JOURNAL OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE
ISSN Print: 2992-2763 – ISSN Online: 2992-4618 | Vol. 2, Issue 1, No. 1 / March 2024
https://www.jopd.com.ng

A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW AND COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE PRE-INDEPENDENCE, INDEPENDENCE AND POST-INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTIONS OF NIGERIA

IBRAHIM MATAZU SULEIMAN
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
UMARU MUSA YAR'ADUA UNIVERSITY, KATSINA
ibrahim.matazu@umyu.edu.ng
+2347065855050

Abstract
This paper appraises the contexts and contents of constitutional engineering in the post-colonial Nigeria. It adopts historical perspective to study the contents of especially the two constitutions enacted by military regimes of 1979 and 1999 in relation to their contexts. The questions that guide the work include; what are the dynamics that shaped the contents of the 1979 and 1999 constitutions in contrast to other constitutions? And how did the people participate in the process? The objective is to find out the issues and dynamics that fashioned the contents of the constitutions and the extent of peoples' participation. The data utilized are the secondary sources such as; the constitutions studied, archive sources, official reports, books, journal articles and internet sources while the method of analysis was qualitative. The paper finds that, the content of 1979 constitution was shaped by civil war, corruption, regionalism and ethnic crises and the 1999 constitution was influenced by coups, corruption, ethno-political violence, and religious crises for the first time and annulment of elections. The degree of peoples' participation during the post-independence varies according to the criteria of the representation used; the people consultation in 1999 surpassed that of 1979 while their partaking in the 1979 exceeded that of 1963 and the 1963 representation outdone that of 1960. In conclusion, this study discerns that the constitution engineering is a gradual process and stresses that the latter the constitution, the more the people participation. The pre-independence constitutions, with the exception of the Macpherson Constitution were more of administrative documents, while the post-independence constitutions were largely influenced by the atmosphere at the midst of their inception. Finally, it recommends the reconsidering of the bicameral legislative and the presidential systems and calls for another constitution to be formed by the Nigerian population via gradual national consultations at all levels.

Key words: Constitution, decree, Military and post-Independence

Introduction:
Nigeria, a modern nation-state governed by a constitution began as a British colony. There was an amalgamation in 1914 of the Southern and Northern protectorates that were not only autonomous but also different in ethnic and cultural outlook to form Nigeria. The colonialists have brought the diverse regions under a common administration to reduce the administrative costs (Suleiman, 2022). Hence, Nigeria has experienced several attempts at building a nation through various constitutional arrangements that can be categorized into two; pre-independence and the post-independence constitutional epochs.

Statement of the Research Problem
Nigeria surpasses sixty years of independence but about thirty years were spent under military rule while the remaining years of the civilian rule were emitted in to first, second, third and fourth republics. Throughout this period, Nigeria has been changing its constitution for more than seven times and yet there are elements of dissatisfaction. This is being manifested by many crises that lead to the calls for 'Sovereign National Conference'. This stimulates the researcher's aspiration to study the dynamics that prevail during the constitutional formation which make the constitutional provisions so temporary and later necessitate the polity to look for another one. So that a better method for engineering a more organized, comprehensive and lasting constitution for the polity could be realized.

Thus, this paper is an attempt to examine the contents of these constitutions against their contexts in order to explore the national and international factors that influenced the nature and compositions of the constitutions and the extent to which the peoples' view is represented and finally to recommend what should improve the future constitution making in Nigeria.

The Research Objectives

The objectives of this research are to:

1. Find out factors that render the constitutions distasteful to the public and so temporary.
2. Facilitate methods to improve peoples' representation and enhance national loyalty.

Research Questions

The study will be guided by the following questions:

1. What are the main factors that influenced the contents of the 1979 and 1999 constitutions in contrast to other constitutions?
2. How did the people participate in the constitutional processes?

Research Methodology

The research type is interpretive it adopts historical perspective to study the constitutions, archive sources, official reports, books, journal articles and internet sources and adopts qualitative method for the analysis. The research is guided by the above two questions to find out the issues and dynamics that influenced the contents of the constitutions and the extent of people consultations in the processes of making the 1979 and 1999 constitutions.

Literature Review

Gufta (2014) and Igbuzur (2001) discussed the constitutional development under the colonial rule and argued that it was influenced by the agitations of Nationalists for indigenous representation, attainment of significant power at all central levels and imposition of limited franchise under the Clifford Constitution of 1922, coupled with intense pressure for having a self and independent government. Their approach is purely historical and limited to making any comparison among the constitutions.

Further, the independence constitution of 1960 retained most of the colonial provisions as the British monarch was still recognised as the Head of State. This is manifested in chapter VI of the constitution with regard to exercise of executive authority of the Federation line 78 read as –"The executive authority of the Federation shall be vested in Her Majesty. In respect of the legislation too, the Governor on behalf of the Queen had the final ruling, as stated clear under chapter V Part 1 line 36 that, "There shall be a Parliament of the Federation, which shall consist of Her Majesty, a Senate and a House of Representatives". And line 57 added that "The power of Parliament to make laws shall be exercised by bills passed by both Houses (or in the cases mentioned in section 59 of this Constitution the House of Representatives) and assented to by the Governor-General on behalf of Her Majesty". All the important legislations were still ruled by the British despite that independence was granted to Nigeria.

Consequently, the new national leaders were anxious to realize full scale liberty by ensuring that the remnants of colonialism were completely wiped. This culminated to a constitutional conference held in Lagos from 25th to 26th, July 1963 where the Nigerian political leaders resolved that, Nigeria should become a Federal Republic, and that the president of the republic should have the same powers as the Governor-General had under the Independence Constitution which was passed on 19th September 1963 (Igbuzur, 2001). The new constitution was known as the Republican Constitution, the first constitution produced by the Nigerians with key features of the replacement of the Governor-General appointed by the British monarch with a President elected directly by members of the Nigerian federal legislature through secret ballot. Hence, the Queen of England ceased to be in control of the arms of government in Nigeria. The head of state for the first time become the president and Commander-in-Chief of the Nigeria armed forces. In addition, the judiciary system too became national, thereby replacing the British Privy Council with the Nigerian Supreme Court as the final court of appeal under the Chief Judge appointed by the president on the recommendation of the Judicial Service

Commission. Also the constitution reiterated on the protection of human rights in line with 1948 United Nations declaration on human rights.

Ojo (1985) noted that, the Westminster model of government failed to accommodate the grievances of Nigerians due to the abdication of responsibility by the executive and its inability to abide by the rules of the game. Onifawose and Akinboye (1989, p: 34) corroborated that during the First Republic "all available apparatus were employed by the power elites against their opponent." Ake (1981, p: 23) utterly blamed the political leaders that, "after the independence there was a contradiction, as the new rulers tried to use the only tool they have (i.e. political power) to create an economic base in order to consolidate their political power". As a result chaos and political tension escalated.

From the forth going the link between the contexts of the pre-independence, the independence constitutions and their contents become clear. Hence, the purpose of this work to delineate on the post-independence constitution of 1979 and 1999 to examine the contexts and their contents so that the links can be established and the mode of peoples' participation too will be ascertained.

The Pre-independence, Independence and Post-independence Constitutions of Nigeria

The 1963 and 1979 Constitutions:
For one to understand the complexity of the situation in which the 1979 constitution was enacted, one should refer back to the Ironsi's regime of 1966, the first military junta that after it had toppled the First Republic and dumped the 1963 constitution has expressed its readiness to draft another constitution that will make Nigeria a more unified and a more prosperous country.

As observed earlier, the 1963 Constitution stressed more on the elimination of the colonial vestiges to attain full independence and failed to address the issue of unity among the distinctive regions of the federation thus the center remained weaker while the regions became stronger, each region was dominated by an ethnic group and governed by different constitution and cultural determinants. Since the 1914 amalgamation of Nigeria the unification was only administrative, even after the independence the units were not assimilated therefore ethnic and regional rivalries continued to provoke discontent in the polity that the 1963 constitution was short to address.

The problem of ethnic hostility which later submerged the polity could be traced to the colonial designation of amalgamating distinct regions for their own interests, without people consent or consultation. Even though there were some allegations of corruption against the ruling class. Thus, the reasons advanced by the first coup executors were to overpower this ethnic agenda through unification of the polity and combat corruption that dominated political affairs of the country as Nzeogwu (1966 in National Archive, 2022) uttered: "our enemies are the political profiteers, the swindlers, the men in high and low places that seek bribes and demand ten percent those that seek to keep the country divided permanently so that they can remain in offices as ministers and VIPs of waste." This point was further elaborated in the Ironsi's broadcast on 28th January 1966 to the nation that*:* "All Nigerians want an end to regionalism and activities that promote tribal consciousness and sectional interest…we shall stamp out corruption and dishonesty in our public life with ruthless efficiency" (National Archive, 2022).

Nonetheless, a day after the government was taken over by Major general J.T.U Aguiyi Ironsi, he proposed a unitary system and promised to introduce constitutional changes with the consensus of "various representatives of public opinion" and returning the country to civil rule. The unification decree titled Decree No.34 asserted, "The Federal Military Government hereby decrees as follows:-

> Subject to the provisions of this Decree, Nigeria shall on 24th may 1966 (in this Decree referred to as "the appointed day") cease to be a Federation and shall accordingly as from that day be a republic, by the name of the Republic of Nigeria, consisting of the whole of the territory which immediately before that day was comprised in the federation (Supplement to Official Gazette Extraordinary, 1966: 7)

Even though the regime was toppled just after six months by another military group of predominantly Northern military officers, the idea of unification continued to prevail in all the subsequent

constitutions. Thus, the 1979 constitution was a byproduct of three military regimes' efforts that all of them preferred presidential to parliamentary system, and continued to divide states to a smaller units while strengthening the center as Gowon (who succeeded Ironsi) created 12 states from the four regions, Murtala (the Gowon successor) increased the 12 states to 19 and proposed Abuja, a location at the epicenter of Nigeria as the new Federal capital.

On contrast to his predecessors, Murtala emphasized extremely on the real independence of African countries in general and showed uncompromising tendency against neo-colonialism. Soon Murtala was assassinated in an aborted coup attempt. Just as the assassination of the leaders of first republic was attributed to their subversion from the colonial dictates the killing of Murtala too was allegedly seen as a conspiracy of the western powers who were scared of the agitation of the pan-Africanism with Nigerian leader at its center (Wilmot, 2006). Bala Usman was on the same vein as he declared, "The assassination of the head of state was as a result of manipulation of certain domestic and foreign forces operating within the country" (Usman, 1977, p:39).

Before his death, Murtala laid down the basis for the reform of the country's Local Government system and the writing of the future constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria that ushered in multiparty presidential democracy. The attempt prophesied since Ironsi and Gowon periods was not actualized until during Murtala in 1975 that after his demise his deputy Obasanjo set of a 49 member committee that completed the work in 1976. The draft was reviewed by 230 members of constituent assembly from 1977 to 1978 led by justice Udo Udoma (Gufta, 2014). Finally, the Supreme Military Council effected the final amendments and promulgated the constitution on 1st February 1979 (Ishaq, 2008). With the collapse of the first republic, Nigeria witnessed thirteen years of military rule before the new constitution was promulgated which led to the inauguration of the second republic.

The 1979 constitution came into being when people were fed up of prolonged military rule, ethnic crises, civil war devastations and corruption. The 1979 constitution of the second republic therefore was quite different from the one of first republic. It essentially opted for presidential rather than parliamentary system of government, under which the president and state governors will be elected together with their deputies for a period of 4 years to prevent overstay in office while it prohibited party formation on ethnic or religious bases. The constitution was made to be supreme, in which powers were delineated and shared between and among the states and the local governments so as to strengthen the federal structure of the federation while the derivation formula was changed from 50% to 13% for the state where resources are produced to prevent uneven development of the country).

The president remained the commander in chief of the armed forces, but to be directly elected through general elections thus to be held responsible by the subjects who elected him. And to ensure unity, the person must not only secure majority votes but must also get 25% at least from 2/3 of the Nigerian states. The National Assembly remained bicameral in addition to the principle of check and balance to be exercised by the legislature against the executive arm.

There was clear separation of powers among the arms of government to avoid over powering the executive, a lapse perceived from the 1963 constitution. The constitution further delineated that presidential appointments of important officers are subject to scrutiny and approval by the legislature also appointments of chief judge, judges of the Supreme Court, Federal Court of Appeal Federal High Court and ministerial appointments are subject to senate approval.

In conclusion, the constitution looked more a unitary than a federal due to its emphasis on a strong center and weak states deliberately designated to prevent further secession from what was experienced. The presidential system makes the executive arm more powerful compare to other arms of government thus jeopardizing the independence of the judiciary and legislature. While the change of the *derivation* formula from 50% to 13% for the states where resources are produced unleashed controversy from the states that contribute more petroleum resources.

The 1999 Constitution:

With the exception of the civil war the 1999 constitution shares most of the episodes with 1979 constitution that happened prior to its implementation and with additional cruelties. Prior to the draft of 1999 constitution the atmosphere was characterized by intensification of activities of the Civil Liberty Organisations (CLOs) and Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs) that incessantly called for draft of a constitution and transition to civilian administration due to the high level of education and awareness, tiresome of prolonged military rule, and the decision of the regime to fully incorporate the country in to crude capitalist economy by accepting International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank conditionality to receive loan. The conditions include devaluation of currency, privatization of public companies and *parastatals* and removing of subsidies in all public sectors. Soon, there was deduction of wages, removal of 80% oil subsidy, commercialization and privatization of public *parastatals* and woeful devaluation of currency (NAIRA). Many Labour Unions, Student Unions, Social Associations, oppose the decision such as Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN) and National Association of Nigerian Students (NANS) and demonstrated against the policy and the military rule. The Inspector General of police announced the banning of such demonstrations, arrested many journalist, university lecturers, students and militants. They were detained and the state threatened to bring charges for sedition against them (Agedah, 1993).

The issue of unity suffered set back as for the first time of Nigerians history there were religious crises broke out especially in the northern part of Nigeria that claimed thousands of lives and properties worth millions of Naira and displacement of thousands of people. In 1987 there were the Kafanchan crises between Christians and Muslims, followed bythe ZangonKataf all in Kaduna state, Tafawa Balewa in Bauchi state. There were also tribal crises between Tiv and Jukun, Hausa and Yorubas in Lagos, to mention just a few (Suleiman, 2014).

On the transition and constitution draft, the regime engaged in delay tactics, manufacturing excuses extending its stay in power. Unfortunately it appeared that the longer the military stayed the more problem of corruption, smuggling, drug and currency trafficking, robbery, hoarding, ethnic bigotry, poverty, abuse of human rights increased. The last bomb exploded with the annulment of June 12 elections that skyrocketed political crises in Nigeria and finally led to the ousting of the regime without promulgation of any constitution.

Another 5 years was squandered by the succeeding military regime of General Sani Abacha with an attempt to unite the country against the political upheavals that resulted from the annulment of June 12 elections, tackle economic problems muddling the country as a result of the implementation of the IMF *conditionalities*, and the usual business of promise to enact a constitution (Fejokwu et al., 1996).

Abacha announced that there will be a new constitution and transition to civil rule through elections to be held on August 1998 (Useni, 1996). It soon became apparent, that Abacha had no intention of permitting fair elections ashe strong-armed the country's five parties (United Nigeria Congress Party (UNCP), Committee for National Consensus (CNC), National Center Party for Nigeria (NCPN), Democratic Party of Nigeria (DPN) and Grassroots Democratic Movement (GDM) in to endorsing him as the sole presidential candidate without giving chance to anyother candidate to contest (Uzendu, 1998).

It is important to note that, Babangida in 1989 and Abacha in 1994 made some impotent attempts for constitutional reconstructions, both ended up as mere stage shows. The Nigerians quest for the long-promised constitution was not realized until 1999 under the regime of General Abdussalami Abubakar who decided not to retain the 1995 Abacha's constitution as the public widely perceived that Abacha had a self-succession agenda. A constitution Debate Coordinating Committee (CDCC) was established under Niki Tobi on 11 November 1998 to recommend a new constitution for the country Abubakar provided brief of this committee was to "pilot the debate, coordinate and collect views and recommendations canvassed by individuals and groups" within the country concerning the form which a new constitution should take(in Katsina, 2016: 78).The committee on presenting its report on 31st December 1998 pointed out that based on their public consultations, most Nigerians preferred adopting the 1979 constitution with "relevant amendments" (Tobi, 1999). By the Tobi's admission,

the 1999 constitution is just a replica of 1979 constitution with some amendments, as a child of necessity in order not to overheat the atmosphere and create unnecessary delay for democratization by making new constitution, Katsina (2016) observed.

The Provisional Ruling Council of 26 officers under General Abdulsalami Abubakars' military administration accepted the report after the amendment of the constitution. Decree no. 24 of 1999 enacted the constitution into law on 5th may 1999 with effect from 29th May 1999 which successfully ushered in the Fourth Republic on the 29th of May, 1999. The 1999 constitution is the second constitution drafted by a military junta after 14 year consecutive promises. The constitution addressed the problem of unity by maintaining the federal system with additional 13 states from 21 to 34 that weaken the states against the powerful center.

The 1979 constitution, chapter IV, on the federal executive it explained that "The President remains the Head of State, the Chief Executive of the Federation and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federation". While in the process of election the president must have not less than one-quarter of the votes cast at the election in each of at least two-thirds of all the States in the Federation and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja.

In order to maintain equilibrium among the heterogeneous societies of Nigeria it considered all citizens as one irrespective of their differences be it religious, ethnic or any other, and provide equal opportunity. Under schedule III part 1 a federal Character Commission was established with one person to represent each state among the 34 states of the Federation and the FCT Abuja. The chairman is to be appointed by the president, subject to senate confirmation. The commission is to work out an equitable formula for the distribution of all cadres of posts in the public service including the Armed Forces, Nigeria Police Force, government companies and parastatals throughout the federation.

To neutralize and augment the states ravaged by religious crises, the constitution under Part II (Powers of the Federal Republic of Nigeria) paragraph 10 asserts that, "The Government of the Federation or of a State shall not adopt any religion as State Religion." The constitution is explicit in restraining any tier of the government to adopt any religion not to talk of adoption of a sect or a creed for reference. In more unambiguous terms, on the fundamental human rights, it clearly delineated under Chapter IV (Fundamental Rights) paragraph that, "Every person shall be entitled to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, including freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom…" On the recalcitrant issue of corruption, beside its affirmation of the 1979 provision of Public Audit, a Code of Conduct for Public Officers was provided in the Schedule V Part I: that, "…immediately after taking office and thereafter, at the end of every four years and at the end of his term of office, submit to the Code of Conduct Bureau a written declaration of all his properties, assets, and liabilities and those of his unmarried children under the age of eighteen years". Meanwhile a Code of Conduct Tribunal was established to deal with the related cases.

Referring to the issue of derivation that became one of the most volatile areas, the constitution asserts that, "not less than 13%" will be given to the area of production of the total amount accruing in to the federal account. One unique development of this constitution is its provision for conducting legislation in one of the three major Nigerian languages Hausa, Igboand Yoruba to enhance popular participation in law making.

Nevertheless, as the 1979 constitution, designates more subordination of local governments to the states as the states are to the federal government. Further, the language of the constitution also is criticized as being masculine if not militaristic and the composition is highly ambiguous with legal jargons. Thus, many pundits see it as a just legal document that inflicts a unitary system of rule.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

While the pre-independence constitutions were more of administrative documents meant to ensure smooth administration of the polity with the exception of the Macpherson Constitution that followed consultation process and reached to the people at different levels, The Nigeria's post-independence constitutions were largely influenced by the atmosphere at the midst of their inception. The independence constitution of 1960 was shaped by the colonial effort to ensure continuous domination

by maintaining the Queen as the highest authority to legislate through the Governor General. The 1963 Constitution was also was influenced by the legacies of colonialist entrenched into the political system, which the Nigerians thrived to eliminate. The other constitutions drafted by the military in 1979 and 1999 looked inward to resolve the problems of ethnicity, corruption and political turmoil without paying attention against neo-colonial policies dwarfing the growth of the nation. On the popular participation, the Lagos conference of 1963 was induced by the elites, as the Prime Minister and the regional premiers played the most significant roles. The latter two constitutions known as military constitutions exercised indirect form of participation. The military constitution of 1979 increased the participation through the review of 230 members of constituent assembly after the 49 elites have done the draft also exhibited more role by the elite than by the peoples' representatives. The consultation by Tobi committee of 1999 was nationwide. Even though the deliberation was exercised by only 26 Nigerians, it can be deduced that, the latter the constitution the more the consultation. All the constitutions have much concern about human rights, federalism, bicameral legislature and equality of the citizens. The reason for sticking to bicameral system despite clamors to reverse it in order to reduce the administrative costs is not specified. The reason for adoption of presidential system too despite the dictatorial tendencies and distance from people, yet not clarified.

Finally, the paper recommends that there should be another constitution to be formed by the Nigerian population via gradual national consultations at all levels to have comprehensive opinions from all over the nation. It also recommends a unicameral legislature to cut the running cost of the administration and resort to parliamentary system to reduce the power concentration in the president.

References

Abacha , S. (1993, November, 18th). Speech to the nation on the resignation of the Interim National Government, Abuja

Abubakar, A. (1998, June 9th). Maiden Broadcast to the nation as Head of State and Commander in Chief of Nigerian Armed Forces, Abuja

Abubakar, A. (1998, October 1st). 38th Nigeria's Independence Anniversary Speech, Abuja

Agedah, D. (ed.,1993). *The Military in Politics from Ironsi to Babangida*.Lagos: Perception Communication ltd.

Ake, C. (1981). *A political of Africa*. Ibadan: Daybis limited.

Akomolede, I.T. (2001). Good Governance, Rule of Law and Constitutionalism In Nigeria. *European Journal of Business and Social Sciences, 1,(6) p.43.*

Amuta, C. (1992). *Prince of the Niger*: *The Babangida years*.Lagos: Tanus Communications.

Buhari M. (2001). *The Military class, Political class and Quest for Good Governance in Nigeria.* Kano: CDRT, Mambayya House.

Coleman, J.S. (1958). *Nigeria: Background to nationalism*. University of California Press.

Daniel, P. (2003). The Colonial Origins of Ethnic cleavages. *Comparative Politics, 35:127-147.*

Dare, L. and Oyewole, A. (1987). *A' level text book of Government*. Ibadan:Onibonoje Press ltd.

Decree No.34, 1966 in Supplement to Official Gazette Extraordinary No.51, Vol.53, 24th May,1966. National Archives of Nigeria. Federal Minitry of Information. www.fmic.gov.ng

Fejokwu, L.C. (Ed.),(1996). *Nigeria A Viable Black Power.* (special edition) Lagos: Polcom Press.

Gufta, R.K. (2014). *Nigeria- Constitutional Developments , Political Economy, Judiciary and Representation.*Institute of Lifelong Learning, University of Delhi.

Ishaq, A.A. (2008). *Nigerian Government and politics*. Lagos: Royal Gate Publishers.

Igbuzur, O. (2001). Strategy towards a people's constitution. *In* Bagudu, N. and Dakas, D. (Eds.). *The right to be different: perspectives on minority rights, the cultural middle belt and constitutionalism in Nigeria*. League for Human Right, Jos.

Katsina, A.M. (2016). Party Constitutions and Political Challenges in a Democracy: Nigeria in the fourth Republic. IIUM Press Nigeria: Constitution Development. Retrieved from www.lawnigeria.com on 5th July, 2017

Ojo, J.D. (1985). *The development of the executive Under the Nigerian Constitution* (1960-1981) Lagos: 3rd press international

Suleiman, I.M. (2022). Nigeria's constitutional development and Constitutionalism. *Social Science and Law Journal of Policy Review and Development Strategies. 9: (1). July, 2022*. ISSN: 2315-8387; p.25

Suleiman, I.M. (2014). Islam and the leadership qualities. (Unpublished thesis). Bayero University Kano

The Nigerian Constitutions and the Colonial Administrations. Retrieved from ww.constitutionnet.org

Tobi, N. "speech delivered by the Chairman of the Constitution Debate Coordinating Committee (CDCC) while presenting the committee's report to the Head of State General Abubakar Abdussalaim, Abuja, 1999

Useni, J. "Abacha's Mission: The Gains and the Pains". First annual lecture of the Sani Abacha Foundation for Peace and Unity. International Conference Center, Abuja, November, 1996.

Usman, Y.B. (Ed.), (1977). *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate. The Sokoto Seminar papers.* Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.

Uzendu, M. (1998, September 7th). "Rights on Time," The Independent Electoral Commission Beats Government Deadline for the Release of Guidelines on the formation of parties." *The week*

Wilmot, P.F. (2006). Murtala Muhammed. *In:* H. Wakili. & Z.M. Isma'ila (eds.), *Leadership Question and Quest for Africa's Development*. Kano: CDRT. Mambayya House.