

Full Length Research Paper

Intra and inter party post-election crisis/feud management in a pluralistic democracy: An x-ray of the Nigerian political landscape

S. T. Akindele

Department of Political Science, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Osun State, Nigeria.
E-mail: sxakindel@yahoo.com

Accepted 9 December, 2010

The analysis in this paper focuses on intra and inter-party electoral crisis/feud management in pluralistic polities of the world. While the study specifically focused on the Nigerian political landscape, where applicable, engaged in a synoptic juxta-positional analysis of the experiences of other pluralistic democracies notably the United States of America and India. The analysis choreographed the Nigerian nation's political dilemmas in the context of various developments within it right from the colonial period to date and identified what is considered relevant and necessary to be done to rid Nigerian nation of her present political dilemmas.

Key words: Intra and inter party, pluralistic democracy, Nigeria political landscape.

INTRODUCTION

The subject-matter of this paper is on intra and inter-party electoral crisis/feud management in pluralistic polities of the world. The study analysis in this regard, is focused on the Nigerian political landscape though, with a synoptic juxta-positional analysis of the experiences of other pluralistic democracies notably the United States of America and India, where applicable. The requirements of this subject-matter however, are without doubt much deeper than its visual connotation/conceptualization. It is provocative thus; it cannot be taken for granted given the Nigerian experience. The issue of electoral process and its accompanying constant disturbances within the Nigerian body politic can hardly be ignored. This remains so, in the context of today's global developments and the continuous quest for good governance dictated by the desires of citizens all over the world – (including those under the aegis of repression and dictatorship) – for freedom.

Given this premise, it is the conviction that a proper analysis of the subject-matter of this paper cannot be meaningfully embarked upon or done in isolation from relevant theoretical expositions or explorations of concepts that form its arteries. Thus, the broad preliminary section of this paper, in section two, will concern itself with the analytical perusal of such relevant theoretical constructs upon which the applicative discussion will

be based.

This being the case, the theoretical concepts of party systems and their variations, political parties, electoral systems and elections, will form the core of our attention in the second section of this paper tagged theoretical constructs.

THEORETICAL CONSTRUCTS

The subject-matter of theory in terms of discourse or analytical appraisal remains problematic, contextual and, above all, disputable within the scholarship of social sciences and related disciplines. This has to do with its philosophical foundation concerning the issue of knowledge and its place in the systemic existence of human beings. The idea of knowledge has long constituted a problem to scholars and philosophers of repute. This philosophical problem dates back to the period of Socrates. And, it was from this point of intellectual development that the thinking about the nature of the knowledge started to generate various confusions. This trend has led to a state of no consensus or agreement even till today, as to what actually constitutes knowledge notwithstanding the maturation of scientific break-through.

Within the social sciences the issue of theory has attracted a lot of attention particularly given the need to move from the abstract level to the empirical one. The world theory can be given various meanings depending on the perspective, ideological persuasion or unit of analysis of the definer. Thus, a theory maybe looked at normatively or empirically. It should however, be noted that, normative and scientific empirical theory rarely mean the same thing. When we are referring to theories that could be empirically tested using the imperatives of science in ways that facts are drawn out from such theories about reality, we have in mind scientific/empirical theory but for normative theory, metaphysicalism and philosophical propositions that are not easily amenable to scientific manipulations are the order of the day.

Generally, a theory forms the basis of reliable knowledge. That is, it is the conceptual foundation of such knowledge because it helps social scientists to explain and predict phenomena or issues of interest in ways relevant to the making of scientifically founded practical questions. Thus, in a simple sense, a theory means a body of knowledge constructed in such a way that facts about reality are drawn together to bring about significance and conceptual meanings that are not otherwise apparent. Meaning which could not have been factually known becomes knowable through such theoretical construct. In spite of the above, the tendency has largely been to synonymise theory with speculation until the former (that is, theory) is proven. But when this proof is made, the theory then becomes a fact. Through observations, a theory describes and identifies affinities among facts. What this, in essence, means is that, a theory helps the researcher to make scientific and practically founded decisions about the phenomena of his/her interest.

Put together, a theory may be taken to mean a formulation of apparent relationships among certain observed or yet to be observed issues that could be verified to some extent. This explains why Gibson (1960) in his book the Logic of Social Inquiry basically defined a theory as a 'set or system of statements logically interconnected in various complex ways'. And it explains why Nelson Polsby (1963), once argued that 'a scientific theory is a deductive network of generalization from which explanations or predictions of certain types of known events may be derived'. Thus, the simplest interpretation of theory views it as a set of related empirical generalizations (Isaak, 1983), which may equally be defined as: A set of generalizations containing concepts with which we are directly acquainted and those which are operationally defined (Isaak, 1983)

Within the context of this paper, theory occupies a very important place vis-à-vis the concepts of party system, political parties, crisis/conflicts/feud and electoral process and elections. This is particularly so in the context of which they have been practiced within the Nigerian

multi-lingua, multi-religion, and multi-party political landscape.

Given the foregoing, the theoretical concepts of party system, political parties, elections and electoral process, crisis are examined one after the other here as a prelude to those of their practical applications in Nigeria, amidst constant crises and their management or otherwise.

PARTY SYSTEM

Party system has become an indispensable factor in every human society as a result of modern representative democracy. Thus, a representative or democratic system would be impossible without political parties. This explains why formation of political parties has become a feature of our society today. It is not without justification today, to state that, party politics has become omnipresent in our world and, that it manifests in all political systems in varying degrees. Thus, party system can be viewed or referred to as a complex web of interrelationships between/among political parties of different ideologies and philosophical orientations and between these parties and the socio-political community in which they exist. It has become so in the context of a mechanism for the maximization of political participation and/or justification of political leadership or legitimacy of authority. Through party system, party politics as afore-stated, is now a universal phenomenon though, with variations from one polity to the other. This variation has been typologically illustrated thus:

“the party system as obtaining in different political systems, whether developed or developing, even underdeveloped, of the world is governed by several factors like the nature of social composition, economic divisions, religious and ethnic affiliations, cultural diversities, and political differences over matters of internal and external policy of the state (Johari, 2000)”

In line with the foregoing, party system has been classified into one (single), two (bi) and multi-party categories (Duvenger, 1954; Neuman, 1956; La Palombara and Weiner, 1966; Dahl, 1967; Sartori, 1976), and, examined within the context of various polities. On this classification, Johari (2000) argues that each category – (single-party, bi-party, and multi-party) – of the party system has its own sub-divisions. And, that this varies from one polity to the other. His classification is schematically depicted in Figure 1.

In line with the eclecticism of political science or social sciences scholarship and volatility of the issue of party system, Sartori (1976), further classified the party system with different terminologies – (one party, two party and multi party) – and sub-components. This is discernible from Figure 2.

The study would like to contend that the ideological

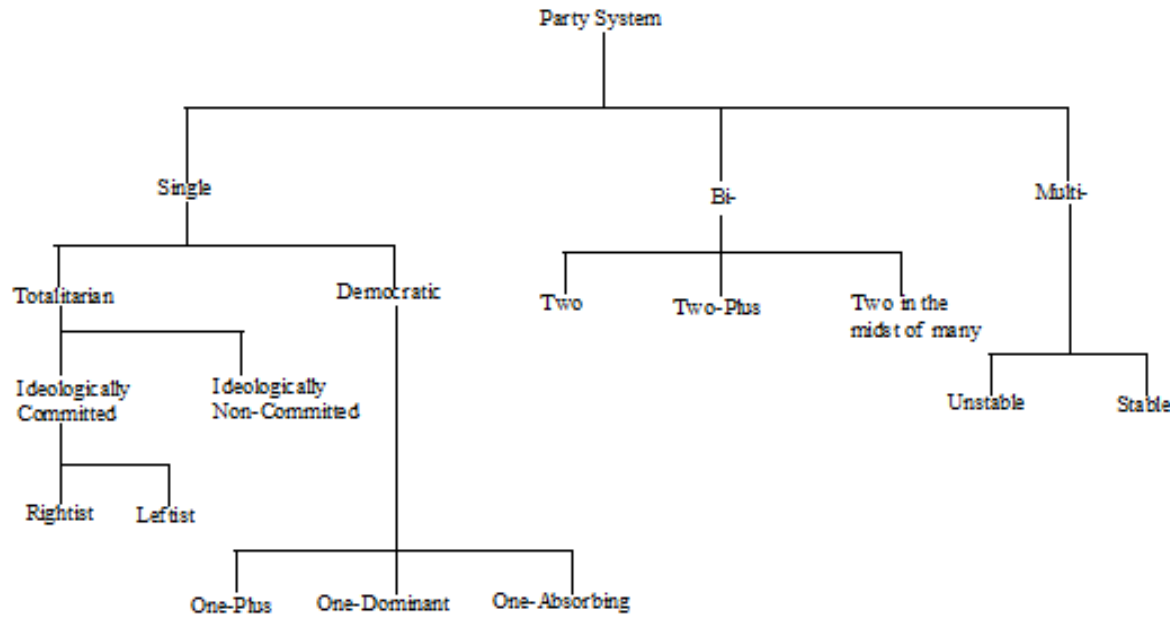


Figure 1. Party system.
Source: Comparative politics, J.C. Johan,2000, p.328.

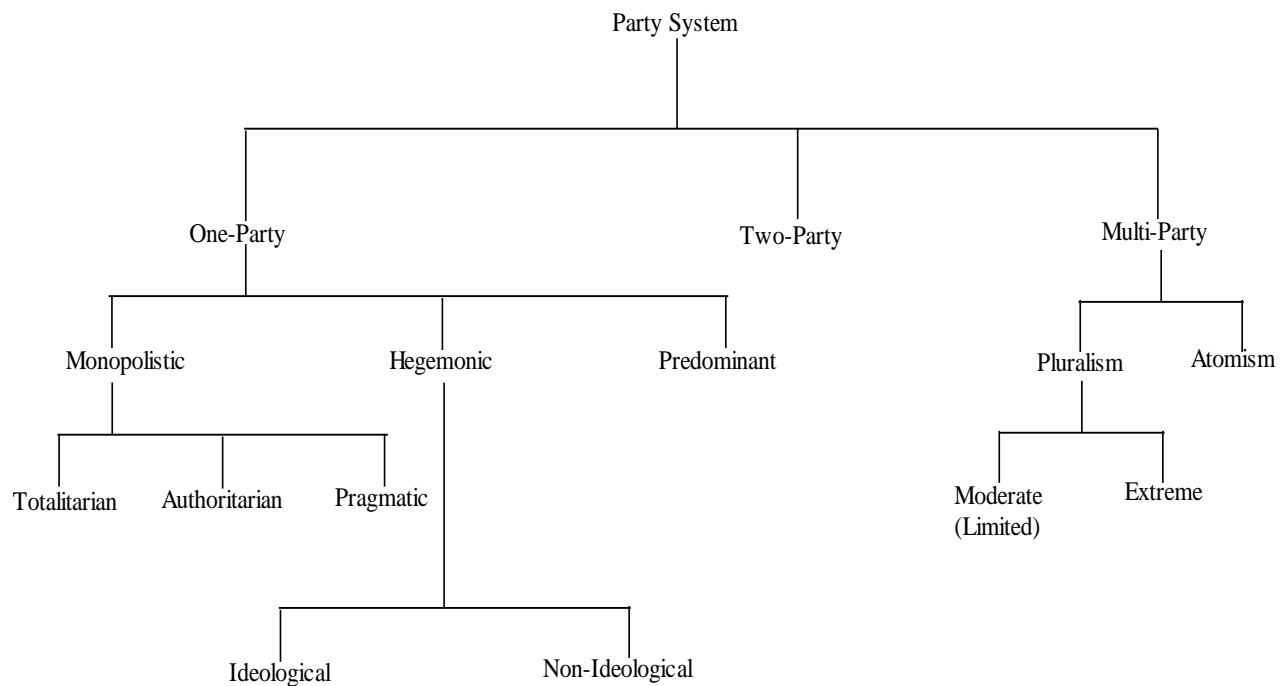


Figure 2. Satori classification
Source: Comparative Politics, J.C. John, 2000, p.336

contestations over these typological illustrations are not the focus of attention here. Instead, the focus is on the extent to which the Nigerian state has been able to manage the crisis/crises associated with her electoral

process in the context of party politics and its understanding. This understanding per se, is contingent on the connotation given to the term political party by members of the political class and/or the political leaders.

Hence, the section below attempts to define the concept of political party.

Political party

It is notoriously difficult to define a political party. To some extent, it is not easy to differentiate it from an interest group, a faction or a political movement. Thus, Johari (2000) once articulated thus:

the meaning of political party is so flexible that it may mean any group or organization from one having a smaller number of members and committed to the protection and promotion of a specific interest to that having a wider base and. ...organized on the basis of any incentive like patronage, obtaining special treatment by government, career opportunists, economic benefits, personal rewards, ability to wield influence or ideological gratification.

On his own part, Curtis (1968) stated that:

“(a political) party signifies a group of people who hold certain political beliefs in common or who are prepared to support the party candidates, work together for electoral victory, attain and maintain political power.”

Brown (1962) claims that:

“Political parties are specialized associations whose purpose is to secure power within a corporate group for their leaders in order to attain ideal or material advantages ... they become more complex, organized and bureaucratic as a society approaches modern type.”

According to Appadorai (1978):

“A political party is a more or less organized group of citizens who act together as a political unit, have distinctive aims and opinions on the leading political questions of controversy in the state, and who, by acting together as a political unit, seek to obtain control of the government. It is based on two fundamentals of human nature: men differ in their opinions, and are gregarious; they try to achieve by combination what they cannot achieve individually. Religious and communal loyalties, and the attachment to a dynasty or leader, also help parties to develop. Party enthusiasm is maintained by such elements of human nature as sympathy, imitation, competition and pugnacity.

A political party is defined as an association of people with similar interest and common purposes. The interest and purposes revolve around the objective of using the party to acquire power and share in its exercise. It has the mobilization roles of educating and recruiting leaders for office.”

Richard Rose (1978) defines a political party as an

organization concerned with the expression of popular preference and contesting control of the policy making offices of government. Joseph Schlesinger defines it as an organization whose goal is to capture public office in electoral competition (Ujo, 2000).

From the foregoing, it is obvious that political parties can be seen or referred to as the political vehicles or devices through which the ‘ruled’ (the governed) (that is, the citizenry or the electorate) relate to the governing process. Thus, from the standpoint of ‘linkage-model’, a political party performs among others, the function of bridging the gulf between the electorate and the governing process.

Taken within this context, Akindele and Olaopa (1998), Akindele et al. (2000) defined a political party as:

“any group of people with symmetrical political opinions, principles and ideologies, and who on the basis of this ideological symmetry unite to gain through competitive efforts for peoples votes, the control of government in order to translate their formulated policies and programmes (manifestoes) into public policy”

Working within this definition, these scholars further claimed that ‘the aim of political party is the gaining of political power to aid the realization of its ideas and political foresight’ (Akindele et al., 2000).

It is necessary to point out at this juncture that the symmetrical ideology of the founding members of any political party does not necessarily extend to the relationship between such party and others. In other words, there are always differences between one political party and another.

Ideological differences between political parties

There is always a polarity between the political party's policy orientation or political foresight and that of other political parties. The antithetical policy orientations and ideological beliefs of the political parties that came into being during Nigeria's Second Republic (that is, the post-Murtala-Obasanjo era of civilian politics) is a useful example of these ideological differences.

At least during the Second Republic in Nigeria, all the political parties UPN, NPN, NPP, GNPP, PRP and NAP had different ideologies regarding the governance of Nigeria. The different policy orientations and political foresight of the then two major or dominant parties – NPN and UPN provide a good example here. In the area of education and health policies, both NPN and UPN were non-symbiotic. While UPN believed and embraced free health care delivery and free education at all levels policies which were implemented amidst financial stringency in the UPN-controlled states, the NPN believed otherwise. The feasibility or non-feasibility of the policies

mention here is of less concern than the idea that two or more political parties within the same polity seldom share similar principles or ideologies regarding certain political issues. It was the same thing with the two – SDP and NRC – government imposed political parties that emerged following the adoption of a two-party system for Nigeria's Third Republic by the then President Ibrahim Babangida's administration.

Organization of political parties

Within any democratic polity, political parties exist and are organized at the national, state and grassroots levels. The national level is always the citadel of the national executives of the parties from where they (members of the national executive) dictate and co-ordinate the activities of the state and local offices of the parties.

The detailed and itemized policies or programmes (manifestoes) of the parties are usually formulated and drawn up at the national secretariat of the parties. And, these are strictly binding on the state and local level secretariats and members. It should be stressed that all the policies and programmes so drawn are not immune from the approval of the entire party members. That is, the programmes, policies and directives of the parties, after their genesis at the national level, are subject to either the approval or disapproval of the entire party members. All the political parties (UPN, NPN, NPP, GNPP, PRP, and NAP) that existed during the defunct Shagari administration demonstrated these characteristics. Regardless of the organization of political parties at national, state and local levels, the consensual promotion and adoption of party programmes and policies usually form the kernel of political parties' orientations.

Party officials at these levels (national, state and local levels) are generally remunerated, for their work by the parties, and there are election committees, the duties of which include, among other things, the selection of parties' candidates for elections, and organization of parties' formats for conducting elections.

The settlement of rifts falls within the jurisdiction or realm of activities of the national election committees of the political parties. However, it may not be always possible for the national election committee or national secretariat of the parties to put an end to such rift or rifts. The ideological rift which riddled the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) in Ondo State of Nigeria in 1982/1983 during the Second Republic provides a good example in the sense that the national secretariat of UPN despite its efforts, was unable to settle the rift which eventually led to a complete political division of the Unity Party wing of Ondo State and its consequent political chaos, arson, murder, and other detrimental political rampages following the outcome of the gubernatorial election which favored a faction of the UPN in Ondo State. The result

had to be judicially restored before peace returned to Ondo State (Ondo State Election Petition Tribunal, Benin Court of Appeal and Supreme Court of Nigeria's Judgments refer). From this perspective, one could see that settlement of conflicts is one of the peculiar and nerve-wrecking functions of the national secretariat regarding party organization.

In Nigeria, apart from the function of political struggle for the people's votes, in their attempt to capture political power, there has long been a paucity of the performance of the hitherto expected functions by our political parties. Even, rather than acting as the binding force between the people or, in the communities with divisions, in most cases, the Nigerian political parties have even ignited or fanned the embers of community and political discord in most cases. The events in Anambra, Plateau, Niger-Delta, Imo, and other states and areas of the Nigerian Polity are cases in point. As a matter of fact, the Nigerian political parties have failed unlike the Indian National Congress and Bharatiya Janata parties which often performed massive activities of social welfare and public service to the citizenry. Reasons for these problems are later addressed.

The successes or failures of the Nigerian political parties in terms of intra and inter party crisis / feud management vis-à-vis the electoral system and elections can only be measured within the broad concept of these terms – electoral system and elections. These are respectively examined in the immediate subsequent sections of this paper.

ELECTORAL SYSTEM AND ELECTION

The genesis of representative form of government to some extent can be historically identified as the precursor of elections which, in political parlance, connotes the election/choice of people (representative) by qualified adult voters into public offices. The pedigree of election is traceable to the city-states of ancient Greece which has been immortalized as a symbolic example of democracy. Even though, election was then by lot and showing of hands, it emphasized special qualifications on the part of the aspirants for political offices, a practice which has survived to date. In fact, Since the entry of elections into the realm of political activities, it has passed through many reformative political metamorphoses ranging from denied, restricted to unrestricted franchise (rights), the variations of which still exist today within different contemporary politics.

This being the case, election can consequently be defined within the realm of political activities as the selection of representatives or public officials by qualified electorate (voters). This is different from choice by lot or appointment. In other words, it is "a formal act of collective decision that occurs in a stream of connected

antecedent and subsequent behaviour" (Key, 1995 as cited in TMG 2003: vii). An election, according to the international encyclopedia of the social sciences, is

A form of procedure recognized by the state or an organization, whereby all or some of the members of the organization choose a smaller number of persons or one person to hold office of authority in the organization. Its elements include "rule" and "choice", and its function is legitimating the assignment of a person to an office of authority. Rule and choice as the elements of election, imply that every stakeholder in the election must abide by the rules of the game, and that people should have the right to choose among candidates.

Electoral systems must make provision for the ways and means through which people's representatives are to be elected or chosen. This explains the assertion that elections are a complex set of activities with different variables that act and feed on one another (TMG, 2003). However, this system (electoral) differs from one political system to another in the areas of election frequency, qualifications of the voters, qualifications of the candidates and contestants, methods of voting, and organizations. In other words, electoral system connotes the procedure through which qualified adult voters elect their politically preferred representatives to the parliament or legislature of a country for the purpose of forming and running the government of the country. That is, electoral system provides the mechanisms of making available to the governing process acceptable decision-makers. Election involves the participation of the people in the act of electing their leaders and their own participation in governance (TMG, 2003).

Elections are not necessarily about Election Day activities although it forms an important component. It encompasses activities before, during and after elections. It includes the legal and constitutional framework of elections, the registration of political parties, party campaigns, the activities of the electronic and print media in terms of access; it includes campaign financing, the activities of the security agencies and the government in power. It includes the authenticity and genuineness of the voters register; it includes the independence or lack of it of electoral agencies and organs. It includes the liberalism or otherwise of the political process in the country and the independence of adjudicating bodies on elections.

The relevance of the electoral system as discussed up to this point is arguably limited to democratic societies in the sense that electoral systems or elections in totalitarian, dictatorial, authoritarian and monolithic political systems are neither to avail the voters (electorate) the rights to make choices between alternative policy programmes and political parties nor to encourage electorate's free expression, but only to expediently avail the government the opportunity of gauging the public feelings towards the pursuit of its (government) repressive or monolithic political orientation. Generally

electoral or election all over the world has not been problem-free. This remains so, in spite of the belief that democratic politics are the "blue-prints" of good governance and freedom to the whole world. As a matter of fact, Nigeria as a polity has consistently had its own share of the traumatizing experience in this regard.

The study have chosen to conceptualize the foregoing within the context of Nigerian political landscape, to concretely bring to the fore the predicaments which the Nigerian state has constantly faced on issues of party-politics; election and their attendant problems from inception. Thus, as the focal point of analytical departure, the next section of this paper concentrates on the Nigerian state and its democratic experience in the context of multi-partyism, language, cultural and religious diversities and, crisis of political development up to the contemporary phase of the Fourth Republic. This will be done on a juxta-positional basis where applicable, with the experience of India and the United States of America both of which are equally, if not even more, multi-dimensionally characterized by the variables of multi-partyism, multi-culturalism and multi-religious aspirations/values in their respective successful adoption of the parliamentary and presidential systems of democratic governance that have both troubled the Nigerian state.

The Nigerian experience

The analysis in this section is principally focused on the nation's experience in the context of multi-partyism, multi-culturalism and multi-religious diversities vis-à-vis party and electoral politics and their attendant crisis and/or violence or conflicts. It starts with a concrete perusal of the history of political party formation, structure, alliances, and counter-alliances and, their attendant problems.

The extent, to which such problems have been managed or otherwise, will be examined in terms of the nation's regimes/administrations turnover over the years. On this same token, what we consider the present state of things in the Nigerian state will be examined. Based on the efforts in this section, the necessary panacea will be identified in the context of what needs to be done to bring about mature party politics and harmonious democratic political development in Nigeria in spite of her multi-diversity and, heterogeneous and slippery political terrains.

An historical perspective

History of election in Nigeria dates backs to the 1922 Clifford constitution, which introduced elective principle into the country during the colonial period. Political parties emerged in Nigeria after the 1922 Clifford constitution was promulgated, to contest the one and

three seats respectively provided for Calabar and Lagos by the constitution. As Yakubu (2001) once observed, the political parties in Nigeria during the colonial era played the actual role of mobilizing the citizenry, particularly against colonialism. "... It is this unique historical role that anti-colonial political parties came to play that qualifies them to be instruments capable of aiding the democratization process."

As political activities were limited to Lagos and Calabar, the first political party in Nigeria, the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) and, the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM), that was later formed were not national, instead they were restricted to Lagos. The emergence of political parties in Nigeria since then has followed the classical pattern in which the values of the dominant groups not only got protected but were promoted and became dominant. The dominant pre-independence political parties metamorphosized from the major ethnic groups in Nigeria: The Action Group (AG) from Egbe Omo Oduduwa, the National Council of Nigeria Citizens (NCNC) from the Ibo State Union, and the Northern People's Congress from Jam'iyya Mutanen Arewa. The ethnic dimension toed by the parties, which was an index of competitive federalism in Nigeria, has since remained a problem of national concern for the country. The NCNC, which was the most national and highly federated among the three parties, could not be exonerated from ethnic infection and overestimation of leadership, as the personality of Nnamdi Azikiwe was considered supernatural. This among other reasons, according to Yaqub (2001) catalyzed "the development of the phenomenon of personality cult" in each of the three political parties at that period of time. This tendency remains potent till today.

With the exception of the two political parties of the aborted third republic, namely, the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the National Republican Convention (NRC), and, the five Abacha's political parties aimed at transforming the general into a civilian president, political parties in Nigeria, since independence, have been constantly afflicted by the problems of ethnic identification. The second republic political parties were conspicuously the offshoots those of the first republic. Among the three parties that took part in the 1999 general elections, the Alliance for Democracy (AD) and the All Peoples Party (APP) can, to some or significant extent be identified as southwestern and northern parties. The Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) that pretended to be national could not penetrate the southwest in the election, as a result of the dominance of the AD in the region though, this changed during the 2003 general elections. As noted by Osarhieme Benson (1998), competitive federalism intensified the politics of "winner takes all" as political competition was no longer lively, but rather, intensified inter ethnic suspicion, hostilities and rivalries from which none of the nation's political parties can be exonerated.

Absence of democratic culture among the Nigerian political class and political parties has continued to shape the conduct of elections in the country in an undemocratic manner. This problem, coupled with the absence of true federalism in the country, has deepened the problem of undemocratic political culture in Nigeria. Politics in Nigeria has been a zero-sum game characterized by thuggery, hooliganism and lawlessness.

No sooner had independence been granted than politics became a zero-sum game. The ruling coalition was intolerant of dissent and thus employed the coercive apparatus of the state to cripple the main opposition and terrorize the populace in areas of the country under the control of the opposition parties. Thus thuggery, hooliganism and lawlessness became veritable instrument of politics. Political assassination, arrest and incarceration of opponents also became common means, by which the ruling parties (at both national and regional levels) tried to subdue their opponents. Insecurity became a way of life as politics went awry (Fawole, 2001). The above describes the nature of politics in the 1st republic:

The character of politics under the 2nd republic was not much different from that of the 1st republic. The political parties that emerged were mere reincarnation of the regionally and ethnically based parties of the 1960s. Apart from the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), which had the pretension of having a national spread, the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), the Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP) and the Peoples' Redemption Party (PRP) were the rejuvenated Action Group (AG), the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), and the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) respectively. They were also led by the same political dramatis personae of the 1960s, which had been well schooled in the politics of vendetta, sectional bitterness, intimidation of opposition and arbitrariness (Fawole, 2001)

Given the nature of politics in the 1st and 2nd republics, one can make a logical deduction to describe the nature of electoral conducts during the periods. Elections during the 1st and 2nd Republics were characterized by thuggery, hooliganism, wanton destruction of lives and properties, monumental fraud and rigging, such that the military had excuses for truncating civil rule on the two occasions-1966 and 1983. Tekena Tamuno (1988) described this as "the notorious pattern of electoral rigging and violence" during the 1950s, 1960s and 1983 which resulted in considerable political instability in Nigeria.

The June 12, 1993 presidential election (even though, the result was annulled by military fiat), in Nigeria, was a radical deviation from the political history of the country. The two-party system appeared to be a panacea to the problem of ethnic politics in Nigeria. The political parties-the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the National Republican Convention (NRC) - had crossed ethnic membership. The presidential election, which was believed to have been won by the SDP candidate, late

Chief M.K.O. Abiola, was described as the freest and fairest in the electoral history of Nigeria. "It was an election in which the civil society had participated enthusiastically and peacefully by channeling its energies and preferences through a party system created by the military regime itself." The annulment of the election by President Ibrahim Babangida truncated the third republic and deepened the crisis of governance in Nigeria.

The Abacha administration, which called itself the child of necessity in the wake of crisis generated by the annulment of the 1993 presidential election, and the rejection and military overthrow of the Shonekan-led Interim National Government (ING), initiated a transition to civil rule in Nigeria. The Abacha's transition was so fraudulent that it was not capable of ushering in a genuine democracy in the country. The five political parties registered: the Congress for National Consensus (CNC), the Democratic Party of Nigeria (DPN), the Grassroots Democratic Movement (GDM), the National Center Party of Nigeria (NCPN), and the United Nigerian Congress Party (UNCP) were formed and registered for ease of General Abacha's self succession. As Yakub (2001) once observed, throughout the existence of the parties and their involvement in electoral contests, a contradiction of the democratization process that emerged was the near possibility of emergence of one party state, through the clear leadership of the UNCP in all the electoral competitions held up to June 8, when General Abacha died. A clear manifestation of the manipulation of the transition was the adoption of General Abacha by all the political parties, as a consensus presidential candidate. The observation below summarizes the Abacha's transition.

The transition agenda was systematically executed to the deliberate exclusion of significant individuals and groups that the junta was not comfortable with (through selective registration of political parties, disqualifications of radical politicians, the use of security clearance, outright nullification of election results, manipulation of the National Electoral Commission of Nigeria (NECON) and other transition agencies to smoothen the way for General Abacha's self-succession bid. (Fawole, 2001)

Elections that were conducted in 1999 under the transition programme of General Abdusalami Abubakar took a similar pattern of electoral malpractices. The circumstances surrounding the conduct of the elections raised a degree of suspicion on the legitimacy of the elected government. Describing the 1999 transition and the elections, Fawole (2001), asserts the necessary behavioural commitments to the dictates, rules and practices and even the constraints of democracy was sadly absent throughout the period of the transition, as politicians and political parties operated in an anti-democratic fashion. The choice of candidates for various elections was done in a number of cases, by unelected party caucuses and elders." "Even in spite of evident

massive electoral malpractices- pointed out by local and international election monitors- which ordinarily question the credibility and integrity of the entire transition project, both the military government of General Abubakar and the 'victorious' political party (the PDP) carried on the business as usual and left the vanquished opposition parties with no options but to lick their wounds.

The April/May 2003 general elections were very important in the political history of Nigeria, as it was another civilian-to-civilian transition election. The success of the election was a great concern before its conduct. The elections were relatively peaceful, but the peace was not an indication that the elections were free and fair. The peaceful conduct of the elections may be premised on the desire by Nigerians to avoid a repeat of electoral crises of 1964 and 1983 and, more importantly, their boredom with military rulership. As a matter of fact, the April/May 2003 elections as reported by observers/monitors – local and international – were full of irregularities and malpractices, which render suspicious, the various victories claimed. It was alleged that the ruling PDP colluded with INEC and a segment of the armed forces and the police to rig the elections. Some of the reports of observers are given below.

In its report, the Nigerian Bar Association (NBA), observed the use of unorthodox means to win elections by politicians, lack of proper voters education, widespread violence and intimidation of voters by armed youths and thugs sympathetic to different political parties. Presenting the report of Labour Electoral Monitoring Team (LEMT), the NLC president, Comrade Adams Oshiomole who later became the Governor of Edo State under Action Congress (AC) through the Judgment of the Court of Appeal in 2008 says:

"There were cases of electoral malpractices across the country. The elections in some parts of the states cannot pass a basic test of fairness. The INEC ought to have used its discretion to cancel the results in polling stations and areas where there were glaring cases of electoral malpractices."

It is in the light of our participation and review that we have formed the view that the degree of irregularities which were observed in many parts of the country during all the elections detract fundamentally from any claim that they were free and fair. The elections were indeed peaceful. But the CLO doubts that peace can endure in the absence of justice. Quite apart from the violence and numerous attempts to stifle the political process in the run-up to the elections, the voting itself witnessed inflation of figures (resulting in voter turnout statistics which were quite simply ridiculous), ballot stuffing, multiple voting, under-age voting, ballot box snatching, bribery, falsification of results, and intimidation of voters and party agents by some thugs and some unscrupulous

law enforcement agents. All these against an almost complete failure to uphold the cardinal requirement of secrecy for voters! In the circumstances, it is impossible to deny that the will of the electorate was thwarted in a substantial number of cases, leaving many of the victories thereby attained open to serious question.

The executive summary of the Environmental Rights Actions (ERA), which monitored the NASS election in the Niger Delta, was a direct indictment of the PDP. The report says that, in part of Rivers and Bayelsa states, elections were characterized by armed struggle. Weapons and firearms were freely used. In Nembe, in Bayelsa, political thugs, allegedly belonging to the PDP, disrupted the election with a sustained shootout on Friday night as well as on Saturday of the election. At Amadi Ama, there were instances of multiple voting and stuffing of ballot boxes in favour of the PDP, particularly in units 23 and 51. In Diobu, thugs hijacked ballot boxes, ballot papers and election materials in the open glare of INEC officials and policemen, went away with them, stuffed the boxes and brought them back.

In the case of the international observers, the story was the same, with exception of the AU's and ECOWAS' reports, which seem to have a level of reservation. The European Union reported that the presidential and the governorship elections of April 19 were marred by "serious irregularities throughout the country". Election observers of the EU and the Commonwealth alleged malpractices in 12 states, namely: Rivers, Enugu, Anambra, Benue, Edo, Delta and Cross River. Others are Katsina, Kogi, Nasarawa, Imo and Kaduna.

The positive side of the reports include: a big improvement in the logistics of the April 19 elections over those of April 12. Nigerians, despite all odds, demonstrated their readiness to discharge their civic responsibilities; and the peaceful conduct of the elections. In fact, all the vices that characterized the 2003 general elections in Nigeria were repeated even, with more venomous potency in 2007 general elections at all levels of the Nigerian polity. This is exemplified by the various angry legal contestations over the elections from Local Governments, State Assemblies, Senatorial, House of Representatives, Gubernatorial to Presidential elections lasted till 2009 and, which may even go beyond 2009. As a matter of fact, things have gone from bad to worse for the Nigerian state in terms of the conduct of credible and transparent elections as attested to by the failure of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) during the Rerun/supplementary Gubernatorial Election in twelve of the sixteen Local Government Areas of Ekiti State in April, 2009[April 17] which, as a result led to another "Rerun Election" in Oye Local Government Area of the same State two weeks thereafter thereby introducing a new political adjectives of "Rerun-Rerun Election" or "Supplementary Rerun Election" into the Political dictionary of the Nigerian political system and its

slippery landscape and terrains. The same vices equally characterized the INEC's conduct of the Rerun Senatorial Election in Ekiti North Senatorial District of Ekiti State in 15 August, 2009 as directed by the Court of Appeal.

The foregoing discussion on the conduct of elections in Nigeria portrays an undesirable electoral process in the country. The question here is 'what accounts for this situation?' In many writings of scholars on democracy in Nigeria and, Africa as a whole, the underlying problem is the apparent absence of the basic structures upon which a genuine democracy can be erected.

As Chomsky (1991) rightly argued democracy has to be more of an attribute of social structures than mere features of political institutions. Quoting Tom Mathew, Chomsky (1991) states that, elections do not guarantee democracy to people who face undemocratic courts; police, bureaucrats and bureaucracy every day. Claude Ake (2000) argues that democracy is never given, it is rather taken. This means that the preparedness, via necessary conditions, must be present. Ake argues that, in Africa, "with a few exceptions, democratization has been shallow (and, that), typically, it takes the form of multiparty elections that are really more of a democratic process than a democratic outcome."

Commenting on the same issue, Ihonvbere (2000) argues that, the first major constraint to the democratic struggle in Africa is the lack of ideological content. He argues that any effort to superimpose a specific narrow formula of democracy could lead to mere formal compliance, such as allowing multipartism without "real democracy". Thus, it can be argued that, election in the absence of genuine democratic structures is incapable of yielding a desirable result. The nature of electoral contests in Nigeria can be properly understood when viewed through the lens of the famous elite theory as postulated by Mosca, Pareto and others. The struggle among the political elites in the country often accounts for the electoral frauds and other various forms of malpractices. The elites had on different occasions, used the ethno-religious differences in the country as electoral weapons against opponents. Chike Okolocha (1991) observes that "Nigeria's political scene immediately after independence degenerated into acrimonious quarrel between factions of the ruling elite...The ethnic overtones of the African politics are manifestations of the class interests of the ruling elites and class struggle in Africa.

It can thus, be argued or inferred from the foregoing that electoral process in Nigeria has been largely incapable of producing results due to the absence of necessary democratic prerequisites in the country. The spirited efforts of the Nigerian electorate during previous elections offer hope for future of democracy in the country, the reported lack of respect for the rules of the game portends a great danger for the future of democracy in Nigeria. As noted by one commentator, "the (2003) election seem relatively peaceful; it is only

because, with the massive use of the security and armed forces by those in power to intimidate the population, there was no balance of terror between the power that be and the opposition elements." A consequence of this is that it encourages oppositions to see electoral fraud as a normal means of acquiring power. To do this, it may mean engaging the ruling party in armed struggle. Political contestation may degenerate to the type of what Nigeria experienced in 1964 and 1983 and partially reincarnated in 1993 following the annulment.

It is the contention here that election is not an end in itself, but a means to an end. Election is aimed at instituting reliable governance in a society. For this goal to be achieved, the rules of the game must be strictly observed. It should be noted from the discussion that the bad shape of electoral conducts in Nigeria has largely been a product of various political constituents of the society: the non tolerant political class with lack of unity and sense of purpose; ethnic-based political parties and fear of domination entertained by various groups; non-hegemonic and authoritarian post-independence state; and the absence of democratic culture in the civil society. Until all the vices above are reversed through a complete overhaul of the Nigerian political society, elections in the country will hardly produce the desired result

History of party politics in Nigeria

The history of political party formation in Nigeria right away from the colonial period clearly shows the disturbing nature of party politics and failure of succeeding political leaders to successfully manage intra and inter-party conflicts/crisis/violence in the country. This disturbing legacy remains the cornerstone of party politicking in Nigeria today. The problem of Nigeria's party politics has often been viewed within the context of her ethno-religious existence. Thus, as Williams (1998) once opined:

"Nothing better encapsulates Nigeria's endemic crisis of nationhood and grim reality (than the fact) that it is a nation without nationals No leader as yet made it his conscious mission to weld the disparate nationalities into a unified bloc (As the) nationalities (are) boxed into geo-colonial space of the memories of their distinct histories (emphases mine)."

In most cases, ethnic conflicts and/or crisis/violence had percolated the anatomy of the nation's politics. They had equally been constantly reinforced by religious conflicts/crisis/violence and disturbances. Ethnic basis of politics in Nigeria from inception is shown in the Appendix 1.

Given these developments, political parties in Nigeria have failed to attain one of the major or traditional theories of party formation which is the reconciliation of diverse forces within the political society. In other words,

they have failed in the performance of their expected integrative functions.

The catalyst for this trend can hardly be explained in isolation from the nation's colonial experience or historical circumstances which completely diverged from the *raison d'être* of European political parties' formation or emergence. Johari (2000) once articulated the reason for this trend thus: While European political parties emerged as 'internally created' phenomenon in response to the growth of democratic trends, like the extension of franchise and parliamentary system, the political parties in a (the) subject country came into being and developed as externally created institutions.

The incessant metamorphoses of political parties in Nigeria up to the contemporary period, shown in the Appendices 2-7 and 24 are indicative of this failure. In fact, the crisis of leadership within the Northern People's Congress (NPC) which led to the formation of the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU); the Action Group (AG) intra party crisis which led to the excision of the United Peoples Party (UPP) which in turn, merged with the Western Region wing of the NCNC to form the NNDP; the formation of the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA) through the merger of NPC, NNDP, MDF and the Dynamic Party (DP) of the East; the formation of the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA) by the AG, the Eastern wing of the NCNC and the NPF; the formation of the Great Nigeria People's Party (GNPP) by a faction of those who originally formed the Nigerian People's Party (NPP); the split in the rank and file as well as carpet crossing that variously afflicted the existence of AD, PDP, APP/ANPP, APGA and other political parties, at different points in time during the colonial, First, Second, Third and Fourth Republics in Nigeria, are indications of the paucity of intra and inter-party crises in the nation's political landscape. These are more so and, remain so, looking at the fact that, as a result of such developments, political parties and candidates as well as leaders contested elections on political platforms different from their orthodox political beliefs.

Looking at this trend, one can reasonably contend that, the existence and/or adoption of multi-party system in Nigeria right from the First Republic to date can hardly be explained in dissonance from divisive devices of the various controlling elites. This had constantly prevented the political parties to genuinely fulfill their political functions of presenting clear-cut policy alternatives to the electorate or masses. In other words, the fragmented character of the multi-party system in place in Nigeria, among other factors has led to the fluidity of the nation's party politics and the inability of the parties' machineries to successfully manage the various intra and inter-party crises within the Nigerian polity.

It can be argued that the political party system in Nigeria has not really allowed any of the political parties currently existing to, using Apter's (1965) terminology,

operate as 'a servant of the constitutional framework'. Thus, they cannot be accepted 'within the compass of the meaning of a political party' (Johari; 2000). Political parties in Nigeria have not really functioned well because the Nigerian political space can hardly be described as an environment where 'there is a general agreement on fundamentals, acceptance of integrity and good faith of one's political opponents' (Verney, 1959).

First and second republic

The collapse of the First Republic was, in particular, due to intense intra and inter-party crises and competitions based on ethnic and religious sentiments which equally affected the 1979 and 1983 elections. All the parties during the Second Republic were linked with one interest or the other. Specifically, UPN, NPP, GNPP were associated with the Yoruba, the Igbo, the Hausa/Fulani and, the Kanuri interests, respectively.

These ethnic and religious affiliations contributed in no small measure to the intra and inter party crises that rocked the Second Republic due in part to the paucity of expected management skill and/or resolution mechanisms. Thus, the Second Republic like the First had its own share of intra and inter-party alliances and/or coalitions based on various crises, ideological/philosophical differences and orientations. The NPN and NPP formed a coalition while the GNPP, PRP and UPN co-operated to build a formidable alternative to the NPN. Disagreements between NPN and NPP over the issue of whether the latter should remain close with NPN and/or join the Progressives, brought about the collapse of the alliance. Similar developments led to the collapse of the progressive alliance among the GNPP, PRP and UPN. While some members within the PRP preferred to work closely with the NPN, others opposed the thinking. This led to the PRP's split into two factions (that is, Mallam Aminu Kano and Michael Imodu factions). The disagreements/internal crises of the GNPP over continued membership of the progressive alliance led to the dismissal of its founder/leader (Alhaji Ibrahim Waziri).

These myriad of crises led to series of unorthodox cross-carpeting from one political party to the other which created enormous political crises and gory violence across the nation's political landscape. The crises in the old Ondo and Oyo states and, their attendant liquidation of lives and properties are cases in point.

Third republic

Party formation in the aborted Third Republic which to some extent, can be regarded as a period of unconstitutional Diarchy was done by military fiat. During this period, the National Electoral Commission (NEC) as it

was then called, which was put in place by the Babangida Military Regime, in 1989 recommended six of the thirteen Political Associations, for government's recognition. The thirteen political associations are listed in Table 8. The recommendation of the six political associations – (PSP, NCN, PFN, LC, NLP and RPN) – out of the above listed thirteen associations, for government recognition was based on the alleged scientific survey of their claims by NEC, using the variables of – (1) membership spread; (2) organization. The marks scored by each of the six political associations are shown in Table 9. The six associations were later rejected by General Ibrahim Babangida for not scoring up to his pass mark of 50%. Following this, the Regime formed the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the National Republican Convention (NRC) on the basis of "a little to the right and a little to the left" ideology. The two political parties (SDP and NRC) that were foisted on Nigerians brought about the shrinkage of the nation's democratic and participative political space.

In spite of the non-credibility of the two-party structure, both the SDP and NRC equally fell victims to intra and inter-party crisis and feud. Within the two political parties, the old political vices resurfaced. Thus, intolerance, victimization, political violence, thuggery, election-rigging, state-sponsored political terrorism became features of both SDP and NRC. These were compounded by the undemocratic military annulment of the democratic aspirations and political preferences of the Nigerian people expressed through the June 12, 1993 Presidential Election which was clearly won by late M.K.O. Abiola as can be seen in Table 10.

Fourth republic

Following this and, the purported 'step aside' decision of General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida, the mechanism for the Fourth Republic, which suffered various deformities prior to its eventual take-off on 29th of May, 1999, was put in place. Specifically, following the 'step aside' episode, the political engineering continued under the Regime of General Sani Abacha. The Regime registered the first five of the fifteen (15) political associations that applied to it for registration as can be seen in Table 11 which details the ratings of the political associations

This was followed by the post-Abacha era during which the search for a new political order took a new dimension under the Regime of General Abdusalam Abubakar. This Regime later registered three political parties namely: PDP, APP (later changed to ANPP), and AD based on the results of the December 5, 1998 Local Government Election. These three political parties contested the January 1999 Gubernatorial Election and other elections that marked the actual commencement of the Fourth

Table 1. Ethnic distribution of party leaders, 1958

Party	Igbo	Yoruba	Hausa/Fulani
NCNC	49.3	26.7	2.8
AG	4.5	68.2	3.0
NPC	-	6.8	51.3

Source: Richard Sklar and C.S Whitaker Jr. (1964) "Nigeria". In James Coleman and Carl Rosbery eds. *Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa*, Berkeley C.A: University of California Press

Table 2. Political parties in colonial and First Republic period (1915 – 1966)

Year of formation	Name of party	Acronym	Founder/ Leaders (where applicable)
1915	National Congress Of British West Africa	NCWBA	Dr. Akinwande Savage and Mr. J.E. Casey Hayford
1920	United Negro Improvement Association	UNIA	Marcus Gavey
1922	Nigerian National Democratic Party	NNDP	Herbert Macaulay
1930	Nigerian Youth Movement	NYM	James Vaughan
1944	National Convention Of Nigerians And Cameroons (later renamed National Convention of Nigerian Citizens)	NCNC	Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe
1950	Northern Elements Progressive Union	NEPU	Alhaji Aminu Kano
1951	Action Group	AG	Chief Obafemi Awolowo
1949	The Northern Peoples Congress	NPC	Ahmadu Bello*
1953	The United Nigeria Independence Party	UNIP	K.O. Mbadiwe
1956	The United Middle Belt Congress	UMBC	Joseph Tarka
1963	United Peoples Party	UPP	Chief Ladoke Akintola
1963 - 1965	Nigerian National Democratic Party (a merger of UPP and NCNC)	NNDP	Chief Ladoke Akintola
1963	Mid-West Democratic Front (an excision from NCNC after the merger of its western wing with UPP)	MDF	
1963	Northern Progressive Front (formed by those in NEPU and UMBC who withdrew their membership from the NCNC and AG respectively)	NPF	
1964	Nigeria National Alliance	NNA	Alhaji Ahmadu Bello
1964	United Progressive Grand Alliance	UPGA	Dr. Michael Okpara and Alhaji Dauda Adegbenro

*There was a leadership tussle involving Dr. Russell, Alhaji Barau Dikko, Alhaji Aminu Kano prior to the assumption of the leadership position by the Sardauna

Table 3. Political parties during Second Republic (1978 – 1983)

Year of formation	Name of party	Acronym	Founder/ Leaders (where applicable)
1978	Unity Party of Nigeria	UPN	Chief Obafemi Awolowo
1978	National Party of Nigeria	NPN	Chief Adisa Akinloye
1978	Nigerian Peoples Party	NPP	Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe
1978	Great Nigeria Peoples Party	GNPP	Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim
1978	Peoples Redemption Party	PRP	Mallam Aminu Kano
1983*	National Advance Party	NAP	Dr. Tunji Braithwaite

*This party together with Fela Anikulapo's Movement of the People (MOP) and others were not registered for the 1979 General Election

Republic in 1999. The results and breakdowns of some of these elections are contained in the Tables 12 to 22. In other words, after series of hiccups, the Fourth Republic

took off with three political parties – (PDP, APP (later ANPP, and AD). These political parties were the gladiators during the first phase – (May 29, 1999 – May 29,

Table 4. Political parties of the aborted third republic 1991 – 1993 (Period of Diarchy)

Year of formation	Name of party	Acronym	Founder/ Leaders (where applicable)
1991	Social Democratic Party	SDP	Chief Tony Anenih
1991	National Republican Convention	NRC	Chief Tom Ikimi

Table 5. Political Parties of the Abacha era (1996-1998)

Year of formation	Name of party	Acronym	Founder/ Leaders (where applicable)
1996	United Nigerian Congress Party	UNCP	
1996	Democratic Party of Nigeria	DPN	
1996	Grassroots Democratic Movement	GDM	
1996	Congress for National Consensus	CNC	
1996	National Centre Party of Nigeria	NCPN	

Table 6. Political parties during first phase of the fourth republic (December 1998 – May 2003)

Year of formation	Name of party	Acronym	Founder/ Leaders (where applicable)
1998 – 1999	Alliance for Democracy	AD	
1998 – 1999	All Peoples Party (later All Nigerian Peoples Party)	APP (ANPP)	
1998 – 1999	Peoples Democratic Party	GDM	

2003) prior to the 2002 increase in the number of Political Parties to thirty (30) just before the general elections that ushered in the second phase of the Fourth Republic in May 2003. It should be articulated that, these three political parties – (PDP, AD, ANPP), from inception had crises of ideology. They all had similar ideological bent which created a kind of muddled-ideological focus. The essence of this can be discerned from the ideological presentations of the five political associations contained in their applications for registration as shown in Table 23. This aside, the genesis of the three political parties took off on a discordant basis due to a myriad of oppositions within. These political parties anteceded the rules put in place to guide their conducts. They could not be accepted within the context of the majoritarian model of democracy which takes political parties as mechanisms for making government to be responsible and responsive to the people, their views and needs.

Intra and inter-party crises have become even more pronounced during the Fourth Republic. Such crises have taken embarrassing dimensions to the extent that one can reasonably contend that there exists today epilepsy of party stability in Nigeria. The political parties in the Fourth Republic starting with the ruling PDP, have not been able to manage their political fortunes. They seem to have turned their political fortunes into political misfortunes as a result of avoidable intra-party crises.

Nigerians are daily inundated with such crises and their accompanying ruins in human and material resources. These cut across the geo-political zones/landscapes of the nation. ANPP, APGA, AD and other lesser known political parties which came into existence following the mushrooming and/or proliferation of registered political parties in Nigeria cannot be excused from the pace of jaundiced political culture that has been foisted on the nation through intra and inter party crises. More significantly disturbing is the inability of the party leaders to come to grips with their problems due in part to their poverty of knowledge that party line/structure is quite different from the government/line/structure. Instead of these leaders to find ways of amicably settling their differences, such crises are daily gaining vitality. This remains so in spite of the purported controlling mechanisms they claimed or are claiming to have put in place to solve such problems. More often than not, such purported mechanisms have been nothing more than cosmetic approach to placate the masses. Otherwise, one expects the Anambra PDP, ANPP, APGA and AD crises to mention only a few, to have been solved by now instead of the epileptic peace such parties seemed to or can claim to have.

As a matter of fact, in spite of these obvious problems, the number of Political Parties in Nigeria increased to 54 between the year 2006 and 2009 as can be deciphered

Table 7. Political parties during second phase of the Fourth Republic (2003 – present)

Year of formation	Name of party	Acronym	Founder/ Leaders (where applicable)
1999	All Nigeria Peoples Party	ANPP	
1999	Alliance for Democracy	AD	
1999	Peoples Democratic Party	PDP	
2003	All Progressive Grand Alliance	APGA	
2003	National Democratic Party	NDP	
2003	United Nigeria Peoples Party	UNPP	
2003	All Peoples Liberation Party	APLP	
2003	Better Nigeria Progressive Party	BNPP	
2003	Community Party of Nigeria	CPN	
2003	Democratic Alternative	DA	
2003	Justice Party	JP	
2003	Liberal Democratic Party of Nigeria	LDPN	
2003	Masses Movement of Nigeria	MMN	
2003	Movement for Democracy and Justice	MDJ	
2003	National Action Council	NAC	
2003	National Conscience Party	NCP	
2003	National Mass Movement of Nigeria	NMMN	
2003	National Reformation Party	NRP	
2003	New Nigeria Peoples Party	NNPP	
2003	New Democrats	ND	
2003	Nigeria Advance Party	NAP	
2003	Nigeria Peoples Congress	NPC	
2003	Party for Social Democracy	PSD	
2003	Peoples Mandate Party	PMP	
2003	Peoples Redemption Party	PRP	
2003	Peoples Salvation Party	PSP	
2003	Progressive Action Party	PAC	
2003	The Green Party of Nigeria	GPN	
2003	African Renaissance Party	ARP	
2003	United Democratic Party	UDP	

Other Movements/Parties/Associations existed at various times during the period of 1915 – 2003. Some of these include: Borno Youth Movement (BYM) led by Alhaji Ibrahim Imam in Bornoland, Igala Union (IU), Igbira Tribal Union (ITU), Niger Delta Congress (NDC), Mabolaje Grand Alliance (MGA), Ibadan Peoples Party (IBP), Dynamic Party (DP), and Association for Better Nigeria (ABN). These Movements, Associations, Factions or Parties played various roles in the Nation's political developments / intra & inter party crises that made Nigeria what it is today.

Source (Tables 2-7): Various Archival Records perused by the Author

from the facts contained in Table 24. And, despite the seeming multiparty nature of the Nigerian Political system and the impression being created by the Nigerian government and the political gladiators within the Nigerian nation, that the Nigerian political space is amenable to political competition and realization of political dreams by those seeking political office, only a few of the Political parties are viable and, have able to participate in the political process and its attendant elections since the commencement of the Fourth Republic in 1999 and, particularly in the 2003 and 2007 general elections as can be clearly seen in the facts contained in Tables 25 to 28.

This goes to show that our political class in this country continues to take for granted the democratic aspirations of Nigerians by overstressing or abusing the latter's hospitality. The political class seems to forget that Nigerians possess astounding capacity to resist bad judgment or provocative abuses of their democratic rights, desires and, political preferences.

From the analysis, up to this point, one does not have to endlessly search to identify with precision, the factors responsible for the genesis and constant fertility of political instability and rapidity of regimes/administrations or leadership turnover as well as civil-military-civil rulership cycle which had long bedeviled the Nigerian

Table 8. Names of political parties and their acronyms in the Third Republic

Political party	Acronym
All Nigerian Peoples Party	ANPP
The Ideal Peoples Party	IPP
The Nigerian National Congress	NNC
Nigerian Peoples Welfare Party	NPWP
The National Union Party	NUP
Peoples' Front Of Nigeria	PFN
Patriotic Nigerians Party	PNP
Peoples Solidarity Party	PSP
Republican Party Of Nigeria	RPN
United National Democratic Party	UNDP
Peoples Patriotic Party	PPP
The Liberal Convention	LC
The Nigerian Labour Party	NLP

Table 9. The six political associations recommended for recognition in 1989

Political party	Score (%)
PSP	43.9
NNC	42.62
PFN	41.2
LC	34.08
NLP	17.9
RPN	17

political landscape prior to the commencement of the Fourth Republic.

Given this, the study would contend here, that, the extent to which political differences and, party crises (either intra or inter) have been managed within the Nigerian polity can be determined within the context of her regime turn-over.

REGIMES/ADMINISTRATION/LEADERSHIP TURN-OVER IN NIGERIA

The extent to which intra and inter party post-election crises and feud have been managed in Nigeria can be measured in terms of the stability or lack of it, of her political landscape or system. That is, such measurement can only be meaningfully done against the level of the nation's political stability. In other words, if such crises at different points in the political pedigree of the nation had been effectively or actually managed or resolved, the incessant unstable political landscape of the nation and, its attendant civil-military-civil rulership cycle from the colonial period or, most importantly since 1960 up to the commencement of the nations' Fourth Democratic Republic would not have occurred. Agbaje et al. (2004) eloquently articulated this position thus:

"Since Nigeria was founded by the British in 1914, it has more or less been in permanent transition from one form of government to another, much of it undemocratic (Diamond, Kirk-Greene and Oyediran, 1997). The country's political history has been a litany in brinkmanship, incoherence, and uncertainty. Much of the period since 1914 has found the country more at the crossroads than on an assured path to democracy and good governance. The country has had a succession of regimes from colonial to putatively democratic rule at independence (1960), quickly replaced unconstitutionally by military rule (1966), succeeded equally unconstitutionally by other military governments (1966 - 1979) before a return to another experiment with constitutional rule was effected through the return to elected civil rule in 1979. This experiment soon witnessed bickering and a move toward dictatorship halted only by the imposition of full-blown military dictatorship on December 31, 1983. Thus, was initiated another long period of unconstitutional (military) rule, terminated effectively only with the return of constitutional and elected governance through the full inauguration of the current (Fourth) Republic in May 1999. The elections of 2003 were the first major test of the sustainability of this latest attempt at democracy and good governance in Nigeria. The results were, to say the least, mixed. Even in the countdown to the elections,

Table 10. The presidential elections results of June 12, 1993 (on states by state basis)

	State	SDP score	SDP (%)	NRC score	NRC(%)	Total score
1	Abia	105,273	41.04	151,227	58.96	256,500
2	Adamawa	140,875	45.72	167,239	54.28	308,114
3	Akwa Ibom	214,787	51.86	199,342	48.14	414,129
4	Anambra	212,024	57.11	159,258	42.89	371,282
5	Bauchi	339,339	39.27	524,836	60.73	864,175
6	Benue	246,830	56.94	186,302	43.06	433,132
7	Borno	153,496	54.40	128,684	45.60	282,180
8	C/River	189,303	55.23	153,452	44.77	342,755
9	Delta	327,277	69.30	145,001	30.70	472,278
10	Edo	205,407	66.48	103,572	33.52	308,979
11	Enugu	263,101	48.09	284,050	51.91	547,151
12	Imo	159,350	44.86	195,836	55.14	355,186
13	Jigawa	138,552	60.67	89,836	39.33	228,388
14	Kaduna	389,713	52.20	356,860	47.80	746,573
15	Kano	169,619	52.28	154,809	47.72	324,428
16	Katsina	171,162	38.70	271,077	61.30	442,239
17	Kebbi	70,219	32.66	144,808	67.34	215,027
18	Kogi	222,760	45.60	265,732	54.40	488,492
19	Kwara	272,270	77.24	80,209	22.78	352,479
20	Lagos	883,965	85.54	149,432	14.46	1,033,397
21	Niger	136,350	38.10	221,437	61.90	357,787
22	Ogun	425,725	87.78	59,246	12.22	484,971
23	Ondo	883,024	84.42	162,994	15.58	1,046,018
24	Osun	365,266	83.52	72,068	16.48	437,334
25	Oyo	536,011	83.52	105,788	16.48	641,799
26	Plateau	417,565	61.68	259,394	38.32	676,959
27	Rivers	370,578	36.63	640,973	63.37	1,011,551
28	Sokoto	97,726	20.79	372,250	79.21	469,976
29	Taraba	101,887	61.42	64,001	38.58	165,888
30	Yobe	111,887	63.59	64,061	38.41	175,948
31	FCT Abuja	19,968	52.16	18,313	47.84	38,281
	TOTAL	8,341,309	58.36	5,952,087	41.64	14,293,396

Source: The News, June 28, 1993 page 24 as tendered by the Campaign for Democracy (CD) in a Lagos court in the process of the struggle to actualise the mandate of the people and, legally force a deannulment of the election. Also, see Akindele (2000) "Corruption – conceptualisation problems and Institutionalisation in Nigeria: A Revisational Examination" *Bangladesh Journal of Public Administration* Volume ix, Number 1 and Number II, P. 69.

Nigerians were literally haunted by the ghost of their country's past. A cloud of fear enveloped the land not only because of perceived uncertainties about the future in terms of intimations of violence and election rigging but also because of the lessons of the past in terms of elections and the apparently grim certainty of the future: a future of electoral failure, leading yet to democratic collapse and perhaps unto another round of undemocratic rule. The election itself and the post-election period confirmed some of these fears: there were allegations of rigging, incidences of violence, and litigations over election outcomes in an increasingly charged atmosphere. However, the Fourth Republic has so far survived all of this, but with much of its democratic credentials no

longer fully intact and with several questions being raised on its future. Critics insist that the Republic is still haunted by, and remains a slave to, Nigeria's troubled history of failed democracies and capricious governance."

This position finds a deep seated solace in the nation's rate of Regimes' or Administrations'/Governments' turn-over as depicted in Table 29. The facts contained in this Appendix when further broken down shows the pattern of rulership of the Nigerian nationhood on ethnic and/or, religious bases as attested to by the facts and trends contained in Table 30. Thus, from the facts and figures in Tables 1 to 30, it is clear that the Nigerian political terrain has been everything but stable. Thus, it is really and highly disputable to articulate that intra and inter party

Table 11. Ratings of registered political associations under the Abacha regime

S/N	Name of Association	Acronym	Score (%)
1.	United Nigerian Congress Party	UNCP	74.77
2.	Congress of National Consensus	CNC	65.78
3.	National Centre Party of Nigeria	NCPN	63.32
4.	Democratic Party of Nigeria	DPN	57.35
5.	Grassroots Democratic Movement	GDM	53.78
6.	All Nigeria Congress	ANC	49.28
7.	Peoples Consensus Party	PCP	48.85
8.	Social Progressive Party	SPP	48.65
9.	Peoples Progressive Party	PPP	43.71
10.	National Democratic Labour Party	NDLP	30.87
11.	National Democratic Party	NDP	26.56
12.	Solidarity Group of Nigeria	SGN	21.01
13.	Progressive Party of Nigeria	PPN	19.01
14.	Peoples Redemption Party	PRP	16.45
15.	National Solidarity Peoples Alliance	NSPA	11.49

Source: ANCHOR, March 19-25, 2001, p.19b

post-election crises and feud has been really successfully managed in Nigeria over the years. The only thing this nation has going for it, is the genuine desires of the nationals to remain one. This remains so in spite of the polarization of the citizenry by various factions of the nation's elites for expedient political agenda at different periods of time in the nation's checkered history.

Given this, one does not have to distractedly search for the antecedents of Nigeria's political heartache in respect of party politics and endless feud and crisis which, most political parties at different periods, in spite of near monolithic dominance of the nations' political landscape, have been unable to manage for the betterment of the nation and the citizenry at large. Thus, the study would like to contend that there is need for a re-orientation by the Nigerian ruling elite before it is too late. This is particularly so, looking at the failure of both Presidential and Parliamentary systems of government in Nigeria. The fact that these systems both failed in Nigeria as they did while they succeeded and are still succeeding in India and United States of America both of which are more multi-lingual, multi-religious and multi-cultural, one can posit that something is wrong with Nigeria and, that it is a failed state.

The reasons for this, apart from the ones already identified, are obvious looking at the calibre of the nation's political class vis-à-vis the slippery nature of its political landscape and socio-political and economic ecology.

THE REAL NIGERIA'S SOCIO-POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT

A cursory analysis of all systemic variables or factors reveals a disturbing picture after over four decades of

independent existence or freedom if it can be so called, from colonial bondage or servitude. One wonders why this remains so. The situation has been so disturbing to the extent that Nigerian state as a phenomenon has become a kind of analytical robot at all critical points in time, particularly now at the commencement of the new millennium into which Nigeria staggered with a Sisyphean-burden, thanks to planlessness, corruption, disunited-unity, political thuggery and other vices.

In fact, analysis of Nigeria's socio-economic, political, cultural and other systemic problems has become totally contextual and vulnerable to the adage that says: "beauty is in the eyes of the beholder". Why has this remained so after over forty years of escape from the yoke of colonialism?

Various factors can be cited, looking back at the barrenness of the past. Proverbially, it has been stated by the wise that: "if and whenever a child falls, he/she looks forward but, if, and whenever an elderly falls, he/she looks backward to see and identify what actually caused the fall". Nigeria's multidimensional problems since independence have been constantly caused and invigorated because each time she falls, she always looks forward. This has continued to be so in spite of her continuous aging. This development too could be rightly argued to have prompted General Buhari's cancellation of the 24th independence anniversary in 1984, and the question he asked: what is there to celebrate?"

It should be stated that, this question was influenced then by what some people called impatience; economic difficulties; general disillusionment of Nigerians. While impatience could be actually, though, with reluctance excused as a tenable argument against this type of question at the point in time, can it still be truly said today that Nigerians are impatient if, indeed, they are asking

Table 13. January 9, 1999 gubernatorial and state houses of assembly elections analysis of voters turn-out.

S/n	State	Number of registered voters	Gubernatorial			State assembly			Total votes cast	Voter (%) turn-out
			Valid votes	Invalid votes	Total votes	Valid votes	Invalid votes	Total votes		
1	Abia	1321364	590686	12526	603212	490032	18259	508291	603212	45.65
2	Adamawa	1259543	620660	21766	642426	633791	22019	655810	655810	32.07
3	Akwa Ibom	1450367	1167987	12292	1180279	1167044	12975	1180019	1180275	81.38
4	Anambra	1605030	1029815	4796	1034611	1022703	5047	1027750	1034611	64.46
5	Bauchi	1899154	904779	11571	916350	908037	10013	918050	918050	48.34
6	Bayelsa	773850	595785	0	595785	522580	1359	523939	595785	76.99
7	Benue	7198337	987941	5948	993889	1027834	4009	1031843	1031843	57.38
8	Borno	1690943	741953	23288	765241	791531	25573	817104	817104	48.32
9	Cross River	1091930	998607	7780	1006387	970564	16336	986900	1006387	92.17
10	Delta	1547685	899287	1218	911605	965246	15590	980836	980836	63.37
11	Ebonyi	902327	505862	12031	517893	499433	10013	509446	517893	57.4
12	Edo	1414511	815554	12009	827563	658841	1305	671891	827563	58.51
13	Ekiti	1075278	494963	9995	504958	493427	11030	504457	504958	46.96
14	Enugu	1466472	842415	3005	845420	830138	3005	833143	845420	57.65
15	Gombe	1113734	622379	22317	644696	691408	5959	697367	697367	62.62
16	Imo	1627939	783051	16197	799248	776262	15352	791614	799248	49.1
17	Jigawa	1568423	540764	0	540764	529509	0	529509	540764	34.48
18	Kaduna	3886405	1540797	35764	1576561	1466176	29256	1495432	1576561	40.57
19	Kano	3680990	908956	34233	943189	899926	27590	927516	943189	25.62
20	Katsina	2236067	881783	57499	939282	875831	62538	938369	939282	42.01
21	Kebbi	1167171	472062	28876	500938	418389	36150	454539	500938	42.92
22	Kogi	1265442	961206	13686	974892	962945	12598	975543	975543	77.09
23	Kwara	940425	567568	17900	585468	608226	27772	635998	635998	67.63
24	Lagos	4093143	1149375	34997	1184372	1205629	37748	1243377	1243377	30.38
25	Nasarawa	702021	613030	21065	634095	542617	20203	562820	634095	90.32
26	Niger	1553303	764645	22334	786979	727899	26501	754400	786979	50.66
27	Ogun	1592502	391395	11865	403260	390651	13879	404530	404530	25.4
28	Ondo	1333617	544299	12849	557148	548769	11650	560419	560419	42.02
29	Osun	1496058	536252	10825	547077	573938	12543	586481	586481	39.2
30	Oyo	2397270	693349	20963	714312	680045	19883	700829	714312	29.8
31	Plateau	1313603	734741	18976	753717	692706	18439	711145	753717	57.38
32	Rivers	2207000	1573286	7521	1580807	1489500	13716	1503216	1580807	71.63
33	Sokoto	1248311	436738	25857	462595	435635	25608	461243	462595	37.06
34	Taraba	979001	816117	23262	839379	805336	47221	852557	852557	87.08
35	Yobe	877580	294572	22671	317243	296314	36843	333157	333157	37.96
36	Zamfara	1113426	431375	43921	475296	434829	36663	471492	475296	42.69
	Total	63090222	27454034	652903	28106937	20734652	706390	27741032	28516959	49.43

Table 14. Distribution of contestants and winners on state, party and gender bases in the state assembly election (1999).

S/NO	State	Number of contestant						Total female contestant	Winners						Total	Total female contestant	
		AD		APP		PDP			AD		APP		PDP				
		M	F	M	F	M	F		M	F	M	F	M	F			
1	Abia	6		17	1	24	0	48	1	0	0	5	1	18	0	24	1
2	Adamawa	5	0	24	1	25	0	55	1	1	0	4	1	19	0	25	1
3	Akwa Ibom	8	0	25	0	22	0	56	1	0	0	9	0	17	0	26	0
4	Anambra	5	0	27	0	29	1	62	1	0	0	4	0	25	1	30	1
5	Bauchi	17	0	29	0	29	0	75	0	1	0	8	0	21	0	30	0
6	Bayelsa	9	0	20	1	23	1	54	0	3	0	6	0	13	0	22	0
7	Benue	3	0	28	1	25	4	61	5	0	0	11	0	17	0	29	1
8	Borno	3	0	27	0	24	1	55	1	0	0	17	0	11	0	28	0
9	Cross River	7	0	25	0	25	0	57	0	0	0	14	0	11	0	25	0
10	Delta	27	0	28	0	27	1	83	1	0	0	5	0	23	1	29	1
11	Ebonyi	11	0	24	0	24	0	59	0	1	0	8	0	15	0	24	0
12	Edo	7	0	23	1	24	0	55	1	0	0	3	0	21	0	24	0
13	Ekiti	25	0	24	2	22	3	77	6	22	1	1	0	2	0	26	1
14	Enugu	2	1	23	1	24	0	50	1	0	0	2	0	22	0	24	0
15	Gombe	9	0	23	1	24	0	57	1	1	0	13	0	10	0	24	0
16	Imo	2	0	27	1	27	2	59	3	0	0	11	0	16	0	27	0
17	Jigawa	3	0	30	0	30	0	63	0	0	0	18	0	12	0	30	0
18	Kaduna	13	0	32	0	34	0	79	0	2	0	7	0	25	0	34	0
19	Kano	2	0	40	0	40	0	82	0	0	0	5	0	35	0	40	0
20	Katsina	5	0	34	0	34	0	73	0	1	0	4	0	29	0	34	0
21	Kebbi	1	0	24	0	24	0	49	0	0	0	14	0	10	0	24	0
22	Kogi	5	0	25	0	24	0	54	0	0	0	13	0	12	0	25	0
23	Kwara	12	0	24	0	20	0	56	0	5	0	17	0	2	0	24	0
24	Lagos	14	0	39	0	37	3	119	3	37	0	3	0	0	0	40	0
25	Nasarawa	0	0	22	0	22	0	44	0	0	0	3	0	19	0	22	0
26	Niger	0	0	27	0	25	2	54	2	0	0	0	0	25	0	27	2
27	Ogun	25	1	18	1	25	1	71	3	21	1	2	0	3	2	26	0
28	Ondo	23	1	22	0	23	1	70	2	19	1	1	0	3	0	24	1
29	Osun	25	1	26	0	25	1	78	2	22	1	2	0	1	0	26	1
30	Oyo	30	1	4	0	31	0	66	1	28	0	0	0	3	0	32	1
31	Plateau	17	0	22	0	23	1	62	1	0	0	4	0	19	1	24	1
32	Rivers	4	0	32	0	32	0	68	0	1	0	11	0	20	0	32	0
33	Sokoto	0	0	30	0	30	0	60	0	0	0	20	0	10	0	30	0
34	Taraba	5	0	24	0	24	0	53	0	0	0	8	0	16	0	24	0
35	Yobe	0	0	24	0	24	0	48	0	0	0	13	0	11	0	24	0
36	Zamfara	0	0	24	0	24	0	48	0	0	0	19	0	5	0	24	0
	Total	356	6	917	11	949	22	2255	37	165	4	285	2	521	6	983	12

Source: INEC, Abuja

whether Nigeria has come of age politically?

Even though, it could be made clearer as it has been variously done in the past that "what used to be a geographical expression prior to and after the fragile take-off on January 1, 1914, has become a nation", if it can actually be called so, looking at the fact that Nigerians are more different and divided today compared to 1960; Nigeria, due to paucity of moral virtues, self deceit, unpatriotic-patriotism, has concretely established

a culture of instability. It has had eight military and five and a half civilian governments, (including the current Obasanjo Government), if the aborted third Republic and puppet ING could be counted. Also, it has in its kitty an attempted secession; a costly gory and fratricidal civil war; annulment of the freest and fairest presidential election in her history.

In spite of the fact that, the civilians in both the first and second Republics and those of the third and ING periods

Table 15. January 9, 1999 gubernatorial and state houses assembly election distribution of contestants and winners with their running mates on state, party and gender bases in the gubernatorial election

S/No.	State	Number of contestants and running mates						Total	Winners and running mates						Total
		AD		APP		PDP			AD		APP		PDP		
		M	F	M	F	M	F		M	F	M	F	M	F	
1	Abia	2	0	1	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
2	Adamawa	0	0	1	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
3	Akwa Ibom	2	0	2	0	2	0	6	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
4	Anambra	2	0	0	1	2	0	5	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
5	Bauchi	2	0	2	0	2	0	6	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
6	Bayelsa	1	1	2	0	2	0	6	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
7	Benue	2	0	2	0	2	0	6	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
8	Borno	0	0	2	0	2	0	4	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
9	Cross River	2	0	2	0	2	0	6	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
10	Delta	1	0	2	0	2	0	5	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
11	Ebonyi	2	0	2	0	2	0	6	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
12	Edo	2	0	2	0	2	0	6	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
13	Ekiti	2	0	2	0	2	0	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
14	Enugu	1	0	2	0	2	0	5	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
15	Gombe	2	0	2	0	2	0	6	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
16	Imo	2	0	1	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
17	Jigawa	2	0	2	0	2	0	6	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
18	Kaduna	2	0	2	0	2	0	6	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
19	Kano	2	0	1	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
20	Katsina	2	0	2	0	2	0	6	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
21	Kebbi	1	0	1	0	2	0	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
22	Kogi	2	0	2	0	2	0	6	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
23	Kwara	2	0	2	0	2	0	6	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
24	Lagos	1	1	1	1	2	0	6	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
25	Nasarawa	0	0	2	0	2	0	4	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
26	Niger	2	0	2	0	2	0	6	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
27	Ogun	1	0	0	1	1	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
28	Ondo	1	0	2	0	1	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
29	Osun	2	0	2	0	2	0	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
30	Oyo	2	0	2	0	2	0	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
31	Plateau	2	0	2	0	2	0	6	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
32	Rivers	1	1	1	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
33	Sokoto	2	0	2	0	2	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
34	Taraba	2	0	2	0	2	0	6	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
35	Yobe	2	0	2	0	2	0	6	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
36	Zamfara	2	0	2	0	2	0	6	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
	Total	58	3	61	3	66	0	191	9	1	17	0	38	0	65

Source: INEC, Abuja.

could be said to have misgoverned the nation, the military as “Katon Banza”, through corruption and monolithic mis-governance, actually murdered the country in all ramifications among the comity of nations. Even, now that she is almost forty-five years old and having a democratic government in place, the nation is yet to be free from disturbing socio-economic, cultural and political

developments as well as lame duck-democracy.

This assertion finds solace in the unethical efforts by the National Assembly- (both the Senate and House of Representatives)- of the first phase of the fourth Republic to kill the independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) which was put in place by the Obasanjo government to “roll back the

Table 16. January 9, 1999 gubernatorial and state houses of assembly election the distribution of seats won by each party.

S/No.	State	Gubernatorial			Number of state constituencies	State assembly			Total	Remarks
		AD	APP	PDP		AD	APP	PDP		
1	Abia	0	0	1	24	0	6	18	24	
2	Adamawa	0	0	1	25	1	5	19	25	
3	Akwa Ibom	0	0	1	26	0	9	17	26	
4	Anambra	0	0	1	30	0	4	26	30	
5	Bauchi	0	0	1	31	1	8	21	30	Buba wd in Ningi LGA
6	Bayelsa	0	0	1	24	3	6	13	22	2 Outstanding
7	Benue	0	0	1	29	0	11	18	29	
8	Borno	0	1	0	28	0	17	11	28	
9	Cross River	0	0	1	25	0	14	11	25	
10	Delta	0	0	1	29	0	5	24	29	
11	Ebonyi	0	0	1	24	1	8	15	24	
12	Edo	0	0	1	24	0	3	21	24	
13	Ekiti	1	0	0	26	23	1	2	26	
14	Enugu	0	0	1	24	0	2	22	24	
15	Gombe	0	1	0	24	1	13	10	24	
16	Imo	0	0	0	27	0	11	16	27	
17	Jigawa	0	1	0	30	0	18	12	30	
18	Kaduna	0	0	1	34	2	7	25	34	
19	Kano	0	0	1	40	0	5	35	40	
20	Katsina	0	0	1	34	1	4	29	34	
21	Kebbi	0	1	0	24	0	14	10	24	
22	Kogi	0	1	0	25	0	13	12	25	
23	Kwara	0	1	0	24	5	17	2	24	
24	Lagos	1	0	0	40	37	3	0	40	
25	Nasarawa	0	1	1	24	0	3	19	22	Two const. Toto LGA
26	Niger	0	1	1	27	0	0	27	27	
27	Ogun	1	0	0	26	21	2	3	26	
28	Ondo	1	0	0	26	20	1	3	24	No Elect. In Ilaje I & II
29	Osun	1	0	0	26	23	2	4	26	
30	Oyo	1	0	0	32	29	0	3	32	
31	Plateau	0	0	1	24	0	4	20	24	
32	Rivers	0	0	1	32	1	11	20	32	
33	Sokoto	0	1	0	30	0	20	10	30	
34	Taraba	0	0	1	24	0	8	16	24	
35	Yobe	0	1	0	24	0	13	11	24	
36	Zamfara	0	1	0	24	0	10	5	24	
	Total	6	9	21	990	169	287	527	983	

Source: INEC, Abuja.

corroding sweep of corruption” in Nigeria. The fact that this move was catalyzed because it (that is, the ICPC) ensnares the legislators and poses a threat to their proclivities for corrupt practices casts a serious doubt on the willingness and commitment of the law makers” and other political actors to nurture Nigeria’s democracy to acceptable standard which will earn the nation her deserved place among its peers within the global political community.

Today, it is innocuous to state that Nigeria is still without a properly consolidated political system. The reasons for this are obvious: pernicious theocratic traditions are holding sway in total disregard of the constitutional provisions. The constitution itself (if it can be called so), is causing its own problems. In fact, this, on its own, has called to question the intergovernmental character of her federalism (Akindele and Ajila, 2002) vis-à-vis the expected fiscal intergovernmental relations and

Table 17. Voters turn-out in the national assembly election (1999)

S/No.	State	Number of registered voters	Senate			Federal house of representative		
			Valid votes	Invalid votes	Total votes	Valid votes	Invalid votes	Total votes cast
1	Abia	1321895	503926	10803	514729	444091	7646	5142729
2	Adamawa	1260956	420508	12640	433148	587459	152238	739697
3	Akwa Ibom	1450367	1061292	0	1061292	852976	0	1061292
4	Anambra	2221384	926795	1652	928447	920519	5618	928447
5	Bauchi	1941913	966679	28580	995259	950824	25551	995259
6	Bayelsa	873000	551989	73	552062	491030	171	552062
7	Benue	1806121	966098	8110	974208	970256	6441	976697
8	Borno	1822987	727295	31129	758424	724824	33720	758544
9	Cross River	1142876	875839	30949	906788	870954	13041	906788
10	Delta	1794361	281925	138	283663	338523	1617	340140
11	Ebonyi	902327	534107	7777	541884	508882	7167	541884
12	Edo	1380418	595736	10996	606732	561672	11286	606732
13	Ekiti	1077195	412508	6236	418744	414017	5027	419044
14	Enugu	1466145	844542	10524	855056	762571	15641	855066
15	Gombe	1108171	604707	11742	616449	612893	9770	622663
16	Imo	1746673	759859	1450	761309	745982	10819	761309
17	Jigawa	1567423	523342	22833	546175	523065	24933	547998
18	Kaduna	2536702	1478539	31366	1509905	1305923	40790	1509905
19	Kano	3680990	832244	27624	859868	876353	60222	936575
20	Katsina	2151112	931378	32697	964075	912581	51494	964075
21	Kebbi	1172054	410476	16918	427394	409591	18154	427745
22	Kogi	1265230	877012	6901	883913	733660	7159	883943
23	Kwara	940400	457979	16382	474361	455894	16422	474361
24	Lagos	4091070	817137	12526	829663	815686	13506	829663
25	Nasarawa	749466	459695	5993	465688	456642	5780	465688
26	Niger	1572979	748025	20021	768046	713390	25092	768046
27	Ogun	1559709	350326	9425	359751	351105	8284	359751
28	Ondo	1331617	517839	7099	524938	479397	6586	524938
29	Osun	1496058	559565	9384	568949	553225	10214	568948
30	Oyo	2362772	581484	13324	594808	582798	12305	595103
31	Plateau	1311649	684893	6257	691150	655010	10854	691150
32	Rivers	2202655	1515871	15181	1534052	1328000	60995	1534052
33	Sokoto	1274060	312402	20008	332410	309473	15892	332410
34	Taraba	983227	595543	2520	598063	653959	7162	661121
35	Yobe	874957	258524	21848	280372	265828	22891	288719
36	Zamfara	1112627	355516	13544	369060	351109	14095	369060
37	FCT	385399	84652	1757	86409	83245	2060	86409
	Total	5793894	24386247	491007	24877254	23573407	685743	25399984

Source: INEC, Abuja.

wherewithal of true federalism (Dunmoye, 2002, Ade-Ajayi, 2002).

The study have ethnic militias (for example, Oodua People's Congress, (OPC) Arewa People's Congress (APC), Egbesu Boys, Bakassi Boys, etc) everywhere; ethnic consultative fora (for example, Ohanaeze Ndigbo, Afenifere, Arewa consultative forum, Yoruba Council of

Elders, Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP) Northern Central Working Committee (CWC) Bendel Forum (BF), etc). These disturbing indices have, in themselves, been progenized by the Nation's payment of lip-service to national unity and; self delusion about the nation's unity which is better called "disunited unity" or a "fraudulent togetherness" occasioned by deliberate

plastering of wounds through cosmetic approach to national issues which, on its own has engendered “dangerous deformities” in the Nigerian polity (Akindele, 2001) to the extent that the nation is still facing a myriad of problems like the 2009 Jos and Boko Haram quasi-political and religious crises.

The euphoria with which Nigerians received the demise of the expired dictator (Sani Abacha), the emergence of Abdulsalam Abubakar and his transition programme which created the Obasanjo administration and, the commencement of the latter appeared to have diminished. It appears the civilian administration through unpatriotic political actions and inactions particularly during the first phase of the fourth Republic has been pushed into a traumatic and disintegrative course. This claim rightly finds a solace within the context of corruption, settlement of political scores by deliberate constitutional misinterpretation, misapplication of the doctrine of separation of powers and its accompanying mechanism of checks and balances; economic mismanagement, political parochialism, brigandage, cowboy – mentality “Jankara” political tactics and other vices which have made Nigeria a theatre of corruption and exploitation in spite of the provisions of “the corrupt practices and other related offences Act, which came into effect in the year 2000 (Act, 2000), following the inauguration of the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) by President Obasanjo

Generally, Nigeria’s journey as an independent nation which began on October 1st, 1960 with greater hopes, confidence and determination is today a victim of setbacks, doubt and permanence of hopelessness. Despite this, the people, through self delusion; inability to be really objective; fears; pseudo and expedient political brinkmanship of self-centered leaders and, what may be called “a cycle of human stupidity”, “paralysis of will” and “bleating resignation to fate” have not really come to grips with this reality (News watch, 1985, Akindele, 2001). These factors and their real propensities for non-cohesive and mutually acceptable – (by ways of untainted commitment) – socio-economic and political philosophy or policy thrust coupled with balance of trade and payment deficits still, today, make Nigeria a “trading-post” economy which President Olusegun Obasanjo, called it in 1977, when, he, as a military Head of State, was declaring open, Nigeria’s first International Trade Fair. A “trading-post economy” is one in which the colonized nation depends on trade relations with its colonizer and produce what it does not consume for exportation to the colonizing nation, while importing for consumption what it does not produce from same and, having no real say in the determination of the inherent economic relations.

To argue otherwise is to misunderstand the reality of the Nigerian situation because, policy blindness and fundamental disequilibrium that existed then still exist today, otherwise, Nigeria will not be in the forefront of the

struggle or debt forgiveness and debt accumulation at this period of the twenty-first century as it is currently doing in spite of the obvious domestic economic wastage, mismanagement of public funds through corruption and kleptocracy by elected government and public officers (Akindele et al. 2000). After over forty years of existence, Nigeria has become a country where law makers applaud law breakers; it is a country where the state is appropriated by the dominant faction of the elite to the service of private interests; it is a country that has been rammed into a state of manageless statis through sheer profligacy, official kleptocracy and systematic looting of the treasury by corrupt political fiat and through corrupt corporate orientation an example of which led to the removal from office of the Chief Executives and Management teams of eight Banks – [Afriland, FinBank, Intercontinental Bank, Oceanic Bank, Union Bank, Equatorial Trust Bank, Spring Bank and, Bank PHB] – by the Governor of Central Bank of Nigeria in 2009 and the later identification - in the same year (2009) - of two other Banks – Unity Bank and Wema Bank – as distressed on the basis of apparent and contemptuous abuses of Banking operations..

In fact, the 1999 and 2000 Transparency international rankings; the USAID report of year 2000, and the Gallup international 2000 millennium survey showed that Nigeria is one of the most corrupt countries in the world today. Nigeria is a country where (elected) officials of the highest law-making bodies particularly during the first phase of the fourth Republic would spend millions for bullet proof enclaves and where elected law makers would take five million Naira or more each, to furnish their houses amidst inability of state governments to pay five thousand Naira minimum wage to a preponderant majority of down-trodden and impoverished labour force. It is a country where the Federal Government (past and present) is unwilling to fund education in line with UNESCO’S recommendation (This Day, 2002). It is a country where innocent leaders of oppressed, alienated and exploited people are/or, have been made to “pay unnecessary and avoidable supreme price” for struggling to better the lots of their people by attempting to bring their plight to the policy agenda of government on the basis of justice and equity. It is a country where people including both the political and economic oppressors and the oppressed are afraid of discussing through a real constitutional conference the fundamental basis of ouster the existence without any clause. It is a country where four decades of independent political existence are equal to four political Republics because of her constant practice of what Umosen (2002) called “democracy with deformed soul”.

One needs to pause for a moment and ask why this has been so in Nigeria after over forty years of independence? Why is she in apparent ruins? And, what could be done to rectify the paralysis of will that characterized her

Table 18. February 20, 1999 national assembly election distribution of contestants and winners on state, party and gender bases in the federal House of Representatives elections

S/No.	State	Number of contestants						Total	Total female contestants	Number of contestants						Total	Female winners
		AD		AP		PDP				AD		AP		PDP			
		M	F	M	F	M	F			M	F	M	F	M	F		
1	Abia	2	0	6	0	8	0	18	0	0	0	1	0	7	0	8	0
2	Adamawa	0	0	8	0	8	0	16	0	0	0	1	0	7	0	8	0
3	Akwa Ibom	0	0	7	0	9	1	17	1	0	0	0	0	8	1	9	1
4	Anambra	3	0	8	1	11	0	23	1	0	0	1	0	10	0	11	0
5	Bauchi	1	0	12	0	12	0	25	0	0	0	3	0	9	0	12	1
6	Bayelsa	4	0	5	0	5	0	14	0	1	0	0	0	3	1	5	0
7	Benue	2	0	11	0	11	0	24	0	0	0	1	0	10	0	11	0
8	Borno	1	0	10	0	9	1	21	1	0	0	6	0	4	0	10	0
9	Cross River	2	0	7	0	7	0	16	0	0	0	5	0	3	0	3	0
10	Delta	0	0	5	0	4	1	10	1	0	0	3	1	3	0	7	1
11	Ebonyi	4	0	6	0	5	1	16	1	0	0	0	0	5	1	6	1
12	Edo	2	0	8	1	9	0	20	1	0	0	1	0	8	0	9	0
13	Ekiti	6	0	2	2	6	0	16	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0
14	Enugu	4	0	7	0	7	1	19	1	0	0	3	0	3	0	8	0
15	Gombe	1	0	6	0	6	0	13	0	0	0	1	0	5	0	6	0
16	Imo	1	0	10	0	10	0	21	0	0	0	4	0	6	0	10	0
17	Jigawa	2	0	11	0	11	0	24	0	0	0	8	0	3	0	11	0
18	Kaduna	8	0	15	1	15	1	40	0	0	0	1	1	13	0	16	2
19	Kano	2	0	24	0	24	0	50	2	0	0	1	0	23	1	24	0
20	Katsina	0	0	15	0	15	0	30	0	0	0	0	0	15	0	15	0
21	Kebbi	0	0	8	0	8	0	16	0	0	0	3	0	5	0	8	0
22	Kogi	2	1	9	0	9	0	21	1	0	0	5	0	4	0	9	0
23	Kwara	6	0	5	1	5	1	18	2	0	0	4	1	1	0	6	1
24	Lagos	22	2	11	2	15	7	59	11	21	2	1	0	0	0	24	2
25	Nasarawa	2	0	5	0	5	0	12	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	5	0
26	Niger	2	0	10	0	10	0	22	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	10	0
27	Ogun	9	0	0	0	9	0	18	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	9	0
28	Ondo	7	1	7	0	8	0	23	1	6	1	0	0	1	0	8	1
29	Osun	8	1	7	1	9	0	26	2	7	1	0	0	1	0	9	1
30	Oyo	14	0	6	0	10	1	31	1	12	0	0	0	2	0	14	0
31	Plateau	3	0	8	0	8	0	19	0	0	0	1	0	7	0	8	0
32	Rivers	1	0	11	0	13	0	25	0	0	0	2	0	10	0	12	0
33	Sokoto	1	0	11	0	11	0	23	0	0	0	7	0	4	0	11	0

Table 18. Contd.

34	Taraba	4	0	6	0	6	0	16	0	0	0	1	0	5	0	6	0
35	Yobe	0	0	6	0	6	0	12	0	0	0	4	0	2	0	6	0
36	Zamfara	0	0	7	0	7	0	14	0	0	0	6	0	1	0	7	0
37	FCT	2	0	2	0	2	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0
	Total	128	5	302	9	333	15	792	29	64	4	74	3	205	4	354	11

Source: INEC, Abuja.

Table 19. February 20, 1999 national assembly election distribution of contestants and winners on state, party and gender bases in the senate election

S/No.	State	Number of Contestants						Total				Winners				Total		
		AD		AP		PDP		M		F		AD		AP			PDP	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	M	F	F	M	F	M	F		M	F
1	Abia	1	0	2	0	3	0	6	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	3		
2	Adamawa	0	0	3	0	3	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3		
3	Akwa Ibom	0	0	2	0	3	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3		
4	Anambra	1	0	3	0	3	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3		
5	Bauchi	0	0	3	0	3	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3		
6	Bayelsa	2	0	2	0	3	0	7	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	3		
7	Benue	0	0	3	0	3	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3		
8	Borno	0	0	3	0	3	0	6	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	3		
9	Cross River	1	0	1	2	2	1	7	0	0	0	0	1	20	0	2		
10	Delta	1	0	1	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	1		
11	Ebonyi	1	0	3	0	3	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3		
12	Edo	1	0	3	0	3	0	7	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	3		
13	Ekiti	3	0	0	0	3	0	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3		
14	Enugu	3	0	3	0	3	0	9	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	3		
15	Gombe	1	0	3	0	3	0	7	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	3		
16	Imo	1	0	3	0	3	0	7	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	3		
17	Jigawa	0	0	3	0	3	0	6	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	3		
18	Kaduna	3	0	3	0	3	0	9	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	3		
19	Kano	0	0	3	0	3	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3		
20	Katsina	1	0	3	0	3	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3		
21	Kebbi	0	0	3	0	3	0	6	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	3		
22	Kogi	1	0	3	0	3	0	7	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3		
23	Kwara	2	0	3	0	3	0	8	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3		
24	Lagos	3	0	1	0	2	1	7	3	0	0	0	0	3	0	3		
25	Nasarawa	0	0	3	0	3	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3		
28	Ondo	3	0	3	0	3	0	9	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3		
29	Osun	3	0	2	0	3	0	8	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3		
30	Oyo	3	0	0	0	3	0	6	3	0	0	0	0	3	0	3		
31	Plateau	0	0	3	0	3	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3		
32	Rivers	0	0	3	0	3	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3		
33	Sokoto	0	0	3	0	3	0	6	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	3		
34	Taraba	0	0	3	0	3	0	6	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	3		
35	Yobe	0	0	3	0	3	0	6	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	3		
36	Zamfara	0	0	3	0	3	0	6	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3		
37	FCT	1	0	1	0	3	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	61	1	3		
	Total	39	0	90	2	106	3	240	20	0	0	23	1		2	107		

Source: INEC, Abuja

Table 20. Independent national electoral commissioner February 20, 1999 national assembly election distribution of seats won by each party

S/ No.	State	Number of senate district	AD	APP	PDP	Total	Number of federal constituency	AD	APP	APP	PDP	Total	Bye-election
1	Abia	3	0	1	2	3	8	0	1	1	7	8	
2	Adamawa	3	0	0	3	3	8	0	1	1	7	8	
3	Akwa Ibom	3	0	0	3	3	10	0	0	0	9	9	ETIMEKPOLG
4	Anambra	3	0	0	3	3	11	0	1	1	1	11	
5	Bauchi	3	0	0	3	3	12	0	3	3	9	12	
6	Bayelsa	3	1	0	2	3	5	1	0	0	4	5	
7	Benue	3	0	0	3	3	11	0	1	1	10	11	
8	Borno	3	0	1	2	3	10	0	6	6	4	10	
9	Cross River	3	0	1	2	3	8	0	5	5	3	8	
10	Delta	3	0	0	1	1	10	0	4	4	3	7	2 SEC 3FEC
11	Ebonyi	3	0	0	3	3	6	0	0	0	68	6	
12	Edo	3	0	0	3	3	9	0	1	1	0	9	
13	Ekiti	3	2	0	1	3	6	6	0	0	3	6	
14	Enugu	3	2	1	0	3	8	2	3	3	5	8	
15	Gombe	3	0	2	1	3	6	0	1	1	6	6	
16	Imo	3	0	1	2	3	10	0	4	4	3	10	
17	Jigawa	3	0	2	1	3	11	0	8	8	14	11	
18	Kaduna	3	0	1	2	3	16	0	2	2	23	16	
19	Kano	3	0	0	3	3	24	0	1	1	15	24	
20	Katsina	3	0	0	3	3	15	0	0	0	5	13	
21	Kebbi	3	0	0	1	3	8	0	3	3	4	5	
22	Kogi	3	0	1	2	3	9	0	5	5	1	9	
23	Kwara	3	0	3	0	3	6	23	5	5	0	6	
24	Lagos	3	3	0	0	3	24	0	1	1	5	24	
25	Nasarawa	3	0	0	3	3	5	0	0	0	10	5	
26	Niger	3	0	0	3	3	10	9	0	0	0	10	
27	Ogun	3	3	0	0	3	9	7	0	0	1	9	
28	Ondo	3	3	0	0	3	9	5	0	0	1	8	
29	Osun	3	3	0	0	3	9	12	0	0	2	9	
30	Oyo	3	3	0	0	3	14	0	0	0	7	14	
31	Plateau	3	0	0	3	3	8	0	1	1	10	8	
32	Rivers	3	0	0	3	3	13	0	2	2	4	12	AKUKU ASA
33	Sokoto	3	0	2	1	3	11	0	7	7	5	11	
34	Taraba	3	0	1	2	3	6	0	1	1	2	6	
35	Yobe	3	0	2	1	3	6	0	4	4	1	6	
36	Zamfara	3	0	3	0	3	7	0	6	6	2	7	

Table 20. Contd.

37	FCT	1	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	209	2
	Total	109	20	24	63	107	360	68	77	77		354

Source: INEC, Abuja.

Table 21. Voters turn-out in the 1999 presidential election

S/No	State	Number of registered voters	Valid votes			Invalid votes	Total votes	% Voters' turn-Out
			A.D.	APP	PDP			
1	Abia	1321895	1676	175095	360823	6221	543815	41.14
2	Adamawa	1260966	3872	177868	667239	0	848979	67.33
3	Akwa Ibom	1450367	0	152534	730744	5220	888498	61.26
4	Anambra	2221384	2254	199461	633717	4221	839653	37.8
5	Bauchi	1941913	0	342233	834308	32902	1209443	62.28
6	Bayelsa	873000	8	152220	457812	2250	612290	70.14
7	Benue	1806121	1366	269045	983912	6046	1260369	69.78
8	Borno	1822987	2970	334593	581382	27887	946832	51.94
9	Cross River	1142876	156	283468	592688	425	876737	76.71
10	Delta	1794361	323	240344	576230	11477	828374	46.17
11	Ebonyi	902327	883	94934	250987	5680	352484	39.06
12	Edo	1380418	0	163203	516581	6131	685915	49.69
13	Ekiti	1077195	652	522072	191618	8536	722878	67.11
14	Enugu	1466145	851	195168	640418	851	837288	57.11
15	Gombe	1108171	188	311381	533158	10909	855636	77.21
16	Imo	1746673	1755	314339	421767	7958	745819	42.7
17	Jigawa	1567423	164	237025	311571	33625	582385	37.16
18	Kaduna	2536702	0	381350	1294679	40481	1716510	67.67
19	Kano	3680990	4697	222458	682255	36368	945778	25.69
20	Katsina	2151112	0	229181	964216	0	119337	55.48
21	Kebbi	1172054	136	172336	339893	16770	529125	45.15
22	Kogi	1265230	538	476807	507903	8322	993570	78.53
23	Kwara	940400	127	189088	470510	10127	669852	71.23
24	Lagos	4091070	0	1542969	209012	3246	1755227	42.9
25	Nasarawa	749466	0	173277	423731	0	597008	79.66
26	Niger	1572979	2139	140465	730665	14432	887701	56.43
27	Ogun	1559709	0	332340	143564	6485	482389	30.93
28	Ondo	1331617	168	668474	133323	10117	812082	60.98
29	Osun	1496058	0	607628	187011	10038	804677	53.79
30	Oyo	2362772	3811	693510	227668	14227	939216	39.75
31	Plateau	1311649	1179	173370	499072	7252	680873	51.91
32	Rivers	2202655	1486	213328	1352275	4407	1571496	71.35
33	Sokoto	1274060	0	198829	155598	14558	368965	28.96
34	Taraba	983227	747	91290	789749	5122	876908	89.19
35	Yobe	874957	1590	165061	146517	8569	321737	36.77
36	Zamfara	1112627	569	243755	136324	16476	397124	35.69
37	FCT	385399	0	39788	59234	0	99022	25.69
	Total	57938945	34295	1110287	18738154	397316	30280052	62.26

Source: INEC, Abuja.

Table 22. February 27, 1999 Presidential election results analysis of votes cast on state and party bases.

S/No.	Name of State	Total votes cast	A.D votes	Valid votes		Invalid votes	PDP total votes	% Voters' turn-out
				% votes	APP votes			
1	Abia	537594	1676	0.31	175095	32.57	360823	67.12
2	Adamawa	848979	3872	0.46	177868	20.95	6672239	78.59
3	Akwa Ibom	883279	0	0	152534	152534	17.27	82.73
4	Anambra	835432	2254	0.27	199461	199481	23.88	75.86
5	Bauchi	1176541	0	0	342233	342233	29.09	70.91
6	Bayelsa	610040	8	0	152220	24.95	457812	75.05
7	Benue	1254323	1366	0.11	269045	21.45	983912	78.44
8	Borno	918945	2970	0.32	334593	36.41	581382	63.27
9	Cross River	876312	156	0.02	283468	32.35	592688	67.63
10	Delta	816897	323	0.04	240344	29.42	576230	70.54
11	Ebonyi	346804	883	0.25	94934	27.37	250987	72.37
12	Edo	679784	0	0	163203	24.01	516581	75.99
13	Ekiti	714342	652	0.09	522072	73.08	191618	26.82
14	Enugu	836437	851	0.1	195168	23.33	640418	76.57
15	Gombe	844727	188	0.02	311381	36.86	533158	63.12
16	Imo	737861	1755	0.24	314339	42.6	421767	57.16
17	Jigawa	548760	164	0.03	237025	43.19	311571	56.78
18	Kaduna	1676029	0	0	381350	22.75	1294679	77.25
19	Kano	909410	4697	0.52	222458	24.46	682255	75.02
20	Katsina	1193397	0	0	229181	19.2	964216	80.8
21	Kebbi	512355	126	0.02	172336	33.64	339893	66.34
22	Kogi	985248	538	0.05	176807	48.39	507903	51.55
23	Kwara	659725	127	0.02	189088	28.66	470510	71.32
24	Lagos	1751981	0	0	1542969	88.07	209012	11.93
25	Nasarawa	597008	0	0	173277	29.02	423731	70.98
26	Niger	873269	2139	0.24	140465	16.08	730665	83.67
27	Ogun	475904	0	0	332340	69.83	143564	30.17
28	Ondo	801965	168	0.02	668474	83.35	133323	16.62
29	Osun	795518	879	0.11	607628	76.38	1870711	23.51
30	Oyo	924989	3811	0.41	693510	74.97	227668	24.61
31	Plateau	673621	1179	0.18	173370	25.74	499072	71.09
32	Rivers	1567089	1486	0.09	213328	13.61	1352275	86.29
33	Sokoto	354427	0	0	198828	56.1	155598	43.9
34	Taraba	871786	747	0.09	81290	9.32	789749	90.59
35	Yobe	313168	1590	0.51	165061	52.71	146517	46.79
36	Zamfara	380648	569	0.15	243755	64.04	136324	35.81
37	FCT	99022	0	0	39788	40.18	59234	59.82
	Total	29883615	35174	0.12	11110287	37.18	18738154	627

Source: INEC, Abuja.

dialectical quicksand of history since her take-off as a nation?

Causes of Nigeria's current problems

One reason that readily comes to mind is that of

misgovernance and its accompanying multi-dimensional vices which grew out of ignorance of what democracy which, has been practiced by civilized nations all over the world since its coinage by Herodotus in the fifth century B.C. means. In spite of its efficacy as a tool of governance and, its attractiveness which has increasingly matured with time in most developed polities, African

Table 23. Ideological presentations of parties during application period

PDP	APP	AD	MDJ	UPP	PRP
Welfarist mixed economy with emphasis on diversification of the economy to reduce reliance on oil, leading role of the state in some sectors and privatization of sectors which private entrepreneurship and capital are available locally	Welfarist, mixed economy with emphasis on efficiency in agric, gas development, attraction of foreign investment and state investment in capital-intensive sector. To seek solution to the debt crisis	Welfarist, mixed economy with emphasis on efficiency in agric, gas development, attraction of foreign investment in capital-intensive sector. To resolve the debt crisis	Welfarist, mixed economy committed to private entrepreneurship and transparency in public finance	Capitalist, free market based on privatization of public enterprises, a medium term economic programme to ease debt crisis, and implementation-n of the vision 2010 master-plan	Socialist economy based on public control of strategic economic sectors. Fair taxation policy, ownership system, and large scale industrialization

Source: National Concord, December 2, 1998, p.11

Table 24. The 54 political parties in Nigeria from 1999 to 2009.

S/No.	Full name	Acronym
1	Accord	A
2	Action Alliance	AA
3	Action Congress	AC
4	Advance Congress of Democrats	ACD
5	Allied Congress Party of Nigeria	ACPN
6	Alliance for Democracy	AD
7	African Democratic Congress	ADC
8	African Liberation Party	ALP
9	All Nigeria Peoples Party	ANPP
10	All Progressive Grand Alliance	APGA
11	Action Party of Nigeria	APN
12	African Political System	APS
13	African Renaissance Party	ARP
14	Better Nigeria Progressive Party	BNPP
15	Congress for Democratic Change	CDC
16	Community Party of Nigeria	CPN
17	Citizens Popular Party	CPP
18	Democratic Alternative	DA
19	Democratic People's Alliance	DPA
20	Democratic Peoples Party	DPP
21	Fresh Democratic Party	FRESH
22	Hope Democratic Party	HDP
23	Justice Party	JP
24	Liberal Democratic Party of Nigeria	LDPN
25	Labour Party	LP
26	Movement for Democracy and Justice	MDJ
27	Masses Movement of Nigeria	MMN
28	Movement for the Restoration and Defence of Democracy	MRDD
29	National Action Council	NAC
30	Nigerian Advanced Party	NAP
31	National Conscience Party	NCP
32	New Democrats	ND
33	National Democratic Party	NDP
34	Nigeria Elements Progressive Party	NEPP

Table 24. Contd.

35	National Majority Democratic Party	NMDP
36	New Nigeria Peoples Party	NNPP
37	Nigeria Peoples Congress	NPC
38	National Reformation Party	NRP
39	National Solidarity Democratic Party	NSDP
40	National Unity Party	NUP
41	Progressive Action Congress	PAC
42	Peoples Democratic Party	PDP
43	Peoples Mandate Party	PMP
44	Progressive Peoples Alliance	PPA
45	Peoples Progressive Party	PPP
46	Peoples Redemption Party	PRP
47	Peoples Salvation Party	PSP
48	Republican Party of Nigeria	RPN
49	United Democratic Party	UDP
50	United Nigeria Peoples Party	UNPP

*The Names and particulars of the four (4) Political Parties registered by INEC in 2009 are not contained in its Official Website.

Source: INEC, Abuja.

Table 25. The list of gubernatorial candidates (2003) (The winners of the gubernatorial elections for each state are highlighted and have asterisk sign beside them)

State	Party	Governor	Deputy Governor
	AD	Chief Sir Eze Nwosu	Engr. Kalu Agbai
	ANPP	Chief Enyi Abaribe	Robert Nwanna Kalu
	APGA	Chief Kalu Onwuka	Asobie Chisom Olufemi
	APLP	Philip Okoro	Evarulodi E. Chibuike
	JP	Chief Dr. Albert Ogbonnaya	Okoro Jerry
Abia	NCP	Barr. Ukpai Ukaire	Mrs. Florence Nwachukwu
	NDP	Engr. Andrew Onyekwere Nwaeke	Prof. Uka Emele Mba
	NNPP	Ukaogo Ameachi	Wabara Oxford Enyinnaya
	*PDP	Kalu Orji Johnson Uzor	Chima Nwafor
	PMP	Pastor Rowland Nwosu	Dr. Mrs. Joyce U. Kalu
	UNPP	Ike Henry Ikechukwu	Barr. Enere Amaechi Mboma
	AD	Takaya J. Bala	Atiku Umar
	ANPP	Modibo Adamu Muazu	Khan Isary Patrick Jola
	NCP	Sani Abdul Wahab	Mohammed Rufai
Adamawa	NDP	Commr. Usman Adamu Song	Murray Gregory
	NPC	Amos Sunday	Umar Dena Mohammed
	*PDP	Haruna Boni	Tukur Mohammed Bello
	UNPP	Lot T. Shinto	Usman A. Ahmed Vogna
	AD	Ikpe Maria Nyong	Ogungide Elder Ekpo
	ANPP	Dr. Ime Sampson Unanah	Dr. Samuel Udonsak
	APGA	Prince Madu Okon Ekpo	Oyokunyi Asuquo Esin
	NAC	Cyril Itohowo (Pastor)	Bassey Thompson Udotai
Akwa-Ibom	NDP	Nkanga Idongesit Okon	Nyah Ubokutom Asulquo
	NNPP	Engr. Albert Essien	Surv. Ralph Ekpeyong
	*PDP	Attah Victor Bassey	Ekpeyong Christopher Stephen

Table 25. Contd.

	PRP	Okon Emmanuel Etim	Eyo Rolland Okon
	UNPP	Dr. Anam – Ndu Eking Akpan	Engr. Emmanuel James Obong
Anambra	AD	Dr. Chinwoke Mbadinuju	Prince Ossy Ezenwa
	ANPP	Chief Gregory Moghalu	Nwosu Ralphs Okey
	APGA	Mr Peter Gregory Obi	Mrs Virginia Etiaba
	APLP	Chief Emeka Obi Oduciyi	Mr Boniface Uduji
	ARP	Engr. Ifedi Ambrose Okonkwo	Ikeagu Judith
	CPN	Onyimadu Goddy Ndubuisi	Okeke Chidi Chukwuemeka
	JP	Ike Nwosu	Ernest Ufere
	NAC	Barr. Anthony Emejulu Opala – Ukwu	Engr. Ifeakabe Onyeogu
	NCP	Okala Peter Emeka	Ezenwa Ejike C. J.
	NDP	Obinna C. Uzoh	Prince Noel Ezenwa
	NNPP	Ogbalu (Dr) Michael Mbanefo Nwabudim	Mrs Chinwe Rose Douche
	PAC	Okoye Christian	Onwuma Nkechi
	*PDP	Dr. Chris Ngige	Hon. (Dr) Okey Udey
	PMP	Engr. Ajulu Uzodike	Arch. Don A. Ifejika
UDP	Dr. Ezika Anthony Ikechukwu Osika	Odife Sylvester Ekwunife	
UNPP	Uzodike Joe Martins Osita	Chief A. A. Obiabaka	
Bauchi	AD	Al – A Min Mohammed Sani	Alh. Mohammed Sani
	ANPP	Jarma Ibrahim Mohammed	Mohammed Hassan Tilde
	APGA	Suleiman H. Alhaji Jauro	Nazeeb Suleiman Ibrahim
	CPN	Yusuf Mohammed Gidado	Musa Sadiq
	MDJ	Dankyarana Mustapha Alhaji	Baba Musa Dankadai
	NCP	Adamu M. Buba	Yunusa Tanko
	NDP	Waziri Ibrahim M.	Mohammed Dadi Tahir
	PAC	Mrs. Malumbus Danladi Rahila	Abdu Lawan Zakari
	*PDP	Mu’Azu Ahmadu Adamu	Mohammed Abdulmalik
	UNPP	Archi.Mohammed Abdullahi Dewu	Ibrahim Abdullahi Dahuwa
Bayelsa	AD	Abule Zebulon Meshech	Masa Ayakeme
	ANPP	Abowei Millionaire	Okoli Aranyeaziba Onyeke
	APGA	Jasper Boro	Obiene Macdonald D. Marcus
	JP	Ikia Kent	Kigigha John Uriah
	MDJ	Oriewarie Paul Nanaotukpeni	Ikatari Wilfred Odo Danola
	NAC	Chief Gbalekuma K. Gbaligha	Azagbene P. Clerk
	NCP	Mr George Gbamo	Apostle Robinson Ekite Iguma
	NDP	Feghabo Waler	Eseduwo Famous Sayeregha
	NNPP	Godknows Okiri	Loveday A. Eminah
	*PDP	Alamieyesiegha Diepreye Solomon Peter	Jonathan Goodluck Ebele
UNPP	Fente Alien George	Gedion Ogoun	
Benue	AD	Adasu Rev. Fr. Moses	Egwurube Francis Obande
	ANPP	Unongo Paul Iyorpuu	Philip Daniel Agbonedien
	APGA	Agbede Z.	Ogli Steve Oyilom
	NCP	Korayom Stephen	Okpeh Otobo James
	ND	Shimatayer Atim Atedze	Sunday Atayi Ikpe
	NDP	Hon. Terwase Orbunde	Abah Inalegwu Sam
	*PDP	Akume George Orpel	Ogiri Ajene
	PRP	Kamylon Rev. Timothy Liambee	Odumu Grace Ohma
	UNPP	Mike Mku	Adah Ohepo Ejiga

Table 25. Contd.

Borno	AD	Alh. Mala Kachalla	Alh. Ali Abubakar Jato
	*ANPP	Sen. Ali Modu Sheriff	Alh. Adamu Shettima Dibal
	APGA	Izge Mamuda Sanda	Isyaku Hassan
	CPN	Baba Ali Kelio	Usman D. Haruna
	JP	Alh. Ali Abatcha	Tijjani Abubarka
	NCP	Satomi Alh. Yaro	Alh. Aji Furram
	NDP	Zanna Shettima Woroma	Abdullahi Betara Miringa
	PDP	Ibrahim Imam Kashim	Kida Ibrahim Umar
	UNPP	Usman Umar Mustapha Lawan	Aisami Kapi
		Mongno Mustapha Mohammed	Galadima Abdullahi
Cross River	AD	Ogbang Peter Mego Ogem (Dr)	Reuben Orok A.
	ANPP	Chief John O. Okpa	Edem Effiom Ekong
	APGA	Wilson Asinya Estate	Chief Effiong Okon Ekong
	ND	Usani Uguru Usani	Chief Archibong Bassey Edet
	NDP	Amb. Akpang Obi Odu	Chief Ojoi Ojoppe Ojoi
	*PDP	Duke Donald	Eneji Walter Patrick
	UNPP	Ojung Ntufam Matthew	Etim Paul Bassey
Delta	AD	Chief Great Onadje Ogboru	Dr. Emelue Precious C.
	ANPP	Omoru Lucky Oghene	Chief Ashiofu A. I.
	APGA	Hon. Ned Nwoko	Chief Abel A. Ugedi
	JP	Ighofasa A. Onome Michael	Emmanuel O. Opiah
	NAP	Obada Charles	Ejiro Ayeoritsekpeju Eghagha
	NNPP	Agbajoh Olivia Tagbajum	Aotokwu Fidelis Nwaokedi
	NPC	Emioma Ngozi Akpomudiare	Oghene Peter Akpomudiare
	PAC	Okocha Emmanuel	Fiepre Jones
	*PDP	Ibori James Onanefe	Elue Benjamin S. Chuks
UNPP	Joshua E. Enueme (Dr)	Mr. Gilbert P. Benafa	
Ebonyi	ANPP	Nwuruku Lawrence	Ngele Slyvanus N.
	APGA	Ossu Sylvester Chimma Oduko	Nweze Nwafor S.
	MDJ	Dr. Offia Nwali	Oko Vincent Igwe
	NDP	Felix Ereke (Chief)	Andrew Isu
	PAC	Ugwu Elder George O.	Chukwu Odi Kennedy
	*PDP	Dr. Egwu Samuel Ominyi	Ogbu Chigozie
	UNPP	Nwite Polycarb Ogbonna	Agwu Ukpai Aghe
Edo	AD	Aibangbee Omo Osamwenyobo	Mrs Irigo Theresa Dominic
	ANPP	Sen. Rowland S. Owie	Dr. Tuned Lakoju
	APGA	Uzamere V. Ayodele	Orbih John Edward
	MDJ	Edward E. Osifo	Deacon Umame Paul Omo
	NCP	Obayuwana Osagie Osarieme	Arebun Princess Esohe A. G.
	*PDP	Igbinedion Lucky Nosakhare	Oghiadomhe Michael Ayegboni
UNPP	Dr. Allie Clement Imuetinyan	Mr Augustine Braimoh Anodio	
Ekiti	AD	Otunba Richard Adeniyi Adebayo	Alabi Paul Olatunde
	ANPP	Bashorun Reuben I. Famuyibo	Otunba Steve A. Ojo
	APGA	Remi Okebunmi	Opeyemi Samuel
	NCP	Falana Obafemi Patrick	Oyinloye Banji

Table 25. Contd.

	NDP	Engr. Ayodele John Ajayi	Adekunle Akintola
	NNPP	Babatunde Alonge	Daramola Kayoed Mathias
	*PDP	Fayose Peter Ayodele	Jacob Abiodun Aluko
	UNPP	Abayomi Olusegun O.	Otunba Olusola Omoniyi
	AD	Chief Emeka Eze	Hon. Emeka Madu
	ANPP	Hon. Chief Dr. Fedel Ayogu	Ozongwu Nduka Chris
	APGA	Barr. Ugochukwu Agbalih	Asadu Christopher Chidiebere
	ARP	Akpata Afamefuna Osmond	Ezekiel Michael
	CPN	Chief Mike Ejirima	John Casmir Nwobodo
	JP	Uke Obed Kim	Cesar Mbonu
Enugu	NCP	Aniagolu Loretta Ngozichukwu	Ezeugwu Tony A.
	NDP	Chief Engr. Anayo Onwuegbu	Prince Obinna Eze Godwin
	NRP	Onu Solomon	Chief Dr. Walter Obiorah Oji
	PAC	Alio Timothy Chinedu	Ezeata Chris Udemezue
	*PDP	H. E. Dr. Chimaroke Ogbonna Nnamani	Okechukwu Ezewata Itanyi
	PMP	Ozubu Richard Obiora	Onu Francis M.
	UNPP	Chief (Arc.) Alexander Obiechia	Agu Matthew Onyebuchi
	AD	Hassan M. Ibrahim	Rev. (Dr) Obadiah Beli Absa
	ANPP	Abubakar H. Hashidu	Joshua M. Lidani
	APLP	Mohammed J. Julde	Abubaka Lakutto
Gombe	NCP	Ibrahim Dan'asabe	Danbaba James
	NDP	Timothy M. Shelpidi	Hammadu Abubakar
	*PDP	Mohammed Danjuma Goje	Lazarus John Yoriyo
	AD	Chief Uzodima Odika Goodhope	Chief Ohakim Ikeidi Ikedika Godson
	ANPP	Hon. Humphrey Anumudo	Dr. Chris C. Osuola
	APGA	Dr. Ezekiel Izogu	Dr. J. A. Iroegbu
	JP	Chief Pery C. Opera	Obioha Chris Ugo
	MDJ	Chief Maraibe Chukwueke Ugoji	Hon. Stephen Osugwe
	NCP	Hon. Dickson Chinedu Unogu	Best O. C. Konkwo (Mrs)
Imo	NDP	Chukwu Emeka Nwajiuba	Hon. Barr. Amadi Gabriel S. A.
	NNPP	Kingsley Chimekezie	Christian Chigbundu
	*PDP	Chief Achike Udenwa	Engr. Ebere Udeagu
	PSD	Engr. Alex Chukuwemeka Mbakwe	Arch. Anthony Phil Mbanaja
	UNPP	Chief Martin Agbaso	Ndubueze Nwanna
	*ANPP	Turaki Ibrahim Saminu	Ibrahim Hassan Hadejia
	NDP	Ali Sa'ad Birnin Kudu	Alh. Ya'u Yakubu Kanya
Jigawa	PDP	Sen. Mohammed D. Alkali	Alh. Ahmed Adulhamid Madori
	PRP	Nakudu Sabo Mohammed	Musa Nuhu
	UNPP	Ahmed Mohammed	Alhassan Yusuf Gumel
	AD	Joshua Maman Madaki	Ladan Muazu
	ANPP	Othman Suleiman Hunkuyi	Mr Nuhu Y. Adamu
	APGA	Kadima Wakili Dhern	Abubakar Inusa Yusuf
	NCP	Umar Busheer Garba	Abrakson N. Lekwat
Kaduna	NDP	Tukur Mohammed Bello	Token Agwam Yakubu
	*PDP	Alh. Ahmed Moh'd Makarfi	Engr. Stephen Shekari

Table 25. Contd.

	PRP	Maiyashi Mataimaki Tom	Umar Aliyu
	UNPP	Kamanton Malachi M.	Shehu Sadiq
Kano	*ANPP	Alh. Ibrahim Shekarau	Abdullahi Magaji Adamu
	APGA	Kabiru Atiku Kofar Wambai	Garba Tafida Nasidi
	NDP	Dr. Rufai Umar Madaki	Ibrahim Dahiru
	PDP	Dr. Kwankwaso Musa Rabi	Dr. Abdullahi Umar Ganduje
	PRP	Amin Ibrahim Ali	Tofa Umar Othman
	PSP	Umar Yakubu Dan Hassan	Alh. Salisu Shehu Kudiwa
	UNPP	Muhammed Nasiru Muhtar	Muhammed Sani Halliru Dambata
Katsina	ANPP	Engr. Nura Khalil	Alh. Taminu Hussain Maidoki
	MDJ	Shehu Isa Kaita	Sani Dankwara Nasiru
	NCP	Mohammed Tajo Usman	Shehu Abdullahi
	NDP	Yakubu Sada Abubakar	Yahayya Sani Alo Danja
	*PDP	Alhaji Umaru Yar'adua	Alhaji Abdullahi Aminchi
	PRP	Amani Mohammed Bashir	Abubakar Sani Abubakar
	UNPP	Aminu Abdulmumini	Mikailo Mato
Kebbi	*ANPP	Alhaji Muhammed Aliero	Alh. Suleman Moh'd Argungu
	NDP	Dr. Wali Ahmed	Abubakar Umar
	PDP	Dr. Saidu Sambawa	Alh. Sidi Bawa
	UNPP	Turaki Kabiru Taminu (SAN)	Bala Idris (Col. Rtd)
Kogi	AD	Evan. Love Laraba Emma	Mal. Ahmed Musa - Ododo
	ANPP	Prince Abubakar Audu	Patrick Adaba
	APGA	Kato Frank Abaya	Olu Oritogun
	NAC	Alhaji Saidu Audu	Alh. Usman Suleiman
	NCP	Adeyanju Johnson Babatunde	Obadaki Abdulmalik
	NDP	Nuhu Audu	Omuya Adairaji
	NNPP	Prof. Abdullahi M.	Alibi M. N. O.
	*PDP	Alhaji Ibrahim Idris	Philips Ozovehe Salanu
UNPP	Kabir M. Shuaibu	Arc. Raphael K. O.	
Kwara	AD	Alhaji Lai Mohammed	Zhiri D. Jonathan
	ANPP	Alhaji Mohammed Lawal	Chief Deacon Simeon A. S.
	APGA	Dr. Abubakar A. Ishola	Alh. Isa Mohammed
	DA	Samuel O. A.	Omotosho Ramoni
	NCP	Samuel Tayo Sunday	Abegunde James Oludele
	NDP	Gbenga Olawepo	Alh. Isa Ayogi
Lagos	*PDP	Dr. Bukola Saraki	Joel Afolabi Ogundeji
	UNPP	Mohammed Nurudeen	A. A. Agboola
	*AD	Tinubu Bola Ahmed	Pedro Olufemi
	ANPP	Rasak Kamoru Lanre	Salu Hindeyin
	APGA	Onyia Moses Basil Chikwendu	Mohammed Muktar Babangida
	ARP	Dimejila Muren	Adenuga Mojisola Margaret
	BNPP	Omokanye Fagbemi	Olusegun Tunde
	DA	Bamidele Aturu	Titilola Ojomo (Mrs)
	JP	Adeniyi Ladega	Mrs. Chinwe Kalu

Table 25. Contd

	MDJ	Williams Roseline Iyabo	Omoera Oyarelemhi A. (Chief)
	NAP	Akirintoye Branco Rhodes	Muyiwa Adebawale
	NCP	Abassi Lateef Adewunmi	Abiola Olateju Ojuolapo
	NDP	Alhaji Sunday Anthonio	Ajayi Ajibola Kamarudeen
	NNPP	Savage Funto Belugbade	Ezeokonkwo Emeka Ben
	PAC	Dawodu Ganiyu Olawele	Finnih Oluyomi
	PDP	Anthony Olufunsho Williams	Abdulkarim Safuray Olayinka
	UDP	Akpa Chinedu Victor	Olawale Tokunbo Tonade
	UNPP	Bucknor – Akerele Louisa K.	Ayinde Raufu Yemi
Nasarawa	AD	Senator P. Aga	Alh. T. Hassan
	ANPP	Alhaji Aliyu Akwa Doma	Barr. Chris Abashi
	APGA	Alaneme C. Cyriacus	Emmanuel Masin
	NAC	Madaki Isyaku Isaac Umaru	Zhokwo Philemon Anyitovi
	NCP	Abimiku Samson Ukun	Bawa Dishiro Mohammed
	NDP	Haruna Abubakar	Edom Joseph Emaku
	*PDP	Alhaji Abdullahi Adamu	Mr. Labaran Maku
	UNPP	Umar Tanko A.	Alh. Bello Hassan
Niger	AD	Mahmood Sani Yusuf	Shu'aibu Abdullahi
	ANPP	Dr. Musa Inuwa	Alhaji Ahmed Yahaya
	APGA	Musa Mohammed	Sani Yau
	NAC	Alhaji Aliyu Ibrahim	Yabagi M. Kudu
	NDP	Adamu A. Atsu	Abdullahi Musa Z.
	*PDP	Engr. Abdulkadir Kure	Dr. Shem Zagbayi Nuhu
	PRP	Engr. Mustapha Bello	Dr. Jibrin Kolo Saba
	UNPP	Idris Garba	Tony Yusuf Adams
Ogun	AD	Osoba Olusegun Aremu	Kada Sefiu Adegbeniga (Alh.)
	ANPP	Lawal Adebisi	Akinwande Bamidele
	APGA	Tetade Eliobi Olufemi	Prince Adesanya Ganiyu
	JP	Arc. Femi Onifade	Seyi Soremekun
	NAP	Pastor Adetola Rasaan Olusegun	Mrs Obateye Hannah Dayo
	NCP	Ogbeni Lanre Banjo	Lanere Oyekanmi
	NDP	Banjo Adesugun Olufemi David	Olu Adeola
	PAC	Ogunnubi Oluwole	Babatunde Steven Oludayo
	*PDP	Daniel Justus Olagbenga	Alhaja Falinat M. Badru
	PRP	Adebayo Gbolade	Mrs. Mairam Adebisi
UNPP	Osinuga Kolawole Moses	Folarin Philip Yemi	
Ondo	AD	Chief Adebayo Adefarati	Barrister Afolabi Iyantun
	ANPP	Jimoh Ibrahim	Prof. W. O. Olu Aderunmu
	ARP	Akintomide Felix Dele	Romeo Christiana
	NCP	Arije Oyekan Ogun	Ogunleye Aduke Beatrice
	NCP	Prince Ademola Adegoroye	Ogunmakinwa
	PAC	Akinyele Olusegun Festus	Sule Akinola
	*PDP	Dr. Segun Agagu	Otunba Omolade Oluwateru
	UNPP	Adegbonmire Adesoji	Omiye Adegboyega Festus

Table 25. Cont.

Osun	AD	Akande Adebisi Bamidele	Adewoyin Adeleke Sooko
	ANPP	Oriowo Olayiwola Folorunsho	Oyewale Mufutau
	APGA	Durotoye Bolarinwa Isiaka	Deacon Olawale Lawal
	NAC	Awosemo Felix Oladeji	Ajao Ezekiel Ariyo
	NAP	Suara Fatai Adenola	Odeyemi Azeez
	NCP	Oyebade Festus Olowogboyega	Bolarinwa Homsat A. S.
	NNPP	Aluko Folashade	Idowu Adewale Adeola
	NRP	Chief Adeniran Adetoye	Prince Adenle Adeloye
	*PDP	Olagunsoye Oyinlola	Erelu Olusola Obada
	UNPP	Babatunde Olubunmi Falohun	Remi Abimbola Osodu Adebolu
Oyo	AD	Alh. Adeshina Lamidi	Oladokun Samson Iyiola
	ANPP	Obisesan Charles Olalekan	Aribiyo Abiola Moruf
	APGA	Dr. S. Olalere	Akeula Abayomi Bariu
	MDJ	Akintola Ademola Michael	Dr. Yemisi Akinyemi
	NAC	Hon. Samuel Olayemi Olalekan	Oluwafunmiso Ojo
	NCP	Aborishade Femi	Olamosu Abiodun Isaac
	NDP	Chief Sholadoye	Prince Ademola Adegoke
	NRP	Sen. Olawuyi	Adebisi Waheed Olabanji
	PAC	Engr. G. A. Owoade	Chief S. A. Akintunde
	*PDP	Rasheed Ladoja	Chief Christopher Adebayo Akala
	PSD	Lamida Basiru	Ige Ademola Taiwo
	UNPP	Adegboyega Raymond	Abiodun Babalola
	Plateau	AD	Sango Damishi
ANPP		Grp Cap. Jang (Rtd)	Mr Dimka Jidana Samson
APGA		Barnabas Ejisi	Mrs Nancy John
MDJ		Ali Inuwa	Nimhang Nanzing N. A.
NCP		Pastor Oyang Luke	Hajia Rakiya Buba
NDP		Chief Amos Gizo	Alh. Sale Bayari
*PDP		Dariye Joshua Chibi	Chief Michael I. Botmang
UNPP		Bello Abdullahi	Engr. Pam Dung
Rivers	AD	Chief Emano Kamanu Kpagane	Engr. Pepito Princewill
	ANPP	Awuse Sergent Chidi	Harry M. Ipalibo
	APGA	Hanson Elkana	Ekwu Innocent Uche
	APLP	Bekee Ugo	Thom – Manuel Nimi Kanine (Mrs)
	JP	Urang Samuel Innocent Uche	Elijah Mark Emmanuel Immayah
	LDPN	Soberekon Bekinbo Alalibo	Orange Tom Jackson
	MDJ	Cyprian Chukwu	E. T. Owo Mbaba
	NAC	Engr. Odoyi R. Ikendu	Mrs. Cookey Dawuta
	NAP	Deacon Akuko Parker	Elder Nubel J. Aagbara
	NCP	Somiari Derego	Nwidobee Siasor Godpower
	NDP	Lulu – Briggs Dumo Owukori	Namene Ledee Loolo
	NNPP	Chukwu Vincent Ebere Orugem	Odoya Allen Lessman+++++
	*PDP	Odili Peter Otunuya	Gabriel Toby
UNPP	Hon. Charlie Ezihuo O. Beke	Engr. Iboroma Awobite	
AD	Alh. Garba Aliyu Dogondaji	Umar Farouk Mohammed	
Sokoto	*ANPP	Alh. Attahiru D. Bafarawa	Alhaji Aliyu M. Wamako
	APGA	Bello Isiyaka K.	Alhaji Dahatu Ermi

Table 25. Contd.

Sokoto	NDP	Inuwa Abdulkadir	Jelani Maiturare Dogondaji
	PDP	Sen. Abdullah Wali	Umar Abubakar Gada
	UNPP	Alh. Tambari Ahmed	Zakiru Kabiru Salihu
Taraba	AD	Rimamnde Bitrus Siman Nuhu	Ya'u Samaila Mayos
	ANPP	Prof. Sa'ad Abubakar	Daniel Musa Goyo
	APGA	Rev. Emmanuel Adamu Andefiki	Alhaji Shuaibu Chingo
	MDJ	Jerry R. G. Bauka	Abdullahi Ade Baba
	NCP	Mohammed Dan Atiku	Lawan Umar Yakubu
	NDP	Ibrahim Kefas	Musa Dogo Kabiru
	*PDP	Rev. Jolly Tevoru Nyame	Bar. Uba Maigari Ahmadu
	UNPP	Rishanta Joseph Sule (Dr)	Mohammed Bello Yahaya
Yobe	*ANPP	Alh. Bukar Abba Ibrahim	Alh. Aliyu Saleh Bagare
	NCP	Abubakar Mali	Abdullahi Dattijo Nguru
	NDP	Engr. Yakubu Wakilbe Bello	Alh. Adamu Musa
	NPC	Ahmed Bello Arabi	Alh. Yakubu Dippo
	PDP	Adamu Maina Waziri	Alh. Mohammed Lamin
	UNPP	Alh. Mohammed Ibrahim Tsoho	Adamu Talba
Zamfara	*ANPP	Ahmed Sani Yerima	Mamuda Aliyu Shinkafi
	APGA	Barr. Bello Umar	Aminu A. B. Muazu
	NDP	Sahabi Aliyu	Dankande Mohammed Abba
	PDP	Mande Bala Mahammed	Anka Mohammed Sani
	UNPP	Garba Mohammed Gajam	Abdussamad Y. Usman

Source: www.inecnigeria.org

Table 26. Gubernatorial Elections (2003) Nigeria Overall Total

Party	Total number of states won
AD	1
ANPP	7
APGA	0
APLP	0
ARP	0
BNPP	0
CPN	0
DA	0
GPN	*
JP	0
LDPN	0
MDJ	0
MMN	*
NAC	0
NAP	0
NCP	0
ND	0
NDP	0
NMMN	0
NNPP	0

Table 26. Contd.

NPC	0
NRP	0
PAC	0
PDP	28
PMP	0
PRP	0
PSD	0
PSP	0
UDP	0
UNPP	0

* signifies the fact that the party did not contest for the elections in any state)
Source: www.inecnigeria.org

Table 27. Presidential election (2003) Nigeria overall result (773 of 774 LGAS received)

Party	Total votes scored	% of valid votes	Quotas
ANPP	12,710,022	32.19	19 of 25
APGA	1,297,445	3.29	2 of 25
<u>APLP</u>	26,921	0.07	0 of 25
ARP	11,565	0.03	0 of 25
BNPP	5,987	0.02	0 of 25
DA	6,727	0.02	0 of 25
JP	119,547	0.30	0 of 25
LDPN	4,473	0.01	0 of 25
MDJ	21,403	0.05	0 of 25
MMN	3,757	0.01	0 of 25
NAC	5,756	0.01	0 of 25
NAP	6,932	0.02	0 of 25
NCP	161,333	0.41	0 of 25
NDP	132,997	0.34	0 of 25
NNPP	23,830	0.06	0 of 25
PAC	157,560	0.40	0 of 25
PDP	24,456,140	61.94	32 of 25
PMP	57,720	0.15	0 of 25
PRP	100,765	0.26	0 of 25
UNPP	169,609	0.43	0 of 25

Total valid votes=39,480,489; Rejected Ballots= 2,538,246; Valid Votes + Rejected Ballots=42,018,735; Number of Voters on Register=60,823,022; (360 Constituencies)
Source: www.inecnigeria.org

continent and particularly, Nigeria seem not to have concretely benefited from it. Nigeria, rather than democratically improving has been retrogressing due to the hollowness of the practical application of the principles of democracy. This disturbing trend has gained momentum during this fourth democratic experiment particularly in its first phase, a development which shows that our political class has refused to free itself from the manacle of political intolerance and

immaturity which, among other factors, made it a ready captive of the military oligarchy in the past and, which will continue to make it so, unless there is urgent and permanent change of philosophy through a committed moral rearmament. When evaluated against the background wherewithal and rationality of acceptable democratic culture, it is clear that the current events in Nigeria appear less favourable to an environment where a truly democratic governance could survive.

Table 28. 2007 Presidential election (final) result

Candidate	Party	Votes scored
Alhaji Umar Musa Yar'Adua	PDP	24,638,063
Muhammadu Buhari (Major General)	ANPP	6,605,279
Alhaji Atiku Abubakar	AC	2,637,848
Dr Orji Uzor Kalu	PPA	608,803
Attahiru Dalhatu Bafarawa	DPP	289,224
Dim Odumegwu Ojukwu	APGA	155,947
Chief Pere Ajuwa	AD	89,241
Rev. Chris Okotie	FRESH	74,049
Prof. Pat Utomi	ADC	50,849
Dr. Brimmy Olaghere	NPC	33,771
Chief Ambrose Owuru	HDP	28,519
Dr Arthur Nwanko	PMP	24,134
Chief Emmanuel Okereke	ALP	22,677
Sir Lawrence Adedoyin	APS	22,409
Alhaji Habu Fari	NDP	21,974
Galtima Baboyi Lima	NNPP	21,265
Mazi Maxi Okwu	CPP	14,027
Chief Sunny Joseph Okogwu	RPN	13,566
Dr Godswill Nnaji	BNPP	1,705
Dr Obayuwana Osagie	NC	8,229
Dr Olopade Agoro	NAC	5,752
Dr Solomon Akpone	NMDP	5,664
Dr Yisa Odidi	ND	5,408
Major Moji Adegunle-Obasanjo (rtd)	MMN	4,309
Malam Aminu Abubakar	NUP	4,255

Source: Daily Sun, Tuesday, April 24, 2007.Front Page.

From their actions and inactions, some of the present species of Nigerian politicians have shown that they are everything but politicians. This has been largely so because they have created and foisted a pace of jaundiced political atmosphere on the Nigerian polity through recklessness and classical display of "maradonic" institutionalization of dishonesty and attitudinal deception which, while completely oblivious of the avoidable roller-coaster national political past, has deliberately taken for granted Nigerians' determination to quickly forget the blighted past and capacity to resist government maladministration and provocative abuses of their political rights and truncation of their calculated political desires or preferences.

After 49 years of independent political existence, the Nigerian political class (at least some of them) by their actions and inactions has refused to realistically emancipate itself from the shackles of authoritarian tutelage, entrenched autocracy and nativism. This, in itself and the now obvious fictive democratic thinking by the Nigerian political class, apart from posing unprecedented challenges, serious dangers and dilemmas to Nigeria and Nigerians, presage a tumultuous and uncertain political future. The trend shows that Nigeria is operating against the currents of the apparent rebirth of political freedom, which had since the early 1990s gained international acclamation in most polities of the world.

Generally, our politicians, majority of whom are "political-free loaders", after forty-nine years, have not actually imbibed (as it should be) the spirit and etiquettes of democracy which have seen most polities to greatness and international prominence. Their stock –in-trade are political bootlicking and servility, enslavement by political-God-Fathers (due to their lack of self-respect and dignity), anti-democratic brinkmanship, wanton destruction of lives and property, arson, physical liquidation of political opponents, replacement of "we feeling" by "me feeling", political thuggery, might-makes right, political shenanigans, patrimonialism, financial decimation of the national treasury through ten percentagisation and contract scam, untenable official allowances and perquisites of office, deliberate and expedient mis-interpretation of the constitutional provisions, arrogance of power, fiscal indiscipline and contemptuous proclivities for shabby political syndromes, perjuries, certificate forgery and so on.

Even though, Nigeria as a Nation was, to some extent, blessed in the past with "political dinosaurs", "tyrants" and "tropical-gangsters" as leaders and statesmen whose bleeding of the nation's economy for personal benefits through the politicization of corruption and mis-use of official position, could be said to be unequalled within the global political community, the fact that the current politicians—(particularly most of those in the first phase of

Table 29. The life spans of Governments in Nigeria (both military and civilian 1960 - 2009)

S/No.	Types of administration	Head/ruler	Period	Reasons or causal factors of the change
1	Civilian (Parliamentary System)	Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa	1/10/1960 – 15/1/1966	Political and administrative corruption, arson, confusion etc.
2	Military	Major General J.T.U. Aguiyi-Ironsi	15/1/1966 – 27/7/1966	Counter-coup due to political megalomania or self aggrandizement of the predecessor and his people.
3	Military	General Yakubu Gowon (dismissed) & (later reinstated)	19/7/1966 – 29/7/1979	Unwillingness to hand off power, its 1976 unrealistic posture and corruption.
4	Military	General Murtala Ramat Mohammed (July 29 th 1975 – 13 th Feb. 1976) General Olusegun Obasanjo (13 th Feb. 1976 – 1 st October 1979)	29/7/1975 – 1/10/1979	Voluntary abdication or military disengagement from politics and restoration of civil rule and the abandonment of Westminster System.
5	Civilian (Presidential System)	Alhaji Aliyu Shehu Shagari	1/10/1979 – 31/12/1983	Corruption, Hitlerism, looting of the Public/National Treasury, Drift towards intolerance.
6	Military	Major-General Mohammadu Buhari	31/12/1983 – 27/8/1985	Nations Economy's defiance of Economic prescription, that is, fiscal crisis.
7	Military	Major-General (later a General) Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida	27/8/1985 – 27/8/1993	- Fiscal indiscipline, stifling of democratic aspiration - Annulment of a free & fair Presidential election, disrespect for human rights and fundamental freedom - Inauguration of a puppet and illegal ING
8	Interim National Government (a combination of civilian and military government)	Chief Ernest Shonekan	27/8/1993 – 17/11/1993	- Could not successfully placate the democratic aspirations of Nigerians - Illegal in nature and was pronounced so by a Lagos High Court
9	Military	General Sani Abacha	17/11/1993 – 8/6/1998	Replaced the ING, the Leader died in office.
10	Military	General Abudsalam Alhaji Abubakar	8/6/1998 – 29/5/1999	Voluntary Military handing-over of power to a democratically elected executive civilian president. This is the second, in the (39 years old) history of Nigeria.
11a	Civilian (Fourth Republic)	a)Chief Olusegun Obasanjo	29/5/1999 – 29/5/2007	Took over from the Military Head of State after a successful democratic election as an Executive President

Table 29. Contd.

11b	Civilian (Fourth Republic)	b)Alhaji Umar Musa Yar'Adua	29/5/2007 -?	Took over from Chief Olusegun Obasanjo after spending two-terms of eight years as an Executive President of Nigeria. What next?
-----	----------------------------	-----------------------------	--------------	---

Source: Various documents, Nigerian Newspapers/Magazines and archival records on Nigerian History, Politics, Economics, Culture and Development. Also, see Akindele (1995) Corruption: "An analytical focus on the problems of its conceptualization", in *Ife Psychologies: An International Journal*. (pp. 91-101)

Table 30. Indigenous heads of state and Government [The following Nigerians have at one time or the other, ruled the country as Head of State or Head of Government, or both, as civilians or as soldiers]

Name	Year of birth	Town and State of Origin	Ethnic group	Status	Duration	Age on appointment
BALEWA, Abubakar Tafawa	1912	Tafawa Balewa, Bauchi State	Gerewa	Civilian	Aug. 30, 1957 – Jan. 15, 1966	45 years
AZIKIWE, Nnamdi*	1904	Onitsha, Anambra State	Igbo	Civilian	Nov. 16, 1960 – Jan 15, 1966	56 years
AGUIYI-IRONSI, Johnson Thomas	1924	Umuahia-Ibeku, Abia State	Igbo	Military	Jan. 16, 1966 – July 29, 1966	42 years
GOWON, Yakubu	1934	Pankshin, Plateau State	Angas	Military	Aug. 1, 1966 - July 29, 1975	32 years
MUHAMMED, Murtala Ramat	1938	Kano, Kano State	Fulani	Military	July 29, 1975 – Feb. 13, 1976	37 years
OBASANJO, Olusegun	1937	Abeokuta, Ogun State	Yoruba	Military	Feb. 14, 1976 – Sept. 30, 1979	39 years
SHAGARI, Shehu Aliyu	1924	Shagari, Sokoto State	Fulani	Civilian	Oct. 1, 1979 – Dec. 31, 1983	55 years
BUHARI, Muhammadu	1942	Daura, Katsina State	Fulani	Military	Jan. 1, 1984 – Aug. 26, 1985	42 years
BABANGIDA, Ibrahim	1941	Minna, Niger State	Gwari	Military	Aug. 26, 1985 – Aug. 26, 1993	44 years
SHONEKAN, Ernest Adegunle**	1936	Abeokuta, Ogun State	Yoruba	Civilian	Aug. 26, 1993 – Nov.17, 1993	57 years
ABACHA, Sani	1943	Kano (adopted), Kano State	Kanuri	Military	Nov. 17, 1993 – June 8, 1998	50 years
ABUBAKAR, Abdulsalami	1942	Minna, Niger State	Gwari	Military	June 9, 1998 – May 29, 1999	56 years
OBASANJO, Olusegun***	1937	Abeokuta, Ogun State	Yoruba	Civilian	May 29, 1999 – 2007.	62 years
Alhaji Umar Musa Yar'Adua	1951	Katsina	Hausa-Fulani	Civilian	May 29, 2007 - date	56 years

*Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe was Head of State, but not Head of Government from 1960 to 1963 when he was the Governor-General of the Federation. He was President between 1963 and 1966.

**Chief Ernest Shonekan was Head of the Interim National Government which was hurriedly appointed to ensure that Bashorun M.K.O. Abiola did not occupy the seat of President, after winning the June 12, 1993 presidential election. The Interim National Government was declared illegal by a Lagos High Court, but the ruling was set aside by the government of Sani Abacha.

***After serving as military Head of State between 1976 and 1979, retired General Olusegun Obasanjo won the February 27, 1999 presidential election and became a civilian president.

Source: Nigeria: A Complete Fact finder, Ibadan, Tee-Rex Ltd, 2004, p.34. However, President Yar'Adua took over from President Obasanjo, on May 29 2007 after having spent eight years in office.

the fourth Republic)-most of whom are nothing but political demagogues, are seen to be continuing the trend is alarming and seriously disturbing after-over four decades of independence which, to some extent could now be realistically tagged as mere symbolism, due in part to empty political rhetorics and painful plastering of the nation's wounds for the sake of her national unity which

evidences have shown to be "national-disunity" because she, as Soyinka (2002), argued, has lost her values.

Nigeria's National assembly and the political process during the first phase of the fourth Republic were infested with AIDS. They could not formulate, adopt, produce and implement Aids-free public policies like their counterparts in most

states of the country. They did nothing more than conscious initiation and formulation of programmes for the collapse of the Nigerian economy and political dreams during or throughout their tenure. To some extent, the developments during the first phase of the current fourth Republic, which are not clearly over yet in view of the spate of allegations and counter-allegations of

corruption over ministerial screening at its inception, prompted me to borrow the phrase “Democracy of the amusement park”, I used in 1996, to describe the Nigerian Republic. The fourth Republic Democracy when it started is better compared to that which obtains in an amusement park, where you have things like swings, roller-coaster, toys, rounds-about, shooting galleries, dolls, merry-go-round, robots and so on among other tension –dousing and extra-curricular activities devices.

In fact, in the amusement park, comedians with their thrilling comedies, astrologers, moon-gazers, fortune-tellers, story–tellers are in existence. Even, riddles and jokes are the norms in this park where amusement is without limitation. To portray the political situations then, in Nigeria, particularly, the developments at the National Assembly and most states’ Houses of Assembly along any other dimension than those of the amusement park are to beg the real issue and, be unfair to Nigeria and Nigerians. This is particularly so, looking at the pace of avoidable and irrelevant executive-legislature face-off, occasioned by mere political complex, misplaced self-pride and arrogance inexperience, bankrupt political resourcefulness, misplaced priorities, faulty national scale of policy-preference, which, as a combination, characterized the National Assembly then. Otherwise, how else does one explain the rapidity of the leadership turn over in both the upper and the lower Houses and, in most states’ Houses of Assembly? How do we explain the aberration of the “vote of no confidence”, the contract scam; the probe of all probable by the House that was afraid of self-cleansing/probity; the avoidable self-sedation of legislative duties/activities and poor passage of bills, astronomical furniture and other allowances to the detriment of the nation’s economy and working class, boxing tournaments or shows of shame and obsequiousness for non-accountability (political and financial) and so on.

Given these foregoing, there is no doubt whatsoever that the pedigree of politicking in Nigeria shows a disturbing picture in terms of party politics vis-à-vis intra and inter party relations. This calls for a desired change that is more encompassing. What to do in this regard constitutes the subject-matter of analysis in the next section of this paper.

What to do / possible ways out for the Nigerian state

There is no gainsaying the fact that party politics in the context of intra and inter party relations in Nigeria needs a total overhaul through coherent and relevant re-organization and, institutional restructuring/reawakening. The need for this finds a solace in the dislocation and/or disruptive development of her political process. Through this fundamental restructuring the nation can bequeath an enduring legacy to the citizenry. From the rhythmic characteristic of her political process from inception, the

Nigerian party system is still in dire need of appropriate institutional mechanisms. Even, at this stage of the 21st century, the nation’s party system lacks the needed coherence and validity to the extent that it can, without equivocation, still be regarded as a state in formation. Thus, the political parties in the country (that is, Nigeria), must strive for responsible government to the people. In doing this, they should actually perform or be seen as performing their functions of candidates’ nominations for elections; provision of choice making opportunities to the electorate in respect of the candidates for political office, ensuring the existence of functional separation of powers among the requisite organs of government and, between the party line/structure and governmental line/structure.

The ‘not too encouraging’ performance of the political class during the first phase of the Fourth Republic already referred to, which to some extent, was symmetrical to those of the First and Second Republics following independence, supports this claim. It equally shows that the Nigerian party politics of today lacks the expected structure and formalism. Both of these in addition to other defects, point to the fact that, under the current political dispensation, Nigerian state lacks authentic party structures and/or party system in the context of its Western theoretical and political constructs. To be emphatic, neither has any political party become party of the institution of the Nigerian political system nor institutionalized in its political process in ways reminiscent of the American Democratic Party of 1828 and the British Conservative Party of 1832 in their respective countries. This has been so and/or remains so because of the nature of the Nigerian political space.

In Nigeria, there is no continuity in (party) organization. There is lack of organizational permanence at all levels of the Nigerian polity; there is no ideological commitment to any political order, determination of popular support, manifest political agenda or nationalistic philosophy.

Many factors like: ethnicity, pluralistic elite structure, military intervention, corruption, fragility of the nation’s take-off and so on, have been identified as the catalysts for Nigeria’s political problems within the context of party politics. But then, other countries with similar traits have attained greater heights as far as party politics is concerned to the extent that, they are models to the world today. India and the United States of America are examples in this regard. Even though, it could be argued that these are older nations, and as such, they cannot or must not be used as examples or yardsticks for measuring Nigerian situations, it would be preposterous to accord such premise any validity in the context of Nigeria’s disturbing political process vis-à-vis party politics and the accompanying crises that have defied effective management and/or resolution over the years at each point in time. This is particularly so, in that, Nigeria has unsuccessfully practiced both the Presidential and Parliamentary systems which had successfully existed and are still respectively existing in the United States of

America and India. The case of India is remarkably outstanding viewing the success of her political process and party politics given her strict religious, cultural, ethnic diversities and caste system as well as other differences all of which have not tampered with her governmental/political process over the years and, particularly since her independence in 1947.

To overcome these problems, one of the things that must be striven for is peace through reconciliation and unity. Through this, the Nigerian political process will become less nightmarish. To be specific, in spite of the numerous crises and/or conflicts the Nigerian state has faced or experienced, it can still be made more politically reconciliatory and less slippery. In other words, regardless of the enormity of the venoms of political crises – (intra and inter party crises) – such crises can still be managed if there is will to do so. No conflict/crisis is too deep to resolve or settle amicably. This position finds justification in Olomola's (2002) position that: Throughout history, men and societies have been conditioned and propelled by phobias, frustrations, and desires in the pursuit of their aspirations. Available evidence shows that from ancient to modern and contemporary times, men have competed for territories, hunting grounds, economic trees, water holes and ponds, and other resources, private and communal properties, etc. Blind pursuit of these and other objectives have bred and fuelled conflicts and violent struggles all over the world. As a matter of fact, history is replete with accounts of wars and a variety of conflicts caused by intense hatred for and intense competition between rivals over common or inadequate resources, ideological positions or religious beliefs. Thus, conflicts and disputes have been endemic in human societies but most of these have been resolved one way or the other and those involved reconciled, otherwise human societies and civilizations would have perished long ago.

One of the mechanisms for achieving such resolution or peaceful co-existence is what Olomola, 2002 called reconciliation which according to him is: Amicable settlement of dispute between two (or among more than two) persons, communities, organizations etc. In another breath, the term also covers resigning of oneself to fate, a surrender to, or an acceptance of situations that cannot be helped, for example, Moses at Bethpeor (Deut. 3:23) and Apostle Paul in his epistle to the Christian Community at Corinth (2 Cor. 12:7-9). In the former, God repeated his judgment for the final time to with, that Moses would not lead the Israelites to the Promised Land and in the latter; Paul revealed his acceptance of the finality of his sickness. Reconciliation in Christian doctrine is restoration to friendship and happy fellowship with God again through the mediation of Jesus the Christ.

With genuine reconciliation peace and unity will be achieved within the political space. This in itself will usher in productive democratic participation and/or politicking.

In the process, party politics will become less acrimonious.

Conclusion

The issue of intra and inter party post-election crisis/feud management in multi-lingual, multi-religious, and multi-cultural harmonious democracy has been examined in this paper. The focus of our analysis has been Nigeria drawing on examples where appropriate from India and the United States of America, both of which have symmetry with Nigeria using these variables.

In the process, the conceptual underpinnings of political parties and party systems were explored and analytically dealt with. This served as the basis of our analytical examination of Nigeria's political pedigree in the context of party politicking. The extent to which post-election intra and inter party conflicts/crises have been managed, was considered and measured with the rate of regimes/administrations or leadership turn-over.

The study choreographed the nation's political dilemmas in the context of various developments within it right from the colonial period to date. In the process, we characterized the nation's political class and where they presently stand. The study contended that there has been paucity of desired/expected management of political crises (intra and inter party crises inclusive) in Nigeria.

Against this background, we identified what we considered relevant and necessary to be done to rid Nigeria of her present political dilemmas which are progenies of disturbing past and, concluded that, genuine reconciliation is the only antidote to political crises/within the nations' political landscape. And, that, with this, peace and unity will be achieved to the extent that the nations' political space will become less acrimonious and more beneficial to the citizenry at large.

REFERENCES

- Agbaje AAB, Diamond L, Onwudiwe E (2004). *Nigeria's Struggle for Democracy and Good Governance: A Festschrift for Oyeleye and Oyediran*, Ibadan University Press.
- Akindele ST, Olaopa OR (1998). *Local Government and Civil Strife: Its causes, effects and challenges in Dipo Kolawole (Ed) Issues in Nigerian Government and Politics*. Ibadan, Deekal
- Akindele ST, Ajila CO (2002). "Democratic Transition in Africa: A Psychological Perspective" in Caron et al (eds), *Democratic Transition in Africa*, CREDU Documents in Social Sciences and Humanities, Series no 1, (1992) CREDU Nigerian Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.
- Akindele ST, Obiyan AS, Owuoye J (2000). *The Subject-matter of Political Science*, Ibadan: College Press & Publishers Ltd.
- Appadorai A (1978). *The Substance of Politics* (eleventh edition), Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Apter DE (1965). *Politics of Modernization*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Brown BE (1962). *New Directions in Comparative Politics*, Bombay: Asia Publishing House.

- Chike FO (1991). "Political Cleavages and Transition to Democracy in Nigeria" in Caron et al (Eds).
- Chomsky N (1991). "The International (and Domestic) Context of Democratic Transition in Africa: Roadblocks to Democracy" in Caron et al (eds).
- Claude A (2002). *The Feasibility of Democracy in Africa*, Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa.
- Curtis M (1968). *Comparative Government and Politics*, New York: Harper and Row.
- Dahl RA (1967). *Pluralist Democracy in the United States*, Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Duvenger M (1954). *Political Parties*, New York, Methuen.
- Environmental Rights Action (ERA), Election Monitoring Report on the Nigerian Fairchild H.P. (ed) *Dictionary of Sociology* Littlefield, Adams and Coy. Totowa, New Jersey Federal and State General Elections April/May, 2003.
- Fawole A (2001). "The Problematic of Democratization and Democratic Governance in Nigeria: An Overview" in Alade Fawole (2001): (Ed), *Beyond the Transition to Civil Rule: Consolidating Democracy in Post-Military Nigeria*, MAOBIC Press Ltd.
- Gibson Q (1960). *The Logic of Social Inquiry*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Isaak AC (1983). *Scope and Methods of Political Science*. Illinois: The Dorsey Press, p.136
- Ihonybere J (2000), *Africa and the New World Order*, Peter Lang Publishing Inc., New York, 2000.
- Johari JC (2000). *Comparative Politics*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt Ltd.
- La Palombara J, Weiner M (eds) (1966). *Political Parties and Political Development*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Neuman S (1956). *Modern Political Parties: Approaches to Comparative Politics*, Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Olomola GI (2002). 'Reconciliation: The Myth and the Fact', Inaugural Lecture Series 154, Ife: Obafemi Awolowo University Press Limited.
- Osarhieme B (1998). "The Development of Federal Idea and the Federal Framework, 1914-1960" in Kunle Amuwo et al (eds), *Federalism and Political Restructuring in Nigeria*, Spectrum Books Limited, Ibadan.
- Polsby N (1963). *Politics and Social Life*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.
- Sartori G (1976). *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis*, London: Cambridge University Press.
- Tekena T (1988). "Nigerian Federalism in Historical Perspective" in Kunle Amuwo et al (eds).
- Transition Monitoring Group (TMG) (2003). *Do the Votes Count? The Final Report, of the 2003 General Elections in Nigeria*, p.vii, Key V.O. 1995 as cited in TMG, p.7
- Ujo AA (2000). *Understanding the 1998-99 Elections in Nigeria*, Joyce Graphic Printers and Publishers, Kaduna, Nigeria.
- Verney DV (1959). *An Analysis of Political Systems*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Williams A (1998). 'A Nation in Search of Itself' *Africa Today* 4(10) October.
- Yakub N (2001). "Politicians, Political Parties and Democratic Contestations in Nigeria," in Alade Fawole (ed), 2001.