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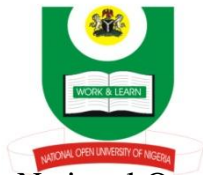
POL424: POLITICAL PARTIES AND PRESSURE GROUPS

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POLITICAL PARTIES AND PRESSURE GROUPS

MODULE 1: UNIT 1

Module I: Meaning, Origin and Functions of Political Parties

Unit 1: Meaning of Political Parties

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Political Party and Pressure Group

It is in the nature of man not to live alone, he lives in human society. This was the reason why the famous Greek philosopher Aristotle said "*man is a political animal*". Because he lives in a society, he needs to interact with other people, develop rules and regulations that govern his continued existence in society. It can be safely concluded that man has since engaged in politics. Right from the time of Greek city states, mankind has always lived in communities with various political structures that suit her environment. Political parties and pressure groups are very important in any democratic system of government. Adigun Agbaje in Remi Anifowose 1999:192 put it succinctly when he said

Political parties and pressure groups in a supposedly democratic country is worse than tea without sugar, it is like trying to pass brown water as tea. There can be no meaningful democracy without a properly functioning party and pressure groups process. It is obvious, therefore that parties and pressure groups constitute the heart of democracy-the more vigorous and healthy they are, the better assured is the health of the democratic process itself.

The above view was supported by J.C. Johari (2008:423) when he remarked that "modern democracy has procreated the system of political parties and organized interest pressure groups as an indispensable factor in its operations". It is essential that in any electoral democracy, party system is crucial for easy conduct of elections in this complex nature of today's politics. It will be out of place to talk of democracy without mentioning "participation and representation" Remi Anifowose (1999: 193).

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- Define political party
- Mention some attributes of a political party
- Explain some functions of a political party

3.1 SOME DEFINITIONS OF POLITICAL PARTIES

There are several definitions on this important topic. It is essential we examine a few of them. But by and large, a lot of people agree that political parties are organized group of people who come together to pursue specific policies and objectives with the motive of taking control of state power, by acting together as a political unit. Michael Curtis in Johari (2008:423) was of the view that political party is notoriously difficult to define accurately because Liberal and Marxist writers differ sharply on this issue.

The definition given by Edmund Burke an English writer and leader was greatly celebrated. He said a political party is "a body of men united for promoting the national interest on some particular principles in which they all agreed". One thing that is important here is a body of men united to promote national interest that they all agreed upon. Ofoegbu Ray (1976) gave a clearer picture when he remarked that "a political party is an organization of like-minded citizen which seeks to promote and advance certain general objectives on which its members agreed".

Adigun Agbaje (1999:195) said "a political party is a group of persons bonded in policy and opinion in support of a general political cause which essentially is the pursuit, capture and retention for as long as democratically feasible, of government and its

offices" He went further by quoting Wilson J.O (1992: 138) "that a political party is a group that seeks to elect candidates to public office by supplying them with a label-a party identification by which they are known to the electorate". In his view, a political party should have three clear variables (1) a label in the minds of its members and the electorates (2) an organization that campaign for candidates seeking elective offices (3) leaders that controls the legislative and executive arms of the government.

It is interesting to note that the views of the Americans are different regarding definition of a political party. They view "political party as an instrument of catching power" Johari (2008:424). There is no importance attached to "all agreed" Johari (2008:424) to them, a party is a platform or a machinery for taking part in the struggle for power. He went further and declared that "a political party is an agency to mobilize people's support at the time of elections; it is an instrument for aggregation of interest that demands vociferous articulation "Johari (2008:424). Grotty said that "a political party is a formally organized group that performs the functions of educating the public ... that recruits and promotes individual for public office and that provides a comprehensive linkage function between the public and governmental decision makers" Johari (2008:424). From the definitions above, it is clear that a political party should have three essential ingredients (1) an organization of individual who have common interest that they all agreed upon (2) it is an organization that should struggle for state power and thirdly the members must make efforts to implement the policies and programmes of the party through constitutional means.

The view of Curtis is very essential in the definition of a political party. He remarked "Essentially, a party signifies a group of people who hold certain political beliefs in common or who are prepared to support the party candidate, work together for electoral victory, attain and maintain political power". Curtis in Johari (2008:424). Here Curtis stressed the importance of holding a common belief and support for candidates to achieve electoral success.

Self- Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.1

- Define Political Party
- Mention three factors common to these definitions

3.2 Features of Political Parties

Political parties must have certain features and characteristics that will differentiate it from pressure groups. As political associations develop, they metamorphose into political parties in today's politics. A political party should have clearly stated ideologies. An ideology may be defined "as an action oriented system of ideas or beliefs that identifies the problems besetting the structures and process of a society, and the alternative programmes and strategies for establishing another system that will overcome the observed deficiencies" Akeke Ayeni (2008: 168). All ideologies are expected to bring about positive social change to the present condition of the society and even in the future. Some ideologies aim towards changing structures and process of society into something new and better, while others aim at maintaining and preserving the ones on the ground.

Apart from ideology, political parties should aim at contesting elections in order to gain political power and subsequently govern the country. A political party is supposed to air their views on topical issues affecting the country. People who share similar political opinions, interest and beliefs normally come together because political parties are supposed to be associations of people of like-minded interests. It is normally said that birds of the same feather, flock together. Political parties should be organized in such a way that it will reach everybody in the society. In addition, they always employ persuasive techniques when they want to appeal to the electorates rather than using coercive means. They organize rallies, congresses and conventions as part of their normal duties.

Self- Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.2

- Mention some attribute of a political party?
- Explain what ideology is

3.3 Functions of Political Parties

Having looked at the main features of political parties, let us now look at the functions they perform. In any society, political parties perform the function of interest articulation. They channel the interest of their members and encourage them to contest and win election and ultimately form government. Political parties harmonise interest of their members in the political process and make efforts to satisfy these various interests so that people would know the direction of voting.

They also arouse interest of their members before and during election. In some way, they serve as a bridge or link that connects people with the government. They also educate the people about government policies and disseminate vital information to the members of the public, it must be noted that political parties mobilize public opinion in favour or against a particular policy of the government. They perform this function by means of mass rallies, flags uniform/vests, slogans and other symbols of unity in order to show the relationship between the people and the party i.e. the spirit of togetherness.

In socialist states, political party is one of the important organs of mobilizing the people in favour of government policies. In Liberal democratic states, parties that are not in support of government policies use the same method to mobilize the people against any policy. Akinbade (2008: 199). It is an avenue for changing government. In a cabinet system of government, the party that wins the majority of votes is asked to form government and the party that fails to win forms the opposition. This is also the case in the presidential system of government whereby the candidate that wins the highest number of votes in the general election is elected the president. A political party that wins in the general election tries to implement policies and programmes stated in the manifestoes and generally provide national direction of the affairs of the country.

Closely related to the above stated function are the issues of political recruitment. It is a known fact that “no modern political system can function without the mobilization and deployment of highly qualified and dedicated individuals of various kinds engineers, teachers, scientist, doctors, administrators and soldiers to operate the institutions of the

state”. Ayeni, Akeke (2008:152). These bureaucrats serve in the administrative cadre on merit.

Political parties help the electorate to actively participate in election. To achieve this, political parties educate the people about crucial issues relating to the political system. Parties may nominate candidates that have very good chances of winning election. They often do this by sponsoring candidates with money, campaign materials etc. Ayeni Akeke (2008: 131). "In sum, parties contribute immensely to the vitality and stability of governments, particularly in competitive, democratic political systems where parties alternate power" Johari (2008:424). This enables smooth transfer of political power from one party to the other in the electoral competition.

Political representation is another major function. In view of the fact that modern states are generally too large in size, population and complex to permit direct participation of the people in the government of their affairs, political parties appropriately fit-in and adequately represent the views and opinions of the people.

Party organization is another avenue for leaders to control their members and members of a political party can issue threat against a leader in the next election when such a leader fails to comply with the wishes of their members. Adigun Agbaje in Anifowose (1999: 197) put it this way "political parties are major “in-putting” devices that ensure that government heed the needs and wishes of the larger society". This clearly emphasizes the enormous power of political parties. Besides the above mentioned fact, political parties serve as a unifying factor for different sectional interest regardless of their ethnic origin or religious affiliation thereby promoting sense of national unity.

Political parties do perform welfare, social and humanitarian functions like provision of jobs for its members, building recreational centres, some parties even establish business enterprises like hotels, newspapers etc. to generate fund for the party. It must be emphasized that without political parties, conduct of elections would be tedious, rowdy and out rightly uninteresting.

Self-Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.3

- Explain functions political parties perform in the polity
- Discuss the various ways by which political parties educate the electorate

3.4 Types of Political Parties

There are two basic types of political parties according to Maurice Duverger (1962). The mass party and the elite party. He used membership to differentiate them. The expansion of franchise led to the growth of mass party. This party believes in the principles of election in order to give credence to its legitimacy J.C. Johari (2011:433). Some of the characteristics of the mass party include recruitment of new members to its fold in an open manner. It has workers, traders, artisans and even the bourgeoisie as members. The primary motive of this party is to open its door to all citizens. This party does not discriminate regardless of tribe, class or religion. Their programmes and policies are developed after due consultation with majority of the people in the party. There are several reasons for the emergence of mass party among them are demand for reformation of existing institutions in the society, desire to invite various groups in the society under one umbrella, demand for popular participation and self rule during the colonial regime.

Akinbade (2008:195). The elite party on the other hand, is a party of the important personalities in the society. It is a party of the notables. They believe in the principle of "selection" Johari (2011:432). They take important steps in the formulation of the policies and programmes of the party including nomination of candidates for election, campaigns, fund-raising etc. The party takes cognisance of candidates who are capable of fighting election, expert in organization for the benefit of the party. The conservative party in Britain started as an elitist party. The party is restricted only to the notables. It should be noted that the increased suffrage made the party to open up several local branches in order to secure political power.

Self Assessment Exercise (3.4)

- Mention some features of mass party
- Highlight the role does the notable play in elite party

3.5 THE FRANCHISE

This is the political rights or privilege granted by the state to an individual to vote in an election or referendum. People that are qualified to vote in an election are called the electorate. It must be stated that not everybody can vote in a political system. However, the process through which an individual is granted the franchise is known as enfranchisement while its withdrawal is known as disenfranchisement. There are major criteria for franchise in this modern age but they vary from country to country. Some of these criteria are age, sex, race. Age is of paramount importance and would be voter is expected to reach maturity age before such a privilege can be granted to him or her etc.

In Nigeria, 18years, Britain, USA adopts 18 years respectively while Germany adopts 20years. Citizenship is also another important consideration in suffrage. Only legal citizen of a country are allowed to vote and those that acquire citizenship of a country through naturalization. A person who wishes to vote in an election must be properly registered by the electoral authority of the country he resides in and be issued with voter registration card. Residence is another crucial factor before a person can be allowed to vote. A person must have lived in a place for a specified number of years before he/she can be registered as a voter. Other conditions specified includes ownership of property, insanity, criminal records, bankruptcy etc. let us briefly look at the two types of franchise:

1. There is limited or restricted franchise
2. Unlimited franchise or universal adult suffrage.

1. **Restricted franchise:**

This means only certain categories of people have the right to vote in an election/referendum or people who have special qualification can vote. This system is highly restrictive and only those who meet the stipulated condition are allowed to vote or be voted for. For example, before the apartheid regime was dismantled in South Africa, only the whites were allowed to vote, the blacks were not allowed. Those who favour restrictive franchise base their argument on the following premises that only those who

are of sound minds without any criminal records should be accorded the franchise; those who actually know the meaning and importance of voting should be allowed to vote. People who have property and have resided long in a particular locality should be allowed to vote. The supporter of this restrictive franchise also believe that women should not be allowed to vote in view of the fact that they are likely to follow the pattern of voting of their husbands. The critics of restrictive franchise hold the view that the system is discriminatory and undemocratic. Akinbade (2008:171).

2. The Universal Adult Suffrage:

This system is very popular and generally acknowledged. It is a system whereby all qualified adults of matured age have the rights to vote and be voted for. Since it is not possible to extend the franchise to everybody, there are some conditions that must be met before the privilege can be extended. Some of these conditions have been discussed above which includes residence, no criminal records, sanity, education, race etc. Those who favour this system base their argument on the following:

1. It enables all qualified adults to exercise their fundamental human rights;
2. It considers the interest of the women i.e. not discriminatory;
3. The system is popular and it takes care of the interest of the majority.

Self- Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.5

1. Define the term suffrage
2. Examine the shortcomings of restricted franchise
3. Explain fully the merits of Universal Adult suffrage

4.0 CONCLUSION

This unit has given us meaning, features and functions of political parties and we examined a few definitions of political parties and type of political parties' i.e. mass party and elite party with some of their characteristics.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we attempted a few definitions from various scholars and we said political parties consist of people who have similar interest on public issues and organized as

political unit to control state power through competitive election. The primary objective of a political party is to achieve political power and govern the country.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMAS)

- Define the term 'political party.
- Explain the characteristics of political parties.
- Discuss the main functions of a political party

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MODULE 1

UNIT 2: ORIGIN OF POLITICAL PARTIES

1.0 Introduction

2.0 Objectives

3.0 Main Contents

3.1 Brief Historical Background

3.2 Development of political party in U.S.A 1820

3.3 The extension of franchise in Britain 1867

3.4 The spread of political parties to other nations

3.5 Impact of social structure on Nigeria's political parties.

4.0 Conclusion

5.0 Summary

6.0 Tutor-marked assignment

7.0 References /Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The introduction of electoral democracy brought the idea of political party and party system. But before the advent of electoral democracy, there existed in the advanced nations of the world, i.e. USA, Britain etc different types of public offices for smooth administration of these nations. Shively (2008:248). These public structure were mayors, parliamentary members etc and they were filled by heritage, outright purchase, and even bribery. There was no yardstick or standard for filling these offices. However, with the introduction of electoral democracy, a new dimension was introduced and people were elected into public offices.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- ❖ Explain how political party was born.
- ❖ Explain the extension of franchise in Britain in 1867
- ❖ How it spread to other nations across the globe

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Brief Historical Background.

Like we said in the opening introduction, the advent of electoral democracy dramatically altered the old system of filling public offices with hand picking of an individual, people had to seek for votes from the electorates before they could occupy any public office. Shively (2008:248). The support and co-operation of clubs were necessary and politicians got the support of clubs at local and national levels. They equally mobilized people to support their candidates and money was made available for logistics and miscellaneous expenses. The organizers moved from one place to the other educating voters regarding ways and patterns of voting. This eventually gave birth to what we know today as political party.

The growth and development of political parties are often-times associated with different classes that exists in the society and particularly with the history of class struggle. This is more so when there is struggle for political power. V.I. Lenin, the father of the Russian revolution remarked that:

In a society based upon class divisions, the struggle between the hostile classes is bound, at a certain stage of its development to become a political struggle. The most purposeful, most comprehensive and specific expression of the political struggle of classes is the struggle of parties (V.I. Lenin Poln.sobr.soch 5th ed. Vol. 12 p.137).

Generally, there are two types of political parties i.e. the mass party and the elite party. The Democratic Party and Republican Party in the United State started in a small way and they were built around a few politicians before it expanded to other parts of the country. The first modern political party appeared in the United States of America in 1820s i.e. Democratic Party and it is the oldest political party in the world. W. Shively 2008:248.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.1

- Explain the historical background of political parties.
- Analyse the views of V.I. Lenin regarding the origin of political party.

3.2 The expansion of franchise in Britain in 1867

In Britain, the franchise was not made wide spread until 1867. Prior to this period, only ten percent of the electorates could vote and be voted for, but with the extension of votes more people could easily vote. The first modern political party was born in Birmingham around this period. Shively (2008:249) quoted Ostrogonski extensively when he said:

In 1867, the registration societies, the reform or Liberal Association which had sprung up since 1832, were group of subscribers, of amateurs, and were in the hand of traditional leaders incapable of getting at the masses who had just been brought on the political stage by the extension of the franchises. Birmingham received 30,000 electors. The liberals believed that to ensure victory, the party organization ought to reach all these voters, to make them feel that they were about to fight (*pro aris et. focus*) that the liberal party was their own party, the party of each of them. To meet these views, one of the radical leaders, Mr. W. Haris, architect, man of letter, and Secretary of the Birmingham Liberal Association, proposed a plan of organisation according to which all the Liberals of the locality were to meet in every ward and elect representatives to manage the affairs of the party (Shively, 2008: 249).

A few parliamentary members vehemently opposed the increase suffrage on the ground that candidates would not have direct dealings with his constituency but to the party and party agent. Those who opposed it said:

With a widely enlarged suffrage, the candidates would find himself less and less able to come face to face with his constituency, and would be compelled in consequence to rely more and more on the aid of the election agent, and as in America of that committees and conversers whose mouth piece and delegate he would have to make himself (Shively, 2008:249).

United States of America enjoyed the increased suffrage earlier than Britain, it was in USA that the first modern political parties appeared. It can be safely concluded that political party is a unifying factor for those seeking elective office and control of State power. Shively put it succinctly:

“The Political Party has become a “miracle glue” of sorts for politics. Whenever one group of people is to be controlled by another or even just kept in contact with them, the party has turned out to be a useful tool”. Shively (2008:249).

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.2

- Describe the expansion of franchise in Britain.
- Examine the arguments of those who opposed the expansion of the franchise.

3.3 The spread of political parties to other nations

It was not too long that other countries that are electoral democracies copied the idea of political parties. Political parties had spread to eastern European State; autocratic state like Egypt has National Democratic Party, Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front. In West Africa, political parties developed as a result of self improvement associations, tribal associations with the sole aim of influencing colonial government to grant independence to various countries.

The National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) was formed in Accra, then Gold Coast now Ghana in the early 1920s by Joseph Casely Harford and Dr. Akinwande Savage of Nigeria. The main demand of this body was granting elective principle to various countries. They sent a delegation to London to meet the Secretary of State, Lord Milner. The request was turned down and they came back home with disappointment. But however, Clifford constitution of 1922 granted elective principle to the legislative Council of Nigeria which was subsequently approved by the new British Secretary of State for colonies Wiston Churchill. This gave Nigeria the unique opportunity to adopt the elective principle in 1922. The Clifford constitution of 1922 created a conducive atmosphere for the formation of political parties. Herbert Macaulay seized this opportunity and he formed the Nigeria National Democratic Party in 1923. He was regarded as father of Nigerian nationalism.

He won all the entire three seats reserved for Lagos in the Legislative Council of 1923, 1933 and 1938 respectively. Similar rival political parties emerged on the political scene. These were: The Peoples Union (1923), Union of Young Nigerians (1923), The Nigerian Youth Movement (1937), The National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons (1944), The

Northern Element Progressive Associations (1945), The Northern Element Progress Union (1950) The Action Group (1951), The Northern People's Congress (1951), The United National Independent Party (1953), The United Middle Belt Congress (1955), formed through the merger between the Middle Belt League (1950), and the Middle Belt People Party (1953), Borno Youth Movement (1956), The Dynamic Party (1955) and The National Democratic Party of Nigeria and the Cameroon (1958) L. Adele Jinadu (2011:3).

It is however clear that modern political party in Africa is generally off-shoot of parties formed during colonial regimes. One interesting thing about the formation of political party is that beside the original aim of some office holders to maintain their jobs, it has served unification function that binds members of similar views together which Shively call "miracle glue".

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.3

- Examine the formation and growth of National Council of British West Africa.
- Describe the formation of Nigerian National Democratic Party.
- Mention the founders of the Nigerian National Democratic Party

3.4 Impact of Social Structure on Political Parties of Nigeria

The discussion on this unit would not be complete without mentioning the impact of social structure on these political parties. Shortly after the Second World War, most of the political parties that sprang up can be regarded as "developmental circumstances". This can be divided or grouped into different categories. It could be on "class, religion, language, and ethno- communal, rural/urban divide, ideology and educational levels. Adele Jinadu (2011: 3). We should note that most of the Nationalists that dominated the political scene in the early 60s were a combination of petit – bourgeois, middle class and proletarian strata of the society. In spite of these glaring differences, the spirit of competition, ethno-federal structure, they didn't forget traditional rulers and cultural tradition. For instance, the Action Group that was formed in 1951 metamorphosed from

Egbe Omoduduwa, a Yoruba Cultural Organisation that was established as early as 1945 in London. Equally, the Northern People Congress (NPC) had its root in the Northerner's Cultural Organisation known as Jamiyyar Mutanen Arewa founded in 1949. It was dominated by Hausa/Fulani.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.4

- Most of the political parties that were formed shortly after the Second World War were products of developmental circumstances, Discuss.
- Briefly trace the origin of Action Group.

4.0 CONCLUSION

In this unit, we said that the first political party was born in USA in 1820 and later there was wide-spread extension of Franchise in Birmingham in 1867 whereby a large percentage of the electorates could vote and be voted for. Within a short period of time, development of political parties spread to other countries in Eastern Europe and Africa. Political parties instantly became a sort of unifying factor for politicians who shared similar views on issues of public importance and wanted to control the machinery of government.

5.0 SUMMARY

We traced the origin and development of political parties to United States of America in 1820 and to Birmingham in Britain in 1867 before it quickly spread to other nations of the world. We remarked that the growth and development of the political parties in West Africa started with the introduction of Clifford Constitution of 1922 in Nigeria. Nigeria was the first country to enjoy the principle of election in Africa. The first political party in Nigeria was established by Herbert Macaulay in 1923 when three seats were allocated to Lagos and one for Calabar in the Legislative Council. Other parties like National Youth Movement (NYM) Northern People's Congress (NPC) and a host of other political parties followed.

6.0 TUTOR- MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMAs)

- Briefly trace the origin and growth of political parties across the globe.
- Analyse the functions of political parties
- Explain briefly the formation of political parties in Nigeria.

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MODULE 1

UNIT 3

PARTY ORGANIZATION

- 1.0 Introduction**
- 2.0 Objectives**
- 3.0 Main Contents**
 - 3.1 The Caucus**
 - 3.2 The Branch**
 - 3.3 The Cell**
- 4.0 Conclusion**
- 5.0 Summary**
- 6.0 Tutor-marked Assignment**
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1.0 INTRODUCTION: PARTY ORGANIZATION

There is no formal structure or pattern about the way a political party should be organized. Each party is free to adopt the method of organization it wishes. Take for instance, the United States of America, political parties are loosely organized. It is very difficult to know those who are card carrying members and those who are not. In some countries if one wishes to be a member of a political party, he or she can apply for registration and pay the stipulated dues as prescribed by the party's constitution and the person would be issued a membership card. This is the normal organizational structure which may affect the role of an individual as a political party member. Akinbade put it clearly "the type of party organization depends on the kind of methods they employ to realize their objectives. This implies that political parties create certain structures in order to capture Political power" Akinbade (2008:193).

Maurice Dureger, a popular French Political Scientist classified party organisation in four basic groups using membership as sole factor of differentiating them. We shall briefly look at some of them and see how relevant in today's political organization.

2.0 OBJECTIVE

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

- ❖ Explain organization of political parties
- ❖ Discuss various party organization

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 The Caucus

The caucus consists of small membership without permanent structure and is run by a few wealthy notables. Beside, the organization is highly restrictive in terms of admitting members to its fold. It places emphasis on quality rather than quantity. It is also of interest to note that the organization is very effective only during the election and immediately folds up when the elections are over. Due to the extension of the franchise, the growth of caucus party organization has seriously declined. The British Labour Party is an example of caucus party before 1918. Akinbade (2008:193)

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAE) 3.1

- Examine the various category Maurice Duverger party organization
- Outline some of the characteristics of caucus party organization

3.2 The Branch

This party admits the largest number of people to its fold and is very common in today's politics where all category of people register as members. It has offices in all parts of the Nigeria. The party structure is highly centralized with an executive committee as the highest organ of decision-making. The various political parties in Nigeria resemble this structure in terms of recruitment of members. Let us look at the Peoples Democratic Party as an example. Membership of this party can be obtained by applying to the Ward Chairman through the secretary where one lives and the applicant pays the prescribed registration fees of admission. Nigerians who are eighteen years and above are qualified for admission as party members. Membership cards are then issued to registered members with his or her photograph attached. The party is organized and administered at the following levels: (a) Ward (b) local Government Area (LGA); (c) Senatorial District (d) State (e) Zonal and (f) National. PDP as a party, also create informal units in order to mobilize voters for elections not the state House of Assembly, the Federal Constituency and senatorial constituency. A party secretariat is also created at all levels of the party.

The party is also divided into various organs right from Ward Executive Congress to National Congress to enhance easy decision-making process.

There is a National working committee that is solely charged with the responsibility of day to day administration of the party and it is responsible to the National Executive Committee. The National working committee is also empowered to act in case of emergency and perform any other function assigned to it by the National Executive Committee.

PDP has National Caucus that is composed of the National Chairman, the President and Vice-President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the Senate President and other high ranking officers. The main function of the National Caucus is to harmonize the relationship between the Executive and the legislative arm of the government. It also reviews and advise on important policies and programmes of government. It is interesting to note that all officers at Ward levels, Local Government Area, State and Zonal levels have the same powers like their counterpart at National levels regarding performance of functions relating to their offices. All party officers shall hold office for a term of four years and may be re-elected for another term and no more.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAE) 3.2

- Describe the hierarchical structure of the organization of the PDP.
- Discuss the main features the Branch party organization.

3.3 The Cell

This is a work place based organization and was established by revolutionary socialists. The activities of this type of party are restricted to the working environment only and that is why people believe that its operations and working are secretive. They take major decisions in the place of work and pass necessary information there also. There is no such kind of party in capitalist countries.

Since we look at the set-up and organizational structure of Peoples democratic Party (PDP) above, it will not be out of place to also look at the organisation of a rival party to

PDP (i.e. Action Congress of Nigeria ACN). It is even clear now that ACN has team-up with three other political parties to form All Peoples Congress (APC) in order to be able to dislodge PDP from power and ruling the country in the next election 2015. The two other parties that formed the APC are Congress for Progressive Change and All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP). The organizational structure of this new alliance is still being worked out and it is very early to comment on it. So we shall look at the ACN. The party wishes to promote, preserve the sovereignty, unity and progress of Nigeria.

It equally aim at promoting the welfare and happiness of the people based on justice, freedom and equality etc. The party has the aim of building a new nation, which will provide equal opportunity for all her people, with mutual respect and peaceful co-existence. Admission to the party is open to all Nigerians regardless of the place of origin, religion or tribe and to be admitted to the party, a person must be up to eighteen years old, register in a ward where s/he lives, pay the stipulated registration fees, possession of the party's identity/membership card and must not be a member of another political party.

In terms of organization and administration, the party has the following levels in ascending order of hierarchy the Ward, the Local Government Area, State and National. This pattern of organizational structure is similar to the organizational structure of PDP. It is interesting to note that ACN has provision for Zonal political arrangement that may suit peculiar circumstances. The constitution of ACN provides twelve party organs for effectiveness of the working of the party. Some of these are in descending order of hierarchy.

The National Convention, the Board of Trustees, The National Executive Committee, The State Congress, The State Elders Forum, The State Executive Committee... to the Ward Executive Committee. It must be stressed here that each organ has its power and functions rights from the Ward Executive Committee to the National Convention which is the highest organ of the party and each of these organs perform its own function for the general progress and development of the party so that the party would achieve its goal of

securing power and subsequently govern the country. ACN had consistently pursued this objective of providing strong and effective leadership for the country and that is probably why it has team-up with other two parties to form a strong opposition to the ruling PDP government in the next election in the year 2015. the crack in the PDP is a good omen for the APC as a party, but however it is too early to comment on the possibility of success of this new alliance.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.3

- Explain the structure of the organization of ACN as a political party.
- Examine the similarities between organizational structure of PDP and ACN

4.0 CONCLUSION

There is no formal structure of how a party should be organized. Each party uses its discretion but a party should be organized in such a way that it would realize or achieve its primary objectives of winning in an election and forming the government.

5.0 SUMMARY

Party organization is very crucial for it to achieve its aims and objectives and a party should have a wide geographical spread in order to be able to reach the people. We examined the chief characteristics of Duverger classification of party organization- i.e. the caucus established by the notables with small membership and emphasizes quality rather than quantity. The Branch or the mass party recruits large number of members to its fold with a centralized executive committee as the highest organ of decision making body. The cell is an essentially work-based organization. We do not have the examples of work –based party organization in capitalists’ countries. It is socialist in nature and origin. Capitalist countries do not have work-based party organizations. We looked at the organizational structure of Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and Action Congress of Nigerian (ACN).

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMAs)

1. Examine the features of Branch party Organization?
2. Explain the merger of ACN, CPC and ANPP.
3. Briefly evaluate the performance of PDP led government since 1991.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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MODULE 1

UNIT 4

POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

1.0 Introduction

2.0 Objectives

3.0 Main contents

3.1 Some definitions of ideology

3.2 Features of ideology

3.3 Functions of ideology

3.4 Major political ideologies

4.0 Conclusion

5.0 Summary

6.0 Tutor marked assignment

7.0 References/further reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The term “ideology” has been defined by several social scientists in different ways according to their perception and prevailing circumstances at a particular moment. The term ideology was credited to a French philosopher Antoine Destut de Tracy (1754-1835). The term ideology according to Tracy means “Science of Ideas” Remi/Anifowose/Francis Enemuo (1999:74). But later, other scholars gave their own interpretations to the term ideology. Generally, ideology is supposed to be an organized set of related ideas that modify and support each other. All ideologies are meant to be futuristic that is to bring changes to the present conditions of the society in the future.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- Explain the term ideology
- Describe features of an ideology.
- Expatriate on the importance of ideology in a political system.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Some definitions of ideology.

Many scholars have defined the term ideology in several ways from their own perspectives and inclinations. Karl Mannheim, a sociologist defined ideology as “interest based and biased ideas of the dominant class in the society”. Remi Anifowose (1999:75). Karl Marx used the term to express class struggle and domination, Reochristians et al cited in Remi Anifowose put it succinctly when he said ideology are “The values or principles that those who exercise or seek political power refer to in order to lend legitimacy to their acts” Remi Anifowose (1999.75).

Naturally, all leaders want to legitimize their actions by using an ideology. Another scholar, Ayeni-Akeke defined it comprehensively, he said “an ideology may be defined as an action oriented system of ideas or beliefs that identifies the problems besetting the structure and processes of a society, and the alternative programmes and strategies for establishing another system that will overcome the observed deficiencies” Ayeni-Akeke (2008:168) An ideology should be capable of clearly identifying problems of the society and proffer solutions to the identified problems.

Shively another reputable scholar said that an “ideology is an organized set of related ideas that modify one another” Shively (2011:20). An ideology should contain ideas that are related to each other and support each other for societal growth and development. Shively went further when he said in terms of politics” an ideology, then, while it is an organized ideas, but as it absorbs new ideas in itself, evolves and is slowly modified” Shively (2011:21). We quite agree that an ideology should be capable of absorbing new ideas and bringing further ideas in order to ameliorate the living conditions of the people. The definition given by Destuil de Tracy is quite revealing. He said ideology means “Science of ideas or systematic study of origin, nature and development of ideas” Ayeni Akeke (2008:168). This definition is all encompassing and comprehensive. Other scholars that have given their definitions built on the foundation laid by de Tracy.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.1

- Define the term ideology
- Identify and analyse the most comprehensive among these definition

3.2 Features of An Ideology

Having looked at the meaning of ideology, let us now consider some of the features of an ideology. Ideology differs from each other and the extent to which the central issues are woven. The central issue could be economic, religious or cultural. The issues should be identified and clearly explained in simple straight forward language. The circumstance that leads to formulation of ideology differs. Some may be due to prevailing criminal acts in the society, level of poverty, insurrection, violence etc. the conditions that gave rise to these problems and the intended solutions are spelt out. Despite the differences in ideologies, there are some common features; one of them is that they tend to develop or arise during the period of social and political change and crisis in the society when all institutional and structural arrangements fails to deal with the prevailing situation. Ayeni Akeke (2008:169). Most ideologies are stated with persuasive language with a view to convince the people that it is for their benefit and further explain how obstacles and problems would be overcome.

Shively is of the view that ideologies tend to take life of their own after being formulated- “ideologies are not simply the creation of those who hold them; they tend to take on a life of their own and guide their holders’ political views in unanticipated ways Shively (2011:21).

Self-Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.2

- Discuss some features of an ideology.
- Analyse on a few similarities that are common to ideologies

3.3 Functions of an Ideology

Ideologies are useful to individuals and the public as a group. On the individual level, it helps to make reasonable choice from legions of political questions that we daily come in contact with. Shively opined that “an ideology helps us make sense out of politics for ourselves and gather allies for public argument. We develop our ideologies in such a way that they fit our needs and predispositions, reflecting what we want; but they

also take on a life of their own and guide our decisions” Shively (2011:21). Ideology also helps to explain one’s attitudes, beliefs, and values based on strong conviction to other people that one’s motives and intentions are not selfish or self-centred.

On the general public, ideology serves the function of mobilization and integration. Any social group, whether political party, pressure group, ethnic, or communal associations needs to be mobilized and integrated together in order to enhance the objective and goals of the organization. This is only possible through ideology since it holds or unites members together. Ideology can serve as a dynamic force in the life of an individual by providing them with a sense of “identity, place, motivation and commitment” Ayeni Akeke (2008:170). An ideology can equally create awareness, in a group to enable people to evaluate their environments, the changes taking place and what their reactions would be.

Self-Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.3

- Analyse the functions of an ideology
- Explain functions of an ideology to an individual

3.4 Major Political of Ideology

We have said that an ideology is a set of ideas, beliefs and values that guides political, economic and social actions of a nation. It gives direction to political and economic system of the society. People often describe ideologies according to their political inclinations, ideologies to the right or left, reactionary or radical, conservative or revolutionary.

These terms were used during the French Revolution to describe and give meaning to the sitting arrangement of the supporters and non- supporters of the king. Precisely, those who sat to the rights of the king were those who favor the regime of the king and want its rule to continue while those who sat to the left wanted or supported complete overhaul to the institution of the state. Right is often used in economic sense to describe the rich and affluent members of the society who are in favor of private enterprise with little government interference. Those who favor this type of ideology can be considered

selfish and weak. They do not want change and they want the existing status-quo to continue so that there will be peace and orderliness in the political system. The leftist on the other hand, are the radicals who are not satisfied with the existing state of affairs in the society. They have positive views of the nature of man and the society. They favor changes in all aspects of human endeavor and that man is social, can reason and should develop all his potentials to realize or achieve his goals. They support government control of the economy. We should bear in mind that the leftist or left wing who wants a change whether by peaceful or violent means to the existing order of the society are radicals. That is why they sometimes advocate for government to take over full control of all productive and distributive ventures of the state so that every citizen can benefit.

Ayeni-Akeke clearly differentiated the radicals and revolutionaries. He said “leftist ideologies who advocate moderate changes in the existing structure of the society or system of government by peaceful means are called “radicals” while those who go further and advocate complete overhaul of the system, if necessary, by violent means, are referred to as revolutionaries Ayeni Akeke (2008:171). It is important to note that these ideologies can be classified into three broad groups; Ayeni Akeke classified them as follows: ideologies as left, right and centre. “Socialism, communion and anarchism fall into the left category, conservatism and fascism fall into right and liberalism into the centre” Ayeni Akeke (2008:173). Let us have a brief look at the description of major political ideologies.

Capitalism is an economic and political system that allows private ownership of means of production, distribution and exchange. This system allows individuals to own property; while government participation is very low. Private individuals who have economic capability can participate in all sector of the economy. In this type of economic system, profit is the main motive for the individual. All the advanced or developed nations of the world such as Japan, North America and Australia etc adopted capitalist economic system. Those who favor capitalism, belong to the right wing in view of the fact that they believe in gradual and peaceful change. They are also very conservative. Those who favor socialism and communism belong to the left wing.

In this type of system, there is absolute freedom to participate in all the economic ventures of the state and the few rich people amass huge capital at the expense of the poor. It is an open system that permits inequality of wealth and opportunities among various segment of the society. Some of the features of capitalism include private enterprises, which are the basis of the economy; the state exercises minimum control over the economy; profit is the sole motive of establishing the enterprises; political power is in the hand of a few individual; freedom of choice to consumers; owners of property to buy whatever they like; there are many producers as well as many buyers and competitive spirit among various producers.

In this system also, there is class war between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. It should be pointed out that for the interest of the public, the government regulates the activities of private companies and enterprises so as to avoid total monopoly and undue exploitation of the masses.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.4

- Define capitalism.
- Examine the salient features of capitalism

Conservatism: those who believe in this ideology, perceives the society from organic point of view. They do not differentiate between the state and the society and the interest of the society is higher and greater than the interest of individuals. The conservatives believe in the preservation of the interest of the society and objectives, and practices of the state should naturally put them into consideration. Conservatism detests individualism of liberal ideology. They place maximum regard on collectivity than individuality. The conservatives also believe that men are not equal and that people are gifted more than each other.

Those who are really gifted contributed more to the society and should be given the chance of leadership in the society. The few that are really gifted constitute the minority in the society and they should be honored. This view was supported by Edmond Burke, an English political leader and philosopher, who remarked that “some men are

equipped by nature or heredity with qualities and capabilities that make them fit for positions of leadership” Ayeni Akeke (2008:174). Long before his view, Plato, Machiavelli to Hobbes had all said the same thing. The people who are not gifted if given the chance or opportunity of leadership would not be able to tolerate those who do not share their opinions and therefore they would be oppressive and wicked.

This would be clearly against the structure of the society. This is the basic reason why the conservative rejected any reform that would not allow the few gifted people to rule. Ayeni Akeke posits that “it is for this reason that conservatives are against political reforms or innovations that would dilute the monopoly of governing by the aristocracy” Ayeni Akeke (2008:175). This does not necessarily means that the conservatives accept the domination of lesser mortals by gifted and powerful. The conservative welcomes power not as an end but as a means of reward for anyone who is naturally endowed. People should rely on themselves, work hard and be honest while the government should protect the interest of the people.

Socialism: Socialist ideology began right from the time of Jean-Jacques Rousseau 1712-1778, early nineteen-century thinkers and efforts of philosophers like Claude Henri Saint Simon 1760-1825, Charles Fourier 1772-1837 and Robert Owen 1717-1885. Most people enormously equate socialism with the ideas of Karl Marx. These philosophers were moved by the misery of the people of their time and propounded the ideas of resettling them into smaller communities whereby their basic needs would be met. They believe that by appealing to the conscience of the powerful and influential people around them, the needs of the people can be met without resorting to violence and disorderly behavior. Robert Owen experimented this by organizing workers in his factory and he constructed cheap houses for them.

Another type of socialism is what is known as democratic socialism. The main purpose of this was to fight the ills of capitalism. The democratic socialists called for abolition of private ownership of means of production, distribution and control. The democratic socialists limited their activities to public and social ownership of means of production.

The main concern of socialism is “opposition to poverty, economic exploitation, social stratification and political domination and oppression” Akeke (2008:180). The socialists believe that man can reason very well and capable of taking independent and rational actions. Socialism is mainly an egalitarian ideology. The socialists believe in equal rights; can govern themselves; overriding interest of the majority over those of the minority.

Liberalism: This concept is not precisely defined but regards human as “social, self-centred but equal, free, reasoning and rational individuals who can determine their own needs and how to attain them” Akeke (2008:177). They hold the belief that human life is very important as a member of the society. It places emphasis on the individual that he is intelligent, self-loving, creative who struggle to excel in all possible ways. The liberalist rationalizes and justifies individualism based on the belief that self-love is a natural attribute that must be satisfied in order to be happy.

They do not believe that people should be forced to do or accomplish anything since man is capable of reasoning by himself. They contend that those that are put in authority should provide opportunity for individual to excel according to his innate ability. The liberals have the strong conviction that justice will prevail if individuals are rewarded according to his talents, and contributions to the society at large. Freedom of individual is of paramount importance for individual to achieve his or her goal in life so they canvass for right to freedom of speech, association, worship etc. Finally, the liberals argue that it is wrong for a person to claim to know what is good for others or make attempt to dictate to others what they should do.

Communism is generally considered to be an advanced stage of socialism. The term was made popular by Karl Marx and Engels. Lenin practiced it in his period. It is essentially a social system whereby there is a common ownership of mass production, distribution and exchange. The sole aim of the founder is the development classless society based on “equality, co-operation, freedom from exploitation” Alonge (2005: 35). The general slogan in the communist states is “from each according to his ability and to each person according to his needs”.

North Korea and China still practices communism in different version. Some of the features of communism includes: a centralize economy planned and controlled by the party in power; establishment of an egalitarian society where everybody is equal; only communist political party functions very well even though there are other smaller parties; abolition of private property etc.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.5

- Enumerate features of communism
- Discuss the motive behind communism as an ideology

4.0 CONCLUSION

An ideology is a set of ideas, values and beliefs that guides social and political actions of a nation. There is generally a description of ideology to the right or left to show certain political inclination to a specific ideology. We said that ideology can serve as a dynamic force in the life of an individual or nation. It is an instrument of social mobilization and integration in a society.

5.0 SUMMARY

We looked at the meaning of ideology as set of ideas, values and beliefs that shapes and guides political actions of state. We examined conservative, liberalism, socialism, capitalism and communism as ideologies. Conservatism is an ideology that calls for domination of the poor mortals by the rich, powerful and gifted in the society while capitalism is an economic system of production and distribution of goods and services in the hands of private people with the motive of accumulating profit. Socialism is a social political and economic system, in which the state owns and controls the means of production and distribution of goods and services, Communism on the other hand advocates collective ownership of production of goods and services for the welfare of the poor mortals.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMAs)

1. Outline the main features of capitalism
2. Examine the salient functions of conservatism.
3. Explain the term democratic socialism

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UNIT 5

THE FRANCHISE

1.0 Introduction

2.0 Objectives

3.0 Main content

3.1 Condition necessary for franchise

3.2 Restricted franchise

3.3 Universal Adult Suffrage

4.0 Conclusion

5.0 Summary

6.0 Tutor-marked Assignment

7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This is the political rights or privilege granted by the state to an individual to vote in an election or referendum. People that are qualified to vote in an election are called the electorate. It must be stated that not everybody can vote in a political system. However, the process through which an individual is granted the franchise is known as enfranchisement while its withdrawal is known as disenfranchisement.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- Explain the importance of franchise.
- Condition that must be fulfilled before franchise can be granted or withdrawn.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Conditions necessary for franchise

There are major criteria for franchise in this modern age but they vary from country to country. Some of these criteria are age, sex, race. Age is of paramount importance and would be voter is expected to reach maturity age before such a privilege can be granted to him or her etc.

In Nigeria, 18years, Britain, USA adopts 18 years respectively while Germany adopts 20years. Citizenship is also another important consideration in suffrage. Only legal citizen of a country are allowed to vote and those that acquire citizenship of a country through naturalization. A person who wishes to vote in an election must be properly registered by the electoral authority of the country he resides in and be issued with voters registration card. Residence is another crucial factor before a person can be allowed to vote. A person must have lived in a place for a specified number of years before he/she can be registered as a voter. Other conditions specified includes ownership of property, insanity, criminal records, bankruptcy

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.1

- Enumerate conditions necessary before enfranchisement can be granted to a citizen of a country.
- Explain the term disenfranchisement

3.2 Restricted franchise

This means only certain category of people has the right to vote in an election/referendum or people who have special qualification can vote. This system is highly restrictive and only those who meet the stipulated condition are allowed to vote or be voted for. For example, before the apartheid regime was dismantled in South Africa, only the whites were allowed to vote, the blacks were not allowed. Those who favour restrictive franchise base their argument on the following premises that only those who are of sound minds without any criminal records should be accorded the franchise; those who actually know the meaning and importance of voting should be allowed to vote. People who have property and have resided long in a particular locality should be allowed to vote. The supporter of this restrictive franchise also believe that women should not be allowed to vote in view of the fact that they are likely to follow the pattern of voting of their husbands. The critics of restrictive franchise hold the view that the system is discriminatory and undemocratic. Akinbade (2008:171).

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.2

- Define the term restricted franchise.
- Describe its functions.
- **The Universal Adult Suffrage**

This system is very popular and generally acknowledged. It is a system whereby all qualified adults of matured age have the rights to vote and be voted for. Since it is not possible to extend the franchise to everybody, there are some conditions that must be met before the privilege can be extended. Some of these conditions have been discussed above which includes residence, no criminal records, sanity, education, race etc. Those who favour this system base their argument on the following:

- It enables all qualified adults to exercise their fundamental human rights;
- It considers the interest of the women i.e. not discriminatory;
- The system is popular and it takes care of the interest of the majority.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Franchise or suffrage is the political privilege granted to an individual to vote in an election or referendum by the state. Not everybody in a country can participate in voting so the needs for adult suffrage become highly important with some conditions or modifications.

5.0 SUMMARY

We remarked that franchise and suffrage are used interchangeably and they mean the same thing i.e. That is the political rights granted by the state to an individual to participate in an election or referendum. It can also be granted or withdrawn. We also itemized conditions necessary for granting suffrage to the citizens of a country. We also discussed restricted suffrage as limited right or restricted rights only to male adults or people with special qualifications.

7.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMAs)

1. Define the term suffrage
2. Examine the shortcomings of restricted franchise
3. Explain fully the merits of Universal Adult suffrage.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

- | | |
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MODULE 2: PARTY SYSTEM

Unit 1: Single-Party System

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction**
- 2.0 Objectives**
- 3.0 Main contents**
 - 3.1 Meaning of single party system**
 - 3.2 Features of single party system**
 - 3.3 Problems of party politics**
- 4.0 Conclusion**
- 5.0 Summary**
- 6.0 Tutor-marked assignment**
- 7.0 References/further reading**

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Political parties operate in a political environment and how parties interact and relate with each other in the political process is known as party system. Adigun Agbaje put it this way “A party system is a network of relationship through which parties interact and influence the political process” Adigun Agbaje in Anifowose (1999:198). The political environment in which political parties operate can be competitive or non-competitive. A competitive party is one in which more than one political party is legally and constitutionally allowed to operate by the State.

Two-party and multi-party systems are examples of competitive party system because they are given opportunities to contest elections in the electoral process. But in a non-competitive party system, only one party is legally allowed to be active. There may be in existence smaller political parties, they have to concede to the ruling powers of the dominant party. It should be noted that the behavior of political parties determines the kind of party system in existence for instance in a real competitive party system, parties are likely to engage in a variety of political activities because of the spirit of competition among the political parties whereas this is not really so in a non-competitive party system.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- ❖ Define party system.
- ❖ Differentiate between competitive and non competitive party system.
- ❖ Explain the merits and demerits of single party and multi-party system.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Meaning of Single Party System

A single party system is a system in which only one party is legally and officially recognized by the state. There may be in existence other smaller political parties but they have to concede to the authority of the dominant political party. A single party performs better in a smaller country with a small population and landmass. Example of single party state in Africa includes: Guinea under Ahmed Toure, Africa National Congress in South Africa, the Kenyatta's Kenya, Zambia had operated single party system.

Other examples include People's Action Party in Singapore, Institutional Revolutionary party (PRI) in Mexico. The PRI as a government party won all presidential elections and ruled the country close to seventy years before the system broke down in 1997. (Shively 2011:267). The strong hold of the PRI was effectively challenged in 2000 by Vicente Fox of the National Action Party and it won the presidency. This paved the way for a true and competitive electoral victory.

Similarly in Indian, the Congress Party held sway for about three decades after she became an independent nation in 1947. In Israel also, the Labour Party had an uninterrupted domination of political power right from the time she became a nation in 1948 until 1977 when a coalition of opposition parties called Likud defeated Labour Party at the polls (Shively 2011:269). In a single party system, the "ruling" party generally functions as government party. The single party is the supreme social institution in the state and all citizens are expected to belong to the single dominant party which is contrary to the spirit of democracy that allows freedom of speech and association on public issues.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.1

- Explain the term single-party system.
- Name and describe countries that practice single-party system of government.

3.2 Features of single party systems

There are many features or characteristics of a single-party system; we will examine a few of them here. In a single-party system, fundamental human rights like freedom of association and speech are generally curtailed. Close to this, no official opposition party is legally allowed. Any opposition parties that exist do so at its own risk. The constitutionally recognized party is the ruling party and in most cases, any attempt to form or join any other political party is regarded as treasonable act. The dominant political party can be totalitarian in nature. It is always very difficult to remove the dominant political party from office regardless of how they come to power.

In one party system, election results can easily be predicted, there is limited political education for the electorate; the government party controls the instrument of coercion and propaganda. The programmes, goals and ideology of the party are the only ones recognized and enforced in the state. In the single party system, power and authority is concentrated in the hand of the party's leadership which leads to dictatorship and finally, mass media like radio, television and newspapers are controlled by the state.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.2

- Analyse the features of one party system
- Name the countries that practices single party system in Africa.

3.3 Problems of Party Politics

Despite the enormous benefits of party politics, there are negative consequences of political system. Some of the problems include:

- Party politics may lead to the division of the society along different ideology and programme since they would make efforts to lobby the electorates along their programmes and activities. The parties can use all persuasive means and tricks to woo candidates to its fold.

- Since party system is based on winners-take-all, highly intelligent and wealthy individual may be excluded from the system.
- It can lead to political instability in the sense that it can divide the opinions of the electorates in a dangerous way that will not augur well for the political system.
- Any opposition party that feels unjustifiably edged out of power, can resorts to any subversive means including destruction of the ruling party.
- The freedom of the electorates and the legislators are usually sacrificed at the expense of the party. Parliamentary members are expected to tow the party lines when it comes to the issues of voting in the parliament.
- The ruling party does not usually tolerate the views and opinions of the opposition party and this leads to political clashes, thuggery, victimization and infringement on fundamental human rights.
- Political parties may use any means to access power including foul means. This is very common in African politics. For instance, the 1983 general election was alleged to be massively rigged in favor of the NPN and Mr. Tunji Braith-waite called it electoral “coup d’état”.
- Party politics can leads to corruption and nepotism since political appointments, contracts, and other fringe benefits are doled out on the patronage and loyalties to the party.
- Party system leads to neglect of some areas of a country that failed to vote for the party in power. This is very common in Nigeria party politics and leads to uneven development in the country.
- Public funds are usually expended in sponsoring political parties, their members and other miscellaneous expenses.
- It breeds partisan politics and inculcates party loyalty instead of patriotism.

- Party members in most cases, usually fight for their interest. Members consider every important issue from the party's point of view instead of national or community interest and the consequence is that the national or general interest is sacrificed on the altar of sectional interest and eventually narrows the vision of the members since they are more concerned with the interest of their party.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.3

- Explain how party politics can bring division in the society.
- Analyse how party politics can bring corruption in the society.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The network of relationship by which parties interact and influence political system is known as party system. There is a single-party system, two-party system and multi-party system. The type of system a country adopts depends on the political environment, type of structure of government whether presidential or parliamentary system of government etc.

5.0 SUMMARY

Competition is the only common variable that can be used to explain the relationship and structure of political parties. A single-party state tend to have strong and dedicated leaders, basic fundamental human rights like freedom of association, speech are curtailed in this system.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMAs)

1. Define party system.
2. Enumerate problems of party politics
3. Explain how party crises could be resolved

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MODULE 2

UNIT 2: MERITS AND DEMERITS OF SINGLE PARTY SYSTEM

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction**
- 2.0 Objectives**
- 3.0 Main contents**
 - 3.1 Merits of single party system**
 - 3.2 Demerits of single party system**
 - 3.3 Reasons for one party system in Africa**
- 4.0 Conclusion**
- 5.0 Summary**
- 6.0 Tutor-marked assignment**
- 7.0 References/further reading**

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Having considered the features of a single party system as enumerated above, one simple technique of classifying different party system is to put them in three groups; one-party system, bi-party system or two-party system and multi-party systems respectively. Parties are the crucial organs through “which responsibilities of the rulers are enforced” (Johari 2011:443).

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- Explain various advantages of single party system.
- Enumerate demerits of single party system.

3.0 MAIN CONTENTS

3.1 Merits of Single Party System

- Single party system is naturally in accordance with African traditional political system whereby opposition is considered illegal.
- It removes problems associated with tribalism, ethnicity and unite the people together.

- It leads to the development of the spirit of patriotism and consciousness in the people and it makes it easy to mobilize the people to elect their leaders during election.
- It helps to muster efforts together to get the best personal and human resources to run the affairs of the country.
- Single party system provides opportunity for political stability and national unity by not polarizing the society into various groups that may lead to clashes and violence.
- It allows pooling together the national resources of the country for progress and development. When there is no division in the political system, and harmony prevails, resources can be used for the development of the country.
- It reduces waste and duplication of efforts that are characteristics of two-party and multi-party systems
- Single party system leads to the emergence of strong leadership for instance, in the period of late Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. The Convention People's Party (CPP) was firmly under his control and in Tanzania under Nyerere's T.A.N.U, he had full control.
- It gives opportunity for easy and quick decision making process particularly during periods of national emergency or crisis or war.
- The system is cheap and not expensive; and generally election in one party-state tends to be free and fair due to lack of competition from opposition party.
- Only one ideology is put forward by the party. The only ideology may not be acceptable by the generality of the people in the state.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.1

- Enumerate the advantages of a single-party system
- Identify and discuss countries in West Africa that had practice one-party system of government

3.2 Demerits of Single Party System

The various reasons in support of single party system may not be convincing to those who do not support it on the ground that single-party system is antithetical to working of a democratic system. In actual fact, it is another pattern of a totalitarian system. Rodee, eds. put it succinctly when he remarked:

“The one-party state is founded on assumption that the sovereign will of the state reposes in the leader and the political elite. The authoritarian principles found expression first in monarchies and more recently in dictatorship. Needing a monopoly of power to survive, the dictatorship abolishes all opposition parties. In order to adopt techniques of physical coercion such as purge and liquidation and to employ measures of psychological coercion through extensive and vigorous propaganda campaigns” Rodee eds. cited in (Johari 2011: 437).

Let us examine other aspect of the demerits of single party system,

- It limits the choice of the electorates in term of candidates and programmes. They have to choose among the limited candidates given by the political party.
- Single party system offers limited political education since there is no opportunity for alternative views and programmes.
- It does not make for peaceful change of government. Since there is no alternative political party that can take over the government, instability may result in the political system we should note that it is very difficult for the electorates to change an unpopular government without resorting to violence and destructions.
- The chief distinguishing factor of a single political party is that it does not tolerate opposition party. It considers any opposition party as threat that should be eliminated. For instances, Odinga Odinga of Kenya and Joshua Nkomo of Zimbabwe were punished by the ruling parties of their countries.

- Single party breeds corruption, nepotism and other negative vices, and it is not uncommon for the leadership of party government to enrich themselves at the expense of the State.
- Curtailment of personal liberty. In this system, fundamental human rights of association, speech, expression are placed under serious watch, the leadership often use the apparatus of state machinery to punish their perceived “enemies”

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.2

- Explain the merits of single party system
- Discuss demerits of single party system

3.3 REASONS FOR ONE PARTY SYSTEM IN AFRICA.

It is appropriate to examine a few reasons why one-party system is common in Africa

- A single party system is in line with Africa democracy and it conforms with African traditional system of government. There existed in Africa even before the advent of Europeans that partitioned Africa into several countries, communal democracy in traditional African society. The bi-party and multi-party system were alien to Africans. There was no opposition to various traditional rulers in their domain unlike Europe where the rule of parliamentary behaviour based on simple majority was the natural order while in Africa democracy was based on consensus of opinion. (Alonge 2005:174)
- It leads to a greater number of people participating in the political process without cut-throat competition that are the major characteristic of two and multi-party system respectively. For instance, Modibo Keita of Mali once said that being in public authority is clearly in accordance with the will of the people.
- Generally, African leaders want to hold tenaciously to political power and they tend to deal seriously with any attempt to strip them of such political power because it is the only means of acquiring wealth and popularity.

- Majority of African states cannot afford the huge expenses of financing multi-party system and therefore consider it to be too expensive and complex and these generates unhealthy rivalry and frictions among the electorates.
- It is believed that one-party system will quicken the level of social and economic development of the people and will raise the standard of living and any attempt to frustrate this effort is seriously frowned at.
- Most African new states have no class division in their present state of development to warrant the existence of rival political parties like the advanced industrial societies. Julius Nyerere once remarked that “Europeans and American parties came into being as a result of internal, social and economic divisions and the monopoly of power by the aristocratic group which did not exist in Africa society. Moreover, there are no sharp ideological differences between the government party and the opposition as between the capitalist and the socialists in the western and eastern blocs. Therefore, opposition is regarded as an unnecessary dissipation of energy” (Alonge 2005:173).
- One party system is prevalent in Africa because it will foster national unity and integration. In Africa, society with various tribal and ethnic coloration, only single party system can adequately bring them together and promote the sense of togetherness among them.

Julius Nyerere once asserted that “a one party system eliminate a kind of political warfare and wranglings which are common features of European multi- party and two-party systems” (Alonge 2005:173). It must be noted that the tendency towards one-party state has become more pronounced in the French speaking countries, the process of absorption by government party removed or eliminated the opposition party and they use drastic laws on the leaders of the opposition and imprison them without trial.

One-party system was not restricted to French speaking countries only, we also note Ghana under Kwame Nkrumah. He destroyed and imprisoned all his political opponents. He used the Preventive Detention Act of 1958 to deal ruthlessly with the opposition when

he led the government of Convention Peoples Party (CPP). We should equally note Dr. Hilla Limann of Liberia 1980-1981 when he led the government of the Peoples National Party (PNP). He suppressed the opposition parties until Ft Lt J.J. Rawlings terminated his regime in a coup of December 4, 1981. Siaka Stevens and other opposition leaders of People Congress were charged with libel, conspiracy, sedition and sentenced to six months imprisonment.

4.0 CONCLUSION

In this unit, we highlighted various merits and demerits of single-party system and we remarked that single party system leads to dictatorship and does not easily provide for a smooth change of government. It does not tolerate opposition and the system encourages misuse of power. Regardless of these shortcomings, it enables easy mobilization of the people by their leaders and ensures political stability.

5.0 SUMMARY

A single-party system is in line with African political system and tends to enhance national integration and unity. The trend towards one party-system is more pronounced in French speaking countries than the English speaking countries. A single-party system leads to rapid economic development in an atmosphere that is free from political violence and political bickering.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAs)

- Examine reasons for the formation of political parties
- Explain the main characteristics of political parties
- Discuss why one party system is common in African countries.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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MODULE 2

UNIT 3 FEATURES OF TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction**
- 2.0 Objectives**
- 3.0 Main contents**
 - 3.1 Features of two-party system**
 - 3.2 Political opposition**
 - 3.3 Factors that help electoral success of a political party**
 - 3.4 Zero party system**
- 4.0 Conclusion**
- 5.0 Summary**
- 6.0 Tutor-marked assignment**
- 7.0 References/further reading**

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In a two-party system, there are two major political parties of almost the same strength and a few minor political parties too small to make any tangible impact in the outcome of an election. It does not imply that there are only two political parties in a two-party system. They can be more. Only two main political parties are dominant and officially recognized. Only two political parties were legally allowed to operate in Nigeria during the aborted third Republic 1992-1993. The two dominant political parties were. The Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the National Republican Convention (NRC), in Britain two dominant parties exist – the Conservative and the Labor party even though there is liberal party and it operates in the same political system but it is not officially recognized. In USA, there is the Democratic and the Republican parties.

Other countries that operate two-party systems include Canada and New Zealand etc. Britain and USA are the two leading countries that practices two-party system of government, the two political parties in Britain can be distinguished by their policies and programmes. This is not strictly so when we talk about the two parties in USA because their ideologies are similar.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- Explain major characteristics features of a two-party system
- Discuss countries that operate two-party system of government in Africa and in Europe.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Features of Two-Party System

In this party system, the following features are clearly recognizable:

- ❖ Two major political parties are constitutionally allowed to operate and a few other minor parties may also be represented in the parliament.
- ❖ The two-party system can operate in cabinet and presidential system of government.
- ❖ With or without support of the minor political parties, one of the major political parties in a cabinet system should be able to form stable government until the next general election.
- ❖ In the cabinet system of government one of the political parties that wins a majority of the vote forms the government and takes over the affairs of ruling the country while the other party that is defeated forms the opposition and examines in details policies and programmes of the party in power.
- ❖ The two major parties always compete for the approval of the majority of the electorate by “strategizing” before and during the election.
- ❖ Party ideologies are not emphasized a great deal in the two-party system.
- ❖ Each party tries to avoid internal wrangling and dispute so that they can put forward a combined strength and secure victory in the election.
- ❖ There could be independent candidate during elections i.e. candidate that are not sponsored by any political party.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.1

- Explain the features of two-party system.
- Define two-party system.

3.2 Political Opposition

This is a party or group of parties that do not form part of the ruling party in the parliament. It is normally considered as the second largest party in parliament or a group of coalition parties that fails to capture majority seat to form government. It is more common in parliamentary system of government and the opposition party has different programmes and ideology they hope to implement with the intention of securing better life for the people. It is noteworthy that political oppositions are quite tolerated in western democracies of Europe and America but not so in African countries whereby they are suppressed by the party in power.

Political opposition performs laudable role in politics. They check abuse of power and dictatorial tendencies of the ruling power or government. It makes the government to be responsible and accountable to the people. It is naturally a salient feature of a democratic government. Criticisms are not the sole duty of the opposition; they co-operate with the ruling party at committee meetings and contribute to debates on crucial issues of national importance. The oppositions also protect the interest of the minority and serve as an alternative ruling government when there is need particularly in a parliamentary system of government. The opposition also co-operate with the ruling government during national crises emergencies, war etc. When criticisms are not constructive from the opposition, it tend to create confusion, and weak government but all being said, a responsible government should tolerate existence of opposition party in order to keep the ruling party on track and maintain the balance of power.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.2

- Explain the term opposition party.
- Discuss the advantages of opposition party

3.3 Factors that Aids Electoral Success of A political Party.

To be successful in an electoral contest or competition, certain factors and conditions must be fulfilled and some of them are:

- ❖ Credible leadership with good records of achievements that are capable of mobilizing members of the party to achieve the desired goal.
- ❖ Organisation/large membership; the party should be well organized and with a wide geographical spread and clearly stated objectives that people can easily understand and follow.
- ❖ Good programmes/manifestoes: The programmes and manifestoes should be able to enhance the status of the people. All promises made should be fulfilled.
- ❖ There should be effective discipline in the rank and file of the party. This will encourage large number of people to follow the party.
- ❖ The party should have strong financial base since money is the bed-rock of all enterprises. Money for publicity, tours, campaigns etc.
- ❖ Effective publicity: The activities of the parties must be publicized in both electronic and printed media i.e. Tv, radio, newspapers etc.
- ❖ Rallies should be held regularly in order to mobilize the people and create necessary awareness.
- ❖ Quality of candidates presented for election is very crucial. Past records of candidates must be carefully scrutinized so that they can be accepted and not thrown out during election.
- ❖ Impartial umpire in form of electoral body who will not compromise or be carried away by the sight of brand new currency notes.
- ❖ Security should be provided for officials of the electoral body, for materials, the voters etc.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.3

- Enumerate the factors that can help political party to succeed
- Examine the functions of electoral commission

3.4 Zero party system

Zero party system is mainly based on candidate individuals merit rather than party line. Any interested candidates who have satisfied the necessary conditions laid down by electoral body are simply voted for by the electorate. Various groups in the society have opportunities to participate in this system since it compromises the military, civil service workers, traditional rulers etc. this system has its own merits. Time is well managed and electoral malpractices are reduced to the barest minimum. This system is not expensive in terms of cost of conducting elections and there is quick decision making process.

The electorates have ample opportunity to choose candidate of their choice from several candidates presented for election. The demerits in the system are that those elected may not be responsible political leaders and the conduct of the election could be very poor; this system is capable of breeding political violence and instability. These systems can succeed in a society where there is an acceptable national ideology, programmes and tolerance.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.4

- Enumerate the demerits of zero-party system
- Examine its advantages.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Two-party system prevents dictatorship that is common in single party system and also provides the electorate with clear choice between two different parties, policies, programmes etc and serves as strong opposition that is able to form government when the ruling party fails to win in an election.

5.0 SUMMARY

A two-party system may be defined as political system in which only two political parties are constitutionally allowed to operate and power alternates between the two dominant major parties in the country. It is the only venue in which the people can at the election period, choose its government. It is also known as bi-party system.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAs)

1. Define two-party system.
2. Explain the benefits of two-party system.
3. Discuss ways by which two-party system is better than one-party system

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MODULE 2

UNIT 4: MERITS AND DEMERITS OF TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

- 1.0 Introduction**
- 2.0 Objectives**
- 3.0 Main contents**
 - 3.1 Merits of two-party system**
 - 3.2 Demerits of two-party system**
 - 3.3 Example of NPN & SDP in the aborted 3rd Republic**
 - 3.4 Debate on type of party system Nigeria should adopt**
- 4.0 Conclusion**
- 5.0 Summary**
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment**
- 7.0 References/Further Reading**

1.0 INTRODUCTION

A two-party system refers to a situation whereby two-political parties dominate the political system. The two dominant parties have equal chance and opportunities of winning elections and forming government alternatively. There may be other political parties but only two parties have the advantage of forming government. Two-party system exist in Canada, in Britain there are labor and conservative parties respectively while in USA there are Democratic and Republican parties and in the aborted third republic in Nigeria, the social democratic party and the national republican convention existed. Let us briefly look at the merit of two-party system.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit you should be able to

- Explain merits of two-party system
- Explain the demerits of two-party system

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Merits of two-party system

- This system gives opportunity to the electorate to choose between two parties, manifestoes, policies and candidates.
- It prevents dictatorial tendencies of one-party system by giving opportunity to express ones views on crucial issues.
- It gives ample opportunity to criticize policies and actions of the ruling party and offer alternative suggestions.
- This system paves way for political stability by reducing ethnic rivalries and tribalism by taking care of the need of the various groups in the society.
- It allows the ruling party to be accountable and responsible because the electorate would know where to direct their complaints and criticism. When a ruling party fails in its expectations to the people, it risks its chance in the next election.
- It allows peacefully change of government. This is because the opposition party acts as a very good alternative government. This in turn gives room for healthy competition.
- A two-party system helps to protect the interest of the minority because the opposition would always highlight the interest of the minority group not adequately represented.
- It prevents the abuse of power of the party in power for instance, any legislation that is against the interest of the people are normally thrown out during the passage of the bill in the parliament through reasonable and constructive criticism of the opposition party.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.1

- Describe the functions performed by opposition party.
- Enumerate the merits of two-party system.

3.2 Demerits of two-party system

Some of the demerits of two party systems are the following:

- ❖ Two-party systems tend to polarize the society into two opposing groups which may lead to disunity. It also leads to marginalization of the minority in a multiethnic society like Nigeria.
- ❖ Since both major parties are not ideological, the electorate may find it difficult to choose between the parties in terms of programmes and policies unlike one party system where the voters are compelled to concentrate on candidates rather than principles and programmes.
- ❖ The system is often based on winner-take-all and this can lead to exclusion of the best brain from the government
- ❖ A two-party system often creates chaos and violence because the ruling party may want to perpetuate itself in power and use all power at its disposal. This unhealthy rivalry does not augur well for the peace and development of any nation.
- ❖ The system is highly expensive when it comes to issues of fund, time particularly during election.
- ❖ It does not give opportunity for growth and development of minor political parties.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.2

- Examine some demerits of two-party system.
- Specify the roles of opposition in a two-party system of government.

3.3 National Republic Convention (NRC)

National Republic Convention & Social Democratic Party as examples of two-party system in the aborted third republic of Nigeria 1993. In the Second Republic in Nigeria which started in October 1979 and came to an abrupt end in 1983, the republic was based on multi-party system. Two dominant political parties dominated political system then. These were National Party of Nigeria (NPN) and Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN). Alhaji

Sheu Shagari was declared the winner of the presidential election by the Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO). His opponent, Chief Obafemi Awolowo of UPN went to court. It was a legal battle between the two political parties regarding the interpretation of two-third of nineteen states as stipulated in the electoral laws. The court eventually declared Sheu Shagari the winner of the election.

In the aborted third republic of 1993, two-political parties were forced on Nigerians by the military government of General Ibrahim Babangida. These parties were Social Democratic Party (SDP) and National Republican Convention (NRC). These parties were structured in a way that they appeared broad based. Nigerians were free to choose from any of these parties. It must be noted here that the military government initiated and funded these parties. The slogan was “a little to the left and a little to the right” which was generally considered nationalistic.

This arrangement was highly welcomed by Nigerians since it was devoid of ethnic colouration and people turned out in their thousands to vote for candidates of their choice. All the elections were considered peaceful, free and fair. National Electoral commission under the Chairmanship of Professor Humphrey Nwosu adopted option A4. It was a device or method by which voters lined up behind the portraits or pictures of candidates of their choice and the results were announced as they came out. State Electoral Commissioners in each state were empowered to announce the results.

It was presidential result that was being awaited from some states when an unsigned statement announced the cancellation of the election even though the result of the states already released showed that Chief M.K.O Abiola won the election. There was no reason given for the cancellation of the election. The Chairman of NECO, Professor Nwosu was subsequently arrested and detained by the military authority.

As a result of this annulment, heavens were let loose and violent demonstrations, chaos, looting, killings and complete breakdown of law and order. On August, 26th 1993, President Ibrahim Babangida stepped aside and handed over to an Interim National Government headed by Chief Shonekan to pilot the affairs of the nation.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.3

- Explain option A4 as a system of voting.
- Describe the roles of the two-presidential aspirants in the election of 1993.

3.4 Unending debate of two-party system for Nigeria

For quite some time now, there have been series of debates about the best party-system that is most suitable for Nigeria. A lot have been written that two-party system is appropriate for Nigeria on account that it would serve as a credible opposition party while the supporters of multi-party system says it is most democratic because it will cater for the interest of the minority. Let us begin by saying that the older democracies that we are following their pattern i.e. America has two dominant political parties i.e. Republican and Democratic parties while Britain has Labor and Conservative parties. Any of the parties that fail to win election in these two countries automatically serves as alternative power holder.

The coming on board of All Progressive Party (APC) to the political system is seen by many people as a welcome relief to the perpetual domination of the PDP government for the past fourteen years without any concrete achievement. With the victory of the Peoples Democratic Party at the polls of 1999, 2003, 2007 and 2011 elections, the party has had enough of poor leadership and bad governance. From all indications, the umbrella which has for long covered the faces of Nigerians from seeing and enjoying positive impact of democracy is now torn into pieces. The party is now having two factions: one led by Baraje and the other anchored by Bamanga Tukur. Having looked at the whole situation, one can safely conclude that each of the two political factions stand the chance if winning political the battle.

If one considers the power behind Bamanga Tukur and his formidable team, this should be of great worries to Baraje's group. But that is not all, when one quickly remember the great men in Baraje's group, people like Atiku Abubakar, Lamido Sulaimon, Rabiun Kwan Kwaso etc this should be of great concern to Bamanga Tukur's team. This ugly development shows that things have started to fall apart and the centre

may not necessarily hold for this great party. Nigerians have been praying silently for this type of opportunity. The internal crisis in the PDP is very good for the political health of Nigeria and for all Nigerians and the concept called democracy. We are not tempted to say All Progressive Congress (APC) that is made up of three opposition parties have solutions to myriad of problems besetting the country, but it will give the current ruling party a very serious battle at the polls since people are already tired of recycling old politicians at the helm of affairs of the country.

The imposition of two-party system on the nation in 1989 by General Ibrahim Babangida can be considered missioner. These parties were Social Democratic Party and National Republican Convention. Several political transition programmes were not followed and in the end, the free and fair presidential election conducted was annulled in an unsigned statement of June 23, 1993. One crucial observation that we should bear in mind is that the older democracies that operates two-party system develop from their different societal perspectives and were not imposed on the people like Babangida did in 1989. The older democracies referred to base their politics on ideology particularly during the cold war and after the cold war, shifted ground to “issues-based politics”.

It is even not very clear whether All Progressive Congress (APC) is having new and different ideas regarding how the country should be governed and re-positions the economy. They have the right to fully convince Nigerians that they are totally different and can deliver if given the opportunity at the polls by the electorates. Minor political parties have the right to exist and be represented but their major constraint is primarily money politics that has dominated Nigerian political system. But as times goes on, the country would begin to appreciate and respond to the sophisticated politics that any progressive party offers.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The type of party system that is probably suitable for Nigeria is a party system that the people develop by themselves taking into consideration her history, past political experience of multi-party system. It is our opinion that we should still try bi-party system

that gives room for credible political opposition. It is not the type of system adopted that matters, but the willingness and sincerity of the operators to make the system a success.

5.0 SUMMARY:

In this unit we look at the merits and demerits of two-party system and we said that two-party system ensures political stability and prevent arbitrary rule of a single party system even though the system is not conducive for a political community engulfed in ideological problems, deep religious crisis and ethnic squabbles. We also took a quick look at the performance of the current PDP and the recently formed All Progressive Congress.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMAs)

1. Explain the type of party structure you think is suitable for Nigeria.
2. Attempt an appraisal of the performance of PDP led government.
3. Analyse the performance of two-party system in Nigeria.

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MODULE 2

UNIT 5: MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM

1.0 Introduction

2.0 Objectives

3.0 Main contents

3.1 Features of multi-party system

3.2 Factors leading to multi-party system

3.3 Merits of multi-party system

3.4 Demerits of multi-party system

4.0 Conclusion

5.0 Summary

6.0 Tutor-marked assignment

7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

A multi-party system is a political system where there are many political parties big and small contesting in an election with the motive of winning political power and subsequently governing the country. In a multi-party system, it is very rare that a single-party win a clear-cut majority to gain the control of the parliament, so, a coalition government is invariably inevitable. Each of these parties stands a good chance of winning a number of seats in the parliament. It is interesting to note that minor political parties can emerge shortly before the election and disappear immediately after election.

The crucial thing is that more than three or more political parties can come together to form coalition government. These parties have narrow interest i.e. no broad based ideology and at times they operate like interest groups. Countries that are examples of multi-party system includes: Germany, Italy, France, Sweden, Switzerland, India, Iceland, Belgium and back home in Nigeria during the first Republic 1960-1966, and second Republic 1979-1983. Immediately after independence in 1960, no single party had absolute majority to control or form the government. There was a coalition between

Northern People Congress (NPC) and National Council of Nigeria Citizen (NCNC) they won the election and controlled the government.

Equally in 1964, there was an unholy alliance between Northern Peoples Congress (NPC) and Nigeria National Democratic Party (NNDP) which later metamorphosed into Nigeria National Alliance (NNA) The United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA) comprises National Council of Nigeria citizen (NCNC), the Action group (AG) and the Northern Progressive Front which was a combination of the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) and the United Middle Belt (UMBC).

The Nigeria National Alliance (NNA) won by a wide margin and controlled the national government. These alliances and other political issues combined together brought the first Republic to its knees and the military took over the control of the government in January 1966. These alliances showed clearly that no party was very strong enough to win clear-cut majority of the seats in the parliament and therefore a coalition was inevitable. Multi-party system is an extension of two-party system.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- Define multi-party system
- Enumerate the merits of multi-party system and cite a few countries where it is practiced.
- Describe some of the demerits of multi-party system

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Features of multi-party system

- Generally, in a multi-party system, there are several political parties contesting for the control of state power and the chances of a sole party winning a clear majority is unlikely, therefore, there is a necessity for a coalition government. One glaring features of this system is that powers are shared between various parties in the coalition.

- Each political party represents or stands for a clear definite principle and may find it difficult to compromise in respect of such principle.
- Voters always join the party which represents their interest and opinions.
- There is abundant choice of programmes that voter can choose from.
- Multi- party system enhances and widens political education of the electorates.
- The process of decision-making entails wider consultation of different shade of interest.
- Rule of law, fundamental human right are promoted in the multi-party system.
- This system does not give room for dictatorship and abuse of power that is very common in one party system.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.1

- Explain the feature of multi-party system.
- Discuss the most glaring features of multi-party system.

3.2 Factors that leads to formation of multi-party system.

- The development of multi-party system can be linked with some of these factors: the revolution that broke out in France in 1789 clearly divided the society into two clear groups – the first group consisted of those who supported the revolution and separated the state from the church were regarded as the leftist or radical political group while those who were not in support of the revolution but were solidly behind the monarch and unity of the church were called conservative Akinbade (2008:206).
- The stratification of the society along different lines in terms of ethnicity, tribal affiliation, language, occupation, ideology, further leads to formation of multi-party system.
- It is of interest to note that the more a society is stratified, the more likelihood that multi-party system will spring up there.

- The type of voting system adopted may lead to formation of multi-party system particularly if proportional system of voting is adopted whereby every segment would be represented
- Powerful group and individuals who are not properly represented in the legislature can also form political parties.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.2

- Examine the impact of the roles of the French revolution of 1789 in the formation of multi-party system?
- Account for the factors that led to the formation of multi-party system

3.3 Merits of Multi –Party System

Multi-party systems have several merits and let us look at a few of them here:

- This system gives ample opportunity for voters to choose any political party that represents their opinions, beliefs and even ideology.
- Voters can equally make choices between candidates and programmes of each party.
- It prevents arbitrary rule and dictatorship in view of the fact that no party is strong enough to suppress other political parties.
- Multi-party system gives opportunity for political opponent to express their views and contribute to the debate in the parliament.
- It widens the political education of the voters.
- Multi-party system caters for the interest of both majority and the minority of the people and allays the fears of the minority.
- It allows the citizen of a country to exercise their fundamental human right of political association rather than being lumped together in one-party system and it gives opportunity for freedom of expression.
- This system encourages the formation of coalition government because no party is able to win on its own.

- It also encourages democratic principles and rule of law.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.3

- Explain some merits of multi-party.
- Compare and contrast multi-party system with two-party system of government.

3.4 Demerits of Multi-Party System

Multi-party system has several demerits some of them are: it produces unstable government since it is a product of necessity and when any party in the coalition feels dissatisfied with such an alliance, it may break up easily. The alliance of National Party of Nigeria (NPN) and the Nigeria People Party (NPP) in the second republic could not sustain for long due to incompatibility of programmes and policies. The system is quite expensive to run unlike one party system. It leads to unhealthy rivalry which in turn breeds factionalism and fragmentation in the society. Members that are not satisfied with the working of the alliance may pull out and those that remain take over the full control of party policy and programmes.

Multi-party system gives room for fraudulent practices, election rigging, violence and other electoral malpractices a case in point was the crises that arose from general electoral of 1964 in Nigeria. Multi-party system is not in line with African traditional political system where there is no formal opposition in the political system. It can even make the electorates to be confused when it comes to making meaningful choices between candidates and programmes of several political parties. In multi-party system, it is difficult to hold any party responsible and accountable for their actions in the parliament. It encourages bribery and corruption in the legislature particularly during the passage of a bill. Decision making is often times slow because the executive always look at issues from the angle of their parties.

Multi-party system breeds weak and in effective political parties that are localized in nature and character since some of them are based on ethnicism, religion and sectionalism instead of national unity. This brought down the first republic in Nigeria

1963-1966. The parties were based on regions and it encouraged tribal politics and sectionalism since no party had national outlook.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.4

- Discuss the argument against multi-party system.
- Explain how multi-party system can lead to National disintegration.

4.0 CONCLUSION

We have looked at various party structures; it is safe to say that single party system is despotic, tyrannical and undemocratic while two-party system is better and democratic. The same thing cannot be said about multi-party system. The type of party system a country adopts depends upon local condition and above all, the most important thing is that whatever system is adopted, the success of its operation should be of great importance.

5.0 SUMMARY

We examined, difference political parties and their structures and we also looked at the merits and demerits of one party, two party and multi-party systems. A single-party system is one, in which only one political party is constitutionally allowed in a country although there may be in existence other minor political parties only the dominant party is legally recognized while in two-party system, power alternates between two recognized major political parties and in the multi-party system, there are many political parties, big and small that struggles for control of state power. It is always difficult for a single party to win a clear-cut majority in the election to form a government and therefore a coalition of two or more parties becomes a necessity in order to form government.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMAs)

1. Explain the features of multi-party of government.
2. Discuss the conditions for a coalition government.
3. Examine the arguments against multi-party system o government.

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MODULE 3: MAJOR POLITICAL CRISIS IN NIGERIA

UNIT 1: ACTION GROUP CRISIS OF 1962

- 1.0 Introduction.
- 2.0 Objectives.
- 3.0 Main contents.
 - 3.1 Causes of the crisis.
 - 3.2 Nature of the crisis.
 - 3.3 Main actors in the crisis.
 - 3.4 Consequences of the crisis.
- 4.0 Conclusion.
- 5.0 Summary.
- 6.0 Tutor-marked assignment.
- 7.0 References/further reading.
- 1.0 **INTRODUCTION**

Nigeria has witnessed a lot of political crisis from the colonial days up till the present moment but the grace of God has kept the country united and indivisible. We recall the Aba riot of 1929 over tax payment for women, the political riot of Kano in 1953, the Action Group crisis of 1962, the census crisis of 1962/63, the Federal election crisis of 1964/1965 and the civil war of 1966-1970, and annulment of presidential election of June 1993. In this unit, our focus will be on the Action Group crisis of 1962. It is interesting to note that intra-party disagreement and mutual suspicious were the remote causes of this crisis.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- Explain the remote and immediate causes of the crisis of 1962 in Western Region.
- Mention the role played by the principal actors.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Immediate Causes of the Crisis

Chief Obafemi Awolowo, the leader of Action Group Party failed in the federal election of 1959 and his ambition to become the Prime Minister was frustrated. He was still nursing this anger when the Prime Minister Abubakar Tafawa Balewa requested him to form government of national unity which he turned down. The reluctance of Chief

Awolowo to support his Deputy, Chief Samuel Akintola as the premier of Western region, when the former was made leader of opposition in the Federal House of Representative in Lagos. The newly appointed premier, Chief Akintola took independent decisions without consulting his leader who was then at the centre as leader of opposition.

This did not go down well with Chief Awolowo. The adoption of democratic socialism by the party as its ideology was not well received by the premier of western region Chief Akintola. Other issues include serious objections of Chief Awolowo to Balewa's Nigeria-Anglo Defence Pact. The constant and regular criticisms of chief Awolowo on Balewa's government did not go unnoticed by the Federal Government and the stage was set to "hit" him back.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.1

- Discuss the causes of Action Group crisis of 1962
- Explain the role of the Prime Minister in the Crisis.

3.2 Nature of Crisis

The premier of western region and a few of his minister failed to attend the Annual Congress of the party held on 2nd February 1962 in Jos. The party broke into two factions and Chief Akintola was advised by the leader of the party to resign following the recommendation of the committee set up to investigate his activities. He refused to resign and was consequently sacked by the Governor of the Region. Oba Adesoji Aderemi on 21st May 1962 and replaced by Alhaji Dauda Adegbenro as the new premier.

Akintola did not stop there he requested the prime minister to revoke the appointment of the Governor and the Governor was replaced with Chief Odeleye Fadahunsi. He went to court to challenge his removal as the premier of Western Region. When the newly appointed premier convened the meeting of the House of Assembly fracas broke out and the mace was destroyed. The police was called to maintain order and lock up the House

of Assembly but before then, there had been let loose between the two factions and there was widespread killings and burning of houses.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.2

- Examine the outcome of Jos Convention of Action Group
- Discuss the issues that led to the sack of the premier of western region in 1962

3.3 Main Actors in the Crisis

The main actors in the Action Group Crisis of 1962 were the following:

- ❖ Chief Jeremiah Obafemi Oyeniyi Awolowo, leader, Action Group and also leader of Opposition in the House of Representatives.
- ❖ Chief Samuel Ladoke Akintola, the Premier of the Western Region and Deputy leader of Action Group.
- ❖ Oba Adesoji Aderemi, the Ooni of Ife and the Governor of the Region.
- ❖ Chief Ayo Rosiji, Secretary General of the Action group who was expelled along with Chief Akintola.
- ❖ Alhaji Soroye Adegbenro, the Premier nominated by the Governor to replace Akintola during the crisis.
- ❖ Alhaji Tafawa Balewa, the Prime Minister who introduced in the House of Representatives the motion for the declaration of a state of emergency in the Western Region.
- ❖ Dr. M.A. Majekodunmi, Administrator of the Western Region who implemented the emergency programme and was said to have worked in favour of the suspended government. Source Odumosi 1963 in J.A. Akinbade 2008:517.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.3

- Identify the person that replaced the sacked governor.
- Examine the roles played by the emergency administrator of western region.

3.4 Consequences of the Crisis

The result of the crisis was not good both for the leaders and the followers. For the first time in the history of the country, the federal government invoked the emergency powers according to the relevant provisions of the constitution. The A.G. leaders and twenty of his aides were arrested and sentenced to various prison terms for treasonable felony. The crisis further portended that our political leaders cannot tolerate the opposing views of their colleagues. It was the crises that blew open the hatred they had for each other. Chief Awolowo could not tolerate Chief Akintola while Alhaji Balewa was intolerant of Chief Awolowo in the arena of party politics.

The division in the rank and file of Action Group led Chief Samuel Akintola to form Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) after the collapse of Action Group. In an attempt to access political power at all cost, Chief Akintola rigged the 1965 election in Western Region and this resulted in a chain of negative actions, like riots, disturbances, burning down of houses etc. The fatal consequences of the Action Group later triggered off a series of events which eventually led to the first military coup of January 1966.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.4

- Examine the circumstances that led to the imprisonment of Chief Awolowo and some of his followers or aides?
- Briefly trace the formation of NNDP after the Action Group had split into two factions.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The Action Group crisis was primarily due to intolerance within the rank and file of the leaders that later spread to other members of the party. The accusation and counter-accusation of the leaders clearly revealed a deep-seated hatred they had for each other.

5.0 SUMMARY

We have looked at some of the causes of the A.G. crisis of 1962 and we said the leaders were not tolerant of each other and we looked at the nature and consequences of the

crises which triggered off rigging of elections at all cost and the effect was riots, pandemonium and destructions of unquantifiable magnitude. These crises led to series of events and spread to other parts of the country before the military took over in 1966.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMAs)

- Discuss the causes of 1962 A.G. Crisis
- Critically examine the various consequences
- Explain the roles of some of the principal actors in the crisis.

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MODULE 3

UNIT 2: THE CENSUS CRISIS OF 1962/1963.

- 1.0 Introduction.**
- 2.0 Objectives.**
- 3.0 Main content.**
 - 3.1 Major causes of the census crisis of 1962/1963.**
 - 3.2 Nature of the crisis.**
 - 3.3 Consequences of the census crisis.**
- 4.0 Conclusion**
- 5.0 Summary**
- 6.0 Tutor marked assignment**
- 7.0 References/Further Reading**

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Usually, census figures have been subject of controversy in this country right from the time the country was spilt into three regions during the period of Macpherson constitution. The figures from the census were used as basis for sharing revenue, delimitations of constituencies, allocation of seats in the parliament, with all these, each region wanted “lion” share of the head count.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- Explain the importance of census figures.
- Explain why census figures are always controversial.
- Enumerate some of the causes of 1962 census crisis.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Major Causes of Census Crisis of 1962/1963

The population figures of 1952 gave the Northern Region a great majority seat in the House of Representatives. When there was another opportunity for a new census in 1962,

the two Regions felt they would have a better representation in the House of Representative come what may. The census was officially held in 1962. As a result of ethnic bias, the figure gave rise to wide spread accusations. The distribution of the figure was as follows: Northern Region 22.5million, Eastern Region 12.3million, Western region 10.5m Lagos 0.8million. Remi Anifowose (1982:60).

Due to the grumblings and complaints arising from the census figures, they were cancelled. The rancour and dispute that followed the crisis was of great magnitude due to inter-ethnic and regional rivalry. The Northerners vehemently rejected the population figures on the ground that it was the first time that the combined population of the South was higher than the North. They called for a re-count which did not go well with the Easterners. In the re-count which was conducted by a British official in 1963 reversed the situation and considerably reduce the figure of the Eastern Region, maintained the figures of the North and Western Region including Mid-Western Region. This created great animosity between the Northerners and Easterners.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE)

- Examine the factors that led to the cancellation of the census of 1962
- Explain the purpose of census.

3.2 Nature of the Crisis

From the re-count of the census, the southerners had hope that they would be favoured but they were disappointed when the results were announced and gave the North additional 9million allegedly missed in the first count. It was submitted and accepted by the government. The NCNC challenged the result in the Supreme Court accusing the government of Northern Region of falsification of census figures. The Prime Minister of the Federation and the Premier of the Northern Region vehemently denied any fraudulent or malpractice in the census figures. The final figures of 55.6 million were finally accepted as follows: Northern Region 29,777,986, Eastern Region 12,388,646, Western

Region 10,278,500, Mid-Western Region 2,533,337 and Lagos city 675,352. Source Alonge F. (2005: 417).

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.2

- Explain the causes of the census crisis of 1962/63
- Account for the controversial nature of census figures in Nigeria.

3.3 Consequences of Census Crisis

The aftermath of the census was that it created a long standing tension and suspension between the coalition party of NPC and National Council of Nigeria Citizens. It also increased the struggle for political domination between the Region particularly the North and the East which eventually laid the foundation of the first military coup in the country. Throughout the country, there was political intolerance among the three political parties that existed and the atmosphere was really charged with tension. Each political party nursed negative attitude towards the other and this led to the outbreak of political violence.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.3

- Briefly analyse the distribution pattern of the census figures.
- Discuss the conditions that necessitated a recount of 1962 census figures.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Census, as we see it in Nigeria, is not just about head count but about struggle for political power i.e. the control of state power. It is also an instrument for sharing national revenue instead of concentrating on how to generate revenue for the country. We also remarked that the census figures are used as basis for the projection of development purposes, boundary adjustment etc. and as a result, the census figures were over politicized.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we have attempted to analyze purpose of census, cause of census crisis as struggle to maintain political power and have lion share of the national revenue. We

looked at the effects of census crisis as main engine of tension and suspicion between the various regions.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMAs)

- Enumerate causes of 1962 census crisis in Nigeria
- Why is census crisis always controversial in Nigeria
- What were the consequences of the census crisis

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MODULE 3

UNIT 3: FEDERAL ELECTION OF 1964

1.0 Introduction

2.0 Objectives

3.0 Main Content

3.1 Historical background

3.2 Formation of UPGA and NNA

3.3 Causes of the crisis

3.4 Political instability of 1964

3.5 The western region political crisis of 1965

4.0 Conclusion

5.0 Summary

6.0 Tutor-marked assignment

7.0 Reference/ further reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The elective principle introduced in 1922 by Clifford constitution could be said to be the beginning of party politics. It was in this period that four seats were however allocated to Nigerians – three seats for Lagos and one to the coastal town of Calabar. Some restrictions were placed on the electorates i.e. only adult males could vote and must have been living in the area for not less than one calendar year and finally should have annual income of nothing less than one hundred pounds. There were a lot of debates regarding the acceptance of Clifford constitution because of the inherent nature of the constitutions. This led to the formation of Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) on June 24th 1923. It is on record that the 1964-1966 were the most turbulent period in terms of party politics in Nigeria. The electoral battle was between Nigerian National Alliance and the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA).

3.1 Historical Background

The founding fathers of NNDP were Thomas, Horatio Jackson, Bangan Benjamin, and Herbert Samuel Heelas Macaulay. Herbert Macaulay was born in 1864 to Rev. Thomas Babington Macaulay, the founder of C.M.S. Grammar School Lagos. He was a Civil Engineer. The first president of NNDP was Egerton Shyingle even though Herbert Macaulay was more popular than Shyingle. Macaulay enjoyed a lot of popularity among the electorates, his party won the elections of 1923, and 1933 respectively. Macaulay did not contest election into the legislative Lagos town council because of two criminal cases he was involved with. These were allegation of misuse of fund and plot to assassinate the then exiled Oba of Lagos, Oba Eshugbeyi Eleko (West Africa Pilot 25th August and September 22, 1928 and Richard Sklar (1963:46).

The National Congress of Nigerian and Cameroon was formally launched in August 1944 and later became National Council of Nigerian Citizens, while the Action Group was formed in 1951 by Chief Obafemi Awolowo and some notable Yoruba leaders in order to protect the interest of the Yoruba in Western Nigeria. Similarly, the Northern People's Congress was launched in Kaduna on 1st October 1950 to protect and pursue Northern goals. It should be noted that the NCNC was dominated by Easterners. With the above scenario, we can easily conclude that ethnicity was the hall mark of Nigerian party politics. At the general election of 1959, NPC and NCNC formed the government and the alliance did not last due to serious disagreement based on ideological differences. The NPC wanted a policy of alignment with Western capitalist bloc and NCNC wanted non-alignment but canvassed for united state of Africa. Ojo Emmanuel (2011:06-17) the census of 1962 blew open inter ethnic rivalry between the NPC/NCNC and there were "accusations and counter accusations" Ojo Emmanuel (2011:06-17) over the figure of the census released which was cancelled and later a re-count was ordered. The census figure refueled the inter-ethnic rivalry and eventually brought down the coalition of NPC/NCNC.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.1

- Explain the roles of the founders of NNDP.
- Discuss the breakdown of the alliance between NPC/NCNC?

1.2 Formation of UPGA & NNA

These two majority political parties developed from the collapse of NPC/NCNC alliance. The NCNC in their own wisdom turned to AG and formed what was then known as United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA) on 3rd June 1964. Samuel Akintola who was then premier of Western Region under the AG from 1959-1962 left the party and formed United Peoples Party (UPP). He later re-named the party, Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP). Chief Akintola used several uncomplimentary languages to describe the UPGA as “Useless People Godless Alliance” Ojo Emmanuel (2011:06-17). The Nigerian National Alliance (NNA) comprises several minor political parties these were NPC, NDP, Dynamics Party, Mid West Democratic Front Niger Delta Congress (NDC).

Lagos State United Front (LSUF) and Republican Party (RP). On the other hand, the following parties formed what was known as UPGA: NCNC, AG, Northern Progressive Front (NPF) it consisted Northern Element Progressive Union, United Middle Belt Congress, Kano People Party, (KPP) and Zamfara Commoner Party. The candidate that contested 1964 Federal election did so under these two major party alliances. Some of the reasons for forming UPGA vary and they include on the part of NCNC, political necessity. The NCNC believed that they were regarded as junior partner in the alliance with Northern People Congress (NPC) the result of the census did not favour them and felt that they should try another political partner. The Action Group had internal structural problems. The friction between the leaders of the party was very grave and it affected the fortunes of the party.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.2

- Examine the conditions that led to the collapse of NPC/NCNC alliance
- Briefly trace the internal crisis in the Action Group.

3.3 Causes of the Crisis

The Federal election crisis of 1964 between United Progressive Grand Alliances (UPGA) candidates were mostly people from South East while the Nigerian National Alliance candidates were mostly from the North. Some of the causes of the crisis include the 1962 controversial census result that generated ill-feeling between the two major political parties. The ill-feeling was carried to the election of 1964 as a way of testing political strength and supremacy. The two major political alliances further pave way for the division existing in the country instead of serving as a unifying factor. This accounted for destruction, irregularities and spate of killings before and after the election. It must not be forgotten that the crisis was also as a result of internal crisis in the Action Group that led to the crisis in Western Region in 1962 when the leader of the party Chief Obafemi Awolowo was charged and sentenced to ten years imprisonment for treasonable felony with some of close associates.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.3

- Explain some of the causes of 1964 political crisis.
- Discuss its consequences

3.4 Political Instability of 1964

The 1964 general election was characterized with frauds, irregularities and falsification of figures and added to this was the census dispute that greatly increases inter-regional rivalry that eventually led to break down of NPC/NCNC federal government. It was clear that the NCNC was no longer interested in the coalition and labeled the government as “a daft government without a sense of purpose” the NNA alliance made use of power of incumbency. It was a common phenomenon for political opponent to be arrested without reason, members were jailed and detained, and members were even prevented from filing nomination papers. A glaring case was in Bauchi South West, the constituency of the Prime Minister. One Azi Nyako an UPGA filed a suit and claimed that he was not allowed to file his nomination papers. Justice Negel who heard the case on 3rd April 1965

dismissed it on the ground that it was “Inspired by malice “Nigerian Daily Times, Nigeria Daily Express 4th April 1965. It would not be out of place to cite an instance out of several instances of electoral malpractices. Though it was obvious that all the alliances engaged in violence, thuggery and arson, the experiences of late Alhaji Aminu Kano the leader of NEPU and a member of UPGA had this to say:

The merciless beating up of supporters of opposition parties and compelling them to join the party in power or else face series of brutality and prosecution is beyond common sense. At present, August 1964 there are over 200 member of NEPU jailed on various pretext in Sokoto Province. Thousand of UMBC supporters are languishing in prison in Tiv division while over 100 people have lost their lives. Thousands upon thousands of our party supporters were dumped into jail like bundle of wood or animal; some were killed... wickedness in its highest magnitude was let loose and the ordinary mass of men were terrorized, stunned to silence and fear... law and order were raped...

It was the most wicked and devilish doctrine which could not be conceived in hell itself... it was an example of sadism from which even a barbarian can shrink. To give full account of this barbarian invasion of justice and democracy will need a volume of over five and one thousand pages. Nigerian citizen August 26 1964 and March 24 1965. The situation was not much different in the East where the NCNC had control of governmental powers and similarly in the Western Region the NNDP formed the government, the AG used retaliatory power.

Before the election and particularly during the campaign, a lot of crude and obnoxious methods were used, all in the bid to grasp state power. Due to wide spread riggings and irregularities in the election, the president rejected the result on the ground that it would bring bitterness and promote disunity. Dr Nnamdi Azikwe refused to call on any of the party in the alliance to form government. The great confusion created by the United Progressive Grand Alliance and Nigerian National Alliance created constitutional crisis that made Nigeria not to have “legally constituted government” for more than there days.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.4

- Explain some of the consequences of political instability of 1964
- Examine the roles played by the principal actors.

1.5 The Western Region Political crisis of 1965

Nigerian attitude of winner-takes-all syndrome in politics should be carefully examined and election should nevertheless be a do or die affair. The loss of an election should not be tantamount to loss of prestige, access to social and economic benefits. But the situation in the then Western Region was not so. We would recall that NNDP was the party in power in the House of Assembly in the then Western Region and they had alliance with NNA, the UPGA was represented in the House by Alhaji D.S Adegbenro as leader of opposition.

The election took place on the 11th October, 1965 in a politically charged atmosphere characterized by unimaginable election malpractices. Ballot papers were smuggled inside ballot boxes. However, at the end of these malpractices, it was announced that NNDP won 88 seats out of 98 seats. In the same vein, Alhaji Adegbero announced that he had won 68 out of 98 seats in the House of Assembly. He then declared himself as the premier of the Region and named eight persons as his ministers. There were two parallel governments in the same region and the stage was set for political battle.

It eventually became a battle of the most powerful politically. In the end, Chief Akintola was sworn-in as the premier while his opponent Chief Soroye Adegbenro was arrested. Because of the “charged” political atmosphere, hell was let loose in the entire region, violence, thurgery, murder, arson and destructions of houses took place. An unofficial source reported that the houses burnt were more than 5000 and the legally sworn in premier fled the country and this wonton destruction of lives and properties was later styled “operation wet-e”. This eventually marked the beginning of military intervention on January 15th 1965.

4.0 CONCLUSION

From the discussion so far, it is safe to conclude that political instability in the first Republic was due to ethnicity, greed and selfish interest. Most of the political parties were regionalized and the issue of winner take-all worsens the already bad situation.

4.0 SUMMARY

We have looked at historical background of the major political parties that they were all formed after Clifford constitution of 1922; we traced the formation of the two major party alliances i.e. UPGA and NNA respectively. The cause of 1964 electoral crisis was traced to the census crisis of 1962 and intra-party crisis within the Action Group which eventually snowball to 1964 and 1965 crisis.

5.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMAs)

1. Examine the conditions that led to the rejection of 1965 census figures
2. Discuss the causes of electoral crisis of 1964.
3. Identify a few principal actors and explain the roles they played.

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UNIT 4: GENERAL ELECTION OF 1979

- 1.0 Introduction.**
- 2.0 Objectives.**
- 3.0 Main contents.**
 - 3.1 The political parties involved.**
 - 3.2 Attendant irregularities.**
 - 3.3 Consequences of the elections.**
- 4.0 Conclusion.**
- 5.0 Summary.**
- 6.0 Tutor marked assignment.**
- 7.0 References/ further reading.**

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The second republic 1979-1983 came on board in Nigeria as a result of the military disengagement from ruling Nigeria and successfully organizing a hand over to a democratically elected government. Before then, the people had the erroneous notion that the parliamentary system of government was the reason for the failure of the first republic. But the first republic failed for several reasons among them were: regionalism and excessive loyalty of the then politicians to their various regions; corruption and incompetence of the political class, injustice, “political and religious intolerance” Nwakwo (1984:6-7). The first republic also failed because of violent rivalry among the political leaders for the control of state power. The military appointed a constitution drafting committee of fifty-two wise men and they recommended presidential system of government which was accepted and adopted. The committee further recommended other elaborate provisions that the country should follow: for instance, they recommended that political parties should be national in outlook i.e. not sectional in their composition and programmes.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- Explain reasons for the adoption of the presidential system of government
- Explain the main political parties involved.
- Explain why the second republic was a colossal failure.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 The Political Parties Involved

At the commencement of the political race in 1979, each party was expected to have a party secretariat in the nineteen states of the Federation. There were other detailed requirements for political parties to follow so that parties would be seen as national in out-look and not region based. It was the general election that produced the first ever executive president, governors, and a host of other functionaries for the system to operate effectively. Out of the fifty-two political associations that put in paper for registration with FEDECO, only five of them were duly registered. The parties that were registered were:

1. National Party of Nigeria (NPN)
2. Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN)
3. Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP)
4. Great Nigerian People Party (GNPP)
5. People's Redemption Party (PRP)

The elections to the State Assemblies, Governorship, House of Representative and the Senate were held on Saturday between 7th July and 22nd August. Presidential election was held on 11th August, 1979 while a re-run election that never took place was fixed for 18th August. We would recall that the election were held fifty days before swearing-in of the elected officers in order to give the court sufficient time to determine court cases that would come up. The result of the gubernatorial election was a big surprise; the NPN won seven, UPN five, NPP3, GNPP2; and PRP won only two states. The result of the keenly contested presidential election revealed that Alhaji Sheu Shagari who was declared the winner of the election only won 25% of the vote cast in twelve states while no presidential candidate won 25% in two-thirds of all the states in the Federation. The argument was clear, what should be the two-thirds of nineteen required by law?

The UPN leader, Chief Awolowo took the case to election tribunal under the chairmanship of B.O Kazeem, he lost, and went to Supreme Court under the chairmanship of chief Justice Atanda Williams who declared Alhaji Sheu Shagari the winner. Going by the result of the election, it didn't show any major difference from what we saw among the ethnic political parties of the first republic for instance, the NPN recorded victory in the North after the pattern of the NPC of old, while UPN captured five states in the Yoruba dominated South West. This followed the pattern of the Action Group. The NPP, for instance won in Anambra, Imo and Plateau states. Borno and Gongola in the North-East voted for GNPP and PPP won only in Kano and Kaduna respectively. From the above analysis, one can safely conclude that regional party politics dominated the pattern of voting in the election of 1979 and little wonder; the second republic did not last long before the army sent them packing.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.1

- Describe the roles of the political parties that participated in the 1979 election.
- Explain the controversy surrounding the victory of Alhaji Sheu Shagari.

3.2 Attendant Irregularities

There were lots of irregularities during the 1979 general election. Among them were thumb-printing of ballot papers before the election, deliberate prevention of voters from entering the polling booths, stuffing of ballot boxes with ballot paper before getting to the counting centres, collusion of security personnel with electoral staff to commit electoral malpractices etc. The most controversial of all was the unanimous declaration of Alhaji Sheu Shagari as the winner of presidential election after the first ballot while the other contestants were expecting a re-run or indirect election despite the fact the no candidate scored the required 25% of the vote cast in the two-thirds of the states of the Federation as stipulated by law. The election tribunal also declared NPN presidential candidate as the winner and when the case got to the Supreme Court. They validated the declaration.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.2

- Discuss some of the irregularities in the 1979 election?
- Explain the roles of the presidential candidate that challenged the result of the election in the law court.

.2 Consequences of 1979 Election

In spite of the glaring irregularities in the election, it was the first election conducted by the military that handed over to a democratically elected civilian government. It also featured three major political parties, a proto-type of what the country witnessed shortly after independence. It was a departure from the usual parliamentary system of government and the country adopted American style of presidential system with state governors being elected. The assumption that the political class had learnt a great lesson from 13 years of military rule was later proved wrong because the mistakes of the first republic manifested in the second republic. P. N. Chikendu put it succinctly “as the military departed in 1979 no political leadership capable of galvanizing, inspiring, motivating and mobilizing the entire populace for development and commitment to social justice and equality for all Nigerians, irrespective of their state or ethnics origins, emerged. What we had, instead, was largely a resurrection of old leadership, schooled in the politics of intrigues, insincerity, deceit and the manipulation of ethnics and regional sentiment to sustain themselves in power (Chikendu 2003:72).

The reality in the economic sector was even worse because bribery and corruption almost became the order of the day “the bureaucratic elites were not left out in the free for all looting, and so the power elite, the bureaucratic elite, in collaboration with the domestic and foreign capitalist classes brazenly plundered the economy to the point of anemia and death “Chikendu (2003:73). The poor leadership coupled with ethnicity, corruption and looting brought down the second republic and the soldiers came back on board again on 31st December 1983.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.3

- Explain some consequences of 1979 election
- Examine the reasons for the failure of second republic in Nigeria.

4.0 CONCLUSION:

From our discussion above, we learnt that the political class failed to learn lessons from the fall of first republic and so they fell into the same mistakes again. This shows that history has a way of repeating itself when the actors fail to learn. The military had good intentions of going back to the barracks that was why they handed over to a democratically elected political class but the opportunity was misused. With all the good provisions of checks and balances entrenched in the presidential system of government in the second republic; the political class could not allow the constitution to work and meet aspiration of the people due to bribery, corruption and gross mismanagement. The massive electoral fraud of 1983 general election paved the way for the military to come back to the political scene again.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we looked at the three major political parties and two minor political parties involved in the second republic, we said that the spread of all these political parties were ethnically inclined. We took a quick look at the election results and we said that they followed the pattern of the first republic and we examined the consequences of the election before the army struck again in December 1983.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMAs)

1. Explain some of the causes of the fall of second republic in Nigeria.
2. Discuss possible remedial measures
3. Compare and contrast the roles and activities of the politicians of the first republic and examine their similarities or otherwise.

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UNIT 5 THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1993

- 1.0 Introduction.**
- 2.0 Objective.**
- 3.0 Main content.**
 - 3.1 Background to the formation of political parties.**
 - 3.2 Main parties involved.**
 - 3.3 The real election.**
 - 3.4 The conditions factors that facilitated manipulation of the election.**
 - 3.5 The consequence of the annulment of June 12.**
- 4.0 Conclusion.**
- 5.0 Summary.**
- 6.0 Tutor marked assignment.**
- 7.0 Reference/Further Reading.**

1.0 INTRODUCTION

General Ibrahim Babangida came on board on 27 August, 1985 after a palace coup that cleverly removed his predecessor, General Mohammad Buhari. It would be recalled that the regime of Buhari was highly repressive, draconian and authoritarian in nature. He declared that political programmes would be set aside for the economy to take proper shape. He issued draconian decrees which Nigerians are not likely to forget. These decrees were decrees: no 2 and 4 that empowered Chief of Staff Supreme Headquarters to detain any body for any kind of offence, while decree 4 had to do with censor of the press and two journalists from Guardian newspaper were the first scapegoats. When Babangida came on board, he immediately abrogated the draconian decrees and also set up Constitution Review Committee to draft a new constitution for the third republic. He gave several endless political transition time-table and programmes which he did not fulfil, but eventually, the report of the committee was accepted by Armed Forces Ruling Council with some modifications.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- Explain the nature and consequences of June 1993 election
- Enumerate the roles played by principal actors.

3.1 Background and Registration of Political Parties

The National Electoral Commission had the full authority to conduct election into local Government, State House of Assemblies, House of Representative, Senate, Governorship and Presidential elections respectively. There were many political associations that applied to NEC for registrations but only thirteen were registered as political parties due to difficult requirements stipulated. In spite of this, the military government registered and established two political parties from the thirteen political associations that National Electoral Commission approved. These were National Republican Convection (NRC) and Social Democratic Party (SDP).

These two parties were just imposed on the nation without any valid reason why other parties were not allowed to participate in the election. However, most of the elections were held in 1991, inauguration of National Assembly and State Assemblies and swearing-in of governors commenced. The presidential election was postponed several times before it was eventually fixed for June 12, 1999.

The embarrassment was easily noticed that the elected representatives of the people had to operate under an unelected president. The people took consolation in the fact that it was for a short or brief period since June 12 was around the corner not realizing that there would be changes in the date of transition programme. We should note that handover to the civilian regime was initially fixed for end of 1970, later moved to 1991 then again to 1992 and at last to 1993. While the country was witnessing changes in the political transition/time-table, Babangida regime changed the leadership of NEC professor Eme Awa and replaced him with Professor Humphrey Nwosu who was a former commissioner for Local Government in Anambra state.

This period was also characterized with banning of several politicians who were alleged to have taken part in the failed second republic. But by and large, it was not within the portfolio of the military to ban any politician but the sole responsibility of the electorate to reject any politician not wanted at the polls. This clearly shows that Babangida had an undisclosed motive for Nigerians. In 1992, in an unexpected move, twenty-three

presidential candidates were disqualified, people like major Gen. Yar Adua, Olu Folaie, and Bamanga Tukur etc. This now paved way for brand new crop of politicians to enter the political race. In 1993 Chief M.K.O. Abiola entered the presidential race on the platform of Social Democratic Party (SDP).

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.1

- Account for the disqualifications of the presidential aspirants in 1993
- Critically examine the roles of the two presidential candidates in the aborted third republic.

.2 Main parties involved

The two main parties in the presidential election of 1993 June were National Republican Convention (NRC) and Social Democratic Party (SDP). They held the presidential primary in Jos in March 1993. During the primary, Chief Abiola won the election defeating his rival, Alhaji Babagana Kingibe a business man of great repute. Alh. Basher Tofa won the primary on the platform of National Republican Convention which was held in Port Harcourt and his running mate was Dr. Sylvester Ugo from the South-East. We should not forget that the constitutions and the manifestos were produced by the military and formally launched by General Babangida himself at the Nanmdì Azikiwe Press centre in Dodan Barracks on Monday, December 4, 1989. He said in his broadcast to the nation on October 9th that “The draft constitution of these parties as approved by the Armed forces ruling Council shall be identical.

The National Electoral Commission shall submit (these) draft manifestos to the Armed Forces Ruling Council for preliminary approval within two weeks from today. The draft manifestos may be amended at the National Convention of each party subject to NEC guidelines. They shall then be sent to the Armed Forces Ruling Council, which shall approve the amendments, after which the draft becomes a manifestos” The irony of the manifestos was that the parties had no real contribution and the ordinary voters were denied the choice of programme because the parties had similar manifestos that they

could not amend. The political field was cleared for Chief M.K.O. Abiola to contest the election. Babangida banned those who previously held public offices and wanted to become presidential candidates.

This ban did not augur well with the politicians and they continued with their political activities. They were arrested and arranged before the transition to civil rule tribunal in order to frighten them. These politicians include- major General Sheu Musa Yar Adua Rtd, Alhaji Lateef Jakande, Chief Bola Ige, Chief Solomon Lar, Alhaji Abubakar Rimi, Chief Christian Onoh, Dr. Olusola Saraki, Chief Arthur Nzeribe, Alhaji Bello Maitama Yusuf, Alhaji Lamidi Adedibu, Mr. Paul Unongo and Alhaji Lawal Kaita. The way was clearly paved for M.K.O Abiola due to the warm relationship he had with his friend Babangida.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.2

- Evaluate the roles played by the military that initiated and founded the two political parties
- Examine a few reasons why some politicians were banned from contesting the election.

3.4 The Real Election

The National Electoral Commission was fully prepared for the election by providing 209,000 voting centres nationwide. Voting was done publicly by using option A4. This is a device in which eligible voters lined up behind the portraits of their preferred candidates. The counting of the votes were done publicly also. The elections were adjudged by most people to be free and fair even including the International Observers. The National Electoral Commission empowered the Electoral Commissioners in each state to collate and announce the results in their respective states. Going by the installmental release of the result of the election by 15th June, it showed that M.K.O. Abiola was leading by a wide margin and Association for Better Nigeria (ABN) obtained a court order to stop further announcement of the results. The National Electoral Commission had to comply with the court order and it stopped further announcement. Tension had started to build up because of the stoppage of announcement and nobody

knew the next line of action of what was going to happen. It was on June 23 1993, that the military government announced outright cancellation of the election without reason. One should note that there was no time for election petitions because the results were cancelled before any formal announcement was made.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.3

- Describe the activities of ABN in the annulment of the June 12, 1993 election
- Explain the term option A4.

1.3 Conditions that Facilitated Manipulation of Election

- ❖ The administration of General Babangida was not willing to handover to an elected civilian government hence the frequent changes in the terminal date of the transition and the banning of the politicians. All these showed that he was not prepared to handover to any democratically elected government.
- ❖ The use of an un-registered Association known as (ABN) to stop the installment announcement of election results was an indication that he was also unprepared to relinquish power.
- ❖ The SDP as a party and presidential candidate under-estimated the power and the strength of the opponents so when the heat was turned on Chief M.K.O. Abiola he left the country.
- ❖ The wranglings and divisions within the Social Democratic Party called for attention in view of the fact that not all members of the SDP supported Chief M.K.O Abiola as a presidential candidate so when the election was canceled they “celebrated” and fully backed the military to install an Interim National Government (ING).
- ❖ The presidential candidate of SDP did not take into consideration the leadership position and the enormous influence the Hausa/Fulani wields in the political game of Nigeria right from the time of independence in 1960.

- ❖ The electoral Umpire, i.e. National Electoral Commission (NEC) was closely monitored and was loyal to the Government that appointed it. Her independence was curtailed and could not function as expected of an independent body.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.4

- Examine the factors that facilitated the manipulation of the election
- Explain whether the June 12, 1993 election was free and fair.

1.4 Aftermath of the Election

A vital consequence of the election seems to have been that the victor in the election of June 12 was not the candidate preferred by the leadership of the military. There were two options available- one was to accept the result of the election and lose control of government and the other was to declare the result null and void. In his wisdom, he chose the second option and he unwillingly relinquished the control of government to a Interim National Government with a responsibility of organizing fresh election. There was wide spread strikes, protest, killings and looting particularly in the South-West. And in November 1993, General Sanni Abacha led a military take over and sacked the Interim National Government imposed on the country by General Babangida. When he took over from the Interim National Government, he quickly replaced the elected governors with appointees from the military, sacked the elected National and State Assemblies members and banned all political activities. Infact, he had in mind of perpetuating himself in power.

The second consequence of the annulment of the 1993 election was that it brought the country to the verge of disintegration. There were disturbances and protests in several parts of the country it was reported that more than two hundred and thirty four people died in Lagos alone Akinbade (2008:537) and several people went back to their states of origin. In the midst of the confusion and uncertainty that followed, General Ibrahim Babaginda was forced to step aside on August 26, 1993 and other top military officers from the army, navy and Air force were compulsory retired. When Chief M.K.O. Abiola

came back from self-imposed exile, on June 11th 1994 he declared himself as president of Nigeria at Epetedo playing ground on June 12, 1994 and was arrested by the military on June 24th 1994.

The annulment of the acclaimed free and fair election of 1993 and the death of the presidential candidate in detention under spurious circumstances, led to a compromise between Northern and Southern leaders to have power shifted to the South. This was done in order to placate the Southerners who were seriously aggrieved and this subsequently brought Chief Olusegun Obasanjo again to the political arena of the country in 1999 having ruled the country as a military president between Feb. 14th 1976 to October 1st 1979 when he handed over to President Sheu Shagari as the first Executive President of the Second Republic of Nigeria.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The scars created by the imposition of two party system, on the nation in 1989 by Gen. Babangida that culminated in the annulment of June 1993 election was yet to be healed when the nation again had another taste of trial on 4th Republic in 1999 with multi-party system of government. The two leading parties then were and still leading are Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) although (CAN) and (CPP) and a host of other minor parties merged together now known as All-Progressive Congress (APC) to dislodge PDP out of power come next election in 2015. It must be clearly emphasized that it is not the system operated that is faulty, but the people that operates the system have not made the system to be successful. There is absolutely nothing wrong with two-party system or multi-party system but its operators.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we looked at the palace coup that cleverly removed General Muhammed Buhari/Tunde Idiagbon from office in 1985 and we examined background to the formation of political parties and several endless political transition time-tables which were not fulfilled until the imposition of two major political parties Social Democratic Party and National Republican Convention on the country. The two parties contested the

election which was annulled without any tangible reason. The aftermath of the election was protests, riots, lootings and killings in several parts of the country until Gen. Babaginda was forced to step aside and Interim National Government was installed with the motive of organizing fresh election. The Interim National Government was terminated by General Sam Abacha who was the second-in-command to General Babaginda. Gen. Abacha died under mysterious circumstances before General Abdul Salam came on board to organize fresh election in 1999 and brought the country into the fourth Republic in 1999.

1.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMAs)

1. Examine a few conditions that encouraged manipulations of election
2. Explain the circumstances that led to the chosen of Chief Obasanjo as compromise candidate.
3. Account for the reasons why Chief MKO Abiola unilaterally declared himself as a president-elect at Epetedo on June 12 1994.

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MODULE 3

UNIT 6: GENERAL ELECTION 1999

- 1.0 Introduction.**
- 2.0 Objectives.**
- 3.0 Main contents.**
 - 3.1 Conduct of the election.**
 - 3.2 Irregularities that characterized the elections.**
 - 3.3 Some problems associated with conducting election in Nigeria.**
 - 3.4 Consequences of the elections.**
- 4.0 Conclusion.**
- 5.0 Summary.**
- 6.0 Tutor-marked assignment.**
- 7.0 References/further reading.**

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The Interim National Government (ING) of Chief Sonekan came to an abrupt end after about three months of operation without any meaningful impact on the nation. The ING was sacked in a bloodless coup by late General Sanni Abacha who was then the Chief of Defence staff. He dissolved all the democratic institutions he met on the ground. He started his own transition programme to civil rule. New political parties were set up and elections were conducted to various local governments, states assemblies except state governors and the office of the president. It was very clear that he had an undisclosed motive. Oyediran put it better when he called it “transition to succession of existing ruler” Oyeleye Oyediran (1998:88). There was no constitution to back the various political institutions he established. It was in the midst of this seemingly and glaring confusion that he suddenly died on June 8th 1998. General Abdulsalam Abubakar became the new head of state and he immediately organized fresh elections into various political institutions in the country.

In his programme, he handed over to a democratically elected government on May 29, 1999. In his wisdom, he promulgated 1999 Constitution and also established Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) that conducted the General Election even though there were few irregularities here and there. It was the second time that the

military would voluntarily hand over to an elected civilian government. The first was by the rtd General Olusegun Obasanjo in 1979 when he handed over to the first executive president Sheu Shagari.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- ❖ Explain why 1999 constitution was established.
- ❖ Analyze problems associated with conducting election in Nigeria.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Conduct of 1999 Elections

The three political parties that contested the election of 1999 were:

- People's Democratic Party (PDP)
- All People's Party (APP)
- Alliance For Democracy (AD)

It is very important to note that the presidential candidate of the PDP, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, a Yoruba man, from south-west of Nigeria was chosen by the Northern oligarchy in order to placate the Yoruba race for the annulment of June 12, 1993 and also they believe that he would protect their interest like he did in 1979 general elections. Elections to local government were conducted on December 5, 1998, State Assemblies and gubernatorial were held on December 9th 1998, elections to the Senate and House of Representative were conducted on 20th February, 1999 while the presidential was held on 27th February 1999. Most people believe that elections to the Local government, State Assemblies and Gubernatorial were peaceful.

There were reports of ballot stuffing, intimidation of voters, shortage of materials, inflation of results and a host of other irregularities. When the result was finally announced, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo won the election with 18,740,027 votes representing 62.78% of the total votes cast against 11,110,287 votes representing 37.22% won by the presidential candidate of the alliance formed by (AD) and (APP) (Daily

Times, March 2, 1999:1). The gap between the two presidential candidates as shown in the election result was very wide and Chief Olu Falae was not satisfied. He went to court to challenge the election result. He called it “electoral coup de tat”. The court upheld the result as announced by Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and declared Chief Olusegun Obasanjo president-elect and was sworn-in on May 29th 1999 for a period of four years.

The National Assembly elections were held on February, 1999 and PDP won sixty-nine senatorial seats and also majority seats in the House of Representatives. PDP also won twenty-one out of the thirty-six state governors representing 58.3% while All People Party won nine governorship positions representing 25% and Alliance for Democracy won only six governorship states representing 16.3%. The result of the election showed that Alliance for Democracy was strong in the south-west, while All People’s Party in the upper North and the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) had support from South-South, South-East, North Central and North East. Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) had convenient domination in the National Assembly and in 21 states of federation even though it had to contend with series of court cases challenging the victories of the party at the polls.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.1

- Account for the success of the PDP in the election 1999
- Briefly explain how Chief Olu Falae describes the outcome of 1999 election result.

3.2 Irregularities that characterized 1999 election

In spite of the fact that people claimed the election were free and fair, there were some irregularities noted in a few places. Like the annulled presidential election of June 1993 which was widely believed to be free and fair, some people did not subscribe to this view. They believe that they have been denied their victory. Generally, in any contest, some people are bound to win and some are bound to lose, when the result of an election does not favour a party, there is always the allegation that the elections have been rigged or

manipulated. During the election it was reported that voting materials did not get to the voting centres when voting was scheduled to start and people used this opportunity to hang around polling booth centres.

Report of intimidation to vote for a favoured candidate, money exchanging hands, to falsification of results, undue influence and other dangerous acts of coercion were glaring instances that characterized the election of 1999. It is important to note that irregularities does not invalidate election result, but rigging does because it is robbery of people's right to partake in the government of their state. The constitution of the country equally frowns at rigging in any election.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.2

- Account for the wide-spread rigging among political parties in the election.
- Discuss some irregularities observed in 1999 general election.

3.3 Some problems associated with conducting election in Nigeria

Let us briefly look at a few problems associated with conducting election in Nigeria. Right from 1959 general election to this present moment, there have been several accusations of rigging, fraud, bribery, multiple voting, thumb-printing, threats, undue influence, intimidation, hijacking of ballot boxes, fraudulent announcement and several electoral practices. The basic problem lies with political leaders who are not willing to play the game according to the rules. To be in politics, you have to inculcate democratic spirit, tolerate other views, opinions, interest and believe strongly that power belongs to the people. The electorates have the full mandate to choose and remove any representative that fails to meet the expectations of the people at the polls.

In Nigeria today, leaders want to remain in power for as long as they wish even when they are not relevant. Other problems include ethnicity or excessive loyalty to one's ethnic origin. Some even label it as tribalism. These days it is not ethnic tribe as used to be in the first republic, but loyalty to one's state of origin at the expense of larger entity called Nigeria. Political leaders work out for several strategies to enable them to remain

in power. They rig election by any means. Added to the above is the power of incumbency i.e. the power of the present holder of an office. In Nigeria, right from 1999, the states won by the PDP are also controlled or administered by PDP governors and other parties had no chance in those states. The something goes for Action Congress (AC) in Lagos and before any party can “snatch” Lagos state and other states controlled by this party, such party would have to go “extra” mile. It is always very difficult to unseat in incumbent governor.

Another crucial problem is the electoral umpire. This body is saddled with the responsibility of conducting election and this institution is naturally expected to be a neutral body free from any external or internal influence. But it is not so in Nigeria they always tow the line of those who appointed them. They cannot perform their functions creditably because their employers i.e. the executive can replace them any moment or cripple them with funds to perform essential services. This body should be chosen by the judiciary and ratified by the national assembly’s so that people with impeccable records and integrity would be on the board of Independent National Electoral Commission. The board of INEC should be reconstituted and the president should not have any influence on the Chairman or its members. The result of any election should be announced piece-meal as was done in the June 1993 before it was annulled.

Violence, thuggery and other vices should be visited with stiff punishment for offenders. People should be politically educated not to sell their vote for money or any inducement because doing so, means selling their conscience and mortgaging their future. Thuggery should be discouraged or completely outlawed because politicians have their tugs that accompany them anywhere they go and they use these tugs to disrupt peaceful conduct of elections like snatching ballot boxes, killing of opponents etc. politicians should be tutored to have full commitment to national interest and issues.

Some of the politicians see politics as a very fertile ground to make money and plunder the country instead of building the nation. When patriotic feelings are lacking, they indulge in activities that are inimical to the growth and development of the nation.

Politician must have respect for the rules of law. They should remember that nobody is above the law of the land. When these problems are addressed we are laying a good foundation for constitutional democracy.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.3

- Examine some problems of conducting election in Nigeria.
- Suggest how these problems can be tackled.

3.4 Consequences of 1999 elections

- ❖ The election of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo as the president of Nigeria was the second time military would hand over to an elected civilian government.
- ❖ It brought Nigeria into the fold of nations that operates electoral democracy.
- ❖ Whatever anybody would say about the conduct of 1999 general elections of 1999, it ushered Nigeria into fourth republic.
- ❖ It gives the impression that the country is still united despite our differences.
- ❖ The People's Democratic Party (PDP) dominated and controlled the affairs of National Assemblies, State Assemblies and local governments.
- ❖ It increased the level of political education and awareness.
- ❖ It encouraged defeated political parties to put up opposition and braze up for the next election.
- ❖ It consolidates Nigeria nascent democracy.
- ❖ Some of the irregularities noticed in the conduct of the elections clearly showed that Nigerians have not learnt any meaningful lesson from previous experiences.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The election of president Olusegun Obasanjo on February 27th 1999 was hailed in several parts of the country as it brought Nigeria into the fourth republic even though he was a compromise candidate of the Northern oligarchy. The defeated presidential candidates

went to court to challenge the victory of Obasanjo and the court upheld the result given by the National Electoral Commission (INEC). There were pockets of riots here and there but they were not sufficient to derail transition to civil rule.

5.0 SUMMARY

After the mysterious death of the then military ruler General Sanni Abacha General Abdulsalam took over the leadership of the country and he promised that he would handover to civilian government within one year. He fulfilled the promise and organized a constitution to be written, appointed credible people to Umpire the election. In the election that followed, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo of the PDP won the election on the platform of Peoples Democratic Party and was sworn-in as the president of the country on 29th May, 1999 for a period of four years.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMAs)

1. Examine some of the consequences of 1999 general election.
2. Evaluate the roles played by the three political parties that participated in 1999 general election.
3. Examine some of the irregularities observed in the 1999 general election.

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MODULE 4: PRESSURE GROUPS AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

UNIT 1: MEANING AND FEATURES OF PRESSURE GROUPS.

- 1.0 Introduction.
- 2.0 Objectives.
- 3.0 Main contents.
 - 3.1 Meaning of pressure group.
 - 3.2 Features of interest group.
 - 3.3 Functions of pressure group.
 - 3.4 Demerits of pressure group.
- 4.0 Conclusion.
- 5.0 Summary.
- 6.0 Tutor-marked assignment.
- 7.0 References/further reading.
- 1.0 **INTRODUCTION**

Every group in the society has its-own interest to protect and preserve so also individuals. Author Bently (1908) the author of group theory in Johari remarked that “a group means a certain portion of men of a society taken, however not as a physical mass cut off from other masses of men but as a mass of activity which does not preclude the men who participate in it from participating likewise in many other group activities” Johari J.C. (2011:444). All groups in the society participate in diverse of activities to further their interests. Truman cited also in Johari opines that “a group is a collection of individual who on the basis of one or more shared attitudes makes certain claims upon other groups in the society for the establishment, maintenance or enhancement of forms of behaviour that are implied in the shared attitude... the shared attitude constitute the interest” Johari J.C. (2011:444).

A group that has common interest would normally pursue such interest in order to achieve its goal. The theory of group clearly emphasises the group is very crucial in the study of politics rather than individuals.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss the relevant features of pressure group.
- Explain functions of pressure groups.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Meaning of Pressure Groups

A pressure group is an organized social interest group formed solely to pursue its objectives/interest and influence government policies. The main aim or objective of any social interest group is not to take over state power but to influence government machinery to its own advantage. Akinbade defined pressure groups as “an association of individuals whose main objective is to influence government in a manner favorable to the interest of its members. Unlike political parties, a pressure group has no interest in becoming the government. Rather, pressure groups are organized groups seeking to achieve defined goals” Akinbade (2008:210) Oyeleye Oyediran remarked that pressure groups “exerts pressure on those who have responsibility for making decisions on behalf of the community. They always struggle to influence decision makers to adhere to their objectives. “In general, pressure groups come into being to enhance or protect the interest of their members or groups” Oyeleye Oyediran (1998:61).

From these definitions we can conclude that the ultimate goal of any pressure group is to protect interest of their members and influence government. Adigun Agbaje is of the opinion that any group of people that exerts pressure or influence the decision makers or government in a democratic set up can be regarded as a pressure group. He remarked that “a pressure groups in a democracy is any group of person which tries to get government or other bodies to take notice of certain things or do something by bringing pressure to bear on such government or body” Anifowose (1999:199) pressure group can also be described as “interest groups” lobby groups or protest groups” Anifowose (1999:199).

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.1

- Define the term pressure groups.
- Examine the primary motives of forming pressure groups

3.2 Features of Pressure Groups

- ❖ The most important features of pressure group are: They influence the government but do not form government.
- ❖ Pressure groups have limited objectives and they pursue the objectives with all vigours.
- ❖ It may support candidates nominated for election but it does not contest any election or nominate candidates for elections.
- ❖ Pressure groups can use any legitimate means at its disposal in order to achieve its objectives
- ❖ They exert serious pressure on legislators to vote in a way it suit the association and if such legislator fails, anytime he seeks renomination, he will not be nominated.
- ❖ The size of groups differs due to several factors like numbers of members, intensity and type of organizations.
- ❖ They are persuasive organizations that are common in all modern political system, Ayeni-Akeke remarked that “the number of them that can be found in any political system depend on various factors such as degree of openness of the political system, its level of development, system of government, prevailing political culture” Ayeni Akeke (2008:110). An open political system is one that recognizes and protect fundamental right of the citizen and pave way for the people to people to exercise the fundamental rights publicly.
- ❖ They blend and modify public opinion and make it more exact. If the opinion is specific and exact, the easier it is for the political leaders to act on the wishes of the people. Some people even refer to this as interest articulation.
- ❖ The activities of pressure groups are usually regarded with suspicion, while trade unions are viewed with greater suspicion than employers’ association or union simply because orientation of business elites and governing elites are not in the same direction.
- ❖ There is the tendency that pressure group may change into a political party.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.2

- Explain the major characteristics of pressure groups
- Discuss what you consider to be the major objectives of pressure groups

3.3 Function of Pressure Group

Pressure group serves purposive functions in the society and we shall examine some of them here.

- It serves as a powerful link between the people and the government. This is done by officials of the pressure group consulting with the representatives of the government and presenting the views/demands of the people to the representative of the government.
- They assist the government in the execution of some of its functions. Government do delegate pressure groups that are expert in certain fields to handle its programme e.g. Nigerian Medical Association gives government inputs on the reduction of the dreaded AIDS and HIV ravaging in some parts of the country.
- Pressure groups help legislators and officials of the government with statistical data, inputs on some important and technical issues which they cannot ordinarily handle for the implementation of government policies.
- Even though pressure groups are not elected by the people, they give support to the government so that they may be acceptable by the people.
- They criticize unpopular government policies and prevent maladministration and checks dictatorial tendencies of any government.
- Pressure groups like Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Mining etc contribute greatly to the growth and development of the country. They also serve in different arms of government e.g. on tribunals, committee etc.
- They educate people about their fundamental rights and also provide political education to the public and in some cases; they promote welfare services to the public especially Nigeria Medical Association (NMA) and Nigeria Bar Association (NBA).
- They also represent diverse interest of the society since membership of such groups comes from different background which may not be represented in the government.
- Pressure group may influence member of the executives, who have law making input and who can rightly decide the effectiveness of law enforcement.
- They can even assist nominated candidates before election with money, time and election materials etc.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.3

- Examine the functions of pressure groups in the society.
- Pressure groups serves as “watchdog” to the activities of government, discuss.

3.4 Demerits of Pressure Groups

In spite of the benefits derivable from the activities of pressure groups, there are also several shortcomings. We shall examine a few of them here:

- ❖ Some pressure group tends to articulate a narrow range of interest. This may create confusion in the mind of the people because when pressure group articulate say for example welfare of the retirees or prisoners instead of focusing on important political issues that affects the generality of the people, this breeds hatred and antagonism among their members and create confusion among the people.
- ❖ Another shortcoming of pressure groups is that they may sponsor narrow interest of a few members at the expense of the majority they claim to be working for. These narrow interests may be forced on those who have power to make decisions by using illegal tactics and this does not augur well for the health of the political community.
- ❖ Pressure groups do not have formal structure and they are dominated by unelected officials that run the affairs of the group and this makes it difficult for members to control the group.
- ❖ When pressure groups tries to influence government on policy issues, and government accede to the demands of the group, similar bodies in the same trade or organization may put up their own demands for instance, if government yields to the demand of Doctors on strike, the Nurses, Pharmacists etc may put up pressure on government for their own settlement, so, the demands would be endless in the place of competing demands for the limited resources of the government.
- ❖ The objectives of pressure group are in most cases not submitted to the members for their endorsement or approval but they are developed by officials who are paid for their services.
- ❖ One of the greatest weapons of pressure groups is lobbying and this has been abused because of secret operations which may lead to suspicion of pressure groups.
- ❖ Pressure groups do engage in hero-worship of those in position of authority to enable them get approval for their demands.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Despite the good intentions of pressure groups, their activities are undermined by narrow and selfish interests coupled with overzealousness of the unelected officials that runs the affairs of the group which makes the organization of the group undemocratic.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we looked at the meaning of pressure groups and we said it is an organized group of individuals who have similar views on topical national issues with the motive of influencing the people who actually have power to make decisions. They do not look for power for themselves, but seek to influence those who hold political power. We equally looked at the features and functions of pressure group and we remarked that they serve as a link between the people and the government, they criticize unpopular government policies. We are of the opinion that the disadvantages of pressure group are in most cases insignificant compared to the advantages. But by and large, pressure groups have been accused of selfishness, corruption, betrayal of trust and sponsoring interest of a “few” members.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMAs)

1. Examine the demerits of pressure groups.
2. Explain various ways pressure groups sponsor narrow interest of their members
3. Discuss some functions of pressure groups.

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MODULE 4

UNIT 2: CLASSIFICATIONS OF PRESSURE GROUPS

- 1.0 Introduction.**
- 2.0 Objectives.**
- 3.0 Main contents.**
 - 3.1 Institutional pressure groups.**
 - 3.2 Associational groups.**
 - 3.3 Non-association groups.**
 - 3.4 Anomic group.**
- 4.0 Conclusion.**
- 5.0 Summary.**
- 6.0 Tutor marked assignment.**
- 7.0 References/further reading.**
- 1.0 INTRODUCTION**

There is lack of agreement about classifying and defining pressure group among political scientists due to imprecise nature and multiple forms of associations. Adigun Agbaje in Remi Anifowose (1999:202) remarked that a number of factors should be considered. Should we concern ourselves with groups or interest they serve and represent? Or should we bother with groups that are united and better organized with similar shared interest without consciousness? Do they serve their own selfish interest or pursue public objectives and goals? Whatever may be said regarding the activities of pressure groups they perform crucial role and functions in the political system and in the society.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- Explain the various functions of the four categories of pressure groups.
- Give two examples from each category.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 CLASSIFICATIONS OF PRESSURE GROUPS

G.A. Almond in Johari (2011:447) classified pressure groups into four basic categories; Institutional groups, Associational groups, Non-Associational groups and Anomic groups. We shall examine each of these groups one after the other. Institutional pressure

groups are made up of legislatures, executive the civil servants and the judiciary. These institutions are created to achieve some objectives in the political system. The purpose they serve is crucial in the society. G.A. Almond even remarked that “even an organ of government can create “input that may have” “output” for instance, the bureaucrats may influence the ministers and then a decision is taken so as to protect and promote the interest of the administrators” Johari (2011:447). It is important to note that institutional pressure groups are part and parcel for an organized structure of the society. They can easily articulate their own interest in the structure of an organization for example the ministry of education can lobby other bureaucrats on behalf of the interest of teachers. Alonge (2005:211).

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.1

- Explain the functions of institutional pressure groups
- Describe some key groups within institutional pressure groups.

3.2 Associational Groups.

These are well organized body and registered with appropriate authority in the country. They have constitutions, registered offices; they are the leading pressure groups. Example of these groups includes Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC), Nigeria Medical association (NMA) Nigeria Bar Association (NBA) Nigerian Teachers Union (NUT). They have formal procedures of registering their members. Others in this category include Business and Farmers Organizations, Trade Unions. They struggle and fight for better conditions of their members. They draw their members from particular organizations and professions. These Associational Groups can also be divided into several types like business, labour, professional and agricultural (farmers) association. The main motive is to protect and promote the interest of their members. They are also called economic pressure groups.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.2

1. Discuss some functions of Institutional pressure groups
2. Discuss three types of organizations in the associational pressure groups

3.3 Non-Associational Pressure Groups

This refers to informal organizations. They are brought together by virtue of kinship or family ties, religion, tribal affiliations, social traditions etc. This type of groups does not have permanent existence, they appear when there is need for it and as soon as the need is met, they fold up immediately. There is no formality and procedure in their organizations. Example of this group includes tribal unions, religions, philanthropic associations etc. They provide social and economic functions for their members. These groups have highly educated members in its fold and they also work for the entire community they represent. Examples of this group are Red Cross Society, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and Committee for Defence of Human Rights (CDHR) founded by late Dr. Beko Ransome Kuti etc.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.3

- Discuss some activities of non-associational pressure groups.
- Analyse the factors that bind these informal groups together.

3.4 The Anomic Group

Consist of organisation whose behavior and actions cannot be predicted. They act according to the spur of the moment. They are not guided by any rules of behavior of any type. They are easily recognized in violent situations such as demonstrations, protests, mob rioting, strikes and revolutions. These groups develop when they feel that the decision making authorities have alienated them and therefore feel that the only way they can make their impact felt is through mob action or violence. A times, they may be organized and pull their resources together to carry out spontaneous action. But by and large, they disappear immediately after each action.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Regardless of the classifications of pressure groups, they perform essential functions in their area of jurisdiction by protecting and promoting the interest of their members, Truman in Johari put it succinctly “the essential fact remain that pressure group play their

part in the political process of every country whether modern or traditional, democratic or totalitarian. Their roles affect the working of the government and in turn, the government function to established and maintain a measure of order in the relationship among group” Johari (2008:249).

5.0 SUMMARY

We examined various classifications of pressure beginning from institutional group which is the legislature, bureaucracy, judiciary as presented by G.A Almond and they are created to achieve certain objectives in the political system while associational groups are well organized with offices in the society. They fight for better conditions for their members. The non-associational groups are informal organizations do not have permanent structure, they appear when the need arises and disappear after the needs have been met. They provide social, economic, and philanthropic functions for their members. The anomic groups can be said to be erratic since their behavior cannot be predicted. They respond to the spur of the moment.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMAs)

1. Account for the erratic behavior of anomic pressure group.
2. Examine the functions of associational pressure groups
3. Explain a few groups under this association

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MODULE 4

UNIT 3: TECHNIQUES USED BY PRESSURE GROUPS

- 1.0 Introduction.**
- 2.0 Objectives.**
- 3.0 Main contents.**
 - 3.1 Lobbying.**
 - 3.2 Publicity/propaganda.**
 - 3.3 Strikes/boycott.**
 - 3.4 Public and peaceful demonstration.**
 - 3.5 Riot/violence.**
- 4.0 Conclusion.**
- 5.0 Summary.**
- 6.0 Tutor-marked assignment.**
- 7.0 References/Further Reading.**

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Let us turn our attention to tactics and techniques employed by various pressure groups to achieve their goals and objectives. Since these pressure groups vary, they also have different methods and tactics they use to pursue their objectives.

2.0 OBJECTIVES:

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

- ❖ Explain some of the techniques used by pressure groups to achieve their objectives.
- ❖ Discuss why dialogue is a better option than violence or demonstration.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Lobbying

Lobbying is another crucial methods used by pressure group. They can lobby those that are directly concerned with their demands, may be a legislator or a minister. They can even go through their spouses so that their needs or demands can be met. This can also be done through sponsoring of bills in the legislative assembly or it may take form of testifying before relevant committee or even talk to individuals in the parliament to

facilitate easy passage of a bill. They may even circulate leaflets, circulars etc to create favorable atmosphere for the proposal they want approval for. This also includes direct personal contact by the group to convince public officials to support their claims or demands. Lobbying also involves using persuasive argument backed with necessary data to influence those in the position of authority over a policy they are interested upon. They may even lobby through advertisement in popular mass media in order to create and curry the favour of public on topical policy issues.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.1

- Define the term lobbying.
- Account for how pressure groups lobby legislators to support their claims or demands.

3.2 Publicity and Propaganda

Pressure groups can use mass media like the press, radio, television, bulletins, and hand bills to persuade those in authority to accede to their demands. They have successfully done this in the past for instance, the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) used press release to force the government to drop the Abortion Bill in the second republic in Nigeria. Similarly, the Nigerian Medical Association used press release when they demanded for better condition of service and government was forced to agree to their demands. The Nigeria Union of Teacher kicked against handing over of schools to voluntary organizations and agencies. It is of interest to note that all the major professional organizations in the associational pressure group normally use this medium.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.2

- Examine the importance of mass media as an instrument in the hands of pressure groups to achieve their goals.
- Examine a few organizations that have used this medium in the past.

3.3 Strikes/Boycott

This is a very effective method that pressure groups use to force government or those in authority to yield to the demands of their members. It is the last resort. In this situation, the employees would down tools and refuse to carry out their legitimate duties. First, they give the concerned group notice of strike and when nothing concrete is done, they may give ultimatum again before finally embarking on strike action. It may even be sit down strike in which case, they can go to work but refuse to work. When it is total strike, the workers would stay at home waiting for directives on the next line of action from their leaders. It may take a few days, weeks or months, like the current Academic Staff Union of Nigeria Universities (ASUU). They have been on strike for almost four months now, they want the government to implement the agreement reached with them since 2009 and the government is yet to take a concrete decision on the issue. When workers go on strike, they paralyze the machinery of government resulting in huge losses of financial revenues.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.3

- Discuss how strike and boycott can be effective as a means of forcing government or employers to yield to pressure group
- Online a few recent examples.

3.4 Public and Peaceful Demonstrations

Pressure groups have used this method successfully times without number thereby forcing the government to drop certain policy or the other. The groups normally organize themselves in strategic location with their members. A case in point was the one organized by Nigeria Labour Union (NLC) against the Federal Government because of increase in the prices of petroleum products in year 2005. A few civil society groups joined the protest which was carried out in almost all the cities in Nigeria, and in Lagos, the protesters trekked from Ojuelegba in Surulere to Lagos State Secretariat at Alausa to deliver their protest letter to Governor Ahmed bola Tinubu for immediate dispatch to the then President of Nigeria Chief Olusegun Obasanjo. Similarly, another protest was held in January 2012 at Abiola Garden in Lagos over increase in the price of petroleum products and it lasted for a whole week and the soldiers were called to disperse the protesters

before they could reconvene the following week and the president personally announced the pump price of petrol to ninety-seven naira per litre. This is to show that demonstrations are very useful only when it is peaceful and not hijacked by areas boys.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.4

- Examine the importance of pressure groups in the society.
- Explain the consequences of their demonstrations

3.5 Riots/Violence

When pressure groups have used all known methods at their disposal and no meaningful success is achieved regarding their goals and objectives, they may at times resort to violence. The violence can take several forms. It can be arson, destruction of property etc. Violence is most probably due to lack of patience among the leaders of the pressure groups or insensitivity on the part of those in authority to yield to the demands of the groups. But destruction and arson are not solutions to any disagreement. Solutions lie in persistent dialogue to be able to reach a level of compromise and understanding. Other techniques of pressure groups include underground activities of the press. The printed media like magazines, newspapers can go underground and print whatever it feels appropriate and the government will be all out for them. This happened during the regime of Gen Sanni Abacha when the Tell Magazine and Tempol went underground for fear of arrest and prosecution by the maximum ruler. Radio Kudrat was also used by National Democratic Coalition (NADECO) to express their views on topical issues in 1994 and the military then banned both the radio and the NADECO and they went underground. Akinbade (2008:218).

4.0 CONCLUSION

We have seen that pressure groups used several methods to achieve their aims and objectives. All the methods and tactics employed by these groups are legitimate. What is not appropriate is the use of violence and riots to pursue any aspiration or goals. Dialogue

is crucial as a means of finding solutions to any societal problems and not violence or riots.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we examined several methods used by pressure groups one of which is lobbying. A group can lobby the legislator or those in authority to support its policy or demand, pressure group can go on strike to press for their demand and can use boycott method or sit down strike. They may even use peaceful demonstrations and various organs like, Radio, Television, Newspaper, Posters etc and in extreme cases, they sometimes use violence and riot which are not legitimate.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMAs)

- Examine some important techniques through which pressure groups can achieve their objectives.
- Explain why these methods are illegitimate
- Suggest method that can be employed when those in authority or government cannot peacefully reach an agreement over pressing issues?

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MODULE 4

UNIT 4: COMPARISON OF PRESSURE GROUPS AND POLITICAL PARTY

- 1.0 Introduction.**
- 2.0 Objectives.**
- 3.0 Main contents.**
 - 3.1 Comparison of pressure groups and political parties.**
 - 3.2 Factors that can aid operation of pressure groups.**
 - 3.3 Constraints on the power of pressure groups.**
 - 3.4 Targets of interest/pressure groups.**
- 4.0 Conclusion.**
- 5.0 Summary.**
- 6.0 Tutor-marked assignment.**
- 7.0 References/Further Reading.**

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Pressure groups and political parties are organization that tries to achieve different goals and objectives. The goal of pressure group is to influence government decisions to the advantage of its members while the main goal of a political party is to struggle to win elections and form government. The organization and method by which they go about pursuing their goals and objectives are dissimilar. Let us now look at differences between the two organizations.

2.0 OBJECTIVES:

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

- Explain the goals of pressure groups and political party.
- Discuss the comparison between political party and pressure group.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Comparison of Pressure Groups and Political Parties.

- We have said that pressure group tries to influence people who actually have the power to make decisions on behalf of the people. They do not look for political office for themselves but tries to influence decision makers while political parties

struggle to win election with the motive of forming the government and controlling state power.

- Pressure groups fight for the protection and promotion of specific narrow interest like better conditions of service, reduction in the prices of agricultural commodities etc. Political parties aggregate interest of everybody in the state i.e. farmers, businessmen, lawyers, accountant, doctors and others in the society.
- Political parties conduct its affairs openly while pressure groups indulge themselves in “hide and seek” game.
- The machinery of political parties like constitution, offices, flags, records, can easily be accessible. It is not strictly so with pressure groups, they tend to be neutral while they are very much active trying to influence decision makers or those who have political power to yield to their demands.
- Pressure groups do not have highly developed organizational structure like political parties. Membership of pressure group are restricted to a few qualified people in medical line, political parties are open to all segment of the society regardless of educational qualification or financial position
- Pressure groups do not present candidates for election while political parties do so in order to “capture” political power as earlier remarked.
- Pressure parties have clear and definite ideology, pressure groups do not have.
- Parties have manifestoes and programmes that they use to appeal to the electorate to vote for them, pressure group only depend on leaflets, bills, stating their goals and objectives.
- Pressure group simplifies the work of political parties by mobilizing and integrating the people

- Political parties do organize rallies, debates, symposia, lectures seminar all in bid to educate the electorates. This is not so with pressure group as soon as they are able to achieve their objective they may be silent or even disappear.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.1

- Compare and contrast the functions of political parties and pressure groups.
- Explain how successful they have been performing these functions.

3.2 Factor that can Aids Operation of Pressure Groups

Having looked at the comparison of political parties and pressure groups, let us now turn our attention to factor that aids the effective operations of pressure group. If pressure group are well organized with good strategies, they will make good impact on the society and government will accord them due recognition and may consider their demands. Availability of fund is also crucial for execution of the plans and working of pressure group. They require money to print their aims and objectives, maintain their offices, and pay their staff. Effective and dynamic leaders are important for the successful operation of pressure groups. Leaders that can make impact and contribute meaningfully to issues at stake, leaders who will not compromise with those in position of authority and betray the confidence repose on them by their members; leaders that are dedicated to the goals and aspirations of the groups. The importance of effective and bold leadership in the operations or working of pressure groups cannot be over emphasized. Other factors include the attitude of the government of the day towards the various pressure groups. If government of the day is democratic and tolerant of the activities of pressure groups, they will go a long way in the pursuance of their objectives, enhance and promote the welfare of their members.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.2

- Examine factors that contribute to the success of pressure groups?
- Outline various suggestions that can lead to the improvement in the performance of their duties.

3.3 CONSTRAINTS ON THE POWER OF PRESSURE GROUP

Pressure group may be unable to perform their operations successfully due to a number of factors. They may not be able to properly articulate their aims and objectives if they lack cohesion and effective mobilization of members. The group goal and objective may not be clearly stated and it will be difficult for members of the public to embrace the activities of such groups. Poorly organized groups are not likely to have large followership and localized pressure groups would equally suffer the same fate. The political culture in which pressure groups operates is very crucial. Ayeni Akeke remarked “the political culture of the society limit the freedom of interest groups by stipulating in a general way, the boundaries and methods within which those groups may legitimately pursue the narrow claims of their member”. Ayeni Akeke (2008:125).

The methods and techniques that pressure groups may choose to advance and promote their objectives are limited to the acceptable prevailing cultures of the community. Lack of unity and disciplined leadership of the pressure groups seriously limit the operation and success of the groups. Members of the pressure groups may not be dedicated and committed to the objective of the group and this will affect the general performance of the group. Government policy and intervention in the activities of pressure group is another big hindrance towards effective performance of their duties.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.3

- Explain the constraints of pressure group in the performance of their activities.
- Describe how these constraints can be eliminated.

3.4 TARGET OF INTEREST/ PRESSURE GROUPS

The specific target of pressure group is naturally dictated by a number of factors: these are the political system, the type of issues, timing etc. We should not lose focus that the basic objective of any group is to secure the interest of its members. All pressure group wants to take full advantage of those who are in control of state power and its machinery. In a unitary state, major decisions are taken by the leader and other bureaucrats at

national level, this is not so in a federal state while in a federal state many interest groups with target in local, state and national levels may be able to exert influence. Interest group are more or less centrally organized in a unitary state and decentralized in a federal state where they have branches at the state and local levels.

The Nigerian Labour Congresses (NLC) Nigerian Unions of Teacher (NUT), Nigerian Medical Associations (NMA), are few examples of important interest groups in Nigeria and they all reflect federal structure of the country in their organisation. It is of interest to note that various pressure groups in order to facilitate and enhance their operations and avoid wasting time, energy, do move close to the seat of political power or to those who are sympathetic to their aspirations and objectives.

Self-Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.4

- Discuss and identify the targeted audience of pressure groups in a Unitary state
- Explain how they achieve their goals and objective

4.0 CONCLUSION

Pressure groups are very essential in any democratic society because of the vital roles and functions they perform. They influence those in authority using various techniques and tactics. They also serve as an important forum in which individual can achieve his or her objectives.

5.0 SUMMARY:

In this unit, we said pressure group exert pressure on those in authority with the aim of influencing them to agree to their demands and also members of pressure groups come together so as to protect the interest of their members or groups. They do not aspire to form government but to influence government decision to their advantage. We mentioned four types of pressure groups-associational pressure groups, non-associational pressure group, institutional and anomic pressure groups. We also discussed various methods they use to achieve their aims and objectives.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMAs)

1. Compare and contrast the function of Political parties and pressure group.
2. Describe the factors that aid the operations of pressure groups
3. Examine the factors that work against the success of pressure groups.

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UNIT 5: COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

- 1.0 Introduction.**
- 2.0 Objective.**
- 3.0 Main contents.**
 - 3.1 Definitions/meaning of collective bargaining.**
 - 3.2 Characteristics and functions of collective bargaining.**
 - 3.3 Condition necessary for collective bargaining.**
 - 3.4 Type of collective bargaining.**
 - 3.5 Strategy for bargaining.**
- 4.0 Conclusion.**
- 5.0 Summary.**
- 6.0 Tutor-marked assignment.**
- 7.0 References/Further Reading.**

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Collective bargaining is a process of decision making between employers of labour and employees regarding set of rules that governs working relationship and payment of wages and salaries plus other conditions of service between the two parties. Workers found it necessary to protect themselves from the harsh working environment as a result of new industrial machines, new methods of production and stiff competitions that are being used in the economy. They felt it was necessary for them to team up and form formidable associations that would protect and enhance better working conditions. Such association should be capable of representing the interest of members vis-a-vis employers.

At the initial stage, only skilled labours were able to survive the harsh and poor conditions of the business circle coupled with the hostile policies of the state. Ogunyomi/ Kolawole (2008:145) remarked that “the craft-men were fortunate enough to have material, administrative resources and effective leadership to build strong institutions”. These craft-men organized themselves for different purposes; some restricted entry to the trade to avoid the saturation of the market by many qualified men while others built up organisation to protect against loss of jobs, income, and ill-health and other industrial hazards and dispute. They made regulation of salaries and wages top priority and other conditions of employment very crucial. Some of these associations did not make any

concrete step towards realizing these objectives and on the side of the employer; some of them engaged in defensive tactics while others refused to deal with workers.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- Define collective bargaining.
- Explain functions of collective bargaining

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Definition and Meaning of Collective Bargaining.

The term collective bargaining was first used toward the end of 1891 by Beatrice Webb (1911) an Economic theorist. Collective negotiations and agreement had existed since the trade unions in early 18th century. Ogunyomi defined collective bargaining “as a process by which a trade unions and management try to resolve their differences through joint negotiation” Ogunyomi eds (2008:149). He went further to say that “collective bargaining take place when a group of people with common interest and common grievance through their selected or elected representatives meet with the opposing party, could be government or private employers or any other master-servant relationship, for that matter, enter into a negotiation process with the objective of reaching an acceptable agreement on the condition of dispute or disagreement: Ogunyomi (2008: 148). This definition is comprehensive because it consists of people who share similar grievances and express such grievances through their selected or elected representative and meet with their employers which may be private or public for the purpose of negotiations and reaching acceptable agreement on the issue at stake.

The International Labour Organization defines collective bargaining as “negotiation of working conditions and terms of employment between employers, a group of employers or one or more employers organization on one hand, and the representatives of workers organizations on the other hand with a view to reaching an agreement”. Ogunyomi ed

(2003:149). This definition leaned much on the side of labour probably due to the fact that the organization deals with labour and related issues.

Another embracing and all encompassing definition that actually capture the real meaning of collective bargaining was given by Dafe Ootobo (1995) cited in Ogunyomi (2003:149). He said “collective bargaining as a phase which stands for or represent the totality of relationship among and between all the actors in industry, how these relationships arise, and how rules, regulation and conventions are developed to govern the conduct of all parties”. The essential point is for negotiation to take place between all the stakeholders with the motive of resolving the issue or grievances.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.1

- Define the term collective bargaining.
- Examine the crucial elements in these definitions.

3.2 Characteristics and Functions of Collective Bargaining

Let us quickly look at some salient characteristics and functions of collective bargaining. Professor Neil Chamberlain (1951) suggested three basic features of collective bargaining

1. “It regulates terms and conditions of payment.
2. It is a form of industrial government.
3. “Any meaningful method of government” collective bargaining should consists of three characteristics suggested above because they are the fundamentals upon which any bargaining power or agreement rests. Collective bargaining process is based on “give and take”, compromise concession and disagreement as dictated by circumstances, time and situations” Ogunyomi eds (2003:161). Both sides in an agreement should be able to shift positions in order to reach favourable agreement or strike a balance and pave way for industrial harmony.

The functions of collective bargaining can be looked at from the angle of employer and employees. From the perspective of the employees we shall look at economic, legal, social and democratic functions.

The workers union used this as an instrument to secure better wage increase from their employers by collective action. This method eliminates differences in the wages of workers that performs similar duties. The legal function of collective bargaining entails rules and regulations governing individual workers and the rule are jointly made by the representatives of the workers and the management and it becomes binding on both sides.

The social function contains agreed conditions and procedures for the settlement of dispute and grievances emanating from the interpretation of the agreement. When workers participate in the management negotiation through their elected representatives on issues affecting their welfare, it can be said to be actually democratic. The employers also benefit a great deal from this type of negotiation because it saves time, cost and prevents avoidable strikes and enhance industrial harmony. On the government side, the following benefits accrue to it:

1. It prevents conflict and political instability.
2. Avoidances of loss of revenue arising from unnecessary strikes and work-to-rule actions.
3. It eliminates biases incase government decides to intervene in industrial disputes.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.2

- Discuss the characteristics of collective bargaining.
- Explain the main functions of collective bargaining.

3.3 Conditions for Effective Collective Bargaining

When both parties in a negotiation of bargaining sign an agreement, it can then be regarded as effective instead of endless and time wasting negotiations. The following points are of paramount importance to such effectiveness.

- ❖ There should be freedom of association for the workers to operate and they must not be threatened with bans.

- ❖ The employers must give legal backing or support to unions so that they can freely operate in the system.

Collective bargaining can only succeed in an atmosphere of peace, there should be political stability for both parties to grow and flourish.

- ❖ The union must be financially strong and both sides should have their facts and figures ready when going for negotiation so that their negotiation would not be a mere talking shop.
- ❖ The two parties in the negotiation process should be able to shift positions so that they can reach reasonable compromise. The spirit of “give and take” should be their watch word for the benefit of both parties.
- ❖ Both parties should be involved in drawing up the rules governing the collective bargaining process so that no party will suspect the other and there will be no ill-feeling during the process of negotiation. It is of great importance that the two parties should be highly knowledgeable in labour laws, possess necessary negotiation skills, facts and experience.

This is because when inexperienced people are in the negotiation team, they may be too rigid when they should be flexible or shift position.

- ❖ Finally, both parties should come to negotiations table in good faith and intentions so that amicable solutions and agreement would be reached and in case of lack of agreement from the two parties, a new date should be fixed by both sides to continue the negotiation. And if agreement is however reached, both parties should jointly sign the agreement.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.3

- Enumerate the conditions necessary for negotiation.
- Explain why the parties in a negotiation should reach a compromise

3.4 Kinds of Collective Bargaining

- ❖ There are different kinds of collective bargaining; we shall briefly look at each of them:
- ❖ Distributive bargaining is a situation where one party takes full advantage of the other party and in most cases, important issues come under this category like salaries and wages, hours of works, allowances, overtime etc. only a party benefit greatly here at the expense or to the detriment of the other party.
- ❖ Co-operative bargaining is a system whereby each party rely on the other and can benefit more from each other when they co-operate together. It takes two to tango. The real emphasis here is common interest. Chamberlain and Kuhu (1965) wrote extensively on co-operative bargaining.
- ❖ Integrative bargaining involves reaching amicable agreement on productivity, lay off, overtime, redundancies, and other important issues affecting both parties.
- ❖ Another kind of bargaining is fractional bargaining in which a group of worker who by virtue of their work, are strategically located or because they have special skills required by the job, seeks extra agreement for their group alone. Professor Kuhu (1965) cited in Ogunyomi (2003:168) advised that this type of group should be ignored if it is against general interest.
- ❖ Individual bargaining involves an individual worker seeking better conditions of service for his service alone, and atimes an organization may require the services of an individual because of his skills or expertise in a particular area, the organization may need to bargain with such a worker and the package of such worker may not follow the structure or the usual pattern in the organization.

Self Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3.4

- Explain different types of collective bargaining you know.
- Describe their demerits?

3.5 Strategy for Bargaining.

A strategy is the intended plan to achieve an objective or goal while tactics are the action taken during the actual process of bargaining. Both sides in the negotiation team have their different strategies and tactics which they always perfect before going for negotiation. Let us look at a few strategies from the perspective of labour.

- ❖ Avoidance of detrimental clauses that would retain the position of the management in the contract.
- ❖ Inform personnel Dept. about progress and outcome of all bargaining sessions.
- ❖ Union leaders should be able to develop and keep agreement they have recorded “success” in the bargaining sessions with the management incase they may want to seek re-election.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Pressure groups are groups of individuals that have similar views, values and beliefs and try to influence public policy especially governmental legislations about specific issues. They use a variety of techniques to achieve their aims and objectives. These are lobbying, strikes, violence, informal contact, public education, peaceful demonstrations and boycotts. Pressure group is very useful in any democratic society. Collective bargaining is the process of decision making between employer of labour and employees concerning the rules and regulations about their working conditions including wages/salary and other remunerations packages.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we examined a few definitions of pressure groups and we looked at some of the functions of pressure groups. We said that pressure groups essentially performs social functions, encourages democratic concept of representative government and also represent the interest of the minority. Their main goal is to influence those who hold political powers but not to form government. We took a brief look at collective

bargaining and we remarked that it is a process of negotiation between employers and a group of employees with the motive of reaching agreement that regulates their working conditions.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMAs)

1. Critically examine the functions of pressure groups?
2. Explain the methods they use to achieve their objectives?
3. Explain the term collective bargaining.

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