

CHAPTER 12

MILITARY ADMINISTRATION (1975-1979)

Objectives

After studying this chapter, students should be able to:

- give a countdown of Gowon's 9-point agenda and discuss how far he implemented them;
- recount the reasons for the overthrow of Gen. Gowon by Gen. Mohammed;
- list the achievementd of Gen. Mohammed within his short stay in office;
- point out what constituted the programmes and missions of General Mohammed;
- discuss how Obasanjo implemented the transition to civil rule in 1979.
- appraise Obasanjo's achievements while in office;
- criticize Murtala-Obasanjo regime.

Introduction

As a result of the prevarications in the programmes of General Gowon, the colossal wastes, inability to manage the resources that accrued to Nigeria through the period of oil boom and the unprecedented corruption associated with the regime, the reformatory group in the armed forces toppled the government to keep Nigeria on the right pattern. General Mohammed who led the coup, attempted to correct many ills of his predecessor with the vision to return the country to civil rule in 1979. His abrupt death did not deter General Obasanjo who concluded the programme drawn by Gen Murtala Mohammed by ushering in a civilian administration in 1979.

12.1 A Preamble to the Murtala Mohammed Administration

General Yakubu Gowon on July 29, 1966 took over power from Maj. Gen J.T.U. Aguiyi-Ironsi who was killed at Ibadan together with Col. Fajuyi. The circumstance under which Ironsi was overthrown and the subsequent activities of the Gowon led regime led the country into a bitter civil war between 1967 and 1970. When the war ended in favour of the Gowon Nigerian side, Gowon was saddled with the responsibility of forging a united, strong and prosperous Nigerian state. This informed the idea behind his popular 3Rs (Reconciliation, Rehabilittion and Reconstruction).

Gowon implemented the 3Rs haphazardly and ended up deepening the marginalization against the Igbos. He introduced many programmes but failed to monitor and co-ordinate their implementations. He relied on his lieutenants with the result that governors, federal permanent secretaries and commissioners became very corrupt and wielded enormous power and influence.

It was Yakubu Gowon who changed the Nigerian currency from Pound Sterling and pence to Naira and Kobo in a way to de-colonize the Nigerian financial and monetary system from that of the British and to create a stature for Nigerian currency and financial policies befitting a rich oil nation. In

1972, he changed the driving code from the right wheel to left wheel driving. In the same year, the regime nationalized an indigenized multinational corporation operating in Nigeria to enable the Nigerian public participate in the oil economy and other upcoming economic sectors. He equally proposed a free primary education programme which he hoped would start by 1976 (The Universal Primary Education – U.P.E).

By 1973, the regime established the NYSC programmes for fresh Nigerian graduates from tertiary institutions with the aim of fostering cultural integration, understanding, spirit of cooperation and patriotism among Nigerians. Between 1973 and 1974, he set up a commission, the Chief Udotri commission, which reviewed upwards (by double) the salaries of all public servants in the country. The laid down plan for transition to civil rule from 1976 although, he never had the intention to relinquish power.

On the international front, Gowon respected Britain and America's views, supported the anti-apartheid cause in South Africa, sponsored struggles of liberation movements in colonized African states. He registered Nigeria with the OPEC in 1971 and founded the ECOWAS in 1975 with its headquarters in Nigeria. Gowon maintained a non-aligned policy but made Africa the centre piece of Nigeria's foreign policy.

Other moderate achievements of Gowon were the creation of 12 states structure in Nigeria on May 27, 1967 which abolished the 4 existing regions. He successfully conducted the Nigerian Biafran civil war and insisted on one united, strong and virile Nigeria. He constructed many federal roads, bridges and airports to facilitate and promote transportation and communication.

However, despite his large heartedness, Gowon's administration was inundated with obvious flaws. These include:

- (i) His administration mismanaged the funds which accrued from the oil boom owing to the Israeli-Arab war. He was quoted as saying that Nigeria had made much money but the problem was how to spend it. This was a disposition of a head of state in a rural, underdeveloped and war-town state without basic education, industries, public amenities and food security.
- (ii) The administration lacked fore-sight as it could not utilize the revenue from the oil boom to develop mechanized, intensive and extensive agriculture. This was the genesis of the present Nigerian monocultural tradition. The war disarticulated the regional agrarian revolution which should have been promoted and consolidated after the war with the emergence of "petro-dollar".
- (iii) The ostentatious life which the regime encouraged due to the flow of oil wealth. Nigeria became a depot for foreign goods and services coupled with the increase of salaries for the public service, spiral inflation crept in and demand increased automatically.
- (iv) The 1973 census exercise was both ill-timed and haggardly executed. His economic and development plans did not follow the census chart. He failed to articulate a national development plan which would have properly guided the needed development.

- (v) He failed to listen to the demands of Nigeria especially as regards the demands for more state creation to decentralize development and accommodate social and cultural interests of the diverse ethnic groups.
- (vi) The administration was grossly unfair to the Igbos who were won back to the Nigerian folk after they were defeated in the civil war. Most of their military officers in the police force sacked in the cause of the war were not reinstated, their abandoned properties in other parts of Nigeria were seized, their savings in the banks were frozen with only paltry £20 released to those who kept accounts in the bank with evidence of doing so irrespective of their account balance, the sale or nationalization of multinational corporations and commercialization of government owned enterprises when the Igbos could barely afford to eat and by so doing deprive them of their rights to acquire shares in those outfits.
- (vii) He failed to properly supervise the activities of his federal commissioners, permanent secretaries, governors and top civil servants who became very corrupt as a result. Kick backs and ten percent of contracts awarded were demanded and the oil money was hardly accounted for.
- (viii) Gowon's inability to implement his transition to civil rule programme which he kept shifting to tactically remain in power gave the impression of his unwillingness to hand over power to a democratically elected government. These flaws provoked the overthrow of his government on July 29, 1975 while he was away to Kampala, Uganda attending the 12th OAU summit by Brigadier Murtala Ramat Mohammed who took over as the Nigerian third military ruler.

Fig. 12.1: Gen. Yakubu Gowon

12.2 The Murtala Mohammed Administration (1975-1996)

General Murtala Mohammed's coup, generally regarded as a corrective coup was heralded in Nigeria particularly as it was bloodless, timely and tactical. Gen. Murtala was said to be in a hurry to develop Nigeria and have her reckoned as one of the prosperous economies in the world. The announcer of the coup, Lt. Col. Joseph Garba, commander of the federal guard listed out reasons for Gowon's overthrow to include:

- (a) His inability to meet with people's legitimate expectations.

- (b) General insecurity in the country.
- (c) Lack of consultation, indiscipline, neglect and indecision over state matters.
- (d) The inaccessibility of the Head of State over state matters.
- (e) General insensitivity of the government.
- (f) The need for some sense of direction.

The new regime promised a total reorganization and sanitization of the institutional systems. The regime quickly retired and sacked all the federal commissioners, top civil servants and the military top brass found wanting, corrupt and old. The regime pegged prices of essential commodities to drastically fight exploitation and inflation. It probed the massive importation of cement with a view to solving the problems. The regime probed the assets of public officers and state governors and made startling recoveries of illegally acquired wealth. It made Africa the centre piece of its foreign trade policy. Angola was technically and financially supported in order to help it stabilize its independence. It gave N15million to Angola to solve its civil war problems. It also condemned in strong terms, the supportive roles played by the super powers over the apartheid policy in South Africa.

It accepted to host the second world black and African Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC) in 1977 as against the originally planned year of 1976, and also reduced its original planned cost by half. In order to accommodate the agitations of Nigeria, Murtala on February 3, 1976 gave Nigeria a 19-state structure. Apart from Rivers, Lagos, Kwara and Kano states which retained their names, other eight old states had their states restructured. The new states he created were:

1. Anambra	2. Bauchi	3. Bendel	4. Benue
5. Borno	6. Cross Rivers	7. Gongola	8. Imo
9. Kaduna	10. Kano	11. Kwara	12. Lagos
13. Niger	14. Ondo	15. Ogun	16. Oyo
17. Plateau	18. Sokoto	19. Rivers	

Fig 12.2: Map of 19 States created by General Gowon

The creation of these states was the last outing of Gen. Murtala Mohammed who was gruesomely assassinated by a group of military dissidents and mutineers led by Maj. Gen. M. Bisalla and Lt. Col. Barka Suka Dimka on 13th February, 1976 together with Lt. Akintunde Akinsehinwa, his driver, an aide de camp and Col. Ibrahim Taiwo the military governor of Kwara state. The abortive coup plotters mainly Middle Belt Army officers sympathetic to Gen. Gowon's cause were rounded up, tried and executed. Murtala's Chief of Staff Supreme Headquarters (second in command) Lt. Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo took over the reins of power and immediately declared seven days of mourning for the late Head of State. He thereafter, appointed Brigadier Shehu Yar'adua as his Chief of Staff Supreme Headquarters and vowed to implement to the latter all the programmes of Mohammed including keeping faith with the transition to civil rule planned for 1979.

Fig. 12.3: General Murtala Mohammed - Third Nigerian Military Head of State

12.3 The Olusegun Obasanjo Administration and the Transition to Civil Rule (1976 – 1979)

General Olusegun Obasanjo focused on the programmes of General Murtala Mohammed on assumption of office. He promised to consolidate all the achievements of his predecessor who lasted for six months and to execute those he had mapped to achieve. Murtala in his hurry to transform Nigeria took some drastic actions and decisions among which were:

1. The retirement and dismissal of over 10,000 public servants, university deans, police officers, officers of parastatals and judicial top brass both at the federal and state levels.
2. The retirement of all army officers above the rank of brigadier with the intention of recruiting the military personnel capacity from 250,000 to 100,000 which Obasanjo reduced to 180,000 by 1979.
3. The cancellation of the 1973 national census conducted by Gowon while reverting to the 1963 contentious census figures which the regime used for revenue allocation.
4. The creation of 19 states instead of 20 recommended by a five-man-state creation advisory committee which examine over 200 requests.
5. The creation of a committee for the establishment of a new, befitting and centralized federal capital territory which in its report, favoured Abuja.
6. The setting up of various tribunals which probed and tried many corrupt officers both in the military and civil bureaucracies.
7. The creation of the public complaints commission (ombudsmen) at both federal and state levels to weigh citizens complaints over government actions or activities.
8. Promulgation of a second indigenization decree of 1976 to encourage more Nigerian's participation in foreign owned enterprises.
9. The unification of separate trade unions into one labour organization for the harmonization of labour interests.
10. The choice of Africa as a central point of Nigeria's foreign policy to ensure the dismantling of racism in South Africa, degeneration of neocolonialism in Africa and the sustenance of non-aligned posture in world affairs.

11. The fixing of October 1, 1979 as a mandatory date for the return to civil rule in Nigeria beginning with the appointment in September 1975 of a 49-member Constitution Drafting Committee (CDC) chaired by Chief Rotimi Williams however, submitted its report in September, 1976.

General Obasanjo was more committed to the handover programme that in December, 1976 he created a constituent assembly chaired by Mr. Justice Udo Udoma with Justice Buba Ardo as deputy. The Constituent Assembly (CA) met between October, 1977 and June, 1978. The CA at the end of its deliberations recommended the following:

- (a) The practice of presidential system of government anchored on universal adult suffrage of 18years old and above. The president was to be elected for a single tenure of 4years for two possible terms with simple majority of general elections.
- (b) A bicameral system in which the senate was to be composed of 95members with each state having five senators, and 450 membership of the federal house of representatives drawn from the states according to their demographic strength.
- (c) That a governor be elected at the state level for a single tenure of 4years with a possible second tenure. That the state equally should have a house of assembly whose membership should triple the number of representatives a state had in the Federal House of Representatives (FHR).
- (d) The practice of multiparty system as was in the era of the first republic.
- (e) That political parties to be recognized must have national spread and outlook to reflect the Nigerian social nature.
- (f) That the elective positions would be based on single-member constituency and on first past-the post (simple majority of the total votes cast).

Alongside, the transition programme was the 1976 local government reforms enunciated by Gen. Murtala Mohammed in his October 1, 1975 speech in which he promised to systematically reorganize the local governments. Obasanjo used the local government reform to test-run the 1979 democracy. The reform unified the local government structure and abolished the Dillion rule which made the local governments completely under the creation and dictates of the state. It enhanced the status of local governments to the level of being a third tier of government with some autonomy although still under the supervision of the state. The 1979 constitution, constitutionalized the Local Government Areas (LGAs) allowing them statutory existence and allocation from the federal government with responsibilities as the grassroots government. The law stipulated that a population of between 150,000 and 800,00 made up a local government area and provided a certain limits of council wards. The LG reform laws assigned enormous duties to the LGAs although they were not given enough allocation. By reason of this together with the state government's interference, the LGAs were

not able to function as expected. The 1976 reforms provided that LGAs be financed through internally generated revenue, statutory allocations such from state and federal governments and through loans.

LGAs were run by an elected chairman, fulltime councilors representing their wards who made policies and bye-laws and the local government service personnel recruited by the L.G. service commission. The LGAs worked with four committees (not ministry) which included: the finance and the general purpose committee, education committee, works committee and health committee. Each had an appointed councilor called “supervisory councilor”. The state was charged with setting up local government ministries and service commissions and each LGA was entitled to an LG or council secretary whose duties included:

- (a) being the council secretary;
- (b) being the chief executive officer;
- (c) being the chief intelligence officer;
- (d) convening council meetings on the orders of the chairman;
- (e) being chief government officer;
- (f) records council minutes and gives reports, controls or keeps council records and minutes;
- (g) implements council's decision;
- (h) coordinates various departments;
- (i) being chief adviser on policy, finance and legal matters;
- (j) responsible for planning, setting targets and performance for staff;
- (k) being the L.G.A's accounting officer;
- (l) supervises, controls and disciplined staff; and
- (m) being a watch dog of state government in the local government.

The reform gave enormous power to the secretary which made many chairmen fall out with their secretaries. It also gave traditional rulers advisory roles. In December 1976, the first ever nationwide local government elections were conducted to test-run the harmonization, reform policy and the planned democratization of the nation. This was because if democracy at the national level was to be guaranteed, it would first take root at the LGA level. The new LGA system was based on the following principles:

- (a) to make development meet the wishes of the masses through their involvement and efforts.
- (b) to encourage grassroot leadership and enhance democratic self-governance.
- (c) to mobilize resources (men and materials) replete at the local base.
- (d) to establish a dual communication link between the local communities and government, between the LGA and state.

In September, 1976, General Obasanjo launched the Universal Primary Education Scheme which made primary education free though not compulsory in Nigeria. To realize this, the federal government built 74 teacher training colleges and took over 156 existing ones in order to have a target

163,000 trained teachers to run the programme estimated to engage or absorb over 4 million pupils. Although this programme was among General Gowon's nine point agenda, he merely formulated the policy before he was edged out.

The land use decree promulgated in 1978 was meant to complement the school curriculum as well as re-emphasize the importance of agriculture to Nigeria's monocultural economy. It was fashioned after the manner of back to land policy introduced in Tanzania by the Nwalimu, Julius Nyerere. It was meant to help the government take authority and ownership of every land in Nigeria to enable it lease out land for agronomists for the practice of mechanized farming. This was made to stop the over invoicing in the massive importation of food stuff and agro-allied products from overseas while Nigeria could boast of good arable land. The decree abolished land tenure system in Nigeria in order to make land available for developers and farmers.

He launched the Operation Feed the Nation (OFN) in line with realization of the land use decree. This programme helped the farmers to acquire improved seedlings, agric support services, pesticides and loans at subsidized rates. To stabilize prices, it downsized the marketing boards and regulate its operations. The school children both in primary and post primary levels were meant to farm practical in school farms, producing farm crops best suited for their localities and marketing same to support the funding of schools. The land use decree enabled many schools to acquire lands for this purpose. The programme helped to teach the students universal best practices in modern farming and at the same time made them develop interest towards farming needed by the nation to diversify its monocultural economy.

The Olusegun Obasanjo administration executed or hosted the second world all Africans and black Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC) in 1977 in Lagos, the then Nigeria's capital. In order to host the black world, the national stadium Iganmu was restructured, national theatre was also built at Iganmy and a FESTAC town was developed to house foreign contingents and their officials.



Fig.12.4: Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo – Fourth Nigerian Military Head of State

Internationally, the regime stood its grounds on its opposition to apartheid in South Africa such that Nigeria led other African states to pull of the Olympic Games in Montreal, Canada on July 16, 1976 in protest of Canada's continued sports and commercial relations with the racist government in South Africa and on October 25, 1977 during UNO's 43rd plenary session in New York. Nigeria was for the first time, elected as one of the true non-permanent members of the security council for a two-year tenure.

Before the decree institutionalizing the second republic constitution was passed on 21st September, 1978 after the Supreme Military Council (SMC) had made about 17 amendments, the regime deemed it fit to create the dreaded National Security Organization (NSO) to help strengthen the security against coup d'etat and for public security.

In order to ensure a smooth transition to civil rule, the government lifted the ban on all political activities in September, 1978 after twelve years. Up to 53 political associations emerged by December 1978. Out of these lots, Chief Michael Ani, the chairman of the Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) registered only five on December 23, 1978 based on their

- (a) defined ideologies and manifestoes
- (b) acceptable party logos
- (c) comprehensive and democratic party constitutions
- (d) financial capacity
- (e) compliance with the national constitutional provisions
- (f) national spread and acceptance.

The successful and registered parties were:

- (i) National Party of Nigeria (NPN) led by Alhaji Shehu Usman Aliyi Shagari;
- (ii) Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) led by Chief Dr. Obafemi Awolowo;
- (iii) Nigeria People's Party (NPP) led by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe;
- (iv) Great Nigeria People's Party (GNPP) led by Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim; and
- (v) People's Redemption Party (PRP) led by Mallam Aminu Kano.

The chairman of FEDECO was Mr F.L.O Menkiti while resident commissioners were appointed for the states. While the FEDECO chairman remained the chief returning officer for the federation, the resident commissioners were chief returning officers for the states. On December 28, 1978 the leaders of the five political parties met formally with the chief of staff Lt. Gen Shehu Yar'adua on the need for free, fair and rancor free elections. Consequently, on April 12, 1979, the time table for the elections was released.

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------------------|-----------------|
| (i) | Senate elections | - July 7, 1979 |
| (ii) | Federal House of Representatives | - July 14, 1979 |
| (iii) | State House of Assembly | - July 21, 1979 |
| (iv) | Gubernatorial elections | - July 28, 1979 |

- | | | |
|--------|--|-------------------|
| (v) | Indirect elections (if necessary) of state governors | - August 4, 1979 |
| (vi) | Presidential election | - August 11, 1979 |
| (vii) | Indirect elections (if necessary) of president | - August 18, 1979 |
| (viii) | The military formal handover to elected civilians | - October 1, 1979 |

The run down of the performances of the parties shows the following

- Senate elections of 95 members (7th July, 1979):

NPN	-	36 seats in 12 states (with highest number of seats)
UPN	-	28 seats in 7 states
NPP	-	16 seats in 4 states
GNPP	-	8 seats in 3 states
PRP	-	7 seats in 2 states

- House of Representatives elections of 450 members (14th July, 1979):

NPN	-	168 seats
UPN	-	111 seats
NPP	-	78 seats
GNPP	-	43 seats
PRP	-	49 seats

- Gubernatorial elections of 19 members (28th July, 1979)

NPN	-	7 states
UPN	-	5 states
NPP	-	3 states
GNPP	-	2 states
PRP	-	2 states

- Presidential election (11th August, 1979)

NPN	-	Alhaji Shehu Shagari	- 5,688,857 votes(highest)
UPN	-	Chief Dr. Obafemi Awolowo	- 4,916,651 votes
NPP	-	Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe	- 2,822,523 votes
PRP	-	Mallam Aminu Kano	- 1,732,113 votes
GNPP	-	Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim	- 1,686,489 votes

On the whole, though Shehu Shagari had the highest number of votes cast, he fell short of the decree No. 73 of 1977 which stipulates that a president to be declared a winner must have won clearly in two-thirds of the total votes cast in the federation and at least one-quarter of votes cast in not less

than two-thirds of 19 states. The 1979 election results showed that no winner emerged. There was need for an electoral college between Awolowo and Shagari and the political parties were fine tuning strategies on when suddenly FEDECO led by Menkiti declared Alhaji Shehu Shagari by NPN the winner. This action was challenged in court by the trio of Awolowo, Azikiwe and Waziri Ibrahim. They lost out at the electoral tribunal and also at the Supreme Court on September 26, 1979 which upheld FEDECO's declaration and consequently, Shagari was sworn in as the first executive president of Nigeria on October 1, 1979.

On the date of Shagari's swearing in, the military finally disengaged from politics having realized at last, the transition to civil rule which Gen. Gowon had deceptively put for 1976. In reality, Murtala followed Gowon's agenda. It was realized that Gowon had a good agenda but failed to implement them either due to lack of political will or due to his desire to elongate his reign. For instance, it was Gowon who federalized four universities namely University of Nigeria, Nsukka, University of Ife, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and University of Benin. He also went ahead and established six new federal universities referred as "second generation universities". These are: University of Jos, University of Port Harcourt, University of Ilorin, University of Calabar, University of Maiduguri and Bayero University Kano. In like manner, on December 22, 1975 he established 14 research institutes which include:

- (a) National Horticultural Research Institute
- (b) National Cereals Research Institute
- (c) Cocoa Research Institute of Nigeria
- (d) National Veterinary Research Institute
- (e) National Root Crops Research Institute etc.

It was Gowon who nursed the idea to democratize Nigeria after civil war. On October 1, 1970 he announced a 9-point agenda for the re-united nation:

- (i) Return to civil rule in 1976.
- (ii) Re-organization of the armed forces for final disengagement from politics.
- (iii) Implementation of the first national development plan and reconstruction for war damaged facilities.
- (iv) The elimination of corruption from our national system.
- (v) Creation of more new states.
- (vi) Preparation and adopting of a new constitution.
- (vii) Introduction of a new revenue and fiscal allocation formula.
- (viii) Conduct of another population census.
- (ix) Formation of genuine national political parties and conducting election for states and national governments.

While Gowon was a policy formulator, Murtala-Obasanjo were policy executors. They felt that the only way to allow Nigeria move forward was to democratize the political process. As the African leading neocolonialist, colonialist, apartheid and racist antagonists, there was no way it could be taken seriously if on its shores it had a dictatorship. Murtala and Obasanjo who were field commanders in the Nigerian civil war knew better than Gen. Gowon the need to hasten Nigeria's economic development using the boom in the petroleum sector of the economy. The change from the British parliamentary system was Obasanjo's ground plot to tactically dislodge the British political influence in Nigeria.



Fig. 12.5: Alhaji Shehu Shagari- First Executive President of Nigeria

12.4 Failures of the Obasanjo Regime

Although the Murtala-Obasanjo regime had some laudable achievements, it failed in some areas. These can be seen in the following areas:

1. The removal of meal subsidy and reduction of foreign scholarships: This administration which encouraged free primary education however introduced fees in the tertiary institutions and virtually removed the meal subsidy granted to Nigerian students as a benefit of the “oil wind fall”. This led to the “Ali must go” demonstration in 1978 by students of tertiary institutions. Dr Mohammed Ali, the then Minister for Education had introduced many stringent measures which affected the comfort and learning of students.
2. The regime wasted oil funds in hosting the FESTAC which economic analysts believed drained a huge sum of our national resources without any dividend.
3. The regime marginalized the Igbo's who were won back to Nigeria at the end of the civil war. It equally abandoned the Gowon's 3Rs meant to integrate them and revamp their decadent economy. This introduced instead federal character in appointment of public officers which killed healthy competitive spirit, hardwork and merit in Nigeria. It was a policy seen to be targeted at hard-fighting Igbo's and who also had fewer states placing them on a disadvantaged scale.
4. The regime failed to reverse the wrong decision of FEDECO which made Shagari the winner of 1979 elections even when it was glaring that he never won and the decision was against the

constitution and decree No. 73 of 1977. It depicted the regime's tactical support for the northern domination of the country and places a question on its much vaunted patriotic acts and discipline.

5. The draft constitution amendment was not populist. The supreme military council gave to Nigeria what it considered a final draft which brought the presidential election to a log jam following the FEDECO's choice of Shagari as the winner. The 1979 constitution was therefore a military imposition. The constituent assembly was not allowed to deliberate on Nigeria's imbalance federal structure and the willful acceptance of the federating states to remain as one Nigeria.
6. The regime's UPE scheme was laudable but lacked systematic planning. Education was free but was not made compulsory. It was limited to only primary education which was why the beneficiaries never achieved much. Teachers were poorly trained to meet the demands leading to a compromise of the teaching profession.
7. The regime never carried any meaningful reform or re-organization in the police force. The corruption in the force, vulnerability to brutality and poor housing and salary structures left untouched.

Summary

- The government of Yakubu Gowon embarked on many programmes which if sustained would have helped in solving much of Nigeria's problems. The hallmark of his regime was indecision, venal corruption and lack of sincerity.
- The short administration of Mohammed witnessed large scale reforms, political will to galvanize the needed development, vision and focus. The regime worked on corrupt leaders, created new states and set a realistic time frame for military disengagement which unfortunately Mohammed never lived to execute,
- General Olusegun Obasanjo combined both the Gowon's and Mohammed's agenda and rigidly implemented them. He organized and realized the first military transition to democratic rule in Nigeria. Although his attempt was fraught with some pitfalls, the handing over power to Alhaji Shehu Shagari on October 1, 1979 marked him out as a sincere military democrat as he was not under any local or international pressure to do so.

Revision Questions

Objectives

1. The Gowon's indigenization policy was targeted at _____.
 - A. enriching the local government
 - B. impoverishing the multi-national corporations
 - C. diversifying the economy

- D. making Nigerians participate in the national economy
2. The Gowon's regime promised to hand over power to the civilian government in 1976 on _____.
- A. June 10, 1972
 - B. July 29, 1975
 - C. October 1, 1970
 - D. December 24, 1974
3. It was during the regime of Gowon that Nigeria _____.
- A. became an OPEC member
 - B. became a member of the commonwealth
 - C. became a member of the O.A.U
 - D. became a member of the O.I.C
4. One of General Yakubu Gowon's policies against Igbo's was
- A. his 3Rs programme
 - B. his payment of £20 to account holders
 - C. his taking over of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka
 - D. N.Y.S.C established scheme
5. It was _____ who announced Gowon's overthrow.
- A. Shehu Yar'adua
 - B. Col. Mohammed Ali
 - C. Brigadier Joseph Garba
 - D. Brigadier Joseph Gomwalk
6. One of the four old states never created by Mohammed was _____.
- A. Cross Rivers State
 - B. Ogun State
 - C. Sokoto State
 - D. Rivers State
7. Murtala Mohammed was assassinated alongside _____.
- A. Col. Fajuyi
 - B. Lt. Col. Bello
 - C. Mr. Ukpabi Asika
 - D. Lt. Akintunde Akinsehinwa
8. On assumption of duty, Gen Mohammed did all of the following except:
- A. a mass sack of convicted corrupt officers
 - B. appointed the chairman of FEDECO
 - C. formed the constitution drafting committee
 - D. appoint a 5-man state creation advisory committee
9. The 1976 L.G.A reforms _____.

- A. gave much power to council secretaries
 - B. gave much power to supervisory councilors
 - C. gave much power to elected councilors
 - D. gave much power to L.G. chairman
10. One of the problems of the UPE scheme of 1976 was _____.
- A. it was free but not compulsory
 - B. it mentored 4 million pupils
 - C. it paid fees for the pupils
 - D. it did not build more secondary schools

Essay Questions

- 1a. How would you assess Gen. Gowon's regime?
- b. Why was the government toppled?
- 2a. What were the programmes of Murtala Mohammed?
- b. Identify those he achieved within his short reign.
- 3. Critically examine Gen. Obasanjo's achievement while in office.
- 4. Account for the success of Obasanjo's transition to civil rule?
- 5a. List the criteria demanded by FEDECO for the registration of a political party.
- b. What five flaws were found in Murtala-Obasanjo's regime?