 08038156124 or [helemusa@gmail.com](mailto:helemusa@gmail.com).
  4. **Odeh**, Lemuel Ekedegwa, PhD and an Associate Professor of Diplomatic History, he has lectured at the Department of Military History, Nigerian Army University Biu, Biu, Borno State, Nigeria, [lemuelodeh@gmail.com](mailto:lemuelodeh@gmail.com), 08033018425, and 07055030286. He was on sabbatical at NAUB but have returned to his Institution, Department of History and Diplomatic Studies, University of Ilorin, Kwara State
  5. **Adole John Owoicho**, PhD, he is the HOD Department of History and International Relations Veritas University, Abuja. He can be reached on +2347030363710 or [owoichoadole1@gmail.com](mailto:owoichoadole1@gmail.com).
  6. **Rufus**, Anthony PhD, Department of Political Science, Niger Delta University, Wilberforce Island, Bayelsa State, [rufusanthony50@yahoo.com](mailto:rufusanthony50@yahoo.com)
  7. **Gbadeyan**, Olawale James, Criminology and Security Studies Department, Achievers University, Owo. [gbadeyan2@gmail.com](mailto:gbadeyan2@gmail.com), +2347035971808 and **Awe**, Ene Norah, [awenorah5@gmail.com](mailto:awenorah5@gmail.com), Peace and Conflict Studies, Federal University Oye-Ekiti, Ekiti State.

8. **Igiebor**, God'stime Osariyekemwen,, Phone: +2348038795528, [osariyekemwen.igiebor@uniben.edu](mailto:osariyekemwen.igiebor@uniben.edu)/ [goddyigieb@yahoo.com](mailto:goddyigieb@yahoo.com), and **Iyase** Ambrose Osariyekemwen Phone: +2348060849530 [Ambrose.iyase@uniben.edu](mailto:Ambrose.iyase@uniben.edu), all of Department of Political Science, University of Benin, Benin City, Nigeria,
9. **Adeleke** F. Kolade Department of History and International Studies, University of Ilorin, Kwara State, Nigeria. +2347064450876, E-mail: [adelekefrancis1@gmail.com](mailto:adelekefrancis1@gmail.com) and **Adewale** Adepoju Department of History and Diplomatic Studies, Tai Solarin University of Education, Ijagun, Ogun-State, Nigeria. +2348054679884, E-mail: [adepojuadewale@gmail.com](mailto:adepojuadewale@gmail.com)
10. **Fidelis** A. E. Paki, Department of Political Science, Niger Delta University, P.M.B. 071, Wilberforce Island 560001, Nigeria, Email: [paki\\_fae@yahoo.com](mailto:paki_fae@yahoo.com); GSM: +2348034281438; and **Epoweide** Isaiah Koko Department of Political Science, Niger Delta University, P.M.B. 071, Wilberforce Island 560001, Nigeria Email: [epoweideisaiah@gmail.com](mailto:epoweideisaiah@gmail.com); GSM: +2348039133017
11. **Onyemekihian** Jude, PhD, Department of Political Science, College of Education, Agbor, Delta State, Nigeria. Phone no.: 07030435411, Email: [judeonyemekihian@gmail.com](mailto:judeonyemekihian@gmail.com)
12. **Orji**, Ifeanyi Boniface PhD, Department of History and Diplomatic Studies, Crown Hill University, Bala Road Eiyenkorin, Ilorin Kwara State 08065809369. [orjibonifacesly@gmail.com](mailto:orjibonifacesly@gmail.com)
13. **Murtala**, Ahmed Rufa'i, PhD, Department of History, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, Sokoto State
14. **Usman**, Ismaila Ajibola, Department of History and International Studies, University of Ilorin, Ilorin. email address: [ajibolasmal@yahoo.com](mailto:ajibolasmal@yahoo.com) or +2348030488305
15. **Osimen**, Goddy Uwa Department of Political Science & International Relations Achievers University, Owo and **Rufus** Aisedions Department of Political Science, Ambrose Alli University, Ekpoma, Edo State, Email Address: [goddos4real@gmail.com](mailto:goddos4real@gmail.com), Phone- +2348033-720-666

16. **Efe Ann Ijoyah**, Institute for peace and Conflict Resolution, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Abuja, Tel: 07014230330, [efeovoh67@gmail.com](mailto:efeovoh67@gmail.com) and **Racheal Ndakotsu**, all of the nstitute for peace and Conflict Resolution, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Abuja, [rachelndakotsu001@gmail.com](mailto:rachelndakotsu001@gmail.com).
17. **Marabs J. Anthony**, [jmarabs@gmail.com](mailto:jmarabs@gmail.com) 08061556113/07055085510; **Martha Ezekiel Shamang**, 07037691067 and **Soja Zakka**, 07039075403 [Zakasoja47@gmail.com](mailto:Zakasoja47@gmail.com); all of Department of History, Kaduna state College of Education Gidan Waya.
18. **Jatau David Polang**, Department of History and International Studies, University of Jos, [Jdpolang@gmail.com](mailto:Jdpolang@gmail.com), 08033916112
19. **Chukwuemeka Nwosu**, is a Senior lecturer, Department of History and International Studies, Faculty of Humanities, Imo State University, Owerri, +2348037112023, email: [barrchukwuemekanwosu@yahoo.com](mailto:barrchukwuemekanwosu@yahoo.com)
20. **Ibrahim**, Ezekiel Hyelkuzuku, a lecturer in the of Department of Political Science Nigerian Army University Bui, 08135896583 or [ezekielibrahim68@gmail.com](mailto:ezekielibrahim68@gmail.com) and **Zachariah Apamshan**, PhD, Department of Peace and Conflict Resolution, Nigerian Army University Bui, 08066845288, [zacksatirikai@gmail.com](mailto:zacksatirikai@gmail.com).
21. **Aliyu**, M. Kolawole, PhD, a lecturer in the Department of Political Science, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria
22. **Abutu**, F. G. Adikwuoyi, a lecturer in the Department of History and International Studies, Admiralty University of Nigeria, Ibusa-Ugwashi-Ukwu Road, Asaba Delta State [abutufreeman@gmail.com](mailto:abutufreeman@gmail.com), Phone: +2347037681366, +2348057297698
23. **Shawulu**, P. Tanko, PhD, is a lecturer in the Department of Criminal and Security Studies Nigerian Army University Bui and can be reached on +2348039217545 or
24. **Ogbu**, E. Johnson, he is a postgraduate student of Federal University Lafia and a senior officer of the Nigerian Immigration Service, Lafia Command, Nasarawa State. He can be reached on +2348069748820 or [johsonogbu@gamil.com](mailto:johsonogbu@gamil.com).
25. **Odoh**, J. Nathaniel is a lecturer in the Department of History and Diplomatic Studies, Federal University Kashere, Gombe State, on +234765564931 or [odohjohn@gmail.com](mailto:odohjohn@gmail.com) and **Maryam M. Jungudo**, PhD, is a lecturer in the Department of Military History, Nigerian Army University Bui and she can be reached 07039634328 or [maryaamjungudo@gmail.com](mailto:maryaamjungudo@gmail.com).



26. **Shekira H. Osasona** (she can be reached at [shakyabimbola@gmail.com](mailto:shakyabimbola@gmail.com)) and **Ochoga E. Ochoga**, PhD can be reached at (+2347037694253 or [ochoga.ochoga@fulokoja.edu.ng](mailto:ochoga.ochoga@fulokoja.edu.ng)). They are both lecturers at the Department of Political Science Federal University Lokoja, Kogi State.
27. **Lanshima A. Cletus**, PhD, is a lecturer in the Department of Criminal and the Security Studies, Nigerian Army University Biu and can be reached on +2348034503835 or [lanshimac@gmail.com](mailto:lanshimac@gmail.com).
28. **Yusuf, A. Iliyasu**, he is a lecturer in the Department of Political Science, Nigerian Army University Biu and can be reached on 08035938899 or [abgailiyasu@live.com](mailto:abgailiyasu@live.com) and **Abasima J. Nta**, a lecturer in the Department of International Studies, Nigerian Defence Academy. He can be reached on 07030721494 or [ntakares4all@gmail.com](mailto:ntakares4all@gmail.com)
29. **Bulus, S. Wadzam**, he is a research assistant with the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution Abuja, Nigeria. He can be reached on +2348058707404.
30. **Mang, G. Henry**, he is the HOD Military History and a lecturer in the Department. He can be reached on +2348066459532 or [henryg.mang@gmail.com](mailto:henryg.mang@gmail.com).
31. **Akwashiki S. Vincent**, a doctoral student and **Sabo A. Ugah**, they are all lecturers in the Department of History, Nasarawa State University Keffi.
32. **Ojo S. Oluwole**, he can be reached on 08165458254 or [ojuoluwolesimeon@gmail.com](mailto:ojuoluwolesimeon@gmail.com) and **Ifeoluwa O. James-Iduma**, he can be reached on 08066876313 or [ifeoluwa.james@gmail.com](mailto:ifeoluwa.james@gmail.com). They are all of the Department of History and Diplomatic Studies, University of Abuja.
33. **Ado Ibrahim Ahmad Msc**, Lecturer Department of Criminology and Security Studies, Nigerian Army University Biu. He can be reached on 08033868518 or [abilamad518@gmail.com](mailto:abilamad518@gmail.com)
34. **Landy A. Gideon** Lecturer Abubakar Tatari Ali Polytechnic Bauchi
35. **Danjuma Moses Bot**, Lecturer with the Department of Political Science University of Jos, E-mail: [mcguduma@yahoo.com](mailto:mcguduma@yahoo.com) .
36. **Rotkang Dimang Dimlong**, Lecturer with Department of Political Science University of Jos, E-mail: [rotgangd@yahoo.com](mailto:rotgangd@yahoo.com) .
37. **Daniel Samuel Gadzama**, Presidency, State House Annex Bauchi. PMB 082, Bauchi State. E-mail: [dan.gadzama26@gmail.com](mailto:dan.gadzama26@gmail.com)
38. **Pilika John Azumi**, Dept. of Political Science, University of Jos. E-mail: [pjazumi@gmail.com](mailto:pjazumi@gmail.com)

39. **Ashiru Sani Ph.D, ([Saniashiru@gmail.com](mailto:Saniashiru@gmail.com)) (08023637214/08167316705) & Gaius Jatau** they are both Lecturers Department of History Faculty of Arts Kaduna State University, Kaduna
40. **Ogbe, Henry Ejotubu** is a lecturer with the Department of Political Science, College of Education, Agbor, Delta State, Nigeria. Phone no: 08136221533 Email: [ogbetubu@yahoo.com](mailto:ogbetubu@yahoo.com)
41. **Badung Yohanna Dalyop Ph.D** of Security and Strategic Studies, Nigeria Labour Congress, Plateau State. Phone No. 08034509970 E-mail: [bdayop@gmail.com](mailto:bdayop@gmail.com)

**The Administrative Chronology of the Military and Development in Nigeria:  
The Considerable Political development discourse.**

by

**Ogbe, Henry Ejotubu**

**Abstract**

*The paper examined the chronological military governance/administration in Nigeria, by extension their political development. The paper adopted historical research method, which relied on secondary data that aided the chronological presentation of the military administration. It also showcases Agricultural Development Programme, Two Party System, Petroleum Trust Fund, Creation of States, National Directorate of Employment, Joint Admission and Matriculation Board, National Petroleum Corporation, Administrative Staff College of Nigeria, among others as the military's developmental policies/ programmes and, the dichotomy between Republican Government and Military Government in Nigeria. The paper equally revealed Constitutional Reforms, Local Government as third tier of government, Creation of States, and maintenance of Nigeria unity and promotion of national integration through programmes as the military's contributions to political development in process of consolidating Nigeria Republic.*

**Keywords:** Military, Military Administration, Political Development, Republican Government.

**Introduction**

Globally, every sovereign state establishes a territorial mechanism that defends the state against external invader, which often refers to as the military. However, the military at a time in Africa has greatly deviated from as noted by Welch in Bamgbose (2002) political bystanders to political participant. The military intervened in politics on the allegation that the civilian led governments are corrupt and they are to restore normality in government. In Africa, the first recorded event of military in politics was in 1952 when col. Neguib overthrew King Farouls of Egypt and was in turn overthrew by col. Abdul Gamel Nasser (Eregha, 2008). In the same vein, in 1963 General Eyedema unseated president Olypio in bloody coup in Togo, which was the first coup in West Africa.

Similarly, Major C. K. Nzeogwu in January 15<sup>th</sup>, 1966 organized coup d'état known as the first military coup in Nigeria at 11:50pm, which discontinued the Nigeria first republic. This coup ushered General J. T. U. Aguiyi Ironsi as military head of state (Otoghagua, 2004). Major C. K. Nzeogwu made a remark that power was seized (from civilian-led government) to stamp out tribalism, nepotism and regionalism and they did it for the good of the country. Also, the second republic was caused to exist by the military coup led by General Muhamadu Buhari in allegation that the government was corrupt, maladministration among others. Eminue (2006) and Adesina (1999) asserted that mismanagement of the country's resources by the civilian-led governments have been one of the major justification/reasons for military

intervention in Nigeria governance. This is why the military seen themselves as corrective regimes' (Eshikena, 2012), which the military often say as way of legitimizes their being in power (Bamboyc, 2014). In this regard, the paper examines among others, considerable military inputs to political development in Nigeria.

#### **The Method of Study**

The paper adopts historical research method which relied on secondary data. So, the data are sourced from textbooks, journals, official documents, internet for historical presentation of the chronological military governance/administration and political development in Nigeria.

#### **Conceptual Exposition:**

##### ***Military Administration/government***

The word military refers to soldier or generally the armed forces that include the Navy and Air force trained to fundamentally defend a country against external invaders/aggression. It is a basic governmental institution that draws its existence from the constitution (Ubani, Ehiodo and Nworgu, 2007). Therefore, the military, traditionally they are meant to defend the country against the external enemies but deviated to political participation. Hence, military administration is a government control by military. Military regime (administration) is an aberration and a negation of democratic governance.

The military government associate with regime which as noted by Adebayo (2000) vested responsibility for running of government in the military rulers alone by concentrating all powers in their hands alone. This is why Igbe (2002) asserted that military government is dictatorship types of government that is acquired by military through the use of force or the military might and the leadership is gotten through the barrel of gun(s). Usually, this form of government emerge either by seize of power from elected government or from a similar government. Military government is characterized by the following as identified by Agidi and Ugbeyawighren (2013): suspension of constitution; rule with decrees; highly dictatorial; centralized power; highly forceful; absence of opposition; lack of independence of the Judiciary; violation of fundamental human right among others.

#### **The Functions of the Nigerian Military**

Section 217 (2a, b, c,) of 1999 constitution Nigeria as amended states the functions of the armed forces (military) as: defending Nigeria from external aggression; maintaining its territorial integrity and securing its borders from violation on land, sea or air, suppressing insurrection and acting in aid of civil authorities to restore order when called upon to do so by the president, but subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by an Act of the National Assembly and to performing such other functions as be prescribed by an Act of the National Assembly.

## **Conceptual Framework**

### ***Political Development***

Political development is made up of two words – political which connote government while development refers to the transformation. Shut (2003) sees development as human activity with deliberate efforts to improve on living conditions by creative and intelligent use of both human and non-human resources to transform society from a state of backwardness to better prosperous conditions of living. Therefore, political development is seen as the meaningful change in the sphere of government of any nation which usher progress that meant to better the quality of life for the overall benefit of entire population of the nation. It is the creation or improvement of impaired institutions as well as modernization, re-organization and re-orientation of entire political system for good delivery of governance in a country. Hence, political development can be summarized as the transformation of the various institutions, values and attitude that form the power system of government of a country.

### ***A Brief chronological Military Administration in Nigeria***

Prior to military administration in Nigeria, Nigeria had her independence in 1960 from British as her colonial master and became republic in 1963 with Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe as President and Sir Tafawa Balewa as Prime Minister. In 1966, Nigeria military truck and took civilian-led governance and between 1966 and 1999 the Nigeria military administered Nigeria government without interruption exception of a short-lived of democratic rule between 1979 to 1983 (US library of congress, n.d), thereafter military rule again till 1999.

The first Nigeria military coup was bloody, which was led by Major Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu and other Majors - Timothy Onwuatuegwu, Emmanuel Ifeanyiwa, Donatus Okafor, Wole Ademoyega, Christian Amuforo, Humphery Chukwuka and Captain Emmanuel Nwoboşi in January 15<sup>th</sup>, 1966 (Okafor, 1989; Omoigui, n.d). In this coup, the Prime-Minister Alhaji Tafawa, Sadauna of Sokoto, Sir Ahmadu Bello, the premier of the Western region Samuel Akintola, the minister of finance Festus Okotie-Eboh and some Northern Military officers among others were killed (Omoigui, n.d). However, Major C. K. Nzeogwu was replaced by the appointment of Major General Aguiyi Ironsi, who became military head of state.

The second phase of military coup into Nigerian governance occurred in the same year but in month of July 28<sup>th</sup>, 1966, which was led by Major General Yakubu Gowon. The first coup led by Major Nzeogwu was seen as Igbo agenda because the plotters of the coup were southerners and mostly Igbo army officers and the casualties were mostly the Northerners (Omoigui, n.d). This coup last from July 28<sup>th</sup> to July 30<sup>th</sup>, 1966 and it was more or less retaliation, which popularly regarded as Nigerian counter-coup of 1966, Major General Aguiyi Ironsi and other Igbo military officers were killed and Major General Yakubu Gowon succeeds him (Igbe, 2002).

The third phase of military in governance in Nigeria was led by Brigadier Mutala Mohammed on July 29<sup>th</sup>, 1975 which overthrew Major General Yakubu Gowon in bloodless coup who rules for 9 years. Brigadier Mutala Mohammed headed the military government for exactly 6 months and 13 days when the government was

toppled by bloody coup led by Lt. Col. B. Dimka on February 13<sup>th</sup>, 1976, which ushered General Olusegun Obasanjo as military head of state in 1976 (Omoigui, 2002). General Olusegun Obasanjo hand over power to elected Alhaji Shehu Shagari in October 1, 1979 as president elect, who governed the Second Republic of Nigeria from 1979 – 1983. President Shagari was accused of mismanagement, corruption and election malpractice (Bamgbose, 2002; Igbe, 2002).

The fourth phase of coup was led by a group of senior army officers who unseated the elected government of President Shagari in December 31, 1983, which ended in 1985 and the military government was headed by Major Muhamadu Buhari. The conspirators of this coup were Majors General Ibrahim Babangida and Muhamadu Buhari, Brigadiers Ibrahim Bako and Sani Abacha among others (Siollun, 2009).

The fifth phase was a palace coup led by Major General Ibrahim Babangida who overthrew Major General M. Buhari in August 27, 1985 and he became military president. The former Supreme Military Council that had been popularly known with each successive military regime was changed to Armed Force Ruling Council and the head of state was styled president (Bamgbose, 2002). In 1990, Major Gideon Orka staged a violent but failed coup to overthrow the military government of General Ibrahim Babangida. Furthermore, due to pressure to shift towards democratic government, General Babangida military government hand over to Yoruba Businessman, Ernest Shonekan on 26<sup>th</sup> August, 1993 after the annulment of June 12 presidential election whom General Sani Abacha overthrew on November 16<sup>th</sup>, 1993 but sudden died on June 7<sup>th</sup>, 1998.

The final phase was caused by the sudden death of General Sani Abacha, a situation that brought in the appointment of General Abdusalam Abubakar into power in June 9<sup>th</sup>, 1998. General Abdusalam organized transition programme and in May 29<sup>th</sup>, 1999 he hand over power to the elected president Olusegun Obasanjo civilian-led government, and there having been no military coup since 1999, which marked the end of the military's second coming to power 30 years rule in Nigeria (Otoghagua, 2004).

Below are some of the developmental policies/programmes of the Nigerian military administration initiated that having great impact on the development drive of Nigeria State.

**A Table showing Chronological Military Heads of State and Developmental Programmes in Nigeria.**

Regime	Developmental Policies/Programmes	YEAR
General J. T. U. Aguiyi Ironsi (1966)	Promulgation of decree No. 34 to empower unitary system of government for Nigeria. With the decree Nigeria ceased to be a federation but a republic of Nigeria and Federal Military Government was changed to National Military Government.	1966
General Yakubu Gowon (1966-1975)	Creation of 12 States.  Post war reconciliation (reconstruction of projects, reconciliation and rehabilitation of displaced persons.  National Acceleration food Production Programme Initiation of Industrial Training Fund (ITF) to trained indigenous manpower.  The second national development plan.  Establishment of the Administrative staff college of Nigeria (ASCON)  National Electric Power Authority (NEPA)  National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC)  Nigeria Agricultural Bank  National Youth Service Corps (NYSC)	1967  1970 1970 1971 1970-1974  1973 1972 1973 1973 1973  1973

General Murtala Muhammed	Creation of seven (7) states	1976
General Olusegun Obasanjo (1976-1970)	The third National development plan Operation Feed the Nation (OFN) Local Government Reform Universal Primary Education (UPE) Joint Admission and Matriculation Board The 1979 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria	1975-1980 1976 1976 1976 1977 1979
General Muhamadu Buhari (1984-1985)	War Against Indiscipline (WAI) Initiation of Environmental Sanitation Day (last Saturday of every month.	1984 1984
General Ibrahim Babangida (1985-1993)	Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) National Directorate of Employment (NDE) Agricultural Development Programme (ADP) Better Life Programme for Rural Women Creation of two (2) States Creation of nine (9) States 1991 census	1986 1987 1987 1987 1991 1991 1988



	<p>1988 Local Government reform</p> <p>Initiation of Presidential system into Nigerian Local Government anchored on practice of separation of powers (local government reforms of 1989)</p> <p>Formation of two party system (Social Democratic Party (SDP) and National Republican Convention NRC)</p> <p>Option A4 system of Election</p>	<p>1989</p> <p>1989</p> <p>1993</p>
General Sani Abacha (1993-1998)	<p>Family Support Programme (FSP)</p> <p>1994 Constitutional Conference</p> <p>Petroleum Trust Fund (PTF)</p> <p>Creation of six (6) states and 181 local government areas.</p>	<p>1994</p> <p>1994</p> <p>1994</p> <p>1996</p>
General Abdusalam Abubaka (1998-1999)	<p>Hosted the 10<sup>th</sup> FIFA world youth soccer championship (tagged "Nigeria 99")</p> <p>The 1999 Constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria gave birth to democratic government in 1999.</p>	<p>1999</p> <p>1999</p>

Source: Compile by the author for this study in the published year.

### **Republican Government and Military Government: The Dichotomy**

Nigeria state has experienced both military government/administration and republican government. As earlier noted in this study, military government is a government control by the armed force, which is an aberration because constitutionally they are the defender of a country against external enemies. Republican government refers to a sovereign state headed by an elected President for tenure in office. In other words, republican government is also seen as representative government, which is a system of government in which the people select candidates usually through elections to represent their interest in legislature for tenure (Isitoah, 2009). The republican system of government allows the people to give power and confer authority on a group of capable people to govern the state on their behalf in order to ensure an effective government that will not only maintain law and order but also provide for the people's well-being/ welfare.

Below are some of the dichotomies between the aforementioned governments.

- Head of state is the president who is popularly elected by the people for tenure in office, which makes it legitimate government. Military government lacks a legitimate base because constitutionally military is non-partisan institution of government meant to defend the state.
- Elected representatives are responsible and accountable to the people in a republican government. Military governments are dictatorship, which makes the government centralize its power and not accountable to the people because the military men are not elected by the people but forcefully takeover power from republican government (civilian-led government).
- Republican government is constitutional and abides by the provisions of the constitution; hence it observes the rule of law. Military governments do not operate with a constitution but decree; hence, there is no respect for rule of law and no place for a parliament/legislature.
- In republican government, succession to different political offices is through popular elections, but in military government is through appointment, deployment or coup.
- Republican government is democratic and there are limitations to exercise of power by the political leaders but the military government is tyranny in nature, it does not tolerate oppositions of any kind.

The military government lacks legitimacy. It does not enjoy the support of the people because they do forcefully refuse republican government. However, most times for the military government to get the support (legitimacy) of the citizens, the military government often embarks on infrastructural and industrial development to have the support of the citizens while they are consolidating their stay in power. This is why in Nigeria the military government established and constructs most of the industries and infrastructures respectively.

### **The Military and Political Development in Nigeria**

Although military administration is an aberration by the dictate of constitution but the administration has contributed a lot to the political development of the Nigeria. Some of considerable impacts are;

**Constitutional Reforms to Consolidate Nigeria Republic:** The background of the 1960 independence constitution was the outcome of 1957 and 1958 constitutional conferences held in London. The Independence Constitution of 1960 adopted parliamentary system of government in which Queen of England was the head of state and duly represented by a Nigeria Governor General, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe that was regarded as ceremonial head of state. After independence in 1960, on July 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup>, 1963 a constitutional conference was held in Lagos, and it was resolved that Nigeria should become a republic on October 1, 1963, which ushered the first republican constitution of Nigeria which dethroned the Queen of England as the head of state, and established the Governor General office to be known as president. Also Privy Council in London as the final court of appeal for Nigeria was replaced with Nigeria Supreme Court.

Nigeria republic first, was characterized with many political crises such as Federal election of 1964, Western elections crises of 1965 and the 1962 and 1963 census figures controversy, which generally charge the political atmosphere. In January 15<sup>th</sup>, 1966, the first reformed constitution under General Obasanjo as military head of state who handover government to President elect, Alhaji Shehu Shagari in 1979. The 1979 constitution features among others replacement of parliament system of government with presidential system and the president is to be elected direct along with the vice-president.

Alhaji Shehu Shagari led civilian government was accused of among others maladministration, corruption and massive rigging in 1983 election that ushered his government into second term of office and he was overthrown by military led by General Muhammadu Buhari and Brigadier T. Idiagbon in 1983. However, General Babangida overthrew General Buhari military government and General Babangida military government drafted the 1989 constitution, which features among others; the principle of federalism, which consists of federal, state and local government, and provision of two party systems. Lastly, the interim National government initiated by General Ibrahim Babangida headed by Ernest Shonekan that supposed to have operated the 1989 constitution was dethroned by General Sani Abacha, who died on June 8, 1998 and General Abdusalam Abubakar quickly set up transition programme include the 1999 constitution for a democratic government in 1999. The 1999 lifted a lot from 1979 and 1998 constitution. However, the 1999 constitution features among others; provision for recall of elected representatives by their constituency if they lost confidence in their representative(s) and provision for presidential executive system of government, that is the president shall be the head of state, the chief executive of the federation and commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces of the nation.

**Local Government as Third Tier of Government:** The military government under the leadership of General Olusegun Obasanjo in 1976 successfully initiated local government reforms that transformed local government council as third tier of government from local administration system. Also, with decree 41 of 1991 General Ibrahim Babangida led military government introduced the doctrine of separation of powers which inculcated presidential system into local government as third tier of government at the grassroots level.

**Maintenance of Unity of Nigeria:** The military government has helped to maintain the political unity of Nigeria state. In 1967 Nigeria state almost disintegrated due to the secession ambition of the Eastern region as Biafra Republic, which led to Nigeria civil war of 1967-1970 to keep Nigeria political entity as one.

**Creation of States:** The military governments created the 36 states out of the inherited three regions- North, West and East that was created by the Richard constitution of 1946 and the Mid-West region created by the 1963 republican constitution. The creation of states strengthens the Nigeria federal system and the country's unity as the minority groups to a large extent feel protected.

**Promotion of National Integrity:** The military governments through their various programmes after the civil war of 1967- 70 promote National integration such as National Youth Service Corp in 1973, reconstruction, reconciliation and rehabilitation programme after the civil war etc.

The military governments in Nigeria contributed a lot to the political development of the country; however the following are some of the military government pitfalls;

- The military government in Nigeria was hostile to criticisms and critical to public opinion because they did not tolerate criticism
- The military government also recorded violation of fundamental human rights because people are detailed without trial e.g the death of Ken Saro-Wiwa and the other eight Ogoni people.
- Although, the military accused led civilian government of corruption but they were found corrupt as they mismanaged and waste public funds.
- The military governments did not have respect for rule of law; they suspended the people's constitution and rule with decrees which could not be challenged at the law court.
- 

#### **Conclusion and Recommendations:**

Military administration constitutionally is an aberration in every sovereign state or existing republican state. By constitutional standard, military is governmental institution meant to defend the state against external invaders but in Africa, Nigeria in focus, the military administered Nigeria for thirty years out of sixty years of its existence (1960- 2020). Despite the aberrant of the military administration as constitutionally judged, the Nigeria military governance in Nigeria have contributed tremendously to the political development as showcase in the paper, although without

pitfalls in their administration as equally identified. **Therefore, the following are recommended;**

- The military should remain in barrack and play their constitutional role.
- The military while remaining in the barrack, they should technologically contribute to the country's advancement.
- The military should render security advice to the police in form of partnership in order to have effective internal security management.
- The military should respect the dictate of the constitution parliamentary the fundamental human rights of Nigeria in course of their operations.

#### References

- Adebayo, A. (2000). *Principles and practice of public administration in Nigeria* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), Lagos: Spectrum Books Ltd. Pp: 80
- Adesina, R. A. (1999). *Military in Politics: Comprehensive strategies for ending military rule in Africa*, Nigeria: Heineman educational books.
- Agidi, E. M. P. and Ugbeyavwighren, M. (2013). *Nation building in Africa: The Nigerian perspective*, Benin City: Allen publications. P 101-104
- Bamgbose, J. A. (2002). *Political science and government for Nigerian students* (revised ed.), Lagos: Ijede commercial Enterprise. P64
- Bamgboye, P. O. (2014). The military and socio- economic development in Nigeria (1983-1999). A critical appraisal. *Mediterranean journal of social sciences*, 5(23) November, 2014 pp: 2340- 2344.
- Eminue, O. (2006). *Military in politics*. Uyo: Soulmate press and publishers.
- Eregha, E. E. (2008). *Elements of African government and politics*, Ughelli: Eregha publishers. P 56.
- Eshikena, J. (2012). *Nigerian government and politics*, Lagos: Fortran press Ltd.
- Igbe, F. O. (2002). *Progressive government for schools and colleges*, Agbor: Heritage-plus (Nig) Ent. P 40
- Isitoah, O. (2009). *Introduction to political science: The Nigeria perspective* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), Ughelli: Eregha publishers. P77
- Ojiake, J. O. (n.d). *13 years of military rule: 1966-79*, Lagos: Daily Times of Nigeria Limited. P3
- Omoigui, N. (n.d.). *Special report: Military rebellion of 15<sup>th</sup> January, 1966*. Retrieved at [www.ganji.com/nowa/news1103.htm](http://www.ganji.com/nowa/news1103.htm) on 1st May, 2020.
- Omoigui, N. (2002). *Col. Dimka's failed coup attempt of February 23, 1976*. Retrieved at [www.waado.org/nigerdelta\\_Facts/militaryrule/Omoigui/Dimka-1976.html](http://www.waado.org/nigerdelta_Facts/militaryrule/Omoigui/Dimka-1976.html) on 29/05/2020

- Okafor, I. M. (1989). *History for senior secondary schools book 1&2*, Onitsha: Jet publishers Nigeria Ltd.
- Otoghagua, E. (2004). *Regimes of Nigerian Heads of State: policies and politics, achievements and failures* (revised ed.), Benin city: Otoghagua Enterprise.
- Shut, T. (2003). Community development work in Nigeria: Operational problems and strategies for improvement. *Humanity Journal of General Studies*, 4(2) November. P108
- Siollun, M. (2009). *Oil, politics and violence: Nigeria's military coup culture (1966-1976)*, New York: Algora publishers pp. 16-17
- Ubani, E. O; Ehiodo, C. C & Nworgwu, O. C. (2007). *Nigerian government and politics: A study in governance*, Aba: Cheedal Global Prints Ltd. P 120
- US Library of Congress (n.d.). *Nigeria return to military rule, country studies*. US. Retrieved at <http://countrystudies.us/nigeria/30.htm> on 29/05/2020
- 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as amended, Abuja, govt. print.