NIGERIA MILITARY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

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Abstract

The study of the Nigeria Military and Sustainable Development was done in retrospect to interrogate the development policies during the period of military regimes as well as The Armed Forces of Nigeria AFN post-1999 policies whether they were sustainable or not. It sought to contribute to knowledge by viewing military development policies through the prism of the fundamental theorems of welfare economics to ascertain the sustainability of the development programmes undertaken by the military in Nigeria. The study adopted conceptual and historical frameworks for its methodological approach. It relied on the Push and Pull theory as a theoretical framework to explain the study. The study established that the development policies of the military in Nigeria presented a Rawlsian view of policy disposition whereas in practice and implementation, they were largely inspired by the libertarian and utilitarian views. Also, it stated that some of the development policies of the military regimes in Nigeria were sustainable development as far as continuity of policy implementation was concerned but could not be considered as sustainable development in real terms of acceptable global definition because no considerations were made for future generations in the policies.

Keywords: Development, Military, Policies, Sustainable, Sustainability, Theorems

Introduction

The Armed Forces of Nigeria (AFN) in the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Part III Section C, Paragraph 217 is referred to as the Armed Forces of the Federation. It comprises the Army, Navy, and Air Force. The common nomenclature known to many persons and used to refer to the AFN is the Nigeria military. The word military may refer to a group of able-bodied men and women that are well-trained in the art and skills of war and armament for the defense of their nations. They are often expected to be very patriotic and willing to pay the supreme sacrifice in the defense of the national interests of their nations if need be. Therefore, in many ways than one, they are contributors to the development of their countries in a pragmatic and positive way but sometimes, their actions run counter to positive development. When such occurs, the military is abhorred, despised, and told to focus on their professional duties. Be that as it may, whether at the end of the continuum for making positive contributions or negative impacts to the well-being

of their nations, the military is inarguably an active participant in the development of their countries.

Development is a term that connotes every positive change, growth, process, or transformation in the life of the citizens of a country. What is generally termed national development embraces political development, economic development, educational and social development amongst others. Development can be regarded as sustainable or unsustainable. When development is deemed to be sustainable, it denotes a system that will maintain its own viability using techniques and processes that allow for its replication or continual reuse. It is therefore unsustainable when it cannot through the same processes and techniques replicate itself, maintain its viability and continual reuse.

The AFN has been involved in the political, economic, educational, social and technological development of Nigeria before and shortly after its independence in 1960. The military of many nations were instrumental to their political, economic, military and national development. For instance, former military leaders in Britain (Winston Churchill 1874 – 1965), United States of America (George Washington 1732 – 1799), and Indonesia (Surhato 1921 – 2008) were deeply involved in the political evolution and economic development of their various countries. According to Jowit (2019), the participation of the AFN in the First and Second World Wars had momentous consequences on the political evolution of Nigeria. He asserts that although the First World War had great consequences, it was the Second World War that impacted more seriously on Nigeria's political development. This was because about 17,000 combatants and many others involved in the war travelled outside Nigeria and returned with an expanded mental horizon and self-confidence that provided that spark and space for the nationalist movement and agitations that eventually led to Nigeria's Independence. So, from the perspective of national rebirth to diplomatic representation and recognition, the AFN was and still are involved in sustainable development in Nigeria.

However, some of the developmental activities of the AFN have been negative and not sustainable. Many others have been very positive and sustainable in the development of the country. The objective of this study is to ascertain the sustainability of the development policies and programmes undertaken by the AFN. The study is organized into seven sections. The introduction is covered in Section I whilst Section II deals with review of literature and conceptual definitions. The theoretical framework of the study and research methodology are given in Sections III and IV respectively. The overview of military regimes and their contributions to national development is in Section V whilst the mirroring of the development policies of the Nigeria military in the light of social justice and equity question is in Section VI. The conclusion of the study is given in Section VII.

Literature Review

According to Beckley (2010), it is natural to consider civilian and military spheres as separate and distinct entities, yet all militaries are part and parcel of an economic system. Many countries that have a competitive edge in producing civilian goods and services also thrive in producing for

military forces. Keohane and Nye (1977) argue that many liberals and constructivists scholars conceptualize military power mostly in material terms when debating its casual significance. However, Singer (1988) asserts that the scope of military capacity in quantitative studies is a record of military personnel, expenditure, production of iron and steel, total population, urban population and energy consumption.

Elliot (2013), asserts that "the pursuit of sustainable development is now stated as a principal policy goal of many of the major institutions of the world including the United Nations, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization" (Elliot, 2013, pg. 1). In 2000, the world community decided to achieve eight "Millennium Development Goals" by 2015 and one of the goals was clearly sustainable development although, all the others too are central to improve impartial outcomes in gender, health, sanitation and housing that directly affect the poor. Elliot (2013) identified poverty as the primary cause and effect of global ecological issues and resolving inequality and poverty are central and long-standing matters of sustainable development. However, she argued that "understanding the characteristics of successful sustainable development projects will be essential for meeting worldwide ongoing and evolving challenges of balancing present needs against those of the future" (Elliot, 2013, pg. 4).

Boyi (2014) posits that the key factor to achieving national development that is sustainable is education because sustainable national development is dependent on improved quality of education. Munasinghe (2004) defines sustainable national development as the process of enhancing the spectrum of opportunities that aid people to attain their full potential and ambitions over a sustained duration. On the other hand, Age (2005) identified "increase capital income and employment, promoting human welfare satisfying basic needs; protecting the environment as some objectives which sustainable national development is expected to realize" (Age, 2005, pg. 85). In addition, Boyi (2014) concludes that it is important in sustainable development to consider pathway of future generations, aim to achieve fairness between the poor and the rich and increase participation broadly in decision-making and development processes.

Yusuf (2005) using descriptive method of data analysis in his study on the Military and Technological Development established that the military is instrumental to a good number of technological developments in the world. Amore (2005) relying on analytical methods in his study recommended the establishment of Special Forces on internal security. Similarly, Adesanya (2005) in his study recommended the enactment of enabling Act to ensure the contributions of the Nigerian military to national development.

The concept of sustainable development as provided by Boyi (2014) which consider the current and path of future generation in development is very strategic. However, in ascertaining the sustainability of the policies and programmes of the AFN in the development of Nigeria, this study aligns with the measure that the policies and programmes should maintain its own viability using techniques and processes that allow for its replication or continual reuse.

Military

The term military may simply refer to soldiers; or the armed forces of a nation. Himes (1980) describe the military as a specialized institution meant to maintain and guide values of a society; that are armed with specialized equipment, organization and personnel for the business of conflict. This view is equally shared in the International Military and Defence Encyclopedia (1993) as "the term `military` refers to those institutions of managed lethal violence that are legitimized by state control". Onyeoziri (2005) sees the military as state charged institution meant to secure the territorial integrity of the nation-state and assist in suppressing internal threats which gives them unique roles that are different from any other institution.

Downey (1977) posits that the preeminent military role is that of war fighting which aligns with Huntington (1957). He posits that the military should be subordinate to civil power control, be apolitical, professional, and only involved in fighting and winning wars. Sarkesian (1978) however is of the view that the military is not apolitical which Lepper (1998) supports and states that the military is different by specific standards of conduct, that make it a fighting force that is effective from the rest of the society. However, Clausewitz cited in Paret (1976) used the term `military spirit` to describe those standards of conduct and indefinite attributes embodied in skill, discipline, high morale, and goodwill. Strict discipline among these attributes is what differentiates the military from other occupations. Janowitz (1997) in his view sees the military as complex and large-scale organization with professional extensive bureaucratic management.

The military profession in contemporary times is different from those of the prior decades. Williams (1992), sees the military as a profession that requires systematic education and rigorous special training, to perform acts within the same vocation. Williams likens military to what could be called a 'vocation' or 'calling' and military experts by this calling have the inspiration, the aptitude, natural talent, love for their jobs even when risking their lives. Nwolise (1996) describes the characteristics of the military to include training, education, adherence to standards of conduct, competency, and organisation. Janowitz (1971) on the other hand, contends that group identity, long education, high performance standards and ethics are all part of the variables that inform the notion of military as a profession.

Development

Walter (1982), views the many-sided process of development in human society and that "development at the level of the individual is increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility, and material well-being. At the level of social groups, development is increasing capacity to regulate both internal and external relationships" (Walter, 1982, pg. 3). According to John (1977), national development includes not only economic development; but also, the process to create institutions, symbols and concepts that gives a modern nation-state its philosophy, structure, and identity. Atteh (1998), points out that economic development or growth entails an increase in total national income that is sustained on secular basis or a sustained secular increase in the national income per head of the population. Okigbo (1987), on the other hand, states that development involves a man being at the center of the engine

of socio-economic development. As for Obi (1997), economic growth deals with quantitative increase or expansion in goods and services, while economic development involves the qualitative increment, improvement, and benefit in the overall well-being of the society.

Ellsworth and Leith (1975) see economic development as the transformation of society into a modern and productive one from a backward, sometimes primitive, and unproductive society. They stress that closing the gap between per capita incomes in advanced and underdeveloped countries would describe economic development. Nevertheless, Adeleke (2000) is of the view that the activity that describes economic development is not linear such that in a mechanical manner the old is replaced by the new nor is it merely an economic activity that experts only can engage but an extensive activity aimed at human well-being. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Report (1999) defines human development as a process that enlarges people's choice with the formation of human capabilities to improve skills, knowledge and health and using acquired capacity for productive purposes in political and social affairs. Brandt (1980) concludes that "development never will be and never can be defined to universal satisfaction…that development extends beyond a concern with economic growth alone but includes sustainable and systematic improvement in the standard of living of a particular society" (Brandt, 1980, pg. 46-48). However, Aligwekwe (1982) from the socio-anthropological perspective looks at development as the progression into reality and bringing into progressive use the possibilities of human nature and man, as the maker of culture and society. Therefore, interpreting development without focusing on the human being is deficient. It is posited that economic growth is strongly a primary factor for development yet, the main standard of measurement according to Aligwekwe (1982) should be the satisfaction of the socio-cultural aspirations and needs of the individual and the community which is a development involving the whole man.

Sustainable Development

Sustainability means the ability to sustain an outcome, a process and an entity for a period of time (Basiago, 1999). In his own conception, Ben-Eli (2015) describes sustainability as a dynamic stability in the interaction process, in a way that the populace grows to articulate its complete potential without bringing unfavourable effects that are irreversible on the bearing ability of the environment which it is dependent on. However, Thomas (2015) centers sustainability on the activities of people and their capability to satisfy the wants and needs of humans without the depletion of productive resources at their reach. Abubakar (2017) argues that sustainable development is a key concept in the development agenda and policy of the globe. On the other hand, Mensah (2019) asserts that sustainable development requires a system through which society interacts with the environment without jeopardizing the resources for the following generations. Browning and Rigolon (2019) posit that it is a development paradigm and also a concept that requires enhancing the standards of living without risking the ecological system of the earth or cause ecological problems.

The term 'sustainable development' was first coined officially in the Brundtland Report of 1987on the environment and adopted by the United Nations in 2015 into the Sustainable

Development Goals (SDG). It is defined as "the idea that human societies must live and meet their needs without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Brundtland, 1987, pg. 43). Social justice and equity encompass the fairness of a government policy or project portfolio on the current and upcoming generations. The 1992 Rio Earth Summit acknowledged that equity is central in its Agenda 21 and the States declaration that "equity derives from a concept of social justice…a belief that there are some things which people should have…that burdens and rewards should not be spread too divergently across the community and that policy should be directed with impartiality, fairness, and justice…" (Falk, Hampton, Hodgkinson, Kevin, and Rorris 1993, pg. 2). Adding to this, Beder (2000) noted that equity should be denoted as a minimum income level and ecological quality below which no person falls and the implication of this is the need for fairness when losses and gains are being distributed, and everyone is entitled to a reasonable standard of living and quality.

The Nigeria military regimes from 1966 – 1999 and the AFN post-1999 had and do have an essential effect on the current and upcoming generations as such intergenerational equity ought to be the major concern to the policy makers. Pearce, Markandya, and Barbier (1989) view intergenerational equity as the future generations possessing similar abilities to develop wealth and be compensated adequately for the loss of any environmental facility with different wealth creation sources.

Goodland and Ledec (1987) are of the view that there has to be a system of structural economic and social transformation that advances the economic and other benefits of the society accessible to the current generation, and not jeopardize the possible potential for same benefits to the upcoming generation before it can be classified as sustainable development. Pearce and Turner (1990) observe economic scrutiny of projects such as the government reform projects of land management (one cardinal policy of military regime in Nigeria) and its associated problems tend to posit that a given cost is significant if experienced currently than if it happens in the future. They argue that discounting reduces the significance attached to losses and gains in the future and as such, "discounting contains an in-built bias against future generations" (Pearce and Turner 1990, pg. 211). Their assertion is that the higher the rate of the discount which is the future discount rate, the quicker the natural resources are likely to be exhausted. Hence, a high rate of discount disfavours the next generations and "discounting appears to be inconsistent with the philosophy of sustainability" (1990, pg. 211).

Similarly, Beder (2000) noted that discounting contravenes fairness as cost-benefit analysis is about the costs and benefits of aggregation and does not resolve the problem of distribution, still the cost and benefits of distribution is of first concern when taking equity into consideration. As long as the sum of benefits overrides the sum of the costs, even though a small group of individuals reaps the benefits and various people experience the disadvantages, the entire society is presumed to be in an advantageous position. Several economists have contended that if the entire advantages outweigh the disadvantages, the losers could be compensated by the winners and be in an advantageous position which brings Pareto-optimality in the allocation of resources. Nevertheless, Beder (2000) opined that it rarely occurs because "the tendency is often for winners to win and

losers to lose continually – so that poor people are the ones who suffer the costs of hazardous, dirty or unwelcome developments" (Beder 2000, pg. 231).

Gap in Literature

The scholars' works reviewed dealt with the concepts of the military, development, and sustainable development. No work has viewed or interrogated the development policies undertaken by the military in Nigeria from the prism of the theorems of social welfare, justice, and equity question. This study therefore contributes to knowledge by using the prism of the fundamental theorems of welfare economics to ascertain the sustainability of the development policies and programmes enunciated during the era of military government and post-1999 democratic dispensation in Nigeria.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework adopted for the study is the push & pull theory of motivation. According to Arith (2022), motivation is figuratively, a powerful force that can come from two directions. One direction is the feeling of being drawn to something, whilst the second, is about feeling like you take actions to prevent something else. The theory asserts that both feelings, being drawn to and prevention of events, are the two motivations in the push and pull theory of motivation. Every motivation people have, every action people take is guided either by a desire to achieve a specific result **(pull)** or the need to prevent an undesirable outcome **(push).** While both are two different motivations, they can be seen as opposite sides of a coin: two motivations manifesting in one theory. Motivation is what gives people the desire to act in specific ways or the purpose for the things people do. The interesting thing to note is that at times, the reason for people's actions are positive, because they want the results, and at times it is negative because they are attempting to avoid an obvious result.

The push and pull theory of motivation aptly explains the involvement of military participation in development activities in a nation. Most often, the military would express the desire to avoid a slide to complete chaos and breakdown of law and order (push factor) to intervene in the political development of a nation. On the other hand, they would express the desire to achieve stability and economic development (pull factor) to intervene in the governance of the country. Therefore, the push and pull theory of motivation underpins the study of the AFN (Nigeria Military) and Sustainable Development.

Methodology

The methodological approach of this study is hinged on the conceptual and historical frameworks. A conceptual framework is a visual or written description of a proposed relationship between variables. The conceptual framework is developed generally on the basis of a literature review on of existing theories and studies on the subject matter (Swaen, 2015). With regards to the historical framework, Currie & Walsh (2018) explained that the past is intricate, firmly ephemeral and contingent. As a result, historians are usually contrasted with paradigm scientists, placing side by

side the historical goal for local understanding and the scientific goal for generality. "Good history requires 'principles of selection' which guide in identifying the relevant and irrelevant aspects of the target episode: they tell us what to foreground, and what to background" (Currie & Walsh 2018, pg. 3). As Danto (1962) says, "Not to have a criterion for picking out some happenings as relevant and others as irrelevant is simply not to be in a position to write history at all" (Danto, 1962, pg. 167). Corroborating the idea, Chalmers (2016) states "Once we take on the task of writing a history of science, we have to have some principle of selection which enables us to pick out relevant historical facts from irrelevant ones" (Chalmers, 2016, pg. 28).

Nigeria Military Regimes and Their Contributions to National Development (1966 – 1999)
The military involvement in the development of Nigeria touched all sectors of the domestic economy and foreign relations over the period of 34 years (1966 – 1999). Although, there was a brief interlude of the civilian administration of Alhaji Shehu Shagari for about 5 years (1979 – 1983), the overwhelming influence of the military even during that period did not engender proper civilian governance in the country. It would be appropriate to highlight only a few of the contributions of each military regime to the various sectors of the Nigerian national life. No attempt will be made to discuss the character and political connotations of each regime but only their remarkable contributions and how sustainable those contributions remain in the development of the nation. Bamgboye (2014) asserts that the contention about military regimes is that their actions, programmes, and policies have created a level of impact on the socio-economic development of Nigeria on several challenges and in various sectors of the economy. Elaigwu (1979) added that a few of such programmes and policies have completely determined the bedrock of a country's socio-economic development to date.

Regime Of Maj Gen Johnson Thomas Umunnakwe Aguiyi-Ironsi
Maj. Gen. JTU Aguiyi-Ironsi was the first military Head of State in Nigeria. He came into power after the failed coup d'état led by Maj. Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu on 17 January 1966 and was overthrown in a countercoup led by Lt Col Yakubu Gowon on 29 July 1966. During his very short stay in power, Aguiyi-Ironsi promulgated several decrees which impacted the political, economic, and social realms of Nigerian society. For example, he enacted the Constitution Suspension and Amendment Decree No 1 which suspended most articles of the Constitution but left Sections that handled conscience, freedom of expression and fundamental human rights. Also, the dissemination of Newspaper Decree No 2 was enacted which eliminated the constraints of the press instituted by the prior civilian government. The Offensive and Defamatory Decree No 44 which incriminated singing of songs, pictorial representation and or playing of instruments using provoking words in any area of the country was equally enacted. By far, the most controversial and impactful decree among all the decrees promulgated by the Aguiyi-Ironsi regime was the Unification Decree No 34 which abrogated the federal structure of governance in the country and exchanged it with a unitary one. According to Anele (2018) the decree was met with violent opposition in the north though considered objectively, Decree 34 was not against the north as portrayed by some prominent

northern elites that coordinated the ensuing riots. The thing wrong with the decree was that the initiative was not initiated by a northerner and thus, it was perceived to be contrary to the interests of the north. However, after the overthrow of his regime, this decree has been sustained by succeeding northern officers and even entrenched into the Constitution. The unitary structure of the Nigerian federalism has been the most enduring legacy of the Aguiyi-Ironsi administration and the clamour for restructuring in the country to return to a semblance of the 1966 political system has remained relentless.

Regime of LT Col Yakubu Jack Gowon
The military regime of Lt Col YJ Gowon came into effect on 1 August 1966 after the overthrow of Aguiyi-Ironsi and ended 29 July 1975 through another coup. It is ironic that on the same day and month that Jack spearheaded the overthrow of his Commander-in-Chief, he himself was also overthrown. Anele (2018) notes that after Gowon assumed office as Supreme Commander, he removed the Unification Decree. However, the country was not returned to regionalism which was the rational thing to do of the decree was actually the main logic for the riots in northern Nigeria then. He instituted an ad hoc constitutional conference to scrutinize the issues of constitutional reform; but promptly discharged the committee on November 30, 1966 and further intensified the dispute between Lt. Col. Chukwuemeka Odumegwu-Ojukwu, military governor of the Eastern Region, and Gowon led to a sovereign national conference in Aburi Ghana, mediated by the Ghanian military Head of State, Lt. Gen. Joseph Ankrah. The non-implementation of the agreements from the Aburi Accord eventually led to the Nigerian Civil War between 1967 -1970 which Gowon successfully prosecuted and ended with the notable "No Victor, No Vanquished" slogan. However, just before the war broke out, Gowon promulgated Decree 8 which increased the central government powers over the regions. He abolished regional autonomy by dissolving the provinces and restructured the country into twelve states. "Gowon's strategy was simple but effective: by dividing the east into three small and relatively impotent units and wrenching the oil-rich city of Port Harcourt and adjoining areas out of Igboland, with the former as the capital of the newly created Rivers State, he largely succeeded in what some commentators have described as de-Igbonisation and destabilisation of the Igbo by fragmenting their cohesion and ceding several petroleum-bearing communities to non-Igbo states" (Anele, 2018). This singular action of creation of states has remained politically profound and the undertaker that buried the spirit and structure of the post-independent Nigerian federalism which Aguiyi-Ironsi had killed through Decree 34.

On the economic scene, the Gowon administration inaugurated the Second National Development Plan 1975 – 1980. He conducted a National Census in 1973 and enacted the Initiation and Implementation of Indigenization, Decree of 1971. Equally, the Gowon military regime issued a policy on National Accelerated Food Production Programme and established the Nigerian Agricultural & Cooperative Bank to fund agriculturally based economy in 1972. The administration was also not lacking in the social, education, and health sectors of the country. However, one of the most enduring legacies of the Gowon regime is the introduction of the

National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) in 1973. This particular contribution has remained the most enduring and sustainable development of the Nigeria military in the country.

Regime of Gen Murtala Ramat Muhammed

The military regime of Gen MR Muhammed came into office on 30 July 1975 through a coup and ended on 13 February 1976 with another coup. During the short span of his administration, Murtala made significant contributions to the political, economic, and social sectors and even in the diplomatic realm. He consolidated on the unitary structure of government started by his predecessor by creating additional seven states making a total of nineteen states in the federation. The administration initiated the plan to build a new Federal Capital Territory (FCT) in Abuja and also embarked on reforms of the Nigerian Civil Service and Local Governments. His reform policies saw to the retirement of many senior and experienced civil servants which many scholars believe is the bane of the weak, corrupt and inefficient civil service in the country. On the foreign scene, Murtala positioned Nigeria as a frontline state in the struggle against apartheid in Southern Africa and nationalized the British Petroleum company. Although, short lived, the Murtala regime impacted the development of the country in both positive and negative ways.

Regime of Gen Olusegun Matthew Okikiola Ogunboye Aremu Obasanjo

The military administration of Gen OMOOA Obasanjo came into power on 14 February 1976 and ended on 30 September 1979 after a peaceful hand over of power to a democratically elected civilian government. During his reign, he executed the Second National Development Plan and the Third National Development Plan. The government launched the Operation Feed the Nation (OFN) which was an enhancement of agricultural development in the country. Obasanjo promulgated the Nigeria Enterprises Promotion Decree of 1978 and equally continued with local government reforms started by his predecessor. He is credited for the successful conduct of elections and transition to civilian rule willingly which remains the most remarkable legacy of that administration in the political development of the country. Nevertheless, Obasanjo promulgated the Land Use Decree of 1978 which seized control of the land and its resources in every state in the federation and vested the powers of allocation of land in the governor of the state. This legislation has remained an issue because it is entrenched in the Constitution and although, fair to some extent, the implementation has been skewed against the minorities and oil-producing communities in the country.

Regime of Maj Gen Muhammadu Buhari

The government of Gen M Buhari came into power through the overthrow of the democratically elected government of Alhaji Shehu Shagari on 31 December 1983 and ended through a palace coup on 26 August 1985. During his reign, he carried out civil service reforms and even enacted the Civil Service Commission and Public Offenders Decree. In addition, he promulgated the Robbery and Firearms (Special Provisions) Decree. However, by far the most controversial decree

that Buhari enacted was the State Security (Detention of Person) Decree No 2 of 1984 as well as the Protection Against False Accusations Decree No 4 which stifled press freedom and hounded many human rights activists into jail. Nevertheless, the most remarkable legacy his administration is credited with is the policy on War Against Indiscipline (WAI) launched on 20 March 1984 which tried to correct the social behaviour of the citizens in the country.

Regime of Gen Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida
The Gen IB Babangida military regime came into being on 27 August 1985 through a palace coup that ousted the Commander-in-Chief and ended on 26 August 1993. During his reign, Babangida impacted every sector of the Nigerian nation in both positive and negative ways. He consolidated on the unitary structure of government by creating additional two states in 1987 bringing the number to twenty-one states in the federation. Thereafter, in 1991, he created yet another nine states making a total number of states thirty. Babangida conducted a National Census in 1991 and inaugurated the Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI) for rural development in 1986. On the economic scene, his regime established the Peoples Bank of Nigeria and Community Bank of Nigeria as well as the Better Life Programme (BLP) for rural women empowerment. In addition, Babangida established the National Directorate of Employment (NDE) in 1986 and also, embarked on the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which seriously impacted the economy of Nigeria negatively. His administration introduced the Nomadic and Adult Education Programme (NALPA) in 1986 and carried out Local Government Reforms twice: one in 1988 and the second in 1991. Furthermore, Babangida established the Mass Mobilization for Self-Reliance, Social Justice and Economic Recovery (MAMSER) and carried out wide ranging political reforms. In 1992, he decreed the formation of two-party system in the country: the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the National Republican Convention (NRC). When the presidential primaries of the parties were conducted, he annulled the outcome on 7 August 1992 that the two candidates that emerged were old breed politicians. Another round of campaigns began and, on the 12 June 1993, presidential election was held. As the election results were being announced, Babangida annulled the election and decreed the establishment of an Interim National Government (ING) headed by Chief Ernest Shonekan. He thereafter, stepped aside on 26 August 1993. This development created lots of political upheaval in the country that eventually led to the end of the ING.

Regime of Gen Sani Abacha
The regime of Gen S Abacha came into power on 17 November 1993 after easing away the ING of Shonekan under whom he was serving as Secretary of Defence and ended on 8 June 1998 when he died. During his administration, he created additional six states bringing the total number of states to thirty-six plus the FCT. He launched the Family Support Programme (FSP) in 1993 and later it was changed to the Family Economic Enhancement Programme (FEAP). On the political scene, Abacha initiated a political transition programme to civilian rule and became a participant in the transition. All major four political parties involved in the election campaign then adopted

him as their sole presidential candidate but unfortunately, he died before the election could hold. Under his watch, on the foreign scene, Nigeria became a pariah state with the hanging of Ken Saro-Wiwa and his compatriots against all international appeals. That particular action of Abacha negatively affected all sectors of the Nigerian economy.

Regime of Gen Abdulsalami Abubakar

The military regime of Gen Abdulsalami Abubakar came into office on 9 June 1998 with the demise of his predecessor and ended on 28 May 1999. During his short stay in power, he conducted a democratic election and handed over power to the winner on 29 May 1999. Abubakar's regime carried out the reform of Minimum Wage for Civil Servants in 1998 which has become the enduring legacy of his administration.

Contributions of the Armed Forces of Nigeria to National Development Post– 1999 Till Date

The contributions of the military to sustainable development in Nigeria did not end with the end of military rule in Nigeria. The political stability of the country and the continuous democratic experience witnessed so far in Nigeria owe a lot to the discipline and professional conduct of the AFN. Credit should be given to Gen Olusegun Obasanjo who like George Washington and Winston Churchill was elected as President of Nigeria and in one fell swoop retired all military personnel that have been politically exposed in the country. That singular policy sanitized the military and curbed the appetite for military takeover of political governance in Nigeria. The AFN since then resorted to various civil and professional trainings building universities that are contributing to educational and social sector development in the country. The Nigerian Army built the Army University in Borno State; The Navy built Admiralty University in Delta State; and the Air Force established the Air Force Institute of Technology in Kaduna State. These institutions alongside several colleges and polytechnics offer variety of courses for both military and civilian students as well as provide employment opportunities to many academic and non-academic staff. From the primary through the secondary and tertiary levels of education provision in the country, the AFN have been very effective in contributing to sustainable national development.

Equally, the AFN have not been lacking in the provision of healthcare delivery in the country. From the provision of primary up to tertiary healthcare services as well as medical training colleges and institutions, the AFN have displayed commendable policies and efforts to contributing to sustainable development. Besides, they have been immersed in fighting insurgency, terrorism and diverse forms of insecurity that have plagued Nigeria for quite sometimes now at very high cost to the lives of military personnel. Despite all the insurrectionist agitations in the country since after the civil war, the AFN have stood tall in ensuring a secured environment for economic and political activities to thrive as well as enforce the indivisibility of Nigeria. This is quite a commendable achievement and significant contribution of the AFN to sustainable national development in the country.

Development Policies, Social Justice and Equity Question

The sustainability of the development policies of military regimes in Nigeria can be explained through the prism of the fundamental theorems of welfare economics. The theorems are normally used to compare social states and decide if they are good or bad and they rely on two basic assumptions: "first, the assumption of methodological individualism – that is, the individual is the best judge of his/her own welfare; second, the welfare of society depends only upon the welfare of the individuals who comprise it" (Jackson, 1992, pg. 104). The first and second theorems of welfare economics states that "a private property competitive equilibrium (if it exists) is a Pareto optimum" (Jackson, 1992, pg. 104) and; "if all individuals and producers are selfish price takers, then any Pareto-optimal equilibrium can be achieved via the competitive mechanism, provided appropriate lump sum taxes and transfers are imposed on individuals and firms" (Jackson, 1992, pg. 105).

What then is 'Pareto Optimality' or 'Efficiency' and are they socially desirable and applicable to development policies undertaken during military regimes in Nigeria? "An allocation is Pareto efficient if goods cannot be reallocated to make someone better off without making someone else worse off" (Pindyck and Rubinfeld, 1992, pg. 581). Depending on the perception of distributive justice, fairness, and equity, all Pareto efficient allocations are either socially acceptable or not.

In the decision of whether an allocation which could be the military government developmental policies is socially acceptable or not, four viewpoints of equity must be considered. These include, libertarian, utilitarian, Rawlsian and egalitarian views (Jackson, 1992).
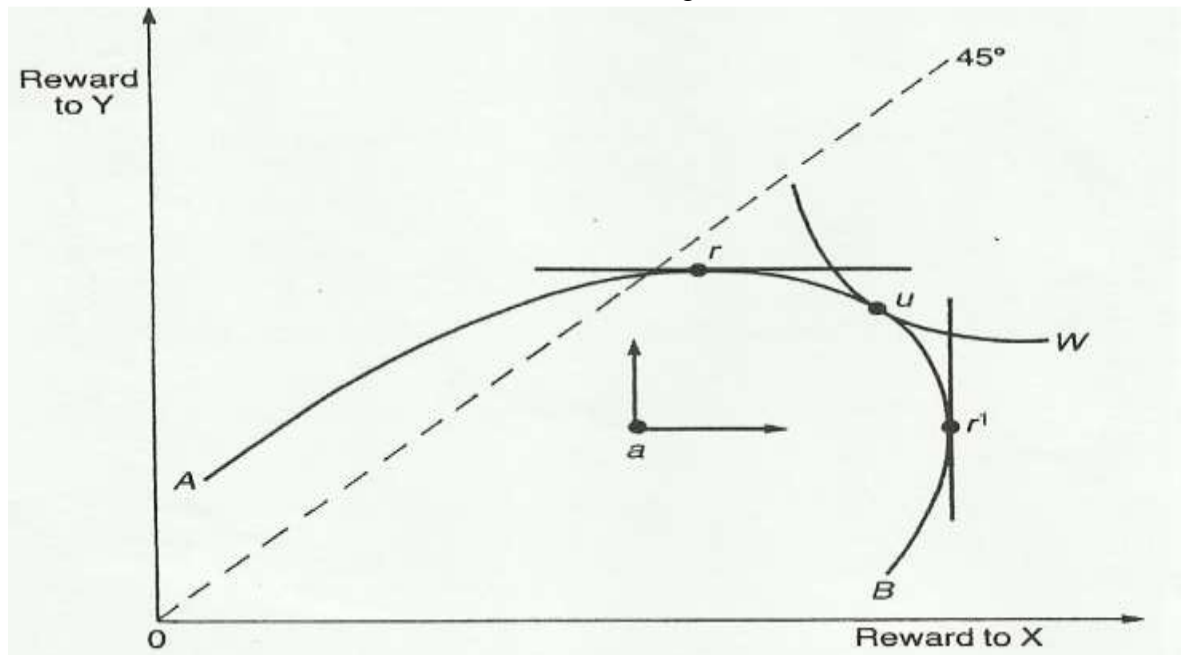

Figure 1 - Showing combination of rewards (Jackson 1992, pg.123).

Consider that in Figure 1, the earnings of both X and Y rises up to r. If the 45° line is traversed, inequality increases although because the rewards to the smallest well off (Y) are rising, it is valid.

The earnings of X rise between r and r, while the earnings of Y diminish. The level at which the rewards to X rise is exceeds the level at which the rewards to Y decline. The overall social welfare of the society is thus at its best at point u. This is the **utilitarian** viewpoint and they are able to tolerate more inequality compared to the egalitarians. The opportunity cost of remaining at r for utilitarians is very high and considered illogical for the society to do so. For the **egalitarian**, it is believed that people have a fundamental right to remain at r and such rights must not be infringed on as demanded by justice.

For the **Rawlsian** view, "a just society must guarantee a system of equal basic liberties; all social goods other than liberty must also be distributed equally except when unequal distribution benefits the least well off and even then, only if the position of the least well off in society is open to all" (Jackson, 1992, pg. 122). The **libertarians** are critical of the intervention of government in wealth redistribution because of the belief that such coercive action infringes on the liberties and rights of individuals. They contend that free market system ensures the liberty of individuals and that justice is simply the rule of law. The role of the government is to make laws that will promote market transactions and wealth transfers or income are fair only if they are voluntary.
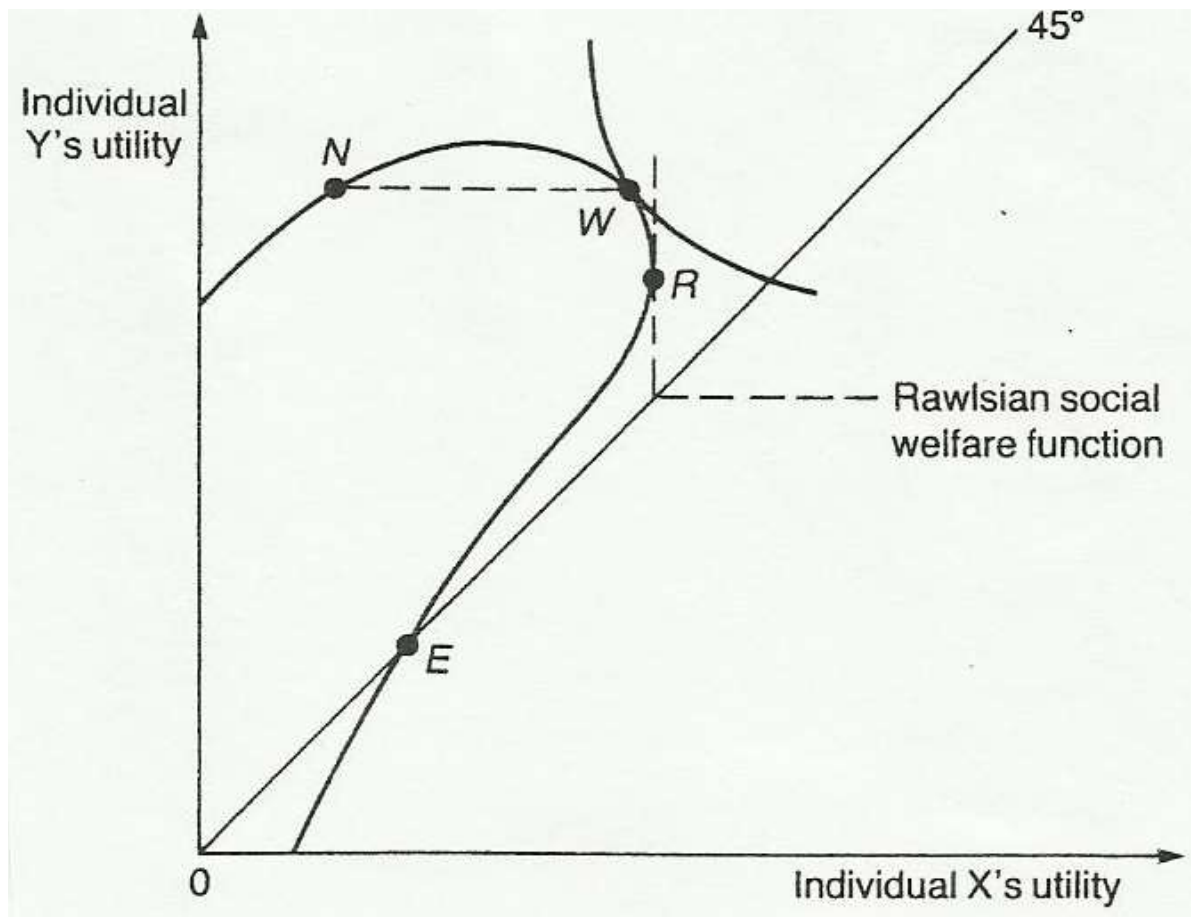

Figure 2 - Showing preferred positions of distributive justice views (Jackson 1992, pg.127).

Figure 2shows the preferred position of all of the four viewpoints to distributive justice on the grand utility feasibility perimeters of society. The libertarian chooses N as the efficient outcome of the market is regarded most equitable and people working harder must be rewarded most. Any Pareto-efficient allocation is fair and socially acceptable with this view because it is a legitimate outcome. The state should provide on defensive services that secure privileges and meddle in the market system for wealth redistribution. There are severe challenges with the libertarian viewpoint: the preferences of individuals are mainly illogical; equilibrium barely exists and there is no prevalence of completely competitive behaviour, real economies are defined by monopoly and oligopoly, public goods and externalities and other patterns of market collapse constrict the economy below the utility feasibility perimeters. The approach of libertarians to justice has a limited scope and is indifferent to inequality. Sen (1999) stated that "not only does it ignore those variables to which utilitarian and welfarist theories attach great importance, but it also neglects the most basic freedoms that we have reason to treasure and demand" (Sen, 1999, pg. 67). Societies that accept a wide gap of inequality would engender social crises, violent crimes and wars or the state system to manage.

The W is the utilitarian point because they like to maximize social welfare. Utilitarians tolerate inequality and the intervention of government seeing that the society's social welfare is sustained at the utmost and so, a Pareto-efficient allocation becomes socially acceptable.Their viewpoint on social welfare hinges on sum-ranking, welfarism, and consequentialism but by accumulating individual utilities, they overlook distributional difference and disregard freedoms, rights and other non-utility affairs (Sen, 1999). The utilitarian postulation is anti-poor. Policies guided by such viewpoints would foster more social pressure in the society than satisfaction and so, the intervention of government must be to limit the gap of inequality through huge sum of transfers or ineffectual allocations.

The Rawlsian point is given by R being the maximum resolution for social welfare. The maximum principle states "that society should select the reward structure which favour the least well-off person" (Jackson, 1992, pg. 122). This viewpoint does not take into consideration the Pareto-efficient allocation as being socially acceptable and although a liberal perspective, it does not consent to the aspect of state intervention in the market system in an attempt to enhance the well-being of the least affluent individual in the society. The challenge with this viewpoint is that

it gravitates toward disinclination than hard work. It is a insufficient in nature and most poverty and development strategies of reduction are inspired by the Rawlsian perception of social welfare.

The position of the egalitarian is E because they advocate for equal opportunity or equal output for everyone in the society. They focus on the individual welfare so that every individual is regarded equally. The challenge with this perspective is that it is problematic to decide if equals should be regarded equally and unequal regarded unequally. This perspective of social welfare is idealistic and not practicable for any society to achieve. However, they do not take into consideration any Pareto-efficient allocation as being socially acceptable for the society.

Nigeria Military Development Policies and Equity Question

The literature according to Elliot (2013) and Brandt (1980) validates the ideas behind the poverty alleviation schemes – BLP for rural women (Babangida regime) and FEAP introduced by the Abacha administration. With regards to policies on education, the NYSC and WAI schemes introduced by the Gowon and Buhari military regimes are supported in literature by the views of Aligwekwe (1982) and Boyi (2014). The development policies that targets increasing individual development and capacity are seen in the established banks (NACB and PBN) during the regimes of Gowon and Babangida which aligns with Walter (1982), Munasinghe (2004) and Age (2005) views in the literature. However, as far as the policies on land allocation, revenue allocation principles, fairness, justice and intergenerational equity are concerned, the implementation by successive military regimes did not align with the views of Brundtland (1987), Pearce et al (1989) and Falk et al (1993).

The concept of sustainable development denotes development policies that caters for both the present and future generations. The military regimes in Nigeria promulgated several decrees and embarked on development policies that have serious implications on the present generation and no real consideration whatsoever was given to the future generations. Viewing the military regimes' development policies with the mirror of the theorems of welfare economics, one can ascertain that most of the development policies embarked on by military regimes were maijjnly guided by the Rawlsian view of welfare economics although, some policies seemed to have been inspired sometimes by the libertarian view and at other times by the utilitarian view.

For instance, the Unification Decree No 34 of Aguiyi-Ironsi, the creation of states Decree No 8 of Gowon, the Land Use Decree of 1978 enacted by Obasanjo, and the Revenue Mobilization and Allocation principles devised by the military regimes all fall under the Rawlsian view of social justice and equity and have remained sustainable in terms of policy implementation but not in terms of development in the country. However, the strategy and distributive techniques employed in the creation of states and local governments were skewed in favour of the major ethnic groups without equitable allocations to the minorities and thus fall largely under libertarian and utilitarian views of equity and social justice.

Overall, the development policies of the then military administrations and the post-1999 AFN policies in Nigeria presented a Rawlsian view of policy disposition whereas in practice and implementation, they were and are largely inspired by the libertarian and utilitarian views. They are sustainable development as far as continuity of policy implementation is concerned but could not be considered as sustainable development in real terms of acceptable global definition because no consideration has been made for future generations in the policies.

Conclusion

The military era in political governance in Nigeria spanned from 1966 to 1999 whilst the AFN policies continue from post-1999 democratic experiment till date. During the period, several development policies were enunciated by the different regimes that seized power. Some of those development programmes are sustainable national development whilst others are not.

Sustainability of the development policies connotes that they cater for both the present as well as the future generation. It is to be noted that although some of the development policies put in place by the military have been sustainable in implementation, the consideration for future generations has not been appropriately put in focus. From the perspective of the fundamental theorems of welfare economics, it should be noted that the development policies of the military administrations in Nigeria presented a Rawlsian view of policy disposition whereas in practice and implementation, they are largely inspired by the libertarian and utilitarian views.

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