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Democratic Governance in Africa has been a different thing when compared to what is obtainable in other parts of the world. The respect for Human Rights and rule of Law which are the main features of democracy is not visible. Election Riggery and gangsterism is the order of the day, that one hardly differentiates between democratic government and autocracy.

Some argue that the reason for this kind of Democracy we have in Africa is due to long stay of the Military, but most of the countries where this type of Democracy is in place never had military incursions.

In other words, the main idea of this project is to show case the reality of the fact that in vibrant and ideal democracies, political parties are not perceived as mere platform for contesting elections or political appointments, rather provides plethora of functions like educating their members, politically, informing members in administrative offices about public opinion on national issues as well as maintaining a strong ideological base that would ensure its survival in future elections.

In chapter 1, we shall look into the main idea by which the topic is backed like its introduction.

Chapter 2 will focus on critical review of political parties and democracy.

Chapter 3 will look at political parties in Nigeria.

In chapter 4, we shall assess the ruling Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) in Nigeria, 2003 elections and some Crises in Africa.

Finally, in chapter 5, shall be the conclusion and recommendations.

The method of Data collection is through in depth content Analysis.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Africa in the Last two decades has been in the struggle for democratization due to Military in incursions and lack of transparency in governance. Where Democracy exists, leaders keep manipulating the Constitution to make themselves life Presidents like Daniel Arab Moi of Kenya, Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, Eyadema of Togo, President Paul Biya of Cameroon, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, and others.

Africa, though has made little political progress in the last few years but she has notoriously emerged as where nothing works. Part of the explanation for this phenomenon is that our actions as a nation are not anchored on a solid philosophical foundation. The contradiction of our colonial past and in ability to embrace a workable political system stem from the opportunism and lack of vision of most of the post-colonial political elites. The collapse of our system is a direct consequence of the failure to work out a sustainable political philosophy or ideology.

The political parties usually are formed along ethnic – cultural, geo – political and religious lines. This has not helped the democratization process since it encourages ethnic chauvinism and parochialism, irredentist sentiments and geo-political exclusivities. In everyday activities of government, one notices the festering of primordial loyalties such as ethnic sensibility and overt projection of other selfish political tendencies.

The political class has always remained bereft of viable political ideology on which the continent’s political future could be anchored. This bankruptcy in ideology and vision has reduced political parties to a bread and butter game, where monetization of the political process is the bedrock of loyalty and support. This erodes the aim of the democratization process.

This work also tries to review critically the formation of political parties since independence in Nigeria and how they have failed as instruments in the sustenance of democracy and democratic governance.

Nigeria’s democratization process started with her independence in 1960 when she adopted the parliamentary system of government of Britain, her colonial master. Three ethnic based parties, the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), which was Igbo, based political party, and Northern people’s congress (NPC), a Hausa/Fulani political party, ushered Nigeria into independence. Sir Tafawa Balewa was the Prime Minister while Dr. Nnandi Azikiwe was the Ceremonial President.

Nigeria in her Second Republic adopted the American type, “presidential System of government”, by the Military Head of State, Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo who handed over the mantle of Leadership to the first executive President, Alhaji Shehru Usman Aliu Shagari and Dr. Alex Ekwueme as the Vice.

After the untimely death of the Second Republic which witnessed yet another military coup headed by Gen. Mohamadu Buhari. The Military ruled from 1983 to 1999 when Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo came to power as a civilian President till date.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Africa's experience in Democratic Party Government since independence in the 60's and 70's reveals a "core" paradox that can be said to be the dominant characteristics of democratic and politics in Africa. Insatiable thirst for power, wealth and influence for personal and parochial ends rather than as a means of consolidating political and economic independence for promoting societal welfare, laying the foundation for national security, socio-economic and technological transformation.

Although, this paradox is best characterized by Richard A. Joseph's concept of PREBENDALISM. Yet the concept is limited to an explanation of unprecedented looting of the national economy with the rise of Shagari's National Party of Nigeria (NPN) under the guise of democracy during the second republic and the consequent fall from office of both the NPN and the democratic government which it sustained.

Since the characteristic feature of the paradox is the uncontrolled struggle for power, wealth and influence for selfish and parochial ends, the critical problem of the present study is not so much to demonstrate the manifestations of the struggle to analyse proffered options with a view to constructing viable theoretical and practical proposals for mediating the struggle and achieving stable democratic order and sustainable development.

The major task of investigation that this project confront is not so much the unraveling of the "Core" paradox (or illusions) of democratize an explanation of why the paradox in the first instance as well as proffering workable mechanism, and policies for stability, development and progressive integration of the component units of the political system into a modern democratic state lying in between liberalism and capitalism.

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF STUDY

To assess the inability of the political party as instrument for sustainable democracy, Donal Mathew observed that political decisions are made by men and these decisions often reflect their political orientation and their perception of the task of government. Zik postulates that due to bad government, there was instability in Nigeria and that the root causes of political instability in Nigeria could be equated to circumstances in other.

African, Latin American and African Countries, where the enormities committed by the parties in power had discredited them and created a crisis of confidence in the capacity of those who rule to maintain good government.

It may further be necessary to posit that the level of socio-economic development and democratic governance is minored by the character and nature of political parties.

Finally, the main thrust of this work is to show how Nigeria has felt the rape cushions of good governance carried by the English speaking world that has spread since the beginning of the 1990s like a power trial across the globe.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

It will acquaint us with the real possibility of political parties evolving in Nigeria (which so many Nigerians believe can only start its evolving process with the advent of democracy and democratic governance).

This study is significant in the sense that it will also help provide more solution to the adverse political problems confronting the nation. Political parties in Nigeria have in one way or another contributed meaningfully to the solving of the problems of democracy. But at another, they appear to be the problem itself, as well as perpetuating the problem themselves. The study therefore aims at examining critically the role of these parties or the contribution of the parties to the problem. By so doing, it will also probe the activities of parties, examine their defects and suggest alternative course. By the end of the research, better and alternative method of achieving democracy and democratic governance would have been suggested as well as the party system for the achievement of this goal.

1.5 RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

- i. The constitution provides a favourable atmosphere for equal participation of political parties in Africa.
- ii. The present political parties have not offered result oriented democracy needed for socio-economic development
- iii. Election Riggery is responsible for the poor rulership in Africa.

1.6 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF STUDY

The scope of this study will lay emphasis on political parties and democratic governance in Nigeria especially.

The study will look into how viable political parties of the past and present are; the first, second, third and fourth Republic Parties; their rises and failures.

The study will also look into how these parties originate and how they manage the mantle of Leadership. It shall look into the present PDP Government and its Oligarchial tendencies. The 2003 election will not be left out.

1.7 OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

To avoid ambiguity and misconception of terms, it is imperative a vivid and clear explanation of these terms is given.

POLITICAL PARTIES

A political party is an organized group of individuals seeking to seize the power of government in order to enjoy the benefits to be derived from such control. They are regular and permanent organizations of a certain number of people concerned with either conquering power or consolidating. Any group of people loosely organized, seeking to elect governmental office holders under a given label.

However, recent studies have sought new perspective from which political parties on one-hand and party system the other may be analyzed for the purpose of proper elucidation in contemporary societies. A prognosis of such empirical studies reveals a linkage between political parties and other contending political forces seeking for power; and to an extent, individuals whose motive borders on personal aggrandizement.

W.E.F. Ward conceives of political party, as a group with common views on certain political means. He insists that the day-to-day concern of politics is fundamentally with means not ends.

DEMOCRACY

Democracy as a concept in social science has no clear-cut definition. Many scholars at different point have tried to define democracy.

In the words of F.C. Asogwa, it is the government of the people. It may be either direct, or exerted by popular assemblies or by plebiscites on all legislation, or direct or indirect exerted by representative institutions. Direct democracy was practical in some of the city-states of Ancient Greece; indirect democracy, which is better suited to modern nation states with large populations, was developed in England in the Seventeenth century and imposed on France and North America, as a result of revolutions, in the eighteenth century. By 1850, the majority of civilized nations had adopted democratic institutions.

Democracy can also be defined as a system of government where people participate in governance, directly or indirectly through their elected representatives.

The most popular definition of Democracy was that of Abraham Lincoln, as "the government of the people, for the people and by the people". This definition is widely accepted.

GOVERNMENT

Government as a concept in social sciences has been variously interpreted by political scientists because it is a concept whose definition hinges on the realms of subjectivity. It means different things to different times and places.

Twentieth century chambers dictionary, defines the Word "govern" to mean "directing, controlling, ruling with authority, determining and administering laws". Government is therefore institutionalized machinery whose purpose is to ensure peace and stability in any given political system. It is an agency of the state made up of few persons vested with authority and sovereignty of the people. In this connection, it acts as a conduct pipe for the formulation, expression and implementation of the laws and policies of the state.

1.8 THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

In formulation, a theoretical framework that will guide this research, the research tends to adopt "ELITE THEORY" as the guiding principle in analyzing the subject matter, "POLITICAL PARTIES AND GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA". This is because political parties and governance is dominated and decided by the elites. This is why politics is always perceived as the MADNESS OF MANY AND THE GAME OF THE FEW.

The concept of Elitism was propounded as a counter to the revolutionary theories anchored on social class analysis in Europe in the years of facism. The classical exponents of elite theory are two Italians, Wilfredo Pareto, and Caetano Mosca, and Robert Michaels, a Swiss. According to the Scholars, every society is ruled by a small (minority) group of people who posses the attributes that made it possible for them to ascend to the top. Such people are always the best. The elites therefore consist of those successful persons who rise to the top in every occupation and stratum of society. The elites wherever they are generally come from the same class-those wealthy or intelligent.

Political parties in Nigeria, be it PDP, ANPP, AD, APGA, or others; are controlled by very few individuals in the party that have besieged the available post and positions in the upper hierarchy of the parties. These few influential and powerful individuals who are in the minority make all the decisions why others follow. They are the elites.

As rightly observed by caetano Mosco, in his work, *The Ruling Class (1939)*, that in all societies' two classes of people exists – a class that rules and a class that is ruled. The political parties are dominated by the dictates of the elites while the Masses being ruled follows without choice. It was evident that in the 2003 General Elections that some governorship Aspirants did not campaign, but at last they won not because of their popularity just because the elites want them there. Governor Chris Ngige of Anambra State is a very good example. Otunba omisore won a senatorial post while in detention. All these are the handiwork of eliticism.

Robert Michael's theory of the elite is focused an organization, particularly political party organizations. He enunciated the "Iron Law of Oligarchy" which he described as "one of the iron laws of history, from which the most democratic modern societies and within those societies, the most advanced parties, have been unable to escape". He asserts that "who speaks organization, speaks Oligarchy". Michael pontificates that "imminent Oligarchy tendencies exist in every kind of human organization which strives for the attainment of definite ends".

Michael argues that leaders or elites usually take advantage of the fact that the majority of human beings are pathetic, indolent, slavish, susceptible to flattery, servile in the face of strength and force, and are permanently incapable of self-government. In the case of Nigeria, political leaders take advantage of the harsh economic state of the country, where over 70% of the people live below poverty level. The elites make promises prior to his emergence and distribute "peanuts" to the people. For instance, prior to the 1999 and 2003 elections, elites under the umbrella of their different political parties distribute rice, salts, money, etc, to the people in order to get their mandate and support.

1.9 LITERATURE REVIEW

One of the most valuable studies of the period covered by this project is by Ujo. This book is an accurate documentation of the elections which took place in Nigeria, February 1999 and a description of the political parties which took part in these elections. Though not a book of basic research in the sense that the focus is on documentation rather than analysis, yet its value as a documentary record goes beyond telling us what happened and how.

According to the writer, election is one of the yardstick through which democratic governance can be measured, thus, he emphasized on the documention all the actors and the activities involved in the electoral process because, for him, this approach advances the frontiers of knowledge both of election and of character of democratize party government that ultimately emerges, furthermore, the author asserts that the understanding of electoral processes of the future cannot be done if we understand merely and solely what happened in the past, because the past electoral processes can serve no more than as a guide to the electoral processes of the future.

Ugo's Second Book, which focused on the Nigerian political parties is very insightful for a student of Nigerian Politics familiar with Richard earlier study. In line with Sklar Ujo's treats the evolution, structure and characteristics of Nigerian Political Parties.¹²

We have already made reference to the work of Richard Sklar in the context of political development in Nigeria during the final decade of British Colonial¹⁴. This study is based on the analysis of the social composition and construction of these Political parties which stood at the fore-front of the nationalist movement for independence.

Coleman and Rosberg examine the role of political parties in national integration in tropical Africa using the same combination of behaviouralism and structural functionalism as employed by Coleman in his earlier classic on the background to nationalism in Nigeria.¹⁵

Writing specially on Nigeria, Richard L Sklar and C.S. Whitaker Jr., Survey the role of Nigerian parties in political and territorial integration, two key analytical variable postulated by the editors in the introductory¹⁷ for them, the emergence of political parties in Nigeria serves as an additional cleavage to integrated political system, largely because of the diverse cultural groups, the emergent political parties and their leaders appear sectional in their approach to national unity, since their loyalties flow in the direction of their ethnic group and regions ultimately their ethnic loyalty transcends that of the nation, and, therefore, they seen unable to forge an integrated political system.

For Ball, modern politics and government are impossible without political parties.¹⁸ He regards political parties as a structure within the political system that performs many functions. Among the function are those of communicating the wishes of the electorate to the government; to inform the electorates on important political issues and allowing for wider participation by more people in a political system. This definition is in line with James Coleman's analysis of integration as the bridging of the elite-mass gap as well as the gap between the governors and the governed.¹⁹ Allan includes as functions of political parties, the unifying, simplifying and stabilizing the political process. He is of the opinion that parties act as the highest common denominator and as such are not sectional in their outlook, despite the claim forwarded by the advocates of non-party government.

Parties bring together sectional interest, overcome geographical distance and provide coherence to sometimes divisive government structure. The Democratic Party America, for instance, has long acted as a bridge linking together though with difficulties, the southern conservatives and the world. Parties have been similarly important in various nations. In France, for example, the fresh radical parties gave parliamentary coherence to a loose group of locally based notables whose only element in common have consisted of anti-catholicity and anti-Marxist platform.²⁰ In Germany also, the German Christian Democratic Party (CDP) has equally acted as the bridging of the gap between protestants and Catholics.²¹ Even in Great Britain, the structural bridging function of parties exist in their efforts towards the unity of Cabinet and the House of commons²².

Finally, Anwamnu, made a comprehensive review of governance in African Politics. According to him, governance is all about how people are ruled, and how the affairs of the state are administered, and regulated. Candel-Mills and Serageldin (1992:303) maintain that governance refers to a nation's system of politics and this function in relation to public administration and law.²³

Governance has three dimensions according to Boaninger (1992: 268 - 269) these are political, technical and institutional. Political dimension involves the establishment of objectives and the exercise of leadership, the technical dimension refers to the constraints imposed by natural resources, levels of education, man power skill and installed industrial capacity. The institutional and managerial dimension refers to the ability to get things done.

Therefore, good governance depends on the extent to which a government is perceived and accepted of legitimate committed to improving the public welfare and responsive to the needs of its citizens, competent to assure law and order and deliver public services.

Finally, the experiment in most African Countries proves cases of abuse of power by leaders who have negative attitudes towards leadership, citizen's welfare and overall development. All these must be taken care of for in the African continent to advance forward.

A. DATA PRESENTATION

The materials from where the data for this study is sourced are mostly written works from libraries and archives. They include Text Books, Journals, Newspapers and Magazines. In fact, this research work is mainly based on secondary data.

B. DATA ANALYSIS

The analysis of data will be descriptive and historical. It will also adopt a situational approach in the data collected were examined to avoid quieting out of context. Also, content analysis method will be used to analyze method statements of some elites.

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CHAPTER TWO

2.1 POLITICAL PARTIES AND DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS.

Political parties like any concept in political science have no clear-cut definition. This is because many political science scholars give meaning to political parties from their own perspective and understanding of the relevance of political parties to a given polity.

A Political party is an organized group of individuals seeking to seize the power of government in order to enjoy the benefits to be derived from such control.¹ Political parties are regular and permanent organizations of a certain number of people concerned with either conquering power or keeping it or any group of people, however loosely organized seeking to elect government office holders under a given label.

In the words of W.E.F. Ward, "A political Party is a group with common views on certain political means. He insists that the day-to-day concern to politics is fundamentally with means not ends".²

This is basically so because there is no disagreement as to the desirability of people, prosperity and justice but man tends to disagree on the means of attaining these goals. In essence, those who share a common view on how to attain these goals cohere at their levels with a view to wresting state power to create society in tune with their vision. A point worthy of note in Ward's submission is that personal loyalties are, in themselves, inadequate in forming political parties.

Political parties acquire their meaning in terms of the purpose for which they are formed; the character of membership, its structure and/or functions they perform.³

In this treatise, "Reflections of the Revolution in France," the English Political Scientist, Edmund Durke Summarized that a "party is a group of men who had agreed upon a principle by which the national interest might be served."⁴

Political Parties are those organizations under whose ambit people aspire to and acquire political power in a system. These organizations serve for the aggregation of interest of the various groups and strive to embrace all society.⁵ CA Lead views, the political party as a group publicly organized with aim of gaining political power so as to carry out policies, which it feels will serve the national interest.⁶

Based on the foregoing, we can identify some basic criteria of a political party as follow:

- (i) There must be a group of people sharing the same view on means to achieve an end.
- (ii) The aim of this group must be to control the apparatus of the state for the purpose of achieving goals.
- (iii) That such group must be identifiable to the people and by the people.
- (iv) Parties may be loosely organized but with a clear mission of acquisition of power.
- (v) The raison d'être of political parties is to promote the national interest of a political system.
- (vi) Personal loyalties are not enough to form a political party.

Therefore, we can say that political parties represent aggregate social forces and bear the imprints, and characteristics of the individuals and groups they represent and signify parties therefore originate as an act of free will among people and groups sharing the same vision. The voluntary coming together of these varied interests dominated in a common desire to achieve a common goal through common means is indicative that their collective interest cannot be aborted by the interplay of other opposition groups.

2.2 ORIGIN OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Political systems are often affected by unique historical circumstances and so are political parties. For us to fully grasp the principle of political parties, we shall take a look at the ancient Greek city-states. In the Greek polis or city states, the people appreciated the fact that whereas democracy as a form of government involves the entire people, there was no way the whole people could be involved at the same time in running state craft. The best option to approach this problem was therefore, a representative government where people can elect their representatives. To do this, the people formed themselves into groups according to their views on how best the state provided the platform of modern political parties.

Rodes et al (1983) notes that the historic root of the party is hinged upon the struggle of the legislature, especially in Europe, to limit the powers of the monarchy and expand the electoral base of the people in recognition of their interests.

But it is worthy to note that every nation has a peculiar history of party tradition. For instance, the constitutional struggle between the monarchy and parliament, especially in the 17th and 18th century England and the indigenous political experience of the colonialists was said to be origin of political parties in the United States of America.

In Africa, the origin of political parties can be located within the period of nationalist struggle for independence. For instance, political parties began in Nigeria with the introduction of the elective principle under the Clifford Constitution of 1922. Thus, with the introduction of the elective principle, in 1922, Herbert Macaulay Founded the Nigeria National Democratic Party (HNDP) which contested the 1922 general elections and won three seats allocated to Lagos. Other political parties like the National Convention for Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), Action Group (AG), the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC), and other; all were born at the dawn of elective principles of the Clifford Constitution.

2.3 FUNCTION OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Political parties, according to the Political Bureau (1987) can be seen as both the expression and management

of conflict within a political system. Political parties therefore, are to be seen not only as products of their environment but also as instruments or institutions organized to affect the environment. Viewed this way, political parties' functions as:

- a. Agents of political participation and
- b. Aggregation of demands. We explain this as follows: individuals and group normally express in discreet terms the functions they want the government to perform for themselves or others. Thus, some people may demand roads and bridges; some may demand free education, and health services, while others may demand subsidized houses or adequate agricultural facility or logistics. The parties normally collate and articulate these demands or interests upon which both ideas and programmes are evolved.
- c. Through the instrumentally of the political parties political attitudes and behaviour of members could be mobilized more effectively towards the ends and goals of government.
- d. One other major characteristic of the political party is in the area of legitimacy of authority. Political parties are more flexible instruments for winning popular support. Equally in countries where parties exist, it is easier to deal with leadership succession than in countries without political parties.
- e. Sectional religious and ethnic loyalties can be arrested through truly national political parties. Put differently, political parties could help in the achievement of national integration.
- f. Other specific roles of the political parties include, spreading general understanding of the national philosophy and national objectives, drawing up and canvassing strategies for attaining national objectives; sustaining the fraternity of the people; examining entirely government politics and their implementation in the light of the national philosophy and national objectives; and inculcating national pride, self-reliance in members, representatives and in the public generally (see Nigeria's Political bureau Report, 1987 P.125).

2.4 CHARACTERISTIC OF POLITICAL PARTIES

The major characteristics of political parties are:-

- (1) The political party must have registered members and/or supporters.
- (2) The party must have an articulation of its programmes of action for the country. This is usually in the form its manifesto.
- (3) The aims and objectives of the party must be clearly stated.
- (4) It must show a high degree of resourcefulness in terms of sourcing of funds, identifying talents, nominating credible candidates for elections and ensuring national spread.
- (5) The party must have a written constitution, which spells out the basic rules and regulations for members and stipulating punishment for a breach of the party constitution.
- (6) It is equally necessary that the party have a clear-cut philosophy or vision for the country. This type of vision and mission represents the party's ideology.
- (7) The political party must have a leadership structure and succession pattern to avoid internal crisis.

2.5 TYPES OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Using the Blondel's party classification model, C.A. Lead (1968) identifies three types of political parties. These are:

- (i) Traditional political parties
- (ii) Representative political parties
- (iii) Mobilizing political parties

The traditional parties reflect the social and economic control or oligarchical elite. If and when their influence wanes, they change in form and character.

The representative political parties tend to put across the views of its members. The British Conservative and Labour parties each started as traditional and mobilizing parties before changing to representative parties. Virtually, all the parties in Western democracies are representative in character.

Mobilizing parties are concerned with the sensitization and conversion of whole polity. Communist parties and Third World Populist Parties are examples. Mobilizing parties are symbolized by one party states. Such parties are prone to extremism in their outlook. They preach a new whole way of life and in most cases are ready to destroy the existing structure and rebuild it from scratch.

Representative and mobilizing parties are mass and highly organized parties centralized and disciplined. They have a dedicated crop of professionals and strive always to enlarge their membership.

However, before the declaration of universal adult suffrage most parties tended to have restricted membership

(as typified by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union CPSU) and aims especially when the party behaves like a pressure group because they are hamstrung by ethnic, racial, regional, language or religious tendencies to the exclusion of a larger section of society. Examples include the Flemish and Walloon parties in Belgium and the Black Moslem League in United States of America.

There could also be religious parties. In most European countries, the church is actively involved in supporting some political parties, while others who propound secularism promote other parties. In all, religious parties are ultra-conservative. In Germany, Italy and Holland, the Catholic Church is known to sponsor parties.

The other variants of political parties are the broker parties or non-ideological parties. These can be found in America and Britain today. The broker parties are not founded on any ideology in the strict sense of the word, and in most cases aggregate conflicting interest groups. Based on the foregoing, we can sift three distinct types of political parties, namely:-

- (1) One party state
- (2) Two-party state
- (3) Multi-party state.

(1) *One Party State*

The general practice in a one party system is to coalesce all the interest groups, ideological views and party loyalty into one mainstream. The argument for one party system has always been its capability of checking internal divisions and protecting the national interest. According to Arthur Nwankwo (1989:128) when Karl Marx defined one party system as a categorical imperative for a dictatorship of the working class, his motive was to integrate the energy and activities of the oppressed sectors of society into a self-regulatory machine capable of functioning as a counter-force to the caprices of the propertied class and as an instrument of man's liberation from the power of capitalism.

Far from perceiving the integration of antagonistic social formations as the ultimate objective of governance, he saw the conflict between classes as the moving force in all political processes.

Rodee et al (1986) opines that the one party state is founded on the assumption that the sovereign will of the state reposes in the leader and the political elite. This authoritarian principle found expression first in monarchies, and in recent times dictatorships. It is modern day despotism abolishes all forms of opposition parties, while the official party assumes a monstrous image that is highly integrated into the state. Recourse to regime violence becomes the order of the day; and when it is incapable of contending with emergent political forces, it embarks upon a surreptitious, whittling down of democratic rights and flowering of a genuine democratized society.

In Hitler's Germany, the search for dominance propelled the emergence of the National Fascist Party, while the unification of Italy was the primary motive for Mussolini's one party dictatorship. In Zaire, Mobutu Sese-Seko rationalized the imposition of despotic one party state with the excuse that the political system was unstable and fraught with intrigues.

Arthur Nwankwo (1990) further states that one party system in communistic societies evolved from a prolonged struggle for equalization... In a definite sense one party structure in communist states differs from one party system in bourgeois societies primarily in its dynamic, institutional structures, its propulsive class force and social character.

(2) *The Two Party System*

In democracies heavily guided by opposing ideologies, the two party systems emerge as a compromise option based on the historical and evolutionary trend in that society. In every society, there are those who favour private enterprise and ownership of property. Such people believe in the competitive free market where price is the determinant factor in satisfying wants. These are the capitalists or rightists or conservatives. There are also those who espouse complete state ownership of the means of production and "from each according to his ability to each according to his need." These are the socialists.

Strict adherence to these ideologies often creates two strong parties, one rightist and the other leftist.

Irrespective of their characteristics, the two party systems provide a choice to the electorate. Countries that have two party systems include United State America, Britain, Germany, Austria and New Zealand.

The point must be made here that two parties do not preclude the existence of other parties. But the truth is that there are two main political parties, which determine political currents in society. In Britain for example, there are other parties outside the Conservative and Labour Parties. The same is true of America. Two-part system does not encourage despotism as the electorate shaves a choice at their disposal. The system also ensures stability of government.

(3) *Multi Party System*

This is a major feature in a federal system like Nigeria. The essence of the multiparty system is to create variety and allay the fears of domination and marginalization. It encourages chances among the various ethno-cultural groups. Where there is no outright winner in a multi-party system, the government will be formed through a coalition. In Israel, the Mapai party formed a coalition government with the Aguda-Israeli Party 1976; and in Nigeria the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) went into a coalition with the Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP) in 1979. The alternatives at the disposal of the electorates are many. One major advantage of multi-partyism are its tendency to encourage and promote democracy. In a multiparty system, the fear emergence of a tyrant is foreclosed and this gives legitimacy and sovereignty to the people.

However, multi-partyism can be problematic in some countries, especially where there is perpetual subversion and mutual suspicion. In such societies frequent and sudden realignment of political forces can destabilize the government. Decision-making in a multi-party system can also be nightmarish, as lobbying for consent can be endless.

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CHAPTER THREE

3.0 POLITICAL PARTIES IN NIGERIA

Party system began in Nigeria in 1922, when in response to the introduction of ‘Elective principle’ by the Clifford Constitution, the Nigeria National Democratic Party was formed by Herbert Samuel Heelas Macaulay. Even though it was the Nigeria National Democratic Party so called, its activities centered around Lagos. The People’s Union was also founded and led by J. K. Randle.

As the nationalist struggle became more intense, other political parties began to emerge. The major ones that existed at that time were the National Council of Nigeria and The Cameroons renamed National Council of Nigeria Citizens (NCNC), Action Group (AG), Northern People’s Congress (NPC), Northern Element Progressive Party (NEPP), United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) etc.

In most of the civilian dispensation in Nigeria, political parties were formed. The heterogeneous character of the country makes it inevitable for a multi-party system to exist. Each of these parties tends to be dominated by ethnics and primordial loyalties. Even in recent times, the emergence of political parties in Nigeria has been guided by these factors.

Political parties in Nigeria do not emerge in a vacuum. They are representations of deep-seated political and ethnic traditions. Change in names symbols are mere cosmetics of the old political order.

PARTY ORGANIZATION IN NIGERIA

The organizational structure of the party starts from the ward level, through local government and state levels to the national level. At the ward level, party members elect their officers and delegates to represent the ward at the local government Congress. The Local Government Congress is a collegiate election by the ward representatives who elect Local Government representative. Election is conducted by the party at the state level and from there delegates are elected to the national congress.

Flow of information and directives follow the same pattern from National level to the ward level.

PARTY FINANCING

Political parties in Nigeria are financed from a number of sources, prominent among which is grants from the government. There are also donations and revenue from registration and sales of party souvenirs. External or foreign

financing is unlawful and corporate organization do not publicly identify with parties. However, the commonest sources of fund for political parties in Nigeria are millionaire businessmen who regard politics as investment. They have been labeled “money bags” and because of their enormous financial contributions to the party, they dictate what happen within the party even in trivial matters.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS

There is no nation in the world that does not strive for the attainment of full democracy. Since the First Republic, the democratization process in Nigeria has been at best haphazard. The contradictions of our colonial past and our inability to evolve a workable political system stem from the opportunism and lack of vision of most of the post-colonial political elite. The collapse of the First Republic was a direct consequence of the failure to work out a sustainable political philosophy or ideology. The political parties usually are formed along ethno-cultural, geo-political and parochialism, irredentist sentiments and geo-political exclusivism.

Even in our present dispensation, one notices the festering of primordial loyalties such as ethnic sensibility and overt projection of other selfish political tendencies.

The political class has always remained bereft of viable political ideology on which the nation’s political future could be anchored. This bankruptcy in ideology and vision has reduced political parties to a bread and butter game, where monetization of the political process is the bedrock of loyalty and support. This erodes the aim of the democratization process.

Nwankwo (1993: 290) remarks that democratization is a process of political renewal and the affirmative acceptance of the logic of elitism and parochialism. To that extent, political parties in Nigeria must of historical necessity and dialectical imperative represent an articulate and objective expression of the ideological world-outlook and beliefs of the various groups in it. This has to be so, given the fact that parties bear the stamp and identity of the people. Democratization is basically related the mobilization and concretization of the people.

3.1 PARTIES IN THE FIRST REPUBLIC

No proper study of political parties in Nigeria can be made without looking into the past. As observed by Dyke, politics is like a drama with the world as the theatre. It is obvious, that our proper understanding of the correct political parties will depend on how they were formed in the past. But before doing this, it may be necessary to recapitulate the definition of the concept political party.

In Nigeria, as elsewhere is emergent Africa under British and French rule, Nationalist pressures quickened the pace of constitutional advance which in turn stimulate the development of political parties. The rise of Nationalist movement in Nigeria following the advent of colonialism, not only generated political consciousness and awareness within the country especially among the educated elites, but also led to demands for independence as well as constitutional change and the subsequent emergence of political parties within the nation.

However, the introduction of Clifford constitution of 1922 which in effect introduced the elective representation in the legislative council for Lagos and Calabar, with three and one seats respectively, hastened the formation of political parties. The parties that emerged, limit their activities within the urban areas and were elitist oriented.

NIGERIAN NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

On June 24, 1923 Herbert Macaulay and his associates inaugurated the Nigerian National Democratic party (NNDP) the party had the support of non-leading nationalist which made it appear national. The objective of the party incised the attainment of municipal status, and self government for Lagos, the provision of facilities for higher education in Nigeria; the encouragement of non-discriminatory, private economic enterprises and the Africanization of the civil service! The UNDP being the first party in Nigeria, instead of articulating the general interest of the populace and extending its area of activity to the rural area as it incorporate the wish of the entire Nigeria tended to be concerned only with the interest of the privileged class, and at the same time its sphere at influence to a defined potro-geo-graphical entity and trying to profess national unity. As Okafor noted, though the parties claimed to be “Nigeria” and Nation, and one of its objectives was to establish branches and auxiliaries in Nigeria, it was a Lagos party.

A. THE NIGERIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT (NYM)

The emergence of the NYM was mainly to challenge the NNDP in Lagos politically. The movement nonetheless, was led by self conscious ethno-social elites of Yoruba speaking heritage, prominently spheres of Lagos society. Most members of the movement were western educated Christians. The aim of the party was the development

of a unified nation out of the conglomerate of people who inhabit Nigeria. It shall be our endeavour to encourage the fullest play of such forces as well serves to promote understanding and a sense of common nationalism among the different elements in the country¹¹. In February 1941, following the resignation of K.A. Abayomi, a former president of the NYM, from the legislative council, another struggle or clash ensued. This time it was political and centered around leadership succession.

B. THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR NIGERIANS AND CAMEROON

According to Ujo, the factors which gave rise to National Council for Nigerians' and the Cameroon, which later became the National council of Nigerian citizens, were two-the conflict between Nnamdi Azikiwe and some members of the Nigerian Youth Movement and the Post Nationalist awakening.¹²

Nationalist activities during the Second World War necessitated the creation of a front to serve as a Vanguard for the people on 26th August, 1944, that forty organizations met and formed the National Council which was eventually named National Council of Nigerians and Cameroon and later National Council of Nigerian Citizens. In the early stages of the formation of the NCNC, the Nigerian National Democratic Party merged with it; while the Nigeria Youth Movement maintained its independence status.¹³

Needless to mention that the need for ethnicity in Nigeria politics was shown at the stage. Zik left the Nigerian Youth Movement with all the Ibo leaders and eventually moved into the NCNC. Initially, the NCNC was a nationalist political organization both in organization and philosophy. But it competitive electron developed and there was a need for the party to have a strong base, it became increasingly in Ibo dominated political party.

C. ACTION GROUP (A.G)

The Action Group was a transformation of the Egbe Omo Oduduwa (society of the Descendants of Oduduwa). The moving spirit behind the Egbe was obafemi Awolowo. The Egbe was formed in 1945 to protect the interest of Yoruba in Nigeria. The initial effort at mobilizing the Yoruba under the Egbe was not successful especially in the Lagos areas, until the accession of Adeniji Adele as Oba of Lagos. The Egbe transformed into the Action Group as a Solid Yoruba front antagonistic to Zik and the entire Ibo group.

Awolowo cogently argued that pan-tribal unity was necessary condition for political advance and declared that the barriers of tribalism within each ethnic unit must be totally destroyed.¹⁵ Nnoli further observed that the ethnic and regional character of the Action Group breed the NCNC to increasingly assume an ethnics and regional.¹⁶ With such development, the battle line was drawn, party competitive became inter-ethnic competitive since these rely heavily on their ethnic groups for support. With this ethnicity and disintegration in Nigerian politics became well institutionalized.

With such institutionalization of ethnic conflict due to party competition for power, political parties and their affiliated bodies – tribal associations – now behooved as an avenue for the reinforcement and propagation of regional tribal or ethnic interest, as well as serving a an agent for disintegration rather than integration. This polarization in political parties of later time began to assume more ethnic, sectional or tribal character.

D. NORTHERN PEOPLES CONGRESS (NPC)

Like the Action Group, the Northern People's Congress started as an interest group to protect the political interest of the Northern region. The party is an amalgam of Jamiyya Mutanen arewa Atau (the association of Northern People of Today) and Jamiyya or Jama or Arewa (Northern Nigeria Congress). Initially, the Northern People's Congress Operated as a culture organization until 1951 when it was transformed into a political party, following the elimination of some radical element.¹⁷ unlike the AG and NCNC, the NPC could be said to be a parliamentary party.¹⁸

The NPC leader, Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, the sarachuna of Sokoto was the premier of the North until his death. Between 1954 and 1960 the NPC his intensified its hold in the North and reminded the dominant and permanent coalition partner in the federal government, but the confirmed preference of the leader, Ahmadu Bello to remain premier of the North.

E. NIGERIAN POLITICAL PARTIES IN TRANSITION

Nigerian politics in the first Republic was characterized by inter-ethnic struggle for power, which generated ethnic consciousness or chauvinism the rise and fall of political parties, factions with parties and factions within factions and total disengagement of some factions from party and the re-emergence of such factions as a political party. In the early stage of party formations, tribe association serves as one best arena for the recruitment of party members as well as for political socialization and indoctrination.

These political parties were formed nor funded by government. There was no guideline for the formation of these parties. The fortunes of these parties were determined by electoral success. The Northern people Congress

became the dominant political party because it controlled the federal its use of representative.

The Action Group was the dominant party in the west. It's dominance of the regions was punctuated by two opposition parties, one of the oppositions parties was the Mid-West State Movement, which was in alliance with the NCNC. The major opposition to the NCNC dominated Eastern Region was the Calabar, Ogoja and Rivers State Movement which was in alliance with the Action Group. In the North, the major opposition parties were the Northern element progressive Union and the United Middle Belt Congress.

In the period of transition, though leadership remained the same, there was constitutional change to curb that activities of political parties as well as regulate the formation and recruitment of parties, which in the first republic book ethnic dimensions. The constitution then stipulates that: "No association other than a political party shall canvass for rote for any candidate at any election or contribute to the funds of any political party or to the election or contribute to the funds of any political party or to the election expenses of any candidate at any election.

3.2 PARTIES IN SECOND REPUBLIC

The proceedings of the First Republic were brought to an abrupt end when the military intervened in the politics of Nigeria on 15th January 1966. After ruling for about thirteen years, they decided to hand over the baton of leadership to a civilian democratically elected government. One of the necessary conditions for a return to democratic rule was the existence of competitive party system. Steps were therefore taken to allow political parties to emerge.

The government decided to regulate the formulation and operation of political parties for a number of reasons. This is because the First Republic was ethnic pressure groups whose activities divide rather than unite the country. It was therefore considered necessary to make it impossible for political parties to be formed on the basis of ethnic support. Also the military felt that the use of religion in party politics would adversely affect national integration.

The guidelines are expected to ensure that political parties promote national unity and create a favourable climate for electoral competition. Also it stipulated the guidelines for the formation of political parties as follows:

1. The names and addresses of party officers must be registered with FEDECO.
2. Party membership must be open to every Nigerian regardless of his place of origin, religion, ethnic group or sex.
3. Its name, emblem or motto must not have any ethnic or religious connotation and it must not even create the impression that its activities are confined to a part (rather than the whole of Nigeria).
4. The headquarters must be situated in the federal capital.
5. It must have established branch offices in at least two-third (i.e. 13)

It was largely derived from the provisions of the constitution, which states that political parties must be national, both in membership and organization. Also, it must be in accordance with the economic, political and social objective of the state.

A. UNITY PARTY OF NIGERIA (UPN)

In launching the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) on the 22nd September 1978, Chief Obafemi Awolowo said that "the glorious dawn had arrived". Apparently, he was referring to statement due made when he was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment in September 1963 for the role he played in the case of treasonable felony and conspiracy. After the trial, Chief Awolowo predicted that, after the darkness-prison, "a glorious dawn would come". This means that he will come out of the prison and perhaps become the leader of Nigeria.

A probe at the party's programmed for free education, full employment for all Nigerians, integrated rural development and free medical services for all Nigerians. This shows that it was a breakdown and freedom for all".

Attainment of socialism was the main goal of the party, but socialism here means freedom of at all ramification. This type of programme, was geared not only towards wining a majority role type at any election but also arousing a consciousness and to consolidate their solid support.

B. NIGERIAN PEOPLE'S PARTY (NPP) / GREAT NIGERIAN PEOPLE'S PARTY (GNPP)

The Nigeria People's Party (NPP), like most parties of the First Republic was a conglomerate at various associations at interest groups. These associations were in existence during the 13 years military rule and were undergoing transformation. They includes: Club 19 which has been described as a group approaching politics from a position of ventilating grievance for historical wrong the progressive front of Eastern States and Lagos, and the National Council for Understanding and Solidarity (NCUS).

In 1978, following the political awakening by the CA and CDC, there was a fusion of the various associations, Club 19, the progressive front of Eastern States and Lagos, and Alhaji Ibrahim Waziri NCUS into what later became the Nigerian People's Party. Leader of the NPP apart from Waziri were former leader and member of the NCNC.

NPP due to lack of proper leadership, that will be able to compete favourably with other parties, United Nnamdi Azikiwe as the leader while Waziri organized his groups and members of the NCUS into what later became Great Nigerian People's Party (GNPP). Azikiwe, however, in his acceptance speech to the NPP many former member of the NCNC began to be associated with the NPP and the party became NCN, what UPN was to A. G. It should be noted that the association of former NCNC members with NPP was mainly due to the influence of Azikiwe and his charisma in Nigerian Politics. Among the objectives of the party are:

“To work for national integration and equal opportunity for all without regard to ethnic group, or sex, to promote and sustain national unity, territorial integrity and defend Nigerian independence and sovereignty; to work for a secular democratic state; fight against poverty disease, ignorance, tolerance, indiscipline, feudalism, racism, neocolonialism and unjust exploitation of man and so on”.

These objectives cannot be differentiated from those of the GNPP. The amusing thing about Nigerian Political Parties is that they tend to include all political jargons into their programme to arouse mass consciousness and moreover win popular support in elections after which the promises and programmes are abandoned.

C. THE PEOPLE'S REDEMPTION PARTY (PRP)

Alhaji Amino Kano, the person who later became the leader of the People's Redemption Party was actively involved in the formation of the National Party of Nigeria. When the NPN was launched in Lagos on 24th September, 1978, he was given the post of publicity secretary. In that meeting, Alhaji Aminu Kano and his supporters threatened to withdraw from the party over what he described as undemocratic maneuver. In keeping to this threat, Aminu Kano and his supporters later withdrew from the NPN and formed the Peoples Redemption Party. It was launched at the Murtala Mohammed Square, Kaduna on 21st October, 1978.

The motto of the party is loyalty, service and discipline. Its emblem is the golden key and victory or Nasora is its slogan. The aims and objectives of the party was contained in the constitution of the PRP.

D. NATIONAL PARTY OF NEGERIA (NPN)

The NPN was first formed as a non-political association known as the National Movement of members of the defunct constituent Assembly in Lagos.

Early in the proceedings of the constitutional Assembly, a committee was formed by some of the members to press for the creation of four states. These are Wawa (Enugu), Calabar Ogoja (Qua Iboe), Kastina and Kogi Sates. The committee was known as committee II. Most members of this committee formed the Nations movement.

The aim of the movement is to bring together leaders from all the nineteen states of the federation that has similar political view when the ban on partisan politics was lifted 1978, the movement was transformed into a political party.

The National Party was launched in Lagos on the 24th September 1978. At the launching, Alhaji Makana Bida was elected the interim chairman, 19 states chairman were also elected.

3.3 EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE THIRD REPUBLIC.

The entire package of the transition to civil rule program of the Third Republic was designed by the political Bureau, which was set up by the defunct Armed Forces Ruling Council and inaugurated by General Babangida on 13th January 1986. The Bureau submitted its report to the government on the 27th of March 1987. The report of the Bureau formed the basis for the transition to civil rule programme of the Third Republic.

After a comprehensive review of the political parties in the political development of Nigeria and possible options of the party system that could be adopted, the Bureau recommended a two-party system for Nigeria was accepted by the Nigeria government. Also before now government had taken a firm decision on the number of political parties to be registered and their mode of production. Notwithstanding, the government allowed politicians to form their own parties.

On the whole, thirteen political associations applied for registration. None of these associations according to NEC fully met the requirement of the guideline. They were formed with offences such as factionalism, disregard of the rules, rigging and falsification, attachment to old lines of cleavages and primordial loyalties, money politics, poor organization and the use of practices.³

Based on the verification exercise by the National Electoral Commission, the Armed Forces Ruling Council refused to register any of the association and went ahead to form and registered two political parties; Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the National Republic Convention (NRC).

Government through the National Electoral Commission provided the parties with constitutions and manifestoes, the constitutions of the parties were the same.

The inclusive result of the president election drew a curtain on the two party systems and the entire program. The turbulent seas of Nigerian politics have two registered parties, into the grave-yard of Nigerian history.

The two political parties were banned by the Abacha Administration, which registered five political namely:-

The United Nigeria Congress Party (UNCP)

The National Centre Party of Nigeria (NCPN)

The Congress for National Consensus (CNC)

The Democratic Party of Nigeria (DPN)

The Grassroots Democratic Movement (GDM)

The parties have gone the way of their immediate predecessors. According to James Walsh, he gave a graphic description of the situation of political history of Nigeria.

*At a time when South Africa was leaving Apartheid behind and becoming a beacon of hope in the continent, long suffering Nigeria Still suffered under the rule of a military dictatorship headed by General Sani Abacha while fortune from state oil revenue disappeared, the regime tore down on the land like the harmattan, the arid Sahara wind wind that periodically comes blasting out of the North. The Junta locked up political foes and in a culminating outrage, secretly hanged the respected writer, Ken-Sano Wiwa along with eight other Ogoni dissident.*⁴

It was at that point that the Tell Magazine asserted that “all we could discern is a bleak future”⁵.

Abacha suddenly died of a heart attack on June 8, 1999. General Abdulsalami Abubakar took over the mantle of leadership of the country. His coming to power marked the beginning of the golden age of democracy in Nigeria. His achievements include:

1. The repeal of all tyrannical decrees.
2. The release of political prisoners from detention, including General Olusegun Obasanjo.
3. Introduction of a transition program, which was to be implemented within a few months.

General Abubakar asserted that, “it is clear that Nigeria want a country where fairness and justice and equity are not mere slogans but principles put into timely practice with parliamentary elections due in February, followed by voting to full presidency, a land that had gained a reputation as the sick man of Africa in finding cause for celebration at last.”⁶

The three political parties – AD, APP and PDP as the outcome of the transition program of General Abdulsalami Abubakar. The Obasanjo administration also registered over 30 political parties.

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CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 PDP GOVERNMENT

The ruling Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), Celebrated its Second anniversary in 2000, gloating in celebration, PDP National Secretary, Dr. Nwodo threatened, “the day the party fails there will be no Nigeria, No PDP, no Nigeria.”

In vibrant democracies, political parties are not seen as mere platform for contesting elections or political appointments, rather, their functions should include providing political education for their member, informing members in government offices about public opinion on national issues as well as maintaining a strong ideological – base that would ensure its survival in future elections. None of Nigerian Current Political parties as seem to possess any of their qualities – a close scrutiny reveals persistent intra-party squabble, lack of focus, deviation from manifestoes and loss of credibility among Nigerians.¹²

The PDP members must be overruling the important of their party. PDP as the rest parties, have shown their inability to function as true Political Parties. The leadership of all the political parties does not seem able to control their parties or give direction to their elected officials.

At the legislative Houses Federal, State and Local Government levels, there is extreme indiscipline of elected party officials. At the executive level, there is no clear direction being pursued, that indicates a fulfillment or ever

existence of party manifestoes. For a lot of Nigerians, it does not appear that there is a benchmark or party manifestoes to which elected can be held to account.

The most embarrassing situations exists at the National Assembly where the PDP enjoys overwhelming majority. Yet, president Obasanjo was engaged in daily warfare with its fellow party members about the affairs of the state. Indeed, the PDP controlled executive appears determined to achieve a weak incoherent national legislative body unable to carry out its constitutional role. They pride themselves as Africa's and the black world's largest political movement, but they constitute an opposition to itself.¹³ In both the Senate and House of Representative, the PDP controls almost two-third of the seats. Yet the relationship among members in the legislative on one hand and between the legislative and the executive on the other hand, has been less than cordial. The same cannot be said of the two supposed opposition parties, the Alliance for Democracy (Ad) and All Peoples Party (APP), who though would have served as a check on PDP, appear disintegrated with most of their members jumping into the PDP bandwagon.

Taking a cursory look at the one month old civilian regime Lagos lawyer, pro-democracy activist and human right Crusader, Chief gain Fawehinmi, raised alarm over what he called "the danger signals of a potential one party state control of our destiny, citing the example of prominent AD and ANPP members in Obasanjo's government. Fawehinmi specifically remarked that the AD had become the main champion of the cause of the PDP government while alleging that the leader of the Alliance for Democracy had virtually and totally surrendered their political will to the PDP presidency.

He described Chief Bola Ige's membership in the Cabinet and added that Chief Abraham Adesanya, leader of the Pan-Yoruba Socio-Cultural Organization, Egbe Afeifere, had joined the government by proxy through his daughter, Mrs. Modupe Adelaja. Chief Adesanya and Ige were strong pillars of the AD.

Furthermore, Obasanjo was accused of playing a prominent role through lobbying the AD and APP senators with a couple of PDP Senators, to ensure that Enwerem was elected senate President as against Dr. Chuba Okadigbo who was more fancied by PDP Senators. The Senators perceived this, as interference in the affairs of the legislature by the executive; they nursed their grudge and waited patiently. Their patience paid off when changes were affected in the Senate following the removal of Chief Enwerem. Many saw the then new Senate President Dr. Chuba Okadigbo, as a man who would restore independence to the National Assembly through effective leadership. Also the irreconcilable differences between the executive and legislature were played to the full, when the executive was accused of master mending the impeachment of Okadigbo.

The PDP faced Crisis of leadership following the forgery and perjury scandal involving the first speaker of the House of Representative, Alhaji Umar Ghali Na' Abba had known no peace with the head of the executive, Obasanjo till 2003 as they continued to engaged in political battles.

While the AD has been described as a prostitute, sexually abused overnight, turned out into the cold in the hours of the morning and in now begging any available car owner for a lift, APP has also been described as a collection of monkeys with some having tails and others having none, but all pretending to behave like human beings that want to invade a town.

To redress the PDP crisis, the party set up a reconciliation committee headed by Dr. Alex Ekwueme – its former Presidential aspirant – with nine others. The party has also vowed to monitor all. He elected Officers at all levels. But we should note that irrespective of how the parties embark on redressing the various problems affecting them, in 2001, much will depend on the inculcation of party discipline and the re-orientation of the politicians on the importance of principles and ideology¹⁴.

The PDP has always treated crimes perpetuated by party members as "house problem". And this has caused a very serious confusion in the country. A very good example was the kidnapping of the Anambra State Governor, Dr. Chris Ngige. An Elected governor (Dr. Ngige) was kidnapped by the Chief Chris Uba faction of PDP, forced to sign a letter of resignation. The PDP Government of Obsanjo did not prosecute Chief Uba and the police Assistant Inspector general of Police, Mr. Raphael Ige.

The PDP Government irrespective of their noise making, is still very unpopular before Nigerians due to the hardship it has subjected the populates into with her reforms and bell-lightening policies.

4.2 OLIGARCHIAL AND MONARCHIAL TENDENCIES OF THE PDP.

Organization is necessary if a party is to succeed in gaining and maintaining support for its policies. Increasing power, however, lies in the hands of the party officials, in 1911, Robert Mitchel, in his political parties, stated that it is "organization which gives birth to the domination of the elected over the electors. Every group, he said, is run by few energetic and ambitious men, while the rest just respond to their wishes. The small active membership is comprised of "Oligarchy of the faithful" who attends meetings, hold offices and choose candidates.

Monarchy on the other hand is a state ruled by an individual who has a position at the apex of an aristocratic

pyramid of honour and authority which is generally inherited through a family connection.

Applying the concept of oligarchy to the ruling party-PDP, it is obvious that the controversial issues over the sale of Nigerdock PLC (a government owned property) raises many questions and causes cracks in President Olusegun Obasanjo's Cabinet. In the smoke and dust of the controversy were two principle players in the Obasanjo's government. On one hand was the Vice-President, Atiku Abubakar who heads the privatization council from where BPE draws its inspirations and power.

Also, Obasanjo launched the Poverty Alleviation Programme (PAP) and requested the sum of N10 billion from the National Assembly to pursue the pet project which will generate 200,000 jobs in the 36 states of the federation including Abuja, the nation's capital. Alleviating the poverty and suffering of our people in the fundamental objective of our administration. But a sum of N10 billion (ten billion naira which is estimated at US \$71,000,000.00) was earmarked to pursue his pet project of poverty alleviation. The programme was tailed by controversies. It was alleged to have been hijacked by PDP and given to only PDP members and loyalists.

The Obasanjo Administration no doubt inherited an economy suffering from declining capacity utilization, low performance of major infrastructural facilities, large budge deficit, rising unemployment and inflation rates, import dependence, reliance on a single commodity (oil), weak industrial base, low level of agricultural production, weak private sector, high external debt overcharged, inefficient public utilities and, low quality of social service.

Obasanjo also inherited a bloated bureaucracy that was largely corrupt, the intractable Niger-Delta crisis, a cautions international community with a subsisting plethora of sanctions, a corrupt and politicalised military and an avalanche of ethnic interest ready to explode, among others.

4.3 THE 2003 GENERAL ELECTIONS

There was clamour for the registration of new political parties in 2001. The PDP government was reluctant about the registration of new parties. It was only in 2002, few months away from the 2003 General Elections that they registered the parties.

The Newly registered parties were not given enough time and fund to prepare for the elections. And the new parties increased the number of political parties to 30.

The 2003 Elections organized by the Independent National electoral Commission (INEC) was a show case of Election riggery. The election were rigged beyond imagination and brought very unpopular candidates to power.

Sometimes, people that never campaigned for elections won while popular candidates voted by the people were thrown aside.

After the riggery, the Obasanjo Government constituted an election tribunal which started hearing of cases while these unpopular candidates were sworn in with the aid of soldiers deployed at strategic positions nation wide to quell and terrorize any opposition.

The 2003 general Elections organized by the PDP Government under Dr. Abel Bubadia's led INEC was a shame to Democracy and to Africa and the world at large. It was a showcase of election riggery and a daylight robbery of mandate.

4.4 THE LEGISLATURE AND THE NOISE OF IMPEACHMENT

The legislature in Nigerian politics is more or less a design to make an autocratic state look like a Democracy. The events are left unchecked as the judiciary and legislative lobby for attention. The floor of the House became a boxing ring as Senators and representatives fight each order for money or materials which come from the executive.

When the legislative needs attention, they start pressing for impeachment and as soon as they are paid off, the music tone of impeachment changes. The legislature is always dancing to the tone of the executives to get what they want.

In many occasions, leaders of the House have been nominated by the executive and can be fired by the executive at will. The legislature has always deceived Nigerians with constant clamour for impeachment and nothing happens at last.

All these empty impeachment moves and threats by the legislature have made the public loss confidence in the legislature and people have started to enjoy the circus show of impeachments by the legislature.

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CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATION

5.1 CONCLUSION

This work represents an attempt to evaluate the viability of the present democracy as an indicator of good government in Nigeria and indeed Africa at large. In essence, I have tried to showcase how Nigerian Political life has been on the way to self-actualization as man realizes himself in history as the nature's plan for him is unraveled. It has been mired in crises, blood baths, hatreds and counter hatreds, and ultimately in ethnic rivalries brought about by the 1914 infamous amalgamation which Fredrick Forsyth termed "the marriage of the irreconcilable". Zik postulated that due to bad government, there was instability in Nigeria and that the root causes other Africa, Latin America and Asia States where the enormities committed by the parties in power and discredited them and created a crisis of confidence in the capacity of those who rule to maintain good government.

I have also tried to show how the Africa especially Nigeria have felt the repercussions of good governance coined by the English – speaking world that had spreaded since the beginning of the 1990's like a powder trail across the globe. This is because there is a popular belief that democracy can only be established successfully after other successes particularly in the social and economic spheres. Therefore, economic criteria and performance levels are therefore precondition and democracy cannot be created out of vacuum but must be the fruit of a long period of societal development.

In chapter 2, we look at the major political parties of the first republic, notably, NCNC, NPC, AG, which were only incarnates of tribalism. Election at that time was bloody and violent. Corruption erupted like volcano and almost engulfed all facets of the nation's life and we saw how the military appeared on the scene of the Nigerian Politics on hours of January 15, 1966, following the first coup d'état led by major Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu.

In chapter 3, we looked at the birth and fall of the major political parties of the Second Republic. We also showed how corruption had growth more widespread with each regime. In fact, if corruption was not worse during the regime of Shehu Shajari, as some claimed, it was more widespread, open and more out of control than that of the regime which it succeeded. More so, Gen. Muhammadu Buhari on August 27, 1985 declared himself an "evil genius". In his days, the economy was finally sent to the dregs of hell, corruption burst into flames, anarchy! Chaos, stifling of human rights and social justice became the order of the day. Crisis ousted the evil genius from office on August 27, 1993 exactly eight years of his reign of terror following the annulment of June 12, 1993.

Abacha's regime, after the forceful exit of the interim government headed by Chief Ernest Shonekan through a place coup. Abacha's Administration fell into the same pit of economic Strangulation, educational abnormally, political quagmire development demise, religious upheavals, and cultural mute. Abachism was the father of corruption profligacy in exercise, cultism, incessant killings and such-like. Abacha's diabolic plan to transfigure from a military dictator to a civilian president was strangled on June 8, 1998 and he died. Fate saw gen. Abdulsalami Abubakar to the throne and through his tact, dexterity and honesty; Nigeria came to the long awaited democracy on May 29, 1999, with Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo as the elected president of the fourth republic and peace transition from civilian to civilian in 2003.

In chapter 4, we reviewed the parties and democratic governance of this present democratic dispensation with particular reference to the three registered parties PDP, APP and AD. And we showed how the PDP which prides itself as "Africa's and Black World's largest Political Movement" constitutes an opposition to itself. So the political parties that were hurriedly formed were on amalgam of people of irreconcilable differences and divergent ideological bend. According to Mike Ozekhome in the constitutional right journal, he described the PDP as a Chimney with so much smoke but without fire. The AD as a prostitute as showcased in the 2003 elections where the refused to field a president candidate but supported the incumbent, Olusegun Obasanjo. At last the Ad, lost most of its senatorial and gubernatorial positions in the South – West, where they enjoyed absolute majority. The ANPP fought gallantly alongside with APGA but lost to PDP. I also mentioned the mammoth showcase of election rigging and manipulations of the 2003 elections by the PDP. It is an insult to Nigerian democracy.

In the final analysis, we are able to see that the problem lies not in the type of form of government, but the style these leaders adopt in governing. This is because, since the present civilian government which resumed on May 29, 1999, there has been little or no credit that could score political points for the ruling People's Democratic Party and its other political parties opponents where the same mistake that were made by the players on the political stage since the days of the first republic are still repeating itself.

Nigeria is still yet to be democratized. The model of democracy we are practicing is much different from true democracy in the Western World. Nigeria's system of democracy does not conform with Abraham Lincoln's view of "government of the people, by the people and for the people". Our type of democracy is where representatives share money to keep or remove people from power. The programs of the government in formulation are people oriented but not in implementation. Nigeria's democratic rule has a lot of lovely projects where billions have been earmarked but lacks implementation. Such some of those policies are the poverty Alleviation Programme, Universal Basic education, Rural Development Schemes. Nigeria needs to restructure the whole system and stop parading herself as a democratized state in the international community.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

In this respect, I recommend that:-

1. While constitutional Right Project (CRP) believes that there is need to strengthen our democratic institutions, a total overhaul of the present electoral laws regulating party registration should commence, ahead of the next national elections. The National Assembly should initiate a process that would ensure a review of the existing electoral laws.
2. Due to lack of philosophy, parties go against the dictates of its manifestoes. For instance, in the first tenure of president Obasanjo, he was more of AD than PDP. Since he gets all his support from AD members and not PDP. PDP is broken in terms of support, you don't know the philosophy, the programme of PDP as a party, as a ruling party, no proof of AD as a party in opposition. Neither do you have that of ANPP. So we just have people who had joined parties because they had to win elections.
3. There is need for a new generation to take over the mantle of leadership in Nigeria. The names we hear in Nigerian Politics are still the personalities that have ruled the country through the military or in the past republics. These money bag politicians are responsible for our present dilemma. Personalities like Adamu Ciroma, Jerry Gana, and a whole lot of them are not supposed to be in Nigerian politics of today.
4. The anomalies of the 2003 elections must be corrected before Nigeria can forge ahead. It is a showcase of election rigging. People that never campaign for elections and lacked popularity like case of Anambra State, won elections. Political parties like APGA and ANPP were sidelined. The PDP led government of President Olusegun Obasanjo, constituted a Quack Elections Tribunal and in turns used the military to see himself through on May 29, 2003, where combat ready soldiers flooded the streets of Abuja and other states capitals to swear in unpopular candidates.
5. To me, Nigeria still needs a sovereign National Conference not the quack National Dialogue which Obasanjo Organized in Abuja. Nigeria needs a conference where every nook and cranny of the country will send representatives on how we should live. It is very imperative just that elites are shying away from it.
6. Finally, to actually move Nigeria from the woods, the leadership must be ready to give selfless service as against enriching their pockets, they must show some purposefulness, pragmatism, transparency, result-oriented and God fearing in other to carry people along.

In conclusion, we should understand that from the days of nationalist struggle to post independence era, the practice and procedure of democracy in Nigeria have witnessed one long and often torturous history of political quagmire. We need not therefore search or consult a seer to tell us that the general insecurity plaguing the country is a savage indictment of our social and political disorder, and it does not offer any message of hope to the future. Therefore let us concentrate less on the birth of democracy once again, but start to look inwards, first to develop man, which is the first step to good governance.

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