



NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

SCHOOL OF MANAGEMENT SCIENCES

COURSE CODE: BHM 775

COURSE TITLE: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

**COURSE DEVELOPMENT FOR NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF  
NIGERIA (NOUN)**

**SCHOOL:** BUSINESS AND HUMAN RESOURCES  
MANAGEMENT

**PROGRAMME:** POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN LOCAL  
GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

**COURSE:** NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

**CREDIT UNIT FOR THE COURSE:** 2

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**COURSE CODE:** BHM 775

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*BUM 775: NIGERIAN GORVERNAIENTAND POL***1.0 Introduction**

Overview analysis is the first unit of **this course**. **What we are concerned with in this unit** - overview analysis is to introduce and **give general outlook of the main course**-Nigerian Government and politics. I mean we **are to give you a general understanding of** what the course is all about, our interest **includes what we are to know about the** Nigerian political development, people, mode of governance, variables that dictates the forms of government, her historical background **with colonialism etc**. **You will also be** introduced briefly to the major problems in **the country's quest for political and economic** development. About the 1914 amalgamation **of the Northern and Southern Protectorate**.

Generally, the overview will present **a brief analysis into the past, and present** situation in Nigeria with a view to come **out with a better knowledge of the Nigerian** state. The various events issues, belief and other combinations of

**inherited colonial** legacy that have come to play or shape the look and **form of Nigerian administrative** structures and her people. The contentious and sometimes **problematic issues in her** quest for development, nation building and national integration.

Various issues shall also be introduced to you on method of **governance, military rule**, revenue allocation or generally the effort at evolving genuine **democratic practise**. **This** conscious attempt at engineering democratic governance shall **also be examined**.

At the end of this course you would be expected to have been **able to know the nature** of Nigerian government and politics and those issues that plays **fundamental roles in** her development. You will also recall that, the pre-colonial **and colonial era legacy** contributes to the political development of Nigeria.

Suppose you are asked to give a general overview of what Nigerian **government and politics** is about briefly. What would be your immediate answer? **What you are** supposed to know would be some of the highlighted point in this passage. **The colonial** and precolonial legacy, constitutional development and general pattern of **governance**, should be able to strike your mind.

## **2.0 Objective**

In life, when you intend to pursue certain things that you desire, or when **you** embark on a work, you must have objectives that will interest you and which you wish **to** achieve. So also, in studying this course, you should have purposes.

Why do you have to consider the overview or introductory examination of Nigerian government and politics? The answer is not fanciful; just like the way you set a goal, there must be an objective.

Anyway, the first objective is to give an insight into what the entire course is **all about**

To give the summary of the course.

To explain the background of the study.

To understand the meaning of Nigerian government and politics.

## **3.1 Historical Background**

**The** historical background to Nigerian government and politics **will involve** two basic study. You will have to be familiar with the precolonial era, this is a period before the advent of colonial enterprise. There was what we call the period of traditional governance where **not** towns and villages are administered by their various traditional institutions for example, we have in Yorubaland (Western) the kings with his chiefs, Hausa have the emirate system based on the feudal system of administration. It is

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highly centralised. I am aware that some of these languages like Feudal may seem incomprehensible or confusing. I intend to give you a thorough breakdown on some of these words in the course of the paper, what I am doing is just to give a historical background to this course.

The colonial era is a period of advent of the colonial adventurers. Colonialism

itself is a system of occupation by the European countries. It is a system where political control of a particular place or country is under the control of or domination of a foreign government. So, the colonial period has great impact on the pattern of administration in Nigeria. In fact, you must have been aware that most African countries are product of colonial creation or heritage.

### **3.2 Political and Constitutional Development**

This is a period of serious campaign toward self rule; it is a period where conscious effort are being made at bringing about self independence. This started with Clifford constitution that allows for elective principle - a situation where Nigerians are allowed to vote and be voted for. Although, it was restricted, it will be focused upon in the course of the study. There are also formation of political parties, which include **UNDP**, and **NYM**. It also include various constitutional development of Richard, Macpherson, Lyttleton and independence era. There will be extensive exposition into the character, content and impact of these various constitution to the era of independence.

The period also include an analysis of the system of indirect rule which was adopted or introduced by the colonial government in the administration of the people. You are to look at the indirect rule system - is basically the use of traditional institution by the colonialist to administer the people. It executes the policy of the colonial government. A thorough analysis will also expect you to delve into the operations of the system from the three administrative perspective - North, West and East and with their respective peculiarities and its impact on the three perspectives.

Dear students, I expect you to get familiar or recall basically what have constituted the basic element under 3.2 content. The political and constitutional development. It is a process of developmental stage from a period of colonialism to an era of self rule, self independence championed by political rationalists and serious constitutional engineering.

You may ask yourself what is basically constitutional and political development? It represents an era of transition from colonialism to independence.

### **3.3 Independence Era**

My students, the period of independence is a period of freedom. It is a period of freedom because you are left to make decision and get responsibility for such decision. So also is a country's independence it is a period of no foreign intervention in form of administration, the people are to determine who rules, who does not. What decision to make and what not to make. The political situation of the country ushered in a parliamentary system of governance with three regions having autonomous power in the area of administration.

### **3.4 Contending Issues in Nigerian Government and Politics**

There are various issues in Nigerian political development, that have agitated students of contemporary studies on political development. The independence from the

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**colonial government no doubt provoked serious political imbalance among various groups of people that constitute the federation called Nigeria.**

- In this aspect of the course, we shall analyse and examine various issues that constitute or generate conflict in the Nigerian state.
- The foreign relations and foreign policies in relations to Africa and the world.
- The issue of resource control and revenue allocation based on certain principles of allocation of revenue.

The military incursion into politics and its impact on the Nigerian state and people.

- Population census and other related population issues.
- Democratisation in Nigeria.
- Local Government reform and civil service or public administration in Nigeria.

These will form the major concern of the content under 3.4. while ethnicity will be another major issue.

You must be able to identify some of these contending problems or issues in Nigeria's administration. The impact of regimes intervention in managing these contending issues will *be* another area of focus.

If you are therefore asked to mention or describe some major contending issues in Nigeria government and politics. You must not look at it as if they are foreign to you. You are part of it or may have need about these issues. Your ability to read things around you are part of the basic way of understanding issues.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

The overview analysis present the entire outlook of what the course is all about, it also shows what are really involved, in the course of Nigerian government and politics. The course is a 3 unit course and it is be divided into 3 basic unit of analysis. The historical analysis, constitute the first, the political and constitutional development; there will also be an analysis of post independent government and politics of the Nigerian state.

#### **5.0 Summary**

In this unit, we have succeeded in bringing into your consciousness what is meant by the overview analysis of the course - Nigerian government and politics. We have also demonstrated what are contentious and pattern of administration in the course. You will also recall that the overview present a brief, concise and off hand approach to the totality of the course. I would therefore expect any student who may have thoroughly gone through this overview to get informed about the nature of Nigerian government and politics.

#### **6.0 References and other further readings**

Amuwo K. et al (1999): Federalism and Political Restructuring in Nigeria, Ibadan, Spectrum/I FRA.

Kolawole, D. (1998): Issues in Nigeria Government and Politics Ibadan. Delcaal Publisher.

Agbaje A

Kolawo D

#### **7.0 Tutor Marked Assignment**

#### **Question**



**In your own view, give a general overview of what Nigerian government and politics is all about.**  
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PROGRAMME: POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT  
MANAGEMENT  
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UNIT 2: HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE NIGERIAN STATE: PRE-  
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*BUM 775: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS*

**1.0 Introduction**

In this unit, what we are majorly concerned with is basically, the traditional political institutions and systems before the emergence or evolution of British Colonial Enterprise, before the European occupation and backanization of Africa, including Nigeria. The different African tribes and groups had and lived in "well-organised empires". Very famous among them were the Oyo, Mali, Old Ghana and Bornu, and Songhai empires. With each empire existed various kingdoms like Ashanti in Ghana, Yoruba, Benin in Nigeria etc.

These kingdom had well-organised social system and ordered government, there were efficient organisation, and the ability of each respective kingdom to organized themselves into orderly, social, cultural and political groupings are well noted. The Yorubas, the Ibos and the Hausas are prominent groups of people that has their system of governance in the present Nigerian state. However, the colonial entrepreneur and adventure came and forcefully took over these indigenous political institution, while some were destroyed some were later modified and left within the new colonial settings. For example the traditional rulership in Yoruba empire and Hausa formed the bedrock of indirect rule system in these empires.

We are therefore, to do a little exposition of the traditional political setting of the Nigerian State before the advent of the colonialist.

## **2.0 Objective**

The objectives of this unit are to:

Provide an insight into the traditional political setting of Pre-Colonial State of Nigeria

To show the Pre-colonial state of the Yoruba nation

To show the traditional political system of the Hausas

To analyse the traditional political system of the Ibos

Part of the objective of this unit is also to reveal the nature of the precolonial traditional system of the Nigerian state

To draw possible compansion with the post colonial state

It will also serve as a link with the nature of the colonial - post colonial state of Nigeria.

## **3.1 Historical Analysis of the Traditional or Pre-Colonial Political System of Nigeria State**

Students, the historical analysis of the traditional or pre-colonial political system of the Nigeria State is better examined under three main agenda for a better comprehension. Since what we are to examine here is basically to X-ray the nature, form and structures of the political system of the tribes that constitute the present Nigerian state. It is therefore important and imperative to examine the study under these three titles: pre-colonial political system in the Yoruba, Hausa and Ibo for a better understanding and for clarity of purpose.

### **3.1.2 The Pre-Colonial Political System in the Yoruba State**

The history of the Yoruba people in the Western part of Nigeria is traced to a common descent from Oduduwa and common dispersion from Ile-Ife (Taiwo 1982). You are to learn and note here that, in the Yoruba political setting, the Ooni of Ife was and is accepted as the spiritual leader of the Yoruba race, while on the political front, the

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Alaafin of oyo empire wielded political as well as military leadership. However, there are various autonomous traditional institutions rulers that lead various towns and villages.

The political administrative authority is headed by an Oba which is a natural political monarch assisted by various chiefs each heading a particular group or family in that society. There is decentralisation of function but the collective decision as regard the rulership of the entire political space is carried out by joint decision of the monarch and his chiefs. This is the more reason why the Yoruba political system is regarded as democratic and monarchical because the Oba or Chiefs do not enjoy absolute power.

There is also an element of separation of power as it is seen under democratic system. Let me remind you that, the traditional political system in the Yoruba nation clearly demarcate function within or among the arms of government. While the Monarch or Oba is the Chief Executive, he does not enjoy absolute control, the Oyomesi for example in Oyo Kingdom acts as checks on the Alaafin while the "Aare Ona Kakanfo" is the Chief Military Officer. The king if needed could be asked to commit suicide especially by the Olofin, K.32\_e u•

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In the usual cases of disputes are settled by the iftefter chiefs-in die serious cases are usually transferred to the Oba and the council of chiefs actirthe verdict of this council are not generally challenged especially when they were reached by majority decision. The process of succession is therefore automatic to the royal family.

In this passage, you may ask yourself, if you could say something about the traditional political setting in Yoruba. You may also assess the level you have been able to comprehend the political system in Yoruba land with the contemporary government in Nigeria. Think and meditate about it and you will definitely get the message in this passage.

#### **3.1.2 The Pre-Colonial Political System in Hausa Fulani State**

The historical background of the Hausas origin could be traced to the area of Western Sudan, the most authentic version of the Hausas seems from the Barber in vasion of the Sudan in the tenth century (Taiwo 1982).

Therefore, the traditional political setting was like that of any other group in Western Sudan, the arrival of Fulani and the impact of Islam revolutionalised the entire system Its government therefore was based on the Islamic doctrine. In the Hausa-Fulani traditional political system, you will observe that, the traditional system is hierarchical in nature and structure. It is usually headed by an Emir which is the Oba version in the Yoruba political system.

It is however structured in this fashion

The council of state which was composed of the Emir as the heads with a centralised power and the other village chiefs and heads.

The Sarkin Fada - This is the chief palace administrator, he organises the

palace administration.

The Galadima - usually a eunuch, the Galadima was the city or capital administrator. He sees to the smooth running of the city.

The Madawaki - He is the cavalry commander, otherwise stated the Madawaki is the commander in Chief of the troop. He advises the king on state appointment and security issues.

The Waziri - This is the Chief Adviser to the Emir - He is also like the modern Prime Minister.

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- The Mogaji or Maaji is the finance minister.
- The Sarkin Van Daka - He is charged with the maintenance of law and order. He is the Chief Police Officer and he is responsible for the internal security of the state.

The Yari: This is the Chief Prisons' Officer.

The Judicial system of the Hausa Fulani political system is governed by the Islamic laws. The Emir is regarded as the presiding judge with full consultation with the Quadri or Alkali - which is the Chief Muslim Legal Adviser. It is the duty of the Chief Alkali to ensure that judicial decisions are made according to Maliki law.

In the Hausa Fulani political system. The system is highly structured and put in hierarchical form. Though the Islamic and Muslim religions doctrine dictate the method of administration. The system is more of the feudal system and highly authoritarian in nature. The Emir enjoys supreme power but could be checked by Islamic laws.

It is therefore imperative for you to ask yourself some questions on the Hausa-Fulani traditional political system can you see the structure, and the hierarchical organisation of this system? Is there any similarity with the Yoruba political system or not? However, these questions may help you to fully appreciate what we are dealing with to give you a thorough evolution into the Nigerian state.

#### **3.1.3 The Pre-Colonial Ibo Political System**

The Ibo are the third largest ethnic group in Nigeria. The origin of the Ibo people suffers from proper documentation. However, the traditional political system of Ibo is basically woven around their social and cultural system.

The system concedes leadership to age and wisdom. Respect for elders was not really due entirely to age but also to their leadership in the performance of civil and spiritual functions. While the relevance of the family lineage is respected. It is highly structured into clan, family age group pattern. An Ibo is not only egalitarian, he is also individualistic.

The Ibo political organisation or structure has been described as being segmentary and its government referred to as republican. When a particular structure is regarded as segmentary it connotes a political set up that has no central authority. It is also different from stratified societies because of its egalitarian nature. This is achieved through balancing small equal groups against each other and by the ties of clanship, marriage and religious associations, Ibo society is organised around family clanship and a leader is selected from the elders of the family.

Each village has the council of elders or Ama-Ala the Assembly of citizens.  
 The Ama-Ala is the supreme decision making body.  
 In the council of Elders, decision **is** made by desires and proclamations.  
 The council of Elders also act **as** the supreme court and adjudicate for  
 disputing parties.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

Your attention has been called upon to examine the pre-colonial political system in the three major ethnic groups that make up the present Nigeria State. This is not to say that there are no major or other ethnic groups; that can be used as a tool of analysis. However, the three discussed groups present a better examples. The political system of the Ibo, Yoruba and the Hausa-Fulani represent the pre-colonial state of

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Nigeria. It is on this note that we are to see what may have brought about the present state of the Nigerian state. The importance and relevance of these ethnic groups in Nigerian politics cannot be undermined.

#### **5.0 Summary**

This passage has no doubt introduced to us the pre-colonial Nigerian state. It has also allowed us to be able to draw various comparison among the nature, structure and character of the different political groups that made up the state called Nigeria. The Yoruba is regarded as monarchical in structure and highly democratic because the Obas do not enjoy absolute power control. There is also the principles of checks and balances in the political set up, while the Hausa-Fulanis seems to be highly authoritarian. The Emir remained the most powerful element in the political arrangement. There is class stratification in the political structure (hierarchical). The traditional political system present a different position. Structured along the contour of culture and social grouping. It is an egalitarian society without any centralised authority. It is also very republican in nature. Within this framework of analysis you will definitely agree with me that, the three grouping under analysis do not look entirely the same. This you must remember. Try to look at the area of differences and mark them in your readings. You may ask yourself what political system existed in your homeland in the precolonial era?

#### **6.0 Further Readings**

Taiwo, B. (1982): Government and Politics in West Africa. Agodi Ibadan, Book Representation Co. Ltd.

Green MM (19600 Igbo Village Affairs.

#### **7.0 Tutor Marked Assignment**

- a. Describes the Yoruba traditional political system.
- b. Discuss the role of Ama-Ala in Ibo traditional political system and elaborate on the structure of its government.
- c. Do you agree that the Hausa-Fulanis political system is more authoritarian. Describe its structure of government.

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**SCHOOL:** BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATION  
**PROGRAMME:** POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT  
**COURSE:** NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS  
**UNIT 3:** HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE NIGERIAN STATE

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**1.0 Introduction**

This unit on the historical analysis of Nigerian state will present to us the advent of colonial enterprise in the Nigerian State, it will also focus on the colonial form of administration, the issues of amalgamation will be highlighted. However, this topic will deliberately leave out the indirect rule system introduced by the colonialist because subsequent units will deal extensively on this method adopted by the colonial government in the administration of the colony.

In introducing the Nigerian state in the colonial era effort will also be made at highlighting the three major groups that constitute the bulk of the people of Nigeria.

**2.0 Objectives**

These shall include

To show the advent of British administration.

- To reveal the method of administration of the colonial government.
- Part of the objectives is how the Northern and Southern Nigeria were amalgamated.
- To show some motives behind the amalgamation theory.

**3.1 Historical Analysis of Nigerian State Colonial Era**

**3.1.1 The Annexation of Lagos**

On 1st January 1852, a treaty was signed with the British for the abolition of slave trade. You may ask yourself therefore that, does this mark the advent of the colonialist? Rather the answer is negative. Legitimate trade continued between the natives and the colonialist with the advent of missionaries activities. A year thereafter a special consul was appointed at Forcados and the Bight of Benin. This marked the beginning of British administrative presence in today's Nigeria.

**3.1.2 The establishment of the Nigeria Coast protectorate: 1893.**

This is part of the deliberation or partitioning of Africa in 1885 Berlin Conference in which the territories in the coastal districts which had come under

British influence known then as Oil River Protectorate was in 1893 renamed the Niger Coastal Protectorate. These included Oil River (Niger Delta) and the valley of the Niger.

### **3.1.3 The Establishment of the Protectorate of Northern and Southern Nigeria, 1900**

You are aware that before the annexation of Lagos the presence of British firms who were engaged in trading business has been established on the coast of Niger. Onitsha and Lokoja which were amalgamated and granted a charter and became known as the Royal Niger Company.

The Royal Niger Company Bill granted the company the permission to trade in the area which extended from the middle of the Niger Valley into Northern Nigeria and also to administer the territory.

Thus in 1900, the territory known as Nigeria was divided into three district entities, the colony and protectorate of Lagos, the protectorate of Southern Nigeria and the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria.

They were thus independently administered by an administrator who was directly responsible to the government of United Kingdom.

### **3.1.4 The Amalgamation of Nigeria, 1914**

In 1906, the first step was taken towards unifying the distinct entities which constituted Nigeria at the dawn of the twentieth century. The colony of Lagos was

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merged with the protectorate of Southern Nigeria. Nevertheless, the protectorate of Northern Nigeria still remained separate.

On the 1st January 1914 however, Lord Lugard amalgamated the colony and protectorate of Southern Nigeria and the protectorate of Northern Nigeria into what was henceforth called the colony and protectorate of Nigeria. Lord Lugard himself became the first Governor of the Protectorates.

### **3.2 The Lugard Administrative System: Establishment of Legislative Council**

One very important organ of government which was established after the annexation of Lagos was the legislative council. You can ask yourself how this legislative council worked or how it was constituted, or what functions it did perform in the administration of Nigeria? These are questions for thought.

However, the establishment of Lagos Council was to aid the administration of the colonial government. The council was vested with exclusive jurisdiction over the colony of Lagos, it is noteworthy that the council which had an official majority was in no sense representative of the people. Moreover, its advice was not binding on the Governor.

#### **3.2.1 The Creation of the Nigerian Council**

We have to look at a new situation that emerged when the colony of Lagos and the protectorate of the Southern Nigeria were merged together and became one. One remarkable achievement of Lugard's position on administration was the creation of the Nigerian council. These reasons have prompted the establishment of this institution.

The existing legislative council was too small to legislate for the twenty Unified

Protectorate.

It was reckoned that the creation of a new council with a larger composition would enable the governor to secure expressions of public opinion from all sections of the 36 members, 6 of whom are Nigerian nominated to represent different parts of the protectorate with the exception of the Northern protectorate. The Nigerian Council had similar function with the former legislative council. It

was to advise the Governor though the advice was not binding.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

This unit presents to us how the colonial method of governance started, the evolution of Nigeria state, annexation of Lagos and the unification of the colony of Lagos and the Southern Protectorate.

The Lugard method of administration no doubt triggered some activities in the Nigerian state. The formation of political parties and political activities started. The subsequent elective principle introduced by the Lugard successor was again to promote further involvement of Africans in governance. This shall be elaborated in the subsequent unit.

#### **5.0 Summary**

The study under review started with the annexation of Lagos in 1832. This acted as a catalyst for other aspects of European occupation in Nigeria. It culminated into the establishment of the protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria in 1900, the amalgamation of the two protectorates in 1914, establishment of a legislative council (which was notorious because it was not representative of the people) and the subsequent creation of the Nigerian council which made room for African representation.

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#### **6.0 Further Readings**

**Boahen, A.A. (1990):** Africa Under Colonial Domination 1880- 1935 Panis UNESCO. **Azigwe, F. (1974):** Essentials of Government for West Africa, Ibadan, University Press Limited.

**Taiwo, B.T. (1982):** Government and Politics in West Africa, Ibadan, Book Representation Coy.

#### **7.0 Tutor Marked Assignment**

Examine the effect of Lord Lugard's influence on the Nigerian political scene during the period under review.

What differentiates the Nigerian Council from the legislative council

Discuss the events that led to the establishment of the protectorate of Northern and Southern Nigeria in 1900

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**UNIT 4**

**SCHOOL:**

**BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATION**

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**POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT**



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**COURSE: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

**UNIT 4: HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF NIGERIAN STATE: POST COLONIAL ERA**

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*111/41775: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS*

**1.0 Introduction**

This lecture is all about the historical analysis of the Nigerian State after independence of 1960. I will present to you the interplay of forces during the first republic, the authoritarian politics of the military rulers who took over after the collapse of the first republic in 1966, the democratisations of 1979 and 1999 and how the oil boom witnessed in the mid and late 70s rather than turn Nigeria into a prosperous country, sent us tottering on the brink of austerity and economic chaos. During this period, political instability became the norm rather than the exception while corruption became pervasively institutionalised.

**2.0 Objectives**

The objectives of this study shall include:

- To show the type of politics played during the first republic.
- To reveal the working of the presidential system of government in the second republic.
- To examine continuity and change in Nigerian government and politics during the period under review.

**3.0 Historical Analysis of the Nigerian State: Post Colonial Era:**

**3.1** 1960 - 1966 - During this period, Nigeria got her independence from the colonial masters. She adopted the Westminster model of parliamentary system of government characterised by fusion of power, collective responsibility and the existence of official opposition. In 1963, Nigeria became a republic and thus cease to be subjected to the queen of England. Also, mid-western region was carved out of the western region. However, inter-party and inter-ethnic rivalries soon broke out between political elites in the three dominant parties: NPC (Northern Peoples Congress) NCNC (National Council of Nigeria Citizens) and AG (Action Group). This led to incessant riot in Tiv and South West, the imprisonment of the opposition

leader, census crises and the eventual collapse of the republic in 1966 when a section of the Nigerian Army mutinied in Ibadan, Lagos and Kaduna.

**3.2 1966- 1979:** General JTU, Aguiyi-Ironsi effectively took over the control of power in January 1966 after the mutiny by a section of the Army led by major Kaduna Nzeogwu had been quelled. He announced a unification decree for Nigeria under which the country was to be governed as a unitary entity. This did not go down well with Northerners whose officers murdered him in July 1966. Major-General Yakubu Gowon took over the rein of power at a time when the continued existence of Nigeria became doubtful. Soft spoken and cool headed, Gowon led the country through a 30-month civil war which came to a stop in January 1970. He also increased the number. of states to 12. After the war, he declared "no victor, no vanquished" and he put in place the policy of rehabilitation, reconciliation and reconstruction (3rs) to help develop the ex-Biafrans. In 1975, he declared that he may not hand over the rein of government to democratic leadership soon. He was booted out of office in a coup. Among other allegations, he was accused of aiding and abetting corruption. General Muhammed who succeeded him purged the Nigerian Civil Service of Corrupt, ailing and sabotaging elements, sacking some of the service's brightest and best in the exercise. He also demonstrated decisiveness and fearlessness in governance until he was killed in 1976, but not until after he had created seven more states to bring the number to 13. His deputy General Olusegun Obasanjo succeeded him in office. After Nigeria hosted the FESTAC in 1977,

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the Constituent Assembly was inaugurated and it endorsed a draft constitution made by the government-appointed Constitutional Drafting Committee. A presidential system was adopted for Nigeria while a new Executive President was sworn in on October 1 1979. During the 13 years of military rule, the Supreme Military Council (SMC) was the highest ruling body.

**3.3 1979 - 1983:** The oil boom that was discovered in the mid 70s was squandered with reckless abandon by the political class. The parties that made up the second republic included the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), Unity Part of Nigeria (UPN) Nigeria Peoples Party (NPP), Great Nigeria Peoples Party (GNPP) and the Peoples Redemption Party (PRP). Dr. Tunji Braithewaite's National Advanced Party (NAP) was to join the 5 in 1983. The president became an executive head who can "hire and fire" his ministers while the legislature was a bit empowered by the doctrine of separation of power. By December 1983 when Alhaji Shehu Shagari, the president, had started serving his second term in office, there were heavy drop in oil income, excessive government spending and widespread corruption. The military officers who seized power at the end of 1983 were welcomed by the populace with great joy and relief.

#### **3.4 1984 - 1999**

As a fallout of the crises generated in the 2nd republic the Buhari government, which succeeded Shagari, launched a War Against Indiscipline (WAI) programme. The government established the Supreme Military Council (SMC) as the highest law-making body in the country. It also jailed a lot of second republic politicians

while quite a number of civil servants were sacked for indiscipline, insubordination and sabotage. The government is noted for its draconian decrees 2 and 4 which did not allow for the Fundamental Human Rights of the citizens. The public outcry against the government made the coup against it most welcome in August 1985.

General Babangida became the first and only military President of Nigeria on August 25 1985. Under Babangida, the Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) became the highest law-making body. The new government opened the political space whilst it loosens press restrictions. Babangida embarked on a democratisation programme which started with the inauguration of a "Political Bureau" in 1986 and ended with the annulment of a free and fair June 12 1993 presidential election won by Chief M.K.O. Abiola and internationally adjudged free and fair, with the attendant Interim National Government headed by Chief Ernest Shonekan. He added Katsina and Akwa-Ibom state to Nigeria's 19, making the number of the states 21. He later increased the number to 30. He also made history by establishing, by law, two political parties in Nigeria. The Interim National Government that emerged on the ashes of the annulled June 12 election was subsequently declared illegal by a Lagos High Court and a dark-goggled General Sani Abacha took over governance on November 17 1993.

When General Abacha took over power, he established a Provisional Ruling Council (PRC) as the highest law making body of selected generals. He clamped a lot of political activists in detention while he was alleged to have murdered quite a lot of citizens in mysterious circumstances. Reputed to be the country's most draconian ruler since independence, General Abacha drew the ire of the civilised section of the world when he carried out the judicial murder of environmental right activist Ken Saro-Wiwa. His unwillingness to revalidate the June 12 1993 mandate of Chief Abiola also discredited his government both locally and internationally: Abacha convened a

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constitutional conference in 1995 whose recommendations failed to see the light of the day. However, he would be remembered for breaking the country into six zones which has become the focus/medium of power sharing in Nigeria. General Abubakar became the head of state after the demise of Abacha, he handed over power to Chief Olusegun Obasanjo of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP).

**3.5 1999-2002** - with the swearing in of civilian leadership in 1999 came a powerful wave of violent demonstrations in the Niger Delta region for resource control, the Northern region on the issue of Sharia and in the Southern states because of anti-Muslim sentiments. Economic situation of the citizen is yet to witness rapid transformation while the fight against corruption by the government has become unnecessarily tortuous.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

When Nigeria got her independence in 1960, expectation was high that the much desired freedom, progress, growth, peace, unity and development are here. Alas! we were wrong. At every point in our post - independence history, it has taken more than political sophistry to keep the country one. This has denied us the much

desired development. It is hoped that a resurgent democracy will bring back Nigeria on the path of honour and growth.

## 5.0 Summary

Nigeria got her independence in 1960 as a democratic country. Her democracy was floundered on the altar of acrimonious politics. It was not to regain the lost democracy until after 13 years of military rule. The government of Shehu Shagari that ruled democratically between 1979 and 1983 repeated, if not totally outdid, the first republic politicians in venality. This led the country to another 16 years of military rule which has done much havoc to the body politic of Nigeria. The crises sown by the military are what the present democratic government is battling to put to an end.

## 6.0 Further Reading

**Elaigwu, J. (1999):** Transition to Transition. Prospects of an Enduring Democratic Polity in Nigeria, Lagos, NIALS.

**Agwunobi, J.C. (1992):** The Nigerian Military in a Democratic Society.

**Cosmasie, A. (1998):** Democracy and Political Opportunism in Nigeria: A Documentary Source Book Abuja, Sputnik.

**Adamu, H.& (2000):** The North and Nigerian Unity: Some Reflections on the Political, Social and Educational Problems of Northern Nigeria, Zaria, Ahmadu Bello University.

## 7.0 Tutor-Marked Assignments

1. What are the causes of military coup in 1966?
2. Draw a symmetry between the causes of military coups in 1966 and 1983?
3. Draw a symmetry between the democratic governments during the first and second republics?

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**SCHOOL: BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATION**

**PROGRAMME: POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT  
MANAGEMENT— "NA**

**COURSE: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

**UNIT 5: INDIRECT RULE IN WESTERN NIGERIA**

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- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Features of the Western Political System
- 3.1 Indirect Rule
- 3.1.2 Indirect Rule in Western Nigeria
- 3.2 Reaction to Indirect Rule
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Further Reading
- 7.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment

*BUM 775: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS***1.0 Introduction**

The historical analysis of the Nigerian state had three phases. The pre-colonial, colonial and the post colonial era. If you remember clearly, we noted that Nigerians were already administering themselves before the advent of the colonialists. We also represented the various political systems then present with three major ones. That is, the Western (Yoruba), Eastern (Igbo) and Northern (Hausa/Fulani) political systems. If indeed there were institutional methods of governance before the advent of the colonials, then it is of interests that we examine how the colonial masters were able to perpetuate themselves in power. This paper and the two after it would therefore look into the colonial era, what system was used and the mechanism of this system in different parts of the country. In particular this study would examine colonial rule in Western Nigeria.

**2.0 Objectives**

The aims of this study are as follows:

To examine the concept of indirect rule

- To show the features inherent in Western Nigeria before the advent of the colonialist
- We would also get to know the reaction of the Yorubas to indirect rule
- Then conclusions will be made, and questions would be set to sure the study is well understood.

**3.0 Features of the Western Political System**

The Yoruba Kingdom was headed by the Alaafin of Oyo. It was a constitutional Monarchy.

The Alaafin was not an absolute head. He governed with the council of chiefs called the "Oyo-mesi"

The Oyo-mesi made their deliberations in the absence of the Alaafin and afterwards present their decisions to the Alaafin in form of a proposal.

There was a system of checks and balances that ensures that no organ of government encroached upon the power of the other.

Also, there was no systematic form of taxation, what existed was a case in which different provinces paid tribute to the Alaafin.

There was 'no well structured and organised standing army in the kingdom.

The "Eso" were only a standing army for the palace.

**3.1 Indirect Rule**

After the partitioning of Africa done at the Berlin Conference of 1884 - 85, the European master represented by the British, French, Germans and Portuguese had to devise ways of administering the territories partitioned to them. While the French adopted the system of assimilation and inter association, the Germans took to husbandry and the British adopted the indirect rule system.

The indirect rule system is a type of colonial rule like we just mentioned, and it is the system the British used to acquire and conquer all her colonies. The system recognised the structures and mechanisms in every colony, that is, the traditional political systems and administered the people through it. In British

colonies therefore the traditional structures were not tampered with, the colonialist used these structures as their medium of getting acceptance of the people and maintaining themselves in power.

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It was called indirect rule because the colonial masters did not rule directly, but they used the rulers appointed by the people as a link between themselves and the people.

A number of reasons accounted for why the British adopted the Indirect Rule System.

First, was lack of funds. The British either did not have enough money to run their new colonies or they chose not to spend too much money. Hence, the indirect rule system afforded them the opportunity to administer their colonies via funds raised within such colonies.

Second, the British Colonial Masters lacked enough personnel for the work, the personnel available to them were just not enough for a direct rule system and the indirect rule system required very few people.

There was the case of language barrier. The colonialist were not able to communicate with the people so it was thought that if the king or his princes or any of the traditional rulers could understand them, orders would then be passed from the leadership to the subjects.

A fourth reason that can be given for the choice of indirect rule system was that the British colonialist intended to use little force based on the few soldiers and weaponry available to them for the exercise of indirect rule.

#### **3.1.2 Indirect Rule in Western Nigeria**

Since the Western Nigeria with its Yoruba citizens had a centralized system of government, the British thought it would be easy to introduce the indirect rule system to the region. It was (that is, the British) opinion that all they would have to do is to return Yorubaland to its eighteenth century condition where Oyo was the Chief Power. Contrary to the hopes of the British however, their invasion was widely rejected by the people.

The British believed initially that the Yoruba Oba was considerably autocratic and he would be able to Lord their wishes on the people if they had a firm grip on him. The limitations of the Oba due to the fact that power was shared, among a number of chiefs, representing lineages over which the Oba has limited power was to put into consideration and it gave great challenge to the British.

When the British found out that the Oba had limited power over the chiefs, this resulted to persuasive means to lure the chiefs to their side and in cases where persuasive means failed they resulted to force. The indirect rule system was therefore not so successful in Western Nigeria.

#### **3.2 Impact of Indirect Rule**

Amongst other things, the following were the impacts the indirect rule system had on Yorubaland.

It triggered off wars in the Yoruba land, the refusal of the people to accept the new system met with desperate measures from the British.

Also, the fact that there was a great number of educated and influential Yoruba elites made agitation for freedom from British colonialism rife.

It must be observed too that the role the Yoruba kings and chiefs played in selling the land out to the colonial masters is one of the factors that led to the loss of credibility of traditional leaders in Western Nigeria. The case is therefore such that the Western Nigeria was quick to start nationalist activities and fight for freedom.

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### **- 4.0 Conclusion**

The indirect rule system was a near failure in the Yorubaland. The people who were not used to their Oba being autocratic and could not just come to terms with the Oba suddenly trying to will so much power to himself. Hence, the outburst of wars of the colonial masters were constantly resisted and this led to the early attainment of independence.

### **5.0 Summary**

Lord Lugard introduced the system of indirect rule. Before the colonialist intervention Yorubaland was headed by an Oba who was not autocratic and a council of Chiefs. The indirect rule is a system of governance that used the traditional institutions already in place as an instrument of ruling the people. Indirect rule was resisted in Western Nigeria because of the system of government hitherto in place, the introduction of tax and other reasons. The exposure of the Yoruba elites made the attainment of that region fast.

- There was no direct tax in the Yoruba kingdom and the fact that the British colonialist later introduced it made the people rebellious.
- The system of checks and balances also restrained the Oba from acting in a despotic manner. A despotic Oba could lose his life.

### **6.0 Further Reading**

The Growth of African civilization. The Revolutionary Years. West African since 1800  
J.B. Webster and A.A. Boachen with H.O. Idowu.

### **7.0 Tutor Marked Assignment**

What is indirect rule?

- How did Western Nigeria react to Indirect Rule?
- What are the Inherent Features in Western Nigerian that militated against indirect rule and how did they militate against it?

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**PROGRAMME: POST GRADUATE DU:A.0MA IN LO L \_GOVERNMENT  
MANAGEMENT— 0.00<sup>1</sup>UYIAnt3**

**COURSE: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

**UNIT 6: INDIRECT RULE IN EASTERN NIGERIA**

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7.0	Tutor-Marked Assignment

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### **1.0 Introduction**

Welcome to this interesting lecture. When Lord Lugard was contemplating introducing indirect rule in Eastern Nigeria, every factors did not favour it, i.e. it was crystal clear that the system was most likely going to be a failure. But it seems to my mind that Lugard was so pre-occupied with the colonialists interests to dominate and make money to the extent that he retorted that the system will work if only men of influence could be found to act as warrant chiefs. Do not forget that the Igbos of the South-Eastern Nigeria did not have a centralized political structure thus making indirect rule difficult, if not almost impossible to entrench in the area. The story of indirect rule in South-East turned out to be a bitter one. What and what accounted for the failure of the indirect rule in the East and its aftermath are the issues that I will like to discuss with you in this lecture. Once again, welcome to this class.

### **2.0 Objectives**

They include:

- To discuss the features of the South-Eastern political system.
- To look at the reaction of the people to indirect rule in this area.
- To expose the incompatibility of the indigenous political system in the East and indirect rule.

### **3.0 Features of the Eastern Political System**

The following are the prevalent characteristics of the South-Eastern traditional political system:

- There was no paramount ruler or hereditary chief who commands the loyalty of a large number of people.
- Authority was usually distributed among clan heads.
- Leadership among the Ibos was based on age and wisdom on performance of spiritual functions.

The Ibos were egalitarian people devoid of class divisions. Emphasis was laid on hardwork and competition.

The Ibos had a "republican" government in which stability was achieved through acute decentralization of the power structure.

### **3.1 Indirect Rule in Eastern Nigeria**

A 1906 colonial government ordinance provided for the appointment of warrant Chief (People appointed by the colonial government to be administering a given town/village/area on behalf of the colonialist). Parts of the works of the warrant chiefs was the collection of tax. In this wise, only men of local standing were usually



selected. The indirect rule system took its root in the region in 1928. By that time the warrant chiefs were becoming excessively assertive and autocratic. They eventually pushed the people to the wall. It must be pointed out that the egalitarian spirit in the people made them to be unreceptive to the tyrannical warrant chiefs, their inorganic nature made them (warrant chiefs) to be viewed with contempt while many of them lacked the qualities that the traditional society expected of a leader.

### **3.2 Reactions to Indirect Rule**

There were deep resentment against the warrant chief such that the populace did not co-operate with them.

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In 1929, the Aba Women Riot occurred. It erupted as a result of suspicions that warrant chiefs were about making women to pay taxes. The riot eventually spread to other parts of the East.

The educated elite hated the illiterates that were made warrant chiefs and saw them as agents of imperialism which did not engender peaceful co-existence.

In 1929, there was another equally fatal rioting in Warri.

### **4.0 Conclusion**

Indirect rule failed in South-Eastern Nigeria because of three important reasons. One, it was conceived and executed in ignorance by the colonialists without taking into cognizance the local factors. Two, the educated elites were not carried along. Three, the system became unprogressive in light of the rapid development being witnessed then in the South East. However, the system was later modified by Sir Donald Cameron in 1935.

### **5.0 Summary**

By every standard, indirect rule was not fit for the Eastern province and it was eventually introduced to the province by Lord Lugard against all logic. Factors that made the system unsuitable were the republican nature of governance, the leadership value of the people and the egalitarian nature of the society. The system became useful in the province as people did not co-operate with the lowly rated European appointed warrant chiefs. Two major riots were recorded and the system was rescued by Sir Cameron who succeeded Lord Lugard.

### **6.0 Further Readings**

**Ajayi, J.F.A. (Ed) (1998):** Africa in the Nineteenth Century Until the 1880's Paris, UNESCO.

**Andah, B.W. (et al (1992):** Imprints of West Africa's Past Ibadan: Wisdom Publishers. **Andah, B.W. (1992):** Perspectives on West Africa's Past: Ibadan, Ibadan University Press.

**Ayoade, J.A. and Agbaje, A. (1989):** African Traditional Political Thought and Institutions Lagos, Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilisation.

### **7.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment**

- 1.Explain the political structure of the South-East?
- 2.What factors are responsible for the failure of the indirect rule?
- 3.What are the aftermath of the indirect rule?

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**UNIT 7**

**SCHOOL: BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATION**

**PROGRAMME:**

**POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA . I**

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**GOVERNMENT**

**MANAGEMENT (WITNESS)**

**COURSE: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

**UNIT 7: INDIRECT RULE IN NORTHERN NIGERIA**

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- 7.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment

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**1.0 Introduction**

Indirect rule system in Nigeria is one and the same. However, **what obtained in each** region of the country differs from one another. What I am **saying in essence is that** the reaction of Nigerians to the indirect rule system was not the same, through out the country. What we have been doing in units 5, 6 and 7 is more of a comparison of indirect rule in the three regions in the country. This paper therefore would be examining indirect rule in Northern Nigeria.

**2.0 Objectives**

**At the end of this paper, I hope to have been able to show to you the features of Northern Nigeria, in order to be able to point a picture of what indirect rule was like in Northern Nigeria. Then I would throw some light to the impact the indirect rule system had on Northern Nigeria. The summary would give us a concise version of the topic under study and I would ask question in order to test our understanding of the topic.**

**3.0 Features of the Northern Political System**

**The North had a centralised government with the Emir as a totalitarian head**

**who was all in all.** The Emir had absolute power and the people revered him.

The Emir owing to the aforementioned point was the political as well as spiritual head. He was thus in charge of the executive, legislative and judicial bodies in the region. As the spiritual Head the people saw the Emir as being next to God.

The system of rulership in the North was hereditary, that is a person attained a position of rulership through birth right. If you are born into the royal family therefore, it is sure that some day you would hold a leadership position.

Another feature of the Northern part of Nigeria that is infact germane to this study is the existence of a system of direct taxation in the region. The people paid taxes on virtually everything, including their livestock.

The Northern region had a standing army that was viable. Even the army was controlled by the Emir.

The Qyuran served as the major constitutional provision in Northern Nigeria and so the Sharia law was prevalent and binding on all. The Emir was only submissive to the dictates of the Sharia Law.

### **3.1 Indirect Rule in Northern Nigeria**

Like every other region, the European Colonial Masters witnessed resistance at their first entrance in the land. This however was shortlived. Indirect rule in Northern Nigeria was quite successful. The success of the programme was mainly due to the inherent features in the system of government in operation in the North.

The central nature of the system of government coupled with the absoluteness of the Emir made it simple for the Colonial Masters to rule the people through their Emir. Whatever the European got the Emir to do, it was easy to get the people to do it was because the people did not question the authority of the Emir.

Since, the method of attaining of leadership was hereditary, the Europeans were able to have Chiefs and other officials too at their side. The fact that other officials besides the Emir were only advisory bodies even made the system easier for the northerners to accept.

The very character of the indirect rule system that used traditional apparatus in ruling, made the inculcation of the system easy in Northern Nigeria.

The British colonialists did not have to deal with protests and any kind of unrest whatsoever from the people like they did in **other parts of the country when the** direct taxation system was introduced because the people were already used to paying tax.

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### *BUM 775: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS*

A factor that made indirect rule acceptable and successful in the Northern Nigeria that must be included, is the educational level of Northern Nigeria before the advent of the colonialists. The educational standard of the Northerners was quite low and so the people for a long time could not see anything wrong in their domination by the white and even when they seemed to see it they could not channel the course of their freedom like the Western or Eastern region did.

### **3.2 Impact of Indirect Rule in Northern Nigeria**

The indirect rule system had a lot of impact on the Northern region of Nigeria. For one, till date the Emir still remains a very strong figure in the North because the respect of people (at least Northerners) has not diminished for their Emir. The Northern traditional political system since it was not disrupted by the colonialists only came out better after the colonialist had left.

Also, indirect rule and the encounter the Northerners had with the British made the Northerners realise that despite the fact that they were educationally backward, they could seize power at least based on their numerical strength. What we had was an insurgence of Northerners into the Nigerian army and the use of the military apparatus as an instrument of perpetuating themselves in power.

The Northern hegemony or the monolithic North - that we have today has its root in the indirect rule system.

Till date the Northern part of this country remains the most backward educationally because rather than correct the abnormality of illiteracy in the North the colonial master exploited this weakness to their own advantage.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

- The, indirect rule system in Nigeria was most successful in the Hausa land. The people were used to most of the methods that the system exploited and so raised little or no questions at the intervention of the colonial masters. Unlike other parts of the country, the only thing that was refused in Northern Nigeria was Christianity which was against the ethos of the North being a majorly Islamic region.

#### **5.0 Summary**

The indirect rule system worked in the North because of the centralized governance and the semblance of the rule with the traditional political system which was theocratic. The paybacks of the indirect rule were enormous. It did not affect the structure of the traditional institutions adversely, it prompted their domination of the Nigerian state and helped in founding what is today known as the monolithic north.

#### **6.0 Further Readings**

**Ayoade, J.A. and Agbaje, A. (1989):** African Traditional Political Thought and Institutions, Lagos: Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilisation.

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**Ajayi, J.F. (2000):** Tradition and Change in Africa: The Essays of JF Ade-Aiyi, Trenton: Africa World Press.

**Boahen, A.A. (Ed) (1990):** African Under Colonial Domination 1880-1935 Paris: UNESCO.

#### **7.0 Tutor-Marked Assignments and Colonial Domination**

What factors account for the success of the indirect rule in Northern Nigeria? How did Northerners react to the indirect rule system?

Did the system threaten the status quo? Why?

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#### **UNIT 8**

**SCHOOL: BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATION--**

**PROGRAMME: POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT  
MANAGEMENT**

**COURSE: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

**UNIT 8: CLIFFORD CONSTITUTION**

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3.3	The Strengths and Weaknesses of Clifford Constitution
4.0	Conclusion
5.0	Summary
6.0	Further Readings
7.0	Tutor-marked Assignment

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## *BHM 775: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS*

### **1.0 Introduction**

In our last unit, we discussed at length the issue of indirect rule in Northern Nigeria. Today, our discussion is focussed on the Clifford constitution of 1922. It was promulgated when Sir Hugh Clifford who was the governor of Nigeria. The constitution was made following the continued protests by nationalist organisations like the National Council of British West (NCBWA) and other learned Nigerians for enhanced participation in the governance of the country. The argument of the African elite was that there was a need to introduce elective principle into the process of law-making in Nigeria. Indeed the demands by the various interests groups paid off with the promulgation of the constitution. This represents a critical starting-point in the history of constitutional development in Nigeria. Because of its importance and its influence on the other constitutions which emerged later on, it is worth studying.

### **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

State and explain the rationale for the promulgation of Clifford constitution of 1922

Explain the basic features of the constitution.

Describe the effect of the constitution of Nigeria's political process.

Examine the strengths and weaknesses of the constitution.

### **3.0 Clifford Constitution of 1922**

The promulgation of the constitution was reinforced by the growth of Nigerian nationalism. The constitution also made Nigeria the first of the British colonies in Africa to introduce the principle of election. Under the constitution, four Nigerians were to be elected on an income qualification of £100 per annum. Three people were to be elected from Lagos, while one was to be elected from Calabar into the legislative council. The new council was also composed of forty-six members, twenty-seven of whom were official members. There were nineteen unofficial members of which fifteen were nominated by the Governor. In total, ten Africans were in the council, four of whom were elected. Apart from introducing elective principle into Nigerian politics, the constitution also endorsed the division of the Northern and Southern provinces of the protectorate. Though the legislative council had power to legislate on financial issues in Northern Nigeria, the Governor possessed the prerogative to legislate for the province by proclamation.

### **3.1 Historical Background to Clifford Constitution**

One significant achievement of Lord Lugard after he became the Governor of Nigeria in 1914 was the establishment of the Nigeria Council. The council which was composed of representatives from Lagos, was created to allow for more indigenous inputs in decision-making. The council consisted of 24 officials and 12 unofficial members. Out of the total, only six were Africans. One big disadvantage of the council was the handpicking of traditional rulers (most of whom cannot speak English like their European counterparts) as representatives. This drew the anger of intellectuals who were not represented in the council. Under the umbrella of the NCBWA, the intellectuals criticized the council as not representative of the African population. Their reaction majorly brought about the promulgation of the Clifford constitution of 1922.

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### **3.2 Major Features of Clifford Constitution of 1922**

The major features of the constitution includes:

- The introduction of elective principle into Nigerian politics.
- Voting was introduced as a means of taking decisions in the legislative council.
- An executive council was created under the constitution whose role it was to advise the Governor.

The Executive Council wielded more power by advising the Governor on policy and initiating money resolutions with the Governor.

### **3.3 Strengths and Weaknesses of the Constitution**

The Clifford constitution of 1922 had quite a number of advantages which includes the following:

The introduction of the principle of election led to the growth of political parties in the country. Political discussions were stimulated amongst Nigerians and as such the struggle against colonialism was intensified.

The first political party in Nigeria, the Nigerian National Democratic Party led by Herbert Macaulay was formed in 1922, others were to follow later.

Secondly, the introduction of voting as a means of decision-making in the legislative council was a step forward towards democratic practices in the colonial Nigeria.

On the other hand, the constitution had certain weaknesses. They include: Firstly, the constitution isolates the Northern province politically. The province was not represented in the legislative council which aptly demonstrates how

hesitant the British were, in allowing indigenous people have more say in the governance of their own country.

Also, the power of the legislative council was effectively checked by the executive council, which was composed of only Britons and which wielded enormous powers.

Finally, the enfranchisement of people based on 12 month residence and the possession of a gross income of £100 per annum was not in the interest of Nigerians. Hence, they never participated fully in the electioneering process.

#### 4.0 Conclusion

The Clifford constitution of 1922 is an important aspect of constitutional development in Nigeria. It is on the constitution that the other ones that followed were based. For instance, the level of political consciousness and activism that the constitution provoked is unprecedented in the history of the country. More than ever before, the demand for self-government became more organised and articulated. It is pertinent to state therefore, that the role of the intellectual elites in bringing about the constitution is valuable.

#### 5.0 Summary

In this unit, we have described how the weaknesses of the Nigerian Council of 1914 were capitalised upon by the intellectual elite to agitate for a new constitution. We showed that the new constitution provided for elective principle for the first time in Nigeria politics. 4 Nigerians were elected: 3 from Lagos and 1 from Calabar. We also observed that whatever were the gains of the elective principle were effectively undermined by the disqualification of most Nigerians from voting, the enormous power of the executive council and the isolation of the Northern province. We concluded that

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the constitution is significant in that it provided a starting point for enhanced political activism in Nigeria.

#### 6.0 Further Readings

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**Enemuo C. (1999) Ed.** Elements of Politics, Lagos, MaltHouse Publishers.

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in Osuntokun A and Olukoju A (ed) Nigerian People and Cultures, Ibadan, Davidson Press.

#### 7.0 Tutor - Marked Assignment

- (i) Briefly highlight the basic features of the Clifford Constitution of 1922 which of them is most significant and why?
- (ii) What are the disadvantages of the Clifford constitution.
- (iii) What do you think makes the executive council to act as an effective check against the power of the legislature.
- (iv) What is the relevance of the constitution to party politics and enhanced nationalism in Nigeria.

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#### UNIT 9

**SCHOOL: BUSINESS AND-ADMINISTRATION--**

**PROGRAMME: POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT**

**MANAGEMENT**  
**COURSE: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLMCS**  
**UNIT 9: RICHARD CONSTITUTION**  
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3.1	Historical Background to Richard Constitution
3.2	The Major Features of Richard Constitution
3.3	The Strengths and Weaknesses of Richard Constitution
4.0	Conclusion
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6.0	Further Reading
7.0	Tutor-marked Assignment

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**1.0 Introduction**

In the last lecture, parts of the weaknesses of the Clifford constitution was the isolation of the people of the Northern province. Also, Nigerians could not make much impact on policies due to limited participation. The attempt to correct the two weaknesses gave birth to the Richard constitution of 1946. It came into effect on January 1 1947 when Sir Arthur Richard was the Governor of Nigeria. Though it was proposed that the constitution would be in force for nine years before it could be reviewed, this was not to be because of the need to change it subsequently. In essence, the major aims of the constitution is to promote national unity and to allow Nigerians greater participation in their own affairs.

**2.0 Objectives**

At the end of our analyses here, you should be able to:  
tell the factors that led to the promulgation of Richard constitution.  
explain carefully, the basic features of the Richard constitution.

- supply us with the advantages and disadvantages of the constitution.
- examine the significance of the constitution to Nigerian federalism.

**3.0 Richard Constitution of 1946**

I should let you know that the Richard constitution was the first that consolidated the efforts of the various political parties by encouraging more participation of Nigerians in politics. The political process in Nigeria was decentralised. What I am saying is that the constitution enabled the regionalisation of politics in Nigeria. The implication was that instead of limiting the process of campaigns, voting, political debates, elections and representation at the centre, there was a provision which allowed people in other parts of the country to play active role in the political process. We shall now look at the historical background to Richard - constitution.

**3.1 Historical Background to Richard Constitution**

It is important to let you know that following the amalgamation of the colony and protectorate of Southern Nigeria in 1914, the Nigerian Council was established.



However, because the intellectuals were not represented in the council, representation was based on nomination) and due to the fact that Nigerians were not allowed to participate in electing the representatives, the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) called for new constitution. In other words, they canvassed for a constitution that will allow for elective principle to be introduced in order to elect half of the legislative council members. They also called for the establishment of a West African University and the appointment of Africans to judicial offices.

A new lease of life came with the promulgation of the 1922 Clifford constitution which addressed some, but not all of the demands of the NCBWA. For the first time in the history of the country, elective principle was introduced, decisions were arrived at through voting in the council while there was great increment in political activism. However, due to the restrictive nature of the franchise granted by the constitution, the overwhelming powers of the executive council and the exclusion of Africans from the council coupled with the inadequate representation of Nigerians in the council, there were renewed agitations for a constitutional change. Hence, there was a need to make a new constitution in order to meet the rising challenges.

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### **3.2 The Major Features of Richard Constitution**

We need to let you know some of the characteristics of the constitution and they include:

- The Northern provinces were brought within the legislative authority of an entirely new legislative council.  
The legislative council was more empowered as it could make law for the whole of Nigeria and it contained 16 officials and 28 unofficial members. Regional councils were established in each of the three provinces. The **North** had a House of Chiefs and a House of Assembly. The East had a House of Assembly, likewise the West. The Northern House of Chiefs consisted of all 1st class chiefs in the province and 12 second-class chiefs. The House of Assembly consisted of 19 officials and 21 unofficial members. The Western House of Assembly was composed of 14 officials. 3 were appointed by the Governor, seven selected from the Native Authority while five special members were appointed by the Governor.  
The requirement that must be satisfied before citizens exercised their franchise was reduced to £50 pounds.
- The Governor reserved a special 'veto' power of legislation.  
The existence of an Executive Council who had only a Nigerian as a member.

### **3.3 Strengths and Weaknesses of the Constitution**

The following are some of the strengths of the Richard Constitution.

More power and participation were released to the regions as against the 1922 constitution which made no provision for them.

Requirement for the exercise of franchise was reduced.

More political parties and cultural groups emerged to act as a check against

colonial rule.

On the other hand, the constitution was found wanting on a number of grounds. They included:

Majority of the members of the central legislature were appointed.

The Regional Councils were not allowed to possess legislative power, thus making them to be rubber-stamp institutions.

- The power of the Executive Council was not curtailed.
- The constitution bred mutual distrust between the North and the South in

#### Nigeria. **4.0 Conclusion**

The major significance of the 1946 Richard Constitution was the introduction of the Federal Principle into Nigeria. Legislative councils were established at Kaduna, Ibadan and Enugu. In essence the people were allowed to participate more in the governance of their own affair. It will not be false to state that the constitution encouraged, the advent of various political and interests grouping in the country, though it also heralded the entry of regional politics into our national life.

#### **5.0 Summary**

In this lecture, we traced the historical background to the Richard Constitution of 1946. We explained that the constitution emerged on the ashes of Clifford constitution of 1922. We also pointed out that the highlight of the constitution are the establishment of Regional legislative councils, involvement of the Northern Province in mainstream politics, veto power for the Governor, and the reduction in the requirement for the

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exercise of franchise, which is the right to vote and be voted for. We pointed out that the defects in the constitution include the fact that majority of the members of the central legislature were not elected while the executive council's power was not reduced. We concluded by observing that the constitution will best be remembered for dividing the country into 3 regions.

#### **6.0 Further Readings**

**Adigwe, F. (1979):** Essentials of Government for West Africa Ibadan, University Press Ltd.

**Akinboye, O. (1999):** "Nigerian Government and Politics" in Anifowose R. and Enemuo C. (ed) Elements of Politics, Lagos, MaltHouse Publishers.

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#### **7.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment**

1. What are the issues that necessitated the promulgation of the Richards Constitution of 1946.
2. Discuss at length how the constitution had successfully introduced regionalism into Nigerian politics.
3. Critically examine whether the weaknesses in the constitution are so enormous to the extent that we can say that there is no difference between it and Clifford constitution of 1922.

4. What is the relevance of the constitution to ethnicity in Nigerian politics.  
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**UNIT 10**

**SCHOOL: BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION — \JUNgth**  
**PROGRAMME: POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT**  
**MANAGEMENT**

**COURSE: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

**UNIT 10: MACPHERSON CONSTITUTION**

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3.3	The Strengths and Weaknesses of Macpherson Constitution
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**1.0 Introduction**

By now, you should have observed that as the quest for enhanced nationalism became intensified, there were occasional turnover of constitutions. This is particularly true of the Richard Constitution of 1946 whose failures made the advent of a new constitution inevitable. The Richard Constitution threw up a number of challenges to the Nigerian colonial state which threatened to consume the entity because of their ethnic nature. Also, the issue of revenue allocation became a prominent one in national discourse. You must have been turning in your chairs, envisaging that the Macpherson constitution had an arduous task before it, if the centre must hold. You must have started conceiving your own idea of what Macpherson constitution should include. But halt! The process of negotiation and compromise made the constitution to come into being and as such, there was give and take. However, a major significance of the constitution is that it allowed for extensive inputs by Nigerians.

**2.0 Objectives**

The purposes of this study include the following:  
 to make a critical analyses of Macpherson constitution of 1951.  
 to analyse the historical and political factors that led to the promulgation of the constitution.  
 to examine the role of the constitution in enhancing inter-governmental relations in Nigeria.

to supply us with the advantages and disadvantages of the constitution. **3.0**

### **Macpherson Constitution of 1951**

Firstly, we need to reach an understanding that Macpherson constitution, unlike the earlier ones, was promulgated based on the structural lapses of the 1946 constitution, which threw up ethnic and regional emotions in Nigeria. What I was saying is that the regionalisation of politics has thrown up a fresh debate on national politics due to the plural and volatile nature of the Nigerian state. I know you will agree with me then, that the step Sir John Macpherson took to consult widely before making the constitution of 1951 was expedient. The dilemma that faced Sir Macpherson was the fact that the Richards Constitution promulgated to encourage national unity paradoxically turned out to undermine that unity. However, as we shall see, Macpherson constitution laid much emphasis on institutional engineering than any other factor, but first let us look at the historical background to the constitution.

#### **3.1 Historical Background to Macpherson Constitution**

I know that by now, you are familiar with the story of the advent of the colonialists in 1861, the amalgamation of 1914. Also, the Nigerian Council of 1914 is also a classical invention. The non-inclusion of educated Nigerians in the council constituted its achilles heel and that eventually gave birth to 1922 Clifford constitution. The battle of the nationalists was long but by the time the objectives of the new constitution became clear, it was found out that only a few Nigerians could become members of the council. Also, there was the over-bearing executive council and the Governor's veto power to content with. The constitution did not also make provision for the North. Therefore, a new wave of demands and agitations led to the promulgation of the Richards Constitution of 1946. The constitution brought the Northern Province within the mainstream of national politics by making it subject to the laws of the central legislative council. In order to devolve more powers to the people and to engender more participation, it

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introduced regional legislatures which has no power to make law. However, the constitution still represented a series in the country's constitutional dance, around various circle. The Executive Council still had overbearing influence, ethnic politics was re-inforced, majority of the members were still handpicked.

#### **3.2 The Major Features of Macpherson Constitution**

Based on the factors we have analysed hitherto, I need to inform you about the basic features of the Macpherson constitution. They are

The regional House of Assembly were empowered to legislate on certain matters. However, such legislation was not exclusive as it could be overturned by the Governor.

The central legislature was empowered to legislate in all the federation and had powers to veto proposed legislation.

The constitution ensured the reliance of the Regions on the central government. For instance, the Lieutenant - Governor could only exercise his reserve power of legislation with the agreement of the Governor at the centre.

Also, the central legislature could withdraw or add any matter from the Regional legislative list.

In the North, the legislative powers were exercised by the House of Assembly and the House of Chiefs. Likewise in the West. However, the power was exercised by only the House of Assembly in the East. In the Northern Regional Assembly, 90 members were elected 10 were not elected. In the Western Region 80 members were elected and 7 members were not elected. In the Eastern Region, 80 members were elected while 8 others were appointed.

Also, the constitution made provision for revenue allocation to the regions.

### **3.3 Strengths and Weaknesses of Macpherson Constitution**

The strengths of the constitution includes:

- the empowerment of the regional legislature to make laws for their respective regions.

- the enhanced power granted to the central legislative council in face of supremacy battle with the executive council.

- the weaknesses of the constitution are legendary

- the veto of the Governor still remained a clog in the wheel of effective and effectual legislation politics. More significantly, the power has now been extended to the regions where the lieutenant-governors exercised the powers on behalf of the Governor.

- the composition of the central legislature remained unchanged.

- the issue of ethnicity was fundamental and germane. Rather than address it diligently, the Macpherson constitution only compounded the issue by re-inforcing it. The 3 dominant ethnic groups found solace in regional parties. NPC for the North, NCNC for the East and AG for the West. The immediate result was that Federal Minister showed more loyalty to their regional governments than the central government.

- the constitution stipulates collective responsibility whereas the structure on ground rendered that impracticable.

It is pertinent to state however that it never took a long period before the lapses of the constitution began to manifest. The Eastern Regional Crises between NCNC

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members and the AG "motion for self-government in 1956" all shook the root of Nigerian statehood to warrant the hurried convocation of a constitutional conference.

#### **3.3.1 Special Constitutional Conferences**

If your house is on fire, you don't wait till the house collapse before you start salvaging it. That is why the two political parties in the South. NCNC and AG called upon the British authorities to do something about the crises and tensions generated by the crises. This led to the constitutional conference of 1953 where each of the regions were represented by six persons. Parts of their recommendations are:

- that legislative power should be shared between the centre and the federating regions. Also, residual powers are to be in the region.

- that a regional administration be extended to Cameroon if the people so

desired in a referendum.

that Lagos be ostracized from the Western Region and be a neutral entity.

that self government be granted to the regions in 1956.

The Lagos Conference of 1954 was convened to reconsider inconclusive issues in the 1953 conference. Parts of the recommendations made were:

a. The regionalization of the public service and judiciary.

b. That autonomy be granted to Southern Cameroon.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

From what I have said so far, it is crystal clear that the Macpherson constitution acted as a catalyst for far-reaching political and institutional reform in Nigeria's body polity. Perhaps, you will agree with me that the fact that Nigeria was able to come out of the 1953 and 1954 conferences as one country is a testimony to the fact that though a country of diverse ethnic groups, Nigeria has the capacity to co-exist as one entity. I want to ask you "is the unity in Nigeria an ideal or not"? In summary, you will agree with me that the remote reasons for Nigeria's continued co-existence was the Macpherson constitution and the constitutional conferences of 1953 and 1954, especially the latter. The Macpherson constitution could not be said to be a success. However, the hurriedly convened conferences saved Nigeria from the cost of the ignorance exhibited by those that drafted the 1951 constitution.

#### **5.0 Summary**

Can you remind me of what we have discussed in this unit? Well, we have said that the advent of Macpherson constitution was predicated upon the fact that there was a need to maintain national unity. Also, in my lecture, I gave you the major features of the Macpherson constitution as the empowerment of regional Houses of Assembly, and the central legislature, and a new revenue allocation formula which further enhanced the power of the regions. You were also informed that rather than abate the problems on ground, the constitution threw up new controversies which led to the conferences of 1953 and 1954. Parts of the achievement of the conferences included enhancement of Nigeria's federalism, self-government for the regions and the autonomy granted Southern Cameroon. Thanks for listening.

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**Ige, B. (1995):** Constitutions and the Problem of Nigeria, Lagos, Nigerian Institute of Advanced Legal Studies.

**Okonjo, C. (2000):** Nigeria in the First Decade of the 21st Century: Strategic Insights for Policy Makers, Ibadan, Spectrum Books.

#### **7.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment**

What are those factors that distinguishes the Macpherson constitution of 1951 from that of 1996.

Will you agree with the fact that the subsequent constitutional conferences,

rather than the Macpherson constitution itself is the catalyst for sustained statehood at that critical period in the country's history? Explain.

- iii. Based on the reaction of the politicians after the promulgation of Macpherson constitution, there were lots of events which threatened Nigerians corporate existence. Will you agree with the fact this was an indictment on the Macpherson constitution?

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**UNIT 11**

**SCHOOL: BUSINESS AND ADWITNISTRATION -**

**PROGRAMME: POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT  
MANAGEMENT**

**COURSE: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

**UNIT 11: LYTTLETON CONSTITUTION**

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**1.0 Introduction**

If you could recollect, I told you in my previous lecture that the Macpherson constitution was greeted by acute political turmoil which threatened to break up the country. Having gained considerable political leaverage from the colonialists, the nationalists rather than presenting a common front to consolidate on their hold, decided to betray themselves by looking inward to their ethnic bases. The attendant effect was the Kano riot, threat of secession etc. The thrust of the Lyttleton constitution which was promulgated in 1954, was the consolidation on the achievements of the previous constitution listen carefully now as I inform you that though Littleton constitution contains all the decisions arrived at in the 1953 and 1954 constitutional conferences. In other words, the constitution made provisions, which are outside the 1953 and 1954 conferences.

**2.0 Objectives**

You must be able, at the end of our lecture to:

Justify the promulgation of the Lyttleton constitution of 1954.

State and explain the basic features of the Lyttleton constitution.

Critically analyse the historical and political events that preceded the

promulgation.

The impact of the constitution on Nigeria's independence in 1960.

### **3.0 Lyttleton Constitution of 1954**

Just like I've said earlier, the Lyttleton constitution of 1954 was complementary in nature. It only carried out certain changes in the structure and it also effected the substantial changes in the 1953 and 1954 constitutional conferences. Whilst it will be true to assert that the decisions of the two constitutional conferences were embodied in the constitution, it infact contained more.

#### **3.1 Historical Background to Lyttleton Constitution**

Without much ado, the amalgamation of 1914 led to constitutionalism in Nigeria. The Nigerian Council pioneered other constitutional arrangements for the country. The Clifford constitution was enacted to correct the shortcomings of the Nigerian council. The Richard Constitution started the process of Nigerian federalism but the quest for enhanced powers for the region led to its demise. On its ashes was built the Macpherson constitution which empowered the region. The irony is that this empowerment nearly led Nigeria into disintegration which warranted the hurriedly convened 1953 and 1954 constitutional conferences. The recommendations of the conference, coupled with other innovations, led to the Lyttleton constitution of 1954.

#### **3.2 The Major Features of Lyttleton Constitution**

The constitution established a central legislature of a speaker, 184 representatives and 3 ex-officio members. The West and North had Bicameral legislature while the North had unicameral legislature. There was division of power with the central government retaining the exclusive list, the regions and the central government held the concurrent list.

The constitution established a council of ministers. It was composed of the Governor-General, three ministers from each of the regions and three British officials. It was responsible for the formulation of policies. The regions also had their executive consisting of African Minister.

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The Governor-General presides over the council of Minister meeting. The Governor presided over the council of ministers meeting of the regions. However, budget and financial issues are still subjected to central government.

#### **3.3 Strengths and Weaknesses of Lyttleton Constitution**

The major advantage of the constitution is that it moved Nigeria nearer to independence.

Also, the process of decision-making was made more efficient by the involvement of the council of ministers. The disadvantages included:

The constitution did not provide for a uniform electoral system in Nigeria, in face of allegations of partiality by the oppositions.

The constitution could not successfully prevent regional allegiance by the Ministers which was dangerous to decision-making process and national unity.

There was no Bicameral legislature at the centre

At a time when the call for independence was rife, the veto-power of the Governor-General was a big minus.



#### 4.0 Conclusion

Based on all the analyses that I've made in this lecture, it could be deduced that the constitution complemented earlier effort in maintaining national unity. It also introduced more flexibility into the decision-making process.

#### 5.0 Summary

So far so good, we have outlined here that the 1954 constitution is an amalgam of the 1953, 1954 constitutional conferences and other enactments outside the two conferences. We informed you that the constitution established the council of ministers, and a clear cut division of power between the central and Regional governments. The achievement of the constitution included the enhancement of national unity and the decision-making process. However, the flaws of the constitution included the veto power possessed by the Governor-General, regionalisation of politics and uniform electoral system for the whole of the federation.

#### 6.0 Further Readings

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**Oliver R. and Atmore A. (1996):** Africa Since 1800, 4th Ed., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

#### 7.0 Tutor Marked Assignment

What are the germane issues that preceded the enactment of Lyttleton constitution of 1954.

Explain in depth how the constitution enhanced administrative, efficiency and national unity.

What do you think accounts for the regional leaning of ministers under the constitution.

iv. What are the advantages and disadvantages of the Lyttleton constitution.

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#### **UNIT 12**

**SCHOOL: BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATION----**

**PROGRAMME: POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT**

**COURSE TITLE: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

**UNIT 12: INDEPENDENT CONSTITUTION OF 1960**

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2.0 Objectives

3.0 Independent Constitution of 1960

3.1 Historical background to Independence Constitution

3.2 Major features of Independence Constitution

3.3 The Strength and Weaknesses of the Constitution

4.0 Conclusion

5.0 Summary

*BUM 775: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS*

**1.0 Introduction**

I welcome you to this tutorial on the first indigenous constitution in Nigeria. A constitution which was not an imposition of the colonialists on Nigerians. A constitution that does not provide for Europeans sitting in our parliament and deciding issues that borders on the development of the people about which they (the Europeans) know little or nothing about. A constitution which is democratic, the first ever to be so democratic because the peoples representatives made it and there was no reserved power for any leader. The 1960 constitution conferred full independence on the entire country. It came into effect on 1st October 1960, the date Nigeria attained the status of an independent country, and remained in operation until 1st October 1963 when Nigeria became a republic.

**2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this lecture, you should be able to:

State and explain the justification for the promulgation of an independence constitution of 1960

Explain the basic features of the constitution

Describe the effect of the constitution on Nigeria's political process

examine the strengths and weaknesses of the constitution

**3.0 Independence Constitution Of 1960**

The promulgation of the constitution was necessitated by the "independent" status attained by Nigeria on October 1st, 1960. The constitution provides for a parliamentary system of government. The centre consisted of the senate and the House of Representatives. The senate was the upper house while the house of Representatives was the lower house. It also provided for an office of the Prime minister and that of the Governor General. The Prime Minister was the head of government and must come from the party with majority in the parliament. The prime minister sees to the day-to-day running of government. The Governor-General is a ceremonial head who receives visiting heads of states and also invites the majority party to form the government. He was to be above partisan politics and he was the representative of the Queen of England.

**3.1 Historical background to Independence Constitution**

The resumed constitutional conference of 1958 was the last Nigerian constitutional conference held before the attainment of national independence in 1960. It was convened to consider the report of the Willink's commission on the minority the conference resolved among other decisions, that the North should be self-governing by 1959 and that if a resolution was passed by the parliament asking for independence in 1960, then her majesty government would propose a bill of independence in 1960. In 1959, a general election was held while in September 1960, the parliament has enacted a law on Nigeria's independence.

### 3.2 Major features of Independence Constitution

The following are the major features of the constitution:

The Head of State was the Queen of England who exercised her power through the Governor General

There was established a National parliament consisted of the Senate (upper House) and the House of Representatives (lower House) the senate was composed of 44 members while the House of representatives was composed of

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305 elected members. The prime minister must belong to the party with the majority of parliamentarians.

Each Region has a house of Assembly and a House of Chiefs. The executive of each region was composed of the Premier and some other ministers appointed by the Governor on the advice of the premier. Moreover, the power of the Regions are not to be exercised in such a way that it would prejudice the authority of the federal government.

Judges were to be appointed to the supreme and High courts on the advice of the judicial Service commission. The judicial committee of the privy council was still the highest and final appeal court.

The constitution made a detailed provision for fundamental human rights.

There was a division of power between the federal and regional legislature. The federal legislature exercised exclusive power while the concurrent list was shared between the two levels of government.

The constitution contains detailed provisions of Nigerian citizenship

It also consisted of an emergency power given to the federal parliament. It made provisions for its amendment

### 3.3 Strengths and Weaknesses of the Constitution

Some advantages of the constitution is that:

It was an indigenous constitution

- It put an end to the provision for veto or reserved power, which was autocratic.

It laid a special cognisance on the fundamental human rights of the citizens.

Some disadvantages of the constitution are:

Even after attaining independence, the Nigerian judiciary was not given a free hand to operate, the judicial committee of the privy council which sat in London was still the highest court of Appeal.

- It has not really given Nigeria the full and unbridled independence required.

### 4.0 Conclusion

The independence constitution of 1960 is a significant aspect of constitutional development in Nigeria. It freed our fatherland from the fetters of colonialism. It was the ultimate gain of nearly four decades of agitation and protests. More than ever before, the constitution gave Nigerians a significant part of their

demands.

### **5.0 Summary**

In our lecture, we have described how the conference of 1958 helped in accelerating the process of independence in 1960. We said the 1960 constitution not only removed "veto power" from the Nigerian political scene, it also contained for reaching features on human rights, citizenship, federalism and amendment procedure, among others. We concluded by arguing that the constitution met a substantial amount of the nationalists demands.

### **6.0 Further Readings**

**Akinboye O (1999)** " Nigerian Government and Politics" in **Anifowoshe R and**

**Enemus C (ed)** Element of Politics, Lagos, malt House Publishers

**Ige B (1995)** People, Politics and Politicians of Nigeria

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**Adigwe F (1979)** Essentials of Government for West Africa, Ibadan, University Press Limited

### **7.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment**

I. Briefly highlight the basic features of the independence constitution of 1960

What is the major disadvantage of the constitution. Explain the aftermath of the issue.

iii.What is the relevance of the constitution to the nationalist struggle.

iv.What are those things that made the constitution tick.

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### **UNIT 13**

**SCHOOL: BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATION 11.001--**

**PROGRAMME: POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT**

**COURSE TITLE: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

**UNIT 13: THE REPUBLICAN CONSTITUTION OF 1963**

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## **1.0 Introduction**

I have informed you in the preceeding lecture that though the independence constitution of 1960 gave substantial power to Nigerians, it did not satisfy all the yearnings and aspiration of Nigerians. What is the benefit of a constitution under which citizens cannot find full expression of freedom. The Republican constitution came into effect on October 1st, 1963; the date on which Nigeria became a Republic. The 1963 constitution was an indigenous one as it came about as a result of a law enacted by the Nigerian government.

## **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this lecture, it is expected of you to be able to:

State the significance of the 1963 constitution

Explain the basic features of the constitution

- State the effects of the constitution on Nigeria's political process.

## **3.0 Republican Constitution Of 1963**

As I have said, earlier the constitution was purely indigenous though the majority of Nigerians were not given the opportunity to concur through a referendum. The Republican constitution swept away the last vestiges of colonialism.

### **3.1 Historical background to republican Constitution**

Following the independence of Nigeria in 1960 the Nigerian leaders started ruling the country on the basis of the independence constitution of 1960. The first three years of independence afforded our leaders the opportunity to identify the shortcomings of the 1960 constitution. Experience they say, is the best teacher. Having been in power for sometime the leaders of Nigeria considered themselves experienced enough to carry out far reaching changes which has direct impact on the live of Nigerians. Also, the practice by which the judicial committee of the privy council was the final arbiter was disgusting and as such, there was an urgent need to effect changes.

### **3.2 Major Features of the Constitution**

The following are the prevalent characteristics of the 1963 constitution:

The queen was no longer the executive head of the federal republic of Nigeria

The constitution made provision for an amendment of the constitution

It laid emphasis on citizens fundamental human rights by safeguarding the right to life, freedom from slavery and inhuman treatment, freedom of expression, rights to personal liberty etc.

- The president was to be elected by secret ballot by members of parliament for a five -year term
- The constitution provided for the establishment of a national police force and for the organization of local government police.

The judiciary was regionalist while the judicial committee of the privy council ceased to be the court of last resort.

### **3.3 Strengths and Weaknesses of the Constitution**

The following are the advantages of the constitution

It allowed for more independence of action by Nigerians in their own affairs

It enhanced efficiency in the government agencies affected by the constitution

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It emphasized the issues of citizenship and Fundamental Human Rights of the citizens.

A major weakness of the constitution was that it did not allow for checks and balances on the part of the executive and legislature as the constitution was parliamentary. The fusion of power did not encourage accountability and moderation on the part of the politicians.

**4.0 Conclusion**

The constitution was significant because it made Nigeria to become independent indeed. Though some politicians argued that the 1963 constitution, was promulgated in order to prevent the emergence of an unfavourable candidate to the NPC government at the centre to become the premier of Western Region, the fact still remained however, that it was time for Nigeria to assert her sovereignty and it did. One must also commend the architects of the constitution for their sense of innovation on the issues of the civil service, public finance, judicial service and the police.

**5.0 Summary**

The 1963 constitution was the one that concluded the unfinished constitutional changes of 1960. It was significant because it erased the last vestige of colonialism from our political institutions. It made provision for constitutional amendments, fundamental human rights and citizenship. It gave a 5 years term to the president, who henceforth ceased to be called Governor - General and the supreme court of Nigeria in Lagos became the final court of Appeal.

**6.0 Further Readings**

**Akinboye O (1999)** "Nigerian Government and Politics" in **Anifowose, R and Enemuo C (ed)** Element of Policies, Lagos, Matt house.

**Akinyele RT (1997)** "The Growth of nationalism and the political Evolution of Nigeria" in

Osuntokun A and Olukoju A (ed) Nigerian People and Cultures, Ibadan, Danitson Books.

**Kolawole, D. (1998)** Issues in Nigerian Government and Politics, Ibadan, Dekaal.

**7.0 Tutor -Marked Assignment**

- I. What major factors distinguishes the 1963 constitution from that of 1960?  
What are the major structural and institutional characteristics of the 1963 constitution?
- iii. Fusion of power is major weakness of the 1963 constitution. Discuss
- iv. Apart from the above weakness, what other weaknesses are interest in the 1963 constitution?

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#### **1.0 Introduction**

Generally, constitution - making process is geared towards peace, stability, continuity and development of a political system. At times, new constitutions are outcomes of political upheaval while at other times, it comes out because the parties to it reach a peaceful agreement on the desirability of such. Constitutions have come to be associated with open governance. Though authoritarian regimes also and inter-relationship, such rules cannot be enshrined in the constitution. Also, some countries have adopted hook, line and sinker provisions in the constitutions of other countries but the surest way of being assured of the longevity and efficacy of a constitution is for it to have organic basis within the state in which it is operating. Constitution could be written or unwritten, rigid or flexible. It could be presidential or parliamentary while it could also be federal or unitary. Nigerian constitution of 1979 was written, federal, rigid presidential constitution.

#### **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this lecture, you are expected to be able to:

Justify the adoption of the 1979 constitution

Explain how far the constitution was able to accomplish its aims and objectives. State the basic features of the constitution

Explain the strength and weaknesses of the constitution.

#### **3.0 Presidential Constitution of 1979**

The tragic end of the first republic raised questions as to the desirability or otherwise of parliamentary system of government. Various reasons were adduced for the fall of the first republic by different commentators. Some believed that the weakness of the centre was a consequence of the adoption of the Westminster system while some others argued that the crises in the western Region (which was the root and remote cause of the collapse of the first republic) was caused as a result

of the crises as to the roles of the party leader and the head of government (and the relationship between the two) in a parliamentary system. They posited that such an unpleasant situation wouldn't have arisen in a presidential system. It is no wonder therefore, that Nigeria adopted a presidential system of government with provision for an executive president and a legislature which could take quick decision and check the excesses of the president.

### **3.1 Historical background to Presidential Constitution of 1979**

The military intervention of January, 1966 brought an end to the operationalisation of the 1963 republican constitution. The military regime suspended the constitution and thereafter ruled by the virtue of Decrees and edicts. Nigeria was soon to have four military dictators, the last being General Olusegun Obasanjo. Towards Civilian rule in the country, a Constitutional Drafting Committee (CDC) was set up in 1979 by General Mohammed. Following the submission of a draft constitution by the committee, a constituent Assembly was set up in 1977 to deliberate on the draft. The constitution was later promulgated by the military government after the approval by the Supreme Military Council (SMC) it came into operation on October 1, 1979 when Alhaji Shehu Shagari became the First Executive President of Nigeria.

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### **3.2 Major Features of the Presidential Constitution of 1979**

The following are the major features of the constitution:

It made provision for an Executive president at the Federal level with a bicameral legislature. The National Assembly was composed of the senate (Upper House) and the House of Representatives (Lower House) and unicameral in the state.

The constitution provided for the doctrine of separation of power between the legislative, executive and judicial arms of government.

- It provided for the fundamental objectives and the Directive Principles of State: The objectives being the ultimate goals the nation was expected to strive towards while the principles are the ways in which they were to be achieved.

- State Governors were the Executive head of each state of the federation. They were assisted by commissioners.

There was provision for unified local government in the schedule.

It provided for a code of conduct for public officials.

- The constitution made provision for the distribution of power between the three levels of government: The federal government was the custodian of the executive power, the concurrent powers were to be shared between the federal and state government while the residual power was to be shared between the state and local government.

The constitution provided for the establishment of the sharia court by a state that desires it.

- It provided for the safeguard of citizens' fundamental human rights.

Finally the constitution provided for a rigorous amendment procedure; for amendment 2/3rd of the Houses of Assembly in the country would have passed a



motion supporting it while 2/3rd of each houses of the National Assembly would also have to pass such into law.

### **3.3 STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE PRESIDENTIAL**

**CONSTITUTION** Some advantages of the constitution includes:

- It prevents abuse of power by politicians by making provision for the principle of separation of powers

The decisions of government was faster because the same people didn't have to sit at both the legislative and Executive chamber.

the provision for a unified local government enhanced efficiency and development at the grassroots.

The code of conduct was made provision for.

Some weaknesses of the constitution include:

The non-committal working of the fundamental objectives of state which rendered it impotent.

There was no provision against military rule.

It allowed for the sharia in a supposedly secular state.

### **4.0 Conclusion**

Parts of the reasons for the adoption of a presidential constitution was because of the belief that it will aid political stability. That turned out a pipe dream. The politicians of the second republic were deeply observed with corruption, fraud, mis-management and prebendalism. The simple but strong message that was passed across was that

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constitution had never been the problem with Nigeria, rather our problem had always been the quality of our successive leadership.

### **5.0 Summary**

In this unit, we have been educated on the Nigerian 1979 presidential constitution. I told you that the constitution is unique because it was Nigeria's first presidential constitution. I also informed you that it was necessitated by the transition programme of the Murtala/Obasanjo government. It was characterised by the principle of separation of power, code of conduct, executive leadership, local governance, distribution of power, fundamental human rights of citizens, among others.

### **6.0 Further Readings**

Joye M. and Igweike K. (1982) Introduction to the 1979 Nigerian Constitution, Lagos Macmillian

Aguda T.A. (1983): The Judiciary in the Government of Nigeria, Ibadan, New Horn

Tukur M. (1999) Leadership and Governance in Nigeria: The Relevance of Values

### **7.0 Tutor - Marked Assignment**

What is the presidential system of government?

What are the reasons for the adoption of a presidential system in Nigeria?

Name the provision of the 1979 presidential constitution?

iv. What are the major differences between the 1963 and 1979 constitution?

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**UNIT 15**

**SCHOOL: BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATION**

**PROGRAMME: POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT  
MANAGEMENT**

**COURSE: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

**UNIT 15: MILITARY IN NIGERIA**

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3.1	Military Rule in Nigeria: The First Thirteen Years
3.2	Aguiyi Ironsi Regime
3.3	Yakubu Gowon Regime
3.4	Murtala/Obasanjo Regime
4.0	Conclusion
5.0	Summary
6.0	Further Readings
7.0	Tutor-Marked Assignments

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**1.0 Introduction**

You know as well as I do that Nigeria has had a chequered history in her 46 years of existence as a state. Parts of what has made Nigeria a hotspot in African politics is the reason of incessant military intervention in the authoritative allocation of scarce values. Ordinarily, it is anathema for military to be involved in politics or is it? What I'm saying is that military could make inputs into the political system. Defence of the territorial integrity of a country is an input so also is the application for budgetary votes by the defence headquarters. However, when the military plays a super-ordinate role in the political process, it becomes an illegality. And this was what the Nigerian Army did in January 1966 thus opening a chain of events and pattern in the history of Nigeria, the end of which nobody knows or could predict as the suspicion of coups still continue rearing its head amongst politicians and journalists, even in a democratic Nigeria. The military institution, I must quickly inform you, is inherently autocratic and as such, its features has been imposed over the years, on the civil society. Certain persons sees the military as a catalyst of orderliness, discipline and national integration while others believe that they are the achilles heel of development, integration and discipline in the country. Obafemi Awolowo once quipped "the worst civilian government is better than the best military government" How true is this assertion in face of Nigeria's experience under the military in her first thirteen years? It promises to be an interesting tutorial.

**2.0 Objectives**

Some of the things I expect you to have known at the end of this lecture are:

- The remote and immediate causes of the coup of January 15 1966.

The *raison d'être* for a vicious circle of coups between 1966 and 1979.

Explain the basic features of the various military governments.

- Critically analyse the significance of the disparities in features of Gowon and Murtala/Obasanjo's Supreme Military Council.

Examine the strengths and weaknesses of each of the military governments.

### **3.0 Military Rule in Nigeria: Historical Background**

I will want to start by saying that the idea of Nigeria has been severally called into question. Whilst Azikwe, the first Nigerian President believed the country is engaged in "a marriage of convenience", Chief Obafemi Awolowo believed that it is a "mere geographical expression". Sir Ahmadu Bello's comment on "the mistake of 1914" is too legendary to confine to the dustbin of history. So, you will not be surprised that when Nigeria got her independence, the three of them could not work harmoniously to engender national integration. Unbridled rivalries, political hooliganism, victimisation, avarice, corruption and violence dominated the first republic politics. All these factors made responsive governance impossible. For your convenience, I will divide the causes of the coup into 2: remote and immediate. The remote causes could firstly be traced to the 1959 General elections in which the AG believed that it was rigged out by the NPC. Hence, the AG refused the offer of an inclusion in a national unity government and opted for the opposition. Due to the low level of political culture in Nigeria, AG's opposition was seen as enmity. Secondly, the creation in 1962 of Mid-west Region out of the Western Region did not go down well with westerners as they believed that singling out the West and leaving out other regions, especially the North which was twice bigger than the West in the exercise was most imprudent of the NPC government. Also, the controversial 1962 census which gave the Northern Region an overwhelming

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population figures over the East and the West induced a lot of frictions in the political circles. Additionally, the treason trial of the opposition leader, Chief Obafemi Awolowo was seen as punitive by a substantial population of the South West. He was perceived by his people of being unjustifiably victimized by the NPC government for his critical stands and those of his party on national issues. He was sentenced to ten years imprisonment. The Action Group also witnessed a major crises which led to the factionalisation of the party. The inability of the federal government to allow Akintola test his popularity immediately after the crises convinced the people of the South West the more that the central government is on a mission of victimisation against them. The crises later got to a head with the Western Regional election of 1964. Having outlined the remote causes, let's now turn to the immediate causes. One, the Tiv people in the middle belt of Nigeria had been protesting against the NPC government. The protests which had not abated despite the efforts of the law enforcement agencies. Secondly, political violence in the South-West had reached a peak. Everything seemed to be in Chaos as nobody appeared to be in control of the situation. On January 15 1966, a section of the Nigerian Army led by Major Kaduna Nzeogwu mutinied in Lagos, Ibadan and Kaduna. Loyalist forces subsequently overpowered them but not after having killed

the important political and military figures in the country. Major-General JTU Aguiyi - Ironsi subsequently took over as the first military Head of State of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

### **3.1 Military Rule in Nigeria: The First Thirteen Years**

In this section, we shall make a general analyses of the military governance in the first thirteen years of military rule (1966-1979) in Nigeria. I have told you earlier that the military is essentially autocratic, centralised and conservative. Nevertheless, all of these attributes were brought to play when the military took over power. I find it rather interesting to inform you that the military regime of General Irons' did something strange on getting to power; he believed that Nigeria must revert to unitary system of government despite enormous dissenting opinions. In his political naivety, he downplayed political insight at his own peril, he was killed six months after his assumption of office. With the advent of Col. Yakubu Gowon as the head of state in July 1966, there was gross massacre of the Ibos living in Northern Nigeria due to their perceived roles in the January coup. A chain of events later led the nation into a 30- months civil war. Gowon ruled till 1975 when he was ousted by the General Murtala Muhammed. Muhammed was indeed puritanical but also excessively draconian. His regime was short-lived as he was killed in February 1976. General Olusegun Obasanjo, his successor, carried on with the visions and policies of the regime though with a less vigorous pull. Parts of the allegations that was named against Gowon by Murtala/Obasanjo regime was his seeming unwillingness to vacate office for democratic rule. In this wise, the new regime committed itself to the democratic transition rule and eventually handed over to the democratically elected government of Alhaji Shehu Shagari in October 1979. Let us now be more specific in our analyses by embarking on a regime by regime evaluation.

### **3.2 Aguiyi-Ironsi Regime**

General Johnson Thomas Umuakwe Aguiyi-Ironsi was the General Officer Commanding (GOC) Nigerian Army at the time of the first coup by Nzeogwu and Co. General Ironsi successfully rallied pro-government troop to abort the coup. Though each

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politically conscious persons have their own personal opinions concerning Ironsi's government, we must appreciate the fact that as a moderate soldier, he did in the interim, maintained a United Nigeria in face of all odds. How many of you have read Wale Ademoyega's book "why we struck"? You will see in that book that the plans of the coup plotters was more revolutionary. But, I know one thing for sure, Ironsi started failing when he started taking decisions that were at variance with national unity. He did not prosecute the coup plotter of January who are mainly Ibos and who never killed **Ibo** officers and politicians. This did not go down well the Northern elite who believed that there was a conspiracy. Moreso, Ironsi was also Ibo. Also, Ironsi's unification decree confirmed the suspicion of the Northerners that his was a Pro-Ibo government. The words on the mouths of the Northerners was "Araba" (succession) Ironsi was killed in a coup led by secessionist forces in the Army. After an interregnum, a compromise was reached and a moderate General Yakubu Gowon

became the head-of-state.

On assumption of office, General Ironsi suspended the constitution so as to avoid a contradiction. The political parties were proscribed and political activities banned, the legislative arm of government was also sacked. All these structures were replaced by the Supreme Military Council, a sole army decision-making organ which combines legislative and executive functions. The S.M.C. was made up of the Head of State the Service Chiefs and Regional Military Governors who had replaced *the* premiers in the regions. It is the highest decision-making organ in the country. Also, there was the Federal Executive Council (F.E.C.) comprising all the federal ministers in the second-rung of the ladder. The major failure of Ironsi's government was the unification decree which sought to abolish regions and replace them with another arrangement in which the real power would be exercised at the centre. I told you earlier that Ironsi was killed six months after ascending power by Northern Soldier.

### **3.3 Yakubu Gowon Military Regime**

Though it was Brigadier Ogundipe that was the Most senior officer after the coup of July 1966, he abdicated the country for Britain in the heat of the coup. The aim of the planners was a total break-up of Nigeria but after talks, they bestowed on a young and amiable Colonel Yakubu Gowon, the leadership of the country. In spite of his age and inexperience, Gowon assured all Nigerians of safety and eventually took concrete and practical steps to encourage national unity. He organised a debate on a desirable political system in Nigeria. However, the Ibos were returning to the East at a geometrical rate due to alleged massacre by the Fulani's in the North. Also, was the issue of "unacceptability of Gowon's government by Colonel Ojukwu, the Governor of the East because of his belief that the due process of seniority was not followed. Because of the massacre of his people, Ojukwu threatened secession which was later made good by the actual act of secession. Nigeria was thus plunged into a 30-months civil war between 1969 and 1970. The Aburi peace-meeting called by the Ghanaian government to enable negotiation and reconciliation collapsed with each side making its own distinct interpretation of the Aburi accord. The war was perhaps the greatest test of the will of Nigerians at evolving national integration, it cost the country enormous infrastructural, manpower and other resources. After the Nigerian government had declared a policy of "novictor, no vanquished" at the end of the war, it embarked on the reconstruction, rehabilitation and reconciliation with the people of the South East. Gowon was however accused of blatant venality and purposeless leadership after the

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war. Like the typical general who knows how to manage wars but not how to manage the peace, he was said to be deeply involved in corruption and he was inherently indecisive enough on the issue of corruption. He was also not ready for civilianisation of governance. These were the strongest allegation levelled against his government by the plotters of the 1975 coup in Nigeria. The coup against was bloodless.

Gowon, just like Ironsi maintained a 2-level power structure with the Supreme Military Council (SMC) composed of Military Chiefs and State Governor, being the

highest decision-making organ. Due to the increment in the number of Regions to 12 states, the composition of the SMC increased. During the period under review, the SMC takes major decisions on the issue of war. The Federal Executive Council which is the second in the hierarchy was pre-occupied with policy issues. Gowon succeeded in the area of national integration by successfully preventing the "Republic of Biafra" from surviving. Also, the twelve state structure is a catalyst of integration, more so is the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) Scheme. Additionally, Gowon excelled in the area of infrastructure development of Nigeria. Many roads, electricity projects and other amenities were provided Nigerians. A major weakness of the government was its corrupt nature which witnessed a resignation of a Minister and an indictment of a Military Governor who was Gowon's cousin. Also, the cement scandal and the FESTAC 77 misappropriation are instances of blatant corruption. I will want you to now tell me if the indigenisation policy of Gowon was a blessing or a curse on Nigeria. And I want your arguments to be deep. Whatever anybody might say, Gowon's government would best be remembered for successfully keeping the centre together at a most critical period in our history when the centre had already started collapsing.

### **3.4 Murtala/Obasanjo Military Regime**

General Murtala Ramat Muhammed assumed duty as Nigeria's Head of State at a period when there was general disillusionment with the Gowon administration. General Muhammed's regime was warmly received by the people and he in turn exercised much enthusiasm (which eventually became rather excessive) and decisiveness in his duty as the Head of State. His was a puritanical government which decided to purge the country of indiscipline and corruption. In his quest at achieving a corruption - free society, hundreds of civil servants were sacked with military fiat. He also effected such changes in federal government boards. All the Military Governor under Gowon were probed. He increased the number of the states in the country to 19 while he pursued a pro-active foreign policy with other nations, especially the frontline states. Muhammed is a model of Janowitz and Pye's modernisation school of military rule. However, due to his austere nature which made him to be chauffeur driven without escorts, some 5th columnists in the Nigerian Army assassinated him on February 13 1976. He was succeeded by his deputy General Olusegun Obasanjo. The coup that led to the death of Muhammed was rounded up by government forces. Lt. Col. Bukar Sukar Dimka, its leader and several others were subsequently killed at the Bar Beach after a military tribunal had convicted them. General Obasanjo carried on with Muhammed's programmes. FESTAC 77, a socio-cultural festival of black people in the world was held in Nigeria as scheduled. Also, the unification of Local Government system in Nigeria was effected later in 1976 and the enactment of a Presidential Constitution for Nigeria. Finally, Obasanjo handed over to a democratically elected government of Alhaji Shehu Aliyu Shagari in October 1979 as promised earlier.

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The Murtala/Obasanjo government was structurally distinct from their predecessors. Rather than maintain two levels of the exercise of power, it chose to

maintain them for more collectivity, effectiveness and smooth decision-making. Also, the membership composition of some of the councils changed: For instance, the SMC which had become from time, the highest decision-making organ still retained that status. However, the membership had by now excluded the state governors. At the second level was the Federal Executive Council comprised of all the Federal Commissioners. This was followed by the National Council of states which was composed of the military governors of the 19 states. Also, the GOC of each command/division were included in the SMC, coupled with the head of vital military institutions. Ordinary military officers from the ranks of colonel and above were equally co-opted into the SMC. Apart from ridding the country of corruption, perhaps the greatest achievement of the regime is the handing over to a democratically elected government on October 1 1979. However, it has been severely criticized for its unjust victimisation of public office holders under Gowon and blatant disregard for human rights.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

I raised a question in my introduction. Any attempt on your own part to answer it now could only lead to intellectual failure. I would prefer that you wait till after the tutorial on civil rule in Nigeria. However, you have seen in this lecture, how the military regimes in Nigeria has acted as a catalyst for state building in Nigeria. The military even jump-started the process of national integration. The cursory question is how successful is integration when the people are ostracized and alienated. The inputs from the civil society were not encouraged or received by the military. Also, it has been argued that integration could not be forced on people from above or else it will be short lived. If you look into other country very well, you will observe that democracy and true federalism, as opposed to authoritarianism and veiled federalism of the military (which came to be because of the military command structure) are the greatest catalyst of development, stability and integration.

#### **5.0 Summary**

I have told you in this tutorial that the inherent systemic flaws which was caused by the institutional fragility, acute immaturity and blatant venality of the first republic politicians led to the military coup of January 1966.

I also informed you that the various military administrations made efforts to encourage national unity. Irons' believed that only a unitary system of government could unify Nigeria. Gowon carried out the farthest reaching policies in this area. He prosecuted a civil war to a logical conclusion, declared a policy of "no victor, no vanquished" and established the NYSC scheme. General Muhammed in addition to the twelve states created by Gowon, also created additional 7 States. We are concluding by arguing that it is doubtful if we have achieved true national integration by 1979 because the acrimonious relationship between the various ethnic groups in Nigeria has not reduced as we shall see when we embark upon the issue of the politics of the Second Republic. I hope you understand all that has been said in this unit. I cannot pretend that I've informed you about all you need to know about the first 13 years of military rule. At this your level, you have to build on what I've told you here. To this end, I will recommend certain texts for you.

**6.0 Further Readings**

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**7.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment**

- i. You probably would have read about the various theories of military rule. How relevant are they to the various military governments in Nigeria between 1966 and 1979?

Harold Laswell defines politics as "who gets what, when and how".

Within this purview, would you say military involvement in politics is an illegality?

What are the Paybacks of changes in the decision-making of structure of the military regime of Muhammed/Obasanjo?

- iv. Will you agree with the fact that the military has successfully integrated Nigeria?

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**UNIT 16**

**SCHOOL: BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATION**

**PROGRAMME: POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT**

**COURSE: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

**UNIT 16: MILITARY RULE IN NIGERIA 1983 - 1999**

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2.0 Objectives  
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## *BUM 775: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS*

### **1.0 Introduction**

As we enter into the second phase in the series on military rule in Nigeria, let me quickly say that our study is not focussed on every aspect of military rule but on the important areas. The question I will like to ask you now is that why is it that military rule has become a recurring decimal in Nigeria's political equation? Some school of thoughts argued that history repeated itself between 1979 and 1983 whilst others believed that the conducts of the civilians in the Second Republic couldn't have warranted the intervention of the military. The repeated intervention of the military, they hold, was due to the greed of the military institution for power. I have personally observed that after 1984, the Nigerian military has become manifestly and nakedly politicised. Intact, by the time the military had spent about 9 years in power, there were empirical facts to buttress the fact that the military tampered with the transition programmes. More worrisome is the fact that by now, the nation's political scene has come to be dominated by the retired military generals. They are not only an emerging power block in Nigeria, they have grown to become the dominant power block in the political economy of Nigeria to the extent that at a point in time the inactions of the military elites nearly wrecked the Nigerian state. Even now, the debates on the issue of presidency centers on the retired Generals. How did the military consolidate its hold on power to the extent that its retired leading lights has become a factor in Nigerian politics? This and some other issues are what we are going to examine here.

### **2.0 Objectives**

- At the end of this lecture, it is expected of you to have known:
  - the remote and immediate causes of the coup of December 31st 1983. to comprehend the peculiarity of General Babangida's administration.
- how to critically draw similarities between the Babangida and Abacha's administration.
- explain indepthly the basic features of each of the military regimes.
- the influence of the military in Nigerias democratization process.
- the impact of Nigeria's economy on the political process in Nigeria.

### **3.0 Historical Background to the last 15 Years of Military Rule**

When you are new at something very complex and often tension-laden, it takes you sometimes to grasp the intricacies involved at doing it. If you are serious and determined, you will make it but if you are reckless and unambitious, your dream of making a success out of it might as well be an illusion. Our country

Nigeria entered into the era of presidentialism, an entirely new system of government, in 1979. As at the time power was handed over to the civilians, the economy was quite buoyant though not exceptionally buoyant. However, the ruling National Party of Nigeria (NPN) which governed in alliance with the Nigeria Peoples Party (NPP) squandered the money in government coffers. The Governors in their respective states were no better. The legislatures were only particular about their emoluments while the judicial arm has been accused of compromise. One instance that readily comes to mind is the issue of the controversy generated over the determination of the propriety or otherwise of NPN's Alhaji Shagari's victory in the 1979 general election as challenged by Unity Party of Nigeria's (UPN) Chief Obafemi Awolowo. The case is popularly known as the 12<sup>2</sup>/3 case. And it has been said that the judgment, which favoured Alhaji Shagari, should not be cited as judicial precedent. The administration of Alhaji Shagari apart from being

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chronically corrupt has also been accused of wastage of public money. It wasted over 2 billion in shedding Abuja of its forest image. However, the average Nigerian was disillusioned with democracy and the civilian leadership. A democratic leadership which could not offer abundant quality of life to people, which could not offer the needed education to the people, which had no plan for the future of the country, who did not know how to set the priorities of government coherently, which was generally and strangely alienated from the people. They could not understand why a government which said it believed in the ideals of democracy, could in a "landslide" election of 1983, outrig political opponents with naked abandon and violent activities. There was frustration in the land and especially in the South-Western parts of the country, where the people match the ruling party violence - for - violence. *The* Shagari government seemed to be lacking in legitimacy in certain parts of the country. The intervention of the military on December 31st 1983 was seen as timely by many Nigerians while some people felt that it was long overdue. Nevertheless, we all welcomed back the military with great jubilation, enthusiasm and high expectations. Brigadier San; Abacha who read the coup speech indicated that the military was taking over because of the need to rid the nation of corrupt leadership and acute indiscipline. Can you now give me the remote and immediate cause of the coup, in light of what I have just said?

#### **3.1 Military Rule in Nigeria: 1983- 1999**

Now, my concern here is to carefully take you through the various issues in military governance in it's last 15 year in authoritative allocation of scarce value. The Buhari regime was known for its brutality and lack of finesse in the execution of public policy and even in taking major decisions. This feature which endeared it to the heart of Nigerians at the initial period, later acted to constitute the archilles heel of the regime. Buhari did not know when and how to balance firmness with compassion. Maybe because he removed himself from political reality, he could not comprehend the fact that compromise is an important ingredient of politics. This failure of the government to exercise flexibility as at when required, is a major cause of the coup that led to the demise of the regime. When General Babangida assumed

office on August 25 1985, he pretended to be representing the direct antithesis of Buhari and his government. He released certain political detainees, canceled some draconian decrees made by his predecessors and re-assured the civil society. It was not long however before Nigerians started witnessing the type of brutality that characterised the Buhari administration under Babangida. Despite this, Babangida carried out certain policies on Nigerian foreign policy, the political system, economy and social restructuring, some of which have been commended and others which have been enmeshed in controversies. Irrespective of what anybody might say, the fact cannot be denied that Babangida touched all the aspects of our national life. The height of ignominy for Babangida was the annulment of June 12 election of 1993. He thereafter handed over to Chief Ernest Shonekan as an interim leader. This was short-lived. General Sani Abacha appeared on the scene in November 1993 when he declared himself the new Head of State. He led Nigeria into one of the darkest period in her history as the country was seen as a pariah nation among the comity of states. His death in 1998 saved the country further embarrassment. Abubakar administration was essentially a transitional one and it is through its democratization process that Nigeria attained a democratic status on May 29 1999. Let us now embark on an incisive regime-by-regime analyses.

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### **3.2 Muhammadu Buhari Regime**

General Buhari assumed office at a critical period in the life of the nation. He presided over a reformist government which was particularly irked by the high level of corruption, indiscipline, avarice, and unserious leadership in the country. His belief that Nigerians were grossly indisciplined made him to promulgate the draconian decrees 2 and 4 to enforce discipline and to make the apprehension of corrupt officials speedy. The corrupt politicians were given various jail terms by the ad-hoc probe panels which were presided over by illiterate military officers and which did not operate according to the rule of law. Another feature of the regime was the cultivation of a wide spectrum of Nigerians to be disciplined. The agency that effected this was the War Against Indiscipline (WADI). Nigerians were made by Law to participate in a compulsory monthly environmental sanitation exercise. The regime pursued an austere economy while it also made law to check drug barons. Drug peddling was to attract capital punishment. Some alleged drug peddlers were executed under the said law. The debates opened by the regime on whether Nigeria should take an IMF loan was inconclusive as it was toppled by General Babangida on August 25 1985. One of the major achievements of the Buhari regime was the instilling of discipline in Nigerians and a re-engineered economic programme for the country. Its major drawback was the draconian rules made to intimidate and frighten the civil society.

### **3.3 The Ibrahim Babangida Regime**

General Ibrahim Babangida took over the rein of government due to the draconian nature of the Buhari regime, at least that was what we were told. He was the first and only military President of Nigeria and he brought a new type of sophistry and colour to military rule in Nigeria that was unprecedented in the

political history of the country. For some times, Babangida created the impression that his was a military government with a human face. He abrogated decrees 2 and 4 and he released quite a number of political prisoners. On the economic front, he subjected the propriety or otherwise of an IMF loan to public debate. Nigerians showed their deference to the collection of such loan and as such, he resorted to a Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). He created the National Directorate of Employment to assist people in creating more wealth through labour. He also established the Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructures (DFRRI) in order to improve the quality of life. Peoples' Bank was established to complement NDE while the Better Life for Rural Women Programme, brought to the fore, the economic independence issue for the womenfolk.

General Babangida's political transition programme is the best packaged in the history of Nigeria, though it started on a tardy note. Following the inauguration of a Political Bureau in 1986 to fashion out a blueprint for the political future of the country, far-reaching recommendations were made. The National Electoral Commission (NEC) was subsequently established. Also, the National Population Commission (NPC) was also created whilst MAMSER was founded to cultivate and mobilise the citizens for enhanced participation in the transition programme. A constitutional review committee was inaugurated in September 1987 while the constituent Assembly was convened in May 1988. The role of the former was to make a draft of a future constitution while the latter had the mandate to debate and ratify the draft. Subsequently, a new constitution was promulgated in May 1989. General Babangida was to later establish two state-sanctioned political parties while denying 9 others which had scaled all hurdles to

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become *bonafide* parties. There were two coup attempts on the government. The first was allegedly led by General Mamman vatsa while the second, which was bloody in execution was led by major Gideon Orkar in April 1990.

Nigerians contented with biting economic hardship under the regime and the collapse of the Soviet Union had influence upon self-expression by civil society groups in the country. Various human rights organisations sprang up to stand the military government on its feet. The apparent unwillingness of Babangida to hand over power to the civilian through undue extension of transition timetable and incessant disqualification of candidate and cancellation of results also worsened the relationship between the military leadership and the civil society groups and the articulate press. Many demonstrators were killed in anti-SAP rallies and other political rallies. There were allegation of rabid venality against virtually all public office holders whilst the regime was alleged of killing an outstanding investigative journalist, Mr. Dele Giwa. However, with the annulment of June 12 1993 presidential election which was believed to be won by Chief M.K.O. Abiola and which was declared the freest and fairest ever in the country by international observers, IBB sets the nation on the road to perdition. This is a big minus for his regime. He handed over to an interim government to conclude the transition programme. It was led by Chief Ernest Shonekan, a former UAC' Chief.

### **3.4 The Shonekan Interim Government**

The interim government was put in place to conclude the transition programme which had been usurped with the annulment of the June 12 1993 elections. Babangida retired alongside, all his service chiefs with the exception of General Sani Abacha, who was the Minister for Defence. Several democrats in the country were of the opinion that the interim government was an illegality. They went to court and the interim government was declared illegal. This stripped the government of credibility and legitimacy. Before the situation could degenerate further, General Abacha took over power in a bloodless military coup on November 17 1993 in order, according to him to preserve national unity.

### **3.5 The Sani Abacha Regime**

The government was initially given legitimacy by the people in anticipation of a quick handing over to the undeclared winner of June 12 1993 presidential election. However, when it became apparent that General Abacha was going to sit tight, various civil society organs started agitating for the democratisation of the polity. The Human Rights groupings re-organised themselves into a united front, the politicians were rallied under the umbrella of National Democratic Coalition (NADECO) while labour and University teachers were unrepentant in their agitations. Environmental rights activism was also stepped up by the movement for the survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP). However, the regime first shot itself in the leg by killing the renowned playwright and president of MOSOP, Mr. Ken Saro-Wiwa. This earned Nigeria serious sanctions from the commonwealth and the European union and with the growing adverse human rights record, Nigeria subsequently turned a pariah state in the comity of nations.

In order to legitimise his government internally, Abacha divided the country into 6 geo-political zones while five political parties were registered. A tele-guided transition programme was put in place while the political class was intimidated by the failed Banks Tribunals and Miscellaneous Offences Tribunals. After, a constitution that was unprecedented and strange in the political history of Nigeria was made. It was called the

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*BIIM 775: NIGER/AN GORVERNMENT AND POEM( 'S* 1995 constitution. The worsening economic situation further denied the government legitimacy while the continued agitation for the actualisation of June 12 1993 election was a source of worry for the government. A spate of Bomb-blasts rocked the nation while state-sponsored assassinations were a commonplace. The schemings by General Abacha to succeed himself in office led the five spineless parties into adopting him as a consensus candidate. However, his death in June 1998 put an end to a most draconian rule in the country's history which saw many civil society activists and politicians being thrown into gaol. General Abdusalam Abubakar succeeded General Abacha on his death.

### **3.6 The Abdulsalami Abubakar Regime**

Rather than reduce the tempo of their demands from the political system, all stakeholders in the Nigerian democratic process renewed their agitation for the revalidation of June 12. Many political detainees were released by the new regime in

order to acquire legitimacy. However, the winner of the June 12 1993 election died in detention. The five parties created by Abacha were proscribed while the Failed Bank Tribunals and the Miscellaneous Offences Tribunals were streamlined to subscribe to the rule of law. A new electoral commission, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) was established while a committee led by Justice Nikki Tobi toured the whole federation to feel the pulse of the people on the issue of a new constitution. A new constitution known as the "1999 constitution" was later passed into law by the Provisional Ruling Council (PRC). Three parties were registered viz: APP, AD and PDP elections were held from the local government to the National levels and a new civilian government of PDP led by Olusegun Obasanjo, a former head of state emerged. Abubakar also started the process of retrieving money stolen by the late General Abacha and his cronies when they were in power.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

It is clear and obvious from what I've said so far that the military had come to dominate Nigerian government and politics in the first 40 years of her history to the extent that today, almost four years after their exit from power, they have constituted themselves into a powerful factor in the country's politics. It is my view that good governance by the politicians is the only viable antidote against military rule.

#### **5.0 Summary**

I have painstakingly argued here that the wastefulness, profligacy and immaturity of the second republic politicians made the military to take over power in late 1983. I said that despite its emphasis on national re-orientation and fiscal austerity, the Buhari military junta collapsed based on the accusation of unbridled autocracy. General Babangida brought sophistry to statecraft by touching virtually all aspects of the Nation's life and making impact on them. However his failed economic programme and the annulment of June 12 1993 presidential election results were his archilles heel. Abacha is noted as the most autocratic head-of-state who was popular for clamping any dissenting voice into gaol. He had the worst human rights record amongst Nigeria's former heads-of-state and he made Nigeria a pariah state in the comity of nations. Since, we have not exhausted the topic here, I will recommend certain materials which will help immensely in informing you the more on the subject matter.

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**7.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment**

What distinguishes military rulership between 1985 till date from that of between 1983- August 1985?

Will you agree that the transition programme of Babangida was tailored toward his self succession bid. Why?

In the light of the experience of the nation in the hands of the military between 1983 and 1999, will you agree with the fact that the modernisation theorists conception of the military institution still hold water? Explain.

Enumerate the role played by civil society groups for the enthronement of democracy in Nigeria.

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**UNIT 17**

**SCHOOL: BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATION**

**PROGRAMME: POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT  
MANAGEMENT**

**COURSE: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

**UNIT 17: CIVIL RULE IN NIGERIA'S FIRST REPUBLIC**

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- 3.1 Civil Rule in the Four Regions in Nigeria
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- 3.1.2 Eastern Region
- 3.1.3 Northern Region
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*BHM 775: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS*

**1.0 Introduction**

The idea of civilian democratic rule was ingrained into the country by the British colonialists, though the British political institutions in Africa were not democratised. In

the case of Nigeria, independence was attained through a peaceful and gradual process. By the time independence was granted on October 1 1960, Nigerian political elites took over fully the control of governance, though the process of political tutelage for Nigerian nationalists had started since the early 50's in the

western, eastern region and the North. What were the challenges that faced Nigeria as a state during the first republic? What are the type of inter-relationship between the central and the regional government? What are the high points and drawbacks of governance during the First

Republic? These are some of the questions that we shall answer in the course of our lecture in this unit.

## **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of the lecture in this unit, it is expected of you to be able to:

Discuss at length on the system of government that operated during the first republic.

Discuss the weaknesses exhibited by the politicians during the first republic.

Talk at length on party politics in each of the regions.

Discuss on the Western Regional and Tiv crises.

## **3.0 Civil Rule in Nigeria's First Republic**

Nigeria became a sovereign state on October 1, 1960 with the Nigeria (formerly Northern) People's Congress (NPC) led by Alhaji Ahmadu Bello controlling the central government. Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa - Balewa became the Prime Minister. Sir (Dr.) Nnamdi Azikwe became the Governor-General (A titular head) of the country. He was the president of the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), the party which joined the NPC in an alliance to control the central government. Chief Obafemi Awolowo of the third dominant party, the Action Group (AG), became the opposition leader. Other smaller parties existed alongside the three but they never really made substantial impact on the domestic politics. The three major parties were ethnic based: NPC was a Northern party, AG was a South-West party while the NCNC had its stronghold in the South-East.

Nigeria practised a parliamentary system of government in which the strength of each of the parties depended upon the number of its elected representatives in the parliament. The ethnic outlook of the three dominant parties soon proved costly for the

Nation. Subsequently, after independence, rather than engender national integration, each party dug into its ethnic enclave to consolidate its power. The 1962 convention of the Action Group ended in disarray as the party was rocked by intra-party crises. A faction led by its leader Obafemi Awolowo and which supported the ideology of Democratic Socialism claimed that it has expelled the deputy leader Ladoke Akintola, whose faction was strongly committed to the idea of national government and the maintenance of the status-quo. Furthermore, the creation of the Mid West region out of the Western region in 1963 raised the issue of creation of more regions in the North.

In 1963, Nigeria became a republic with full autonomy to her parliament. The title Governor General changed to that of president. The president was no more a representative of the crown. However, the venality on the part of the politicians coupled

with various crises like the treason trial of Chief Obafemi Awolowo between 1962 and



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1963, the violence in the West between 1962/63, and 1964/65, the Tiv riots of 1960 and 1964, the population census crises of 1962/63, the federal elections of 1965 among other crises heightened tension in the country. Politicians became bloody in their thirst for political power and violence, rigging, manipulation arson and corrupt practices were used with impunity. The military eventually took over to put the situation under control in January 1966.

#### **3.1.0 Civil Rule in Western Region**

The Action Group was the dominant party in the Western Region because it had the majority in parliament. The premier of the region was Chief Ladoke Akintola while the Governor was Oba Adesoji Aderemi. The major opposition to the AG government was the NCNC-Mabolaje Grand Alliance which was founded by Alhaji Adegoke Adelabu. A crisis that rocked the AG in 1962 led to a major crisis in the region in which two different premiers emerged. A state of emergency was subsequently declared and an administrator, Dr. Koye Majekodunmi was appointed for the region. After relative calm had returned, Chief Akintola was re-instated. He formed a new party the Nigerian National Democratic Party (UNDP) which allied with the NCNC to form the majority in the region. The AG became the opposition. In a realignment of forces before the 1964/65 elections, the UNDP later joined the NPC to form the Nigeria National Alliance (NNA). The NCNC and the AG teamed up to form the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA). NNA defeated UPGA in the elections of 1965 and there was let loose after an election that was seriously enmeshed in controversy. There was widespread vengeful killings as the Western became the hub of political thuggery. However, the free education and health programme practised in the region distinguished it among the other regions.

#### **3.1.1 Civil Rule in Mid-Western Region**

This region was carved out of the Western region in 1963. Despite the fact that it was hitherto an AG stronghold, post-regional election gave the NCNC the majority. The new Premier was Sir Dennis Osadebey while Sir Omo Osagie became the Governor of the state. There was also bicameral legislature. Activities in the region was relatively obscured when compared with other regions in the country. However, there was calm and stability in the region which did not make it a source of undue attention. The NCNC continued ruling the region until the military intervention of 1966.

#### **3.1.2 Civil Rule in Eastern Region**

The Eastern Region had always been a stronghold of the NCNC. It was not surprising that the NCNC was the only party that was virtually alive of the three dominant parties in the region. There was bicameral legislature. The premier of the region was Sir Michael Okpara while Sir Akanu Ibiam was the Governor. The opposition was made up of the Calabar - Ogoja - Rivers (COR) movement and the Chike Obi led UNIP party in the Onitsha axis of the region. Records of political violence were minimal.

#### **3.1.3 Civil Rule in Northern Region**

The NPC was in strong control of the region though there were pockets of oppositions from the Borno and Tiv axis of the region. Under the premiership of

Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, who also doubled as the Sarkuna of Sokoto and the Governorship of Sir Kashim Ibrahim, the NPC consolidated its hold on the minorities (who are not Hausa/Fulani) in the region. There existed a bicameral legislature. The Sarkuna was believed to be the power behind the throne and not a few people believed that he was

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the de-facto premier of Nigeria. The land mass and population advantage of the North over other regions in the country made it to play a dominant role in national politics during the period under review.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

One thing is clear from all I've said in this lecture. The politicians of the first republic took power as an end in itself and not as a means to the end of the betterment of the lives of the masses. Partly due to ignorance and inexperience and partly due to avarice and venality, they floundered away the gains of our independence. It is not surprising though, because the parties formed were those of protests. They have cultivated themselves to be re-active rather than pro-active. The Nigerian state was the greatest victim of the failure of the first republic.

#### **5.0 Summary**

We started by stating that the independence of the Nigerian state from colonial rule gave the politicians the opportunity of being fully in charge of the Nigerian state. We

explained that though a number of parties existed, only 3 were dominant and prominent.

Also, we stated that we practised the parliamentary system of government during the first republic. We looked at the interplay of political forces across the regions and we concluded by saying the weakness on the part of the politicians contributed substantially to the failure of the first republic.

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#### **7.0 Tutor Marked Assignment**

Why could the foundation of the Nigerian State be referred to as fragile?

What are the reason for the acrimonious relationship between the three major parties in the first republic?

Ethnicity is a major factor in the politics of the first republic. Explain? iv.

Enumerate the major crises that led to the collapse of the first republic.

*BUM 775: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS***UNIT 18****SCHOOL:****BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATION****PROGRAMME:****POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN LOCAL****GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT****COURSE:****NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS****UNIT 18:****CIVIL RULE IN NIGERIA'S SECOND REPUBLIC****TABLE OF CONTENTS**

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- 3.1 Civilian Governance in the States
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- 7.0 Tutor-Marked Assignments

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*BUM 775: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS***1.0 Introduction**

Thirteen years of military rule could not make the people of Nigeria forget the necessity of civilian governance. As a matter of fact, we have been informed that the reluctance of Gen. Gowon to announce a date of hand over to the civilian was one of the reason for this toppling in 1975. A trend which has also become prevalence was the use of transition to civilian rule programme to gain legitimacy by the military. Therefore, the Murtala/Obasanjo regime took certain measures to ensure that the civilians gained the control of the machinery of the state in 1979. Firstly, the Constitutional Drafting Committee was inaugurated in 1977, the Constituent Assembly was convened and ban on political activities were consequently lifted. Power was handed over to Alhaji Aliyu Shehu Shagari on October 1 1979. Has the political class learnt any lesson at all? Let us examine as we progress in this unit.

**2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

Explain the system of government that operated during the Second Republic.

Explain whether there are changes which distinguish the politicians of the 2nd republic from those of the first republic concerning conduct in office.

Mention the advantages of presidential system of government over parliamentary democracy in Nigeria.

The role played by the political parties during the second republic. **3.0 Civil**

**Rule in Nigeria's Second Republic:**

Nigeria adopted a presidential system of government in the second republic. Under the system, an executive president was elected who shall have the power to

hire and fire his ministers. Additionally, the executive arm of government was independent of the legislature. This meant a separation of power between the two arms of government while Nigeria had a bicameral legislature at the centre. The president (and Governors in the states) were to be in government for a tenure of four years. They can go to the poll to garner another four years but definitely cannot stay beyond 8 years.

During the Second Republic, Nigeria practised multiparty democracy. The five parties that emerged were the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), the Nigeria's People Party (NPP), Great Nigeria Peoples Party (GNPP) and the Peoples Redemption Party (PRP). The NPN dominated the government during the second republic while the other parties controlled some of the state. There could be no official opposition in a presidential system of government. The National Advanced Party (NAP) was registered in 1983, making the number of parties in Nigeria to have increased to six by 1983.

On the conducts of the politicians, they failed to meet the hopes and expectations of the people. Corruption in the second republic was open and excessive. The ambition

of the ruling party to perpetuate itself in power led to the massive electoral malpractices as witnessed during the 1983 general elections. Just like the first republic, the second republic was also truncated due to the sit-tight syndrome of the party in power and gross indiscipline on the part of the politicians generally. The military returned to power on the 31st of December, 1983.

### **3.1.1 Civilian Governance in the States**

Nigeria was made up of 19 states during the second republic. The governor was the executive head of each of the states and he was to be assisted by a deputy

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governor and other appointed commissioners. The Unity Party of Nigeria won the election in Ondo, Ogun, Oyo, Bendel and Lagos States. The National Party of Nigeria won in Bauchi, Benue, Cross-Rivers, Gongola, Kaduna, Kwara, Niger, Rivers and Sokoto States. The Nigerian People's Party won the elections in Anambra, Imo and Plateau States,, the Great Nigeria Peoples Party controlled Borno State while the People's Redemption Party was in control of Kano State. The respective state governors performed their duties in consonance with the manifestoes of their respective parties. However, it is believed, and I share that believe also, that the states were not given the autonomy befitting states in a federal system of government to operate. The system that operated was more or less a disguised unitary system of government. Resources to the states was meagre while some of the state governors were very corrupt. Many of them were intolerant of the opposition while they did not do much to raise the economic standard of the people. The

situation got to a head when many states had to borrow money from foreign source to pay workers salaries while in other states, salaries were left unpaid for months.

### **3.2 Local Governance in the 2nd Republic**

Nigeria achieved a unified local government system by the virtue of the local government reform of 1976. The philosophy guiding the reform was democratic while the political environment was authoritarian. However, it was the advent of democratic governance in Nigeria in 1979 that brought the local government into practical conformity with the principle of democracy. The expectation that the ideas that shape local governance will be more assured under a democratic regime was rife. However, it is with utter disappointment that one observes that the second-republic rather than making improvements to the system of local government which was handed over by the military regime, exploited, heightened and elevated the shortcomings in the system.

The second-republic politicians betrayed the mission of the local government system by not allowing the local governments to operate according to the stipulations of the constitution. The State Governors dissolved the local government councils indiscriminately, against constitutional provisions. Also, some other structures of government seemed not to care about local government politics. For instance, the Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) did not prepare voters register for elections in the local government. Also, local government councils were created indiscriminately without following the stipulations of the 1979 constitution. It is necessary to note that only Ondo and Rivers State Government did not create new councils. Finally, the state governments were known to have tampered with local government statutory allocations.

### **4.0 Conclusion**

Richard Joseph has rightly asserted that the second republic was characterized by prebendal politics. The political class did not behave as if they have learnt any lesson from thirteen years of military rule. The civil society was inherently weak. It seemed that the political class was mercilessly ostracised from the masses of the people. Corruption became a norm rather than an anathema and Nigeria's economy underwent an acute recession. The situations in the states were no better. Heavily hampered by scarcity of resources many state governments could not execute developmental programmes. With many of them unable to pay workers salaries. The local government was seriously violated during the period under review to the extent that an analyst said that "as far as

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the local government is concerned, it was as if the constitution and laws were made to be ignored or flouted".

### **5.0 Summary**

The second republic was ushered-in with the completion of the transition to civilian rule programme on October 1979. The political class did not exhibit discipline, piety, forthrightness, focus and skill such as is required of public office holders. The albatross of the republic were constitutional violation, corruption, indiscipline and the use of power as an end in itself. I think you should by now, be able to draw a symmetry between our conclusion here and the one we drew on our

unit 17 lecture.

## **6.0 Further Readings**

**Joseph, R. (1991):** Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria: The Rise and Fall of the Second Republic, Ibadan, Spectrum Books.

**Orizu, NAA (1983):** Insight into Nigeria: The Shehu Shagari Era, Ibadan, Evans Brothers.

**Gboyega, A. (1987):** Political Values and Local Government in Nigeria, Lagos, Malthouse.

**Ogbemudia, S.O. (1991):** Years of Challenge, Ibadan, Heinemann.

## **7.0 Tutor Marked Assignment**

1. Elaborate on how the local government fared during Nigeria's second republic?
2. State the effect of corruption on the second republic?
3. Draw a symmetry in the conducts and performance of politicians of the first and second republics?
4. What are the factors that hampered growth and development in the states during the second republic?

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### **UNIT 19**

**SCHOOL:**

**BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATION**

**PROGRAMME:**

**POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN LOCAL**

**GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT**

**COURSE:**

**NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

**UNIT 19:**

**CIVIL RULE IN NIGERIA'S THIRD REPUBLIC**

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- 3.1 June 12 Crises and the Nigerian State
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- 7.0 Tutor-Marked Assignments

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### **1.0 Introduction**

Do you know that there are some events outside the border of a country that determines what happens within her border? The collapse of the Berlin wall in 1989 and the subsequent disintegration of the soviet union has been termed by some scholars to have heralded the "end of ideological history". This collapse of socialism made liberal democracy not only to become acceptable globally but also to be deeply tied to the granting of economic and social aids by the developed world. Thus democracy not only became attractive, it also becomes an anathema for a country not

to have adopted democracy as a system of government. Nigeria was not an exception as the military Junta of General Ibrahim Babangida set up a political bureau in 1986. The mandate of the Bureau was to give a structure on which to build a transition to civilian rule programme. Later, the National Electoral Committee (NEC) and the mass mobilisation directorate (MAMSER) were established towards the effective implementation of the programme. Centre for Democratic Studies (CDS) was put in place to give political education to the politically naive politicians that will man the affairs of the nation in years to come. But the transition ended in Shambles, how?

## **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this lecture, you are expected to be able to:

Explain the role played by the civil society during the third republic;

Discuss extensively the high points and low points of the third republic;

Discuss on party politics in second republic.

Explain the effects of the annulment of June 12 1993 presidential election.

## **3.0 Civil Rule in Nigeria's Third Republic**

A new constitution was enacted into law by the Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) in 1989. The constitution makes provision for the establishment of a two-party system, the creation of traditional councils and the conferment on the states, the power to create local governments.

National Assembly, states and local-government elections were organised based on the content of the constitution. Also, the elected public officers operated on the basis of the constitution. The two parties, the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the National Republican Convention (NRC) brought to an end the circle of ethnicity in party politics in Nigeria. However, the parties were factionalised within, which made them to be structurally weak. The date of handover to democratically elected president was changed twice and certain politicians of the first and second republic were banned from contesting public offices. Eventually, the civil society groups became curious about the transition programme, a curiosity which made them (the groups) to be critical about undue government interference in the programme. The articulate press also played an important role in acting as a watch dog on the military junta during the programme. The presidential elections was finally conducted on June 12 1993 and it was witnessed by local and international observers which described it as free and fair. However, the election was annulled by the military government.

## **3.1 June 12 Crises and the Nigerian State**

This was the Climax of political intrigues and manipulation embarked upon by General Babangida in his quest to perpetuate himself in power by turning from a military to civilian president. Chief M.K.O. Abiola was the SPD presidential candidate while Alhaji Bashir Tafa emerged the NRC flagbearer. Unofficial result of the election gave

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victory to Abiola in an election which was regarded as a departure from the past troubled and turbulent electoral history which encouraged ethnicity and violence. Abiola made history to have won the majority in Northern and middle - Belt states

apart from a marginal victory in the South-East. Despite all these facts, General Babangida annulled the election on the pretext that it was characterised by legal controversies. The annulment generated the feeling of apathy and lethargy towards the political system, especially among the people of the South-West. Interest groups and the civil society both within and outside the country condemned the annulment in strong terms and General Babangida was compelled by unfavourable public opinion, and pressure within the military to hand over power to a hurriedly packaged Interim National Government (ING) headed by Ernest Shonekan.

Mr. Shonekan's ING lacked political power and legitimacy. It lacked all sense of vision and mission. Consequently, the ING was declared by the Federal High Court in Lagos as illegal. General Abacha moved very fast to remove the illegality called ING in

November 1993, thus killing the third republic, before it was born.

The Nigerian State was the great casualty as the Yoruba dominated South-West felt that the annulment had an ethnic dimension to it. The Igbo's of the South-East showed indifference to the struggle for the actualisation of the June 12 mandate. Feelings amongst the mainstream Hausa - Fulani political structure was not in favour of

the de-annulment. Thus, a cause which was supposed to be have been fought in unison by the political structure was not in favour of the de-annulment. Thus, a cause which was supposed to be have been fought in unison by the political class was taken up by the South-West under the umbrella of National Democratic coalition (NADECO) with only marginal supports from the other ethnic groups in the country. For this, Nigerian spent another five years under a most draconian and mean military junta of General Sani Abacha.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

The 3rd Republic came still born due to the mischievous design of the military ruler to inherently and tactically perpetuate himself in power by foul means. Despite the huge sum of money expended on the transition programme, the manpower resources and the time used in packaging it and the institutions of government saddled with its scientific monitoring, the military junta made nonsense of the collective wisdom of Nigerians by annulling the result of the presidential election in a most unintelligible way. It could also be said that the inexperience of the political class contributed immensely to their fall to the design of the military junta.

#### **5.0 Summary**

We have argued here that the transition to civilian rule programme which was started in 1986 and ended in 1993, though truncated ultimately, could be regarded as the third republic.

Under the republic, two state-sponsored political parties were created, SDP and the NRC Elections were held on this basis to the political offices from the local government to the National - Assembly. The presidential election was however annulled.

The effect of the annulment was the wastage of public money, time and manpower resources. It also called into question the basis of Nigeria's existence as



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corporate entity. Also, the illegally created ING was so declared by the court of law and General Abacha staged a palace coup to bring the Republic to an end in 1993.

**6.0 Further Readings**

**Ake C. (1992):** The Feasibility of Democracy in Africa, Ibadan, CREDU.

Akinola, R. (2000): "Fellow Country Men" The Story of Coup Detats in Nigeria, Lagos, Rich Monsult.

**Coomasie, A. (1998):** Democracy and Political Opportunism in Nigeria: A Documentary Source Book, Abuja, Sputnik Publications.

**Magbadelo, O.J. (2002):** Nigerian's Political Debate: Issues and Ideas, Suleja, JosonSam Modern Publisher.

Ukpabi, S.C. (n.d) Strands in Nigerian Military History.

**Umaru, A. (2000):** June 123 and the Cultured North: Some Aspects of Nigeria's Politics in Perspective, Kaduna, Axis Research Agency.

**Oshun, O. (1999):** Clapping with One Hand: June 12 and The Crises of A Nation State, London, Josel.

**7.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment**

- I. What roles did the civil society play during the third republic?  
Explain briefly the legal and political issues that led to the annulment of the June 12 elections?  
In few words, explain the reasons for the collapse of the interim National Government headed by Ernest Shonekan.
- iv. Discuss the effect of 3rd Republic's Party Politics on the Political Socialization of Nigerians.

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**UNIT 20**

**SCHOOL:**

**BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATION**

**PROGRAMME:**

**POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN LOCAL**

**GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT**

**COURSE:**

**NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

**UNIT 20:**

**NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC**

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### **1.0 Introduction**

I know that by now, you should be able to agree with me that man is inherently a political animal. There is always the desire in man to be involved in one political activism or the other - either consciously or unconsciously. Do you like to influence other people? You want to always make them see reason with you on issues? It is this passionate desire to influence what happens politically in their country that prompted the politicians to continue agitating for a democratic governance in the country. The draconian military junta of General Sani Abacha could not stop the political class in their resolve to agitate for democracy. Also of interest is the fact that the articulate section of the political class did not just want a transition to civil rule programme, but a credible and fair one for that matter. Do not forget though that the period sequel to the 4th republic was a post cold war era when democracy started gaining ground as the only acceptable system of government. When the fourth republic eventually came by, hopes of a paradise on earth were high among Nigerians. Most people were expecting a rapid social, political and economic transformation which was not forth coming. Rather, widespread social crises hit the nation. The assumption that democracy is the best system of government was put to test. How has the Nigerian government under the fourth republic been coping in the art of statecraft despite all the odds? These and many other questions that must have been agitating your mind are what this unit wants to proffer answers to.

### **2.0 Objectives**

The objectives of this work include

- to introduce students to the politics of Nigeria's forth republic.
- to expose students to the prevalent issues in the politics of the fourth republic.
- to examine the nature and roles of the political parties in the republic.

to critically analyse the dividends of democratic rule in the course of the republic. to examine the imperative to a national conference in Nigeria.

### **3.0 Background to the Fourth Republic**

I informed you earlier of how the June 12 1993 presidential election won by the candidate of SDP Chief M.K.O. Abiola was annulled by the military under the president Ibrahim Babangida administration. In an effort to consolidate his hold on power after ousting the ING of Chief Shonekan, General Abacha who took over power on November 17 1993 convened a constitutional conference in June 1994 and the subsequent adoption of a 1995 constitution. A transition programme put in place by General Abacha was widely adjudged to be lacking in credibility. Moreso, a lot of articulate politicians had been clamped into detention. The military - sanctioned five registered political parties started canvassing for the candidature of General Abacha as a civilian president. He died in 1998 and was succeeded by General Abubakar who released political prisoners and proscribed the five political parties. He demonstrated more openness by establishing an Independent National Electoral Commission and registering three political parties in an impartial process. Elections were monitored by local and international observers. Democratic rule was ushered-in on May 29 1999 with the swearing-in of President Olusegun Obasanjo in what is now being popularity referred to as the fourth republic.

#### **3.1 Issues in Nigeria's Fourth Republic**

Nigeria's fourth republic took off on a stable note. This was soon to turn to instability. President Obasanjo demonstrated experience and decisiveness by taking  
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reaching decisions at the early stage of his government. Apart from relocating the Ports Authority headquarters to Lagos, he also appointed officers from the minorities into key military position while he sacked all military officers who held political office during military rule. Beyond these issues, we have tried to arrange other important issues in a cohesive manner. They have been organised along political and economic lines. Let me say however, that our classification is fluid and as such the issues will feature in such a way that they will aid quick comprehension on your part.

#### **3.2 Political Issues**

**3.2.0 Resource Control:** Following the discovery of petroleum resources in Nigeria, the agitation for fair and equitable distribution of the nation's resources have become vociferous. However, following the wide publicity given to the plight of the people of Nigeria's Niger Delta whose community has been degraded due to oil spillage, the agitation took the dimension of a struggle for the control of their resources. Also, the opportunity for freedom of speech presented by democratic rule re-inforced the agitations. Despite the fact that the 1999 constitution provides for 13% derivation to oil producing states, they like Oliver Twist started asking for more. The federal government in 2000 took the lithoral states to the Supreme Court to determine the stand of the constitution on offshore oil resources. The ruling, vesting 100% of the offshore resources in the federal government rekindled the agitation for resource control. This prompted the federal

government in September 2002 to initiate an executive bill for a proposed new resource-distribution formula. Though, this gesture has been widely commended, it remains to be seen whether this will put a stop to the agitation.

- 3.2.1 Electoral Bill:** The allegation of undemocratic provisions and the need to exercise dynamism made the review of the electoral law that ushered - in the present republic expedient. However, since the time the bill got to the National Assembly, it has become enmeshed in one controversy or another. The latest was the allegations and counter-allegations over section 80(1) of the bill and the holding of all elections in a day. Nevertheless, the ability of the politicians to close ranks and fashion a way out will engender stability and unity in the political system.
- 3.2.2 National Security:** One of the primary responsibility of any government is the provision of security for the citizenry. However, the delimitarization of the Nigerian society has given room for an upsurge in the level of robberies, armed conflicts and assassinations. The most shocking of the assassination case was that of Chief Bola Ige, the country's former Attorney-General who was killed in his bedroom by unknown gunmen. With election year approaching, anxiety has been raised by civil society groups over the state of security.
- 3.2.3 Ethnic Militarism:** Who says the June 12 crises does not have any effect on the present fourth republic? That person may be wrong for all we care. The blatant and brazen manner in which the election was annulled angered the people of the South. This instigated a new brand of activism in the country. Also, the relative deprivation of the people of the South-South geo-political zone in the country of the basic infrastructural need coupled with the ambitions

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of the elites to be relevant and to hold the nation to ransom all led to new irredentist movement within the various ethnic group, the fire of which was fuelled by a new freedom associated with democracy. The Yorubas formed O'dua Peoples Congress (OPC), the Ibos formed Bakassi Boys, Ijaws formed Egbesu Boys while Arewa Peoples Congress (APC) became the umbrella for the Hausas. Parts of the reasons attributed for the formation of those groups was the seeming inability of the police to effectively curb crime. Though the groups have helped tremendously in preventing crimes, their resort to jungle justice and the often deadly and contagious internecine wars in which they engaged themselves is enough justifications for their proscription. Though some of them have been banned by the government, they still continue operating, and they do so with impunity.

- 3.4.2 Political Parties:** The three major political parties which is controlling all the levels of government are products of hurried contraption. Strange bedfellows with different ideas about the goals of politics often find themselves in the same party. The Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) which

prides itself as Africa's largest political parties took off from Group-34, a think-tank of progressive politicians opposed to the self-succession bid of late General Abacha. The PDP, is composed of politicians from all the sections of the nation's political class. Infact, it has come to be dominated by retired military elites who are interested in power and politics. No party in the history of this republic is enmeshed in intra-party squabbles like the PDP. Though national in outlook, there seems to be lack of cohesion on the part of the party and one is not sure what its ideologies are it's 2002 L.G. Elections party primaries was marred by widespread violence in almost all the states of the federation. Level of indiscipline is high. The All Peoples Party is composed of the politicians who wanted to provide an alternative forum to the **PDP**. It was formed by politicians who were active during the regime of Abacha, the so-called "Abacha politicians". However, it won twelve out of the 36 states of the federation. In recent times, it has come to be associated with the Sharia programme in the North and it has presented a vibrant, though atimes exuberant, opposition to the Obasanjo Administration. The APP changed its name to All Nigerian Peoples Party (**ANPP**) in 2002. Nevertheless, the undue attraction of the party to the antagonistic Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF) and its uncharitable critical stance on the Obasanjo government has made it seem as if its mission is to oppose just any government policy. The Alliance for Democracy is the third party registered by INEC in 1999. Though it did not meet the requirements for registration, it was registered to provide a third alternative to PDP and ANPP. It is an offshoot of the AG/UPN structure in South-Western Nigeria and it has as its manifestoes the four cardinal programmes of free Health, free education, gainful employment and rural integration. There is however no differences in the performance, conduct and carriage between political office holders across the three parties. Party discipline is wanning, especially in the dominant POP and intra-party bilkening often take unnecessary attention of the politicians at the expense of the peoples development. Mid 2002, three new political parties were registered by INEC

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namely the United Nigerian Peoples Party (UNPP), National Democratic Party (NDP) and All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA).

#### **3.2.5**

**Corruption:** One of the bane of the Nigerian society is corruption, a norm which has become legitimised by a dominant seciton of our society. Politics has become monetised and as such public officers especially at the local and state levels were known to have been alleged of embezzlement or misappropriation of public funds. At the National Assembly, it is believed that lawmakers are corrupt to the extent that the senate changed its leadership twice while there has been stringent calls on the leadership of the House of Representatives to submit itself to probe. Transparency International, a nongovernmental organisation adjudged Nigeria the second

most corrupt nation in the world. It is believed that the goals of democratic rule are being undermined by corruption.

**3.2.6 The Military:** For over four decades, the military institution has always been the achilles heel of the political class. However, the successful transition programme of 1999 afforded the politicians the opportunity to play a superordinate role over the military institution. President Obasanjo has made some efforts in de-politicising the military institution while barracks are being rehabilitated nationwide. Early 2002 there was a police mutiny over unbefitting welfare packages. On its own part, the military institution has adjusted itself to the present democratic norms with its leadership consistently re-iterating its unwillingness to plan any coup again. Just let me say in closing that only good governance is the solution to the problem of military rule, constitutional provision against coup, though commendable, is not sufficient.

**3.2.7 National Conference:** The fourth republic has been characterised by ethnic warfare, Sharia, resource control and other contentious issues. The allegations of marginalisation against the country's leadership by virtually all the ethnic groups in the country and other issues has made the call for a conference (where Nigerians are going to re-negotiate the basis for the existence of the country as a corporate entity) unusually loud. The attempt by legislators to impeach the president in the latter part of 2002 and the backing gave to the impeachment by political elite in the North made the southern leadership to renew their call for such conferences. President Obasanjo has always kicked against such confab, saying it will not be democratic for it to be so convened when we have a National Assembly which should look into such matters. Protagonists of National Conference did not help matter by their inability to bring cohesion and substance to their proposition. Anyway, they argued that dialogue is very important in any democracy but the nature and scope of such dialogue has presented much dilemma and disagreements.

**3.2.8 The 1999 Constitution:** Most, if not all the political crises that rocked Nigeria since 1999 has been credited to the 1999 Nigerian constitution which the political class believe is a military constitution. We shouldn't forget that the civil society was not adequately carried along in making the constitution. However, the presidency in 1999 collected memoranda from the people in order to fashion out a new peoples' constitution. The information minister toured the six geo-political zones while a committee made up of representatives of the then

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three political parties drafted the proposed constitution. The presidency later presented the report as a bill to the National Assembly. Also, the National Assembly collected memoranda from Nigerians towards the same process. However, scholars have criticized the process as too abstract to the ordinary people. They argue that it can only produce a

constitution as bad as that of 1999. Moreso, the legislature is not giving such a sensitive issue the deserved urgency.

### **3.3 Economic Issues**

**3.3.0 Industrial Crises:** Many Nigerians became impoverished following the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) introduced into the polity by General Babangida. The middle class was totally eliminated and the naira lost its value drastically. Ever since, the economic crises has refused to abate. Agitations for increment in living wage for workers became much pronounced. Following a nationwide protest which shook Nigeria to its foundation, salaries of workers was increased in 2000. An attempt by the Nigerian Labour Congress to press for further increment in 2002 was halted by the government but the controversy still continue to rage. Also, in 2002 the NLC took its battle against casualisation of labour in Nigeria seriously as it picketed many privately owned companies, so as to bring to an end to the treatment of Nigerian workers in the private sector as slaves. It has also presented itself as a worthy watchdog in the course of this fourth republic.

**3.3.1 Foreign Investments:** In the present global system, democracy is strongly tied to privatisation. Nigeria is not an exception to this trend and the government have taken the issue of liberalisation and privatisation very seriously. The president has made over a hundred trips abroad in order to source for Foreign Direct Investments (FDI). A number of companies has been

privatised while some others have become liberalised. For instance the liberalisation of the communication sector of the economy led to the advent of

global mobile technology in the country. However, the quest for foreign investments is being seriously undermined by general insecurity in the country and the high rate of corruption.

**3.3.2 NEPAD/Africa Union:** The Obasanjo administration has exhibited innovation in its foreign policy strategies and tactics. The government established a ministry of integration in Africa because it was able to take cognizance of the trend of globalisation sweeping across countries of the world. Nigeria took active part in the crusade for the forgiveness of debt for Africa nations, the formation of the New Economic Partnership for African Development (NEPAD)

and the African Union (AU). The two initiatives, if well implemented portends rapid economic development for the African continent.

**3.3.3 Privatisation:** One of the basic thrust of the regime's economic agenda is the privatisation programme. Under the programme, most public utilities which are

being managed are to be transferred to the private sector in what is being referred to as market - driven economy. It is expected that the programme will

bring about the desired dividends of democracy. But we should ask at what

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**3.4 Dividends of Democracy**

Different scholars have made us to believe that democracy is the best preferred system of government because of its immense benefits for the majority. Has Nigerians enjoyed these benefits? Yes, to some extent, one can say that democracy has ushered - in improvements in certain aspects of our national life. They include:

**3.4.0 Rule of Law:** Most Nigerians will argue that their ability to express themselves, move freely and exercise their fundamental human rights is a major dividend of democracy. The rule of law is dully followed in the governments dealings with the people. Though this achievement is being undermined by the police operation -fire-for-fire, the military intervention in crises areas and "punitive" arrests of suspects (example is Mohammed Abacha) such cases are not as widespread as they were during military rule.

**3.4.1 Power supply:** On assumption of office in 1999, the government invested billions of naira in the power sector of the economy. National Electric Power Authority (NEPA) the corporation responsible for power supply was reorganised and a new leadership was appointed. Thermal and hydro stations across the country were re-habilitated while new power stations were under construction presently. Also, NEPA has been re-organised while the energy sector has been deregulated in such a way that private companies are active players. Though, the fruits of all these efforts are not manifesting presently, it is believed that the positive impact of these effort will be felt soon.

**3.4.2 Telecommunications:** Telecommunication is one of the fuels of economic development. The Obasanjo government has taken cognizance of this fact and has accordingly liberalised the sector. Today, the monopoly of NITEL, the state - owned corporation has been broken while companies like ECONET and MTN are presently introducing new innovations into the sector. Also, a Second National Operator (SNO) was granted Globacom, another private player in the sector.

**3.4.3 Oil Sector:** The petroleum sector is the proverbial goose which lays the golden egg but which has been subjected to neglect by successive government. The present government has been meeting a substantial amount of the NNPC obligations in its joint ventures with the transnational corporations. The refineries are presently operating close to their installed capacity while oil scarcity is no more a prevalent phenomenon in the country.

**4.0 Conclusion**

Also, I am of the believe that democracy is the best system of government. However, democracy without development could only lead to mob rule. Let me sound a note of warning, that as long as corruption, illiteracy and poverty is



prevalent in Nigeria, development will elude us and democracy may not work. These should be the most urgent issues that our government must tackle, and they must be accompanied with the desired structural changes.

## **5.0 Summary**

We have informed ourselves (because I've also gained) in this lecture that the fourth republic came about as a result of sustained efforts by politicians, and other stakeholders in the civil society. Also, expectations were high amongst Nigerians for an

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ideal state after the termination of military rule. We posited that the reality that stares us in the face is continued impoverishment. We concluded by calling on the government to step up efforts in the areas of education, poverty reduction and the war against corruption.

## **6.0 Further Readings**

**International IDEA (2000): Democracy in Nigeria: Continuing Dialogue(s) for Nation-Building**, Stockholm, International IDEA.

**Suberu, R.T. (2002): Federalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria**, Washington, United States Institute of Peace Press.

## **7.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment**

- (i) What is the influence of the civil society on Nigeria's political institutions in the fourth republic?
- (ii) Enumerate the achievements recorded so far by the Obasanjo administration?
- (iii) How has corruption and instability undermined national development in Nigeria during the fourth republic?
- (iv) List and explain the contending issues in Nigeria's fourth republic?

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## **BUM 775: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

### **UNIT 21**

**SCHOOL: BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATION**

**PROGRAMME: POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT**

**COURSE TITLE: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

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## **1.0 Introduction**

Parts of the National Question is the continuing demand for a more credible, just equal and constitutional revenue allocation principle in Nigeria. The major concern of such demand is to make sure that the different tiers of government have adequate resource for the effective performance of their respective functions. Under a constitutional government, the National Revenue mobilisation, allocation and fiscal commission is saddled with the responsibility of periodic review of the revenue allocation principles and formulae such that would minimize short term political pressure, it is also to prescribe revenue allocation formulae subject to the approval of Mr. President and to ensure full compliance with such formula. However, this is a recent innovation. Before the commission came on board and ever since the advent of the colonialists, Nigeria have had quite a number of revenue allocation commission. They include the Philipson commission of 1946, Hicks - Philipson commission of 1951, Clegg commission of 1958, Raisman commission of 1958, Binn commission of 1964, Dina commission of 1968, Aboyade commission of 1977, Okigbo commission of 1980 and the Revenue allocation mobilization and fiscal commissions of 1988 and 2000 respectively. These committees has severally adopted certain principles which we shall examine here.

## **2.0 Objectives**

The purposes for this study are:

To examine the principle of revenue allocation in Nigeria

To recommend a revenue allocation formula based on equity and even development for Nigeria.

## **3.0 Revenue Allocation Principles**

In Nigeria, about eight revenue allocation formulae has been used at one point in time or the other. They include (1) Population (2) Even Development (3) Continuity of services (4) Maintenance of minimum responsibilities (5) Equality (6) Land mass and terrain (7) Internal revenue efforts and (8) Derivation I will now give brief explanations on each of the principles:

1. Population: This is one of the principles that was in use since the colonial days. It presupposes that population strength of a particular state are taken into consideration in making financial allocation to such state.

2. Even development: In a federal state like Nigeria, one of the goals of government is to ensure that no part of the country develops at the expense of others, at least via the fiscal allocation. In keeping with the ideals of federalism therefore, the revenue allocation principles of even development has been consistently applied.

3. Continuity of services: This means that in allocating resources, the projects of governments at all levels are considered so as not to impair the execution of those projects, especially the worthwhile ones.

4. Maintenance of minimum responsibility: Responsibilities of each level of government is juxtaposed with the revenue accruing to it, so as to ensure that the government performs effectively. Activities in many states in Nigeria has come to a halt due to the wage bills of the states and local government. This is an aberration. Emphasis should be laid on this principle as it should be used in determining the revenue accruing to the other levels of government.

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5. Equality: This principle is used with the understanding that no state is greater than the other in sharing the wealth of the nation. This allows for a sense of belonging even by the poorest of states.
6. Land mass and Terrain:- This allows for a special percentage calculated according to the landmass and terrains of states because of the money that will have to be spent in the area of development.
7. Internal revenue Efforts: The strive of states to internally generate revenue are also often rewarded by reflecting it in federal revenue allocation.
8. Derivation: This principle is applied based on the fact that relatively a substantial amount of money out of the resources from a particular area are recycled in form of revenue to aid development and reduce the effect of environmental and other forms of degradations to the environment.

**4.0 Conclusion**

It is obvious from our studies that the successive revenue allocation principles in Nigeria are not the reflection of the popular majority opinions. Rather, they are the aggregation of the views of individuals, groups and commissions which has penchant for dangerous assumptions. As of today, a derivation of 13 percent is being paid to states with mineral resources but more still need to be done in order to jerk it up. I however recommend highly that the civil society should be carried along if and when a new revenue allocation formula is being made.

**5.0 Summary**

In this study, I have told of the importance of revenue which has been dubbed "national cake" by Nigerians. I stated that the issue of an equitable revenue allocation formula has become part of the "National questions" in the country. We examined eight principles that has been in use at one point or the other in Nigeria's history before concluding that the participation of the civil society is germane in order to arrive at a fair formula in future.

**6.0 Further Readings**

**Amuwo K. et al (1998)** (eds) Federalism and Political Restructuring in Nigeria, Ibadan Spectrum

**Elaigwu I and Akindele R (1996)** (eds) Foundation of Nigerian Federalism 1900-1965 Abuja, NCIR

**Akinyemi B et al (1979)** Readings on Federalism Lagos, NITA.

**Ulcwu I.O (1987) (ed)** Federal character and National Integration in Nigeria kuru,

WIPSS. **7.0 Tutor Marked questions**

What do you understand by revenue allocation formula

Name the principles of Nigerian Revenue allocation as applied since the colonial days

iii Explain what is meant by derivation?

## UNIT 22

**SCHOOL: BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATION**  
**PROGRAMME: POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT**  
**MANAGEMENT**

**COURSE: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

**UNIT 22: REVENUE ALLOCATION COMMISSION**

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### 1.0 Introduction:

Revenue sharing in Nigeria is bedeviled with series of problems. This arises basically from the fact that states lack the authority either to raise tax or to collect the proceeds, hence the problem centered not on who should raise taxes but how the proceeds should be shared.

Nigeria has undergone rapid changes in the number of fiscal units from 3 to 4 then to 12 to 19, 21, 30 and 36 states, within a sjpace of less than four decades. Consequent upon this, the primary motivation of revenue sharing reflects to a greater extent the political power of incumbency, in addition to the fact that majority of the states are economically too weak to fund their activities or operations. To solve this problem of revenue sharing a number of commission and ad-hoc committees have been set up at various times.

### 2.0 Objectives

The basic objectives, which we aim at achieving in this unit are:

To acquaint ourselves with the various revenue allocation commissions set up.

- To critically access the fundamental reasons that informed the various commissions.

To examine the provisions of each of the various commissions.

- Access the recommendations of each commission.

To see how these have affected revenue allocation in Nigeria.

And finally, to find out if the problem of revenue allocation have been solved through these commissions in Nigeria.

### **3.1 The Philipson Commission - 1946**

The constitutional change to be introduced in 1946 by Richards created the need to formulate proposals to enable the newly created regions, East, North and West to perform their new responsibilities.

The Philipson commission was to formulate financial and administrative procedures to be adopted under the new constitution. The commission divided regional revenue into two categories:- "DECLARED and NON-DECLARED".

Declared revenue were these locally collected by the regional authorities, such as direct taxes (personal income tax) licences fees, income from property, rent, etc. Non-declared revenue were those collected by the central government. It was the central government that determined what portion of the non-declared revenue were to be shared among the regions.

For the sharing out of the non-declared revenue among the regions, Philipson considered three principles: DERIVATION, EVEN-PROGRESS and POPULATION.

### **3.2 The Hicks - Philipson Commission - 1951**

The changes envisaged by the Macpherson constitution and the dissatisfaction with the Philipson's scheme, led to the appointment of Prof. John Hicks and Sir Sidney Philipson to develop a new scheme that will achieve a more equitable division of revenue. The commission recommended that the regions should have power to raise, regulate and appropriate to themselves certain items of revenue. The commission proposed that revenue should be shared on the principle of DERIVATION, NEED and NATIONAL INTEREST.

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### **3.3 The Chicks Commission - 1953**

The Constitutional Conference of 1953, gave an opportunity for the review of the previous allocation scheme our Sir Louis Chick was then appointed to ensure that the total revenue available was allocated in such a way that the principle of derivation was followed to the fullest and compatible with the needs of the central as well as the regional governments.

Chick did not only follow the injunction, but expanded the allocation scheme to include not only import and excise duties but export duties, mining, rent and royalties and personal income taxes.

### **3.4 The Reisman Commission - 1958**

The commission was appointed to review the tax jurisdiction as well as the allocation of revenue from these tax such that the regions had the maximum possible proportion of the revenue within their exclusive competence. To facilitate the sharing of some federally collected revenue, the commission created the Distributable Pool Account. For the purpose of sharing among the region out of the total revenue, there were clearly two principles DERIVATION and NEED.

### **3.5 The Binns Commission - 1964**

The commission was set up under section 164 of the 1963 Republican Constitution. The term of reference of the commission was to review and make recommendations with respect to the allocation of mining, rent and royalties and the distribution of funds in the distributable pool account among the regions. The commission applied the principle of financial comparability which was some what of a hybrid between NEED and EVEN-DEVELOPMENT.

### **3.6 The Military Era - (1967/1975)**

The period 1967 to 1975 was characterised by series of decrees. Decree No.15 of 1967 resolved the problem of revenue sharing by allocating equally the percentage that belong to the Northern Region among the six new states created out of that region, and that of the East and West among the new states on the basis of population.

### **3.7 Dina interim Revenue Allocation Review Committee - 1968**

The committee was appointed in 1968 to look into and suggested any change in the existing system of revenue allocation as a whole. Also to suggest new sources of revenue both for the federal and state governments. The committee renamed the distribution pool account into "State Joint Account", established a special grants accounts and recommended a permanent planning and fiscal commission to administer the special grants account and to undertake a continuous study and review of revenue allocation problems and schemes.

The report was however, rejected by the Federal Military Government and was not even published. Decree No.13, 1970 adopted a two factor formula. Population and equality of states while Decree No.99 1971 gave to the Federal Military Government absolute power and right to revenue from off-shore rent and royalties. Decree No.6, 1975 emphasised that all revenues to be shared by the states had to pass through to distribution post account except 20% of the on-shore mining rents and royalties due to the state of origin on the principle of derivation.

### **3.8 The Aboyade Technical Committee - 1977**

The Aboyade technical committee on revenue allocation was appointed in 1977 to review the existing allocation scheme. The committee recommended that all federally

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collected revenue without distinction be paid into the federation account and that the proceeds of the account be shared among the federal, the states and local governments in the following order:

- (a) Federal Government 60%
- (b) State Government 30%
- (c) Local Government 10%.

The committee created a special grants account (3% from the federal government share) to be administered by the federal military government to the benefit of mineral producing states and other areas in need of rehabilitation for emergencies and disasters. The principle of sharing among the states were built on five factor formula.

- Equality of access to development opportunities
- (ii) National minimum standards
- (iii) Absorptive capacity
- (iv) Independent revenue and tax effort
- (v) Fiscal efficiency

### 3.9 The Okigbo Commission - 1979

The Okigbo commission was inaugurated on 23rd November 1979 to devise a scheme of allocation that would be understood and widely or readily acceptable as equitable. For this purpose, the commission deliberated on the meaning of "Revenue" in Section 149 (1) and Section 149 (6) of the 1979 constitution and concluded that receipts from payment of loans, sale of government capital assets and reimbursement cannot be regarded as revenue and therefore should not form part of the federation account or the total revenue of the federal government.

Section 279(2) of the federal constitution, the provision of Section 263 creating the Federal Capital Territory came into force on 1st October, 1979 and regarded the Federal Capital Territory as a state and therefore entitled to participate in the sharing from the federal account of revenue among states.

Section 149 of the constitution also provided that all revenue collected by the federal government should be paid into the federation account except for the proceeds of personal income tax of the personnel of the armed forces, the Nigerian Police Force, the Ministry of External Affairs and the residents of the Federal Capital Territory.

The commission recommended that the proceeds of the federation account be shared among the federal, the state and the local governments as listed here under:

- (a) Federal government 53%
- (b) State government 30%
- (c) Local government 10%
- (d) Special funds 7%

The 7% of the special funds be applied as follows:

Initial development of the Federal Capital Territory 2.5%

- (ii) Special problems of minerals producing areas 2.0%
- (iii) Ecological and similar problems: flood, erosion etc. 1.0%
- (iv) Revenue equalisation fund.

The commission further recommended the use of four factor formula for allocation among the state government with the following weights:

- (i) Minimum responsibility of government 40%

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- (ii) Population 40%
- (iii) Social development factor
  - Direct primary school enrollment 11.25%)
  - Inverse primary school enrollment 3.75%) 15%
- (iv) Internal revenue effort 5%

The 3-tiers of government prior to Ibrahim Babangida regime and mid-way into the regime shared the proceeds of the federation account as follows:

- (i) Federal Government 55%
- (ii) State Government 35%
- (iii) Local Government 10%

The 35% accruing to the state which is paid into "State Joint Local Government Account" is in turn shared as follows:

- (i) Direct to state 30.5%
- (ii) Mineral producing area on derivation basis 2.0%
- (iii) Amelioration of ecological problems 1.0%
- (iv) Development of oil producing areas 1.5%

The respective share of the various government account is known as "Statutory Allocation". In his speech on the eve of his fourth year in office, Ibrahim Babangida announced a new revenue allocation formula approved by the Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) as follows:

- (i) Federal Government 50%
  - (ii) State Government 30%
  - (iii) Local Government 15%
  - (iv) Special Funds 5%
- The Armed Forces Ruling Council also decided that any surplus arising from

the sale of gas should be separately accounted for and in the same manner as the sale of petroleum, for the purpose of payment into the federation account.

### **3.10 The National Revenue Mobilisation Allocation and Fiscal Commission**

The commission headed by Lt. Gen. T.Y. Danjuma (rtd.) was established in 1989 as a permanent revenue allocation body. It was charged with regular review of allocation formula.

The commission applied the following basis

- (i) Federal Government 48.5%
- (ii) State Government 24.0%
- (iii) Local Government 20.0%
- (iv) Special Funds 7.5%

The 7.5% of the special fund is utilised as follows:

- (a) Ecological problems 2.0%
- (b) Emergency problems 2.5%
- (c) Mineral producing areas 3.0%

### **4.0 Conclusion**

The polyglot nature of the Nigerian state has made the issue of revenue allocation quite sensitive. In order to demonstrate openness in the process of allocation of the revenue accruing to the federation, various revenue allocation commissions were established by government. This however, has not stopped the agitation for enhanced revenue allocation formula which reflect true federalism, fairness and equity. It is

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believed that only a revenue allocation formula which takes the interests of all Nigerians into cognizance is required to douse the unending agitations in the country.

### **5.0 Summary**



In our lecture, the problems of revenue allocation have been stated to be numerous and this is due to the fact that states do not possess the authority to raise taxes and collect proceeds and also share them. And to ameliorate this, revenue allocation commissions and ad-hoc committees are set up to cater for this problem. And this have been a set-up of revenue allocation commissions and ad-hoc committees at various times.

## **7.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment**

- 1.Explain the need for the establishment of revenue allocation commissions in Nigeria.
- 2.Examine the performance of each revenue allocation commissions and committees in Nigeria.

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#### **UNIT 23**

**SCHOOL:**

**BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATION**

**PROGRAMME:**

**POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN LOCAL**

**GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT**

**COURSE TITLE:**

**NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

**UNIT 23:**

**ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF NIGERIAN FEDERALISM**

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#### **1.0 Introduction**

Today, we will be talking about the way power could be arranged in any political system. Power could be concentrated in one central unit or it could be divided among various units in the system. In the former, where power is concentrated in the central authority, it is called a unitary system like what obtains in Britain. However, when power is shared among the units, as in the case of the latter, it is known as federalism. Such

as what is practiced here in Nigeria.

Since this is what is practiced in Nigeria, it is necessary to see how the federal principle is operated in Nigeria. Therefore today, we will be talking on the origin and evolution of the Nigerian federalism.

## **2.0 Objectives**

After this class, you should be able to:

1. Know the meaning of federalism
2. Understand the dynamics of Nigerian federalism, and
3. Identifying the problems of Nigerian federalism.

## **3.0 Origin and Evolution of Nigerian Federalism**

### **3.1 The Concept of Federalism**

While introducing this course we stressed on the idea of decentralising or sharing or dividing powers. Therefore, we could see federalism as a form of political arrangement in which power is shared among or between the central government and the other levels or tiers of government. In Nigeria, the levels of government are the federal, the state and the local government. These units/tiers/levels of government though they are separate, they work together, coordinate and interact with one another and it should be stressed that none is subordinate in power to another as they all have their powers and jurisdiction. The powers among these units are got from the same source which is the constitution. Hence, in Nigeria, the constitution reserves the exclusive power for the federal government (e.g aviation, defence, currency, foreign affairs) and the residual power for the states e.g. education, agriculture.

### **3.2 The Historical Background of Nigerian Federalism**

In some of our past lessons, we were told about the advent of Europeans into the country which worked the beginning of colonialism. We were also told that before they came, there was no place called Nigeria, what existed were empires and kingdoms such as the Oyo empire, Sokoto caliphate, Benin Empire, etc. The Nigerian state is thus basically a product of colonial imposition. From the amalgamation off Northern and Southern protectorate in 1914 right down to September 1954, Nigeria was basically under a unitary system and power was only located in the British crown; though if you'll remember, the Richard's constitution of 1946 made provision for regionalisation for the purpose of administrative devolution but real federalism as it is practiced today started in 1954 after the promulgation of the Lyttleton constitution. Then the federation consisted of a central government and the three regional government of Eastern, Western and Northern region.

Given the structurally imbalanced Nigerian federation, many Nigerian groups particularly the 250 ethnic minorities and 3 ethnic majorities (Igbo, Yoruba, Hausa), attempts were made to restructure the federation. Consequently, the Nigerian federal structure rose from its original three regions to its present 36 states as follows:

1954 - 1967 (3 regions)

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1963 - 1967 (4 regions)  
1967 - 1975 (12 states)  
1975- 1989 (19 states)  
1989- 1991 (21 states)  
1991 - 1996 (30 states)  
1996 - present (36 states)

More will be discussed on states creation in one of our subsequent discussions.

Nigeria has thus witnessed six structural re-organisation in its federal system. Moreso, Nigeria is justified for adopting the federal structure due to the advantages it has on administrative efficiency, economic factor, geographical contiguity, ethnic and cultural factors, common historical experience and political leadership.

### **3.4 Issues in Nigerian Federalism**

There are some issues which made Nigeria's federalism quite peculiar, this is what we want to discuss now.

#### **3.4.1 Federal Character Principle**

The federal character principle is a form of quota system made by the Constitutional Drafting Committee under the Murtala/Obasanjo regime to solve the problem of ethnicity in Nigeria's federal structure and to ensure the participation of all the states of the nation in the governmental and policy process.

The system divides the country into six zones and guarantees that an individual in each zone is given equal terms of appointment and promotion.

#### **3.4.2 Revenue Allocation**

In Nigeria's federal structure, centrally collected revenue is usually divided among the federating units on the basis of derivation and need. The ways of sharing revenue have been different in Nigeria. As we discussed in one of our previous classes, I would like to draw your attention to the various revenue allocation commission we talked about, you may also read it further understanding on how revenue is allocated in the country beginning with the 1958 Jerry Raisen Commission to the 1979 Abovade Commission and others after.

### **3.5 Problems of the Nigerian Federation**

A major problem of the Nigerian federalism is that of militarization. You would remember that the military has been in power for more than 30 years out of the 42 years of the military is quite different from that of federalism. The military possesses an hierarchical structure which is unitary i.e power is in the whims of a single authority. This is not ideal in a federal system. Hence, the military has succeeded in bastardizing the Nigeria's federal structure.

There has also been inefficient and ineffective intergovernmental relations. Intergovernmental relations is important in any federation as it brings about interaction among the units i.e. federal-state relations, state-state relations and state-local relations. These units need to communicate with one another to move the federation forward. This network of relations is quite difficult in Nigeria as there is so much power concentration at the federal level that the federal government serves as a dictator to the other regions. This ought not to be so in a federal system as federalism sees all the units not subordinate but 'coordinate within their spheres of jurisdiction'.

For example, some time ago, the President, Olusegun Obasanjo, arbitrarily increased the salaries of government workers without the consent of the states, hence many states could not

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pay because they were handicapped. Ordinarily, before the increment was made, the federal government has to negotiate with the states to reach a compromise.

The Nigerian federalism thus lacks a good network of intergovernmental relations (IGR) which gives a drawback to the federation.

**Ethnicity:** In Nigeria today, there is more than 250 different ethnic groups which sees themselves as being superior to others. In one of our subsequent classes, we would be talking of ethnicity in Nigeria, by then you will be able to understand what ethnicity does to the federation.

Other problems include the fear of domination which has led to the call for a Sovereign National Conference, Inequalities of the regions, in terms of geographical size absence of true national political parties e.g. in the present fourth republic, the Alliance for Democracy (AD) is seen as a Western - dominated party while the Peoples Democratic Party belongs to the North, arbitral state creation exercise and in equality of resources. This has led also to the resources control palaver by some Southern state government.

### **3.6 Suggested Solution**

Perhaps the way to regulate the federal principle in Nigeria is to authenticate and hold a genuine Sovereign National Conference so that the different ethnic groups and tribes would iron out their differences. Also, attempts should be made to put the military in check and ensure that they do not interfere in politics.

### **4.0 Conclusion**

Due to the polyglot nature of Nigeria and its size, the best form of government for it to adequately meet the welfare of its citizens is a democratic federal system. This is because a federal arrangement allows for the sharing of power among co-ordinate units which interrelate together to form a whole. It is therefore hoped that the federal principle is greatly upheld to meet the demands of the Nigerian people.

### **5.0 Summary**

So far we've been discussing of the origin and evolution of Nigerian Federalism. We started with the definition of federalism, the historical background of Nigerian federalism and we also raised some fundamental issues in Nigerian federalism before we identified some of the problems of Nigerian federalism and then we sought for solutions to the problems.

### **6.0 Further Readings**

**Amuwo, K. et al (1998):** Federalism and Political Structuring in Nigeria; Ibadan: Spectrum Books.

**Erim, E. et al (1996):** Foundation of Nigerian Federalism, (NCIR; Abuja).

**Kolawole, D. (1997):** Readings in Political Science, Ibadan: Dekaal Publishers.

**Omotoso, F. (2000):** Theory and Practice of Federalism: The Nigerian Perspective, Ado-Ekiti. •

## **7.0 Tutor-Marked Assignments**

1. Federalism due to its feature of decentralising powers is the best form of government for Nigeria. Discuss.
2. What are the hinderances to the practice of true federalism in Nigeria? Suggest recommendations.
3. Draw a historical background to the origin of Nigeria's federalism.

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### **UNIT 24**

#### **BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATION**

#### **POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT**

#### **NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS STATES CREATION IN NIGERIA**

**SCHOOL: PROGRAMME:**

**COURSE TITLE: UNIT 24:**

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- 7.0 Tutor Marked Assignments

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### **1.0 Introduction**

In our lessons on federalism, we established the necessity of component units which make up a federation, saying that power must be shared between the central government and these component units in a way that none is subordinate to the other. These component unit if I remember clearly, were also referred to as states. We could go on therefore to say that states are important to the success of any federation and if indeed federalism is to ensure that the government is able to reach the grassroots in its business of allocating scarce values, the existence of more states appears to be a good means to the government's end. What I am saying is that state creation is an imperative of federations. Intact, in the developed federations, state creation is a panacea to problems of development.

The polyglot nature of the Nigerian state made it necessary for Nigeria to adopt the federal system of government and with this adoption came agitations for creation of states. The issue of state creation has indeed dominated the Nigerian political scene since independence and owing to this Nigeria has witnessed six structural rearrangements. The structure of the Nigerian Federation has grown from

three regions at independence to 365 states today.

## **2.0 Objectives**

By the end of this study we would have reached another level in the study of the Nigerian government and politics. This study would attempt achieving the following objectives:

- Talk about the nature of the Nigerian state and the Nigerian people.
- Trace the history of state creation in Nigeria.
- We would then go on to examine state creation and National integration.

Here we

intend to paint a picture of the reasons why states are created in Nigeria and if the state creation exercises has actually moved the country forward.

## **3.0 The Nature of the Nigerian State**

The nature of the Nigerian state is reflected in the people who inhabit the country. For one, the Nigerian state came to being through colonial fiat. During the Berlin conference of 1884-1885 Africa was partitioned without recourse to differences in languages, cultures, religion and general orientation of the people. This makes African states and for the reason of this study, the Nigerian state, a forced states.

Earlier in this paper in the first module, I talked about the Eastern, Western, and Northern parts of Nigeria to paint a picture of the near independence of the major groups that make up Nigeria today. (You may as well turn your material to that part if you cannot remember the things we said). The country has three major ethnic groups but in reality there are over 250 ethnic groups. Hence, Nigeria is referred to as a polygot nation. Peoples with different language, cultures, orientations, systems of governance and religious are together called Nigerians not because they agreed to be together but because the European masters decided they should be together.

At independence, the nationalist who were not oblivious to their many differences only came together to fight and refuse the leader of a mutual adversary - the colonial masters. Hence, soon after the colonialists left having achieved their mutual objective, they (the nationalist that is), pitched their tents differently with their ethnic group. This is only obvious in the formation of political parties. The Northern people's congress (NPC)

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represented the north, the NCNC was mainly for the East while the Action group was for the West.

Another attribute of the Nigerian state that must be considered is the fact that she is a developing country, thus, economically weak. Majority of the people live below poverty line. The elites are in the minority while the have-nots are in the majority. The Nigerian state is thus an instrument of oppression of the poor in the hands of the rich. This must have informed Gunder Myrdal who referred to the Nigerian state as a soft state. '

## **3.1 History of State Creation in Nigeria**

Before now, reference had been made to the fact that Nigeria has gone

through six major internal restructuring exercises that have taken the country from being a state with three regions to one of 36 states. This changes were not spontaneous hence, it is important that we examine how it came about. The historical evolution of this is as follows:

1954 -	1963: Three Regions
1963 -	1967: Four Regions
1967 -	1975: Twelve States
1975 -	1989: Nineteen States
1989 -	1991: Twenty-one States
1991 -	1996: Thirty States
1996 -	To date: Thirty six States.

From the above, we can see that States' Creation exercise in post-independent Nigeria began in 1963, when the mid-west region was excised from the western region. The four regions were in existence until May 1967, when General Yakubu Gowon (then Colonel). Carried out a major State Creation exercise. The Creation of twelve states out of four regions led to the end of regionalism in the country. This arrangement continued until July, 1975 when General Gowon was over thrown by General Murtala Muhammed. And on February 1976, General Muhammed created additional seven states bringing the total number of states in the federation to nineteen.

At independence Nigeria was divided into three regions, the Western, Eastern and Northern region. It was noted then, that the Northern region was larger than the two other regions put together. The first restructuring came in 1963 under the Balewa administration and it witnessed the excision of the Mid-western region from the former Western region bringing the number of regions to four. The move of the government was most surprising as there were greater agitations from the Eastern and northern regions for the creation of states. The reason for state creation therefore was that of party politics in which the government was out to undermine the "excesses" of the western region.

By January, 1966, the Balewa government was over thrown in a coup d'etat that saw Irons' as the Head of State. Soon, Irons' was displaced in a counter coup in the same year and Gowon took over the reins of leadership. Gowon. Further divided the existing four regions into 12 states in 1967 noting that in creating more states if must be ensured that no state is more powerful than the other. He also said each state must be able to adequately perform its duties, the wishes of the people must be carried out, there should be administrative convenience and each state should be geographically compact. The state creation exercise under Gowon put an end to the monolithic north

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as the nation was indeed divided into 12 equal parts between the three major ethnic groups. It also brought about the end of regionalism in Nigeria.

Gowon was overthrown by General Murtala Muhammed in a bloodless coup in 1975. The new head of state immediately set up a panel, (the Ayo Irikefe panel) to look into the issue of creation of more states in the country. By February 1976, seven

additional states were created making the number of states 19. The reasons given for the creation of these states were promotion of development, getting the government closer to the people and minimizing affiliations by making the creation of states a once and for all issue.

The Murtala/Obasanjo regime was however not able to make the restructuring of Nigeria a "once and for all" issue as the Babangida regime which overthrew Buhari's government carried out two restructuring exercises. The first on September, 23 1987 and the second on August 29, 1991 at the regimes sixth year anniversary. Prior to this time the Shagari administration witnessed great agitations by the people and infact made attempts to create more states but this was not to be. The first restructuring exercise carried out by Babangida brought the number of states to 21 by adding an additional two states.

In the second exercise nine other states were created out of the 21 existing ones. Hence, the number of states in the country became 30. Babangida amongst other reasons said the creation of more states was necessitated by "national protest", "political expediency" and "peace and harmony among the peoples of Nigeria".

The last state creation exercise carried out in Nigeria brought her to a present 36 states position. It was done under the Abacha regime on October 1, 1996. The process of state creation started with the inauguration of state creation and boundary adjustment committee headed by Chief Arthur Mbanefo.

The committee which consisted of 13 members was to make investigations as to the wishes of the people and the necessity of state creation in parts of the country and from its investigations make recommendations to the government. Truly, the committee must have carried out its duty but its recommendations never saw the light of the day. Despite this, General Abacha went ahead to announce the creation of six additional states in the country.

The number of states in the country notwithstanding, agitations seem to be on the increase even in the present Obasanjo administration. It seems that none of the restructuring programmes have been able to give solution to the problems of the people. More troubling is the fact that sections of people who had earlier agitated for states and got their demands were still crying marginalization.

### **3.2 State Creation and National Integration in Nigeria**

As an intellectual, by now, from the on going discussion, some questions should have stated flashing through your mind. You should be asking, "what is the purpose of state creation ideally?", "What purposes has it been able to achieve in Nigeria?", "Has state creation been able to foster unity in Nigeria?", if not why?

Ideally, state creation and national integration are supposed to go hand in hand. That is the more the number of states, the more integrated the country. However, the Nigerian situation seem to differ considerably. Weiner cited in Kolawole; 1998, 146) avers that "integration may refer to the process of bringing together culturally and socially discrete groups into a single territorial unit and the establishment of national

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unity". Almond Powell went a step further by arguing that national integration is "the



process whereby people transfer commitment and loyalty from small tribes; villages or petty principalities, to a larger central political system. "Both definition paint a picture of unity in diversity, that is, a situation whereby people despite their inherent differences decide to be committed to a broad based entity.

National integration makes development easy. The creation of more states in Nigeria has not made the country a true nation. The reasons for this are not far fetched. **3.3 Reasons why State Creation has not**

**brought Development in the Nigerian case**

So many reasons can be easily observed as to why state creation in Nigeria is yet to bring in expected dividends. Some of these reasons are:

For one, all state creation exercises hitherto carried out in Nigeria, with the exception of the carving out of the Mid-western region out of the formal western region, were conducted by Military governments. It is wondered therefore, how an illegitimate government which is dictatorial in nature and cares less about the welfare of the people would successfully create states that would mainly be developmental. The totalitarian process of creating states is reflected in the fact that the reports of the committees set up for state creation are hardly implemented or even considered when states are being created.

Two, owing from the above, states were not usually created based on the needs of the people. During the Balewa administration the excising of the mid-west from the western region was simply party politicking, done in order to undermine the power of the opposition party-the Action Group. There were great demands from the Eastern region by the Cross - River - Ogoja people and the Tiv in the northern region but these pleas were ignored.

Three, the Kleptocratic nature of leaders in Nigeria has been an obstruction to state creation exercises being developmental. With the announcement of the creation of a new state comes the release of funds for establishment of government ministries and basic infrastructures. Political leaders take these funds as the largesse from their conquest and enrich their pockets, and make great accomplishments on paper while the people are left to suffer.

Four, being a forced republic, it is difficult for Nigerian peoples" to desire creation of states based on a true desire for a better Nigeria. Rather, demands for more states has always been done along tribal lines. Nigerians have just been unable to be accommodating enough to live as a people. A case in point is that of Ekiti. The old Ondo State was created because there was a demand, then Ekiti a former part of Ondo State and indeed a large part demanded her own state. Today, despite having a state of their own, the Ekiti people are yet to be agree on so many issues.

Fifth, state creation has always been a tool of legitimacy. It is only habitual of a government to take over the reins of leadership of the nation today and announce the setting up of a committee which is to look into the creation of more states the next morning. The military being an imposed government has from times past used state creation as a bait to catch the people's attention. A good example is the state creation exercise under Abacha's regime.

For the sake of this paper I will stop at this points. I however, expect that you will go ahead and gather more information on your own.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

The history of state creation in Nigeria and the circumstances that surrounded various restructuring programmes done in the country has shown that despite the increase from three regions to thirty-six states the Nigerian people are yet to be integrated. It is my view that after all the restructurings, Nigerians are more divided today than they were forty-two years ago. Nigerian leaders seem to have contacted the European misnormal of state partitioning with little or no recourse to the people. Through state creation hitherto United tribes have been made enemies.

It would be unfair to be simply one sided and say state creation is holistically bad hence, I would conclude by saying. State creation in Nigeria has brought growth in almost all facets of the country's life but development has been lacking.

#### **5.0 Summary**

We started this paper by making reference to our previous lessons on federalism, saying the units which make up a federation can also be referred to as states and their existence ideally, makes administration easier. We then went ahead to look into the objectives of the paper. An examination of the Nigerian people was done and from there we traced a history of state creation in Nigeria which can be summarized as follows:

- 1963- 4 regions (Balewa)
- 1967- 12 states (Gowon)
- Feb. 1976 - 19 states (Muhammed/Obasanjo)
- Sept. 1987 - 21 states (Babangida)
- Aug. 1991 - 30 states (Babangida)
- Oct. 1, 1996 - 36 states (Abacha).

This was followed by a look into the concept of national integration and state creation in Nigeria and then an examination of the reasons why state creation does not seem to have brought the expected results in Nigeria, and then the conclusion.

#### **6.0 Further Reading**

- **Amiwo et al (ed) (1998): Federalism and Political Restructuring in Nigeria**, Ibadan, Spectrum bks Ltd. And IFRA.
- **Omotoso Femi, State creation and National Integration in Nigeria**
- **Suberu, Rotimi T. (1994): "The Struggle for New states in Nigeria 1979-1990",**  
African Affairs Vol. 90 No. 361.  
**Wriggins, Howard (1966). "National Integration" Dynamics of Growth**  
New York Basic Book Inc.

#### **7.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT:**

1. How has the nature of the Nigerian state been reflected in the different restructuring exercises carried out in the country?
2. Trace the history of state creation in Nigeria making references to the reasons given for different government and the truism of these reasons.
3. Juxtapose state creation, national integration and development in Nigeria.

**SCHOOL: PROGRAMME:**

**COURSE TITLE: UNIT 25:**

**BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATION**

**POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT**

**NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS ETHNICITY IN NIGERIA.**

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  - 3.1 Causes and Effects of Ethnicity in Nigeria
  - 3.2 Re-Defining Ethnicity in Nigeria
- 4.0 Conclusion
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**1.0 INTRODUCTION**

Ethnicity is a threat to the political stability and development of Nigeria. Whilst countries like Rwanda, Sudan and Burundi were deeply torn by ethnic crises, Nigeria has miraculously escaped, several times, a tragedy of such magnitude. The antagonistic relationship between the ethnic groups in the country firstly came into public attention during the colonial days. However, it became one of the factors that led to the quick demise of the first republic. Ethnic irredentism nearly caused the disintegration of the country in the period between 1969 and 1970. Mercifully, a civil war to prevent the South-Easterners from seceding was won by the federal forces. Thenceforth, Ethnicity reared its head constantly in the Nigerian socio-political life. Certain sections saw the annulment of the June 12 1993 election and the resultant failure to hand over power to the winner as ethnic.

With the handing over to the civilian in 1999, ethnic crises assumed a militant and violent dimension. Today, there has been strident calls for the convocation of a national conference as the only solution to the cacophonous agitations and counter-agitations by the different ethnic groups. Whatever happens, it should be noted that ethnicity inherently retards growth and development.

**2.0 Objectives**

As the end of this lecture, you should be able to:

Define ethnicity?

State the causes of ethnicity in Nigeria?

State the effects of ethnicity in Nigeria?

State the solutions to the problem of ethnicity?

**3.0 What is Ethnicity?**

What is it that we are really saying? Should we know ourselves firstly and only as Nigerians? Will that connote that we are not ethnocentric? At what level

can one say that one is becoming ethnic? This leads us to the definition of ethnicity. Ethnicity according to international IDEA refers to "a social identity formation that rests upon culturally specific practices and a unique set of symbols and cosmology..., embracing an ethnic identity, and indeed accepting its process of socialization, does not have to conflict with that of other neighbouring identities". However, the elite in Nigeria has manipulated ethnicity to maintain and consolidate political power. Hence, ethnicity in Nigeria has assumed a negative connotation. Ethnic politics has been consistently threatening the stability and sovereignty of Nigeria. What I am saying is that ethnicity becomes ethnocentrism when a particular ethnic groups acquire the superiority complex to corner resources and to look down on other ethnic groups in the country.

### **3.1 Causes and effects of Ethnicity in Nigeria**

In my attempt at arriving at the causes of ethnicity in Nigeria, I reached the conclusion that the causes I'm going to state must be all inclusive. I have here seven causes of ethnicity in Nigeria. They might be more than these but I know these are enough for us:

**Unequal resource allocation:** There has been a running controversy between the North and the South with the latter alleging that the former has been gaining from the revenue allocation formula at its expense. Protagonists of this view usually dig into ethnic sentiments to appeal to the local populace and in order to make their points lucid.

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They often paint the picture that Northerners takes them as servants while they (Northerners) are the masters in the Nigerian federation.

**\*Poverty:** Poor people are often bedeviled with the problem of low self esteem. They feel rejected by the society and they easily become tool to political elite to be used in executing diabolical ethnic agenda. Many youths in the ethnic militia organisations derive their daily bread through such groups.

**•Illiteracy:** Ignorance could cause a lot of havoc both to the ignorant person(s) and to the society. An ignorant person easily believes in stereotypes, hearsays and outright

lies. Most Nigerians are illiterates (educationally and politically so) who can't see beyond their ethnic groups and could be easily incited against the other.

**\* Over-Centralization:** Nigeria is supposed to be a federal state but it is being run like a

unitary state. Too much power, too much resources, too much structures are too concentrated at the centre which makes it unduly attractive to the political class. Each ethnic group sees the election of its own into an important position as an opportunity to better the lots of the ethnic people and not that of the nation.

**•Personally:** I have observed empirically that multi-party system has become a major cause of ethnicity in Nigeria. When freely allowed to form political parties, politicians

formed them along ethnic and sectional lines while those parties pursued sectional agenda. Examples abounds in the first, second and the present fourth republic.

\* **Colonial Policies:** The colonialists had no politically rational basis for merging the North and the south together to form the present day Nigeria. Rather, it was due to administrative convenience and economic gains of the British. This has made the idea of a United Nigeria to be a mirage. Also, the division of the country into 3 unequal regions which saw the one (west) lording its position over the others (west and east)

sowed a seed of ethnic discord. I encourage you to find out what other ways the colonialists promoted ethnicity.

•**Military Rule:** The military institution does not allow for collectivity and this has been a major feature of successive military governments in Nigeria. Their inability to take popular decision ensured that ethnic animosities becomes aggravated. Many local

government councils created by General Abacha in Osun and Delta State resulted into violent ethnic clashes.

•The stratification policy (Sabongari) as practised in the country promotes and encourages ethnic tension and also a feeling of inferiority/superiority complex. The effects of ethnicity on the Nigerian state includes.

•**Political Instability:** This is a recurring decimal in Nigeria's political calculus. It seems

to have defied all solutions as it now manifests in ethnic militia violence. It has also led to the death of millions. It causes underdevelopment and war.

•Ethnicity has led to the sacrifice of meritocracy on the altar of mediocrity.

Efficiency in

public service is nice because employments are no longer on achievements but on the basis of place of birth.

•The ethnic minorities are the most hit in the ethnic crises in Nigeria. They have been pervasively marginalised both politically and economically.

### 3.2 Re-defining Ethnicity in Nigeria

Presently ethnicity in Nigeria has a negative connotation. It cannot but be so in a system pervaded by structural flaws which are fundamental in themselves. The existence of a multi-ethnic Nigeria should not connote antipathy. It should be geared at

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nation - building and confidence building. It should be an asset, not a liability. In order to make ethnicity play a positive role in the Nigerian state, the following measures should be taken by the government:

•The political education of the youths and women population (and the generality of Nigerians) should be embarked upon.

•Powers of the states and local governments should be increased in order to make the centre less attractive.

•There should be a just and equitable revenue allocation formula for the distribution of resources.

•The stratification of Nigerians living among ethnic groups other than theirs should be discontinued.

- Government should take poverty alleviation programme more seriously.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

Nigeria is composed of over 250 ethnic groups. Some of them shares a wide range of similarities, but more importantly, they all face the same challenge. The challenge of growth and development. It is my belief that it might be suicidal, if not impossible for an ethnic or some ethnic groups to want to gain this much - desired development at the expense of others. That is evident in the antithesis that such moves has caused in the polity. It is believed that a bold restructuring on the part of the government and the willingness of the ethnic groups to live and work together will lead to political stability and rapid development in Nigeria. Emphasis, I emphasise, should also be on the production of national cake by all and sundry so as to make the distribution to be in a buoyant scale.

#### **5.0 Summary**

In this study, we strongly argue the point that ethnicity is not necessarily a negative attribute but that the ethnocentrism of the various ethnic groups has perpetuated acrimonious relationship among the various ethnic groups in the country. We explained some of the causes of ethnicity in Nigeria which includes: illiteracy, poverty, over-centralisation of power, unequitable resource distribution etc. The effects of ethnicity are instability, inefficiency and marginalisation. We concluded by stating that the diversity inherent in Nigeria should be positively harnessed to ensure stability and development.

#### **6.0 Further Readings**

**Amuwo K et al (1998) (ed)** Federalism and Political restructuring in Nigeria, Ibadan, Spectrum  
**Adebayo, A (1991)** Power in Politics, Ibadan Spectrum  
**International IDEA (2000)** Democracy in Nigeria: Continuing Dialogue(s) for Nation -Building, Stockholm: international IDEA  
**Magbadelo O.J. (2000)** :igeria's Political Debate: issues and Ideas, Joson-sam Modem Publisher

#### **7.0 Tutor Marked Assignments**

- I. How did the military regimes in Nigeria promote ethnicity?  
 In line with the argument in this lecture, how would you explain the term "ethnicity"?  
 What are the solutions to the problem of ethnicity in Nigeria?
- iv. How did the colonialists laid the foundation for ethnicity?

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**SCHOOL:**

**UNIT 26**

**PROGRAMME: BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATION**

**COURSE POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT**

**TITLE: UNIT MANAGEMENT**

**25: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

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7.0 Tutor Marked Assignments	

## *BUM 775: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS*

### **1.0 Introduction**

There's no way we can discuss Nigerian Government and politics without looking at the religious aspect of it. This is because it is only the ethnic factor that has generated so much heat, crises controversies and contradictions as the religious factor in Nigerian Politics. Most often than not, one find it difficult to differentiate the one from the other. Rather than acting as a catalyst for responsible governance, probity and accountability, religion has come to entrench and engender the direct opposite of these ideas. It has become a tool in the hands of the elites in order to manipulate the masses to their (elites) biddings, the government use it to legitimise their excesses while religious leaders shrink from their duties on social responsibility, they themselves being the beneficiaries of the status - quo. I am strongly of the opinion that this lecture will not only broaden your scope on the influence of religion on political instability in Nigeria, it will also help you to appreciate the fact that if properly harnessed, religion could play a pro-active, beneficial role in consolidating a stable polity rather than heating the Nigerian political system unnecessarily.

### **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this lecture, you should be able to:

Explain the reasons for the prominence of religion in a third world democracy Nigeria.

Explain at length, the perspectives of religion and political instability in Nigeria Cite case studies of religious crises in Nigeria

Make recommendations towards putting an end to religious crises in Nigeria.

### **3.0 Clarifications on Religion and Political Instability**

Religion is understood to mean the effort of man to establish and maintain contact with God. On the other hand, political stability is a state of relative peace which allows for accelerated growth and development in a polity. Because of the esoteric and emotional attachment of the citizens to religion, it usually has strong influence on politics. Moreso, it has been observed that religion offer explanations for certain phenomenon which could not be comprehended empirically and because of this, it has become a major source of influence. It has been harnessed as a tool of political instability in countries like Benin (during Archbishop de Souza's transition programme), Poland (during communist rule) and South Africa (during the struggle

against apartheid. It has also served as a tool of crises and instability in Sudan (in the on-going civil war), and the present day Nigeria.

### **3.1 Perspectives of Religion and Political Instability**

In Nigeria, religious factor often take pre-eminence in the distribution of government positions. Though a large number of religion exists in Nigeria, political largesse are often distributed along Christian and Muslim lines since the adherents of the two religions forms the majority. The internal divisibility of the two religious has not prevented them from teaming together to fight for their respective interests. Though Nigeria professes, and is supposed to be a secular state, the crisis of legitimation inherent in government recognition of certain religious tends to give a lie to this stance. We shall now embark on an anatomy of the politico-religious analyses of political instability in Nigeria with the following themes viz: the Sharia, communal conflicts, secularism, fundamentalism and illusions.

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\* The first major controversy over the Sharia broke out in 1978, though there had been a mild debate on the issue in the 1950's. However, it developed into a major crises in November, 1999 when Governor Ahmed Sani of Zamfara State extended its application to criminal law. Presently, the criminal aspect of the Sharia law poses a big threat to national unity though its proponents have argued that it was enacted in accordance with the wishes of majority of Muslims. Ever since 1999, the Sharia issue has generated violent demonstrations in Kano and Kaduna and it has also tainted

Nigeria's international image because of the passage of verdicts of capital punishment for offences that were not criminal.

There has been numerous communal clashes with religious colouration in Nigeria. They often occur in the North and are borne out of deep-seated mutual suspicious between the Hausa/Fulani and the minority tribes. Such clashes include the

1987 clashes in Kafanchan and Lere and the 1992 clashes between the Zango and the Katafs in Kaduna State. They facilitate full religious crises.

Secularism is being undermined by the respective religion on the strength that Christianity and Islam are ways of life and not religions per se. They argued that the two

has to do with the way of life of their adherents. This has generated more religions tensions in Nigeria's democracy.

Fundamentalism is a major problem of certain religious groups in Nigeria. Fundamentalism abhors peaceful settlement of religious crises as such a move is seen as compromise. Fundamentalists hates to see other religion exists and mutual tolerance is not in their dictionaries. They often make big mountains out on trivial political issues.

Examples are the shiites, wahabites and the Christian Pentecostal movement in Nigeria.

Illusions is another major factor in religious instability in Nigeria. "Illusions" here means the feelings of mutual suspicious which are not based at all on substance



among the various religious sector. Most often Muslim leaders expresses concern over what they consider to be dominant Christian culture in Nigeria while on the other hand, Christian leaders rant over what they feel is an emerging islamisation of the polity. Muslims in Nigeria believes that the observation of Sunday as a work-free day

demonstrates the dominance of the Christian culture in Nigeria. In sum, religious crises in Nigeria often has ethnic colouration.

### **3.3 Case studies of Religious crises in Nigeria**

In 1987, a religious crisis occurred in Kafanchan Kaduna State, claiming 30 lives.

In 1991, thousands of people were killed in a religious crises in Tafawa Balewa, Bauchi State.

In 2000, there were ethno-religious clashes in Kaduna, Kano and Lagos States, claiming thousands of lives and destroying properties worth millions of naira. **4.0**

### **Conclusion**

The struggle over the effective control of the Nigerian religious space is growing tense by the years. And every strategy - both fair and foul - are being explored by the various religious in the battle for supremacy. A Sharia which fails to take cognisance of peoples' fundamental human rights could only be destructive. Therefore, the government cannot continue to be a spectator all in the name of secularity.

However, government's influence in religions should not be such that will favour a religion at the expense of the others. Also, other smaller religions should be given

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recognitions prominence as those given to Christians and Muslims. Religious is like fire. It can serve both useful and destructive ends, depending on what influence it was tailored to serve.

### **5.0 Summary**

In our lecture, we have said that religious issue is so important to the study of Nigerian Government and politics because of the heats, controversies and debate it generates from time to time. We argued that though religion is useful in order to maintain stability in a country, it has been turned into a tool of instability in Nigeria. Also, we submitted that religious factors could be viewed from various perspectives like the Sharia, communal conflicts, secularism, fundamentalism and illusions. We went ahead to cite cases of religious crises in Nigeria. We concluded by saying that the government should shed its toga of neutralism in the name of secularisation.

### **6.0 Further Readings**

**Kukah M.N. (1993):** Religion, Politics and Power in Northern Nigeria, Ibadan, Spectrum Books

**Kurkah M. and FaIola T. (1996)** Religious Militancy and Self-Assertion in Nigeria, London, Avebury Press

**Internationals (IDEA (2000)** Democracy in Nigeria: Continuing Dialogue(s) for

Nation - Building, Stockholm, International IDEA.

**Tukur M. (1999)** Leadership and Governance in Nigeria: The Relevance of Values, London, Hodder Headline.

### **7.0 Tutor - Marked Assignment**

Define Religion and Political instability?

What are the perspectives from which religion and political instability could be viewed in Nigeria?

iii Expatiate at length on the causes, and aftermath of the 2000 Kaduna riot for the Nigerian State?

iv. What type of secularity should Nigeria adopt? Is it a type of careful involvement or that outright neutralism?

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## *BUM 775: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS*

### **UNIT 27**

**SCHOOL: BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATION**

**PROGRAMME: POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT  
COURSE MANAGEMENT**

**TITLE: UNIT NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS DEMOCRACY  
27. AND DEMOCRATISATION**

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3.0.2 Elements of Democracy

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3.2 Democracy and Democratization in Nigeria.

4.0 Conclusion - Redefining Democratization in Nigeria

5.0 Summary

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## *BUM 775: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS*

### **1.0 Introduction**

The collapse of the soviet union was preceded by the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989. However, the two events are very symbolic in global history. They heralded the domination of democracy over other forms of governance in countries of the world. Today, the adoption of liberal democracy has been termed with civilisation while the inability of a country to be democratic is seen as act of arrogance and such country(es) are termed "pariahs" in the comity of nations. More than ever before, development aids, and other grants to countries in Africa and Asia has become strongly tied to political factor. Moreover, it is often difficult for autocratic governments to win major allies in a unipolar world.

Democratic struggle has, over the last few years, become a notable feature of African contemporary history. In particular, the last two decades have witnessed

remarkable progress in the clamour for democracy in Nigeria because it has become the only legitimate and viable alternative to authoritarianism of any kind. Nigeria achieved democratic governance on May 29 1999 but has Nigeria passed through a viable democratization process? Without proper democratisation, our joy about the attainment of democratic government might be shortlived. Also, without proper democratisation, development in the country might as well be an illusion.

## **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this lecture, you are expected to be able to:

conceptualised Democracy and Democratisation

Discuss at length on democracy and democratisation in Nigeria.

Explain the significance of the Elements of democracy

State the solutions to Nigeria's democratization problems.

## **3.0 Democracy Conceptualised**

A simplistic definition of democracy is that it is the government of the majority. According to Lerry Diamond et al democracy is a system of government that meets three essential conditions meaningfully: an extensive competition among individual and groups, a highly inclusive level of political participation in the selection of leaders and politics and a level of civil and political liberties. What makes democracy tick however is the ability of the system to carry the majority along in governance. Let me ask you at this juncture; is there any single model of democracy? Or put in another way: is there one form of democracy? Let us now find out.

### **3.0.1 Models of Democracy**

There are three variants of democracy. The first variant is the direct democracy. In this type of democracy the citizens are directly involved in the process of decision - making. An example is the Athenian democracy as practised in Athens. It worked in the "city-state" because of the relatively few number of people involved. Some other features of this type of democracy are that public offices were open to all citizens, there was no bureaucracy while there was direct accountability to the people.

The second variant or type of democracy is the Marxist democracy which seeks to establish an egalitarian society in the world. It emphasises public ownership of means of production and distribution of goods and services because of the need to prevent inequality in the society. Marxist democracy seeks to prevent "bourgeoisie", the property-owning class, from getting to power. The Marxist democracy lay emphasis on the welfare of the citizens in terms of health care, education, employment while the

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collapse of the city state led to the demise of direct democracy, the disintegration of the soviet union and the communist governments in Eastern Europe led to the infamous status of Marxist democracy in a globalised world of today.

The third type of democracy is the liberal model. It is also called representative democracy and it has been made popular based on its guarantee of the fundamental human rights of the citizen and the rule of law. Today, it is what

people mean when they refer to democracy. Liberal democracy also emphasises the importance of political institutions and the civil society in the political system. Most, if not all democratic countries of the world professes the liberal model of democracy. It is however necessary for me to point out that most often, countries adopt useful ingredient from the three variants but with the dominant feature of the liberal model.

### **3.0.2 Elements of Democracy**

These days, before democracy could be said to be existing in a country, there are certain basic patterns that must be practised/maintained in such a country. Such features are referred to as the elements of democracy. They include, the rule of law, fundamental Human rights, free and fair elections, right to vote and be voted for, equality before the law, competition, majority decision while the minority rights are guaranteed. \* Under the rule of law, the sacrosanct and supreme injunctions of the constitution are allowed to take their course. It emphasises that the law should not be tampered with in such a way that the principles of fairness, equity and natural justice are compromised.

- Fundamental rights of the citizens are not to be tampered with and could be exercised freely within the tenet of the law in such a way that they will not infringe on the rights of the other. Such rights are rights to life, fair hearing, freedom of speech, movement, private life etc.

- Uniform rules are to be applied to all contestants in an election while citizens must not be barred from participation except such persons are insane or criminal. Elections are also to be conducted periodically as to ascertain the continued acceptability

or otherwise of the peoples' representative.

- In elections, citizens must have the rights to vote, not only that, interested candidate must be able to stand elections without the fear of unjust disqualification. In sum, universal adult suffrage must be existing.

Uniform rules should apply to all and sundry without some exceptions based on place of birth, sex, education and other factors.

Positions should be filled based on competition. All aspiring citizens should be allowed to compete for elective offices.

### **3.2 Democracy and Democratisation in Nigeria**

During the first thirty years of Nigeria's nationhood, the debate on democratisation did not gain prominence in public discourse. It was at best passively discussed. This was due to the Bi-polar structure of the world with its attendant consequence on the variants of democracy available. Another reason is that the concept of democratisation has not been taken with all the seriousness it required by both local and foreign individuals. There were democratic governance in the country during the periods between 1960-66 and 1979-83. Nigerian's erroneously conceived democracy as an end in itself during the respective periods. Few people talked about democratic consolidation, the structures of government were often inorganic and few people seemed to care about this. The civil society was almost non-existent while international non-governmental

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organisations (which has given fillip to actions on democratisation in recent times) were looking elsewhere. The result was the woeful collapse of the different democratic governments and its attendant consequences on the Nigerian state.

The civil society in Nigeria started becoming active from the period between 1986 and 1990. New civil right groups which emerged in reaction to acute violation of peoples rights were a major motivating factor for the resurgence of the civil society during this period. Buoyed by grants from Non-Governmental organisations and the selfless contribution of members, civil society groups like CDHR, CLO, TMG, CD, JACON etc, started demanding for democratic governance. Scholars in the field of political science gave direction, cohesion and regularity to their views. Armed with the fact of failures of the democracy of other nations, they agreed that political institutions and the civil society in Nigeria are very weak and as such, after transition programme, the civilian should initiate a process of structural and societal transformation.

General Babangida's transition programme met with a woeful end while the Abacha transition programme came to an end as a result of his death. Both transitions lacked credibility and did not address deep-seated issues bedvilling the Nigerian state. The Abubakar transition (not democratisation) programme ushered in the government of General Obasanjo. As the military cannot democratise because of its (military) autocratic nature, the lot fell on the civilians. Proper democratisation would have been achieved in Nigeria whenever the mutual distrust among the ethnic groups in Nigeria has come to an end.

#### **4.0 Conclusion: Re-Defining Democratisation**

If there are certain things that must be done to be assured of a lasting democracy, they are the following:

- Empowerment of the civil society - A weak civil society can only kill the democratic spirit in a polity whereas a vibrant civil society will not only make demands and support government adequately as and when due, it will also be a watch on the activities of governments at every level.

- Redefining Governmental priorities. The two basic functions of any government are (1) to provide adequate security for the citizenry (2) To provide for the welfare needs of the people. Democracy will not thrive in an environment pervaded by acute poverty and unemployment. If poverty reduces, then crime rates are likely to reduce drastically. Also, government should give the industrial, educational and poverty eradication sectors of the economy serious attention if democracy is to survive.

- Enhanced political socialization - the socialization process in Nigeria is not organised in such a way that could make it cultivate the populace politically. Informal channels of socialization are seldom explored while millions of naira are pumped into institutions that often find it difficult to stamp its presence on the over 250 ethnic groups in Nigeria. I feel that informal channel should often be explored.

- Demilitarization - the civil society in Nigeria and the psyche of the majority have become militarized. It is evident in the incessant ethnic militarism that is an emerging phenomenon in the Nigerian society.

In sum, democracy is not an end in itself but a means to an end, which is

development. Democracy collapses where development doesn't become manifest. However, let me also warn that the process of democratisation can never come to an end because democracy is an ideal which has no perfect stage.

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**5.0 Summary**

In this tutorial, we stated that democracy is the only acceptable system of government amongst countries of the world. We said democracy is essentially a government of the majority whose third variant - Liberal democracy - is the dominant type in the present unipolar world.

Also, we argued that certain factors makes a democracy tick - The factors include rule of law guaranteed fundamental human rights, universal adult suffrage competition, equality before the law, etc. They are also called the elements of democracy. We submitted that democratisation is just a process geared at achieving a viable democracy. Also, the clamour for democratisation in Nigeria is a product of unipolarism in the world system. The inability of the military to democratise due to the inherent contradictions within the military institution made the lot to fall on the civilian regime of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo. We recommended that for democracy to be

strongly entrenched in Nigeria, government should lay emphasized on socialization, welfare, demilitarization and the empowerment of the civil society.

**6.0 Further Readings**

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**Huntington S. (1991):** The Third Wave: Democratisation in the Late Twentieth Century Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

**Mirniko N.O. (1990): (ed)** Crisis and Contradictions in Nigeria's Democratisation Programme 1986- 1995, Akure, Stebak Venture

**7.0 Tutor - Marked Assignment**

Differentiate between Democracy and Democratisation?

What are the ways in which democratisation could be re-inforced in

Nigeria? Make a critique of Democracy and Democratisation in Nigeria?

iv. Explain six basic elements of democracy?

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**UNIT 28**

**SCHOOL: BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATION**  
**PROGRAMME: POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT**

**COURSE TITLE: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**  
**UNIT 28: CIVIL SERVICE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**  
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**1.0 introduction**

Good day and welcome to this interesting class. You know as well as I do that the advent of legal rational authority necessitated the existence of bureaucracy. Bureaucracy is a bulwark of administration which ensures efficiency and effectiveness. It is often said that government goes where government comes, but the bureaucrats remain to give continuity to governance and to aid political stability. Imagine a situation of a military coup where all the political office holders and bureaucrats were sacked, the void would create chaos and lawlessness. Bureaucratic organizations are recognized by their adoption of impersonal laws, complexity, accountability, size, sophistry in organization etc. In Nigeria, the bureaucratic organization that ensures political continuity and executes governmental policies is the Nigerian civil service. The state and the local governments also have their own civil service. Each of them is supervised by the commissions so empowered to do so. The civil service work began in Nigeria in 1900 when the British formally established an authority over certain parts of the country. However, the British civil service did not develop the country. Also, corruption was imported into Nigeria's body politic. The indigenes did not fare better as productivity and efficiency began to give

way to unproductivity and tardiness. As we enter the 21st century, what are the impact of the public service on the Nigerian state?.

**2.0 Objectives**

You are expected at the end of this lecture to have a firm grip on:

- 1. The Historical analyses of the Nigerian Public service
- 2. The influence of the military on the Nigerian public service
- 3. Corruption and its effect on the service
- 4. Problems being encountered by the public service.

**3.0 Between Civil Service and Public Administration**

I will want to agree with the 1999 constitution's definition of the civil service. Section 318 subsection 1 defines it as (1 quote):

*"Service of the federation (state) in a civil capacity as staff of the office of the president (Governor), the vice president, (Deputy Governor), a ministry of department of the government of the federation (state) assigned with the responsibility for any business of the government of the federation (state)"*

I should quickly inform you that the civil service excludes the military, navy, Air force, legislative etc. However, bureaucrats all over the world have immensely influenced

the decisions of politicians because of their expert knowledge, dedication to duty and experience. They have turned around the socio-political and economic milieu in their environments. They have been of tremendous help in gathering facts and preparing findings that help redefine policy. Therefore, one can say without any fear of contradiction that the civil service plays the role of administering the public (public administration) civil servants could also be addressed as public administrator. I shall treat the two interchangeably in this lecture.

### **3.1 Public Service in Nigeria: A Critical Analyses**

Following the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates by Sir Frederick Lugard in 1914, a centralized bureaucracy was established. It was structured

and patterned on the British model and it was discriminatory against non-whites. Nigerians were recruited into unattractive positions.

Nigeria got **her** independence in 1960 and Nigerians **had the** opportunity of managing their own affairs. Nigerians took over the service but they were bogged down

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by inexperience. The civil service became fragile and politicized. More so, the indigenisation policy of government allowed ill-equipped personnel to occupy public service positions. The military took over the control of the country on January 15, 1966. General Aguiyi - Ironsi emerged the new Head-of-State but he did not occupy office for more than six months before he was killed. His unification decree, if implemented, was to have had grave implications for the Nigerian civil service which would have become unified.

During the regime of General Gowon the public servants were empowered in terms of decision-making. They were allowed to participate in the decision-making process of government (even at the highest level) to the envy of the political appointees. This situation encouraged indiscipline and venality on the part of the bureaucrats. The public service became highly politicized.

Nevertheless, the Murtala /Obasanjo regime which took over in 1975, cut the public servants to sizes. The public service was sanitized through the mass sack of erring and incompetent civil servants. Also, the influence of bureaucrats in policy making was drastically reduced. Over 11,000 workers were sacked or retired. However, the purge was executed into excess as many honest, young and talented bureaucrats became casualties.

During the second republic, Nigerian public service was weak as it acted as the lackey of the politicians. The domineering influence of the politicians coupled



with the fact that the service was yet to recover from the shabby way with which it was treated the service became withdrawn and its powers was greatly undermined. Perhaps, one could agree with Femi Omotosho in one of his works (see reference), that "the neglect of the civil service by the politicians during the era may be one of the reasons that led to their downfall".

In 1983, General Buhari, a no-nonsense military ruler, took over the control of government. He shed the civil service of its toga of complacency but at the same time, inhibited it from becoming bold and independent indecision-making as any action of such nature could be misunderstood by the leadership. Buhari also purged the civil service of bad eggs while the size of the service was generally reduced due to the economic situation in the country then. During General Babangida's government, the public service witnessed changes. The service was professionalized while provision was made for Audit Alarm committee in order to encourage probity and accountability. However, the service was politicized due to the provisions made by the Dotun Philips reform committee that the Director - General should always retire with the incumbent government.

General Sani Abacha by the instrument of the Allisson Ayida panel upturned some of the prevalent features of the public service under Babangida regime. Career officers were appointed permanent secretaries and heads of service were appointed, all enjoying permanence of office. Also, the retirement age of public servants was pegged at 60. The Abubakar regime was not able to do much due to the short span of the administration.

### **3.1.0 Civil Service Reforms**

The first reform of the civil service was embarked upon in 1946 by the Harragin commission. The second was the Gorsuch commission of 1954: Details of their recommendations are not readily available but it could be said that the committee

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excelled in making the civil service to be more western in outlook. In 1959 there were the Mbanefo and Newns commissions. The first was concerned with the increment in workers salaries while the second with the restructuring of the service. The Morgan commission followed in 1963, the Elliot commission operated in 1966 while the Adebo commission was established in 1970 with all, laying emphasis on the welfare of Nigerian workers. The Udoji commission was appointed in 1972 and excelled regrading all public service posts, open report system and increment in workers salaries. The William and Williams panel was established in 1975 to look into the complaints that arose from the report of the Udoji commission. The Udoji panel made recommendations that enhanced efficiency tremendously but due to the actions of successive governments, it did not reflect in the achievements of the service. The Dotun Philips panel was established in 1985. Its most remarkable recommendation was that non-career officers could head the ministries while each head (Director - General) is to retire with the incumbent government. The Philip panel's result was adopted not after it was examined by the Koshoni panel of 1988. Finally, the Allison Ayida panel which was set up in 1994 upturned many of the

recommendations of Philips commission. Precisely, the permanent secretary (a career officer now heads each department. The permanent secretaries enjoys permanence of office. Heads of civil service were appointed while it was separated from that of secretary to the federal government. The P.S is the accounting officer of each ministry.

### **3.2 Salient Issues in Nigerian Public Service**

1.The Nigerian civil service was modeled after that of Britain with great emphasis on neutrality. However beneficial this policy appears, it seems to one that it has been abused in the Nigerian civil service to the extent that the public servants fail to often act

when they are required to act legitimately. After president Obasanjo's first term in office,' he complained bitterly about the ineptitude of the civil service.

2.Policy-formation: Many times, the politicians because they've become opinionated on a number of issues, fails to listen to the advise of public officers. They often alienate bureaucrats from policy formulation. This is dangerous for the growth and development

of the country. The rationality, research and rigour that goes into public policy making cannot be over-emphasized.

3.The welfare of Nigerian public servants is deteriorating by the day. The economy is becoming weaker whilst purchasing, power is fast decreasing. This has led to the demoralisation of the service.

4.Responsibility: The question of who takes responsibility for decisions should be entirely looked into. The issue of usurpation of power between the ministers and permanent secretaries reduced efficiency and thus it needed to be looked into. **3.3**

### **The Military and Nigerian Public Service**

No discussion of the subject matter could be complete without a mention of the military institution. During the years of military rule in Nigeria, the following phenomena were prominent:

There was discipline in the civil service. However, discipline was often instituted to excesses as in the 1975 civil service purge.

Power was often concentrated too much for the health of the service in the hands of the military leaders.

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Decisions were made quickly. There was no room for ineptitude and tardiness.

The military leader always make immense use of the public service more than the politicians in order to fill the lacuna created by politicians.

### **3.4 Problems of the Public Service**

Augustine Adebayo (see my reference) groups the problems of the public service into four viz: Institutional, political, sociological, and psychological

1. Institutional, it includes: Faulty recruitment of employees, faulty and frequent postings, inadequate training, incompetence, deterioration in health, lack of clear objectives, and internal conflicts.

2. Political factors which includes undue promotions, unhelpful political

- decisions, massive purge of the public service etc.
3. Sociological factors, it includes false reporting and inability to inculcate bureaucratic value and false declaration of age.
  4. Psychological, includes colonial mentality and uncertainty about job security.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

The Nigerian Public service has contributed tremendously to Nigeria's development ever since the amalgamation of 1914 till the present day. Though it has witnessed successes and crisis, it is still relevant to our rapid development in the 21st century. It is hoped that by the time the problems observed above are critically resolved by the government, the civil service would have become transformed.

#### **5.0 Summary**

In this lecture, I have traced the origin of the public service in Nigeria to the colonialists. I also said that civil servants carry out the task of public administration. I traced the history of the Nigerian Public service since independence in 1960 and concluded that the service is still very relevant in the 21st century Nigeria. Also, the various civil service reforms, has impacted positively on the Nigerian civil service. I also commented on the salient issues in public service in Nigeria and the influence of the military on Nigerian public service. Finally, the problems facing the public service were examined.

#### **6.0 Further Reading**

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**Omotoso F. (2001)** (ed) Contemporary Issues in Public Administration, Lagos, Bolabay **Sanda O .A (1992)** Public Administration in Periods of uncertainty, Ibadan, fact enter - **Inter**.

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#### **7.0 Tutor-marked Assignment**

- I. What is meant by the term "Public Service"?
  - Make a critical analyses of the Nigerian Public Service?
  - How has the values of the military affected the Nigerian Public Service?
- iv. What are the problems facing the Nigerian Public service and how could they be solved?

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#### **UNIT 29**

**SCHOOL: BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATION**  
**PROGRAMME: POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT**  
**COURSE TITLE: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**  
**UNIT 29: LOCAL GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION IN NIGERIA**

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### **1.Q Introduction**

In some of our previous discussion, we have been centering on the essential issues in Nigerian government and politics government itself as we said is an administrative machinery set up for the purpose of realizing the ends of a state. By saying the ends of a state, I mean those essential needs that will cater for the well-being and welfare of the entire citizens of a state.

Now, if you'll remember our discussion on Nigerian Federalism, we emphasized on federalism as being a system of decentralizing power to other units.

These other units are what we want to talk on and the emphasis will be placed on the unit which is the closest to the people. This unit is called the local government.

### **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this tutorial, you should be able to:

1. Understand the definition of local government
2. Understand the operations of local governments in Nigeria
3. Analyse the problems faced by local government in Nigeria and how local government is financed.

### **3.0 Local Government Administration in Nigeria**

#### **3.1 Defining Local Government**

Local government in Nigeria is the third-tier of government. It is a government at the grassroots level of administration which is established to meet the peculiar grassroots needs of the people. It is established by law to perform specific function within a defined area. The creation of local government is based on the awareness that no central government can satisfactorily conduct administration wholly from the capital through the civil servants based at the headquarters.

#### **3.2 Theories of Local Government**

Scholars of various persuasions have theorized on the need for local government. Therefore, we have three schools which are the efficiency - services school, democracy school and the accountability school.

**3.2.1** The efficiency services school sees local government as occupying the best position for the efficient performance of certain functions. The school argues that because of its closeness to the people, there is speed and efficiency in the provision

of basic amenities and decisions are quickly and easily made since the government is very close to the people.

**3.2.2** The democracy school sees local governments as a training ground for democracy because it allows for popular participation. The politicians in the society start from the smallest area and then grows to the higher status. Hence, they start democracy from the grassroots government. This is justified due to the fact that a politician has to be accepted by his people in his locality before he is accepted by others.

**3.2.3** The accountability and control school believes that the local people themselves elect their leaders among themselves, hence they would be able to choose rightly. Therefore, whatever the political officials successes and achievements, the people of the locality are in the best position to decide whether the political officials will be re-elected or not. This makes the official accountable to the people.

### **3.3 Performance of Local Government in Nigeria**

The local government as it has been said is the governmental unit which takes care of the need of the local people. This means that there are some functions that have

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been allocated to the local government. These functions could be seen in the Nigerian constitution. These functions include:

- Collection of rates, fees and taxes
- Establishment and maintenance of workers and motorparks
- Establishment and maintenance of recreation centres, cemetery, home for destitutes, etc.
- Licensing of vehicles, shops, social gathering, etc.
- Registration of birth, death and marriages.
- Primary Education
- Primary Health care.

When one takes a close look at these functions, you will notice that they are very small tasks but which are essential and since the Federal Government is dealing with matters on the exclusive legislative lists and the state with the residual lists, then all other functions which are not in these lists need to be taken care of because they meet the immediate desires of the people and the people feel the impact of such activities more.

Other functions of local government include:

- Naming of roads and streets
- Numbering of houses and plots
- Regulation and control of building
- Provision of sewage system
- Waste management and more

It should be noted however that despite the fact that Nigeria is a federal state, the local government is often times relegated to the background and it is not seen as a party to the federating bodies. Most of the times, the local government is subject to

the dictates of the state houses of assembly. This is however justified since the Nigerian constitution provides for such.

### **3.4 Local Government Finance**

No organization can perform effectively without the financial ability. IN the same way, for the local governments to perform their functions effectively, there is the need for adequate financing. To this extent, finance in local government are got from two sources i.e internal and external sources. This is what we will try to analyze.

#### **3.4.1 Internal Sources of Local Government Finance**

These are the internally generated revenue which are got particularly by the local government through their activities. They include

- a. Rates or taxes e.g flat rate, tenement rate, etc.
- b. Fees and fines which includes money levies on the licencing of particular objects e.g motor park fees, market fees, registration of death, birth and marriages fees, etc.
- b. Rents resulting from letting or leasing out of any land or building owned by the local government.
- c. Receipts resulting from any public utility or any undertaking or services partly or wholly belonging to or maintained by the local government.
- d. Interests accruing from investments of the local government and any other funds lawfully derived by a local government.

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#### **3.4.2 External Sources of Local Government Finance**

As one of the three tiers of government, the local government is statutorily or lawfully entitled to a share of the federation account. This is the revenue allocated to the local government and it is constitutionally provided for. For example the section 162 of the 1999 constitution provides for this e.g presently the revenue allocation committee which is responsible for sharing the federally collected revenue/money, if you'd remember, provides 20.6% of the totally collected money to the local governments.

### **3.5 Some Problems Facing Local Governments**

1. **Weak Financial base:** There is inadequate funds given to the local governments and therefore they cannot perform well. For instance, there has been the cry by the local government that the revenue given to them is not enough to help them in service delivery. This has brought out the zero allocation problem.

2. Mismanagement of scarce resources and embezzlement of funds.

3. Shortage of technical staff: this is because most people do not like to work in their local government and most graduates go in search of white-collar jobs.

Thereby leaving the local government for just partly literate people.

4. Perhaps the major problem faced by local government is that of interference from the two higher levels of government. The federal and state government usually show their superiority over the local governments from time to time by, for example, imposition of extra-budgetary expenses and policies. A recent example is the tenure of local government chairman which has generated much conflict. Moreso, the local

governments are given subjective positions in the country.

### 3.6 Suggested Solutions

Some solutions to the prescribed or identified problems include:

1. Local governments should source for funds within themselves and should not just depend solely on the federal account and
2. The constitution should be reviewed and/or amended so that the rightful position of the local government is known and should give them independent powers and protection from other tiers of government.

Now, take down this assignment.

1. Identify the various problems of local governments in Nigeria and suggest solutions to each of the problems identified.

### 4.0 Conclusion

So far we have been analysing local government administration in Nigeria. We saw local government as the grassroots government closest to the people and provides services needed to such people. We also talked on essential issues in Nigerian local government system and we identified some problems of local government administration in Nigeria and we also preferred some solutions.

### 5.0 Summary

Local government is the third tier of government in Nigeria which provides for vital services. More so, it is established by law and hence statutorily based. Local government is therefore needed because of its activities to the people. Also, in Nigeria today, we have 774 local governments which derive their revenue majorly from the federal account. Though there are some problems facing them, it is hoped that their problems are solved so that they can perform better.

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### 6.0 Further Reading

**Agagu, A.A. (1997)** "Local Government" in Kolawole, D (ed.) Readings in Political Sciences Ibadan, Dekal Publishes.

**Ajayi, K. (2000)** Theory and Practice of Local Government, Ado - Ekiti; University of Ado - Ekiti

**Gboyega, A. (1987)** Political Values and Local Government in Nigeria; Lagos: Malthouse Press

**Orewa, G.O and Adewunmi, B.J (1983)** Local Government in Nigeria: The Changing Sense Benin City: Ethiopia publishing co.

**Adamolekun, L. et al (1988)** Local Government in West Africa Since Independence; Lagos; Chilag Press.

### 7.0 Tutor Marked Assignments and Marking Scheme

- (a) Examine the performance of a local government you know in Nigeria
- (b) Explain and criticise the theories of local government.

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### UNIT 30

**SCHOOL:**

**BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATION**

**PROGRAMME: POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN LOCAL  
GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT**  
**COURSE TITLE: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**  
**UNIT 30: LOCAL GOVERNMENT REFORMS IN NIGERIA**  
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*BIM 775: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS*

**1.0 Introduction**

As we said in our last lecture, local government is a government at the grassroots level of administration which is established by law to meet the peculiar needs of the local people.

However, the structure and administrative style of local governments in Nigeria have been going through some changes in order to improve its level of functioning and to ensure maximum operations. This has brought about different reforms to local government. We will then by this lecture, as a form of continuing the last lecture on local government administration in Nigeria, analyze these major reforms in Nigerian local governments.

**2.0 Objectives**

At the end of this discussion, you should be able to

1. Understand the different reforms of local governments in Nigeria
2. Determine the prospects or future of local governments in Nigeria

**3.0 Local Government Reforms in Nigeria**

**3.1 The 1976 Local Government Reforms**

The 1976 reforms was done as a result of the different problems faced by local governments and it was carried out under the Murtala/Obasanjo regime.

The reforms established for local governments in the country a multi-purpose single -tier institution. Hence giving the local government a third tier position in the Nigerian federal structure, in this respect, they were made autonomous bodies. The reforms also require a local government to serve a total population of between 150,000 and 800,000, more so, the local governments were given statutory powers and were recognised by law. Prior this time, they were seen merely as native authorities.

Also, the reforms made members of the local government council to be predominantly elected from local communities under regulations made by the state



government. The tenure of the chairmen was 3years and 25% of each council membership to be nominated by the state government. The reforms also established two union committees namely the finance and general purpose committee and the education committee.

The Local Government Service Board was to set up a combined local government service for the more highly trained cadres. All posts in local governments were graded. The local government service board was responsible to all employment, posting, discipline, etc of all members of the local governments and the local government staff was transferred and seconded to local government service.

The reforms also established a ministry of local government in each state to monitor how local government resources are used.

Provision was made for statutory allocation to local governments by the reforms and it also allows for property rating.

Moreso, there was the creation of a police committee in each local government in order to enforce law. It gave the local government secondary and primary functions.

The major aspects of this reforms were written in the 1979 constitutions. However, in spite of the changes, the reforms did not last due to political instability.

### **3.2 The 1984/85 Reforms**

In order to solve the varying problems of the local governments, the Buhari/Idiagbon regime set up a 20-man committee led by Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki to  
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BUM 775. MGERL GORI'LRN M ENT AND POLMCS review the local government administration. Also, 10% of state Internally Generated Revenues (**IGR**) are to be shared among local governments in each state . It also set up a management audit committee to guide against embezzlement. There was the provision of a local government staff pension scheme and pension fund. The reforms also made provision for a local government staff regulation.

The Dasuki reforms or the 1984/85 reforms attempted to improve the local governments, but inspite of this, it cannot take care of all the problems, hence the need for another reform.

### **3.3 The 1988 Local Government Reforms**

It would be recalled that General Babangida took over from Buhari on August 27 , 1985. Hence in 1988, he also saw the need for improving local governments and also carried out some reforms.

The 1988 reforms made provision for the establishment of two main department, (1) Personnel Department, and (2) Finance, Supplies, Planing, Research and Statistics departments. It made provision also for the appointment of Director of local government audit and the local government chairman because the accounting officer and chief executive officers. The reforms also made provision for the establishment of a junior staff management committee which was responsible for the appointment of officers within grave 01-06 and the reform also provided for a local government audit alarm committee.

Despite this changes still, the local government still continues to change and there was the continual need for improvement.

### **3.4 The 1991 Reforms**

Due to the changes in and justification for local governments, the Babangida regime still saw the need to improve it.

Decrees No 23 of 1991 introduced the presidential system to local governments and were given full administrative autonomy. By introducing the presidential system, the executive was headed by the local government chairman while the legislative arm is under the leadership of the local government councilor. The council chairman was to appoint local government secretary and three to five supervisory councillors and a councillor appointed a supervisor is to vacate his seat and a bye-election will be conducted for such vacant seat.

The local government was also responsible for the payment of salaries, allowances and pensions of teaching and non-teaching staff of primary schools.

The 1991 reforms really improved on the quality of services local government provides for the people. This was because local governments were given political, financial and administrative autonomy.

However, despite these changes still, there were some problems. For example, so many councillors threatened their chairman with the impeachment clause and many of them were intoxicated with the power given to them. Moreso, many local governments found it difficult to pay the primary school staff and this led to the problem of zero allocation in the country.

The term 'zero allocation' refers to a situation in which the local government have inadequate or shortage of funds and hence, the revenue given to them by the federal government is too small to perform the dual task of paying salaries of staff and at the same time going into other developmental tasks and needs of the people.

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### **4.0 Conclusion**

The various changing phases of local government administration in Nigeria has pointed to the fact that 'no condition is permanent' besides change is the only constant thing in life.

One thing that is clear is that, there is no reform that is perfect, since the society we live in itself is not static. The truth is that the flaw in any reform policy may not be noticed until when it is put into operation. Therefore, local governments administration will still be subject to further reforms in years to come.

### **5.0 Summary**

In today's discussion, we have tried to discuss the various reforms that local governments in Nigeria have undergone starting from the 1976 reforms by the Mohammed/Obasanjo regime, to the 1991 Babangida regime. We have also seen that the reforms in local governments are needed in order to improve the operations of the local governments and to meet up with the challenges of providing for their people.

### **6.0 Further Readings**

**Adebo, et al (1988)** Local Governments Council Management, Akure, Afrografika publishers

**Adamolekun, L. And Rowland, L. (1979)** The New Local Government Systems in

Nigeria: Problems and Prospect: Ibadan: Heinemann

**Kolawole, D (1997)** Readings in Political Science: Ibadan: Dekaal Publishers

**Ajayi, K. (2002)** Theory and Practice of Local Government Ado - Ekiti, University of Ado - Ekiti

### **7.0 Tutor Marked Assignment**

1. Discuss on the major local government reforms that have taken place in the country.

2. Differentiate between the 1988 and 1991 local government reforms.

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### **UNIT 31**

**SCHOOL: BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATION**

**PROGRAMME: POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT**

**COURSE TITLE: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

**UNIT 31: FOREIGN POLICY & RELATIONS**

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2.0 Objectives

3.0 The Historical Analysis of Nigerian Foreign Policy

3.1 Objectives of Nigeria Foreign Policy

3.2 Principles of Nigerian Foreign Policy

3.3.1 Internal Determinants

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3.4 Instruments of Nigeria's Foreign Policy

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## *BHM 775: NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITIC'S*

### **1.0 Introduction**

A policy is a decision. Foreign means the external environment. A foreign policy is the decision(s) of government concerning its relationship with the external or foreign world. A lot of scholars has defined foreign policy in several ways. North edge put it simply by conceptualizing it as "an interplay between the outside and the inside". He never told us the intricacies that goes on within his" inside and outside. One wonder whether interplays just occur naturally or are facilitated through certain ways.

It is this our curiosity that makes the definition of JC Plano and Rolton plausible. They argued that foreign policy is the strategy of planned course of action developed by the decision makers of a state vis-a-vis other states or international entities, aimed at achieving specific goals defines in terms of national interest". I think this definition is okay for our work here. But another issue has

been raised here the issue of national interest. You need to know that national interest is central to any discussion of foreign policy because it act as a compass or a guide for the foreign policy. It is the interests of a country that it wants to protect, that makes it to be involved in foreign policy. I must quickly tell you that national interest could just be described as a means towards achieving an end, i.e of achieving the goals, values, and aspiration of a country in *the* international scene. And so it is with Nigeria in her relations to other countries making up the global system. The necessity , strategies, tactics and determinants of Nigeria foreign policy is the task which we are set to perform here.

## **2.0 Objectives**

At the end of our lecture, you are expected to be able to

Define foreign policy

Explain the objectives of Nigeria foreign policy

Explain the principles of Nigeria foreign policy

Mention the determinants of Nigeria foreign policy

Make a write-up on "Nigeria's foreign policy in the 21st century: options and challenges".

## **3.0 Historical Analysis of Nigeria Foreign Policy**

Prior to independence, Nigeria had no foreign policy because she has not become a sovereign state, with the power to relate diplomatically with other countries of the world. Even when Nigeria attained independence in 1960, the image and personality of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa was over bearing on the country's foreign policy. This was largely the case because of the non-existence of a foreign affairs ministry. It was not until 1961 that a minister was appointed to be working under the office of the prime minister (Department of Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs). A full fledged ministry was established in 1964. Nigeria's foreign policy between 1960-1966 was passive and reactive. Though Nigeria's Prime-minister played an active role in the formation of OAU and in the Rhodesia Universal Declaration of Independence (UDI) issue by rejecting the declaration, it also (despite its non alignment policy) was tied to the apron string of Britain. The stay of Major-General Aguiyi - Ironsi in power was very brief and at best, one could say that he maintained the status quo. The fear of disintegration was the beginning of wisdom for Nigeria in her foreign policy. A fratricidal civil war which came about by an attempt by the South-Eastern part of the country to secede led to diplomatic activism of the Gowon administration. Apart from the fact that Nigeria made friend with the USSR she also became conscious of the importance of her neighbours. As a result

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of the positive role played by the organisation of African unity (OAU) during the civil war, the Gowon administration became committed and active in the activities of the OAU. Financial, material and moral supports were given to liberation fighters in the frontline states while other black nations outside Africa benefited out of Nigeria's large heart. The lessons of the civil war and oil boom made Nigeria to play a leadership (not domineering) role in Africa to the extent that the Gowon administration sees Africa as the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy while Nigeria

was in turn referred to as the giant of Africa. He also created ECOWAS in 1975 in order to promote integration in the West African subregion. General Gowon was removed in a military coup in 1975 and he was succeeded by General Murtala Mohammed. Mohammed who was later killed in 1976 and he was replaced with General Olusegun Obasanjo. The action that took place during the regimes of the duo are often referred to as Murtala/Obasanjo's. Under their regime, Nigeria pursued an aggressive foreign policy. She initiated that she's unwilling to be a lackey to any major world power by supporting the MPLA government of Angola and by castigating at every opportunities the roles of the super-powers in Africa's crises. The leadership role of Nigeria made her become a member of the Security Council on rotation. Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA) and the national advisory committee of foreign policy played prominent role in the formulation of new objectives for

Nigeria's foreign policy. To demonstrate the unacceptability of Britain's policy on Southern Africa, Barclays Bank and British petroleum were nationalised by the Nigerian

government.

Alhaji Shehu Shagari became the nation's first executive president on October 1 1979 and Nigeria's foreign policy witnessed a retrogressive reversal. Nigeria once again became pro-west and conservative. Nigeria did not play an active part in OAU and his commitment to decolonisation was insufficient. Shagari was removed in a military coup in 1983. His successor, General Buhari did not have time for the finesse and diplomacy which international politics required. The government closed the nation's borders against her neighbours and deported people from other West African nations. The government also committed itself, once again, to the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. The regime was terminated on August 25, 1985 by General Ibrahim Babangida. Babangida relaxed the radical posture of the Buhari regime. It re-opened Nigeria's borders and retraced the objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy. Its economic programme gains ties the nation to the western powers while the leadership role played by the government in the crises in Liberia and Sierra-leone through spearheading and giving efficacy to ECOMOG, the West African peace keeping force, has been widely commended.

General Sani Abacha toppled an humbly arranged interim government that succeeded Babangida in November 1993. The judicial killing of environmental rights activist, Mr. Ken Saro-wiwa heralded did other events that made Nigeria a pariah nation under Gen. Abacha. Relationship with the commonwealth and the western world was strained in a globalised world and Nigeria became worse-off because of debilitating effects of the sanctions imposed on the country. Abacha is however credited for ensuring a lasting solution to the Liberian crises. General Abdulsalam Abubakar took over on the death of Abacha and he restored hope and the dignity of the Nigeria state by effecting the release of political prisoners, organising a credible transition programme and handing over power to a democratically elected civilian government.

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Chief Olusegun Obasanjo became Nigeria's second executive president on May 29 1999. He is presently pursuing the goal of economic recovery for the country. He wants foreign investors to come to Nigeria in order to help in economic development. He is playing an active role in ECOWAS and he has been playing the role of a leader in the crusade on debt forgiveness for the developing countries. He's one of the facilitators of the New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the Africa Union (AU). He has made over 100 foreign trips with nobody being able to give the concrete pay back of such trips. It is however too early to make a categorical evaluation of his foreign policy.

### **3.1 Objectives of Nigeria's Foreign Policy**

The objectives which Nigeria wants to use her foreign policy to achieve include:

- The defence of our sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity;
- The creation of the necessary political and economic conditions in Africa and the rest of the world which will facilitate the defence of the independence and territorial integrity of all African countries while at the same time, foster national self-reliance and rapid economic development;
- The promotion of equality and self-reliance in Africa and the rest of the developing world;
- The promotion and the defence of justice and respect for human dignity especially the dignity of the blackmen;
- The defence and promotion of world peace

If you take a cursory look at some of them, especially the second and third, you will discover that they are not realistic. The 1979 constitution made a little modification while the 1989 constitution provided a more realistic foreign policy objectives. Section 20 of the constitution spells out the objectives to include:

Promotion and protection of the national interest;

- promotion of the total liberation of African from colonial rule **and** support of African unity

Promotion of international co-operation from the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect among all nations and elimination of racial discrimination in all its manifestations

- Respect for international law and treaty obligations as well as the seeking of settlement of international disputes by negotiation, conciliation, arbitration, and adjudication; and

Promotion of a just world economic order.

In a liberated African continent, items 2 and part of 3 are not necessary. **3.2**

### **Principles of Nigeria's Foreign Policy**

The following are the principles of Nigeria's foreign policy:

(1) Sovereign equality of all states: Irrespective of size, capacity and economic strength, Nigeria has always emphasized and conformed with the idea of respecting each and every nation (sovereign) without looking down on any.

(2) Respect of territorial integrity and independence of other states: This is hinged on Nigeria's belief that the territorial integrity of Nigeria should be jealously guarded while Nigeria committed herself towards giving such respect to other nations.

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(3) Non-interference in the internal affairs of other states: This has often been brazenly violated on the excuse of the need to protect Nigeria's security. The interventions in Liberia and Sierra-leone are classical examples

(4) Commitment to self determination and independence of other states: This has been demonstrated in the vigour that successive Nigeria government excluded in supporting the liberation struggle in the frontline states.

(5) Commitment to functional approach as a means of promoting co-operation and peaceful co-collective effort towards solving the problems of Africa. The fora of UN, OAU, ECOWAS, Security Council and of late, NEPAD and all have been used to achieve this.

(6) Non-alignment to any geo-political power blocs: In a unipolar world, this sounds missionary. However, Nigeria still exhibits relative independence of action in taking foreign policy decision. Recently, it warned the U.S not to attack Iraq over the refusal of the latter to allow UN arms inspectors.

### **3.3 Determinants of Nigeria's Foreign Policy**

These are the basic issues that influences the foreign policy decisions of the Nigerian government. The internal factors are those confined within the borders of Nigeria while the external factors are the ones without the confines of our border.

#### **3.3.1 Internal Determinants**

The size of a country

- The military capability
- Political System/Stability
- Demographic factor (quality and quantity of population) - Geo-political location
- Economic Situation; and
- Leadership

#### **3.3.2 External Determinants**

The prevailing world order

Re perception of a country of other countries

### **3.4 Instruments of Nigeria's Foreign Policy**

These are the mechanisms employed by states in going about their relations with other states. They include propaganda, diplomacy, sanctions, cultural influences and - war.

**3.4.0 Propaganda:** This is the act of manipulating and distorting information by a state against the other's interests. It involves the extensive use of the prints and electronics media

**3.4.1 Diplomacy:** This is the most peaceful instrument of conducting foreign policy. It is the conduct of foreign policy through interaction and negotiation. Nigeria in 2002 negotiated freedom for her citizens who were illegally detained by Cameroonians.

**3.4.2 Sanctions:** This is the act of imposing stringent and uncomfortable economic and military restriction on a country or countries on another. Sanction is a relatively effective instrument of foreign policy because it compels conformity to minimum

standards of civilisation. As an aftermath of the gulf war of 1990, economic sanction was imposed on Iraq to dissuade her from acquiring biological weapons.

**3.4.3. Cultural Influence:-** This is a contemporary instrument of conducting foreign relations. It is often used to protect a country's interest or collective interests of nations. Cultural ties could be cut in order to send a strong and powerful message across to the world. In 1976, Nigeria led other members of OAU to boycott the Montreal Olympic games to protect against continued apartheid in Southern Africa

**3.4.4 War:** A scholar once retorted that all wars are continuation of diplomacy, in another dimension. The truism in his assertion is hinged on an instrument to protect a country's interests, though it must be of last resort. Ethiopia and Eritrea were involved in a war between 1990 and 1999 over their common borders.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

I do not foresee any fundamental change in Nigeria's foreign policy objectives and principles in the nearest future. Rather the bias of successive government is the major issues that will continue to generate with spread debates and discussion. However, in a world that is gradually globalising and aggressively so, Nigeria should not relent in her effort at encouraging both sub-regional and regional economic integration on the West African sub-continent and Africa respectively.

#### **5.0 Summary**

So far, I defined what is meant by foreign policy I told you that the concept of national interest is central to the theme of foreign policy. I made an historical analysis of Nigeria's foreign policy, explaining the peculiarities of each of the regimes examined we examined briefly the objectives and principles of Nigeria's foreign policy stating that the idiosyncracies of individual government, rather than the objectives and principles have a strong influence on the Nigerian foreign policy. We also examined briefly the internal and external determinants of Nigeria's foreign we concluded by 'arguing that Nigeria's foreign policy in the 21st century must lay emphasis on sub-regional and regional integration.

#### **6.0 Further -Readings**

**Aluko, Olajide (1981)** Essays in Nigerian Foreign Policy London, Allen and Union  
**Olusanya G and Akindele R (1986)** "The fundamentals of Nigeria's foreign policy and external economic relations" in Olusanya G and Akindele R (etd) Nigeria's External Relations: The First Twenty-Five years. Ibadan, University Press Limited

**Alkali R.A (1996)** Issues in International Relations and Nigeria's Foreign Policy. Zaria, Bot Academic Press

**Ogun J. (1986)** Nigeria Foreign Policy: Alternative future. Lagos NITA

#### **7.0: Tutor - Marked Assignment**

1. Define foreign policy?
2. Make a critique of the principles of Nigeria's foreign policy?



3. Illustrate how the internal and external factors, has influenced the direction of Nigeria's foreign policy?

- 4. What are the instruments of Nigeria's foreign policy?